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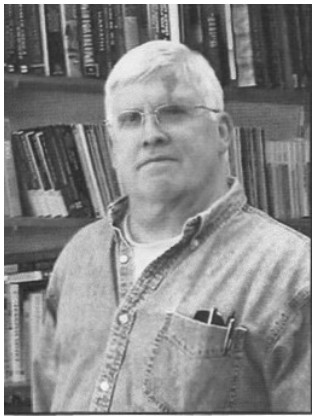
Editors' Note

The *Fairmount Folio* was created by Dr. Helen S. Hundley in 1996 to provide a forum for undergraduate and graduate students to publish exceptional historical work. Over the course of twenty years and seventeen volumes, she has served as the driving force and champion of the *Folio*. She has overseen every detail of its publication, including the transition to a digital format. Her dedication is such that even after a serious accident in March of 2016, she continued guiding the publication of this volume. "Tis only a flesh wound," she might have said. To her, this volume is affectionately dedicated.

Dr. Robert M. Owens and Felicia Hammons

Dr. Willard C. Klunder



Associate Professor Willard Klunder passed away on September 24, 2015. Dr. Klunder joined the History Department in 1986 as Assistant Professor, specializing in the history of the American Civil War as well as the Age of Jefferson and Jackson. He frequently taught the department's professional course required of all majors, History 300-Introduction to Historical Research and Writing. In the latter course he rigorously trained many history majors in the nuances of doing historical research and writing that served them well in their future upper division courses, the department, and beyond. This in part reflected Will's graduate tutelage under the late Robert W. Johannsen, who stressed readability as well as analytical precision. Will's popular course on the Civil War attracted many non-majors, as well as Wichita community members. His book *Lewis Cass and the Politics of Moderation* (Kent State University Press, 1996) was a well-received biography of one of the leading American political figures of the first half of the nineteenth century.

Dr. Klunder was very active in the activities of the WSU Faculty Senate as a longtime member and twice as its president. He logged many thankless but valuable hours on a slew of department, college, and university committees with considerable diligence. His detailed knowledge of university policies and tenacity for their enforcement made him a strong advocate of faculty and student interests. Dr. Klunder earned the History B.A. from St. Olaf College in Minnesota and the Master's and Ph.D. in History from the University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana. A native of the Park Ridge neighborhood of

Chicago, he remained an inveterate (if long-suffering) Chicago Cubs fan, and an avid fisherman. He is further remembered as a dedicated father and husband, who took great pride and pleasure in planning family summer vacations. He is survived by his mother, a brother, three daughters, and his wife, Cathy.

Dr. John E. Dreifort and Dr. Robert M. Owens

Dr. Klunder was one of those people who took me under his wing to show me the workings of university governance. He was the one who would say "you need to be on this or that committee" because down the road, he knew how those contacts would pan out. He understood the value of relationships and working on projects. That was what made him such a tremendous resource in faculty meetings. He knew how the processes worked, what had been tried or not, and why certain processes were the way they were. This really came home with his illness and passing. I knew he had been active at many levels of the university. I had no idea how many, however, when it became clear how many people were concerned and wanted to be kept updated…and not just from History or even Liberal Arts. People from totally different parts of the university had similar concerns.

Dr. Jay M. Price

Fiske Hall Paper Awards 2016

Undergraduate Paper Awards

Bendell
John Freeman
"The End of the Vortex: Contextualizing Allen Ginsberg's 1966 Visit to Wichita"

John Rydjord Jr.
Vinh Nguyen
"The Mechanism of Bitcoin Mining and Its Environmental Incompatibility"

Graduate Paper Awards

Fiske Non-Seminar
Seth Bate
"A Family Friendly Force: Providing a Family Visitation Option for SAC Alert Crews"

Fiske Seminar
Aaron Peterka
"*Les Americains Noirs*: Race and Racism in the U.S. and French Army during World War I"

Rejecting Eve: Reception of Christianity Among Cherokee and Iroquois Women

Emily Matta

Christianity and the values it espoused were antithetical to traditional Iroquoian and Cherokee values. Women experienced similar social, economic, political, and religious authority within their respective societies. Their experiences in regard to Christianity, however, differed, although acceptance of missionaries in both societies was more for political and economic reasons rather than a genuine interest in Christianity. Iroquois women were profoundly suspicious of missionaries and consistently rejected Christianity. Huron and Algonquian adoptees with prior experience in established missions warned their new brethren that the presence of missionaries served as a prelude to European expansion, disease, and war. Cherokee women perceived Christianity and the civilization mission it carried with it as a validation of the work in which they already engaged. They remained outwardly more receptive but maintained aspects of their traditional spirituality. Both societies combatted Christianity's attempt to subjugate women and struggled to maintain the gender balance so central to their cultures. These traditional powers held by women, and their resistance to a forced transition to patriarchy, are exemplified by two Native women: Degonwadonti, or Molly Brant (Mohawk), and Nanyehi, or Nancy Ward (Cherokee).

The feminine reception of Christianity hinges on an understanding of creation myths and the gendered expectations and subsequent distribution of power they set forth within these nations. At the center of the Iroquois creation story are two women and animals. Sky Woman, a powerful spiritual being, fell from the heavens and was saved by the animals living on the ocean world below. They forged a livable environment using a tortoises' shell and dirt retrieved from the ocean floor by a beaver. Pregnant when she fell, Sky Woman eventually gave birth to a daughter, the Lynx. They roamed the earth together creating new plants for sustenance: corn, beans, squash, and potatoes. The Lynx herself became pregnant with the North Wind's twins and died in childbirth. With her burial, she became Mother Earth. The two boys, Flint and Sapling, roamed the forest creating woodland creatures, trees, and thorny bushes. Their frequent childhood brawls caused mountains and rushing rivers to form. One of Flint's tantrums even caused the Little Ice Age. Sky Woman created the moon and stars to guide her

grandchildren and ensure that they would never become lost. When she passed away, Sapling reached into the sky and placed Grandmother's ashes on the moon. She became Grandmother Moon, eternally watching over all of her ancestors.[1]

Cherokee creation myths bear remarkable resemblance to these of the Iroquois, similarly identifying gender roles and communal aspects of society. In this mythos too, animals created the earth from a world of water. The water beetle brought mud from the bottom of the ocean to create the earth. The vulture flew for days in pursuit of the best land for all of the animals to settle and grew tired. He landed in what was later Cherokee country. Mankind was created not in the form of a man and wife, but as brother and sister. Some generations later, a hunter named Kanati and his wife Selu (corn) raised two mischievous boys who, curious of the way their father hunted, accidentally released all of the game their father reserved in a shed and used sparingly. Fearful of the way their mother secured grain and corn, seemingly by magic, they accused her of sorcery and beheaded her.[2]

These creation stories reflect the gender balance inherent to the very cores of both Iroquois and Cherokee society. It is indisputable that gender roles held a central aspect, however, no gender hierarchy existed to elevate one sex over the other. Both genders held important duties and responsibilities vital to the survival and continued well-being of society. The basis of Cherokee and Iroquois women's status stemmed from their tremendous contribution to society through agriculture. Estimates claim that sixty-five percent of the Iroquois diet came from agricultural products.[3] Through their connection with Mother Earth, they bore legal rights to the land and all of the production it yielded. Dominion over agricultural products was confirmed through creation stories rendering the distribution of the bounty at their discretion. Sky Woman and the Lynx were the creators and cultivators of vegetation essential to Iroquois subsistence: corn, beans, squash, and (later) potatoes. As 'Keepers of the Field,' they were responsible for planting, maintaining, and harvesting the crop. The twins, however, confined themselves and their creations to the forest where they hunted and fished. As 'Keepers of the Forest,' men only aided in the horticultural process when they were called upon to

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[1] Barbara Alice Mann, *Iroquoian Women: The Gantowisas* (New York: Peter Long, 2000), 32-44.

[2] Carolyn Ross Johnston, *Voices of Cherokee Women* (North Carolina: John F. Blair, 2013), 5-15.

[3] Mann, *Iroquoian Women,* 222.

clear forestry for new fields. Similarly, Cherokee women were responsible for planting fields, held title to the land and its produce, but received more help from men who aided in clearing trees, planting, and harvesting. Kanati and Selu were the founders of Cherokee male and female gender roles; Selu responsible for producing agricultural produce and Kanati for providing meat and furs.

Alongside their economic importance, women possessed considerable political powers. Jesuit missionary Joseph-Francios Lafitau lived among the Iroquois at the Sault Saint Louis Mission outside Montreal for five years in the 1720s. In his 1,000-page ethnographic study compiling his own observances and those documented by previous Jesuit missionaries, Lafitau describes an implicit matriarchy:

> Nothing is more real than this superiority of the women. It is of them that the nation really consists; and it is through them that the nobility of the blood, the genealogical tree and the families are perpetuated. All real authority is vested in them. The land, the fields and their harvest all belong to them. They are the souls of the Councils, the arbiters of peace and of war.[4]

G*antowisa*, the Iroquoian term for woman, held a profoundly positive connotation denoting high status, ability, goodness, and intelligence. *Gantowisas* ran local clan councils, held lineage wampum, nomination belts, titles, and hosted funerals. The office of Matron, attained through lineage or exemplary works, held exclusive rights over the naming and nominating of sachems and Clan Mothers. They held their own councils, and possessed the power to impeach officials. Molly Brant, the sister of Chief Thayandanegea (Joseph Brant), held this esteemed title. Women were allowed to speak at men's councils and vice versa but only through a male representative, further emphasizing the rigid gender system central to society.[5] Iroquoian women were valued for their mediating skills, evident in the creation story with Sky Woman's mediation between Flint and Sapling's frequent fights. This made them responsible for securing peace and settling disputes within the tribe and occasionally with outsiders. When captives were taken, the *gantowisas* determined who

[4] Jan V. Noel, "Revisiting Gender in Iroquoia," in *Gender and Sexuality in Indigenous North America, 1400-1850*, ed. Fay A. Yarbrough and Sandra Slater (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2011), 59.
[5] Mann, *Iroquoian Women,* 224.

would be adopted into society to replace the fallen and who would be tortured to death.

Cherokee women, *anigeya*, appear to have had marginally less political power than their Iroquoian counterparts. Both men and women participated in decision-making, but since foreign relations were the explicit sphere of men, women's primary participation was limited to local councils. The honor of 'War Woman' could be obtained through extraordinary and unexpected feats in battle or by caring for the camp, making food, providing medicine, and maintaining fires on the war path.[6] Aged war women gained the office of 'Beloved Woman.' This esteemed title entrusted them with securing and maintaining peace. They served on their own council, which had an influence in waging or ending warfare. Like the Iroquois, Cherokee women holding the title 'eloved oman' were responsible for determining the fate of prisoners of war and could override the death penalty.[7] Nancy Ward, perhaps the most recognizable Cherokee beloved woman, frequently practiced this right by saving captured colonials' lives. Both groups of women also held an unofficial veto to war through their economic power. Although women could formally petition war, historically, this jurisdiction was solely the realm of men and ultimately their decision. But by withholding supplies such as coats, moccasins, and food, women were making their disapproval of the raid or war explicitly clear. Without these essential supplies, the men may have had to discard their plans and compromise with the women.

Both cultures were matrilineal, meaning that clan lineage was passed down through the female line. Husbands relocated to the wives' family home. Households were dominated by the 'Clan Mother,' generally one of the oldest women in the clan lineage nominated by the women of the home.[8] Divorce was easy to obtain and generally a result of an unproductive partner, inability to produce children, disrespect to the mother-in-law, or frequent feuds. Infidelity was cause for divorce in Cherokee society but extramarital affairs were not frowned upon among the Iroquois. In the event of divorce, men left their children in the wives'

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[6] Michelene Pesantubee, "Nancy Ward: American Patriot or Cherokee Nationalist?" *American Indian Quarterly* 38, no. 2 (Spring 2014): 185.

[7] Richard A. Sattler, "Women's Status Among the Muskogee and Cherokee," in *Women and Power in Native North America*, ed. Laura F. Klein and Lillian A. Ackerman (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 222.

[8] Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 23.

household and returned to their mother's matrilocus. Seneca women often practiced polyandry and polygamy, the practice of taking multiple husbands or wives. Premarital sex was normal in both cultures and even encouraged as healthy for the body. Women, more often in the Iroquois nations, also held the power to determine how many children they wanted. Abortion and prevention were often utilized by drinking the juice of specific roots.[9]

Iroquoian women held tremendous religious authority as medicine women. They were responsible for cleaning and reburying the bones of ancestors, interpreting dreams, speaking to spirits through natural mediums, and serving as guides to daughters on vision quests. *Gantowisas* were deemed especially talented in shamanism and constituted two-thirds of the nation's Faithkeepers.[10] Among the Cherokees, both men and women could serve the community as shamans or conjurers of powerful spirits. Beloved women were responsible for blessing the corn during the Green Corn Ceremony, making the consumption of the newly harvested produce acceptable. As descendants of Selu, whose blood was spilt and created the first cornfields, only women could be involved in the process. Those talented in shamanism, such as members of the Wolf Clan, were responsible for preparing the 'black drink.' This life-protecting emetic elixir was central to the warriors' pre-battle purification ritual.[11]

Along with guns, horses, and disease, the Europeans brought with them a rigid patriarchal tradition stemming from their adherence to, and reverence for, Christianity. Their initial and long-lasting impressions of the Natives were stringently negative. Native men were perceived to be effeminate and idle due to their excessive hunting ventures. Among Europeans, hunting was a leisure activity restricted to all but the aristocracy. Native women's hard work in the fields, the realm of men in Europe, was misinterpreted as forced drudgery. A newspaper 'account' of the Mohawk Indians in the *New-York Packet* in 1787 captures this attitude well in stating, "The women must prepare the land, sow, reap and do every thing. The men do nothing but hunt, fish and war against their enemies."[12]

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[9] Mann, *Iroquoian Women,* 266.
[10] Ibid., 295.
[11] Norma Tucker, "Nancy Ward: Ghighau of the Cherokees," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 53, no. 2 (June 1969): 193.
[12] "A Short Account of the Mohawk Indians in New-Netherlands," *New-York Packet*, February 6, 1787.

The first missions among the Iroquois and Cherokees were of different denominations; the Iroquois were first exposed to the Jesuits and later the Quakers, while the Cherokees were exclusively exposed to Protestant denominations. Although remarkably similar in terms of their mythos and women's roles in society, it is here in their experiences and reactions to Christianity where they differ. Their interactions with missionaries will be studied separately and reconciled in the conclusion.

The colonial expansion of New France brought conflict between French settlers and Iroquois. To secure peace and in an attempt to convince the French to side with them against the Susquehannocks and Mohonks, Iroquoian leaders expressed interest in Christianity and allowed the construction of Jesuit missions in League member nations beginning in the mid-1600s. From the beginning, Iroquoian interest in Christianity was political, economic, and diplomatic, not theological. The French and Jesuits complied with gift giving traditions and the practice of 'hostage' giving. People of the nation were surrendered to the traditional enemy and vice versa to ensure that they would not later attack and risk the death of their kinsmen. Headmen in any given nations were likely to give up members of his own family while the French gladly sent Jesuit missionaries.[13] The Iroquois also enjoyed the material benefits of a relationship with the missionaries who brought clothing, food, medicine and tools.

Christian concepts such as original sin, redemption, faith, heaven, hell, and purgatory held no equivalent in the Iroquois language and were therefore difficult to interpret and unpleasant to contemplate. Jesuits were dedicated to the study of native languages however, facilitating their communication of challenging concepts. The biblical creation story was the most significant point of contention. One omniscient creator was already in stark contrast to the communal creation of the Iroquois world, which evoked harmony with animals, men and women. The biblical creation story was steeped in discord and immediately established a gender hierarchy, casting women in an inferior and unsavory role. Woman was made as a companion to Adam, whereas the Sky Woman came first. Eve resembled weakness, vanity, and a susceptibility to evil. These fatal flaws risked contaminating the superior purity of man. A woman damned mankind to be born in a state of original sin. This

[13] Daniel K. Richter, "Iroquois Versus Iroquois: Jesuit Missions and Christianity in Village Politics, 1642-1685," *Ethnohistory* 32, no. 1 (Winter 1985): 7.

concept of women being the source of men's woes was foreign and unwelcome among the Iroquois.

It cannot be said with absolute certainty how women reacted to the Christian religion. French officials and missionaries primarily documented their interactions with men perceiving them to be the dominant members of society similar to European standards. However, we do know that Iroquois society as a whole largely rejected Christianity and cast out those who converted in an unusually violent fashion. Multiple accounts of verbal and physical abuse such as beatings and stoning of converts exist. The Jesuits promoted the fracture of kinship ties by encouraging followers to leave their homes and move to missions. This posed a severe threat to the matrilineage.[14] The Jesuits forbade participation in traditional ceremonies that celebrated "pagan deities." Participation in these ceremonies was vital, and a refusal to attend reflected poorly on the entire clan. Jesuits also attempted to police sexuality and eliminate polyandry and polygamous marriages, assaulting some of women's social power and autonomy.

Fear and misunderstanding hampered the missionaries' efforts. The Beaver Wars during the 1640s were waged out of a desperate need to rebuild the dwindling population through the capture and adoption of war prisoners. Some captives, primarily Algonquians and Hurons, had adopted Christianity and already began spreading the gospel among their new brethren. Most, however, provided the Iroquois with a terrifying look at the 'black-coats.' They were believed to be sorcerers who brought disease, killed crops, and ran off wild game.[15] The practice of 'deathbed conversions' lent credence to the claim that the Jesuit baptism was a curse damning the recipient to death.

> Jesuit policy was to withhold baptism from a potential convert until that person was at the moment of death or the missionaries were sure that he or she would not apostatize. One sees savages fall back almost right after baptism-because they do not have enough courage to scourn public opinion that is the only law of these people there.[16]

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[14] Richter, "Iroquois Versus Iroquois," 9.

[15] Ibid., 5-10.

[16] K. I. Koppedrayer, "The Making of the First Iroquois Virgin: Early Jesuit Biographies of the Blessed Kateri Tekakwitha," *Ethnohistory* 40, no. 2 (Spring 1993): 286-88.

Jesuits also defied cultural norms with their insistence on privacy. They were rumored to practice dark magic in their private dwellings.

Accounts of conversion were detailed in the Jesuit *Relations*. Numbers were often inflated to incite more support and donations to their cause. According to Father Vincent Bigot, between 1668 and 1679, 3,000 Iroquois were baptized; 1,200 on their deathbeds and 1,800 healthy adults and children.[17] This claim would mean that twenty percent of the Iroquois population converted to Christianity. Success for the Jesuits typically relied on good relations with France and victory for the Iroquois against their foes. When epidemics struck and Iroquois warriors faced defeat, entire nations seemed to lose their faith. In 1649, Jean de Brebeuf was bound and baptized in scalding water by the Mohawks at the mission of St. Ignance.[18] Escalating episodes of violence encouraged Jesuit missionaries to withdraw and converts to escape with them. After a poorly planned French invasion into Iroquois territory, the remaining Jesuit missionaries removed and pious converts followed, abandoning the most vital link to their society; kinship. Mary Jemison, a white woman captured and adopted by the Seneca in 1755, described their aversion to Christianity:

> They say that Jesus Christ has nothing to do with them; and that the Christian religion was not designed for their benefit; but rather; should they embrace it; they are confident it would make them worse, and consequently give them injury. They say also that the Great Good Spirit gave them their religion; and that it is better adapted to their circumstances, situation, and habits, and to the promotion of their present comfort and ultimate happiness, than any system that ever has or can be devised.[19]

Episcopal churches were erected by Sir William Johnson, the British Superintendent of Indian Affairs, beginning in 1756. He secured an alliance with the Mohawk nation to ensure greater access to the fur trade, and later between Britain and the Six Nations during the Seven

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[17] Richter, "Iroquois Versus Iroquois," 8-12.
[18] Dominique Deslandres, "In God's Name," *Canada's History* 91, no. 2 (April 2011): 2-3.
[19] James E. Seaver, *Deh-he-wa-mis: or A Narrative of the Life of Mary Jemison* (Batavia, NY: William Seaver and Sons, 1844), 154.

Years' War. As a convert himself, originally an Irish Catholic, the importance of religion was steeped in its ability to allow him to advance politically. His relationship with Molly Brant (Degonwadonti), the daughter of a respected sachem, secured this alliance and ensured a decades-long friendship with the Mohawk. Historians question whether their marriage was legitimate or civil, but some accounts claim that the two shared a legal ceremony in an Episcopal church commissioned by Johnson:

> It's true that Sir William was married to Molly according to the rite of the Episcopal Church, but a few years before his death, the Baronet, feeling his life drawing to a close, and abhorring living longer in adultery, to quiet his conscience, privately married Molly to legitimize his children by her. [20]

If the two did indeed marry as the above account claims, Molly chose not to take Johnson's patronym. As a Matron, the loss of the matronymic Brant, which tied her to clan and lineage, may have destroyed her political authority among the Mohawk.[21] As a transitory figure between Mohawk traditionalism and Anglo-European values, she was a powerful and esteemed figure on both sides. As a Matron, she held immense powers in council and, through her access to Sir William Johnson's accounts, her gift-giving and charity elevated her ever higher. Her brother, Joseph Brant, was sponsored by Johnson to attend Wheelock's School and was later supported as Principal Chief of the Six Nations.

The success of this relationship hinged on the Mohawks' view that Johnson might protect them from further incursions by American colonials as Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the British Crown. The Mohawk gifted Johnson 66,000 acres, a transaction disapproved of by the crown and surveyors alike, who sought to make purchases. By gifting this extensive tract of land to a trusted ally, the Mohawks avoided pressure to sell it to Anglo-Americans who were already encroaching on Mohawk territory.[22] By this time, and perhaps with the influence of Sir William, the Six Nations were beginning to settle as farmers in European-style

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[20] Jeptha R. Simms, *History of Schoharie County and Border Wars of New York* (Albany: Munsell & Tanner, 1845), 112.
[21] Jean Johnson, "Molly Brant: Mohawk Matron," *Ontario History* 52, no. 2 (1964): 119.
[22] Ibid., 114.

wooden households. Molly herself adjusted well to life in Johnson Hall and was often left in control of the operation of the manor while Johnson was away.

Johnson frequently attempted to exclude women from politics, such as in 1762, when he asked Iroquois men to meet at Johnson Hall without bringing female delegates.[23] To him, Molly's prestige among the Six Nations did not justify her involvement in politics, but she undoubtedly used her husband's stature to enhance her own influence on both sides. After his death on the eve of the Revolution, she maintained tremendous power and encouraged British support through sheltering Loyalists and sending arms and ammunition to British soldiers.[24] She may have influenced Joseph's decision to ally with the British in the American Revolution. In a public debate, a dissident chief who argued for neutrality was harshly rebuked by Molly herself, who brought up her late husband's dedication as cause to ally with the British. American officials feared her influence. "For one word from her is more taken Notice of by the Five Nations than a thousand from any white man without exception."[25] After the war, Molly moved to Canada and received a land grant from the Crown in return for her service at Carleton Island base "keeping the Indians orderly."[26] Although she maintained traditional dress and mostly spoke Mohawk throughout her life, her daughters married into the Upper Canadian elite as acculturated ladies.

With the American Revolution came the fragmentation of the centuries old alliance between the six Iroquoian nations. The Mohawk, Seneca, Cayuga, and Onondaga sided with the British, but even the Oneida and Tuscarora, who aided the rebels, were labeled conquered peoples at the Peace of Paris in 1783. The Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1784 formally secured peace between the belligerent Iroquois nations and the United States. The treaty recognized the allegiance of the Oneida and Tuscarora and established a reserve boundary for the Iroquois nations, making it the first Indian reservation in the US. The Six Nations were recognized as sovereign nations and were guaranteed protection of reservation lands, but the guarantee was later revoked. Two further treaties signed with New York divested the Oneidas of 5,250,000 acres of

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[23] Gretchen Green, "Molly Brant, Catharine Brant and Their Daughters: A Study in Colonial Acculturation," *Ontario History* 81, no. 3 (1989): 238.
[24] Ibid., 239.
[25] Johnson, "Molly Brant: Mohawk Matron," 118.
[26] Ibid., 120.

land, despite their valiant service in the war, leaving them with a mere 750,000 acres.[27]

Desperate to win allies that might protect their remaining lands, the Oneidas invited the Quakers to establish missions on the New York reservations. They hoped that they might legally and politically assist the Iroquois in limiting pressures to abandon their traditional gender roles and economic activities, and prevent further land fraud. Despite Quaker ambivalence toward politics, those were precisely the changes they sought to implement. Prior to the war, the Iroquois could adopt those aspects of Anglo-European society that suited them at their leisure. Conversion was not deemed critical for good relations. Afterwards, stripped of land and some measure of sovereignty, the pressure to convert and civilize intensified. In the Treaty of Canandaigue in 1789, technical assistance in agriculture was to be provided by the government and the Quakers were enlisted to instruct the Iroquois. The transition to agriculture at any cost would be their primary goal, along with teaching English, and lastly, religion. Rather than aid the Oneidas in managing their land affairs and protecting from fraud, as Sir William Johnson had done for the Mohawks, the Quakers passively watched as the Oneidas were conned out of their remaining hunting grounds.[28] The sale of land helped further their mission by forcing the nation to adopt European-style agriculture. Iroquois women were expected to give up agriculture, the source of their independence and economic power. Only men were approached when consulting important matters, which further eliminated women's political power.[29] By 1810, the Oneidas had largely conformed to federal expectations. Due to loss of land and natural resources, they made the adjustments necessary for survival. Men engaged in European-style plow agriculture and animal husbandry. Women performed domestic duties but refused to relinquish absolute power on agriculture. They continued horticultural activities, but on a smaller scale, and cared for small animals.

Outright conversion was still frowned upon but a hybrid religion, devised by the reformed Seneca drunkard Handsome Lake in the early 1800s, fused aspects of Christian ideology with traditional Iroquoian spirituality. The Longhouse Religion borrowed concepts such as monotheism, a battle between good and evil, heaven and hell, the

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[27] Karen Trio, "We Wish to Do You Good: The Quaker Mission to the Oneida Nation, 1790-1840," *Journal of the Early Republic* 26, no. 3 (Fall 2006): 357.
[28] Ibid., 356.
[29] Mann, *Iroquoian Women*, 153.

confession of sins, salvation, and visions of impending destruction.[30] They reshaped the Iroquoian creation story to suit their agenda, diminishing Sky Woman, the Lynx, and even the animals' roles as communal creators. Sapling, one of the male twins, was identified as the creator and Flint, the destroyer, therefore locking the brothers in an eternal battle between good and evil to represent God's eternal struggle with Satan.[31] The religion also advocated the disempowerment of women through the transition to nuclear families. The husband-wife relationship was supposed to take precedence over kinship ties working to destroy the matrilineal nature of the League.[32] Abortion was outlawed, stripping women's power to choose, and fenced farmsteads quickly replaced longhouses. They attempted to outlaw women's spirituality and put control of Faithkeeping exclusively into the hands of men. Although women did lose substantial economic and political power, they managed to cling to religious authority, holding an equal number of Faithkeeper positions.[33] Chief Cornplanter was the primary adversary to the Longhouse Religion, advocating instead for the maintenance of the traditional mythos of Sky Woman and the Lynx. The *gantowisas* ardently supported him, but eventually both Christianity and the Longhouse Religion won out over the traditions of the past. Women, like most male Iroquois, often chose the Longhouse Religion over Christianity.

Facing removal, Cherokee women welcomed missionaries and the civilizing mission they brought. Civilization was thought to bring improvement and efficiency rather than a profound change in gender relations. Hinged on agriculture and domestic manufacturing, women believed that the program validated the *anigeya's* traditional work while serving to protect the entire nation from removal.[34]

Nancy Ward (Nanye'hi) encouraged this acculturation prior to the spread of Christianity through her protection of war captives during the American Revolution. She used her authority as a beloved woman to halt the torture and execution of a colonial woman named Lydia Bean. Ward asked Bean to teach the Cherokees how to make milk and butter,

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[30] Matthew Dennis, *Seneca Possessed: Indians, Witchcraft, and Power in the Early American Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 16.
[31] Mann, *Iroquoian Women,* 23.
[32] Joy Bilharz, "First Among Equals?: The Changing Status of Seneca Women," in *Women and Power in Native North America*, ed. Laura F. Klein and Lillian A. Ackerman (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 108.
[33] Mann, *Iroquoian Women,* 157.
[34] Perdue, *Cherokee Women, 1700-1835*, 115.

but made no mention of interest in Christianity. Her advocation of neutrality and acculturation were driven by her office as a beloved woman. Peacekeeping was their primary concern and only through peace and assimilation could they hope to avoid war and potential removal. Despite her attempts, the Chickamauga Cherokee militant Dragging Canoe waged war on surrounding settlements in 1781, fueling an unmerciful response by Colonel Arthur Campbell:

> In the mean time the famous Indian woman Nancy Ward came to camp. She gave us various intelligence, and made an overture in behalf of some of the chiefs for peace : to which I then evaded giving an explicit answer, as I wished first to visit the vindictive part of the nations, mostly settled at Hiwasse and Chistowee, and to distress the whole as much as possible by destroying their habitations and provisions.[35]

Ward provided intelligence to American officials on more than one occasion. Scholars have long debated her rationale for alerting the Americans of impending attacks by her own countrymen. Michelene Pesantubee argues that Ward's actions were a re-assertion of her traditional powers consistent with her office of Beloved Woman and membership in the Wolf Clan.[36] By warning white settlements of coming assaults, Ward hoped to provide protection for women and children, and by doing so protect her own warriors from spilling innocent blood. The Americans used this information to intercept war parties, attack Cherokee towns, and destroy fields while warriors were away. Colonials' respect for Ward secured her family's safety. "We brought in the family of Nancy Ward, whom for their good offices we do not consider as prisoners. The whole are in Major [Joseph] Martin's care at Great-Island."[37] Campbell's campaign devastated the Cherokees, who were already suffering from the decline of the deerskin trade.

