

CORNERSTONE

AN UNDERGRADUATE HISTORICAL JOURNAL



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Editor's Introduction

With the annual publication of *Cornerstone*, the History Department of the University of California, Riverside, honors excellence in undergraduate historical research and writing through recognition and support of emerging scholars. This year's collection of essays reflects a wide range of topics, a deep pool of talent, and refreshing new approaches to the study of history – in all, an embarrassment of riches.

Essays in *Cornerstone 2024* 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; and four additional essays selected especially for *Cornerstone*. This year we are also pleased to include two longer works, the co-winners of the award for the Best Senior Thesis.

All nine selected essays were chosen by an Editorial Committee made up of History Department graduate students, with Dr. Thomas Cogswell providing oversight. The quality of submissions in all categories was consistently excellent, and it was a challenging task to make the final selections. Although very different in topic, this year's essays have in common in-depth research grounded in the use of primary sources, strong analysis of historiography, innovative methodologies, and fluid writing. Some essayists chose to approach well-studied topics with fresh insights and new ideas while others employed nuanced methodologies to look at subjects not typically on historians' radar. All of our essayists demonstrated strong potential for future success as historians.

The winner of the 2024 Thomas and Evelyn Gahn Prize for research in a field outside the United States is Abigail Malleis-Sternberg's essay, "Completing the Cycles of Life in Brauron." Seeking to fill important gaps in historical research, Abigail takes a fresh look at the temple to Artemis at Brauron, focusing on the often-overlooked experiences and agency of adult women who worshipped there. The essay makes compelling use of a variety of sources, including a particularly interesting cache from the mud of a sacred spring, to provide a narrative both well-researched and fascinating. This year Michael Padilla was the runner-up for the Gahn Prize on the strength of his essay "The Lasting Effects of World War I." Here he presented a sobering environmental study of the physical aftermath of the fighting which not only reshaped the landscape of north France, but also poisoned it with toxic residues left behind largely from the staggering use of artillery shells.

Dallys Cobian is the recipient of the 2024 Sterling Stuckey Award in African American History for, "I Cannot Do That': Black Women's Freedom Making During Reconstruction." Dallys delves deeply into primary sources in providing an insightful and nuanced narrative of a little-studied aspect of African American history.

Amari Navarro's essay, "Bitter Harvests: Citrus Industry and the Roots of Educational Inequality for Mexicans in the Inland Empire, 1900-1960," is this year's winner of the Peter Schneider Award in American history. Amari utilizes a contemporary methodology to explore the ways the citrus industry strongly influenced education for ethnic Mexicans in the twentieth century,

perpetuating segregation and marginalizing academic opportunities. The essay makes strong use of public history sources, especially oral history interviews, to explore both the struggles and resilience of ethnic Mexican workers and their families.

The Editorial Committee selected four essays specifically for inclusion in *Cornerstone*. Using an innovative methodology, Karina Ruiz makes an important contribution to the historiography of twentieth century African American life with, “‘Allow Me to Inquire Through Your Valuable Paper’: *The Christian Recorder*’s ‘Information Wanted’ and ‘Lost Friends’ Advertisements.” In “The Impact of Gymnasia and Language in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt,” Slater Vis argues that the relationship between the Greeks and Egyptians was much too nuanced to support the popular claim that their relationship was “we versus they.” In a deeply researched essay Zach Hanson explores the perseverance and secularization of Cahuilla ritual practice in, “Eagles Dances Unpracticed and Ceremonial House Burned”. Finally, Jack Brooks assesses the history and continued implications of Inland Empire industrial waste in “Stringfellow: Acid Pits, Quarry, Disposal Site, Superfund Priority.”

Finally, we are excited this year to include two outstanding senior theses: “*FTM Newsletter: A Legacy of Trans-Masculine Community*,” by Tempest Won, and Destinee Tucker’s “Breaking Tradition by Proclaiming its Defense: Augustus’s Marriage, Adultery, and Divorce Laws.” Extensively researched and impressively written, Tempest’s project explores the influence of the *FTM Newsletter* in the formation of identity and community among trans-masculine individuals between 1987 and 1995. Rooted in ancient history, Destinee’s essay makes strong use of innovative sources to illuminate the ways the *Lex Iulia* redefined women’s rights in marriage, divorce, and childbearing. Although their subject matter is dissimilar, the essays share astute analysis, great writing, and a deep commitment to the historical process.

We thank our ten historians for their hard work, originality, in-depth research, and excellent writing. Thank you also to our faculty advisor, Dr. Thomas Cogswell, for his expertise and oversight, and to Allison Palmer for coordinating the Committee’s work. 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.

The Cornerstone Editorial Committee

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Thomas and Evelyn Gahn Prize

"Completing the Cycles of Life in Brauron"

Abigail Malleis-Sternberg

“What walks on four legs in the morning, two legs in the afternoon, and three legs in the evening?” the sphinx growled, bent over the man before her, teeth bared and at the ready. “The answer is ‘man,’” said Oedipus, bravely standing against fate, his answer correct and his life spared. The riddle of the sphinx is but one manifestation of the Ancient Greek obsession with the cycles of living, a fascination that echoes throughout the ages: in myths, songs, poetries, and histories. Birth, life, death. Infant, adult, elderly. These patterns and cycles that repeat and repeat as the heart of time beats and the symphony of life plays on.

These cycles and patterns of living are ingrained in the heart of Greek culture and society. This is something that is especially highlighted by many religious temples and sites, one such example being the temple to Artemis at Brauron. In this essay I endeavor not only to highlight the cycles of life found in Brauron, but to also close the gaps left in history and complete the circle of women’s lives and their participation at Brauron, which are so often overlooked by others. Many sources focus on the infants and young girls that worshiped at Brauron, forgetting that adult women had a prevalent impact in this space as well. I will show the ways in which women participated in the religious aspects of Brauron, as well as the agency that they held in this feminine and protected space.

The Origin and Cycles of Brauron

The archaeological site of Brauron is located on the eastern shore of the Attic peninsula in Greece. The site is directly east of the city of Athens, and is found at the end of a branch off the main road from Athens to Porto-Raphti.¹ One of the origin stories of Brauron is contained within the writings of Euripides, in his play *Iphigenia in Tauris*. In this play, Iphigenia, the daughter of Agamemnon, is chosen to be killed as sacrifice to Artemis, in order that Agamemnon and his ships can safely leave Hellas and make their way to battle in Troy, to fight for his brother Menelaus' honor and retrieve Helen, the wife of Menelaus. Euripides writes, "But when he was met with dreadful winds that would not let him sail, he went to burnt sacrifices, and Calchas had this to say: 'Lord and general of Hellas, Agamemnon, you will not set free your ships from land until Artemis has your daughter Iphigenia as a victim. For you once vowed to sacrifice to the torch-bearing goddess the most beautiful creature brought forth that year; then your wife, Clytemnestra, bore a child in your house—ascribing the prize of beauty to me—whom you must sacrifice.'"²

And so Odysseus takes Iphigenia from her mother, under the guise of a marriage to Achilles, and takes her to the altar of Artemis to be sacrificed as the most beautiful creature born that year. Artemis intervenes, however, and sends forth a deer to take Iphigenia's place, and then she takes her to the land of the Taurians. Years later, her brother Orestes finds her in the Taurian land, and upon recognizing each other they decide to make their way back to Greece. As they ready to leave, Athena speaks to them and decrees that Orestes would go and found the nearby site of Artemis Tauropolos. She then commands to Iphigenia that "You, Iphigenia, must be key-holder for

¹ John Papadimitriou, "The Sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron." *Scientific American*, vol. 208, no. 6, 1963, 111. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24936188>. Accessed 22 Mar. 2024.

² Euripides. *The Complete Greek Drama*, edited by Whitney J. Oates and Eugene O'Neill, Jr. in two volumes. 1. *Iphigenia in Tauris*, translated by Robert Potter. (New York. Random House. 1938.) 15-20.

this goddess on the hallowed stairs of Brauron, and will die there and be buried.”³ And thus Iphigenia went to Brauron and founded the temple to Artemis Brauronia. In an alternative version of this myth, Iphigenia was set to be sacrificed at Brauron itself, and Artemis sent instead a bear, and not a deer, which was sacrificed in her place.⁴

Yet, this is not the sole story that details the creation of the temple at Brauron. Another myth details that a bear happened to scratch a young Athenian girl, and in retaliation her brother slew the bear.⁵ Artemis was enraged at the Athenians for this great sin, and thus sent a plague to Athens to kill the Athenians. They pleaded with her, asking for her forgiveness and for her to spare them, so she decreed that they must send girls to serve as her she-bears at the temple of Brauron. In “Acting the She-Bear for Artemis”, Paula Perlman details the legend, saying,

“A she-bear comes to Brauron and is tamed. One day, the bear injures a maiden playmate. The maiden's brothers become incensed and kill the bear. A plague falls upon Athens. The Delphic oracle is consulted and Apollo replies that Athenian maidens henceforth must "act the she-bear." And so they do.”⁶

This legend explains Brauron’s close ties to bears as well as the nature of the type of worship and festivals held at Brauron.

Though depicted in mythological stories and plays, both Tauropolos and Brauron are real archaeological sites that housed temples to Artemis. Artemis Tauropolos is located in modern day Halae Araphinides and is four miles to the north of Brauron. This physical closeness as well as connecting mythological stories suggests close ties between these sites. The archaeology found at

³ Euripides. *The Complete Greek Drama*, 1464.

⁴ Papadimitriou, “Sanctuary,” 116.

⁵ Papadimitriou, “116.

⁶ Paula Perlman, “Acting the She-Bear for Artemis.” *Arethusa*, vol. 22, no. 2, 1989, 119. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26308518>. Accessed 24 Mar. 2024.

Brauron indicates that it began as a Neolithic settlement and flourished until the late Mycenaean period, from about 3500 to 1300 BCE. There is also a Mycenaean presence in the site, with Mycenaean chamber tombs to the east of the acropolis that are filled with many grave goods, including gold jewelry, bronze swords, and a skeleton covered in around 100 lead weights, likely from a fishing net that was covering the body when it was buried. John Papadimitriou, the lead archaeologist in the archaeological dig unearthing Brauron, says “From these finds one can conclude that Brauron was most prosperous between 2000 and 1600 B.C. Around 1300 B.C. this prosperity declined, and there is no trace of human occupation at the site from that time on. It seems, therefore, that the town was abandoned.”⁷ Papadimitriou believes that this is due to King Theseus’ rise to power in Athens and his abolishment of the councils in the other towns of Attica, thus forcing the aristocratic families to move out of them and into Athens. This seems to have affected the settlement that used to exist at Brauron. It was later resettled during classical Greek times and became the temple dedicated to Artemis Brauronia.⁸ Brauron went through many cycles and wore many faces before it became the temple as we know it today, first being a Neolithic and later Mycenaean settlement, before becoming a temple to Artemis and having much mythology and story written about it and how it came to be.

Four legs in the morning...

Many Greek gods have different faces they wear and forms that they take throughout the ages and places that they are worshiped. One such example is the different forms of Athena: Athena Parthenos, the virgin maiden goddess; Athena Promachos, the warrior form of Athena; Athena Nike, the bringer of victory; Athena Ergane, the patron of crafts and craft workers; and Athena Polias, the guardian of Athens. At Brauron, the Athenians worshiped a form of Artemis that

⁷ Papadimitriou, “Sanctuary,” 112.

⁸ Papadimitriou, 112.

was called Artemis Brauronia. Artemis Brauronia was the patron goddess of children and childbirth, and was given offerings in order to gain her favor, and in return the worshipers would receive her protection.⁹

Mothers would take their infant children to be blessed by Artemis Brauronia in her temple at Brauron, a practice that can be seen in votive steles such as the votive stele to Artemis found in Achinos. This stele has been dated back to between the end of the 4th to the beginning of the 3rd century BCE, and it depicts the scene of a mother presenting her newborn infant to a much larger Artemis Brauronia who carries a staff with what looks to be a torch at the top. Servants carry various foods, and another leads an animal up to the altar for sacrifice. In the background there are clothes and textiles hanging from the top of the stele, indicating that this is indeed Brauron since it had many votive offerings that were clothing and textiles (Brøns 36). And thus this was how many Athenian children's life cycles began: taken to Brauron and blessed in their mothers' arms for great fortune and protection.

⁹ Papadimitriou, "Sanctuary," 113.



Fig 1: “Votive stele to Artemis, depicting the blessing of a newborn infant.” 4th-3rd century BCE. Archaeological Museum of Lamia, Lamia, Greece.

... two legs in the afternoon...

As they get older, young girls would continue their life cycle at Brauron by becoming Arktoi, which means “bears” or “she-bears”, and were priestesses that spent time worshiping Artemis Brauronia. These girls were between the ages of five and ten years old.¹⁰ and served at the temple of Brauron by acting out the ritualistic and metaphorical position of she-bears. The arktoi “wore, at least during part of the ritual, the saffron-coloured robe called the krokotos,” as part of their regalia for important rituals and ceremonies.¹¹ Paula Perlman says that “According to the scholia “Acting the she-bear” involved a *telete*, or mystery rite, and a goat sacrifice in honor of Artemis at Brauron. The service was to be accomplished in anticipation of the maiden bear's marriage.”¹² We unfortunately do not know what the *telete* or mystery rite was and what else was

¹⁰ Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, *Studies in Girls' Transitions: Aspects of the Arkteia and Age Representation in Attic Iconography*. (A. Kardamitsa, 1988,) 15.

¹¹ Hugh Lloyd-Jones, “Artemis and Iphigeneia.” *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. 103, 1983, pp. 92. *JSTOR*, <https://doi.org/10.2307/630530>. Accessed 24 Mar. 2024.

¹² Perlman, “She-Bear for Artemis,” 118-119.

involved in such celebrations. While much has been lost of the details of each stage of the rituals held at Brauron, we do know that the caniphores, or basketbearers, were a group of girls serving at Brauron who were older than the arktoi and held different responsibilities, namely carrying the baskets of sacrifices in the procession.¹³

While little more is known about the arktoi and the caniphores, Aristophanes does reference them in *Lysistrata*, showing how important they were in Athenian culture and society.

Aristophanes writes,

“And all ye fellow-citizens, hark to me while I tell what will aid Athens well. Just as is right, for I have been a sharer in all the lavish splendour of the proud city. I bore the holy vessels at seven, then I pounded barley at the age of ten, and clad in yellow robes, soon after this, I was Little Bear to Brauronian Artemis; then neckletted with figs, grown tall and pretty, I was a Basket-bearer [caniphores], and so it's obvious I should give you advice that I think good, The very best I can.”¹⁴

Here the women of Athens are convincing the men that they are important and vital to religious and cultural life, telling them that the men should listen to the women and stop their war. Not only does this show the honor of being part of the arktoi in society, but it also shows how it was used as a way for women to gain power and agency. *Lysistrata* is indeed a comedy, but it also shows a very real way that women used their religion to have choice and agency in a world where they could not be citizens or participate in secular life, so they instead turned to religion for independence.

At Brauron there was the Brauronia, a ritual festival that happened every 4-5 years for the Arkteia, although there is debate on how often it happened and what purpose it served. Of the

¹³ Carol L. Lawton, “Children in Classical Attic Votive Reliefs.” *Hesperia Supplements*, vol. 41, 2007, 52. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20066782>. Accessed 22 Mar. 2024.

¹⁴ Aristophanes. *Aristophanes Comoediae*, ed. F.W. Hall and W.M. Geldart, vol. 2. *Lysistrata* Translated by F.W. Hall and W.M. Geldart. (Oxford. Clarendon Press, Oxford. 1907,) 636.

Brauronia, Paula Perlman says that "... literary references to what must have been the major festival for Artemis at Brauron provided some idea of what the celebration entailed and enabled scholars to identify the festival as a *rite de passage* and coming-of-age ceremony for Athenian Girls."¹⁵ In *Artemis and Iphigenia*, Hugh Lloyd-Jones asserts that "Aristophanes' *Pax* 872-6 seems to suggest that in the late fifth century the Brauronia took place every four years; but this was not necessarily so in early times, and as we shall see the analogy of comparable festivals suggests that originally the rites had been celebrated annually," showing how there is indeed some discourse in how often the Brauronia took place.¹⁶ He also says that "They involved a sacrifice, the beast sacrificed, as in many other cults of Artemis, being a goat. The sacrifice was offered to the goddess by young girls known as 'bears'," something that other accounts and researchers corroborate.¹⁷

Non-arkteia and caniphores girls were also brought by their mothers to Brauron to be blessed by the goddess Artemis. So although they may not have been directly involved in the rituals and the arkteia and caniphores, they were blessed at Brauron as well. This can be seen in a votive relief from the Brauron Museum, which displays the scene of a dedication to Artemis, featuring a mother and her daughter and their servants. Carol Lawton analyzes this stele, saying:

"Here it appears that a girl is introduced to the goddess by her mother, who is accompanied by a servant leading a goat and followed by other members of the family. The relief unfortunately lacks an inscription. It has been suggested that the girl is a caniphores or basket bearer, but her height relative to that of an older child in the relief, and her dress, lacking the distinctive back mantle worn by parthenoi, suggest that she is too young for that honor. She appears closer in age to the probably prepubescent girls who played the part of arktoi, or "bears," in the Brauronian ritual of the Arkteia, which is usually interpreted as a maturation rite for girls. But as there is nothing in the relief specifically to associate the girl with the Arkteia, the dedication may simply be a case of a mother putting her daughter under the general care of Artemis, the goddess who above all protects young girls."¹⁸

¹⁵ Perlman, "She-Bear," 118.

¹⁶ Lloyd-Jones, "Artemis and Iphigeneia," 92.

¹⁷ Lloyd-Jones, 92.

¹⁸ Lawton, *Classical Attic Votive Reliefs*, 52-53.



Fig 2: Votive relief of dedication to Artemis, depicting the blessing of a young girl. Mid 4th century BCE. Brauron Museum, Brauron, Greece.

This is evidence that Brauron was also a space for older girls to be blessed, even if they were not part of the Arkteia, the caniphores, or any of the official organized religious practices that occurred at Brauron. Infants were not the only ones to receive blessings there.

... and three legs in the evening.

For many women, however, their life cycles ended at Brauron. According to the play *Iphigenia in Tauris* by Euripides, when Athena commanded Iphigenia to be the priestess at Brauron and that she would be buried there when she died, she also commanded: "... and they will dedicate adornment to you, finely-woven robes which women who have died in childbirth leave in their

homes. I charge you to send these Hellene women to their country, for their correct intentions.”¹⁹

And so it became practice to take the clothes that women wore when they died in childbirth and bury them at Brauron. Thus, Athenian women who died in childbirth were given great reverence in this space. Artemis Brauronia, being the goddess of children and childbearing, was also seen as a protector of women who were pregnant and giving birth. For those who passed, their clothes were buried in Brauron in order to further protect them. According to a study done by Cecilie Brøns on the inventories of many temples in Greece, which specifically looked for the inclusion of textiles as offerings:

“The inventories from the Sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia on the Athenian Acropolis are among the central documents for the study of Greek clothing and its use as offerings. This centrality is justified by their sheer size and unusual exclusivity, and the clothing section of the votive records is the single most significant body of inscriptional evidence for Greek clothing of the Late Classical Period.”²⁰

This corroborates what was said in Euripides' play, given the sheer amount of clothing and textiles that were listed as offerings. Many of these were likely the clothes of those women who died during childbirth, but many of the clothes listed on the temple inventories belonged to young girls and boys as well, which leads me to believe that the practice of burying the clothes women of women who died in childbirth eventually began a new tradition of giving clothing as votive offerings to Artemis Brauronia after successful births for good luck.²¹ This would explain the change in gender and ages of the people who the clothing belonged to, as well as the amount of adult women's clothing that were listed, since the number offered doesn't seem to reflect the rate at which ancient Greek women died in childbirth. It would seem odd if people suddenly stopped

¹⁹ Euripides, *The Complete Greek Drama*, 1465.

²⁰ Cecilie Brøns, “The Temple Inventories: Written Evidence for the Dedication of Textiles and Accessories.” *Gods and Garments: Textiles in Greek Sanctuaries in the 7th to the 1st Centuries BC*, 1st ed., vol. 28, (Oxbow Books, 2017), 36. *JSTOR*, <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvh1dvzg.8>. Accessed 23 Mar. 2024.

²¹ Brøns, “The Temple Inventories”, 50.

burying the clothing, an essential part of the mythology, and started giving them as votive offerings instead. It makes more sense that they continued the burials and also started a new tradition to celebrate the successful births.

The practice of burial, however, is the only literary mention of adult women at Brauron, apart from the mothers who would take their infants to be blessed. But I believe that Brauron was not solely a place for mothers to take their children, or for mothers to be remembered and honored in their deaths. I believe that living, breathing women came to Brauron seeking solace and comfort themselves. They were not just there for their infants after they were born, and they had more participation and agency than just being remembered as mothers in death.

While there are no written accounts of adult women participating at Brauron, there is an insurmountable amount of material evidence left in the mud of sacred waters in the site. When excavating a sacred spring just below the northwest corner of the temple, John Papadimitrou found an enormous cache of feminine personal objects that were preserved by the mud. He says “In this area we found during our last campaign literally thousands of objects associated with the private lives of women – bronze mirrors, rings, gems, scarabs, statuettes, vases. Particularly precious among them were perishable wooden objects, which by extraordinary good fortune had been preserved in the mud.”²² These were objects associated with women, and likely not the *arktoi* and *caniphores*. This is proof that adult women were also involved at this site, giving their own offerings to Artemis Brauronia in a separate part of the site, in their own secluded sacred spring. Proof that it was the women themselves giving these gifts, and not their widowed husbands on their behalf, is that one of the mirrors has an inscription, detailed by Papadimitriou: “The bronze

²² Papadimitriou, “Sanctuary,” 113-115.

mirrors are outstandingly beautiful; on the margin of one is written in archaic Greek: ‘Hippylla the daughter of Onetor has dedicated it to Artemis in Brauron.’”²³ This means that she herself dedicated it and is proof that women existed in their own agency at Brauron. This evidence shows that these women likely offered these deeply personal gifts as a way to ask Artemis for protection in their lives, as well as likely in their own pregnancies.

And thus the cycles of life begin and end and begin anew. Infants are taken to Brauron to be blessed, and as they get older these girls act out their part as the she-bears in the arktoi. They grow older still, becoming caniphores, before eventually growing into women themselves. They ask for protection in their pregnancies, and eventually, they too one day bring their own infants to be blessed, completing the cycle of life at Brauron. And thus a new generation of arktoi are born, who repeat that cycle again and again, for as long as there were people centered around Brauron. Women were honored there in their deaths and remembered, but there were also women who were alive, breathing and joyous, celebrating their infants’ births and the cycles of life. Brauron was a center for the celebration of life and its many cycles.

²³ Papadimitriou, 115).

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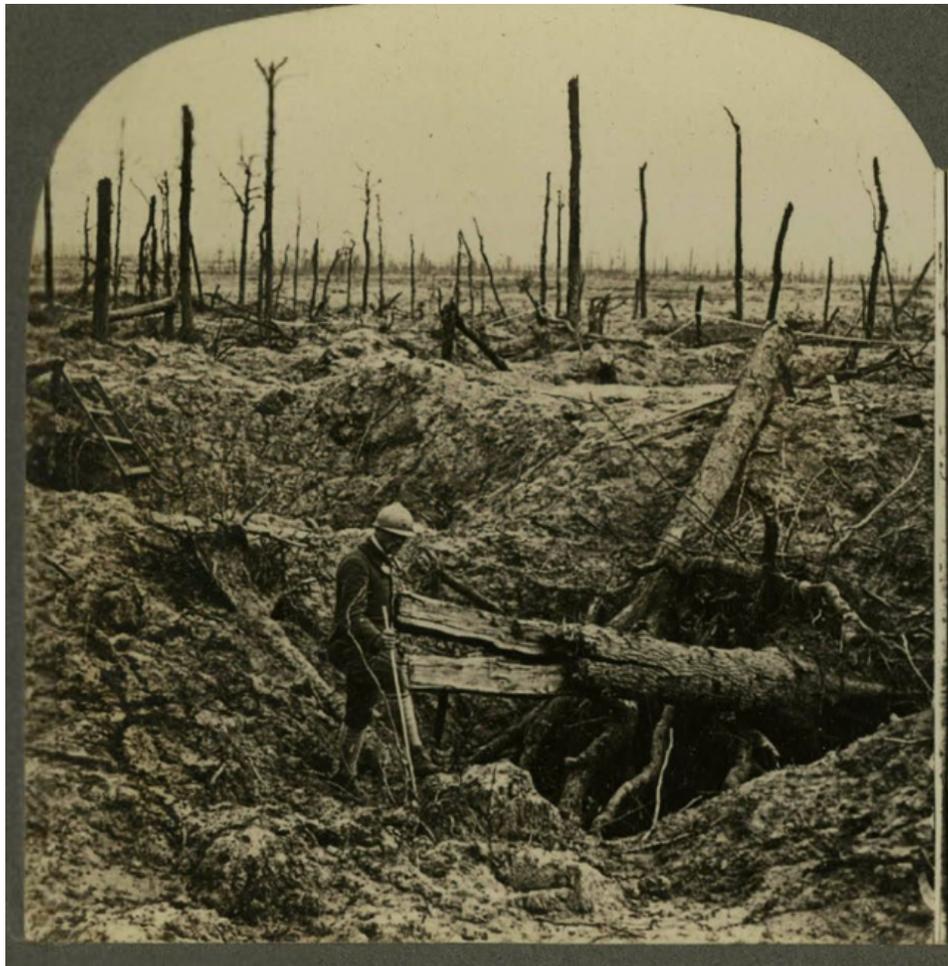
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Thomas and Evelyn Gahn Prize [Runner Up]

"The Lasting Effects of World War One"

Michael Padilla

World War I was the first conflict to reach a global scale and stretched from the 28th of July, 1914, to the 11th of November, 1918. The battlefields consisted of heavy artillery, infantry, trenches, explosives, and gas. The amount of artillery used was exponential and constant; altering the landscape of the battlefields in Europe. Bernard Britland, a rifleman from Cheshire, wrote that in the region of Ypres Salient (Belgium), “on average between two to three hundred



shells burst within [a] three-hundred-yard radius of our trenches every day”.²⁴ Figure 1 displays just one area of the front in France.²⁵ What effects did this destruction have on the environment?

Fig 1: “Red Fields of Slaughter Sloping Down to Ruin’s Black Abyss.” ca 1920.

This paper a mental and lasting effects on the environment that persist today. The effects are notable in water, food production, natural vegetation, soil, and the health of organisms. While World War I took place more than a century ago, its havoc has not, and it should not be thought of as just an event from the past that has no effect on the world in the present.

Warfare, in general, has been known to cause significant change to the landscapes on which it is fought. It is often more prominent in magnitude than natural forms of disturbances like hurricanes, wind, earthquakes, and other similar examples.²⁶ Warfare is an *anthropogenic* agent of change and is capable of causing such destruction in short periods, notably recorded in the 20th century.²⁷ The term “bomburbation” was created when referencing these changes caused in World War I by Joseph Hupy, and it is due to artillery fire causing divergent soil development in craters,²⁸ which will be further referenced throughout this paper. France is referenced frequently in this paper for a few reasons. One was that most of the fighting occurred on the frontlines, which happened to be in the French region. The second reason is that Verdun, France, is an unaltered battlefield and one of the best areas to research the effects of WWI.²⁹

²⁴ Malcolm Brown, *The Imperial War Museum Book of the First World War: A Great Conflict Recalled in Previously Unpublished Letters, Diaries, Documents and Memoirs*. (Trans-Atlantic Publications, 1993), 53.

²⁵ “Red Fields of Slaughter Sloping Down to Ruin’s Black Abyss.” Photograph: gelatin silver print; mount 9 x 18 cm (stereograph format). Keystone View Company, Meadville, Pa. ; New York, N.Y. ; Chicago, Ill. ; London, England. Photographed between 1914 and 1918, published 1923, ca. 1920.

²⁶ Joseph P. Hupy, and Randall J. Schaetzl, “Soil Development on the WWI Battlefield of Verdun, France.” *Geoderma* 145 (1–2, 2008): 37.

²⁷ Hupy, “Soil Development,” 37.

²⁸ O. H. Williams, and Naomi Laura Jane Rintoul-Hynes. “Legacy of War: Pedogenesis Divergence and Heavy Metal Contamination on the WWI Front Line a Century after Battle.” *European Journal of Soil Science* 73 (4, 2002), 2.

²⁹ Hupy, “Soil Development,” 39.

Many soldiers who fought in World War I wrote about their experiences, and their descriptions of the weapons they used demonstrate the magnitude of shells used daily on the battlefield. The most common casualty in battle was by artillery, where almost every day, shells fell on the landscape and in the trenches.³⁰ Wilfred R. Bion was one of these soldiers and served as a tank commander for the French military. He wrote early into the war, "the usual nightly bombing started",³¹ demonstrating the constant use of artillery on the battlefield. One of these forms of artillery is shown in Figure 2,³² displaying the weaponry used and the size of some of the shells fired. During the war, the British alone fired one hundred and seventy million rounds,



Fig 2: Malcolm Brown, *The Imperial War Museum Book of the First World War: A Great Conflict Recalled in Previously Unpublished Letters, Diaries, Documents and Memoirs*. which one day in

September 1917.³³ On the German lines, the Spincourt region saw a large magnitude of artillery

³⁰ John Ellis, *Eye-Deep in Hell: Trench Warfare in World War I*. (Pantheon, 1976), 61.

³¹ Wilfred R. Bion, *War Memoirs 1917-1919: Second Edition*. (Routledge, 2018), 28.

³² Brown, *Great Conflict*, 72.

³³ Ellis, *Eye-Deep in Hell*, 62.

from 1916 to 1918, and similar to the British in September, they fired two million rounds on the 21st of February in 1916.³⁴ Between February and August of 1916, the Germans fired thirty-four million projectiles, with the French firing twenty-six million in response.³⁵ These accounts are few compared to the number of battlefields and the timeframe of the war, meaning the amount of artillery and weaponry used far surpassed these numbers. Even on days when there were light barrages instead of intense sieges, about six shells would land in the area every ten minutes.³⁶ Henri Barbusse described the scene as a “sustained crescendo, an incessant multiplication of the universal frenzy”.³⁷ The landscape of the front was vastly different since the start of the war. Bion wrote in his memoir, “The ground was so bad, and so badly shelled, that one gun was below the level of the ground and was simply plowing through the Earth.”³⁸ Trenches stretched throughout the previously flat landscape, with craters changing the layout of the surrounding environment. Verdun was one of the hardest hit areas, with the battlefield encompassing an area of 29,000 km².³⁹ Bion accounts that the maps begin to prove unreliable because of the altered landscape and in one area it’s to the extreme as shell holes litter the landscape “as far as one can see”.⁴⁰ Father J.B. Marshall – a Chaplain to the 21st Division – describes a battle in 1916 and states guns were firing on all sides with “the smaller howitzers and the sixty-pounders belching forth their whirring shells” and the view of the German line was a constant burst of debris and red into the air.⁴¹ The healing of this area did not start when the war ended in 1918; in fact, the damage to the environment was just beginning.

³⁴ Daniel Hubé, “Industrial-Scale Destruction of Old Chemical Ammunition near Verdun: A Forgotten Chapter of the Great War.” *First World War Studies* 8 (2–3, 2017,) 208.

³⁵ Hubé, “Industrial-Scale Destruction,” 209.

³⁶ Ellis, *Eye-Deep in Hell*, 62.

³⁷ Ellis, 63.

³⁸ Bion, *War Memoirs*, 33.

³⁹ Hupy, “Soil Development,” 39.

⁴⁰ Bion, *War Memoirs*, 17.

⁴¹ Brown, *Great Conflict*, 72.

After the end of World War I, there was too much waste and unused ammunition from the Allied and Central Powers. The ammunition would leak and deteriorate if left alone, and with the conflict over, it had to be either scrapped or discarded. One of the reasons for this was that the ammunition used in WWI differed from every previous war because some of the chemicals used were arsenic compounds, sulfur mustard, phosgene, and hydrogen cyanide.⁴² Germany and France produced 11,000 tons during WWI for the arsenical agents alone.⁴³ These projectiles could not be eliminated using traditional methods because of these toxic chemical ordnances.⁴⁴ These chemicals were so toxic that they are credited for the lack of insect pests around the Rheims in recent years.⁴⁵ Another reason was the use of metals in munitions like copper, lead, cadmium, mercury, and zinc.⁴⁶ However, a surplus of 1.7 million tons in the Spincourt region was still stored outdoors and deteriorated.⁴⁷ It should be noted that while the goal was to destroy these excess munitions, they were just that: excess. These toxic compounds were used during warfare by both the Allied and Central Powers against each other and were thus distributed into the landscape.

The methods used to discard the ammunition were also highly damaging to the environment, and its effect is still prevalent today. At the Armistice, 1.7 billion tons of ammunition remained in dumps, and in 1920, only 1.1 million tons were broken down for safety purposes.⁴⁸ In areas where ammunition was more heavily used, the dumps for those sites properly reflected that number. For example, in Spincourt, one of the battlefields near Verdun, three dump sites were

⁴² Sébastien Gorecki, Fabrice Nesslany, Daniel Hubé, Jean-Ulrich Mullot, Paule Vasseur, Eric Marchioni, Valérie Camel, et al, "Human Health Risks Related to the Consumption of Foodstuffs of Plant and Animal Origin Produced on a Site Polluted by Chemical Munitions of the First World War." *Science of the Total Environment* 599–600 (December 2017): 315.

⁴³ Gorecki et al, "Human Health Risks,"315.

⁴⁴ Hubé, "Industrial-Scale Destruction,"206.

⁴⁵ Edmund Russell, *War and Nature: Fighting Humans and Insects with Chemicals from World War I to Silent Spring*. (Cambridge University Press, 2001), 49.

⁴⁶ J. R. McNeill, *Something New Under the Sun: An Environmental History of the Twentieth-Century World (The Global Century Series)*. (W. W. Norton & Company, 2001), 27.

⁴⁷ Hubé, "Industrial-Scale Destruction,"206.

⁴⁸ Gorecki et al, "Human Health Risks,"315.

created because of this sheer number.⁴⁹ In 1919, the first of these sites were two large chemical ammunition dump sites, and the third created was for open-detonation.⁵⁰ 2.5 to 3 million tons of ammunition were destroyed in France from 1918 to 1937,⁵¹ however, not all of it was destroyed in the dumps or, in some cases, at all. Two hundred thousand arsenical shells were burned in the forest of Spincourt, and no vegetation grows in that location to this day.⁵² In Aisne, a region between Paris and Belgium, 167,000 tons of projectiles were blown up *in situ* – meaning in the original place – and by 1935, 236,794 tons remained undestroyed.⁵³ The common practice to destroy ammunition was to just burn the ammunition with firewood stacked in the formerly used trenches and if the fire was diminishing, they would throw more explosives in to keep it burning.⁵⁴ Ammunition was also deposited into quarries, with 2,400 tons of out-of-date DR 1916 French rifle-grenades dumped in the *Lac Bleu* quarry near Angers (western France).⁵⁵ On the German side, there was a similar outcome to disposing of excess munitions. In the Spincourt region, the ammunition deemed explosive or that was not able to be broken down safely was sent to 'Noire Fontaine', where three to four pits were filled with hundreds of munitions every day and blown up.⁵⁶ An aerial image of Noire Fontaine is shown in Figure 3 to demonstrate how large just one of the ammunition dump sites was.⁵⁷

⁴⁹ Hubé, “Industrial-Scale Destruction,”209.

⁵⁰ Hubé, 209.

⁵¹ Hubé, 206.

⁵² Hubé, 205.

⁵³ Hubé, 206.

⁵⁴ Tobias Bausinger and Johannes Preuß, “Environmental Remnants of the First World War: Soil Contamination of a Burning Ground for Arsenical Ammunition.” *Bulletin of Environmental Contamination and Toxicology* 74 (6), 2005): 1045.

⁵⁵ Hubé, “Industrial-Scale Destruction,”224.

⁵⁶ Hubé, “Industrial-Scale Destruction,”218.

⁵⁷ Hubé, 213.



Fig 3: Daniel Hubé, "Industrial-Scale Destruction of Old Chemical Ammunition near Verdun: A Forgotten Chapter of the Great War." *First World War Studies* 8 (2–3).

Now that the statistics have been reviewed, the rest of the paper will go over the effects of the actions during the war and post-war "clean-up" that persist even today. Ammunition has had a severe effect on water in this part of Europe. Groundwater has had high amounts of copper recorded since WWI,⁵⁸ but more notably are the levels of perchlorate. Perchlorate has been detected at concerning concentrations in groundwater used for drinking in northeastern France, specifically the former front of the war.⁵⁹⁶⁰ The existence of perchlorate here is likely linked to the explosives left on the battlefield and the ammunition dump sites,⁶¹ as perchlorate is an ingredient in explosives.⁶² It has adverse health effects with thyroid uptake of iodine and the production of hormones.⁶³ These findings are also reasonably recent, with studies in 2011 and 2016.⁶⁴ The specific regions in France are Nord-Pas-de-Calais, Picardie, and Champagne, and the abnormally high levels of perchlorate correlate with the ammunition destroyed in the dump sites in these regions.⁶⁵ Specifically in Reims, Champagne, the groundwater age in the study was less than fifty years old, which signifies that perchlorate contamination is unlikely to decrease in the short to medium term.⁶⁶ Arsenic has also been recorded in groundwater and unlike arsenicals naturally generated in the environment, the synthetic arsenic from ammunition is extremely toxic.⁶⁷ After a century since the war ended and decades since the ammunition dump sites ended their destruction of excess ammunition, the groundwater of the previous frontline is still heavily contaminated. The

⁵⁸ McNeill, *Something New*, 27.

⁵⁹ Feifei Cao, Neil C. Sturchio, Patrick Ollivier, Nicolas Devau, Linnea J. Heraty, and Jessy Jaunat, "Sources and Behavior of Perchlorate in a Shallow Chalk Aquifer under Military (World War I) and Agricultural Influences." *Journal of Hazardous Materials* 398 (November 2020): 123072, 2.

⁶⁰ Hubé, "Industrial-Scale Destruction,"205.

⁶¹ Hubé, 205.

⁶² Cao, "Sources and Behavior," 2.

⁶³ Cao, 2.

⁶⁴ Hubé, "Industrial-Scale Destruction,"225.

⁶⁵ Hubé, "Industrial-Scale Destruction," 225.

⁶⁶ Cao, "Sources and Behavior,"11.

⁶⁷ Suhail Muzaffar, Jasim Khan, R. C. Srivastavá, Marina S. Gorbatyuk, and Mohammad Athar, "Mechanistic Understanding of the Toxic Effects of Arsenic and Warfare Arsenicals on Human Health and Environment." *Cell Biology and Toxicology*39 (1, 2022): 85–110.

groundwater that is contaminated in this region is used as drinking water not just for humans but also for wildlife.

Groundwater is not the only source of water affected by World War I. The number of vessels that sank during the war in the bodies of water off of Europe was at least 5,000.⁶⁸ Cadet W.H. 'Kit' Wykeham-Musgrave even wrote how, in a matter of hours, he transferred to three different boats due to them being sunk each time he boarded.⁶⁹ Ammunition was authorized to be dumped not just in dump sites and quarries but also in larger bodies of water. Hundreds of thousands of weapons were dumped in northern European seas, including chemical weapons.⁷⁰ Chemical shells were also likely dumped in the English Channel, 25 miles south of Portland, United Kingdom.⁷¹ The French dumped poisonous ammunition in the Mediterranean Sea and in the Atlantic Ocean at Fouras.⁷² The French military and fishery authorities then authorized 11,456 more tons of German toxic shells in the North Sea in an area called the *west pit*, 40 miles off of Dunkerque.⁷³ Decades later, in 1950, chemical projectiles that were no longer profitable to scrap were dumped in the Mediterranean Sea, including 250,000 Yperite aerial grenades, 784,600 Yperite rounds of 75 mm, and 19,080 high-explosive shells.⁷⁴ A majority of the sunken ships and all the discarded ammunition in the sea and ocean are still present today. They were not retrieved or destroyed, and the chemicals are damaging to the environment and wildlife associated with them. Hubé's study of these environments was less than a decade ago, in 2017, highlighting the lasting effects of these issues.

⁶⁸ Esri, and Li Zhou, "This Map Shows the Full Extent of the Devastation Wrought by U-Boats in World War I." *Smithsonian Magazine*, May 6, 2015.

⁶⁹ Brown, *Great Conflict*, 56.

⁷⁰ Gorecki et al, "Human Health Risks," 315, 322.

⁷¹ Hubé, "Industrial-Scale Destruction," 224.

⁷² Hubé, 224.

⁷³ Hubé, "Industrial-Scale Destruction," 225.

⁷⁴ Hubé, 225.

The soil of the battlefields and dump sites from World War I was even more affected than the region's water. Between 1914 and 1934, more soil was lost than in all of previous human history.⁷⁵ Soil was misplaced and contaminated due to artillery fire and trenches and has not recovered at present. Bombturbation changed the landscape of the front from smooth to irregular slopes and crater formations, resulting in new hydrological and weathering conditions and a divergence in pedogenesis – soil formation.⁷⁶ Studies in Verdun look at what the formation of craters has caused environmentally. These studies have found that gravel and broken bedrock are abundant at the bottom of craters, confining earthworm krotovina to the upper regions, which is apparent in the color contrast and soil structure and causes poor drainage of craters.⁷⁷ The bedrock and rubble have only been exposed for 88 years when the study was conducted, but the amount of weathering, leaching, and acidification is excessive.⁷⁸ The battlefield Sheffield Memorial Park near Puisieux, France, was of lower-impact compared to other sites in terms of cratering and bombturbation. Yet, the physical disturbances also altered the course of soil development here and are a catalyst of pedogenesis.⁷⁹ The explosions caused craters to develop a thick layer of organic solid with higher nutrient content because of their focal points of runoff, litter, and sediment deposits.⁸⁰ Crater bottoms were also recorded to have at least 10 centimeters of leaf litter in Verdun,⁸¹ meaning this was not just isolated to the Puisieux region. The amount of organic material in the craters has raised the soil salinity of the craters to abnormal levels compared to the exterior landscape.⁸² These craters have changed the surface's hydrology, water table characteristics, and soil development processes and rates.⁸³ The craters alone have completely changed the

⁷⁵ Graham Vernon Jacks and Whyte. 1939. *Vanishing Lands; A World Survey of Soil Erosion*. Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 228.

⁷⁶ Williams and Rintoul-Hynes, "Legacy of War", 2.

⁷⁷ Hupy, "Soil Development," 42.

⁷⁸ Hupy, 45.

⁷⁹ Williams and Rintoul-Hynes, "Legacy of War," 4.

⁸⁰ Williams, 4.

⁸¹ Hupy, "Soil Development," 41.

⁸² Williams and Rintoul-Hynes, "Legacy of War," 4.

