

THE KANAKADEA REVIEW

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As a class project for Writing History with Dr. Mallory Szymanski, at Alfred University, we are excited to reintroduce the Kanakadea Review.

Throughout the Spring Semester of 2022, Dr. Szymanski's class has been busy researching, writing, and working together as a whole to have the Kanakadea Review published.

This year's publication holds fourteen essays written by Undergraduate Students at Alfred University.

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Acknowledgments

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Disaster and Community: The Hornell region and the flood of 1972.

By R.J. Hillman

John Ides awoke late in the night of June 21st, 1972, to the sound of rushing water and sirens in the distance. Looking out his bedroom window he saw his backyard had been replaced by a roaring river that would soon flood his home. John woke his wife Dorothy, and two daughters, hurrying them to get ready. The Ides family rushed out their back door and into a small boat. The family hoped that by floating along with the floodwaters they would find a safe place to disembark or be rescued by emergency services. A neighbor noted that they had tried yelling to the Ides not to take their boat into the flooded creek. Their neighbor notes that the front yard of the Ides home had only just barely flooded, and the road was still dry. The Ides could walk to safety out their front door.¹

Unfortunately, their small boat was not enough to withstand the roaring river. Shortly after leaving, their boat capsized sending the family into the raging torrent of floodwater. Dorothy Ides and her 16-year-old daughter Rene managed to grab a tree hanging just above the water. John Ides and six-year-old Amy were lost to the floodwaters. Dorothy and Rene would cling to the tree for several hours before emergency services were able to rescue the pair. John and Amy Ides were the first victims of Hurricane Agnes in the Hornell region.²

The tragic story of the Ides family is one of many families that were forever changed by Hurricane Agnes and the flooding that it caused. The stories of these

¹ Oakes and Lewis, "Flooding; More Rain Due."

² Oakes and Lewis.

families and others in the region are a critical part of our history, and remembrance of the flood. Using newspapers from the event, letters from residents of the area, firsthand accounts, and more this paper will give readers a glimpse into the flood of 1972. Then this paper will analyze the aftermath of the flood, using peer-reviewed reports written by Alfred University researchers. This paper will briefly demonstrate the incredible damage caused by Agnes.

Using these sources, I will argue that Hurricane Agnes caused extensive damage and flooding to the Hornell region that emergency responders were not equipped to handle. The destruction would cause millions of dollars in damage to the area and sent major businesses into bankruptcy. Despite these difficulties, local communities would provide overwhelming support to the towns and residents impacted by the flood.

As the storm reached western New York, citizens were unsure what to expect; there was no advanced warning from the state about potential flooding, but some emergency responders were on standby. Rain began on the evening of June 20th, 1972, and immediately residents began to realize the potential danger that the storm posed. Within just a few hours, the Almond Dam reported the water level was rising at an alarming rate, already gaining over 7 1/2' of water.³ Numerous residents of Hornell were forced to evacuate their homes, by the end of the day, 30 residents had taken shelter in the high school. Canisteo, a couple miles south of Hornell, faced greater damages as the Canisteo River ran over its banks, and over 300 residents were evacuated to the high school and fire hall.⁴

³ "No Danger from Dam."

⁴ Oakes and Leiws, "Canisteans Evacuated."

Of major concern to Hornellians, and emergency responders throughout the crisis was the strength of the Almond Dam, and whether it would hold against the storm. The dam sits only a few miles from Hornell and acts as a barrier to prevent flooding. Special attention was paid to its condition throughout the storm, with a 65' maximum fill height, many hoped it would be more than sufficient to withstand the storm and protect Hornell from massive flooding.⁵ On June 22nd the Evening Tribune released an article "No Danger from Dam" it noted that "It [the dam] impounded more water – 65 feet maximum during the preceding 36 hours – than at any time in its 36-year history."⁶ The Dam would fill to 56' of water that night, leaving just a few feet of space between the water and the top of the dam. The Almond Dam was all that stood between the safety of Hornell and catastrophic flooding. Despite their confidence in the dam's ability to hold the water, several emergency services were put on standby the night of June 22nd, in case the dam should break.⁷ This was the case of the Hammondsport volunteer fire department, who were ordered to get some rest in case the dam broke, and they would need to be deployed to evacuate the town with their amphibious vehicles. Thankfully, despite being filled to only 5' below its maximum fill height, the Almond dam held back the storm and floodwaters of Agnes and protected Hornell from catastrophe.⁸

As the storm raged on, emergency responders were quickly becoming overloaded. Hornell Mayor Andrew Mazzella urged residents to not request emergency services unless in truly dire circumstances, as they were busy with search and rescue, and

⁵ "No Danger from Dam."

⁶ "No Danger from Dam."

⁷ Veley, "Emergency and Rescue Operations During the Flood of 1972."

⁸ "No Danger from Dam."

evacuations. On the morning of June 22nd, Mazzella reached out to the New York State Governor Rockefeller, requesting immediate aid.⁹ As Mazzella worked to secure additional aid from the state, Steuben County Sherriff Lisli tried to coordinate emergency responders in the region, directing much of their effort towards the Almond area which was facing severe flooding, and in search of Adam and Amy Ides. The area had been ravaged by the flood, and many residents needed help or advice. When asked by a reporter what advice emergency responders had for residents, one volunteer firefighter responded, “We might all try prayer.”¹⁰

Volunteers from numerous communities in the region arrived to assist in any way possible. While the additional manpower was welcome, the number of volunteers from so many different communities presented new problems. There were too many people trying to help, and too many people giving orders. Without a clear line of command, the community struggled to efficiently respond to the unfolding crisis. For context, Mazzella and Lisli were responsible for coordinating emergency responders and direct rescue efforts. Adam Kiene had also arrived from the New York State Department of Health to coordinate rescue efforts. In addition, The Red Cross had arrived to assist in rescue and relief efforts and were led by Hornell resident Jack Mahoney and Ernest Hess of Whitesville.¹¹ Three different agencies and five individuals all leading rescue efforts left it unclear who volunteers reported to.

More than just chain of command confusion, communication became a major issue as well. Each community and county emergency responder used specific and unique radio frequencies for communication. This became problematic as volunteers

⁹ “Four Die in Area Flood; Hundreds Left Homeless.”

¹⁰ “Four Die in Area Flood; Hundreds Left Homeless.”²

¹¹ Veley, “Emergency and Rescue Operations During the Flood of 1972.”⁴

from places like Bath, Avoca, Dansville, and many others arrived, they could not use their radios to correspond with the Hornell region radios.¹² In response, Hornell supplied responders with handheld radios which were set to the correct frequency, but there were very few available. This hindered communications and slowed the emergency responders even more.¹³

Radios were not the only item in short supply, other crucial equipment was lacking as well. Flashlights were exceedingly rare, limiting the number of people able to respond to emergency calls at night. There were also few portable pumps which were a crucial part of relief efforts. Calls were constantly coming in requesting portable pumps to empty basements of water before it overflowed and flooded the house. There were so many demands for pumps that Mayor Mazzella requested the governor to acquire and send portable pumps to Hornell as soon as possible.¹⁴

Another critical tool employed by emergency responders was an amphibious vehicle known as the “Duck”. There were few available, one coming from Hammondsport, which carried out rescue and evacuation efforts in Almond. Hammondsport fire department volunteer DeForest Veley carried out numerous rescue operations aboard the Duck and noted the fierce reluctance of some residents, especially the elderly, to evacuate despite the present danger.¹⁵ Noting that one elderly resident of Almond refused to evacuate his home until after his favorite television program had ended. Another refused to leave his home in pajamas and spent nearly an hour dressing and preparing to leave, before boarding the Duck in full suit and tie.¹⁶ Rescue

¹² Veley, 18.

¹³ Veley, 16.

¹⁴ “Four Die in Area Flood; Hundreds Left Homeless.”

¹⁵ Veley, “Emergency and Rescue Operations During the Flood of 1972,” 17–18.

¹⁶ Veley, 17.

operations would continue throughout the storm's duration over Hornell and the surrounding area.

By late June 25th the rains had passed, and residents began to survey the damage done to their communities. Wellsville, a few miles southwest of Hornell began cleanup efforts in their town, cleaning homes, shops, and the debris from a collapsed wing of the hospital.¹⁷ Almond had plans of holding a town meeting that night in the Alfred Almond School to discuss cleanup plans. Hornell began to reduce the number of Emergency responders on call and began looking to other communities in the region who still needed aid.

Agnes may have passed, but tragedy was not done with the region yet. On the evening of June 25th, an Army Corps of Engineers helicopter lifted off from the Almond Dam and flew over Hornell following Canisteo Creek.¹⁸ The helicopter, which had two engineers from the Army and one pilot, surveyed the damage in town and along the creek. In the dim light of the evening, the pilot failed to notice powerlines over the creek and collided with them, crashing into the chilly water below. All three people on board, J. Duane Tyler, Robert Crooks, both of Whitney Point, and Paul Melnin of Glen Aubry were pronounced dead at the hospital shortly after the accident.¹⁹

On June 27th, Hornell had mostly returned to normal minus a few minor ongoing repair and cleanup efforts, and emergency relief began to focus their efforts elsewhere. Further east, Corning and Elmira had been hit especially hard and were calling for additional aid from other regions, and Hornell officials agreed to help however they

¹⁷ Dennis and Dennis, "Wellsville Cleanup Begins."

¹⁸ "Three Dead In Copter Crash Here."

¹⁹ "Three Dead In Copter Crash Here."

could.²⁰ The city and its residents sent a DPW truck, numerous heavy-duty portable pumps, as well as donated several trucks worth of food and other supplies.²¹ Despite the heavy damage done to the region; residents were working together to aid those in greater need than themselves.

For members of the community nearly every aspect of life was forever changed, or at least temporarily disrupted. Homes had been flooded, in some cases, they were destroyed or lifted off their foundation and carried away by the storm. Stores, Railroads, hospitals, farms, and the livelihoods of countless people were impacted by the storm, which caused millions of dollars in damages to the surrounding region.

Railroads were hit especially hard by flood damage. The main rail line in the area at the time was the Erie Lackawanna Railway, which ran from Illinois through New York, with its headquarters located in Cleveland, Ohio. Agnes would inflict incredible damage on the Erie Lackawanna as floodwaters tore up the track, blocked rail lines with debris, and washouts left miles of track hanging from the air. All the damages to the track in the Buffalo and Susquehanna rail divisions which encompassed Hornell and the surrounding area totaled over \$2 million. The entire Erie Lackawanna rail line had nearly \$3.5 Million in damages to its tracks.²² The tracks around Hornell were especially damaged. For example, according to an official Erie Lackawanna Railway map, depicting damages to their rail tracks, a section of track just west of Hornell had been washed out, and the rail hung 60 feet in the air for over a 240-foot area.²³ Damage to the

²⁰ "Hornellians Rush Aid."

²¹ "Normal Conditions Returning to Hornell."

²² Herbert and Watson, "The Flood of June 1972 and Its Effects on the Transportation Media within the Alfred Study Area."12

²³ "Erie Lackawanna Railway Co."

tracks was not limited to washouts, in many sections tracks had been buried in debris and mud, and at one point Agnes had deposited an entire house onto the tracks.²⁴

Many warehouses and workshops belonging to the company were flooded, destroying tools, and communication equipment, and causing over \$1 million in damages. The flood caused some empty railcars to come free from the track and swept away. Reports by the company claimed over \$785 thousand in missing or damaged railcars. These repairs to the railcars and tracks took time, nearly a month to get the rail line operational again. This resulted in a loss of service revenue nearing an estimated \$4.5 million.²⁵ In total considering all damages, the bill from Hurricane Agnes would cost the Erie Lackawanna Railroad over \$11 million.²⁶ Today, this would be the equivalent of roughly \$70 million.

This massive bill was a heavy weight for the young rail company to bear. The company was also already facing tough times as the nation's expansion of the Interstate Highway hurt their profits. Despite successfully repairing their railroad and recommencing service, the cost of repairs would prove too much for the company to overcome. On June 26th, before all damages had even been accounted for, the Erie Lackawanna Railway was forced to file for bankruptcy, by 1976 the Erie Lackawanna Railway had sold all its shares, closing their doors only 6 years after opening.²⁷

Railroad companies were not the only business hurt by the flood either. The Agricultural community suffered incredible damages during the flood. Occurring in the

²⁴ "Erie Lackawanna Railway Co."

²⁵ Herbert and Watson, "The Flood of June 1972 and Its Effects on the Transportation Media within the Alfred Study Area," 12.

²⁶ Herbert and Watson, "The Flood of June 1972 and Its Effects on the Transportation Media within the Alfred Study Area," 12.

²⁷ "E-L Bankruptcy Petition Filed."

middle of the growing season, the flood caused extensive damage to crops in Steuben County. Either being entirely washed away or drowned by too much rain, the farmers suffered \$10 million in damages to crops.²⁸ The floodwaters were not purely water and contained boulders, trees, cars, buildings, and other debris that caused damage to land and cost extensive amounts of money to clean up. Damage to land alone cost farmers an additional \$5 million. In total, including other miscellaneous costs such as damage to equipment buildings and other farmers faced \$16 million in Steuben County alone.²⁹

The floodwaters and heavy rain were incredibly damaging to nearly all sectors of agriculture except for vineyards in the region, whose moisture-loving grape vines weathered the storm largely unscathed. Crops heavily impacted were those of onion and potato farmers in the area, as neither plant does well when planted in submerged or heavily saturated soil. One Steuben County worker inspecting the impact on farmers said, “For the potato and onion farmer, this is just no place to go but up.”³⁰ Farmers had been devastated by the flood, leaving very little crop to sell that year.

The loss of crops presented new issues for livestock and dairy farmers, who relied on their fields of feed crops to sustain their animals. Many feed crops had been destroyed by the flood, and what crops were harvested at the end of the season were not of the usual good quality.³¹ These farmers were forced to rely on federal relief programs such as REAP, and the USDA's emergency livestock feeding program, which provides animal feed and supplements to farmers whose crops were lost or otherwise damaged.

²⁸ Gay, “An Investigation of the Aspects of Agricultural Losses Incurred during and as a Result of Tropical Storm Agnes of June 1972.,” 40.

²⁹ Gay, 40.

³⁰ Gay, 50.

³¹ Gay, 52.

These programs supported farmers whose entire livelihoods had been put at risk by flooding.

Local grocery stores also faced difficulties because of the storm. Stores in Hornell were largely unaffected by the flooding, however, stores in Canisteo and Wellsville were not so lucky. Canisteo's Big M store reported roughly \$44,000 in damages to the store and merchandise, alongside an additional \$25,000 in lost sales while the store was closed.³² Despite the damages to their business, the owners of the Big M food mart donated over \$500 in food to the Canisteo Fire Department to feed displaced residents. Other stores present in Canisteo at the time faced minor damages, and were able to remain open throughout the storm, and noted an increase in sales during this period, due to the temporary closing of Big M.

The Wellsville Farmers Market was hit incredibly hard and was the most damaged store in the region. During the flood, the Wellsville Farmers Market was filled with anywhere from five to seven feet of floodwater.³³ This water brought debris into the store and scattered stock throughout the town. A large freezer case had been picked up by the water and moved several feet from its original position. One employee was injured during the flood, after trying to leave the store through a broken display window and cutting himself on the glass. Once the floodwaters receded, the entire store was covered in inches of mud and debris. Conservative estimates place damages to the store and its stock at around \$200,000.³⁴ All stock was declared unsanitary and had to be disposed of even canned goods had been labeled for disposal by the US Department of Health.

³² Dixon and Schrader, "The Effect of Hurricane Agnes on the Grocery Business," 21.

³³ Dixon and Schrader, 27.

³⁴ Dixon and Schrader, 27.

The farmers market hired an additional 50 employees to assist in cleanup and recovery efforts. All goods had to be disposed of, along with most of the store's equipment. Sadly, one of the employees recalls throwing shelves full of unopened cases of beer into garbage trucks.³⁵ The extensive flooding damaged not only the store's stock but also its building, which took just over two weeks to repair and re-open the store in partial capacity. Throughout the fifteen days of clean-up and repairs, the store reported an estimated \$130,000 in lost sales. In total over a quarter of a million dollars in damages and lost revenue to the Wellsville Farmers Market. ³⁶

The flood caused an immediate disruption to the livelihoods of the areas' residents. Many stores in the area noted a sharp increase in the use of food stamps, including customers who had never used them beforehand. For context, Alleghany County distributed roughly \$28,000 in food stamps to residents in all of 1971. During the period of flooding in 1972, Alleghany County distributed approximately \$96,000 in food stamps.³⁷ After re-opening the Wellsville Farmers Market noted the use of food stamps tripled in their store.³⁸ The damaged roadways and other infrastructure also disrupted the shopping habits of residents, forcing them to shop in towns they normally did not. For example, stores in Bath were largely unaffected by flooding and noticed a significant increase in shoppers from other towns like Corning or Elmira who were hit hard by floodwaters.

Hurricane Agnes may have caused extensive damage to the region, but it failed to destroy our resolve. The communities in our region unified during the storm and acted

³⁵ Dixon and Schrader, 28.

³⁶ Dixon and Schrader, 27.

³⁷ Dixon and Schrader, 3.

³⁸ Dixon and Schrader, 28.

in response to the storm. Volunteers from over 30 different towns and villages arrived in Hornell and the surrounding area to give their support.³⁹ Fire Departments acted in unison, as best they could, to provide support to towns that needed it the most. City truck drivers delivered sand from Hornell to Almond to be bagged and used to divert water. Stores donated food and supplies to feed displaced residents, even when their stock had been damaged. Residents also donated goods, blankets, pillows, food, clothes, toys, and so much more in overwhelming numbers. According to the Hornell Evening Tribune on June 26th, residents had donated 20 truckloads of goods. An additional 10 to 12 trucks worth of food had been donated by the Hornell High School, and both convoys of donations were sent to Corning another tractor-trailer worth of goods was expected to be sent soon after.⁴⁰ Hurricane Agnes had been successful in uniting the local communities.

Residents of the Hornell region faced incredible challenges as the costliest hurricane of the time battered the area. Despite this, the region banded together responding as best they could to the unimaginable disaster unfolding before them. Technology and lack of necessary supplies presented new challenges that had to be overcome to effectively respond to the emergency. The overwhelming support from communities in the region helped reduce the stress and hardships of displaced and grief-stricken residents. A letter from Alfred Almond teacher Robert Rawe, notes that while visiting refugees in the school that “I saw some of my kids. They seemed to be having a ball.”⁴¹ Indicating that while many residents’ lives had been flipped upside down, the community still held their spirits high.

³⁹ Veley, “Emergency and Rescue Operations During the Flood of 1972,” 5.

⁴⁰ “Hornellians Rush Aid.”

⁴¹ Rawe, “Hurricane Agnes Hits The Alfred Area,” June 26, 1972.

Unfortunately, despite the best efforts of emergency responders and the community, the area still suffered incredible damages and loss. Farmers in the community lost most of their crops, and Steuben County alone accounted for over \$16 million in damages to the agriculture community. The Erie Lackawanna Railway also suffered in the storm, taking on over \$11 million in damages and lost revenue, forcing it into bankruptcy. Some stores and retailers faced heavy damages and lost all their stock, despite this many would donate food and money to feed and support displaced residents.

In closing, over twenty individuals lost their lives during the storm in New York State, and hurricane Agnes caused considerable damage to our region, but it could have been so much worse. Without the overwhelming support from local communities and the tireless and heroic efforts of emergency responders and their coordinators, the death toll would no doubt be significantly higher. In the face of a great disaster our communities unified and supported each other throughout the storm, and thanks to this, most were able to return home within a few days of the flooding, and those who could not find support within the community to find their footing again. Agnes may have caused devastating damage, but it could not break the area's resolve, and our communities worked together to rebuild better than before.

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SAXONS AND THE GREAT WAR

By Johnathan Thousand

The year was 1914 and high school students had just recently graduated with high school diplomas. The early 20th century was a time of peace, progress, and innovation. College was an important deal as families saved money for children to have an opportunity to get a better education. This was quite common as many families wanted their children to follow the American dream. While most high school students at the time would attend local colleges and universities, some students were adventurous and attended colleges and universities outside of their local towns. However, June 28th, 1914 was a day that changed the course of the early 20th century. The Archduke of Austria, Franz Ferdinand was assassinated by Serbian nationalists.⁴² Americans looked at this event as a tragedy but did not think much about the assassination as it had happened halfway across the world. Little did anyone at the time imagine that this event would be the start of the war so large and destructive that it would engulf all of Europe, and eventually the United States.

Americans would see in a matter of four years how attitudes change from neutrality to supporting the war effort. Students would even see Alfred University play an important role in the war effort as students got involved in a variety of ways. These include the Student Army Training Corp and Agricultural Conservation. Students of Alfred University also experienced a shift, from witnessing a sad tragedy to a patriotic obligation to help in the war.

⁴² Barbara Wertheim Tuchman, *The Guns of August* (London etc.: Penguin Books, 2014).

The story that was told above may have been an experience that some students attending Alfred University in 1914 would have experienced. The reader may ask themselves, why talk about World War I? I believe that the reason for this is to now speak for those that have left this world. When I was younger, I did not think much about World War I as it is shadowed by a much bigger war, World War II. However, there is value in talking about the First World War. A lot of the current world that we are living in came as a result of WWI. This came from new countries emerging from the empires of the time. Some of these include Ukraine and Poland which formed after the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Empires collapsed because of the war. In addition, you also can travel to the Middle East where the agreements in the Sykes-Picot Agreement have created the modern borders of countries like Syria and Iraq, as well as the ethnic conflicts that followed decades after. In addition, new ideologies like communism and eventually fascism would emerge after the Great War. It is important to learn how the modern world was created by events like these and become more mindful of the results of war. While there will be a grand picture in the background, there was another reason I chose specifically to look at Alfred University. I want to try and understand the local history of the campus and how it compares to other universities in the United States at that time. This will help us understand what Alfred University students may have experienced over a century ago.

To understand how attitudes changed, it is important to know what the campus was like at the beginning of 1914. While most Alfred University students were from the local area, others had to board trains to get to campus. Depending on where the student was coming from, students would arrive at Alfred Station, a few minutes away from the university, and then, after a short ride from the train station, students would reach

Alfred University itself, an area that some would consider a second home for the next few years. Students' first impressions of the college are interesting. Alfred University at the time was small in both population and area. However even though it was a small enrollment, it was a welcoming population to new students. Freshman students would get two items when they arrived on campus. The first item was a green hat. This was a common occurrence in most American colleges. The green hat represented the freshman of a class. There was a meaning to wearing that hat, you were new and had room to grow. The second item, which you got from an upperclassmen, was a student handbook. This was made by a group known as the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association or YMCA and YWCA for short.⁴³ This book was considered important to have on students at all times, along with your green hat. The handbook had quite a bit to look at. For example, students might see that the YWCA and YMCA had meetings at Burdick Hall on Sunday evenings at 7:15.⁴⁴ Part of that sounds interesting but perhaps students are nervous about going. As students flip through the page and see that a proposed constitution is shown. The goal of this proposed constitution is for the regulation of student activity.⁴⁵ In addition you see some of Alfred University's campus rules. This showed some of the expectations that the university had of the student body. In addition, you find that there are songs near the back of the handbook.⁴⁶ There were only three of them, and they were to be used in certain

⁴³ *Alfred University Student Handbook* (Alfred, New York: Young Men's Christian Association and Young Women's Christian Association, 1913).

⁴⁴ *Alfred University Student Handbook* (Alfred, New York: Young Men's Christian Association and Young Women's Christian Association, 1913).

⁴⁵ *Alfred University Student Handbook* (Alfred, New York: Young Men's Christian Association and Young Women's Christian Association, 1913).

⁴⁶ *Alfred University Student Handbook* (Alfred, New York: Young Men's Christian Association and Young Women's Christian Association, 1913).

circumstances. I hope you are ready to sing. On the last page, you see a ticket. This ticket was to be presented for athletic events throughout the course of the year.⁴⁷ Each year that a student would attend Alfred, a new student handbook would be given. While the handbook gives us an idea of what the campus rules were like at this time, it is important for us to understand the activities as well that help keep the college alive. During this time there was plenty to do at Alfred University during WWI.

The campus life of Alfred University during World War I was different than what it is today. One part of campus life at the time was the fraternities and sororities. Prior to the beginning of the 20th century, these groups were not encouraged to have a foothold on the Alfred campus as it was the education that came as the primary.⁴⁸ However, by the start of the 1910s, several different groups emerged. The first was a series of groups under the lyceums. These were part of a collection of social groups that were created after the American Civil War and into the early 20th century. These were prominent in the Northeastern and the Midwestern parts of the United States; Alfred was no exception to this movement.⁴⁹ They included the YMCA and YWCA as well as the Alfredians, Athenaeans, Alleghanians, Orophilians, and the Theological Seminary.⁵⁰ In addition, you had other groups that were prevalent on the Alfred University Campus. The first was the Brickewpies. This group was a female cooking club that was located at the Brick Residence Hall. There was also Clan Alpine, one of the “largest and oldest co-operative eating clubs in the town.” There was also the Cottage Primer, which, according

⁴⁷ *Alfred University Student Handbook* (Alfred, New York: Young Men’s Christian Association and Young Women’s Christian Association, 1913).

⁴⁸ John Nelson Norwood, *Fiat Lux: The Story of Alfred University*, n.d.

⁴⁹ Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopedia. "lyceum movement." Encyclopedia Britannica, May 9, 2017. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/lyceum-movement>.

⁵⁰ *Kanakadea 1915 Yearbook* (Alfred, New York: Alfred University, 1915).

to the 1915 Kanakadea yearbook, was a group of five women that lived in the cottage where they removed the Klu Klux Klan that was on campus.⁵¹ There was also a fraternity called the Eta Phi Gamma. The goals of the fraternity in their words were “beyond the aim of social and fraternal growth, with the idea of true intellectual and moral development”.⁵² The fraternities and sorority of Alfred would play a role for an escape throughout the course of the war. However, it was not just fraternities and sororities that made up part of campus life. In addition, there were plenty of clubs that students could use at the time as an escape from the Great War.

There were plenty of clubs and activities that students at Alfred University could be a part of. Most of the clubs at Alfred were open for students to join. However, there were some that required an invitation to be initiated. One organization that female students could be a member of was the College Women’s Organization, which looks to help the women on the campus.⁵³ Students that were part of Alfred’s Ceramic and Art school could be part of the young but growing New York State Ceramic Society.⁵⁴ For them students had to prove work through their pottery; if the students impressed the NYSCS, you could get an invite to the Alfred Guild. This Guild not only included Alfred University students but also local artists.⁵⁵ They also had annual sales to support visiting artists at the schools. If ceramics was not your thing, you could join the Footlight Club, which was a drama and play club.⁵⁶ The most prominent group that students could be a part of at the time was, however, the Fiat Lux newspaper. The school newspaper would

⁵¹ *Kanakadea 1915 Yearbook* (Alfred, New York: Alfred University, 1915).

⁵² *Kanakadea 1915 Yearbook* (Alfred, New York: Alfred University, 1915).

⁵³ *Kanakadea 1915 Yearbook* (Alfred, New York: Alfred University, 1915).

⁵⁴ *Kanakadea 1915 Yearbook* (Alfred, New York: Alfred University, 1915).

⁵⁵ Anna E McHale, *Fusion: A Centennial History of the New York State College of Ceramics 1900-2000* (Alfred, NY: Alfred University, 2002), 35.

⁵⁶ *Kanakadea 1915 Yearbook* (Alfred, New York: Alfred University, 1915).

form in 1914 and be looking for other members to write about campus events.⁵⁷ Some of these events even included the sports teams as well.

Between 1914-1918, Alfred University would have sports to stay active and healthy. At Alfred University there were four main sports. These were all only participated in by men at the time and included football, baseball, track & field, and basketball.⁵⁸ During the World War I era the Alfred University Football Team was coached by ER Sweetland from 1915 to 1919 with the exception of 1918 when it was coached by military officers. The team started to show signs of improvement during his tenure as he did not have a losing record.⁵⁹ However, unlike the football team, the basketball team at this time was struggling. Between 1915 and 1918 the basketball team went 4-8.⁶⁰ There would be no team in 1918-1919 but it would resume in 1920 under the coach Aloyius Wesbecher. The ticket from the handbook would be used to get into home games. A university employee would sign your handbook verifying that you went to that game.⁶¹ While there were plenty of fun clubs, fraternities, and sports teams, athletes at Alfred University could be a part of the role of escapism from the Great War.

When Archduke Franz Ferdinand was assassinated on June 28th, 1914, Alfred University had already commenced classes. However during the summer of 1914, Americans would see through the newspaper the destruction caused by the war along with the propaganda about the beginning of the war. During the course of July, there

⁵⁷ *Kanakadea 1915 Yearbook* (Alfred, New York: Alfred University, 1915).

⁵⁸ *Kanakadea 1915 Yearbook* (Alfred, New York: Alfred University, 1915).

⁵⁹ "Football Records 2021 (PDF) - Alfred University Athletics," accessed April 3, 2022, https://gosaxons.com/documents/2020/1/22/Record_Book_EOY_2019.pdf.

⁶⁰ "MBBRECORD Book202021 (PDF) - Alfred University Athletics," accessed April 3, 2022, <https://gosaxons.com/documents/2021/4/13/MBRBeordBook202021.pdf>.

⁶¹ *Alfred University Student Handbook* (Alfred, New York: Young Men's Christian Association and Young Women's Christian Association, 1913).

would be diplomatic misunderstanding along with military mobilization. This period would be known as the July Crisis.⁶² Throughout the period between the commencement and the freshmen orientation, Europe had mobilized militarily with Germany entering French territory and the British Army about to intercept them in what would become the Battle of the Marne. When the student body came back for Fall 1914, the president of Alfred University, Booth Coldwell Davis had an opening address on Wednesday morning on September 23. The speech to the students explained how the war happened in Europe and how he was saddened by these events.⁶³ In addition, he called for education to continue at Alfred, reminding the listeners that it was an opportunity that some in Europe did not have.⁶⁴ Overall the opening address seemed rather neutral as they saw the Great War as chaotic.

