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CORNERSTONE

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Editors' Introduction

With the annual publication of *Cornerstone*, the History Department of the University of California, Riverside, honors excellence in undergraduate historical research and writing, and seeks to encourage the development of emerging scholars. This year, winning essays include recipients of the Thomas and Evelyn Gahn Prize for excellence in undergraduate research outside the United States; the Sterling Stuckey Award in African American history; and the Peter Schneider Award for undergraduate research in American history from 1945 to the present. In addition, this year we are also pleased to include two winners of the *Cornerstone* Award. All five winning essays were chosen by an Editorial Committee, which is made up of History Department graduate students, with two faculty advisors. It is always a challenging task to make the final selection as the level of submissions is consistently excellent.

Although all are rooted in solid research and strong analysis of events and people of the past, the five essays in the 2022 *Cornerstone* also all provide important insights into our current, twenty-first century world. For several essayists, this has meant in-depth work on subjects not traditionally on the historical record, such as the career of a Waikiki surfer or the efforts of Native activists in opposition to uranium mining and broken treaties. It has also meant looking at well-trodden historiographical paths, such as ancient Rome, and finding something new and engaging to contribute. And for another of this year's essayists, it has meant utilizing an historical event as a lens for examining the intersection of labor and racialized violence. All five essays also have in common fluid writing, the well-chosen use of a variety of sources, and a passionate interest in their subject matter. We are proud to present for publication the work of

these five emerging historians. We have no doubt you will be hearing more from them all as they continue in their promising careers.

The winner of the 2022 Thomas and Evelyn Gahn Prize for research in a field outside the United States is James Gjurgevich's "Modern Inequality in Ancient Rome: The Injustices of Trajan, Optimus Princeps." In this insightful critique of the Roman emperor Trajan, Gjurgevich takes on Edward Gibbon's insistence that the era of Roman Emperors from Nerva to Commodus was "the happiest time in the existence of man." Gjurgevich argues that, while that may have been true for Roman elites, it was far from the experience of enslaved people, a group which increased significantly with Trajan's conquest of Dacia.

Rachel Ehret is the recipient of the 2022 Sterling Stuckey Award in African American History. Her essay, "World War I Labor Shortage and Racial Violence," uses the Zoot Suit Riots in Los Angeles as a jumping off point to analyze the intersection of labor, race and racialized violence during and after the First World War. After the heightened labor needs of the war effort subsided, white populations in Chicago and California scapegoated Black and Mexican populations for the severe unemployment of the Great Depression.

Recent UCR graduate Nathan Linares received the Peter Schneider Award in American History for his work, "A Long Road to D.C.: Before, During, and Following the Trail of Broken Treaties." examining a 20th century Native American protest movement called the "Trail of Broken Treaties." Linares's essay does an excellent job of contextualizing the protest movement and carefully examines its political demands.

The two *Cornerstone* Award winners are Matthew Hills's "The Native Fight Against Uranium Mining," and Kristina Morris's "The Impacts of Tourism in Hawaii Through the Familiarities of Duke Kahanamoku." As the title of Hills's essay suggests, Navajo people and

their allies have had to fight powerful interests engaged for decades in uranium mining on Native land. Hills argues that the US government's "voracious appetite for uranium" during the Cold War brought a "uranium rush" to the Navaho Nation. Hills carefully traces the effect this had on local communities and the efforts of committed grassroots activists in seeking redress.

Kristina Morris's essay is a fresh and fascinating approach to the history of tourism in Hawaii in the first three decades of the twentieth century. Using the life of surfing legend Duke Kahanamoku as a lens, Morris argues that while the career of this "unofficial ambassador of Waikiki" helped popularize the Hawaiian Islands as a destination spot, his life experiences also demonstrate how racism and cultural imperialism shaped the geography of Honolulu, and especially Waikiki Beach, Duke's ancestral home.

We thank our five historians for their originality, commitment, hard work, and excellence. Thank you also to our faculty advisors, Dr. Brian Lloyd and Dr. Megan Asaka, for their expertise and oversight of the Editorial Committee and Cornerstone. And an especially big thank you as well to Lynda Vernia, the Managing Editor of this year's publication, for her hard work and perseverance in guiding this edition to publication. Most of all, we thank all those undergraduates who shared their essays with us and confirmed the excellence of our student historians.

Mary Casey
Stephen Moore
Alyse Yeargan

June 2022
Riverside, CA

Thomas and Evelyn Gahn Prize

"Modern Inequality in Ancient Rome: The Injustices of Trajan, Optimus Princeps"

James Gjurgevich

Trying to determine the "happiest time in the existence of man"[1] is a monumental task. Edward Gibbon believed that it was the era of Roman Emperors from Nerva to Commodus, and he had very good reason to assume so. In this time, the Roman Empire became the largest it had ever been, and free citizens had unprecedented opportunities of luxury and wealth afforded to them. For example, Rome flourished under the Good Emperor Trajan because of his militaristic and political success. He began public work projects like the construction of the Baths and Forum of Trajan, and his overall benevolence toward the people was a possible result of Rome's military victories. Cassius Dio writes, "He was so high-minded and generous that, after enlarging and embellishing the Circus, which had crumbled away in places, he merely inscribed on it a statement that he had made it adequate for the Roman people. For these deeds, now, he took more pleasure in being loved than in being honoured."[2] By the standards of the 18th century, when Gibbon wrote his statement, he might have been correct that this was the pinnacle of human existence. However, the institution of slavery has since been widely outlawed, and it is

[1] Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (London: Strahan & Cadell, 1776-1789).
[2] Cassius Dio, *Roman History, Volume VIII: Book 68,* trans. Earnest Cary, Herbert B. Foster (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1914), 371.

difficult to imagine the "happiest time in the existence of man," including any form of widespread slavery. Even the Optimus Princeps of the Roman Empire, Trajan, was not immune to the poisoning licks of slavery on his society. In fact, the general treatment of slaves, freedmen, conquered societies, and different cultures by Trajan himself and Roman society is a visceral scar on an often idealized reign.

It is important to note that viewing any historical figure through a modern lens can often portray them less than favorably. While slavery is not an accepted labor source today, that was not the reality for Ancient Rome. Servitude was a full-blown institution, and the buying and selling of human lives was as vital, if not more vital, than any other part of the Roman Economy. Scholars claim that anywhere between 10% and 30% of the Roman population could have been made up of enslaved people and that the society's population could have reached 60 million around the time of Trajan. This means that by the most conservative of estimates, around 6 million slaves could have lived in the Roman Empire during the reign of the Good Emperor.[3] What was life like for this unrecognized portion of society? Unfortunately, it was more than likely very rough and dehumanizing. The preceding Emperor, Nerva, shows little heart when dealing with slaves, according to Cassius Dio: "…he put to death all the slaves and the freedmen who had conspired against their masters and allowed that class of persons to lodge no complaint whatever against their masters…"[4] This sentiment seems to be true for the Empire as a whole. Slaves (and even former slaves) were not human lives but more like pieces of equipment used to

[3] "Slavery in Ancient Rome," British Museum, Accessed March 6, 2022, https://www.britishmuseum.org/exhibitions/ nero-man-behind-myth/slavery-ancient-rome.
[4] Dio, *Roman History,* 361.

accomplish laborious tasks or personal servants. The life of a slave was hardly a life at all. Signs stating, "Any slaves leaving the house without his master's permission will receive more than one hundred lashes," like the ones in the Dinner with Trimalchio section of The Satyricon, were more than likely abundant reminders to slaves that their independence and humanity meant nothing to their masters.[5] A dog tag that would have been attached to a riveted collar (to deter removal) was found dating back to the 4th century AD in Rome inscribed: "Hold me, lest I flee, and return me to my master Viventius on the estate of Callistus."[6] These items symbolize the crushing oppression felt by the average Roman slave, but what was Trajan's general relationship with enslaved people like?

Trajan has a spectacular reputation with historians, and therefore, it is difficult to find many negative sources on him. Pliny the Younger and Cassius Dio both adore the Emperor, but in reading their surviving texts through a 21st-century lens, it is possible to pick up on some mistreatments of slaves. In Pliny's letters with Trajan about letting public slaves guard the prisons in Bithynia, he shares the concern that mixing slaves with Roman soldiers would create some familiar feelings of loyalty and trust between the two. Trajan writes, "the chief danger to be apprehended, if you mix soldiers with the public slaves, is that they will grow more careless, for each will trust to the other. So let this be our standing rule, to withdraw as few soldiers as possible from the standards."[7] This quote gives evidence that slaves were purposefully excluded

[5] Petronius, "Dinner with Trimalchio" in *The Satyricon,* trans. Piero Chiara, P.G. Walsh, ed. Federico Roncoroni. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.), 26.
[6] "Slavery in Ancient Rome."
[7] Pliny the Younger, *Letters*, *Book 10.20,* trans. J.B Firth. Accessed March 6, 2022, http://www.attalus.org/old/pliny10a.html#17a.

from other parts of society, like the soldiers, to preserve the status quo of Trajan's rule. In another one of the issues raised by Pliny, slaves are caught trying to join the army as recruits, and their fate lies in question. Trajan determines that "…if they came of their own free will, knowing their status as slaves, then they are the persons to be visited with punishment…"[8] He then says that the issue of their freedom should have already been discovered the day they signed up for service. Trajan's position on the matter does not show a favorable disposition toward the slaves. This dialogue with Pliny also gives us an interesting insight into how slaves created issues for the upper classes of society and how those issues were handled.

Trajan's participation in the Roman slave system makes him just like every other Emperor, but because of his conquest of Dacia and his actions to expand the Empire to its greatest size, he holds the responsibility of also expanding the Roman institution of slavery on to these lands. While noble by Roman standards, Trajan's actions are met with great fear and protest by Decebauls and the Dacian people:" Decebalus again sued for peace. But since he could not be persuaded to surrender both his arms and himself, he proceeded openly to collect troops and summon the surrounding nations to his aid, declaring that if they deserted him they themselves would be imperiled, and that it was safer and easier for them, by fighting on his side before suffering any harm, to preserve their freedom than if they should allow his people to be destroyed and then later be subjugated themselves when bereft of allies."[9] According to this account of Decebalus's reaction to the conquests of Trajan, he felt that if the Dacian Kingdom

[8] Pliny the Younger, *Letters*.
[9] Dio, *Roman History,* 381.

were to fall, it would trigger a domino effect in the surrounding nations. Eventually, Decebalus was driven to commit suicide in a final effort not to be paraded around Rome as a trophy. While the Dacian Wars proved to be immensely beneficial for Roman citizens, the same cannot be said for the native population. According to Herbert W. Benario of Emory University, "Much of the native population which had survived warfare was killed or enslaved, their place taken by immigrants from other parts of the Empire. The vast wealth of Dacian mines came to Rome as war booty, enabling Trajan to support an extensive building program almost everywhere, but above all in Italy and in Rome."[10] The priority of Rome was Rome, and their actions reflected this. Trajan constructed bridges, roads, bathhouses, a Forum in his name.[11] Also noteworthy is the column that he built in the Forum as a "monument to himself and as a memorial of the work in the Forum. For that entire section had been hilly, and he had cut it down for a distance equal to the height of the column, thus making the Forum level."[12] As Cassius Dio points out, these monuments required a lot of labor and wealth to construct, most of which was supplied by slaves and the conquered Dacians.

Trajan could be argued to have treated slaves well in comparison to some of his fellow emperors. Nero, for example, is said to have supported a decision by the senate to execute an entire household of servants after the murder of a senator by a single one of their slaves, in accordance with a pre-existing law.[13] The Good Emperor Trajan's dealings with slavery have not been as widely recorded as others, but the information we do have gives us insight into what

[10] Herbert W. Benario, "Trajan (A.D. 98-117)," in *An Online Encyclopedia of Roman Emperors*, last modified 23 July 2003, http://www.roman-emperors.org/trajan.htm.
[11] Dio, *Roman History,* 387-393.
[12] Dio, *Roman History,* 393.
[13] "Slavery in Ancient Rome."

Trajan might have thought about slaves directly. In his few recorded dealings with slavery, it is fair to say that he valued its capacity to achieve goals for the public good. In his dealings with Pliny the Younger concerning using public slaves for prison guards, he says, "Let us continue to observe the custom of your province which utilised the public slaves for that purpose, for it depends upon the severity and attention you show whether they will perform their duties faithfully."[14] In his response, Trajan confirms the practice and finds value in the local traditions of using slaves for this job and freeing up soldiers for other public duties. Dio Chrysostom, said to be a close friend of Trajan's,[15] echoes this value of a well-utilized slave in his orations on servitude: "Therefore he was right in deciding that you were his undoing, and he was justified in running off, evidently so as to get work and not become worse and worse all the time by loafing, sleeping, and eating."[16] However, this desire for productivity in slaves is not to be confused with a benevolent treatment of the enslaved. The way the slaves are referenced in the previous passages compared to Cassius Dio's depiction of Trajan's treatment of his soldiers clearly shows that these two societal castes were on completely different playing fields. According to *Roman History*, "Nevertheless he engaged the foe, and saw many wounded on his own side and killed many of the enemy. And when the bandages gave out, he is said not to have spared even his own clothing, but to have cut it up into strips. In honour of the soldiers who had died in the battle he ordered an altar to be erected and funeral rites to be performed annually."[17] Slaves killed while

[14] Pliny the Younger, *Letters.*
[15] Dio Chrysostom, *Discourses 3.2, On Kingship*, trans. J. W. Cohoon (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932.),105.
[16] Dio Chrysostom, *Discourses 10.7, On Servants,* trans. J. W. Cohoon (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932), 423.
[17] Dio, *Roman History,* 374, 375.

guarding the prisons or performing their daily labors were not given funeral rites and erected alters. Slaves working in the house of Trajan or any other wealthy and notable individual were most likely treated better by comparison to the public slaves but nonetheless were still considered less than human in Roman society.[1819]

For the enslaved population of Rome, Gibbon's title of "the happiest time in the existence of man" is far off the mark of reality. According to ancient and modern sources, it was not necessarily the happiest time for other groups in the Empire either, like minority ethnic groups and Christians. Scholars like Paul Veyne state that, specifically Greece, but other city-states as well, still felt their own sense of cultural superiority toward Romans and disdain toward their rule. While they were considered Roman because they lived within the territorial boundaries of the Empire, these people would have identified much more with their cultural heritage, like the Greeks or Bithyians. In some cases, they wished to be left alone as often as possible to tend to their own affairs. However, Trajan did not seem to think that these cities prioritized the affairs most important to the Empire and sent administrators like Pliny the Younger to essentially "fix" their economic issues. According to Trajan, "there seemed to be many abuses rampant there which required correction."[20] In doing this, Trajan and his administrators exposed many cases of maladministration and interfered with the local politics of the provinces, all in the name of the Empire. This meant more in taxes and imperial expenses for the neighboring city-states like the vows paid to Trajan's health and public projects like the restoration of baths and connecting Lake

[18] "Slavery in Ancient Rome."
[19] Paul Veyne, *L'Empire Greco-Romain,* (France: Le Seuil, 2005), 195-196.
[20] Pliny the Younger, *Letters.*

Sapanca to the sea.[21] While not completely tyrannical, Trajan's treatment of these situations can be interpreted to show little empathy to the independence of these cultures.