⁸³ Hupy, "Soil Development," 47.

environment and landscape of the previous frontlines. This is just the impact of artillery fire without even considering the effects of their associated chemicals and shells. Earthworms can usually help keep a healthy gradient for soils, but with the surfacing of gravel and bedrock, this is not possible for deeper layers of soil affected by bombturbation. These studies were finished in 2017 and 2020 and were possible because the regions remain untouched.

The shells and chemicals' effects have had their own consequences on the environment. Bullets, shrapnel, and powder casings have left contaminants like copper, lead, arsenic, and zinc in the soil composition.⁸⁴ Diphenylarsinic acid and dioxin compounds are also present.⁸⁵ The severe topsoil contamination hinders crops and plants, especially at the former destruction sites and in the forest clearing in Springcourt – named Place à Gaz – the contamination is so abundant that vegetation will not grow even today.⁸⁶ Place à Gaz was only discovered to be so toxic because a forester discovered severe topsoil contamination by chance in the 21st century.⁸⁷ About 200,000 German chemical shells were stored here and were destroyed in the 1920s.⁸⁸ The chemical and explosive contents leak into the soil and are intensified by the infiltration of water,⁸⁹ where Verdun consequently has some of the highest amounts of precipitation in Europe at 700 to 800 millimeters annually for 150 to 200 days a year.⁹⁰ The burning grounds did not help either, as they made favorable conditions for toxic chlorinated and brominated dioxins, furans, and polycyclic aromatic hydrocarbons, resulting in some of the highest environmental hazards.⁹¹ The fragments of ammunition, shards, and shells were found in the Springcourt region and are there for an unknown

⁸⁴ Williams and Rintoul-Hynes, “Legacy of War,” 2.

⁸⁵ Hubé, “Industrial-Scale Destruction,” 220.

⁸⁶ Hubé, 206.

⁸⁷ Hubé, “Industrial-Scale Destruction,” 227.

⁸⁸ Tobias Bausinger, Éric Bonnaire, and Johannes Preuß, “Exposure Assessment of a Burning Ground for Chemical Ammunition on the Great War Battlefields of Verdun.” *Science of the Total Environment* 382 (2–3, 2007): 261.

⁸⁹ Hubé, “Industrial-Scale Destruction,” 226.

⁹⁰ Hupy, “Soil Development,” 39.

⁹¹ Hubé, “Industrial-Scale Destruction,” 226.

reason. However, all the physical particles present here are estimated to take another century to dissolve.⁹² On the German side, at the Kelsterbach site near Frankfurt, severe soil and groundwater contamination was recorded by accident due to high explosives and chemicals in 1987.⁹³ The soil composition has been physically and chemically altered, resulting in vegetation no longer being able to grow in some regions of the former front. This effect has been recorded in the territories of the Allied Powers and the Central Powers. The amount of precipitation and the destructive methods of the ammunition dump sites intensified the problem, causing soil that may not return to a healthy state for at least a century.

With the contamination of soil and water came the contamination of the agricultural sector. The sites in the Spincourt region began their studies because of the concern over potential contamination of the food supply in the region.⁹⁴ The political influence of farmers reduced the Red Zone – the area deemed unfit for human habitation after the war – from 26,000 hectares in 1919 to only 472 hectares by 1923 in the Nord region, but the Spincourt region increased from 12,000 hectares to over 19,000.⁹⁵ This was likely due to the clearing of ammunition from Champagne and Picardie to restitute farmland as quickly as possible and thus send those shells to Meuse (the region of Spincourt), where farmland was less valuable.⁹⁶ The Spincourt dumps reached abnormal proportions, and by the Winter of 1918, the ammunition was rapidly deteriorating and corroding, risking chemical leakage.⁹⁷ However, the site disappeared from memory, and the land was eventually used for agriculture. In 2015, field measurements reported significant contamination, causing the Meuse prefecture to request that crops, milk, and meat in

⁹² Hubé, 220, 225.

⁹³ Hubé, 227.

⁹⁴ Gorecki et al, “Human Health Risks,”322.

⁹⁵ Hubé, “Industrial-Scale Destruction,”211.

⁹⁶ Hubé, 211.

⁹⁷ Hubé, 212.

that region be destroyed.⁹⁸ After the war, the contaminated water in Europe was already prevalent, causing North America to aid Europe by plowing six million hectares – the area of West Virginia – of wheat in the United States and Canada to send to Europe, which consequently paved the way for the 1930's Dust Bowl in North America.⁹⁹ The previous dump sites have been reported to be contaminated and polluted with chemicals, metals, and debris in water sources and the soil composition, and yet these dump sites are used to grow crops and raise livestock. It took decades for the French authorities to require the destruction of products because of the contamination of the food products reaching households for that duration of time.

Contamination of the agricultural sector, drinking water, and soil composition severely affect vegetation, wildlife, and humans. While heavy metal concentrations did not differ from craters compared to the exterior landscape, the region recorded lead and copper enrichment above the baseline, which can cause detrimental ecotoxicological and human health effects.¹⁰⁰ The amount of copper in the region was deemed acceptable based on UK and European guidelines for humans and wildlife but toxic to plants, where the threshold is 20 mg/kg, and soil flora, where the threshold is 10 mg/kg.¹⁰¹ Lead is poisonous at any level to humans and wildlife and can damage renal and nervous systems, especially in children.¹⁰² The lead values in the soil had nine times the maximum value, and in plants and soil organisms, it causes morphological, physiological, and biochemical dysfunctions.¹⁰³ The amount of copper and lead have detrimental ecological impacts at the site of Puisieux and likely other regions based on this study. In 2015, the campaign at Noire Fontaine's pits recorded soil and stagnant water as a red or ochre color because of the iron

⁹⁸ Hubé, 216.

⁹⁹ McNeill, *Something New*, 346.

¹⁰⁰ Williams, and Rintoul-Hynes, "Legacy of War," 1.

¹⁰¹ Williams, 5.

¹⁰² Williams, 5.

¹⁰³ Williams, 5.

contamination from the ammunition dump site, and this created perfect conditions for gelatinous and whitish bacterial biofilms.¹⁰⁴ Early in the paper, it was mentioned that these regions are used for drinking water and agriculture, meaning the crops, livestock, and water are exposed to these toxic chemicals and metals. The plants, wildlife, and soil both are even more vulnerable to these effects, with the Place à Gaz still unable to grow vegetation.

The use of chemicals to create explosives also led to the development of insecticides. Arsenic was not widely used before World War I but when it was mass produced to create chemical weapons for the front, the production became beneficial for creating insecticides.¹⁰⁵ These synthetic arsenicals were not just extremely poisonous to insects but to humans as well. The chemical industries internationally flourished after the war ended especially for purposes of war. The justification from the industries and governments were the low fatality rates associated with chemical warfare where only about 2% directly died, unlike casualties affected by artillery and ammunition.¹⁰⁶ The connection of arsenicals and the insecticide industry grew in the years following the war to the point where in the United States, they began collaborating with the Chemical Warfare Service to use the same chemicals that were ingredients for warfare in the insecticides to be used in the agricultural sector.¹⁰⁷ Chloropicrin was the key chemical for the industry but also the most used chemical in World War I because of its ability to penetrate gas masks.¹⁰⁸

While almost all of the aftermath of World War I has had a negative impact on the environment today, a couple developments in WWI had a somewhat opposite effect. World War I

¹⁰⁴ Hubé, "Industrial-Scale Destruction," 218.

¹⁰⁵ Russell, *War and Nature*, 21.

¹⁰⁶ Russell, *War and Nature*, 39.

¹⁰⁷ Russell, 47.

¹⁰⁸ Russell, 47.

affected marine life in Europe with a massive decrease in fishing, allowing regulations to be placed to help preserve and maintain marine life populations that are still in place today.¹⁰⁹ During WWI, the Allied blockade prevented a majority of trade from being imported to the Central Powers, preventing food, munitions, and other supplies. Fritz Haber, an academic chemist in Germany, created the Haber-Bosch ammonia synthesis with Karl Bosch, which led to the first artificial nitrogen fertilizer.¹¹⁰ This fertilizer helped forestall hunger in Germany and positively shaped soil chemistry beyond the 20th century. However, at least half of these fertilizers miss the target crops and move downstream, polluting rivers and other bodies of water, which has also contributed to water pollution in Europe during and after World War I.¹¹¹

World War I was a war of unprecedented scale, being the first truly international conflict. However, that was not the only reason why it was on an unparalleled scale. Never before had a conflict used the extent of artillery, bombs, chemicals, and landscape-changing strategies until WWI. These have changed these battlefields, and their effects have lasted. The ammunition dump sites and the destruction of, scrapping, and leftover ammunition have had a massive effect on the environment to the same level, if not more, that WWI had during the conflict. The war and post-war have altered soil, water, and agriculture and have caused adverse health effects on organisms associated with these regions. Due to most of the front being in French territory, the region most affected by these lasting effects is France and the surrounding area. The landscape has also changed, and large portions have not been restored. Only twelve miles of previously forested areas

¹⁰⁹ Susanna Lidström, Sverker Sörlin, and Henrik Svedäng, “Decline and Diversity in Swedish Seas: Environmental Narratives in Marine History, Science and Policy.” *AMBIO: A Journal of the Human Environment* 49 (5, 2019): 1114–21, 1115.

¹¹⁰ McNeil, *Something New*, 24.

¹¹¹ McNeil, 25.

have been reforested since WWI, but about fifteen-and-a-half square miles should be planted yearly with six million forest and carob trees.¹¹²

¹¹² Jacks et al, *Vanishing Lands*, 30.

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“I Cannot Do That’: Black Women's Freedom Making During Reconstruction”

Dallys Cobian

“He snapped a pistol in my face three times... there is no help for you,”¹¹³ are the words Mary Robertson¹¹⁴ recounted when she bravely gave her testimony in the presence of the men who attacked her and her “little baby boy.” These white men, members of the Ku Klux Klan, assaulted Mary and her son when they entered her home in search of her husband. On their first visit, they “gave [her] little boy two cuts” and took a gun from her home. When they returned, fourteen days later, four white men beat her with a pistol and switch so terribly she thought she was “cut in two.” Unsatisfied, the brutality continues. Mary is forced outside and every single one of those men beat her at least five more times with “bickory switches.” Mary’s attack at the hands of white supremacists was not unique and in fact was so widespread and brutal during Reconstruction, that the federal government responded by creating a Congressional Committee in 1871 to inquire into the violent conditions in the South. This committee would hold sessions where victims could speak to the violence, rape, torture and murders they, their families and communities were experiencing at the hands of the Ku Klux Klan and other white supremacists.

¹¹³ HathiTrust. “Report of the Joint Select Committee to Inquire into the Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States ; Made to the Two Houses of Congress February ... v.3.” Accessed November 15, 2023. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015061529676?urlappend=%3Bseq=5>. Thirteen Volumes with thousands of pages each record the violence experienced and carried out by the Ku Klux Klan. Mary’s record is part of the third volume centered on the state of South Carolina. Here Mary Robertson gives her testimony in front of the men who attacked her and her child in their home. 1106-1110

¹¹⁴ Mary Robertson alias Mary Thompson. The Joint Select Committee lists her name and alias and in the next testimony given by her neighbor, James Crosby, he refers to her as Mary Thompson. The reason for the alias is unknown, but important to note when reading the corroborating testimony of her neighbors.

The Congressional Committee sessions culminated in a massive report, known as the *Joint Select Committee to Inquire into the Condition of Affairs in the late Insurrectionary States*, more commonly called the Klan hearings, (here, we will refer to them as the Committee Report). The Committee Report includes the testimonies of hundreds of freedwomen, each of whom often traveled dozens, sometimes nearly a hundred miles to give her testimony. Before testifying, each woman who made this long journey would be sworn in, declare her name, address, when the attack took place and often, because the hearings were public affairs, she would bravely testify in front of the same white supremacists who abused her and her family. Mary Robertson’s sworn testimony depicting the abuse she and her little boy endured, is found among the thirteen volumes and thousands of pages of the Committee Report. Testimony given in the Committee Report, is part of a much larger picture that found black women at the center of violence, their bodies abused to assert dominance and to frighten women into submission and an understanding that their lives were not their own. Through an analysis of women’s testimony, this paper aims to expand our understanding of the ways in which women did not become submissive, but rather showed their bravery when, despite the ongoing violence and very real threat of retaliation, they testified. Their voices speak to the ways in which women extended their freedom by actively engaging the resources at hand and granted to them by the 14th amendment, which granted “citizenship... and provided equal protection under the laws,”¹¹⁵ further empowering them to show how black women, not white supremacists, had final authority over their voices and bodies. Their testimonies have become a permanent record of South Carolinian Klan violence but more significantly, these records offer insight into the lives of black women during Reconstruction. Women who despite the trauma, bravely and defiantly opposed the Ku Klux Klan when they used their freedom to testify against their white attackers.

¹¹⁵ “U.S. Senate: Landmark Legislation: The Fourteenth Amendment.” Accessed December 11, 2023. <https://www.senate.gov/about/origins-foundations/senate-and-constitution/14th-amendment.htm>.

The role that violence played in the lives of women offers insight into the ongoing physical and psychological terror that plagued black women during Reconstruction, women who despite the dread they must have felt, extended their freedom to testify against their white attackers. Mary Robertson endured attacks on two different occasions, the second attack was more brutal, “the man held a pistol at my breast... they made me pull off my sack; and they whipped me... there were four of them, and they gave me five cuts apiece.”¹¹⁶ Multiple attackers took turns beating an undressed and unarmed Mary Robertson. Undoubtedly terrified, Mary faced the men alone. The helplessness black women must have felt when they realized multiple men were actively engaging in the attack was surely traumatic; the realization that their attackers were abusing them not only to exert control, or revenge, but also because it brought them sadistic joy, took the effects beyond the physical brutality and was made much worse, by the psychological trauma it caused. Mary Neal’s testimony speaks to this when she recounts the depravity of “nightriders” whose jubilation during the attack was undeniable, “they had us all stripped there, and laughed... some of them squealed the same as if they were stable horses.”¹¹⁷ They *laughed* Mary decries and what she must have felt at the moment of attack and time of her testimony is impossible to fully comprehend, yet her words speak volumes. Physically, both women are marked by the attack, psychologically, it is difficult to ascertain what they must have endured. According to Megan Stewart’s analysis of the National Violence Against Women’s Survey which shows that “one of the most common psychological problems experienced following victimization is ... clinical depression.”¹¹⁸ This depression prevents women from “functioning normally,” rendering them permanently debilitated or what is

¹¹⁶ “U.S. Senate: Landmark Legislation: The Fourteenth Amendment,” 1107

¹¹⁷ Kidada E. Williams, *They Left Great Marks on Me: African American Testimonies of Racial Violence from Emancipation to World War I*. (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2012), 42-43. Here Mary Brown, her husband, mother and a Mary Neal were all attacked by “nightriders” because they heard Mary was going to provide evidence against them for a murder committed. Laying on the ground, Mary is describing the joy these assailants took in the brutality of their acts. This testimony is from Georgia and speaks to the manner in which violence was not limited to South Carolina.

¹¹⁸ Megan C. Stewart, *Violence against Women: Impacts on Women’s Health Derived from a U.S. Nationwide Study*. Criminal Justice: Recent Scholarship. (El Paso: LFB Scholarly Pub. LLC, 2014), 33.

defined as “dysthymia” which impacts the overall well-being of women who are abused. This analysis leads to a deeper awareness that although a woman may initially not be fully incapacitated, dysthymia can develop into severe depression and ultimately leave her disabled by depression. Furthermore, Stewart has also relayed how the victim’s family is also “emotionally impacted”¹¹⁹ when women, who cannot cope with the trauma are unable to emotionally bond with or care for their families. Drawing upon this analysis from another era, we can conclude that attacks have a long reaching arm that extends beyond the physicality of the attack and affects every aspect of women’s lives. Moreover, Stewart continues, because “women are twice as likely as men to develop depression,” the lingering traumatic effects can further manifest themselves into lost income and the inability to maintain relationships. Despite the physical and psychological trauma of their attacks, both women defied the odds to testify against their attackers.

Mary Neal’s words are poignant. Not only does she describe the depravity of the attackers who laughed while they “stripped and whipped” her leaving her “cut all to pieces” they took it further by “chocking” her to a point of unconsciousness. Her mother and a girl who lived with them suffered the same abuse. Despite the trauma of the attack, Mary Neal takes advantage of her freedom to courageously testify against the white supremacists who assaulted her and the females in her home. Her words are revealing, “they squealed [like] stable horses,” she asserts and, in this moment, via the power of her words, Mary successfully dehumanizes her attackers as nothing more than untamed barn animals who must be reined in. By making this comparison, Mary maintains her humanity and strength, while also showing her attackers as untamed animals that must be controlled. The power of her words is a testament to the strength she found through her freedom; freedom which allows her to testify against white attackers.

¹¹⁹ Stewart, *Violence against Women*, 2.

The Committee Report also details the sexual violence women experienced during Reconstruction and despite some parts of the testimonies being omitted because of their brutal nature, what does remain in the records aids in further understanding the ways women's bodies were frequently subjugated to sexual brutality. Harriet Simril recounts the second visit she received from the Ku Klux Klan, "they were spitting in my face and throwing dirt in my eyes,"¹²⁰ while they searched and destroyed her home in their attempt to locate her husband. They tore down cabinets, ate all her pies and took the meat she had; they were not done. "After they had got me out of doors, they dragged me into the big road and they ravished me... there was three [men]" and one after another, they took turns raping Harriet. When the attack ended, Harriet "had no sense for a long time [and] laid there," for an unknown length of time. Horror stricken, Harriet returned to her home, but never slept in it again, neither did her children or husband. They slept outside, hidden from the Klan, even "when it rained thunder and lightning." The trauma of the attack forced Harriet to remain outdoors because if the Klan returned, she would not allow herself to be caught at home. This could be indicative of post-traumatic stress disorder which, a victim can develop "after seeing or living through an event that caused or threatened serious harm or death."¹²¹ PTSD can manifest itself in a variety of ways and when taken together with physical effects of rape, "gynecological problems, painful intercourse ...stomach ulcers and neurological impairment,"¹²² Harriet and other female survivors, suffered immensely, "trauma robs the victim of a sense of power and control and thus a guiding principal of recovery must restore power to the... survivors."¹²³ To restore her

¹²⁰ HathiTrust. "Report of the Joint Select Committee to Inquire into the Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States ; Made to the Two Houses of Congress February ... v.3." Accessed November 15, 2023. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015061529676?urlappend=%3Bseq=5>. Thirteen Volumes with thousands of pages each record the violence experienced and carried out by the Ku Klux Klan. Mary's record is part of the third volume centered on the state of South Carolina. Here we have the testimony of Harriet Simril who was attacked when the Klan was looking for her husband. 1096-1099

¹²¹ Stewart, *Violence against Women*, 33.

¹²² Stewart, 35

¹²³ Samuel Totten, *Plight and Fate of Women During and Following Genocide*. 1st edition. Vol. 7. Genocide : A Critical Bibliographic Review. (United Kingdom: Routledge, 2017) 229. Focusing on the manner in which genocide and rape have been used as a tool of war, women are the focus as it describes the brutality endured and the manner by which they are affected. Unwanted pregnancies known as "rape babies," sexually transmitted diseases, permanent

power, Simril would not be silenced and despite her inability to sleep indoors, she testified against the men who stole her food, raped her and burned down her house. Like Simril, Mary Robertson also used her freedom when she refused to lie down for the men who beat her. “Lie down; No, said I, I cannot do that... damn you, lie down,”¹²⁴ but Mary did not. She stood firm in her resolve and despite the terror she must have felt, she did not give in. Her resilience in the face of white supremacists becomes more powerful when it is revealed she is standing her ground with a gun aimed at her head and a knife pointed at her body. Saying no was Mary’s formidable way of extending her freedom.

“Damn you, you better not know me,” Mary’s attackers threatened as they beat her with a gun, but just as they could not force Mary to lie down, they could also not prevent her from boldly testifying and naming each one of her attackers. “I knew the four that whipped me, John Mitchell and his son Joseph; one was little Joe and little Ed Leach. It is he that murdered Joe Leach’s daughter.” In naming the four men, Mary shows that she is free enough to testify against white men. She names other men who were also there, Dr. Whiteside whom she knows because that is where her mother lived. John Mitchell, she knew “five years before [she] was free.” Moreover, she confirms her knowledge of John Mitchell by pointing directly at him and his son. She did the same to Dr. Whiteside and Mr. Watson. Mary knows them well, “I cannot be mistaken,” she proclaims and although they were wearing “white gowns,” the head gear did not cover much of their faces, Dr. Whiteside, “was not covered a bit.”¹²⁵ Mary is so empowered, she also reveals Ed Leach is

physical injuries, cast out of their homes and forever shunned, sometimes killed because of their assault, rape remains at the center of many women’s lives who were victimized simply for the group they were born into.

¹²⁴ HathiTrust. “Report of the Joint Select Committee to Inquire into the Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States ; Made to the Two Houses of Congress February ... v.5”, 1107. Accessed November 15, 2023.

<https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015061529676?urlappend=%3Bseq=5>. Here, Mary Robertson’s (Thompson) testimony continues. In search of her husband, the men return and demand that she lie down, if she doesn’t they will “shoot my damned brains out” and “book you with a knife.” Mary did not lay down and her testimony is corroborated by her neighbor James Crosby who refers to her as Mary Thompson.

¹²⁵ “Report of the Joint Select Committee,” 1109.

more than an abuser, he is also a murderer. Mary is using this platform to advocate for herself and the voiceless victim whose life he took. Mary is a free woman who will not be forced into silent submission. Like Mary, Simril also testifies in direct defiance of her rapists. “Do you know who the men were who ravaged you?” they ask. “Yes sir, can tell who the men were, there was Ches McCollum, Tom McCollum, and this big Jim Harper.” Her testimony further reveals who raped her first and a conversation they had which the record declares too “obscene [in] nature to permit publication.”¹²⁶ Despite the attack and burning of her home, Simril, like Mary, uses her voice in direct opposition to Klan violence, leaving a permanent record of the atrocities committed against them.

South Carolina, the state on which this volume is focused, has a unique place in southern slave society. Because “slavery was the driving force of the state’s industrial and social life,”¹²⁷ residents became ardent defenders of this system, and would take the lead to retain the slave society they felt entitled to. For this reason, when Republican Abraham Lincoln was elected President, South Carolina on “December 20, 1860,”¹²⁸ became the first state to secede from the Union, setting a precedent that other southern states would soon follow. South Carolina and the newly created Confederate states waged their war in defense of oppression, thereby asserting their right to reign supreme over millions of enslaved men, women and children; they would lose this battle. Their war of oppression lost, and their slaves freed, South Carolina would once again take charge in their (ultimately successful) goal to win the war after the war, through their continued subjugation of 500,000 black bodies. To do this, they enacted the South Carolina Black Codes in 1865, which “codified the terms servant and master for laborers” and openly restricted freedpeople

¹²⁶ “Report of the Joint Select Committee,” 1098.

¹²⁷ W.E.B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America*. First Free Press edition. (New York: The Free Press, 1998) 383.

¹²⁸ “Secession, United States - Places in History (Library of Congress).” Text. Accessed December 5, 2023.

https://www.loc.gov/rr/geogmap/placesinhistory/archive/2011/20110314_secession.html.

from holding any position other than “servant or farmer.”¹²⁹ According to historian W.E.B. Dubois, in their dogged determination to maintain their superiority at all costs, white supremacists had no qualms about “shoot[ing], stab[ing] or knock[ing] down Negroes on slight provocation.”¹³⁰ Dubois goes further reveals that it became a popular bragging point to reveal “one has killed or beaten a Negro” among “certain classes.” These boasts about harming black people gives insight into the dangerous environment this created for emancipated people. As federal policies continued to challenge white southern authority and supremacists became further increased by the “Democratic defeat in the presidential election of 1868” they turned their focus “back to state politics.”¹³¹ Confederate defeat, did not humble South Carolina. On the contrary, private, public, and state officials became more determined than ever to retain white superiority. South Carolina may have lost the war, but they would do everything possible to win this new battle and their right to reign supreme over black people. South Carolinians together with their southern counterparts actively engaged in restricting black autonomy and effectively chipped away the federal rights offered by the 14th and 15th amendments. Black women’s testimony found among the Committee Reports detail how far white supremacists would go to make this point clear.

Evidence of the widespread depravity of attackers is not limited to the pages of the Committee Report; further evidence of abuse is found in newspapers, Federal Records and Freedman’s Bureau records. On January 1866, The Loyal Georgian reported, “We were informed that a most fiendish outrage was committed near Hamburg, S.C... by five white men, disguised

¹²⁹ “South Carolina Department of Archives.” Accessed November 28, 2023. <https://scdah.sc.gov/research-and-genealogy/online-research/current-exhibit/south-carolinas-reconstruction-digital-0>.

¹³⁰ Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction*, 386. This section of his book focuses specifically South Carolina Reconstruction efforts to extend the subjugation of black men and women by any means necessary.

¹³¹ Richard Zuczek, *State of Rebellion: Reconstruction in South Carolina*. University of South Carolina Press, 1996. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv1kz4g89>.

with masks... each violated the person of his wife.”¹³² Federal Records of the Memphis riots further speak to the depravity of “these fiends in human shape” who when they “found unprotected colored women they at once... proceeded to violate them in the most licentious”¹³³ manner. The attacks of Frances Thompson and Lucy Smith are found amongst its records. Frances and Lucy shared a home when white policemen arrived and brutally gang raped Frances. Lucy who appeared, “two or three years younger [than sixteen] ...” was so violently “seized... and choked [sic]... she could not talk for two weeks.”¹³⁴ The attack continued. She was then “violated by one of the men” and left in such a terrible state that she appeared “near dead.” Another man, waiting for his turn to rape Lucy was so enraged at her unresponsive condition that he “struck her a severe blow upon the side of the head.” The attacks continued and include women who were raped in front of their young children. Harriet Armor’s attack was “too disgusting and shocking a character to mention.” That her rape was too graphic to record is almost unfathomable considering the statements that do remain on record. Further acts of savagery recorded in the Memphis Riots report include women who were shot and burned alive. The Freedman’s Bureau, which was created to protect the rights of black citizens, has its own records of violence and despite inadequate record keeping standards, historian William Alan Blair shows how “Black women stood out for the frequency of their appearance in the record of murders and outrages...” in South Carolina alone, women account for “twenty five percent”¹³⁵ of the total incident reports. Despite inconsistencies and lack of details, Freedman’s Bureau records remain a valuable source on attacks against women. Virginia Harrison

¹³² Sterling, Dorothy. *The Trouble They Seen: Black People Tell the Story of Reconstruction*. 1st ed. Garden City, N.Y: Doubleday, 1976.

¹³³ “Memphis Riots and Massacres Doc. No. 101.” *U.S. Congressional Serial Set 1274* (1866 1865): 1–394. <https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.usccsset/usconset20227&i=25>. An additional congressional record that was created to look into the riots which occurred in May 1866. Not connected to the Joint Select Committee Records, this is another example of the sexual violence women and girls experienced at the hands of white attackers. Described as “fiends” the report acknowledges white violence against black people. 13

¹³⁴ “Memphis Riots and Massacres,” 14.

¹³⁵ William Alan Blair, *The Record of Murders and Outrages: Racial Violence and the Fight over Truth at the Dawn of Reconstruction*. Civil War America. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2021), 43.

was killed when she would not “yield”¹³⁶ to a man’s sexual advances. An unnamed woman was also murdered for the same reason. Analysis of these records show the widespread depravity of the Klan and the defiance of women who fought back by engaging the resources available to them. In South Carolina, the Joint Select Committee gave women like Mary and Simril an empowering opportunity to testify against their attackers. This platform elevated black women and gave them a platform to resist their victimization and in doing so extend their freedom.

That the federal government had to form a committee to record the atrocious acts of the Ku Klux Klan speaks to the magnitude of the crimes that reached their desks. Even so, it is imperative to understand that black women’s testimonies in the Committee Report are only a partial picture of the widespread attacks waged against free black women. For every Mary and Simril there were likely hundreds or thousands of women who are not on record. Attacks that left black women too traumatized or that countless other women were forever silenced does not diminish their experience. Awareness of the black women who remain off record makes the testimonies that are available more remarkable because they are nothing but a minuscule number when compared to the millions of free black women who remained in the South and were forcibly silenced during Reconstruction. Forced silence is precisely why the boldness of Mary, Simril and the other black women who publicly testified so powerful.

Lamentably, Reconstruction violence against black women would remain so embedded in Southern society that it would be nearly ninety years before a white man in the South would finally be convicted for the rape of a black woman.¹³⁷ That it took nearly a century of freedom for black

¹³⁶ Blair, *Racial Violence*, 46.

¹³⁷ Danielle L. McGuire, “‘It Was like All of Us Had Been Raped’: Sexual Violence, Community Mobilization, and the African American Freedom Struggle.” *The Journal of American History* 91, no. 3 (2004): 906–31. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3662860>. Betty Jean Owens was raped by four white men who made a promise to each other to find and rape a black girl. Sitting in the back of the police vehicle, they laughed on their way to jail. Betty Jean, like the

women to receive justice only serves to further explain the deeply rooted and systemic castigation that plagued black women in the South. Despite this, black women advocated for justice via their testimonies leaving a permanent record that can never be silenced. Women like Mary Robertson who were threatened yet named and pointed at their attackers declared, I know you and *I will* tell all who listen what you did to me. That is Mary's way of extending her freedom and showing Klan members, that she, not they, had the final authority over who she does or does not know. The record of Mary's testimony shows that she was the one in control of her voice and despite the threats, as a free woman, she would attest to the violence. Just as she would not lay down for her attackers, she would not remain silent. "No... I cannot do that," Mary's powerful determination to use her freedom in the face of violent oppression allowed her to stand firm and say *no*.

women who testified, would remain silenced Her community behind her, Betty Jean testified and all four of her rapists were sent to jail.

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Peter Schneider Award

“Bitter Harvests: Citrus Industry and the Roots of Educational Inequality for Mexicans in the Inland Empire, 1900-1960”

Amari Navarro

Abstract

Unveiling a narrative often overlooked yet deeply influential in American history, this paper presents a contemporary method for analyzing ethnic Mexican education through the lens of citrus labor in Southern California. Using historiographical methodologies scholars have frequently examined ethnic Mexican education primarily through the Chicano movement in the 1960s. However, historians like Gilbert G. Gonzalez and Jose Alamillo have explored earlier periods in the twentieth century. Within these works, a prevalent pattern emerges in the discussion of citrus labor in the making of ethnic Mexican education. By building upon scholar's past work and archival documents, I aim to identify the origins of inferior education for ethnic Mexicans within the Inland Empire. Key trends, such as those within the citrus industry, will be analyzed to address the gaps and identify the historical roots of how citrus growers perpetuated segregation within ethnic Mexican education in the confines of the Inland Empire.

Introduction

This paper argues that the citrus industry significantly influenced ethnic Mexican education in the twentieth century, perpetuating practices of inferiority that systematically marginalized academic opportunities while reinforcing the role of Mexicans as laborers. This is significant in understanding the persistent low success and graduation rates among ethnic Mexicans throughout the twentieth century. It is imperative to understand the systemic mechanisms that fueled a cycle favoring agricultural labor over post-secondary education. Moving forward, I use the term “ethnic Mexican” to refer to those born in Mexico and now living in the US and those who were born in the US but are ethnically Mexican. This term allows me to be more inclusive to both communities. With the scope of my research, I will first begin with the

Mexican Revolution that led to the Great Migration from the 1910s-1930s. To explain, in the 1910s, a rebel group sought to overthrow autocratic leader Porfirio Diaz who ruled for countless decades. This brought immense political violence that sought to target civilians to end the rebellion. Due to the political instability as well as safety, ethnic Mexican nationals began making their way towards the U.S. often arriving in the borderlands of Southern California. For instance, in the Inland town of Corona during the 1900s, ethnic Mexicans comprised 79% of the total population.¹³⁸ If ethnic Mexicans have remained one of the largest populations in the U.S. specifically California then surely there is more history right? That is indeed true, however, throughout the years ethnic Mexican history within California has been marginalized and almost forgotten.

During the twentieth century, ethnic Mexicans were one of the largest groups within Southern California. They redefined landscapes and communities by introducing their cultures and ways of life into the majority Anglo society. Near the first half of the twentieth century, ethnic Mexicans were defined as “white”. However, they were white with limitations. Although they received this title to describe them, they were not paid like whites, could not live in white neighborhoods, and many could not eat in white spaces. Because of this, much of the ethnic Mexican history is slightly distorted or hidden due to them being racially labeled as white. They were not treated any better than other minority groups, and this is something to note. In Southern California, the population of ethnic Mexicans began to grow in vast numbers. With this, it made them one of the largest “minority” groups that placed a target on their backs. It created a panic in white Anglo society who felt that ethnic Mexicans would make America, non-American. They feared the growth of ethnic Mexicans, and with such sentiment came intense and aggressive

¹³⁸ José Alamillo. *Making Lemonade out of Lemons: Mexican American Labor and Leisure in a California Town 1880-1960*. (University of Illinois Press, 2023).

means of segregational and inferior practices to subjugate such a large group. Although ethnic Mexicans were such vast members of early U.S. society, the subordinate practices they faced and their resistance to this continue to go unheard.

This is especially prevalent in the Southern California region known as the Inland Empire. This region is made up of familiar locations such as Riverside, Corona, Colton, San Bernardino, and many more. During the 1910s and 1960s places like Riverside and Corona and much of the I.E thrived on the Citrus economy. Gilbert Gonzalez a renowned scholar in Chicano studies, stated that from “1890 to 1960 citrus produced more wealth than gold in California history.”¹³⁹ Behind Southern California's vast success were ethnic Mexican men, women, and children who worked in fields and packing houses to keep the citrus economy alive. For decades they were exploited for their labor. This had an inherent impact on the education ethnic Mexican children would receive. As the industry began to grow, ranch owners began creating “Labor towns” to confine men and women to a workspace. Rather than having laborers dispersed through communities, ranch owners tied them to one designated area. This meant ethnic Mexican lives revolved primarily around work in the early twentieth century. In such a manner so did the education provided to the children on the ranch. In citrus labor towns “Mexican schools”, as termed by growers, were among the initial educational institutions established for ethnic Mexicans. Gonzalez explains that of 15 Mexican schools located in the Inland Empire during the 1920s all but one were located in citrus labor towns.¹⁴⁰ These were schools that ethnic Mexican children on the ranch and even outside were expected to attend. Where their educational hours were modified to picking hours so they could assist their fathers in the field, and when school was in session they were taught common labor practices known as “industrial Americanization” to

¹³⁹ Gilbert G. Gonzalez *Chicano Education in the Era of Segregation*. (United States: UNT Press, 2013), 6.

¹⁴⁰ Gonzalez, *Chicano Education*, 100.

reproduce another series of laborers.¹⁴¹

Literature Review

Throughout the past decade, historiographical literature has examined the ethnic Mexican experiences within California. As researchers delve deeper into this topic it unravels areas of fieldwork specifically citrus within the inland empire. Citrus work and the ethnic Mexican experience in California are eminent throughout the literature. Additionally when the ethnic Mexican experience is examined Mexican education is expressed. A significant portion of the literature examines Citrus and ethnic Mexican education as separate entities of the ethnic Mexican experience. It has become evident that there is a need for a comprehensive synthesis and analysis of existing literature to intersect citrus fieldwork and its ties to ethnic Mexican education. This literature review aims to identify the beginnings of inferior education for the ethnic Mexican community by identifying key trends such as the citrus industry and addressing the gaps within the literature to unravel the historical roots of ethnic Mexican educational inferiority and subordination, prevalent from the 1920s to the 1960s.

To begin, multiple scholars have pointed out similar chronological order as to how ethnic Mexican school segregation became such a prominent issue in Southern California. For instance, Gilbert G Gonzalez states, “Nearly 750,000 Mexicans moved north between 1900 and 1930 escaping the violence, destruction, and destitution wrought by the Mexican economy.”¹⁴² Much of the origins of how ethnic Mexican men and women arrived in California begins with the argument of mass migration. Furthermore, Amanda Liang argues that “After World War I, increasing numbers of ethnic Mexicans began migrating to the Southwest, they began arriving in

¹⁴¹ Gonzalez, 60.

¹⁴² Gonzalez, *Chicano Education*, 53.

Ontario, usually to work in the citrus groves or fruit and nut orchards.”¹⁴³ To explain the origins of mass migration are vital to understanding the roots to how ethnic Mexican education became inferior to others. Soon after the number of ethnic Mexicans started to rise in California there became an issue of a so-called “Mexican problem” as noted by countless scholars researching the history of ethnic Mexicans in the US. This was a term often used to categorize the large influx of ethnic Mexicans immigrating to the US for farm labor. Solutions to the problem often included things like segregation, Americanization practices, and racial covenants. To further illustrate this hysteria surrounding the “Mexican problem”, Jose Alamillo points out a prominent housing reformer of 1919 by the name of Matilda Jabobson who stated, “ The sooner some definite steps were taken to improve the living conditions of ethnic Mexicans the sooner they become better citizens, and the sooner will the source of the flies be done away with.”¹⁴⁴ This precisely illustrates the sentiment many Anglo Americans in the early 20th century shared. They felt it was their job to Americanize the ethnic Mexicans because they were “dirty and inferior”. When in reality segregation and redlining were at the root of poor sanitation that did not allow ethnic Mexicans access to proper sanitation, like running water. These pieces of evidence are key in defining the beginnings of racial segregation of the ethnic Mexican community because they display the idea that ethnic Mexicans as inferior people began in the eyes of Anglo society, and they would soon begin to do something about it.

Correspondingly, a 1923 academic publication stated that “Children who are clean and high-minded do not like to go to school with the dirty ‘greaser’ type of Mexican child...put the ‘dirty’ ones into separate schools till they learn how to ‘clean-up.’”¹⁴⁵ We can gather a belief in separate schools for those who are “clean” this being Anglos children and those who are “dirty”

¹⁴³ Amanda Liang. "Inland Empire Schools and Mendez v. Westminster." PhD diss., (UC Riverside, 2012), 20.

¹⁴⁴ Alamillo, “Mexican American Labor”.

¹⁴⁵ Gonzalez, *Chicano Education*, 33.

this being ethnic Mexican children. In addition to this, the negative stereotypes that people of Mexican origin were mentally inferior began to further impact the children's academic life. Mark Ocegueda states that “In 1920, a San Bernardino school teacher stated that segregation of Mexican children resulted from public opinions within the Anglo community that was ‘based largely on the theory that the Mexican is a menace to the health and morals of the rest of the community.’”¹⁴⁶ Another key point that encapsulates the inferior ideology of the “Mexican-Problem”. Although it may be true that some of the origins of inferior Mexican Education began with the idea of mental inferiority and germ theory there is a critical piece that is missing, this being citrus labor.

A point often overlooked is the chronological proximity between the mass migration and the emergence of the “Mexican Problem,” coinciding with the era of citrus production in Southern California. Although scholars highlight inferior education for ethnic Mexican children many do not connect the roots to citrus. However, I find that the roots of ethnic Mexican educational inferiority began in the world of citrus in the Inland Empire. Consider Alamillo's argument: “The highly racialized division of labor in California agricultural system and racial ideologies that constructed Mexican immigrant men as cheap, docile, tractable, and biologically and culturally predisposed for stoop labor.”¹⁴⁷ Under these circumstances of the labor system, ethnically Mexican men, women, and children became seen as a predominant target as agricultural laborers. This would later impact the pedagogy of the schooling system for ethnic Mexican children, including vocational learning tactics and even modifying hours for labor. To cater to the Anglo ideas that ethnic Mexicans were predisposed to “stoop labor.” Gonzalez

¹⁴⁶ Mark Ocegueda, "Lopez v. Seccombe: The City of San Bernardino's Mexican American Defense Committee and Its Role in Regional and National Desegregation," *History in the Making: Vol. 3*, Article 4. (2010), 17.

¹⁴⁷ “Mexican American Labor,” 39.

explains that “The La Habra and Santa Ana school districts, for example, opened their “Mexican schools” at 7:30 AM closing at 12:30 PM to allow children to accompany their parents to the groves.¹⁴⁸ This statement perfectly encapsulates the spaces in which citrus impeded ethnic Mexican education. Emphasizing that children were not receiving equal education opportunities, so that they could go work in the fields and become more familiar with labor.

In addition to this prominent newspapers were publishing pieces to further perpetuate this notion of ethnic Mexican children as future farmers. In Genevieve Carpio’s, *Collisions at the Crossroads*, she provides an image of an ethnic Mexican family. Displayed is a mother with her seven children as they watch their father leave for work in the groves. She explains that the California Citrograph captioned this image “Seven future employees in the family.”¹⁴⁹ Such imagery and terminology underscore the willingness of Anglo society to treat ethnic Mexican families as mere investments. Further perpetuating the notion to Anglo society that ethnic Mexicans were to be viewed as laborers, consequently shaping their educational system to mirror this lifestyle. To close, Gonzalez depicts the argument that society set educational barriers to ensure ethnic Mexican children could not flourish in a non-agricultural atmosphere. He states “School, whether by refusing to admit Mexican children or even when it did admit them, ensured that it would contribute to the reproduction of the Mexican child as cheap labor...They could trust that the school system would provide cheap labor locally.”¹⁵⁰ Illustrating, how citrus labor was intrinsically tied to implementing inferior practices into ethnic Mexican children's education.

In the final analysis, I would like to highlight how past scholars provided an excellent

¹⁴⁸Gonzalez, *Chicano Education*, 110

¹⁴⁹ Genevieve Carpio, *Collisions at the crossroads: How place and mobility make race*. Vol. 53. (Univ of California Press, 2019), 111.

¹⁵⁰ Gonzalez, *Chicano Education*, 143

foundation for the origins of inferior education in the ethnic Mexican community. They highlight migration, farm labor, and socioeconomic issues that shaped how ethnic Mexican children received an education. However, it seems to be a pattern where they rarely intersect the ideas of education, agricultural labor, and labor communities as a leading issue in the development of inferior ethnic Mexican education. However, I find that the history of ethnic Mexican education is intrinsically tied to citrus labor which laid the foundations for the future of segregated and inferior education. I plan to utilize these scholarly pieces to help me bridge the gap between the divides.

Methodologies

Moving forward, my research on the Citrus industry's influence on ethnic Mexican education has been conducted by utilizing public history resources and active engagement within that realm. I began searching through archives within the University library, as well as online resources. These archives include images of schools located on citrus fields, to children in the groves. As well as including the available oral histories to learn directly from the members who experienced the citrus industry and its implications firsthand. However, since I am researching such a confined topic there tends to be a limited amount of available resources to fulfill exactly what I am looking for. While beginning my research in the present day with so many resources available I have still found it hard to find places that document ethnic Mexican history within the Inland Empire. Much of the images and newspapers that are available in libraries tend to be limited to Anglo history within the early days of the Inland Empire. Due to the lack of archival resources, I took a significant interest in resourcing my own archives and assisting in a public history project with Dr. Catherine Gudis. In doing so I have attended events such as the California State Historic Parks citrus festival and have obtained stories from members of the community who grew up in the groves.