> We have destroyed the towns of Chote, Seitego, Tuskeego, Chilhowe, Toque, Micliqua, Kai-a-tee, Sattoga,

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[35] "Colonel Campbell's Report of the Expedition Against the Cherokees," *New-Jersey Gazette*, March 21, 1781.
[36] Pesantubee, "Nancy Ward: American Patriot or Cherokee Nationalist?" 192.
[37] "Colonel Campbell's Report of the Expedition Against the Cherokees," *New-Jersey Gazette.*

> Telico, Hiwassee and Chistowee, all principal towns, besides some small ones, and several scattering settlements, in which were upward of 1000 houses, and not less than 50,000 bushels of corn, and large quantities of other kinds of provision…Never did a people so happily situated act more foolishly, in losing their livings and their country at a time an advantageous neutrality was held out to them ; but such are the consequences of British seduction.[38]

As a result of this decline, Cherokee women welcomed the spinning and weaving techniques and materials missionaries could supply as alternative clothing options. The Moravians were invited to settle among the Cherokee in 1799, and the Spring Place Mission was officially opened in 1801.[39] After one year in operation, the Cherokee Council sent an ultimatum to the mission requesting less Christianizing and more civilizing instruction. Clearly, Cherokee interest lay not in religious instruction, but in economic and industrial tutorials that might help their society adapt to the rapidly changing economic landscape. After nine years, they finally received their first convert, a widowed Cherokee woman named Margaret Anne Crutchfield.[40] A second convert, Charles Hicks, followed a year later.

The Presbyterians and Congregationalists, led by John Martin, followed in 1816. According to an advertisement in the *Boston Recorder* in June of 1816, the "leading qualifications" for becoming a missionary were "a well established moral and religious character; an ardent desire to be instrumental in imparting to the poor Indians the blessings of Christianity and civilization," and finally, "a good English education and a taste and genius for agriculture."[41] Perceiving Anglo-American ways to be superior in all forms, Protestant missionaries typically did not bother to learn the Cherokee language. This made communicating concepts such as original sin, damnation, heaven, and hell far more difficult to translate. Although intrigued by the Bible, which they believed to be the key to the whites' technological advancement, the Cherokee had no parallel to the

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[38] Ibid.

[39] Henry Thompson Malone, "The Early Nineteenth Century Missionaries in the Cherokee Country," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 10, no. 2 (June 1951): 127.

[40] Ibid., 128

[41] "Request for Missionaries," *Boston Reader*, June 12, 1816.

biblical creation story.[42] A woman contributing to the downfall of mankind was a foreign concept and this aspect was never fully adopted into the Cherokee version of Christianity. Some reinterpreted the story of the fall as the responsibility of the man who ate the fruit without any goading from his wife.[43] Martin's mission proved unsuccessful, as he stated, "They knew very well, that if they were good, they should go up; if bad, down; that they could tell no more; that he had long plagued them with what they no ways understood and they desired him to depart the country."[44]

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, a joint Presbyterian-Congregationalist enterprise, discouraged the elevation of the civilizing mission above the Christianizing mission:

> However important the acquisition of this country by civilized people may be to the world, it cannot be denied that the event itself has been a prolific source of ruin and death to the Indians. Instead of receiving from our hands the Bible, and with it, the blessings of civilization and Christianity, most of them have been poisoned with our vices, and rendered ten-fold more the children of the devil than ever they were before.[45]

They instead espoused the introduction of a joint mission:

> Their great object will be to effect a revolution of character and habits in the rising generation, by instituting schools and agricultural and mechanical establishments, under the direction of pious teachers and Christian missionaries.[46]

Essentially, the civilizing mission had brought nothing but vice, destitution, and immorality to the Native population. Honest missions provided redemption and salvation to the "savage" while not rejecting

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[42] William G. McLoughlin, *The Cherokees and Christianity, 1794-1870: Essays on Acculturation and Cultural Persistence* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 19.
[43] Perdue, *Cherokee Women,* 171.
[44] Malone, "The Early Nineteenth Century Missionaries in the Cherokee Country," 129.
[45] "Religious Intelligence from the Religious Intelligencer: The American Indians," *Norwich Courier*, May 28, 1817.
[46] Ibid.

the civilizing missions as a whole. For the ABCFM, Christianity and the study of the English language served as preconditions for civilization. Without converts, the civilization program could never succeed. This proposal was met with approval from the federal government:

> The government of the United States, to whom the object has been submitted, has given a gratifying and very encouraging assurance of its patronage. One does not have to ponder for long on why the federal government might be so encouraging of the extension of missions into Indian country. Missions might serve as the new head of the civilizing objective. Under the guise of religion, the federal government was able to shed responsibility for these hampered communities.[47]

The Chickamauga Creek Mission, later Brainerd (TN), was established in 1817 and immediately targeted the children of elites. Cherokees were more likely to send their sons because families often relied on their daughters' assistance with planting and harvesting.[48] The young girls that did attend boarding schools were taught to be pious, submissive, and how to perform domestic chores, while boys were taught manual labor, including farming. Newspaper updates often exaggerated the progress of ABCFM missions, but personal letters reveal frustration with slow and miniscule conversion rates. After one year, an official report stated that only three or four Cherokees were expressing genuine interest in conversion to Christianity.[49] Conversion numbers improved with Samuel Austin Worcester's translation of scripture and hymns using Sequoyah's newly invented syllabary. Worcester also had a part in establishing the *Cherokee Phoenix*, much to the ire of Georgian officials. He was imprisoned and put on trial for supposedly supporting a Cherokee constitution.

The chief proponents of the civilization program and of conversion to Christianity were wealthy *métis* men who had already converted. They formed the Cherokee Republic and ruled that inheritance would no longer have to descend matrilineally, leaving the opportunity open for the establishment of patriarchy. Laws prohibited

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[47] Ibid.
[48] Perdue, *Cherokee Women,* 180.
[49] Malone, "The Early Nineteenth Century Missionaries in the Cherokee Country," 132.

the construction of settlements within one-quarter mile from each other to further break down kinship ties and extended matrilineal households. They also shifted power from local councils to national councils. This development robbed women of their indirect participation in national policies through local councils.[50] The official constitution, fashioned after the US Constitution, barred women from voting and holding office. An important divergence was the refusal to separate church and state. "No person who denies the being of a God, or future state of reward and punishment, shall hold any office."[51] This development prohibited all adherents to traditional Cherokee spirituality from holding office. In 1825, the council extended Cherokee citizenship to the children of Cherokee men and white women, formally destroying the matrilineal nature of Cherokee society and a major source of their power and prestige.[52] Elias Boudinot and Major Ridge, both members of the infamous Treaty Party, had white wives accustomed to a patriarchal household and without ties to the land. This may have had an impact on their decision to facilitate the removal process. In an 1828 article written for the *Cherokee Phoenix*, Boudinot argued against the marriage of Cherokee women to white men:

> Far be it from me to cut asunder the ties of Love, or to part those who are now happily or unhappily united in destiny by marriage. But I entertain a wish to establish such laws as will be calculated to exclude the thief, the robber, the vagabond and the tippler, and adulterer, from the privilege of intermarrying with Cherokee women, and thereby rendering their existence wretched, and inflicting a deep rooted and corrupted ignorance among our people.[53]

Women were thus portrayed as more vulnerable to manipulation than men. He proposed enforcing a payment system and securing letters of recommendation as a precondition of marriage to a Cherokee woman, further chipping away at some measures of feminine independence.

Missionaries, especially from the ABCFM, served as willing deliverers of the US civilization program and aided Cherokee elites at

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[50] Perdue, *Cherokee Women,* 144.
[51] *Cherokee Constitution*, 1823, Article VI, section 1.
[52] Perdue, *Cherokee Women,* 146.
[53] "Intermarriages," *Cherokee Phoenix*, March 27, 1828.

every juncture, guiding policy in favor of the patriarchal standards the Bible set forth. At the behest of missionaries, the council also passed a law prohibiting infanticide and abortion. This was an effort to police sexuality, and placed authority over a woman's body in the hands of men.[54]

Despite these considerable alterations to women's status and power in society, they too rejected aspects of the Christianizing and civilizing mission. Most women persisted in practicing their traditional religion, which did not distinguish between the physical and spiritual worlds, emphasized harmony and balance, and placed dedication to the community above the needs of the individual.[55] Women continued to own considerable property separate from their husbands. The council passed laws protecting women's property, and Cherokee women continued to farm. Missionaries also faced the persistence of matrilineal kinship. Mothers remained the primary authority of children despite Church insistence on a household run by the husband. Many families rejected the farmstead and nuclear family structure and maintained extended matrilocal households.[56]

Print culture supported the illusion of mass conversion and acculturation. An article in the *Christian Messenger* in 1818 marveled that the "women almost universally dress after the manner of whites, in gowns manufactured by themselves from cotton."[57] Conversion numbers, however, rendered the 'Christianizing mission' a relative failure. Of 15,000 Cherokees, only 1,000 claimed membership in one of the fifteen denominations present in the Cherokee nation. One missionary stated that over half of the converts in one congregation had been suspended for illicit sex, drinking, fighting, or participating in traditional rituals such as dances and ball games.[58] Only three percent of the Cherokee population attended a mission school between 1816 and 1830.[59] Household Cherokee names were typically only those of the elite who had converted, furthering the belief that the missions were doing better than they in fact were. Pious figures, such as Catharine Brown, were in no way indicative of the greater population. Even Catharine Brown, as argued by Amanda Moulder, may have retained Cherokee

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[54] Perdue, *Cherokee Women,* 147.
[55] Ibid., 160-171.
[56] Ibid., 175.
[57] "Cherokee Mission," *Christian Messenger* (Middlebury, Vermont), June 10, 1818.
[58] Perdue, *Cherokee Women,* 172.
[59] Malone, "The Early Nineteenth Century Missionaries in the Cherokee Country," 132.

women's' oratory in her English writings. Her pleas against removal are coupled with an impassioned supplication to other Cherokees to adopt Christianity. For Catharine Brown, Christianity and English literacy served to protect her and her people from removal.[60]

Although well-acculturated, the transition from Jeffersonian to Jacksonian policies supported the ideal of Cherokee removal. Conversion rates remained low and even if the Cherokee farmed in the European-style, they persisted on valuable land. The discovery of gold on Cherokee lands hastened Georgian cries for removal. Incursions of gold miners into Cherokee territory heightened tensions and the wholesale robbing of the nations' valuable resource was not underreported. An article in the *New-York Morning Herald* on June 5, 1830, stated that, "about 4,000 hands are supposed to be employed (in gold mining), whose daily proceeds are estimated as $10,000."[61] The *Newburyport Herald* lambasted the shameful robbers:

> Of these men we do not speak indiscriminately- some no doubt are good men, for we are credibly informed that preachers of the Gospel may be found among them, led into error probably by prospects of immediate wealth. Some of these teachers of religion, after performing a good day's labor in pocketing the Indians' gold without leave, have preached to their associates from the Word of God, whose precepts, such as "thou shalt not steal," might well have deterred them from such a service.[62]

Congregation numbers further dwindled when denominations passively stood by as the Cherokees were forced west on the Trail of Tears. The Baptists, who had erected their own missions in Cherokee territory in the 1830s, remained the most faithful. Reverend Evan Jones sided with the Cherokees against President Jackson's removal policies and walked with them on the Trail of Tears. This dedication separated the Baptists from other denominations. They learned the Cherokee language and translated the Bible using Sequoyah's syllabary. Although the Cherokees in Indian Territory experienced a surge in traditionalism,

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[60] Amanda Moulder, "Cherokee Practice, Missionary Intentions: Literacy Learning among Early Nineteenth-Century Cherokee Women," *College Composition and Communication* 63, no. 1 (Sept. 2011): 85.
[61] "The Gold Region," *New-York Morning Herald*, June 5, 1830.
[62] "Intelligence," *Newburyport Herald*, April 20, 1830.

the Baptists' dedication won over many converts. Still, by 1860, only twelve percent of Cherokees identified with any given denomination.[63]

Missionaries initially believed women would be the gateway to converting Indian nations. Being the more "vulnerable" sex, women were the key to converting husbands and children. However, both Iroquois and Cherokee women rejected the Christianization mission by retaining aspects of their traditional roles in society. Christianity did however help implement federal civilizing programs seeking to rob women of their economic, political, social, and religious power. The Iroquois were distrustful from the start and remained that way for centuries. The Longhouse Religion's eventual integration of Christianity damaged the *gantowisa's* place in society by placing restrictions on abortion, abolishing matrilineal kinship ties, and advocating the transition to patriarchal nuclear households. Its fusion with traditional Iroquois customs did allow women to retain some of their traditional religious and social powers, making it a more viable option than traditional Christianity. The most damaging development for Iroquois women was the sale of land, which forced men to leave the forest and take up the plough. These robbed women of their traditional independence and economic power. Cherokee women tended to view missionaries and the civilization mission they espoused with more optimism, hoping it would help bring economic sustenance and efficiency. By accepting Christianity and civilization, they might avoid removal. The Cherokee then must have seen Christianity not as a religion to be accepted but a political tool that might establish stronger diplomatic relations, help them adjust to a drastically changing economy, and garner respect for the Cherokee nation. Nancy Ward encouraged acculturation but insisted on maintaining her economic, political, and religious powers as a woman, a beloved woman, and a member of the Wolf Clan. Similarly, the Iroquois' early acceptance of missionaries and Christianity was more out of a desire to establish strong diplomatic, military, and economic alliances; and prevent land fraud. Molly Brant's conversion to the Episcopal Church and marriage to Sir William Johnson were largely political, and allowed her to wield considerable influence among the Iroquois and Anglo-Americans alike. Christianity was then merely a by-product of the civilizing mission; a means to an end.

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[63] McLoughlin, *The Cherokees and Christianity, 1794-1870*, 19-31.

The Plain Dealer and the Home Defender: Nick Chiles, Carry A. Nation, and *Smasher's Mail*

Seth Bate

In her short-lived newspaper *The Smasher's Mail*, Carry A. Nation included two accounts of how she began her business relationship with Nick Chiles, owner of the Topeka, Kansas, *Plaindealer* newspaper.[1] The inaugural issue of *Smasher's Mail* in March 1901 said when Nation started her campaign against the saloons of Topeka (called "joints" in the vernacular of 1901), Chiles took a "deep interest in her work." When Nation was taken into custody on a charge of destroying private property and "the so-called Law and Order people" put her in the Shawnee County jail, Nation's former friends deserted her. Nation, a white woman, contacted Chiles, an African American man, to request that he post her bond, and he complied. Subsequently, "Mrs. Nation, being a Christian woman and desiring to promote the best interests of the community, and also to manifest her appreciation of the kindly interest of Mr. Chiles, invited him to associate himself with her in the publication of *The Smasher's Mail*." The second account, published five months later, had fewer details but more emotion:

> We did not know this son of perdition when we gave him $245 from an iron cell to print our paper, but to our sorrow and knowledge we find him a thief, a rascal in every respect. A sentence of life behind the bars would be nothing more than his desert.[2]

Given the context of the times and the strong personality Nation so often displayed, it is not surprising that this business relationship ended

[1] Through most of her life, Nation used "Carrie" and "Carry" interchangeably. After she became a public figure, she preferred "Carry," and this paper will use that spelling unless quoting from another source. The newspaper owned by Chiles is sometimes referred to as the *Plain Dealer*, but its masthead in 1901 specifies *Plaindealer*, and this paper will use that form of the title.

[2] "Nick Chiles," *Smasher's Mail*, March 9, 1901; "Nick Chiles," *Smasher's Mail*, August 1901.

badly. In the words of songwriter Cheryl Wheeler, "I don't wonder why you left. I wonder why you stayed so long."[3]

The relationship between Chiles and Nation was unexpected and unusual. Perhaps it could be attributed to the pragmatic business interests of two people, one who was diversifying and one who was operating a startup. The relationship, however, seems to have been something more than transactional. For Chiles, it reflected the thinking of some African Americans after Reconstruction; supporting and demonstrating temperance was one way of working toward racial uplift. This theme was particularly voiced by the black church, fraternal societies, and Colored Women's Clubs, key audiences for the *Plaindealer*. In this way, Chiles reflected many of the interests and concerns of the Black Self Help Era. For Nation, the relationship meant transgressing the social norms of segregation. Her actions reflected what appeared to be a genuine interest in and concern for African Americans—albeit one that reflected both her white privilege and her Southern upbringing. Nation spoke like a Populist but pointed the way to the Progressive Era, convinced that God wanted to save black people but also that they needed special help from godly white people.

Nick Chiles was born in South Carolina in 1867. His parents were Moses and Winnie Chiles, at least one of whom was a slave. After a brief stay in Chicago, Chiles moved to Topeka in 1886, at a time when the black middle class was becoming part of the fabric of the community.[4] He started in the grocery business and invested in farmland. He owned the Chiles Hotel, which is listed in a city directory from 1902 at 116 E. Seventh, and which some claimed served illicit beer and liquor. Chiles began the *Plaindealer* in January 1899, and the directory places it at the same address. An article that Chiles published, and probably wrote, said "the plant of the *Plaindealer* is valued at $2,000 and is one of the best equipped Negro offices in the west." The article noted that the printing and binding operations of the newspaper also produced the official publications of several of the African American civic organizations, such as the Colored Masons and Knights of Pythias, as well as minutes of

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[3] Cheryl Wheeler, "Sylvia Hotel," Penrod and Higgins Music/Amachrist Music ACF Music Group, 1997.

[4] *Smasher's Mail*, March 9, 1901; Christy Davis, "Topeka Council of Colored Women's Clubs Building," nomination for National Register of Historic Places, last modified 2009, accessed October 22, 2015, www.kshs.org/resource/national_register/nominationsNRDB/Shawnee_TopekaCouncilofColoredWomensClubsBuildingNR.pdf.

several churches. The city directory from 1902 listed seventeen "Negro secret societies" and an additional eleven black Masonic clubs, so Chiles may well have captured considerable printing business. The article claimed that Chiles was "forging to the front" of business despite "intense opposition." It is unclear if the opposition was inspired by business rivalry or racism, or both.[5] When Carry Nation came to town in January 1901, Chiles was established, but he was trying to diversify his business interests with the addition of the *Plaindealer*. A newspaper was hardly a sure investment, and at two years old, its future was promising but still uncertain.

A Kentucky native born in 1846, Nation moved with her family to the Kansas City area during the Civil War. Nation divorced her first husband, a doctor in the war, because of his alcoholism and abusive behavior. A year after the divorce, he died of alcohol-related causes. Nation and her second husband, David, moved to Medicine Lodge, Kansas in 1890. Inspired in part by her own experiences, she became an officer in the local chapter of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. By the mid-1890s, she began a campaign against places that sold spirits, first by shaming them with prayer and hymn-singing, then with rocks. National media took notice in 1900 when she smashed fixtures, mirrors and bottles at the ritzy Hotel Carey bar and other downtown Wichita saloons. Nation's activities briefly landed her in jail. Once freed, she made a two-day stop to confront joints in Enterprise, Kansas and then travelled to Topeka.[6]

Nation was campaigning for temperance in general and specifically for the enforcement of the state prohibitory laws, which were routinely ignored, circumvented, or used as a revenue stream for municipalities that collected saloon owners' fines. The "liquor question" was central to Kansas politics since its territorial days; it perhaps generated more newspaper ink in those days than any other issue apart from slavery. Kansas passed its constitutional amendment banning the sale and manufacture of intoxicating liquor in 1880. Despite the legislation, "loopholes and lax enforcement of the law… actually led to an increase in the number of saloons in some towns." Nation and her "Home Defenders Army" believed enforcement of these laws was not only possible but it was critical. They conducted their Topeka crusade at

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[5] *Radges' 1902 Directory of Topeka and Shawnee County and Gazetteer of General Information* (Topeka, KS: Sam Radges, 1902), 115-116, 267-268.

[6] Kansas Historical Society, "Carry A. Nation," accessed March 16, 2016, kshs.org/kansapedia/carry-a-nation/15502.

fever pitch from Nation's arrival through February 1901. Their campaign waned a bit through March and all but stopped by the end of June.[7]

Nation did, in fact, inspire legislative action supporting the enforcement of the laws, but she did not have any great effect on the practice of the sale or consumption of liquor in Kansas. Not until the "bone dry" bill passed in 1917 did Kansas get noticeably dryer, and even that significant step did not make drinking impossible. As the entire country would learn from national Prohibition, people who wish to drink will find a way.

From the beginning, the association of Chiles and Nation received media attention—even beyond what they generated themselves. The (Topeka) *Kansas Semi Weekly Capital* called the incident of Chiles signing Nation's bond "decidedly unusual." The paper called Chiles a "notorious jointist," and used an exaggerated black dialect when quoting Nation's conversation with him:

> The Home Defenders sang the Doxology and Chiles sat down to the desk and signed the bond.
> 'Now Mrs. Nashun, I doan' want yer to run away,' said Chiles.
> 'Don't you be afraid,' said Mrs. Nation. 'I'll not run away. I am going to stay right here and smash joints.'
> 'Well, I doan' want yer to smash no joint uv mine.'
> 'Well, I'm going to. Your signing the bond won't save the joint, and I'm going to smash it."[8]

The *Kansas City Star* reported that Nation told "the negro jointist" Chiles that her followers believed he was "the devil's own scullion." ""The people that say these things are not the people who feed me,' replied Chiles. "Chiles…contented himself with an emphatic denial that he kept a joint and was gone."[9] The (Kansas City, Kansas) *American Citizen*, an African American newspaper and a rival of *The Plaindealer*, claimed that the day after her release Nation dined at the Chiles Hotel and, after a wrong turn on the way to the dining room, found beer on tap

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[7] Kansas Historical Society, "Prohibition," accessed March 16, 2016, www.kshs.org/kansapedia/prohibition/14523.

[8] "Mrs. Nation is Now Under $2,000 Bond to Keep the Peace," *Kansas Semi Weekly Capital*, February 19, 1901.

[9] "Topeka's Sunday Smashers," *Kansas City Star*, February 18, 1901.

at the hotel bar. "Brother Nick's place will be the first one her hatchet will descend upon," the paper said.[10]

The press followed the developments in the Chiles and Nation partnership. The *American Citizen* tut-tutted, "The latest news from Topeka is that Nick Chiles and Mrs. Nation are to engage in publishing a negro newspaper," ending with a single word of analysis: "Well." An article from an unidentified newspaper in the Topeka & Shawnee County Public Library clippings file provides details on the expected print run, 10,000 copies, and length, sixteen pages. The article also describes a conversation in which Chiles appeared to satisfy Nation that he did not operate—or was no longer operating—a saloon:

> The editor and business manager of the *Smasher's Mail* had a controversy yesterday afternoon which brought out some facts that will be new to the people of Topeka.
> 'I believe, Nick,' said Mrs. Nation, 'that I have converted you. I believe you are going to forsake your evil ways.'
> 'I never had any evil ways,' said Chiles. 'I have always been a good citizen.'
> 'Didn't you ever sell any whisky?'
> 'I never sold a drop of whisky in my life.'
> 'But,' persisted the senior partner, 'folks say you did, Nick.'
> 'Yes,' said the junior, 'and folks say you're crazy, too. But I don't believe every little bit of gossip I hear about you.'
> After persistent questioning Mrs. Nation finally succeeded in securing the admission from Chiles that he had once, for a little while, owned a billiard table which he rented to a man.[11]

It is likely that this article appeared in the *Topeka Daily Journal* and inspired this response from Chiles in the *Plaindealer:*

> Phil Eastman, the owl-like reporter on the *Daily Journal*, has evidently had a raise in his salary from five to six dollars a week. We judge this for the method employed in

[10] "She Thinks One Good Turn Deserves Another," *American Citizen*, February 22, 1901.
[11] Ibid.

> reporting the conversation between Nick Chiles and Mrs. Nation last Sunday. This paper will offer him enough to keep the grease off his clothes if he will agree to report the truth at all times.[12]

The first *Smasher's Mail* signaled a positive beginning to the Chiles and Nation partnership. The masthead listed Nation as editor and Chiles as publisher. Nation was well aware of Chiles's race and reputation, and she defended her choice of him: "I have no apologies to make in having Nick Chiles for the publisher of *The Smasher's Mail.* Our Saviour ate with publicans and sinners to do them good. The Servant is not above his Lord." The issue is dotted with advertisements for other business interests of the publisher, including the Chiles Hotel. [13] The *Plaindealer* announced the new paper's release and defined its intended audience:

> There seems to have been an erroneous impression sent out to the effect that the paper is published in the especial interest of Negroes. This is not true. *The Smasher's Mail* is published in the interest of all classes in general and the home in particular. [14]

Chiles pointed out the new paper's attempts to address "a depravity of morals hardly to be expected in this Christian nation" and cautioned those with "a disposition to treat this paper with some levity" to take the problem seriously.[15] Certainly the *Kansas Semi Weekly Capital* treated the new publication with levity when it reviewed the first issue's "somewhat belated appearance… As yet no general conflagration has enveloped the earth's surface as a result." The review damned the effort with faint praise: "Typographically it is above the average, and manager Chiles has kept his word to print a picture of Mrs. Nation that resembles her."[16]

The second issue of *Smasher's Mail* showed a marked change. Gone were the ads for businesses in which Chiles had an interest, replaced with a large ad for Nation's signature water bottles. The

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[12] Ibid.*;* Nick Chiles clippings files, Baker Genealogy Center, Topeka & Shawnee County Library*; Plaindealer*, February 22, 1901.
[13] *Smasher's Mail*, March 9, 1901.
[14] "The Smasher's Mail," *Plaindealer*, March 15, 1901.
[15] Ibid.
[16] "Mrs. Nation's Paper," *Kansas Semi Weekly Capital*, March 12, 1901.

masthead listed Nation as editor and publisher, emphasized by this blurb in the next column: "In the initial number…I spoke of Mr. Chiles as my publisher, but he is only my partner and not in any way responsible for what goes on in the paper. I am my own editor and proprietor." Elsewhere in the issue, Nation complained that some of her copy in the previous issue was distorted by Chiles and quipped, "the public might have confounded (my) lunacy with saloonacy."[17] The *Kansas Semi Weekly Capital* was even harsher in its review, noting that though it was half the number of pages,

> If that were possible, the second issue is less interesting than the first…The balance of the contributions from the editor are devoted about equally to criticisms of saloons, Governor Stanley, tobacco, and the *Topeka Capital*.[18]

At the end of two issues, the partnership between Chiles and Nation was over, and she was looking for a new publisher. "Any good printer who doesn't mind trouble can get the job," said the *Kansas Semi Weekly Capital*, which wrote sympathetically that Chiles had protected Nation from being jailed for libel by excluding some of her articles. "Nick is a foxy lad, and he isn't going to be mixed up in any libel suit—not if he knows it." The *Capital* also said Chiles could not keep *Smasher's Mail* at sixteen pages because it was not generating enough income. Nation, according to the *Capital*, took her business away because Chiles would not print everything she wrote and reduced her paper's length. She reiterated these charges, and other complaints, in the next issue of *Smasher's Mail*. Z.T. Hazen, the judge who jailed Nation in Topeka, wrote to Chiles to warn him that Chiles and Nation were dangerously close to a charge of libel. Nation replied in her usual flurry of angry words:

> Why did you write to Nick Chiles? You might as well have written to this pencil I use. Nick is not the writer, no not the proof-reader, although he told me he would have one, but since he told me, he has never had one and of course he did not, else he would not have misrepresented me in the printing of my articles, especially the article.[19]

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[17] *Smasher's Mail*, March 23, 1901.
[18] "Nick is Out of It," *Kansas Semi Weekly Capital*, March 26, 1901.
[19] Ibid.

She added that the judge needed time "to repent of his drunken energies and infidelity."[20]

Through the rest of 1901, Chiles joined Stanley and Hazen as frequent targets of Nation's ire in her increasingly sporadic publication. By the final issue, Chiles had been reduced in Nation's accounts to:

> A negro who had a printing press. I paid him 247 dollars to print my paper for two issues. Did not expect for him to otherwise have anything to do with it except to send out the papers. I was a stranger to almost everyone in Topeka. Did not know of the disreputable character of this negro. After I left jail I was told by Mr. Nation to draw up an instrument of writing with this negro and Mr. Nation drew up one that made this miserable criminal my partner…This negro robbed me of everything he could. I had to dissolve business relations.[21]

Nation, of course, had a penchant for hyperbole, so it is likely Chiles would have told the story of the dissolution differently. The newspapers of the time do not record a defense from him; neither do they explain his reasons for joining Nation in the first place. It is possible that Chiles simply saw the opportunity as a way to make a quick buck. By the time Chiles signed her bond, Nation was receiving national media attention. Newspapers from other parts of the country were sending reporters to follow her, and she was getting requests for speaking engagements from out of state. Chiles may have known that Nation was getting letters of support daily, and the Kansas governor was also getting letters urging him to support Nation's cause and, when she was jailed, to free her. Chiles may have seen Nation as a star to which he could hitch his wagon, and he may have seen the supporters who stood with her in the streets and wrote to her from their homes as potential advertisers. At the very least, Nation represented a potential income source from beyond the minority community Chiles typically relied on for customers; before 1910, Topeka had fewer than 5,000 black residents. Chiles had already

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[20] "Nick is Out Of It" and "Trouble Goes With It," *Kansas Semi Weekly Capital*, March 26, 1901; *Smasher's Mail*, March 30, 1901.