According to Lewis and Reinhold's *Roman Civilization*, the organized imperial persecution of Christians was begun by Decius. Still, the letters between Trajan and Pliny provide key insights into the treatment of the religious group prior to this.[22] According to Trajan's letter, his stance on Christians is this: "They are not to be sought out; if they are denounced and proved guilty, they are to be punished, with this reservation, that whoever denies that he is a Christian and really proves it- that is by worshiping our gods- even though he was under suspicion in the past shall obtain pardon."[23] Upon initial viewing, the stance of Trajan sounds fairly lenient, but he is still permitting for the punishments of Christians, and his reservation of proving that one is not a Christian to be pardoned is cruel. Being a Christian in the era of Trajan was not what someone in today's age would consider being in the "happiest time of human existence" either.

Another point raised by Edward Gibbon in *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* as to why the era of the Good Emperors was the golden age of man is that "The frontiers of that extensive monarchy were guarded by ancient renown and disciplined valour..."[24] Unfortunately, Gibbon's strong choice of vocabulary is once again less than indicative of the full story. While

[21] Pliny the Younger, *Letters*.
[22] Meyer Reinhold, Naphtali Lewis, *Roman Civilization, Sourcebook II: The Empire* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1966), 582.
[23] Reinhold and Lewis, *Roman Civilization,* 583.
[24] Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall.*

the people within the Roman borders were generally safe from threats, the Kingdoms outside were in danger of becoming imperialized. Trajan's Parthian campaign, for example, is considered by some scholars to have been economically motivated.[25] While the true motivations for the campaign remain unknown, others such as Cassius Dio say that his motivations were political. A quote from *Roman History* says, "Next he made a campaign against the Armenians and Parthians on the pretext that the Armenian king had obtained his diadem, not at his hands, but from the Parthian king, though his real reason was a desire to win renown."[26] While it may be noble by ancient standards to wage war in the name of conquest and imperialism, it is obvious today that actions like these have consequences for the native peoples. The borders of Rome could have been viewed as an ever-expanding wall of imperialistic doom for those who did not wish to be included in their system. These campaigns are even portrayed as a net loss for the Romans by Cassius Dio, who says, "Thus it came about that the Romans in conquering Armenia, most of Mesopotamia, and the Parthians had undergone their hardships and dangers all for naught, for even the Parthians rejected Parthamaspates and began to be ruled once more in their own fashion."[27] It was not beneficial nor worthwhile for these campaigns to have taken place, yet soldiers gave their lives for this cause.

During the rule of Trajan, Roman life was full of injustice and inequity for just about everyone, when Roman society is viewed through today's standards. Slaves, who composed about a tenth of the population, were deprived of their basic rights and humanity, often being

[25] Steven E. Sidebotham, *Roman Economic Policy in the Erythra Thalassa: 30 B.C. – A.D. 217* (Leiden: Brill Publishers, 1986), 154.
[26] Dio, *Roman History,* 374.
[27] Dio, *Roman History,* 423.

abused and killed if disobedient.[28] Entire kingdoms like the Dacians and Parthians were at risk of being conquered in the name of Roman imperialism, and their wealth and culture was at risk of being brought back to Rome as trophies. In addition, the Romans punished other minority groups like Christians for their beliefs and even took advantage of the military with fruitless campaigns. It is fair to say that while life was good for some people, like the upper class and wealthy citizens, it was rough for the lower portions of society. Trajan's reputation of being a good emperor is based on his expansion of the Roman territories and the wealth that he brought into the city. He ruled over the surrounding cities in a very hands-on fashion and showed little regard for local politics. To Roman senators and generals, he was the Optimus Princeps, but to so many others under his rule, he could have served as a symbol of oppression and imperialism. Edward Gibbon's classification of this time is true from certain perspectives, but it is hard to say that it applies to all persons then living. An 18th century English historian, Gibbon has a very Euro-centric world view. However, those criteria for a "good" society are not the same as the criteria that have just been used to examine Trajan's rule. These parameters are ever-shifting and ultimately depend on the worldview of the historian making the determination. Therefore it is impossible to say with absolute certainty whether Gibbons is correct. Still, it is possible to say that his opinion is contested greatly by the historical record and modern ideas of equality.

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Sterling Stuckey Award

"World War I Labor Shortage and Racial Violence"

Rachel Ehret

On a summer night in 1943, a fight broke out in East Los Angeles between servicemen and a group of Zoot Suiters. The servicemen, whose most significant injury was to their ego, returned to East Los Angeles the following day with a group of over 200 servicemen. Their goal was to sweep the streets of East Los Angeles in search of 'gang members.' As the mob encountered Mexican American youths donning zoot suits, the mob violently beat the young men and stripped them of their clothing. The crowds grew, now including white citizens of Los Angeles searching for Zoot Suiters to humiliate. Unfortunately, the mobs were not sufficiently satiated, and moved the violence from the main streets into Mexican American residential areas, now attacking anyone that looked Mexican. The violence lasted ten days, it did not stop until the U.S. Navy and Army made the city off-limits for enlisted servicemen. With the number of injured in the hundreds, this was one of the worst race riots in Los Angeles history.[29]

The violence of the Zoot Suit Riots is not an aberration from the American norm; riots such as this have happened throughout American history. The Red Summer Riots that occurred throughout the Northeast in 1919 were some of the most violent riots in our history. One of the first riots to break out during this summer was located in Chicago, Illinois. On July 27, 1919, a young boy, Eugene Williams, spent his afternoon on Lake Michigan playing on a homemade

[29] Alvarez, Luis. "On Race, Riots, and Infrapolitics in Wartime Los Angeles." *Revue Française d'études Américaines*, no. 131 (2012): 19–31. https://www.jstor.org/stable/26420486.

raft. The raft accidentally drifted into the whites-only side of the beach; shortly thereafter, Williams was hit in the head by a stone thrown by white onlookers. He fell off the raft and drowned. The police officers present failed to arrest the assailant. In response, a crowd gathered to protest the injustice. Because of the chaos, James Crawford, an African American man, was shot and killed by police. A mass of rightfully angry African Americans gathered; what happened next was a violent explosion of pent-up racial tension that lasted for five days. The violence finally ended once Chicago Mayor William H. Thompson requested assistance from the state militia. The riot left neighborhoods in shambles, thirty-eight people were killed, and hundreds were left injured.[30] In both the Zoot Suit Riot of 1943 and the riots of the Red Summer of 1919, the leading cause for the violence encountered by each minority group can be traced back to the WWI labor shortages, which exasperated racial tension between whites and the minority groups.

WWI Labor Shortages & Migration

"Food Will Win the War,"[31] declares a 1917, colorful poster from the US Food Administration; meanwhile, ironically, the US military and war industries ransacked California's agricultural labor force. As early as 1914, America became a supplier for Allied European countries, creating a substantial need for labor. California Industries searching for employees in the same labor pool began to entice workers by offering higher pay, among other benefits. By April 1917, America had officially joined the war, and by mid-summer 1917, the US army began

[30] Coit, Jonathan S, "'Our Changed Attitude': Armed Defense and the New Negro in the 1919 Chicago Race Riot," *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 11, no. 2 (2012): 230. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23249074.
[31] "Food Will Win the War." Food Administration, ca. 1917. (Gilder Lehrman Collection)

drafting eligible young men through the Selective Service Act.[32] Unable to match pay increases and losing labor because of the draft, the California agricultural industry was left without the necessary labor force.

American involvement in the war, especially the Selective Service Act, also impacted the Northeast. Labor Shortages in Northern factories led many employers to search for workers in the American South. To acquire Southern workers, Northern employers resorted to utilizing ads in newspapers and the use of labor agents. Labor agents were hired to travel to Southern cities to alert workers about better work opportunities in the North. When migration first started, employers provided future employees with train passes; this practice was later changed, the cost of transport would be deducted from future earnings.[33]

Workers and their families were pushed to Northern cities because of low pay and labor shortages. The cotton production industry, which historically employed many southerners, was significantly impaired by the boll weevil. The boll weevil infestations throughout the South cut thousands of jobs and created competition for the few job opportunities left. The abundance of work in the North was now more enticing to Southern migrants. By relocating to Northern cities, Southerners were projected to raise their income by about three times. In addition, southern migrants were assisted with relocating their families. After a man had established himself as a good worker, labor agents would then lend money to the employee to move their families up

[32] Schwartz, Harry, "Agricultural Labor in the First World War," *Journal of Farm Economics* 24, no. 1 (1942): 178–87, https://doi.org/10.2307/1232303.
[33] Marks, Carole, "Black Workers and the Great Migration North," *Phylon (1960-)* 46, no. 2 (1985): 155-56, https://doi.org/10.2307/274413.

North.[34] This was of great help to African American families searching to leave the Jim Crow South behind.

The California agricultural industry found it more Challenging to procure workers for their industry. Northern employers could easily court African American migrants to fill positions in the North, but the California agricultural industry was not as lucky. Because employers could of war industry positions, farmers needed to find cheaper labor south of the border. Historians N. Ray Gilmore and Gladys W. Gilmore address the issues farmers encountered when importing laborers from Mexico in, *The Bracero in California.* They state, "In 1917, the Literacy Test Act, requiring a literacy test as well as a much higher tax, contained more carefully defined contract labor proscriptions which might have eliminated Mexico as a source of labor supply."[35] Lobbying from farmers led to an unofficial, earlier version of the bracero program, which was established during WWII. The literacy test and head tax were suspended for immigrants; this suspension would last until 1921. Farmers and the U.S. government agreed on the terms of import and return of laborers. Employers procured the transportation and living arrangements necessary to import migrant workers. The cost would then be deducted from future earnings.[36]

Not only did the U.S. government allow the import of immigrant labor, they also assigned federal agencies with the job of finding immigrant labor in Mexico. J.P. Dargitz, a member of the California Almond Growers Exchange and journalist for the *Pacific Rural Press,* writes about these services, "The Federal Employment Service have a Director in the state who is determined to see that no food is allowed to waste for lack of labor for harvest. The state has

[34] Marks, "Black Workers and the Great Migration North," 151-56.
[35] Gilmore, N. Ray, and Gladys W. Gilmore, "The Bracero in California." *Pacific Historical Review* 32, no. 3 (1963): 268, https://doi.org/10.2307/4492181.
[36] Gilmore and Gilmore, "The Bracero in California," 268.

many free employment bureaus already in active service at this moment."[37] At this point, immigrant labor from Mexico seemed like a godsend for Californians and America at large. The *Calexico Chronicle*, in 1918, excitedly posted the headline "1,000 Mexicans to Aid State's Labor Shortage" on the front page of their paper. The article read, "One thousand Mexicans will be imported into California as soon as possible to relieve the shortage of farm labor, according to the decision of the farm bureau of the State Council of Defense."[38]

Although circular migration was enforced by employers and the U.S. government through the "unofficial bracero program" agreements of 1917, many Mexicans failed to return to Mexico. One of the reasons for this was that some employers failed to secure passage back to Mexico for migrant workers. Immigrant workers had also arrived in California outside of the program "illegally," and these workers would not return to Mexico. Many of these workers continued to be contracted in seasonal harvests throughout California, and others gained employment in other industries, the steel industry, for example.[39]

Like European men who settled America's first colonies and African American men who migrated to Northern states, Mexican migrants settled in California in a similar fashion. Brian Gratton and Emily Klancher Merchant address this in, *An Immigrant's Tale: The Mexican American Southwest 1850 to 1950,* on the topic they write:

> "Signs of more permanent [Mexican] Settlement can be observed in the number of Mexican immigrants in the census who report

[37] Dargitz, J.P., "What is Being Done to Get Farm Labor," Pacific Rural Press (San Francisco, CA). April 20, 1918, 520.
[38] "1,000 Mexicans to Aid State's Labor Shortage," *Calexico Chronicles* (Calexico, CA), June 28, 1918, 01.
[39] Gratton, Brian, and Emily Klancher Merchant, "An Immigrant's Tale: The Mexican American Southwest 1850 to 1950," *Social Science History* 39, no. 4 (2015): 529–31, https://www.jstor.org/stable/90017481.

> having been in the United States for more than four years, rising from 134,000 in 1910 to 548,000 in 1930. Most important, women began to arrive. In 1910, among those aged 18 and over, there were 182 Mexican-born men for every 100 women. By 1920 the adult sex ratio had fallen to 144, and by 1930 to 131. The children of these men and women also signaled the increasing permanence of residence."[40]

Similarly to how European men first settled James town and established themselves in the tobacco industry, importing brides at a later time, and to how African American men, who first traveled to Northern states to establish themselves as reliable workers and then have their families relocate as well. We can assert that Mexican men too arrived in America, and for our specific purposes in California to establish a new home for them and their families.