In the same fashion, I began working as an intern with Dr. Catherine Gudis to help develop and contextualize archival images and oral histories to digitize them and make them publicly accessible. Through this journey, I have been working with digitizing and transcribing cassette tapes from the California State Citrus Historic Parks. There are about a hundred cassette tapes found sitting in a box that nearly no one knows what is on them. Through beginning to go through them I have found valuable interviews conducted in the 1990s and 1980s of men, women, and children who worked in the citrus fields as well as grew up in them. This specific area of information sets my research aside from others who have delved into topics of citrus and ethnic Mexican education, as very few individuals have access to these tapes currently. This has been a highly beneficial resource for ethically sourcing information from local community members. It is my goal that the people's stories I utilize in my research are not seen or used as data but as valuable narratives that contribute to the history of the Inland Empire. This will allow scholars like me to create an accurate analysis of the history specifically for the ethnic Mexican communities within the Inland Empire.

In addition to this, I have gathered archival images from Mira Linda's historic society, Sweet and Sour Citrus, and a People's History of the I.E. All these sites have digitized archival images, documents, and oral histories that have furthered my research and provided me with invaluable evidence for my claims. Images and oral histories I have discovered reveal ethnic Mexican child labor in the Inland Empire up until the '60s. They give insight into what it was like to grow up as an ethnic Mexican in Southern California. Revealing themes of child labor and labor reproduction. With my research, I hope to transcend the conventional approach of quantitative data-driven analysis. I greatly aspire to curate a narrative that breathes life into the unheard stories of individuals and community members who would like for their history to be

acknowledged and implemented into the rich history of the Inland Empire.

Findings

In the following section, my research findings are presented, offering insights into the intricate relationship between the citrus industry and ethnic Mexican education. The findings highlight the detrimental effect of the citrus industry on ethnic Mexican education, particularly evident in the practice of schools revolving around vocational learning and farm labor. This forced many children to balance work and school, impeding their education. Additionally, expressing how the prevalent numbers of ethnic Mexican laborers in the citrus fields led growers to implement regulations such as vocational learning in schools designated as “Mexican Schools.” These practices surfaced as early as the 1920s and persisted into the 1960s, as evidenced by events like the 1968 East LA walkouts. Through this analysis, the impact of the citrus industry on ethnic Mexican Education becomes evident.

To illustrate this point, a former “rata” recalls in an oral history his experience working in the citrus groves and how it impacted his education. “Rata” or “rat” was how ethnic Mexican men and fathers referred to their children assisting them on the groves because they often ran under the trees collecting oranges their fathers dropped to add to his crate. This was encouraged and accepted by growers as it increased productivity in the groves. Consider this statement from Alfred the former “rata”, “I would always be late for school. This was always a drawback because I was always late for school, and I was behind.”¹⁵¹ This reveals how Alfred’s education was severely impeded by consistently being late to school because he had to assist his parents in the groves. He and others would fall behind because of late attendance having to balance work and

¹⁵¹ Alfred Armendariz, Interviewed by unknown, Redland, CA, July 11, 2000. Retrieved from Tustin Area Historical Association and the Orange County Public Library.

school. Alfred's story is just one of many, he was experiencing this as a young boy in the 60s a time when no child should have still been tending to labor services. For two main reasons, ethnic Mexican children would assist their fathers in the fields. The first was to help their fathers earn more money for the day as they were one of the lowest-paid minority groups on the groves, receiving just 10 cents for one full crate of oranges. The second would be because of school reform that set aside hours for children to gain experience in the fields. For instance, Gonzalez explains how school districts arranged “Mexican school” hours so they could accompany their parents in the groves.¹⁵² The Southern California districts got away with this by writing the ethnic Mexican children off as “student farmers” who were thus eligible for these special school hours.¹⁵³ Further demonstrating the citrus industry's attempts to target ethnic Mexican families and exploit their children as farm laborers.

Moving forward through my data collection I found several images that offer evidence of ethnic Mexican children working in the citrus fields. One image from 1950 displays a very young boy wearing overalls and sitting next to two crates full of oranges.¹⁵⁴ This is nearly twelve years after Congress passed the child labor law that meant to ban child labor. In another oral history on a past “rata,” Gary Lemos tells his experience of working in the groves at just six years old. He explains how depending on the day he and his friends would sometimes miss school to keep assisting their fathers on the fields. Furthermore, he describes that when he and his friends did arrive at school after working in the groves they would have to miss their first classes to shower off in the gym.¹⁵⁵ Further demonstrating the negative implication the citrus industry had on

¹⁵² Gonzalez, *Chicano Education*, 110.

¹⁵³ Gonzalez, 111

¹⁵⁴ Retrieved from Tustin Area Historical Association and the Orange County Public Library

¹⁵⁵ Gary Lemos, Interviewed by Lupe Perez, Inland Empire, CA, February 15, 2017.



Fig 1: Courtesy of Tustin Area Historical Association and the Orange County Public Library, ca 1950s.

young ethnic Mexican children. There were prominent stereotypes of ethnic Mexican children being “dirty” and that is why Anglo society deemed it necessary to separate schools. Besides the fact that ethnic Mexicans were often not provided running water, they were also forced to work in fields that would often leave them dirty. It was not the children's fault, but the system set up and normalized by the groves that allowed these narratives and stereotypes to permeate.

To that end, there is an image courtesy of Mira Linda Area Parks and Historical Society, Bryn Mawr Elementary that truly encapsulates the intersections of the citrus industry and ethnic Mexican education. In an image from 1926 is an ethnic Mexican segregated school in a small town known as Bryn Mawr in the Inland Empire. Displayed are multiple children posing



Fig 2: “Bryn Mar Elementary, 1926.” Courtesy of Mira Linda Area Parks and Historical Society.

for a class picture, where you can see some boys wearing work uniforms that were often seen in the citrus groves. In the very background of the image stands an entire orange grove. Thus encapsulating the intrinsic connection of segregated ethnic Mexican schools beginning in places known to be citrus communities. As scholar Gonzalez wrote, “In fifteen exclusively Mexican schools...All schools except one were located in citrus growing areas.”¹⁵⁶ Underscoring how pervasive the presence of the citrus industry was in shaping the educational landscape, relegating ethnic Mexican students to schools that were within or near citrus industries.

To elaborate further, an oral history shared by a man born in a citrus labor community in Rancho Sespe, situated in Ventura County, offers profound insights into how the citrus industry influenced the educational experiences of ethnic Mexicans. Born in 1933 on Sespe ranch Antonio Nava’s life became intrinsically tied to the citrus industry. Sespe Ranch was a labor community owned by citrus growers where laborers, often ethnic Mexicans, were tied to one place of life

¹⁵⁶ Gonzalez, *Chicano Education*, 100.

fully encompassed by the world of labor. Nava states how he attended a school on the ranch called “San Cayetano” explaining that there were two schools located on the ranch one taking you from kindergarten to third grade and then another from third to fifth.¹⁵⁷ If children wanted any further education than fifth grade they had to figure out how to get to another school. He explains how these schools on the ranch were only for ethnic Mexican children, this being the late 1930s. Further illustrating the root of segregated “Mexican schools” beginning in citrus ranches. He explains how they were not allowed to speak Spanish in the school, or they were physically punished by the teacher.¹⁵⁸ This reflects an inferior practice as white Anglo children did not have to face these aggressive practices. Considering some children only knew Spanish this would leave them with no voice in school and no space to learn and grow. This would often turn to them finding no interest in school. Nava even explains how his eldest brothers decided to not finish school and instead work. This however did not stop children from speaking Spanish and from others teaching it to them. Nava explains how a teacher who was ethnically Mexican at Fillmore school would teach kids Spanish from her home to keep them in touch with their native language. Something else to consider is when the children were out of school the growers would hire the ethnic Mexican children to do manual labor, such as catching gophers as Nava did, or assisting in any way they could on the ranch.¹⁵⁹ Reinforcing the notion that the citrus industry fostered an environment that hindered academic growth while promoting labor development.

All this is to highlight the prevalence of the citrus industry in the practices of ethnic Mexican children's education. Ethnic Mexican men and women were intentionally paid some of the lowest wages in the citrus industry leaving their children having to assist and contribute to

¹⁵⁷ Antonio Nava, Interview by Lee August, Santa Paula, CA, August 10th, 1991.

¹⁵⁸ Nava, Interview, 1991.

¹⁵⁹ Nava, 1991.

work to feed themselves and their families. Former “rata” Alfred explains how if he wanted new clothes or rice to eat he would have to help his grandparents in the groves.¹⁶⁰ This responsibility put on children by the intentionally low wages of the citrus industry often left children falling behind and feeling as if there was no way of catching up. In addition to this, the work the children did in the groves allowed for negative stereotypes to be created, as they would often arrive at school after working in the groves all morning and would often be covered in dirt. This was not the fault of the child, but they would often be subjected to horrible name-calling and the implementation of separate schooling for them; since they were deemed as “dirty” and a “health concern.” It is important to note that the school system starting from the late 1910s up until the 1960s was created to reproduce ethnic Mexican children as farm laborers. They were sure to teach them agricultural and industrial skills that familiarized them with the world of unskilled labor rather than an academic world where much more could be pursued. Gonzalez explains that in 1934 Mexican student population was about 1500 in a citrus location and only 32 made it to eighth grade.¹⁶¹ These numbers can be explained by the many children who chose not to continue school and went to work in the groves full-time. How could they be blamed for dropping out early or not achieving academic success when all they were taught they were good enough for was picking oranges?

In light of these findings, this paper has argued that the citrus industry influenced ethnic Mexican education in the early twentieth century creating a path of inferior practices that were made to reproduce the children as laborers rather than further pursuing academics. By examining the structure of ethnic Mexican education within the citrus industry, it becomes evident that this cycle favored agricultural labor over post-secondary education, contributing to persistently low

¹⁶⁰ Armendariz, Interview. July 11, 2000

¹⁶¹ Gonzalez, *Chicano Education*, 111.

success and graduation rates among ethnic Mexicans for countless decades. This research is pivotal in understanding the history of the Inland Empire. The citrus industry's impact on ethnic Mexican education shaped individuals' lives and left a lasting mark on the region overall. By uncovering the roots of inferior practices, we gain deeper insights into the complexities of regional development and why similar instances persist today. Furthermore, this study holds significance for Mexican American history. It emphasizes the importance of recognizing the systemic barriers that were set in place to hinder educational advancement and perpetuate socioeconomic inequalities within the ethnic Mexican community. When we take time to recognize these historical injustices, we can further understand the struggles and resilience of ethnic Mexicans in their pursuit of equal education.

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“‘Allow Me to Inquire Through Your Valuable Paper’: The Christian Recorder's 'Information Wanted' and 'Lost Friends' Advertisements”

Karina Ruiz

DEAR EDITOR- Allow me to inquire through your valuable paper for my uncle. I left him in Georgia, Hurd County, in 1851. He belonged to a man by the name of Thos. Butler. My uncle's name was then Issac Butler. My name then was Issac Faniros. If through your valuable paper you can find out his whereabouts, please address me at Spring, Harris County, Texas. My wife wishes you to inquire through your paper for her sister. Her name was Lovenia; we called her Venus. Her sister left her in Cass, county Texas. She left for Alabama with a man by the name of Bob or Robert Allen. They left Texas about 1849.

She was Robert Allen's wife's servant. My wife's name then was Jennie Lemons.

ISSAC RAYFORD¹⁶²

Following emancipation, Black people constantly expressed a desire to reunite with kin. They searched for lost family members and friends, much like Issac Rayford looked for his wife. His situation is just one of a large population of Black folks who displayed an eagerness for reconnection. As much as they wanted to be with their loved ones, this basic need and desire was not always achieved in the post-slavery world. Black people had limitations on how they could define and pursue new freedom. In this specific area of searching for family members, Black people endlessly encountered a variety of obstacles that hindered their process. Many were simple obstacles, for example, Black people consistently changed their name (or were renamed by their

¹⁶² Issac Rayford. “Lost Friends Advertisements from the Southwestern Christian Advocate.” (The Historic New Orleans Collection 1879-1896).

owners) and were forced to migrate from plantation to plantation during slavery. These factors made it difficult for friends and family to access and retain information about each other and proved a barrier to moving forward with their search for loved ones. However, Black people instituted and actively practiced methods of their own to combat the poor circumstances they were forced into.

Profound and captivating scholarship has been written about the “Information Wanted” advertisements published by people like Issac Rayford through the Christian Recorder. Primarily, scholars focus on the sentimental aspects of these advertisements, depicting the emotional ties the Black community held. Understandably, the captivating stories of friends and family longing for connection and reuniting with one another are emotionally profound. This paper builds on that scholarship, but explores a different facet, analyzing the external factors of the publication process of the “Information Wanted” and “Lost Friends” advertisements and decoding the critical thought process that drew Black people to engage with this system of resources.

Free Black people had a relatively good understanding of the limitations of available services to assist them in reuniting with friends and family. The structural framework of the advertisements reveals these sources served more as a structural method for Black people rather than an emotion-driven process. Correspondingly, individuals knew that establishing, shaping, and exercising effective resources to achieve their goals was a responsibility they had to employ independently. Therefore, the paper also covers how the establishment and operation of the “Information Wanted” and “Lost Friends” sections in the Christian Recorder were perceived by Black individuals as an essential component of community-building. Ultimately, while posting advertisements initiated through a sentimental longing, the process was also a critical approach

to freedom-making that embodied the distinct tactics developed and employed by the emerging free Black community. Examining the content and structure of a collection of six “Information Wanted” and “Lost Friends” advertisements posted in the Philadelphia Christian Recorder Newspaper from 1865-1878 and the Southwestern Christian Advocate from 1879-1896, the paper argues that during the Reconstruction Era, newly freed folks critically created and implemented resources like the newspaper to construct one version of freedom.

The Origins Christian Recorder

The Christian Recorder was officially founded in 1852, in Philadelphia with its first formally edited publication by Revered M.M. Clark. Notably, it was about five years before the Recorder was up and running on a consistent schedule with subscribers. The establishment was freshly drafted in 1848 Philadelphia, named “The Christian Herald” by Augustus R. Green, before changing its name and owner. The newspaper had national locations and publications and was separated by western and southern regions. However, in 1952 the executive decision was made to combine the two into the Southwestern Christian Recorder.¹⁶³ Today, an online subscription for the Recorder is an option in addition to a variety of content, including the “Lost Friends” and “Information Wanted” advertisements being digitally accessible online.

Particularly, it was and continues to be affiliated with the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, which influenced the newspaper's content to an extent. While there was fair coverage of religious news, the newspaper also incorporated information about education, suffrage,

¹⁶³ The Christian Recorder. *A Brief History of the Christian Recorder*. (2022).

literature, family, slavery, the Civil War, racism, colonialism, and the like.¹⁶⁴ There was a variety of content and free Black subscribers could engage with any topics that appealed to them. The format of the Recorder was inclusive and extensive, creating an influential print culture that persists to this day within the Black community. However, one effect that the AME Church did have on the newspaper was its financial struggle and limited support. Due to the religious affiliation, there were no sufficient funds to run the paper as often as they preferred. Additionally, Reverend Green, the person in charge of the new Christian Recorder, placed a significant amount of effort into getting the paper up and running, dedicated enough to put forward his funds to pay for fees. After much struggle, the Christian Recorder was a weekly paper with a \$1.50 annual subscription that would focus on religion, morality, science, and literature.¹⁶⁵

The addition of the “Information Wanted” and “Lost Friends” columns was initiated in 1863, and they were sent out in groups through monthly publications of the newspaper.¹⁶⁶ Not much information can be found on the logistical guidelines for writing advertisements. From the available digitized examples gathered for this paper, most advertisements ran about four to five sentences with very few outliers that are as short as one sentence or as long as two paragraphs. Additionally, the majority of advertisements are signed by the publisher with their contact information. This was likely required by the newspaper outlet to have a solid connection between publishers and respondents. The initial response to the advertisements was optimistic. The newspaper agents saw these advertisements as a suitable representation of the themes the paper

¹⁶⁴ Britt Rusert, Review of “From Black Lit to Black Print: The Return to the Archive in African American Literary Studies,” by Eric Gardner, Lara Langer Cohen, Jordan Alexander Stein, George Hutchinson, John K. Young, and Christopher Hager. (*American Quarterly* 2016), 997-999.

¹⁶⁵ Eric Gardner. *Black Print Unbound: The Christian Recorder, African Literature, and Periodical Culture*. (Oxford University Press 2015), 34-37.

¹⁶⁶ Gardner, *Black Print Unbound*, 82.

focused on: family and reunion. Furthermore, the establishment of the advertisements was antithetical to runaway ads, one of the most popular forms of print culture during the Antebellum era. The direct opposition between the advertisements was perceived as a successful rebuttal against slavery in the wake of Reconstruction. Becoming one of the most popular sections, the “Information Wanted” and “Lost Friends” advertisements granted the Christian Recorder much of its popularity and success.¹⁶⁷

Existing Scholarship

The “Information Wanted” and “Lost Friends” columns are commonly engaged with and regarded under the historiography of Black print culture with the themes of family and reunion traditionally as the focus points. Scholars have intricately studied these sources to expand our knowledge of the history of the Black family and lineage. Considerably, Andrea Heather Williams’s book, “Help Me to Find My People: The African American Search for Family Lost in Slavery” is a staple piece in the field. Williams offers an analysis of the emotional challenges and simultaneous hope and pain enslaved people underwent due to familial separation and reuniting efforts. In her book, the author approaches various primary content, among which are the newspaper advertisements from the Christian Recorder to portray the complexities of the separation and reunion journey. Black folks coming out of slavery held on to sentiments of hope for family reunions, which drove their efforts to post advertisements with their last remaining funds or write multiple letters to the last known locations of their loved ones.¹⁶⁸ Williams concentrates on the emotional components of the advertisements, emphasizing a psycho-

¹⁶⁷ Gardner, *Black Print Unbound*, 82-83.

¹⁶⁸ Heather Andrea Williams. *Help Me to Find My People: The African American Search for Family Lost in Slavery*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012.), 149-155.

analyzation of how people were driven by emotion to locate their loved ones and the internal damage experienced when people failed to reunite with kin.

Transitioning from this perspective, scholars have explored literature content found in the *Christian Recorder* in correlation to the advertisements. Crystal S. Donkor's "Songs of Reunion: 'Information Wanted' Advertisements, Minnie's Sacrifice, and the Call-and-Response Tradition" journal article introduces a call-and-response ideology that involves fictional print culture and the publication of "Information Wanted" advertisements as a conversation between members of the Black community. Donkor suggests that periodical conversations occurred as responses to one another regarding family loss and reunion served as reminders of hopeful possibilities and as a form of literature analysis found within African-American print culture.¹⁶⁹ While Donkor's examination provides a fresh perspective on the advertisements as literary device, her findings prioritize emotional relationships as the primary takeaway from these advertisements.

Alternatively, the "Information Wanted" and "Lost Friends" advertisements also offer an intellectual perspective, similar to the call-and-response methodology that Donkor discusses. By focusing on the content of the advertisements this paper seeks to separate from that angle and instead expand and elevate the structural portion of the newspaper's content to explore how the advertisements provide a different view on self-imposed intellectual resources by the Black community during the Reconstruction era.

¹⁶⁹ Crystal S. Donkor. *Songs of Reunion: "Information Wanted" Advertisements, Minnie's Sacrifice, and the Call-and-Response Tradition*. (Johns Hopkins University Press 2023), 59-60.

Narrowing Down the Search

Content from the advertisements posted in the Christian Recorder suggests that Black Americans understood the difficulties in finding loved ones, and therefore meticulously occupied this space by prioritizing factual details about the people they searched for. A few factors had to be considered before publishing. First, people placing these advertisements knew that their publications were published alongside many more all at once weekly. This meant one's advertisement was not highlighted or appeared on its own in the paper, instead it would blend in with other publications. Secondly, the short template of the advertisements had a character limit, inevitably forcing people to filter through all the information they wanted to share and only include the most crucial. On the surface, these factors may seem trivial yet, as the advertisements will reveal, these policies act as initial indications of structurality to this process of freedom-making. Having an outline to follow combined with the consciousness that one's content was only in pages for a short week forced Black people to think methodically when posting advertisements. Ultimately, from the similarities within the content, there seems to be a consensus amongst the community that the advertisements had to be quick and straightforward. The most common information included: first and last names, nicknames, relation status with the publisher, last known address or location, and previous owner or employers.

Names, Nicknames & Relations

Including relation status, names, and nicknames may seem apparent and simple at first glance. However, publishers made sure to not only name-drop the person they wanted to track down but intricately include the history of names and nicknames alongside their relation to that person. Kinship within Black communities was framed around social networking and

interactions rather than by definite blood relations or births.¹⁷⁰ Scholars have conducted substantial research on the study of kin and its role in Black culture. The networks that Black people facilitated with people in their communities were sacred to them, as these were the people they could turn to when in need. The people one regards as their brother or cousin become a support system within a domestic network, creating non-traditional blood-line families.¹⁷¹ As a result, people referred to each other as mothers, sisters, uncles, and so on, even if they were not directly related. H.P. Riley, for instance, posted an advertisement in which he is looking for his brothers “Charles Copeland, Robert Damron, (often called Bob,) Peter Pryor, and Irvin Copeland”¹⁷² which don't all share the same surname, suggesting that they may have not all been directly related through birth. Nonetheless, Riley attaches a specific detail to each person for more specificity; “Charles; last heard from ten years...Bob, who went to the army four years ago...Peter Pryor, who was sold five years ago to Florida...Irvin; was sold twenty years since at Charleston.”¹⁷³ Instead of seemingly noting the person’s common name or a vague description of their relationship, publishers like Riley chose to enclose the relationships as they knew them. That is, Riley chose to refer to the men he was searching for as brothers most likely because that is how they referenced each other even if they were not related by familial lineage, not to hinder the search with any misunderstanding of names or relations.

Similarly, publishers explained how their friends and family were addressed by multiple names and specified the title that the publisher used to address that particular person. Naming

¹⁷⁰ Ira Berlin and Leslie S. Rowland. *Families and Freedom: a Documentary History of African-American Kinship in the Civil War Era* (New York: New Press 1997), 225.

¹⁷¹ Carol B. Stack. *All Our Kin: Strategies for Survival in a Black Community*. (New York: Harper & Row 1974), 93-94

¹⁷² H.P. Riley. *Last Seen: Finding Family After Slavery: H. P. Riley searching for their brothers Charles, Bob, and Irvin*. (The Christian Recorder Philadelphia, PA, December 2, 1865).

¹⁷³ Riley. *Last Seen*.

and nicknaming are predominantly labeled as familial affairs. Naming children under slavery took on different meanings. For some families, nicknames were sometimes acronyms, representations of peoples or places, and very often concealed from the public.¹⁷⁴ This implies that names and nicknames that were included in the advertisements may have been a private matter between the searcher and the searched, this would serve as a way to individualize one's advertisement. Issac Rayford's post exemplifies this concept through his wife's sister, whose public name is "Lovenia," but they called her "Venus."¹⁷⁵ This nickname makes the search more unique because it specifies that the Lovenia being searched was also known as Venus. The nickname makes the search more personal and specific, considering a situation in which a reader knew a woman named Lovenia, they would be able to cross-reference if they also went by Venus. While these details may seem minimal, in actuality they are being produced strategically to condense the profile of the person they are searching for. Noticing this, many publishers purposefully include the history of names and name changes alongside the relationship status in the advertisement so that anyone reading could group the details and better assist the search.

Last known Address/Location

Furthermore, physical movements and locations were common elements included in the advertisement because more than providing a physical location; they also provided a chronological timeline of the person's life. Migration, both willing and forced, was a regular occurrence in the lives of Black people. As Abigail Cooper contends, there is a direct link between migration and kin. The movement of Black people, both by forced enslavement and by personal autonomous

¹⁷⁴ Guillaume Durand. *The Survival of Names of African Origin in Martinique After Emancipation*. (Dialectical Anthropology 2001), 194-195.

¹⁷⁵ Rayford. *Lost Friends Advertisements*.

choice, affects familial and friendship relations through separation and loss of communication. To combat this effect, people like Mary Armstrong who traveled through multiple states to search for her mother, utilized techniques to investigate and record the movement of their loved ones. Mary, a newly freed young adult, conducted a geographical plan to search for her mother which involved intricate planning, interviewing people to acquire information, and piecing her mother's movement detail by detail. Voyages and networking like the ones Mary manifested were well-thought-out logistical practices that displayed an emotional spirit as much as an intelligent and elaborate attitude.¹⁷⁶ Mapping the order of moving from place to place provided a more individual experience to combat the commonality of movement.

America Ringo, who was searching for her 8-year-old daughter, Spencer Ann Ringo, kept track of her locations from her birthplace “Woodford, Ky.” to her taking “to Helena, Arkansas, and then to Covington, Ky.”¹⁷⁷ or Samuel Pollock who after departing from his uncles, continues to keep tabs on their whereabouts to the best of his ability; “Joe ran away from Dr. A. Brown during the war, and the last I heard of him was in Chicago, Illinois. Frank left to go to Texas with John Warren, and I have heard that he is there. Sam is in Louisiana.”¹⁷⁸ America’s and Samuel’s information reveals their consciousness of how critical it was to carefully observe the passage of their family and friends. Publishers like these folks exhibit advanced procedures for monitoring the locations of their relatives, often through strategic interactions. Reading through these advertisements, one can begin to recognize the specificity that each detail provides for the search

¹⁷⁶ Abigail Cooper. ‘*Away I Goin’ to Find My Mamma’*: *Self-Emancipation, Migration, and Kinship in Refugee Camps in the Civil War Era*. (The Journal of African American History 2017), 444-67.

¹⁷⁷ America Ringo. *Last Seen: Finding Family After Slavery, America Ringo looking for her 8-year-old daughter Spencer Ann Ringo and mother Ann Maria Stradford (1st of 2 ads placed for Spencer Ann)*, (The Christian Recorder, Philadelphia, PA, August 29, 1868).

¹⁷⁸ Samuel Pollock. *Lost Friends Advertisements from the Southwestern Christian Advocate*. (The Historic New Orleans Collection 1879-1896).

may not be so inconsequential but instead carried out with thoughtful intention.

Previous Owners or Employers

Comparatively, the mention of previous owners or employers and job titles was frequent. People may have chosen to include the names of slave owners to whom their lost family member or friend belonged because owners were well-known in particular areas. Certainly, if readers did not recognize the specific person that the subscriber was searching for, they could potentially recognize one or more of the owners listed in the advertisements. The popularity of plantation owners and the reputations they had created for themselves were utilized against them in this manner. Correspondingly, naming the types of jobs and employers supplied distinct areas of focus that the general newspaper subscribers could inquire about. Details of the sort supplemented the search with a specific area or region within a city or state.

Caroline Rodes, for example, was a child who was separated from her family and therefore could not retain information on them as well as adults like America Ringo and Samuel Pollock could. She vaguely recalls the names of her parents and siblings in addition to only knowing that she “was bred and born in Virginia, but am unable to name the county, for I was so young I don't recollect it; but I remember I lived twelve miles from a town called Danville. My master was James Ferill and my Mistress Martha Ferill... I was sold to his brother, a speculator, whose name was Wm. Ferill and was brought to Mobile at the age of 10 years... We belonged to James Ferill, except for one sister, Julia, and I don't know who she belonged to.”¹⁷⁹ Caroline had very little information to work with, however, she made sure to employ the details she was able to

¹⁷⁹ Caroline Rhodes. *Lost Friends Advertisements from the Southwestern Christian Advocate*. (The Historic New Orleans Collection 1879-1896).

remember in a precise manner. Her advertisement is yet another substantial case in which location is key. Although she did not recall the specific county she resided in, she shared the only memory she had regarding the distance from her home, to contextualize the brief moments of her life with her family. While these details are personal to the person being searched for, they occupy a public sphere that more people engage with. Naming the town and the mileage allows for a more explicit account of her search. Even if Caroline could not obtain information about her family through this vague description, she could potentially be supplied with information that could take her a step further in her search.

Moreover, Caroline included the full names and occupations of her owners, this is helpful because it attached an occupation to a heritage in addition to the location. With word-of-mouth culture, certainly, there must have been instances in which a subscriber read an advertisement where they recognized a white owner or employer by name, even at the briefest level. Eric Gardner conducted an extraordinary study of the subscribers of the *Christian Recorder*, examining the identities of 408 subscribers, he found that the majority were priests, male, between the ages of 21 and 50 years old. Nonetheless, Gardner urges us to observe beyond the written information and into the lives of these people. While many subscribers were men, they also had families with different types of readers (women, youth, family friends, etc.), therefore, the audiences of these advertisements were much more diverse than what records reveal.¹⁸⁰ Gardner's study asserts that subscribers belonged to various backgrounds and their reasoning for subscribing to the *Christian Recorder* varied as well, reaffirming the content of advertisements reached a wide range of people. His findings support the idea that the information within one advertisement could catch

¹⁸⁰ Eric Gardner. *Remembered (Black) Readers: Subscribers to the 'Christian Recorder', 1864-1865*. (*American Literary History* 23, 2011), 243-246

the attention of multiple people. For instance, while a male subscriber may not be able to identify Caroline's owners, maybe his wife whose history of domestic labor would allow her to be familiar with the names or occupations of slave owners could have recognized the names.

Correspondingly, placing attention on the slave owners or employers was a smart device to attract the attention of as many people as possible towards a particular advertisement when other personal pieces of information, like nicknames and location, were simply lacking. As was unfortunately Caroline's reality. Having this type of information out there gave the search more angles and points of focus that could allow readers to make connections and potentially boost the search. Caroline's experience reveals how, even in cases where subscribers were unsure of the state of their family, they elaborately applied other knowledge to their advantage in their search. Caroline's search shows not just her keen ability to work with that little information she had, but a structural methodological approach to processing new freedom.

Hattie Johnson: Outliers in Content

There are a couple of advertisements that stand as exceptions to the constructive style that has been outlined in this paper. Hattie Johnson's search for Henry Clark published on October 3rd, 1878 is one such example; A 100-year-old blind woman, Johnson, did not provide any location or owner details to the newspaper but instead shared details about her own state of being. She says: "Will you please oblige a blind woman? I cannot see, but I will meet you in heaven to which I am bound."¹⁸¹ Immediately, this advertisement's details and format stand out compared to others,

¹⁸¹ Hattie Johnson. *Last Seen: Finding Family After Slavery, Hattie Johnson searching for Henry Clark*, (The Christian Recorder Philadelphia, PA, October 3, 1878).

communicating a different intent. A combination of a lack of details on Henry Clark and an emphasis on her stage in life signifies that Johnson, perhaps understanding her physical limitations, seeks a different kind of unification.

By mentioning heaven and her old age, Hattie communicates the idea that she might pass on soon and will not have enough time to thoroughly pursue this search for Henry Clark. This alertness of her conditions might serve as an explanation as to why the content in her advertisement differs from the others. Realistically, Hattie did not have access to the same structural methods as the publishers of previous advertisements. It is possible that, with her age, she forgot certain details about her friend that she previously learned or was unsure of his whereabouts. Additionally, her blindness added another layer of obstacles that impaired her advertisement. Black disabled people were neglected to a larger extent when compared to able-bodied freed Blacks. A lack of resources, support, and understanding from federal agents of disabled individuals left this group of people to comprehend and attend to their struggles on their own. Medical attention was not an option for disabled Black people as the federal state was not open to hearing their requests. When the Freedmen's Bureau attempted to aid the issue with the establishment of asylums, their poor funding, white prejudiced workers, and limited knowledge of disability led to more negligence.¹⁸² Hattie Johnson appears to have a conscious understanding of her limitations and lack of support to find her friend. For this reason, her advertisement differs in content but not in strategy. In other words, her posting reads a notice to Henry Clark about her conditions and time barrier rather than a search. Regardless of the intention or purpose of her

¹⁸² Jim Downs. *The Continuation of Slavery: The Experience of Disabled Slaves during Emancipation*. (Disability Studies Quarterly 2008).

advertisement, Hattie continues to exhibit vigilance and thoughtfulness in her posting, contributing to the overarching theme of strategic thinking.

Therefore, Hattie Johnson's advertisement serves as testimony instead of opposition to the idea that people heavily relied on specificity and attentiveness when posting advertisements. Her state of being and emotional content confirms that Black people were actively aware of the probability of finding their lost friends and family members. For Hattie Johnson, the chances seemed to be slight, and her words resembled her recognition of this probability, explaining why she published a heartfelt publication that read more as a goodbye rather than a structural search.

The Value of a Black-Owned Source & Concluding Thoughts

What did it mean to be free as a Black person in the newly emancipated South? Who was responsible for outlining the possibilities of this newfound freedom? What would that freedom look like? Recognizing the Recorder as a strategic source introduces these questions along with concerns about value and effectiveness. Black people immediately noticed that it was their responsibility to engage in and outline freedom, redefining their status as free people along the way.¹⁸³ Unfortunately, gathering data on how many distraught individuals reunited with their families through the "Information Wanted" and "Lost Friends" publications is not accurately attainable. Rather than focus on numbers to measure the value of the newspaper, the emphasis can instead be placed on the engagement activity of Black people.

Individuals from this community perceived the Recorder as a productive facility. This is

¹⁸³ David J. Smith. *We Ask Only for Even-Handed Justice: Black Voices from Reconstruction, 1865-1877*. (University of Massachusetts Press, 2014), 10-11.

told through the appreciative words they wrote in the advertisements. Many, like Issac Rayford and Caroline Rhodes, understood the value of their advertisements. They began their ads with phrases such as “through your valuable paper...”¹⁸⁴ and then continued to include their individual information. By writing sentences of this nature, they emphasized the tools they used and placed esteem in their purpose, suggesting that Black people exercised the assets at their disposal to achieve their goals. Considering this common occurrence within the advertisements, one answer to the question of effectiveness can be gathered.

Notably, there was a significant appreciation and trust placed in ministers, who were the main readers of the newspaper. In various postings, people promptly requested that ministers read their advertisements out loud in their services. Just like American Ringo who ended her advertisement with an urgent request that “Pastors will please read to their congregations!”¹⁸⁵ or Caroline Rhodes who explicitly asked that “All Christian papers please copy, and all preachers in charge will please assist me in finding my long lost friends,” many publishers solicited this support in their publications.¹⁸⁶ The role of AME ministers was a crucial one. Ministers expanded the reach of the Christian Recorder; they served as assistance with funding, publication, and as noticed in the advertisements, circulating the newspaper’s content. They were highly regarded as a central piece to the newspaper and the religious community.¹⁸⁷ Similarly, a significant portion of the Christian Recorder subscribers were ministers who often embodied a personal responsibility to serve the Black community as best as they could. Intending to gain more subscriptions, the priest had the opportunity to engage with Black folks and listen to their desires.¹⁸⁸ These efforts

¹⁸⁴ Rayford. “Lost Friends Advertisements.”

¹⁸⁵ Ringo. “Last Seen.”

¹⁸⁶ Rhodes. “Lost Friends Advertisements.”

¹⁸⁷ Gardner. *Black Print Unbound*, 32-33.

¹⁸⁸ Gardner. *Remembered (Black) Readers*, 237-240.

made by Black ministers placed them in the middle of the readers and the publishers, granting them the accountability to help in the searches for the “Information Wanted” and “Lost Friends” columns. The relationship between publishers and ministers demonstrates how resources during this period were framed and exercised. The Black community relied on ministers for support in community finding and building in the post-Civil War era.

The request to ministers was also a tactical one. Literacy in the Black community, as a result of centuries of slavery and punitive legislation, was minimal and low quality. Black people in the post-emancipation era were nonetheless determined to establish schools and methods to teach each other to read and write; it was difficult, however, to include adults within these systems. The educational movement served primarily to teach children and women literature. The adamant request to have advertisements be read out loud was a deliberative approach by illiterate men and women. While it helped the attention of the advertisement, it was also a critical form of communicating information to people who could not read or afford a subscription to the newspaper. Yet again, an additional layer of thought and critical reasoning exists behind the advertisements. As a response to the lack of educational resources during the Reconstruction era, this method displays quick-minded resilience on behalf of the Black community.

Consequently, after analyzing the engagement within the newspaper from all parties, the value of the paper can rightfully be attributed to the people using the newspaper, specifically the publishers, readers, and ministers of the “Information Wanted” and the “Lost Friends” columns. There is no doubt that the Recorder was founded, managed, and employed by the Black

community. Black Americans dominated its functions and engagement as the newspaper belonged to them. This confirms the capacity to establish and manage resources required for people's goals during the Reconstruction era. This Black-owned newspaper was an instrumental amenity, which encouraged people to engage in critical thought when posting their advertisements. Therefore, the Christian Recorder can be interpreted as a reciprocal cycle in which the source gave people hope, but the people gave the source value. Certainly, while publishers were primarily seeking their lost relatives through advertisements, the relationship between people and the advertisements provides insight into how Black folks attempted to sustain kinship values.

Ultimately, identifying and emphasizing the structural aspect of the "Information Wanted" and "Lost Friends" advertisements in The Christian Recorder reveals the sophisticated ways Black people defined their lives and freedom in the Reconstruction era. While the advertisements provide heart-wrenching stories of lost families, they also reveal a more strategic and profound method of freedom-making. As people discovered what freedom constituted for them, they were critically assessing their objectives even if their hearts drove them. Acknowledging the significant amount of thought and practice people inserted in their search for families and friends ascribes a superior intellectual role to this history. Concentrating on this aspect of the advertisements is an effort to confront the continuous disregard for the intelligent tactfulness of Black people's actions as they designed their freedom. Compiling as many specific details about the particular individual they were looking for, their names, their location, their potential whereabouts, and their histories, Black people transformed the Christian Recorder advertisements into a resource not only for Black reunification but also for Black history and Black futures.

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“The Impact of Gymnasia and Language in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt”

Slater Vis

Abstract

My paper will explore the impact gymnasia and language had on hybridization between the Egyptians and the Greeks in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. It will also go against the prominent claim in historiography that contemporary Greeks and Egyptians had a we versus they relationship. For gymnasia the central focus is the fact that the Greeks immediately allowed the native Egyptians to join and the requirements were as such that even poorer Egyptians could join. Language will be argued through many examples of bilingualism, which display hybridization. Through primarily these two things it will be shown that the relationship between the Greeks and Egyptians living in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt was far too nuanced to support the claim that their relationship was we versus they.

In order to properly understand whether or not hybridization occurred in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt and to what extent, gymnasia and language need to be examined. The gymnasia was through and through a massively Greek institution, yet participation was allowed for native Egyptians; in fact the requirements were such that even those with more humble professions could join. In terms of language, bilingualism was embraced at a family level allowing for families to hybridize and embrace both languages. It was also welcomed in local governments, allowing a mix of both Egyptian and Greek government officials. These examples are important to discuss as they help counter the prominent claim in recent historiography that the Greeks and Egyptians in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt had a we versus they relationship. Gymnasia and Language had a large impact on the hybridization that occurred between the Greeks and the Egyptians in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt.

Prominent buildings were a large part of Hellenistic culture one of which being the gymnasium, an important part of any Greek city. The gymnasium was the primary location for education and recreation, with its goal being to give its participants strength in body and mind.¹⁸⁹ Gymnasiums were not only in the Greek cities of Egypt but in fact most were in Egyptian villages, offering the potential for Egyptian villagers to experience the aforementioned development.¹⁹⁰ The gymnasium was brought into Egypt by the Hellenes, a social class beginning with Greek emigrants.¹⁹¹ The gymnasium was so important to them because it established social recognition for them as Greek, something that they were used to but was not present in Egyptian society.¹⁹² It's important to note though, that the Hellenes were not restricted to ethnic Greeks, rather occupation, education, and way of life determined peoples inclusion.¹⁹³ This of course means that some native Egyptians were a part of this class and as such had at least publicly embraced the gymnasium and the Greek language.¹⁹⁴ Gymnasiums being present in the cities, settlements and villages of Egypt, opened the door for native Egyptians to experience a place where they acted Greek, with some at least partially embracing further that culture.

The prerequisites for admission into the gymnasium helped decide which native Egyptians even had the means to join. Now unfortunately there is not any papyri available with a list of these requirements, so instead context and less direct papyri have to be used. One of which is that new members often had a sort of entry fee, with one papyrus detailing that new members paid for new portraits; however this entry fee must not have been large enough to hinder

¹⁸⁹ Mario Paganini, *Gymnasia and Greek Identity in Ptolemaic Egypt*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), 197.

¹⁹⁰ Paganini, *Gymnasia and Greek Identity*, 114.

¹⁹¹ Paganini, 11.

¹⁹² Paganini, 11.

¹⁹³ Paganini, 11.

¹⁹⁴ Paganini, 11.

admission, as a Roman census shows many members of the gymnasia with humble professions.¹⁹⁵ Greek was unsurprisingly the uniform language of the gymnasium, thus this requirement also helps to give additional reasons why an Egyptian native might learn Greek. For Ptolemaic Egypt no accounts of women in gymnasium exist, thus there seems to be a male requirement; however Roman Egypt does have examples, so this rule was eventually changed.¹⁹⁶ Male Egyptians seemingly from all walks of life could join the gymnasia and possibly have the culture of them and their descendants drastically changed.

The Egyptians able to join the gymnasia were seemingly not entirely limited from rising in the ranks and becoming prominent members. One such gymnasiarch in Augustan time, a gymnasiarch being an official for the gymnasium, had a father with an Egyptian name.¹⁹⁷ Another example being a member of a second century B.C. gymnasium, whose name Sarapammon, was derived from Sarapis, a mixed Hellenistic-Egyptian god.¹⁹⁸ Finally mummy labels display a family likely during the time of Roman rule with mixed Greek-Egyptian names.¹⁹⁹ Anoubion from the Egyptian god Anubis was a gymnasiarch, his father was Arabos from Arabius a mythological Greek character, and he was married to Thais from the Greek god Thesis.²⁰⁰ This is admittedly a small sample size considering gymnasia were present in many Egyptian villages, cities, and settlements; yet these examples still show how mixed families could not only be a part of the gymnasium, but also could hold elevated positions inside the institution itself.

¹⁹⁵ CPI II 361; P.Oxy.Census

¹⁹⁶ PSI Congr. XXI 13

¹⁹⁷ BGU IV 1189

¹⁹⁸ P.RYL. IV 589

¹⁹⁹ SB I 3460

²⁰⁰ SB I 3460

The presence of native Egyptians and Egyptian culture helps less directly show their involvement in the gymnasium and their impact on it. In one instance ex-ephebes made dedications to the Egyptian god Sobek, ephebes being the young men trained at the gymnasium.²⁰¹ These men were almost certainly either native Egyptians or Greco-Egyptian and thus it gives further evidence of Egyptian involvement in the gymnasium. In another instance more ex-ephebes made dedications to a variety of different Greek and Egyptian gods.²⁰² There is also a gymnasiarch who offered a votive offering to Thoth an Egyptian god and Ammon a Greek god.²⁰³ Though more examples have been shown of Egyptians or Greco-Egyptians present in gymnasium, it's critical to remember that throughout Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt the gymnasium remained a very Greek institution. With this in mind the examples in this paragraph back up the examples in the prior paragraph and together confirm the presence of native Egyptians and mixed Greco-Egyptians in the gymnasium.