[21] "The Emergency of the Smasher's Mail," *Smasher's Mail*, December 1901.

demonstrated an effort to diversify his business lines. Nation represented a chance to expand his market share, too.[22]

Beyond whatever self-interest Chiles may have been serving by working with Nation, a more compelling interpretation is that he saw temperance as a key issue for African-Americans. Chiles wished to support Nation's cause, and in this wish he reflected the thinking of many African Americans of his time. In the antebellum United States, some African Americans were suspicious of alcohol because of its effect on slave owners. Frederick Douglass, returning to a slaveholding family he had been sent away from, discerned a great difference in the family members after only a few years: "The influence of brandy on him and of slavery on her had effected a disastrous change in the characters of both." Douglass also viewed recreational alcohol as a tool used by slave owners to diminish initiative in slaves, providing "liberty" in the form of drinking games.

> Their object seems to be to disgust the slaves with freedom by plunging them in the lowest depths of dissipation. For instance, the slave owners not only like to see the slave drink of his own accord but will adopt various plans to make him drunk. One plan is to make bets on their slaves as to who can drink the most whisky without getting drunk; and in this way to succeed in getting whole multitudes to drink to excess.[23]

Around the same time Douglass was writing his narrative, black Philadelphians were actively crusading for temperance, associating it "with respectability and racial progress." The local Daughters of Temperance chapters invited the Rev. Henry Highland Garnet, known as an abolitionist, to deliver an address on the scourge of drunkenness.[24]

As African Americans were negotiating the post-Reconstruction nadir, the temperance cause became one way of promoting racial uplift. It was an important cause for some African Americans for two reasons. One was the perception, fair or not, that black people were especially

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[22] Emma Lou Thornbrough, "American Negro Newspapers, 1880-1914," *Business History Review* 40, no. 4 (1966): 480.
[23] Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* (1845), in *The Classic Slave Narratives,* ed. Henry Louis Gates (New York: New American Library, 2002), 350, 368.
[24] John Hope Franklin and Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans,* 9th ed. (New York: McGraw Hill, 2011), 172.

susceptible to alcohol abuse and that it was linked to poverty, crime, and self-destructive behaviors. "Racists, including the Ku Klux Klan, used the stereotype of the 'drunken Negro' to demonize African Americans and protect their own power."[25] The Klan, in fact, dressed up its racist core in a costume of temperance and moral reform, also speaking out against gambling and prostitution.[26]

African Americans working toward racial uplift black were all too aware of the negative stereotypes linking blacks to drunkenness. Ida B. Wells-Barnett said, "the belief is widespread that our people will patronize the saloon as they do no other enterprise." In his landmark sociological study, *The Philadelphia Negro* in 1899*,* W.E.B. DuBois dedicated an entire chapter to what he called "Pauperism and Alcoholism." Crime statistics from 1910 show that, depending on geographic region, black Americans were between a third more likely and five times more likely than white Americans to be arrested for drunkenness and disorderly conduct. Promoting temperance was viewed as a way to save African Americans from their own drinking—and from its legal and economic consequences. [27]

The second reason that temperance was important to many African Americans is that limiting or eliminating alcohol from black family and social life might improve the image they projected to themselves and especially to white Americans. Bookerites and Niagarites may have disagreed about the best strategies for improving conditions for African Americans, but they could all see the way blacks were viewed in the dominant culture. "Negro women evidence more nearly the popular idea of total depravity than the men do," wrote one white woman to a newspaper in 1904. "I cannot imagine such a creation as a virtuous white woman." Wells-Barnett said that blackness was viewed as "weakness,

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[25] National Constitution Center and Mid-America Arts Alliance, "Racists" in *Spirited: Prohibition in America*, viewed September 5, 2015, Sedgwick County Historical Society, Wichita, Kansas.

[26] Kathleen M. Blee, *Women of the Klan* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 2-3.

[27] Ida B. Wells, "All Things Considered," *AME Church Review* (April 1891) in *We Must Be Up and Doing: A Reader in Early African American Feminists*, ed. Teresa Zackodnik (Ontario, Canada: Broadview Press, 2010), 349-350; W.E.B. DuBois, *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study* (New York: Schocken Books, 1899), 277-282; United States Bureau of the Census, "Black/White Differences in Commitments Excluding Drunkenness and Disorderly Conduct, by Geographic Division, c. 1910," in *Historical Statistics of Black America,* vol. 1, eds. Jessie Carney Smith and Carrell Peterson Horton (Farmington Hills, MI: Gale, 1995), 538.

poverty, and ignorance. It says to other nationalities, 'This man belongs to a race possessing little of the power or influence which comes through riches, intellect, or even organization. We may proscribe, insult, ignore, and oppress him as we please." Reformer William Washington Browne often claimed in his temperance speeches that alcohol led to 5,000 blacks each year losing the right to vote. From the 1880s through the 1910s "African Americans clung tenaciously to a race-conscious ideology of self help," which was both a practical philosophy for getting by and an idealistic philosophy that pointed to a better, more fair future. Temperance was one strand of the rope African Americans were using to "lift as they climbed" in the self help era. Chiles, who moved from the South and, according to his own story, started a successful business with five dollars and a commitment to hard work, reflected this ideology.[28]

Black churches influenced and were influenced by black self help ideology. It is consistent with "a black prophetic tradition . . . in evidence from the slavery era through the contemporary civil rights era," including "a theology of national redemption emphasizing social transformation through moral reform."[29] As a printer of church publications, Chiles was at the very least aware of this and likely influenced by church teachings himself. At the time of Nation's activism, many Christian churches, white and black, were involved in a range of social welfare programs. This approach to ministry was a major component of the Social Gospel movement, which linked the traditional Christian theology of individual salvation to wider ethical concerns for reforming poverty, immigrant adjustment, slums, racism, alcohol, and other perceived problems. It intertwined almost imperceptibly with the ideology of racial self-help voiced by black religious progressives.[30] Interestingly, Topeka minister Charles Sheldon was one of the most prominent figures associated with the Social Gospel. Wells-Barnett, known for her outspoken opposition to lynching and the society that allowed it, also supported temperance. She said building "a good character" went along with building a home and business and urged African Americans to set a strong example for young people: "There is no stronger illustration of the truths we would teach,

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[28] James D. Watkinson, "William Washington Browne and the True Reformers of Richmond, Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 97, no. 3 (July 1989): 377; Franklin and Higginbotham, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 288, 318; Smasher's *Mail*, March 9, 1901.

[29] Marcia Y. Riggs, ed., *Can I Get a Witness: Prophetic Religious Voices of African American Women, An Anthology* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1997), *vii-viii.*

[30] Franklin and Higginbotham, *From Slavery to Freedom,* 314-315.

the paths we would have mankind follow, than that our own lives represent the standards of sobriety." Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, the highest-ranking African American of her time in the Women's Christian Temperance Union, urged black Christians to "join with the great army who are on the side of our God and His Christ. Let your homes be the best places where you may plant your batteries against the rum traffic. Teach your children to hate intoxicating drinks with a deadly hatred."[31]

It would be irresponsible to address this stand by the church without acknowledging what historian Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham called "the politics of respectability." Higginbotham coined the term in her analysis of the significant role black women played in the Baptist Church from the Civil War into the post-Reconstruction nadir. Higginbotham used the term to refer to black Baptist women's rejection of white supremacist symbols and social structures. "The politics of respectability emphasized reform of individual behavior and attitudes both as a goal in itself and as a strategy for reform of the entire structural system of American race relations." In contemporary discourse, in scholarly articles and grassroots blog posts, Higginbotham's useful term has sometimes been incorrectly used as a label for accommodationist stances toward white expectations for behavior. Higginbotham's work is too important not to mention, but the current contested state of the concept of "politics of respectability" makes it difficult to do more than note a connection between the idea and the era of black self-help.[32]

Another institution of the black community that promoted temperance was the network of fraternal organizations and "secret" societies. A prominent example was the True Reformers, founded by the Rev. William Washington Browne, a Union army veteran, teacher, and pastor. Browne spoke out against alcohol from the 1870s until his death in 1897. Browne attributed a loss of earning power, a disproportionate amount of time in prison, and loss of the franchise to blacks' drinking habits. He attempted to align with the Grand Lodge of Good Templars, a white temperance organization in Alabama; rebuffed, he borrowed their structure and quickly established a parallel organization with more than

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[31] Ida B. Wells, "The Requisites of True Leadership," *Journal of the Proceedings of the American Association of Colored Youth: The Session of 1891, Held in Nashville, Tenn., December 29th to 31st, 1891* (1892), in *Can I Get a Witness,* ed. Riggs, 63, 66; Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, "The Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Colored Woman," *AME Church Review* 12 (1888), in *We Must Be Up and Doing,* ed. Zackodnik, 348.

[32] Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1993), 185-188.

fifty chapters, or "fountains." He also followed their requirement for all new members, which was a pledge of sobriety. For Browne, temperance became a starting place for an array of enterprises and institutions promoting racial uplift, including a life insurance company and a bank. Other black fraternal societies, including versions of the Masons, Odd Fellows, and Knights of Pythias, were less likely to be explicitly anti-alcohol but served as peer influences to promote respectable behavior. In addition, these societies often had a mutual aid component; Chiles would likely have known them as an avenue to access life insurance.[33]

The network of women's organizations known as Colored Women's Clubs was even more zealous in its promotion of temperance. "Like the white women's clubs, colored women's clubs were interested in Victorian ideals of self expression and morality, from temperance to needlepoint." One was the Ne Plus Ultra Colored Women's Club, founded in 1899 in Topeka. By 1900, there were six more such clubs in town, and the *Plaindealer* routinely published their activities. Mary Eliza Church Terrell, the first president of the National Association of Colored Women, said:

> Creating a healthful, wholesome, public opinion in every community in which we are represented is one of the greatest services we can render. The duty of setting a high moral standard and living up to it devolves upon us as colored women in a peculiar way.[34]

Terrell acknowledged that this onus of wholesomeness was created by the moral degradation, not of black women, but of slaveholders and their descendants. Still, she insisted to her fellow association members, "The purification of the home must be our first consideration and care."[35] The Constitution of the Kansas Association of

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[33] Watkinson, "William Washington Browne and the True Reformers of Richmond, Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 97, no. 3 (July 1989): 378-382; David T. Beito, "To Advance the 'Practice of Thrift and Economy': Fraternal Societies and Social Capital, 1890-1920," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 29, no. 4 (Spring 1999): 586, 602.

[34] Mary Elizabeth Church Terrell, "The Duty of the National Association of Colored Women," *AME Church Review* 16, no. 3 (January 1900), in *Can I Get a Witness*, ed. Riggs, 72.

[35] Ibid., 76; Davis, "Topeka Council of Colored Women's Clubs Building," Nomination for National Register of Historic Places; Sherrita Camp, *African American Topeka* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2013), 37-41.

Colored Women's Clubs was revised in 1977, but its section on the purposes of the organization appears to be the same as when the organization was founded 81 years before: "To raise the Standard of the Home…To work for the Social, Moral, Economic and Religious Welfare of Women and Children."[36]

Nick Chiles allied himself with Nation because he believed that temperance was good for African Americans and for their image. It might be expected that Chiles would have tried harder to extend his partnership with Nation. It might even be expected that there would be more black Topekans in Nation's public raids and demonstrations, when accounts suggest there were only a few. The reality was that temperance was an important issue for African Americans in the post-Reconstruction nadir, but it was a largely symbolic one. Next to existential concerns such as lynching and economic opportunity, temperance was for most black institutions a nicety instead of a necessity. The Constitution of the Kansas Association of Colored Women's Clubs, for instance, stated that the purposes of the clubs included protecting the rights of women and children who work and "to secure and enforce Civil and Political rights of our Group." Wells-Barnett promoted temperance, but she crusaded against lynching. Black churches participated in efforts to provide banking and insurance services, health care, kindergartens, and opportunities for higher education.[37]

Naturally, many Americans, black and white, did not view temperance as a priority at all. They opposed it, or thought it was only necessary among certain classes, or specifically disapproved of the methods Nation and her Home Defenders used. The *American Citizen*, which competed with the *Plaindealer* for African American readers, focused on what was humorous or sensational about Nation without appearing to take a stand on temperance. In March 1901 it ran an item on a copycat barroom smashing in Michigan and one about Nation allegedly bringing suit against an Indianapolis zoo for naming a baby elephant after her. In April it published another Indianapolis item, this one about a man who committed suicide in a hotel room and left a note to "tell Nation that rum and cigarettes are a damnation." In August, the *American Citizen* asked about Nation's whereabouts, commenting that she was very much missed in "these hot days." In a September item, as

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[36] *Constitution and By-Laws of the Kansas Association of Colored Women*, 1977, in Cornelia Bolden Collection, Kansas Collection, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas Libraries.

[37] Ibid.; Franklin and Higginbotham, *From Slavery to Freedom,* 299-300, 315.

Nation's divorce from her second husband was in the news, the newspaper ran this zinger: "Mrs. Nation says that the first time she met David Nation she had a premonition that he would be her husband. David is sorry now that he did not have some kind of a premonition of what was in store for him." David Nation divorced his wife on grounds of desertion, asserting that she was too busy with her various causes to fulfill her household responsibilities.[38] Even Chiles allowed other writers to publish critiques of Carry Nation or her methods, though he seemed more inclined to do so when a larger point could be made. For example, he published an item by a correspondent from Atchison that commented about the tendency of African Americans to draw more criticism for outlandish behavior than white Americans:

> Mrs. Nation was here Saturday evening acting what would be called by the white people 'very silly' had she been a colored woman. The Negroes have white instructors for every ignorant and silly act, and they blame a few for acting.[39]

On the whole, though, Chiles was sincerely supportive of Nation. In the early days of her Topeka campaign, he published a notice that she would speak at the St. John AME church and "a full attendance of our people is requested." Chiles ran a letter from Nation to African Americans in the *Plaindealer* in addition to *Smasher's Mail*, asking

> The Negroes of Topeka and Kansas to suspend their judgment. Our people need all the friends we can get. A woman believing as firmly as does Mrs. Nation in right and justice is bound to influence public sentiment for the better.[40]

Months after their business relationship was over, Chiles referred to Nation in articles that were pro-temperance, such as an undercover investigation by the *Plaindealer* into whiskey being sold in Topeka hidden in loaves of bread: "Well, if Mrs. Nation could only find these places, she will soon demolish them." Even in his obituary, the "Carrie Nation fight"

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[38] *American Citizen*, March 22, 1901, March 29, 1901, April 2, 1901, August 16, 1901, September 6, 1901.
[39] "From Our Correspondents," *Plaindealer*, March 29, 1901.
[40] *Plaindealer*, February 22, 1901.

was listed among his greatest accomplishments, along with recognition by the Pope, candidacy for the United States Senate and "his constant fight for the Negro."

Chiles also insisted that others covering Nation provide what he viewed as an accurate account, particularly when there were racial implications. He wrote a blistering story about the way the *Topeka Daily Capital* covered one of Nation's raids, complaining about its factual errors and obvious racebaiting. As it happened, the *Capital* had recently given editorial control for a week to the Rev. Charles Sheldon, who was closely associated with the Social Gospel movement and the guiding question "What Would Jesus Do?"

> We thought when Rev. Dr. Sheldon was elevated to the editorial chair of the *Topeka Capital* for one week, to demonstrate to the world how Jesus would run a daily, that the *Capital* from that time on would be one of the most substantial, reliable and exemplary newspapers in the country. Instead, it's becoming one of the most malicious, vicious and unreliable journals in the west… From the tone of the paper one would think that the *Daily Capital* was published in Texas or Mississippi. Last Sunday's issue purported to give out information in big scare headlines concerning Mrs. Nation. In this it tried to inflame the minds of the white citizens against the colored, by stating that the jointists had employed 'big, burly, tough Negroes, to strip white women and to tar and feather them.' This was done for no other purpose than to create race prejudice. No colored man had been employed to do anything of thee sort or thought of such . . .Not one colored person was seen in the crowd that opposed Mrs. Nation and her band of crusaders. On the other hand, when she came to attack the joints, she was repulsed by a crowd of big, burly white men.[41]

Chiles partnered with Nation because it was an opportunity to advocate for a policy that he believed was a benefit to African Americans. It is possible that Nation's invitation to Chiles was less noble. Perhaps

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[41] *Plaindealer*, February 1, 1901, February 9, 1901, February 22, 1901, June 7, 1901, November 1, 1929.

she was simply making a pragmatic business choice. Nation was effectively operating a startup business. In the weeks leading up to Chiles signing her bond, Nation had captured a whole country's attention; Nation had gone 'viral.' Now, like a contemporary YouTube sensation, she had to monetize her image in order to make her campaign sustainable and to allow her to operate independently of her frequently absent husband. While Nation demonstrated remarkable intuition at manipulating the media, she was a business novice. She may have seen in Chiles someone who could provide a business service she needed and knew little about without putting her in an inferior position; a novice white woman starting a newspaper still held social status with which a black man could not compete, even if he was an experienced publisher. Certainly Nation was a self-promoter and opportunist. After the heyday of her smashing campaigns, she spent much of the rest of her life on the chautauqua and vaudeville circuits, increasingly becoming a parody of herself as she sold water bottles, books, and miniature souvenir hatchets.

The content of *Smasher's Mail* provides ample evidence that, even allowing for Nation's penchant for self-promotion, Nation genuinely believed that African Americans were people of worth and wanted their support. Working with Chiles was, for Nation, one way to embody this message. Furthermore, as Chiles did, Nation believed that it would help African Americans if they lived temperate lives in communities where the prohibitory laws were enforced. In the first issue of *Smasher's Mail* Nation recounted that a white woman had asked how she could help Nation's cause. Nation told the woman she had laundry that badly needed washing. The woman had not returned the clothes in more than a week. "A colored woman came and got my clothes to wash and brought them back next day, first class. Oh, these niggers," she sarcastically offered, "you can't trust them." In another issue, Nation published a letter comparing her to John Brown—a frequent comparison then as now—and asking whether Brown was too extreme. "Go ask eight millions of free blacks in our cotton fields, workshops, schools, and streets." *Smasher's Mail* reprinted a poem from the (Washington, D.C.) *Colored American*, a paper largely supported by Booker T. Washington's empire: "No male man yet has risen who can stay/The arm that wields the ax and whacks away." Nation printed letters of support from other white women who were concerned for African Americans: "I am also delighted to see that the interest you have in the colored people has established among them a good feeling, out of which prayers for the success of your mission continually will rise to God." Nation's cause inspired letters from

black readers, too, including one who identified herself as "a mulatto negro girl, 19 years old, and with few privileges and no education, but I write this letter and hope you can read it with little trouble." Another letter said "I am a poor colored woman, nearly 55 years old, and have been trying to serve the Lord for thirty-seven years, and have been praying against and wishing for some one or some way to crush the hell-holes into which our husbands delight to go." The choice of Chiles, in particular, drew a response: "I trust that your publisher may be like Simon of old who helped the Blessed Savior to carry his cross…M.F. Driskell, A Negro."[42]

While Nation's support of and concern for African Americans was consistent and authentic, it also showed that Nation was a product of her time and upbringing. Nation literally viewed herself as an agent of God, who provided her specific direction on such matters as what to include in what the *Plaindealer* called "an interesting letter to the colored people." In it, she claimed "your redemption draweth nigh, because Carrie Nation, the colored man's friend, is in Topeka and she is here for your good, and He will see it." In her autobiography, serialized in the later issues of *Smasher's Mail*, Nation made much of her childhood playtime with children of slaves and her close relationship with the slave who cooked for her family, suggesting that these experiences testified to her character. In printing the item originally from the *Colored American*, Nation added a title that employed a stereotypical dialect ("Dat Female 'Ooman Wid de Ax"); the original, while a terrible poem, was written in standard English. Nation's concern for African Americans was genuine, but her understanding of race was hardly enlightened.[43]

Whereas Chiles fits neatly in the context of the era of black self-help, Nation is harder to place in historical context. Nation's methods recalled Kansas Populists in Topeka ten years prior, urged by "Sockless" Jerry Simpson to take over the Capitol and not to "let the technicalities of the law stand in the way. Call this revolution if you will."[44] Initially, however, Nation was trying to shake up Republicans whose policies agreed with her but whose practices did not. In many ways, Nation was a

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[42] *Smasher's Mail*, March 9, 1901, March 23, 1901, March 30, 1901, April 20, 1901, May 18, July 1901.

[43] *Plaindealer*, Feb. 22, 1901; *Smasher's Mail*, March 30, 1901, October 1901, December 1901.

[44] Louise Barr, "The Beginnings of the West," *Annals of the Kansas Gateway to the American West, 1540-1854* (Topeka, KS: Kansas Historical Society, 1972) in *Kansas: A History,* ed. Kenneth S. Davis (New York: Norton, 1984), 156-157.

proto-Progressive, a coarse Kansas cousin to a Jane Addams or Ida Tarbel. Nation relied on faith and emotion rather than science and education, but she shared with Progressives the conviction that progress on daunting social challenges could be made and the audacity that she knew more about what to do than the people affected by the problems did.

Carry Nation lived well into her sixties and, despite the demise of the *Smasher's Mail*, stayed in business and true to her message until her death in 1911. Chiles continued the *Plaindealer*, proving that he could make a go of it without Nation's notoriety. Unlike some African American publishers, he also continued with minimal support from Booker T. Washington, complaining that Tuskegee money only purchased a token amount of advertising from him each year. In 1932, after Chiles died, the *Plaindealer* moved to Kansas City. It continued publication until 1958, making it the longest-running black newspaper in the United States.[45] Chiles was a significant figure in the business, political, and African-American history of Kansas, and he lived in the state far longer than Nation did. It says a lot about the star power Nation possessed that a man as accomplished as Chiles is most often remembered for the two wild months in which they were in business together.

[45] Thornbrough, "American Negro Newspapers, 1880-1914,"
483; "African American Newspapers, 1827-1998," in America's Historical Newspapers, accessed November 26, 2015, http://infoweb.newsbank.com.proxy.wichita.edu/iw-search/we/HistArchive?p_product=EANX&p_action=timeframes&p_theme=ahnp&p_nbid=M58J4ECJMTQ2MDYxMjk4OC4zNDM1ODE6MToxMToxNTYuMjYuMS4yMg&p_clear_search=yes&d_refprod=EANX&&d_collections=EANAAA.

Les Américains Noirs: Race and Racism in the U.S. and French Army during World War I

Aaron Peterka

Huddled at the trench's lip, eyes fixed upon the desolate moonscape beyond, anxious soldiers clutched their bayonet-fixed Nebil rifles as their hearts hammered against their chests. As the whistle's Harpie-like cry pierced the air, these troops charged across No Man's Land while German shells erupted all around them in a volcanic symphony. The enemy saw the men's French uniforms and dark skin, and believed they faced another company of France's feared West African shock troops. However, these soldiers were not African, nor were they French. These were African-American soldiers of the US Army's 93rd Infantry Division. Placed under the command of the French army in 1918 while still nominally a part of the AEF, these African-American troops had the unique experience of serving in two different armies from two different nations. Unlike their sister division, the 92nd, the 93rd tasted what they believed to be the fruits of equality long denied them in America. Moreover, the legacy of these African-American soldiers reveals far more than racial perspectives held by Americans, but also those of the French, especially when one considers their use of African colonials. Through the lenses of US black soldiers' wartime trials, the employment of black troops in both armies, as well as US and French racial perceptions, one beholds racism's sinister sneer upon the visages of both American and French societies.

In the spring of 1917, the Great War's churning vortex pulled the United States into the abyss of battle. The War Department called for a massive army, the likes of which had not been seen since the Civil War, and hundreds of thousands of men either volunteered or were drafted into the armed forces. Training camps sprang up all over the country, National Guard units frantically tried to fill their troop strength quotas, and the War Department applied itself to the daunting task of organizing this planned one-million-man army into divisions. In a startling deviation from the Army's racial past, two of these combat divisions were specifically designated as all African-American divisions. In 1898, the US Army listed 2,500 active-duty officers, only one of whom was an African-American, as well as a mere four all-black regiments. By World War I, two of these regiments were stationed in the western United States, one in Hawaii, and

one more in the Philippines, and had the War Department had its way, no African-American boot would have ever set foot on European soil. As historian Frank E. Roberts expresses in his work *The American Foreign Legion*, the War Department initially omitted any organized African-American units from their war plans, citing a lack of confidence in black men's ability to endure war's harsh realities. Unfazed, African-American community leaders and lobbyists applied tremendous pressure, eventually forcing the Army to execute an about-face on the matter. Originally favoring the raising of all-black volunteer pioneer (frontline labor troops) regiments, in the end, the US government finally acquiesced to the creation of the 92nd "Buffalo Soldiers" Division and the four regiments of the never-completed 93rd. So began their great war for democracy.[1]

The war catapulted men from every corner of America, black and white, from their homes to faraway training camps in places upon which they had never before laid eyes. While many cantonments were located in the same region as the volunteers or draftees, many more required the green recruits to travel great distances. The trainees of the 15th New York, 8th Illinois, and the draftees of the future 371st Regiment of the 93rd division would all face this swirling upheaval as they uprooted to camps across the country. For the 92nd Division, their draftees occupied training centers stretching from Long Island, New York, to Camp Funston, Kansas. Still, despite the fact that these training assignments sent African-American men to unfamiliar places, a familiar and insidious entity followed them wherever they traveled. W. Allison Sweeney, in his 1919 book *History of the American Negro in the Great World War*, succinctly described this spectre when he declared that "the old feeling of intolerance; the disposition to treat the Negro unfairly, was yet abroad in the land." In fact, such intolerance embedded itself in the very deployment orders that spirited so many young African-Americans across such a vast territory. At the war's onset, the War Department officially mandated that black troops must comprise a minority of every base's population, therefore US Army cantonments had to maintain a 2:1 ratio that ensured twice as many whites were on base as blacks. Not surprisingly, such dispersions and ratios made any sort of cohesive training between all-black units extremely difficult; a handicap that would prove crippling for some units overseas. Furthermore, War Department bureaucrats anxiously realized that the official policy of

[1] Stephen L. Harris, *Harlem's Hellfighters: The African-American 369th Infantry in World War I* (Washington D.C.: Brassey's Inc., 2003), 12; Frank E. Roberts, *The American Foreign Legion: Black Soldiers of the 93rd in World War I* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2004), 27.

sending trainees to local training camps would violate the ratio-order by creating a large black population on southern bases, therefore, most black units were deployed to segregated northern camps so as to avoid fanning racist fires in the South. Indeed, for the men of the 92nd, and until they joined French forces the 93rd, Jim Crow's menacing glare bore down on the men's olive drab backs.[2]

Segregation's heavy hand kept a tight grip upon the Army's far-flung bases; in the North, and especially in the South. In the North, *de facto* segregation stood as the accepted norm in race relations, but in the South, long-standing prejudices gave rise to the *de jure* Jim Crow laws that dominated and repressed African-American life throughout the region. For green northern soldiers like Private Bruce G. Wright, their first battlefield was not in muddy European trenches, but in southern towns and cantonments.