Even though President Davis had made his position clear in September 1914, it would be the students that would show the response the war would have on college life. However, the ideas that President Davis said seemed to be reflected in the student body's attitude about the war as well. The students at Alfred University saw it as a tragic but remote event.⁶⁵ Many students during the 1914-1915 years would continue as normal. The class rivalries had only intensified and grown since the 1890s.⁶⁶ In addition Kenyon Hall Chapel had daily chapel services as spiritual life was important on campus.⁶⁷ There was also a trend of dinner-dance contests that was also happening on

⁶² Barbara Wertheim Tuchman, *The Guns of August* (London etc.: Penguin Books, 2014).

⁶³ "Opening Address," *Fiat Lux*, September 29, 1914, 2 edition, pp. 4-7.

⁶⁴ "Opening Address," *Fiat Lux*, September 29, 1914, 2 edition, pp. 4-7.

⁶⁵ John Nelson Norwood, "XIX: Mars Invades the Campus," in *Fiat Lux: The Story of Alfred University*, n.d.

⁶⁶ John Nelson Norwood, "XIX: Mars Invades the Campus," in *Fiat Lux: The Story of Alfred University*, n.d, 144.

⁶⁷ John Nelson Norwood, "XIX: Mars Invades the Campus," in *Fiat Lux: The Story of Alfred University*, n.d, 152.

campus during the 1910s as well.⁶⁸ However, even though there was an attitude of life as normal, there was still a sense of responsibility by the school for World War I.

Alfred University would try to stay informed on the war that was ravaging Europe. According to Norwood, discussions on various aspects of the war would happen on campus.⁶⁹ This seems to be a thing that we continue to see even today as there was this spring a discussion on the Russian-Ukraine Conflict and the possible consequences of the war. However, a shift would soon happen not just at Alfred's campus, but on others as well, all across the United States where they would go from neutral to pro-war.

As the war progressed into 1916 and 1917 students experienced a shift in an attitude towards Germany on college campuses. With the sinking of the Lusitania and the deaths of American citizens in 1915 anti-German messaging and a pro-war stance started to be seen on American campuses and the country as a whole.⁷⁰ Alfred University felt that it needed to make an important decision between isolation or principle. As Norwood put it, "We gradually came to feel that there was a death struggle for principles which are the foundation of our country."⁷¹ With the school trying to make a critical decision the voices of the student body were growing louder.

The students would start to use the young *Fiat Lux* as their voice to push their stance. They reminded Alfred University of its important role in a time the country needed its help, the American Civil War. As one student in the paper expressed in October 1917, "Our patriotism is having to be expressed in a somewhat different way, but I am confident that it is just as genuine, sincere and lofty as any which has preceded

⁶⁸ John Nelson Norwood, "XIX: Mars Invades the Campus," in *Fiat Lux: The Story of Alfred University*, n.d, 150.

⁶⁹ John Nelson Norwood, "XIX: Mars Invades the Campus," in *Fiat Lux: The Story of Alfred University*, n.d.

⁷⁰ Robert Brammer, "The Sinking of the Lusitania," The Sinking of the Lusitania | In Custodia Legis: Law Librarians of Congress, May 29, 2015, <https://blogs.loc.gov/law/2015/05/the-sinking-of-the-lusitania/>.

⁷¹ John Nelson Norwood, "XIX: Mars Invades the Campus," in *Fiat Lux: The Story of Alfred University*, n.d.

it.”⁷² The students seemed to be demanding more action from the university. The students at Alfred asked that funds be turned from campus improvements to patriotic purposes.⁷³ This seemed to be supported by the university president Boothe Davis. He would eventually from 1916 to 1918, have financial campaigns for buildings and endowment be temporarily suspended. The only exception during this time was a central heating plant which cost about 50,000 dollars.⁷⁴ The money that would have gone to building projects would instead go to more war aimed activities. This was similar to other colleges gearing to more military-based activity. In 1915, 1,200 men gathered for military instruction for four weeks in Plattsburgh, NY. According to the Plattsburgh Response, 90% of those men that had participated were graduate students, many near the State University school in Plattsburgh.⁷⁵ This laid a trend for a citizen movement towards military preparedness. In addition to more pro-war activities there was also an increase in anti-German rhetoric in the United States and on college campuses.

Tensions between the United States and Germany increased with events like the Zimmerman Telegram. And this tension would result in anti-German actions across the country. There was one such instance where an Alfred University student was distressed that a picture of Kaiser Wilhelm II was on the walls of the modern language rooms.⁷⁶ This was similar to other anti-German actions that were taken by other schools in the country. For example, in Indiana schools, there were state senators that were pushing

⁷² *Fiat Lux*, October 2, 1917.

⁷³ John Nelson Norwood, “XIX: Mars Invades the Campus,” in *Fiat Lux: The Story of Alfred University*, n.d.

⁷⁴ *Memoirs of Boothe Colwell Davis* (Alfred, NY, n.d.).

⁷⁵ William Menkel and Andrew Shaw, “The Plattsburgh Response,” *The American Review of Reviews*, September 1915.

⁷⁶ John Nelson Norwood, “XIX: Mars Invades the Campus,” in *Fiat Lux: The Story of Alfred University*, n.d.

anti-German legislation. The state senator said that “there are no real German-Americans today; they ought to be Americans.”⁷⁷ However that was not the worst of it as an Indiana University professor James Woodburn was quoted saying that “German rulers ‘have filled our land with spies.’”⁷⁸ This trend would only continue as the United States would declare war on the German Empire on April 6th, 1917.⁷⁹ With war declared, colleges like Alfred would have to mobilize just like the rest of the country to help America achieve victory.

When war was declared, the entire United States was impacted including the colleges and universities. The town of Alfred had to do a few things to help in the war effort. The first thing that the University would need to do was to have food crops be increased in the village and even county to support the war. This was done through the Agricultural School at Alfred University. This school was led by Director William J. Wright as he urged important actions that needed to be made. First was that lectures were given weekly on campus. These talks were based on actions of conservation of wheat and the implementation of substitutes: sugar, meats, fats, fuels and transportation.⁸⁰ This was not the only act of conservation that the school of Agriculture would implement. The agricultural school also helped create a conservation subject on economics, household chemistry, dietetics, and food. These measures were made possible by the fact that by 1916-1917 the school had made plans to cooperate with the

⁷⁷ Livia Gershon, “When American Schools Banned German Classes - JSTOR DAILY,” JSTOR Daily, May 9, 2017, <https://daily.jstor.org/when-american-schools-banned-german-classes/>.

⁷⁸ Livia Gershon, “When American Schools Banned German Classes - JSTOR DAILY,” JSTOR Daily, May 9, 2017, <https://daily.jstor.org/when-american-schools-banned-german-classes/>.

⁷⁹ Missouri Inscription on the Liberty Memorial Tower in Downtown Kansas City, “U.S. Enters the War,” National WWI Museum and Memorial, November 30, 2021, <https://www.theworldwar.org/us-enters-war>.

⁸⁰ *Memoirs of Boothe Colwell Davis* (Alfred, NY, n.d.).

state and federal government on several lines in food production and conservation.⁸¹ In addition, encouraging all people must produce what plants should be produced, plots of land that were available in the Alfred and Alfred Station area, supplying local farmers with the necessary seeds and money, and how to help the prevention of waste.⁸² By 1918, The New York State School of Agriculture at Alfred University also included two initiatives, including training rural elementary teachers to equip them with rural points of view, economics and social conditions along with after the war retraining disabled soldiers for certain types of agricultural work when they returned from duty.⁸³ These initiatives were successful even after the Great War had ended and would last until 1924. These important decisions that were made helped in the resources that an army needed while keeping its civilian population fed. However, it was not just agriculture where Alfred University would have its impact.

By the time the United States entered World War I, its army had 107,600 men. This was at the time the 17th largest army in the world.⁸⁴ For reference, the allies had 40 times that number, with four million on the Western Front. The United States did, however, have a large arms industry and civilian population that it would need to implement. On May 18th, 1917, the United States enacted the Selective Service Act which was to implement conscription. The second task that Alfred needed to achieve was to create a census for the military. The town of Alfred was one of many in Allegheny County that had to meet a quota. The town as a whole had four hundred men sign up as

⁸¹ Elaine B Hritz, *The First Sixty Years: A History of the State University Agricultural and Technical College at Alfred* (Alfred, NY: Alfred State College, 1971).

⁸² *Alfred in the Great War* (Alfred, NY, 1924).

⁸³ Elaine B Hritz, *The First Sixty Years: A History of the State University Agricultural and Technical College at Alfred* (Alfred, NY: Alfred State College, 1971).

⁸⁴ John Keegan, *The First World War* (London: Pimlico, 1998).

this enlistment stretched from Alfred to Wirt and Wellsville. However, it was not just the townspeople that enrolled but also students.

Thousands of men in Allegheny County, including many Alfred University Alumni would be called to serve their country. Patriotism was not just limited to the alumni or local townspeople; but the students at Alfred also stepped forward. Student Army Training Corps were created across the country in colleges and universities. The purpose of these was to supply the military with engineers, doctors, officers and other specialists.⁸⁵ This was done as new draft laws were enacted. However, Alfred University had its SATC created in 1918 a little bit later than other schools. Despite this patriotic atmosphere on the campus accommodations needed to be made. First, the Brick on campus was to be converted from a dormitory to a barracks. This meant that the female students that lived there had to move into Burdick Hall.⁸⁶ However before the training could be complete, the armistice was signed and the SATC had to demobilize by Christmas. Even though they did not do much on the war itself they saw it as an honor to help as much as possible. As one of the students put it, "I thank the staff at Alfred for their 'tireless effort'".⁸⁷ Even with some students that could not become soldiers, they would continue in helping the war effort in any way that they could.

Students and administrators played an important role in supporting not just the SATC but their fellow countrymen. For example, President Davis had to be part of the committee on conservation.⁸⁸ They helped with the decisions that were made in the town and in the schools. The students showed support as well, in particular the women.

⁸⁵ *Alfred in the Great War* (Alfred, NY, 1924).

⁸⁶ *Alfred in the Great War* (Alfred, NY, 1924).

⁸⁷ *Kanakadea* (Alfred, NY: Alfred University, 1920).

⁸⁸ *Alfred in the Great War* (Alfred, NY, 1924).

There were war gardens that were made on campus to help with the conservation efforts. Three other women did shoe-shining and a shampoo parlor giving manicures. The money they made would go to the Red Cross. Another such example was when two freshmen girls on Interscholastic day rendered their service in a cafe in town, spending a whole day working. The money that they received was also given to the Red Cross.⁸⁹ This showed that throughout the course of the war the town and university were prideful.

While Alfred University may have been supportive of the war effort, this was not the case in some colleges. The biggest issue that schools had to deal with was the suppression of the first amendment. Even though the United States had joined the war with the Allies, there was a big presence of German Americans in the country. In an attempt to have a positive view of the war, the US Government would suppress the voices of German Americans and even college students as well. As a part of this, they would enact the Espionage Act of 1917 and Sedition Act of 1918, which both contributed to the suppression of freedom of speech. As Columbia University president Nicholas Murray Butler wrote, “This is the university’s last and only word of warning to any among us, if such there be, who are not with whole head and mind and strength committed to the fight with us to make the world safe for democracy.”⁹⁰ While some school administrations would try to follow these rules, students at various schools would try to have their voices heard. For example, college rebels created new publications, such as the Saturday Evening Pest at Yale University and the Tempest at the University

⁸⁹ *Work of College Women* (Alfred, NY: Alfred University, n.d.).

⁹⁰ Emily J. Levine, *Allies and Rivals: German-American Exchange and the Rise of the Modern Research University* (Chicago ; London: University of Chicago Press, 2021). 161

of Michigan, to bypass such censorship in established college papers.⁹¹ Even with the censorship, the war would soon come to an end for both Alfred students and Americans.

When the bells rang in Alfred, NY in November 1918, everyone from students to townspeople played an important role and were in joy for the United States as they helped win the war. As we look back over a century later, we in the 2020s can have a sense of connectedness to them. While they are no longer here with us we can understand their hardships, their struggles, and how they were able to overcome such adversity. We must learn that, even though it may have been from a time long ago when the campus was united in our efforts, we were able to do amazing things that may have been seen as impossible like conservation or having a student army training corps. Those are the types of stories that we today should be inspired by.

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THE HISTORY AND DOWNFALL OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES

By Michael Chaparro

In this paper, I argue that the Olympics should not be as widely honored and praised as they once were due to the severity of the economic pains and physical challenges the hosting cities face during the hosting of the event. Many people believed hosting the Olympic games used to be considered a privilege, but now many countries are hesitant to join the bid to host the games. Many nations and territories saw the first original Olympics as an accomplishment to host, thinking that the games would bring economic growth to their economy and community. However, the events take hold of a mass amount of ecological land while setting up for the games, and a tremendous amount of attention to detail and economically hurts that country's wealth due to the games. This paper will cover the significant history of the Olympics and discuss its downfall today.

The first recorded Olympic Games were held in Olympia in the Greek city-state of Elis in 776 B.C., but it is generally accepted that the Olympics were at least 500 years old before they were recorded. This meant that the Greeks held many athletic events before the actual Olympic games.⁹² The ancient Olympics were hosted every four years and occurred during a religious festival honoring Zeus, a Greek god. "Olympia was the most important sanctuary of the god Zeus, and the Games were held in his honor."⁹³ Just like today, the best athletes were participating in these games at the time. During these times of the Olympics, it was not unusual for most contestants to be male. In this day and age, many sports are both male and female, but most athletes have to go through a

⁹² First Modern Olympic Games

⁹³ Olympic Games (Article) | Ancient Greece.- Khan Academy

qualifying tournament even to be inducted into participating in the Olympics. "In Athens, 280 participants from 13 nations competed in 43 events, covering track-and-field, swimming, gymnastics, cycling, wrestling, weightlifting, fencing, shooting, and tennis. All the competitors were men, and a few of the entrants were tourists who stumbled upon the Games and were allowed to sign up." ⁹⁴ It wasn't uncommon for tourists to enter the games. Tourists showed no real threat to the athletes and were introduced to the games to show how talented these athletes were compared to the average person. While we no longer have this comparison today, I think it would be an entertaining addition.

In the late 19th century, technology was rapidly expanding its limits. This gave way to many people participating in the Olympic events and hosting the events. The events demonstrate how the Olympic Movement had to undergo a continuous process of adjustments during the early phase of the modern Olympic Games, which enabled its systematic growth and economic decrease. "The Modern Olympic Games were created in the late nineteenth century, in a context in which various entities with an internationalist character were emerging. In addition to technological advances and the media, the building of a great competition bringing together various sports disciplines and participants from all corners of the globe was only possible thanks to diplomatic agreements." ⁹⁵ There have been many situations where politics stand in the way of athletes representing their country. In many ways, different diplomatic parties have been on edge and are forced to exclude their athletes from participating in the Olympic

⁹⁴ First Modern Olympic Games

⁹⁵ Logos

events. In a way many countries have many different reasonings into why they do not wish to host the Olympics.

As stated, many countries have their respective reasonings for not wanting to bid on the chance to host the Olympics. There are many reasons why countries' governments do not want the opportunity to host. This can range from internal problems in the countries or cities to external problems dealing with warfare with other countries. In 1945 the end of World War II was settled, but many countries were economically rebuilding or still had tensions; this led to many countries not wanting to host the Olympic games. The 1948 Olympics was held in London during the start of the Cold War. This had many countries worried about engaging in any social-economical economic game during the Olympic games. Although the conflict in Berlin did not directly impact the events in London, it still had countries in fear of sending their athletes abroad to compete.

The Soviet Union declared they would not participate in any Olympic events after World War II. The Berlin Blockade began development on April 1st, 1948, and was issued by the Soviet Union. The primary goal of the blockade was to bring an end to the use of the railroads and waterways to the Allied powers. The Allied powers consisted of the United States, Great Britain, and France, who had controlled the regions in Western Berlin after WWII. The reason for the blockade was due to the Soviet Union's alarm to the United States' policy of aiding Germany and other European nations.

Hosting the Olympic Games can considerably change a city and community, its image, and infrastructure. This can also come with a city that is facing pressure from within and facing pressure from the entire world due to a recent War. The Games have the power to deliver long-lasting benefits in cities. Still, in recent decades, the event's

significant growth in size and popularity has been accompanied by escalating costs and economic downfalls. "Britain was in a period of austerity in the late 1940s as a result of the War, with food rationing and strict controls over building work being implemented. The budget for hosting the Games was limited, and it was deemed imprudent to construct venues and accommodation to host an ambulatory event when public funds were so desperately needed to rebuild the War dam-aged fabric of London, so the Games were hosted in existing venues with, mainly temporary, renovations to bring them to Olympic standard. London 1948 was dubbed the ``austerity Games." ⁹⁶ Many people believe that the country's government and leaders should switch their focus on repairing the communities that have either been damaged by war or by the economy itself. But in many cases, the cities still bid on the Olympic events in hopes that the games will generate enough money and popularity to their region to dig themselves out of their predicament.

The 1964 summer Olympics in Tokyo spent large amounts of money to make way for the Olympics. The committee of the organization Tokyo wanted to show that they could withstand the pressure of hosting the Olympics by adding the bullet train as their innovation of public transport. The committee also wanted to add facilities for their community after the Olympic events had concluded. "One of the considerations behind the preparations of the Olympic facilities should probably be the importance of constructing sports facilities which can be used not only for the Olympic Games but ones which can be adapted afterwards for the benefit of the citizens of the host city. All facilities for the Tokyo Olympic Games were, in fact, constructed in this spirit. For many

⁹⁶ Laura Brown

of them, consideration was included to prepare sites that would be useful after the Olympic Games while at the same time providing facilities of high technical standards to meet the demanding requirements of the Olympic Games. Other facilities were constructed to make them adequate and fitting memorials to this meaningful occasion, or to allow them to remain in the future as symbols of sports activity." ⁹⁷ This led many people to understand why Tokyo was spending 8.2 Billion dollars on their Olympic event. "In 1964, when Japan hosted the Olympics in Tokyo, the country was at the start of what would be a three-decade-long economic boom. The city, which was rising out of devastation from World War II, underwent a wholesale transformation for the event, with an investment that by some estimated met the budget, to build elevated expressways, 50 miles of roads, sanitation, railways — including the world's first bullet train — and other infrastructure as well as new sports facilities that included a 48,000-seat stadium." ⁹⁸ Understanding the investment Tokyo was implementing by implementing a new public transformation is excellent but when your budget exceeds 8 billion dollars, where is the profit to be made in that situation?

Throughout the beginning years following the 2000 Olympics, many cities have shown little to no interest in hosting the Olympic games. Furthermore, it is shown that many cities and countries have not bid to host future Olympic Games. "No fewer than eleven cities submitted initial applications to host the 2004 Summer Olympics followed by ten bids for 2008 and another nine for 2012." ⁹⁹. The 2004 Olympic games generated a lot of audience for the Olympic events. However, the number of people in attendance wasn't as greatly appreciated as the number of people watching television. China created

⁹⁷ *The Official Report of the Organizing Committee*

⁹⁸ Kari Huus

⁹⁹ Georgetown Journal

a lot of hype for the next Olympics due to the amount of excellence performed in the 2004 Olympics. Although China wasn't hosting the 2004 Olympics, their athletes earned many medals and publicity in the games. This led to China's overview in the television market going through the roof. "Throughout the beginning years following the 2000 Olympics, many cities have shown little to no interest in hosting the Olympic games. Furthermore, it is shown that many cities and countries have not bid to host future Olympic Games. "No fewer than eleven cities submitted initial applications to host the 2004 Summer Olympics followed by ten bids for 2008 and another nine for 2012." ¹⁰⁰. The 2004 Olympic games generated a lot of audience for the Olympic events. However, the number of people in attendance wasn't as greatly appreciated as the number of people watching on television." ¹⁰¹

Many people speculate on the idea of hosting the Olympics more than once, as it is easier to see if you can make a profit off of these games if you have hosted the Olympics before. Also, many people look and see if previous Olympic hosts have made a profit from their hosting. For many countries hosting the Olympic games is not for the event's tradition. It is simply for the significant fact of making many off of the people who come to spectate them. London has hosted the Olympic games three times since the moderation of the event. They hosted the games in 1908, 1948, and 2012. However, many speculators have shown growing disinterest in bidding for the hosting of the games. "Those who organized and paid for the make-do-and-mend 1948 Olympics might raise an eyebrow at the description of the event planned for London this summer as the austerity Games. To be sure, the economic backdrop looks superficially similar:

¹⁰⁰ Georgetown Journal

¹⁰¹ The Olympic Marketing Communications

an economy in trouble; a country up to its eyeballs in debt; a chancellor counting every penny. But there the similarity ends." ¹⁰² Britain's 1948 Olympic games saw many downfalls in the economic growth that they wished to succeed. But, as we know, since world war two, the Olympic committee has expressed much interest in helping grow the economies of the countries that chose to host the Olympics." The Britain of 1948 was struggling to recover from six years of total war that had emptied the Treasury's coffers, forced Churchill to go cap in hand to Roosevelt for help, and pushed the national debt to 250% of GDP." ¹⁰³

According to the statistics, having a mass amount of tourists in the area when hosting the Olympics is a significant factor in making money while being interested in hosting. Becoming a host city for the Olympics can appear beneficial as an influx of tourists will be brought into the area and spend money to better the country's economy. The Olympics held in Rio brought over 500,000 foreigners into Brazil. However, this tourism isn't as beneficial to locals as it may seem. The Center on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE) published a report which concluded, "preparation for the Olympics had cumulatively resulted in the displacement of millions of residents, not only through inflated prices but also through local regulations that forced people out of specific neighborhoods." The city of Rio is relatively poor, and a large number of the homeless population was also affected by this issue. Jonathan Sri stated, "What we need is public housing, and the Olympics won't deliver that."¹⁰⁴ Additionally, this influx of travel had negative impacts on the environment. The Harvard Political Review stated, "leading up

¹⁰² The Guardian

¹⁰³ The Guardian

¹⁰⁴ Wills, J

to the 2016 Olympics, it was estimated that spectator transport alone would account for more than 2000 kilotons of greenhouse gas emissions." ¹⁰⁵

The Olympics promises the host cities will benefit from hosting the Olympics by creating "legacy projects." The projects are developed to improve the area's public infrastructure before the start of the Olympics. However, these projects come with questionable quality and delayed timelines. For example, for the 2016 summer Olympics, the IOC stated they would invest in five Brazilian reals, which later took a graphic turn. Because of the project's questionable quality, one of the projects, a coastal bikeway, collapsed a few months before the summer games were set to begin. This collapse resulted in the death of two people. With the Olympic games typically going 172 percent over budget, usually costing over \$50 billion, it is questionable why more time, money, and resources were not added to help ensure the quality of these "legacy projects." Additionally, the Olympics believes cities will benefit from the sports facilities and stadiums they build; however, they end up serving little to no practical use. When asked on the topic, Dr. Andrew Zimbalist answered, " So if it didn't make economic sense for them to exist before, why would it make economic sense for them to exist seventeen days later, when the Olympics ... are over?". ¹⁰⁶

Around the time of the original Olympics and following years after that, many locations didn't necessarily have a budget for their Olympics games. As said in the articles above, many tourists participated in the events. Many cities after the year 2000 are afraid of hosting the Olympics due to the economic struggle it brings after the games have ended. "The modern Olympics has become an exceptionally expensive affair. Each

¹⁰⁵ Lee, .E

¹⁰⁶ The 2016 Bid Process Explained - Olympic News.

of the past five Summer Olympics and both of the most recent Winter Games have resulted in total costs for the host cities of over \$10 billion with the 2008 Beijing Summer Games exceeding \$45 billion in total costs”¹⁰⁷ Beijing put money into their Olympic preparations above and beyond, but they wanted to implement their culture into the games itself. “In ancient times, our ancestors, infighting against wild nature, had to walk or run long distances, jump across harriers, throw stones and use many kinds of captive tools in order to obtain their daily subsistence and survive. They did these repeatedly in their work and developed different skills of walking, running, jumping and throwing, which gradually gave rise to athletics.”¹⁰⁸

As people create documents and intel for the Olympic games, they do not consider the amount of money certain countries receive for hosting the games. People don't understand that the Olympic committee supports the city hosting the events. The funding goes into the construction operations, and ecological advancements have to be made for the facilities to go up and running. The IOC also funds the broadcasting system that goes into place for the Olympics.” As part of its contribution, the IOC pays for the host broadcast operation, Olympic Broadcast Services (OBS), and provides various forms of Games support to the OCOG including through its “Transfer of Knowledge” programmes.”¹⁰⁹ Each city that hosts also has a non OCOG budget that goes into their financial plan. The budget takes over the non-athletic revenues such as roadways and medical revenues for the local community. “ This includes the operational services of

¹⁰⁷ Georgetown Journal

¹⁰⁸ The Games of the XXIX Olympiad in Beijing (2008)

¹⁰⁹ The Guardian

public authorities in support of the Games (such as security, transport, medical services, customs and immigration, etc.).”¹¹⁰

Although many believe that hosting the Olympics is a significant event and honor, it is shown that it is not a brilliant opportunity if your country is looking to generate mass revenue for the community. In addition, although having the Olympics in your city might be an exciting event since there will be amazing athletes traveling to perform, it may hurt your communities' day-to-day lives. It may also lead to future economic problems that scar the country for years to come.

¹¹⁰ How Are the Olympic Games Financed

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PEARL HARBOR CONSPIRACISM: THE RISE OF REVISIONISM

By Alpha Bah

Abstract: This paper explores the origins of conspiracy theories that surfaced after the Pearl Harbor attack and their significance. I argue that Pearl Harbor conspiracy theories came about in response to the decline of U.S isolationism, the growing power of the government that engendered mistrust from isolationists and the failures of the Roosevelt administration that fueled rather than dispelled further speculation. The first section of this article details the ideological roots of a specific cohort of isolationist, revisionist historians, and the reasons why they distrusted the government's official narrative when the attack happened. The second section details how the findings of the first investigation on Pearl Harbor (The Robert Commission) emboldened the revisionists and how the commitment to secrecy in regard to intelligence gathered from the Japanese prompted further speculation. The last section deals with the legacy of the revisionist cause and how it served as a watershed moment in the role of conspiracism in historical scholarship and American politics.

The Day That Will Live In Infamy

On December 8, 1941, at 12:30 Pm Roosevelt stood in front of Congress and delivered news of the “day that would live in infamy.” The Japanese had attacked the U.S naval base at Pearl Harbor in Honolulu. Within the span of 7 hours, there were also coordinated attacks in Malaya, Hong Kong, Singapore, Guam, the Philippine Islands and Wake island. Many lost their lives that day and several ships were severely

damaged. In short, the attack meant war. “No matter how long it may take us to overcome this premeditated invasion, the American people in their righteous might will win through to absolute victory.”¹¹¹ For many, the surprise attack was truly shocking. How could such a thing happen? With the war finally making its way to America's doorstep, many were now in favor of entering the war. This was not always the case. Isolationism was at the heart of American foreign policy after the end of WWI. So even though public opinion had shifted, the isolationists did not vanish. They protested the war and made their voices heard. Chief amongst them were revisionists like Charles A. Beard, Harry Elmer Barnes, and John T. Flynn. For this select group their suspicions were confirmed. The President had finally gotten what he wanted, a back door to enter the war.

The Root of Revisionist Discontent:

The roots of the isolationist movement sprung up after WWI when Americans grew disillusioned with how the U.S entered the war. At the time, President Wilson used his power to craft a relentless propaganda campaign while punishing dissenting voices. Wilson also assumed an array of expansive powers like controlling newspapers and railroads. He painted the war as a crusade “to make the world safe for democracy.”¹¹² However, years later a congressional committee (The Nye Commission) would reveal that the U.S entry into WWI was orchestrated by wealthy bankers and arms

¹¹¹ Roosevelt, Franklin D. Speech by Franklin D. Roosevelt, New York Transcript. 1941. Pdf. <https://www.loc.gov/item/afccal000483/>.

¹¹² Kathryn S. Olmstead, *Real Enemies: Conspiracy Theories and American Democracy, World War 1 to 9/11*, 48

manufacturers for profit.¹¹³ As a result, the Neutrality Act was passed in Congress, ensuring that the United States would not be entangled in foreign conflict.

With these findings fresh in the minds of many Americans, it is not surprising that revisionists became increasingly skeptical of Roosevelt when he started making nods toward challenging America's neutrality. Part of the suspicion was rooted in Roosevelt's New Deal reforms that expanded the role of the federal government. Some revisionists were opposed to the New Deal while others were not. Yet they all shared this fear of Roosevelt using his power for some nefarious purpose.¹¹⁴ A large part of this mistrust was rooted in Roosevelt's waning stance on the war. Before the 1940 election, Roosevelt told Americans, "I have said this before, but I shall say it again and again and again, your boys are not going to be sent into a foreign war."¹¹⁵ By the Pearl Harbor attack, Roosevelt had firmly allied himself with Churchill against the axis powers.

In September 1940, Franklin brokered a deal between the U.S and The United Kingdom to send U.S destroyers in exchange for land rights to British possessions. The Destroyers for Bases Deal was passed by executive order which angered many isolationist and anti-war folks in the U.S. In their view, Roosevelt was not only unilaterally making a decision that Congress had a say in, but he was also violating the Neutrality Act. By 1941, Roosevelt signed the Lend Lease bill and by November, most of the provisions of the Neutrality Act were repealed. Combined with secret negotiations Roosevelt was having with Britain and the West Indies concerning Japanese expansion in the Pacific, revisionists quickly concluded that Roosevelt was a dishonest man whose

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ For more information please read, Kenneth O'Reilly, *A New Deal for the FBI: The Roosevelt Administration, Crime Control, and National Security*

¹¹⁵ Olmstead, *Real Enemies*, 49.

lust for power endangered American democracy.¹¹⁶ However, Roosevelt was still popular, and Americans at large supported the war after Pearl Harbor. As a result, the revisionist would not come out in full force until after the WWII ended to voice their opinions. To them, “Roosevelt provoked the Japanese into attacking Pearl Harbor, deliberately failed to warn the Hawaiian commanders that the raid was coming and was relieved and even pleased when it occurred.”¹¹⁷ Beard never went so far as saying that Roosevelt planned the attack and knew it would happen before hand, but Barnes certainly did. They started building their case as soon as Roosevelt set up a commission to investigate the attack.