Roman Egypt and its gymnasiums differ in a few ways, yet early resistance to these changes help to show the prominence of gymnasiums in Ptolemaic Egypt. First of all gymnasiums were only allowed in the nome capitals, thus village gymnasiums were all but destroyed.²⁰⁴ The rules of admission also got more strict, as the Romans wanted Greek to be the superior culture and thus 'Greekness' was even more expected to be shown by the gymnasium's members.²⁰⁵ Now to reiterate, ethnicity was not a requirement to join gymnasiums in Ptolemaic times and this does not change, rather people who now want to join are simply advertised as even

²⁰¹ CPI II 294-296

²⁰² CPI II 384

²⁰³ 44:1508

²⁰⁴ Paganini *Gymnasia and Greek Identity*, 233

²⁰⁵ Paganini, 234

more Hellenized.²⁰⁶ At least early on this did not seem to hinder Egyptian participation as a late first century census of Lycopolis, shows many members of the gymnasium with Egyptian names.²⁰⁷ Though Egyptian names in gymnasiums would not last throughout Roman control, the evidence of it early on during Roman rule, shows how many Egyptians had joined gymnasiums during the Ptolemaic period.²⁰⁸ Some of those Egyptians who joined in became hellenes while retaining some aspects of their Egyptian culture, creating a new social identity in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. This identity is so interesting as it is involved in something so Greek, yet includes the worship of Egyptian gods and probably still some involvement in the rest of Egyptian culture.

This new identity formed due to a few factors, the gymnasium being one of the strongest among them. Men made up the vast majority of Greeks emigrating to Egypt, of course resulting in intermarriage and mixed children as a necessity.²⁰⁹ The identity of those Egyptian or mixed children in gymnasium was in constant flux, always going between the extremes of the two cultures. When they were in the gymnasium, they were fully Hellenized, as they had to be to even be accepted into the gymnasium; yet at the same time, some as has been mentioned above, continued to follow Egyptian traditions and worship Egyptian gods.²¹⁰ This cultural identity was powerful, as it was able to link itself to the Ptolemaic kings, since of course in the gymnasium they shared the traditions of Greek culture. They also were seen as prestigious people by the Egyptians, because the gymnasium was represented by important and powerful people. So even

²⁰⁶ Paganini, 234

²⁰⁷ P.Oxy.Census

²⁰⁸ Paganini *Gymnasia and Greek Identity*, 235

²⁰⁹ Paganini *Gymnasia and Greek Identity*, 235

²¹⁰ CPI II 294-296

if the member themselves was not rich and powerful, they could be seen as part of the upper strata of society by other Egyptians not involved in the gymnasium. The gymnasium was a major catalyst for the creation of a new identity for Egyptian natives and mixed Greco-Egyptian children.

Bilingualism in Ptolemaic Egypt was bound to somewhat occur; however the plethora and variety of examples shows bilingualism was definitely more prominent than what was simply necessary and thus can be used as a clear example of hybridization. One of these examples is the gymnasium which offered a clear situation where Egyptians would learn Greek. As has been stated Greek was the official language of the gymnasium and thus required for participation. As such the many examples previously given of Egyptians participating in gymnasium means that all of them had to have learned Greek. Thus the new identity of people participating in both gymnasia and Egyptian customs is even more interconnected as they can speak both languages. Egyptian participation in gymnasia gives a clear example of a situation forcing the learning of the Greek language and gives further complexity to the new forming identity.

The city leadership of El-Hibeh offers us valuable insight on Egyptians learning Greek to rise in the social ladder and the equal opportunity offered to them once they did. Papyri from El-Hibeh has shown the names of officials from El-Hibeh. Offering the potential to view statistics in the bureaucracy of the city. The statistics show relatively equal numbers of Greeks and non-Greeks as officials.²¹¹ This naturally leads to the conclusion of equal opportunity in city

²¹¹ P. Hib 1 and 2

leadership once an Egyptian has learned Greek. Of course El-Hibeh is just one city and as such widespread claims are not concrete; however we can derive from the papyri that equal opportunity was allowed in at least one town.

Greeks learning Egyptian was rarer but there are still some examples of it occurring. There is a letter from a mother congratulating her son on learning Egyptian.²¹² Some have argued that this does not reveal anything about cultural hybridization as he only learned Egyptian to become a teacher.²¹³ This seems like a stretch of an argument as the Greek son could have just as easily been motivated to both learn Egyptian and get a job because of it. In addition despite his motivations, having culturally Greek people teaching Egyptian can only lead to greater hybridization. This example of a Greek learning Egyptian is illuminating in the ways that it could influence cultural hybridization.

A controversial example of Greeks knowing Egyptian is from a letter between Ptolemaios and Achilles, which switches between Egyptian and Greek in the midst of the letter.²¹⁴ Ptolemaios and Achilles are most likely Greek or mixed Greco-Egyptian from their names; though the possibility of them being Hellenized Egyptians who want to present themselves as Greek, similar to those participating in the gymnasia is not impossible. Achilles of course comes from the legendary Greek hero and Ptolemaios after the first Ptolemy. The first part of the letter the sender Ptolemaios writes in Greek to the recipient Achilles, then when he wants to start discussing his dream Ptolemaios says he has to switch to Demotic, the native Egyptian language.

²¹² H. Idris Bell, "Hellenic Culture in Egypt." *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 8, no. 3/4 (1922): 146. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3853691>.

²¹³ E.R. Bevan. *The House of Ptolemy* (London: Methuen Publishing 1927), Chapter 4 section 1

²¹⁴ P. Cairo 10313

The possible reasons for this switch are vast and have been covered; though the most likely explanation proposed is that Ptolemaios simply was more comfortable speaking in Demotic and thus could articulate the complexities of his dream more completely.²¹⁵ Ultimately despite the reason, the bilingual nature of the two men are most important for our purposes. Ptolemaios beginning his letter in Greek and continuing it in Demotic gives further examples of most likely Greek or mixed people embracing bilingualism.

More writings utilizing both Demotic and Greek come from Nekthembes and Apollonios. These names point to an Egyptian and a Greek, Nekthembes from Nekhbet an Egyptian goddess and Apollonios derived from the Greek god Apollo. Nekthembes wrote a series of accounts of his dreams in a corrupted form of Demotic and Apollonios wrote personal accounts predominantly in Greek but with some in Demotic.²¹⁶ The counterargument to Nekthembes writings is due to his flawed use of Demotic, the usage of Greek letters for Demotic words.²¹⁷ This should not necessarily discount his attempt at bilingualism though as he could have easily just written his dreams in Greek. The counterargument of Apollonios' Demotic writings is that Apollonios might not himself have written his Demotic writings. This is not as strong, since it does not make sense that Apollonios would want writings in a language he cannot read, when he has previously authored writings in his other tongue.²¹⁸ Apollonios and to some extent Nekthembes provide further examples of bilingualism among the Greek and Egyptian named population.

²¹⁵ Luigi Prada, "Dreams, Bilingualism, and Oneiromancy in Ptolemaic Egypt: Remarks on a Recent Study." *Zeitschrift Für Papyrologie Und Epigraphik* 184 (2013): 113-117. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23849917>.

²¹⁶ Stephen Kidd, "Dreams in Bilingual Papyri from the Ptolemaic Period." *The Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 48 (2011): 119. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24519986>. P. Bologna 3171 and 3173

²¹⁷ Kidd, "Dreams in Bilingual Papyri," 119.

²¹⁸ Kidd, 121.

Greek was obviously the administrative language and as such even in the cities far from Alexandria, Greek and Demotic were both used in contracts and laws. A marriage contract between two Greeks was written entirely in Greek despite the contract not being from one of the Greek cities in Egypt.²¹⁹ This helps introduce one of the counter arguments to this paper, the idea that Greeks and Egyptians had different laws and those laws were in their respective languages. This of course means that they would not need bilingualism making it a strong argument against the idea of bilingualism in Ptolemaic Egypt; however the following paragraph will show that some families did use both languages in their laws and contracts. It is also important to remember that the previous examples displayed in this paper dispute overarching claims that bilingualism either was dominant or was not at all present. Though contracts and laws were written in distinct languages this does not necessarily mean that everyone only had to know their own language.

Sometimes the difference in language required for certain contracts can show further bilingualism as people would have to know both languages. The archive of Dryton, his wife Appolonia and their offspring, has things written in both Greek and Demotic.²²⁰ Dryton's and his family's native language was Greek and as such their personal letters were written in Greek; however the lack of a Greek notary office in Pathyris where they lived forced them to write their loans in Demotic.²²¹ This archive becomes more interesting when considering Dryton's offspring of which at least three of his daughters married native Egyptians.²²² This action in of itself would

²¹⁹ P Eleph. 1.

²²⁰ Vanderpe Katelijn and Waebens Sofie. *Reconstructing Pathyris' Archives A multicultural Community In Hellenistic Egypt*, 90.

²²¹ Vanderpe and Waebens, *Reconstructing Pathyris*, 89-90.

²²² Vanderpe and Waebens, 89.

necessitate bilingualism but their personal letters and contracts further show it. Their personal letters are now entirely Demotic; however their petitions are Greek and their loans are now mixed Greek and Demotic because Pathryis then had a Greek notary office.²²³ The archives of Dryton, his wife Appolonia and their descendants show the necessity of bilingualism resulting from contracts and inter-marriage.

Egyptian scribes also began to embrace bilingualism, helping to explain how laws were transcribed in both languages and how reports could be given to the Greek bastion of Alexandria from the far away villages. A list has been compiled of fifty eight Greek writings from the third century B.C. that use the instrument associated with Demotic writings.²²⁴ Egyptian and Greek writers used different types of pens and since it is noticeable which type of pen is being used, it can be safely said that these writings came from Egyptians.²²⁵ Unfortunately this only works for a short period of time as from the second century B.C. the Greek kalamos was used exclusively.²²⁶ Egyptian scribes who could write in Greek have been clearly shown as present in the beginning of Ptolemaic rule.

The Egyptian priesthood seems to suddenly shift to embracing bilingualism after Roman rule; though the reasons for this shift will show why the priesthood is not a reliable portion of society for this paper, with just a few exceptions. The evidence of their bilingualism is most clearly shown by a few ostrakas, simply pieces of pottery.²²⁷ These ostrakas are from the second

²²³ Vandorpe and Waebens, 89-90.

²²⁴ Clarysse Willy Egyptian Scribes writing Greek *Chronique d'Égypte Association Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth* 1993, 190-192.

²²⁵ John Tait, "Rush and Reed: the pens of Egyptian and Greek scribes," *Proceedings XVIII Internat. Congress of Papyrology, Athens* 1986, 477-481

²²⁶ Clarysse "Egyptian Scribes writing Greek," 193.

²²⁷ O.Narm. 1 and 2.

century A.D. coming from a temple of Medinet Madi and they are Greek, Egyptian, or both. The most important question is why the priests made the switch; as throughout Ptolemaic rule there are only four known examples of traditional priestly writings in Greek.²²⁸ It is especially odd though as there was no official Roman edict banning the priests from using Demotic.²²⁹ The motivation that has been suggested is that Greek was simply easier to write in than Demotic, yet this does not really properly explain the totality of Greek usage.²³⁰ The most likely cause then is that there was an informal prevention by the Romans of the use of Demotic by priests. This makes sense as priests had been the ringleader for revolt before, something the Romans would obviously want to prevent.²³¹ Ultimately the exact means which the Romans used to censor Demotic is not necessarily relevant to this paper; however what is relevant is that the Egyptian priesthood most likely were not willingly bilingual and thus besides the four examples listed from Ptolemaic rule, priests cannot be reliably used for the goal of this paper.

The main counter argument to the ideas of this paper is that there was a we versus they relationship between the Greeks and the Egyptians. What they mean by this is that the Greeks and the Egyptians were almost entirely separate; it was the conquerors and the conquered with little hybridization in between.²³² Another important acknowledgement made is that the Greeks simply had to hybridize with the Egyptians in some regards, considering there was a large Egyptian majority. While this paper does agree that this did impact some forms of hybridization, the impact is not enough by itself to dispute hybridization; as well there are examples of

²²⁸ P.Mil.Vogl. III 127; P. Firenze Museo Egiziano inv. 10082; P.A. Fackelmann 9; PSI XVII 14.

²²⁹ Pauline Ripat, "*The Language of Oracular Inquiry in Roman Egypt.*" *Phoenix* 60, no. 3/4 (2006): 305. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20304615>.

²³⁰ Clarysse "Egyptian Scribes," 188.

²³¹ Ripat "*Oracular Inquiry*" 315.

²³² Lewis Naphtali *Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 4.

hybridization not impacted by this acknowledgement. Ultimately when considering the effects of gymnasia, religion, and language it is clear to see that a black and white perspective of we versus they should not be used to sum up such a nuanced relationship.

Religion is not a central focus in this paper however it is still important to mention as it helps to show the aforementioned nuanced relationship. The most notable hybridization god between Greek and Egyptian religion is Sarapis. Sarapis had temples both in the Greek capital Alexandria and many non-Greek villages.²³³ Another religious similarity was both the Greeks and Egyptians treating the ruling ptolemy as a god.²³⁴ The similarities of cults and the prominence of a coalition god express the group's hybridization of religion in some aspects. Of course they did not align in all aspects of religion however neither group is found explicitly dismissing the others' more unique beliefs. In fact the Greeks respected and related to the idea of 'neighborhood' deities, meaning that certain gods were focused on by certain areas.²³⁵ The other counters are that the priesthood spoke primarily Demotic and that the Greek cities like Alexandria largely only had Greek cults.²³⁶ Though these counters are true and formidable they are not enough to fully dispute the former examples given of hybridization; so religion was clearly an element too nuanced to support the estimation that the Greeks and Egyptians were only we versus they.

²³³ Strabo. *Geography*, Volume VIII: Book 17. General Index. Translated by Horace Leonard Jones. Loeb Classical Library, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1932), 267. Sozomen. *History of the Church* translated by Edward Walford, (London: Bohn's Ecclestial Library), 7:15.

²³⁴H. Idris Bell, "Graeco-Egyptian Religion." *Museum Helveticum* 10, no. 3/4 (1953): 222. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24811829>. Diodorus Siculus. *Library of History*, Volume X: Books 19.66-20. Translated by Russel M. 20 100.

²³⁵Bell, "Graeco-Egyptian Religion," 223.

²³⁶ P Cair. Zenon I, 59028, 7.; P Cair. Zenon III, 59350, 5.

The gymnasia is another important aspect of this hybridization and as such reiteration from the earlier writings of this paper will occur. Even from the beginning the Hellenes social class established by the gymnasia was not limited to only Greeks. The Greeks stood by and continued this policy, shown clearly with the many aforementioned examples of Egyptians joining and sometimes even rising in the ranks of the gymnasium. Importantly these Egyptians were also not even fully Hellenized as examples have been shown of gymnasia participants still worshipping Egyptian gods and sticking to Egyptian culture. This paper simply cannot stress enough that the gymnasia was the thing that gave the Greeks identity in Ptolemaic Egypt; yet from the beginning they allowed Egyptians to join. Thus the gymnasia is one of the strongest examples of hybridization and distinctly shows the flaws of the we versus they argument.

The city of El-Hibeh is yet another example of hybridization even occurring in local bureaucracies. To restate El-Hibeh's local officials had an equal mix of Egyptian and Greek names, with the Egyptians having learned Greek considering it was the administrative language. El-Hibeh was not one of the Greek cities in Ptolemaic Egypt, yet it did not restrict Greeks from joining the local government; as well despite Greek being the administrative language Egyptians who learned it were granted equal opportunity to join local rule. These things in combination do not prove full hybridization as it is still just one city; however it does show another example of Egyptians and Greeks not limiting each other in Ptolemaic Egypt, something which would occur in a we versus they relationship.

Other examples of bilingualism such as the large number of Egyptian scribes who learned Greek help in a similar way to the El-Hibeh example. To recall there were a large number of

examples of clearly Egyptian scribes writing in the Greek language. These scribes are very important members of society and despite the Egyptian majority they still learned to write in Greek. This is another example of Egyptians receiving equal if not even greater treatment once they learn Greek, as they are able to hold a prominent local position.

There is an additional counterargument to some of the examples this paper has given, however it does not fully dispute hybridization and still allows for the nuanced relationship to continue. The counterargument simply being that Egyptians had to be allowed into prominent positions as there were not enough Greeks, the same thing necessitating inter-marriage. The problem with this counterargument is that it is not strong enough to make the claim that Egyptians and Greeks were we versus they. Yes, the allowance of Egyptians into the bureaucracy of El-Hibeh, and into becoming scribes, was impacted by their strong majority; however the initial allowance of Egyptians into the gymnasia and the creation of coalition gods and similar cults were not impacted. While the Greeks in some cases may have had limited options in restricting the Egyptian population, that by itself does not disprove the idea of hybridization between the two peoples.

Through the lens of primarily gymnasia and language it is clear to see that hybridization both forced and unforced occurred between the Egyptians and Greeks living in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. This hybridization disproves the black and white conclusion that the Egyptians and Greeks had a we versus they relationship. The admission of people with humbler professions in the gymnasia and the presence of prominent coalition gods and cults show that hybridization occurred throughout all wealth classes of society; though admittedly the wealthier classes did

have more opportunities for hybridization. The allowance and participation of Egyptian natives in the gymnasia; along with the many examples of bilingualism among both Greeks and Egyptians at a micro and macro level clearly show the prominence of hybridization in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt.

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"Eagles Dances Unpracticed and Ceremonial House Burned"

Zach Hanson

In the tenth century AD, for the first time in known history, a White Man, Leif Erikson, landed upon the Americas. Upon his landing, he established a small settlement, beginning a thousand-year history of foreign occupation in the Americas. Five hundred years later, in 1519, a White Man again landed upon mainland America. Hernándo Cortés, permitted and aided by the Tlaxcalans, Tetzcochah, Totonac peoples, and several other allied indigenous powers, invaded Tenochtitlan, now Mexico City, forcing Iberian rule upon mainland America. In these five hundred years and from time immemorial, the Cahuilla, or *'iviñuqaletem*, peoples inhabited and nurtured the lands in present-day Southeastern California, living and fulfilling a lifestyle which had been passed down for innumerable generations. Divided into tens of clans and two moieties, the Wildcat (*Túktum*) and Coyote (*Ístam*) moieties, these peoples have were classified by anthropologist and linguist David Prescott Barrows as being of three origins: Mountain Cahuilla, who resided in the San Jacinto and Santa Rosa Mountains, Desert Cahuilla, who lived in the deserts above the present-day Salton Sea and around the now-dry Lake Cahuilla, and Pass Cahuilla, who lived in San Gorgonio Pass. Although these divisions matched the familial divides of the Cahuilla peoples, they would have contemporarily identified with their clan rather than a geographic association.

They farmed, hunted and gathered for sustenance, the land around them providing bountifully, few going hungry amidst the wealth of flora and fauna, living sedentarily for years and decades at a time unless extreme circumstances prevented them from doing so.²³⁷ Conflicts and other setbacks occurred, as they would anywhere, but these peoples were their own rulers, immortalized in their contemporary exonym, Cahuilla, “master or ruling people” in their tongue.²³⁸ Stolen slowly at first under the Spanish *reducciones* (which they existed on the far borders of), but then more quickly under the rule of the US, the tranquility which these tribespeople had known for centuries was eroded through disease, displacement and colonial violence.²³⁹

Methodology and Purpose

This analysis seeks to present a cursory image of the Cahuilla folk religion and to dissect these final moments of Cahuilla religious folk practice, and the secularization of these rituals as they survive today. Through varied primary sources, particularly oral histories from Cahuilla elders (see Siva and Elliot’s *’Isill Héqwas Wáxish = A Dried Coyote’s Tail*), academic works written by Cahuilla individuals (see Madrigal’s “Reclaiming Cultural Sovereignty: Tribal Environmental Programs at Cahuilla and Twenty-Nine Palms” and Milanovich’s “The Treaty of

²³⁷ Katherine Siva Saubel and Eric Elliott, *’Isill Héqwas Wáxish = A Dried Coyote’s Tail*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Banning, CA: Malki Museum Press, 2004), 37.

²³⁸Excerpts from “Ethno-Botany of Coahuilla Indians of Southern California” by David Prescott Barrows with annotations by Rupert Costo, 094.006.001, Box 94, Folder 6, Rupert and Jeannette Costo papers, UCR Special Collections, UCR Library; “California Indians and Their Reservations,” SDSU Library & Information Access, n.d., <https://web.archive.org/web/20090205040720/http://infodome.sdsu.edu/research/guides/calindians/calinddict.shtml#c>.

²³⁹ Saubel & Elliot, *’Isill Héqwas Wáxish*, 37; Anthony Madrigal, “Reclaiming Cultural Sovereignty: Tribal Environmental Programs at Cahuilla and Twenty-Nine Palms.” (dissertation, University of California, Riverside Library, 2005), 17.

Temecula: A Story of Invasion, Deceit, Stolen Land, and the Persistence of Power, 1846-1905”), ethnographic/anthropological studies of early-twentieth century Cahuilla peoples and various recordings of Cahuilla ceremony published online, an illustration of Cahuilla folk-religious change will be produced; this analysis will be conducted through the lenses of ethnic sovereignty and liberation as presented by Jenkins in “Cahuilla cultural practice in the twenty-first century: The reformulation of ethnicity” and Brenda in “World View of Tewa and Cahuilla Encourage Adaptation to Place and Resounds in Song.” Through the immortalized words of elders and old-timers now passed on, an image of the theft of these practices by the penetrating culture of the White Man may be produced, a decline and a subsequent revitalization and revival of recreational folk-tradition.

Cahuilla Religion: Before Christianity

Cahuilla theology prior to the arrival of Christianity from Europe (or adoption of Christianity, as many Cahuilla believe that Jesus preached in the Americas) regarded a being named Múkat (and his brother) as their creators.²⁴⁰ Múkat was one of a set of twins, his brother being Témayawet, birthed from the night, Túkmiat, and the “greatness of all things,” Ámna'a; upon being born into darkness, “Múkat pulled tobacco from his heart, and Témayawet pulled the pipe from his heart,” and together the brothers smoked and created the world and the humans and animals that inhabit it.²⁴¹ After the creation, Múkat came to Earth, at first giving the people many

²⁴⁰ Saubel & Elliot, *'Isill Héqwas Wáxish*, 25, 683-684.

²⁴¹ Sean Christian Milanovich, “The Treaty of Temecula: A Story of Invasion, Deceit, Stolen Land, and the Persistence of Power, 1846-1905,” *ProQuest* (dissertation, UCR, 2021), <https://www.proquest.com/docview/2596925218/fulltextPDF/B1E9584E679F4E20PQ/1?accountid=14521&source=Dissertations%20&%20Theses>, 3-4.

valuable insights which allowed to them survive, but, over time, he became abusive and eventually made an inappropriate pass of *Menilʼ*, the Moon Maiden, his daughter. As retribution for his evil actions, his creations poisoned him.²⁴² In killing him, they abruptly ended their acquisition of divine knowledge, leaving them to not fully understand death or the afterlife, *Télmekish*, until they themselves die and reach *Télmekish*; from *Múkat* they did learn the proper funerary rites by which to ensure passage to *Télmekish* and many other ceremonies, such as the Eagle Dance, where an eagle (which is carefully observed and taken care of by the family) is sacrificed when a family member dies, allowing their soul and body safe passage to *Télmekish*.²⁴³ Nearly all of their rituals come from this creation story in some way, these rituals being taught by the creator to allow these people to thrive.

Shamanism²⁴⁴ is an important aspect of the faith, with shamans wielding great power to both heal and harm, capable of channeling both positive and negative powers; shamans are typically taught by their father or other family member (or, rarely, an elder shaman who has decided to educate them) the conduct of rituals within and spiritual maintenance of the Ceremonial house, in addition to herbalism and medical practice.²⁴⁵ The religious practices of the Cahuilla were wide, encompassing nearly every aspect of pre and post-colonial life, with rituals to mark nearly every milestone a Cahuilla person may reach, in addition to the more ordinary

²⁴² Milanovich, “The Treaty of Temecula,” 5.

²⁴³ Saubel & Elliot, *ʼIsill Héqwas Wáxish*, 22, 24-29.

²⁴⁴ Although the title of ‘shaman’ is a tenuous one, I cannot, with my (extremely) limited understanding of Ivilyuat combined with the richness of the language concerning religion, formulate a more accurate title; thus, this term does not fit expansiveness of the role of this religious leader, however, its non-specificity works well for the purpose of maintaining the nuance and dynamicity of this role.

²⁴⁵ Barrows, “Ethno-Botany of Coahuilla Indians,” 73-76; Saubel & Elliot, *ʼIsill Héqwas Wáxish*, 20-21, 85, 140-144

aspects of life, such as hunting and collecting building materials.²⁴⁶ Given this centrality of religion for the Cahuilla people, the roles of shamans and other religious leaders in these societies were vast, filling roles as medicine men, divine messengers, political advisors, youth leaders, et cetera.²⁴⁷

European/US Contact and Interactions, especially under the Spanish *reducciones*

When the Spanish began their project of *reducciones* in Alta California in 1769 under Gaspar de Portolá and Junípero Serra, the Cahuilla had already inhabited the region for hundreds of years, the expansiveness of their territory shown in *Figure 1*. In 1771 Mission San Gabriel was founded, which began the operation of the Lugo ranch under a Spanish land grant in addition to San Bernardino de Sena Estancia, another ranch outpost which served to intern local Cahuilla people in addition to maintaining a functioning route between the Missions; these ranches allowed the Spanish to launch several raids on Cahuilla groups in order to force them to the Missions, particularly from 1810-1813.²⁴⁸ When Spanish friars flooded into Alta California in the 1770s, the Cahuilla peoples were largely distant from the path of Junípero Serra, leaving them without allies, but still outside the bounds of the cruelty taking place inside Mission walls. In 1833, Mexico won its independence from Spain, leading to a change in occupation of land, with massive ranchos being established across Alta California. In this period, Cahuilla peoples had begun to experience a decline, likely due to disease, to which Chief Juan Antonio (a highly

²⁴⁶ Saubel & Elliot, *'Isill Héqwas Wáxish*, 128, 142, 372, 597; Henry Clebourne James, *The Cahuilla Indians*. (Banning, CA: Malki Museum Press, 1969), 24-31.

²⁴⁷ Saubel & Elliot, *'Isill Héqwas Wáxish*, 18-20

²⁴⁸ Anne Q. Stoll, John G Douglass, and Richard Ciolek-Torrello. "Searching for Guaspet: A Mission Period Rancheria in West Los Angeles." SCA Proceedings 22 (2009). http://ibecproject.com/PREDEIR_0000111.pdf, 4; Milanovich, "The Treaty of Temecula," 60-67.

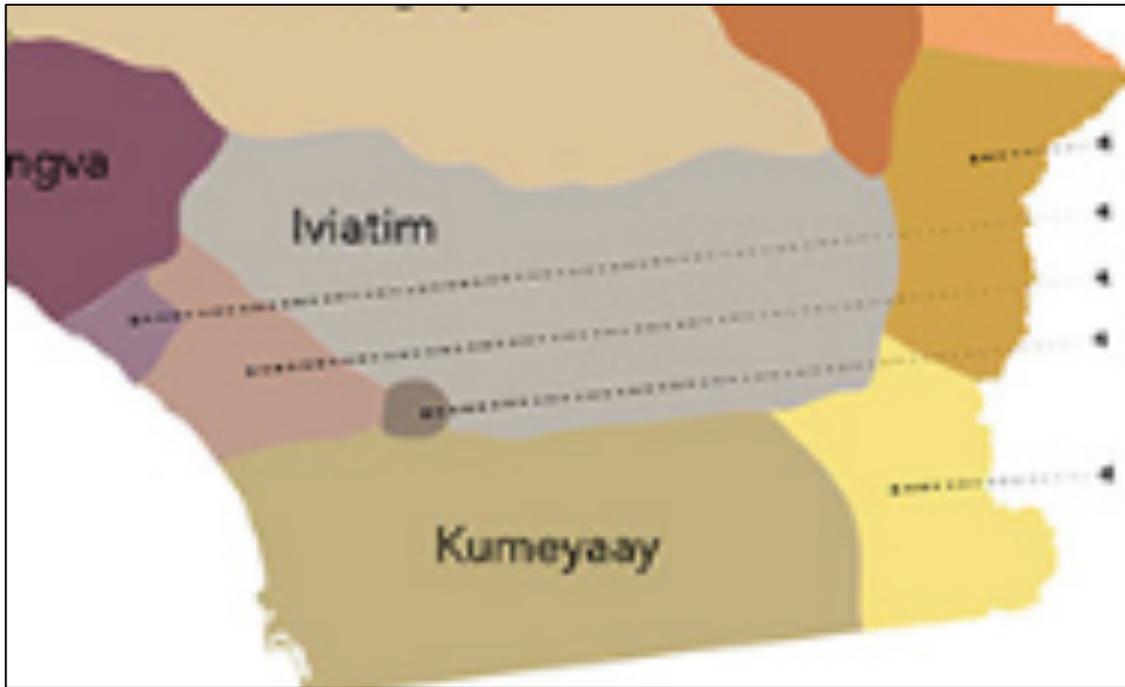


Fig:1, Segment of map portraying pre-colonial Alta California tribal ‘borders,’ created by Tim Lotah, in “The Treaty of Temecula”

influential 18th century chief mentioned frequently in literature written both by and about ‘iḃiḃuqaletem peoples), chose to move five Cahuilla Mountain lineages to work for the Lugo family rancho in present-day Riverside and San Bernardino counties, leading to the abandonment of much of the ancestral Mountain Cahuilla territory. neophytes simply returning to their born faith upon the collapse of the Missions in 1834.²⁴⁹ During the period prior to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, tribal chief Juan Antonio built an alliance with the Lugo family, warring against tribes which stood against the development of the rancheria; Juan Antonio initialized positive relations with this invading force, allowing ‘fairer’ terms of negotiation of territory,

²⁴⁹ D.G. Jenkins, “Cahuilla Cultural Practice in the Twenty-First Century: The Reformulation of Ethnicity” (dissertation, ProQuest, 2014), 115.
<https://scholarworks.umt.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=6420&context=etd>.

extending the duration in which they maintained the cultural sovereignty to openly practice religion outside Christianity.²⁵⁰

In 1840, preparing to aid Mexico in defending trails from raiding indigenous peoples from east of the Colorado River, Juan Antonio established a village in what is a Spanish settlement called Politana (in present day San Bernardino).²⁵¹ When, in 1848, America gained control of Alta California the Juan Antonio chose to stay in the settlement, continuing to work on the rancho. Two years later, in 1850, as retribution for the murder of three Americans, Juan Antonio and several Cahuilla warriors cornered a gang of three bandits and killed all but one and were later tried and acquitted for murder.²⁵² Due to tensions with the White community around them which emerged from this violent altercation, in addition to a major smallpox epidemic which left Juan Antonio dead, they eventually abandoned this community between 1861 and 1862.²⁵³

During these early times of US occupation, the Juan Antonio began a fruitful relationship with local US governors, signing the treaty of Temecula during this period — even with the efforts of Juan Antonio to maintain his culture while peacefully existing amongst the invaders, Catholic and Protestant missionaries beginning to proselytize Cahuilla communities; in 1891, the Cahuilla were placed upon tax-exempt reservation lands, maintaining ownership of only about

²⁵⁰ Milanovich, “The Treaty of Temecula,” 71-76;

²⁵¹ James, *The Cahuilla Indians*, 47-48.

²⁵² Richard A. Hanks, “Vicissitudes of Justice: Massacre at San Timoteo Canyon,” *Southern California Quarterly* 82, no. 3 (2000): 233–56, <https://doi.org/10.2307/41172020>.

²⁵³ James, *The Cahuilla Indians*, 48.

two thirds of their ancestral wandering grounds.²⁵⁴ In 1880, St. Boniface Indian School was founded in San Geronimo Pass, now Banning, by the Monterey-LA Diocese to educate Native children about Catholicism, but also to eliminate Cahuilla religious practices.²⁵⁵ Fifteen years later, St. Mary Chapel was founded on the Morongo reservation, granting Catholic Cahuilla people a church in which to worship (prior to the construction, Sunday mass on the Morongo reservation took place at a layman's house).²⁵⁶ Despite this invasion the Cahuilla people maintained much cultural independence, ethnic reformulation happening gradually in these communities, Cahuilla traditional institutional religious practice not 'ending' until the death of the last publicly-practicing shaman in 1989.²⁵⁷

Cahuilla Tribal Religious Decline in Primary Sources

Each Cahuilla village traditionally maintained its own ceremonial house, with a shaman/caretaker performing the duties to both physically and spiritually maintain the building. Although sources describing the experience of laypeople in Cahuilla religion are not common, many accounts describing religious leaders in Cahuilla communities have been put into writing. Most of these sources describe the decline of the religion, particularly the struggle to fill this role and the resulting end of religious practice in these communities. One interview describes a case in which the man who was overseeing the building passed away some time in the 1950's, so a woman who grew up in the tribe, but moved to Los Angeles, took over maintenance of the

²⁵⁴ D.G. Jenkins, "Cahuilla Cultural Practice," 68.

²⁵⁵ R. Bruce Harley, "The Founding of St. Boniface Indian School, 1888-1890," *Southern California Quarterly* 81, no. 4 (March 1999): 449-66, <https://doi.org/10.2307/41171974>, 1.

²⁵⁶ "St. Mary Chapel," Diocese of San Bernardino, n.d., <https://www.sbdiocese.org/parishes/Parish.cfm?id=1380091>; Saubel & Elliot, *'Isill Héqwas Wáxish*, 508.

²⁵⁷ Saubel & Elliot, *'Isill Héqwas Wáxish*, 411-412.

building.²⁵⁸ It was very unusual for a woman to be involved in religion in these communities which were traditionally patriarchal, but due to the threat of the ceremonial house being burned, no one protested.²⁵⁹ Upon her death, her sister took over as the overseer, and upon her death a young woman took over.²⁶⁰ When she died prematurely, the ceremonial house was burned. Another story tells of ceremonial house in the village of Torres-Martinez where the main overseer died, so the community began to look for another individual to see to the spiritual duties. When no one could be found, this ceremonial house was too burned.²⁶¹ When I spoke to Michael Madrigal regarding tribal religious practice, he also mentioned the burning of the ceremonial house upon the death of an overseer with no new candidate.²⁶²

Modern Practice of Cahuilla Folk Ritual

Today, few of the rituals of the Cahuilla remain in practice. The Eagle Dance, the Image Ceremony, warsongs, and coming of age rituals all live only (at least publicly) in the oral traditions of descendants of practitioners and the sparse transcriptions of this canon. Still extremely widely practiced, though are birdsongs, stories of how the Cahuilla came to be sang to rhythmic drumming, often accompanied by dance. For thousands of years Cahuilla history has been orally transmitted. Birdsongs have become the foremost medium of Cahuilla oral transmission; being both in a native tongue and a historically and spiritually meaningful practice, birdsinging has come to be a universalizing ethnic practice among Cahuilla communities. Amidst

²⁵⁸ Saubel & Elliot, 32-37.

²⁵⁹ Saubel & Elliot, 32-37

²⁶⁰ Saubel & Elliot, 32-37

²⁶¹ Saubel & Elliot, 410-412.

²⁶² Michael Madrigal in discussion with the author

many cultural rituals once practiced by Cahuilla peoples, birdsongs have come to be the foremost remaining traditional ceremony of these people, becoming integral to Cahuilla identity. With this focus on birdsinging among all the practices within the Cahuilla song cycle, public Cahuilla ethnic expression has come to be dominated by this practice. This topic has changed over time as the resurgence of birdsinging is fairly recent, with a concerted revival of the ritual occurring in the late 20th century. The preservation of birdsongs is a part of a longer history of cultural decline and revival within indigenous American history, and more nichedly it is part of larger Cahuilla history of Southern California Indian cultural resurgence.

Amidst many cultural rituals once practiced by Cahuilla peoples, birdsongs have come to be the foremost remaining traditional ceremony of these people, becoming integral to Cahuilla identity. This was not always the case. In 1999, Dr. Paul Apodaca, ethno-musicologist and historian, published a comprehensive study of Cahuilla birdsinging. The only study of its kind, Apodaca's work served to preserve a practice which was thought to be disappearing. His work galvanized Cahuilla interest in birdsinging; today over 500 men sing and thousands attend the rituals.

Cahuilla birdsinging is a topic which has not experienced significant focused published study in decades. Dr. Paul Apodaca's 1999 thesis was the last (and only encyclopedic) published source which particularly focused on this practice, writing upon it in a different era of Cahuilla culture. The elders which Apodaca focused his studies on have since passed, leaving a fundamentally different set of elders, one which is another generation removed from pre-contact

life.²⁶³ Nonetheless, Apodaca's observations serve to illustrate birdsinging as it was prior to its resurgence in the 21st century.

Apodaca's foundational dissertation in the study of these birdsongs focuses on the practice itself, and the relationship of the practitioners to the ritual. Also analyzed is the place of this ritual within the larger Cahuilla worldview. Through discussions with elders and consultation of older written sources, Apodaca develops a comprehensive overview of the rites and symbolism associated with birdsinging, providing the most complete description and analysis of this practice which currently exists. Apodaca's understanding of the collective meaning of the birdsong canon is best represented by a statement from his concluding remarks: "The continuance of the singing is a profound act for the singers and their audiences. Devotion to the act supercedes devotion to the language. The singing is seen as an act of power and the songs as containing life force."²⁶⁴

In conversation with Cahuilla individuals, I have been told that they are a tradition older than memory, often with antique language, the exact meaning of which has been lost. In 1999, when Apodaca was writing his thesis, the elders forecasted the practice, for the most part, would die with them; this is reflected in his writing, as well as in Kathleen Siva Saubel's *Isill héqwas wáxish = A Dried Coyote's Tail*. This practice, instead of falling into poplar obscurity, has become the central traditional expression of Cahuilla identity. Birdsongs (and funerary songs)

²⁶³ Michael Madrigal, personal communication, January 31, 2024.

²⁶⁴ Paul Apodaca, Paul. 1999. "Tradition, Myth, and Performance of Cahuilla Bird Songs." Dissertation, (Los Angeles, CA, USA: University of California, Los Angeles, 1999), 306.

are the only songs in the song cycle which remain publicly practiced, and if they are still practiced are not known to most Cahuilla people.

Conclusion

The modern expression of Cahuilla ethnic identity through revivals of religious rituals is a nuanced subject with little research conducted in the area. Amidst many cultural rituals once practiced by Cahuilla peoples, birdsongs have come to be the foremost remaining traditional ceremony of these people, becoming integral to Cahuilla identity. Cahuilla birdsinging, an embodiment of Indigenous resilience and tradition-keeping, has become the center of indigenous futurism among Cahuilla peoples; through this practice, a greater sense of unity and oneness has been achieved in the various tribal communities, with this ritual evolving into an expression of ethnicity and a venue for ethnic convention.

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“Stringfellow: Acid Pits, Quarry, Disposal Site, Superfund Priority”

Jack Brooks

In July 1966, the San Bernardino Sun reported happy news: “a two-year search by the Boards of Trade of Riverside and San Bernardino counties for a suitable industrial dump site apparently has ended with the discovery of an old quarry in the Jurupa Hills southwest of Fontana. The site of the quarry, which will satisfy state requirements, has been approved by the Santa Ana Regional Water Pollution Control Board at a meeting in Corona,” stated an article in an edition of The San Bernardino Sun in July of 1955.²⁶⁵ This prolonged search was spurred by the growing industrial development in the Inland Empire, the two counties of Riverside and San Bernardino collectively, that began during the post-World War economic boom. Multiple types of industries, such as manufacturers of pesticides and metals, created hazardous and caustic liquid wastes, often in the form of spent acids or other chemical byproducts. Typical dumps or landfills did not accept these wastes, and designated dumping sites for hazardous materials were sorely needed in the area when the Stringfellow Quarry was chosen as a prospective site for a dump. The same article states, “At least four companies are hauling dangerous or objectionable industrial wastes to the Pacific Ocean now... Norton Air Force Base also must haul dangerous wastes to the ocean as often as twice a week.”²⁶⁶

²⁶⁵ “Counties Find Likely Site for Industrial Dump Believed Suitable For Valley Area Over Span of Years.” *San Bernardino Sun*, July 25, 1955. <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SBS19550725.1.9>.

²⁶⁶ “Site for Industrial Dump.”

The Stringfellow quarry would be approved as a Class I Hazardous Waste Disposal Site. The site would accept all forms of liquid industrial waste and opened in 1956, operated by the owner of the original quarry site, James B. Stringfellow Jr. This site, which seemed at its choosing date, an excellent investment for the growth of the industry in Riverside and the protection of the environment against indiscriminate dumping would turn into its own environmental disaster. The site leaked from the beginning, letting industrial waste seep through the cracked granite ground, slowly creating a bloom of contaminated groundwater that extended past the site's boundaries and into surrounding communities. This would only come to public attention once storms forced the closure of the dump site in 1972, but even then, the disaster would not end there.

The Stringfellow Acid Pits are commonly known for the community activism or the legal precedents that resulted from the pollution they caused. Still, the long-term effects on the community around the site have yet to be well known. The cleanup of the site itself poses another question, with the site likely to take 400 years or more to decontaminate and return to other uses. The citizens of Glen Avon and other surrounding communities were also exposed to this water, with short- and long-term health effects. Legal proceedings to decide who was responsible for funding the cleanup of the site lasted from 1989, and the Supreme Court case concerning the right of the community activist group Concerned Neighbors in Action was not decided until fifteen years after the site closed, in 1987.²⁶⁷ Questions remain to this day of how to dispose of Industrial waste. Long-ranging effects resonate from the Stringfellow site. The first part of this paper will show the timeline of the Stringfellow Acid Pits, from its inception detailed

²⁶⁷Brian Craig, *Stringfellow Acid Pits: The Toxic and Legal Legacy* (University of Michigan Press, 2020), 73-75.

above to its designation as a Superfund site. Then, the second part will show the effects of the site on the nearby residents, industry, and the environment that the acid pits had on the surrounding community.