The End of WWI in The Northeast

WWI ended in an armistice on November 11, 1918, and as the world ceased fighting, it would seem that a new battle awaited the African American population of the Northeast. However, to understand the racial tension that permeated Northern Eastern states at the end of WWI, we must first understand the thought process that led white Americans to accept slavery as an institution. "The Negro in this country was first an indentured servant as were many West European nationals. Even Thomas Jefferson, it is said, viewed slavery as a gradualistic process that would vanish peacefully in time somewhat after the fashion of the passing of indentured servitude[,]"[41] states Howard Hale Long. He goes on to explain why slavery was excused by Southern whites. Some of the reasons were that African Americans were inferior to whites biologically. Another reason was that they were so intellectually inferior to whites that they

[40] Gratton, and Klancher Merchant, "An Immigrant's Tale: The Mexican American Southwest 1850 to 1950," 532.
[41] Long, Howard Hale, "Cultural and Racial Tension," *The Journal of Negro Education* 21, no. 1 (1952): 09, https://doi.org/10.2307/2965910.

would not know what to do if they gained freedom. People believed that they were happy to be kept as slaves and finally that they had no souls, which excused the unchristian-like behavior towards them.[42]

The Jim Crow system of laws that followed the end of slavery was birthed during the reconstruction era in the American South. These black codes were used to oppress and dehumanize the black population of the South. These laws controlled every aspect of African American citizens' lives, and they were based on the prejudiced ideas propagated to excuse slavery. Author Raymond Gavis explains, "[T]he Jim Crow system fueled economic exploitation, electoral disfranchisement, legal segregation, and extra-legal violence."[43]

Although the black codes were a legally enforced reality in Southern states, a de-facto Jim Crow system persisted in Northern states. Articles and political cartoons such as John T. McCutcheon's, *"The color line has reached the north[,]"*[44] relating to the murder of Eugene Williams in Chicago, Ill, are misleading. They paint a picture of a prosperous North devoid of prejudice. They place blame on the migration of African Americans to Northern states for the perpetuation of a Jim Crow-like societal norm. Racism persisted even in the American North, and African Americans still needed to abide by Jim-Crow like laws enforced by the public. An example of this would be the segregated neighborhoods of Chicago.

By the 1870s, a large settlement of African Americans had taken place on the South Side of Chicago. The rapid growth of Chicago created by migrating African Americans and white

[42] Long, "Cultural and Racial Tension," 10.
[43] Gavins, Raymond, "Literature on Jim Crow." *OAH Magazine of History* 18, no. 2 (2004): 13, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25163655.
[44] McCutcheon, John T, "The Color line has reached the north," *Chicago Tribune,* July 29, 1919, http://chicagotribuune.newspapers.com/clip/24918900/the-color-line-has-reached-the- north/.

immigrants translated into clearly defined segregated neighborhoods. This was not legal segregation; it was more so enforced by the residents of white neighborhoods. White citizens would resort to harassing renters and landlords. They would obstruct the construction of residences that would house African Americans in or near white neighborhoods. The segregated area in the South Side came to be known as the "black belt."[45]

As Chicago gained the necessary labor force needed to replace workers who had gone to war, the black belt absorbed many of incoming migrants. Historian William M. Tuttle states: "Between 1910 and 1920 the expansion of the areas of black residence was negligible, migration resulting instead in the drastically intensified density of the existing areas...within the same boundaries the black community almost tripled from 34,335 to 92,501, which was close to 90 percent of Chicago's black population."[46] The African American neighborhoods within the black belt were bursting at the seams. The only logical solution would have been for the city of Chicago to allow for the expansion of the black belt.

The expansion of the black belt led to the heightening of already existing racial tensions in Chicago. Because it was adjacent to the black belt and was a neighborhood on the decline, the Hyde Park neighborhood made housing obtainable for many black belt residents, becoming a logical place for relocation. By 1916, because of the incoming black population and because houses continued to depreciate, white citizens decided to cut their losses and began to flee the area, in hopes of retaining some of their home's equity. About two years later, a housing crisis caused by white citizens exhausting their housing supply led to a renewed interest in the Hyde

[45] Tuttle, William M, "Contested Neighborhoods and Racial Violence: Prelude to the Chicago Riot of 1919," *The Journal of Negro History* 55, no. 4 (1970): 268-69, https://jstor.org/ 10.2307/2716173.
[46] Tuttle, "Contested," 270.

Park neighborhood of Chicago. Competition for homes between black and white citizens was intense.[47] Tuttle writes, "Several white property owners' associations, most of which had organized initially for responsible community projects and beautification, now focused their efforts on forcing out the blacks already residing in their neighborhoods and on preventing the arrival of others."[48]

White citizens became violent in their aim at driving African Americans from neighborhoods with little to no action from the police department. "From July 1917, to the eruption of the Chicago race riots in late July, 1919, no less than 26 bombs were exploded at isolated black residences in once all-white neighborhoods and the offices of certain realtors who had sold to blacks. Over half of those bombs were exploded during the tense six months leading up to the riots[,][sic]"[49] Tuttle writes. The situation worsened because the police department failed to protect African American citizens and their property. For Example, a May 1919 bombing could have been avoided with police action. Mrs. Harrison, a new homeowner, hearing rumors that her home would be bombed, contacted the police department to report the threat. The police department wrote off the report, and the house was sadly bombed the following day.[50]

The inaction from the police and the desire to protect their homes and families led African Americans to become militant against further assaults. African American participation in the war and the respectable title of wage earner led African American citizens to harbor a new attitude. They were U.S. citizens who had served their country at war and contributed to the war effort at home. They wanted to take their rightful part in society, be treated with respect, and

[47] Tuttle, "Contested," 273-74.
[48] Tuttle, "Contested," 275.
[49] Tuttle, "Contested," 267.
[50] Tuttle, "Contested," 266.

have access to all of the rights and privileges of citizenship. Black citizens understood that because the authorities weren't willing to protect them or their families, they would need to rely on each other and fight back.[51]

The murder of Eugene Williams on the beach of Lake Michigan was the impetus that propelled the city of Chicago into chaos. Before July 27, 1919, the violent attacks that had plagued the African American community were done under the shadows of darkness; no one person could be singled out and held responsible. The authority's inaction was only perceived by the victims of the violence. The police's flagrant disregard for justice was now out in the open for all to see when they failed to arrest Eugene's murderer. This incident could have slipped by into history as just another lynching, but this unmistakable attempt from whites to maintain the unspoken caste system of Chicago was the last straw, and the black community fought back, leading to the Chicago race riots of 1919.

California After WWI

The years following the end of WWI were more peaceful in California compared to North-Eastern states. One of the reasons for this perceived peace was that the labor competition aspect seen in North-Eastern states was not quite present in California. Many of the jobs to be fought over were in war and service industries. These jobs were held primarily by white women and black men. Before the war, job opportunities for women were scant and they paid very little. The jobs they acquired during the war were willing to pay women as much as they had paid men. Returning veterans wanted to take their jobs back and for society to go back to the status quo.

[51] Tuttle, "Contested," 268.

Men found this to be a difficult endeavor, the *Morning Union* newspaper reports on the matter, stating:

> "The best estimate of the employment service shows that [federally] about 1,500,000 women out of 11,000,000 female workers, were doing men's work when the war ended and reports indicate the number has been reduced only slightly. The large majority of women in overalls, officials stated, did not step out of home life to do their patriotic duty for the country, but were attracted from ranks of women who are compelled to work. Higher wages was the cause and the women are loathed to give their places and the higher wages. [sic]"[52]

During the war, the public saw women as patriotic heroes, but now all of society worked against them to push them out of the workforce.

The jobs that the Mexican population of California occupied were not as coveted. Actually, many of the migrant workers who had held these positions before the war were glad to leave these jobs behind. Gregory R. Woirol writes about the previous agricultural laborers' hardships throughout their employment in *Men of The Road: Early Twentieth-Century Surveys of Itinerant Labor in California.* In his writing, Woirol uses the reports filed by Fredrick C. Mills to tell us about the daily lives of laborers, how agricultural labor kept them from sustaining a normal life and kept them from finding a suitable partner.[53] Mexicans, in this case, we're only providing the much-needed labor force that was necessary for the California Agricultural Industry.

The issue regarding labor competition between Mexicans and white citizens did not arise until the economic crisis of the Great Depression, which left many scrambling for any jobs

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[52] "Women Unwilling to Relinquish Jobs Taken During War," *Morning Union* (Grass Valley, CA), May 13, 1919, 03.
[53] Woirol, Gregory R, "Men on the Road: Early Twentieth-Century Surveys of Itinerant Labor in California," *California History* 70, no. 2 (1991): 192–205, https://doi.org/10.2307/25177267.

available. The unemployment rate in America during the Great Depression sat at just under twenty-five percent.[54] Unwanted agricultural jobs previously held by Mexican laborers were now sought after by white Californians. The migrating masses from dust bowl states also increased the labor pool and caused greater competition for the few jobs available.

Immigrants quickly became scapegoated; the high unemployment rate became their fault. At the federal level, President Hoover moved to slow the rate of immigration. He, and Secretary of Labor William N. Doak, believed that the national unemployment rate could be considerably lowered if illegal immigrants were deported.[55] Abraham Hoffman, author of *Stimulus to repatriation: The 1931 Federal Deportation Drive and the Los Angeles Mexican Community,* writes, "[Doak believed] there were 400,000 aliens who were illegal residents in the United States,...and, under current immigration laws, 100,000 were deportable."[56] Many immigrants were deported after Doak's appointment.

Nowhere else in America were the deportation and repatriation efforts as intense as in Los Angeles, California. Los Angeles formed a citizen's relief committee, which was headed by Charles P. Visel. The committee's goal was to mitigate the unemployment crisis in the city. Members of this committee included the Los Angeles Mayor, the County Supervisor, and the publisher of the *Los Angeles Times,* to name a few.[57] "Visel had learned of Doak's declaration about the 400,000 illegal aliens, and by a calculation known only to himself, he estimated that

[54] Margo, Robert A, "Employment and Unemployment in the 1930s," *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 7, no. 2 (1993): 41–59, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2138199.
[55] Hoffman, Abraham, "Stimulus to Repatriation: The 1931 Federal Deportation Drive and the Los Angeles Mexican Community," *Pacific Historical Review* 42, no. 2 (1973): 205–19, https://doi.org/10.2307/3638467.
[56] Hoffman, "Stimulus," 206.
[57] Hoffman, "Stimulus," 207.

five percent, or between 20,000 to 25,000 of them, could be found in southern California."[58] Visel's goal was to rid Los Angeles of as many immigrants as possible as quickly as possible, to free up jobs for "real Americans."

Visel's plan was to create such a volatile and hostile environment in the county that most Mexican citizens would repatriate themselves. He accomplished this by using all available immigration officers and the Los Angeles police department to execute mass raids in popular gathering areas.[59] One of these raids is documented in the *La Habra Star,* a Los Angeles County newspaper. It reads, "More than thirty deputy United States marshals and immigration inspectors were rushed to Puente for the round up, which is one of the first of its kind in California, but which, it is started, will be followed by other similar raids in other parts of the state, and in border states[sic]."[60] The size of the raids and the publicity were intentional. Visel wanted Mexican citizens to feel so scared and unsafe that they would voluntarily leave the country.

To further harass Mexicans in Los Angeles, Visel enlisted the use of the media. Hoffman states, "Visel's publicity release [about deportation raids] was published in the Los Angeles newspapers on Monday, January 26, 1931,...Each newspaper printed the text as it was fit, so that while one newspaper printed sections of it verbatim, another summarized and paraphrased."[61] Los Angeles publications also began politicizing common crimes in their articles; by reporting any crime involving someone with a Mexican name as a "Mexican crime," therefore, making Mexican citizens synonymous with criminals. An example of this is an article in the *San Pedro News Pilot,* which reads, "Jesus Orozco, one of two Mexicans accused of attacking two Glendale

[58] Hoffman, "Stimulus," 208.
[59] Hoffman, "Stimulus," 208-10.
[60] "Deportation Slated for Puente Mexicans." *La Habra Star.* February 27, 1931. 03.
[61] Hoffman, "Stimulus," 210.

sisters, went on trial today."[62] Another example, in the same publication, in April of 1931, reads, "Two Mexicans from Tia Juana, who were in the car which collided. With Nance's auto, are both reported in the prison ward of the Los Angeles general hospital.[sic]"[63] These articles were meant to make Mexicans feel unwelcome in Los Angeles, in hopes that they would leave the country.

Los Angeles would once again use the media to skew public perception against the Mexican community during America's involvement in WWII. The article "Zoot Suits' Gang Problem Discussed by Social Agency Group[,]" in the *San Pedro News Pilot* clearly declares that Mexican youths wearing zoot suits are gang members. It reads, "Methods for solving the Mexican so-called "Zoot Suit" gangs were given recently when Stephen Keating, a representative of the probation department of the juvenile court of Los Angeles spoke at the regular meeting of the Harbor Council of Social Agencies."[64] Unfortunately, the article's only purpose is to paint Mexicans as criminals because it doesn't provide much information other than are considering removing thirteen to fifteen-year-olds from homes to rehabilitate the children.[65]

Zoot suit-wearing Mexican youths were not all criminals, and they did not don the fashionable suit as a sign that they were part of a gang. Instead, these young men wore their suits as a show of pride. They were caught between two worlds, and they did not belong to either. On one side, their parent's world was full of old-world customs and parental expectations. On the other, side there was white American society, and there were many limitations. For example,

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[62] "Get Separate Trials," *San Pedro News Pilot, January 12, 1931, 01.*
[63] "Four Are Injured As 2 Cars Collide," *San Pedro News Pilot,* April 07, 1931, 03.
[64] "Zoot Suits' Gang Problem Discussed by Social Agencies Group," *San Pedro News Pilot,* December 02, 1942, 05.
[65] "Zoot Suits' Gang Problem Discussed by Social Agencies Group."

they weren't welcome in many establishments simply because they were Mexican and did not have all the rights to citizenship that whites did. So Zoot Suiters built their own community and created their own subculture. Stuart Cosgrove words this phenomenon perfectly; he writes, "[The zoot suit was] a spectacular reminder that the social order had failed to contain their energy and difference. The Zoot-suit was more than the drape-shape of the 1940s fashion...it was, in the most direct and obvious ways, an emblem of ethnicity and a way of negotiating identity."[66]

The attacks that zoot suit-wearing youth encountered in the early days of June 1943 were attacks instigated by the media; these attacks were meant to force these young men to conform to white societal norms. The only reason for the hostility towards Zoot Suiters, which was excusable, was that they were not adhering to the wartime rationing of wool, which was used to make their suits. This reasoning would not have been enough to start a riot over. The only possible reason for the violence of the Zoot Suit Riots was racism and racial hatred held by white citizens and service members towards the Mexicans of Los Angeles. The article "Service Men Continue Cleaning of Los Angeles Zoot Suits[,]" happily reports about the attacks on fellow Angelenos. The article states that servicemen and sailors have assaulted over twenty young men; and ripped their clothes off to teach them a lesson. The article asserts that the zoot suiters who've been attacked are exempt from the draft because they have criminal backgrounds. This is clearly only hearsay because the men's criminal record cannot be ascertained by the clothes that they choose to wear.[67] The violence of the Zoot Suit Riots was a violent attack on the Mexican community, with the only goal being to force Mexicans to assimilate to white American norms.