Fallout from the Roberts Commission

Shortly after the attack, Roosevelt appointed a commission to investigate the Pearl Harbor attack. Headed by Justice Owen Roberts, the Robert Commission found the commanders of Pearl Harbor, Admiral Husband Kimmel and General Walter Short guilty of “dereliction of duty.”¹¹⁸ Not only were the commanders relieved of command but no court martials were held for the duration of the war. In an effort to reign in speculation, Roosevelt made it worse. First, the decision drove Admiral Kimmel and General Short into the hands of the revisionists largely because the verdict denied them a chance to tell their side of the story. Thus, Barnes and the other revisionists played up this idea that the two were being treated unfairly in their works.¹¹⁹ Secondly, to the revisionists, it was a convenient scapegoat propped up by Roosevelt to hide the real

¹¹⁶ Olmstead, *Real Enemies*, 46.

¹¹⁷ Ibid

¹¹⁸ White S. William, *Text of the Report of the Roberts Commission on the Facts of the Japanese Attack on Pearl Harbor*

¹¹⁹ Martin V. Melosi, *The Triumph of Revisionism: The Pearl Harbor Controversy, 1941-1982*, 92.

truth. For Roosevelt, fighting the war was his primary objective and opening up the issue to partisan debate would undermine that.¹²⁰ So it was in his own interest and by extension the U.S forces to have a quick investigation that did not delve deep into the matter. The revisionists were right to question the findings but, in their effort, to prove their own theories right they completely missed the point. Roosevelt was not scapegoating the two commanders to obfuscate his role in “maneuvering” the U.S into the war but to prevent leaks of wartime secrets that could very well undermine the war effort and to a certain extent Roosevelt’s credibility on the world stage.

The Magic Codes

Well before the war, the U.S had cracked the Japanese diplomatic cipher machine condemned PURPLE ¹²¹ The decrypted messages were codenamed MAGIC. In effect, the U.S had been deciphering messages sent between Japanese diplomats. Broadcasting this to the Japanese would prompt a change to the code that would potentially frustrate decoding efforts. This was not a theoretical assumption because it happened with the German code. What was even more explosive however, according to Budiansky was that “It was one thing to acknowledge that we had been spying on the Germans and the Japanese, quite another that we had been spying on the French, the Russians, and the Mexicans and other Latin American countries.”¹²² If that got out, it would create an even larger controversy for Roosevelt. Like many Presidents after him, Roosevelt found himself in a position where revealing the whole truth meant exposing secrets that were unrelated to the conspiracy theories but put his position and his aims in jeopardy.

¹²⁰ Olmstead, *Real Enemies*,

¹²¹ Stephen Budiansky, *Closing the Book on Pearl Harbor*, 119

¹²² Budiansky, *Closing the Book*, 120

However, even when congressional hearings were held that combed through the MAGIC decrypts, the revisionist still found ways to connect them to their theory.

The final congressional hearing on Pearl Harbor concluded in 1946 and dealt extensively with MAGIC. Both General Kimmel and Commander Short argued, among other things in their testimony, that they were wrongfully deprived of information found in the MAGIC decrypts.¹²³ They pointed to several intercepted Japanese dispatches, among them Telegram No. 83:

Strictly secret.

Henceforth, we would like to have you make reports concerning vessels along the following lines insofar as possible:

1. The waters (of Pearl Harbor) are to be divided roughly into five subareas.(We have no objections to your abbreviating as much as you like.)

Area A. Waters between Ford Island and the Arsenal.

Area B. Waters adjacent to the Island south and west of Ford Island. (This area is on the opposite side of the Island from Area A.)

Area C. East Loch.

Area D, Middle Loch.

Area E. West Loch and the communication water routes.

2. With regard to warships and aircraft carriers, we would like to have reports on those at anchor (these are not so important) tied up at wharves, buoys, and in docks. (Designate types and classes briefly. If possible, we would like to have you

¹²³ U.S Congress, Joint Committee on the Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack. *Report of the Joint Committee on the Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack*. 79th Cong., 2d sess. Washington, D.C.:U.S Government Printing Office, 1946, 182.

make mention of the fact when there are two or more vessels alongside the same wharf.)¹²⁴

This dispatch came to be known as “the bomb plot message” because to Kimmel and Short it was obvious this message was asking for the ships to be grouped into a grid so that they could be bombed. John T. Flynn on the other hand argued in an article that intercepted messages like Telegram No.83 were proof, “that our government was not taken by surprise, as it pretended as an excuse for the incredible destruction at Oahu Island on Dec. 7, 1941.”¹²⁵ Flynn went on to say, “One thing that has been proved is that the president and his ranking military and naval leaders had this information in advance.”¹²⁶

However, on closer inspection, it’s clear that the Hawaiian commanders were reading into the message with hindsight. Testimony from higher ups like Admiral Stark, Chief of Naval Operations at the time revealed that no one attributed the message with any connotations of a bomb plot.

“...I can only say that it went through our people, it went through the Army, who were likewise vitally interested in the defense of Pearl Harbor, and I do not recollect anyone having pointed it out. There was literally a mass of material coming in. We knew the Japanese appetite was almost insatiable for detail in all respects. The dispatch might have been put down as just another example of their great attention to detail.”¹²⁷

¹²⁴U.S Congress, 182

¹²⁵ John T. Flynn, “Disaster Blamed on Massing Fleet,” *Detroit Evening Times*, November 17, 1941, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88063294/1945-11-17/ed-1/seq-2/>

¹²⁶ Flynn, “Disaster Blamed,”

¹²⁷ U. S. Congress, 185.

Besides testimony, the message at the time was translated and classified as an “interesting message” rather than “especially important or urgent messages.”¹²⁸ This further corroborates the idea that to everyone at the time, the message was indicative of extensive intelligence gathering of the Japanese and nothing more. If Telegram No.83 can be interpreted as a bomb plot retroactively, then so can dozens of similar messages. In short, all the other messages that Kimmel and Short pointed to as proof of Pearl Harbor being the likely place of attack are just as vague as Telegram No.83.¹²⁹ The report only goes as far as saying that, “since they indicated a particular interest in the Pacific Fleet's base this intelligence should have been appreciated and supplied the commander in chief of the Pacific Fleet and the commanding general of the Hawaiian Department for their assistance, along with other information and intelligence available to them, in making their estimate of the situation.”

Similarly, other forms of evidence, like the Hull Note were misconstrued by the revisionists to promote their narrative. In his book, Beard specifically put emphasis on the final proposal presented to the Emperor of Japan before the attack on Pearl Harbor called the Hull Note (November 26, 1941). The note was the culmination of months of fruitless diplomatic negotiations and repeated previous demands by the Americans for the Japanese to withdraw from China and French Indo China among other points.¹³⁰ Beard argued that this was an ultimatum which not only meant war, but proof that the U.S wanted the Japanese to attack first.¹³¹ However, while Tokyo interpreted it as an

¹²⁸ U. S. Congress, 183.

¹²⁹ U. S. Congress ,232.

¹³⁰ “Hull Note Proposal,” <http://www.ibiblio.org/pha/timeline/411126bpw.html>.

¹³¹ Charles A. Beard, *Roosevelt, and the Coming of the War 1941*, 574-75

ultimatum, that was only because it became convenient at that moment to see it that way.¹³² According to historian Gordon Prange, at the same time that Hull was speaking with the Japanese ambassadors (and subsequently delivered the Hull Note), the Japanese forces were already refueling en route to Pearl Harbor.¹³³ Also, a look at the Japanese plans after the fact show that the attack was imminent. It was only a matter of when it would occur.¹³⁴

A Theory Without Basis

The Revisionists went to great lengths to use any kind of evidence to prove Roosevelt was guilty of a nefarious coverup that obfuscated his role in provoking the Japanese to attack Pearl Harbor. As with most conspiracy theories, it all falls apart on the conceptual level. The revisionists relied heavily on government documents while claiming there was a coverup. The issue here is that they could not decide whether Roosevelt was a mastermind behind the scenes or an extremely incompetent manipulator of events. If Roosevelt really were some kind of mastermind, then how could he have been so careless as to leave secret documents and decrypts that would trace back to him? If he was incompetent, how did he manage to conduct the conspiracy? This addresses the more extreme version of the theory championed by Barnes. But even Beards' version raises far more questions than answers. "The Roosevelt-as-villain thesis tacitly assumed that if Pearl Harbor had not occurred, the United States would not have entered the war."¹³⁵ Yet even if the attack were called off,

¹³² Gordon Prange, *At Dawn We Slept : the Untold Story of Pearl Harbor*, 97

¹³³ Prange, *At Dawn We Slept*, 398

¹³⁴ Donald Goldstein & Katherine Dillion, *The Pearl Harbor Papers: Inside The Japanese Plans*, 93-103

¹³⁵ Prange, *At Dawn We Slept*, 843

the same antagonism between Japan and the U.S would still have existed. Japan would have continued its expansion into Southeast Asia and the Pacific and the U.S would have continued to stay committed to China and its other international obligations.¹³⁶ By 1941, it is reasonable to argue that conflict between Japan and the U.S was inevitable.

Conclusion

After eight separate hearings, one would think that there was nothing more to be said about Pearl Harbor. Harry Elmer Barnes had other ideas. He continued to be a standard bearer of the revisionist cause as it faded from the mainstream. Immediately after Pearl Harbor, “97% of Americans said they approved of Congress formally declaring war on Japan. Just 2% disapproved.”¹³⁷ Even after the attack, “84% of Americans agreed with the proposition that President Franklin D. Roosevelt “did everything he should have to prevent war with Japan.”¹³⁸ Two things breathed life into revisionism again, non-revisionist historians and the Vietnam War. Both are indicative of two traits that help conspiracy theories thrive, resistance to debunking and waning trust in authority.

Martin Melosi argues that historians like him have inadvertently perpetuated the revisionists theories by constantly debunking them long after they were relevant. By constantly examining Pearl Harbor through the lens of culpability, historians have put “much emphasis on personal incrimination, on the central question of responsibility...”¹³⁹ Debunking does not dissuade conspiracy theorist because any piece of evidence you point to will either be dismissed or twisted to fit the conspiracy

¹³⁶ Prange *At Dawn We Slept*, 844

¹³⁷ Lydia Saad, “Gallup Vault: A Country Unified After Pearl Harbor,” Gallup, December 5, 2016, <https://news.gallup.com/vault/199049/gallup-vault-country-unified-pearl-harbor.aspx>.

¹³⁸ Saad, “Gallup Vault,”

¹³⁹ Melosi, *The Triumph of Revisionism*, 102.

narrative. What is far more damaging is that looking at historical events solely to figure out who is responsible cedes the framing of any historical event to conspiracy theories. This is true of events like the assassination of JFK. Even today, the question of whether Lee Harvey Oswald actually assassinated JFK is hotly contested even though thousands of books, films and TV shows have grappled with it. It takes away from other lines of inquiry that could enliven the study of such complex events. On the other hand, the Vietnam War created a lot of distrust for the government which contributed to a revival in Pearl Harbor Revisionism. It is easy to see how appealing the revisionist arguments about Pearl Harbor would have been for Americans who believed that the U.S had no business in Vietnam.

Today, conspiracy theories play a key role in American politics. Every major event from Pearl Harbor to 9/11 is accompanied by some conspiracy theory that purports to explain what really happened. Pearl Harbor was a watershed moment in conspiracy theories about the “deep state.” These anti-government conspiracies harness mistrust, fear, and paranoia to explain complex events. Often times, government officials make the problem worse by cracking down on opposing voices and not being transparent. As distrust for the government has increased, so have the conspiracy theories become more nonsensical. However, the most dangerous development has actually been the way Politicians have harnessed conspiracy thinking to further their political agenda. There is probably no better example of this than in the early 2000s when the Bush administration linked Iraq with 9/11, a conspiracy theory that would eventually lead to the invasion of Iraq. Now more than ever, the truth is ever changing and understanding how conspiracy theories take shape and influence popular

perception of events is crucial. Everyone is susceptible to conspiratorial thinking, and anyone can wield conspiracy theories to push their agenda forward.

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Equality Through the Diamond

By: Lexi Hazzard

On May 30th, 1943, the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League was set to begin. The South Bend Blue Sox of South Bend, Indiana wearing blue fitted jerseys with a blue flowy skirt took the field in their hometown on Bendix Field: Against the Rockford Peaches wearing matching uniforms, but represented in the color pink, from Rockford, Illinois. A little over 160 miles away, the Kenosha Comets were taking on the Racine Belles on their home field of Kenosha's Lake Front Stadium. As these games began, life was brought back into the United States citizens. World War 2 had taken the faiths, the power, and the happiness away from millions of people, but with one league controlled by women, it had brought hope back to the United States. Players, fans, and coaches came from all over the North American continent, to make the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League something more than an idea. The All-American Girls Professional Baseball League didn't only bring the ideas of hope back to the United States, but it brought the ideas of equality to the baseball diamond.

On December 7th, 1941 at approximately 7:55am, Pearl Harbor was under attack. "The planes had big red balls painted on the sides. They dropped low over Ford Island, their aviators firing, spewing their vitriolic bombs with precision at the men, ships, and everything below. They belonged to the Japanese Imperial forces"¹⁴⁰. The Japanese had fired on Wheeler Army Airfield, Ford Island, and Hickam Air Force Base on the island of Hawaii. Approximately an hour and fifteen minutes later, the smoke had risen, the damage was done, and the United States was powerless. The attack had left 2,008 sailors, 218 soldiers and airmen, 109 marines, 68

citizens, and 100 Japanese individuals scattered on destroyed United States territory.¹⁴¹

Although, the lives of approximately 2,503 US Americans and Japanese Americans were destroyed, the amount of damaged to Military assets, vehicles, and weapons added to the destruction. Included in this destruction were five battleships, five destroyers, three light cruisers, two seaplane tenders, two repair ships, and a destroyer tender. Adding on to that was 188 Military planes were also destroyed or damaged.¹⁴² This destruction knocked the United States down: However, it wasn't long until President Franklin D Roosevelt had declared war on the Japanese. On December 8th, 1941, newspapers read "U.S. DECLARES WAR"¹⁴³.

As the United States declared war on the Japanese, the buildup of power was next in line. As 2,335 American soldiers, airmen, marines, and sailors were laid to rest, the development of the draft had taken over. Single men with no dependents between the ages of 18 and 45, were the first group of men to be drafted; However, with a limited number of single men in the United States, married men were next to go. As the draft went on, approximately 10 million men were drafted and approximately 6 million men had volunteered between the years of 1940 and 1941. Of these 16 million men, approximately 500 of them were professional baseball players. One of these players included Hugh "Losing Pitcher" Mulcahy who earned his name losing 76 out of 100 games for the Philadelphia Phillies. Even though Mulcahy was known for his bad luck, he had made the statement "My losing streak is over for the duration ... I'm on a winning team now"¹⁴⁴. "Losing Pitcher's" comment gave back the ideas of patriotism and hope within the United States, but the ideas of faith were still missing.

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Just when men in the homeland switched their working uniforms to military uniforms, women switched their gowns to working garments. Women started working in the factories, offices, inside vehicles, hospitals, as police officers, and in fire stations. However, they also started taking over several jobs within the Military forces. “Women in uniform took office and clerical jobs in the armed forces in order to free men to fight. They also drove trucks, repaired airplanes, worked as laboratory technicians, rigged parachutes, served as radio operators, analyzed photographs, flew military aircraft across the country, test-flew newly repaired planes, and even trained anti-aircraft artillery gunners by acting as flying targets” ¹⁴⁵. Even though, women had primarily taken over the work force in the United States, they had also taken over the job of entertainment.

As professional baseball players, fans, coaches, and franchise owners became part of the World War 2 draft, the ideas of professional baseball development had fallen into the dirt they used to walk on. It started with revenues dropping, then baseball fields having limited participation, and then the life of professional baseball was abandoned. The franchise owner Philp K. Wrigley, of the Chicago Cubs saw the problems, but hoping it wasn’t too late for the game he loved. Wrigley had gotten together a committee of team managers, team presidents, and team attorneys to develop a solution for the problem at hand. This committee included Branch Rickey the Brooklyn Dodgers President, Paul V Harper the Chicago Cubs attorney, and Ken Sells the assistant general manager of the Chicago Cubs ¹⁴⁶. The committee had created the idea of the All-American Girls Baseball League, also known as AAGBBL. This league was going to be a professional baseball league operated by the only citizens left after the draft, the

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women. The abundance number of women willing to play professional baseball gave the committee a starting point to start the league, but finding coaches to run these teams was going to be the biggest challenge the committee would have to face.

Finding women in the United States to play professional baseball was the easy part for the AAGBBL committee, but finding men to coach them was going to be much harder. In 1943 when another 3.5 million men were included in the draft, finding a male coach for each team in the AAGBBL was going to be difficult. However, they managed to find four individuals willing to coach: These coaches consisted of Johnny Gottselig a former hockey player and manager, Bert Niehoff, Josh Billing, and Eddie Stumpf who were all former Major League Baseball players ¹⁴⁷. As the coaches were set, players were next. Each of these coaches, as well as several other men involved in the committee, started looking for players that fit the need of the All-American girl baseball player. The All-American girl baseball player was described to be a beautiful woman, limited to no flaws, and could play the game as well or better than men. As this description was put in the minds of these coaches, they judged players by not only their game, but their looks as well. This idea of the All-American girl baseball player had brought in the approximately 280 women to the first ever All-American Girl Baseball League tryouts on Chicago.

Although, 280 women had shown up, there were only four teams that needed approximately 15 players, which put a limit of 60 players for the league ¹⁴⁸. Although the league had a limited number of players at its disposal, one individual met the mark of the All-American girl baseball player. Jane Janette Jacobs had traveled from Cuyahoga Falls, Ohio to Chicago for the chance of a lifetime to try out for the All-American Girls Baseball League. She stood on the

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mound with a batter in front of her and eight other players behind her. The sun had shined beautifully that day. She released the ball with ease and let it fly through the air. It then ripped through the air with a whistle after it cracked from the bat. It was a dream come true. Although the coaches watched these women battle for a spot, they didn't care to be there. These coaches wanted the game of baseball to stay a game for men: But in 1943, it was changing into a game for women. As day one of practice came to an end, players were sent back home with the anxiety building up. As the week went by, Mrs. Jacobs got the call. She made the team. What team, it was unknown. It was later discovered she made Racine Belles. As the team was determined for Jane, a contract was next to be signed. As the contract was signed, it was understood that the game of baseball came behind the ideas of beauty and perfection. The contract also included the mandating of attendance at Charm School. There was no choice, if you wanted to play, you did what you were told ¹⁴⁹.

Just like Jane Jacobs, all players were forced to sign the same contract that focused on the ideas of perfection and beauty over the game of baseball. This idea started with the use of beauty kits. Beauty kits supplied girls with “cleansing cream, lipstick, rough medium, cream deodorant, mild astringent, face powder for brunettes, hand lotion, and hair remover” ¹⁵⁰. These kits had become a priority to women within the league: They were to be brought everywhere with them, kept fully stock with the beauty equipment needed, and used daily. Charm school had been a way for the committee to control the looks and beauty of the players in the league. The charm schools were attended by players and ran by wealthy and beautiful woman, who taught the players beauty routines that focused on their teeth, eyes, mouth, hair, hands, face, and body, while also

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focusing on the ideas of perfect etiquette on and off the field. The last focus was on the clothes they wore. Charm School was the focus of beauty over the mind. As charm school became common throughout the league, the rules of conduct focused on the same beauty, etiquette, and clothing topics learned within the school. One of the rules that was obeyed by players around the league was that no one was allowed “boyish bobs”, only “well groomed” long hair was accepted. Although, boyish bobs weren’t the only issue that revolved around players beauty. All players had to wear lipstick before, during, and after play ¹⁵¹. If a player chooses to disobey the rules of conduct, their contract would be void for the season. The All-American Girl Baseball League had started with the rules of beauty combined with traditional baseball rules which lead to the development of the new rules of play for women.

In 1943, the AAGBBL had started with fields, equipment, and uniforms that were much different than the ones used by male professional baseball players. Women had the opportunity to play on a diamond that was much bigger than a softball field. This diamond measured 65 feet in between bases and 40 feet between the pitching mound and the Homeplate. On a man professional baseball field, it stretched to a 90-foot measurement between bases and 60 feet from the home plate to the pitching mound. Adding to that, women’s equipment started with a 12-inch ball at the beginning of the 1943 season, which was meant to be pitched underhand. However, as the season went on the size of the ball decreased, to 11 and a half inches ball ¹⁵². As it is looked at, the size of the field and equipment, doesn’t compare to the unfair treatment women got when it came to uniforms. The All-American Girls Professional League players were forced to wear skirts, fitted jerseys, long socks, hats, and cleat. Compared to the men, who were pants and loose

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fitted jerseys, created women into the ideas of sexual objects. As the season went on the ideas of the field, equipment, and uniforms changed for the AAGPBL, so the ideas equality spread throughout the diamond.

As the years went on, the AAGBL developed into something inspirational and successful. By 1945, the war had ended, bringing back survivors who once dominated the sport. It could have been the end of a league and a devastating loss for woman empowerment. The opposite had happened. The league continued and thrived with soldiers being back. From 1945 to 1948, the All-American Girls Baseball League was at the peak of their success. Starting with their name change. The All-American Girls Baseball League had turned into the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League. This name change had gave equality to the name of professional baseball, whether it was women or men. This name has also brought in not only more fans, but has brought in more players. There weren't four teams anymore that represented the AAGPBL. Ten teams now operated within the league. These teams consisted of the original four teams of the Kenosha Comets, Racine Belles, Rockford Peaches, and the South Bend Blue Sox. The league also added the teams of the Chicago Colleens, Fort Wayne Daises, Grand Rapid Chicks, Muskegon Lassies, Peoria Redwings, and the Springfield Sallies. Although, these teams were developed and placed into the AAGPBL, they were also placed in specific divisions. They were split up into the East Division and the West Division. The Eastern Division included the Chicago Colleens, Fort Wayne Daises, Grand Rapid Chicks, Muskegon Lassies, and South Bend Blue Sox. While the Western Division included the Kenosha Comets, Peoria Redwings, Racine Belles, Rockford Peaches, and Springfield Sallies.

In the 1948 season, the leagues success had taken over the sports, but slowly started to collapse. Between the seasons of 1950 and 1954, teams were running out of money, they were

losing fans, and players even stopped coming to tryouts. The league was falling apart. At the end of the 1950 season, the only teams that were left playing were the Fort Wayne Daisies, Grand Rapids Chicks, Kenosha Comets, Peoria Redwings, Rockford Peaches, and the South Bend Blue Sox. Televising and the lack of promotions for their league caused the collapse. Men's Major League Baseball was able to be televised, bringing in more revenue, but no one wanted to watch the women play a game that was ruled by men. By the end of the 1945 season, the collapse was so real, there were no teams left, the All-American Girls Professional Baseball had become a thing of the past. Former players went back to the life they once lived inside their homes, with their families, and with their husbands bringing home the income.

The AAGPBL had collapsed, but the hope of the game didn't. In 1955 through 1956, the All-Star games began. Women from the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League got together behind a coach and played their game around the United States. It allowed the idea of women's baseball to live on just for a little while longer. Jeanie Lesko a pitcher for the Grand Rapids Chicks from 1953 to 1954, got the opportunity to continue playing in the All-Star Games¹⁵³. These games weren't played on softball fields or even older fields. They were played on professional baseball fields like Yankee Stadium. The idea of the All-Star games had kept the ideas of women playing professional baseball alive a little bit longer before it became another moment in sports history.

As the years went on, the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League was forgotten. Until one day, recognition showed the players the spotlight. In 1988, the league became part of the Baseball Hall of Fame in Cooperstown, New York, as well as the Canadian Baseball Hall of Fame in Ontario, Canada. The introduction of the new exhibit for the AAGPBL,

also came with the induction of several women into the baseball hall of fame. One of these women included the famous Dorothy “Dottie” Ferguson. Dottie was inducted into the Canadian Baseball Hall of Fame in 1998 ¹⁵⁴. Even though Dottie was one of the few AAGPBL players that were inducted into the hall of fame, the development of the league still stands in an exhibit in the Baseball Hall of Fame and several museums. The recognition continued in 1992 when a film came out expressing the lives of the players in the AAGPBL. This film was known as “A League of Their Own.”

Throughout the years of 1943 and 1954, women citizens in the United States, Canada, and Cuba had ruled the game of baseball in an inspiring league known as the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League. However, the idea of the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League, wasn’t created because of the power and decision making of women, but by a tragedy that consumed the world on September 1st, 1939. September 1st, 1939 was the beginning of World War 2: A time in history that controlled the faith of millions of men and women around the world. As the war took millions of United States male citizens away from their homes and families, the development of professional sports had slowly become a thing of the past. As professional sports started to fail, the idea of escape for citizens left at home started to fall as well. However, the development of the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League changed that. This league had become not only an escape to American citizens, but it had also become a developmental change to the ideas of equality on the baseball diamond.

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BLUSH TO BOOTSTRAPS: WHERE AMERICAN MULTI-LEVEL MARKETING COMPANIES AND WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT MEET IN THE 1980S

By Kirstin VanRenselaar

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Oversaturated and hazy, the video begins with a slow zoom on a marquee that reads “What the world needs now is Mary Kay,” and so begins a 16-minute recruitment tool disguised as a love letter to the Mary Kay cosmetics company.¹⁵⁵ The video follows a young white woman who recently lost her job and is worried about taking care of her children. She attends a Mary Kay party and is enchanted by the Mary Kay consultant's confidence and style. She decides to become a consultant herself and quickly rises to the position of Regional Officer. She gives a speech, to a group of perfectly made-up white women, about finally finding someone who supports her dreams and believes in her, Mary Kay. She has found fulfillment and purpose and anyone watching the video can too if they only sign up to sell Mary Kay products. The final scene is of the woman looking at the newly crowned sales queen, surrounded by glitz and glam, determined to be like her next year. She has dreams and hopes because of Mary Kay, and more importantly, she has a community. The video also notes that to be successful as a consultant she must recruit other women to be consultants under her. This creates what is called multi-level marketing. Today people refer to companies like this as MLMs or sometimes pyramid schemes, but in the 1980's (when they boomed in popularity) they were commonly called direct selling companies.

¹⁵⁵ “Mary Kay - All Your Tomorrows (1980).” Accessed February 24, 2022.
https://texasarchive.org/2013_00629.

Like the Mary Kay video, many of these companies, such as Avon, Amway, and Tupperware, actively targeted women by promising they would find empowerment by working for their company. They devoted many resources to painting their strategy with the rosiest tint knowing they needed to distract from what they were not saying ‘some of you will get left behind.’ In the 1980s, multi-level marketing companies targeted women by promising empowerment through economic freedom and by creating an image of autonomy, but ultimately these promises served to grow the companies more than they benefited most women. To understand how these companies impacted women’s empowerment it is important to understand why they seemed to thrive in the 1980s.

Neoliberalism and religion in the 1980’s portrayed the message that financial success was the mark of a true, moral American, and subsequently acted as motivators for women to seek work. Ronald Reagan’s presidency signaled the rise of conservative politics that argued for tax cuts and less governmental regulation on corporations. In doing so, the United States saw a sharp rise in inflation, making financial success more vital to the average household. Conservatives were pushing against the “New Deal State” or the “Welfare State,” that had been created by Franklin D. Roosevelt during the Great Depression and inflated since Lyndon B. Johnson, because they generally cause taxes to rise which lowers profit. In addition to business conservatives, Christians also tended to resent socialist programs because they viewed them as the first step to communism.¹⁵⁶ As neoliberal policies were enacted in the government, the evangelical church began to focus heavily on financial success as a reward for righteousness. This prosperity doctrine, coupled with the popularity of televangelism, meant that evangelicals

¹⁵⁶ Davor Mondom, “Compassionate Capitalism: Amway and the Role of Small-Business Conservatives in the New Right,” *Modern American History* 1, no. 3 (November 2018): 344.

influenced the view Americans had on money. Some direct selling companies took advantage of the evangelical movement and used God as a tool for their business.¹⁵⁷ The cultural tide was shifting to emphasize corporate success as a moral and patriotic measure. The economic culture was only one point of pressure that women felt in the 1980s.

Women of the 1980s faced a significant amount of pressure from the societal expectations for them. The counterculture of the Vietnam war seemed to challenge every aspect of American culture: the draft, monogamy, and gender roles. With rising conservatism came a reversal of counterculture values. This post-feminist society was encouraging women to “have it all,” a job and husband and a family. Women began to buy into the idea that they had the power to make capitalism work for them. Post-feminism, combined with neoliberalism, created a set of expectations for what an image of the working woman was. A woman needed to look professional but still feminine in the workplace, have perfect children, happy husbands, and immaculate houses. Women in the 80s were experiencing a great deal of pressure that made them ideal targets for recruitment, but what made the idea of joining a direct sales company specifically attractive?

Companies marketed themselves as a friend who understood everything that was weighing on a potential consultant. Women were put into direct conflict between what they were told were their household responsibilities and what they were told were their societal responsibilities. On one hand, they wanted to embrace the power of the working woman and on the other, they were still deeply attached to their family obligations.