Part I - The San Bernardino Sun Reports on Stringfellow

The next article that mentions the future Superfund site was published in 1963. It reported, “Fuming nitric acid formed a yellow-brown cloud over the Riverside County Line and into Fontana's new south city limits. The cloud, a waste product made up essentially of nitric acid and used in liquid rocket propellant, was dumped in the Stringfellow Quarry, a chemical dump in Riverside County south of the Jurupa Hills.” The article goes on encouragingly that the cloud dissipated but firefighters from Glen Avon and Fontana remained watchful, since “the cloud was ‘essentially nitric acid’ which, like any other acid, could cause harm if it were breathed.”²⁶⁸ The site was already causing danger for the residents of the community. The article states that the likely cause of the fumes was the nitric acid mixing with water to form a vapor.²⁶⁹ This is likely because, at the time, there was little policy governing the disposal of waste at the Stringfellow site, with the liquid waste mixed in the 14 evaporation ponds on the site.²⁷⁰ While no harm was caused directly by this incident, it demonstrated the possible dangers that this industrial waste site posed to the residents around it and posed as an omen for the site's future.

In December of 1972, another article was published. Titled “Disposal of Toxic Wastes Uncertain After Glen Avon Acid Pit Shuts Down.” It explains that “companies which had been

²⁶⁸Mary Sanchez, “Cloud Rises from Chemical Waste Dump,” *San Bernardino Sun*, August 24, 1963. <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SBS19630824.1.24>.

²⁶⁹Mary Sanchez, “Chemical Waste Dump,”

²⁷⁰Craig, *Stringfellow Acid Pits*, 14.

using a just-closed acid disposal pit - the only one of its kind in Southern California - are uncertain of how they will dispose of toxic wastes.”²⁷¹ It goes on to explain that the site was closed “Thursday after area residents circulated petitions contending that the pits were a source of Water pollution in the event of heavy rains.”²⁷² These heavy rains had already occurred, with the retention dam meant to hold back flood waters nearly failing during the winter of 1969. The activist group, “Mothers of Glen Avon” pressured Stringfellow to close the site, fearing it would overflow in the future, but the article reports that one anonymous firm “said it may take immediate legal action against James B. Stringfellow, operator of the pits, to force its reopening.”²⁷³ There was only one dump site that accepted all wastes indiscriminately and the need for it would not stop if the site were closed. The article covers alternate dumping sites, with county officials fearing that illegal dumping in the desert, river, or ocean could occur. The inability to dump waste would cause trouble in the industries that produced it, grinding them to a halt, until they found another site that accepted their specific waste or dumped it in the desert or ocean. However, the article ominously includes, “The group noted that the Glen Avon Elementary School was one mile south of the pits and 200 feet lower in elevation and had its own water supply.”²⁷⁴ While not contaminated yet, it was clear that the elementary school would likely be in the path of contaminated water if the site’s retention dam failed.

In the coming years, the Stringfellow site remained closed for the most part. The site's future remained unclear, with little changes made to it except for maintenance on the retention

²⁷¹AP News, “Disposal of Toxic Wastes After Glen Avon Acid Pit,” *San Bernardino Sun*, Dec. 2, 1972, <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SBS19721202.1.9>

²⁷²AP News, “Disposal of Toxic Wastes.”

²⁷³AP News, “Disposal of Toxic Wastes.”

²⁷⁴AP News, “Disposal of Toxic Wastes.”

wall after the initial storm in 1969. One article mentions the site and the need for its replacement in 1975, saying,

“The plan notes that nearly 1.9 million gallons of hazardous industrial wastes, which cannot be placed in landfills or sewer systems, are transported yearly to various Class I disposal sites in Los Angeles County. It calls for cooperation with Riverside County toward the location of a new disposal site for such wastes. The Stringfellow Quarry Near Riverside was a Class I site until it was closed more than a year ago because of fears of leakage into underground water sources.”²⁷⁵

The focus was on replacing the site with a new one, not on closing it and securing the potential pollutants dumped there from leaching into the environment. Another three years elapsed before the next news article that mentions the site, however, with the board mostly ignoring the calls to clean up the site. In November of 1975, another article states that

“The State Water Resources Control Board Thursday started legal action aimed at cleaning up an abandoned open quarry near Riverside that was long used as a dumping ground for caustic acids and toxic wastes. State and county officials have been trying to force the owners of the Stringfellow quarry in Rubidoux to clean up what they consider not only a source of potential underground water pollution but a public safety hazard as well. Owners of the Stringfellow Corp.... Maintains the company is broke and cannot afford the cleanup. Estimates of the cost for pumping and hauling the wastes to a safe disposal site run as high as \$500,000.”²⁷⁶

In 1978, some of that funding appeared to have been delivered, as another article reports that “Brown has signed a bill by Sen. Robert Presley, D-Riverside, provided \$370,000 to drain the highly toxic acids...” but “an official of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency voiced

²⁷⁵“OKs Waste,” *San Bernardino Sun*, Oct. 9, 1975, <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SBS19751009.1.28>

²⁷⁶ “Water board seeks to close abandoned Riverside quarry,” *San Bernardino Sun*, Nov. 21, 1975, <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SBS19751121.1.28>.

doubt that the \$370,000 would cover the cost. James Anderson, executive officer of the Santa Ana Regional Water Quality Control Board, said additional state funds are available for the cost overrun is not too great. In addition, area residents at the meeting reiterated their support for a \$4 million proposal, rejected earlier by the state, under which the site would not only be drained but also scraped, filled, and graded.”²⁷⁷

But later in 1978, winter rain caused the pits to flood, as they nearly had in 1969. The next year, in 1979, rainfall continued to be higher than average. The San Bernardino Sun reported that “chemical-laden water is being pumped out of Stringfellow acid disposal pits to avoid a repeat of last year when storms brought the level of the highly toxic liquid dangerously close to overflowing,” and then dumped in West Covina. The head of the Regional Water Quality Control Board, James Anderson, assured that it was precautionary draining but also spoke at length about the risk of the Stringfellow site flooding if rain continued.²⁷⁸ An unusual amount of rain would continue throughout the season, and hauling away from the Stringfellow site would also continue. But, in March of 1979, the San Bernardino Sun would report that the site “became controversial last winter when rainfall filled them to overflowing.” The article goes on to detail the measures taken to keep this overflow from happening,

“To avoid an uncontrolled spillover, regional water control board officials authorized the release of 750,000 gallons of the liquid down the Pyrite Canyon wash to a flood control channel that flows through Glen Avon and Pedly to the Santa Ana River. Despite warning notices posted along the waterways, children played in the water, but were not seriously injured. However, at least one worker who was running a pump along the rim of a pit received minor burns when splashed by the toxic water.”

²⁷⁷“Quarry cleanup bill signed by governor,” *San Bernardino Sun*, Sept. 21, 1978, <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SBS19780921.1.44>

²⁷⁸Kathy Rebello-Rees, “Chemical-laden water pumped from disposal pits,” *San Bernardino Sun*, Jan. 26, 1979, <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SBS19790126.1.28>

It should be noted that there is no other source that mentions these purported signs next to the Glen Avon waterways. The book, *The Toxic and Legal Legacy*, states that residents were not told about the controlled release of water until later in the week, three days after the controlled release occurred. Whether these signs existed or not, clearly many residents of Glen Avon were unaware about the controlled release of contaminated water into their community.²⁷⁹ Regardless, this explains the constant vigilance for hauling away water from Stringfellow, following the need for controlled releases as rain continued unabated. The question of whether the water was diluted enough to be considered safe by the immense amount of rain is also answered in this article, by Anderson himself, “it’s 100 percent toxic. If you put it in a fishbowl, it’s strong enough to kill the fish. We haven’t done any toxicity tests recently because there’s no point in killing fish to prove it’s still toxic.” he said.” the article assuredly, however, goes on to report that Anderson also said, “the site is located on granite that is supposedly impervious, but he said there is still a chance that the toxic waste could filter into the groundwater system.”²⁸⁰ No pollution had been found yet, concluded the article. Despite the assurance of the Regional Water Board about the safety and minimal risk associated with the Stringfellow site, there was an increasing push by the public and local legislators to address the possible pollution risk around the Stringfellow site, especially considering the confirmed controlled release of water into a channel behind the community of Glen Avon. Community activism increased, with Concerned Neighbors in Action, headed by Penny Newman, calling for the cleanup and complete closure of the site after the runoff of water passed between the Glen Avon Elementary school.²⁸¹ Following

²⁷⁹Craig, *Stringfellow Acid Pits*, 21-23.

²⁸⁰Jan Cleveland, “For the Second Time This year, Trucks Tuesday Began Hauling,” *San Bernardino Sun*, March 21, 1979, <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SBS19790321.1.30>

²⁸¹Craig, *Stringfellow Acid Pits*, 24.

the article featuring James Anderson, another article was released in the Sun, quoting Robert Presley, Riverside's state senator, as saying "California is 'dangerously lacking' in the ability to check health hazards from chemical waste dumps such as the notorious Stringfellow Quarry acid pits near Riverside." The following article summarizes Presley's calls for studies investigating and legislation regulating the "potential dangers from toxic chemical wastes." Further on in the article, a more alarming possibility is brought up, with a study revealing that "chemicals have leaked out into the soil of Pyrite Canyon, in which the dump is located, to a distance of about 1,000 feet from the acid pit area." Presley does not villainize the state government for the lack of response towards the closure of the pits, however, being quoted as saying that "the state is suffering from a 'lack of expertise' it needs to guard the public against the potential dangers from the Stringfellow Facility and other similar dumps" and that "this is a new area and almost no one has this kind of ability anywhere in the country yet."²⁸² Clearly, the sentiments that Presley had over the local acid pits was being replicated throughout the country by similar locations. According to an article published by The Sun in May of 1980, "Love Canal, Stringfellow Quarry, highway chemical spills, tank car explosions and acid rain have thrust chemical dangers into the public consciousness and prompted the administration to give toxic substances control high priority."²⁸³ Presley himself mentions Love Canal, and another article published in The Sun six months later featured the first calls for the EPA to establish a Superfund to force the cleanup of polluted sites: "Saying most hazardous wastes are not disposed of with adequate safeguards, the Environmental Protection Agency on Monday announced it will seek legislation to create a \$400 million annual fund to pay for emergency waste clean-ups. The money would be raised by

²⁸²Vic Pollard, "The Chemical," *San Bernardino Sun*, April 5, 1979
<https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SBS19790405.1.37>

²⁸³Eric Brazil, "Passage of Toxic, Hazardous Material Bills Likely," *San Bernardino Sun*, May 24, 1980,
<https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SBS19800524.1.5>

a special assessment on oil and chemical companies and producers of heavy metals, EPA spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said.”²⁸⁴ More importantly to the Sun, the Stringfellow Quarry was listed as one of the sites that required cleanup. But the Legislative act that passed Superfund into law, CLERCLA, was not passed for another year from this article.

In the course of this year, from May 1979 to December of 1980, the Sun reported various times on the evolving Stringfellow site. Various articles reported the moving of contaminated materials around the Stringfellow site, including dirt in the canyon moved back to the premises of the site,²⁸⁵ as well as water hauled away after rains in 1980.²⁸⁶ Presley and similar figures continued to call for formal studies concerning the health effects from living in close proximity to the site.²⁸⁷ ²⁸⁸ Work began to close the acid pits with the budget of \$370,000.²⁸⁹ Solutions to close the site were proposed, with the proposal for “capping the polluted pits with clay” coming up in multiple articles.²⁹⁰ The neighborhood activist group, Concerned Neighbors in Action, often referred to at the residents of Glen Avon informally in articles, worked for the cleanup of the site.²⁹¹

²⁸⁴AP News, “Hazardous Waste Mop-Up Fund,” *San Bernardino Sun*, May 1 1979,

<https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SBS19790501.1.1>.

²⁸⁵AP News, “Contaminated Dirt Hauled to Acid Pits,” *San Bernardino Sun*, May 27, 1979,

<https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SBS19790527.1.35>

²⁸⁶Harvey Feit, “EPA Gives Money to Drain Acid Pits,” *San Bernardino Sun*, March 6, 1980,

<https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SBS19800306.1.39>

²⁸⁷“Hearing Today on Acid Pits,” *San Bernardino Sun*, Dec. 27, 1979,

<https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SBS19791227.1.30>.

²⁸⁸ Jan Cleveland, “State Official Says Acid Pit Probe Inadequate,” *San Bernardino Sun*, Dec. 28, 1979,

<https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SBS19791228.1.24>.

²⁸⁹“Maintenance on the site costs \$36,000,” *San Bernardino Sun*, Nov. 18, 1979,

<https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SBS19791118.1.28>.

²⁹⁰ Leonard Metz, “Stringfellow Costly Decision is Made,” *San Bernardino Sun*, July 3, 1980,

<https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SBS19800703.1.37>

²⁹¹ Craig, *Stringfellow Acid Pits*: 26.

These articles also updated the ever-increasing budget towards the site's clean-up, as the ways to control the pollution were finally investigated. By May of 1979, over \$600,000 had been allocated towards the cleanup and maintenance of the site, most of which had been spent on preventing flooding in heavy rains.²⁹² But this budget would increase, first with estimates being made in December of 1979 that \$1.2 million could be required for the cleanup.²⁹³ Then, according to the regional water board, the estimated budget swelled to \$2 million. The article reported that this was due to inflation and the increase in rainfall.²⁹⁴ The actual budget for the site remained at the \$600,000 initially allocated until the EPA contributed “\$5000,000 and just in time to continue draining of the Stringfellow acid pits...”²⁹⁵ Then, the proposed budget swelled again to over \$4 million in July of 1980, according to the water resources control board. This proposition would pay to “solidify polluted waters and to cover the site with a clay cap.” The other proposal for a complete site clearing was as high as \$11 million but would be reported as \$25 million a month later.^{296,297}

Then, there were the health symptoms reported by residents around the site at the time. Miscarriages and upper respiratory problems were reported, at first, by one family.²⁹⁸ Testing was urged on children due to “the particular dangers to children from blowing dust from the site, and because small children may put the dirt in their mouths.” Both Robert Presley and Ruth

²⁹² Cleveland, “State Official.”

²⁹³ Cleveland, “State Official.”

²⁹⁴ “Heavy Rain This Year and Two Previous Years Have Hampered the Closure,” *San Bernardino Sun*, Feb. 16, 1980, <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SBS19800216.1.18>

²⁹⁵ Feit, “EPA.”

²⁹⁶ Leonard Metz, “Acid Pit Plan Still Up in Air,” *San Bernardino Sun*, July 12, 1980, <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SBS19800712.1.21>

²⁹⁷ Leonard Metz, “A Proposed Plan To Remove All Polluted Soil,” *San Bernardino Sun*, Aug. 17, 1980, <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SBS19800817.1.35>.

²⁹⁸ “Now to Conduct Scientifically Meaningful Tests,” *San Bernardino Sun*, June 10, 1980, <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SBS19800610.1.36>

Kirby, a resident near the site and a geologist, urged for this testing throughout 1980. Testing finally occurred, focusing on lead, chromium, and DDT levels.^{299 300}

In December of 1980, the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act (CERCLA) was passed. With this passing, the San Bernardino Sun announced that “the Stringfellow dump site near Glen Avon has “highest priority” for help from a \$1.6 billion chemical waste superfund passed by Congress Wednesday...” The article announced that the site was “named ‘on every list’ as either the first or second most serious dump site in California.”³⁰¹ This did not immediately qualify Stringfellow for the superfund or allocate any more funds to its cleanup. The following February in the Sun, an article reported that “a \$100,000 award that could qualify the Stringfellow Disposal Site west of Riverside for participation in a \$1.6 billion federal superfund.”³⁰² Following this, there was a flurry of activity towards the site. In August of 1981, The Sun reported, “The Santa Ana Regional Water Quality Control Board on Monday awarded a \$1.97 million contract to a Rialto firm to help prevent Stringfellow dump toxic wastes from seeping into water supplies.”³⁰³ In October, it was reported that “Stringfellow Quarry near Glen Avon in Riverside County is California's No. 1 candidate for federal money from the \$1.6 billion "superfund" to clean up abandoned toxic waste disposal sites.” Now the proposed budget was \$40 million.³⁰⁴ On December 21, 1982, the San Bernardino Sun reported that “The

²⁹⁹ AP News, “Children to Be Tested,” *San Bernardino Sun*, June 12, 1980, <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SBS19800612.1.46>

³⁰⁰ Leonard Metz, “How about it?” *San Bernardino Sun*, July 16, 1980, <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SBS19800716.1.22>

³⁰¹ “Pits Get Priority,” *San Bernardino Sun*, Dec. 4, 1980, <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SBS19801204.1.46>

³⁰² “Water Being Removed,” *San Bernardino Sun*, May 22, 1981, <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SBS19810522.1.28>

³⁰³ “Stringfellow Cleanup Contract OK’d,” *San Bernardino Sun*, Aug. 4, 1981, <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SBS19810804.1.14>

³⁰⁴ “Stringfellow Quarry near Glen Avon in Riverside County is California's No. 1 Candidate for Federal Money,” *San Bernardino Sun*, Oct. 4, 1981, <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SBS19811004.1.33>

Stringfellow Acid Pits, a hazardous waste dumpsite near Riverside that is now closed was ranked 31st Monday on the Environmental Protection Agency's final list of 418 seriously contaminated sites that will be made eligible for federal aid for cleanup. The sites were ranked according to the degree of public health hazard they represent."³⁰⁵

Part 2 - The Effects of The Site

Brinda Sarathy argues in her article, "Making Way for Industrial Waste," that the government's inaction towards the problem of the safe closure of the site is what led to the ever-increasing amount of funds required to close the site and contain the pollution.³⁰⁶ This can be seen throughout the entire history of the Stringfellow site, from its inception as a disposal site to its final status as a superfund site. The government failed to conduct a correct geological assessment of the site before its opening. The Bookman report, the one geological report taken about the site in 1955, was inadequate in its site survey if not downright negligent.³⁰⁷ In other geological assessments, the site was found to be an obvious risk for leaking through the cracks in the granite rock. Ruth Kirby, a geologist who lived near the site, expressed this opinion directly to the newspaper during the push for cleanup funding. The government underfunded the first geological study, making the Bookman report destined to be limited.³⁰⁸ Stringfellow himself assumed that the government had thoroughly investigated the site, while the bookman report, in contradiction, calls for further investigation.

³⁰⁵ "Stringfellow pits on U.S. cleanup fund list," *San Bernardino Sun*, Dec. 21, 1982, <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SBS19821221.1.11>

³⁰⁶ Brinda Sarathy, "Making Way for Industrial Waste," in *Inevitably Toxic*, 160.

³⁰⁷ Craig, *Stringfellow Acid Pits.*, 6-7, 91-92.

³⁰⁸ Craig, 6-7.

This ultimately leads to the question of why the local government was so intent on opening the Stringfellow site as a disposal site, intent enough to ignore and underfund the geological study of it. At the time, there was a high demand for industrial waste disposal sites in the Inland Empire in both San Bernardino and Riverside counties. Before Stringfellow, there was no Class I Disposal Site in the Inland Empire, meaning that companies would have to transport waste to Los Angeles for disposal.³⁰⁹ There was a desperate and ever-increasing need for a designated and regulated site for companies to dump waste. This need was coupled with a relaxed attitude by local environmental officials towards the possible pollution that the site would cause. Brinda Sarathy argues there wasn't much regulation regarding industrial waste or water pollution in the 1950s when the site was initially opened, with the Santa Ana Regional Water Control Board was responsible for governing water pollution around the Stringfellow site. Still, it was focused on the economic impacts of pollution rather than health impacts.³¹⁰ This led to no attention of where industrial waste was being dumped. Brinda Sarathy states that "disposal practices went largely unchecked, and the default was local control over sewage waste in the state's waters. Given strong political sentiments against overregulation, the fact-finding committee's approach to water pollution was oriented toward cooperating with industries and supporting economic growth."³¹¹ Allowing the opening of the Stringfellow disposal site was in character with the way the Regional Water Board interacted with industry at the time and, at the very least, contained the dumping of industrial waste to one single area. But there were still disastrous consequences to the dumping of these wastes that ultimately threatened the river that the very basin was named for, as discoveries of underground water contamination endangered

³⁰⁹Craig, *Stringfellow Acid Pits*, 4-5

³¹⁰ Sarathy, "Industrial Waste," 127.

³¹¹ Sarathy, "Industrial Waste," 130.

water into the 1980s. The Stringfellow Site ultimately opened due to the prioritizing of industrial growth by local government officials with little regulation and few precedents for governmental regulation in this way. At the very least, there was little development around the Stringfellow quarry at the time it opened as a disposal site.

When the site was finally closed, under the order of the regional board, it was due to pressure from the residents around the site. But it took another decade for a formal resolution to be passed on how to dispose of or contain the pollution of the site safely and just as long to determine the true extent of the site's pollution. The reason for both of these was the lack of power that the regional board truly had to push for the cleanup of the site, as well as the lack of funding by the county and the regional board. Multiple solutions for containing the pollution were put forward throughout the years, with the capping of the site with clay being a solution that was repeated over and over, starting in 1975. But the board had no way to require Stringfellow to clean up the site and had no funds or capability of doing so themselves. Stringfellow declared bankruptcy after updating the site several years after the winter of 1969 to prevent flooding. The regional board and legislators had to appeal to the state for the funds to clean up the site instead. The continued efforts of Robert Presley, a state senator, to introduce and pass legislation providing funds for the cleanup of the site served as the main source of funding for the site's cleanup before it was designated as a Superfund site. Local government did not have the means or funds necessary to facilitate the cleanup of the site alone and the state government denied responsibility for the site until found responsible by a court.

The Lawsuit and the Companies

“It's costing millions to clean up Stringfellow Pits in Glen Avon right now, and the waste generators themselves have neatly passed the burden to the taxpayer. These are the subsidies that bother me,” reported the Sun of one man’s complaints.³¹² The question of whether the companies responsible for dumping at the Stringfellow site was determined during a case that lasted two decades to answer this very question: should the State of California pay for the Stringfellow cleanup or should the companies who disposed there? The companies that chose to dump at Stringfellow were following the government guidelines provided to them. The alternative was clearly unregulated dumping in unknown and uncontained sites, with dumping at Stringfellow being seen as the responsible thing to do.³¹³ The government’s legal case against the companies ignored this and attempted to designate these companies as the potentially responsible parties that would have to pay for the cleanup of the site under the new superfund law. Ultimately, the state of California was found liable for the cleanup of the Stringfellow site, both because it was found responsible for the pollution of the site and because it was the owner of the site after Stringfellow declared bankruptcy.³¹⁴

The Citizens of Glen Avon

The residents of Glen Avon were the first to call for the cleanup of the site due to the potential and very real effects that the acid pits had on these residents. Concerned Neighbors in Action took part in litigation concerning the site, resulting in a Supreme Court decision.³¹⁵ This growth of community activism contributed to the site being closed, cleaned-up, and eventually added to the National Priority List that governs Superfund sites. The Stringfellow site depended

³¹² San Bernardino Sun, April 18, 1982, <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SBS19820418.1.60>.

³¹³ Craig, *Stringfellow Acid Pits*, 9.

³¹⁴ Craig, *Stringfellow Acid Pits*, 91-92.

³¹⁵ Craig, *Stringfellow Acid Pits*, 73-75.

on the attention garnered from the community activism that took place around it in order to gain enough funds to be cleaned up. The EPA itself would recognize the importance of Concerned Neighbors in Action when publishing materials on how to increase community Involvement around the site. It noted that Stringfellow's activism grew out of distrust of the government, and the lack of transparency of the government.³¹⁶ The total impact on the community is not known. An economic impact of the acid pits has been reported, with community members declaring that their property decreased in value after the Stringfellow Acid Pits made headlines.

The health effects on the residents are what spurred the Concerned Neighbors in Action into existence. But continued, long-term studies on the health impacts that the citizens were originally concerned with did not materialize. Three studies exist about the health impacts on the citizens of Glen Avon, with the last published in 2000. The first study in 1986 found an increased rate of respiratory diseases in the residents of Glen Avon but no increased rate of cancer in the community. A study released in 1987, concluded that "Our analysis suggested that geographical proximity to the dump site has a significant relationship to birth defects. In fact, the area in which SAP is located had a statistically significant higher birth defect rate during the 1980-82 period."³¹⁷ In 1988, another study reported that cancer rates and pregnancy rates were not affected around the Stringfellow site, but that the reports of diseases and symptoms were increased for the Glen Avon area. These symptoms included asthma, bronchitis, ear infection,

³¹⁶Daphne Genmill and Edwin Berk, "Community Involvement in Superfund: The Results," *EPA Journal* 11, no. 10 (December 1985): 7-9.

³¹⁷Edgar W. Butler and Hiroshi Fukurai, "Acid Pits and Birth Defects: A Case Study of the Stringfellow Dump Site and Congenital Anomalies," *International Journal of Environmental Studies*, 32 2-3 (1988), 164, DOI: 10.1080/00207238808710456.

rash, and angina pectoris as the most prevalent.³¹⁸ In 2000, the Stringfellow site was included in a wider study of residents near hazardous sites. The study ultimately found that “from this review, we can conclude that increases in risk of adverse health effects have been reported near individual landfill sites and in some multisite studies.”³¹⁹ The total health effects are not known, and more recent trends in cancer, pregnancy, or disease rates have not been collected. Other environmental concerns, however, often take precedence as the Stringfellow site is seen as mostly stable as a continuous EPA Superfund site under constant surveillance.

Today, the Stringfellow acid pits don’t look remotely close to how they are described by newspapers during the 1979 floods, burning hands with their caustic nature. Instead, the site currently has two water treatment plants. One opened in the 1980s after the site was designated as a Superfund site and the EPA took control of the site’s cleanup.³²⁰ The second water treatment plant began operation in 2016, and cost \$52 million, according to the Press-Enterprise article concerning its dedication. “It also will cost \$8.8 million a year to operate this behemoth network of pumps, pipes, and presses, plus another \$1.2 million annually to test water samples,” the article reports.³²¹ The article quotes an engineer for the Cal EPA that the new water treatment plant, “will handle greater volumes of water and thus do a better job at preventing spillage from the site even during periods of heavy rain.”³²² With the quintessential quote about the

³¹⁸Dean Baker, Sander Greenland, James Mendlein, and Patricia Harmon. “A Health Study of Two Communities Near the Stringfellow Waste Disposal Site.” *Archives of Environmental Health: An International Journal* 43, no. 5 (1988). 328-329. DOI: 10.1080/00039896.1988.9934943

³¹⁹Martine Vrijheid, “Health Effects of Residence near Hazardous Waste Landfill Sites” *Environmental Health Perspective* 108 (2000): 110. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3454635>.

³²⁰“Superfund Site: Stringfellow Mira Loma, CA,” EPA United States Environmental Protection Agency, accessed December, 14, 2023. <https://cumulis.epa.gov/supercpad/cursites/csitinfo.cfm?id=0902680>.

³²¹David Danelski, “Stringfellow Acid Pits: How State Spent \$52 Million in Latest Cleanup Effort,” *The Press-Enterprise*, July 22, 2016.

³²²Danelski, “Stringfellow Acid Pits,”

Stringfellow site, the article reports that “even though the water has been treated on-site for 30 years, the cleanup has just begun. State engineers have estimated it will take 400 years to remove the subterranean toxic legacy.” The cleanup of the site, and the extent of the pollution on it, can also be found detailed on the EPA website. Stringfellow’s Superfund Website details the pollution on the site as “a former hazardous waste facility and a plume of polluted groundwater in Jurupa Valley, California.”³²³ The site also discusses the cleanup measures being done on the site, the evaluation taken of the site to determine the cleanup needed, and information on what pollutants are specifically present on the site. The push for transparency that the neighborhood activism called for has been realized through the Superfund program in the modern day. Clear and accurate information being directed towards non-scientific audiences relayed the current status of the Stringfellow site, in contradiction to the lack of awareness towards the controlled releases of water in 1979.

The result, if there is no designated disposal site for these materials, is illegal dumping in any location necessary. This is true both in the past and in our modern day. The circumstances surrounding the Stringfellow as a waste disposal dump demonstrate this. Then, amid the acid pit’s closure, the topic of appropriate and alternative dumping sites was at the forefront of news articles in 1972. Following the closure of the Stringfellow Site, similar dumping sites were needed even more. However there was a dwindling number of sites that accepted the type of waste that Stringfellow had accepted. As work on cleaning Stringfellow finally fell underway in late 1980, the waste at Stringfellow was then hauled to other waste disposal sites. These sites, however, were under pressure to close themselves, due to the health concerns raised by the

³²³“Superfund Site: Stringfellow Mira Loma, CA,”

publicity that Stringfellow had caused in the national news. Public outcry from the communities Stringfellow's waste was being hauled to occurred in the newspapers reporting on the incidents. The BKK disposal site near Covina was pressured to close while Stringfellow's dirt was being hauled there.³²⁴ Plans to pump Stringfellow's contaminated groundwater to the Chino Municipal Water District for water treatment was "met with a lukewarm response."³²⁵ Even as Stringfellow was being cleaned up, there didn't seem to be a cohesive plan for approaching hazardous waste disposal across the state.

Few sites are left that accept all types of industrial waste today. The state government has a website that shows all open landfills currently accepting waste with searchable options to filter what waste you need to dispose of. Only three results come up when searching for facilities accepting hazardous waste: a facility in Buttonwillow in Kern County, a facility in Davis, and a facility in Kettleman City.³²⁶ There are reports of illegal dumping of waste, and there are reports of waste being transported out of state as well. A Calmatters article details accusations that a manufacturer of DDT had transported DDT-contaminated soil across state borders to Arizona.

"Since 2010, nearly half of California's hazardous waste has left the Golden State, according to figures the state released last summer. Some of this estimated 10 million tons has gone to specialized facilities, but California government agencies and businesses have also transported much of it over the border to states with weaker environmental regulations and dumped it at regular municipal waste landfills, a CalMatters investigation has found."³²⁷

³²⁴Leonard Metz, "EPA awards acid pit funds to help it get in superfund," *San Bernardino Sun*, Feb. 26, 1981, <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SBS19810226.1.47>.

³²⁵Skye Dent, "A request to pipe groundwater," *San Bernardino Sun*, Aug. 20, 1981, <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SBS19810820.1.23>

³²⁶"GeoTracker Landfill Permitted Waste Map," Waterboards.ca, accessed December 14, 2023, https://geotracker.waterboards.ca.gov/map/landfill_map.

³²⁷Robert Lewis, "California Toxics - Out of State, Out of Mind," January 25, 2023. <https://calmatters.org/environment/2023/01/california-toxic-waste-dumped-arizona-utah/>.

Clearly, concerns over waste disposal continue. The closure of Stringfellow did not stop the need for disposal sites and few sites were opened following Stringfellow's closure. Yet waste continues to be made, and solutions of where to dispose of that waste continue into the modern era. Even the Stringfellow acid pits continue to be a potential option in the disposal of industrial waste. In 2022, six containers of lead-contaminated soil were stored in a parking lot at the Stringfellow Acid pits.³²⁸ The resulting pressure mounted by Jurupa Valley residents saw the removal of the soil two months later.³²⁹ This spurred new legislation in 2023 that would aim to prohibit any more dumping on the site.³³⁰

³²⁸David Downey, "Jurupa Valley Demands Removal of Lead-Laced Soil at Stringfellow Acid Pits," *The Press Enterprise* June 23, 2022.

³²⁹David Downey, "Contaminated Soil at Stringfellow Site in Jurupa Valley to be Moved," *The Press-Enterprise*, August 6, 2022.

³³⁰Sarah Hofmann, "Bill Expanding Protection of Stringfellow Acid Pits in Jurupa Valley Signed by Newsom," *The Press-Enterprise*, September 11, 2023.

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Best Senior Thesis [Co-Winner]

“FTM Newsletter: A Legacy of Trans-Masculine Community”

Tempest Won

Abstract

This project examines the influence and importance of the American serial *FTM Newsletter* in forming community and identity among trans-masculine individuals between 1987 and 1995. As one of the first serial publications exclusively for transgender female-to-male individuals in the world, *FTM Newsletter* was crucial to developing the modern trans-masculine identity. Despite this, scholarly work about *FTM Newsletter* or the history of trans-masculine organizing and liberation movements is few and far between. This research analyzes how *FTM Newsletter* evolved from its first issue to create a new FTM identity and community that did not previously exist. Special attention is paid to the topics discussed, types of resources shared, advertisers, opinion pieces, and letters in the “Male Box” section of *FTM Newsletter*. All issues of *FTM Newsletter* published between 1987 and 1995 are investigated, as well as personal correspondences and notes from creators, editors, and leaders behind the scenes of *FTM Newsletter*. The “Male Box” and personal correspondences, in particular, will show how *FTM Newsletter* tuned into its subscriber base and gradually developed an international community—No easy feat before the prevalence of the Internet. The connections found between the readers, writers, editors, and other contributors of *FTM Newsletter* demonstrate the community and identity building that *FTM Newsletter* facilitated, and speak to its critical role in transgender liberation in the United States from 1987 to 1995, and beyond.

Introduction

Since the beginning of the LGBTQ+ rights movement in the United States, sexual and gender minority groups have advocated for more visibility, acceptance, and civil liberty. The transgender fight for rights has been long documented and is ever-changing in a shifting society. Transgender people were first placed in the national spotlight during the late 1950s and early 1960s with the sensationalized news coverage of Christine Jorgenson’s “full” medical transition

from ex-GI to gorgeous lady. Additionally, the Compton Cafeteria and Stonewall Inn Riots—which are widely accepted to be the start of the Gay rights movement in the United States—were spearheaded by trans and gender non-conforming individuals. This research topic, which details the influence of the *FTM Newsletter*, covers a small, often overlooked section of the larger, broader history of LGBTQ+ rights in the United States.

FTM Newsletter provides a window into the organization of transmasculine individuals in the United States before the prevalence of the Internet. *FTM Newsletter* was created in San Francisco by trans activist Lou Sullivan in 1987. FTM is short for Female-To-Male, describing the transitional identity of the creators and subscribers who were assigned Female at birth. *FTM Newsletter* advertised itself as “for the Female-to-Male crossdresser and transsexual”.³³¹ *FTM Newsletter* fostered an international community and created a new embodiment of the term FTM. This research aims to analyze the critical role *FTM Newsletter* played in bringing transmasculine people to the activist stage, supporting the trans liberation movement of the late 1990s and early 2000s.

Lou Sullivan initially wrote the first issue of the newsletter as a recap for his FTM get-together events, the first of which he had organized in December 1986. The first issue of *FTM Newsletter*, published in September 1987, recounts two FTM get-togethers and serves as an announcement of an upcoming get-together event, later in the month. Sullivan used the newsletter to keep in contact with people who attended or might be interested in attending future get-together events. After Sullivan’s tragic death from AIDS in 1991, Jamison Green took over

³³¹ "FTM Newsletter #1." (1987) Periodical. *Digital Transgender Archive*.

the FTM organization and continued publishing the newspaper. The FTM group behind *FTM Newsletter* announced a name change to FTM International in 1994. In 1995, FTM International organized the first FTM Conference of the Americas, a weekend conference that brought 300+ FTM aligned individuals together from all over the world for the first time ever. Shortly after, FTM International was granted federal and state tax-exempt status as an educational nonprofit organization. Over 13 years, *FTM Newsletter* grew an incredible 18 times in length, starting at 2 pages in 1987 and developing to 36 pages by 2000.

FTM Newsletter demonstrates how small media, press, and formal and informal organizations created community and connection for a minority group. This research aims to provide a new view of the history of transgender issues in the United States and across the world. *FTM Newsletter* and its “Male Box” (1987-1995) tackled transmasculine isolation through developing international identity and community. In its use of “FTM” as an identity and as a community, *FTM Newsletter* worked towards separating the term from its medicalized origin, instead positioning it as an international group of like-experienced individuals. *FTM Newsletter*’s formation of a reclaimed FTM identity led to greater FTM visibility in the late 90s and increased activism within the trans community.

Methodology

This project was completed in several stages. First, I began a cursory review of *FTM Newsletter* issues published between 1987 and 1995. These are issues #1- 32. Next, secondary sources such as *Transgender History* by Susan Stryker, *Lou Sullivan: Daring to Be a Man Among Men* by Brice D. Smith, *Becoming a Visible Man* by Jamison Green, and *Institutional*

Selves In Social Movements: The Rhetorical Production of FTM/Transmen by K. L. Broad was consulted. I also read books like *The Testosterone Files* by Max Wolf Valerio, and *Body Alchemy* by Loren Cameron. Cameron and Valerio were both readers and contributors to the *FTM Newsletter*. These provided a personal look into the experiences of those involved in the *FTM Newsletter* community between 1987 and 1995. The oral histories of Jamison Green, Stephan Thorne, and Yoseñio Lewis were also consulted for this paper. These oral histories were conducted by the OUTWORDS Archive. Thorne, Lewis, and Green were prominent members of the *FTM Newsletter* community. Additionally, the information gleaned from these secondary sources informed about what has already been discovered and discussed about *FTM Newsletter*. The following supplemental primary sources were then reviewed: Lou Sullivan's diary entries and other personal materials, and FTM International records, both housed at the GLBT Historical Society in San Francisco, as well as the Patric A. Magee Papers, housed at the UC Irvine Special Collections. Sullivan's papers and FTM International's records were used to understand the editorial and administrative processes and decisions behind *FTM Newsletter*. The Patric A. Magee papers held some *FTM Newsletter* materials and correspondences, and demonstrated the reach and influence that *FTM Newsletter* had.

In reviewing the *FTM Newsletter*, I evaluated the following information: Locations, Important players, Sections, Themes, Announcements, Events, and Personal Ads. Locations refer to places mentioned in the newsletter with meaningful intentions relating to FTM resources or community. This includes advertisements about FTM-aligned support groups meeting in a state on the East Coast, a therapist in Canada offering services, a personal ad from an individual looking to connect in Germany, etc. Important players refers to editorial staff, contributing

writers, and individuals who are mentioned multiple times throughout the issue(s). This common cast of characters fleshes out the community of *FTM Newsletter*. Sections refer to the way the newsletter is laid out.

As I progressed through the issues, I noted what themes recur. I also made note of important announcements and events mentioned in the various issues, as they helped create a picture and timeline of the world happening outside of the newsletter. Finally, I looked at personal ads to find evidence that subscribers use *FTM Newsletter* as a jumping-off point to finding and developing their own local trans-masculine communities. Close attention was paid to the "Male Box" or Letter to the Editor sections. These sections of the newsletter specifically help demonstrate the community that *FTM Newsletter* nourished.

This paper is written in a chronological narrative format to express a story that has never before been told in full. Pieces of this story have been told by those who were a part of this community and through historians, and other academic scholars. I limited my project scope to the significance of the *FTM Newsletter* between 1987 and 1995, but the legacy of transmasculine organizing continues. I welcome all future contributions to the study of this part of transgender history.

Historiography

In this research about the *FTM Newsletter* and its importance in developing community and sharing resources among a global trans-masculine population, I must reflect on the historians and authors who have written about this before me. Several historians of transgender history

have mentioned the FTM organization or *FTM Newsletter* in their various works. Certain individuals, like Susan Stryker and Brice D. Smith have cataloged episodes of FTM's history. Others, like Jamison Green, Max Wolf Valerio, and Loren Cameron have written about FTM in personal memoirs and autobiographies.

Of the handful of scholarly articles that mention *FTM Newsletter*, most are quoting or referencing material published in the newsletter to demonstrate a transmasculine perspective on contemporary issues. However, I have found one article that explicitly covers *FTM Newsletter* as a notable phenomenon: *Institutional Selves In Social Movements: The Rhetorical Production of FTM/Transmen* by K. L. Broad. In this article, Broad argues that *FTM Newsletter* was instrumental in the development of the modern-day FTM/Transmen identity. Broad explains that the FTM organization used *FTM Newsletter* to produce the FTM/Transmen identity to create a collective community identity. The ubiquitous title of *FTM Newsletter* developed a direct connection between the term "FTM " and the audience of transmasculine aligned individuals it targeted. Broad explains that before *FTM Newsletter*, such a concrete collective identity did not exist— *FTM Newsletter* was responsible for the realization of FTM as a meaningful collective identity. I hope to expand on Broad's argument and explore how *FTM Newsletter* developed this community.

While I am conducting a social history of the *FTM Newsletter* community, the following sources provide background information about the history of the medical world that served the FTM community. To contextualize the history of transsexual/transgender identity, I referred to *The Transsexual Phenomenon*, by Dr. Harry Benjamin. I also used the following scholarly

articles: *Science, Politics and Clinical Intervention: Harry Benjamin, Transsexualism and the Problem of Heteronormativity* by Richard Ekins, *Disordering Gender Identity: Gender Identity Disorder in the DSM-IV-TR* by Arlene Istar Lev, and *Gender Incongruence/Gender Dysphoria and Its Classification History* by Titia F. Beek, Peggy T Cohen-Kettenis, and Baudewijntje P.C Kreukels.

Further, the 2008 book *Transgender History* offers readers a brief description of *FTM Newsletter* and its founder Lou Sullivan. Historian Susan Stryker lays the foundation for understanding *FTM Newsletter* in context with the transgender liberation movement in the United States. Additionally, I consulted supplemental sources about the emergence of the national and international FTM community. These sources include Henry Rubin's book *Self-Made Men : Identity and Embodiment among Transsexual Men*, which explores the development of "transsexual" as a cultural identity. Rubin provides historical and cultural context for the growing visibility of FTM individuals from the 1980s onward. *Transmen & FTMs: Identities, Bodies, Genders & Sexualities* by Jason Cromwell also provides further context to the social development of the FTM Identity. Cromwell used *FTM Newsletter* in the early 90s to find subjects for his research for this book. Rubin and Cromwell were both involved in the 1995 FTM Conference of the Americas, working closely with the FTM organization and Jamison Green. Patrick Califia's *Sex Changes : The Politics of Transgenderism* was also referenced for this paper. Califia was also a reader and contributor to the *FTM Newsletter*.

Further, Brice D. Smith explores Lou Sullivan's motivations and processes for creating *FTM Newsletter* in his biography *Lou Sullivan: Daring to Be a Man Among Men*. This book

deftly explores the immediate impact *FTM Newsletter* had on the trans community in the United States. It also connects Sullivan's diary entries and correspondences with issues of *FTM Newsletter*, exploring Sullivan's editorial process. In addition to this, Smith's 2010 dissertation "*Yours in liberation*": *Lou Sullivan and the construction of FTM identity* also covers Sullivan's work in developing *FTM Newsletter*. Smith's work is based primarily on Lou Sullivan's diaries. These can be found in the Lou Sullivan Papers in the GLBT Historical Archive, but have also been curated for publication in *We Both Laughed in Pleasure : The Selected Diaries of Lou Sullivan*.

A significant non-academic source that is in conversation with other material written about *FTM Newsletter* is Jamison Green's memoir *Becoming a Visible Man*. Green, who took over FTM after Sullivan's tragic death in 1991, provides an extremely valuable perspective about *FTM Newsletter* and its mission and values. Green explains how he interpreted and furthered Sullivan's intentions with starting the newsletter. Despite the different focuses of their respective works, Stryker, Smith, and Green are all in agreement about *FTM Newsletter*'s monumental role in organizing community for the transmasculine community—both in the United States and abroad.