Wright enlisted in the Massachusetts National Guard on June 15, 1917, responding to his country's call with the same patriotic pride that swelled the chest of men both black and white. Despite the racial tensions, many men like Wright sought to take up the rifle in 1917 and join the crusade against Prussian militarism. One African-American newspaper entitled *The Age* captured this sentiment when it declared, "It does not mean that he should forget his just causes for complaint. It means that guided by hard, common sense and remembering all that this country justly owes him, the Negro will take up and perform the duty that falls to him." Reinforcing this belief, many African-Americans felt a burning desire to partake in "any war for the destruction of oligarchies which deny him the full-rounded citizenship he has won on every battlefield." However, such ardent patriotism slammed into the immovable object that was Southern racism. As a soldier in the all-black Company L, 6th Massachusetts Infantry, Pvt. Wright and his comrades drew an unfortunate training assignment that shuttled them to Camp Greene in North Carolina. In his diary, Wright observed that they were "the first colored soldiers seen south of the Mason-Dixon line in full equipment since 1865." Having been off the train for little more than an hour, the Massachusetts men clashed in their first engagement of the war. Referring to repeated fist fights between black and white troops, or as Wright called them, "the dirty crackers," it

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[2] Robert H. Ferrell, *Unjustly Dishonored* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2011), 4; W. Allison Sweeney, *History of the American Negro in the Great World War* (New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1919), 73, 92; Peter N. Nelson, *A More Unbending Battle: The Harlem Hellfighters' Struggle for Freedom in World War I and Equality at Home* (New York: Basic Civitas, 2009), 148.

was at Camp Greene that Pvt. Wright believed "the war began right then for us," and just like the 6th Massachusetts, the New York regiment soon felt Jim Crow's harsh sting as well.[3]

Having been denied by the Army for inclusion into the 42nd "Rainbow" Division because "black is not a color of the rainbow," the 15th New York arrived for training at Camp Wadsworth outside the town of Spartanburg, South Carolina. Ominously, before the New Yorkers ever saw the trains that would carry them southward, South Carolinians were howling with indignation at the prospect of black troops in their state. Congressman Sam Nicholls, SC, prophesied on the House floor that armed black and white troops would trigger open war in the United States. In a strange echo of Private Wright's observations, Southern opponents pointed out that the last time black troops marched in the South was in the Civil War, specifically referencing the Union Army's all-black 54th Massachusetts Regiment's blood-drenched 1863 battle against Confederate forces at Fort Wagner, South Carolina, as evidence as to what would happen should blacks and whites cross paths in a Southern cantonment. So rabid was Southern hostility to the notion of African-American soldiers that the Conscription Act of 1917 became the center of a political maelstrom as "bitter opposition which developed in its greatest intensity among the Southern senators and representatives" vainly aimed to derail the bill's passage. Adding fuel to the fire, many Southerners throughout the region maintained that black soldiers were traitors hell-bent upon fomenting an armed uprising at the behest of German provocateurs. As America's war machine gained steam, the racial stress fractures began to buckle.[4]

Just like Pvt. Wright, many New York soldiers found themselves battling their white countrymen before they ever saw a German, especially on guard duty. Often times, the African-American soldiers were purposely tasked with the mundane duty of guarding construction sites on base, which just as often resulted in knock-down scrapes between guards and white civilian construction workers who took offense at being searched by black soldiers. Historian Stephen Harris makes a compelling point by stating the Fifteenth's New York origins and skin color made them a

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[3] Tracy Lorvette Spencer, James E. Spencer, Jr., and Bruce G. Wright, "World War I as I Saw It: The Memoir of an African-American Soldier," *Massachusetts Historical Review* 9 (2007): 144; Harris, *Harlem's Hellfighters*, 82-83; Emmett J. Scott, "The Participation of Negroes in World War I," *Journal of Negro Education* 12, no. 3 (Summer 1943): 289.

[4] Harris, *Harlem's Hellfighters,* 98, 114-117; Sweeney, *History of the American Negro in the Great World War*, 81.

convenient target for rabid white supremacists. To illustrate this point, Harris channels Spartanburg mayor John Floyd's declaration that Southerners were hardly threatened by black *southern* soldiers because "we understand them, and they understand us." It was northern blacks and their ideas of racial equality that prompted Floyd to complain that, "This thing is like waving a red flag in the face of a bull, something that can't be done without trouble." And trouble there was, sometimes to the point of inciting an intra-army civil war.[5]

Etched into his diary's pages, Pvt. Wright unequivocally labels his time at Camp Greene as the "war on crackers." This war raged well beyond Camp Greene's confines, as was the case at Camp Mills in New York. After a brief two-week stay marked by a constant barrage of race-related disturbances in South Carolina, the 15th New York received orders to return to their native state and conclude their training at the aforementioned Camp Mills. As fate would have it, though, some of Alabama's most irascible racists would too. The lineal heirs to the Army of Northern Virginia's 4th Alabama Infantry Regiment, the 167th Infantry Regiment's battle standards bore bullet holes from some of the Civil War's fiercest combat, from First Manassas, Sharpsburg (Antietam), Gettysburg, Chickamauga, to the banner's furling at Appomattox in 1865. Although the Civil War's guns had lain silent for 52 years, the embers that sparked that war still burned brightly in the Alabamians' hearts as they traveled northwards on a collision course with the Fifteenth. In fact, the regiment had such a ferocious racist reputation that General Joseph Wheeler, a former Confederate cavalry commander, abandoned the regiment to stateside service in 1898, believing them to lack any soldierly discipline, thus rendering them unfit to fight in Cuba. As historian Stephen L. Harris conveys in his chronicle of the 369th Infantry, these Alabamians frequently engaged in heated fist fights with black troops at Mills, especially the 15th New York, while employing intimidation tactics and hurling foul racial invectives whenever the opportunity arose. Brazenly attempting to institute Southern norms on Northern soil, the Alabama troops haughtily erected signposts throughout the encampment delineating which side was reserved for whites and which side was for "colored." Such actions reflected the Alabamians' condescending amazement at white New

[5] Harris, *Harlem's Hellfighters,* 115-116, 118-119.

Yorkers tolerating "uppity blacks," which in turn led to an incident that nearly resulted in a fever-pitched battle on base.[6]

In late 1917, not long before the 15th New York received orders to embark for France where they would become the famed 369th Infantry, rumors swirled around the camp that the 167th Infantry planned to attack the black troopers in their barracks as they slept. Arming themselves with rifles and sidearms, the restless New York soldiers patrolled their barracks all night, and at one point, sentries crossed paths with 167th officers. Expecting the tension to erupt into a bloody cataclysm, the sentries quickly realized that these officers were conducting a patrol of their own, as they were "rounding up the ringleaders" responsible for hatching the insidious scheme. Luckily for all involved, no assault ever materialized, and by October 27, 1917, the Army had cut the Fifteenth's orders to sail for France. Still, such prejudices ran deep among Southern soldiers, and this would not be the last time this regiment, and others, would face such threats from their own countrymen. In a letter to a friend back home, one Southern doughboy in France could no longer contain his lamentations: "It certainly gets a Southerner's goat to see how the races mix up on this side." After recounting several instances of racial interactions, the young soldier warned that the situation "will be worse" when the African-American troops "and Southern soldiers get together over here." So it did, as the New Yorkers landed in France only to later come under attack from white troops. Many black veterans from the 369th recalled that while the regiment bivouacked with US Marines, the Marines not only continued the same racist barrage experienced stateside, but even went so far as to murder several black soldiers. Taking matters into their own hands once again, the soldiers organized "vampire patrols" that prowled the barracks in search of terrorizing Marines hell-bent on wreaking havoc. Armed and angry, the future "Hellfighters from Harlem" clashed with their roving foes and "exacted eye-for-an-eye." Faced with such spirited opposition, the murderous raids soon ceased, and once more, the New York regiment found itself on the move, this time to the French Army for combat service. Although race hatred physically manifested itself in these cases, there remained a plethora of ways that this elusive enemy reared its head, especially when the Army confronted the issue of advancing African-American officers.[7]

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[6] Spencer, Spencer, and Wright, "World War I as I Saw It," 144; Roberts, *The American Foreign Legion*, 17; Harris, *Harlem's Hellfighters,* 109-112.

[7] Harris, *Harlem's Hellfighters,* 134-136, 160; "French Democracy Upsets Southern Newspaper Writer," *The Washington Bee*, January 19, 1918.

Echoing Mayor Floyd's cries, Colonel Herschel Tupes of the 93rd's 372nd Regiment ardently declared that, "racial distinctions which are recognized in civilian life naturally continue to be recognized in military life." According to Tupes, these "racial distinctions" included stymying any advancement for black officers, a policy practiced not only in the 372nd Regiment, but throughout the US and French armies. The principal weapon employed to effect this policy lay in the "efficiency board," which sought to eliminate incompetent and ineffective officers from command positions, and often times, these officers were black. Still, Tupes's quest was hardly a new one in the US Army, especially since many officers shared his views. In 1914, 14 Officer Training Schools operated in the Army, and not one admitted African-American candidates. Also, one uncovers the US Army's prevailing perception of African-American officers in the comments of Major General Alexander Hay, the 92nd Division's 184th Brigade's commander. Like so many officers of his era, Hay railed against African-Americans' supposedly stunted intellectual abilities, which he believed were directly linked to their racial heritage. According to Hay's rigid racism, not only did this prove white supremacy over the African race, but also reflected the rampant laziness and stupidity that made black Americans fit to command only the most menial of labor or pioneer units, and even then their competence and reliability remained highly suspect. Such attitudes died hard despite the reality, as evidenced by the 370th Infantry's composition. Among its troops were former draftsmen, chemists, mechanics, lawyers, doctors, and other college graduates from a variety of fields. In fact, these same troops left a profound impression upon Houston's white citizenry in the wake of the Camp Logan, Texas, race riots with their discipline and drill precision. Nevertheless, despite contrary evidence, the Army and War Department persisted in its institutionalized racism.[8]

Adopting the War College's *Personnel Re-organization*, the 92nd Division significantly culled any opportunities black officers might have had for advancement through the ranks. Specifically, this plan decreed that divisional headquarters staff, brigade commander's aides, adjutants, captains of engineering and artillery billets, as well as supply officer and HQ company commander positions would be closed to black applicants. While severely limiting the number of positions available to black officers,

[8] Arthur E. Barbeau and Florette Henri, *The Unknown Soldiers: Black American Troops in World War I* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1974), 128; Nelson, *A More Unbending Battle*, 149; Ferrell, *Unjustly Dishonored*, 93; Roberts, *The American Foreign Legion*, 21, 24.

the re-organization effort hid another career-stunting tactic. Because many of the forbidden billets required one to be a captain, this move virtually assured that for the duration of their service, African-American officers found themselves glued to the rank of captain, should they even make it to that grade. This plan, combined with the efficiency boards, dropped the percentage of black officers in the "Buffalo Soldiers" Division from 82% at the war's beginning to 58% by its end. Those lieutenants and captains who remained found it exceedingly difficult to train themselves and their units to any degree of efficiency, since repeated labor assignments siphoned them away from their actual duties. All of these tactics reflected the widespread belief that blacks' racial inferiority inhibited their ability to withstand the strain of command. So prevalent was this view that not even ordinary military courtesy was immune. When lower-ranking white officers came across any higher-ranking African-Americans, they often refused to salute, and in a humiliating reversal, some black officers were ordered to salute their white subordinates. However, as the Army's African-American regiments trickled across the Atlantic into France, a kaleidoscopic reality awaited them. While the hapless 92nd would remain in the American Expeditionary Force and endure more of the same, the 93rd's soldiers would fight shoulder-to-shoulder with the French, where race took on both similar and dissimilar roles that allowed it to stand apart from that experienced in the United States.[9]

As the trickle of raw doughboys into France became a flood, AEF commander General John J. "Black Jack" Pershing sought to manage the mammoth task of constructing and employing a combat-effective force, while at the same time parrying incessant requests from Supreme Allied Commander Marshal Ferdinand Foch for US troops, especially African-American soldiers, to fill the gaping holes in his armies after nearly four years of brutal combat. These requests flummoxed the general, especially after British Secretary of War Lord Alfred Milner expressly rejected the US 92nd Infantry Division for a training assignment with the British Expeditionary Force, citing in an official letter to Pershing that "a good deal of administrative trouble would, I think, necessarily arise if the British Army had to undertake the training of a colored Division." Despite defending the "Buffalo Soldiers" as "American citizens" who have been organized into a combat division for use in France, and therefore he "shall not discriminate against these soldiers," General Pershing's views on the

[9] Barbeau and Henri, *The Unknown Soldier*, 142, 146-148; Nelson, *A More Unbending Battle*, 149.

use of African-American combat troops seemed rather murky. Even Pershing himself bore a lasting reminder of the prevalent racial views held by white society; views that saw African-American men as being fit only for manual labor, thus the reason for so many black stevedore companies during the war.[10]

As a young officer, Pershing served with African-Americans in the segregated 10th Cavalry, a fact that contributed to his immortal moniker that historian Donald Smythe traced to its pejorative origins when Pershing served as a tactical instructor at West Point from 1897 to 1898. Known for suffocatingly strict discipline, Pershing clashed with many high-spirited cadets under his command who, upon finding out that he had served with black troops, combined the most vulgar appellation for an African-American with the nickname for John. As Smythe related, eventually "this became the more euphemistic 'Black Jack.'" Loath to reflect on this period of his life, the general later conceded that this name was born from his days as a West Point instructor. Nevertheless, Pershing stated in his 1931 memoir *My Experience in the World War* that despite holding "a favorable impression on my mind" of black soldiers dating back to his days with the Tenth, he immediately added that African-American troops could perform well *under the leadership of white officers*. This statement mirrored the same disdain for black troops' mental capabilities held by so many Army officers, especially after he claimed that black troops required too much training and attention, and therefore should be utilized outside the combat arms. As Pershing once declared: "Strong backs. Weak minds. Stevedores, not soldiers. That's all they were good for." In spite of his lack of understanding, Pershing seized upon this opportunity to, as the 369th's Colonel Charles Heywood described it, "pawn off' the 93rd's regiments to the French.[11]

Although Pershing insisted that the 93rd's men "were anxious to serve with our armies," and that he made arrangements to have the rest of the division filled out, he unhesitatingly transferred the incomplete 93rd Division to the command of the French Fourth Army, where, in Pershing's words, "these regiments remained with the French to the end." By 1918, the French re-christened the New York guardsmen as the *369ème Régiment d'Infantrie U.S.*, or 369th U.S. Infantry Regiment, an appellation that

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[10] General John J. Pershing, *My Experience in the World War* 2 (New York: Frederick A. Stokes and Co., 1931), 45, 46.

[11] Donald Smythe, "Pershing at West Point, 1897-1898," *New York History* 48, no. 1 (Jan. 1967): 48; Pershing, *My Experiences in the World War*, 117; Roberts, *The American Foreign Legion*, 52; Harris, *Harlem's Hellfighters,* 157-58, 178.

irritated the New Yorkers since any regimental designation greater than 200 referred to a draftee regiment, which they were not. In 1918, the 370th, 371st, and Pvt. Wright's 372nd would all follow the 369th into the trenches, physically transforming into French soldiers as they traded in their US Army gear for French equipment. As Colonel Heywood observed, "Oh, officially we were still the 369th US Infantry, but to all intent and purposes we were *français*." On the exterior, it appeared that Frenchmen lacked the racial prejudices that shackled white Americans' views. However, by descending into the same trenches as the 93rd Division, the role of race and its true nature in the French and US armies during the Great War began to emerge.[12]

When one scans the voluminous records handed down from 93rd Division veterans, one instantly recognizes their sincere belief that racism did not exist in the French army, since French civilians received these soldiers from a strange land with open arms and heart-felt gratitude. Emmett J. Scott, who served as Secretary of War Newton Baker's special liaison to the African-American community during the war, postulated in his 1943 article on African-American participation during World War I that the 93rd's assignment to the French army allowed for these African-American troops to escape "the traditional prejudices, sneers, and insults of those officials of American military units who looked with disfavor upon the employment of Negroes as combat troops." Private Bruce Wright, whose Massachusetts Guard company fought alongside the French as the 372nd Infantry Regiment, commented in his diary that the French soldiers, or "frog soldiers," stood in amazement at how rapidly Wright and his comrades grasped the intricacies of advanced infantry and weapons training. The 369th US Regiment's experience closely resembled Wright's, as the New Yorkers would "eat, dance, sing, march, and fight" shoulder-to-shoulder with the French in what the 369th's Colonel Heywood described as "absolute accord." In fact, W. Allison Sweeney boldly declared in his book chronicling African-Americans' World War I service that "The French *poilu* had not been taught that the color of a man's skin made a difference." These perceptions unnerved many an officer in the AEF. Although these regiments fought with the French Army, they were still American, and therefore still nominally under the American Expeditionary Force's aegis. It appeared that the 93rd might have slipped

[12] Pershing, *My Experiences in the World War*, 97; Roberts, *The American Foreign Legion*, 47-48; Harris, *Harlem's Hellfighters,* 177, 179, 181.

Jim Crow's grasp, but an official AEF document delivered to the French would extend its grasp deep into the trenches.[13]

Entitled "Secret Information Concerning Black American Troops" and delivered to the French command by the AEF Headquarters, this document sought to define and mold French relations with the 93rd's men by curtailing any opportunities for African-Americans to glimpse any sort of racial equality through the window of another culture. Its provisions proved especially draconian. Orbiting around the principle of *qu'elles ne gâtent pas les negres*, which translates to "do not indulge the blacks," French officers were not supposed to praise or encourage African-American troops serving with them in any way, nor were they to fraternize, engage in any non-military conversation, or even shake hands with the US soldiers. Furthermore, this "secret information" dictated that the French must recognize African-Americans' social/racial inferiority in the United States, as well as their poor mental capacity. Another glaring guideline mandated a strict segregation policy in order to neutralize any African-American threat to "mongrolize [*sic*] the white race." Anything less than full recognition of these precepts threatened to strike at the core of US national beliefs, thereby upsetting the social and racial order in America. After the French Army Command received these rules of engagement, it wound up in the hands of Monsieur René Boisneuf, who presented the list to the French Chamber of Deputies. In a fierce spirit of *liberté, égalité, fraternité*, the Chamber roundly castigated the American document and proceeded to pass resolutions reaffirming France's undying commitment to human rights and freedom. Judging from this political display, and the 93rd's wartime recollections, one is led to conclude that the French in World War I were truly devoid of prejudice, especially when compared to their newly found American allies. However, more lies beneath the surface, for the fond memories that many African-American soldiers held fast were rooted not in egalitarianism, but in racism itself.[14]

Although the First World War was declared a war to "make the world safe for democracy," one must not forget that the Wilson Administration coined this term as a means of defining how the war related to Americans. In actuality, World War I was waged by European nations with vast colonial empires. Both Britain and France drew heavily upon the tremendous manpower resources of these empires, and since France

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[13] Scott, "The Participation of Negroes in World War I," 291; Spencer, Spencer, and Wright, "World War I as I Saw It," 149; Harris, *Harlem's Hellfighters,* 179.

[14] Barbeau and Henri, *The Unknown Soldiers*, 114-15; Sweeney, *History of the American Negro in the Great World War*, 149.

possessed large swathes of northern and western African territory, it too dealt with the race issue just like the United States. Still, the role of race in the French Army and how it eventually connected to race relations between French and African-American troops serving in the trenches takes on a unique perspective that makes it both similar and different than racial perceptions in the United States.

Regarding its own colonial forces, France made special use of its African subjects, especially those from western Africa. These units, called *tirailleurs*, or "skirmishers," were comprised primarily of Algerians, Senegalese, Moroccans, and Sudanese, and boasted an extensive service record in the French Army by the time war broke out in 1914. Service in France's 19th-century colonial wars and the 1870-71 Franco-Prussian War forced the French to grudgingly acknowledge North and West Africans' combat prowess, but that hardly meant that the French held their African subjects on an equal footing -- quite the contrary, in fact. As Adriane Lenty-Smith writes in her book *Freedom Struggles*, the French were just as racist as their American counterparts; they simply went about it in a different way.[15]

French employment of African troops rested on military necessity, not egalitarian principle. Eventually, over 140,000 West African men served on the Western Front by war's end. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, France worriedly watched as its population declined while Germany's population surged, thus giving the Germans a definite manpower advantage should any war erupt between the two powers. When the war finally set Europe aflame, the French Army desperately needed troops by the winter of 1914. Out of an army of 2 million men, over 500,000 had fallen to German guns by New Year's Eve. Faced with such dire military exigencies, the French increasingly relied on colonial conscripts to help augment their ravaged armies. Nevertheless, as historian Joe H. Lunn writes, "*cette migration temporaire mis enforcée*" (this forced, temporary migration) to metropolitan France was both unprecedented and temporary, for not only was the French use of black troops a military necessity, but it was also justified by racial prejudices, some different, but

[15] Emmett J. Scott, *Scott's Official History of the American Negro in the World War* (New York: Arno Press, 1919), 117; Harris, *Harlem's Hellfighters,* 180; Adriane Lenty-Smith, *Freedom Struggles: African-Americans and World War I* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 103.

others all too familiar to many African-American troops fighting by their side.[16]

While the Americans debased African-American troops' fighting abilities based upon misguided perceptions of racial inferiority, the French actually used these perceptions to validate their argument in favor of using colonial soldiers. As has already been established, US Army officers believed that racial primitiveness made black troops unfit for combat, but in General Charles Mangin's 1911 treatise entitled *La Bête Noire*, the general argued that West Africans' primitively developed nervous system enabled them to be the perfect warriors; the idea being that stunted brains made Africans impervious to pain. Nevertheless, Mangin's ideas still unsettled many in the French military establishment, especially those who had commanded African colonial troops abroad. One such general, Charles Moinier, reflected many a French and American sentiment when he voiced his belief that Africans lacked the ability to adapt to modern warfare due to their allegedly backwards ways and delayed development. Others, like the former Madagascar forces commander General Louis de Forcy, declared that Africans exhibited poor marksmanship, discipline, and were too excitable to be effectively controlled, all of which echoed the countless American voices opposing the formation of African-American combat units in the United States. In the end, though, these racist reservations were shunted aside in order to address the French Army's dire manpower crisis. Even so, the spirit of *égalité* hardly penetrated the hearts of the French rank and file.[17]

Stateside, the role played by West African soldiers on the Western Front was hardly lost upon the African-American press. Many black newspapers trumpeted the heroism of black West Africans as news from the front flew across the Atlantic in the years before the US entry into the war, holding such exploits aloft as evidence of Jim Crow's bold-faced lies. However, historian Chad L. Williams notes how the propagandistic impulses of the time drove many African-American papers to idealize the French Army, thus blinding them to the actual racial landscape in France. In his work *Torchbearers of Democracy*, Williams maintains that this romanticism obscured the fact that French racial policy toward its African

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[16] Joe Lunn, "'Les Races Guerrieres': Racial Preconceptions in the French Military about West African soldiers during the First World War," *Journal of Contemporary History* 34, no. 4 (Oct. 1999): 519; Harris, *Harlem's Hellfighters,* 180; Joe H. Lunn, "'Bons soldats' and 'sales negres': Changing French Perceptions of West African Soldiers during the First World War," *French Colonial History* 1 (2002): 1.

[17] Lunn, "'Les Races Guerrieres,'" 521, 525.

subjects was nothing more than another means of justification for white supremacy that proved as insidious as Jim Crow. Williams writes how the French colonial aim was to "impart French culture onto Africans to convert them from savage ways." Williams reinforces his claim by linking this to Africans' wartime service. With the presence of so many North and West African troops, this allowed for the ultimate assimilation by "breeding a spirit of loyalty and civic obligation" to France. Colonel Edouard Réquin's reply to War Department Special Assistant Emmett Scott's wartime letter regarding the French desire for African-American troops illustrates this concept in luminous detail. Ensconced in a heap of praise for French colonial troops, Réquin, who served as the French military liaison in Washington, gushed to Scott of the racial harmony that had come about as a result of the war. Nevertheless, a close reading is not required to see the lop-sided nature of Réquin's praise. He proclaims that "just as we have delivered these black men from African barbarism, so we have given them civilization and justice." Once more, racism twisted what outsiders might have construed as a more egalitarian drive predicated on inclusion when the opposite actually held true. In reality, "the French authorities were in fact much more concerned about preserving the status of their white personnel," and therefore adopted many policies that would have led many African-American soldiers to believe that no national boundary or frontier could contain racism's ravenous rage.[18]

In late 1917 and throughout 1918, the 93rd Division thought that they had caught a glimpse of the promised land on French battlefields. While they filed passed French officers, little did they realize that these veterans of the slaughtering fields of Verdun and Champagne possessed little faith in African-American officers' abilities. Specifically, they held severe doubts concerning African-American officers' technical expertise and training. These doubts reached back to a prevailing feeling that permeated the French officer corps during the war and presented itself in a policy that directly mirrored US Army directives regarding African-American officers. Similar to African-Americans, African soldiers could acquire an officer's commission in the French Army, albeit climbing the ranks was a different matter. Just as the *Personnel and Re-Organization Plan* sought to shackle African-American officers to lower grades, so too did

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[18] Chad L. Williams, *Torchbearers of Democracy: African-American Soldiers in the World War I Era* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 147, 150-51; Scott, *Scott's Official History of the American Negro in the World War*, 117; Richard S. Fogarty, *Race and War in France: Colonial Subjects in the French Army, 1914-1918* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 122.

French prejudices obstruct many aspiring African officers. *Officiers indigènes*, African officers, were incapable of wielding command authority over white troops, or so went the French military's established doctrine. A pervasive fear of non-white officers outranking white officers, which many believed would send the French racial hierarchy into a tailspin, led to the unwritten rule that if two officers, one white and the other non-white, came up for the same promotion, the white officer was virtually assured that promotion based solely on his race. As Richard Fogarty notes, this "prevented any true sense of respect or equality from developing." This connected to the greater French belief that native West Africans' primitiveness and uneducated status made them incapable of aspiring to, let alone entering, something as high-minded as the officer corps. This belief hardly limited itself to officers either.[19]

According to prevailing French attitudes, West Africans' war-like animalism and low regard for life, especially their own, tailor-made them for combat. In fact, German soldiers reportedly feared West African troops above all others prior to the American entry into the war. Favoring bayonet attacks and night raids, French West African troops' reputed savagery in battle froze the Germans' hearts in their chests, something the French government exploited to their own propagandistic advantage. Despite this, they enforced a strict segregationist policy, requiring West African troops to train in isolated training centers removed from French civilians, usually in the Midi or Gironde regions of southern France. Furthermore, like so many American voices, even Pershing's, French army manuals stipulated that African troops were only effective when led by white European officers. If these officers fell in battle, then the resulting cohesion loss would cascade into the unit's complete breakdown. Therefore, French military doctrine proclaimed in a document entitled "Notice sur les Sénégalais et leur emploi au combat" (Notice on the Senegalese and their use in combat) that a white French unit must be stationed immediately to the rear of an African battalion during an attack so as to "sustain them." The stipulations decreed in the "Notice" combined with the aforementioned French racist beliefs produced within the French Army the established formula for how to effectively use African soldiers: shock troops. Just as American racism attempted to relegate African-American troops to menial labor duties, in France, this same racism compelled French generals to hurl whole battalions of North and West African soldiers into the very maw of German machine guns. This

[19] Harris, *Harlem's Hellfighters,* 179; Fogarty, *Race and War in France*, 98, 120, 123, 125.

phenomenon begets the question then as to why African-American troops serving with the French felt so liberated in their new surroundings. The answer proves to be paradoxically baffling and enlightening.[20]

In his response to Special Assistant Scott, Colonel Réquin concludes his evaluation of French colonial soldiers with a marked contrast with the soon-to-arrive African-American forces en route to France that raises the brow of the discerning eye. After explaining that, despite their combat skills, African troops were devoid of any hint of civilization, the French colonel finishes by assuring Scott that these soldiers are "men who cannot be compared from this point of view with colored Americans." Herein lay the dramatic divide in not only French and US racial perceptions, but also between West African and African-American troops' experiences among Frenchmen during the First World War. "Les Américains Noirs", or "the black Americans," as black US troops were sometimes called, were seen by the French in a vastly different light than French colonial Africans, and geography proved to be the key element in their reasoning. Algerians, Moroccans, and Senegalese hailed from Africa, a land Frenchmen had understood to be a savage and primitive continent. In fact, most Frenchmen had never seen a black man, as evidenced by their repeated action of rubbing black soldiers' skin to see if its dark color would rub off. Nevertheless, the image of the savage and uncivilized African stood foremost in Frenchmen's' minds. As one West African ruefully recalled, "the French thought we were cannibals, [even though] we never ate anybody." However, African-Americans were, first and foremost, Americans. According to French perspectives, the trans-Atlantic slave trade that spirited so many across a vast ocean and condemned so many to a lifetime of bondage in America actually spared African-Americans the "uncivilizing" stigma of being African. Because their ancestors were removed from Africa and had been acculturated to American/Western ways for several centuries, African-Americans stood a step above Africans in the French cultural and racial order. In a twist of irony, the main reason for African-Americans' marginalization in American society proved to be the main reason for their relative acceptance in French society. This same irony even seeps into African-Americans' view of West Africans, thus leading one to some surprising revelations.[21]

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[20] Lunn, "'Bons soldats' and 'sales negres,' " 2, 5; Roberts, *The American Foreign Legion*, 51; Lunn, " 'Les Races Guerrieres,' " 529-31.

[21] Emmett J. Scott, *Scott's Official History of the American Negro in the World War*, 117; Joe H. Lunn, " 'Bons soldats' and 'sales negres,' " 3, 10; Williams, *Torchbearers of Democracy*, 164.

There does exist one final note on this point that merits mention, and that is African-American soldiers' perceptions of the West Africans with whom they served. Ironically, many black US troops thought along the same lines as the French, especially when it came to the concept of African savagery. Although many black US veterans remembered French colonials as fierce and effective fighters, many believed that West African troops fashioned war trophies from the remains of slain Germans. One popular rumor that passed from one man to another was the West African "practice" of fashioning human ear necklaces, and that West Africans were ruthlessly bloodthirsty and culturally backwards. One aspect that exaggerated this belief lay in the language barrier between the two. Most colonial Africans spoke no French, or at best a pidgin French forced on them by Frenchmen, and no English. By contrast, the men of the 93rd US Division stood in high esteem, since "The French folk like the colored boys, and felt highly honored at the way the latter learned French," declared the Chicago-based newspaper *The Broad Ax*. Furthermore, they could not fathom a person not being able to speak English. As one 93rd doughboy so eloquently put it, he could not understand how a man could not "speak United States." Such similarity in perceptions between African-Americans and French make for a damaging case against US racist beliefs, since black US troops were so American, there existed an immense cultural and linguistic chasm separating them from their racial cousins. Nevertheless, both shared a common history of marginalization in their respective societies, and in spite of all this, both groups, especially the untried regiments of the 93rd Division, acquitted themselves well in combat; some might even say they covered themselves in glory.[22]

As the reader has already gleaned, the doughboys of the 92nd and 93rd Divisions battled hard against discrimination, and as the war reached a crescendo in the summer and fall of 1918, these African-American soldiers engaged both racism and the Germans in deadly combat. In order to gain as complete a view as possible of their combat trials and tribulations, one must take stock of the battles endured by both divisions.