¹⁵⁷ Sullivan, Katie Rose, and Helen Delaney. “A Femininity That ‘Giveth and Taketh Away’: The Prosperity Gospel and Postfeminism in the Neoliberal Economy.” *Human Relations* 70, no. 7 (July 2017): 836–59. <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0018726716676322>

Inflation had caused the price of childcare to rise to the point that it was often more financially prudent for a mother to stay home and watch the children. This meant that women had to deal with the psychological fallout of having their worth tied to working but needing to stay home.¹⁵⁸ They were stretched thin, looking for ways to have the best of both worlds. In addition to gendered tensions, these companies were aware of the pressure race placed on women of color. Mary Kay ran concurrent advertising campaigns in *Better Homes and Gardens* and in *Essence* where everything in the two magazine advertisements was identical except for the model that they used. For the *Better Home and Gardens* magazine, the model was White and in *Essence*, the model was Black.¹⁵⁹ Mary Kay was using a Black model, in a magazine targeted toward Black women, to make it seem like the company could provide a community for women of color too. For some, the culture of the company reflected the advertisement. Avon was named one of the best companies for African American women in 1986, and they also supported many foundations that aimed to help Black women.¹⁶⁰ Companies worked hard to signal to as many women as possible that they understood and that they wanted to help every woman realize her potential. Finally, the companies appealed to women by giving them an image of freedom from the corporate workforce. Corporate America was a toxic environment for most women because they were expected to work just like men,

¹⁵⁸ Walmsley, Ann. "Can a Working Mother Afford to Stay Home?: Sometimes, the High Cost of Child Care and the Frazzled Life-Style of the Working Mother Just Don't Make Sense--or Add up to Money in the Bank. Here's What the Experts--and Two Young Moms--Advise." Chatelaine. Toronto, Canada: St. Joseph Communications, November 1989.

<https://www.proquest.com/wma/docview/1715455703/abstract/9D060F64F88F4D0CPQ/5>

¹⁵⁹ *Essence*. "Advertisement: THAT'S THE BEAUTY OF MARY KAY." New York, United States: Essence Communications, Inc., March 1981, *Better Homes and Gardens*. "Advertisement: MARY KAY." Des Moines, United States: Meredith Corporation, October 1980..

¹⁶⁰ Jessica Kay Burch. "'Soap and Hope': Direct Sales and the Culture of Work and Capitalism in Postwar America." Graduate School of Vanderbilt University, 2015.

224,<https://ir.vanderbilt.edu/bitstream/handle/1803/15447/BURCH.pdf?sequence=1>.

but society still expected them to run the household and blamed them when something at home went wrong.¹⁶¹ Recruitment by multi-level marketing companies, however, was not limited to what women could avoid by becoming a consultant, it also focused on what women could gain.

Mary Kay highlighted consultant success stories as evidence for their claim that any woman could achieve freedom and empowerment in the business. Mary Kay has a museum that displays artifacts from the life of the company. This includes the mink coats and tiaras that the highest-grossing consultants earned, and the story of how the pink Cadillac became the image of success within the company.¹⁶² Their idea is that pink Cadillacs, diamonds, pearls, and all the trappings of elite society would attract the women who wanted more. These lavish gifts were often bestowed on the highest-earning consultants at the annual Mary Kay Ball. The ball was an opulent event with flashy sets, crystal chandeliers, and a high production value. When women won awards for their sales or recruitment performance, their husbands often gave speeches about them. The speeches focused on what great mothers and wives these women were on top of being successful in the company, they were marketing their wives as perfect women.¹⁶³ This was the ultimate example of women having it all. They made choices that led them to their goals, and they felt like they belonged to something, a community. This was an

¹⁶¹ Geneva Overholser, "Opinion | THE EDITORIAL NOTEBOOK; Working Women's Unworkable World," *The New York Times*, March 28, 1987, sec. Opinion, accessed March 31, 2022, <https://www.nytimes.com/1987/03/28/opinion/the-editorial-notebook-working-women-s-unworkable-world.html>.

¹⁶² "Mary Kay Museum: Museum Highlights 1980's." Accessed February 24, 2022. http://www.marykaymuseum.com/highlight_1980.aspx.

¹⁶³ Gould, Allan M. "Liberation the Mary Kay Way." Chatelaine. Toronto, Canada: St. Joseph Communications, July 1981.

important way these companies empowered some women, including those who already had corporate jobs.

Direct sales jobs were typically reserved for at-home work, but in the 1980s working women saw them as an opportunity for connection in the corporate world. Avon started to target working women to sell products where they worked.¹⁶⁴ Avon originally did not endorse this method of sales, but it quickly became one of the largest performing markets. By 1985 a New York Times article titled “Direct Selling Leaves Home” described the impact market conditions had on the structure of the companies and stated: “All of the companies agree that they now must gear sales, and recruiting, toward the working woman. Avon estimates that 20 percent of its representatives sell solely in their place of business while Tupperware, a division of Dart & Kraft Inc., which uses a party as its sales method, now trains its representatives to hold rush-hour and lunch-hour parties.”¹⁶⁵ Avon was serving as a tool for women to connect in corporate spaces. In addition to selling at work, it was a trend for upper-east side couples of New York to host product parties for fun, to spend their corporate paycheck while getting together with friends and having dinner or a drink.¹⁶⁶ By marketing consultant positions as a social activity, in addition to a job that can pay the bills and an aspiration to strive for, these companies were able to make themselves intriguing to most women. It was

¹⁶⁴ Farhi, Paul. “DOOR-TO-DOOR SELLING GOES OFFICE-TO-OFFICE.” Washington Post, July 24, 1988. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/business/1988/07/24/door-to-door-selling-goes-office-to-office/ba26b1f5-638b-4a02-99e5-74755bcd5713/>.

¹⁶⁵ The New York Times. “DIRECT SELLING LEAVES HOME,” September 3, 1985, sec. Business. <https://www.nytimes.com/1985/09/03/business/direct-selling-leaves-home.html>

¹⁶⁶ Salmans, Sandra. “HOME PARTIES, WHERE THE SELLING IS EASY.” The New York Times, September 3, 1981, sec. Home & Garden. <https://www.nytimes.com/1981/09/03/garden/home-parties-where-the-selling-is-easy.html>.

extremely important to widen the consultant base, as these companies needed to recruit more and more women to increase profit.

Direct-Selling companies were using a pyramid model of operation in the 1980s.¹⁶⁷ This meant that consultants could sign up under someone and then the consultants get people to sign up under them. The more consultants a woman had under them the more money they could earn. Over time, wealth became concentrated higher in the pyramid. Some women noticed how lucrative recruitment was and began to focus on it rather than selling products. In a 1982 article for *Woman's Day Magazine*, Judith Jobin highlights several women who make money in direct sales, but the top earner is Jeri Haywood who "by concentrating on recruiting other saleswomen...has built her Amway business into a \$4,000-a-month income."¹⁶⁸ This demonstrates that recruitment was an encouraging way to make the most of the consultant position. There is an issue that arises with this style of business: if the market is saturated with consultants, the potential sales spread between all the consultants. This means that as more consultants were introduced into a community, the less potential sales each of them made in their immediate area.

Women were promised a level of financial success if they just worked for it, but the truth is that most direct sellers often had to invest a good amount of money into their venture and would often not see a return on that investment. So, while the prevailing image of these companies was that they were a way for women to gain financial freedom, they often became yet another force of financial strain. The cost of

¹⁶⁷ Farhi, Paul. "IN AVON AND AMWAY, A CULTURE CLASH." Washington Post, May 4, 1989. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/business/1989/05/04/in-avon-and-amway-a-culture-clash/302ccd2c-b9b7-48d6-9885-bd51afbd2f3/>.

¹⁶⁸ Jobin, Judith. "Direct Sales." *Woman's Day*. New York, United States: Hearst Magazine Media, Inc, May 18, 1982.

starting a consultant business with one of these companies varied, but there was always some element of financial risk. Most companies required a starter kit cost of about \$100, and some required that consultants have a good-sized inventory that they had to purchase out of pocket. Additionally, because of the popularity of selling parties consultants could expect about 10 to 15% of their sales to go towards gifts, supplies, and the like. Finally, since consultants had to expand their reach outside of their neighborhood, they could also expect to need a car and all the costs associated.¹⁶⁹ In a 2016 article from *Human Relations*, Katie Rose Sullivan and Helen Delaney explained: “Mirroring neoliberal economic and social conditions, the picture that emanates is that a very lucky few toil their way to an above-average income while the vast majority (i.e., 90%) are unlikely to earn back their initial investment in the products.”¹⁷⁰ Rather than making a stable income, as the recruitment material had suggested, many women struggled to make enough money to make up for their initial investment. This left most female consultants worse off financially and ultimately leads to why the multilevel marketing companies of the 1980s were not empowering to women as a whole.

These companies were not empowering because they valued the illusion of empowerment as a marketing strategy over the true advancement of marginalized women. The nature of capitalism is to seek the widest consumer base possible in order to make the most money. A clear example of this is the way Black women were portrayed in advertising material. In a recruitment ad for Avon, there is one Black

¹⁶⁹ Forrest, Diane. “Part-Time Sales: A Beginner’s Guide: Many Homemakers Earn Money by Part-Time Selling. Diane Forrest Explains How These Companies Operate and How You Can Make a Profit.” Chatelaine. Toronto, Canada: St. Joseph Communications, October 1985.

¹⁷⁰ Sullivan, Katie Rose, and Helen Delaney. “A Femininity That ‘Giveth and Taketh Away’: The Prosperity Gospel and Postfeminism in the Neoliberal Economy.” *Human Relations* 70, no. 7,14, (July 2017): 836–59. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0018726716676322>.

woman in the entire ad, and she has relaxed hair that is styled identically to the white women. She (and all the other women) are thin and are wearing essentially the same outfit.¹⁷¹ This style of Black representation was not exclusive to multi-level marketing companies in the 80s, but it does demonstrate that these companies were more interested in competing in the market than providing empowering alternative examples of womanhood. Additionally, despite that targeted ads and the push to diversify the salesforce “Self-employed women in the 1980s tended to be white; only 7% of women-owned businesses in 1982 were run by women who self-identified as Black or Latina.”¹⁷² Despite all the marketing material that seemed to suggest these companies were a way for all kinds of women to break down societal barriers, they ultimately, predominantly benefited those women who were already privileged. Multi-level marketing companies did not operate in a vacuum, and as such, any discussions of the role they play in the empowerment of women must also look at their stance on gender politics.

Multi-level marketing companies of the 1980s exploited being politically moderate for capital gain, rather than functioning as truly feminist staples of the market. For example, the woman in the recruitment video from Mary Kay titled *All Your Tomorrows*, appeared to be a single mother.¹⁷³ The woman talked about wanting to work and provide for her family. She also talked about having personal aspirations and goals that she felt empowered to follow because of Mary Kay. This language signaled a woman who was coming into self-actualization and wanted to break the chains of female

¹⁷¹ Hagley Digital Archives. “‘Doors’ Recruitment Commercial.” Accessed February 24, 2022. <https://digital.hagley.org/islandora/object/islandora:2547438>.

¹⁷² Jessica Kay Burch. “‘Soap and Hope’: Direct Sales and the Culture of Work and Capitalism in Postwar America.” Graduate School of Vanderbilt University, 2015. 230 <https://ir.vanderbilt.edu/bitstream/handle/1803/15447/BURCH.pdf?sequence=1>.

¹⁷³ “Mary Kay - All Your Tomorrows (1980).”

oppression, but she never came out and said that she was a feminist. Expanding this to other companies, Jessica Kay Burch describes that “The word “feminism” rarely appeared in Avon literature. In order to speak to women of all political stripes, Avon had to negotiate a position somewhere in between gender traditionalists...and avowed feminists...”¹⁷⁴ This demonstrates that companies were creating an image that was marketable to women along the political spectrum. Beyond the image of moderacy these companies upheld oppressive neoliberal feminist ideals.

Neoliberal feminism is inherently oppressive. This oppression comes from the fundamental desire to become the victors of capitalism. Frankie Mastrangelo describes this in his research as such:” Neoliberal feminism promotes capital accumulation by perpetuating inequitable labor and social relations.”¹⁷⁵ When neoliberal feminism is placed in the context of the 1980s a more complete picture of its oppressive nature takes shape. The intersection of conservative politics, evangelicalism, and neoliberal feminist ideas in the 80s meant that women were expected to uphold certain standards of dress and behavior. They needed to be attractive and successful but also submissive.¹⁷⁶ Women had to project perfection and were squeezed by the pressure of living up to that expectation. Many companies encouraged these expectations and built it into their companies. The founder of Mary Kay was outspoken about women receiving the recognition they deserve in the corporate landscape but in the same breath maintained

¹⁷⁴ Jessica Kay Burch, “‘Soap and Hope’: Direct Sales and the Culture of Work and Capitalism in Postwar America.” 224

¹⁷⁵ Mastrangelo, Frankie. “Theorizing #Girlboss Culture: Mediated Neoliberal Feminisms from Influencers to Multi-Level Marketing Schemes.” Theses and Dissertations, January 1, 2021. 19 <https://scholarscompass.vcu.edu/etd/6648>.

¹⁷⁶ Sullivan and Delaney, “A Femininity That ‘Giveth and Taketh Away.’” 7

that women only earned respect if they maintained femininity.¹⁷⁷ True women's empowerment would have provided women with ways to combat these oppressive expectations, but many multi-level marketing companies reinforced neoliberal feminist ideals.

The 1980s were a time of intersecting pressure on women, and they created needs that direct-selling companies promised to fill. These companies promised that any and all women could have it all. They could stay home, work their own hours, and make the money their family needed. For some lucky women, the social atmosphere and lavish rewards gave them a sense of fulfillment and a way to explore their personhood outside of their traditional gender roles, but for most women, these companies were a financial burden that seemed to only tighten the reins of societal pressure. Companies like Amway, Avon, Mary Kay, and Tupperware consistently fell short of their promises and failed to be fully transparent during recruitment, which meant that women were left without the realization of their dreams and without informed consent. Empowerment is a revolutionary act, and ultimately these companies were nothing more than a product of the neoliberal system that benefits from the exploitation of marginalized groups.

¹⁷⁷ Kreydatus, Elizabeth. "Marketing to the 'liberated' Woman: Feminism, Social Change, and Beauty Culture, 1960--2000." Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects, January 1, 2005. <https://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21220/s2-hfej-p605>.

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THE BLACK MEDIA AND VIETNAM

By Shakeem Roberts

For young African American men in the late 1960s could be a tumultuous time. The civil right act had just been passed in 1965 by the government yet black people were still facing discrimination especially young black men on top of that America has been in the Vietnam conflict for a few years and the U.S recently implemented a draft. That would target thousands of black and poor people to go thousands of miles to fight a war for Uncle Sam. The Vietnam war was a brutal conflict that cost hundreds of thousands of people their lives. Many people protested the war in Vietnam not just white America there was a heavy voice from black people that went against the war in Vietnam with a lot of people arguing why should their sons get sent overseas to fight a war for America when they have very little rights in the United States. Many citizens believed that because of the numbers of black people being drafted into the Army, especially with recent desegregation allowing whites and blacks to fight next to each other, black citizens would have more support for U.S. However a lot of black news outlets, celebrities, and civil right leaders showed that they disapproved of the war heavily. Evidence shows that the black media coverage had similar points to the ones in Vietnam that the leader Ho Chi Minh was making about the war. Further evidence can be shown that some black people sympathize with some of the struggles that the Vietnamese people were facing at the hands of the French occupiers and later U.S.

During the Vietnam war, The black media showed their disapproval of the war in many different ways. Some news outlets reported on the war itself and how it affected black troops and the racist experiences that they faced in the military. Others like Julian

Bond had a different fight at home in the U.S. where they were protesting the injustice that they were facing with the civil rights movement. Comic books like *The Sixties* project comics were written to show the struggles of African Americans and some even showed the comparison that black people and Vietnamese people had gone through some of the same experiences. On page six the comic *Vietnam: An Antiwar Comic Book* mentions that in 1860 America was fighting a war to free slaves while at the same time the French government was turning Vietnamese people into slaves.¹⁷⁸ The comic highlighted how black the media saw the Vietnam war and believed that the people there were fighting for the same freedoms that African Americans were fighting for in the U.S. Along with that statistics showed how the war specifically targeted black people to join the war or to get drafted. The leader of North Vietnam Ho Chi Minh also addressed his concerns with African Americans fighting in the Vietnam war as he connects it back to European imperialism and tells how Africans had no rights in their own country or freedoms yet fought a war for the gain of colonial nations ¹⁷⁹. Joe Pateman states in his article that “Ho painted a vivid picture of what it must have felt like for these Black fighters to have been torn from their homelands and thrown onto the frontlines of one of the most vicious conflicts in human history. Although, according to Ho, Black soldiers died in the war to maintain their own subjugation, “the imperialist war” ¹⁸⁰ This goes back directly to how Ho felt about African Americans fighting in Vietnam when Ho is writing about the black race, he mentions the history of African

¹⁷⁸ Julian Bond, Illustrated “Vietnam, Antiwar Comic by T.G. Lewis--Cover Graphic.” www2.iath.virginia.edu/sixties/HTML_docs/Exhibits/Bond/Bond.html

¹⁷⁹ Ho Chi Minh *The Black Race* by New Vietnam Publishing

¹⁸⁰ Joe. Pateman, “Under Imperialism “Black Lives Don’t Matter.” *Critical Asian Studies*, 8 Sept. 2021, pp. 1–8, 10.1080/14672715.2021.1974913.

Americans in the country and the injustice that they are facing yet they are fighting for Americans political and economic gain.

Connecting the struggles African Americans were facing in America to what the Vietnamese people were facing at home Ho Chi Minh looked at black people as brothers. That had a similar history when it comes to White countries dominating and oppressing their people. In Vietnam, the people there were subjugated to being second-class citizens while under French control the Vietnamese people worked for lower wages, didn't hold any political power, and weren't allowed in certain areas where French citizens were. African Americans had some of the same laws implemented on them with segregation. They couldn't go to certain areas where whites were also, they weren't allowed to own certain property and only a few years prior suffered under Jim Crow. One major issue that he writes about in his book the lynching that he witnessed in America, and he goes into great detail about how black people are targeted in his book the black race he writes "The horde lynchers. Is the black, the victim. In a wave of hatred and bestiality, the Lynchers drag the Black to a wood or Public place. They tie him to a tree or public place. They tie him to a tree cover him with inflammable material while waiting for the fire to kindled".¹⁸¹ With this Ho Chi Minh is showing the brutality that black people faced here in America.

When Muhammed Ali refused to go fight in the Vietnam conflict it led to outrage among both black and white people in America many believed that he was draft-dodging; however, Muhammed Ali states that he wouldn't fight for America's economic or political interests one direct quote from him is "Why should they ask me to put on a

¹⁸¹ The Black Race by Ho Chi Minh

uniform and go 10,000 miles from home and drop bombs and bullets on Brown people in Vietnam while so-called Negro people in Louisville are treated like dogs and denied simple human rights?" ¹⁸²Ali was directly protesting against him fighting in a war for America because black people didn't have basic rights. Another example that shows that supports this argument is that "Muhammad Ali puts it, we are all — black and brown and poor — victims of the same system of oppression." ¹⁸³

Some media however thought the inclusion of black people in the military was a sign of progress because desegregation gave them the opportunity to fight alongside white men for the first time as “equals” However, the reality for most black men in the military was that they faced racism and unfair treatment while serving in the war. Many white soldiers outright rejected fighting alongside black men even though black people made up forty percent of the draftees yet were only eleven percent of the population in America. Racism in the military also increased dramatically when the civil rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King was assassinated. One experience a group of soldiers had was that “some white troops at Cam Ranh Base wore Ku Klux Klan robes and paraded around the base, continuing their celebration by cross burning. Da Nang Air Base flew the Confederate flag for three days in response. In addition to being used in response to King's murder, Confederate flags and icons were commonly painted on jeeps, tanks, and helicopters; bathroom graffiti proclaimed that African Americans, not the Vietnamese, were the real enemy. Black troops were discouraged from taking pride in Black identity,

¹⁸² KimGallon. “Who Will Commemorate Them?: The Memorialization of Black Celebrities in the Mainstream Press” by Carrie Teresa | Black Press Research Collective.
blackpressresearchcollective.org/2016/06/30/who-will-

¹⁸³ KimGallon. “Who Will Commemorate Them?: The Memorialization of Black Celebrities in the Mainstream Press” by Carrie Teresa | Black Press Research Collective.
blackpressresearchcollective.org/2016/06/30/who-will-

with one troop ordered to remove a "Black is beautiful" poster from his locker. Black identity publications and speeches were restricted, with some commanders banning recordings of speeches by Malcolm X or the newspaper The Black Panther.”¹⁸⁴ With this, it shows that although desegregation was happening for black people that it wasn't widely accepted especially in the military.

One black soldier told a journalist that the experiences he faces discrimination while serving in the army and that desegregation has done nothing quoting that while in the military he and other black servicemen were being stripped of their cultures. The soldier says “there can be no more than five brothers on the streets in Vietnam or the riots squads will come... the people in the states don't know that they get us over here away from home and they'll misuse us because we can't get back home. When we first got here on the rock (Vietnam) we broke out in our dashiki and after they saw so many brothers in their dashiki they decided to put a stop to it.”¹⁸⁵ the soldiers would later go on to say that the army implemented rules that directly target black people like clothing laws and even appearance. They say they aren't allowed to wear African bracelets and even have afros. One soldier directly says that is “not my culture”¹⁸⁶. He accuses the U.S. army of spreading racist information to Vietnamese citizens and says that he fights to protect America and white capitalists which black people are denied access to. The soldiers said they have been thrown out of Vietnamese stores strictly because of their skin color. This goes back to the points that Ho chi Minh makes in his book the black

¹⁸⁴ Black History in the Vietnam War, a Brief Story.” African American Registry, aaregistry.org/story/black-history-in-the-vietnam-war-a-brief-story/.

¹⁸⁵ Black Marines in Vietnam Discrimination

¹⁸⁶ Black Marines in Vietnam Discrimination

race, black people are able to fight in wars for America but not able to practice their cultures.

One civil rights leader that openly talked about being against the Vietnam war was Martin Luther King. While the mainstream media thought he was a troublemaker and thought he should support the troops, the black media had more support for Dr. King. During one of his speeches, he would address the issues in Vietnam and although he said that the issue there should be resolved peacefully, he points out three important aspects when it came to the war. The first is that the Vietnamese people were facing similar issues that black people were going through. The second is that America was sending people of all races to die side by side in a country that was thousands of miles away for political gain although these same people couldn't live on the same street together. The last point that Dr. King mentions is that this war is a war on poor people. Poor people were dying in Vietnam, and we were sending our poor citizens to die there as well despite race. Martin Luther King shows his sympathy to the people in Vietnam he quotes this by saying "in 1945 rather -- after a combined French and Japanese occupation and before the communist revolution in China. They were led by Ho Chi Minh. Even though they quoted the American Declaration of Independence in their own document of freedom, we refused to recognize them. Instead, we decided to support France in its reconquest of her former colony. Our government felt then that the Vietnamese people were not ready for independence, and we again fell victim to the deadly Western arrogance that has poisoned the international atmosphere for so long"

¹⁸⁷ From this Dr king is stating that the United States would rather have the Vietnamese

¹⁸⁷ "American Rhetoric: Martin Luther King, Jr: A Time to Break Silence (Declaration against the Vietnam War)." Americanrhetoric.com, 2010, www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/mlkatimetobreaksilence.htm.

people under French control than letting them have their own independent nation where they run the government despite them using our declaration of independence in theirs.

Once the war had ended many African American soldiers expected to be treated as heroes for fighting against the Vietnamese and yet again proving themselves to the U.S. However once they returned home, this was not the reality that they faced. They still faced racism in America and what made this even worse is that when they returned home to their communities and received backlash because of what was covered by the media. Citizens back home saw from the journalist and other news outlets the harsh reality of Vietnam, that the South Vietnam government was a regime that executed their citizens while our troops were supporting them along with seeing many American troops kill farmers and children. One article tells “Upon their return to the United States, they were presented with menial job opportunities, denied support by Veterans Affairs, and received little empathy from their own communities”¹⁸⁸ This further shows the struggle that black troops faced once they got home and once again after returning from a war they were unable to find jobs because of racism in America similar to what many black troops faced before them after WW2 despite them being in combat more than white people and having a higher draft rate. Other African countries spoke out against the U.S. treatment of their African Americans by the U.S., and they were strongly against the war in Vietnam. In the United Nation, this was seen in the comic Vietnam Anti-war comic. On pages three and four the comic tells “most of the Africans at the United Nations are against the war in Vietnam so are thousands of others, white, black, rich, and poor. One

¹⁸⁸ “Black Vietnam Veterans Recall the Injustices They Faced.” Time, time.com/5852476/da-5-bloods-black-vietnam-veterans/.

man said we should fight for free elections in Mississippi and Alabama... why should we fight for a country that has never fought for us why are we always first citizens on the battlefield and second-class citizens at home”¹⁸⁹

In conclusion, the Black media showed that black people sympathize with the struggles that Ho Chi Minh and the Vietnamese people were fighting for because it had such a strong correlation with what African Americans were experiencing in America. Which is one reason why I believe the Vietnam war was unsuccessful for the U.S. is because it didn't have the support needed by the public. Along with that many people quoted the Vietnamese leader Ho Chi Minh showing that they were fighting for their independence and right to self-govern after experiencing harsh treatment at the hands of colonial powers which African Americans can relate to.

¹⁸⁹ “Vietnam: An Antiwar Comic Book.” Zinn Education Project, www.zinnedproject.org/materials/vietnam-antiwar-comic-book/.

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THE SEVEN SISTER COLLEGES AND NAZI COMPLICITY

By Phoenix Andrews

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When a person goes to college, although the primary goal is usually to further one's education, for many this is also a place to develop or further develop your values. Higher education allows for an environment where you are surrounded by many different people of many backgrounds, and this can be used as a learning experience. However, just like any community, it is bound to hit a period where it becomes solely an echo chamber of values. In the 1920s and 30s The Seven Sister colleges consisted of Mount Holyoke College, Smith College, Wellesley College, Bryn Mawr College, Barnard College, Vassar College, and Radcliffe College. These colleges at the time were elite women's only colleges that were supposed to be held in the same regard as the Ivy leagues. Also during this time, many Americans were growing more isolationist because of World War One. This combination of elitism and isolationism as well as the Colleges using a mixture of discrete indoctrination, soft-pedaling the treatment of Jewish people, and expressing direct support of Nazism, created an environment that allowed for growth in the west legitimizing the Nazi regime.

Barnard College was founded in 1889 in response to Columbia University refusing female students. Due to its location in New York City, and because it had the highest rates of both Jewish and lower-income students, it was the most diverse of the Seven Sister colleges. This factor most likely contributed to the fact that it was also the

only of the seven to have students that had taken part in protests.¹⁹⁰ However, just because some of their students participated in a protest does not mean that this reflects the beliefs of everyone who works at or attends the college, or their beliefs on Hitler's reign.

Such an example would be the Dean, Virginia Gildersleeve, who was fairly open about her support towards the Nazis. In 1933, Dean Gildersleeve hosted a luncheon where she spoke of her understanding of Germany stating that Americans could not judge Germans by our standards and that the behavior of other countries is bound to seem strange to us.¹⁹¹ She was of the belief that the American news stretched the truth when it came to what was happening in Germany because we simply were incapable of understanding Germany's motives. Two years later, after returning from a trip to Europe, Gildersleeve urged her students to try and understand the legitimate desire that Nazis had to acquire new land, while also praising the Nazi colleges which were still allowing women and Jewish people in, even if they were only admitting a certain number.¹⁹² These quotas inspired her as she implemented measures that would reduce the number of Jewish candidates who would get accepted into Barnard, as well as made sure it was known to students how she felt about the Jewish student population. One such example was student Ruth Saberski Goldenheim who was celebrating her senior year in Barnard before going off on a yearlong fellowship to Spain to further her Spanish

¹⁹⁰ Stephen Norwood, *The Third Reich in the Ivory Tower: Complicity and Conflict on American Campuses* (Cambridge University Press, 2011). 117

¹⁹¹ Norwood. 108

¹⁹² Norwood. 104

Studies.¹⁹³ Prior to leaving she had to meet with Dean Gildersleeve, who said to her that she, “would be going abroad as an American, not a Jew.”¹⁹⁴

It was not just the administration who had a soft spot for Nazism, as shown in an article in the Barnard Bulletin regarding whether America should participate in the 1936 Olympics. The upcoming Olympics were to be held in Berlin, Germany which had been awarded this upcoming opportunity to hold the Olympics in 1931, before Hitler became chancellor of Germany. Ursula Reinhardt, a student who believed that America should still participate in the Olympics, had much to say about the fact that America was even questioning going. She felt that it was very unsportsmanlike that we would consider not going, and that we should not let our disapproval of Fascism get in the way, as it was a purely internal issue which had nothing to do with the games.¹⁹⁵ She also responded to the discrimination against Jewish athletes in the German team by saying that the misdoings towards Jewish people were over-exaggerated in the media.¹⁹⁶

Across the board, Nazis found sympathy within Wellesley College. In 1933 Dr. Dexter spoke to students about his time in Germany. He said it was understandable why Germany would back Hitler when the French were essentially creating a wall of steel around them and that the news on Jewish persecutions was exaggerated, saying that he didn’t agree with the removal of Jewish people from civil offices but that they did hold a disproportionate amount of the country’s wealth.¹⁹⁷ Also in 1933, a prior German exchange student, Emilie Gottschalk, wrote a long letter to be published in the Wellesley

¹⁹³ Miriam Lichtenberg, “‘An American, Not a Jew:’ A History of the Jewish Women of Barnard,” n.d., 66.

¹⁹⁴ Lichtenberg.

¹⁹⁵ “Union Favors Olympic Ban,” *Barnard Bulletin*, November 19, 1935, <https://digitalcollections.barnard.edu/object/bulletin-19351119/barnard-bulletin-november-19-1935?solr%5Bquery%5D=Hitler&solr%5Bparams%5D%5BdefType%5D=dismax#page/1/mode/2up>.

¹⁹⁶ “Union Favors Olympic Ban.”