The Birth of *FTM Newsletter*

FTM Newsletter began as a passion project of Louis Graydon Sullivan, a self-identified "female-to-gay-male" living in San Francisco in the late 1980s.³³² Sullivan endeavored to create

³³² Louis Graydon Sullivan Papers. Collection Number: 1991-07. GLBT Historical Society.

a community for others like him who felt alone in the world, for those who felt as though they were alone in being female-bodied individuals with desires to be male-bodied. At the time, few resources were available to FTM-aligned individuals in the United States, and even fewer abroad. This section will describe the world that *FTM Newsletter* was born into, which informed its initial goals of tackling FTM isolation and invisibility. The specific use of the “Male Box” created a platform for readers across the globe to connect, sharing their stories and experiences and fostering community. This section will show how *FTM Newsletter* pioneered the use of the term “FTM” to describe the community outside of medical settings, ultimately creating a more inclusive and diverse understanding of the identity.

Before the start of *FTM Newsletter* in 1987, the FTM community was not visible in US society. The trans community was widely perceived to be all “men in dresses”. In fact, the Harry Benjamin International Gender Dysphoria Association (HBIGDA, now WPATH), the foremost association of professionals working on gender identity issues, first publicly acknowledged the concerns of FTM individuals in 1987.³³³ The term female to male initially emerged within medical discourses between doctors who were interested in studying and sometimes treating individuals who did not identify with female gender roles despite being assigned the female sex at birth. As a result, individuals began to identify themselves with the term FTM, but they were heavily limited by medical origin and diagnostic criteria.

Dr. Harry Benjamin, widely considered to be the father of trans medicine, published *The Transsexual Phenomenon* in 1966. This book, colloquially referred to as The Trans Bible, was

³³³ Jamison Green, *Becoming a Visible Man*. (Nashville, Vanderbilt UP, 2004) 75. ; "FTM Newsletter #22." (1993) Periodical. *Digital Transgender Archive*.

the first publication to identify and advise on the medical treatment of “transsexual” individuals. The term “transsexual” was a new cultural development at the time, replacing psychologists' previous understanding of gender disorientation, “sex inversion”. Dr. Benjamin identified that throughout his research, “female transsexuals” (also known as female-to-male transsexuals) were “much rarer” than “male transsexuals (male-to-female transsexuals).³³⁴ Sociologist Henry Rubin identifies that the development of an FTM identity and subsequent community may have been stunted by the delayed treatment options available to FTM individuals as opposed to MTF individuals. Feminizing hormones like estrogen were isolated and used for treatment before masculinizing hormones like testosterone were. Without a treatment plan, medical researchers and practitioners were hesitant to develop a diagnosis for so-called “female inverts”. *The Transsexual Phenomenon* included a section about “female transsexuals” and advising treatment with testosterone. Dr. Benjamin acknowledged that “transsexuals [as an identity] did not exist until a medical diagnosis and a logic of treatment took shape.” According to Rubin, “a history of the emergence of female-to-male transsexualism can be told as the medicalization of inversion and the making available of medical techniques.” As credited by Rubin, these medical treatment plans led to a terminology shift within the community. Those categorized as “transsexuals,” rather than “inverts,” were eligible to receive their desired treatments.³³⁵

Simultaneously, the lesbian community was having a cultural revolution. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the lesbian community began to move away from gender role identities

³³⁴ Richard Ekins. “Science, Politics and Clinical Intervention: Harry Benjamin, Transsexualism and the Problem of Heteronormativity.” *Sexualities* 8, no. 3 (2005): 315.; Henry Rubin. *Self-Made Men : Identity and Embodiment Among Transsexual Men*. (Nashville, Vanderbilt UP, 2003) 33.; Patrick Califia. *Sex Changes : The Politics of Transgenderism*. (San Francisco. Cleis Press, 1997) 60.

³³⁵ Rubin, Henry. *Self-Made Men : Identity and Embodiment Among Transsexual Men*. (Nashville, Vanderbilt UP, 2003), 33, 34, 49.

like femme and butch. Instead, a “women-identification” focus was assumed. This shift meant that the androgynous haven that the lesbian community had once provided to female-born, masculine-identified individuals was being eroded. Trans historian Susan Stryker explains: “This is not to suggest that trans men would be lesbians given the opportunity but rather to point out that as one possible way of life for transmasculine people was becoming less available, other possibilities were expanding. These changes in the cultural landscape unavoidably affected the life paths that many gender-questioning people followed.”³³⁶ As one identity door closed, or at least became harder to pass through, another identity door opened: FTM. Rubin explains that the numbers of FTM people in the 1970s closed in on the number of MTF people— not because there were fewer MTF individuals, but because more and more people identified as FTM. “Nascent FTMs became recognizable qua transsexual men once lesbianism became woman-identified in the 1970s.” Conversely, the FTM identity was structured around a medical definition that positioned FTM individuals as aligned with a normative male gender role, specifically, heterosexuality.³³⁷

Visibility of the FTM community grew as individuals began publicly coming out and transitioning. Stryker notes that one of the most significant events that contributed to FTM visibility was the media coverage of Steve Dain’s arrest in 1976. Dain was an award-winning high school teacher who was arrested at work after pursuing (FTM) medical transition. He sued the school district he worked for in Emeryville, CA, and then went on to become an advocate for the trans community. Dain’s story was widely publicized, likely making him the first FTM

³³⁶ Susan Stryker. *Transgender History*. (Berkeley, Seal Press, 2008.) 141-149.

³³⁷ Rubin, *Self-Made Men*, 89, 90.

person that thousands across the country had ever heard of. He was, in fact, the first FTM person that Lou Sullivan, founder of *FTM Newsletter*, ever met.³³⁸

In the early 1970s, Lou Sullivan was living in San Francisco and enjoying the gay subculture. In his 20s, a friend gave him a copy of *The Transsexual Phenomenon* and he read it voraciously. Sullivan was inspired after reading about Steve Dain's transition in the newspaper in 1976, and he wrote a letter to Dain expressing his "desperate" desire to "to be able to meet with & talk to someone who has gone through this change".³³⁹ By 1976, Sullivan had been identifying as a female-to-male transvestite for 3 years and was looking for peer support in pursuing medical transition. Sullivan wrote to Dain "Please know that just being made aware you exist has made me feel less a screwball". In 1979, Sullivan was able to meet Dain, after being connected through a psychotherapist that referred him.³⁴⁰

Steve Dain was the first FTM individual Lou Sullivan had ever met in the flesh. In his diary, Sullivan wrote that his conversation with Dain was "the 1st time I was talking with someone who understood what I meant". Dain advised Sullivan on many issues and supported his pursuit of medical transition. However, shortly after his first meeting with Dain, Sullivan received a rejection letter from the Stanford University Gender Dysphoria Program. His rejection was due to his attraction to men. The "ideal" candidate for FTM medical transition at the time was someone who would be entering a heteronormative male role. Sullivan, crushed by these

³³⁸ Stryker, *Transgender History*, 141-149.

³³⁹ Brice D. Smith. *Lou Sullivan : Daring to Be a Man among Men*. (Oakland, Transgress Press, 2017.) 37.; Brice D. Smith. "Yours in Liberation": Lou Sullivan and the Construction of FTM Identity." ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2010. 19.

³⁴⁰ Smith. "Yours in Liberation,". 125.; Stryker, *Transgender History*, 141-149.

rejections (he had been rejected once in 1976, and again in 1980), shared his news with Dain. According to Lou Sullivan biographer Brice Smith, “it angered Dain that the (non-trans) medical professionals specializing in the diagnosis and treatment of transsexuality felt that transsexuals had to “fit a prescribed mold, and a decidedly heteronormative one.”³⁴¹ Dain told Sullivan that he still had his support, and directed him to private physicians who were not beholden to the restrictive and homophobic guidelines of the Stanford University Gender Dysphoria Program.

Sullivan wrote in his journal: “Told [Dain] I don’t feel like a ‘man trapped in a woman’s body.’ + he laughed and said nobody does, that’s just a catchy phrase coined by the medical profession + that being a transsexual does not dictate anything other than your feelings about yourself, and I have a perfect right to be a gay man if that’s what I want.”³⁴² With Dain’s support, Sullivan successfully pursued chest reconstructive surgery.

Now that his medical transition was finally underway, he began embodying the life he always imagined himself living. Throughout this, Dain served as a mentor to Sullivan, fashioning him into “a forefather of the FTM Community.” Imbued with new confidence and zest for life, Sullivan started volunteering at the Janus Information Facility— a local resource hub for transsexual individuals. His volunteer work consisted mostly of responding to letters from isolated trans individuals across the US. According to Smith, the Janus Information Facility could receive more than 500 letters in two days. Sullivan’s correspondences with the FTM individuals who wrote in informed him of the issues most pressing to the still unborn FTM

³⁴¹ Smith. *Lou Sullivan*, . 99.; Lou Sullivan. *We Both Laughed in Pleasure : The Selected Diaries of Lou Sullivan, 1961-1991*. Edited by Ellis Martin and Zach Ozma. (New York, Nightboat Books, 2019.) 125. ; Smith. “Yours in Liberation,” 19.

³⁴² Sullivan, *Pleasure*, 216-217.

community. He was especially touched by the “trauma endured” by FTM’s living in small communities in the South, and he felt that their isolation was the greatest. In his time at Janus, Sullivan became “the FTM mentor, friend, and confidant he himself had yearned for many years.”

In 1980, Sullivan struck out on his own, beginning his first individual project for the FTM community. He wrote a booklet, *Information for the Female-to-Male Crossdresser and Transsexual*, which was published and distributed by Janus Information Facility. It was through this booklet and Lou’s work at Janus that he began developing a small network of FTM individuals, all connected through their correspondence with him. Lou represented to many what Dain had represented to him: “The first FTM they knew or knew of.” According to Smith, “it is undeniable that as Lou physically transitioned and grew as an FTM leader, the number of individuals identifying as FTM grew dramatically”. Those he corresponded with would migrate to him, making trips across the country to get an opportunity to meet another FTM individual. Lou drew comparisons between these meetings and his own with Steve Dain.³⁴³

While Sullivan eventually ceased his work at Janus, he went on to publish a second edition of *Information for the Female-to-Male Crossdresser and Transsexual*. This publication made him somewhat of a celebrity in the FTM community, as it positioned him as an expert or guide for those looking for information and resources. It was the first publication of its kind: A How-To Guide for FTMs, written by an FTM.

³⁴³ Smith. *Lou Sullivan*, 110-112.

Most publications about FTM individuals were either by and/or for medical professionals. Sullivan was forging a new path: where FTM individuals could write and share their experiences with one another, cutting the medical middle man out. As time passed, Sullivan wrote in his journal “All of a sudden I have a million FTM contacts.” In 1986, Sullivan was contacted by one of these “well-known” FTM individuals who was interested in organizing a group for female-to-male individuals to “talk to each other, exchange information, + just “be there” for new F-M’s coming out.”

This conversation was the conception of the *FTM Newsletter*. Sullivan wrote in his diary that the idea of a gathering excited him and it made him consider “even getting a small newsletter going.” The excitement and passion for this potential project leaps off the page in his diary: “I’m sure it’s possible if we can get other F→ M’s to “sign up”. And you know how I LOVE to put little newsletters together!”³⁴⁴

In September 1987, Sullivan published the first issue of *FTM Newsletter*. It began as a short, two page publication that recapped the most recent FTM Get-Together that Sullivan had organized.³⁴⁵ The first issue of *FTM Newsletter* opens with:

“Greetings! This is the first issue of FTM, a newsletter for the female-to-male transsexual and crossdresser... We all remember our first steps during our transitions, our need to talk to others who felt the same way, and the joy of learning we weren’t the “only ones.” [FTM] give[s] us an opportunity to meet and learn from others who understand, and to be there for those who seek answers and advice.”

³⁴⁴ Sullivan, *Pleasure*, 351- 352.

³⁴⁵ "FTM Newsletter #1."

This introduction accurately reflects the backbone of *FTM Newsletter* and its readership. Sullivan designed *FTM Newsletter* to fight isolation within the transmasculine community, to help others find “the joy of learning [they] weren’t the ‘only ones’”.

Additionally, *FTM Newsletter* invited readers to contribute to an “open forum” through the “Male Box”, where readers could share their “reactions to current/issues/concerns within the gender community.”³⁴⁶ With this model, *FTM Newsletter* recognized diversity among FTM individuals. Sullivan recognized that while FTM individuals might share many similar feelings and experiences, they were not monolithic.

Sullivan’s own identity heavily guided *FTM Newsletter*’s approach to inclusivity. Sullivan had been denied access to gender-affirming care because of his attraction to men. Additionally, he had been diagnosed with AIDS in 1986, the year before he began *FTM Newsletter*. He was the first known FTM individual with AIDS. These marginalizations had shaped his life as a minority within a minority within a minority. Not only was he FTM, he was a gay FTM. Not only was he a gay FTM, he was a gay FTM with AIDS.

After his AIDS diagnosis, Sullivan dedicated the rest of his life to fighting the isolation that he had experienced himself.³⁴⁷ Without an inclusive and diverse approach to the FTM identity, many FTM individuals lived in intense isolation. By showcasing the diverse community of FTM individuals who wrote in to the “Male Box”, *FTM Newsletter* alleviated the isolation felt by its readers.

³⁴⁶ "FTM Newsletter #1."

³⁴⁷ Smith. “Yours in Liberation,” 405-406.

Exit From Isolation; Male Box

In 1988, FTM Newsletter introduced the “Male Box” (a play on the word mailbox), in which Lou Sullivan published letters written by readers. The Male Box became a novel way for readers to reach out to one another despite the significant physical distance between them. On some occasions, readers discovered they had friends in their own backyards. This section will demonstrate how the connections that the Male Box facilitated between readers of the FTM Newsletter helped foster a sense of belonging that negated readers’ feelings of isolation.

Initially, *FTM Newsletter* began as a way to recap the latest FTM Get-Together that Sullivan had organized, as well as advertise the next Get-Together. In the early years of *FTM Newsletter*, Sullivan kept track of every reader/subscriber and had personal contact with each one. The Newsletter was sent out quarterly, matching the frequency of the FTM Get-Togethers (every 3 months). Those who attended the FTM Get-Together meetings that Sullivan organized in San Francisco could pick up their newsletter at the event, and meet others like themselves. In this way, the *FTM Newsletter* and FTM Get-Togethers were closely married. Sullivan used the newsletter as a way to maintain those relationships with others he had met at the FTM Get-Togethers and beyond. Instead of writing personal correspondences and updates to every single FTM individual he wanted to keep in touch with, he could address them all at once through the *FTM Newsletter*.

Just as Sullivan desperately wanted to connect with others, they desperately needed to connect with him. Sullivan's successor (as editor of the FTM Newsletter), Jamison Green, wrote

that the newsletter became so important because “there was finally something outside ourselves that we could look at and realize that, although we were different, we were not alone.”³⁴⁸

While the newsletter originated in Sullivan’s San Francisco Bay Area community, it quickly became a “lifeline” for those outside of the region and beyond, especially those “who were isolated and could find no other contact with people like themselves”.³⁴⁹ This expansion of readership is most evident after the 5th issue of *FTM Newsletter*. In September of 1988, Sullivan decided to publish a letter that had been written to him personally in the 5th issue of *FTM Newsletter*. He changed “Dear Lou” to “Dear FTM”, and created a new section of the newsletter titled “Male Box”, a play on “Mail Box”.³⁵⁰ Sullivan had published “Dear FTM” letters in previous issues #3 and #4, but issue #5 stands out because it includes 5 very diverse letters. It features letters from individuals in New York, Virginia, Hawaii, and Ontario, Canada. In some of these letters, the authors invite and encourage responses from other readers.³⁵¹

For many readers, Lou Sullivan was one of the only or the only FTM individuals they knew besides themselves. By publishing their letters to him in the *FTM Newsletter*, Sullivan outsourced the labor of responding to their correspondences. Sullivan was a prolific letter writer and would spend hours a day writing to other FTM individuals— a habit he likely picked up from his volunteering days at Janus Information Center.³⁵² He realized he could not bear the burden of being the only FTM individual to respond to the calls of so many isolated people.

³⁴⁸ Green, *Visible Man*, 52, 56.

³⁴⁹ Green, *Visible Man*, 52.

³⁵⁰ Smith. *Lou Sullivan*, 411.

³⁵¹ "FTM Newsletter #3-5." (1988) Periodical. *Digital Transgender Archive*.

³⁵² Green, *Visible Man*, 56.

Additionally, he provided a great service by publishing these letters in the newsletter— suddenly, instead of his connections knowing only Sullivan, they were empowered to connect with one another. They were able to read the stories and experiences of so many others like them. Prior to the creation of the *FTM Newsletter* Male Box, Sullivan’s audience had been limited in their ability to connect with others like them. The Male Box allowed *FTM Newsletter* to build a web of connections beyond Sullivan’s personal mailbox.³⁵³ It cut the middle man (Lou Sullivan) out of the equation, encouraging and fostering relationships between isolated individuals across the nation. The framing change of “Dear Lou” to “Dear FTM” positioned the letters as addressed to both individuals identified as “FTM” and as a collective FTM group.

The Male Box became one of the most popular sections of the *FTM Newsletter*, sometimes taking up several pages. It featured letters from individuals across the US, as well as from countries such as Mexico, Brazil, The Netherlands, Canada, Japan, and England. In fact, the Male Box was so popular as a means for networking that *FTM Newsletter* actually introduced a separate FTM Networking section in Issue #6.³⁵⁴ The FTM Networking entries were often shorter, simpler descriptions of people and who/what connection they were looking for. The Male Box continued to have heartfelt messages from a variety of sources— some were readers, some were medical professionals, and others were organizers of therapy or support groups. Many early Male Box entries from readers feature similar themes. Commonly, readers wrote in and expressed their appreciation for the existence of the *FTM Newsletter*, especially in contrast with their loneliness. Many felt misunderstood and outcast, especially those living in small communities. The two following examples illustrate this.

³⁵³ Smith. “Yours in Liberation,” 411.

³⁵⁴ “FTM Newsletter #6.” (1998) Periodical. *Digital Transgender Archive*.

In Issue #10 (December 1989), one Male Box letter reads:

To Whom This Letter May Concern (and I truly hope it will concern at least some of you): I don't want to come off as sounding rude, but I feel that if I can write this letter, which I've been meaning to do for quite some time, it would provide me with some peace of mind. Much like Kevin R. in the September issue of *FTM*, I live in a very small community ... I'm writing you from [REDACTED], Iowa, population about 2,000 - that includes the farmers! I have told the people that matter the most to me about my desire to have a complete sex change. Some have taken the news well, while others have decided to cut off ties with me. All in all I am finding myself to be overcome by loneliness,...I know I sound desperate but I've been living like a caged monkey for nearly a year now... God, how I wish I were born in a larger community!"

The author of this letter hoped to find a community within *FTM Newsletter* that they could not reach physically. Their desperation for connection leads them to write into the *FTM Newsletter*, as they have seen others do. In Issue 15 (April 1991), another Male Box letter reads:

Dear *FTM*, You know how the *FTM Networking* says 'It's free and it works!' Well I would just like to attest to that! I am an *FTM* who was residing in Arkansas. Talk about feeling hopeless. I found *FTM* info., including this newsletter, only with great difficulty. I wrote into *FTM Networking* and found a great *FTM* pal in Seattle, WA. After corresponding for a few months, I made the move to Seattle and am now in therapy with a really great therapist! I plan to begin hormones later this year. Besides a great friend, a job and a place to live, I also have hope for the future. I even got to meet Lou Sullivan at the *FTM* gathering in September here in Seattle. Thanks again, Lou for *FTM*!!!

This letter speaks highly of the success of *FTM Newsletter* in creating community. The author explains how before the *FTM Newsletter* they were feeling hopeless. After using *FTM Newsletter's* networking, they made connections with someone and ended up moving to live closer to them. As a result of this move, they were able to meet more *FTM* individuals at the *FTM Get-Together* in Seattle. Most notably, the individual notes in this letter a change in their

outlook on life. They went from feeling “hopeless” to feeling “hope for the future” as a result of connecting with others through *FTM Newsletter*.

FTM Newsletter created a “lifeline” for isolated FTM individuals who had limited or no contact with others like them. As evident in Male Box entries, *FTM Newsletter* facilitated “the joy of learning [they] weren’t the “only ones” for readers across the nation. Sullivan accurately described the ‘need to talk to others who felt the same way’ as the Male Box remained a popular way for readers to get in touch with one another after its introduction in the fifth issue.³⁵⁵

FTMs Of All Shapes And Sizes

As readers found commonality within the pages of the Male Box, Sullivan endeavored to maintain an expansive understanding of the FTM Identity. He used *FTM Newsletter* to represent the diversity among FTM individuals. He felt strongly that FTM individuals should be allowed to identify themselves according to their own metrics, rather than be limited by medical diagnostic standards. The pre-existing medical model for FTM diagnosis accepted only “ideal” candidates for gender-affirming (known then as sex confirmation or sex reassignment) care. By and large, these “ideal” candidates were those who expressed a desire and an ability to present themselves in the normative, acceptable, Western model of hegemonic masculinity. *FTM Newsletter* was revolutionary in its inclusivity of individuals regardless of race, class, dress/presentation, sexual orientation, country, immigration/citizenship status, and transition goals and processes.

³⁵⁵ "FTM Newsletter #1."

Rubin describes the origin of the term FTM, in which female-to-male individuals, previously understood by the medical community to be “female inverts” covertly collaborated with doctors and researchers to create a “medical logic of treatment”. Through this process, FTM individuals capitulated to theories about their “condition” that were accepted and validated by the medical community in order to gain access to treatment. They positioned themselves as diseased, malformed, or under/overdeveloped in crucial organ systems relating to sex presentation to convince doctors of the validity of hormonal and surgical interventions.³⁵⁶ When understood to be “female inverts”, they were assumed to be homosexual women with intense internalized homophobia. As a result, they were unlikely to receive medical interventions that would help them achieve male characteristics. When they positioned themselves as more similar to intersex people, through theories of hormonal imbalance, or extra or missing sex organs, they established themselves as medically acceptable patients.³⁵⁷ This patient subject position allowed them access to the life-saving gender-affirming treatment that they sought. This system encouraged FTM individuals to fall into a positive-reinforcing loop with their medical providers, wherein to secure their access to gender-affirming care they continued to capitulate to the medical definition and diagnosis criteria for FTM individuals. This in turn falsely confirmed to the medical community that their diagnosis criteria were sound and accurate.³⁵⁸

FTM individuals folded themselves into an acceptable patient identity as informed by the socio-cultural environment of the 1960s. Upon receiving approval from medical practitioners

³⁵⁶ Rubin, *Self-Made Men*, 141, 178-179.

³⁵⁷ Rubin, 61.

³⁵⁸ Arlene Istar Lev, “Disordering Gender Identity: Gender Identity Disorder in the DSM-IV-TR.” *Journal of Psychology and Human Sexuality*, (2006), 54.

who accepted this condition as something medically treatable, FTM individuals were afforded a narrow hoop through which to jump to receive hormonal and surgical treatment. Besides the basic obstacles to this treatment, such as location, education level, class and financial support, familial and community support, and knowledge of treatment available, FTM individuals were also limited by their ability to fit the diagnosis criteria. To make themselves more desirable candidates, it is likely many lied or altered elements of their life story to appeal to doctors.³⁵⁹ They continued to pass through this narrow definition of what it meant to be an ideal FTM candidate for hormonal and surgical treatment until Sullivan's *FTM Newsletter* established a new meaning for what it meant to be FTM.

FTM Newsletter pioneered a diverse FTM identity by grouping transsexuals and crossdressers together, as well as including FTM individuals regardless of sexual orientation, race, class, nationality, religion, and other identity categories that separate general society. *FTM Newsletter* was for the “female-to-male transsexual and crossdresser”, which established a welcoming space for individuals in all phases of transition and lived experience. This countered current medical practice, which largely looked to separate the transsexual identity from crossdressers. Magnus Hirschfield, a German sexologist widely recognized to be one of the first medical advocates for the trans community coined the term transvestite in 1910 and transsexual in 1923. Transvestite, also known as crossdresser, comes from the Latin word “trans” for over, or across, and “vestitum”, to dress. Transvestism, as Hirschfield understood it, was a spectrum, with transsexuals at the most extreme end. As a result, transsexuals were seen as valid patients who could integrate into society with proper treatment. Alternatively, crossdressers were often seen as

³⁵⁹ Rubin, *Self-Made Men*, 57, 81.

perverts, fetishists, and societal deviants for their non-conformity. These categories personally affected Lou Sullivan in his self-identification journey. Thus, he designed *FTM Newsletter* to be inclusive of both identities, contrary to the prevalent medical practice.

This separation of the valid transsexual and invalid crossdresser served to limit access to gender-affirming care. In his groundbreaking work, *The Transsexual Phenomenon*, Dr. Harry Benjamin explained that a key difference between transvestites, or crossdressers, and transsexuals was that a transsexual “puts all [their] faith and future into the hands of the doctor”, whereas “the transvestite usually wants to be left alone.”³⁶⁰ This demonstrates the limitations put on trans individuals pursuing treatment— their behavior and reactions to the doctor’s recommendations could categorize them as transvestites or transsexuals; It could categorize them as undeserving or deserving of treatment. In fact, Sullivan himself had been prevented from accessing medical transition by psychotherapists who believed he was a cross dresser and not a good candidate for transition.³⁶¹ As a result of this, Sullivan desired to cultivate a community that didn’t focus on the supposed differences between cross dressers and transsexuals.

In the last issue Sullivan contributed to, he responded to a letter from a reader who was angry about the lack of distinction made between transsexuals and transvestites, or crossdressers. Open to discourse, the letter was published in *FTM Newsletter* Issue 15, along with Sullivan’s response. Here, he shared that he had first identified as “female-to-male transvestite” for 6 years. He wrote:

This was the most tormenting stage of my life, one during which I needed desperately to connect with others in all the varying phases

³⁶⁰ Harry Benjamin. *The Transsexual Phenomenon*. (New York, Julian Press, Inc. Publishers, 1966) 10-11.

³⁶¹ Smith. “Yours in Liberation,” 144.

of female-to-male expression. This is the most important function of the FTM Get-Togethers and our Newsletter - presenting all the options to the searching female-to-male so that she might make an informed choice concerning her future.³⁶²

Sullivan's own lived experience as a self-identified transvestite (and later, transsexual) informed *FTM Newsletter's* policy of including the spectrum of identities. *FTM Newsletter* recognized that many of their readers spent time in both cross-dresser and transsexual circles, and may have found their way to the newsletter through either community. *FTM Newsletter* perceived these categories as reductive and impermanent. Dr. Benjamin admitted in *The Transsexual Phenomenon* that occasionally, after an initial diagnosis of transvestitism, patients were re-diagnosed at a later date with transsexualism.³⁶³ *FTM Newsletter* disregarded these categorizations and instead recognized that the spectrum of gender identity was far more nuanced and complicated than the medical community gave it credit. *FTM Newsletter* embraced all who felt personally identified with the "female-to-male" story, whether transsexual, cross dresser, or transgender (a term that grew in popularity later). *FTM Newsletter* also firmly welcomed all FTM individuals regardless of sexual orientation. The medical model understood all FTM people to be strictly heterosexual, as in transitioning to normative masculinity: men attracted to women.³⁶⁴

When Lou Sullivan applied to gender clinics, he was aware of this expectation. In fact, medical professionals openly admitted to Sullivan that they were hesitant to approve him for

³⁶² "FTM Newsletter #15." (1991) Periodical. *Digital Transgender Archive.*; Note: Sullivan uses she/her/hers pronouns to describe a pre-transition FTM individual, as was common at the time. The more modern approach is to match pronouns to the individual's gender identity regardless of transition status. If this were written today, it would likely read "...presenting all the options to the searching female-to-male so that he might an informed choice concerning his future".

³⁶³ Benjamin, *Phenomenon*, 68.

³⁶⁴ Rubin, *Self-Made Men*, 90.

gender-affirming care because he did not have an attraction to women. The Stanford Gender Dysphoria Program rejected Sullivan's application for gender-affirming surgery because he did not present a life history typical of their successful patients; He was not heterosexual. Sullivan noted in his journal that Judy Van Maasdam, the coordinator for the Stanford Gender Dysphoria Program, stated that the program accepted "classic transsexual[s]". A "classic transsexual" was heterosexual post-surgery. After his second rejection from the Stanford Gender Dysphoria Program, Sullivan wrote back to them to appeal their decision. He expressed frustration and stated that he "had even considered lying to [Stanford] about [his] sexual preference of men, as I knew this would surely keep me out of your Program, but [he] felt it important to be straightforward, possibly paving the way for other female-to-males with homosexual orientations - and we do exist." ³⁶⁵

Eventually, Sullivan was able to pursue gender-affirming care through private practitioners who accepted him regardless of his sexual orientation. However, he maintained the feelings he'd expressed in his letter to the Stanford Gender Dysphoria Program. In fact, Sullivan wrote in his diary that upon learning of his AIDS diagnosis in December 1986, he had a few final goals. He aspired to accomplish these goals before the end of his life. One of these goals was to "ensure that no other female-to-gay males would be discriminated against by gender professionals because of their sexual orientation."

With this goal in mind, Sullivan established both the FTM Get-Togethers and the subsequent *FTM Newsletter* as a place open and welcoming to gay FTM individuals, as well as

³⁶⁵ Smith. "Yours in Liberation," 184-185, 191, 208.

FTM people who were othered in different ways. Max Wolf Valerio, a reader and later contributor to the *FTM Newsletter*, shared that Sullivan was proud of his gay identity and openly used it to advertise the nature of his FTM organizations. In his memoir *The Testosterone Files*, Valerio noted that early in his transition, Sullivan invited him out to an FTM Get-Together in San Francisco. When Valerio expressed insecurities about attending, Sullivan announced: “You can be as weird as you want... I’m a gay man.” Valerio was struck by this declaration, noting that Sullivan stated this as an accomplishment. In reaction, Valerio felt that his FTM identity could be a freeing one, rather than a limiting one. He wrote: “One could explore. Possibilities multiply.”³⁶⁶

Jamison Green picked up on this model of diversity and inclusion when he first attended the FTM Get-Togethers as well. He described the group as a blend of individuals from all walks of life, including a variety of racial and ethnic groups including but not limited to: Latino, Hawaiian, Black, White, Middle Eastern, Chinese, Malaysian, European, and Indian. He also noted that they “presented your typical San Francisco cross-section of styles and backgrounds, from working class to prep-boy yuppie, from professional to chronically unemployed.”³⁶⁷ Green expressed finding comfort in the fact that people from all backgrounds could be united in their pursuit of gender confirmation. Somehow, the fact that they could all be so different and share the FTM identity in common rationalized and further validated their existence.

³⁶⁶ Max W. (Max Wolf) Valerio. *The Testosterone Files : My Hormonal and Social Transformation from Female to Male*. Emeryville, CA: Seal Press, an imprint of Avalon Pub. Group, 2006. 101-102.

³⁶⁷ Green, *Visible Man*, 54-55.

The FTM Get-Togethers that Sullivan hosted were often attended by FTM individuals in all stages of transition, as well as a few significant others, partners, family members, and friends. This translated to the community of *FTM Newsletter*, which was initially established as a way for FTM Get-Together attendees to keep in touch. According to Green, “Sullivan, leader of the pack, really liked this kind of variety.”³⁶⁸

Sociologist K.L. Broad wrote in their article *Institutional Selves in Social Movements: The Rhetorical Production of FTM/Transmen* that *FTM Newsletter* created a diverse FTM community, which in turn affected the production of a diverse FTM identity. In other words, prior to *FTM Newsletter*, the existing FTM identity was not inclusive of many individuals. In recognizing a diverse FTM community, *FTM Newsletter* was able to redefine what it meant to be FTM, and what it looked like to be FTM.³⁶⁹ This more inclusive definition welcomed individuals like Green and Valerio into an FTM community that Sullivan had not had when he began his transition.

For the female-to-male transsexual *and* crossdresser, *FTM Newsletter* provided community. For female-to-gay males, as well as other FTM individuals who felt their sexual orientation was not represented by the preexisting hegemonic heteronormative model, *FTM Newsletter* provided community. For individuals of all class statuses, all racial and ethnic backgrounds, all levels of education and work experience, age, nationality, and immigration status, *FTM Newsletter* provided community. *FTM Newsletter* opened its arms to all who felt a

³⁶⁸ Smith. “Yours in Liberation,” 414.; Green, *Visible Man*, 55.

³⁶⁹ Kendal L Broad. “Institutional Selves in Social Movements: The Rhetorical Production of FTM/Transmen.” *Research in Political Sociology* 13 (2004): 225–55.

connection to the FTM identity and created space for them when the medical community did not accept them. In pushing for diversity as a tenement of *FTM Newsletter's* community, Sullivan ensured that fewer and fewer FTM individuals who came across the newsletter would feel isolated and separated. Instead of rejection because they didn't fit the exact diagnostic criteria, FTM identified individuals who read *FTM Newsletter* felt that the "possibilities" for their future "[could] multiply".³⁷⁰

These possibilities expanded beyond what the medical literature accepted. Jamison Green noted in his memoir *Becoming a Visible Man*, that the "ideal" FTM positive reinforcement loop (doctors expecting FTM individuals to fit certain criteria, FTM individuals telling doctors what they wanted to hear to improve their chances of getting access to gender-affirming care, thereby confirming doctors wrong understanding of what it meant to be FTM) was exacerbated by the individual isolation that FTM individuals experienced. He explained: "As long as we were kept separate from each other, many of us felt that fitting the psychological model was the only way to get access to medical treatment".³⁷¹ *FTM Newsletter*, in its inclusive approach, laid the groundwork for a greater FTM community to challenge the diagnostic criteria for gender-affirming care.

FTM Newsletter In Transition

Sullivan served as the editor of *FTM Newsletter* from its inception, in September 1987, until his death in March 1991. In that time, *FTM Newsletter* had produced 14 issues. It had

³⁷⁰ Valerio, *Testosterone Files*, 101-102.

³⁷¹ Green, *Visible Man*, 44.

grown from a simple double-sided one page sheet to an eight page newsletter, complete with sections like the Male Box, FTM Networking, book and movie reviews, news, and sections written by contributing authors. The growth resulted from increasing readership, the addition of the Male Box and networking sections, and more readers turned contributors. As Lou Sullivan exited and a new editor of the *FTM Newsletter* entered, the community began to morph and change. The newsletter did not die with him. What had begun as a way for Sullivan to keep in touch with his friends was growing into a massive web of connections across the world. *FTM Newsletter* developed an international platform upon which individuals could organize their political and social projects.

Sullivan's commitment to *FTM Newsletter* shows that he understood the significance of the community he was fostering. He journaled extensively in the months before his death, reflecting on his contributions and achievements. He was particularly proud of "the continued growth of FTM, my female-to-male support network, now reaching transsexuals and crossdressers across the globe". He continued breathing life into the community he had created, even as his own health failed. His journal entries in the last months of his life are rife with alternating updates on his FTM organizing and admissions of his ailing condition. He was dying of AIDS, a slow and dramatic deterioration. His determination to see FTM succeed as a support network is extremely evident here. In one instance, Sullivan wrote "I've published the 11th issue of my FTM newsletter. Took it to T's print shop to make copies and he commented that I look really bad. I guess I do, at 110 lbs." Later, he mentions making a round of errands that begins with a doctor's appointment and ends with dropping off the latest issue of *FTM Newsletter* at the

post office. Sullivan was committed to delivering the *FTM Newsletter* despite his failing health because of what it represented to him and others like him: A world they could call their own.

After one of the last FTM events Sullivan ever attended, he reminisced in his diary: “[The event] was a smashing success and a big turn-out of FTMs.... I feel so proud of myself for keeping this group going and am more and more confident that it has a life of its own and will continue to happen even after I’m unable to coordinate it.”³⁷² After nearly four years of hard work, Sullivan’s efforts paid off. His FTM community was thriving, even as he began to wither. It no longer needed him to tend so closely to it, for he had facilitated connections beyond him. The middle man could retire in peace.

Sullivan was proud of his FTM group for its self-sustenance but also knew the burden of work he needed to pass on. The group was established— the readers, writers, and sponsors were invested and locked in. But *FTM Newsletter* needed a new editor and ringleader. One week before he died, Sullivan invited Jamison Green over to his apartment. At this time, Sullivan coached Green on his methods and shared the organizational materials for the *FTM Newsletter* with him. Jamison Green recalled that Sullivan was bedridden at this time, barely able to move his body. However, his spirits remained high. Green remembered that he explained how he would approach responding to the kinds of letters sent in by readers, but also recognized that the newsletter was in new, capable hands. At the end of the meeting, Sullivan said to Green “Great! Now it’s done. I feel like a huge weight is off me. I’m sure you guys will take care of everything.” Sullivan was pleased that he had fostered a community that included individuals

³⁷² Sullivan, *Pleasure*, 303, 402, 413, 415.

like Jamison Green who were prepared to take the editor's mantle and ensure the continuation of *FTM Newsletter*. "I feel much relieved that it'll be in good hands and survive", Sullivan wrote after the meeting.³⁷³

Still, despite passing the torch on to Green, Sullivan continued writing letters on behalf of FTM up until the end of his life. Within the UC Irvine Special Collection *Patric A. Magee Papers Concerning Transgenderism*, Patric A. Magee saved a letter from Lou Sullivan dated March 1st, 1991. In it, Sullivan responds to a letter Magee had written to him.³⁷⁴ He wrote:

Dear Pat:

First of all I want to thank you for your kinds words about FTM, and especially for your cash donation toward this work. Since I do not charge any fee, I pay for all expenses myself and every little bit helps out.

...

Yes, I have AIDS but am still able to do a minimum of work. I hope interested group members will keep the meetings and newsletter going when I finally become unable to do so myself. Again, thanks for the donation and compliments!

Regards,
Lou Sullivan

Magee saved this letter from Sullivan, along with a personal note that provides further context:

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Lou Sullivan wrote this letter on March 1, 1991. I attended the next FTM group in San Francisco that occurred just after Lou's memorial service. Lou passed away on March 2, 1991. James Green told me that Lou was only able to write about one letter a day by that point, and this letter to me is most likely the last thing he ever wrote.

Pat Magee 7/20/08

³⁷³ Green, *Visible Man*, 61-62; Sullivan, *Pleasure*, 419.

³⁷⁴ Patric A. Magee Papers concerning transgenderism. MS-R133. Special Collections and Archives, The UC Irvine Libraries, Irvine, California. Series 3: Magazines and newsletters. Lou Sullivan correspondence and other materials, 1982, 1991, 2008. Accessed April 4, 2024.

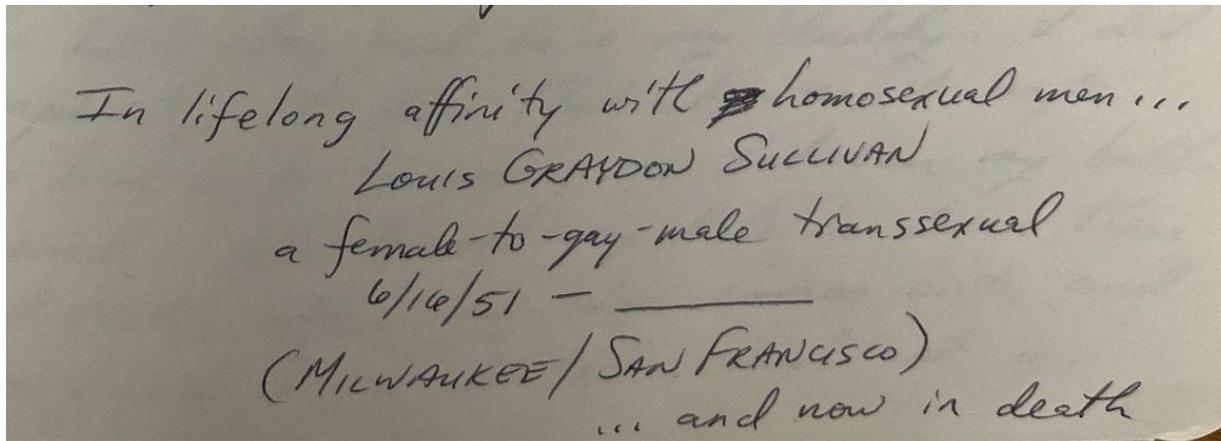
³⁷⁵ Patric A. Magee Papers

This letter and note provide insight into Sullivan's commitment to sustaining FTM as a community. On his deathbed, he continued to write to members of the FTM network, thanking them for their monetary contributions and speaking on behalf of the organization. In many senses, FTM (as an organization) was Lou Sullivan, and Lou Sullivan was FTM. It was his guiding principles and ambitions that began the group, and it was his hard work and dedication that maintained it. The last four years of his life were both riddled with illness and filled with passion for FTM— to the end.

The entirety of Sullivan's time with *FTM Newsletter* had been under the cloud of his AIDS diagnosis. His imminent death had cemented his pursuit of an FTM community that would accept his sexuality and a gay community that would accept his gender identity. In December 1987, a few months after the first issue of *FTM Newsletter* was published, Sullivan attended an event where the beginnings of the AIDS memorial quilt was displayed. He had just received news of his own diagnosis in the year prior. Upon returning home, he journaled about the experience, feeling anger and sadness as he looked into his own future.³⁷⁶ In his diary, he designed a pattern for his own memorial quilt:

In lifelong affinity with homosexual men...
Louis Graydon Sullivan
A female-to-gay-male transsexual
6/16/51- _____
(Milwaukee/San Francisco)
... and now in death

³⁷⁶ Louis Graydon Sullivan papers. Collection Number: 1991-07. GLBT Historical Society.



Sullivan passed on March 2nd, 1991. He was 39 years old. He was the first known female-to-male person to die of AIDS.

In the first issue of *FTM Newsletter* after Sullivan's death, new editor Jamison Green wrote a piece in memoriam. "[Sullivan] didn't judge us. He was a role model for many of us. He was there for us. He knew he was dying of AIDS, and still he served his community".³⁷⁷ Sullivan's contributions to the trans-masculine world cannot be understated. He brought together the first national and international community of individuals united by a new, diverse, and inclusive FTM identity. His pioneering identity as a proud gay FTM shaped a new field for trans-masculine possibilities. As the editor and founder of *FTM Newsletter*, Sullivan shared a model for FTM organizing with every one of his readers. Through *FTM Newsletter*, his sphere of influence spread across the world.³⁷⁸

³⁷⁷ "FTM Newsletter #15."

³⁷⁸ Smith. *Lou Sullivan*, 207.