In the American Expeditionary Force's combat chronicles, the "Buffalo Soldiers" of the 92nd Division bear the tarnished reputation of being total failures. The reasons stem from the Meuse-Argonne Campaign from September 25-30, 1918, a campaign which greatly taxed the extremely green and untested AEF in its entirety. Assigned to be the lynchpin

[22] Ibid., 176-78; "Colored Soldiers Overseas 'Making Good,'" *The Broad Ax*, November 16, 1918.

between the US 77th Division and the French Fourth Army, elements of the 92nd undertook a mission fraught with disaster before it ever began. Devoid of adequate maps, communications, artillery support, and constantly harassed by German fire, the Buffalo Soldiers conducted a series of confusing and sometimes disastrous retreats and advances that saw some of their number break. Numerous white officers in the US Army cited the 92nd's troublesome performance as evidence of their inferiority as combat troops and as a validation of their long-held racist views. As always, the truth proved more complicated.[23]

With many white officers at the helm of the 92nd's battalions, it goes without saying that the supply and liaison issues, the poor communications, the lack of wire cutters to cut through the German barbed wire, all of these mistakes fall on their shoulders. One unit that nearly collapsed during the attack, the 2nd Battalion, 368th Infantry, highlights this perfect storm. Its white commanding officer, Major Max Elser, a lawyer by trade, failed to establish contact with his companies, moved his command post, from which he was always absent, without notifying his subordinates, did not know where his men were located, and even got lost during the course of the action. All the while, he gave contradictory orders that caused some companies to advance and others to retreat. It is worth noting that Major Elser's command became so disoriented from confusion and German fire that a superior removed Major Elser from command on the spot after he suffered a nervous breakdown at the front. The 2/368th's chaotic combat cacophony stands in stark contrast to the 1st Battalion, 368th Infantry, which managed to achieve its objective.[24]

A career white officer with plenty of experience commanding large bodies of men, Major John N. Merril encountered the same problems as the other luckless battalions in the 92nd Division. Still, by a combination of military know-how and force of will, he pushed his men to victory. After coercively acquiring adequate wire cutters for the job, Major Merril maintained personal control over his unit, and unlike Major Elser, actually led from the front. Organizing his men into cohesive formations and effectively reconnoitering the battlefield, Major Merril and the 1st Battalion not only withstood German shells, but pushed the enemy out of the village of Binarville, which the French had originally intended to seize. Still, Major Merril's coup hardly dampened the flaring racist flames.

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[23] Barbeau and Henri, *The Unknown Soldiers*, 150-51, 153.
[24] Ibid., 155-57.

Historian Robert Ferrell writes that the AEF command used the Argonne battle "as a rationale that black troops require white officers," when, in reality, "the basic problem of command was the incompetence of white officers" like Major Elser. Even more damning were the lasting effects this battle would have after the war. Even though only one regiment out of the entire division, the 368th, engaged in combat, the US military brass enshrined this as the failure of the entire experiment of employing black troops in battle. Conveniently, the Army dismissed the all-white 35th Division's similar performance in the Argonne as a matter of poor supply and liaison, thus preserving white supremacy's façade. As a result, no all African-American divisions would be formed in the future until the Army relented in 1944 with the re-constitution of the 92nd Division in World War II. While the 92nd bore the undeserved stain of defeat, the 93rd's regiments' battlefield actions would coat them in a wall of Croix de Guerre and Distinguished Service Crosses.[25]

In a complete about face to his own beliefs, war correspondent Irvin Cobb marveled at how well the 93rd's men adjusted to the war's rigors. In fact, Cobb and his cohorts did not initially believe that African-Americans had really engaged the Germans, since "we had grown accustomed to thinking of our negroes as members of labor battalions working along lines of communication." Cobb even addressed the notion that black troops broke under combat's strain when he wrote that if that were to be the truth, then "the representatives of the dark races that come from America are the exceptions to the rule." Through their own trials at the front, the 93rd proved to be just as fierce as any competent unit in any competent army.[26]

There is perhaps no greater illustration of racism's fallacies in World War I than the outstanding performance of the 93rd Infantry Division on the Western Front. All four of the African-American regiments received the regimental French Croix de Guerre, as well as a total of 365 individual Croix de Guerre. Perhaps the most famous example lies in the account of Private Henry O. Johnson. Manning an observation post with another soldier, the men came under fierce German fire. Using only the ammunition and grenades at hand, as well as a bolo knife, Pvt. Johnson managed to defend his wounded comrade while engaging the Germans in a brutal fight, even though Pvt. Johnson's own laconic

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[25] Ferrell, *Unjustly Dishonored*, 16, 35-40; Barbeau and Henri, *The Unknown Soldiers*, 153.
[26] Irvin A. Cobb, *The Glory of the Coming* (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1918), 283-84, 302.

recollections do not always conjure up images of the battle's ferocity: "I was still banging them when my crowd came up and saved me and beat the Germans off. That fight lasted about an hour. That's about all. There wasn't so much to it." While Pvt. Johnson considered such actions as just another day at the front, the French bestowed upon him the Croix de Guerre with Gold Palm, thus making him the first US soldier of any skin color to receive that honor in World War I. In another sector, Pvt. Bruce Wright's 372nd Regiment once held off a Prussian Guards unit for five days before counter-attacking across a river to seize the town of Monthois. The regiment drew special attention in a citation penned by the French Fourth Army commander, General Gaylet, who hailed the "irresistible and heroic rush of the colored American regiments," and that "The most formidable defenses, the strongest machine gun nests, the most crushing artillery barrages were unable to stop them." In the face of such tenacity, German troops dubbed the African-American soldiers "hell-fighters," or "Black devils." Even though the Germans did not believe African-Americans to be as ruthless as West Africans, they feared them nonetheless, describing them as "more scientific and more dangerous fighters" because they fought with "precision, fought like veterans." These actions can only illustrate the bravery exhibited by the 93rd's soldiers, for they hardly do justice to the numerous accounts of valor referenced by American and French officers, and even their German foes. Contrary to the popular beliefs of the time, African-Americans fought just as hard and just as well, sometimes better, than white soldiers.[27]

In conclusion, the First World War reflected race and racism's profound role and impact in early 20th-century America and France. In a sense, both countries' experiences in the war reflected how much had and had not changed, as both establishments sought to preserve their own particular version of racial hierarchy amidst the violent winds of change wrought by World War I. Just as the war shattered Europe's empires, so too did it challenge the very racial conceptions conservative orders in America and Europe sought to uphold, thus laying the foundation for even greater tumult and transformation in the mid-20th century. Nevertheless, for the African-American soldiers who bore the unique distinction of marching under two flags, the war not only revealed the fighting prowess, endurance, and determination of a people fighting a two-front war for the

[27] Harris, *Harlem's Hellfighters,* 197-202; Sweeney, *History of the American Negro in the Great World War*, 146, 149; Spencer, Spencer, and Wright, "World War I as I Saw It," 160-61; Roberts, *The American Foreign Legion*, 190; Scott, *Scott's Official History of the American Negro in the World War*, 277.

eradication of tyranny abroad and at home. It also reflected the underlying racial conceptions in France that shaped African-Americans' experiences abroad, as well as revealing the reality of early 20th-century French race perceptions. Still, nearly one hundred years later, with their deeds carved in history's stone tablets, the African-American men of the First World War now stand abreast of their ancestors in the pantheon of black soldiers who proudly donned their country's uniform from Union blue to olive drab.

Teen Titans and a Generational Movement of the 60s and 70s

Joshua Roeder

A caption jumps out from the cover page, "THEY JUST COULDN'T WAIT TO START **THEIR OWN MAG!**" Approved by the Comics Code Authority and officially sealed with the Superman DC National Comics brand, the cover reveals four super powered teenagers in the midst of a struggle for their very lives. "NO, YOU"RE NOT SEEING THINGS! THAT'S ROBIN, WONDER GIRL, KID FLASH and AQUALAD-- ALL FIGHTING THE **SAME VILLAIN...** The **BEAST-GOD** of **XOCHATAN!**" Young readers across the nation could get their hands on this thrilling first issue and debut of a newly formed superhero team for only twelve cents, a decent price for nearly forty pages of entertainment. Young adults and children thought so too, back in 1966 when this comic book issue was first published. As exhilarating as it would be to see the Teen Titans battle a Beast-God named Xochatan, however. What is more important, historically that is, was what was being implicitly expressed through this series. During a time when a multitude of social movements were rapidly progressing towards social equality for most Americans, their own superheroes now seemed to be joining them.[1]

What may seem like a mere comic book series can also be seen as an important historical and cultural piece from a tumultuous time period. Examining the contextual relevance and analysis of how the superhero characters of the *Teen Titans* series evolved in response to shifting social mores and historical events from the 1960s to the 1970s will reveal how important this series is historically and culturally. The findings of this cultural analysis will also aid historians in understanding the society these comics were created for. This will be achieved by analyzing the time period in regards to comic books, the creators of the series, the characters, specific stories, and various one-shot pages within the *Teen Titans* serialization itself. To understand the comic books, it is important to understand the cultural frame for which they were created in.

The 1960s was driven by progressivism and domestic policy changes that saw numerous presidential initiatives, judicial rulings, and

[1] George Kashdan (editor), Bob Haney (script), Nick Cardy (ink)(pencil), "The Beast-God of Xochatan!," *Teen Titans* #1 (Jan.-Feb., 1966), National Periodical Publications, Inc., [DC], 1.

social protest movements. The civil rights movement, the women's liberation movement, the youth movement, and the environmental movement washed over the landscape of America, changing the lives of many Americans. However, this wave of reform also produced an atmosphere of rebellion, confrontation, and upheaval in what historians call the counterculture movement. This movement consisted of an anti-establishment cultural feeling. Leading this movement was a social group known as Hippies, or flower children, who criticized war, middle class values, promoted sexual freedom, and often used psychedelic drugs to expand their consciousness. Hippies, who were originally beatniks, had their start as a counterculture group in the 1950s. This long clash of establishment versus anti-establishment inevitably started a war over the minds of the youth; a war that would see the establishment use comic books as its conduit to deliver its message.[2]

In 1989, comic book historian Mike Benton wrote that "the American comic book has touched the lives of nearly everyone alive today."[3] This is evident when examining letters that were written to the editors. Letters for this series were printed in the *Tell it to the Titans* column that appeared in nearly every issue. The letter column provided a forum for readers to catch mistakes, give opinions or suggestions, or to say what they liked or did not like about the series. This makes examining letter columns such as *Tell it to the Titans* all the more important.

Found in issue #25, the letter from Mike Callahan of New Jersey makes it clear as to why analysis of this comic book series is important:

> Dear [Editor]:
> I must compliment you on your tremendous work on Teen Titans. I had stopped reading it around Issue #8 or #9 after it became, to me, just another comic with immature heroes (in this case, immature teen-agers) running around saving people, and occasionally the world, from horrible menaces and nasty monsters. Then I bought an issue of the "new" Teen Titans, a comic with immature heroes (in this case, immature teen-agers) running around saving people, and occasionally the

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[2] Peter Braunstein and Michael William Doyle, *Imagine Nation: The American Counterculture of the 1960s and '70s* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

[3] Randy Duncan, and Matthew J. Smith, *The Power of Comics: History, Form and Culture* (New York: Continuum, 2009), xvii.

> world, from horrible menaces and nasty monsters. While that doesn't sound any different, it really is. The present-day TT no longer flaunt their immaturity. It is still evident, but it has been changed to the innocent immaturity (if such a thing exists) that characterizes true young people in a [tumultuous] time of their lives. I would say that Bob Haney is either (a) a teen-ager, (b) an extremely acute observer or (c) a father with youngsters of his own, for only one of those three could write with such insight and understanding. It's become easy to identify with the Teen Titans (my fantasy counterpart is Kid Flash) and not terribly difficult to believe in them. In fact, it is this quality that will keep me a fan for a long, long time.[4]

Callahan's letter makes three important statements. The first was his own notice of how the comic series evolved into a different type of maturity that better reflected the mindset of "true young people" in the turbulent time of their lives. Secondly, Callahan notes that Bob Haney, the main scriptwriter for the series, was able to provide insight and understanding into the life of teenagers that readers were able to relate to. Lastly, he stated the ease to which he himself was able to identify with the Teen Titans. Letters like Callahan's make the *Teen Titans* series especially important historically and culturally. However, it is not just the readers' letters that make studying the series important.

The task of completing a comic book requires the combined efforts of a group of specialized creators. Writers and artists are able to develop a social consciousness in their work as they and the times they are in progress. These social consciousness shifts within comic books encompass complex issues such as race, gender, and drug abuse, to name a few. Some of the most famous comic book series known today were written during this period, but not all have been critically examined.

One of the earliest examples comes from Will Eisner's *The Spirit*. It featured an African American sidekick named Ebony White. With a clownish appearance and monkey-like demeanor, the character was a crude and stereotypical representation of African Americans. In the middle of the century, "perhaps due to changing attitudes toward

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[4] Dick Giordano (ed), Bob Kanigher (sc), Nick Cardy (p)(i), "The Titans Kill a Saint," *Teen Titans* #25 (Jan.-Feb., 1970), National Periodical Publications, Inc., [DC], 16.

minorities in the postwar-era, Eisner realized that Ebony's dialect humor was insulting." The Spirit's sidekick was "sent to the all-black Carter School for Boys to rid himself of his 'minstrel accent.'" The fact that the character was self-conscious about the issue meant that Eisner was as well. This was the beginning of a social conscious shift in Eisner's work that would continue as the years passed on.[5] Another comic book creator, Stan Lee, created the *Fantastic Four* in the 1960s,with the idea of going away from the typical superhero archetype. The members would argue, not be in control of each situation, and they would be dealing with relationships on a more or less adult level. Lee stated that he "did the *Fantastic Four* the way I felt I would like to write, the way a story ought to be written."[6] This would continue to be the motif of comics during this period.

The 1960s, otherwise known as the "Silver Age" of comics, were full of comics that were relatable to the culture at the time. This is due to intertextual images. These remind readers of something he or she has encountered in other media (movies, books, paintings, TV shows, etc.). Some intertextual pictures refer to real-life events. Most only see those events indirectly, as reports in newspapers or on television. For instance, *Amazing Spider-Man #68* in 1968 featured a story titled "Crises on Campus." This was based on the student demonstrations that ended violently in the same year at Columbia University. A similar occurrence happened with Captain America's "Secret Empire" story that was published from 1973 through 1975, the same time period in which the Watergate Scandal was unfolding. In the story, Captain America finds out that the leader behind the evil secret empire was the President of the United States. The potential of comics as a useful visual communication media began to grow.[7]

Comics exploring social issues started receiving positive media attention -- enough to be noticed by government officials. In 1972, an official at the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare sought out one of the most prominent comic book creators at the time. Stan Lee was encouraged to use Marvel Comics (specifically their most popular character, Spider-Man) to educate young people about the dangers of drug use. Lee eventually went to write a three-part story about Peter Parker's friend, Harry Osborn, and his brief battle with drug

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[5] Arie Kaplan, *Masters of the Comic Book Universe Revealed!* (Chicago: Chicago Review, 2006), 8.

[6] Kaplan, *Masters of the Comic Book Universe*, 52-53.

[7] Duncan, *The Power of Comics*, 148; ibid., 49-50.

addiction in *Amazing Spider-Man* #96-98 (1971). A *Teen Titan* character would eventually be used as well. Speedy, ward to Green Arrow, was revealed to be a heroin addict on a cover page for a *Green Lantern* issue. A teen superhero with a drug syringe would be a shocking image for most comic book readers.[8]

Before this shift in making overtly shocking issues, DC Comics would debut its new series specifically aimed at a young audience. To be successful, the company would assemble some of their most notable creators. Examining the original creators of the series will provide clarity in understanding why certain topics appear in *Teen Titans*. The series is unique in the fact that the editor, artist, and scripter remained the same for the first couple of years. The editor for this series was George Kashdan. Having graduated from the University of Chicago with a Bachelor of Arts degree with a heavy background in Liberal Arts and Philosophy, Kashdan was soon writing and editing for DC comics. From 1947 until the 1970s, he had dealt with many known major characters such as: Batman, Superman, Tomahawk, Blackhawk, Aquaman, Green Arrow, Teen Titans, Sea Devils, and Metamorpho.[9]

While Kashdan oversaw the entire development of each issue, Nick Cardy would be there to produce the art for the series. Graduating from the School of Industrial Arts, Cardy eventually went to work for Will Eisner in 1940. After being drafted in 1943 and surviving World War II, Cardy started doing work for advertisement companies in 1946. Working at various studios for a couple of years, Cardy eventually approached DC for a job in the 1950s. His most noticeable claim of work came when he started drawing the covers for the newly introduced *Aquaman* series.[10] Cardy eventually started work on the newly serialized *Teen Titans* series.

Writing for the new series was Bob Haney. The main goal of the writer is to take a concept and turn it into a fleshed out script. After having worked in New York in publishing for about five years in the 1940s, Haney eventually found his way into DC Comics. In one of DC's published profiles, Haney is described as "one of those guys you build companies around." Since joining, he "has had the opportunity to write a portion of the saga of almost each and every super-hero ever published

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[8] Duncan, *The Power of Comics*, 51.

[9] Jim Amash, "I Graduated from Plato and Aristotle to Superman and Batman," *Alter Ego* 3, no. 93 (May 2010): 40.

[10] Amash, "When You Do A Lot of Super-Heroes," 20.

by DC Comics." A series that Haney is most known for is *Teen Titans.* When asked about his writing for the series, he stated that the "PR research that they had done showed — this is still the early '60s — the average reader was a 12-year-old boy living in Dayton, Ohio... Who was not that sophisticated. So a lot of my stuff I wrote... was aimed at him. Generic little boy."[11] Haney was also involved in the political scene. Regarding his involvement in the movements of the 1960s, Haney stated that he "went to Washington a few times. I was against [the] war. I went to antiwar meetings as early... as '64 and '5. [I] went to meetings of the old Left against [the] war."[12] With his background in political movements, Haney further reveals where the source of the dialogue for the series came from:

> That awful stuff?... Some of that stuff you did hear around here. That's what some of the people who were criticizing me didn't appreciate. Around Woodstock, you did hear some of that. You heard a better form and a more raunchy form. You couldn't put that in the comics. I had to water it down and make it kind of juvenile. But, you know, some of the rap — my barber here, he's an old ex-hippy. But he's a great rapper. His stuff's very creative and very interesting and very adult. I used to go get a haircut and I'd come back and type in all his dialogue that he'd given me in my ear while he was cutting my hair... Young people who worked on the strip... they met me and they said, "Where'd an old guy like you learn all this kind of hip talk?" I didn't tell them it was my barber in Woodstock.[13]

This lingo would need "hip" characters that could match the dialogue. The grouping of four young popular teenage characters would prove to be the best setup in order to appeal to the "generic little boy."

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[11] Michael Catron, "Bob Haney Interviewed by Michael Catron Part Four (of Five)," *The Comics Journal*, last modified January 10, 2011, accessed January 1, 2016, http://classic.tcj.com/superhero/bob-haney-interviewed-by-michael-catron-part-four-of-five/2/.

[12] Mike Gold, "DC Profiles #11, Bob Haney," *Batman* #289 (July, 1977), DC Comics, Inc.

[13] Catron, "Bob Haney Interviewed."

The original Teen Titans consisted of four teenage superheroes. Each character was a teenage adaptation of their grownup counterparts, i.e., Robin to Batman, Wonder Girl to Wonder Woman, Kid Flash to Flash, and Aqualad to Aqua Man. The series followed their adventures as they tried to live up to the ideals of their adult equivalents. Why a team of teen superheroes? According to the editor, "The TEEN TITANS are our 'experts' on teen problems. Sure, their job is to tackle trouble where it arises—but as a teen team, they'll be looking for situations that call for the 'teen touch.'" After all, "there are some things they can do on their own!"[14] These characters have allowed the comic book series to be more relatable to the target readers.

Often portrayed as leader of the team, Robin "Boy Wonder" acted the most mature of the bunch. He was typically the character who told the others to quit joking, slacking off, or messing around. The second member is Aqualad. The youthful marine marvel usually had to have scenarios adjusted to fit his aquatic powers (or limitations in some scenarios). The third superhero is Kid Flash. Nicknamed "Twinkletoes," Kid Flash was the jester of the group. The last male character is Speedy. The "Boy Bowman" made frequent guests appearances in the series until he eventually replaced Aqualad. The original composition consisted of three males and one female.

Wonder Girl, otherwise nicknamed Wonder Chick, Teen-Age Amazon, Feminine Titan, Teen Titaness, Doll Face, and many others, was the only female member of the group. She was also the most stereotypically written character. The character was written to be more concerned with how boys look, wooing over Rock'n'Roll stars, and pondering her chances of going out with boys she liked. Wonder Girl was also very juvenile compared to the other team members and would rather dance to music than train with the other members. [15] In a letter to the editor, Colleen Chavas from Hartford, Connecticut, stated that:

> Being a girl myself, perhaps the only reason I read TEEN TITANS is to see WONDER GIRL in action. As the boys have many teenaged heroes to follow, we girls need

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[14] George Kashdan (ed), Bob Haney (sc), Nick Cardy (p)(i), "The Beast-God of Xochatan!," *Teen Titans* #1 (Jan.-Feb., 1966), National Periodical Publications, Inc., [DC], 18.

[15] George Kashdan (ed), Bob Haney (sc), Nick Cardy (i), Irv Novick(p), "Large Trouble in Space-Ville!," *Teen Titans* #12 (Nov.-Dec., 1967), National Periodical Publications, Inc., [DC], 3.

> something to keep our ego up, too. I think I have an idea that would considerably improve the appearance of WONDER GIRL. When she first appeared with WONDER WOMAN, several years ago, WONDERGIRL wore a mini-skirt. Although this was later discontinued in favor of shorts, a skirt would look much more feminine.[16]

There must have been previous thoughts on reworking Wonder Girl as the editor replied to the letter saying, "we've been thinking of re-designing WONDER GIRL'S garb, and may be coming up with a new outfit in the next issue."[17] It would be almost 12 more issues (two years) before the character's suit would be updated.

In *Teen Titans* #23, Wonder Girl updates her outfit from a skirt to a full body suit. Wonder Girl appears on the cover of the issue, busting through an old picture of herself as she yells, "Back off, Tigers--the new Wonder Girl is here!" The more mature outfit does not hide the typical over sexualized female figure that is still drawn for the character. The three teammates of the current group (Robin, Kid Flash, and Speedy) stand in the back, shocked at the change that has occurred over Wonder Girl. Instead of her hair in a ponytail, it has been let down. Instead of a sleeveless American Eagle shirt with star spangled underwear tights, it has been replaced with a tight fitting, all red bodysuit. Instead of red heel tops, black boots. The new look is finished off with black and white stars and golden accessories.

This gives a more mature look to the character. However, when Wonder Girl is introduced with her new outfit, she decides not to fight or actively participate. She instead flaunts her new look to draw the attention of a disgruntled crowd as a distraction. This change occurred due to the coinciding Women's Liberation Movement. Similar changes to other female leads can be seen with the comic book characters Wonder Woman and Lois Lane. Jill Lepore's *The Secret History of Wonder Woman* goes into great detail about how the character evolved to be an iconic figure for the Women's Liberation Movement. But, with comic book series such as *Superman's Girl Friend, Lois Lane* and *Teen Titans*, the changes

[16] Kashdan, "Large Trouble in Space-Ville!," 10.
[17] Ibid.

to the female characters were implemented only to fix the cosmetic issue and not the social issue.[18]

The series continued to present more opportunities for Wonder Girl to express her feminism, however. In an issue #38, the comic book explored the deepest inner fear of some of the group members. Wonder Girl's fear was anything that diminished her femininity. She theorized that perhaps "it goes back to my Amazon background and how men always fear and put down a strong female! But I can't bear the thought of cutting off my hair! It's my most feminine attribute!"[19] This story poses Wonder Girl in a situation in which she must sacrifice her femininity, in this case, cut her hair to look more boyish so that she and her spy partner may cross a border. Wonder Girl associates her ability to maintain her feminine looks and not appear to be too masculine with being a strong female.

This message of feminism is lost when Cal, the spy traveling with Wonder Girl, exclaims that, "We did it, Donna—thanks to your Amazonian strength—And disguise! You even had me believing you were a guy--!" In a state of embarrassment, Wonder Girl internally thinks, "Just as I feared! He'll never look at me again--without remembering... seeing me as a man... not female!" Cal continues, saying, "And to show my gratitude… You gorgeous thing! MMMMMM." Cal pulls Wonder Girl in for a kiss. At this moment, Wonder Girl realizes that Cal "doesn't find me... masculine!" Wonder Girl's concern that her image of being a strong female would be tarnished when she shaved her head is quickly reconciled because a man said she was still beautiful looking. This sapped the feminist message that was trying to emerge from the story.[20]

The story was a poor representation of what was occurring with the Women's Liberation Movement of the 1970s. In 1974, pro-sex feminist movement leader, sex educator, author, and artist, Betty Dodson was asked to appear on Aspen's Women's Week. This was to be a full week of feminist TV programming. In Dodson's segment, she showed

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[18] Jill Lepore, *The Secret History of Wonder Woman* (New York: Vintage Books, 2014); In January 1968, another DC comic book series, *Superman's Girl Friend, Lois Lane*, had a story ("Splitsville for Lois and Superman!," #80) where the main character Lois Lane attempted to reinvent herself to be more independent. The change in character only lasted an issue before reverting back to the overtly male dominated storyline.

[19] Murray Boltinoff (ed), Bob Haney (sc), Nick Cardy (i) George Tuska (p), "Through these Doors Pass the Bravest Titans of Them All," *Teen Titans* #38 (Mar.-Apr., 1972), National Periodical Publications, Inc., [DC], 13.

[20] Boltinoff, *Teen Titans* #38, 12.

herself shaving a woman's hair off while being naked. Subsequently, Women's Week was cancelled. Albeit the nudity was what drove the decision to cancel the week of feminine TV programming, the act of shaving a woman's hair off, in this case, was different than what was seenin the issue of *Teen Titans*. In Dodson's case, shaving the head of another woman symbolized the liberation of women's image and sexuality from a male dominated society. In Wonder Girl's case, shaving her own head meant the decrease in her own femininity, as she held the man's opinion of her image higher than she held her own opinion.[21]

The 60s and 70s not only saw an increase in demands for gender equality, but racial equality as well. Marvel was the first to venture out with new superheroes that fell in line with this movement. Notable characters such as the Black Panther (an African native, not an African American) and the Falcon (a reformed hoodlum that would not rise above the status of Captain America's sidekick for sometime) never hit the mark on what most wanted to see in equality for blacks in American society. Luke Cage, from the Marvel series *Hero for Hire* (1972), was the first African American superhero to star in his own comic book series. However, with a staff of all white writers, it was clear to most that the series was created to profit off the early 1970s sensation of blaxploitation films. These films "featured badass, highly sexualized protagonists with ghetto street smarts"[22] DC Comics also debuted their first African American superhero in 1972, backup Green Lantern John Stewart.

The first appearance of what would be *Teen Titans'* first major black character came in an issue in 1970. The Titans abandon their costumed identities when Mr. Jupiter (an adult guardian to the group) sends them to live in Hell's Corner, an inner city ghetto. A black teenager named Mal (short for Malcom) appears and saves the two women of the Titan group from a couple of street thugs. The irony of six privileged white youth trying to make life work in the inner city ghetto is not lost on the character. When the group asks where they might find work or a place to live, Mal responds, "Look in the mirror, chick! It'll give you all the answers! You're in the wrong ballpark! Head for the nearest exit!" As the story develops, Mal eventually joins the group in their adventures, despite having no superpowers.[23]

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[21] "Betty Dodson Shaving Woman's Head for Feminist Week," Vimeo, accessed February 21, 2016, https://vimeo.com/113148855.

[22] Duncan, *The Power of Comics*, 50.

[23] Dick Giordano (ed), Bob Kanigher (sc), Nick Cardy (i)(p), "A Penny for a Black Star," *Teen Titans* #26 (Mar.-Apr., 1970), National Periodical Publications, Inc., [DC], 14.