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[66] Cosgrove, Stuart, "The Zoot-Suit and Style Warfare." *History Workshop*, no. 18 (1984): 78, http://www.jstor.org/stable/4288588.
[67] "Service Men Continue Cleanup of Los Angeles Zoot Suiters," *Madera Tribune* (Los Angeles, CA). June, 08, 1943, 01.

Conclusion

The WWI labor shortages of the Northeast and California were a void that Southern African Americans and Mexican migrants could quickly fill. The migrations created by the labor shortages were beneficial to everyone involved until it became a problem for white Americans. In the Northeast, violent riots occurred soon after veterans returned from war because of the building blocks of racial animosity laid centuries ago. Competition in housing and in the labor market caused tension between blacks and whites. In this case, there was no other place for African Americans to be cast away to, they were U.S. citizens, and they were here to stay.

On the other hand, in California, we see a different story; once Mexicans were no longer of service to white America, they were cast away with deportations and repatriation. Xenophobic articles are perpetuated throughout the media to change public perception. Because of this, we start to see racial tension build up in the 1930s but more so in the 1940s, when a significant number of Mexicans in the U.S. are now U.S. citizens. They cannot be sent back to Mexico because of the reasoning that 'it would serve white America better.' Whites and Mexicans must now tolerate each other, and this creates such tension that it finally explodes in the race riot of 1943. In the end, the reason for the racial riots that occurred in California and in the Northeast was ultimately caused by the WWI labor shortages, which only these two minority groups could fill.

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Peter Schneider Award

"A Long Road to D.C.: Before, During, and Following the Trail of Broken Treaties"

Nathan Linares

Native American resistance to colonial expansion, land theft and treaty violations has taken many forms ever since the arrival of the Spanish and English. Native trust in colonial powers has been particularly shaken by treaty violations, as Native autonomy has been ignored and outright disregarded when imposing on Native land and tribal law. The Trail of Broken Treaties was a caravan of Native protestors marching due to treaty infractions combined with the civil rights movements of the 1960s and 1970s, drafting twenty demands for sovereignty that were to be given to the federal government in Washington, D.C. This research essay details a pattern of treaty violations throughout the 1800s, and Native resistance beginning in the twentieth century which birthed the Trail of Broken Treaties and the twenty-point position paper. This saw the occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs building in Washington D.C., resulting protests and intertribal tension, media reporting, and the desire for self-determination seen within Native American tribes across the country.

The Trail of Broken Treaties was preceded by treaty violations and examples of the federal government refusing to cooperate with Native populations. In *Behind the Trail of Broken Treaties*, Vine Deloria Jr. cites multiple instances of treaty infringement and general negligence at the hands of the American federal government. In the 1830s, gold was discovered on Cherokee land, and Georgia passed its own laws negating Cherokee law in order to gain access to the gold deposits. When the Cherokee nation took the case to court, the Supreme Court ruled

the Cherokees were not a nation in the "foreign" sense, thus making them ineligible to sue and legally defend their land from the state and mining companies.[68] In a stroke of victory, chief justice John Marshall ruled in favor of Cherokee law in 1832, pardoning Samuel Worchester for violating Georgia law on Cherokee land, arguing that state law is null and void over Cherokee law. Following this decision, President Jackson said "John Marshall has made his decision, now let him enforce it," refusing to send government soldiers or aid to uphold Cherokee law and the decision; this completely left the Cherokee people on their own to defend their land. The Dawes Act of 1887 granted the President authority to negotiate the division of tribal land when those tribes were ready; however, the Bureau of Indian Affairs began to threaten Native tribes with forced removal unless they agreed to immediate allotment of land, disregarding the little autonomy the tribes had been granted by the act.[69] Furthermore, in 1897 Congress made it so the President must approve all acts of tribal councils, effectively removing Native self-governance completely. The following year, through the Curtis Act, Congress authorized the allotment of land belonging to the Five Tribes: Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles, and terminated their tribal governments. Those in the Dawes commission argued that there were non-Natives residing on land belonging to the Five Tribes who had beckoned the government to seize this land on their behalf; non-Natives living on Native land was allowed by the tribes so long as they followed tribal law. This further advanced the transition into the reservation system, which were often on unwelcoming land not suitable for farming that would, in some cases, be poisoned by drilling for natural gas without tribal approval.[70] There was a want among some

[68] Vine Deloria Jr. *Behind the Trail of Broken Treaties: An Indian Declaration of Independence* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 7.
[69] Deloria, *Behind,* 10.
[70] Mike Sharp. "From the Publisher: The Sorrows of Native Americans," *Challenge* 56, no. 4 (2013): 100, http://www.jstor.org/stable/23524389.

indigenous people to move south, whether it be Mexico or South America, to live freely outside of the United States, giving the government their tribal land in exchange for land elsewhere; the Senate ridiculed them for suggesting such a plan. Deloria Jr. also includes a plea from displaced Native Americans delivered to the Senate Indian Committee in 1906, quoting the speaker as saying, "Our educated people inform us that the white man came to this country to avoid conditions which to him were not as bad as the present conditions are to us… all we ask is that we may be permitted to exercise the same privilege."[71] This quotation shows white supremacy at work, as these indigenous people wish to be allowed the privilege that European colonizers were, so they could live freely and on their own terms as opposed to being oppressed and moved to unfamiliar land by force.

Native resistance in the 1900s sought to garner public attention and support for the Native rights movement, thus fish-in demonstrations held by the National Indian Youth Council were some of the first of the new century, signaling a desire for attention to the Native plight. Bradley Shreve writes that fish-ins are a form of civil disobedience meant to "result in arrests and to bring media attention to the state's persistent violation of Native peoples' fishing rights, as guaranteed by federal treaty." Personalities such as Marlon Brando were vocal about their support of the fish-ins, and even attended the protests in Washington, yet avoided arrest while indigenous protestors were regularly met with arrest.[72] The National Congress of American Indians, the largest intertribal organization of the 1950s, felt that lobbying lawmakers and litigating in the courts were the best, most effective methods for seeking self-determination, but many indigenous youth in the National Indian Youth Council seemed to disagree; direct action in

[71] Deloria, *Behind*, 12.
[72] Bradley G. Shreve. "'From Time Immemorial': The Fish-in Movement and the Rise of Intertribal Activism," *Pacific Historical Review* 78, no. 3 (2009): 404, https://doi.org/10.1525/phr.2009.78.3.403.

the form of fish-ins would be held. While both organizations agreed on basic ideals and values, the ways they went about advocating differed considerably. Countless fish-ins were held in the Pacific Northwest as a means to gain widespread support to respect Native American treaty rights, marking the first major intertribal form of protest seen. At a protest in Olympia, Washington, Native Americans performed dances on the steps of the capitol building as well as the governor's mansion, demanding the state recognizes treaty violations and hears their voices. Although the first fish-ins and the protest in Olympia, Washington failed to alter game laws immediately, they did spread across the Pacific Northwest as a welcome and effective change to Native resistance.

Native Americans felt that they had their rights disrespected for long enough, and wanted a movement of their own. Deloria Jr. explains that many Native Americans did not coincide with the African-American civil rights movement of the 1960s, as the hyperfocus on individual rights made the Native sentiment of community or tribal existence feel alienated. That notion of radical individualism was similar to the verbiage used in a religious sense to justify manifest destiny and land allotment throughout the 1800s.[73] As mass media began to question the severity of Native issues and maltreatment due to their silence relative to the Black power movement, Native Americans utilized intertribal protest as noted earlier to spread Native resistance across the country as more tribes grew discontent with their living conditions. About one-hundred Native protestors attended the Poor People's March on Washington D.C. in 1968 after being invited by Martin Luther King, Jr., and despite his assassination prior to the march taking place, Native Americans still marched. Another source of aggravation among the Native population was the massive budget being directed to the war in Vietnam, as services such as the Jobs Corps were

[73] Deloria, *Behind*, 22.

shut down on reservations, a service utilized primarily by Native youth whose shutdown affected them directly. These grievances and the evolution of Native protest contributed to the creation of the Red Power movement and subsequently the American Indian Movement.

The American Indian Movement was created to focus on police targeting of Native men and women, discrimination and economic disenfranchisement. This movement was birthed from patrols of Native men who followed police to ensure they would not harass and target innocent Native Americans, a trend that had been observed in a largely Native sector of Minneapolis.[74] These patrols would act as witnesses to arrests and demand release if sufficient evidence was not presented, resulting in an arrest rate of nearly zero percent among the indigenous population. Some of the American Indian Movement's leaders were former Minnesota inmates who felt that American law did not function in favor of Native Americans, and took it upon themselves to work for the interest of a sovereign nation of Native Americans, unlike most Native elders who preferred to appease the federal government. The tipping point that led to the creation of the Trail of Broken Treaties was merciless killings of Native men by non-Natives, notably Raymond Yellow Thunder, who was found dead in Gordon, Nebraska. An investigation was not initially launched for Yellow Thunder's death, until his family contacted the American Indian Movement, and only after protest and pressure were two white men convicted of second-degree manslaughter, according to "The Impact of the American Indian Movement and the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation."[75] The FBI feared radical protest, or a Native revolution, so they began to closely monitor the American Indian Movement's actions and planning. Fed up with not having

[74] Deloria, *Behind*, 34.
[75] Philip D. Roos et al. "The Impact of the American Indian Movement on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation," *Phylon* 41, no. 1 (1960): 90, https://doi.org/10.2307/274670.

their demands being heard and their people being murdered, a march on Washington was being planned.

The Trail of Broken Treaties began in the west and ended in Washington D.C. at the Bureau of Indian Affairs building. The Trail of Broken Treaties caravan consisted of prominent Native organizations, including the American Indian Movement, the National Indian Brotherhood of Canada, the Native American Rights Fund, the National Indian Youth Council, the National American Indian Council, the National Council on Indian Work, the National Indian Leadership Training, and the American Indian Committee on Alcohol and Drug Abuse.[76] As the caravan progressed across the United States, it stopped at reservations along its path and added numbers to its cause, eventually consisting of around seventy-five indigenous nations, making it one of the largest intertribal protests to date. Hundreds of protestors made the cross-country trek, and as they arrived in Minneapolis, Minnesota where the American Indian Movement originated, a paper was drafted consisting of twenty points, known as the twenty-point position paper. The twenty points are as follows: "restoration of constitutional treaty-making authority, establishment of treaty commission to make new treaties, an address to the American people and joint sessions of congress, commission to review treaty commitments and violations, resubmission of unratified treaties to the Senate, all Indians to be governed by treaty relations, mandatory relief against treaty rights violations, judicial recognition of Indian right to interpret treaties, creation of congressional joint committee on reconstruction of Indian relations, land reform and restoration of a 110-million acre Native land base, revision of 25 U.S.C. 163; restoration of rights to Indians terminated by enrollment and revocation of prohibitions against 'dual benefits',

[76] Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz. "The International Indigenous Peoples' Movement: A Site of Anti-Racist Struggle Against Capitalism," in *Racism After Apartheid: Challenges for Marxism and Anti-Racism*, ed. Vishwas Satgar (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2019), 35, https://doi.org/10.18772/22019033061.6.

repeal of state laws enacted under public law 280 (1953), resume federal protective jurisdiction for offenses against Indians, abolition of the Bureau of Indian Affairs by 1976, creation of an 'Office of Federal Indian Relations and Community Reconstruction'," the priorities of such an office, "Indian commerce and tax immunities, protection of Indians' religious freedom and cultural integrity, national referendums, local options and forms of Indian organization, and health, housing, employment, economic development, and education."[77] The purpose of this paper was to assert that treaties between Native Americans and the federal government had been violated, continued to be violated, and needed to be investigated, ensure that those treaties are respected and new ones enacted, and mend the turbulent relationship between the Native population and the government. This could be achieved through treaty protection, community investment and right to autonomy. The caravan felt that these twenty points would help to secure a livable future for Native Americans across the country, as they hoped the federal government would hear their requests and grant them the proper facilities and resources to legitimately practice self-determination and live sovereign lives. These twenty points took into consideration the concerns of youthful Native Americans as well as those of tribal elders, ensuring that all voices were heard across the caravan. The Trail of Broken Treaties caravan undertook the difficult task of not only convincing the federal government of their years of struggle and their dire needs, but also the American people and American media. The national television coverage focused on the changes in federal Indian policy that was sought after by the activists, while the majority of printed media chose to concentrate on government response to protestors occupying the Bureau of Indian affairs building.[78] Newspapers seemed to not consider the actual reasons for

[77] Hank Adams and the Trail of Broken Treaties Caravan, "Our 20 Point Proposal," October, 1972. http://www.aimovement.org/archives/.

[78] Jason Heppler, "Framing Red Power: The American Indian Movement, the Trail of Broken Treaties, and the Politics of Media," (master's thesis, University of Nebraska – Lincoln, 2009), 68,

Native occupation of the Bureau building, thus minimizing the Trail of Broken Treaties and not addressing a motivation for its readers to understand and sympathize with; neither television or newspaper covered the caravan before its arrival to the Bureau building. Upon landing in Washington D.C., Sanchez and Stuckey write that the caravan visited the Bureau of Indian affairs building seeking advice regarding where they could find shelter, but the Bureau was instructed by Nixon's administration to ignore anyone from this caravan, and refused to cooperate.[79] This angered some of the protestors, and they refused to leave. Clyde Bellecourt, co-founder of the American Indian Movement, told the caravan, "They have notified us that the only facilities they have been able to come up with here in Washington D.C. was the Department of Interior auditorium. There are no beds, there are no mattresses, there are no showers. We have decided, however, that we will accept the Bureau of Indian Affairs' invitation to use this building twenty-four hours a day. In other words, we are going to be staying here." Of course, the Bureau did not invite the caravan to stay here, but Bellecourt used this irony as an act of protest. The capitol police force declared this occupation illegal and unlawful, but the caravan would not leave until their demands were heard. After six days of living, sleeping, and protesting in the Bureau of Indian Affairs building, the caravan left after the federal government agreed to consider the twenty-point position paper, and Nixon allocated $66,000 to help the members of the caravan return to their homes safely.