¹⁹⁷ Norwood, *The Third Reich in the Ivory Tower: Complicity and Conflict on American Campuses*. 116

student newspaper. In it, she talked about how large Jewish and radical groups were joining German haters and that these groups would help create fake news and propaganda, such as a German Boycott, to keep Americans hidden away from the truth about Hitler Germany. ¹⁹⁸ In many cases we see students from America who went to study in Germany fall victim to the propaganda they would be shown while they were there. Not all the propaganda they would encounter in Germany would come from being spoon-fed Nazi ideals or through indoctrination through teachings but instead something a lot simpler, which we see here with how Olga describes the first Stormtrooper she encounters. She describes him as a boy with a very clean shirt and boots who does not seem intimidating or scary, but rather quite approachable. ¹⁹⁹ Olga also writes later in her article that “We soon ceased to stare at Storm Troopers and accepted them as a colorful and inevitable part of the German landscape.” ²⁰⁰ Foreign exchange students heard stories that described German Stormtroopers as frightful demons, but what they encountered instead were very average people in uniforms. This juxtaposition between what they had been told back home and what they were seeing in person is exactly the type of situation that allows for doubt in students minds to grow in regard to what they have been told to think with regards to the Nazis. This was not just something that happened on German soil either, as in 1934 the Karlsruhe, a German cruiser, came to Boston, so the college set up a dance for the cadets. The women at the College were drawn in by these good-looking men who in their terms looked immaculate in their black uniforms, and whose friendly grins appeared soft and sincere. ²⁰¹

¹⁹⁸ Norwood. 114

¹⁹⁹ Norwood. 113

²⁰⁰ Olga Edmond, “Germany Calm and Hopeful Says Student Returning From Heidelberg,” *The Wellesley News*, October 4, 1934, <https://repository.wellesley.edu/object/wellesley10855?search=hitler>.

²⁰¹ Norwood, *The Third Reich in the Ivory Tower: Complicity and Conflict on American Campuses*. 117

In 1937 President Mildred McAfee of Wellesley college hired Lilli Burger, a German who was a well-known staunch supporter of Hitler.²⁰² She said in an interview with the student newspaper that “if only Americans understood Hitler and his aims... there would be less misunderstandings.”²⁰³ After Burger worked on campus, she was happy to express how open-minded people were at Wellesley about Hitler and Nazism and that she hoped that the Americans would increase the amount of student exchange programs that were going on between America and Germany.²⁰⁴

Mount Holyoke was founded in 1837, making it the oldest of the Seven Sister colleges and the mold that many other women’s colleges would copy. Mount Holyoke participated heavily in the German exchange programs throughout the years, being a huge supporter of both the study abroad programs run by the University of Delaware and the ones that would later be run in the majority by the Seven Sister colleges. In 1934 a professor returned from a summer trip to Germany and expressed how beautiful he felt the country was, how his host family was highly civilized and polite, and how everyone they met had shown the group of professors and students so much courtesy and consideration.²⁰⁵ He even went as far as comparing Hitler to Roosevelt, saying they were both men of reform, and that what Hitler was doing in Germany at the time was like the New Deal in America.²⁰⁶ Another professor, Grace Bacon, was heavily involved with the German exchange program. She ran both the German department and The Junior Year in Munich program. She felt that those who went and studied in Munich

²⁰² Norwood. 105

²⁰³ “Miss Lilli Burger Praises ‘Open Mindedness’ of Wellesley Students,” *The Wellesley News*, January 1, 1938, <https://repository.wellesley.edu/object/wellesley10957?search=hitler>.

²⁰⁴ Norwood, *The Third Reich in the Ivory Tower: Complicity and Conflict on American Campuses*. 105

²⁰⁵ Norwood. 119

²⁰⁶ Norwood. 119

would gain a better view of life and learn new forms of tolerance and understanding of people from other civilizations.²⁰⁷ In 1938 Professor Bacon reported that the student exchange programs were becoming increasingly popular, but that she was worried that these numbers would end up going down due to prejudice towards fascist Germany; however, she was pleased to report that the numbers did not fall.²⁰⁸ The students were also enraptured with Nazi Germany for many varied reasons. Some of the reasons for student interest in the exchange programs were a bit less political and bit more hormonal if this article from the student newspaper has anything to say on the matter. A small segment in a section of the paper titled over the fence recalls the ladies return from their summer abroad programs with the romantic and exciting tales they have about the men they met.²⁰⁹ In one article from *The Mount Holyoke News* students spoke highly of Hitler's political efforts, although it is noted that "The discussion kept well away from the anti-Jewish Situation."²¹⁰ This is a fairly recurring trend amongst many schools when they evaluated Hitler's performance as a leader in a positive light. The administration or the students would make a last statement that, of course, this opinion did not include the treatment of Jewish people, as if that is something you can just disregard.

Radcliffe College was founded in 1879 in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and acted as the female opposite to Harvard, which it would eventually end up combining with in 1999. Following Barnard College, Radcliffe College also joined the Sisters' Council in

²⁰⁷ Norwood. 114

²⁰⁸ Norwood. 126

²⁰⁹ "Over The Fence," *The Mount Holyoke News*, September 23, 1933, <https://compass.fivecolleges.edu/islandora/object/mtholyoke:93330>.

²¹⁰ "German Revolution of 1933 Excites I.R.C Discussion," *The Mount Holyoke News*, May 18, 1933, <https://compass.fivecolleges.edu/islandora/object/mtholyoke:93354>.

1926.²¹¹ One Christmas the German club students asked the president and the Comstock if they were allowed to go to a party to honor Hitler's consul-general in Boston which she gave full permission for them to go to.²¹² Brown University and Radcliffe College in 1938, as they had many times before, participated in a friendly debate, the topic of which was whether Hitlerism was the best thing for Germany.²¹³ Brown University had to argue in favor of Hitlerism, while Radcliffe College had to argue against it. To sum up both sides of the argument, Brown essentially was arguing that we cannot judge another country on how they decide to run things or deal with their issues, as it will never seem right to us because we are not that country.²¹⁴ Radcliff was arguing that Hitler ran things too strictly, and that he had too much control over the people. In the end, it was up to the audience to decide who won the debate.²¹⁵ The audience was made up of mostly Radcliff students, but those students voted in favor of Brown's argument supporting Hitlerism.²¹⁶

Smith college opened in 1875 in Northampton, Massachusetts, and along with being an avid supporter of German study abroad programs, it also worked very closely with fascist Italy, starring similar study abroad programs with them as early as 1931.²¹⁷ In 1934, Smith professor Graham spoke on his thoughts about Germany. He stated that at this time dictatorship was the best form of government for Germany, that you cannot rush them into a democracy²¹⁸. He acknowledged that the government regulated the

²¹¹ Norwood, *The Third Reich in the Ivory Tower: Complicity and Conflict on American Campuses*. 106

²¹² Norwood. 109

²¹³ "Brown Champions Of Hitler Down Radcliffe Debates," *The Radcliffe News*, May 4, 1934, [https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:50597310\\$119i](https://iif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:50597310$119i).

²¹⁴ "Brown Champions Of Hitler Down Radcliffe Debates."

²¹⁵ "Brown Champions Of Hitler Down Radcliffe Debates."

²¹⁶ Norwood, *The Third Reich in the Ivory Tower: Complicity and Conflict on American Campuses*. 117

²¹⁷ Norwood. 107

²¹⁸ Norwood. 113

media, but he still believed that the German news presented the essential facts about what Hitler's government planned to do and was doing, and that foreign reporters in Germany distorted the events to push their beliefs. ²¹⁹ Professor Graham also believed that Hitler's antisemitic programs were only meant for the Russian and Polish communist Jews who had invaded Germany which was simply not true. ²²⁰ After spending two years searching for a Pro-Nazi speaker, in 1935 Smith College found Dr. Hans Orth to help bring the truth to Americans. He claimed that the Jewish people pushed Arians out of jobs and leadership roles to promote communism, and that the Germans had every right to fight foreign blood and after his speech, the student newspaper drafted an article in response, supporting him and stating that not enough people were open-minded to what he had to say. ²²¹ In 1938 after the Kristallnacht none of the sister Schools resign from the German program. President Nelson was even confronted and told that he should step down from the council for the German study Abroad, that having Smith College on the council brought prestige to the program, and that allowing his students to take classes for credit at Nazified schools made a mockery of Smith's name. ²²²

Vassar College was found in 1861 in Poughkeepsie, New York. It was the second college to award degrees to women that were equivalent to that of a man's degree. Vassar was also involved in both the German and Italian study abroad programs, with President Henry Noble MacCracken being heavily influential in both efforts. In 1933 he was awarded by the Mussolini government the Cross of Grand Ufficale Della Corona

²¹⁹ Norwood. 113

²²⁰ Norwood. 113

²²¹ Norwood. 109

²²² Norwood. 128

d'Italia; he expressed that he was deeply grateful for this award.²²³ He also in that same year hosted Frederick Schoenemann at Vassar to speak in favor of the Nazi government. Frederick compared the Nazi government and their rise to power to the American Revolution, stating that Hitler was truly a Democrat²²⁴. He also said that all the stuff about what they were doing to Jewish people was falsified and invented for propaganda, and that the Jewish people led the communist movement and were holding all the money-making professions in Berlin.²²⁵ In 1934 the College president was assisting in organizing a tour of Nazi Germany for American professors and students which would allow them a free ride on German ships both ways. The trip helped add to the propaganda as one student wrote back in awe of how many of the Nazi boys were giving her attention; each night, she said, she had multiple invitations and would have to choose a boy to go out with.²²⁶ During the trip, a film was made that portrayed Germany as an economically vigorous and harmonious area that was thriving under Hitler's reign²²⁷. One of the professors brought it to the college president and stated that they should show all the students this, and that she would love to talk about it with both faculty and students.²²⁸ They also had two exchange students from Germany come to explain the reasoning behind the Nazis' decisions about not letting women into universities. Ursula stated that that was the best way to solve the issues with white-collar unemployment.²²⁹ Liselott, the other German exchange student, stated that the Nazis took quick and needed measures with not allowing women and Jewish people in colleges, as there was

²²³ Norwood. 109

²²⁴ Norwood. 109

²²⁵ Norwood. 109

²²⁶ Norwood. 119

²²⁷ Norwood. 120

²²⁸ Norwood. 121

²²⁹ Norwood. 116

serious overcrowding, she also praised the new labor camps that were put in place, stating they were great places for education, teaching the values of hard work as well as those of domestic life. ²³⁰

The students also had much to say about Germany and Hitler in their student newspaper, the Vassar Miscellany News. One such student was Mary Riddler, a senior who just got back from her trip to Germany. She said that, before going, American media had her believing that Hitler and Nazis were “a sort of German Ku Klux Klan,” but after arriving in Germany and meeting Hitler for herself, she could see him as only a “truly national person.” ²³¹ In another article they discuss things students at the school could do to help make German exchange students feel more at home. One of the solutions they came up with was that students could listen to Hitler ‘s and other Nazi speeches and think about them in the mindset of a German, and not in the twisted anti-Nazi way that American media portrayed them. ²³²

Although the students support for Hitler and Nazism was not always a very clear-cut belief as after the president accepted the invitation to the 550th Celebration for the University of Heidelberg they criticized him heavily for deciding to go as it would show support for the University ideals however the very next week, they published an article celebrating Hitler's new occupation of Rhineland. ²³³ Later, in letters between President MacCracken and a friend of his, the spoke about a non-Jewish Polish professor who had

²³⁰ Norwood. 116

²³¹ “GERMANY DISCUSSED BY ONE WHO SPENT JUNIOR YEAR THERE,” *Vassar Miscellany News*, October 11, 1933, <https://newspaperarchives.vassar.edu/?a=d&d=miscellany19331011-01.2.6&srpos=17&e=-----193-en-20--1-byDA-txt-txIN-Hitler----->.

²³² “GERMAN STUDENTS ANXIOUS TO LEARN ABOUT AMERICA,” *Vassar Miscellany News*, October 28, 1933, <https://newspaperarchives.vassar.edu/?a=d&d=miscellany19331011-01.2.6&srpos=17&e=-----193-en-20--1-byDA-txt-txIN-Hitler----->.

²³³ Norwood, *The Third Reich in the Ivory Tower: Complicity and Conflict on American Campuses*. 125-126

gotten stranded in America and was looking for a job. Throughout the letter, his friend reassured him many times that this professor was not Jewish, and that she has the assurance of it from another professor.²³⁴ In his response, he never said anything along the lines of that information of whether the professor was Jewish or not is unneeded, or even that the College did not look at that type of information ²³⁵. The only thing he said in response was that he would send it along to someone else to look at. ²³⁶

Bryn Mawr College was the only one of the seven universities that had any of its leadership participate in a protest against Hitler early on. Even so, President Marion Edwards Park was only protesting the discharge of professors who were Jewish or were in political opposition to Hitler, and, even while protesting him, she openly allowed and encouraged her students to continue going to junior year and summer programs to Germany, as well as having one of her professors, Max Deiz, on the council for the programs. ²³⁷ In 1936 one of the students, Lisa Gratwick, attended the November 9th ceremony for the sixteen Nazis who died in the beer hall Putsch. She referred to it as a beautiful end, something that was perfectly solemn and tragic. ²³⁸ In the student newspaper, *The College News*, they wrote a lengthy article about American misunderstandings of Hitler. The article talked at length about the fact that Hitler did not want to start any trouble with the rest of the world, that he truly wanted peace, and that, as a country, we need to accept his words as the truth and not an attempt to fool us. ²³⁹ In a separate article from the student newspaper, titled "Guess Who?," they

²³⁴ Norwood. 129

²³⁵ Norwood. 129

²³⁶ Norwood. 129

²³⁷ Norwood. 110-111

²³⁸ Norwood. 125

²³⁹ "Nazis Want Equality In National Status," *Bryn Mawr College*, January 17, 1934, <https://digitalcollections.tricolib.brynmawr.edu/object/bmc87561#page/5/mode/1up>.

mentioned the fact that a newspaper column from a different paper had the following Guess Who question in it: “What is the name of the heiress student at Bryn Mawr who has a portrait of Hitler and the swastika hanging in her boudoir on the campus?”²⁴⁰. Articles like “Guess Who?” are the most reflective of the dismissive nature that many students seemed to have regarding what was going on in Germany, whether it was because they believed that American media was lying about the extent of harm done to Jewish people or because they just didn’t care. In the end, it had the same effect.

Overall, one thing each of these schools shared with the others was their elitism. The Seven Sister colleges were women’s only colleges that were viewed as being equivalent to that of the Ivy Leagues. As women, being sent to one of these schools was not just about getting a higher education, it was also a status symbol. With that in mind, this elitism was not only what helped spread the Pro-Nazi, Antisemitic messages these schools believe, but was also the root of where these beliefs came from. For many of these women what was happening in Germany was its own affairs and something they need not meddle with. They had the privilege to not care about what was going on in Germany because they believed it would never affect them. When you go so far into isolationism that you are befriending the aggressor, you are no longer an isolationist, you are just an ally to the aggressor.

²⁴⁰ “Guess Who?,” *Bryn Mawr College*, February 26, 1936, <https://digitalcollections.tricolib.brynmawr.edu/object/bmc87034#page/5/mode/1up>.

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King James VI/I's Homosexuality and the Church's Coverup

By: Zac Laury

There is no doubt in the current discussion that King James the VI of Scotland/ I of England was homosexual. However, there is a common belief that the reason King James hid his homosexuality is because of public scrutiny, though it is also argued that the ancient Mediterranean practice of pederasty, the practice of Kings having sexual relations with boys, which was commonly practiced throughout the early Roman Empires and the Greek city-states before them. If this was common practice, then why would the public scrutinize King James? And is there even evidence to suggest that these relations were public? What we do know for sure is that, from his adolescence to his death, King James had 3 male lovers whom he actively showered in affection and met with in secret, actively leaving his wife and his lovers' wives at their homes. We learned most of this through his letters with his three lovers, Esme Stewart, Robert Carr, and his personal favorite, George Veilliers, though it's completely possible he had more lovers and these three were just his favorites.²⁴¹ His relationship with George was public, and, considering the fact that he didn't try to condemn or coverup his sexuality until slightly after he became king of England and married Anne of Denmark, it's completely possible that there was pressure from the Catholic church to cover up his sexuality. This brings to light the question that, if King James was in fact homosexual, with the possibility of even being public about at least one of his relationships, why would he then commission a bible that condemns homosexuality?

²⁴¹ Bergeron, *King James and Letters of Homoerotic Desire*.

There is the idea that there was push back from the community, and while there was a fairly large catholic population at the time, the majority of the population followed the church of England, whose supreme leader at the time was King James so, much like King Henry VIII who founded the religion in order to legally divorce his wives, King James could have made sure the translation of the Bible either remained neutral or was supportive of homosexuality. Homosexuality was quite common around this time, especially among the elite. People, such as Sir Francis Bacon, himself would often get married but have what was referred to at the time as “favorites,” and their wives, at least in Bacon’s case, would have affairs with other men. In modern times we refer to the wives as beards, an attempt to draw attention away from any favorite they would have or in this time use them as a way to carry on the bloodline which we see with King James and Anne of Denmark. Through the multiple examples, we see that they didn’t necessarily hide their homosexuality, actively keeping their “favorites” around their place of residence and, in James’ case, actively showing affection to them in front of their courts and even in public.²⁴²

Esme Stewart was James’s first love; they met when James was young, even before becoming king of England around the age of 13. Esme was soon granted the role of gentlemen of the bedchamber, which allowed him to be close to James all the time. While walking around, the young James would clasp Esme in his arms and kiss him, surprising most of the council. Esme, much like James’ other favorites, was showered

²⁴² “Francis Bacon (Philosopher) - LGBT Archive.”

not only in gifts and affection, but titles as well, eventually being promoted to the first Duke of Lennox.²⁴³

Shortly after Anne and James stopped sleeping together and separated more officially in 1606, James came across one Robert Carr. After Carr broke his leg in a jousting tournament, King James insisted that the royal physicians tended to him, and took personal interest in his recovery. Post recovery, King James would walk around the court leaning on young Carr's shoulder. Over the next few years, Carr was shown great favor, getting grants and eventually being appointed as Earl of Sommerset in 1613. However, at some point Carr fell in love with the Lady Frances Devereux, the wife of the Earl of Essex. Frances had married the Earl at about the age of 14, and they had never consummated their marriage, so after she met Carr they aimed to annul the Essex's marriage and get together eventually left James however, James wanted Carr to have his way and be happy and set up a judge who would let them get the' annulment.²⁴⁴

King James' supposedly favorite lover was his final one, George Villiers, the Marquess of Buckingham. The letters we have between the two were written towards the end of King James' life, and within these letters we can see clear affection, with King James not only referring to Villiers as "My only sweet and dear child" but also as his "sweet Steanie gossip." He also writes about being so sad about them parting ways that he goes on a walk alone and cries so hard he cannot see. He even says he will leave his wife at home and asks to meet Villiers at Buckinham palace. Despite his being with Villiers, James wasn't loyal to him, but he was at least open about it, writing about

²⁴³ "Esmé Stuart, 1st Duke of Lennox."

²⁴⁴ "Tudor Times."

“sweet bedchamber boys to play with [him],” bringing back the idea of pederasty.

Throughout their relationship, King James and George Villiers exchanged over 75 letters of admiration,²⁴⁵ setting up meeting places, calling each other by pet names, and even specifically excluding their wives. James even wrote that he could not see through his tears the day George went back to his family.²⁴⁶

King James and his wife, Anne of Denmark’s, marriage wasn’t all too happy due to possible rumors of James’ homosexuality, as well as the fact he most likely wasn’t attracted to her to begin with. On top of that, of the 5 children they had together, only 3 survived infancy, and still their eldest son died tragically of illness at the age of 18, leaving their middle child, Charles, as heir. All of this pressure caused the two to drift further and further apart as time went on. Whether this contributed to James’ strong affection to his male lovers is unknown, but there are clear points of contention in the pair’s life.²⁴⁷

The pair’s unhappy family life may not have been the only issue between the two. As I mentioned earlier, King James was really anything but Catholic; Anne, however, was not only Catholic, but wrote to the pope, actively promising that she was raising her kids as Catholics, and apologizing for King James’ unwillingness to express his feelings as well as his overall attitude to the church creating clear tensions between the two powers.²⁴⁸ This further shows how issues between the king and Pope could have led to possible blackmailing of James’ public figure. While he was King of Scotland, James was

²⁴⁵ Bergeron, *King James and Letters of Homoerotic Desire*.

²⁴⁶ “Gay Love Letters through the Centuries: King James I and VI.”

²⁴⁷ “James I and Anne of Denmark.”

²⁴⁸ Ward, “James VI. and the Papacy.”

young and only had himself to appease. At the time, Scotland was mostly Presbyterian. This contributed to James' dislike of the Catholic church, and so did Anne's conversion to Catholicism in the 1590s. This act caused an upheaval not only in their relationship, but in the public sphere as well. After Anne's conversion, the Catholic church and papacy had a much heavier role in James' life. This was also when we see James and Anne's marriage start to fall apart, with Anne even moving to a different palace, only choosing to accompany him to their coronation when they became crowned king and queen of England in 1603. However, she refused to participate in the Anglican church's baptism, causing even more issues for the pair as well as anger with the public. Afterwards, Anne decided to live in London, where she could participate in high fashion as well as court entertainment. Most of her hobbies and activities put a strain on the royal treasury, which was already hurting, and in turn further strained her relationship with James. They weren't always like this; honeymooning for several months after their marriage²⁴⁹.

Anne did convert to Catholicism shortly after their honeymoon so although they were happy for a while, it's unclear if the drifting apart was from strain put on their relationship by their difference of religion, or if James' sexuality had something to do with it. It's safe to assume that both had a hand in it. It's important to know that though they were in fact living in different places throughout their marriage, they were still having children. Anne bore children from 1594 to 1606; having converted to Christianity around 1592 and moved out in the late 90s, this would mean that for the majority of her

²⁴⁹ "Anne of Denmark: Biography on Undiscovered Scotland."

childbearing she lived separately from James. Although having children to produce an heir and having children out of love for one another are vastly different.

From the start of King James' reign, he had issues with the Catholic church. After the gun powder plot of 1605 failed, King James used it to condemn the Catholic church and had the parliament pass an oath of allegiance²⁵⁰ that required English Catholics to denounce the Pope's ability to depose a king and forced them to swear loyalty to James. This caused controversy, especially because James' wife had recently converted, as it was a clear undermining of the Catholic church. This, on top of making Protestantism, specifically the Church of England, the official religion of England, heightened the tension between James and the Catholic church, and in turn Pope Paul V is clear. Whether your nation's official religion is Catholicism or not, there is no doubt, even today, that the Pope is a powerful figure, even in offshoot protestant communities. Because of this, it's completely plausible that Pope Paul V and possibly other members of the Catholic church could have been blackmailing King James into condemning homosexuality in his commission of the bible.

For his bible, King James commissioned John Rainolds. Rainolds had actually come to James first, with claims that the version of the bible that was being used was corrupt. Rainolds had actually been born a Catholic during Queen Mary I's rule; that on top of being an Oxford student in his early life allowed him to thrive. Once Queen Elizabeth I came to power, his life quickly took a turn, as his uncle, the vice-chancellor at Oxford, was arrested and eventually died in prison. John returned home but eventually went back to Oxford, where Queen Elizabeth ended up hiring him. At this

²⁵⁰ North, "Anonymity's Subject: James I and the Debate over the Oath of Allegiance."

point in time, he is said to have converted to Protestantism,²⁵¹ even being seen as one of the strongest champions of it. Despite this, he did spend a vast part of his life as a Catholic, having their teachings drilled into him, and even converted his protestant brother to Catholicism at one point. Because of this, it's safe to say that, although he converted to Protestantism, he would still have shared beliefs with or even had connections to prominent Catholic figures throughout his life. As he was one of the sole translators of the King James Bible, he easily could have slipped his personal beliefs into it or mistranslated the bible, as he not only worked with very few people but was at the end of his life and had been ill for multiple years while he was doing the translations; he could have not been all there mentally. All of these factors could be why the mistranslation of man not lying with boy, he also could've been instructed by James himself.

There is no doubt that King James was homosexual. When it comes to why his commission of the bible includes homophobic remarks, to say it was public opinion specifically seems negligent. This claim ignores the influence of the Catholic church, not only on King James' wife, but his translator, and even himself.

²⁵¹ "King James Translators - John Rainolds."

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Ghost of Alpine
By Miguel Bustamante

In the semi-remote regions of New York there exists a college named Alfred University; as summer gives way to autumn new students arrive. Since roughly 2010 an organization previously recognized by the college has become obscure. Their name inspires dread in many of the student body; the fraternity was named Klan Alpine. Over the years the colorful history of the fraternity has been recorded into forgotten tomes and has been obscured from the public eye. The use of the “K” appropriately insights bitter disgust in many students' stomachs when discussed. A brief history of this organization will demonstrate how the culture of this organization evolved from a fledgling eating club into a fraternity; further, it will distinguish Klan Alpine from other organizations. Hopefully, this will serve as an informative piece to illustrate how Alfred University also changed, and why Greek Life ended at the college. That said, who is Klan Alpine?

Rumor has alleged that Klan Alpine was a chapter of the infamous Ku Klux Klan. This is one of the falsehoods to the story of Klan Alpine; the fraternity that also served as a chapter of the KKK was Delta Sigma. When first formed, the Brothers of Delta Sigma desired to remake the Ku Klux Klan and redeem its earlier and “better qualities.”²⁵² The fraternity organization Ku Klux Klan later petitioned to be recognized as a chapter of Delta Sigma. Klan Alpine utilized a ‘K’ in their name and which can lead to being confused as the KKK Fraternity. Whether or not the newly recognized Delta Sigma fraternity renounced their KKK dealings is hard to determine. Their alleged idea was to create a band of brothers that would “represent the true ideal of a fellowship of men for man[kind].”²⁵³ Most fraternities claimed to strive for the perfect fraternal nature in their manifestos. Klan Alpine also used similar concepts in their yearbook biographies.²⁵⁴ 1920 was the year that Delta Sigma’s petition was recognized by the national fraternity; in the same yearbook, their group photo was of eighteen men, in the photo all but one have their face shown. The one without their face shown is wearing the infamous white hooded garb embellished with an iron cross. At the time, the graduating class could with relative ease just recognize who was missing; Delta Sigma Brothers were not ashamed of the significance of the hood.²⁵⁵ The photo was not vetoed for the yearbook. On the following page was the section on Klan Alpine. While it shows that Delta Sigma’s choice was accepted, it also shows that they were an entirely different organization than Klan Alpine. Then why did Klan Alpine use a “K” instead of a “C”? Klan Alpine was different

²⁵² Ann-Marie Bramer, “Davis creates departments and initiates Greek Systems,” in *Fiat Lux* 84, no.7 (Dec 9 1992): 5.

Junior Class of Alfred University 1914, Ku Klux Klan Bio. In *Kanakadea 1915 Yearbook* v.9, ed. Junior Class (Wellsville, NY: The Progressive Printing Co. 1914) 72.

²⁵³ Junior Class. Ku Klux Klan, *Kanakadea 1915*. 72

²⁵⁴ Junior Class of Alfred University 1913, “Clan Alpine” In *Kanakadea 1914*, v. 8, (Wellsville, NY: Press of The Progressive Printing Co., Feb. 28 1913) 61

Junior Class, Ku Klux Klan, in *Kanakadea 1915*. 72

Junior Class of Alfred University 1919, Klan Alpine in *Kanakadea 1920*, v. 14. (Buffalo, NY: Baker, Jones Hausauer, Inc. 1920)

²⁵⁵ Junior Class of 1920, Delta Sigma in *Kanakadea 1921*. 65-68

from Dela Sigma, but originally Klan Alpine was spelled Clan Alpine. This is one of the changes that developed over the years.

Originally the fraternity spelled their name differently, the change in their name came after the First Great War.²⁵⁶ There is not any evidence that could suggest they were influenced by their service to change their name. What is confirmable is that in the years prior to the name change, the organizations Klan Alpine, and the Delta Sigma (the K.K.K.) would have cross membership and recruitment from Burdick Hall and Clan Alpine (the original Alpine founded in 1899.)²⁵⁷ Burdick Hall, and Clan Alpine were two different organizations as well. The first was a dormitory and is still in existence today on campus. Clan Alpine based in Burdick Hall, was an organization dedicated to securing the best food at the lowest prices. Both were student-run. The two fraternities would often recruit from both organizations. I refer to this phenomenon of individuals who were either recruited from Burdick Hall or Clan Alpine to Delta' or Klan' – as cross-pollination.²⁵⁸ In some instances they might even hold memberships to both a fraternity (Klan or Delta) and a boarding house (Clan or Burdick). In 1919, Clan Alpine was dissolved, and Klan Alpine was formed. The cross-pollination is an indicator that these groups socialized with each other, a diffusion of ideas is a common effect. This is a likely motivator to the name being changed to “K”. In the 1920 November, 23rd Fiat Lux issue both Alpine organizations are referenced.²⁵⁹ The need to distinguish between the two organizations might have been a motivator for the change. Moreover, a change can be seen in the views of the fraternity in this excerpt from their 1921 yearbook page “[Unspecified Scottish clans] represented a brave, clean and noble race whose virtues and whose ideals are still famous in song and story.”²⁶⁰ The influence of supremacist rhetoric is recognized by the usage of “clean and noble race.” This contrast earlier writings that described their views. Ten years ago they wrote a different biography stating:

For fourteen years Clan Alpine has stood as the only co-operative club in town. It has been demonstrated that aside from its financial object, the club has been a great aid to closer friendships, breaking down of prejudice and the acquisition of true Camaraderie. In the constant rush and hurry of student activities by which we are surrounded, we take time to cultivate true gentlemanly conduct as an asset to character and good fellowship.

²⁵⁶ *Fiat Lux*, issues

-Unkown “Clan Alpine Has a New Home,” v.9, no.130 2/24/1919. Pg 2.

-Unkown “Clan Alpine Banquet,” v.9, no.14, 03/11/1919. Pg 3.

Junior Class `1913, “Kanakadea 1914”. 61

Junior Class `1920, “kanakadea 1921”. 67-68

²⁵⁷ Junior Class of 1913, Clan Alpine in Kanakadea 1914. 61

²⁵⁸ Junior Class of 1919. *Kanakadea 1920*. 27 & 33 & 42

Junior Class of 1920. *Kanakadea 1921*.