FTM International and Beyond

The growth and development of *FTM Newsletter's* international crowd led to a greater collective interest in political movement and activism. There had been inklings of political unrest within the pages of *FTM Newsletter* when Lou Sullivan had been editor, but those conversations finally exploded off the page after his death. Green reflected on this increased pace of activity in his memoir. In his eyes, it felt as though Sullivan's illness may have inadvertently suppressed activity from the community. No one wanted to ask too much of him when he was already doing so much work with so little energy and time. Simultaneously, when he passed he left multiple roles to be filled by new, inspired individuals. Sullivan wore many hats, and people rose to the occasion to help out where they could. "When Lou Sullivan died in March of 1991, the FTM group of San Francisco took a quantum leap into the present and began to gather the strength it would need to help propel the nascent transgender community into a forward-thinking political and social movement."

As Lou Sullivan handed over the editorial duties of *FTM Newsletter* to Jamison Green he said "Of course, you'll want to handle things your own way."³⁷⁹ Indeed, things were handled in a new way. *FTM Newsletter* Issue 15, published in April 1991, marked the beginning of Jamison Green's career as editor and leader of the FTM organization. In his first foray as editor, Green shared with *FTM Newsletter* readers that in the wake of Lou's death, there would be an "inevitable transition" for the FTM organization. Despite this, he affirmed that it was his "fervent hope that [*FTM Newsletter*] will continue in the spirit of brotherhood, in the best sense of the word." Green continued to champion Sullivan's goals of minimizing FTM isolation and

³⁷⁹ Green, *Visible Man*, 43, 61-62.

expanding an inclusive and diverse FTM identity and community. Under his leadership, *FTM Newsletter* transformed into a nonprofit organization that organized conferences, monthly gatherings, as well as a growing international community, and an explosion of transmasculine activism and advocacy. During this time, *FTM Newsletter* laid the groundwork for political organizing around a collective FTM identity.

In his introduction to *FTM Newsletter* readers as the new editor, Green re-shared Sullivan's message from the very first issue.³⁸⁰ He wrote:

With the help of the community, we'll keep it going as long as we can, as long as it's wanted and supported. We'll keep holding Get-Togethers, too. We will maintain the [mail box address], so you can write to FTM just as before. It may take us a little while to line up our resources and get ourselves coordinated as we try to fill the void created by Lou's absence. But we are here.

I'd like to quote a passage from FTM#1 to remind us all why Lou started this, and why it's important to continue:

"We all remember our first steps during our transitions, our need to talk to others who felt the same way, and the joy of learning we weren't the 'only ones'. The FTM Get-Togethers [and Newsletter] give us an opportunity to meet and learn from others who understand, and to be there for those who seek answers and advice."

In this message, Green shared with the *FTM Newsletter* readers that Sullivan's initial goals still operated as the guiding light for the FTM organization. He used a piece originally written by Sullivan to describe the FTM Get-Together meetings and applied it to the *FTM Newsletter*, demonstrating his understanding of the community *FTM Newsletter* had created for so many.

As anticipated, the takeover of FTM was not all smooth sailing. There were many details to be ironed out, many roles and responsibilities to be filled, and many tasks to be completed.

³⁸⁰ "FTM Newsletter #15."

Green wrote in his memoir that Sullivan left him with “a stack of index cards with names and addresses comprising the *FTM Newsletter* mailing list”. This list comprised 235 names—individuals scattered throughout the world. Green wrote in his memoir that in retrospect this may not seem like many, but each name represented the possibility and reality of a greater community. “Each name represented many more people who belonged to support groups that shared a subscription or who were unwilling to have their name on a list because they didn’t want to be found out to be transsexual”.³⁸¹ In this age before the internet, mailing FTM related materials across the world was one of the most powerful ways of sharing information. The list of names grew rapidly.

In a letter Jamison Green sent to an interested party in July 1991, he expressed his apologies for a slow response, and shared an update on the newsletter’s growth:

I’m very sorry it’s taken so long to respond to your letters. Our “organization” is really a loose network of individuals engaged in self-help and education... Our group was started a little over 4 years ago by a female-to-male guy named Lou Sullivan...Lou was a prolific letter writer, and spent several hours each day corresponding with people such as yourself. As a result, the group grew such that our last quarterly meeting we had 50 people in attendance, and our mailing list now has over 300 names from all over the world.³⁸²

Within 3 months, the *FTM Newsletter* mailing list had grown by more than 25%. The FTM community was abuzz with activity. An FTM Get-Together was planned for March 3rd, which just happened to be the day after Sullivan died. Already, new plans were in motion. Donations in

³⁸¹ Green, *Visible Man*, 44, 62.

³⁸² FTM International Correspondence and Other Communication. Lou Sullivan, Correspondence, 1989-1991. July 21, 1991, Letter to Tony from James. FTM International Records. Collection Number: 2006-25. GLBT Historical Society.

Sullivan's honor were collected to continue funding paper, postage, mailbox rent, and meeting spaces. Additionally, there was great interest in meeting more frequently, turning what had been a quarterly gathering into a monthly occasion.³⁸³

Simultaneously, the international audience for *FTM Newsletter*. Under Lou Sullivan's leadership, *FTM Newsletter* connected with FTM individuals in Brazil, The Netherlands, Japan, Canada, England, and more. This blossomed and grew, inciting Green to rename the organization FTM International. The international reach of the *FTM Newsletter* further solidified the diverse FTM identity and community that Sullivan had pioneered. Readers felt more connected and confident in their identity knowing that individuals across the globe, who were separated by culture, lifestyle, and nationality, all felt a similar desire to change their gender presentation. The establishment of FTM as an international group of like-experienced individuals provided the necessary network for political organizing work on behalf of FTMs all over the world.

While *FTM Newsletter* was situated in San Francisco, international perspectives were not new to its readership. In Issue #9 (September 1989) Sullivan published two letters from individuals outside of the US. One was from The Netherlands, the other was from England. Both individuals shared their experiences with FTM community and identity in their respective countries, expressing how they understood their situation to be similar or different to that of

³⁸³ Green, *Visible Man*, 62.

FTM individuals in the US. Both expressed an interest in connecting to others outside of their nation.³⁸⁴

Dear Readers of FTM,

In this case I will tell you a bit about the situation in The Netherlands. We have here a "men's group" with 150 members. Every three months there is a meeting somewhere in the country. In these meetings 70 to 80 members get together, some with their wives, others alone or with their family...

The most important reason for people to come to our meetings is the possibility to meet others, change information, hear the news about operations technics and be available to the new generation of transsexuals. They have a long road to go, and it's easy for the older ones to give some warnings and attention. We don't have a magazine especially for our members. Our meetings are based on charity, this means that I will send letters to our people. They who will come to the meeting pay me back for the stamps. If somebody wants something to eat or drink they will bring it with them.

There is no real difference in our group between transsexuals or transvestites. Most crossdressers are not sure enough about themselves. After some talkings with others, they are sure about the life they want. If it is only crossdressing, they don't need our group anymore. It is for a woman easy to dress in men's clothes in this world. Some of them sometimes will return, just because they like it to meet friends.

There is also a special group here for transsexuals of both directions and transvestism. This group has 200 paying members and is named TenT (transvestism and transsexualism). I also am the chairman of this group. Not all people can stand transvestism. This group gives out a magazine named Transformation. Perhaps one of you would like to write a letter in this?

One of your members wrote in FTM about the differences between here and The States. His experience with hormone shots I have never heard before, although I have met around 150 FTM's during the last 10 years...Which are used in The States? Perhaps we can change information about this?

...I'm waiting for your response.

With kindly regards, Jean
[REDACTED]
The Netherlands

³⁸⁴ "FTM Newsletter #9." (1989) Periodical. Digital Transgender Archive, <https://www.digitaltransgenderarchive.net/files/m039k518k> (accessed June 12, 2024).

Evident from this letter, FTM individuals were organizing social groups in places other than San Francisco. Like FTM, this group in The Netherlands did not separate transsexuals and transvestites. Additionally, they met every couple of months and shared experiences to help support each other. The other letter in Issue #9 was from a reader in England.³⁸⁵

Dear FTM Members,

I am a 23-year-old FTM in London and am writing to you on behalf of myself and members of the GDT (Gender Dysphoria Trust), formerly SHAFT. The GDT is for MTF as well as FTM but the ladies greatly outnumber us.

In the GDT we don't meet as a group as you do. People are more secretive here in the U.K. I think generally we have more problems legally than you do. I believe that in the States you are allowed to get your birth certificate changed, which we can't do, so in the eyes of the law we are still females. It makes life difficult with regards to employment, marriage, etc. How long has it been allowed in the States to get the birth certificate changed and did it take a lot of lobbying? Our problem is a lack of people willing to put themselves in the public eye and stand up to the government and our laws. That's what it really needs, but obviously people want to try to be anonymous and live a normal life when they change over and have surgery. I have to admit that I don't want my name all over the papers as I'm training to be a doctor and don't want to be conspicuous.

...At the moment I am investigating what surgery is available. ...I was hoping that in the States the state of surgery is better than here. That is one of the reasons I'm writing to you: to find out if you have more information than we do, or if any of your members have had phalloplasty done and would be willing to give us some details of exactly what they've had done. Also, do you have the names and addresses of any good surgeons in the States who do phalloplasty and how much it costs?

I and probably other members of our group would like to correspond with some FTM's in the States. Are any of you interested in setting up a link between FTM's in the U.K. and U.S.A.? Also, do you know of any other similar groups in the States?

Like I said, we don't meet as a group as we are all spread out over the U.K., but we write to each other and meet individually, although we're hoping to get together for a weekend in the near future. I myself don't feel nearly as alone now that I have other transsexual friends. We'd also like to hear not only from the FTM's themselves, but their lovers and partners. I hope to hear from you and hope you'd like to set up a link.

³⁸⁵ "FTM Newsletter #9."

Best wishes,

Vic
[REDACTED]
England

The author of this letter compared their understanding of the social, medical, and legal status of FTM individuals in England and in the US. Further, the author actively reached out to American readers of *FTM*, requesting information from them to better aid the author and others like the author in the U.K. According to Lou Sullivan biographer Brice Smith, the way that *FTM Newsletter* recapped the latest FTM Get-Togethers in every issue provided an example or model for readers in other parts of the world who were interested in organizing social FTM groups or gatherings.³⁸⁶

There is further evidence of *FTM Newsletter*'s international reach found in the FTM International Records, a special collection held by the GLBT Historical Society in San Francisco. Within the organizational records are several letters between Lou Sullivan and interested international parties. After publishing Issue #9 which featured the two letters from England and The Netherlands, Sullivan received a letter from Eve Burchert:

Dear Lou:

I am a Director of IFGE and am writing you with a request. I am close to a German group of transsexuals, many of whom are F to M, who are looking for American counterparts in order to develop some contact. Their leader has asked me for names and addresses of anyone interested. If you are, please give me your ok to give them your address and name. Thank you.

Cordially, Eve

³⁸⁶ Smith, *Lou Sullivan*, 207.

In response, Sullivan wrote back that he would “be delighted to add Germany” to the list of foreign countries that *FTM Newsletter* had contact with. He thanked her for thinking of FTM and for passing the information on.³⁸⁷ Thus, Germany was added to the mailing list of *FTM Newsletter* in 1990. Another letter from an individual in Iceland was handwritten and undated. The letter writer requested materials relating to FTM transition. In reaching out to Sullivan in the US, the letter writer shared “I would be very glad to hear from you. We F-T-M are very few here in [Iceland].”³⁸⁸

Later issues of *FTM Newsletter* were filled with Male Box letters and networking requests from individuals outside of the United States. Issue #22, published in January 1993, advertised The Australian Transsexual Support Association, as well as Boy’s Own, a group in Manchester, England. *FTM Newsletter* began describing itself as “the world’s widest circulated newsletter for the Female-to-Male crossdresser and transsexual”. In 1994, the FTM organization changed its name to FTM International to “reflect [its] international influence”. The *FTM Newsletter* was being sent out to more than 500 subscribers across the United States, Canada, England, Scotland, France, Greece, The Netherlands, Finland, Denmark, Russia, New Zealand, Australia, and Japan. By Issue 31#, July 1995, *FTM Newsletter* advertised support groups across the United States, as well as Belgium, France, Australia, and the United Kingdom.³⁸⁹

³⁸⁷ Letter to Lou Sullivan from Ms. Eve Burchert. November 12, 1990. Lou Sullivan, Correspondence, 1989-1991. FTM International Correspondence and Other Communication. FTM International Records. Collection Number: 2006-25. GLBT Historical Society.; December 21, 1990, Letter to Eve from Lou. Lou Sullivan, Correspondence, 1989-1991. FTM International Correspondence and Other Communication. FTM International Records. Collection Number: 2006-25. GLBT Historical Society.; Note: IFGE stands for International Foundation for Gender Education.

³⁸⁸ Letter From G.L to FTM. Mailing List and Updates, 1993-1999. Correspondence and Other Communication. FTM International Records. Collection Number: 2006-25. GLBT Historical Society.

³⁸⁹ "FTM Newsletter #21-22, 28, 31." (1992-1995) Periodical. *Digital Transgender Archive*.

One of the most successful international connections that The *FTM Newsletter* made was the inception of a Japanese FTM publication. In 1994, a Japanese FTM man who had read *FTM Newsletter* reached out to request the consent of Jamison Green to translate and republish FTM articles for a Japanese FTM audience. *FTM Newsletter* published a four letter series between the founder of *FTM Nippon* (also referred to as *FTM Japan*) and Jamison Green in the Male Box of Issue #28.³⁹⁰ The founder of *FTM Nippon* wrote to Green:

Could you send your greetings for FTM? It must make the reader feel, "Oh, we are not alone in this world!" ... Or may I introduce (at least) your existence to my readers?

Additionally, he asked for permission to translate FTM articles and publish them in his FTM publication in Japan. He promised to give credit to the *FTM Newsletter*. Evident in his wording, the founder of *FTM Nippon* wanted to share the benefit of an international FTM community with his peers in Japan. He shared his experience with making FTM friends who supported him in the US when he had pursued gender-affirming care as a young man. Upon returning to Japan, he felt that he couldn't find a similar community. He empathized with Japanese FTM individuals who were in a similar situation to him at the beginning of his transition. He cited this as a motivation for starting a Japanese *FTM Newsletter*: "I'd like to do something for them– that's the reason [I'm] going to run FTM-Nippon."³⁹¹

Jamison Green published his congratulations and support for *FTM Nippon* in the *FTM Newsletter*. He was "delighted" to give *FTM Nippon* permission to translate and reprint the *FTM Newsletter* for a Japanese audience. In addition, he responded to the request for "greetings" to

³⁹⁰ Note: The identity of the founder of FTM Nippon is protected by the Digital Transgender Archive and the GLBT Historical Society, and thus is not shared.

³⁹¹ "FTM Newsletter #28."

the Japanese FTM crowd. He wrote the following in accordance with FTM International's goals to expand and connect a greater number of FTM individuals across the world:

Welcome to the international community of Female-to-Male transsexuals and crossdressers. All over the world there are people who are struggling with their gender identities, struggling to discover whether they are more comfortable in the world as women or as men, struggling to maintain their dignity in the face of ignorance, fear, and shame. You are not alone. Together we can learn about ourselves, and we can help others to understand us. Here in the San Francisco Bay Area we have a large group, nearly 150 men who have grown up with female bodies. Our *FTM Newsletter* goes to 500 people across the United States, Canada, England, Scotland, France, Greece, The Netherlands, Finland, Denmark, Russia, New Zealand, Australia, and Japan. We are very honored that [the founder of FTM Nippon] is dedicating himself to the important work of helping his brothers and sisters in Japan to understand themselves and to evolve into the successful people they want to be.

With warmest greetings to you, I remain
Yours Truly,

James Green,
Director, FTM International; Editor, FTM Newsletter.

Through these connections, *FTM Newsletter* exported the "FTM" individual and collective identity across the world. It's interesting to note that FTM is a term in English, and yet it grew in prominence as an identity in many countries where English was not the primary language. Through the international community that *FTM Newsletter* fostered, readers could learn about how the "language [they] used to describe [themselves] differed and overlapped."

During his time as editor, Jamison Green began to understand the accomplishments FTM International had achieved through *FTM Newsletter*. Providing a lifeline to so many isolated individuals could not be understated. Green recalled a time when the *FTM Newsletter* was published late, and he was inundated with calls and letters from readers who were agonized by

the thought that the *FTM Newsletter* had ceased to exist. Green grew a greater understanding of how readers saw themselves in connection with the newsletter. This wasn't just a passing piece of entertainment; For subscribers all over the world, this was the only example they had to validate their own experience and existence. *FTM Newsletter* was fighting the isolation faced by many FTM individuals. In a period of time when it was very difficult to find information about trans individuals in general, isolation was particularly dangerous. Green reflected on the importance of fighting that isolation across the globe in his memoir. "Isolated from others like themselves, trans people often assume they're the only person on earth who feels as they do, so it must be wrong. They may work hard to "do everything right" hoping that the feelings of difference or transness will go away; or they may take themselves away—emotionally, mentally, or physically."

By including letters, resources, opinions, and stories from subscribers internationally, *FTM Newsletter* helped readers understand themselves as part of a community that transcended national and cultural boundaries. By 1995, *FTM Newsletter* was being mailed to more than 600 readers across 17 countries.³⁹² The international approach to *FTM Newsletter* helped readers who felt very isolated recognize that they were not alone. In fact, they could "imagine themselves part of a vast FTM international communication network and envision themselves part of a broader movement".³⁹³ With the modern context of smartphones and social media, this doesn't seem impressive. But it was a gargantuan effort before the internet. *FTM Newsletter* accomplished what had never been done— It established an international FTM community.

³⁹² Green, *Visible Man*, 57, 63-65, 80, 130.; Note: Jamison Green served as editor of *FTM Newsletter* from April 1991 through 1995, except for a brief break in 1993. Kevin Horwitz was the editor for the *FTM Newsletter* Issues #22 (January 1993) and Issue #23 (May 1993).

³⁹³ Smith. "Yours in Liberation," 411.

FTM Newsletter's international network of like-experienced individuals was the base of new political operations. Without the community *FTM Newsletter* had established, isolated FTM individuals would likely have continued to suffer with their social, legal, and medical obstacles alone. Through discovering and communicating regularly with others they understood how to change the conditions that negatively affected them.

FTM Newsletter provided greater FTM visibility: It was easier than ever to find and make contact with FTMs all over the world. To put this into perspective, this was a huge change from how *FTM Newsletter* originally operated. Full names were never published in the first issues of *FTM Newsletter*, as no one wanted to be “outed” as a trans person. Not even Lou Sullivan used his full name.³⁹⁴ But by the early 90s, *FTM Newsletter* was proudly publishing Male Box letters, Networking requests, full-length articles, advertisements, and more with member's full names and addresses.

In his book *Transmen & FTMs: Identities, Bodies, Genders & Sexualities*, Jason Cromwell explained the birth of the FTM activist movement. According to Cromwell, an increased incidence of FTM individuals plugged in to a greater FTM network resulted in more formal and informal organizations.³⁹⁵ It was *FTM Newsletter* that served as that first connection for many. Through the newsletter, readers could find further local and specialized groups for their respective needs. In these organizations, FTM individuals could “both individually and

³⁹⁴ Jamison Green. Oral History.

³⁹⁵ Jason Cromwell. *Transmen and FTMs : Identities, Bodies, Genders, and Sexualities*. Urbana ; University of Illinois Press, 1999. 137-138.

collectively, [speak] out about issues that affect them and [challenge] the prevailing paradigms.” Patrick Califia agreed with this summation in his book *Sex Changes : The Politics of Transgenderism*: the explosion of FTM activism in the late 90s was a result of the emergence of a stronger and more visible community.³⁹⁶

FTM visibility and organization moved hand-in-hand, helping FTM individuals take steps toward changing the political, social, legal, and medical conditions that limited them. The *FTM Newsletter* had provided that foundational visibility and organization, and now it ushered in a new era of political activism. This political movement pushed FTM individuals further into the public eye, as they began to march in Pride Parades, organize conferences, and advocate for improved medical treatment.

This new political energy resulted in many changes for the national and international FTM community, including but not limited to wider proliferation of the term “transgender”, increased international visibility of FTM individuals, new FTM focused non-profits and lobbying organizations, further FTM involvement within the HBIGDA (now WPATH), the first FTM contingent in the SF Pride Parade, activism in reaction to the murder of Brandon Teena, increased communication between trans people and trans healthcare providers, the removal of “transsexual” from the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders III, the implementation of transgender community awareness training for the San Francisco Police Department, and the first FTM Conference of the Americas which drew attendees from all over

³⁹⁶ Cromwell, *Transmen*, 137-138.; Califia, 223.

the world. Actions taken by *FTM Newsletter* readers and organizers kickstarted FTM involvement in the greater transgender liberation movement of the late 1990s and 2000s.

There are too many examples of budding political organizing within *FTM Newsletter* to share in this paper. A select few have been chosen to demonstrate the gradual political awakening of what had previously been a predominantly social group. Jamison Green noted that when he had begun reading the *FTM Newsletter* and attending FTM Get-Togethers, the group was “decidedly apolitical”. In 1988, the majority of FTM individuals preferred to transition and continue on with their lives, holding their transness as a secret. Green related to this, until he took over as editor and found himself in a leadership position. As editor of *FTM Newsletter*, he was accessible to readers who repeatedly reached out to him about common needs and obstacles. Through identifying these issues, Green’s stance began to shift towards advocacy. In fact, he credited the *FTM Newsletter* with making him an activist.³⁹⁷ Green’s testimony can serve as an example of what likely happened to hundreds of readers of *FTM Newsletter*. Their political awakening can be seen through their contributions to *FTM Newsletter* between 1991 and 1995.

One of the most salient examples of *FTM Newsletter*’s political advocacy was the increased conversation between FTM individuals and the medical community that served them, namely the HBGDA and the American Psychiatric Association. As the *FTM Newsletter* community recognized their collective concerns about the pathologization of their identity through the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders III, they began to take action. In Issue #25, October 1993, this letter appeared in the Male Box:

Dear FTM Readers:

³⁹⁷ Green, *Visible Man*, 50, 64.

... I've been elected by the membership in the International Foundation for Gender Education (IFGE) and my peers, to represent the Female-to-Male community on IFGE's Board of Directors... The IFGE is the largest non-profit corporation concerned with gender issues in the U.S., and possibly the largest in the world. They have asked us, FTMs, to join them in helping to educate the general public, medical and legal professionals, and the transgendered community about gender issues. And the more we work together, the stronger our voice will be for the rest of the world to hear... We are all in the same boat; let's paddle together. One of the newest projects is to be present at the American Psychiatric Association annual convention in San Francisco in May, 1993, to advocate for the TV/TS community and educate professionals. Another goal is to have transsexualism removed from the DSM IV.

In this letter, the author identifies some of the most pressing issues that their organization is focused on. One of their priorities is to incorporate trans perspectives into predominantly professional conventions and organizations, like the American Psychiatric Association (APA). There is specific interest in changing the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders so that it no longer includes transsexualism. The APA utilizes the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM), which at the time included the term "transsexuality". When diagnosed with "transsexuality", individuals could pursue gender affirming care. If trans patients were "gender migrants" and medical providers were "gender police", the diagnosis of transsexuality can be understood as an "admission ticket" through the gates at the socially imposed gender border. However, many trans individuals were "uneasy about being labeled as mentally-ill."³⁹⁸ This pathologizing model has negative connotations, which trans people were (and are) interested in changing.

³⁹⁸ Lev, "Disordering Gender Identity,"53-54.; Patrick Califia, *Sex Changes : The Politics of Transgenderism*. (San Francisco. Cleis Press, 1997), 224.

This letter highlights the growing tension between medical practitioners and trans individuals present at this time. Since the establishment of gender affirming healthcare and interventions, trans individuals have been required to demonstrate “proof” of their trans identity and the subsequent need for treatment. This has led to a problematic power dynamic between medical provider and trans patient, as mentioned earlier in this paper. As long as this system has existed, there has been individuals fall through the cracks– those who desire gender affirming care but do not meet the “criteria”, like Lou Sullivan AND those who don’t desire or desire an alternative kind of gender affirming care and thus are not recognized as being a part of the trans community. As a result, there has always been dissent and disagreement between medical practitioners and trans patients.

Trans activist and scholar Susan Stryker spoke about this concern at an FTM Get-Together in 1992. Stryker spoke about the problematic designation of transsexuality as a mental illness and reflected on the pathway to change this. Her speech was recapped in *FTM Newsletter* Issue 22, published January 1993.

[Susan] talked about the institutional support that exists now for transsexuals to come together and talk about ourselves. She cautioned that we are still considered to be mentally ill; our position is a pathologized one that gives the medical/psychological world control of gender. She talked about the gay and lesbian struggle to de-pathologize homosexuality, and pointed out that, while we still require medical services, our condition must be de-pathologized if we are to achieve full respect and equality in society as transgendered individuals.

Within her speech, Stryker pointed towards a path for change. She highlighted the history of success that FTM individuals had in changing the medical model of gender care. Lou Sullivan,

she reminded attendees (and readers), had advocated for the acknowledgement and acceptance of FTM, and especially gay FTM individuals within the HBIGDA.³⁹⁹

Lou was able to make a number of friends in the professional communities and, in 1987, the Harry Benjamin International Gender Dysphoria Association considered Female- to- Male issues publicly for the first time, and in 1989 Walter Bockting delivered a paper to that same organization challenging the prevailing practice of denying services to persons who identified as "queer." In large part because of Lou's insistence that he be taken seriously, the professional service providers have made great strides in their understanding and fairness, and these advancements benefit us whether we identify as gay or straight.

Stryker presented a compelling case for readers of *FTM Newsletter* to champion for change through their medical providers. In the mid 90s, readers of *FTM Newsletter* were interested in changing the pathologization of their identities. They inserted themselves into the conversation. They began attending conferences, conventions, and events primarily for professionals involved in trans healthcare, and advocating for themselves. They began “questioning the authority of the medical and mental-health professionals who function as gatekeepers of [gender affirming care].”⁴⁰⁰

In a paper about the politics of clinical intervention in trans healthcare, Richard Ekins explained that Harry Benjamin, in his establishment of the first clinical standards of care for gender affirmation, became the first gender policeman. “Benjamin’s patients might be seen as first generation gender migrants. Benjamin, himself, might be seen as amongst the first of the gender-migrating border police-men.” The ‘laws’ of gender, upon which the gender policemen (or gender affirming care providers) act, are determined by the dominant culture and society. It

³⁹⁹ “FTM Newsletter #22.”

⁴⁰⁰ Califia, *Politics of Transgenderism*, 224.

was these laws that encouraged and emphasized treatment for trans individuals pursuing ‘normal’ gender goals. “‘Normal’ in this context means hetero-sexual in the reassigned sex,” which is what denied Lou Sullivan treatment for several years.⁴⁰¹ Sullivan’s legacy includes the flourishing FTM community of the 90s that advocated against these models of gender policing and “normal” gender ideals.

Because of his position in FTM International, Jamison Green was invited to give presentations, and talks, and speak on panel discussions on behalf of FTM individuals. He felt strongly that the barrier between trans individuals and the medical professionals who cared for them needed to be broken down.⁴⁰² In one instance, he spoke to a crowd of psychologists and advised them that if they didn’t “want to be perceived as gatekeepers”, then they needed to stop being gatekeepers.⁴⁰³ He was able to advise them to treat every patient as an individual, rather than try to fit them into diagnostic criteria or gender boxes. He told them:

Stop trying to put brakes on people and start trying to help them... Your role is to say, 'How can I help you be more comfortable in your gender, whether that means transitioning, not transitioning, transitioning to an in-between state, whatever makes you comfortable?'

In FTM Issue 24, published July 1993, Green recapped his attendance at the American Psychiatric Association’s annual convention. Other trans advocates who attended stayed outside the convention to protest, while Green ventured inside to mingle and pass out pamphlets. Green

⁴⁰¹ Ekins, “Clinical Intervention,” 316.

⁴⁰² Jamison Green. Oral History.

⁴⁰³ Jamison Green.

described to *FTM Newsletter* readers how he explained the presence of the protesters to convention attendees:

“We want control of our own lives,” I said, “we want the stigma of mental illness removed from our foreheads, and we want respect as human beings. We want humane, responsible, and reasonably-priced medical care, and we want our civil rights.

Further, Green shared that the APA was considering changing the DSM in response to pressure from the trans community. However, he had issues with the proposed changes, which highlights the complexities of this discourse.

According to a report in the SF Chronicle of May 28, 1993, “The APA proposed that well-adjusted transsexuals (should) not automatically be considered to have a mental disorder.” This is real progress, and I’m glad of it, but please forgive my cynicism in wondering where I have to line up to get my ‘well adjusted post-op’ stamp, and how much will it cost?⁴⁰⁴

Besides attending professional conferences, other *FTM Newsletter* readers fought back against the medical illness model in other ways. Jason Cromwell, the author of *Transmen & FTMs: Identities, Bodies, Genders & Sexualities*, found subjects for his anthropological study on FTM individuals through *FTM Newsletter*. He advertised his project as being “anti-psychology-oriented”, instead endeavoring to draw a picture of how FTM individuals form their identities through non-medicalized language. Cromwell desired to contextualize the experience of FTM individuals in a non-pathologizing way to “reconfigure our understanding of [FTM individuals] as non-traditionally gendered people”.⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰⁴ "FTM Newsletter #24." (1993) Periodical. *Digital Transgender Archive*.

⁴⁰⁵ "FTM Newsletter #22."; Note: This book, *Transmen & FTMs: Identities, Bodies, Genders & Sexualities*, is referenced in this paper.

Within his book, Cromwell expressed that “the power and self-determination of the transgendered community has increased as the authority of medico-psychological practitioners has become more questionable and their ability to control lives has waned”.⁴⁰⁶ Through his anthropological study, Cromwell found that the self-identification of FTM individuals presented a challenge to the medical community's pathologizing definitions. When FTM individuals could find a community that helped them come to terms with their relationship to gender outside of the doctor's office, they were less willing to accept and conform to the limiting and pathologizing criteria determined by medical professionals.

In 1994, the APA published the DSM IV, which replaced the previous DSM III. The DSM IV removed “transsexualism” from its list of diagnoses, replacing it with “gender identity disorder”, or GID.⁴⁰⁷ This was one of the goals outlined by the *FTM Newsletter* Issue #25 Male Box Letter shared earlier. The new GID diagnosis was similar to the transsexualism diagnosis in many ways, as it aimed to describe and serve the same population. However, in its changes, it represented a conversation occurring between healthcare professionals and their patients. Still, the pathologic nature of the diagnosis existing in the DSM and acting as an “admission ticket” to treatment was a problem. Nonetheless, this change was progress. The GID diagnosis widened the channel of access by including those who didn't identify with “transsexuality” or the previous definition or criteria.

⁴⁰⁶ Cromwell, *Transmen*, 137-138.

⁴⁰⁷ Titia F. Beek, Peggy T Cohen-Kettenis, and Baudewijntje P.C Kreukels. “Gender Incongruence/Gender Dysphoria and Its Classification History.” *International Review of Psychiatry*. (England, 28, 2016.): 5–12.

The FTM community stayed tuned in to these issues. In January 1995, Issue #29 included an article that commented on the stigma created by the DSM's diagnoses. Author Blake expressed frustration, writing: "Since the establishment of a psychiatric diagnosis and its inclusion in The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of the American Psychiatric Association (DSM), transsexuals have had to endure the repercussions of being stigmatized by the medical-psychological-psychiatric community, as well as by the society at large." Additionally, Blake reviewed a recently aired radio show interview with Judy Van Maasdam of the Palo Alto Gender Dysphoria Program.⁴⁰⁸

During the talk show program, a telephone caller asked why transsexualism was considered a psychiatric disorder, rather than a medical condition, requiring those who present for surgery to have a letter from a psychiatrist or other member of the psychology professions. Ms. Van Maasdam replied that the inclusion of transsexualism in the DSM is a diagnostic tool which provides necessary guidelines for treatment in the absence of "objective medical tests. In other words, until there is some sort of test that can be used like a blood test to verify a physical cause, psychiatric guidelines have to be used to determine a course of treatment. My response to that is, grab a geneticist, roll up your sleeves and GET TO WORK!

The article had featured new research into possible genetic differences or chromosomal mutations in trans individuals. Blake latched onto this as a possible alternative to the DSM's diagnoses and encouraged readers to take action. As evidenced through articles like this in the *FTM Newsletter*, the FTM community was actively engaged in changing the narrative about their identities.

⁴⁰⁸ "FTM Newsletter #29." (1995) Periodical. *Digital Transgender Archive*. Note: Judy Van Maasdam wrote to Lou Sullivan to explain his rejection from the Stanford Gender Dysphoria Program. See earlier in this paper.

Furthermore, FTM International served as a conduit between the HBIGDA and the FTM community. In Issue #29, published January 1995, the December 1994 FTM Get-Together was recapped. *FTM Newsletter* shared with readers that at this meeting, the Executive Director of the HBIGDA had spoken to the attendees and requested their participation.⁴⁰⁹

At our December meeting, Alice Webb, LCSW and executive director of the Harry Benjamin International Gender Dysphoria Association (creators of the HBIGDA Standards of Care) was there to tell us that a new revision of the standards was under way and the organization would like our input. A number of people in attendance took advantage of the opportunity to criticize HBIGDA for wielding too much power over us, or for providing therapists with a tool (the Standards) to keep us under their thumbs. Ms. Webb tried to explain that HBIGDA has no official power and that the standards were developed to protect consumers (us) from unscrupulous providers, based on the assumption that a provider's status as a member of HBIGDA would assure us that the provider had knowledge of gender issues and had a network of resources to rely on to obtain the best possible care for us. As we know, it hasn't always worked that way...We need HBIGDA, and all the providers, as allies in this battle, not as paternalistic certifiers of our status as either , "diagnosed" or "cured," but as equal human beings who can also help educate away the fear and ignorance. Stay tuned!

It was through *FTM Newsletter* that many readers could follow along with these advocacy movements and make their voices be heard by medical professionals. Going back to its inception via creator Lou Sullivan, the *FTM Newsletter* has a history of inserting trans perspectives into the medical provider's world. *FTM Newsletter* was not only responsible for developing a foundational community in which individuals could discuss these issues, but it also garnered the ear of professionals involved in decision making at the HBIGDA and APA. Through this "landline", the FTM community could express their concerns and frustrations,

⁴⁰⁹ "FTM Newsletter #29."

propose solutions, and find common ground with the medical, psychiatric, and psychological professionals who could change the pathologization of the trans identity. As a result, the DSM changed its diagnostic criteria, and the HBGDA utilized input from trans patients to develop their new standards of care.⁴¹⁰

Beyond advocating for change within the medical community, readers of *FTM Newsletter* championed many other social, political, and legal changes. As the FTM community was established, more individuals were interested in greater visibility, civil rights, and generally a more respected place in society. Political advocacy took off, and FTM individuals worked together within the pages of *FTM Newsletter* to bring concrete change to the world they shared. In some instances, this happened through the emergence of new political advocacy groups or events centered specifically around FTM concerns. In other ways, it involved FTM individuals standing proud and visible in their social and professional lives.

In Issue #21, published October 1992, a reader wrote in to the FTM Male Box:

Dear FTM Colleagues:

We are in the process of starting a California Non-Profit organization targeting the FTM community as a political-advocacy-support group that is open to membership and will hopefully offer membership benefits in the area of financial assistance, insurance group rates, hotline information, and legal definition or reformations.... This is not a “social group”.

Write to: FTM Alliance,
P.O. Box [REDACTED], Riverside, CA 92417-3092

⁴¹⁰ Discourse continues to this day about the use of DSM criteria for diagnosis and medical treatment for gender affirming care.

This organization specifically called out that it was not a social group, but a place for individuals to organize around their political needs.⁴¹¹ Interests present in this letter like insurance and legal changes are mentioned elsewhere in other Male Box entries. In Issue 29, published January 1995, one announcement requested support for the first National Transgender Lobbying Day:

Your Uncle Samantha Wants You!

Yes, it's true. Your uncle Sam wants you.. for the first National Transgender Lobbying Day, Monday and Tuesday October 2 and 3, 1995. A recent 2-day trip to DC was amazingly successful: Four of us met with the staffs of House and Senate leaders. Most had never even met a transperson, never thought of us as constituents, never considered our rights and concerns. We've been invisible as citizens. ...National Transgender Lobbying Day is going to put 54 of us on the Hill... nearly 5 dozen transpeople and friends will lobby for inclusion on critical issues like job discrimination, veteran's affairs, child custody rights, national health care and insurance. But we can't do it without YOU!

As the Internet began creeping into the mainstream, this political action was taken online. Advertisements for online advocacy groups began popping up in the *FTM Newsletter*, like this one from Issue #32, published October 1995:

“TransMale Task Force Needs You! A new national networking, information, and activist group for fTMs/MtMs/TG Men was formed on America Online in November, probably the first gender group ever formed in cyberspace! The TransMale Task Force is a national network of people who identify as male, but were born with female anatomy, who are committed to creating action on major issues affecting our community...Major issues the Task Force addresses include educating the public, accurate and fair media portrayals, securing legal and civil rights, and increasing access to medical care for our specific needs... Our members include Black, Native American and Hispanic individuals and we want to do outreach to all minority groups.

⁴¹¹ "FTM Newsletter #21."

Further social, political, and legal advancements by and for the FTM community were made.

Members of the *FTM Newsletter* began showing up out and proud in their social and professional circles. In Issue #28, published July 1994, the *FTM Newsletter* celebrated the first time FTM individuals marched in the San Francisco Pride Parade.

For another historic first, a brave contingent of 10 FTMs marched under our own banner in the San Francisco Lesbian/Gay/Bi/Trans Freedom Day parade.⁴¹²

The following is a photo of this marching group.⁴¹³



⁴¹² "FTM Newsletter #28."

⁴¹³ "1994 FTM Trans Pride." (1994). Photograph. *Digital Transgender Archive*.; Note: The individual holding the child in the back of this photo is Susan Strker, author of *Transgender History*. The individual on the far left with crutches is Max Wolf Valerio, author of *The Testosterone Files*, and assistant editor to several FTM Newsletter issues.

Loren Cameron, shirtless and holding the banner in this image, wrote in his book *Body Alchemy* that this was a “frightening experience” and an “incredible day”. The FTM contingent in the SF Pride Parade represented FTM trans individuals identifying themselves as part of the Gay Pride community. Cameron recalled that the crowd was silent as they passed, with occasional timid cheers and applause. This was a meaningful moment for trans individuals to take a stand and align their political and social goals with those of the larger gay community.⁴¹⁴

In a similar vein, *FTM Newsletter* Issue #28 also highlighted San Francisco police officer Stephan Thorne. Thorne discovered his FTM identity through the *FTM Newsletter* and Get-Togethers. Stephan Thorne was the first FTM officer in the SFPD, and possibly the first publicly known FTM police officer in the USA. Only 25 years since the Stonewall riots, an FTM cop was transitioning on the job.⁴¹⁵

In an oral history interview, Thorne remembers the work he and Jamison Green did to minimize the mistreatment of LGBTQ+ individuals by San Francisco law enforcement. At public hearings about the trans community held by the city of San Francisco, Thorne and Green both testified on behalf of the FTM community. Thorne was able to provide additional insight due to his profession. Green and Thorne later collaborated on training the San Francisco Police

⁴¹⁴ Loren Cameron. *Body Alchemy: Transsexual Portraits*. (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Cleis Press. 1996.) 19.

⁴¹⁵ Stephan Thorne. Oral History by Mason Funk. OUTWORDS Archive. Oral History. August 11, 2021.; Note: The Stonewall Riots refers to a violent clash between New York police officers and customers at The Stonewall Inn, a gay bar. Patrons of gay bars like The Stonewall Inn were frequently arrested during raids and booked for crimes like sodomy, sexual deviancy, and crossdressing. The Stonewall Riots, also referred to as the Stonewall Uprising, or the Stonewall Rebellion, occurred June 28th, 1969. The Stonewall Riots are widely considered to be the catalyst of the Gay Liberation movement in the United States. Pride parades around the country occur on the anniversary of the Stonewall Riots, June 28th.

Department– the first transgender community awareness training for law enforcement. In 1995, Thorne began teaching this transgender community awareness training in the SFPD academy.⁴¹⁶

FTM Conference of the Americas

One of *FTM Newsletter's* greatest accomplishments was establishing the first international conference for FTM individuals in the United States. In August 1995, FTM International hosted the first FTM Conference of the Americas in San Francisco. This conference brought together more than 300 FTM individuals, the largest gathering known at this time. It marked a milestone in FTM community building internationally. At the critical time this conference was held, FTM individuals had never been so visible in society. Simultaneously, networking and communication were gradually moving online, onto the shiny new Internet. The 1995 FTM Conference of the Americas encapsulates the accomplishments of FTM International and its *FTM Newsletter*. FTM meant more than a medical diagnosis– It was a diverse community of individuals from all over the world, united by their similar experiences and desire to better the conditions they were living in. This event changed the world. Many attendees experienced the magnitude of the community they had previously only read about, and it changed their perspective on what was possible. This event became the model for FTM conferences and gatherings all over the USA, and it mobilized individuals to further advocate for FTM inclusion in the later trans activism of the 1990s and early 2000s. The 1995 FTM Conference of the Americas galvanized a generation of FTM activists.

⁴¹⁶ Stephan Thorne. Oral History.

In 1994, the American Educational Gender Information Service (AEGIS), a small nonprofit organization that provided similar services to FTM International, recognized a need for a conference specific to FTM individuals. Existing conferences for trans individuals focused on MTF interests and needs. As a result, some advocates for the FTM community felt that “to grow as a community and to increase education outreach, the men needed something to call their own.”

In reaction, AEGIS set aside a special \$500 fund, to be awarded to the first organization to put on a national conference for FTMs. AEGIS director Dallas Denny reached out to Jamison Green and propositioned him: "Don't you think it's about time that the men had a conference of their own?" Green was initially intimidated by the immensity of such a project. However, Denny encouraged him, believing “ the men's community [was] strong enough to have their own conference.”⁴¹⁷

As a result, FTM International was the first organization to respond to the challenge. They secured additional funding from the International Foundation for Gender Education and the Educational TransVestite Channel, other gender focused organizations. FTM International members rallied to contribute an additional \$700. Additionally, AEGIS contributed 320 free copies of the FTM special edition of their publication, *Chrysalis Quarterly*, to be distributed to conference attendees.⁴¹⁸

⁴¹⁷ Nancy Nangeroni. "Transgender Tapestry Issue 83 (1998)." Periodical. *Digital Transgender Archive*.

⁴¹⁸ FTM Conference, San Francisco, 1995. FTM International Records. Collection Number: 2006-25. GLBT Historical Society.; Dallas Denny. "AEGIS News, No. 5 (November, 1995)." (1995) Newsletter. *Digital Transgender Archive*.