The series was slow in developing the new character. In the beginning, Mal was restricted in dialogue. Even when the character said something, it was usually stereotypical lines for a black character. But soon, signs of Mal turning into an atypical "soul brother" character began to appear. For example, in issue #32, Mal was having a conversation with Kid Flash and said, "I feel strung out, Flasher—Like the first time I snitched an apple off the fruit stand... and hoped the fuzz was friendly to hungry ghetto kids!"[24] The cliché lines continued for Mal in the same story: "Wally, like the old honky saying... have I gone white with fear--'cause I'm really scared, man!?"[25] Occasionally the writing for the character did show some depth. In issue #38, when the Teen Titans explored and conquered their deepest fears, readers discovered that Mal's deepest fear was of open spaces. The source of Mal's agoraphobia, as it turns out, was an incident that occurred when he was jumped by three white kids in Hell's Corner.[26]

The most prevalent issue in the series that attempted to take on the issue of racism is published in 1972, issue #41. The story beganwith the group of Titans traveling to visitMr. Jupitor's ailing 'aunt,' who had been part of his family since she escaped to the area before the Civil War. Born on a plantation, she and her father were runaway slaves pursued to the fictional town of Litchburg. Mr. Jupiter's aunt was heavily stereotyped into the 'Mammy' role. This archetype was used to refer to a black woman who have worked within a white household for generations and has often taken care of the family's children. There was also an attempt by the editor to try to make the story part educational as well. During a flashback to the slave plantation, an editor's note was attached to a bit of dialogue when another slave told Hattie (the future aunt) to follow the 'drinking gourd.' The editor's note stated that: "Drinking Gourd—The Big dipper, the star constellation runaway slaves followed North to freedom!"[27] This was a surprising level of effort to insure historical accuracy in what most would consider a simple comic book.[28]

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[24] Murray Boltinoff (ed), Steve Skeates (sc), Nick Cardy (i)(p), "A Mystical Realm, A World Gone Mad," *Teen Titans* #32 (Mar.-Apr., 1971), National Periodical Publications, Inc., [DC], 15.

[25] Boltinoff, *Teen Titans* #32, 16.

[26] Boltinoff, *Teen Titans* #38.

[27] Murray Boltinoff (ed), Bob Haney (sc), Nick Cardy (i) Art Saaf (p), "What Lies in the Litchburg Graveyard?," *Teen Titans* #41 (Sept.-Oct., 1972), National Periodical Publications, Inc., [DC].

[28] "Follow the Drinking Gourd: A Cultural History," accessed February 21, 2016, http://www.followthedrinkinggourd.org/.

The intensity of the subject matter increases as the story unfolds. Mal soon became haunted by the ghost of a Civil War era slave hunter. The image of Mal being chased by a ghost with shackles and a pack of hounds certainly strikes the civil rights movement chord. --an African American in the 1970s still being constrained by a ghost of slavery past. The message would certainly feel relatable to most African American readers and shed some light on current civil rights issues to others.

The issue of race can also be found within the dialogue itself. At one point, Mal tried to explain what happened to him to the rest of the group. After hearing the story, Mr. Jupiter says, "Look... it's natural because of your color... you'd identify with Aunt Hattie's history--." Mal interrupts with:

> I know! I know! Humor the black kid... Give him a little head therapy! Well, I don't buy it! I heard him... heard those chains rattling! Don't believe me! Man, scratch a white honky soul—and you always find the same attitude... 'Black Folks is just superstitious children, boss!'[29]

Mal stormed off, leaving the rest of the group to decide whether or not his story was true or false. The story ended with the group eventually getting rid of the ghost and saving Mal with the help of a voodoo doll. In case thestory did not get the civil rights message across to the readers, the editors decided to end the comic book with a quote: "Man's inhumanity to man—history is filled with terrifying examples—right to the present day! But sometimes there is help, like the singed, half-torn-apart straw doll that sits atop a lonely grave in Litchburg Cemetery!"[30] The quote began with a level of significance, but saying that sometimes there is help in the form of mysticism to those facing racial misdeeds departed from the overall message of the civil rights movement.

Despite Mal's importance to the series in being a vessel for an underrepresented group in comic books, it was not until late in the publication that Mal's role rose. Through donning old leftover superhero and supervillain gear, Mal became the Guardian. Although Mal had been a part of the Teen Titans' group for quite some time, it was not until this

[29] Boltinoff, *Teen Titans* #41, 8.
[30] Ibid., 17.

point that he gained some level of superhero ability, let alone a costume. Whether Mal was considered a "superhero" before this issue, he was now one of the earliest black superheroes in DC Comic's history.[31]

While these characters have cultural relevancy, the storylines of the *Teen Titan* series also contained pertinent relevancy. The very first issue had the team doing their part to help "Uncle Sam" and their "bit for humanity" by traveling to South America to help solve a conflict with the Peace Corps and superstitious villagers. The teenage superheroes were shown going through various Peace Corps orientation courses before leaving. This was that roughly five years after President Kennedy, within weeks of his inauguration, signed Executive Order 10924, establishing the Peace Corps. What better way to appeal to youth about the merits and benefits of the Peace Corps than situating a comic book story around it. [32]

Continuing to appeal to the youth, the Titans helped the President's Commission on Education deal with dropouts. The Commission on Education wanted the Teen Titans to infiltrate a school in order to learn more about the teenager's perspectives on dropping out so that the campaign of lowering dropout rates would have a better chance of success. One of the high school students who dropped out did so to get a job to help his mother and sister get by. Robin explains that he could get a better job and a brighter future after he graduated. The boy responded by saying he is making a fortune now as a design mechanic at a hot-rod shop, a place where lots of kids who dropped out are making a bundle.

Unbeknownst to the dropouts, their work was going into creating getaway cars for criminals. At the end of the issue, Wonder Girl gave a group of high school kids some words of advice, "Give [school] another try! As you see being a drop-out might look rosy at first—but there's no future in it!" [33] What makes this interesting is that the U.S. high school graduation rate peaked in the late 1960s. This was due in part to a number of social guidance videos that were made to help deter kids from dropping out. Some, like *The Drop Out* (1962) were used to showcase why

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[31] Orlando, Joe (ed), Paul Levits & Bob Rozakis (sc), Bob Smith (i) Pablo Marcos (p). "The Man Who Toppled the Titans." *Teen Titans* #44 (Nov., 1976), National Periodical Publications, Inc., [DC].

[32] Kashdan, "The Beast-God of Xochatan!," *Teen Titans* #1, 4; "History," *Peace Corps*, accessed January 1, 2016, http://www.peacecorps.gov/about/history/.

[33] Dick Giordano, (ed), Bob Haney (sc), Nick Cardy (i)(p), "The Revolt at Harrison High," *Teen Titans* #3 (May-June, 1966), National Periodical Publications, Inc., [DC], 25.

teenagers dropped out of high school.[34] Unfortunately, having reached 80%, high school graduation rates soon went into a 4-5% decline by the 1970s. At the end of the story, the narrator informed readers that even "junior super-heroes have to catch up on the books! But soon as they do, they'll be back." [35]

Political imagery and rhetoric can also be found in the series. Knowing that most of the creators had served in WWII and were actively participating in political activities at the time leaves little room to guess where the dialogue source originated from. At the end of a meeting with the Chair of the US Government Treasury Dept., he told the Teen Titans that "[w]e were counting very much on your well-known reputation for aiding those in trouble! And right now, it's your Uncle Sam who needs help!" Robin responds with: "Yes, sir, we all have a high example of that to live up to! Titans . . . Salute!" The group then proceeds to salute a portrait of John F. Kennedy, citing him as a high example to live up to. In the portrait is the quote, "Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country!"[36] This would not be the first time a President's face would appear in *Teen Titans*. On the Teen Titan's bulletin board, right below a picture of the Beatles is a picture of President L. B. Johnson and it says, "For serving their country, grateful best wishes to the 'Teen Titans.' If you all are in Washington, you-all stop in. Pres. L. B. Johnson."[37]

Political imagery and rhetoric can also be found between stories, in one-shot pages. During this time period, President Kennedy's and Johnson's reform movements were reaching the minds of the youth through Public Service Announcement (PSA) Ads. These ads were originally aimed at supporting the U.S. War effort in the 1940s, encouraging paper drives and for donations towards various

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[34] *The Drop Out*, Dir. Henwar Rodakiewicz, by Irving Jacoby, Affiliated Film Producers, last modified 1962, accessed December 28, 2015, https://archive.org/details/DropoutT1962.

[35] James J. Heckman and Paul A. LaFontaine, "The Declining American High School Graduation Rate: Evidence, Sources, And Consequences," *The National Bureau of Economic Research*, NBER Reporter: Research Summary, 2008, accessed Jan. 1, 2016, http://www.nber.org/reporter/2008number1/heckman.html; Giordano, "The Revolt at Harrison High," 25.

[36] George Kashdan (ed), Bob Haney (sc), Nick Cardy (i)(p), "The Mad, Mod Merchant of Menace," *Teen Titans* #7 (Jan.-Feb., 1967), National Periodical Publications, Inc., [DC], 6.

[37] George Kashdan (ed), Bob Haney (sc), Nick Cardy (i), Irv Novick (p), "Monster Bait!," *Teen Titans* #11 (Sept.-Oct., 1967), National Periodical Publications, Inc., [DC], 3.

nonprofit organizations, but they were later used for influencing and educating children. Developed by DC Editor Jack Schiff while working alongside Nobel Prize winner Pearl Buck, the National Social Welfare Assembly, educators, and psychologists, Schiff's goal was to produce an ongoing feature of wholesome messages aimed at young readers. Topics included: racism, lessons on responsibility, manners, safety, world issues and study tips. The PSA pages were:

> highly regarded by schools and civic organizations, and for years Schiff tried in vain to persuade DC to establish an educational office so the comics medium could inform and enlighten children. How effective the PSAs were in influencing the minds of young children is unknown, but the pages were definitely an enjoyable part of the comic readers' experience.[38]

Schiff retired in 1967 and the PSA program faded from the pages of comic books.

In tandem with the environmental movement at the time, one of the first PSAs shown in the *Teen* Titans series was of President Johnson's Natural Beauty speech. In the ad, Johnson says: "At first there seemed to be no end to the wonder of the land. And then the country grew. There came ignorance, greed and ruthless exploitation. Today, natural beauty has new enemies, and we need new weapons to fight these enemies." Cities "devastate the countryside—Highways factories, signs... We must restore as well as protect... bring beauty to the cities and keep it in the countryside." The image showed an overcrowded countryside of billboards and factories with smokestacks. It then compared it to the preferred countryside, suburban-like, with a few homes close together, open pasture fields, a large forest line separating the homes, and the big city in the distance. "Poisons and chemicals pollute air and water; automobiles litter our countryside... We must

[38] "KNOW YOUR PUBLIC SERVICE ANNOUNCEMENT ADS in DC Archives Message Board Forum," Marvel Masterworks Resource Page, last modified July 16, 2011, accessed February 14, 2016, http://marvelmasterworksfansite.yuku.com/topic/17533/KNOW-YOUR-PUBLIC-SERVICE-ANNOUNCEMENT-ADS#.Vo7ucxUrKUk.

handle waste products of technology; eliminate and screen auto junk yards."[39]

The next two panels showed factory runoff going into a river, with the factory's smoke making the sky dark and hazy. On the other side of the river appears to be a dump yard, with a dump truck unloading trash and an abandoned old vehicle stripped bare. The 'fixed' scene shows a nice sunny day. The factories were still there, but with less smoke coming out and no run off. A fence has been planted on the other side of the river with a green forest behind it. "The forgotten outdoorsmen today are those who like to walk, hike and ride horseback... We must preserve stretches of scenic rivers; add outdoor recreation areas, enlarge our wilderness system." This panel displays an overcrowded recreational area, with a ski slope, tent ground, cabins, and cars pulling campers. The other image shows a more open wilderness with horseback riders, a canoe, two hikers, and is not nearly as crowded as the other picture. The ad ends with the final narration of: "All of us can help clean up open spaces, protect parks from damage, teach friends not to litter, respect the plants and animals that live on Earth with us."[40]

Some PSA announcements targeted the youth audience directly, such as one titled "Lost—A Free Education." The ad presents a conversation between two boys and one of them wants to drop out of school in order to line up a job so he can "make some money now and have a good time instead of getting some more book knowledge." An older boy hears their conversation and regales them with his story that he had done the same thing five years ago, but remained an errand boy at the place he got a job at. At the end, he implores the two younger kids to rethink their decision before dropping out and to "remember that education is more than putting learning into your head, it makes a better person of you—a more useful citizen, able to cope with the problems in life you'll be faced with!" This ad bore a stark resemblance to the previously talked about story involving high school dropouts.[41]

In an PSA ad titled "CHAMPS AGAINST THE ODDS!," the setting was a malt shop. Three teenagers lamented their recent failing grades and wondered why they even bothered trying. The adult server

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[39] George Kashdan (ed), Bob Haney (sc), Nick Cardy (i)(p), "The Secret Olympic Heroes," *Teen Titans* #4 (July.-Aug., 1966), National Periodical Publications, Inc., [DC] 10.

[40] Ibid.

[41] George Kashdan (ed), Bob Haney (sc), Nick Cardy (i)(p), "The Fifth Titan," *Teen Titans* #6 (Nov.-Dec., 1966), National Periodical Publications, Inc., [DC] 20.

tells them of a few athletes who had to overcome handicaps to come back and successful at their sports. Examples used were: Mickey Mantle, Wilma Rudolph, Ben Hogan, Billy Talbert, and Glenn Cunningham. Most of the ads that continued to appear in the series encouraged readers to keep in school, make the best of their summer with a summer job, community projects, or even how to "be a hit" at a party. While DC thought it was important for readers to know the importance of preserving the environment or how to be groovy, the company also felt compelled to make sure the opposition to these reform movements were not to be seen as a favorable style.[42]

A different series of one-shot pages can be found in the early part of the *Teen Titans* series, but these are intended to be humorous. The title of the one-shot pages is usually some form of 'Beat Nick,' a play on the word 'beatnik,' and follows the character (Nick) around in four different panels. In the first panel, two men with goatees are sitting around a table, one of them says to the other that "If you want to be a beatnik all you have to do is give up your job—only you keep up the coffee breaks!" The second panel shows a group of beatniks who are standing next to a man in an overcoat with a long beard. One of the beatniks says that "No, he's not a beatnik—still, you have to respect him!" Proceeding this, a woman was shown talking to a beatnik, and said that "Every woman waits for the perfect man to come into her life Nick—I mean—while she goes out with fellows like you!" Nick was again shown with a woman, this time she jested by saying, "I'll never forget you, Nick—no matter how hard I try!" This one-shot page, clearly a jab at the members of the counterculture group, rractically labeled them so ignorant to the point of not being able to tell a person with a beard apart from their group, to not having a job, and not being a suitable enough man that a woman would want in a relationship.[43]

Another one-shot page simply titled "BEAT" continued to poke fun at beatniks. Similar to the first example discussed, this page sectioned into four loose panels that featured depictions of stereotypical beatnik characters. The first panel presented a band with each member playing a different musical instrument (bongo, saxophone, cello, and drums). After

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[42] George Kashdan (ed), Bob Haney (sc), Nick Cardy (i)(p), "The Mad, Mod Merchant of Menace," *Teen Titans* #7 (Jan.-Feb., 1967), National Periodical Publications, Inc., [DC], 6.

[43] George Kashdan (ed), Bob Haney (sc), Nick Cardy (i)(p), "The Million-Year-Old Teen-Ager!," *Teen Titans* #2 (Mar.-Apr., 1966), National Periodical Publications, Inc., [DC], 11.

apparently performing a wild drum solo and destroying the drum set, another member said, "That was beautiful Steve—only your solo comes in a bit later!" To the right of this, the second panel showed three beatniks, each with bowling balls in their hands. The punchline, delivered by one of the members, was, "All the alleys are crowded! Who has a pad with a long foyer?" Following this a third panel showed a beatnik struggling to paint a horizontally long Weiner dog on a vertically tall canvas. In the last panel,a visibly angry beatnik yelled, "Who needs friends?!" He was shown standing at a ping pong table, with a string attached between a paddle and a ping pong ball. One-shot pages like these were clearly meant to be humorous. But they were also clearly singling out a specific group of people that the editors of the comic book felt needed to be ridiculed.[44]

While these one-shot pages and early stories were humorous and lighthearted, the later stories in *Teen Titans* expressed a darker tone, especially ones involving political issues. While attending a peace conference, guest characters of the series Hank and Don (aka Hawk and Dove) offer a dualistic approach to keeping peace. Hank represented the more reaction oriented type, wanting to obliterate anything that threatens "our" country. Dove on the other hand, did not believe in using violence for any side, stating that peace is worth any price. The issue was replete with peace rhetoric. The character Dove commented, "Can't these dummies see that violence will send mankind back into the jungle?" Another character, Dr. Swenson (winner of a fictitious Peace Prize), told a crowd that "No baby was born with a gun in his hand! Who put it there? Men of fear and hate! Look at the man nearest you! He is your brother!"[45]

When a riot erupted at the peace conference, the Titans tried to quell the mob, but Dr. Swenson was shot in the head. This is a surprisingly graphic image for the comic series. Shortly before dying, Dr. Swenson had some choice words for the superhero group: "Your powers... and capacities for violence... carry awful responsibilities—you're like... living atom bombs—but... you're still... only kids—teenagers."[46] After Dr. Swenson died, the group ponders their future. An acquaintance

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[44] George Kashdan (ed), Bob Haney (sc), Jack Abel (i), Irv Novick (p), "A Killer Called Honey Bun!," *Teen Titans* #8 (Mar.-Apr., 1967), National Periodical Publications, Inc., [DC] 8.

[45] Dick Giordano (ed), Bob Kanigher (sc), Nick Cardy (i)(p), "The Titans Kill a Saint," *Teen Titans* #25 (Jan.-Feb., 1970), National Periodical Publications, Inc., [DC], 23.

[46] Giordano, "The Titans Kill a Saint,", 24.

reminds them that, "Your mentors have fought innumerable battles against the age-old problems that have plagued mankind! But who will combat the new problems of tomorrow--? --Who will challenge the unknown in man himself? The mystery of riots, prejudice, greed?"[47] At the end, the Teen Titans were left with the thought that soon, the young people of today would inherit the world and its problems.

It is clear that the *Teen Titans* series is well populated with cultural relevancy. The subject matter explored has only been from the first run of a series of reboots that extend to this day. *Teen Titans*, as a whole, is capable of far more cultural analysis for anyone that is interested in comic book history and American culture. The importance of this comic book series has been shown through the examination of the time period in regards to other comic books, the creators of the series, the one-shot ads, and the stories within the serialization itself. The significance was also shown by examining the letters published in the *Tell it to the Titans* column. One final letter demonstrates how impactful the series was:

> Dear [Editor]
> You have published my letters before, but this particular one I hope is printed because I have something heavy to say about the Teen Titans and this crazy world of ours. Magazines such as Batman, Flash, Wonder Woman, or Justice League depend on some form of violence to make the stories appealing to the readers. The "new" Teen Titans offers a new phase of comics—showing the readers what a world without violence is like, The Titans, although small in number, are using what they know about violence to make the world peaceful. Maybe if the readers of the Teen Titans could transform what they read in the fictional, bi-monthly world of the Titans into ours, we could carry their message practically and attempt in our own little way, to bring our world to peace. As the Titans are "agents" of Mr. Jupiter, we should be "agents" of the Titans and practice their mission of peace. I may sound long-winded, but I feel as a teen-ager, that something should be attempted to help this world. It's up to our generation to bring the world to Peace.

[47] Ibid., 27.

Jess Haskins Fairview, New Jersey[48]

It is certain that *Teen Titans* had affected a certain number of readers. The cultural analysis of this series can also be extended further than just this time period. Authors Randy Duncan and Matthew J. Smith of *The Power of Comics* suggest that although comic books have "played a less direct role in the lives of most Americans more recently, the appropriation of comic book characters and stories into major film, television, and video games franchises results in a perpetuation of indirect influence into subsequent generations."[49] This idea needs further consideration as comic book scholarship continues to grow. The characters and stories of *Teen Titans* have shown just the surface of what can be learned from studying comic books.

[48] Dick Giordano (ed), Steve Skeates (sc), Nick Cardy (i)(p), "Blindspot," *Teen Titans* #28 (July-Aug., 1970), National Periodical Publications, Inc., [DC], 11.
[49] Duncan, *The Power of Comics*, xvii.

A Family Friendly Force: Providing a Family Visitation Option for SAC Alert Crews

Seth Bate

On January 16, 1974, commanders at McConnell Air Force Base near Wichita, Kansas, and members of the local media ate a lunch of steak and baked potatoes. A photograph in the official base newspaper shows a woman in a beehive hairdo about to hand a plate over cafeteria glass to one of the honored guests. The occasion was the opening of a new alert center, ready to house up to twenty-four member crews of KC-135 airplanes. The base paper called it "the newest and finest alert facility in all the Strategic Air Command" (SAC) and a "vast improvement over old alert facilities."[1] The *Wichita Eagle* was more objective in its description but did call the center "a one-of-a-kind alert facility."[2]

Having pleasant living conditions and quality amenities mattered to the flight crews. They served twenty-four hours a day for a week at a time, restricted to the alert facility itself and to nearby destinations on the base equipped with alert signals. Being "on alert" kept the crews close to their airplanes and away from their homes and families. The new volleyball, basketball, and handball courts that were part of the $1 million facilities at McConnell, under construction since late 1972, were a welcome distraction. The flights crews now also had their own dining hall, removing the need to leave and eat at the fire department building; this allowed dignitaries to share their steak dinner at the opening. The two-person rooms had individual heating and air conditioning units. Perhaps most important, the facility was new above-ground construction right on the flight line, rather than a converted dormitory or an underground bunker like the alert facilities on most other SAC bases. New construction meant better living conditions. Proximity to the flight line increased crews' ability to get bombers and refueling planes, also known as tankers, into the air, ready to strike.[3]

A year later, another amenity was added near the alert facility: a family visitation center. This was a nondescript building with a swing set in the yard. It was arranged and furnished to be somewhat homelike, with tables for eating, a television and furniture in the great room: "Ranch oak,"

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[1] *Contrails* (McConnell Air Force Base, Kansas), January 18, 1974.
[2] "SAC Opens All-New Alert Dorm," *The Wichita Eagle*, January 17, 1974.
[3] Ibid.*; Contrails*, January 18, 1974.

recalled one crew member. "Seems to be the only kind of furniture the Air Force ever bought." [4] Pam Landin, who was in elementary school when her father served alert duty, also remembered "those big, heavy wood chairs with the huge, dark brown pleather cushions."[5] There was a kitchen in which families could prepare meals, separately or together. It "was basically a three-bedroom home with a large living room and an open kitchen both with west-facing windows. All the bedrooms were open, no beds, but somewhat private space for gatherings," said Susie Wickiser, who took her sons to the center to visit her husband, Jim. "I thought the setting was pleasant with the lawn, trees and playground. I guess we mostly sat and chatted while the kids played outside," said Landin's mother, 'Berta. Stephen Bate said, "It was never like home, but it was a decent way to spend a little family time."[6]

Constructing and operating a family center was a small part of the larger effort to make alert duty tolerable. The family center was only one of the amenities available at the alert center, and the alert center itself was only used by a small percentage of active duty personnel at McConnell. Even so, this small effort represents the way the Air Force was thinking about its service members and their families in the 1970s and 1980s, when "it was crucial that the services become 'family friendly.'" The Strategic Air Command was in place to deter nuclear attacks on the United States through its ability to strike or counterstrike with nuclear missiles and bombs. This mission required getting and keeping qualified, motivated personnel.[7]

With the establishment of the all-volunteer force, the United States Air Force (USAF) had to recruit differently, and it had the welcome problem of an increased percentage of service members who reenlisted or stayed for a career. In particular, the Air Force had to consider the particular demands and anxieties associated with alert duty, including the families of crew members who were on alert. In a related shift, military

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[4] *McConnell 1983 building 976 area*, photograph, 22nd Air Refueling Wing Archives; Stephen Bate to author, email, March 18, 2015.

[5] Pam Landin to author, email, May 4, 2015. Air Force furniture memories were discussed in several emails from crew members and their families. "Still to this day when I see 'old' military furniture, it takes me back not only to alert visitation, but with the gray and (olive drab) green chairs, big old metal desks, and old air maps, the squadron office," Landin continued.

[6] Susie Wickiser to author, email, March 19, 2015; 'Berta Landin to author, email, May 3, 2015; Stephen Bate to author, email, March 18, 2015.

[7] Bernard Rostker, "The Evolution of the All-Volunteer Force," Rand Corp., last modified 2006, accessed March 14, 2015, rand.org/pubs/research_briefs/RB9195.html.

bases in this era were increasingly "suburbanized," offering the kinds of activities and facilities middle-class Americans increasingly expected to access without traveling into a city. There was a trend toward informal entertaining and recreation; such family-oriented recreation also reflected the family-and-flag nostalgia that emerged in the 1970s, a touchstone for families in a tumultuous time of changing social norms and Cold War anxieties. Providing a family visitation center for alert crews such as the ones who were stationed at McConnell was a small but natural response to these trends and pressures.

That the family visitation center was constructed after the alert center is typical of the military, which appropriately establishes the resources necessary for its critical missions first, then turns to other considerations. In some ways this calls to mind the old saw that "if the military had wanted you to have a family, it would have issued you one"; families perceived some truth in this bit of humor. A sociologist asked by the Navy to study Navy wives in 1978 found that they felt disconnected and unsupported. Her study urged the military to address the wives' sense that that "they are an unwelcome byproduct of active duty participation in the system; to accord them legitimacy in the system, not for altruistic reasons, but because they are in fact a keystone to the continued survival of the system."[8] Certainly some families of people who serve today would relate to this wish for agency within the military system. Families' needs are complex, ever-changing, adaptive, and resource-intensive. Nevertheless, in the 1970s and 1980s, it appears that the military increasingly viewed consideration of military families' needs as a tactic for recruiting and retaining active duty service members. Offering alert crews at McConnell Air Force Base a place to see their families was one such consideration.

Of course, the real audience for the family center and volleyball court and TV viewing room (with an ashtray next to each row of its theater-style seats) was far from Kansas in Moscow. In the 1970s and 1980s, the Air Force, along with the White House and Congress, was managing a Cold War with the Soviet Union. Policy makers, military personnel, and the public experienced anxiety over the very real possibility that a nuclear exchange could happen. Though preoccupied with both expanding and trying to end the war in Vietnam, the Richard Nixon White

[8] Sabra Woolley, "Study of a Navy Housing Area," in *I Want You! The Evolution of the All-Volunteer Force,* ed. Bernard Rostker (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2006), CD-ROM, 11.

House in the 1970s aimed to contain the Soviet Union's expansion through what historian John Lewis Gaddis calls "asymmetrical response," applying the strengths of the United States where the Soviet Union was vulnerable and avoiding conflicts in territory chosen by the enemy. This meant being ready to negotiate with the Soviets when Nixon and Henry Kissinger deemed that they were being reasonable while at the same time maintaining military strength to resist when the Soviets were not. The Jimmy Carter administration essentially maintained this policy "of distinguishing between levels of threat and of keeping responses commensurate with means," while adding an emphasis on modifying Soviet behavior to better match Carter's views on international human rights. Under Ronald Reagan, the response to the Soviet Union became more symmetrical, but it also employed a wider range of approaches: an increase in both conventional and nuclear arms, a focus on human rights, fiscal pressure, and clandestine support for efforts to oppose or depose Communist governments in countries around the world. Reagan intended to overpower the Soviet Union, which also put him in a position to negotiate an end to the Cold War as the Soviet economy and political will fizzled.[9]

An assumption of all of these administrations was that nuclear weapons were fundamental to the defense strategy of the United States. It could be argued that in wars throughout the twentieth century, the U.S. relied on technology and money to reduce its dependence on conventional weapons and the ground forces needed to deploy them. With the United States National Security Council document 16/2, known as NSC 162/2, in October 1953, that approach became policy. "From this point on, U.S. strategy—and NATO strategy as well—was to compensate for manpower deficiencies by making credible the prospect of escalation to nuclear war if the Soviet Union attacked."

The Strategic Air Command was formed in 1947 as a central part of the effort, with a mission of nuclear deterrence and global strike capability. Two years later, the secretary of the Air Force claimed "Existence of this strategic atomic striking force is the greatest deterrent in the world today to the start of another global war." In 1973, when U.S. bombing in Cambodia ended, SAC fielded 622 B-52 Stratofortress bombers assigned to 20 Heavy Bomb Wings, responsible for carrying enormous firepower, and one Strategic Wing, with more emphasis on

[9] John Lewis Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of American National Security Policy During the Cold War*, revised ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 302-356.

reconnaissance.[10] A *New York Times* article about the retirement of the B-52s in 1991 described "their swept wings, 185 feet from tip to tip, sitting atop hulking fuselages and cavernous bomb bays, (which) spoke volumes about American nuclear invincibility at the outset of the cold war."[11] A flight mechanic who worked on them in the late 1960s was less poetic; Marvin T. Broyhill and his fellow mechanics referred to the B-52 as the BUFF (Figure 1), which stood for "Big Ugly Fat Fucker." But even he was captivated by the bombers: "I loved to watch a B-52 take off…As it gained speed, the wings would begin to rise, then they would fall…The plane looked like some enormous prehistoric bird running and flapping its wings. Finally, the wings stayed up."[12]

Figure 1. A B-52 Stratofortress takes off from Andersen Air Force Base, Guam, to participate in an exercise scenario. U.S. Air Force photo by Senior Master Sgt. Mahmoud Rasouliyan, accessed March 17, 2016, commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AB-52_Stratofortress_Takeoff.jpg,.