²⁵⁹ Fiat Lux, “KLAN ALPINE FRATERNITY INITIATION” and “For Sale” on page 3

²⁶⁰ Junior Class of 1920, *Kanakadea 1921*. 69

This piece was from their 1914 yearbook page.²⁶¹ In that time, they forsook their anti-prejudice outlook and adopted one of segregation. Alternatively, Klan Alpine may have always harbored the sentiment but felt it needed to be openly expressed. The organization Klan Alpine originally was an eating club, and then evolved into a fraternity. The socialization from their community of and the expanding campus population motivated them to organize into a fraternity and alter the spelling of their name. They would operate as a fraternity mostly without incident for some years until the seventies.

The period between the nineteen-twenties and the nineteen-seventies is a significant amount of time –fifty years– but for that period Klan Alpine mostly blended with the events in and around the community. They were involved in intramural sports and were successful more often than not.²⁶² At one point they had a brother who was shot down behind enemy lines in World War II, he fortunately made it back to the states. They played an active role in Greek and Campus politics, advocating for better housing, organizing events (mostly sports), and occasionally taking leadership roles on committees. There is nothing to suggest that they dominated the sphere of influence in Alfred; moreover, it was during this period the concept of Greek Life and the role they served in the community was the most natural, or passively accepted. This could explain the lack of drama –for lack of a better word– that characterize the period. This contrasts with the original intentions of the founders of Alfred University. Originally, Greek life was not accepted by the founders as they were considered secret organizations.²⁶³ Nevertheless, by the sixties a change was coming again. The role expected to be fulfilled by fraternities and sororities was beginning to change. A special publication of a survey the school published “the Decade of the 60s”, contains a piece written by Professor Gary Ostrower PhD. He remarks on how the campus changed, the article they wrote contains reflections on the sixties.²⁶⁴ Dr. Ostrower left the college in 1961 and notes that “female students were called girls. They had curfews, they could not spend time in the rooms of male students without permission ... The boys had no curfews but they wore ties to evening dinners, tolerated house mothers in fraternities ... Three of the six university fraternities wore their racist and antisemitic policies of exclusion routinely.” both Klan Alpine and Alfred University would live through possibly the most shocking event in Alfred University History. While the event was shocking and had ripple effects that changed the culture of the community of Alfred and United States, they did not solely end Greek Life at Alfred University.

Going into the seventies fraternities began to gain the image of rebellious organizations full of debauchery, which contrasts the original behavior of Greek Life.

²⁶¹ Junior Class of 1913. *Kanakadea 1914*. 61

²⁶² *Fiat Lux*

²⁶³ Board of Trustees Task Force, “REPORT OF THE TRUSTEE TASK FORCE ON GREEK LIFE”, Alfred University. May 17 2002

²⁶⁴ Alfred University Admissions, “The Decade of the 60’s: Reflections on Alfred University 1960-1969, Results of the Alumni Survey.” 16

The death of Chuck Stenzel is wrapped up in this change in behavior. Chuck was a well-loved college student from Long Island. Eileen Stevens, Chucks mother, accomplished a task that greatly helped protect students. She campaigned to bring new legislation into effect that would create laws against hazing. Through her efforts all across the nation, laws on hazing were created and enforced. Eileen Stevens also helped raise awareness of hazing. Chuck's death was a direct result of hazing traditions that Klan Alpine adopted.^{265*} Alfred University started a Nationwide survey to determine the extent of hazing in organizations, and how likely it would continue. The results were discouraging; as it turns out Greeks were not the only organization with rampant acts of hazing. The investigation found across the nation athletes are 80% likely to experience hazing starting as low as high school.²⁶⁶ Whether hazing was always a part of Klan Alpine's history is uncertain but after Chuck's death and thanks to the help of Eileen Stevens the University started to pay more attention. One of the first things Alfred University did was disassociate from Klan Alpine. Which means to revoke their charter and unrecognize them. They could no longer openly recruit or represent themselves on campus. At the time this was the strongest action the University could take; however, it was also only the beginning of change at Alfred University.

Klan Alpine was no longer recognized by the school which meant they were considered an underground fraternity, not recognized by the school but still in loose operation. Klan Alpine after some years was re-recognized, and the community had mixed feelings on the matter. *Fiat Lux* released an editorial that wrote "Although Klan Alpine might be the personification of the "animal house" mentality, they are not the specific problem that concerns us. The absurd initiation practices that fraternities propagate are the real menace.... All the legislation, publicity and appeals for common sense will ultimately fall on deaf ears, unless all of us stop simplistically drawing sides, and take a moment for introspection. There must be a change in attitude, in which fraternities are founded on an ethic of true brotherhood and mutual respect for life instead of its desecration."²⁶⁷ Eileen Stevens eloquently submitted a rebuttal to the editorials article "I respectfully suggest that the writer or writers of this editorial apprise themselves of the facts concerning deaths and injuries incurred as a result of University endorsed fraternity hazing. The legislation I seek to enact is focused on the betterment of "the society which formed a generation's behavior "including" the small fragment of that society known as Alfred." ²⁶⁸One letter to *Fiat Lux* was astonished that the school would ever think of recognizing the fraternity again, it had been some years. Another letter explained how happy a local family was that the Klan had helped them out. The

²⁶⁵ Hank Nuwer, *Broken Pledges* (Marietta, Georgia: LongStreet Press Inc., 1990) 7-50

^{**}Note for further reading: *Broken Pledges* gives a careful account of Chuck Stenzel's death and on the efforts of Eileen Stevens who fought for hazing laws.^{**}

²⁶⁶ Alfred University, "Executive Summary of National Hazing Survey", Accessed 03/20/2022.
<https://www.alfred.edu/about/news/studies/>

²⁶⁷ Editor of *Fiat Lux*, "Reflections on a Senseless Death" *Fiat Lux*, v. 69, no.3. Feb. 19 1979.

²⁶⁸ Eileen Stevens to Editor Board of *Fiat Lux*, 1979, in "Letters", *Fiat Lux*, v.69, no.3. 02/19/1979.

sentiment towards Klan Alpine exacerbated a feeling that was already spreading over how Alfred community, and the nation, felt about Greek Life. Chuck's death and the new attention to hazing had an effect on the community, namely that Greek Life was not vitally important or needed anymore.

The changes in culture affected the fraternity and the rest of the Greek Houses. Multiple attempts to reform the Greek system at Alfred University, but it was becoming apparently futile.²⁶⁹ A task force was assembled to decide what course of action should be taken to address Greek Life on campus in 2002. Klan Alpine was recognized at this point. The team was assembled in a fair manner, one half were former Greeks and the other were non-Greeks. Most entertained the hope of reformation to restore Greek Life to what it was when it started. However, the task force wrote "Difficult though the decision was, we [the task forces] have agreed unanimously that the Greek system should be eliminated as quickly as possible. Despite the valuable experiences it offers its members, as a whole the Greek system has deteriorated significantly over time even ... The system requires a disproportionate amount of time and resources for the benefits it affords a small group of students, hurts relations between the University and the community, and sometimes works to the detriment of its voluntary participants."²⁷⁰ The task force also found that since the '70s interest in Greek Life had been declining of its own accord. Klan Alpine like most Greek Houses were dependent on new members, and alumni for most of their funding. The years of not being recognized by the school hurt their numbers and so did Chuck's death, as a result, their numbers were dwindling.

This opens the door to the final significant event of Klan Alpines history. How they lost the house. There are two sides to this story: The victim and Judge in a lawsuit case, and the newspapers that wrote their account. The other side of course is Klan Alpine.²⁷¹ On a night of partying in Alfred, a guest at Klan Alpine broke their wrist falling off the porch of the Fraternity house. According to the victim, Klan Alpine had been shoving people off their porch all night. According to the Klan Alpine the porch was already in disrepair and when the victim leaned against the railing it broke and he fell off the porch. Later the victim filed a lawsuit against the Klan. They never appeared in court to defend themselves. The Judge ruled in favor of the victim and Alpine was required to pay him financial compensation. Meanwhile, the Fraternity was in the process of dissolving and rebranding themselves as Clan Alpine, they were returning to the C. When they never paid up, the victim filed another lawsuit, the judge ruled in favor of the victim citing the rebranding as a fraudulent attempt to avoid the lawsuit. This time the judge awarded the victim their house. The evening tribune interviewed both the victim and the code inspector for the village. While the victim felt justice had been

²⁶⁹ Trustees Task Force, "Greek Task Force".

²⁷⁰ Trustees Task Force, "Greek Task Force".

²⁷¹ Stephen Watson, "Ex-Frat House Deeded to Man who Sued," (*Buffalo News*. https://buffalonews.com/news/ex-frat-house-deeded-to-man-who-sued/article_c2a2d0a1-2bed-534d-bc58-7e085c9168f2.html. May 12 2004) Accessed 02/11/2022

served, the code inspector revealed the was house was nothing more than a liability. A few years later the county would seize the house for failure to pay back taxes and the town of Alfred purchased it for a dollar plus the back taxes in order to prevent it from being condemned.²⁷² The house was reclaimed by the town in 2008, and the last thing the public heard from Klan Alpine was a possible reunion that took place in 2011. This marks the end of Klan Alpine, while their alumni still exist and continue to do works in their communities they no longer have a means of recruiting new members. Unless they establish a new chapter house somewhere they are likely to die out. As for Alfred University, the school still exists and flourishes, and they did remove Greek Life.

The task force was responsible for rendering a verdict on Greek Life noted the original founders of Alfred University were against fraternities and sororities to begin with, they saw them as secret organizations and were morally opposed to such institutions.²⁷³ At a point the college needed to address the housing of students. Clan Alpine was the original eating club and was one of the organizations that turned themselves into an off campus fraternity to address the issue.²⁷⁴ At this point Greek Life was strictly regimented with chaperones, and many rules on decorum; however, those rules relaxed over time. The school by the point of the seventies was better able to handle student housing. Delta Sigma was another and the two are sometimes confused. Later, after Chuck's death and Eileen Stevens led an admirable campaign for hazing laws the culture changed again. It should also be noted that the school reconciled with Eileen Stevens and awarded her an honorary law degree for her admirable efforts.²⁷⁵ Greek Life did end, even if it was too late for Chuck. Lastly, the task force also added suggestions they thought might help the school, one of which was to better focus on housing for students. Further they suggested the school take a more active role in students' lives. This advice was suggested in 2002 and therefore it is too early to see if anything will come of it. Whether the school will implement better, worse, or no change. Hopefully, this piece will serve as refresher to those wondering about the history of Klan Alpine, Greek Life on Alfred University, and the University itself.

²⁷² Rob Montana, "Alfred Taking over former Klan Alpine House," *Evening Tribune*, <https://www.eveningtribune.com/story/news/2008/04/10/alfred-taking-over-former-klan/45499829007/>. Published: ET12:01 am April 10 2008, updated: ET 10:16 am April 10 2008. Accessed 02/11/2022.

²⁷³ Trustees Task Force, "Greek Task Force".

²⁷⁴ Ann-Marie Bramer, "Davis creates departments and initiates Greek Systems," 5

²⁷⁵ Alfred Press Release, "AU to Award Honorary Degree to Eileen Stevens" 4/13/99, <https://aura.alfred.edu/handle/10829/21011> Accessed 3/17/2022.

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By Danielle Brown

Not much is known about Marie Laveau, as most of her life has been recorded as myths, fictional stories, and rumors gathered over the years. With no direct birth record, no dairies, or letters, as she did not learn to read or write until later in her life, the story of her life is difficult to understand. However, Marie Laveau's life is not as secret as many believe. Her life has been overly fictionalized due to mass media that has occurred in the past century with books, movies, and stories that have been passed down. Bringing the accurate, historical facts to light will bring more clarity to how she impacted society. Marie Laveau was known as the Voodoo Queen in New Orleans during the mid to late nineteenth century. With new documents becoming known in recent years, Laveau's life has come to the surface. This new evidence provides more information about her home and family life, as well as shows how she impacted all aspects of the community.

Early Life:

Marie Laveau's birth year has been debated for many years, but new records have proved which year she truly was born. Laveau's birthday is September 10th. Many debated her birth year to be either 1794 or 1801. Baptismal records from St. Louis Cathedral show that Marie Catherine Laveau was baptized on September 17th, 1801, when she was six days old.²⁷⁶ In turn, this gives us the true year of her birth. She was

²⁷⁶ *St. Louis Cathedral, New Orleans, Baptism 1801-1802*. Photograph. *Baptisms*. New Orleans, 1801. Archdiocese of New Orleans.

baptized by Pere Antione. Antione would later become a good friend and coworker to Laveau.

Marie Laveau was born the illegitimate child to Marguerite Henry and Charles Laveaux . “Charles was a married, prosperous free man of color who traded real estate and slaves and owned several businesses.”²⁷⁷ Marguerite and Charles had a relationship, causing the birth of Marie Laveau. Since Marie was the product of an affair, her baptism held no record of her last name or who her birth father was. Some say Marie grew up on her white father's plantation, while others say she never knew who her father was. People go as far as to say the father of Marie Laveau is an unknown man that Marquerite spent one night with or stated any man with the same last name as Marie’s, was her father. With Laveau being a common name of the time, this became complicated.

Charles Laveaux declared that Marie Laveau was in fact, his daughter years after her birth. Charles was a mulatto man of a middle-class social standing. Many legends and rumors have claimed Laveau’s father was a wealthy white plantation owner due to the possibility that Charles Laveaux’s father was Charles Laveau Trudeau, who worked for the Spanish government. Many even mistake Charles Laveau Trudeau as Marie’s father when there is no proof that he is related to her as a grandfather. Martha Ward, in her book, mentions Trudeau as Marie’s father but does not show any evidence to support it.²⁷⁸ Charles's mother, Marie Laveau, was a free woman of direct African descent. Evidence of Charle’s father's identity cannot be confirmed because his name was not put on the birth certificate or any other known document today. However, due

²⁷⁷ Long, Carolyn Morrow. *A New Orleans Voudou Priestess: The Legend and Reality of Marie Laveau*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007.

²⁷⁸ Ward, Martha. *Voodoo Queen the Spirited Lives of Marie Laveau*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2004.

to his description of Mulatto in the official documents where he is listed, historians have concluded his father was indeed a white man. When Marie Laveau was born, Charles Laveau was engaged to Marie Francoise Fanchon Dupart. For the sake of the future marriage, Charles's name was left off of his daughter's baptism. The evidence of Charles' identifying himself as Marie's father has resulted in a plaque being hung on one of his stores by the Louisiana Government, signifying that the building was a store owned by the father of the renowned Voodoo Queen.

Opposite Charles Laveau's life, Marguerite Henry's heritage and background were well-documented, thanks to government records. Marguerite was born into slavery. She and her mother, Catherine Henry, became separated when she was at a young age due to her mother being sold along with one of her younger brothers. She was granted her freedom when she was eighteen. Marguerite was considered creole at the time due to the multiple races of her ancestors. With Catherine's will and the documents from when Catherine and Marguerite were held in slavery, we know the time frame, situation, and family situations of the Henrys.

Catherine completed her will late in life, which allowed her to make an in-depth description of her family line. In her will, she mentioned her parents, kids, and grandkids. This is where Marie Laveau and three of her siblings are mentioned, providing us with evidence of Marie's material heritage.²⁷⁹

Marie Laveau never experienced slavery as her mother and grandmother had. She was born free years after Marguerite gained her freedom. Marie was known to have an extremely close relationship with her mother and grandmother, even calling herself

²⁷⁹ Long, Voudou Priestess, 72

Catherine Laveau at points in her adulthood as a way to respect her grandmother. Carolyn Long, a Marie Laveau expert, claimed to have found evidence that Charles Laveaux also had a close relationship with his daughter throughout their lives. Marie's childhood was probably the most secret part of her life. No facts are verifiable, and few rumors were made about her life during this time. One of the most believable rumors was that posted in the Picayune newspaper in Marie's obituary, which stated that Marie Laveau had been born in the same house she died in, which had also been the house her mother had passed away in.²⁸⁰ This does have some support behind it as the house in question was her famous property on St. Ann's Street. Her grandmother had the house built and lived there before Marie's birth, and her mother often resided here.²⁸¹ It can be assumed that Marie never had a formal sense of education due to her illiteracy. She adopted her mother and grandmother's traits they had learned in their lives under slavery. They had worked as laundresses, ironers, and sometimes cooks as well.²⁸² Any other words about Marie's childhood were spread with no evidence supporting it.

Widow Paris:

The next period of Marie Laveau's life that there is evidence for came during 1819, when she married her first husband. This is where the life of Marie Laveau as the Voodoo Queen referenced in many stories began. Marie Laveau married Jacques Paris on August 4, 1819. The marriage license not only shows proof of marriage but further supports Marie's year of birth in 1801. The certificate states that Marie Laveau was

²⁸⁰ "Death of Marie Laveau." *The Daily Picayune*. June 17, 1881.

²⁸¹ Long, Voodoo Priestess, 90

²⁸² Long, Voodoo Priestess 94

under the age of 21 during the marriage ceremony, making her 18 years old.²⁸³

Impossible for her year of birth to be anytime during the 1780s or 1790s, as some say it was. This marriage also shows further proof of Charles Laveau being Marie's father.

"Charles Laveaux provided Marie with a dowry "because of the attachment he bears for her as his natural daughter, whom he acknowledges," giving to the future husband and wife."²⁸⁴

For years, it was assumed that Marie and Jaques had no children during their marriage. After further research into the St. Louis Cathedral archival records, baptism records from 1823 and 1824 show proof of two daughters.²⁸⁵ Marie Angelie Paris was born in November 1822, while her sister Felicite was born in 1817. Though Felicite wasn't baptized until age seven and was born two years before her parent's marriage, she was considered a legitimate child of the couple because of the marriage that occurred between Marie and Jaques. These records are the last known records of the girls, so it is not surprising that many do not believe the couple had any children. It is believed that both girls died soon after and did not live through their childhood.

Not long after the marriage, about one to two years in time, Jaques Paris disappeared. It is unknown what happened. Many said he ran away. Others said he died, and no one truly knows what became of him. Multiple newspapers wrote obituaries for Paris after his disappearance. It was rumored that Paris had gone to Baton Rouge in the hopes of finding work.²⁸⁶ There he had died of yellow fever, which was running rampant in Louisiana at the time. Some legends have even stated that Marie had scared off her

²⁸³ Long, Voodoo Priestess, 146

²⁸⁴ Long, Voodoo Priestess, 148

²⁸⁵ Ward, Voodoo Queen

²⁸⁶ "Marie Laveau (1801-1881) - Find a Grave Memorial." Find a Grave. Accessed March 16, 2022. <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/1503/marie-laveau>.

first husband with Voodoo, or he ran to get away from her. We know this due to a small line of evidence written in the 1824 baptism records, stating that Felicite's father was and had been deceased.²⁸⁷ Yet there was not, and has yet to be, any death certificate or record found for Mr. Paris.

With the young Marie Laveau, now widowed and childless, she began to call herself "Widow Paris" after what she was called in official records before she remarried. It is unknown if this was a way to gain pity and sympathy or if it were to convince people he had not abandoned her and their kids willingly. Regardless, the name stuck with Marie for the rest of her life. Many newspapers and stories refer to her as the Widow Paris for her lifetime and far into modern days.

Following her husband's disappearance, Widow Paris became a hairdresser. As this fact is one of the few that is told in an accurate way through most legends, books, and historical papers. It is well known that Marie worked as a hairdresser for the upper white class in New Orleans. She used this connection to learn the inside details of the higher social class and powerful families in the city. From a logical standpoint, Marie started the hairdressing business as a way to make money after she was on her own. In turn, the gig as a hairdresser for the upper class became a huge key to her success as the legendary "New Orleans Voodoo Queen."

Marie ran her business out of her grandmother's old house on St. Ann's Street. St. Ann Street was located in the French Quarter. A poorer part of town, where lots of freed slaves and creoles lived. This house plays a large role in holding the credibility of the idea that Marie was a hairdresser. No business licenses can be found for Marie Laveau,

²⁸⁷ Long, Voudou Priestess, 152

but many neighbors state that she was running a business and was a very well-known hairdresser. Many historians agree that Marie's job as a hairdresser can be trusted in most aspects.

Marie Glapion:

During the early days working as a hairdresser, Marie met her second husband, Louis Christophe Dominic Duminy de Glapion. Glapion was widely written and documented as another man of color in newspapers. Ancestry records have been found that show Glapion as a direct descendant of a wealthy French family.²⁸⁸ For this reason, Marie and Glapion were never able to be legally married. At the time, there were anti-miscegenation laws. These laws made it illegal to marry anyone of a different race. Though they could not legally marry, there were ways they could have a domestic partnership that was recognized by the law. Through these loopholes, Marie became the *placée* of Glapion. This meant they could live together and use legal loopholes to be able to support each other financially without marriage.²⁸⁹

The Glapion couple was said to have up to fifteen children. This myth is also one of the most stated in many fictional versions of Marie's life, while credible sources argue the couple only had three to five children. Looking at the physical evidence, there are seven baptisms that list Marie and Glapion as the parents. Sadly, only two of the seven children would survive to adulthood. Marie Helöse Euchariste Glapion was the couple's first daughter. Born in 1827, she was referred to in multiple different ways on official documents, making it hard to follow the path. Like her mother, Marie Catherine had

²⁸⁸ Prahlad, Anand. *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of African American Folklore*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 2006.

²⁸⁹ Long, Voudou Priestess

done with her middle name, Marie Helöse used her two middle names interchangeably during her life. Multiple spellings of Helöse and Euchariste were found on different censuses throughout her life.²⁹⁰ The second child that survived was Marie Philomene Glapion.

Marie Philomene, being the only child of Marie Laeavu to outlive her, many suspected that she took over her mother's place as Voodoo Queen and pretended to be her mother to keep the title and the image of young Marie Laveau the first alive. This was highly fought against as neighbors claim Marie Philomene did not approve of her mother's Voodoo practices. Others state that Philomene did not represent her mother's young looks well enough to take over her position because people would be able to tell the distinct difference between the two women. Philomene did not outlive her mother or sister for many years. She passed away in 1897.²⁹¹

The Glapion family was thought to have been extremely wealthy during the years before Marie's second husband passed away. In fact, this was the exact opposite. Seemingly unknown to Marie and the community, Glapion had put his family in a large amount of debt with his business habits. When he passed away in 1855, the family realized they were broke. Their house on St. Ann Street, which had been in their family for almost a hundred years, would be foreclosed on. Thankfully, the family was lucky to have neighbors purchase the residence and allow them to continue living there. It is unknown if money was given to them or how they were legally able to keep the house, but it stayed with Marie Laveau and her family until her last daughter's death. After

²⁹⁰ "Marie Laveau Family Tree." Ancestry® | Genealogy, Family Trees & Family History Records. Accessed April 6, 2022. <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/181347115/person/332362253982/facts>.

²⁹¹ Long, Voudou Priestess

Glaption died, Marie, with the help of her surviving children, made money selling medical herbs, charms of both Voodoo and Catholic origin, and gris-gris which are voodoo amulets believed to have certain spiritual powers to them. The family was noted to be successful with this business. It kept them supported until Marie's death.²⁹²

Religion:

From a young age, Marie devoted her time and good character to her beliefs and religion. As a child and young woman, this meant dedicating her beliefs to the St. Louis Cathedral. The same cathedral where she was baptized, married, and had her children baptized. After her first husband's disappearance in her mid-twenties, Marie is believed to have first started experimenting with the religion of Voodoo for herself. In many situations, people have said Voodoo is not a taught religion; it is a path you choose for yourself.²⁹³ You can find guidance and a community to share the experience with you, but you cannot be born into the Voodoo religion as you can be for Catholicism. She was extremely dedicated to both the Catholic faith as well as her Voodoo beliefs. In her eyes, they were the same. Marie Laveau practiced New Orleans Voodoo, which is a mix of the Catholic religion with Haitian Voodoo. Haitian Voodoo was brought over with the beginning of the African Slave Trade in America. Over time and many generations, the mixing of Catholicism and Voodoo occurred, creating what is specifically called New Orleans Voodoo and Hoodoo.

Marie Laveau's religious beliefs brought her fame and the creation of the mythical version of her that so many of us know today. The exact reason or time in Marie's life that she started practicing Voodoo is unknown. Due to her being illiterate,

²⁹² Ward, Voodoo Queen

²⁹³ Ward, Voodoo Queen

everything we know about her is from an outside source, meaning we will never know what exactly Marie thought or believed. This has made it quite difficult to understand why some of the rumors that were spread occurred. Through studying the religion of Voodoo and the documentation of first-hand accounts and newspaper articles about Marie and her religion, many historians have tried to sift through these accounts to find what could be the truth.

Rumors are quite easy to find. Many said that Marie created potions that she would give to people to make others fall in love with them. Others said she used magic to create love between two people as well as got people to do what she wanted them to do. It had been noted that she could make people “do terrible things. She made wives turn on their husbands and run off with other men. She made fine white ladies lie on the ground and roll their bellies.” She was told to have put police officers in a trance to get whatever she wanted. Other stories were more reasonable. Common in the Voodoo religion, Marie was known to dance with nonpoisonous snakes. Marie was believed to have had a pet snake that she brought to rituals and gatherings to dance with and hold during the ceremonies.²⁹⁴

Many viewers also noted the high level of energy, movement, and dancing that happened during these ceremonies. Though many who were against it called it crazy, unnatural, or possessed-like movements, the supporters saw it as freeing movements that went with the body's natural flow. People were just moving and dancing in a way it felt good to them and not in the upright, strict, ball and banquet-style dancing that

²⁹⁴ Ward, Voodoo Queen.

occurred in the wealthier white areas of the South. Many of these descriptions were made during gatherings at Congo Square.

Congo Square was an important spot for Marie Laveau and other Voodoo Practitioners. “Since all traditional African music and dance is sacred in nature, Congo Square could justifiably be called a venue for what came to be known as Voudou”²⁹⁵. Marie Laveau held ceremonies in this square quite often. It was in the rear of the city but near the French Quarter and many knew it as the gathering place for these religious ceremonies. These Voodoo ceremonies started focusing on rhythms of three. To represent the Father, Son, and the Holy Ghost that is present in Catholicism and other mainstream religions. The music would follow this pattern, traditional African instruments such as the drums and a few other instruments that many could not recognize. One man stated “the most curious... was a stringed instrument which no doubt was imported from Africa. On the top of the fingerboard was the rude figure of a man in a sitting posture, and two pegs behind him to which the strings were fastened. The body was a calabash.”²⁹⁶ Another onlooker said, “I have never seen anything more brutally savage and at the same time dull and stupid than this whole exhibition.”²⁹⁷ Many hated the celebration, but many loved it and cherished it. A young slave from the French Quarter said, “[I] always attended the Congo Square Functions... Too young to take any active part [but I] learned everything.”²⁹⁸

Sundays were known as ceremonial days. In the mornings, Marie Laveau would go to the St. Louis Cathedral for Catholic mass. She would encourage and bring her

²⁹⁵ Long, Voudou Priestess.

²⁹⁶ Long, Voudou Priestess.

²⁹⁷ Ward, Voodoo Queen

²⁹⁸ Louisiana State Museum. “A Medley of Cultures: Louisiana History at the Cabildo.” Accessed April 6, 2022. https://www.crt.state.la.us/Assets/Museum/publications/A_Medley_Of_Cultures.pdf

followers from the Voodoo religion. In the afternoon and early evenings, Marie would lead her followers to Congo Square, where they continued their religious practices by focusing on the Voodoo tradition. Many people came every Sunday. It was noted that people showed up in groups of fifties to hundreds.²⁹⁹ Even with the assumed exaggeration that we take from this, many other sources agree that the number of people coming to these ceremonies could reach the double and triple digits.

St. John's Eve was the most well-known and celebrated Voodoo holiday. Celebrated two days after the summer solstice, St. John's eve "was celebrated with bonfires, nighttime picnics, singings, dancing, and ritual bathing on the shore of Lake Pontchartrain."³⁰⁰ The Voodoo followers believed this would attract good spirits, drive away bad, and protect their people from hardships such as drought and diseases. Marie Laveau's ceremonies became known as a sight to see as tourists, reporters, and others in New Orleans who did not practice Voodoo would show up to view this celebration. The Semi-Weekly Times Democrat, a New Orleans Newspaper, printed an article about St. John's Eve in their June 26, 1896, edition. The title reads, "Dance of the Woods, Outlandish celebration of St. John's eve. A living cat eaten by the voodoo king... Becoming impassioned, the fetich worshipers tear off their clothes and dance naked."³⁰¹ Articles like this and others refer to the celebration as an orgy where the women rip their clothes off and dance in disrespecting manners. Others did look on with curiosity and a longing desire to join the celebration.

Marie and her community

²⁹⁹ Long, Voudou Priestess

³⁰⁰ Long, Voudou Priestess

³⁰¹ "Marie Laveau, St John Eves." Newspapers.com, June 26, 1896.
<https://www.newspapers.com/clip/97647998>.

During Marie's lifetime, there was a distinct split between those who respected her and those who were appalled by her. To those who respected her, she was someone to guide them; help them; to support them in both faith and social aspects. Those who disagreed with her religious practices said she was a disgrace to their culture and a sinner for practicing voodoo. Many used the argument of she cannot be a true Catholic if she dabbles with Voodoo. To them, Voodoo was considered the devil's religion.

To make matters worse, Marie Laveau's coworker and priest at the Catholic church, Pere Antoine, was rumored to be unfaithful to his religion due to fraud and the possibility that he had an illegitimate child with a creole housemaid. The ones who opposed Marie Laveau used this rumor, as it was never proven, in an attempt to bring down both Marie and Pere in society's eyes.³⁰² Many tried to get Marie arrested. Due to a lack of evidence and the power Marie had collected through her religious and work connections, she was never arrested. That does not mean she did not have enemies in powerful spots.

Marie's job as a hairdresser during the time she began to explore Voodoo gave her a lot of connections. Marie became a well-known hairdresser for the wealthy class of New Orleans. Many of these women's families held power in the government and society. In the nineteenth century, it was quite normal for hairdressers to get the inside scoop on the wealthier, more luxurious lifestyle. Marie was able to learn the secrets, problems, drama, and connections in the higher class of New Orleans. Over time, as her power in the Voodoo community grew, these powerful women would come to her for advice and guidance. Neighbors remember always seeing "a line of carriages in front of

³⁰² Ward, Voodoo Queen

Marie's house, and the ladies who entered were heavily veiled. The women of the elite of New Orleans did not hesitate to go consult Marie Laveau, who would give them powders to use on their husbands, and bones and skeletons, to put in their pockets."³⁰³ We will never know if there were truly bones and skeletons in those women's pockets after they left the Laveau residence, but the knowledge that Marie gave guidance to powerful people is a known and respected fact.