The aftermath of the Trail of Broken Treaties sent waves through not only the United States government, but also intertribal relations, notably in the Pine Ridge Reservation. Dated November 27, 1972, an internal memo from the Federal Bureau of Investigation sought approval

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/228376374_Framing_Red_Power_The_American_Indian_Movement_the_Trail_of_Broken_Treaties_and_the_Politics_of_Media.

[79] John Sanchez and Mary E. Stuckey, "The Rhetoric of American Indian Activism in the 1960s and 1970s," *Communication Quarterly* 48, no. 2 (2000): 124, https://doi.org/10.1080/01463370009385586.

to investigate and infiltrate the American Indian Movement and various reservations to "identify violence-prone individuals," who "may be planning future violent demonstrations or criminal activities."[80] This memo also notes of a process to take place: "Approximate number of Natives residing within this division [the American Indian Movement], number of reservations including the number of Indians residing thereon, identity of tribes within the division, identity of any known extremist organizations or extremist individuals active within the Indian community including the Bureau file number, if any." The FBI wanted to seek out further potential Native resistance under the guise of extremism, and even wanted to "develop informants and sources able to furnish information concerning extremists or extremist organizations operating within the American Indian Movement." While this single memo does not tell the entire story, it focuses on the potential for violence, or the perception the FBI had, following specifically the Trail of Broken Treaties. Roos, Smith, Langley and McDonald write that while the government viewed the American Indian Movement as seeking radical change or revolution, the American Indian Movement, from a reservation standpoint and even from non-Sioux members, had "come to join the long-standing dream of the Great Sioux Nation."[81] American Indian Movement activists and traditional Lakota Indians consider their position completely legal, and not particularly radical or revolutionary, as these demands for autonomy and proper care are what they as humans and sovereign people require. It is the challenging of authority and the building of a movement that makes the federal government uneasy and worry of impending threat. When looking at Nixon himself and his response to the Trail of Broken treaties, it is important to note that Nixon had seemed to be rather sympathetic in the past regarding the plight of Native Americans, calling the

[80] G.C. Moore, "American Indian Movement. Extremist Matters. Extremist Informants," November 11, 1972, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1ZvWdJOGLVKvhrOQLVLIvLjTHsnfENGQH/view.
[81] Philip D. Roos et al., "Impact", 91.

Native population "the most deprived and most isolated minority ground in our nation. On virtually every scale of measurement."[82] Furthermore, Nixon addressed the Congress on Indian Affairs stating that Natives had been "deprived of their ancestral lands and denied the opportunity to control their own destiny." The verbiage of "destiny" highlights the issue of Native sovereignty and makes the American people aware that Nixon is sensitive to the horrors inflicted upon Native Americans and their rights denied.[83] Whether this sympathetic smooth-talking was purely for political gain or these are Nixon's genuine emotions regarding the Native population is not entirely clear, but cases can be made for both. As previously mentioned, Nixon's administration authorized the use of $66,000 to guarantee the Trail of Broken Treaties caravan safe passage back to their reservations and homes after it was promised that the position paper would be considered. Nixon would then pass the Indian Financing Act of 1974, which allocated $50 million to fund direct Federal loans for Native organizations and individuals and created the Indian Loan Guarantee and Insurance Fund; this allowed for up to twenty million dollars in loans made by private tribal leaders or members to be insured for up to ninety percent of the unpaid principal and interest due. To stimulate Native economies, the act also provided non-reimbursable grants to Natives and tribes to expand profit making in Native-owned enterprises.[84] In 1975, Congress passed the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act, which significantly declared that Congress recognizes a "Federal obligation" to facilitate self-determination through Native involvement, participation and direction of educational and service programs; this act seems to address the twentieth point written in the position paper:

[82] Lina Mann, "Self determination without termination," last modified November 3, 2021, https://www.whitehousehistory.org/self-determination-without-termination.
[83] Mann, "Self determination."
[84] Morris Thompson, "Proposed Regulations for Indian Financing Act; Act of 1974 Being Published," last modified September 2, 1974, https://www.bia.gov/as-ia/opa/online-press-release/proposed-regulations-indian-financing-act-act-1974-being-published

"Health, housing, employment, economic development, and education."[85] Nixon began this act, but could not finish it due to his impeachment proceedings. More concretely, this act made it so tribes can request the Secretary of the Interior to contract with tribal organizations to carry out services and programs the Federal government provides to Native Americans rather than a company working privately for the government. Regarding education, this act prohibited the Secretary of the Interior from entering into any educational contracts unless the contractor has submitted an education plan that adequately meets the needs of Native students. This act granted Native Americans the ability to act more independently by allowing them to utilize their own workforce and services as well as giving them more control over the quality of education their children receive.

Richard Wilson, leader of the Pine Ridge Reservation, surprised the caravan by standing against their long journey and attempt to have their demands heard. Wilson was a mixed blood man who declared the tribe against the caravan and its efforts, the American Indian Movement, and supported the federal government's moves to quell the movement.[86] This antagonistic approach can be attributed to Wilson's involvement with non-Native ranchers in the area who benefited from leasing arrangements on the Native land as well as the federal government who sought uranium deposits under the Black Hills. Wilson's supporters were overwhelmingly "mixed-bloods" who did not concern themselves with the history of Native struggle or cultural heritage. They would have preferred to focus on economic opportunity and "aim for the lifestyle of the respectable lower-middle-class whites of the rural West," seeking cattle operations on reservation land. Protests against Richard Wilson were met with violence, and Wilson created a

[85] U.S. Congress. Senate, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, *An Act to provide maximum Indian participation in the government and education of the Indian people*. 93rd Cong., January 4, 1975.
[86] Sanchez and Stuckey, "Rhetoric", 124.

team of private vigilantes, called the Guardians of the Oglala Nation, or GOONs, to extinguish the flames of resistance against his leadership. Those who resisted Wilson would later protest the murder of Wesley Bad Heart Bull, born on the Pine Ridge reservation, by non-Native Darld Schmitz, and when Wilson's supporters would not help protest Schmitz's light sentence and one-day jail stay, they went to the American Indian Movement for aid; Schmitz was later acquitted of all charges by an all-white jury.[87] This combined with waning influence from the Bureau of Indian Affairs culminated in the American Indian Movement activists occupying Wounded Knee for seventy-three days; the standoff at Wounded Knee had received a considerably aggressive and militarized response.

Media response to the Wounded Knee protest, dubbed "Wounded Knee II," was widely negative and mitigated the activists' efforts. Newspapers and publications minimized the significance of the even with headlines such as "Pain in the Knee," "Ambush at Credibility Gap," and "Bamboozle Me Not at Wounded Knee."[88] John F. Cragan, as written in the aforementioned article, argued that this failed rhetoric at the time can be attributed to the occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs building following the Trail of Broken Treaties, as he stated that "by 1972, the novelty of such dramas may have worn thin," calling demands found in the twenty-point position paper "excessive" that were "far beyond the ability of the authorities to act."[89] Cragan goes on to explain that cultural differences are partially to blame, as "The Indians lacked experience in creating rhetorical dramas which could be understood by white Americans." This is just one perspective on Native resistance and its effectiveness, as it could also be said that

[87] Sanchez and Stuckey, "Rhetoric", 125.
[88] Sheryl L. Lindsley, Charles A. Braithwaite and Kristin L. Ahlberg, "Mending the Sacred Hoop: Identity Enactment and the Occupation of Wounded Knee," *Great Plains Quarterly* 22, no. 2 (2002): 115, http://www.jstor.org/stable/23532835.
[89] Lindsey, Braithwaite, Ahlberg, "Sacred," 116.

due to mistreatment of Native Americans since the arrival of European colonizers and the establishment of the United States, their demands during the Trail of Broken Treaties and Wounded Knee occupation were not very extreme or surprising. Excerpts such as the one from Cragan and others are no doubt influenced by media and hold the power to influence media, thus crafting the public image of the American Indian Movement and the larger indigenous resistance movement.

It is important to consider all aspects of self-determination that were argued for during the Trail of Broken Treaties, and one area to examine is financial stability and socioeconomic health. Economic growth was a significant factor in Native self-determination, as tribes who were able to stimulate and organize their economies in ways they saw fit were often more successful than if they were still under control of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Following the Trail of Broken Treaties and the Wounded Knee protest, Nixon formally recognized tribal governments as legitimate governing entities on tribal lands. According to Keohane, per capita income on reservations rose from $4,300 in 1970 to $6,500 in 1980, causing the percentage of reservation-based families in poverty to fall from fifty-seven percent to forty-three percent.[90] This can be attributed to reservations being granted the freedom to enter contracts with their own workforce as well as the allocation of funds from the Indian Financing and the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Acts. The Gaming Regulatory Act of 1988 "essentially allowed limited state regulation of tribal economic development for the first time," bringing a rush of business and investment into private capital to Native country and its reservations.[91] This granted tribes the autonomy to create business, formulate economic and entrepreneurial deals,

[90] Jeff R. Keohane, "The Rise of Tribal Self-Determination and Economic Development," *Human Rights* 33, no. (2006): 9, http://www.jstor.org/stable/23532835.
[91] Keohane, "Rise", 10.

and expand their economies and sources of income. While such a system was far from perfect, it brought business and traffic into Native communities. In 1997, the Census Bureau showed that the majority of economic growth in tribal areas came from small businesses; 197,300 Native American businesses had 298,700 employees, boasting gross revenues of $40.3 billion. Despite this considerable growth, Native Americans remained the poorest identifiable group in the 2000 census, lagging dramatically behind Caucasian people and those of European descent.[92] A study conducted by the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development found that tribes with the most economic growth shared a few attributes: they reasserted tribal sovereignty over members and resources, their governments reflected the tribes' political values, and they kept politics out of tribal and private enterprises, as tribal-led timber operations saw forty percent higher productivity and six percent higher per unit prices than timber operations led by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.[93] This study and its results clearly explain that self-determination positively influenced reservation-based economics and granted them the ability to keep their profits and put that money directly back into the betterment of their respective tribal communities.

Self-determination of course existed outside of the economic sphere as well, and can be applied both practically and theoretically. The school of thought surrounding Native self-determinism at the time can be explained as a settler-colonizer relationship with the indigenous population. It was paramount for self-determination to come from outside of the "settler-colonial state" and exist independently, with indigenous rights existing beyond the United States Constitution.[94] For self-determination to exist within the framework of a relationship that is built

[92] Keohane, "Rise", 11.
[93] Keohane, "Rise", 12.
[94] Manu Karuka, "Black and Native Visions of Self-Determination," *Critical Ethnic Studies* 3, no. 2 (2017): 85, https://doi.org/10.5749/jcritethnstud.3.2.0077.

upon the torment and inhumane treatment of Native people is counterintuitive and accomplishes little in granting true autonomy. This is seen in self-determination that was promised under Johnson and Nixon, as this was still self-determination "delegated by the colonizing power." The twenty-point position paper "marks Indigenous calls for self-determination as practical efforts towards decolonization."[95] This notion of decolonization and the writing of the twenty-point position paper itself were distinct efforts to increase tribal autonomy rather than for tribes to take what they are given by the government and further incorporate themselves into the settler state. This was "not a search for stability within settler modernity. Instead, it offered an opportunity to further destabilize the basic claims of settler modernity," showing that those twenty points made genuine efforts to decolonize, which can be seen in points fourteen, "abolition of the Bureau of Indian Affairs by 1976," and eighteen, "protection of Indians' religious freedom and cultural integrity," among others. It is important to consider that "the major issue of recent Indian activism began with a demand for land restoration, and in this sense, it was a countermovement by Indians against the interpretation of their treaties as real-estate contracts."[96] The land restoration movement called for not only stolen Native land to be returned, but also the reinterpreting and realizing of their treaties as a whole, which agrees with point eight: "judicial recognition of Indian right to interpret treaties." Native treaties were not to be a component of racial capitalism, as Native land is sacred and holds invaluable meaning to its rightful and original inhabitants; it was not to be allocated, bought and sold as a commodity. Land was power in settler colonialism, and reclaiming their land was a vital way indigenous people sought to reclaim their power.

[95] Karuka, "Visions", 91.
[96] Deloria, *Behind*, 111.

When compared to the occupation of Alcatraz Island or Wounded Knee, the Trail of Broken Treaties may have appeared to be a minor protest event, but it successfully united indigenous tribes across the country. Preceded by years of oppression and treaty violations, the Trail was a major culmination of grievances brought on by federal and state governments' treatment of the indigenous population. Furthermore, it marked a tipping point of Native resistance, bridging a gap between the Alcatraz protest in 1969 and Wounded Knee in 1973. Protestors who were part of the Native caravan carried their needs from its drafting place in Minneapolis to Washington D.C. to raise public awareness and support for treaty rights, autonomy, education, and aid. Although initial response was minimal, the Trail of Broken Treaties would send rifts through the Native community. In response, those in power of the Pine Ridge reservation rejected the American Indian Movement's values and efforts, and while others began recruiting for the protest at Wounded Knee one year later. The belief and desire of self-determination was a critical motivating factor for the Trail of Broken Treaties, as indigenous people wished to be granted autonomy outside of the colonial state that stole their tribal land and forced relocation to unfamiliar land. Treaties had been broken, tribes displaced and broken up, but the Native population of America let their demands be known in the twentieth century, and the Trail of Broken Treaties echoed their denied rights and brought attention to what Indigenous Americans have been experiencing since before the inception of the United States.

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Cornerstone Essay Award

"The Native Fight Against Uranium Mining"

Matthew Hills

From the start of dedicated uranium mining in the Navajo Nation in the 1940s until the present day, local groups have faced overwhelming ambivalence and outright opposition in their efforts to combat the disastrous environmental and health effects of the mining process. Though the government and mining companies should bear the responsibility of making things right, Navajo activists have had to struggle for every concession. Groups such as the Uranium Widows, their supporters, victim support groups, and the Eastern Navajo Dine Against Uranium Mining have fought tooth and nail to seek justice for the damage done to the people and the land in addition to keeping the fight going to ensure that further harm is not done by this industry. The resistance to uranium mining has been predominantly composed of grassroots movements; most of those who participate are local Navajo people who have been affected by the mines. Over the course of decades these scattered movements have built up effective networks of support and advocacy. Though getting outside help in dealing with the environmental and health crises has been difficult, and many of the issues are still ongoing, much progress has been made in restoring the Navajo environment and preventing further damage.