These bombers were supported by 670 EC/KC-135 tankers in 38 Heavy Air Refueling Squadrons, which could refuel other planes in midair,

[10] Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment*, 165-166; David A. Anderton, *Strategic Air Command: Two-thirds of the Triad* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976), 37-39; Norman Polmar, ed., *Strategic Air Command: People, Aircraft, and Missiles* (Annapolis, MD: Nautical and Aviation Publishing Co. of America, 1979), 130-132.

[11] Patrick E. Tyler, "And for the B-52's, the Alert is Finally Over," *New York Times*, September 29, 1991. Tyler perhaps stretched a point about the bomber's profile, alleging it "has come to symbolize the threat of nuclear war as much as the mushroom cloud over Hiroshima demonstrated its impact." Certainly cultural historian Paul Boyer would disagree that the two images carried similar weight.

[12] Martin J. Broyhill III, "A Peaceful Profession," (unpublished manuscript, April 3, 2001, Microsoft Word file), 69.

prolonging their flight times. For the nuclear program, this meant an extended range for B-52s and, in the event of a Soviet first strike, an increased likelihood of U.S. nuclear bombs reaching their targets. Some KC-135s were modified to operate as airborne command centers or radio relay centers. On a typical day in the 1970s, about half of the USAF complement of tankers was in the air. The KC-135 (Figure 2) looks like a silver airliner, which makes sense, as it was built by Boeing. Only its function changes the way it looks. "Back snuggled underneath the rear fuselage is a windowed blister, and further aft is the refueling boom, retracted to lie against the fuselage belly line during normal cruise flight." When refueling takes place, the boom is lowered and connected to the recipient aircraft.[13]

Figure 2. A plaque offers best wishes to a departing member of a KC-135 tanker crew member at Kincheloe Air Force Base, Michigan. Photograph courtesy of Stephen Bate, March 1977.

Bombers and tankers were inextricably linked in their task to get off the ground immediately in the event of a nuclear strike. Broyhill recounted the description his Air Force instructor provided:

> It took an (intercontinental ballistic missile) only twenty-eight minutes to travel from the Soviet Union to the United States. At best, the U.S. would have fifteen minutes notice that an attack was in progress. The command centers had three minutes to decide to issue an attack order. That left twelve minutes. Thus it was essential that our planes be off

[13] Polmar, *Strategic Air Command*, 130-132; Anderton, *Strategic Air Command*, 187-192.

> the ground as quickly as possible. The plan called for the bombers to take off on both the runway and parallel taxiway, followed by the tankers. The planes were supposed to take off in an extremely tight formation, one breathing up the tail of the one in front of it, so that one was off the ground every fifteen seconds. [14]

Preparation and drilling for this eventuality required flight crews to stay near their planes. In the 1970s and 1980s this was accomplished by each SAC base always having crews "on alert." These crews lived near the flight line and had to stay in the range of the Klaxon alarm's call.[15] When the Klaxon sounded, alert crews stopped whatever they were doing to get to their planes. In its annual reports from the major commands, the magazine published by an organization that advocates for the Air Force and its members called SAC's drilling and preparation program "the most realistic ever devised for a modern military force." It is hard to evaluate such a claim, given that the United States has fortunately been spared the necessity of nuclear conflict, but it is clear that SAC made a significant investment in simulations and education. The ability of alert crews to respond effectively was a key part of the mission of deterrence.[16]

Beginning July 3, 1973, McConnell became an all-SAC base, housing the 384th Air Refueling Wing in addition to the 381st Strategic Missile Wing. The United States increasingly recognized the threat of Soviet nuclear submarines, and in the years before the change of mission at McConnell, Congress appropriated nearly $21 million for the "satellite basing program," dispersing bombers and tankers and basing them at locations that, like McConnell, were closer to the center of the country. "The location of alert forces as far as possible from submarine-launched ballistic missile (SLBM) firing areas off our coasts allows the maximum amount of time for aircraft to be successfully launched," said a committee report. Satellite basing required additional runways and related construction, including the alert center and family visitation facility at McConnell. This was an even higher priority for Congress than it was for Air Force brass; the House Committee on Appropriations was annoyed at

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[14] Broyhill, 39-40; "Strategic Air Command: A Major Command," *Air Force Magazine* 59, no. 5 (May 1996): 74.

[15] "Klaxon" is a proprietary eponynym. Though it is a brand name for one type of alert siren, it is commonly used to mean alert siren.

[16] Broyhill, 39-40; "Strategic Air Command: A Major Command," *Air Force Magazine* 59, no. 5 (May 1996): 74.

the rate of response to its investment: "The Committee is distressed and disappointed at the conflicts, inconsistencies, and delays which have hampered the planning and the construction program of facilities for strategic aircraft. The Committee's hearings show that the Air Force's fiscal year 1973 military construction program does not realistically reflect an effort to come to grips with the changes required in aircraft deployments which result from an increasing threat from SLBMs." The report notes that the USAF actually accepted less money than was initially provided, certainly a rarity, then had what Congress viewed as the gall to request more. The request was denied, as it included funds for construction on bases near oceans. Appropriations asked for a study of the need for coastal bases in 1972—and said it would not consider future funding requests until the report was delivered. "The Committee is convinced that increased emphasis on inland basing is necessary in the very near future if manned bombers are to remain a viable part of our strategic force."[17]

The continued need for alert operations on SAC bases, particularly as they moved inland in the 1970s, meant the Air Force had to think about the needs of alert crew members. Many of these airmen had families. Often the families lived minutes away in base housing or in one of the towns near the base. Certainly there were altruistic reasons for the Air Force to care about military families. After all, "how many civilian families are called upon to uproot their families involuntarily every few years…to endure twenty-four-hour alert duty assignments…to work overtime without additional compensation …?"[18] It was also true that at times in the 1970s and 1980s both Congress and the White House cared about the plight of military families. As with the move to satellite basing, such pressure could shift Air Force policy and practice. The most pressing reason for the Air Force to concern itself with satisfying military families in the 1970s and 1980s, however, was the transition to the all-volunteer military force.

At first, this seems counterintuitive. From the time it was established as a separate branch of the United States military, the Air Force was effectively a volunteer force. In the Vietnam era, the Air Force and Navy had enough volunteers that they did not rely on conscription. With the Army draft ending, however, the Air Force would no longer have the stream of men who enlisted because they viewed the Air Force as a more prestigious, easier, or safer alternative. One way to view the end of the

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[17] Comm. on Appropriations, H.R. Rep. No. 92-1424, at 8, 13 (1972).
[18] Joe Shoshid, "AFA Goes to Bat for Military Commissaries," *Air Force Magazine* 58, no. 7 (July 1975): 84-85.

draft was as a free market decision during the rise of the free market thinking in the 1970s; the USAF now had to compete for qualified personnel on a more even open market.[19]

The draft was a fact of life for American men for much of the twentieth century, about 35 years. Beginning in 1969 President Richard Nixon requested that a task force study the efficacy of ending the draft. It was not long before conversations shifted from if the draft should end to how. A White House memo to Ken Cole, assistant to the President for domestic affairs, at the beginning of 1970 tipped him off about the likely recommendations of the President's Commission on an All-Volunteer Armed Force, that "an all-volunteer military is both desirable and feasible, and that we should move in that direction as quickly as possible." Perhaps the committee moved quickly because the President wanted an outcome that would prove politically popular even if there was opposition from some military strategists. Nixon signed a law pausing the selective service system in January 1971, and the draft formally ended two years later.[20]

For some military thinkers and Washington politicians, the option of reinstating the draft was on the table throughout the Cold War. "The all-volunteer concept, under which the Air Force has operated since its inception, is currently working in all the services," noted an Air Force Association editorial in 1976, wondering, "how heavily one can depend on the continued effectiveness of the all-volunteer concept. As the economy swings upward and civilian jobs become more plentiful, enlistment quotas may not be met so easily." In his confirmation hearing for the post of Director of Selective Service in 1979, Bernard Rostker had to reassure Senator Strom Thurmond that if directed by Congress he would implement a return to conscription. The question returned to the news cycle in 1980 when President Jimmy Carter made Selective Service registration mandatory again, a requirement intended to make the logistics easier in the event of reinstatement of the draft. The White House watched a series of Gallup polls in 1980 and 1981 that initially showed support for Carter and even for the concept of returning to the draft by nearly a 2-1 margin. By the end of the polls, support for and opposition to the draft were nearly even. Whatever people thought of the policy, young men in the 1970s and 1980s were well aware that they were not required to serve.

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[19] Thomas Borstelmann, *The 1970s: A New Global History from Civil Rights to Economic Inequality* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), 5.

[20] Martin Anderson to Ken Cole, memo, January 10, 1970, in *I Want You! The Evolution of the All-Volunteer Force,* ed. Bernard Rostker (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2006), CD-ROM.

They would only enter the military if it appealed as a professional option, and if they enlisted, they would only remain if military service continued to make sense for them.[21]

Even with the pay increase that accompanied the change to the all-volunteer force, military recruitment in the 1970s and 1980s seemed to be daunting work. The war in Southeast Asia was unpopular and, in the minds of most Americans, unsuccessful. Though later thinking questioned its reality, there was a perception of a "hollow force," a military power stronger on paper than in practice because of underfunding, missing equipment, drug abuse, apathy, and inequality. The failed Desert One response to the Iranian hostage crisis and the so-called malaise of the late 1970s created another chance for people to wonder about the strength and effectiveness of the United States and its military. Baby Boomers might not want to join up with "the most vocal of their peers" badmouthing the military and military objectives. Generational change would not improve these factors. In 1978 and 1979, "USAF missed its recruitment goal for the first time in a decade—in the very first full year the new Xer generation began to flow into the force." Recruitment and retention were "the cornerstone for supporting an all-volunteer force" and "supply the lifeblood of our readiness." That did not make it an easy task.[22]

There was widespread agreement that "improving the recruitment and utilization of military personnel" was needed even before the end of the draft was announced. The military needed to sign more recruits of a higher quality and keep them longer. Approaches included placing a higher emphasis on candidates who had completed high school, using standardized tests to determine aptitude and influence assignments, recruiting more women, and establishing more comfortable and contemporary living and recreation facilities. (Apparently there was still an aversion to making military life too cushy, however. The House Appropriations Committee rejected a number of quality of life requests, including an appeal to air condition dining halls at George Air Force Base

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[21] John Loosbrock, "The Selective Service Stretch-Out," *Air Force Magazine* 59, no. 4 (April 1976): 2; Statement of Bernard Rostker, *The Nomination of Bernard D. Rostker to be Director of Selective Service, Before the Senate Committee on Armed Services*, 69th Cong., November 16, 1979; Martin Anderson to John McClaughry, memo, October 1981, in *I Want You! The Evolution of the All-Volunteer Force,* ed. Bernard Rostker (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2006), CD-ROM.

[22] Russell Rumbaugh, "The Myth Behind the Hollow Force," March 14, 2014, accessed May 2, 2015, defenseone.com/management/2014/03/myth-behind-hollow-force/81133/; Robert A. McCrory Jr., "Recruitment & Retention: Targeting the Right Generations" (thesis, Air Command and Staff College, Maxwell AFB, AL, 2002), 3-6.

in California and Tinker Air Force Base in Oklahoma). In the Air Force, results were acceptable through much of the 1970s. "After bottoming out in 1979 at 60 percent, second-term reenlistment progressed upward to the low 80s percentage range until steadying in the upper 70s percentage range by the mid-1980s." This increase in reenlistment and a related increase of the percentage of enlistees who served for an entire career was an unanticipated win the military wished to encourage.[23] An unintended consequence was that careerists tended to have the complicated appendage of family. When possible, wives and children would want to spend time with their active duty husbands and fathers.[24]

It would be going too far to say that in the 1970s and 1980s, instead of families serving in the military, the military served families. As with satellite basing, however, Congress put pressure on the USAF to address the needs of families, particularly housing. The House Appropriations Committee noted with approval in 1972 that the Military Services and the Office of the Secretary of Defense had instituted the practice of consulting with military wives regarding how on-base housing should be designed. The committee was particularly concerned by reports that standard bedrooms were too small to be flexible. "The Committee is very concerned that housing be built of a type which will be an inducement for people to enter and stay in the military service and which will stand the test of time," said the following year's more stern report, which accused the Air Force of operating a construction program in which contractors were the only advocates for the needs of wives and families. "Often desirable features, such as garages, sidewalks, etc., are left out of the original construction. These will only have to be added back some years later under the improvement program." The committee charged that it had repeatedly asked for a survey of military wives that could be used to set housing standards, and the request had been ignored. "The Committee ranks adequate family housing along with pay and job satisfaction as one of the

[23] Anderson to Cole, January 10, 1970; Nancy Goldman, "The Changing Role of Women in the Armed Forces," *American Journal of Sociology* 78, no. 4 (January 1973): 892; Rostker, "The Evolution of the All-Volunteer Force"; Comm. on Appropriations, H.R. Rep. No. 92-1424, at 22 (1972); McCrory, "Recruitment & Retention: Targeting the Right Generations," 5.

[24] The changing force led to other, less comfortable, complications. In one White House meeting of the Military Manpower Task Force working group, Vermont's John McClaughry reported to Martin Anderson that Secretary of the Navy John Lehman "questioned the acceptability of a military with 'so many blacks' in it." John McClaughry to Martin Anderson, memo, July 1, 1981, in *I Want You! The Evolution of the All-Volunteer Force,* ed. Bernard Rostker (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2006), CD-ROM.

primary factors influencing the retention of qualified married military personnel in the services."[25]

Despite the apparent foot-dragging on housing, and the Congressional scolding that resulted, the Air Force clearly liked the capabilities and attributes it associated with married, career airmen; a study in 1973 said that "particularly in the Strategic Air Command with its responsibility for nuclear weapons, married men are thought of as being more safe and sane and having a sense of responsibility." It followed that the Air Force would evaluate and attempt to improve its family friendliness through "benefits such as good housing, child care, health benefits, family advocacy programs, and military stores." Almost 30 percent of its fiscal year 1973 appropriations request was for "housing, community facilities, and medical and dental facilities."[26]

It made particular sense for SAC to be thinking of its alert crews, with their frequent but unpredictable moments of high stress against the backdrop of low-level anxiety that came with being continually aware of the threat of nuclear war. While carrying out SAC's deterrence slogan, "Peace is Our Profession," crews were aware that a political blink or a computer blurp might trigger orders to engage in a nuclear attack. As historian Paul Boyer demonstrates, heat around the issues of nuclear weapons and nuclear energy cycled up and down throughout the second half of the twentieth century, but it was high in the early 1980s. "The accession of Ronald Reagan, with his bellicose rhetoric, his vast military buildup, his elaborate and heavily publicized civil defense programs . . . revived cultural awareness." The comic strip *Bloom County* lampooned the civil defense effort, with the character Milo Bloom informing his friends, "Okay citizens, I've got Reagan's new five-step civil defense program here. Let's have a drill!!" The drill ends with the near rhyme "'And here we are at number five!' 'Everyone kiss their tush bye-bye!'" It is easy to imagine that such black humor, and the uncertainty that was beneath it, was alive and well in the alert facilities, and it could follow an airman home, too. "It's difficult to leave your responsibilities at work. Men would watch their curtain-crawlers scoot around on the floor and wonder if they would live to become adults. Love-making was often intense, because a couple never knew when it would be their last. Many guys found it difficult to sleep as

[25] Comm. on Appropriations, H.R. Rep. No. 92-1424, at 10, 23 (1972); Comm. on Appropriations, H.R. Rep. No. 93-637, at 42-44 (1973).
[26] Goldman, "The Changing Role of Women in the Armed Forces," 907; Rostker, "The Evolution of the All-Volunteer Force"; Comm. on Appropriations, H.R. Rep. No. 92-1424, at 23 (1972).

all sorts of dreadful nightmares would invade their dreams. SAC was very hard on marriages."[27]

"Nobody looked forward to alert," said Stephen Bate, who was stationed at McConnell. "Alert was so confining, with a constant tension that any moment day or night you might have to respond to an alert." Boredom was an issue. Crew members on duty had hours to fill with limited company, mostly not of their own choosing. They could only go certain places. Official parties were at the Officers' Club or Non Commissioned Officers' Club, which were fair game. "At Minot [Air Force Base, North Dakota], we belonged to a couples' bridge group, which always met in a room at the Officers' Club so the members on alert could play," remembered one wife of a crew member. On many bases, alert crews were assigned light blue pickup trucks, and those were what they drove to the destinations that were in bounds. Airmen—only men were assigned to alert duty in that era—were also in a peculiar limbo of being neither at home nor gone. Overseas assignments brought with them some sense of anonymity or permission for activities like drinking, shopping, and pursuing sex that were not available when on alert. Indeed, a study in 1970 identified the opportunity for sexual promiscuity as the most significant difference between overseas and domestic assignments in the eyes of service members. Occasional chances to see a family while on alert could make the experience seem more like being home, or at least break up the monotony.[28]

Without diminishing the difficulty of alert life, SAC missile crew members had it even worse. An investigation of McConnell's Lt. Christopher Cooke, who admitted to providing information on Titan II missiles to the Soviet Union, revealed that missile crews spent nearly a quarter of their service time in an underground silo. A Wichita State University study found that missile crew members experienced alienation and anxiety as well as low job satisfaction. "Basically, the only real job of the deputy commander is to turn the other key," said an industrial

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[27] Paul Boyer, "From the H-Bomb to Star Wars: The Continuing Cycles of Activism and Apathy," in *By the Bomb's Early Light: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 358-361; Berkely Breathed, *Bloom County: Loose Tails* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1983), 76; Broyhill, 59.

[28] Stephen Bate to author, email, March 18, 2015; 'Berta Landin to author, email, May 3, 2015; Goldman, "The Changing Role of Women in the Armed Forces," 906.

psychologist. "Their job is boring, and they end up suffering a real lack of self-importance."[29]

For different reasons than missile crew members, the wives of men serving alert had it worse than the alert crews. "Alert duty was a hardship, especially for families with small children. It was stressful and challenging to be on one's own with the kids and the household problems day and night for seven days," said 'Berta Landin. "The husbands' (no female crewmembers yet then) absences from home were hard on marriages and created other morale issues." Alert was not paused for celebrations or holidays, so airmen missed them or Air Force families celebrated on alternative days. Landin noted that there was some manipulation of the schedule so that, for instance, a crew that had alert on Thanksgiving would typically be off for Christmas. Also, the crew that worked Christmas Eve was typically relieved on Christmas morning (Figure 3). "I recall spending one Christmas Eve visiting (husband) Dave at the Minot alert facility, then staying up much of the night assembling a play kitchen for Pam and Kathy after going home and putting the kids to bed." Preparing for new family members, a common part of a young couple's life, could be complicated. "It was always interesting setting up a contingency plan for going into labor while the husband was on alert. As due dates approached, husbands scheduled for alert arranged for a substitute to be on call to replace them if the expectant wife went into labor." Even when children could see their fathers during alert week, it could cause stress. "Sometimes it would get interrupted by a klaxon or a recall alert on our radios, and then all the alert members would have to run back to the alert facility or to the airplanes, which would have been disturbing for the young children there." A family visitation center was not a cure for all of the challenges that SAC wives faced while their husbands were on alert, but it did mitigate them somewhat.[30]

[29] Goldman, "The Changing Role of Women in the Armed Forces," 906; William E. Schmidt, "Some Near Titan Base Cite Strains in Crewman's Life," *New York Times*, June 3, 1981.

[30] 'Berta Landin to author, email, May 3, 2015; Stephen Bate to author, email, March 18, 2015.

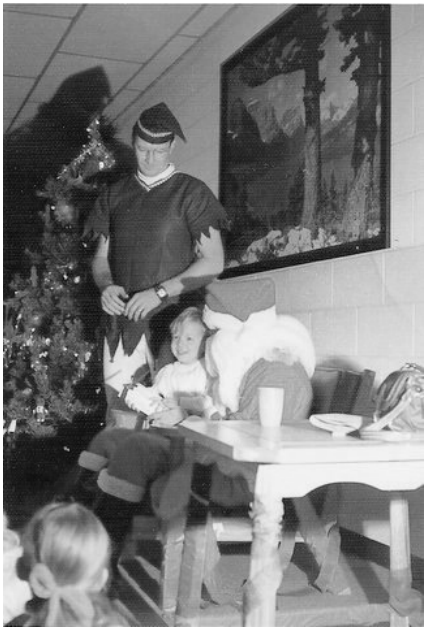

Figure 3. Stephen Bate, dressed as an elf, watches the author visit Santa Claus at a Kincheloe Air Force Base, Michigan, holiday event. Photograph courtesy of Stephen Bate, December 1974.

To be fair, alert duty was not so difficult for every family member. "I was oblivious to the plights and hardships of my parents. So alert for me was kinda fun and gave me a sense of pride for my father," said Pam Landin. "I guess it's a testament to my mom that I never experienced the stress she was under during my dad's absence. It was just life as usual for us: Dad gone at work, Mom the Keeper of the House and Disciplinarian." Another upside of the alert week was the extended break that followed it. 'Berta Landin said, "Changeover was on Thursday mornings, then the relieved crews were off duty until the following Monday morning. It was very refreshing and a great opportunity for some local camping once we had our trailer."[31]

The recruiting challenge after the transition to an all-volunteer force was the most important impetus for the military's family-friendly decisions, such as the provision of a family visitation center at McConnell. There were other influences as well, such as a correction for the ways

[31] Pam Landin to author, email, May 4, 2015; 'Berta Landin to author, email, May 3, 2015.

resources were used during the war in Southeast Asia; the suburbanization of bases; and changes in social behavior.

While the Vietnam War was conducted, the military got behind on construction and maintenance of housing and other aspects of the on-base built environment that mattered to military families. The House Committee on Appropriations used this to justify a hike in such spending in FY 1973: "If we are to rely on recruitment versus conscription, which is the policy of the Administration; if the rising expectations for a better life which our military personnel and their families share with the rest of our society are to be met rather than frustrated; and if our military forces are to be supported, maintained, and trained in an effective and efficient manner, the necessary construction of facilities in which to live, work, and train must be provided. This requires that a major construction program be carried on during the next ten years rather than the start-and-stop type of effort which has characterized the past decade."[32]

Automobile suburbs began appearing almost as soon as the automobile began influencing the environment. A construction boom following the end of World War II spurred "suburbanization." This trend fed itself; as more people grew to expect access to goods, services, and amenities without driving into an urban center, more supermarkets, grocery stores, and modern houses of worship were constructed, leading to still more demand. Military installations were influenced by this trend during the Cold War. "[T]he military accepted, and in some ways even embraced, the married career soldier, airman, and sailor with family. Installations transitioned from collections of barracks for single men to mini-suburbs complete with ranch-style houses, schools, stores, and theaters. Religious facilities were very much part of the plan as well." Military parents of the 1970s and 1980s likely grew up in increasingly suburban environments—or at least saw them idealized in popular culture—and wanted to live in similar environments. Interestingly, a staple of base life, the military commissary, was under threat because of suburbanization. In the 1970s, some members of Congress moved to reduce the funding that subsidized commissaries, figuring that most bases were near modern supermarkets and most military families had cars. Organizations that advocated for service members opposed this effort strongly and publicly.[33]

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[32] Comm. on Appropriations, H.R. Rep. No. 92-1424, at 3 (1972).

[33] Jay M. Price, *Temples for a Modern God* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 9-10, 61; Comm. on Appropriations, H.R. Rep. No. 93-637, at 21-22 (1973); "AFA Goes to Bat for Military Commissaries," *Air Force Magazine* 58, no. 7 (July 1975): 84-85.

Providing a family visitation center at an alert facility was consistent with changing social behavior, especially a growing informality in recreation and social interaction. Military culture, with its intricate formal and unofficial protocols, will likely never abandon its customs. Similarly, military rank has an ever-present influence on who is accorded privilege and respect, even among military families. Also, there are regular organized parties, dinners, and dances at the squadron, group, wing, and division level that service members and their spouses may view as enjoyable and/or obligatory. That said, in the 1970s and 1980s, social rules in general relaxed in the United States. On Air Force bases, there was somewhat less emphasis on the military wife as "the silent partner, militarily speaking" whose "'devotion to duty sustains" her husband in his service. Air Force wives' groups were likely to gather in coffee klatches and gameplaying clubs which carried less responsibility for the nuances of etiquette and reciprocation, in addition to more formal luncheons in which niceties were more carefully observed. Some military husbands discouraged their wives from getting too involved in established organizations. "Wives' clubs were perceived to consist of senior enlisted personnel's rank-conscious and gossipy wives; young women were told by their husbands not to join in order to protect their family's privacy." Two-family and multifamily gatherings were often potlucks, picnics, or backyard barbecues (or common-yard barbecues, depending on the arrangement of military housing). This trend toward relaxed social behavior lent itself to the "home away from home" flavor the family visitation center tried to provide. In particular, it meant that families could navigate the common space in the moment, working with or around whomever else was there to make sure the rooms and the equipment at the facility were shared equitably. Often this meant that families imported the potlucks and barbecues common on bases and in other suburbanized communities to the visitation center (Figure 4).[34]

[34] Ester Wier, *What Every Air Force Wife Should Know,* 2nd ed. (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole, 1963), preface, 118; Woolley, "Study of a Navy Housing Area," 8.

Figure 4. David Landin cooks on a grill in the yard nearby the Minot Air Force Base, Minnesota, alert facility. Photograph courtesy of 'Berta Landin, July 1973.

Another shift in the American social fabric that made the availability of a family visitation center natural was the new "nostalgic rhetoric of family, flag, neighborhood, and work." In the 1970s, there was a meeting of right and left perspectives in a nostalgic view of the centrality of family life, symbolized in television shows such as "The Waltons" and "Little House on the Prairie" and acted on by parents preparing natural honey-sweetened, carob chip cookies for their children. The bicentennial in 1976 both drove and promoted this nostalgia by emphasizing "folk culture, such as genealogy, quilting, bluegrass music, and local history." The optimism and belief in the country demonstrated by Reagan further fueled it. In many ways, though, the family-and-flag nostalgia was less a move toward a new ideal than a reaction against the perception that the American family had splintered in the 1960s and 1970s. If the culture was increasingly holding up family and the flag rallying points, then it made sense for the Air Force to provide literal places to rally, such as the visitation center.[35]

Offering a family visitation facility was a small intervention in the larger recruiting and reenlistment effort. Without access to reenlistment rates of SAC alert crews who did and did not have access to such a facility, it would be very difficult to surmise whether the effort had its intended effect. Two pieces of evidence suggest that it helped. There is a general sense in a sociological study of a Navy base produced in 1978 that the neighboring Air Force base's concern for its families was superior to the

[35] Arlene Skolnick, *Embattled Paradise: The American Family in an Age of Uncertainty* (New York: Basic Books, 1991), 134; Seth Bate, "'No Alcohol Please! It's a Family Affair': Building Community Support for a Bluegrass Festival Through Family Friendliness," *Fairmount Folio* 16 (2015): 50-53; Borstelmann, *The 1970s*, 8.

Navy's. Sociologist Sabra Woolley called it a constant theme, with the fence that separated the two bases both literal and symbolic. "It's like we're living in a ghetto, and those are the people on the other side of the tracks," said one Navy wife quoted in Woolley's study. The wives' ire does not target the Air Force; instead, the wives were angry at a "Navy system that does not take care of its people the way the Air Force does." This account should be viewed with the recognition that the grass always seems greener on the other side of the fence, but it does suggest that by the late 1970s, the Air Force was growing its reputation for family friendliness.[36]

More specifically, Air Force wives and "brats" who shared their memories of alert duty had positive feelings for the McConnell AFB family visitation facility, particularly in comparison to a base that did not have an equivalent facility. "To me, alert visitation was just another fun, cool aspect of being a military brat. I have special memories of it, and I like the shared experience I have with other military brats because of it," Pam Landin said. "I liked visiting Dad at the visitation facility. Especially when we got to hang out with kids we knew. Made it like a backyard BBQ." 'Berta Landin shared a story of a moment when relatives visited from out of town while her husband was still on alert. They picked up Church's fried chicken and met up at the visitation center. At other times, she and her husband participated in crew or family cookouts at the center. "They were casual and relaxing, and because it was not in a high security area, we could show up without going through a security check-in." Being at the McConnell family center was a lot like being at home, she said. "I appreciated the fact that it was a place we could get together any time the crews were not restricted to the alert facility." Landin also experienced alert at Minot AFB, where there was no visitation facility. Families were permitted to visit the alert center there on Sunday afternoons. She took three children, including an infant and a toddler. "We had to check in at the entrance guard shack, which was basically only large enough for a guard. The alert crews provided lists of expected visitors, and we were checked off against the list when we arrived. In the winter, it was brutal to stand in the bitter cold, battered by the bitter wind, holding babies and toddlers, waiting one's turn if others were arriving at the same time. Often the guard would mercifully cram us into the shack while checking us in, although it was against regulations. This, more than anything, made me really appreciate the visitation center

[36] Woolley, "Study of a Navy Housing Area," 7.

at McConnell…Comparing my Minot experience to my McConnell experience, I have to say a visitation center really boosts morale."[37]

McConnell weathered its share of challenges and changes as the 1980s continued. A study in 1981 determined that a pesticide designed to kill termites was in the ventilations systems of a quarter of the base's family houses; this inspired a national review of Air Force housing that found more than 1,500 similar cases. The announcement in 1983 that the Titan II missiles overseen by the 381st Strategic Missile Wing would be removed caused consternation among business and government officials in the Wichita area. McConnell's aircraft would be diversified in 1988 with the addition of ten B-1 bombers, planes that were alternately billed as smaller and harder to detect than the BUFFs and as an unnecessary expense. In 1991, Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney ordered the B-52s to stand down and their nuclear bombs to be stored. The order also affected B-1s, which had become known for their technical glitches and general fussiness. The order also meant the end of alert duty as it had been practiced from the beginning of the all-volunteer force to the end of the Cold War. The McConnell alert facility was demolished in late 2014. Building 976, the former family visitation center, is now used as a Petroleum, Oils, and Lubricants (POL) center overseeing aircraft fueling needs.[38]

To fulfill its deterrence mission in the 1970s and 1980s, the USAF needed to identify, recruit, and retain quality personnel. For high-stress duty such as alert, the need was even more acute. The Nixon Administration's decision to implement the all-volunteer force complicated recruitment efforts. The military in general and the Air Force in particular grew more family friendly, even if it sometimes happened because of pressure from Washington. One small but important intervention to promote family friendliness was an alert visitation center on base at McConnell. For at least some family members of men who served there, the visitation center contributed to an overall pride in alert duty. "In spite of the inconveniences and occasional difficulties," 'Berta

[37] Pam Landin to author, email, May 4, 2015; 'Berta Landin to author, email, May 3, 2015.