Many neighbors and members of the community had similar over-the-top reviews of Marie filled with rumors and absurd lies they had heard in town. Many people were too scared to talk about Marie or mention Voodoo to others in worry that someone might hear them and mistake them for followers.³⁰⁴ A well-known interview with Marie Brown, conducted in 1940 by the Federal Writing Project reads, "That she-devil, that hell-cat Ma-rie Laveau! . . . She walked like she owned the city and everything. She looked like a devil. . . That hell-cat! She must be a-burning for her sins. She said she could call spirits outer your house. She would make pictures come off [the] wall. She could do anything she wanted."³⁰⁵

On the other end of things, many made claims that Marie used her power for good to help the French Quarter and the poorer class. There is also more physical evidence of this than any negative bad deed that was rumored to be true. Marie was known to go out of her way to help the less fortunate. She would give away money to help those who needed it. Even when she was in debt after her second husband had

³⁰³ BreauxLi. *Life History; Memories of Marie Laveau*. Photograph. *Life History (Excerpt)*. New Orleans, April 21, 1939. State Library of Louisiana.

³⁰⁴ McKinney, and Breaux. *Memories of Marie Laveau, New Orleans Voodoo Queen*. April 21, 1937. Photograph. State Library of Louisiana. <https://louisianadigitallibrary.org/islandora/object/state-lwp%3A5565>.

³⁰⁵ Louisiana State Museum. "A Medley of Cultures: Louisiana History at the Cabildo .

passed away, she was still known to be handing out money. She would give food and medicine to those who were sick and hungry.

Marie had a great knowledge of natural medicines. During the outbreak of yellow fever and during the American Civil War, Marie was known to be a nurse who saved many lives. Unlike the other medical techniques at the time, Marie used natural herbs that fought the disease from within. Many doctors and nurses at the time used methods such as bloodletting using leeches to pull blood from patients who had an infection or disease thinking this would cure them. In truth, this made the patients worse. Some people thought Marie was a witch. How could she possibly be using plants to heal these people when doctors can't? Many creoles and those of African descent understood where Marie was coming from. For thousands of years, the African culture used natural herbs and plants to heal the sick. Many started going to Marie for their medical needs.

Marie did not wait for people to come to her for help. She reached out to others and went out of her way to help those in need. As Marie got older, she was known to go to the prisons in New Orleans with Pere Antoine. A newspaper article from May 14, 1871, mentioned how "Madame Marie Laveau... with her grandchildren, provided the chapel adjoining the condemned cell With the appropriate symbols appertaining to the altar of the Catholic Church"³⁰⁶ for a prisoner who was going to be executed. Marie was a "good Christian woman, who has been erroneously described by a portion of the press as a Voodoo priestess... and has Devoted herself to Christian ministrations for those

³⁰⁶ Death Punishment for Murder: The Executions Yesterday. May 14, 1871.
<https://www.newspapers.com/clip/35041328/mentions-of-marie-laveau/>.

whom the law has condemned to die.”³⁰⁷ Marie did this on many occasions and was also seen bringing food and extra supplies such as blankets to prisoners in dire need.

On a more public note, Marie fought for the Voodoo religion’s right to be practiced freely within the French Quarter and the Bayou. With her connections in the upper society, Marie was able to get away with many things that others could not. For example, the Congo Square ceremonies that occurred almost every Sunday began to make people nervous that it could influence a slave or lower-class revolt in New Orleans. Due to this fear, the square had a curfew as well as police guarding it every weekend. When this seemed to fail, they added fences where police guarded the gates and did not allow anyone in. This is where Marie’s power came in handy. The police never tried to stop Marie from entering the common. Many claimed it was like she hypnotized them into allowing her through. They would not move, would not look at her. Whether they were worried about her powerful connections in society or the rumors about her being dangerous and her magic can cause damage to people, is unknown. Marie could walk down any street or road, and everyone would move out of her way, some with respect, some with fear. But everyone knew that it was Marie Laveau. The famed Voodoo Queen.

Throughout her life, Marie Laveau battled many rumors, lies, and secrets. Through these legends, we can experience the decorative stories of the mysterious, powerful, Voodoo Priestess of New Orleans. But through the documents, evidence, and first-hand accounts, we can learn more about the truth behind the most famous New Orleans Queen. Only the truth will be able to open up the secrets of Marie Catherine Laveau’s life that have possibly been locked away from the modern world forever.

³⁰⁷ Death Punishment for Murder:

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SEA SHANTIES AND SEA SONGS:
LIFE, IDENTITY, AND PERCEPTION OF 19TH CENTURY MERCANTILE SAILORS

By Eleanor Fanning

Around the world and throughout all of human history, we have sung while we worked. You sing along to the music on your phone as you clean, your mother hummed the songs the radio played as she washed dishes, and your grandfather whistled as he worked to pull weeds from the garden. These are the ways in which we of the modern age can hold on to this ancient tradition, now that work is no longer a place of music, when music itself is considered to be something only artists do, something that's performed, rather than just a facet of life. But this was not how things used to be. Many jobs, especially those which required physical labor to be done in a particular rhythm and in concert with other people, included songs. Waulking songs, for example, are a subcategory of work songs traditionally sung by women fulling.³⁰⁸ Of the various types of work songs, though, probably the most famous, are sea shanties—also spelled as chanteys, chanties, shanteys, and other variations thereof—and it is sea shanties which are the focus of this paper. Well, sea shanties and sea songs. The distinction between the two is that sea songs were songs sung for the express purpose of entertainment, often in the forecastle of the ship, which generally housed the crew's living quarters. Thus sea songs gain one of their other names as forecastle—or fo'c'sle—songs.³⁰⁹ Sea shanties, on

³⁰⁸ "Traditional Work Songs," Library of Congress, accessed April 6, 2022, <https://www.loc.gov/collections/songs-of-america/articles-and-essays/musical-styles/traditional-and-ethnic/traditional-work-songs/>.

³⁰⁹ Kelby Rose, "Nostalgia and Imagination in Nineteenth-century Sea Shanties," *The Mariner's Mirror* 98, no. 2 (May 2012): 152, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00253359.2012.10708990>; Stephen Winick, "A Deep Dive Into Sea Shanties," *Folklife Today*, Library of Congress, January 29, 2021, <https://blogs.loc.gov/folklife/2021/01/a-deep-dive-into-sea-shanties/>.

the other hand, were purely work songs—it was taboo to sing them while ashore or at rest.³¹⁰ What sea shanties and sea songs have in common, however, is that, functioning as stories told by a group of people about themselves, they served to mark the general similarities which sailors in the nineteenth century shared with each other, creating a common perception among sailors of themselves as a group, which differed both from the realities of their lives and the perceptions of them by outsiders.

The importance of sea shanties in sailors' work cannot be overstated. In *The Music of the Waters* by Laura Alexandrine Smith, for example, a great deal is made of how a good shanty is worth just as much when hauling as is an extra hand.³¹¹ In the late nineteenth century, shanties were considered integral tools for economizing labour aboard ships, as owners and captains took on smaller crews to save money, both out of greed and in order to compete with the rising prevalence of steamships.³¹² On many ships there existed an unofficial position of shantyman, whose responsibility was to lead the singing of shanties, singing the verses in some songs or acting as the caller in call and response style sea shanties. The person selected for this role obtained it due to some combination of a large repertoire of shanties memorized, a clear and forceful voice, and the ability to improvise on-the-fly additions or alterations to the songs to fit the needs of the work the crew was doing. In fact, since sea shanties were so valuable to the efficiency and good functioning of a ship, the shantyman was often offered perks, such as a slight increase in pay.³¹³

³¹⁰ Rose, "Nostalgia," 152.

³¹¹ Laura Alexandrine Smith, *The Music of the Waters. A Collection of the Sailors' Chanties, or Working Songs of the Sea, of All Maritime Nations. Boatmen's, Fishermen's, and Rowing Songs, and Water Legends* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench and co, 1888), xxiv, <https://publicdomainreview.org/collection/sea-shanties>.

³¹² Rose, "Nostalgia," 147.

³¹³ Rose, "Nostalgia," 150-152.

In addition to coordinating work efforts, though, sea shanties were also an incredibly important element in nineteenth-century sailors' social lives and how they understood themselves, their crew, their officers, and their ship. No officers were permitted to join in singing the shanties; they were for the ordinary sailors only. This, combined with the fact that most sea shanties were written by sailors, meant that sea shanties became a means for sailors to express their discontent with their captain, their officers, the ship, the food, their treatment, or just their general lot in life. As an example of this type of shanty, which are called growlers, the song "Leave Her, Johnny" includes the lyrics "I hate to sail on this rotten tub...no grog allowed and rotten grub," which are indicative of a very common type of growling, complaining about food and drink.³¹⁴ While speaking such disrespect and dissent in any other capacity was generally harshly punished, growlers were permitted by the captains and officers "regardless of how rebellious they may have been," because of the sheer importance of shanty singing to the ship's functioning and the sailors' lives.³¹⁵

But sailors sang about many things, not only their complaints. In the article "Nostalgia and Imagination in Nineteenth-century Sea Shanties" Kelby Rose identified six broad themes sea shanties fall into: the lost lover, geography, growling, lore, the pleasures of the sailor, and departures.³¹⁶ These categories, while not exhaustive, are useful in understanding what aspects of life sailors shared with each other regardless of background or other differences, and how those shared experiences and stories created community and feelings of comradeship among them. Departure songs, for example, deal

³¹⁴ Sean Dagher, Nils Brown, and Michiel Schrey, "Leave Her Johnny," n.d., Ubisoft Music, track 3 on *Assassin's Creed 4: Black Flag—Sea Shanty Edition*, 2015, digital, 2:10, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nCtn6igpgP4>.

³¹⁵ Rose, "Nostalgia," 151-152.

³¹⁶ Rose, "Nostalgia," 154-159.

with the beginnings and endings of voyages, and frequently with the cycle of these departures and returns as being the nature of a sailor's life. The song "Homeward Bound" is a good example of this. At the beginning, the song speaks of returning home, with the chorus being "hurrah, we're homeward bound," and progresses through a jovial and much enjoyed time ashore, but at the end of the song the sailor narrator is out of money and back on a ship, and the last time the chorus is sung it is changed to be "hurrah, we're outward bound."³¹⁷ Songs about sailors' pleasures tend to be about either alcohol or prostitutes, or both. A popular one was "Whiskey Johnny," which boldly proclaims that "whiskey is the life of man." It then goes on to list several misfortunes caused to the song's narrator—or the narrator's family, depending on the version of the song—caused by drinking whiskey, but finishes off by celebratorily calling for a glass of whiskey for every man on the crew "and a bottle full for the shantyman," illustrating the importance of both alcohol and shanty men in nineteenth century sailors' lives.³¹⁸ In a similar way, all the themes, and thus all shanties and sea songs, illustrate commonalities among sailors' lives, how they all were, despite many crews coming from widely varying backgrounds, "united in the common condition of being a sailor," and how shanties and sea songs created a sense of shared group identity among sailors in the nineteenth century.

The group identity created by these songs, however, introduces a problem of perception. Shanties and sea songs functioned as everyman, or rather, every sailor,

³¹⁷ Stuart M. Frank, "Homeward Bound," n.d., uploaded 2012, digital, 2:35, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Werkmnf-NJU>.

³¹⁸ Reinhard Zierke, "Whiskey Johnny/Whiskey Is the Life of Man," *Mainly Norfolk: English Folk and Other Good Music*, accessed April 6, 2022, <https://mainlynorfolk.info/lloyd/songs/whiskeyjohnny.html>; Alex Barr, Arthur Gilchrist Brodeur, Leighton McKenzie, and Leighton Robinson, "Whiskey Johnny," collected by Sidney Robertson Cowell, 1939, Library of Congress, audio, 2:17, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2017701737/>.

songs, allowing all sailors to relate to them while excluding those who weren't sailors. As Rose says, "shanties cultivated and reinforced sailor values and folklore within the crew."³¹⁹ By building community on shared experiences, specific experiences, such as racism experienced by Black and other POC seamen, that weren't universally relatable were left out of the general narratives. Thus, given the lack of specification and how ingrained the idea of white-as-default is in our society, the image that forms when you think of a nineteenth-century sailor or sing most English-language sea shanties or songs is generally one of a white man rather than a Black, Latinx, Asian, or Indigenous one. This is a marked departure from history, though, as the vast majority of crews were multiethnic and multiracial.³²⁰

It is also true that sailors belonging to minority groups had experiences that differed greatly from those of their white crewmates. It shouldn't surprise anyone that racism was something to contend with in the nineteenth century, given that the US Civil War, and thus the end of slavery in the US, occurred in the 1860s. While racism was generally worse ashore than at sea, that made it no less dangerous for sailors of color. South Carolina, in the early 1800s for example, had a law requiring that all "free colored persons" who came into any of the state's ports be detained by the Sheriff. According to the judge of a case brought by a Black British seaman before the Sixth Circuit Court of the United States against this law, these free men, upon entering the state of South Carolina, became "absolute slaves" and would, after being detained, be sold, with the

³¹⁹ Rose, "Nostalgia," 147.

³²⁰ Smith, *Music of the Waters*, 153.

sheriff taking half the profits made from the sale.³²¹ South Carolina's lawyer insisted that the detained men were not sold, merely kept sequestered until their ships were once again ready to depart.³²² He further argued that the law was not unjust because it applied equally to all "colored" people; if it had applied only to those "colored" people who were British citizens, that, he said, would be unfair and unconstitutional. As it was, however, South Carolina claimed that it was a sovereign state, and as such was possessed of the ability to make its own laws, as well as the "right to self-preservation," and, indeed, had a responsibility to its citizenry to protect itself and them from outside threats, such as the "moral pestilence" posed by "colored" people.³²³ The judge in his decision recognized the British sailor as a free man, not a slave, and the relevant clause of the law under consideration as unconstitutional, seeing as it impinged on Congress' right to regulate trade and commerce. As for the sailor's request for a writ of *Homine Replegiando*—essentially a request for freedom from his detention—the judge said he had no reason not to grant it, but that he doubted the ability of the writ to "avail the party against the sheriff himself."³²⁴ The lack of sea shanties about such events is due to the specificity of the offense to a specific subgroup of sailors; perhaps on an all-Black crew there might have been songs about racism faced on land and in ports, but as it is

³²¹ The opinion of the Hon. William Johnson, delivered on the 7th August, 1823, in the case of the arrest of the British seaman under the 3d section of the state act, entitled, "An act for the better regulation of free Negroes and persons of colour, and for other purposes," passed in December last : ex parte Henry Elkison, a subject of His Britannic Majesty, vs. Francis G. Deliesseline, sheriff of Charleston District, August 7, 1823, Library of Congress, digital, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/llst.054/?sp=6&st=text>, (hereafter cited as The opinion of the Hon. William Johnson, Library of Congress).

³²² The argument of Benj. Faneuil Hunt, in the case of the arrest of the person claiming to be a British seaman, under the 3d section of the State Act of Dec. 1822, in relation to Negroes, &c. before the Hon. Judge Johnson, Circuit Judge of the United States, for 6th Circuit : ex parte Henry Elkison, claiming to be a subject of His Britannic Majesty, vs. Francis G. Deliesseline, sheriff of Charleston District, 1823, Library of Congress, digital, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/llst.055/?sp=21&st=text>, (hereafter cited as The argument of Benj. Faneuil Hunt, Library of Congress).

³²³ The argument of Benj. Faneuil Hunt, Library of Congress.

³²⁴ The opinion of the Hon. William Johnson, Library of Congress.

what sea shanties and sea songs there are about sailors being mistreated while ashore tend to take the form of some unlucky mariner being swindled by a potential lover rather than systematic, government sanctioned discrimination.³²⁵

This is not to say that sailors didn't face discrimination; in fact, despite the modern perception of sailors as being free wanderers of the seas, sailors are historically one of the most ill-treated and abused classes of workers. To begin with, many sailors came to the profession involuntarily. Leaving aside the issue of impressment, which was forced service aboard naval ships and so is outside the scope of this paper, the practice of crimping—more commonly known as shanghaiing, though this term arose not because the practice was more prevalent in Shanghai, China, but likely because many crimped sailors ended up in Shanghai due to its being such a major port during the age of sail—was very common in ports across the world, but was especially prevalent in the ports of the West Coast of the United States in the late nineteenth century.³²⁶ Crimping was, essentially, the business of kidnapping men—“any reasonably healthy man” would do, the crimps weren't picky—and selling them into service aboard the ships of “unscrupulous captains” in need of crew.³²⁷ Generally, the money paid to crimps—typically between \$25 to \$50 per sailor, which in today's money would be about \$645 to \$1,290—was taken as advanced wages from these unfortunate new sailors, leaving them indebted and adrift far from home.³²⁸ Crimps had many means of obtaining men to fill their quotas of sailors, some more underhanded than others, but a fairly common tactic

³²⁵ Smith, *Music of the Waters*, 22-23; The Exmouth Shanty Men, “Sally Racket,” n.d., uploaded 2019, digital, 1:35, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-5TE-eYImKw>.

³²⁶ Steve Wilson, “Of Crimps and Shanghaied Sailors,” *American History* 41, no. 2 (June 2006): 58-59, https://primo.alfred.edu/permalink/01SUNY_AUA/1tsl9vc/cdi_proquest_miscellaneous_224062906.

³²⁷ Wilson, “Crimps,” 58.

³²⁸ “Inflation Calculator,” US Inflation Calculator: 1635 to 2022, Alioth Finance, accessed April 6, 2022, <https://www.officialdata.org/>; Wilson, “Crimps,” 59.

was to open and run a boarding house and sell off one's patrons.³²⁹ Julius L. Epsing discovered this the hard way, as he writes in his book *Adrift and at anchor: a sailor's experience among sea dogs and land sharks with an account of his conversion and labors as a missionary among seamen*, describing how he came back to his boarding room after a night of carousing in New Orleans and then the next thing he knew he had woken up aboard a ship, his boarding master having sold him off as an "able seaman," pocketing \$40 worth advanced wages (in today's money, that's slightly less than \$1,500).³³⁰

Despite how many sailors were crimped, there aren't very many songs discussing the practice. One that possibly does is the song "Reuben Ranzo," a very popular shanty which tells the tale of the titular character, who "was no sailor," though he finds himself working as a sailor on a whaling ship and by the end of the song becomes captain.³³¹ Most crimped sailors were not so lucky as that, finding themselves instead trapped in the cyclical nature of sailors' lives, shipping out, suffering abuses for the duration of one's contract, and returning to port to spend what money one had before shipping out once more.

Lest the impression be given that ports were the most dangerous places a sailor could be, I must clarify that life aboard ship could be just as bad or even worse. One was at the complete mercy of one's captain and officers. The food and drink were often bad

³²⁹ Wilson, "Crimps," 59.

³³⁰ Julius L. Epsing, *Adrift and at anchor: a sailor's experience among sea dogs and land sharks with an account of his conversion and labors as a missionary among seamen* (Boston: H.L. Hastings, 1870), 13-14, <https://lccn.loc.gov/ltf90019610>; "Inflation Calculator." Please note that the difference between the dollar amounts previously mentioned and this current citation is time period, i.e., Epsing was writing about a time longer past and so the inflation into today's money is more.

³³¹ Smith, *Music of the Waters*, 19.; A.L. Lloyd, "Reuben Ranzo," n.d., uploaded 2021, digital, 1:28, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H9VqMuK60Bg>.

because captains and ship owners would frequently choose to feed the crew for cheap rather than well. The worst part of life at sea for sailors, however, was the violence of ship discipline. Punishments for breaking the laws of the ship, or just for getting on the captain's or other officers' bad side, took the form of physical castigation.³³² The song "Blood Red Roses" includes the line "if you growl too much your head they'll bust," perhaps indicating that the lenience of some captains regarding growling had limits, as well as showing the permeation of violence in sailors' lives.³³³ Epsing, in his memoir, describes how he suffered from such "discipline" often because of his inability to perform his assigned tasks correctly, due to his ignorance of shipboard tasks. He did his best, given that none of the officers nor the other crew members "took enough interest" to teach him his duties, but despite that he was "told, with a kick and a blow, that what [he] did was all wrong."³³⁴ Everyone was expected to pull his own weight on a ship, and no lenience was granted those who couldn't, no matter the circumstances.

As far as ship discipline goes, however, Epsing might be considered lucky that he only got kicks and blows, and his captain and other shipboard officers weren't overly fond of the lash. Of all punishments at sea, flogging was considered one of the worst, not just because it was incredibly painful, but also because it was incredibly demeaning.³³⁵ A large part of flogging as a punishment was as a ritual of pain and display of the power of the captain and officers over the crew; to this end, when a man was flogged, the whole

³³² Rose, "Nostalgia," 156-157.; Myra C. Glenn, *Jack Tar's Story: the Autobiographies and Memoirs of Sailors in Antebellum America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 112-143, https://primo.alfred.edu/permalink/01SUNY_AUA/jpt4cr/alma994570914504810.

³³³ The Lost Quays, "Blood Red Roses," n.d., uploaded 2017, digital, 2:56, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VPXpopZvSSc>; Reinhard Zierke, "Blood Red Roses," *Mainly Norfolk: English Folk and Other Good Music*, accessed April 7, 2022, <https://mainlynorfolk.info/lloyd/songs/bloodredroses.html>.

³³⁴ Epsing, *Adrift and at anchor*, 14-15.

³³⁵ Glenn, *Jack Tar's Story*, 112-143.

crew was called to watch the punishment carried out.³³⁶ Sailors writing about being flogged or watching others being flogged tended to describe the experience in graphic detail, as well as their emotional responses to it, the anger, fear, pain, and shame that came with being treated as less than human. Flogging, for many sailors, was an attack not just on their bodies, but on their masculinity and personhood, especially because the lash was considered a punishment for slaves. Parallels drawn between the flogging of sailors and the lashing of slaves raised the argument for some that “to whip Jack Tar was to debase him to the level of a slave and thereby strip him of his manly independence and pride.”³³⁷ A movement to end the use of flogging on ships was begun in the 1820s, inspired by and in conjunction with other campaigns to end corporal punishments in other parts of society, but it really picked up steam in the 1840s and 1850s, when the abolition movement in the US was gaining considerable popularity, and there was not insignificant overlap between abolitionists and opponents of flogging.³³⁸ Some white sailors who wrote against the use of flogging, notably Richard Henry Dana, Jr., the author of *Two Years Before the Mast*, did hesitate to say that the practice should be banned outright because it would still be useful to keep sailors of color in line, but they were by and large men who had sailed only for brief periods of time and who came from upper class families. The majority of white sailors writing in support of the banning of flogging argued that no sailor, “irrespective of his color or ethnicity,” should ever be subjected to such a humiliating and inhumane punishment.³³⁹ Fortunately, public support for reform was enough that in 1850 the US Congress passed a law

³³⁶ Glenn, *Jack Tar's Story*, 116.

³³⁷ Glenn, *Jack Tar's Story*, 116-117, 122.

³³⁸ Glenn, *Jack Tar's Story*, 122.

³³⁹ Glenn, *Jack Tar's Story*, 140.

prohibiting the use of flogging on both naval and commercial vessels. Unfortunately, nineteenth-century mercantile sailors still had plenty of hardships to face.

Among those hardships, and a quintessential example of just how unfree sailors in the nineteenth century were, was the issue of sailors being unable to legally leave their ships once they'd signed their contracts for the voyage. If a merchant mariner deserted his ship in the middle of a voyage he could be prosecuted and serve several months in jail, but in practice, this hardly ever happened. Instead, what was more common was that the captain would send the police after the deserter, and the sailor would be caught, brought back to the ship, put in irons until the ship had left and was too far from shore to swim, then forced to work once more.³⁴⁰ This meant that sailors stuck on ships where they were being horribly mistreated and abused had no real recourse but to stick it out until their contracts were up; essentially, they were indentured servants. Sailors, naturally, weren't fond of this situation, especially when, even after a law was passed decriminalizing the desertion of one's ship, sailors were still being collared by the police and sent back to their ships. So, in 1895, four sailors who belonged to one of the several newly established sailors' unions deserted their ship, *Arago*, in the port of Astoria, Oregon. They were collared and brought back to their ship and forced to work. They refused to do so—and, since refusing to work was still a crime, their captain slapped them in irons, made an unplanned stop at San Francisco to drop them off and get replacement crew members, and was off, while the *Arago Four* were promptly arrested.³⁴¹ They, with the backing of their union, brought their case to the

³⁴⁰ Finn J.D. John, "'Arago Four' decision literally declared sailors as slaves," *The Redmond Spokesman*, December 16, 2021, https://www.redmondspokesman.com/arago-four-decision-literally-declared-sailors-as-slaves/article_00566a06-1e15-11eb-bdcc-1f4e73be8b5d.html.

³⁴¹ John, "'Arago Four' decision."

Supreme Court, arguing that under the Thirteenth Amendment all forms of forced labor except prison labor had been outlawed, and as such sailors who had deserted their ships could not be forced to return and work upon them.³⁴² The Supreme Court heard the case in 1897 and ruled 8-1 that the terms of the Thirteenth Amendment didn't apply to sailors. One of the main lines of reasoning behind the decision was that "[f]rom the earliest historical period, the contract of the sailor has been treated as an exceptional one, and involving, to a certain extent, the surrender of his personal liberty during the life of the contract."³⁴³ Or, in other words, sailors had always been treated poorly in this way, and who was the Supreme Court to change that?

The decision of the Supreme Court in this case reflected the common perception of sailors at the time, which was that they were unseemly, uncouth, and fairly stupid, if hardworking, men, given to overindulgence in alcohol and prostitutes. Laura Alexandrine Smith referred to them as "impressionable" and makes remarks throughout her collection of sea shanties advising that her readers, for example, "not look for drawing-room rose-water sentiment in the ideas that originate and find favour amongst the hardy toilers of the briny ocean."³⁴⁴ In the majority opinion of *Robertson v. Baldwin*, the Arago Four case, one of the closing justifications of the decision was that sailors need strict, harsh guidelines because they are unintelligent and can't think for themselves, with the opinion going so far as to claim that they "[need] the protection of the law in the same sense in which minors and wards are entitled to the protection of their parents and guardians."³⁴⁵ Sea shanties and sea songs didn't help sailors' image at

³⁴² Wilson, "Crimps," 80.; John, "'Arago Four' decision."

³⁴³ "Robertson v. Baldwin, 165 U.S. 275 (1897)," Justia, US Supreme Court, accessed April 7, 2022, <https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/165/275/>.

³⁴⁴ Smith, *Music of the Waters*, 28.

³⁴⁵ "Robertson v. Baldwin."

all, given that their frank expressions, even celebrations, of drinking and sex were entirely out of line with the sensibilities of the age. Even when sailors gained the public's support, however, it was clear that they were considered a class unto themselves, separate from the rest of society, and efforts to help them carried some of the same sense of pity and/or righteous purpose as those of abolitionists. *The Sailor's Companion; or, Book of Devotions for Seamen in Public and Private*, for example, states in its introduction that "could a religious feeling be more generally infused into these brave and enduring men, not only would their own happiness be promoted, but additional respect would be entertained for their profession."³⁴⁶ The onus is placed completely on the sailors to change how they are viewed. If only sailors were more like the rest of us, they essentially say, if only they were more godly, behaved more appropriately, if only they did that, we would respect them more. Not, of course, would society see the sailors as a part of itself, even if they were more "respectable," but they would, as outsiders, be treated with a bit more grace. It's no wonder that sailors sang songs about themselves and for themselves. Who else would praise them, or commiserate with them as equals over the tribulations of their lives? Who else would listen but themselves?

Sea shanties and sea songs cover many themes and served different purposes in the lives of nineteenth-century mercantile sailors, but the purpose they shared and the theme that underlay all of them was the fostering of community, both aboard a particular ship and across all of the merchant marine. They were songs for sailors about

³⁴⁶ Presbyterian Church In The U.S.A. Board of Publication, *The sailor's companion; or, Book of devotions for seamen in public and private* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1858), 3, <https://lccn.loc.gov/ltf90009683>.

sailors and what was important to them, and they helped to shape the perception of sailors not only among their contemporaries but also in our modern age. Because they left out specifics of experiences that weren't universally applicable to all sailors, and because some experiences, although common, were too bleak and dismal reminders to put often to song, the perceptions of sailors created by these songs are exaggerated and homogenized versions of the truth, with important aspects missing. Knowing this, it is important to think about the stories we tell about and for ourselves, how they shape who we see ourselves to be as well as the way in which others see us. Who are we as individuals, communities, nations, as a world? Who do we want to be? And how might our perceptions of others be warped, whether because we don't have access to their own stories of themselves, or because that is all we have access to? Narrative is one of the greatest shapers of identity and perception there are, and we would do well to keep that in mind as we go through every level and aspect of our lives. History is a great ocean full of sunken treasure and hidden wonders, but the stories we tell and the songs we sing about ourselves, and our world are the messages in bottles being carried by the currents of time to the shores of the future. Let us be mindful of what we write.

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80'S POP CULTURE AND THE COLD WAR

By Kevin Earley

Pop culture during the 1980's had many messages to offer concerning social, political, and economic issues. One of the biggest issues during that decade was the ongoing Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union, which had been going on since the end of World War II in 1945. The 80's were able to get pop culture and media in general out there better than any decade prior to it, which is why the way that young people viewed the Cold War was influenced heavily by the types of media that they were consuming. Young people from the United States, Western Europe, and the Communist Bloc were obsessed with the pop culture scene during the 1980's, and whether they knew it or not, they were getting so much information fed to them through their favorite musicians, actors, and writers. Even if one were living in an Eastern Bloc country, which highly censored Western media, one could dig up some sort of piece of pop culture from the West and try to digest whatever message it was trying to send. Due to the wide variety of culture circulating throughout the globe over the course of those 10 years, it's a safe bet that the Cold War had an impact on not just older generations, but the younger ones as well, through all of the music and other popular outlets that covered it throughout that decade. It is very important to consider how that generation saw things through the eyes of musicians, actors, and authors so that we might understand how the changes that were occurring during those 10 years had an impact on young people at the time.