At the culmination of World War II and the start of the Cold War, the United States government had a voracious appetite for uranium. The fissile material for the Manhattan Project and the two atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki had come from foreign sources, but if the U.S. was going to remain the world's dominant nuclear power it would need a steady

domestic supply of refined uranium.[97] This is what brought the government-sponsored uranium rush to the Navajo Nation. Enterprising mining companies flocked to the Four Corners region's vast supply of radioactive ore. Though the Navajo ore deposits were discovered previously by vanadium miners in the early 20th century, there was little profit motive to dig up the uranium at that time.[98] As uranium possession was a matter of national security, the U.S. was the only entity authorized to purchase ore from the mining companies until the 1970s.[99] The initial uranium boom was entirely government-motivated.

The American government and the companies extracting uranium at its behest absolutely bear a responsibility to right the wrongs they have done to the Navajo nation. Experts in radioactive substances would have known even by the 1940s exactly how dangerous it can be to live and work around such materials. Uranium mining had been an industry since the 19th century in Europe, though obviously done on a much smaller scale prior to the discovery of its use in military and energy applications. Even then, with much more limited medical knowledge, a link was drawn between working in uranium mines and respiratory illnesses and cancers. The European miners were known to contract these diseases at a much higher rate than the general population. The German medical community used "Bergkrankheit" as a general term to describe the illnesses they saw tearing through the men working in the mines. According to *The Navajo People and Uranium Mining*, "By 1932, Germany and Czechoslovakia had designated cancer in these miners as a compensable occupational disease."[100] Since then studies had been done which

[97] Judy Pasternak, *Yellow Dirt: A Poisoned Land and the Betrayal of the Navajos* (New York: Free Press, 2011), 60-61.

[98] Traci Brynne Voyles, *Wastelanding: Legacies of Uranium Mining in Navajo Country* (University of Minnesota Press, 2015), 1-2.

[99] Doug Brugge, Timothy Benally, and Esther Yazzie-Lewis, *The Navajo People and Uranium Mining* (Albuquerque, N.M: University of New Mexico Press, 2009), 27-29.

[100] Brugge, et al, *Navajo People*, 27.

showed that the primary culprit was the high levels of radon gas which accumulated in the mines.[101] Despite this knowledge, the mines in the Navajo Nation were not properly ventilated. Working in high levels of radon day after day is extremely detrimental to one's health, and the levels in the mines were well above the safe working limit.[102]

Workers were given no safety equipment beyond helmets, and they were not informed of the dangers of the work. According to an interview with George Tutt, one of the Navajo mine workers, none of the employees were told about the potential dangers. Even his father, who operated a mine, was not initially aware of the deadly conditions. Tutt started his work at the age of fifteen or sixteen. Though he was not yet even an adult he was allowed to work in an environment that exposed him to carcinogens daily.[103] It did not help that knowledge of radiation and its effect was still not widely understood by the public in the early years. Science education and English literacy in general were low in the Navajo Nation at the time. As the authors of *The Navajo People and Uranium Mining* point out, "the Navajo language had no word for radiation, few Navajos spoke English, and few had formal education."[104] The mining jobs were seen as a good opportunity among Navajo communities. They were decent paying jobs that didn't discriminate and didn't require people to move away from their homes. Since the mines provided such a tantalizing opportunity and presented no known danger to Navajo people, they worked for years before anyone noticed the toll it was taking on the miners.

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[101] *How the US Poisoned Navajo Nation*, *YouTube* (Vox, 2020), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ETPogv1zq08.

[102] Brugge, et al, *Navajo People*, 31, 139.

[103] Benally, Timothy, and George Tutt. "I have revisited the places where I used to work": Oral History of Former Miner George Tutt. *The Navajo People and Uranium Mining, Chapter Two*, 1995. 15.

[104] Benally and Tutt, Oral History, 29-30.

Cases of lung cancer and other respiratory diseases spiked as soon as the mining began.[105] Uranium is safe when it stays buried in the ground; these diseases were relatively unheard of among Navajo people prior to the opening of the mines. It's only once the ore is dug up that it becomes dangerous.[106] The effects of the sustained doses of radiation the workers were exposed to sometimes take years to show up in patients. The mines were slowly killing many of these workers. By the 1950s the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) saw the increasing cases of sickness and death among the uranium workers and begrudgingly admitted that the work was dangerous. The AEC put out a pamphlet in 1954 stating that the mines need proper ventilation systems, but provided no enforcement or regulation to ensure the ventilation standards would be met by the mining companies.[107] In short, the admission from government officials came nearly a decade late and was only made to deflect blame rather than to actually address the issue. It is clear that without outside pressure the companies would never change conditions. They were profiting from the current arrangement and there was little incentive for them to stop the extraction of uranium from Navajo land at the expense of its people. Meanwhile, among the Navajo people that the government was neglecting, people began taking the issue into their own hands. Even as the AEC directly published material stating the dangers of working in unsafe levels of radon gas, Union Carbide Nuclear was fighting in court to avoid paying Workers Compensation to former employees with lung cancer.[108] The authorities at the time had no interest in resolving the issues facing Navajo people. It was only through the efforts of Navajo activists that change began to occur, and even that came slowly.

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[105] Voyles, *Wastelanding*, 4-5.
[106] *How the US Poisoned Navajo Nation*, (Vox, 2020).
[107] Peter H. Eichstaedt, *If You Poison Us: Uranium and Native Americans* (Red Crane Books, 1994), 71.
[108] Eichstaedt, *If You Poison Us*, 79.

In my research I have found repeated references to the Uranium Widows, the surviving wives of the many Navajo miners who began to get sick and die as a result of radiation exposure. Though not enough work has been done to fully document the story of these women, particularly how their actions brought attention to the issue and influenced legislation, it is clear they were one of the driving forces in early resistance to uranium mining on Navajo land. According to Traci Brynne Voyles, author of *Wastelanding*:

> "The widows of uranium workers became the first and often most effective activists against mining when the adverse health effects of the industry began to take shape, reflecting a larger pattern in environmental justice organizing in which women often make up the majority of participants in environmental justice struggle."[109]

The widows began organizing in the 1960s when it became clear that the health problems had something to do with uranium mining. Their early efforts involved a steep learning curve as they had to teach themselves about science, legal matters, and effective political organizing.[110] These women were the primary witnesses for what was happening to Navajo men and communities. They survived as the miners were dying; and thus they sought support among each other and became an effective force for change. Widows Mary Louise Johnson and Minnie Tsosie described in a joint interview what it was like seeing their husbands' conditions deteriorate. Both men suffered similar symptoms after less than a year working in the mines: chronic pain, a persistent fever, and frequent bouts of seemingly mild illness. By the time doctors had a diagnosis for their cancers, it was too late for any effective treatment. Both Johnson and Tsosie's husbands were dead within two years of taking jobs in the mines.[111] Of course it should be noted

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[109] Voyles, *Wastelanding*, 7.

[110] Brugge, et al, *Navajo People*, 36-37.

[111] Benally, Timothy, Mary Louise Johnson, and Minnie Tsosie. "We will never forget it": Oral History of Widows Mary Louise Johnson and Minnie Tsosie. *The Navajo People and Uranium Mining, Chapter Eleven*, 1995, 155-165.

they too were affected by radiation; many of these women were living in structures made from material from the mines or laundering clothing covered in uranium dust.[112] They suffered health effects on a much more delayed timescale than those working directly in the mines.

Many Navajo women went through similar experiences to Johnson and Tsosie at the time. Widows began to meet at the Red Valley Chapter House, a local tribal government structure. Navajo government officials arranged for them to meet with then secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall. Udall was already working with the "Downwinders," a group of predominantly Native American people who lived downwind from nuclear weapons testing sites and dealt with health problems as a result of the nuclear fallout.[113] The similarities between the cases lead to a joint struggle for government compensation. In 1979 a group of the Uranium Widows flew to Washington D.C. to tell their story to Congress. The trip was partially funded by the Navajo government, local donations, and bake sales. Widow Delores Yazzie told her story in Navajo language, which was then read in English.[114] This trip to the Capital was pivotal in getting the story to legislators. -Without the testimony from the Widows it is likely that the people affected by mining would have gotten nothing.

Another key figure in the fight for recognition was Harry Tome, a local tribal leader. He, along with Cove Chapter President Elwood Tsosie, heard about the health problems in the Red Rock area and investigated the issue.[115] This began as cases of cancer and respiratory illnesses among miners were becoming noticeable in the 1950s. They discovered "what the public health service, Atomic Energy Commission, federal officials, and members of congress had known for

[112] Voyles, *Wastelanding*, 152, Brugge, et al, *Navajo People*, 3.
[113] Eichstaedt, *If You Poison Us*, 100-102.
[114] Wudan Yan, "Uranium Widows in Navajo Country," Sierra Club, October 29, 2020, https://www.sierraclub.org/sierra/2020-6-november-december/feature/uranium-widows-navajo-country.
[115] Eichstaedt, *If You Poison Us*, 96.

years."[116] The conditions in the mines were making people sick. Companies like Kerr-McGee were not doing their duty to protect their workers. In the 1960s Tome began to work in the Minerals Department of the Navajo government. Starting in 1963 he toured mines, interviewed mine workers, and educated himself on the specifics of radiation and radon poisoning. He spoke with doctors (a luxury many of the workers did not have regular access to) about the problems many Navajo were facing. By doing this he helped document the clear link between the mines and the health crisis. Tome was instrumental in gathering this information and promoting awareness of the mine workers' plight. He was the Navajo government official who first reached out to Stewart Udall and helped coordinate with the Uranium Widows.

A number of lawsuits were filed in this period. The Uranium Widows were the public face for many of the cases: "…the multiple lawsuits that were brought against the federal government and uranium companies throughout the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s were largely brought on by and on behalf of the widows."[117] The lawsuits were varied in nature, some sought payment for medical costs from the government, others wanted to claim Workers' Compensation that they were denied previously, and others early on wanted to shut down the mines. For the most part these suits were met with setbacks, defeats, and delays. The government and companies did everything in their power to avoid responsibility for the damage done. While not much was gained initially, activists were somewhat successful in keeping the fight alive. They gained a fair bit of press attention, especially with the 1979 trip to the Capital.

While this was going on, one of the worst (yet mostly forgotten) environmental disasters in U.S. history occurred in the Navajo Nation, which brought further attention to the anti-

[116] Eichstaedt, *If You Poison Us*, 97.
[117] Voyles, *Wastelanding*, 146.

uranium cause. The Church Rock spill was a 1979 event that occurred when an improperly managed uranium tailing pond broke through its decaying barrier and flooded. The spill poured into the Puerco (Perky) River, an important source of water for Eastern Navajo people. It was days before anyone was told about the spill, at which point the river was thoroughly contaminated.[118] This spread radioactive material into local plants, livestock, and worst of all, people. Children played, people drank and fished in that river. The spill was devastating, inflicting further incalculable damage to the Navajo people. Though the initial government response was lackluster, a news story on the spill did help to support the cause.[119]

There were other groups as well engaging in the long-term fight for compensation. The Uranium Radiation Victims Committee sued one of the mining companies directly for damages.[120] Support groups for victims of uranium radiation formed in the areas where mining took place. In the 1980s the Red Valley support group gained some prominence; they had hundreds of members involved in advocacy and organization. They contacted the press and politicians in order to push for greater awareness and change. Members of the Red Valley group got CBS to run a story on the uranium contamination through some old press contacts.[121] These groups weren't just pushing the federal government to change things, some of the struggle at this time was focused on convincing the Navajo government of the need for change. For a long time the Navajo government was hesitant to directly oppose the uranium industry. Despite everything else, this is somewhat understandable; the mining jobs had come to form an integral part of the local economy. As cases of uranium-related sickness began to accumulate and the evidence

[118] *How the US Poisoned Navajo Nation*, (Vox, 2020).
[119] Eichstaedt, *If You Poison Us*, 96.
[120] Brugge, et al, *Navajo People*, 42.
[121] Brugge, et al, *Navajo People*, 64-64.

became irrefutable, that changed. The continued advocacy of organizations such as the support groups and victims committee brought the Navajo government over to the side of the victims. This change in Navajo government policy towards uranium would be a major factor in later efforts. After the passage of the RECA, many claimants who were denied were able to appeal with the help of the Navajo government and successfully claim their compensation.[122]

The Navajo efforts to seek compensation culminated in 1990 after decades of government inaction. Early efforts to get bills passed or sue for worker's compensation failed for the most part. Even when the works of Harry Tome, the Uranium Widows, Stewart Udall, and the various Navajo support groups came together in 1979 with a direct appeal to congress with a concrete plan for compensating the people affected by the mines, it took a further ten years before anything was actually done. The result was the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act of 1990. The RECA provided up to $100,000 to uranium workers who had fallen ill as a result of their work in the mines or their surviving families. The failings of the RECA are too many to list here. Qualification for payment was decided by the overly stingy Department of Justice, who denied workers frequently for technicalities. Some widows were denied their claims if they could not prove they were actually married.[123] On a technical basis the bill also has issues; the mine the claimant worked in had to have recorded working radon levels that were higher than the standards for dangerous levels (this decided in a backdoor deliberation by politicians, not experts).[124] The act only covered respiratory illnesses and cancers, despite the fact that uranium exposure can also cause any number of other health conditions.[125] Claimants were held to a

[122] Brugge, et al, *Navajo People*, 145-6.
[123] Brugge, et al, *Navajo People*, 3.
[124] Brugge, et al, *Navajo People*, 139-140.
[125] Brugge, et al, *Navajo People*, 59.

higher standard of radon exposure if their medical records labeled them as smokers.[126] The government that drafted the act through its various revisions was at best indifferent to Navajo suffering and at worst actively hostile to the idea of taking responsibility for the damage it had done. The wording of the act seems like it is more concerned with saving the government money than it is with actually helping Navajo uranium workers.