[38] "Chlordane Problems in Houses on Slabs," *New York Times*, September 30, 1982; "End of Titan 2 Missiles Spurs Local Concern," *New York Times*, October 30, 1983; Richard Halloran, "After More Than 10 Years the B-1 Bomber is Coming of Age," *New York Times*, July 4, 1987; Tyler, *New York Times*, September 29, 1991; Daniel P. Williams to author, email, March 18, 2015.

Landin said, "I was proud to be a part of it and enjoyed all the people I met and things I experienced."[39]

[39] 'Berta Landin to author, email, May 3, 2015.

It's Not About the Whales: The Continued Need for Protectionist Environmental Law

Felicia Hammons

Environmental law is altering the understanding and practice of law. Environmental Law is a legal discipline derived from social movements during the 1960s and 1970s, and has progressively received social, political, cultural, and legal acceptance. But its legitimacy is derived from extra-legal evidence. Law experienced a similar shift during the Progressive Era of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Progressive legal scholars promoted the Law and Society Movement, which focused on the concept of "legal realism." Legal realism argued that courts consider legal and non-legal evidence in their decision-making processes. They preferred to base legal arguments on empirical research rather than traditional legal rules and institutions. In his 1881 work *The Common Law*, legal historian Oliver Wendell Holmes noted that experience should govern the creation and application of law, not solely logic. He argued that one had to be aware of all kinds of non-legal matters to develop a thorough understanding of law. In 1921, Judge Benjamin N. Cardozo's work The *Nature of the Judicial Process* continued Holmes's argument. He added that judges should not solely rely upon legal past precedent, but consider all branches of knowledge, experience, information, and their own intuition. Modern legal realists view law not as a fixed phenomenon, but in a state of constant flux, responding to changing social conditions.[1] Environmental law challenges court justices to not only include procedural law and sociological jurisprudence in their decisions, but also to consider each case as unique and different from all others. This concept of reflexive law is evident in the US Supreme Court Case *Winter v. Natural Resources Defense Council* (2008), where a 5-4 split Court opinion illustrates Cardozo's arguments among the complex questions surrounding environmental law. *Winter* sheds light on the treatment of environmental legislation by the United States Government in the late 20th and early 21st centuries and begs the question of whether the federal

[1] Melvin I. Urofsky and Paul Finklemean, *A March of Liberty: A Constitutional History of the United States*, vol. 2, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 718-19.

government is the proper standard-bearer for and enforcer of environmental legislation.

The National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) is the only major protective environmental legislation without a "national security" clause. In his work, *"NRDC v. Winter*: Is NEPA Impending National Security Interests*?"* author C.C. Vassar, law clerk and graduate of Hamline University School of Law, recommends the solution to the imbalance between national security and environmental protection is a national security amendment to NEPA.[2] I disagree with Vassar's proposition because a national security amendment would weaken the protectionist capabilities of NEPA. NEPA is protectionist legislation due to its preventative regulations, which are most effective when applied broadly. Further clarifications through amendment clauses, such as a national security clause, would compromise its broad application and therefore weaken its preventative directive. Preventative law is the only effective means of environmental protection against the onslaught of government agency action. Complying with NEPA regulations ensures that government agencies research and consider the impact of their actions upon the environment. The essential purpose of NEPA is to prevent the *unknown* and irreversible environmental impact of government actions.

The "balance" between national security and environmental protection came to a head in the US Supreme Court case *Winter v. Natural Resources Defense Council* (2008). In *Winter v. Natural Resources Defense Council (2008),* the Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC) sued for a preliminary injunction against Navy sonar training exercises scheduled for February 2007 and January 2009 of the coast of California. The plaintiffs argued that the Navy violated the National Environmental Policy Act because the Navy's use of mid-frequency sonar irreversibly harmed marine life, the Navy should have completed a satisfactory Environmental Impact Statement before commencing the training exercises. In a 5-4 decision, the US Supreme Court held the Navy's need to conduct realistic training exercises outweighed the plaintiffs' "ecological, scientific, and recreational interests in marine mammals."[3]

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[2] CC. Vassar, "*NRDC v. Winter*: Is NEPA Impending National Security Interests?" *Journal of Land Use & Environmental Law* 24, no. 2 (Spring 2009): 282.

[3] *Winter v. Natural Resources Defense Council*, 07 US 1239 (2008).

Winter falls into the theme of "national security trumps all," but the case is representative of many other legal and historical developments; the relationship between science and law, the expansion of executive authority, proving legal injury, defining "emergency circumstances," and legal standardization.

Vassar's proposal is part of a popular legal strategy to standardize environmental law. An ongoing debate within law is whether to treat cases with standard formats or to treat each case as unique. Standardization favors procedural law, whilst uniqueness favors substantive law. Procedural law is the use of formulas based upon precedent. Essentially, similar cases are ruled in similar ways. Substantive law is the direct opposite; it is mandated by relativity. Each case is unique from all others and is treated for its substantive claims rather than precedent. A resulting question is whether there was a precedent case for *Winter* to conform to? The purpose of this work is to prove the answer is "no," because multiple elements within *Winter* were new and underdeveloped scientifically, politically, and legally.

Environmental law is a relatively young legal field, developing as a political force in the late 1960s. In his work, "Is There a There in Environmental Law?, " Dan Tarlock, Distinguished Professor of Law and Director of the program in Environmental and Energy Law at Chicago-Kent College of Law, explains that environmental law largely depends upon the constant generation and application of new knowledge. Unlike other types of legal cases, environmental cases rarely conform to repetitive fact patterns. Therefore, Tarlock agrees with the theory of reflexive environmental law, which determines that environmental decisions be made based upon scientific knowledge and perspectives developed during the past four decades of environmental law. He states, "the best we can hope for are presumptions because, in the end, environmental law is a series of hypotheses that must be tested (and often modified) over a long time horizon by rigorous monitoring and experimentation."[4] Summarily, Tarlock argues that environmental law is derived from science and, therefore, depends upon science for legitimacy.

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[4] A. Dan Tarlock, "Is There a There in Environmental Law?" *Journal of Land Use & Environmental Law* 19, no. 2 (Spring 2004): 219-20.

The relationship between environmental law and science is not one-sided; it is a relationship of interdependence, with environmental law stimulating scientific research and technological experimentation. An example relevant to *Winter* is the work of the Office of Naval Research (ONR). Historically, the protection of gray whales fell under a web of protective legislation including the International Agreement for the Regulation of Whaling (1937), the Endangered Species Act (1973), and the Marine Mammal Protection Act (1972). ESA and MMPA were under the jurisdiction of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). EPA tasked the National Marine Fisheries Service (Fisheries) with regulation enforcement, as well as conducting investigations into unusual mortality events. But Fisheries lacked the funding for proper environmental investigations. Consequently, investigations were largely conducted by the Navy's Office of Naval Research (ONR). Due to Fisheries' dependence upon the Navy's ONR, Fisheries did not generally fraternize with environmentalist organizations, such as the Natural Resources Defense Council.[5] With the Navy as the primary source of funding and research for cetology, how quickly the discipline has and is developing is questionable.

Winter highlights a lag between science and law because cetology, the study of whales, was vital to the case but was a massively underdeveloped discipline. An informative section of Joshua Horwitz's work *War of the Whales* was the history of the Navy Sound Surveillance System, called SOSUS. SOSUS was born during the Cold War in an attempt to detect and destroy Soviet submarines. Surprisingly, cetology, the study of whales, and sonar research developed together. Horwitz describes the Navy's attempt to train marine mammals to act as biological minesweepers during the 1970s in the Marine Mammal Training Program.[6] The Navy was trying to tame and train marine life because of marine mammals' use of biological sonar in deep waters. The program eventually failed and Sea World used its training techniques, but the program communicates the Navy's utilization and objectification of

[5] Kenneth M. Murchison, *The Snail Darter Case: TVA versus the Endangered Species Act* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2007), 69, 74, 81, 92.
[6] Joshua Horwitz, *War of the Whales: A True Story* (New York: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 2014), 50.

marine life and its growing interest in deep-sea acoustics, which became sonar.[7]

Active sonar sends out pulses of sound that bounce off objects, which allows operators to assess the measure, size, and distance of marine objects. Operators must be proficiently trained due to the difficulty of distinguishing between natural marine noise and sonar. Mid-Frequency Sonar has proven more successful than low-frequency sonar in helping operators distinguish between marine noise and sonar. Unfortunately, the higher frequency of Mid-Frequency Active (MFA) sonar has proven excruciating to marine mammals. In 1998, investigations linked the use of MFA sonar to mass beachings of whales and other marine life around the world. It was proven the noise could rupture the ears of and disorient marine life, including blue whales, dolphins, and beaked Curvier's whales.[8] Sonar also causes marine mammals to change their migration routes to avoid sonar noise because it interferes with their own biological sonar, echolocation. Echolocation helps marine mammals navigate, communicate, identify food sources, and locate possible threats. To avoid MFA sonar, marine mammals surface too quickly, which results in decompression sickness, known as "the bends." Quick surfacing also creates gas bubbles in the blood stream, resulting in fatal hemorrhaging and lesions in the organs. These factors bring disorientation, causing marine mammals to stray from migration courses, leading to beaching, starvation, and mating and birthing disruptions.[9]

The increase in occurrence and size of beachings during the 1990s incurred concerns throughout the scientific community. It was not until the 1996 mass stranding in Greece that scientists considered the link between sonar and beachings. NATO naval forces had been conducting antisubmarine training exercises near the Hellenic Trench in the Ionian Sea. In 1999, approximately 1,500 marine mammals beached on US shorelines and only five survived. Darlene Ketten was the US Navy's top whale pathologist and an expert for unusual mortality event investigations. She held joint appointments at Harvard Medical School and Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution. Ketten was most concerned

[7] Ibid., 232-35.
[8] Vassar, "*NRDC v. Winter*," 281, 286-87.
[9] Ibid., 287-88.

about a beaching in the Bahamas in 2000 due to the magnitude, number of different species involved, and the extended geographical area across six islands. The beachings were connected to US Navy testing ranges throughout the Bahamas.[10]

Ketten proved instrumental to sonar investigations because of her specialty in bioacoustics. Her research attests to the recent development of cetology as a discipline. She was the "first researcher to study the internal structures of beaked whale phonation and hearing, and the first to trace the path of sound waves all the way from their source in the ocean to the beaked whale's auditory cortex."[11] She was also the first researcher to use CT scans to create a 3-D composite scans of whale heads. Computerized tomography (CT) was invented in 1980 and Ketten began her work during the 1980s. By 2000, Ketten was the go-to whale coroner and expert in the area of acoustic trauma and whale ear pathology. Horwitz described beachings as opportunities for advancements in cetology because of a chronic lack of whale specimens for research. Specimens were sought by zoologists, veterinarians, paleontologists, marine biologists, and toxicologists.[12] Consequently, cetology was a young discipline that developed slowly for a lack of specimens as well as a lack of funding.

The limited knowledge of cetology was evident in the oral argument of Navy General Gregory G. Garre before the Supreme Court in 2008 on behalf of the petitioners, the Navy. Justice Samuel Alito questioned whether "temporary" behavioral modifications caused by sonar could be considered injury:

> Justice Alito: In lay terms, what does that mean?
> Does it mean an alteration of their swimming pattern,
> their migration pattern?
> What does it mean?
> Mr. Garre: In most cases it means that there's an alerting
> response, they hear the sound and they go in the opposite
> direction, as one who hears a noise that disturbs them
> would ordinarily do.

[10] Horwitz, 18, 70-71, 110.
[11] Ibid., 103.
[12] Ibid., 104-106.

> Justice Alito: It doesn't necessarily mean that there's a physical injury to them, does it?
> Mr. Garre: No.
> Justice Alito: It means that they may just swim in a different direction.
> Mr. Garre: That's right.[13]

And in Garre's response he stated "the Navy acknowledged that there is uncertainty about the effects of sonar on beaked whales."[14] Justice John Stevens concurred with Justices Ginsburg and David Souter by stating:

> The very fact that you need an EIS [Environmental Impact Statement] is—is because you don't know what environmental consequences may ensue. That's the purpose of the EIS. So isn't the normal practice to enjoin government action until the EIS is filed when it is clear there is a duty to file?[15]

Ginsburg and Souter were concerned about the unknown environmental effects of government actions and NEPA was created to directly address these concerns.

The National Environmental Policy Act was created in 1970 to provide a procedural framework federal agencies must work within to ensure policies of the act are implemented. NEPA requires government agencies to consider the adverse environmental impact of their actions and to allow public comment. Section 102 requires that federal agencies submit a report to Congress detailing the environmental impact of proposed actions. The report, referred to as the Environmental Impact Statement (EIS), must describe the environmental impact of the proposed action, any adverse environmental effects that cannot be avoided, alternatives to the proposed action, and irreversible and irretrievable commitments of resources affected.[16] For a satisfactory EIS, federal agencies also have to study, develop, and describe appropriate

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[13] "Oral Argument of Gregory G. Garre On Behalf of the Petitioners," *Winter v. Natural Resources Defense Council*, 555 US 07-1239 (2008).
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.
[16] National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, Public Law 91-190.

alternatives to the course of action for consideration. If agency action is taken before completion of the EIS, or the EIS is proven inadequate, injured parties may sue for preliminary injunctive relief.[17]

Founded alongside NEPA in 1970, the Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC) was a non-governmental organization composed of environmental lawyers and activists who filled a niche in the environmental community by helping draft and enforce environmental legislation. [18] Before the 1970s, environmental lawyers lacked an environmental legal arsenal, attempting to use common law principles for environmental protections. But the gambit of protective environmental legislation during the 1970s, gave environmental legal organizations, such as the NRDC, an "abundance of new statutory weapons."[19] The NRDC essentially became the regulator of regulatory agencies, especially the Environmental Protection Agency.[20]

Preliminary injunctions are the most broadly and frequently used remedies employed by federal courts, but they lack clear application standards. A preliminary injunction is issued "to protect plaintiffs from irreparable injury and to preserve the court's power to render a meaningful decision after a trial on the merits." But the plaintiff is required to persuade the court of clear injury.[21] Injunctions have proven vital to the legal regulation of federal agency actions with potential environmental impact. In *Winter,* the Natural Resources Defense Council sought an injunction, arguing the Navy violated NEPA by failing to prepare an adequate EIS prior to MFA sonar training exercises. The Navy responded that an EIS was unnecessary because the training exercises would not have had significant impact on the environment. The District Court found this contrary to the Navy's own research proving sonar exercises would injure and disturb 37 species of marine life. [22] To circumnavigate NEPA's EIS requirement, the Navy sought an emergency

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[17] Vassar, "*NRDC v. Winter*," 284.
[18] Horwitz, 82.
[19] "Law and Policy. E-Law: What Started It All?" Natural Resources Defense Council, last modified May 5, 2000, accessed December 1, 2015, http://www.nrdc.org/legislation/helaw.asp.
[20] Horwitz, 82.
[21] Bethany M. Bates, "Reconciliation After Winter: The Standard for Preliminary Injunctions in Federal Courts," *Columbia Law Review* 111 no. 7 (Nov. 2011): 1525-27.
[22] Vassar, "*NRDC v. Winter*," 289-90.

circumstances exemption through the Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ). CEQ is a governmental agency created through NEPA to advise the executive branch of government, providing guidance and advice on environmental policy. In *Winter*, CEQ approved the Navy's request and issued alternative arrangements in accordance with the emergency circumstances regulation and the Navy could continue its trainings. Courts generally defer to an agency's interpretation of its own regulations, unless the agency's interpretation opposes the original intent of the regulation. By overriding the NEPA EIS requirement, CEQ was clearly not acting in the interests of environmental protection. The district court noted NEPA has no national security defense exemption, therefore, regardless of CEQ interference; the Navy was still required to complete the EIS requirement of NEPA. The only way to bypass the EIS requirement is through direct legislation by Congress. CEQ could not bypass NEPA regulations "simply by characterizing an ordinary, planned activity as an emergency." The court held CEQ's action invalid and the Navy not exempted from either the EIS requirement or the preliminary injunction.[23]

At the Supreme Court, Justices Ginsburg and Souter confirmed CEQ's lack of statutory authority to override the EIS requirement of NEPA. Justice Roberts agreed that NEPA gives no body regulatory authority, neither EPA nor CEQ. He recognized CEQ as " more or less an office in the White House, rather than a free-standing agency."[24] And Ginsburg stated the purpose of CEQ was "To set up an orderly regime for Federal agencies to carry out their obligations under NEPA."[25] In Justice Ginsburg's dissent, in which Justice Souter joined, the Navy should have consulted Congress for legislative override of NEPA, not the executive branch.[26]

After disproving the CEQ as an overriding authority of NEPA regulation, the Supreme Court addressed the case timeline. Justice Souter stated:

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[23] *Winter v. Natural Resources Defense Council*, 07 US 1239 (2008).
[24] "Oral Argument of Gregory G. Garre On Behalf of the Petitioners."
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ginsburg, J., dissenting, *Winter v. Natural Resources Defense Council*, 555 US 07-1239 (2008).

> I guess my question is, to the extent that there was an emergency, wasn't the emergency created by the failure of the Navy to take any timely action? So it sounds to me as though that, if there is an emergency, it's one that the Navy created simply by failing to start an EIS preparation in a timely way at which it trained in effect to sort of neutralize by keeping everybody in the dark until the last moment…there was no emergency here except one which was created by the Navy's apparently deliberate inattention?[27]

Aiming to create a narrow definition, the Court investigated what constituted an emergency. In *Valley Citizens for a Safe Environment v. Ves*t (1991), a sudden change in hostility in a region of the world permitted Air Force use of sonar before completing an EIS. In contrast, the Navy in *Winter* experienced no such change in need for sonar training. Also, as described in the Garre's argument, the Navy had plenty of notice to complete a satisfactory EIS. The District Court found "the Navy's current emergency was simply a creature of its own making, i.e., its failure to prepare an adequate environmental documentation in a timely fashion, via the traditional EIS process or otherwise."[28] The Supreme Court's reference to *Valley Citizens for a Safe Environment v. Ves*t infers that what constitutes an emergency is the timing and level of threat.

Stephen Holmes, Walter E. Meyer Professor of Law at New York University School of Law, presented the idea of a distinction between novel and urgent threats. Urgent threats require an immediate response and have precedents and protocols to follow. Novel threats lack a precedent and therefore lack a protocol to follow. But a novel threat is not considered an "emergency" like a sudden event requiring split-second decision-making. Urgent threats require quick reaction, with no opportunity for serious consultation and debate. Holmes argued that an enduring novel crisis, national-security personnel have time to think and rethink, plan ahead and revise their plans. The ultimate question is, "Is it

[27] Ibid.
[28] Vassar, "*NRDC v. Winter*," 292.

the kind of emergency that requires the government to rewrite radically, or flatly disregard, previously binding rules?"[29]

Finding a middle ground between the Navy and NRDC has proven difficult, especially involving the use of sonar. MFA sonar has proven vital to detecting silent submarines, which threaten the safety of the US and its military.[30] Vassar argued "the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals correctly determined that an emergency cannot refer to pre-planned, long-term training exercises as part of a military policy that has no foreseeable end."[31] But, he stated, " The intent behind the adoption of the emergency circumstances regulation only contemplates unexpected, unplanned circumstances that arise independent of agency action."[32] Vassar's proposal is logical; it would allow abrogation in emergency circumstances, such as those in *Valley Citizens for a Safe Environment v. Ves*t, but would still prevent agency action abuses, such as in *Winter*.

Vassar argues that NEPA currently enacted and administered does not adequately consider national security interests and that NEPA should be amended to include a national security exemption. The proposition is sensible and attempts to find a middle ground between environmental protections and government agency action. Vassar supports a national security exemption because it would legally address national security needs and "would provide clearer guidelines for which types of circumstances should be relieved from NEPA's procedural requirements."[33] Vassar's proposition clearly favors military interests over environmental interests, although he claims the amendment would strike a balance between the two. I am most cautious to support an emergency circumstance amendment to NEPA because of the legal history of the Endangered Species Act (ESA).

Similar to NEPA, the Endangered Species Act (ESA) enacted broad-sweeping legal protections for endangered species and their habitats, initially with absolutely no exceptions. The Endangered Species Act (ESA) was enacted in 1973 to create legal, substantive protections for

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[29] Stephen Holmes, "In Case of Emergency: Misunderstanding Tradeoffs in the War on Terror," *California Law Review* 97 no. 2 (April 2009): 309-11.
[30] Vassar, "*NRDC v. Winter*," 281-82.
[31] Ibid., 282.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid., 303.

listed endangered species. Section 7 prohibits the taking of any listed endangered species and their habitat by any person or governmental agency.[34] In *TVA v. Hill* (1978), in a 6-3 decision, the US Supreme Court approved an injunction against the Tennessee Valley Authority because completion of the Tellico Dam would have violated the Endangered Species Act by harming the endangered Snail Darter species and its habitat. The Court really had no choice because there were no avenues for exemptions from ESA prohibitions.[35] Six months after *TVA v. Hill*, Congress amended ESA to create an Endangered Species Committee with authority to grant exemptions from section 7 prohibitions.[36] *TVA v. Hill* was a victory for ESA, but also a loss with the creation of the Endangered Species Committee and the right of public interest in abrogating ESA. Enforcement of ESA has relied on administrative deference rather than the text of the law, de facto gutting the purpose of ESA; the protection of endangered species. This is due to the very broad reading of the Committee duties being, "the Committee shall grant exemption for any agency action is the Secretary of Defense finds that such exemption is necessary for reason of national security."[37] This broad reading does not specify what circumstances composes "reason of national security." This same ambiguity is present in *Winter*, but, unlike ESA, there is no national security exemption within NEPA.

NEPA regulations should be read narrowly with no exceptions. *Winter* was not about the Navy harming marine life; it was about the *law* and the Navy's blatant disregard for it. The outcome of *TVA v. Hill* (1973) rendered the Endangered Species Act ineffective. But ESA and NEPA drastically differ on one crucial point; ESA is prohibitory legislation and NEPA is regulatory legislation. ESA strictly prohibits any action in violation of its mandates. The Endangered Species Act (ESA) demands strict protections for listed endangered species. Section 7 prohibits the taking of any listed endangered species and their habitat by any person or governmental agency.[38] But NEPA is merely part of the decision-making process and does not determine the decision outcome.

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[34] Endangered Species Act of 1973, Public Law 93-205.
[35] *TVA v. Hill,* 437 US 153 (1978); Murchison, *The Snail Darter Case,* 1-2.
[36] Ibid., 141, 153, 168-69.
[37] Vassar, "*NRDC v. Winter*," 297.
[38] Endangered Species Act of 1973, Public Law 93-205.

NEPA provides a step-by-step procedural framework federal agencies must work within to ensure policies of the act are implemented. NEPA technically does not prohibit government action, it merely requires compliance to its procedural regulations.

Returning to *TVA v. Hill*, the reaction of Justice Powell was, " The majority's interpretation of the Endangered Species Act established 'a continuing threat to the operation of every federal project, no matter how important to the Nation.'"[39] Justice Powell viewed ESA as a threat to government action. NEPA was viewed with this same perspective in *Winter*. Assume hypothetically that the Navy had completed an adequate EIS and the level of irreversible environmental effects prohibited the sonar trainings altogether. The Supreme Court may still have overridden the decision for the preservation of national security. A change of perspective is needed for environmental law to succeed in its directives. NEPA should not be viewed as an enemy and rather be viewed as an ally to help agencies make better-informed decisions.

The purpose of NEPA is to prevent irreparable environmental impact by federal agencies. Thirteen-thousand marine mammal injuries have been attributed globally to the US Navy's use of sonar.[40] In *Winter*, it was difficult for the National Defenders of Wildlife to prove legal injury because cetology, the study of whales and marine life, was an underdeveloped discipline due to a lack of funding and specimens. Research toward cetology was left to the Office of Naval Research because the Environmental Protection Agency and Department of Fisheries and Wildlife lacked the funding. Obviously, the Navy was biased because it held a stake in the use of Mid-Frequency Sonar and its effect upon marine life. Beachings are a recent phenomenon, occurring primarily during the 1990s. So the rarity of specimens has slowed the development of cetology as well. As exemplified in *Winter*, we still do not understand the effects of sonar upon marine life. The issue of noise pollution and its effects on marine life is still being debated socially, politically, scientifically, and legally.

The purpose of NEPA and its EIS regulation is to investigate the unknowns of government agency action, such as in *TVA v. Hill* and in

[39] Ibid., 138-39
[40] Ibid., 351.

Winter. Dan Tarlock argues that "environmental law is fated to be about process rather than predictable outcomes"[41] because environmental protection is a process evolving along with the discovery of new information. A fear of the unknown effects of actions fuels scientific investigations, which better inform the decision making process. NEPA should contain absolutely no amendments and no exceptions should be permitted by any authority. The regulations set forth in NEPA are the most effective safeguards against federal environmental abuses, many of which are merely the result of a lack of information.

William Rodgers, Stimson Bullitt Endowed Professor of Environmental Law at University of Washington School of Law, summarized the relationship between science and law by stating, "Without demeaning the many distinctions between the exercise of science and the practice of law, let me cut to the chase and declare that science is mostly about the 'pursuit of truth' and law is mostly about 'who wins.'"[42] The most intriguing aspect of *Winter* was that the US Supreme Court actually granted the Navy's request for exemption from NEPA. The Navy's national security "emergency" was plainly the result of the Navy's failure to complete a satisfactory EIS before its proposed trainings. Then the Navy attempted to override NEPA by consulting the CEQ for alternative arrangements. But the Court determined that only Congress could alter NEPA regulations, and that CEQ held no override authority. And yet, after the US Supreme Court dispensed with all the Navy's arguments, the Court majority granted the Navy's request. The opinion in *Winter* paints the Roberts Court (2006-present) as an activist court for national security interests because the Court usurped the authority of Congress by overriding NEPA, an authority it stated belonged only to Congress.

In the February 2015 White House National Security Brief, Climate Change was identified as a national security emergency.[43] This was a gain for environmental interests, but climate change is only one facet of environmental concerns. White House initiatives focus on

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[41] Tarlock, "Is There a There in Environmental Law?" 220.
[42] William H. Rodgers, Jr., "Giving Voice to Rachel Carson: Putting Science into Environmental Law," *Journal of Land Use & Environmental Law* 28, no. 1 (Fall 2012): 61.
[43] The White House, President Barrack Obama, National Security Strategy (February 2015), 12.

Climate Change, energy use, and environmental conservation.[44] Climate Change has received the greatest political attention because it influences human environmental security. Environmental security is the concern about whether people have enough food, water, shelter, or necessary natural resources to live. Climate change threatens environmental security because it destabilizes these resources.[45] Concerns over Climate Change, energy use, and conservation are all focused on human environmental use rather than human environmental abuse. None of these policies address environmental preservation, particularly the protection of animal species and their habitats. The primary preservationist White House initiative is the restoration of wetlands, including the Gulf of Mexico, California Bay Delta, Chesapeake Bay, Great Lakes, and the Everglades.[46] This initiative is promising, but *Winter* begs the question of how successfully environmental policies are being implemented and upheld within the inter-agency squabbles and developing interests of the United States government.

[44] "At a Glance," The White House, President Barrack Obama, accessed April 13, 2016, https://www.whitehouse.gov/energy.
[45] Sherri Goodman, "What is Environmental Security?" Yale Insights, last modified April 15, 2012, accessed March 20, 2016, http://insights.som.yale.edu/insights/what-environmental-security.
[46] "Restoring Our Treasured Great Ecosystems," the White House, President Barrack Obama, accessed 13, 2016, https://www.whitehouse.gov/energy/our-environment.