Music was a major contributor in how teenagers and college-age people viewed what was going on with the Cold War. Some songs had hidden references to it whereas

other songs had obvious allusions, which are two great ways to make people think about the words to any given song. One song that had a hidden Cold War reference in it was “Wild, Wild West” by The Escape Club. This song hit the top spot on the Billboard Hot 100 in 1989, as it was a popular song among young people, and some of the song was indeed about the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, though a lot of it was hidden within the lyrics. One of the verses of the song says “Ronnie’s got a new gun”, which clearly refers to Ronald Reagan and how he had been handling the relationship between the two countries throughout the time he was president, which was most of the decade.³⁴⁷ Another song that could be interpreted as if it were talking about the Cold War and how people from both the Soviet Union and from the United States may have viewed each other during times when their international relationship was not good was “People are People” by the electronic music group Depeche Mode. The song presented much that rang true in terms of the west’s relationship to the Communist Bloc in Eastern Europe. One part of the song that reflects this clearly is the first verse which says: “So with different colors, and with different creeds, with different people, and different needs. It’s obvious you hate me, though I’ve done nothing wrong. I’ve never even met you, so what could I have done?”. Another part that reflects that view is the chorus, which says: “People are people, so why should it be you and I should get along so awfully?” Throughout the whole song, the singers are seeming to pose questions about why we as humans can’t get along and live in harmony and why we have so much war in the world.³⁴⁸ The reception to most music in that time was, of course, mixed in

³⁴⁷ The Escape Club. *Wild, Wild West*. Wild, Wild West. EMI, 1988. <https://music.apple.com/us/album/wild-wild-west/41675966?i=41675971>.

³⁴⁸ Depeche Mode. *People Are People*. Some Great Reward. Mute Records, 1984. <https://music.apple.com/us/album/people-are-people/263502341?i=263502464>.

that there were some people who didn't care for a particular song or artist, then there were some who did. With regards to Cold War music, it was a mixed response. However, whether one liked it or not, it did get people to think about the message that it was trying to send about current events of the time regarding US-Soviet relations.³⁴⁹

From another angle, the rock group Survivor's "Burning Heart" from the movie *Rocky IV* provided a clear message about the Cold War highlighting the conflict between the two countries right from the get-go with the lyrics "Two worlds collide, rival nations. It's a primitive clash, venting years of frustrations. Bravely we hope against all hope. There is so much at stake, seems our freedom's up against the ropes. Does the crowd understand? Is it East versus West, or man against man? Can any nation stand alone?". This song became popular because of the movie, and it sends the message to its listening audience (young people), reminding them that the Cold War between the USA and the USSR was still very much alive and that there really was still a clash of ideas between the two as well.³⁵⁰ This idea of the Cold War still going on was also described in Billy Joel's song "We Didn't Start the Fire", where he describes many historical events that had happened from about the early 1950's up until that point in time around 1989, including references to "Joseph Stalin", "Malenkov", "Prokofiev," "Communist Bloc," and "Khrushchev." These are references to key people in the USSR in the 1950's and 1960's, as well as the formation of the Eastern Bloc with all of the Soviet Satellite States in that era. Fast-forwarding to his references to the Cold War in the 80's, he references

³⁴⁹ Robbins, Alex. "Time Will Crawl: Representation of 1980s Cold War Culture and Politics in Popular Music in the West." *University of Portland Pilot Scholars, History Undergraduate Publications and Presentations*, 2017, 24. https://pilotscholars.up.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1011&context=hst_studpubs.

³⁵⁰ Survivor. *Burning Heart*. Rocky IV (Original Motion Picture Soundtrack). Scotti Bros. Records, 1985. <https://music.apple.com/us/album/burning-heart/207443884?i=207444127>.

“Reagan” and “Russians in Afghanistan” where he talks about Ronald Reagan’s presidency and the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan, which was a long insurgency throughout the 80’s that saw the United States provide arms and aid to the Mujahideen who were fighting the Soviets during that time.³⁵¹ These sorts of music with obvious messages were important in that they were able to educate people to an extent where they could formulate their own opinions on the matters that were being discussed in the music they were listening to, and the Cold War was no exception. “We Didn’t Start the Fire”, in particular, could be described as a sort of history lesson shortened to a 3-4 minute song, because of all of the historical events that Billy Joel describes, especially events that happened in the Cold War.

It wasn’t just American and British music acts, however, that were putting out messages about the Cold War. A German group known as Nena came out with a song entitled “99 Luftballons” or “99 Red Balloons” in English. This song describes Russian UFO’s and what they might have done if they came down from the sky to do a sort of air raid with the “red balloons”, which are intended to represent Soviet spacecraft floating in the sky, “red” symbolizing Communism or the Soviet Union as a whole. ³⁵² This fear of Soviet “UFOs” during the 80’s was higher than one might think, because of the nuclear tension between the United States and the USSR. This fear of UFO’s also was caused by both the American and Russian presence in space, where both the US and the USSR had been making numerous advances in the “Space Race” since it began during the 1950’s

³⁵¹ Joel, Billy. *We Didn’t Start the Fire*. Storm Front. Columbia Records, 1989. <https://music.apple.com/us/album/we-didnt-start-the-fire/158618758?i=158619054>.

³⁵² Nena. *99 Red Balloons*. Epic, 1983. <https://music.apple.com/us/album/99-red-balloons/1489263727?i=1489263736>.

.³⁵³ The threat of nuclear war had been a real issue since the invention of nuclear weapons, but young people in the 80's were now able to get more information as well as different perspectives of it through a lot of the music that was being produced throughout the decade. The fear of nuclear conflict inspired many artists to communicate their views on the matter to their respective audiences, which created a bit of paranoia among young people who were really concerned about this during the parts of the 80s where nuclear tensions were at peak boiling points.

Another aspect of the whole music scene during the 80's was how much of an effect it had on young people in the USSR. A lot of the Soviet Socialist Republics (SSR's) within the country started to have issues with censoring Western media, especially if it was consumed in secret.³⁵⁴ For instance, smuggling movies and music was very common in the USSR, but once more openness came about in the late 80s, it became harder for those who still supported censorship to prevent it from being circulated. In the end, with democracy on the rise in the USSR, teenagers could finally enjoy the music they loved without being punished for it.

Just like music, movies had a huge role to play in how young people viewed the Cold War. One of these movies, as stated before, was *Rocky IV*. This movie starred and was directed by Sylvester Stallone, and was the fourth installment of the *Rocky* film series. The movie finds Rocky Balboa, the heavyweight boxing champion of the world, standing toe-to-toe with Soviet boxer Ivan Drago, after the latter of the two killed

³⁵³Burton, Sam. "Paranoia and Pop Culture in Cold War America." *Student Theses, Papers and Projects (History)* 102 (2003). <https://digitalcommons.wou.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1111&context=his>.

³⁵⁴ Clark, Shellie. "Soothing the Savage Beast: Music in the Cultural Cold War, 1945-1991." SUNY, History Masters Theses, May 16, 2015. <http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12648/6484>.

Rocky's friend and former heavyweight champion Apollo Creed in an exhibition fight in Las Vegas. To make matters more difficult for Rocky, along with training in the unforgivable climate of Siberia, he has to face a hostile Soviet crowd with the fight being held in Moscow. At the end of the film, Rocky ends up defeating Drago and winning over the crowd by saying "If I can change, and you can change, everybody can change!". This was very powerful, and it rang true for the times, as Mikhail Gorbachev had just become the leader of the USSR not too long before and had already begun to introduce his programs of Glasnost (Openness) and Perestroika (Restructuring), which allowed for more expression such as being able to criticize what the Soviet government was doing at any given time. It was also very moving to see the portrayal of Gorbachev in this movie applauding Rocky after he defeated Drago and gave his speech after the fight. This would have shown a young person who might not have been paying attention to the news of the USSR's reforms that change was indeed happening and that their generation had hope of seeing the end of the Cold War in Eastern Europe.³⁵⁵

Another movie that shared some messages about the Cold War was *Red Dawn*, which featured Patrick Swayze. Swayze was making a name for himself in the film business at the time as one of the most good-looking celebrities of the decade. This is significant due to the fact that young people could identify with Swayze, as well as the fact that they were attracted to him. The film itself portrays Swayze's character fighting against a Soviet invasion of the United States where a family decides to stand up and fight against the USSR to protect their hometown in Colorado as well as to free the father of the family from captivity. This presents a strong message about what ordinary

³⁵⁵ Stallone, Sylvester. *Rocky IV*. Drama. MGM/UA Entertainment Company, 1985.

backwoods Americans may have done in response to a Russian invasion of the United States, if that situation were to ever present itself. It also most definitely would have had an impression on young peoples' thought process when it came to dealing with the USSR at the time the movie came out in 1984, because at that point we had already seen the US and Soviet relations sour a little bit throughout that early portion of the 1980's.³⁵⁶ Reagan was talking rather tough at the time towards the USSR, and the threat of nuclear war was as present as it had ever been between the two superpowers, so it comes as no surprise that *Red Dawn* portrayed a conflict between them at that point in time.

Along with movies, television had a big influence on how kids may have viewed what was going on in the world during the 80's. MTV had a huge impact on communications because now musical acts had the ability to show what messages they were trying to send with their songs, as well as tell them with the lyrics. Throughout the decade, MTV became increasingly popular in large part because it was really a 24/7 radio station on TV where people could listen and watch at any time, day or night. Another way in which young people in the 1980's would have seen the Cold War from a televised perspective was through major international sporting events such as the Olympics. In 1980, the Winter Olympics in Lake Placid, NY were a huge stage for Cold War tensions with the US having boycotted that year's Summer Games in Moscow due to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. In particular, the ice hockey tournament received a lot of political hype because the US National Team and the Soviet National Team met in the semifinals of the medal round, with the winner going to the gold medal game. The

³⁵⁶ Milius, John. *Red Dawn*. Action. MGM/UA Entertainment Company, 1984.

US pulled off a major upset over the Soviet team-what we now know as the “Miracle On Ice,” - and went on to win the gold medal. This affected American self-esteem in a huge way, especially among young people. In the Soviet Union, it was an embarrassment to young and old folks alike, and it forever changed the dynamics of how Russians viewed their athletes, who then began to slowly head West, largely through defection, though a few were granted permission to leave.³⁵⁷

From a Soviet perspective, young people didn’t really get a taste of western culture until Gorbachev started to thaw relations in the mid-to-late 1980’s. In 1989, these young people finally got to witness a huge glam metal festival, the likes of which they had not seen before. The 1989 Moscow Music Peace Festival brought the likes of Bon Jovi, Motley Crue, Skid Row, Cinderella, and Ozzy Osbourne to the USSR for a huge concert to raise awareness of the war on drugs in that part of the world. However, it gave young people in the Eastern Bloc a real sense of what they had been missing for so long, which was really the feeling that they were able to freely express themselves without having to worry about what their government thought about it. For instance, when Motley Crue came out onto the stage, they felt like they were able to rock out to this music, just as young Americans had been able to do for so long, without having to worry about how the higher authorities felt about it. While watching the festival, one can get a very good idea of how much this meant to young people in Russia, as well as why they wanted more western culture afterward.³⁵⁸ In addition to the mainstream festivals taking place in Russia, there were others throughout the Eastern Bloc that were rallying

³⁵⁷ Hock, Jonathan. *Of Miracles and Men*. Documentary. ESPN Films, 2015.

³⁵⁸ Wayne Isham. “1989 Moscow Music Peace Festival.” *1989 Moscow Music Peace Festival*. Moscow, Russia, August 3, 1989.

around the idea of a Europe that was free from communism and giving people the same basic rights that were being enjoyed in the West. In particular, the Estonian Song Festival, which had started in 1869 and was a major staple in Estonia's pop culture scene, became an official sounding board for that country's independence movement as political protests were sparked by the unity brought on by this music festival.³⁵⁹

Another aspect of 80's pop cultural media that had an impression on young people was magazines. There were many political and social messages within articles that gave their takes on numerous issues, including the Cold War. In particular, *Time Magazine* would have been one of the top publications to get political and pop cultural news from, and there were plenty of issues of *Time* that addressed developments in the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. For example, the article entitled "Playing for the Future" from the April 18th, 1983 issue of *Time* touched on the issue of nuclear weapons disarmament that had been going on for years, and wouldn't be solved until later that decade when Reagan and Gorbachev were able to have a successful relationship as the leaders of their respective countries. Another issue of *Time* from February 27th, 1984 had an article called "Moving to Center Stage" which dealt with the rise of Konstantin Chernenko to the Soviet premiership in 1984, and also mentioned what was going on in the Far East with China at that point in time. Magazines were essentially a sort of young peoples' newspaper during that time in history, and they were also a big part of pop culture in that sense because of how they

³⁵⁹ Rochelle Nowaki. "American Idol: American Pop Culture and Soft Power in Cold War Europe." *University of Hawaii at Hilo, Hohonu 2015 13* (2014): 4.
<https://hilo.hawaii.edu/campuscenter/hohonu/volumes/documents/AmericanIdol-AmericanPopCultureandSoftPowerinColdWarEuropeRochelleNowaki.pdf>.

were able to appeal to teenagers and college students.^{360,361} Teenagers who were actively reading *Time* to catch up on the latest gossip with music and movies could also see what sorts of political events were going on with articles such as these, and could formulate opinions on topics like the Cold War based on what they read.

The 80's had a lot of messages to offer young people about the different issues that were present at the time, especially USA-USSR relations in that late stage of the Cold War. Musicians, filmmakers, artists, and writers portrayed the Cold War to young people in many different ways where they could form their own interpretations about what was happening, and it's very interesting to see what kinds of media were out there and available for kids to help them digest these difficult topics. It's very intriguing to think about how pop culture has impacted future generations with social, political, and economic messages. The 80's added another decade to the long history of how pop culture addressed those issues in today's climate, where unfortunately there is currently the renewed threat of nuclear warfare along with a renewal of United States-Russia tensions. It will be interesting to see how pop culture responds to the crisis in Eastern Europe. We have seen a sort of 80's revival among today's generations, however, with more kids discovering the music, movies, and the other popular media and culture that their parents revered and loved so dearly. That media can still serve a purpose today as billions of people around the world cry out for peace and for the hate among human beings to end. Though the 1980's ended 32 years ago, what happened back then and most especially how it was communicated is very important to how today's world

³⁶⁰ Walter Isaacson. "Playing for the Future." *Time Magazine*, April 18, 1983.
<https://time.com/vault/issue/1983-04-18/page/24/>.

³⁶¹ William Smith. "Moving to Center Stage." *Time Magazine*, February 27, 1984.
<https://time.com/vault/issue/1984-02-27/page/30/>.

understands that era in history, how we apply it to current events, and how we might look at the past and present to create a brighter future. One might not think that a simple song, movie, TV program, or even a magazine article could have such an impact on one's way of thinking, but the reality is that many people are inspired by such things which emboldens them to make a change, however little or big that change may be for the story of mankind.

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THE SUNSHINE OF THE NIGHT: HOW COLEMAN BECAME THE GREATEST NAME IN THE GREAT OUTDOORS

Dylan Bowers

In the past hundred years, few companies have embodied the spirit of American ingenuity, integrity, and culture like The Coleman Company. While today the company's name may invoke memories of night fishing by the unmistakable incandescent glow of a classic "Coleman green" lantern, or the smell of a hardy camp breakfast cooked on a Coleman suitcase stove, their rich history has paralleled the trends of American life since the 1920s. From lighting parlor rooms to expanding access to modern home appliances, to providing innovative new appliances to allied troops during WW2, Coleman's product line of gas-powered lamps, lanterns, stoves, irons, and heaters has withstood the test of time. What had once been a business of necessity in areas not yet touched by the magic of electricity would have to adapt in a rapidly evolving world. The vital years of innovation during the roaring 20s, surviving the great depression and the second world war would see the utility of Coleman appliances succeed in their versatility and relevance for a modern age.

Just as the rise in popularity of the automobile saw an end to the age of horse-drawn carriages, the introduction of Coleman's pressurized gas mantleⁱ lamps and lanterns threatened the age of kerosene wick lamps. While Coleman had been successful in developing the Model R and Air-O-Lite table lamps in 1909 and 1911, the process of lighting these lamps required the use of an alcohol torch to preheat gasoline to the point of vaporization. Coleman realized the hassle of using these lamps, and believed a better, easier to light alternative could be developed. The answer came in 1916 with the introduction of Coleman's model Q burner, which utilized a

redesigned burner head and a longer looped generator,ⁱⁱ which offered more surface area for a match to heat the gas within, therefore negating the use of an alcohol torch.³⁶² With this, Coleman was able to provide a much safer and far brighter alternative for those who still relied on kerosene to light their homes.

The advancement in Coleman's match-lighting burners was accompanied by its "Quick-lite" lamp and lantern models, most popularly the model CQ lamp and QL327 lantern, which highlighted the company's flexibility in producing a safe, user-friendly product. The popularity of the lamp was reflected in its production, which had grown from 120 lamps a month in 1909 to 50,000 lamps in 1920.³⁶³ The ease of use and safety of their products was a major selling point for Coleman who boasted these features in their marketing methods. Coleman would educate their salesforce to display the lamp on a "whirling hand demonstrator" which demonstrated the lamp's ability to stay lit in any position without the threat of combustion seen in oil and kerosene lamps of the time. Coleman had even designed an electric-powered version of the demonstrator to be displayed in their dealer's windows to draw in customers.³⁶⁴ Speaking to the ease of use, full-page advertisements included in *The Saturday Evening Post* boasted "the Quick-Lite has no chimney to get dirty, no wick to trim, no odor, no cleaning necessary!"³⁶⁵ The success and popularity of the Quick-Lite ushered Coleman into the roaring 20s with a sense of pride shared across many industries. However, Coleman would need to compete in the fast-growing market of home appliances in this new age of convenience.

³⁶² The Coleman Lamp Co. "Analysis of the sale of a Coleman Lamp" pub. 1920

³⁶³ Herb Ebendorf, *The History of the Coleman Company 1900-1989*, vol. 1 (Schusters' Printing Co., Inc., 2020), 25.

³⁶⁴ ICCO Inc., *Guide to Vintage Coleman Products 1900-1983*, vol. 1, (Schuster' Printing, 2015).

³⁶⁵ "The Coleman Quick-Lite Most Brilliant Light in the World," *The Saturday Evening Post*, May 31, 1919.

Stylistically, Coleman products fit the mold placed by other industries, like Ford Motor's Model T, which was powerful, durable, and usable. Through the 1910s the quick-lite had earned its badge, a quarter-sized sunburst reading "The Sunshine of the Night" embossed on their nickel-plated tanks. However, the age of expansion saw demand for new, flashy, home appliances explode. Coleman would have to sell more than just the light their lamps produced; they would have to sell their brand to customers of varying demographics. The plain silver on black lamp Coleman had built its company on needed a makeover that would reflect the high society and extravagance of city life. Their answer arrived in 1923 with the introduction of the Coleman Deluxe Parlor Lamp. The new model delivered the same 300 candle power match-lighting burner as previous Quick-Lite models but was pridefully tagged as "The Aristocrat of the Quick-Lite Family" because of its rich gold-bronze floral designed base and shade to match. Brochures for the product boasted its design as producing a pleasant contrast of blended color tones in the amber-colored shade when matched with the abundance of white light provided by the QL burner.³⁶⁶ Unfortunately, the sales of the Deluxe Quick-Lite model did not reflect a desire for the overly ornate design, with records indicating less than 800 shipped during its production run from 1923-1927.³⁶⁷ Though the sales of the Deluxe were lackluster at best, the will of the company to further innovate their technology and product line remained strong.

While Coleman's first attempt to break into the fashionable market of the American aristocrat could not compare to the success of its CQ predecessor, similar inspiration bled into the innovation and designs of the decade. Whereas the entirety of the deluxe model proved too ornate for most customers, Coleman took note of how they could further market the idea of pressurized gas lighting. Instead of focusing solely on the aesthetic of their appliances, Coleman

³⁶⁶ ICCC Inc., *Guide to Vintage Coleman Products 1900-1983*. Pg.41

³⁶⁷ ICCC Inc. pg. 40

sought a balance between convenience and looks. The results of this desire would be seen in 1928 as Coleman introduced its “Instant-Lite” line of lamps and lanterns. Newly designed lamp models, such as the 117, 118, and 119 modestly incorporated stamped decorative tanks painted in a variety of gold and green textured paint.³⁶⁸ Where convenience was concerned, lamps and lanterns alike were fitted with a built-in hand pump, hand-operated filler plug, and a redesigned slated valve assembly. The improvements were advertised by hardware and homeware dealers nationwide as safer, easier to use, and, as had always been the case, built for lifetime use. One ad appearing in a 1929 issue of *The Redwood Gazette* illustrates the duality of Coleman products through its depiction of a family seated around the dinner table reading by the light of a model 119, while the image opposite shows two men laboring over equipment lit by the newly introduced L228 lantern.³⁶⁹ With the advent of the new Instant-Lite line up, Coleman had given new life to their legacy alongside the development of other home appliances.

At the end of the 1920s The Coleman Lamp Company had rebranded itself as The Coleman Lamp & Stove Company, as their products now encompassed gasoline-powered kitchen stoves, camp stoves, heaters, and self-heating irons. Using the same technology found in their older torch-lit lamps, Coleman was able to produce its first self-heating iron in 1924. Advertisements of the product were often placed alongside newspaper articles on the value of women as the cornerstone of homelife, with the tagline “The Iron with the Cool Blue Handle”.³⁷⁰ Others raved about the iron’s ability to stay cool, with its asbestos shielding for longer use, and

³⁶⁸ ICCC Inc., pg.44

³⁶⁹ National Endowment for the Humanities, “The Redwood Gazette. (Redwood Falls, Minn.) 1873-1940, January 23, 1929, Image 4,” January 23, 1929, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85025570/1929-01-23/ed-1/seq-4/>.

³⁷⁰ National Endowment for the Humanities, “Plentywood Herald. (Plentywood, Mont.) 1908-Current, May 06, 1927, Image 6,” May 6, 1927, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86075293/1927-05-06/ed-1/seq-6/>.

the wrinkle-resistant, pointed at both ends, design to ensure the most bang for your buck.³⁷¹ The iron would also share in the development of Coleman's Instant-Lite mechanism through the use of its self-cleaning gas tipⁱⁱⁱ in 1929.³⁷² Sporting a new eye-catching blue porcelain burner shroud to match its "cool blue handle," the models 4 and 4A maintained the level of innovation and progress Coleman had become associated with the latter years of the 20s. Unlike traditional stove-top sad-irons of the time, the introduction of Coleman's self-heating iron provided the same level of convenience as an electric counterpart while extending the brand's famous build quality to other facets of homelife.

Though Coleman had expanded its brand further into the American household, becoming world-renowned as the largest manufacturer of pressure gas products, there was a looming threat on the horizon. The final months of '29 signaled a new era of challenges as the economy spiraled downward into the worst depression in history. Further complicating matters, the company's confidence in developing new products had influenced a risky jump into a line of small electric appliances. Advertised as the ideal gift for any occasion, Coleman branded coffee makers, waffle irons, toasters, and irons promised superior performance in a gleaming "Super-Chromium" package.³⁷³ The message of the electric line-up resembled that of the Deluxe Quick-lite years prior, ornate features for a new market. Collectors and historians alike have a shared sentiment that given time and proper market conditions the Coleman Company would have become known for their electric appliances, but the depression era held little demand for such lavished amenities.³⁷⁴ Thankfully, Coleman's exposure to the new market was not enough to spell

³⁷¹ National Endowment for the Humanities, "The Bozeman Courier. (Bozeman, Mont.) 1919-1954, July 15, 1927, Image 10," July 15, 1927.

³⁷² H.W. Ebendorf, "The Gasoline Self-Heating Iron: Notes on Its Development and Use," April 1984, 8.

³⁷³ National Endowment for the Humanities, "Western News and the Libby Times. (Libby, Mont.) 1920-1933, March 09, 1933, Image 4," March 9, 1933.

³⁷⁴ ICCI Inc., *Guide to Vintage Coleman Products 1900-1983*.

bankruptcy, and the continued development of gas appliances still found ways to light the path forward.

The economic downturn of the early 1930s and President Roosevelt's push for rural electrification could have very well meant the end of gas-powered lighting; however, the addition of more economical products and some clever marketing tactics helped The Coleman Company to maintain relevance. Furthermore, by 1936 Coleman had perfected their instant-light system, implementing its features across their entire product line of newly designed camp stoves, kitchen ranges, irons, heaters, lamps, and lanterns. Among these, the traditional double mantle model 220B and 242 single mantel lanterns benefited from the mass production of new features which granted the same quality Coleman was known for at a lower price.³⁷⁵ Marketed as the "Sport-Lite," the 242 could be seen in advertisements alongside the model 220B being described as "small in size but big in brilliance," offering up to 150 candlepower of bright white light for only \$5.95.³⁷⁶ To further promote sales during the depression era, Coleman began running trade-in sales through their various hardware distributors. During these sales, customers looking to upgrade to an up-to-date instant-lite were offered \$1.50 trade-in value for their old lamp or lantern, dropping the price of the base model 220 to only \$7.00.³⁷⁷ By the end of the decade, the Coleman Company had successfully upheld its brand's reputation for value and quality. However, the spread of electricity in rural America held little promise for gas appliances in the years to come.

³⁷⁵ ICCC Inc.

³⁷⁶ National Endowment for the Humanities, "Nogales International. (Nogales, Ariz.) 1926-1979, June 04, 1932, Image 2," June 4, 1932.

³⁷⁷ National Endowment for the Humanities, "The Redwood Gazette. (Redwood Falls, Minn.) 1873-1940, October 22, 1931, Image 10," October 22, 1931, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85025570/1931-10-22/ed-1/seq-10/>.

The question of how Coleman would weather the electrified world of tomorrow was certainly on the minds of many factory workers in Wichita, but as America entered World War II in 1941, new opportunities presented a way forward. Per the request of the United States Army Quartermaster, Coleman would set out on their first wartime project to create a compact gas-burning stove. In order to meet the Army's requirements, Coleman's stove needed to be no larger than a milk bottle, able to operate at temperatures up to 125 degrees and as low as 60 degrees below zero, and would need to burn nearly any fuel.³⁷⁸ Emboldened by a sense of national duty, it took only 60 short days for Coleman's engineers to design, build, and ship the small stove to be used and carried by soldiers.³⁷⁹ The result of their relentless work, the model 520 "G.I. Pocket Stove," was Coleman's most versatile product yet, being tagged by the famous wartime journalist Ernie Pyle as one of the most important non-combat developments to come out of the war, second only to the Jeep.³⁸⁰ Though Coleman would go on to make a total of 9 different stoves for military use, the versatility of the compact 520 burner was only second to a Coleman lantern's famous "Light of a Thousand Uses." Its wild success in proving the brands commitment to excellence would set the tone for the decade.

With the G.I. pocket stove gaining substantial notoriety for its handy use in fox holes and command tents across the war front, Coleman would realize a sizeable expansion into the recreational outdoors once the war was over. It was during this post-war era that The Coleman Company began to take familiar shape as the company we know today. Wartime advertisements displaying the utility of Colemans lanterns and stoves had resulted in a surge of popularity not

³⁷⁸ Ryan Durant, Kyle Hildebrant September 4, and 2019, "How a Shift from Military Manufacturing to Outdoors Products Defined Coleman's Brand," OVO, September 4, 2019, <https://brandsbyovo.com/defining-the-coleman-brand/>.

³⁷⁹ Herb Ebendorf, *The History of the Coleman Company 1900-1989*, 1:75–77.

³⁸⁰ *Field & Stream*, 1976.

seen since the early 1920s.³⁸¹ Not letting the progress of their contributions to the war go to waste, Coleman introduced the G.I. stove to the civilian market in 1946 as the model 530. With the stove virtually indistinguishable from its military counterpart, marketing pushed the stove as ideal for fishermen, hunters, campers, and picnic parties.³⁸² Further reflecting the company's new position, consumer demand for irons, kitchen stoves, and table lamps had dropped off substantially as the demand for lanterns and camp stoves skyrocketed.³⁸³ While Coleman had spent years developing an entire line of home gas appliances, the end of the 40s signaled a new beginning for Coleman that would solidify their brand as the most reliable name in outdoor camping equipment.

Born from a simple necessity for better lighting, the Coleman Company began its journey in an age of diverse industry-wide expansion. The challenges and missteps along the way could have meant the end for any one of Coleman's various products, but their dedication to adapt and overcome through the decades ensured the brand's supremacy. As new products, both electric and gas, were developed to accommodate the changing world, the Coleman lantern remained the company's true constant. With a refreshed focus on the recreational market, models like the 220 and 242 lanterns and camp stoves alike would become synonymous with outdoor culture for many years to come.

ⁱ The term mantle refers to the silk woven bag attached to the burner of a lamp or lantern. The silk is treated with the radioactive element thorium which glows bright white when heated by the flame from the burner.

ⁱⁱ The term generator is used to describe the thin brass tube that supplies gas to the burner head with a needle sized orifice at the top. Pressurized gas travels through the generator, heated by the flame of a match to the point of vaporizing. The vaporized gas then travels through the orifice, into the burner

³⁸¹ ICCC Inc., *Guide to Vintage Coleman Products 1900-1983*, pp.334.

³⁸² National Endowment for the Humanities, "The Nome Nugget. (Nome, Alaska), July 12, 1946, Image 4,"

³⁸³ Herb Ebendorf, *The History of the Coleman Company 1900-1989*, 1:84.

tubes to be lit at the mantel. Often, advertisements from the 1920s and 30s would refer to this process with the claim that Coleman appliances “make their own gas”.

ⁱⁱⁱ The self-cleaning gas tip, also known as a roto-type generator, refers to the newer generator design which incorporated a rod and needle housed within the generator which could be actuated by a lever at its base to clear carbon build up at the orifice.

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