One could fill a book with the holes the RECA leaves. It's a frankly shameful piece of legislation that serves as a completely underhanded apology to the people that U.S. uranium policy has harmed. According to *The Navajo People and Uranium Mining*, the complicated bureaucracy of the RECA is completely antithetical to the Navajo notion of an apology.[127] Although some victims have been able to find compensation, the RECA and its 2000 revision do not even scratch the surface of righting the wrongs done in Navajo country. The frequent denial of claims can be seen as an intentional effort to discourage Navajo people from collecting their restitution money. By their denial of claims on technicalities the Justice Department sent the message that the survivors are undeserving of the money. The resulting act is an insult to the work of activists who struggled for decades against the institutional racism on display here. Though the 2000 revision to the act does away with the smoking provision, its inclusion in the first place clearly only serves the purpose of denying as many victims as possible. Many miners smoked, and that may have contributed toward respiratory illnesses developed later, but it is absurd to say that the radon these workers were exposed to had nothing to do with their illness. Probably the worst failing of the RECA is its limited scope. Even if it covered everyone that it purports to, the sections relevant to uranium workers still only focus on the workers themselves,

[126] Brugge, et al, *Navajo People*, 140-141.
[127] Brugge, et al, *Navajo People*, 3.

and only if they contracted a respiratory condition. There are many more people who were affected by the uranium mining, and the conditions that people contracted as a result were not just limited to the lungs.

In the face of the RECA's many, many shortcomings, I was left wondering what did the Uranium Widows and other activists actually accomplish? If nothing else, they brought broader recognition to an otherwise totally ignored issue. Their work ensured that if uranium mining came back to the Navajo Nation, it could not come back in the same form. It has been proven that working in the mines without ventilation is horrible for workers' health. Careless dumping of mine waste has been shown to cause adverse effects. Education on radiation in particular is now much more widespread among Navajo people in areas where mining took place.[128] Many locals have become experts now, ensuring that they cannot be unknowingly poisoned in the same way again. As far as I have found, no major effort to restart uranium mining has tried to open the same types of in-earth or open-pit mines that these people worked in. The work of early activists also inspired later groups to organize to clean up the environmental problems caused by uranium and prevent further mining operations from damaging the Navajo land and people.

Thus far I have mostly discussed the health justice aspects of uranium mining, but there's another equally important facet to the issue: environmental justice. The effects of reckless U.S. sponsored mining operations on Navajo land have caused severe damage to the land, air, and water. It is a prototypical case of environmental racism. The value placed on the health of the Navajo Nation was much lower than that of white communities, such as those near the Three Mile Island incident.[129] Almost every facet of the environment near the mines has been affected

[128] Peter Hessler, "The Uranium Widows," The New Yorker, September 6, 2010, https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2010/09/13/the-uranium-widows.

[129] *How the US Poisoned Navajo Nation*, (Vox, 2020).

in some way. For years some Navajo people lived in traditional earthen homes, called hogans. During the early days of the mines' opening many of these hogans and other homes were built using stone and earth pulled from the mines.[130] Oftentimes the rest of the mined material that could not be refined (referred to as mine spoil) was left in huge uncovered piles. Many of these piles were left unlabeled, appearing to be a part of the natural landscape. The spoil piles can be swept up by the wind or rain; once this happens it can contaminate local wildlife and livestock.[131] One woman alleges that on days when the miners would use dynamite you could feel the uranium dust raining down on their homes.[132] Children who grew up in this environment were affected as well. Some unknowingly played on mine spoil piles or in contaminated rivers. Some Navajo children grew up with health problems later in life as a result of exposure to this partially toxic environment.[133] Drinking water is also highly threatened by mining. The people of Black Falls suffered from high rates of various ailments such as eye and kidney diseases, the source of which was found to be concentrated levels of uranium and other toxic mining byproducts in the drinking water. Ideally the pump would have been shut down after these findings, but small desert communities have few options for water. Without outside help, the contaminated pumps stayed open for years until later efforts could address the issue.[134] These examples show something important, the wide overlap between environment and health justice. The havoc that uranium mining has wreaked on the Navajo environment in turn has been disastrous for the health of the people who live there.

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[130] Brugge, et al, *Navajo People*, 4.

[131] Pasternak, *Yellow Dirt*,191-2.

[132] *How the US Poisoned Navajo Nation*, (Vox, 2020).

[133] Shuey, Chris, Rita Capitan, Mitchell Capitan, and John Fogarty. Eastern Navajo Dine Against Uranium Mining. Interview with Rita and Mitchell Capitan. *The Navajo People and Uranium Mining, Chapter Twelve*, 2005, 52.

[134] Pasternak, *Yellow Dirt*, 284-286.

Local groups have been appealing to the government and the mining companies to clean up the abandoned sites since the uranium mines shut down in the 1980s. In 2012, the Environmental Protection Agency began efforts to clean up several mines.[135] Once again this change can be attributed to the efforts of prior groups like the Uranium Widows and Harry Tome bringing attention to the issue. Unfortunately, despite the dire need for cleanup operations and repeated attempts to get the government to fix the issue, not enough progress has been made. EPA efforts started by tearing down structures made from contaminated material and relocating people.[136] In some areas abandoned mines have been covered up. Presently many of these sites are still an issue, however. The EPA has plans to continue cleanup but the plans will take years to implement and are threatened by budget cuts.[137]

The EPA did not necessarily begin this process on its own, however. In at least one case, the Agency was spurred into action by a Navajo organization. Black Falls Safe Drinking Water is an initiative carried out by the EPA and a local group called Forgotten People. Forgotten People, or *Dine' Be' lina' na' hil naa* (Dine' Rebuilding Communities), is a grassroots group formed in response to the environmental crisis caused by uranium mining. They are devoted to improving the quality of life for Navajo people, especially those affected by mining. The Black Falls project restored safe drinking water to a community whose natural source had been tainted by uranium and arsenic. In multiple stages they connected people to temporary sources of water while working on more permanent filtration solutions. The project also reached out to many nearby residents to test their water sources and inform them if there were any contaminants. It is

[135] Yan, "Uranium Widows."
[136] Pasternak, *Yellow Dirt*, 194-6.
[137] *How the US Poisoned Navajo Nation*, (Vox, 2020).

important to note that this process was funded by the EPA for two million dollars.[138] A Navajo-led initiative to restore an environment tainted by uranium getting federal funding in a timely fashion would have been unthinkable in prior years. The activists have made more ground than in the past, though the RECA compensation was severely lacking the attention brought to the issue and the connections formed within the Navajo Nation seem to have given Forgotten People an edge in getting the Black Falls project done.

Modern efforts in uranium resistance have shifted somewhat from the battles for compensation of the mid-20th century. The issue of ongoing mining became less relevant in the 1980s as the price of uranium plummeted. The U.S. had more refined uranium than it could ever safely use or store and stopped purchasing such high quantities.[139] The Navajo mines were mostly closed at this time, but during the Bush administration in the early 2000s there was newfound interest in nuclear power.[140] As the price of uranium recovered interest once again turned to the remaining ore deposits under the Navajo Nation. Due to prior publication of the negative health effects of in-earth and open-pit mining on the workers, companies could not just restart extraction in the same way. Instead the new efforts focused on making the new mines seem high-tech and safe. In-situ leach mining involves pumping water into the earth to separate ore from rock and extract it without sending anyone into a radon-filled mine. However, the mines aren't any safer for the community, according to experts. They threaten the water supply in a place where drinking water has already been harmed by mining. At this point, concerned local citizens began to gather together to discuss renewed mining operations. Rita and Mitchell

[138] "Black Falls Safe Drinking Water," Forgotten People, 2009, https://forgottennavajopeople.org/black-fallsbox-springsgrand-falls-safe-drinking-water-project/.

[139] Brugge, et al, *Navajo People*, 27.

[140] Pasternak, *Yellow Dirt*, 280-1.

Capitan founded ENDAUM, or the Eastern Navajo Dine Against Uranium Mining.[141] It was initially a small local organization that coordinated with isolated communities. Many of the people they talked to had little knowledge of the company plans to restart mining in the area and the potential risks of in-situ leach mining. Eventually ENDAUM grew in size as more people came out in opposition to the new mines. It was not all one sided, however. The community was partially split this time. Some people stood to profit from land leasing and new jobs and thus sided with the companies. Though new mining operations could endanger the environment and people again, the issue created divisions that ENDAUM had to work around. Thankfully, after successful organization and appeals to those in power ENDAUM managed to secure a major anti-uranium victory. The Navajo President at the time, Joe Shirley, was motivated by the decades of government inaction and the ongoing damage done by mining. With the aid of ENDAUM he used his position to enact a ban on new mines on Navajo lands.[142] Though there is still some interest in starting new mines, the ban has held up to this day.

The Navajo anti-uranium activists have done so much admirable work in the face of absolute indifference from the American government, corporations, and the wider public. Because they live on a reservation, it is easy for most people to ignore. Ignorance of the issue has been the main strength of those who profit from extracting uranium in the Southwest. This is why so much of the activism I have discussed involves awareness building; the malefactors get away with it when no one knows about the racist policies that have harmed Navajo people. It's an active struggle: much of the environmental cleanup is yet to be done, many of the survivors and their families still deal with medical debts, and companies are still looking for ways to profit

[141] Shuey, Interview with Rita and Mitchell Capitan, 167-176.
[142] Shuey, Interview with Rita and Mitchell Capitan, 172-173.

from the ore (including attempts to start mining directly outside the Navajo Nation, which could still threaten drinking water sources). Luckily for any future Navajo anti-uranium activists, they do not have to restart the battle from scratch. They can build on the networks of support groups, activists, and Navajo government structures that prior efforts have left behind as a legacy. The anti-uranium activists have simple demands; they want to live with the same safety and dignity that most Americans are entitled to. Unfortunately, in this country the right to live in safe conditions is all too often denied to people, especially racial minorities. As noted earlier, when the fight began there was no word for radiation, but the Navajo language now includes *Leetso*, or "yellow earth" to refer to uranium and the damage it has caused.[143] The enemy has been named, Navajo people have organized, and there are activists dedicated to making sure what happened to the uranium workers and bystanders never happens again.

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Cornerstone Essay Award

"The Impacts of Tourism in Hawaii Through the Familiarities of Duke Kahanamoku"

Kristina Morris

Duke Kahanamoku's surf and swim legacy has been immortalized in American history. His role as unofficial ambassador of Waikiki paved the way towards bridging cultural differences and utilizing these unique distinctions to help promote tourism onto the Hawaiian Islands and kickstart a culture of surf that is still popular today. Duke Kahanamoku, in the first three decades of the twentieth century, helped stimulate Hawaiian tourism through surfing, swimming, and participating in the Olympics for the U.S.; however, his life experiences can also be read as a lens on the roles that racism and cultural imperialism had in shaping the geography of Honolulu, especially Duke's ancestral home, Waikiki Beach. Duke Kahanamoku helped stimulate Hawaiian tourism by illustrating the uniqueness of the islands through tradition, sport and appearance. This paper explores these interactions between Kahanamoku, American tourists and fellow Hawaiians around the time of World War I and his successes at the 1912 and 1920 Olympics. This was an era of great changes in Honolulu due to increased relations between the U.S. and Hawaii as a destination. The American presence in Hawaii grew rapidly and had a major impact on the areas like Waikiki in Honolulu through the building of infrastructure and hotels in order to accommodate increasing tourism. Because of Kahanamoku's importance to both American and Hawaiian sports and his prominence within Waikiki's native Hawaiian community, his life demonstrates the push and pull between American encroachment on Waikiki and efforts of native Hawaiians to preserve their culture. Though Duke Kahanamoku is often

recognized as an ambassador of Hawaiian and American relations through athletics, his life also reflects this era of increased racial tension, the gentrification of ancient Hawaiian spaces and conflicts over Americans' cultural appropriation of a native sport.

The story of Duke Kahanamoku is multifaceted and highlights the numerous transformations of Hawaii during his life. Born in Honolulu, Kahanamoku presented multiple descriptions of his birthplace. According to his biographer, David Davis, he would tell younger people he was born where the Bank of Hawaii is located, to contemporaries he would point to where the Arlington Hotel was and to the older people, he would say he was born at Haleakala, the old home of Princess Bernice Pauahi Paki Bishop.[144] The area of Waikiki in Honolulu is where Kahanamoku called home. Waikiki's unique coastline and geography enabled a lineage of surfing that entwined itself into the culture of those who lived there. Historically, surfing was used to promote status among Hawaiian elites, Westwick and Neushul say, "The best surfers paddled their longest boards to the outer reefs at Kalehuawehe. Those who first rode the waves earned the title of 'Kalehuawehe' for the season and, were also called *mahi mahi* because of their powerful and streamlined physiques."[145] While Kahanamoku largely experienced a Waikiki post-annexation, the cultural lineage within this surf community survived assimilation and land development to preserve the centuries-old tradition of Hawaiian water sports.

Duke Kahanamoku's engagement with the American tourism industry in Hawaii was complex because native Hawaiians were an impoverished community facing discrimination at the hands of Americans. Beachboys like Kahanamoku often applied the vision of hospitable

[144] Davis. *Waterman: The Life and Times of Duke Kahanamoku.* Omaha NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2015. Davis' biography of Kahanamoku utilized both primary and secondary sources including interviews with close family and friends of Dukes, newspaper articles and scholarly publications.
[145] Peter Westwick and Peter Neushul. "The World in a Curl: An unconventional History of Surfing," Reading number R12.pdf, page 4.

native to white visitors for profit and even counteracted the effects of American encroachment by gaining status and exposure for their sporting abilities. But it is also important to recognize the communal impact of tourism on Hawaiian culture and life on the islands as the presence of American visitors increased in the early twentieth century. In a 1985 interview with Louis Kooliko Kahanamoku, Duke's younger brother, he expresses his own experiences on Waikiki before commercial tourism took hold saying, "…that's the way the people lived down there... Nobody locked their house until these (tourists) coming in. Then the *kanakas* learned how to steal."[146] Kahanamoku's understanding of cultural change as a response to American encroachment is significant because the safety and security of Waikiki changed on multiple levels. Hawaiian bungalows in the tight-knit community that was once Waikiki began filling with strangers, leaving locals feeling unsecure within their own neighborhoods. Because of the proximity of the bungalows to the beach, Hawaiians were threatened by development that was edging them off of their own lands for the purpose of white expansion. Another aspect of change as witnessed through Kahanamoku is the *kanakas*, or Hawaiian natives, perceived adoption of thievery. Later in the interview Kahanamoku states, "You know, they get so they just pull [the money out] like this. And you think, you look at them, you say, 'Holy Sue, the guy get plenty money.'"[147] Considering the long history of the exploitation of land, resources and people within the Hawaiian islands, the knowledge of cashflow coming into the islands drove many natives living in tourism hubs like Waikiki to exploit visitors whether that be through surf lessons or stealing as a means of income where there was little opportunity elsewhere. For many in Hawaii, their location dictated which source of income they would follow. In the case of the

[146] Louis Kooliko Kahanamoku. "Interview with Louis Kooliko Kahanamoku." *Waikiki, 1910 - 1985: Oral Histories*. University of Hawaii, Manoa. Page 868. *Kanakas* is a term used to distinguish the Hawaiian race in Hawaii while *haole* is a term used to describe the whites on the islands.
[147] Kahanamoku, "Interview", 874.

Kahanamoku's, Waikiki beach, a prime sport for surf and swim lessons, provided a comfortable income to the family where financial prospects were limited for native Hawaiians.

While racism was an issue in places like Waikiki for people who looked like Duke, being on the mainland after the Olympic games provided the most significant experience of racism and isolation for him. Graduate student, James Nendel conveys Kahanamoku's experience commenting, "the media drew upon stereotypes many people held concerning Hawaiians. Not all of the stereotyping was positive. Popular writers of the early twentieth century depicted Hawaiians as a dying race and claimed they were lacking in "moral fiber."[148] This portrayal of Hawaiians in the media helped contribute to the mistreatment of Hawaiian lands as a place to take possession of and a people to subjugate. While Kahanamoku and those around him enjoyed teaching surf and swim lessons to tourists, the tourist's perspective of Hawaii was skewed into a hedonistic land lacking "moral fiber" that could be taken over and repurposed as a destination for rich white Americans without any consideration of the people who had called Waikiki home for generations.

The ideals of a hedonistic and lacking culture shifted from visitors utilizing the people and land on a temporary basis to fulfill their own fantasies of "paradise" to land developers who sought to further denigrate Waikiki for profit. In a 1986 interview with real estate developer Roy Cecil Kelley he says of Waikiki, "Nothing, just the little stores and houses, mostly houses. But there was no attempt to develop any kind of a city or business district or anything, you know. It was just a nothing place… you just can't believe how primitive Waikiki was back in those days."[149] This perspective helps in the understanding of how racial and imperialistic ideals of the

[148] James D. Nendel. "The Rise Of A Duke: A New Monarch Emerges, Not From The Ashes But From The Sea." *Duke Kahanamoku-Twentieth Century Hawaiian Monarch: The Values and Contributions to Hawaiian Culture From Hawai'i's Sporting Legend,* Pennsylvania State University The Graduate School, 2006. Pages 67-68.
[149] Roy Cecil Kelley. "Interview with Roy Cecil Kelley." *Waikiki, 1910 - 1985: Oral Histories*, 1268.

nineteenth century funneled into the development of Waikiki as a vacation destination for whites in the early twentieth century. There is no mention of the native people, or *kanakas*, of Waikiki. Instead, it is described as primitive and a "nothing place" furthering the impression by Americans that Hawaii was an unrealized paradise waiting to be improved. However early twentieth century images of Waikiki display a densely populated community composed of low roofed bungalows surrounding the initial hotel developments (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Aerial photo of Waikiki 1920.[150]

Developers in Hawaii longed to create an industry that worked to openly welcome mainland Americans by producing whites-only spaces that pushed native populations to the edges and recreated an ideal of native subservience. Alexander Hume Ford, land developer and founder of Mid-Pacific Magazine, utilized Duke Kahanamoku's image on the cover of the first issue of his *Mid-Pacific Magazine*, one of the most popular tourist journals promoting Hawaiian

[150] Unknown photographer. Located in article by Kathryn Wagner. "Photos of Early Waikiki in Early 1900s, and Now." *Hawaii Magazine*, 2017.

tourism. (Figure 2). In this issue and the one that followed there is a two part article written by Kahanamoku entitled "Riding the Surfboard," where he relays the experience of an unknown *haole*[151], or white man, saying, "When it had been fairly demonstrated that the white man could learn all the secrets of the surfboard acquired by the Hawaiian-born, the beach at Waikiki took on a new aspect… Hundreds learned to ride the surfboard, and feats were accomplished by the *haole* never dreamed of by the *kanaka*."[152] While the article's author is listed as Duke Paoa (Duke Kahanamoke), it is important to understand that Alexander Hume Ford was the editor of this publication. Whether he inserted this passage is unknown, but it encourages the imperial framework that people like Ford wanted to instill that being a white man on a savage island was safe and welcomed by all.

[151] Contemporary views of the term haole may understand this term in a derogatory manner. But in the timeframe of Duke Kahanamoku's life, it was a term used to differentiate the white race from the native people within the Hawaiian Islands.
[152] Duke Kahanamoku. "Riding the Surfboard (continued)." *The Mid-Pacific Magazine, Vol. 1 No. 2*, 158.

Figure 2. Cover of Mid-Pacific Magazine's First Issue with Duke Kahanamoku.[153]

While major developers were able to utilize the native inhabitants of Waikiki to commercialize it as a naked landscape of opportunity, travelers like Leola Crawford also understood the interactions between locals and Americans as part of the Hawaiian experience. In her book, "Seven Weeks in Hawaii: By an American Girl," Crawford romanticized the heroism of her surf instructor Kahanamoku when she fell from her surfboard saying:

> I rose! Duke reached the spot, clutched me by the back and spreading me out upon a surfboard gave me the famous Hawaiian *lomi-lomi*. This is a kind of rough massage, a sort of drubbing, which, though severe, is certainly effective, and in a few minutes I

[153] Mid-Pacific Magazine. Vol 1, No 1, January 1911. *UH Manoa eVols*.

> was able to join the party as good as new. Though our enthusiasm never for a moment waned, after two hours of this strenuous exercise our physical forces refused to act, so bidding Duke aloha we painfully wended our way homeward.[154]

Crawford's description of Kahanamoku illustrates the accepted abandonment of early twentieth century American morality while vacationing in paradise. Her narrative acts to further convince her readers on the mainland that Hawaii is a hedonistic destination. This leaves the local population vulnerable to sexual exploitation and conflict on the grounds of one's moral compass.

Historically, displays of the human body, especially in beach settlements like Waikiki, were not usually treated as immoral and criminal. The image below shows Duke Kahanamoku and fellow native Hawaiians wearing traditional *malos*, or ceremonial loincloths, and Ti leaf leis, traditionally worn by priests for religious ceremonies and signified the protection from evil (Figure 3)[155]. While it is not clear if this image was a "costume" designed for a performance intended for mainland entertainment or a traditional religious ceremony, photos like these were utilized to promote the exoticism and primitiveness of Hawaii and its people. While not perceived as obscene to native Hawaiians because of their long island traditions that were in place long before contact from westerners, Americans, in the aftermath of World War I, were attempting to reassert an American value system against progressive era movements.

[154] Leola M. Crawford. "Seven Weeks in Hawaii: By an American Girl." United States. J.J. Newbegin, 63.

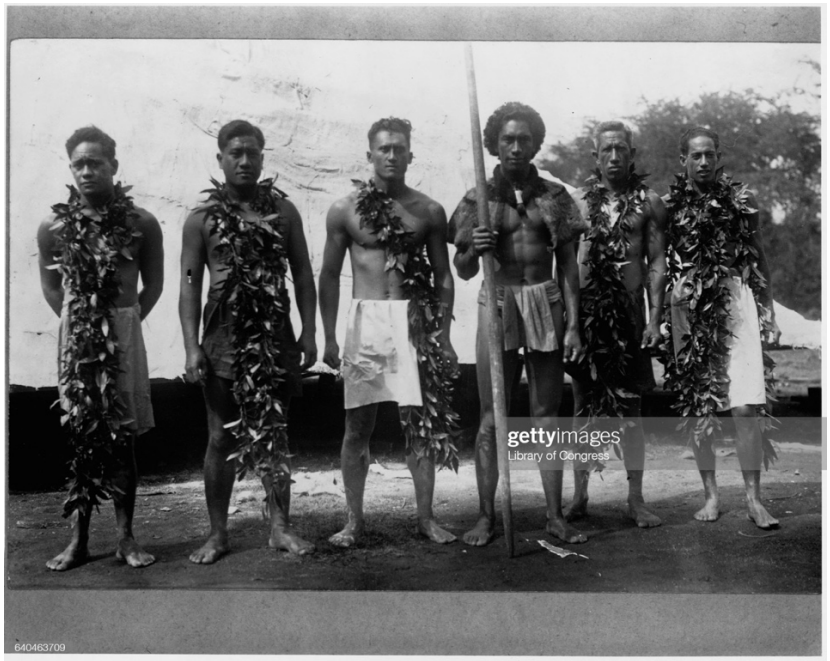

Figure 3. Unknown Photographer. “Gold Medalist Swimmer Duke Kahanamoku and Troupe.”[156]

[156] Unknown Photographer. “Gold Medalist Swimmer Duke Kahanamoku and Troupe.” *Carpenter Collection vis Library of Congress*, 1921. Retrieved from the Library of Congress located in the Carpenter Collection with the caption, “The Frank and Frances Carpenter Collection consists of photographs produced and gathered by Frank G. Carpenter (1855-1924) and his daughter Frances (1890-1972) to illustrate his writings on travel and world geography. Carpenter's works helped popularize cultural anthropology and geography in the early years of the twentieth century. The portion of the collection that is cataloged online represents photographs for which copy negatives or digital files exist. This represents a small cross-section of the collection, which consists of an estimated 5,400 photographs in albums; 10,400 photographs not in albums; and 7,000 glass and film negatives.”

Figure 4. Unknown Photographer. "Measuring Swimsuits, 1920s."[157]

While the tourism industry was booming in places like Waikiki through the exploits of the cultural peculiarities of Hawaiians, the people on the mainland were fighting to moderate a generation of youth rebelling against Victorian codes of conduct. Bathing suit battles were being wages across America, especially in small towns. Places like the Valley Cottage community requested state police to control the problem of one-pieced bathing suits.[158] The photo above (Figure 4), taken in 1922, shows a woman on a beach in Washington D.C. setting her swimsuit measured by police. It suggests the effort given by officials on the mainland initiate vice policing policies that reflect the moral compass of the American masses. While gender certainly played a part in the policing of swimsuits on beaches, the lack of clothing on native Hawaiian men, as perceived by *haoles*, must have shocked the average American and even initiated stereotypical views that Hawaiians lacked moral fibers.

[157] Unknown Photographer. "Measuring Swimsuits, 1920s." GraphicArtis. *Archive Photos via Getty Images*, 1922.
[158] John McClymer. "Censoring 'the semi-bacchante of Main Street,'" *The Birth of Modern America, 1914 - 1945: Paradox and Disillusionment*. United Kingdom: Wiley, 2021. Page 212.

Perceptions like these continued to enhance racial tensions between whites and native Hawaiians. As Nendel points out in the Thalia Massie rape case of 1931, during the trial against five Hawaiian men who were accused of raping Massie, an American naval officer's wife, "The *haole* community expressed outrage over the brutal attack of a white woman by native boys. The *haole*-dominated newspapers painted the young defendants as 'a gang of fiends.' The multiethnic local community however, rallied around the defendants."[159] This portrayal of Hawaiian men being "fiends" is the result of many years of exploitation by Americans of Hawaiian cultural nuances. Portraits of nearly naked surfing men were used to advertise the exotic nature of Hawaii but these wanton portrayals were also utilized to criminalize and discriminate against the native population (Figure 5).

Figure 5. Duke Kahanamoku on the cover of Mid-Pacific Carnival Magazine, 1914.[160]

[159] James D. Nendel. "A 'Rape in Paradise' Brings Out the Political Peacemaker." *Duke Kahanamoku-Twentieth Century Hawaiian Monarch: The Values and Contributions to Hawaiian Culture From Hawai'i's Sporting Legend.* Pennsylvania State University The Graduate School, 2006. Page 213.
[160] Mid-Pacific Carnival Magazine. Issue from February 18-21, 1914. *California Surf Museum*.

American views of Hawaiians and beachboys like Kahanamoku were consistent with colonial perceptions of savageness within a primitive people, but Hawaiians did not concede in their efforts to maintain cultural traditions like surfing and swimming. Isaiah Helekunihi Walker comments on their perseverance saying, "Despite racist American laws and people, the Hawaiian beachboys broke barriers. Though noted for their kindness, and their attractiveness to women of various national and ethnic origins, they were also aggressive, empowered, and successful. They also worked to preserve their surfing culture, space, and Hawaiian identities."[161] In the case of Duke Kahanamoku, he challenged athletes around the world in 100- and 200-meter swim competitions in the 1912, 1920 and 1924 Olympic Games, winning three gold and several silver metals for the United States. He also popularized surf across the Pacific, bringing the sport to the shores of California where he utilized these skills to save eight people from a sunken ship off Newport Beach.[162] This not only demonstrates the "kindness" as perceived by American tourists in Waikiki but reflects a moral code in Kahanamoku that goes beyond dress codes and appearances to a spirit of bravery and empowerment that has been woven into the Hawaiian tradition of surfing as seen in the competition for *mahi mahi* on the outer reefs at Kalehuawehe.

This research surrounding Hawaiian and American perspectives of tourism in early twentieth century Hawaii complicates accounts of the impacts of American encroachment into Hawaii and Waikiki. Hawaii's rich beaches and cultural traditions allowed for the tourism industry to transform a geographic region by exploiting the people and environment in places where native Hawaiian's, or *kanakas*, had called home for generations. However, some native Hawaiians like Duke Kahanamoku, who were often viewed as second class citizens by

[161] Isaiah Helekunihi Walker. "Hui Nalu, Beachboys, and the Surfing Boarder-lands of Hawai'i," *The Contemporary Pacific* 20, no. 1 (2008). Page 105.
[162] Davis. *Waterman: The Life and Times of Duke Kahanamoku.* Omaha NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2015. Pages 553-556 via Apple Books.

Americans, applied their sporting skills to the travel industry by teaching tourists how to swim and surf to help support their own monetary pursuits. Duke Kahanamoku's introduction of surfing and swimming to the world facilitated increased tourism to Hawaii by aiding in the commercialization of Hawaiian cultural traditions throughout the globe. While the introduction of Kahanamoku helped build a relationship between Hawaii and the mainland, it also amplified racial tensions and discrimination toward *kanakas*. The story of Duke Kahanamoku and Waikiki illustrate America's imperial aspirations in the Pacific, and it also aids in the appreciation of cultural preservation and sports in Hawaii.

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