As FTM International began planning the FTM Conference of the Americas, they focused on the needs and interests of their primary audience: the readers of *FTM Newsletter*. Issue #28, published July 1994, featured a short survey asking readers about their logistic and interest preferences for the prospective conference.⁴¹⁹ The planning updates continued in every issue of *FTM Newsletter* up until the conference. FTM International established a theme for the conferences: “A Vision of Community,” which was intended to “help focus participants’ awareness that they are not alone in dealing with their gender issues and that unity is necessary to make improvements in the lives of FTMs.” Additionally, the conference harkened back to the values established in *FTM Newsletter* by Lou Sullivan, namely diversity and inclusion. In a welcome letter addressed to conference attendees, Jamison Green wrote: “As we spend this conference period getting to know one another and learning more about ourselves, I hope we can all come away with a sense of community that is more than a vision, a sense of the reality of our connection to each other and the value of shared experience, no matter what differences we may find among ourselves.”

Furthermore, FTM International designed the conference with the goals of empowerment and community in mind. In a later interview, Jamison Green explained: "We basically just did it to show that it could be done. My goal, really, [was] to empower people."⁴²⁰ FTM Conference attendees were greeted by this declaration:

Welcome to San Francisco and to the first FTM Conference of the Americas, the first international gender conference focusing specifically on the issues and concerns of female- to-male transgendered people and transsexual men. Your attendance, along

⁴¹⁹ "FTM Newsletter #28."

⁴²⁰ Dallas Denny, "AEGIS News, No. 5 (November, 1995)." (1995) Newsletter. *Digital Transgender Archive.*; Nancy Nangeroni, "Transgender Tapestry Issue 83 (1998)." Periodical. *Digital Transgender Archive.*

with over 250 others, will show the larger gender community that not only do we exist, but we can no longer be ignored.

Beyond being visible, FTM International also wanted the conference to declare that FTM collective identity organizing was reclaiming what it meant to be FTM from the previous medical criteria. One FTM International press release read:

The conference is an important historical milestone in the development of the transgender movement. It signals the rising awareness that people who identify as FTM will not be confined to prescribed behavior roles outlined in theoretical papers and based upon extremely limited studies.⁴²¹

As the conference weekend unfolded, hundreds of attendees were treated to a wide variety of topics, themes, and interests to engage with. Workshop and presentation topics included: FTM Sexuality, Political and Legal Issues for FTMs, Academic Perspectives, Families and Children, The No-Hormones/Non-Operative Option, Racism and Transsexuality, etc. Notable presenters and attendees included: Director of FTM International Jamison Green, Lou Sullivan's mentor Steve Dain, advocate and educator Steve Dain, transgender academic and historian Susan Stryker, authors Jason Cromwell, Henry Rubin, and Loren Cameron, activist Leslie Feinberg, San Francisco Police Sgt. Stephan Thorne, and doctors specializing in gender-affirming FTM surgery Donald Laub and Michael Brownstein.⁴²²

Initially, the conference organizers at FTM International anticipated a little more than a hundred attendees. However, the numbers far surpassed that. The conference was attended by FTM individuals, their family members, friends, supporters, and medical professionals. 372

⁴²¹ Denny, "AEGIS News.

⁴²² FTM Conference, San Francisco, 1995. FTM International Records.

individuals were officially registered and in attendance during the weekend conference. More than 70% of attendees identified as FTM. These numbers reflected the expanding FTM community, more visible than ever before.

Both Jamison Green and Jason Cromwell wrote about the incredible diversity present at the conference. FTM attendees were “in all stages of transition and from all ethnic, racial, and social backgrounds”. Some had flown across the world to attend. Others had transitioned over a decade ago without ever meeting another FTM individual before. The strength and breadth of the FTM community present was awe-inspiring. Green wrote in his memoir:

Never before in the history of the world had so many FTM people been in the same place at once...People looked in each other’s eyes and knew that we could never again be isolated and mute.⁴²³

Attendees who felt similarly recapped their experiences in the following issue of *FTM Newsletter*, Issue #32, published October 1995. One reader wrote:

The weekend was a very intense experience for us, and we came away from the conference empowered by the strength of our numbers, the diversity of the community that honored us with its presence, and the potential represented by a new movement coming together... There are far more of us than we have known, and it means something beyond our individual lives.⁴²⁴

The community present at the conference was invited through the *FTM Newsletter*. This community did not understand itself in medical terms but rather was self-identified, constructing new collective and individual meanings for FTM. Some were even moving away from the term FTM, finding newer language and niches. Through the 1995 conference, *FTM Newsletter* had

⁴²³ Green, *Visible Man*, 81-82.; Cromwell, *Transmen and FTMs*, 143.

⁴²⁴ "FTM Newsletter #32." (1995) Periodical. *Digital Transgender Archive*.

achieved the goals Lou Sullivan had set out for it back in 1987: the FTM community was more inclusive, diverse, and welcoming than ever before. The FTM community as a whole was experiencing an unprecedented level of visibility and connection, tackling the isolation that had long plagued individuals like Lou Sullivan. FTM meant more than a series of medical criteria, and the individuals who claimed FTM as a collective and individual term were actively fighting against its pathologization. The international FTM community that had grown from *FTM Newsletter* was waging battles all over to improve their social, political, legal, and medical environments.

Many individuals who attended the 1995 FTM Conference of the Americas spoke afterward about how it changed their perspective on the collective position of FTM individuals. They still understood that FTM individuals were still an extremely small minority in greater society. But, because of the connections they made with others like them, they felt impassioned to fight for the issues that affected all FTMs. They recognized their obstacles as beyond personal. Yoseñio Lewis, who served as a moderator throughout the FTM Conference of the Americas, reflected on the beginnings of his advocacy career. In an oral history interview, he talked about the excitement he felt at joining FTM International and assisting in organizing the conference.⁴²⁵

I jumped in, helped to organize the conference, met a bunch of people like me and just decided, this is what I'm gonna do. I'm out there and I'm being an activist for trans issues ... We knew we weren't alone. We knew we had a community and we just needed to work to organize ourselves better. We had several conferences. I got to know more and more people. I came out more and more. I started doing work around policy changes for the city and county of San Francisco...

⁴²⁵ Yosenio Lewis. Oral History by Jack MacCarthy. OUTWORDS Archive. Oral History. December 17, 2021.

Lewis's involvement in the FTM Conference of the Americas encouraged him to work towards policy changes that would positively affect FTM individuals. He met others who had similar issues, and that sparked activism within him. Others shared similar feelings within the pages of the *FTM Newsletter*. One reader wrote:

As a result of this conference. I have made a decision once again to become a visible activist, this time, finally, for my own community, and join with others who have walked this path before me and still walk it, as I want to contribute to the foundation we are building, a foundation that will create safety, awareness, and the basic rights we all deserve.

Furthermore, the attendees as a collective felt inspired into movement at the end of the conference. Jamison Green gave concluding remarks at the conference's end on Sunday, August 20, 1995. He recalled being overwhelmed with emotion upon looking out into the audience of hundreds of FTM individuals. "I looked at the audience and I started to cry. And I said, 'You are f**king beautiful. Then I sort of got a hold of myself and I said, 'So, who's driving? And everyone in the room said. "We are!" It blew me away. I get tears in my eyes and shudder to even think about it now."⁴²⁶

Conclusion

FTM Newsletter is one piece of the history of transgender visibility and activism. Activism and political organizing around ideas of gender and sexuality exploded in the 1990s. Several influential works were published in this time, including but not limited to: *Gender Trouble* by Judith Butler, *Stone Butch Blues* by Leslie Feinberg, and *Transgender Liberation: A Movement Whose Time Has Come*, also by Feinberg. "Queer studies" was coined in 1991, by

⁴²⁶ Nangeroni, "Transgender Tapestry."

University of California, Santa Cruz professor, Teresa de Lauretis.⁴²⁷ The word transgender emerged, overtaking transsexual, transvestite, and crossdresser in popularity.

Additionally, the AIDS epidemic ravaged gay and trans populations, highlighting a fiercer need for societal support and acceptance. The greater lesbian and gay community remained divided over whether trans issues were aligned with their political and social concerns. As a result, trans activism grew as its own distinct strain of political activism, joining hands with gay and/or feminist organizations on occasion. However, the history of the transgender liberation movement, specifically transmasculine political organizing, is undoubtedly traced back to the *FTM Newsletter*.

FTM Newsletter accomplished something that had never been done before: It had created an international community centered around the FTM identity. Not only did *FTM Newsletter* ease the feelings of isolation and loneliness that FTM individuals faced, but it also helped them understand the diversity of their community. Through this community, individuals were incentivized to improve their collective position in the world. And they did!

Max Wolf Valerio, Loren Cameron, and Jamison Green, all involved in the production of the *FTM Newsletter*, went on to publish books about their FTM experiences. These books entered public libraries, received nominations and awards from Lamda Literary, and landed in emerging resource hubs for trans and gender non conforming hubs in city centers, college campuses, and so on. Furthermore, Patrick Califia, Jason Cromwell, Henry Rubin, and Susan

⁴²⁷ Stryker, *Transgender History*, 134.

Stryker— all connected to the *FTM Newsletter* community— made advancements in their respective academic fields: sociology, psychology, anthropology, history, and gender and sexuality studies about the transmasculine community and identity.⁴²⁸ In my research, I have discovered that if I trace the name of a contributor to *FTM Newsletter*, more often than not I find evidence of their later political or social work for trans concerns.

These efforts undoubtedly contributed to improved visibility and social acceptance for transmasculine individuals, encouraging more people to come out and join the political fight to improve their rights and status in society. The issues that defined the birth of the political movement within the *FTM Newsletter* (i.e.: the tension between trans patients and the medical industrial complex, the pathologization of the trans identity, conflicts between gender and sexual identity, and other legal and social rights) exist in discourse among the transmasculine community today. In a time when trans identities are under political attack, it is especially important to reflect on the emergence of trans community. The history of *FTM Newsletter* and FTM political organizing explains the increased number of visible transmasculine individuals in society; Thanks to *FTM Newsletter*, community support and resources are far more abundant for transmasculine individuals, and society has grown more aware and accepting of transmasculine identities. This history must be highlighted during a time when transphobic politicians seek to pathologize the transgender identity further, describing the transgender identity as a kind of social contagion. By shedding light on the history of transmasculine political organizing through

⁴²⁸ Note: As of 6//6/2024, the following materials were available for free browsing and checkout at the LGBT Resource Center in Costo Hall on the UC Riverside campus: *The Testosterone Files*, *Becoming a Visible Man*, *Transmen and FTMs: Identities, Bodies, Genders, and Sexualities*, *Transgender History*.; Note: Patrick Califia dedicated his book *Sex Changes: The Politics of Transgenderism* to “the memory of Lou Sullivan and to differently-gendered young people”. (Califia, 6).

FTM Newsletter, the current social and political position of transgender individuals in the United States and internationally is contextualized.

As a hub of transmasculine political organizing, *FTM Newsletter* energized a generation of trans individuals who joined the greater transgender liberation movement, propelling the trans community forward and entering greater society.

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Best Senior Thesis [Co-Winner]

“Breaking Tradition by Proclaiming its Defense: Augustus’s Marriage, Adultery, and Divorce Laws”

Destinee Tucker

"She loved her husband in her heart. She bore two sons, one of whom she left on earth, the other beneath it. She was pleasant to talk with, and she walked with grace. She kept the house and worked the wool."⁴²⁹

The epigram above, dated to the second century BC in Rome, is known as the inscription of Claudia and conveys some of the ideals expressed about Roman women. Tradition dictated that Roman women adhere to the ideals of domesticity and chastity. Tradition—the *mos maiorum*⁴³⁰—is in itself an idea referenced by Romans throughout the long and illustrious history of the republic and continued into the empire. As will be demonstrated, the first emperor, Augustus, sought to reinforce traditional behaviours for women by encouraging the senate to pass laws which recall these various ideals. The outlines of this legislation are known collectively today as the *Lex Iulia*, which still survive fragmentally through later dated references and adjustments to Roman law by both the Jurists and later emperors, such as Justinian. Augustus sought to recenter Roman attention onto matters involving women and their rights in marriage, divorce, and childbearing. While Augustus claimed that these laws simply reinforced

⁴²⁹ Mary R. Lefkowitz and Maureen B. Fant, “Men’s Opinions,” *Women’s Life in Greece and Rome: A Source Book in Translation*, Fourth (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2016), 27.

⁴³⁰ *Mos maiorum* is the “way of the ancestors.”

traditional behaviours, this paper will argue that he was, in fact, reinventing what he defined as tradition through this legislation.

To understand how Augustus broke tradition even as he proclaimed to be upholding it, it is important to understand what the traditions were that Augustus proclaimed he was protecting. This paper thus seeks to define the traditional roles of women and the domestic realm, as well as identify the role of the government within this private sphere. Additionally, in order to identify why Augustus sought to put forth this legislation, it is imperative to understand how the citizens of the Roman Republic had shifted away from the ideals which Augustus proclaimed in his legislation. To understand this public shift, contemporary historians and poets alike offer insight into the public consciousness. Within this paper, the *Lex Iulia* is mentioned regarding two distinct sections: the *Lex Iulia de adulteriis* and the *Lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus*. The two sections spearheaded Augustus's efforts to refocus Roman public behaviour back onto what he considered to be women's traditional norms surrounding chastity, marriage and childbearing. With regard to the *Lex Iulia*, the public's response seemed to differ from how Augustus himself saw his legislation's success in the long run. While not being the traditions Augustus desired, these laws would establish lasting traditions within the Roman Empire that would continue to carry on, even throughout modern times. Ultimately, Augustus would combat contemporary Roman behaviours with the *Lex Iulia* legislation through the assertion of tradition to secure the legitimacy of the Roman upper class and honor for himself and those of import within Roman society.

Histography on the Augustan Legislation

Augustus' legislation is not recorded in its totality for historians to be able to adequately get a full picture of the direct wording. Most of what is recovered of the *Lex Iulia* laws are from snippets which are referenced in later modifications by the Jurists, who are dated long after the time of Augustus, or by Augustus himself with the laws known today as the *Lex papia et poppaea*.⁴³¹ Another way small sections of the overall legislation are found is through the words of others, such as the Jurist Paul, who wrote the *Opinions* on Augustus' legislation. Even in this case, it is often that scholars only receive the thoughts of others on the legislation, rather than the letter of the law itself. This lack of actual context for the legislation itself does make formulating concrete meanings more difficult and lends itself to vagueness whilst attempting to describe the exact linguistics of the legislation itself.

Approaches to Augustus *Lex Iulia* vary. Some scholars discuss the *Lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus* and *de adulteriis* by focusing on what is known about the *paterfamilias* and the idea of what is his role in regard to women in the private sphere.⁴³² Kristina Milnor tackles this topic of duality that is the Roman citizen in her book titled *Gender, Domesticity, and the Age of Augustus*, as she expertly explains what the two roles of private and public meant for the individual Roman citizen.⁴³³ Milnor's work in this endeavour was vital to understanding the

⁴³¹ These revisions were created, ironically, by two bachelors in 9 AD in the hopes to encourage marriage, along the same lines as the *Lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus*.

⁴³² *Paterfamilias* were the male heads of the family, typically the oldest surviving male member. A woman who was married to the *paterfamilias* would earn the title *materfamilia*. *Paterfamilias* would be in charge of maintaining the order of the home and dealing discipline when order was disturbed.

⁴³³ Kristina Milnor, *Gender, Domesticity, and the Age of Augustus: Inventing Private Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 22-23. Milnor highlights that the use of *privitus* implies that the Roman man is free from civic duty. Rather than being a private man as is known in modern terms, the Roman *paterfamilias* typically held a public role despite the control of their home being mostly separate from the sphere of government control. Augustus himself used the term to describe the use of his personal funds to fight the tyranny Romans were experiencing in the opening lines of his *Res Gestae*.

social setting that Augustus's legislation was entering into, as his laws would ultimately infringe on the private sphere of the *paterfamilias*.

Susan Treggiari enters the conversation of Roman life through her examination of Roman marriage and divorce customs throughout the early Roman Republic, expanding from Cicero to Ulpian. Treggiari's work was vital to understanding what the Roman precedent was for marriage and divorce, and how Augustus' legislation shifted away from these established traditions, despite his exaltation of tradition. On the topic of Augustus' views on his legislation, and his own life, Alison E. Cooley provides an excellent discussion in her translation and commentary on the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*. The *Res Gestae* is an inscription written by Emperor Augustus himself and was erected on a bronze plaque in front of his mausoleum following his death. This inscription detailed a list of Augustus's achievements throughout his life and gave valuable insight into what the emperor himself valued as his greatest achievements and what he had hoped to achieve with them.

The Timelessness of Feminine Virtues: Domesticity and Dedication

Tradition was a matter of great importance in the Roman Empire. In 18 BC, the Emperor Augustus focused specifically on the revival of women's traditional roles and behaviours that he saw as "dying out."⁴³⁴ There are two recurring ideas that appear in the inscriptions and eulogies of Roman women: domesticity and dedication to their husbands. Augustan legislation surrounding these topics showcases a departure from tradition, despite the emperor's assertions of recalling what he believed to be tradition, by inserting the government into the private sphere.

⁴³⁴ Augustus, *Res Gestae* 8.5.

The analysis of epitaphs and eulogies gives insight into the roles that men expected of women and what would earn women praise. For example, the epitaph of Claudia, from the second century BC, highlights that "[s]he loved her husband in her heart. She bore two sons. . . . She kept the house and worked in wool."⁴³⁵ While men's epitaphs of this time would occasionally mention their wives as it described his life and achievements, women's epitaphs and eulogies would always mention these womanly virtues and the connections they had to family. Even the epitaph of a 14-year-old by the name of Eucharis from Rome in the first century BC would mention these womanly virtues of familial dedication and religious piety through mention of being "educated and taught as if by the Muses' hands. [she] adorned the nobility's festivals with my dancing, and first appeared before the common people in a Greek play. . . . His child, I left lamentation to my father, though born after him, I preceded him in the day of my death."⁴³⁶ Showcased here is another example of the virtues of piety and familial dedication. Being pious to the gods, such as dedicating her skill to the Muses, who were patrons of the arts, was praised. Meanwhile, the importance of attention to one's *paterfamilias* is showcased through the lamentation to her father, thereby once again highlighting the importance of familial bonds and dedication. This dedication to one's family is a significant value that all women must have practiced to have been considered a 'good woman' by Roman standards.

The idea of domesticity also focused much on the wife's ability to maintain household finances and her husband's businesses. The epitaphs of women would often praise a woman's thrift or skill in business, or her efforts and skills would serve to boost the position of her whole

⁴³⁵ Lefkowitz and Fant, "Men's Opinions," *Women's Life*, 27.

⁴³⁶ Lefkowitz and Fant, 27.

family.⁴³⁷ A woman's duty was to be in service to her husband, her children, and to remain within the homes, outside the realm of the man.⁴³⁸

While marriages were typically *sine manu*, meaning the wife's finances were separate to that of her husbands, she would have still been expected to contribute to the collective home and help bolster her husband through her skills in industry, as well as contribute to the glory of the family through portrayal of these idealized behaviours.⁴³⁹ In addition, her role as a mother was not only a service to her husband but was also in service to the state, as her ability and willingness to bear children would provide benefits for the empire. Increasing population numbers have long been a concern of the Empire. Along this same line, an increase in population, particularly of sons, increases the Roman work and military force. In turn, this increases the prosperity and glory of the Roman empire and helps to bolster the status of the child's family.⁴⁴⁰ Dedication to one's husband was not only a positive quality in a woman, but also a shining example of one's character. Dedication to one's husband could be demonstrated in many ways, with chastity being one of the major factors in establishing a woman's purity and dedication. This was viewed as a supreme connection to her dedication to her husband. In addition, the importance of chastity for women helped to dispel concerns around illegitimate children arising from a married woman. As a woman's duty in marriage was to bear her husband male heirs to the family line, chastity was important in the assurance of legitimacy.

⁴³⁷ Lefkowitz and Fant, *Women's Life*, 27-28.

⁴³⁸ Lefkowitz and Fant, 27. "Here lies Amymone, wife of Marcus, best and most beautiful, worker in wool, pious, chaste, thrift, faithful, a stayer-at-home (*domiseda*)."

⁴³⁹ Lefkowitz and Fant, 27-28.

⁴⁴⁰ Suzanne Dixon, "Children in the Roman Family," *The Roman Family* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1992), 109.

A refusal to remarry after her husband's death would exemplify a woman's dedication to her husband. Epitaphs would occasionally describe a woman who had only one husband in life as a woman who was "content with her husband alone" or "content with her one husband" as a form of praise for her dedication and piety towards her husband.⁴⁴¹ As per tradition, the existence of an *univera*⁴⁴² was idealized; however, this idea of singular spouse for a man's whole life would not be extended. The lifelong monogamy of a woman would earn her this esteemed title while a man was free to marry as many times as he wanted after the death of a spouse. The only exception to this idea, if a man wished to remain single, was if the man had the stipulated number of heirs for his family lineage to continue.

Even before marriage, there was an importance placed upon women about their chastity. While it is generally acknowledged that women and men would marry young, often around the age of puberty, the idea of a woman being a virgin upon her marriage to her husband earned her a unique moniker—*virginea*. This moniker would be used on inscriptions of longer length to praise the good fortune of a long-lasting marriage and highlights the dedication of a wife to her husband.⁴⁴³ Due to this emphasis on virginity and chastity for women, Roman women's honour would still be indissolubly linked to the protection of their chastity— such is the story of Lucretia. The *Lex Iulia* would contradict the ideal of *univera* and *virginea* as the laws would push women to remarry after a certain amount of time.

⁴⁴¹ Susan Treggiari, "Coniuges," *Roman Marriage: Iusti Coniuges From the Time of Cicero to the Time of Ulpian* (New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 1991), 234.

⁴⁴² *Univera* meant "one man woman," or rather, a woman who had only ever been with one man. There is no equivalent phrase in Latin for a man who had only ever been with one woman.

⁴⁴³ Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, 234.

The timelessness of female virtue emerges in another long inscription. The woman, Murdia, is described in a eulogy in the first century BC, by her son. Here, it is indicated that praise for women was often the same due to a shared natural and innate goodness of women, because their lives did not endure the same fluctuations as that of men.⁴⁴⁴ If this were always the case—what would be the need of Augustus’s later legislation to ensure women followed the traditional norms? The answer to this is, of course, that these depictions that Augustus drew on to exemplify the ideals women were meant to follow were simply that— ideals. Those standards expected of women were not the reality of the public, just as these ideals were not the reality of Augustus’s populace.

Clodia, for example, was a renowned socialite during the first century BCE, the time era of Augustus’s reign. While being married to Quintus Metellus Celler from 63 BCE until his death in 59 BC, and to whom she would bear a single daughter, Clodia would be known in Roman society for having been the cause of many scandals. From the poet Catullus⁴⁴⁵ to slaves, Clodia was known for her extra-marital affairs and unhappy marriage. Clodia’s reputation for promiscuity was so prominent, in fact, that it caused tensions in the marriage of the politician Cicero and his second wife, Terentia, due to Cicero’s frequent visits to Clodia.⁴⁴⁶ The reality of the Roman social climate is best represented by Clodia’s behaviour. Despite lasting traditional ideals of domesticity and sexual dedication, the reality of the Roman Republic was quite relaxed during the first century BCE. These would be the behaviours Augustus would try to combat with his *Lex Iulia*.

⁴⁴⁴ Lefkowitz and Fant, *Women’s Life*, 28.

⁴⁴⁵ It was identified by the historian Apuleius in the second century AD that Catullus wrote about Clodia under the name Lebia in many of his poetic works. This fact is occasionally debated by modern scholars.

⁴⁴⁶ Plutarch, “The Life of Cicero,” *The Parallel Lives* 29.2-7.

Another important example of this deviation from tradition that existed in Roman society during the age of Augustus can be examined through Augustus's own daughter, Julia. Born to Scribonia and Augustus, Julia would ultimately marry several men in her lifetime. Her second marriage to Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa would bear the Roman empire the two heirs Gaius and Lucius Caesar, whom Augustus would adopt. Julia's third marriage was to Tiberius, one of the sons of Augustus's new wife Livia. This marriage, as was the case with Clodia, was an unhappy one. When Tiberius went into voluntary exile, her affairs would become common knowledge in Roman society. Importantly, Julia would be known for her affair with the politically dangerous Jullus Antonius. The revelation of these behaviours from his very own daughter would lead to her exile in 2 CE, where Augustus would refer to her as the disease of his flesh.

Lucretia as Exemplar for Proper Etiquette

One influential example of these ideals of domesticity and sexual dedication can be found in the story of Lucretia whom the historian Livy describes in his *History of Rome*, written in the late first century BC—the time of Augustus.⁴⁴⁷ In his version, Lucretia's husband was involved in a contest with Sextus Tarquinius and the other Tarquins he was drinking with over whose wife was the most honourable.⁴⁴⁸ Lucretia was observed at home working at spinning wool while the other men's wives were found partying with friends. Lucretia's showcasing of domesticity, even when eyes were not known to have been on her, showed her virtues; however, this is not the only prize Lucretia had won— she also drew the attention of Sextus Tarquinius.⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁷ Livy. *The History of Rome: Books I-V*. Translated by Valerie M. Warrior. Indianapolis, Indiana: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2006, 1.57-1.58.

⁴⁴⁸ Livy, *History of Rome* 1.57.

⁴⁴⁹ Livy, *History of Rome* 1.57.

Filled with passion for Lucretia, Sextus Tarquinius began to craft and execute a plan to have Lucretia. Within the next few days, Sextus Tarquinius returned to the home of Lucretia and Collatinus— when her husband was fighting in Ardea, and he was received with hospitality by Lucretia and her handmaids. During the course of the night, Sextus Tarquinius had, in the words of Livy, “repaid hospitality with hostility when he came, armed, and forcibly took his pleasure of me, an act that has destroyed me....”⁴⁵⁰ Lucretia summoned her father from Rome and her husband from Ardea, each with a trusted friend in tow, so she could recount her story to the men so that they could know what had happened. It is here that Lucretia would find honour in the minds of Romans for centuries to come; as Livy tells it, rather than living as a woman who had been forced to give up her chastity and be a story for adulterers to use as an excuse, Lucretia instead chose to take her own life.⁴⁵¹

The story of Lucretia highlights this idea of chastity and loyalty to one’s husband being paramount, even to the woman. By refusing to live as a defiled woman or as an excuse to those who would try and escape the punishment of adultery, Lucretia became a symbol of spousal piety and a beacon of matronly duty. In an effort to address this issue, Lucretia also creates one of the first examples of what will later be known as family council, where her father and husband are called to resolve this issue. Family councils, as will later be discussed, would be undermined by Augustus’s adultery legislation.⁴⁵² In addition, the story of Lucretia is also the story of the rise

⁴⁵⁰ Livy, *History of Rome* 1.58.

⁴⁵¹ Livy, *History of Rome* 1.58. “Though I absolve myself of wrongdoing, I do not exempt myself from punishment. Nore henceforth shall any unchaste woman continue to live by citing the precedent of Lucretia.”

⁴⁵² For more on the rise of the family council, see section titled “The Traditional Approach— a Family Council.” For discussion on Augustus’s legislation in this realm, see section titled “Laws as Standard: Augustus’ Legislation to Establish Behaviour.”

of the Republic in 507 BC. Outrage at her rape and the desire to protect the marital bed were central to the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of the Republic.

The Tradition of Marriage and Children

Motherhood and familial dedication, being pious to the gods within the home, being thrifty, and working wool are all ideals that tie women to the domestic sphere. Marriage was a major factor into the role of a proper woman of Roman society, as a woman's status was tied to her husbands and children's social status. The role of a wife and mother were among the highest honors a woman could have in terms of status, and that status would only increase as her husband succeeded in the public sector, due to the connection she would have to the *paterfamilias*. This role of wife or mother could be leveraged to gain power or glory in her own right if her husband or son was in a position of authority. Some of the most influential women in throughout history had the role of being the wife or mother of an Emperor— Livia, Helena, and Theodora being a some of the most influential wives and mothers. This high status would increase the expectations placed on the woman to fulfil the ideals of domesticity and chastity, as she was meant to represent the best of the Roman women.

The roots of marriage in the early Roman Empire lie in the production of children, and if a woman was deemed to be infertile, this alone could be grounds for a divorce.⁴⁵³ The interconnection between marriage and a woman's duty to bear children can be seen as early as *circa* 230 BC when Carvilius Ruga could not affirmatively answer, when questioned on his

⁴⁵³ Lefkowitz and Fant, *Women's Life*, 121.

marriage status, due to his wife's infertility.⁴⁵⁴ A wife's inability to bear children to her husband could serve to render a marriage null or serve as grounds for divorce.

The preoccupation of Augustus with the topic of marriage and childbearing was a long-standing tradition which could be traced to the foundations of Rome. Concern with unmarried men who could not produce children for the manpower and preservation of the Roman state dates to the foundations of Rome. The story of the Rape of the Sabine Women told by Livy in Book One of his *History* highlights this idea. Following Rome's rise in power and battle successes, the early Roman peoples had little hope for extending their legacy past their current generation, as they could not continue their bloodlines and marriage with close neighbors was unlikely. To combat this, Romulus invited his Sabine neighbors to a feast, only to capture and rape the unsuspecting daughters and wives of the Sabine men and thereby securing a continuation of the Roman city for another generation.⁴⁵⁵ While as Livy recounts this story, Romulus was forced to use physical violence to seize the girls and to then say that these were arranged marriages necessary for the promulgation of his city⁴⁵⁶, the later Emperor Augustus opted to approach the situation with rewards for citizens who fulfilled these duties.⁴⁵⁷ The Rape of the Sabine Women reveals that the Roman concern for a continued family line is a tradition in its own right. This fear of discontinuance occurred many times throughout the Roman history,

⁴⁵⁴ Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, 58.

⁴⁵⁵ Livy, *History of Rome* 1.9.

⁴⁵⁶ Livy, *History of Rome* 1.9. "The Roman state had become strong enough to hold its own in war with all the peoples along its borders, but a shortage of women meant that its greatness was fated to last for a single generation, since there was no prospect of offspring at home. . . When it was time for the show, and everybody was concentrating on this, a prearranged signal was given and all the Roman youths began to grab the women. . . But Romulus went among them in person to assure them that none of this would have happened if their fathers hadn't been so inflexible in not letting them marry their neighbours."

⁴⁵⁷ Dio Cassius, *History of Rome* 54.16.1-2. "Augustus assessed heavier taxes on unmarried men and women without husbands, and by contrast offered awards for marriage and childbearing."

and has been tackled in different ways by different leaders. Despite this, the concern surrounding the continuation of a family line always was solved through marriages to women, and the childbearing therefrom. The continuation of family lines helped to create a sense of national pride in the Roman citizens and secured the continuity of the state.

The Traditional Approach— a Family Council

The role of the government in the private sphere was almost non-existent in times predating Augustus. While there were generally approved methods for a man to rule his home, the *paterfamilias* was the ultimate decider for the accused within his own home. If a man deemed his wife to have committed a marital offence such as adultery, he reserved the right to kill her, even in times as early as Romulus.⁴⁵⁸ Even within the early Republic, a woman's adultery "was undoubtedly always grounds for divorce."⁴⁵⁹ Traditionally, a man could control his home without government oversight into how he would discipline his wife or children. Many Roman citizens, including the statesman and orator Cicero, believed in the power of a self-regulating family, led by a husband or father, in which a man controlled and punished those within the sphere of his own home.⁴⁶⁰ This tradition ran strong within the Roman Republic, dating even to the earliest times with Romulus himself declaring that a woman and her kinsmen were permitted to be killed by a wronged husband in the case of adultery.⁴⁶¹

Despite this tradition, Lucretia's story highlights the foundation of the *consilium*, the family council. This council would consist of a woman's husband, her father, and occasionally

⁴⁵⁸ Plutarch, *Parallel Lives* 1.22.3.

⁴⁵⁹ Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, 264.

⁴⁶⁰ Cicero, *de Re Publica*, 4.6.

⁴⁶¹ Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, 265.

her brothers or people trusted by her husband and father. This council would be especially important during the revelation of rape, as was the case with Lucretia. During this council, her husband and father would be told of the events that were said to have transpired. What was exceptional was Lucretia's determination to impose upon herself the appropriate penalty for adultery according to tradition and to the Augustan legislation itself.⁴⁶² According to tradition, the husband would determine the punishment to his wife; however, the family council requires a woman's father to also judge the evidence for which she would be convicted.⁴⁶³ Treggiari stresses that while it was demanded that the *paterfamilias* call a family council, he was not necessarily required to follow the majority vote.⁴⁶⁴ This meant that the wronged husband still retained the greater authority over the wife's punishment for her crime of adultery.

The above are all methods by which a husband could deal with his wife's adultery. Of course, husbands could divorce their wives for various reasons from the early years of the Roman Empire, including for adultery. Similarly, a woman could divorce her husband for a variety of reasons, including other sexual affairs. Augustus's *Lex Iulia* did, however, make unilateral divorce from the wife more dangerous, as she could insight a disgruntled ex-husband to proclaim her an adulteress in response.⁴⁶⁵ This fact on its own means Augustus's laws break from tradition, as he put constraints on a previously easier process. Additionally, the fact that his laws could be used against a woman by a slighted ex-husband meant that the legislation could infringe upon a woman's right to divorce. Additionally, a man's right to control his home was one of the many rights a citizen of the Roman Republic had enjoyed. While a husband may have

⁴⁶² Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, 265.

⁴⁶³ Treggiari, 265.

⁴⁶⁴ Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, 266.

⁴⁶⁵ Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, 294.

had to consult his wife's family, as was depicted by Livy, he would still ultimately hold the power to decide his wife's fate. Augustus's encroachment on this private sphere with the *Lex Iulia* was sure to meet with pushback.

Cause: Tradition is Not the Reality of the Public

Traditional roles of domesticity and filial piety were ideas that Augustus viewed as essential to the Roman identity⁴⁶⁶; however, this view was not necessarily shared amongst the populace of his empire. Just as traditions were being broken in the government under Augustus with the rise of the *principate*, traditions had given way to modern behaviours amongst the public. Marriage and childbearing were no longer the only ideas that motivated the elites of Roman society as many men and women, especially of the upper classes, were opting to wait longer for marriages and fewer still were opting to bear children.⁴⁶⁷ Even still, those who were marrying were not always practicing chastity for their husbands and wives, as evidenced by Augustus' need for the creation of his *Lex Iulia de adulteriis*. Affairs, which the *Lex Iulia de adulteriis* sought to combat, were not unheard of in Roman society. Stories of women like Clodia and Julia highlight the emperor's need for legislation to combat what he saw as an immoral affair. After years of civil war, Augustus needed a factor to form a cohesive society and stabilize the empire in preparation for the time where he would no longer be emperor. A revitalization of what he believed to be Roman tradition to be would his *modus operandi* in the later years of his reign.

⁴⁶⁶ Milnor, *Age of Augustus*, 10-11. Augustus was a ruler who led by example, and this is highlighted by Augustus's own home where "simple domesticity and imperial glory exist side-by-side." His palace was one of the first building projects he completed, and he utilized it to showcase "the image of the good home and the work which must be done to make it...."

⁴⁶⁷ Tacitus, *The Annals* 3.25.

This section will discuss how the morality of the Roman Empire seemed to be crumbling at Augustus' feet as he examined his republic. His citizens ran counter to the ideals that Augustus held tightly to—unwedded and childless, or alternatively, married and adulterous. A tradition of continuing the Roman legacy threatened by a simple change in behavioural patterns seemed to cause great concern within the *princeps*. Even the ideal of monogamy after the death of a husband was challenged with the *Lex Iulia*, for Roman widows were encouraged by society to remarry and bear more children if they were still of child-bearing age.⁴⁶⁸ Women remarrying after the death of a husband was not a new adjustment that came with the rise of Augustus's legislation; however, the action does run contrary to the ideal of sexual dedication to only one man. Adultery and sexual licentiousness are, indeed, ideas that Augustus would frown upon being undertaken by the women of his society. Lucretia's image upheld the morals that Augustus attempted to purvey to his society, despite the ongoing social behaviour exemplified by Clodia and Julia.

In this way, the flourishing of prostitution in Roman lands would also run counter to traditional ideals that Augustus would have hoped for. Despite this, it is not unknown to scholars that prostitution and adultery were common occurrences within the Roman public. Archaeologists find and study many brothels in Pompeii, Thebes, and even in Rome itself. The activity levels and use of these establishments cannot be disputed, as graffiti can still be found dictating the ongoings of these facilities during the time.⁴⁶⁹ This common usage of sex purveyors

⁴⁶⁸Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, 235.

⁴⁶⁹ Lefkowitz and Fant, *Women's Life*, 277. A graffiti marking in Pompeii in the 1st century AD reading "Here I screwed many girls."

could be a component into the legislation surrounding concubines that Augustus crafted. Rather than policing the sexual freedoms of his male citizens, Augustus chose to legislate only high-ranking men were allowed to marry and continue a legitimate lineage with.

Within his own time, Augustus chose to exile a poet following the publication of a poem titled the *Ars amatorial*. Scholars believe this work is the reason the emperor chose to exile Ovid, as he may have seen the poems as promoting adultery. This policing of the morality of the citizens in his domain exemplifies Augustus's attempts to enforce these perceived traditional norms. Ovid's *Ars amatorial* discussed love and its pursuit at length—often in a very tongue-in-cheek manner. Ovid himself would cite a poem as the reason for his imperial exile. While the specific poem is never directly stated by Ovid, scholars tend to think it is his *Ars amatorial*. *The Art of Love* by Ovid explained how to pursue and maintain an amorous, and not always legitimate, connection. The beginning of his poem details areas in which one could search for these connections, with connection to the theatre.⁴⁷⁰ Ovid's focus on the theatre could highlight the idea that the theatre was a location of sexual affinity and was a good hunting ground for a love affair. This idea is interesting when comparing it to the language present in the *Lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus*, which critiques people of the theatre marrying or having affairs with senatorial sons or daughters.⁴⁷¹ In addition to this, it is interesting to note that the theatre, where these dismissed occupations were found, was also the location of the public's attempts to find an

⁴⁷⁰ Ovid, *The Art of Love*, trans. James Michie (New York: The Modern Library, 1993), 9.

⁴⁷¹ Paul, *Lex Julia et Papia*, Book 1: "The lex Julia provides that: 'A senator, his son, or his grandson, or his great grandson by his son shall not knowingly or fraudulently become betrothed to or marry a freedwoman, or a woman who is or has been an actress or whose father or mother are or have been actors. Nor shall the daughter of a senator, his granddaughter by his son, or great-granddaughter by his grandson become betrothed to or marry, knowingly or fraudulently, a freedman, or a man who is or has been an actor or whose father or mother is or has been an actor. Nor shall any of these people knowingly or fraudulently become betrothed to or marry such a woman.'"

amorous connection. This connection between the theatre and sexual deviancy could be the reason for which Augustus frowns upon people of these occupations, given much of his legislation pushes against the ideas of having one-night stands and short-lasting affairs.

In *The Art of Love*, Ovid expresses the idea that a woman and her lust are “keener and wilder”⁴⁷² than a man’s, which is “less-primitive, less raw...bound by the limits of the law.”⁴⁷³ If this view that women were considered the problem for sexual misconduct was held common by Roman society, then it would make sense that Augustus would try to tackle the perceived problem at what would be the assumed root. Ovid would go on to list the stories of Myrrha, Pasiphaë, Scylla, and Medea to emphasize his point of portraying women, and their sexuality, as a problem that could cause dramatic end results.⁴⁷⁴ In these cases, the faults that can be attributed to lust or love in historical or mythical stories can be pinpointed at the root to a woman and the problems that arise if a woman takes control of a situation. Looking at what Ovid is saying here, it could be understood that if a woman is to step outside her traditional role of domesticity, then it is bound to draw trouble. These mythical departures from the Roman traditional ideals can be seen as the cause for the downfalls of both men and women in these stories. In this same manner, the departure by women from Roman tradition of domesticity and chastity within the empire can be cause for concern for the emperor and may be a driving force behind his legislative changes, along with concerns of population and legacy.

⁴⁷² Ovid, *The Art of Love*, 25.

⁴⁷³ Ovid, 21.

⁴⁷⁴ Ovid, 23-25.

Departure from chastity can be seen not only in women in the Roman Empire of this time, as it can be understood by Ovid that men were constantly stepping out of their marital bonds to pursue other temporary affairs.⁴⁷⁵ Once again referencing mythical stories to strengthen his ideas, Ovid describes the actions of Agamemnon which causes his wife to turn violent.⁴⁷⁶ This story can both serve to warn of the dangers of a man's extramarital affairs coming to light, while also highlighting that men had the tendency, if not the right, to step out of their marriage. Ovid highlights the idea in the modern society that having a single, long-lasting marriage is not realistic despite the traditional ideal of them; however, he uses this idea to encourage a man's secret infidelity. It is interesting to note that Ovid encourages illicit affairs here despite the legislation by Augustus to prevent adultery. Utilizing the example of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra in Homer, Ovid blamed a woman's reaction to the revelation of the affair on the man not being careful enough. This emphasis by Ovid on fault first coming from a man seems counter to this ideas pushed by Augustus's adultery legislation, where one can assume that the danger of disorder lay in a woman's actions.

While Augustus attempts to combat modern feminine deviations from tradition, his creation of legislation surrounding the happenings within a private citizens' home, such as the *Lex Iulia de adulteriis*, broke tradition. Roman society dictated that a man had the rights to govern his own home; however, the *Lex Iulia de adulteriis* inserted government legislation into

⁴⁷⁵ Ovid, *The Art of Love*, 83. "My moral rule, though, doesn't condemn You (heaven forbid!) to one woman all your life- That's beyond the hope even of a young wife. Play around, but discreetly, decently hiding, Not smugly advertising, you back-sliding."

⁴⁷⁶ Ovid, 85. "So long as Agamemnon hadn't disgraced His marriage, Clytemnestra remained chaste: It was his beastly conduct that made her a beast."

the home by telling a man what he could or could not do regarding the discovery of a woman and her lover's affair. Before Augustus' legislation, a woman's immoral actions were the responsibility of the *paterfamilias*, such as her husband or her father.⁴⁷⁷ Despite this, Augustus's legislation dictated that the *paterfamilias* must consider Roman law before he can enact a punishment, even if it was a matter within his own home.

In addition, the legislation put forth by Augustus asserted that the behaviour of women, and not men, as the cause of moral decay in society.⁴⁷⁸ This idea runs counter to popular Roman thought, where scholars such as Cicero, and Ennius before him, assert that the viability of the Roman public rests on the actions of men.⁴⁷⁹ If Augustus is attempting to adjust women's behaviour through his laws, the implication remains that women are the factors which could disrupt the Roman state, and not men, as Cicero and Ennius believe. The idea that Augustus sees his laws as a calling back to Roman traditions is different in the face of this idea, as his laws against adultery seem counter to the tradition of the private control of a family, rather than the state having control. In addition, the idea that women and their actions are the factors to the Roman society continuing in a morally righteous direction, rather men and their actions being the major factor, also contradicts traditional ideology.

Laws As Standard: Augustus' Legislation to Establish Behaviour

⁴⁷⁷ Milnor, *Age of Augustus*, 150.

⁴⁷⁸ Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, 52-24. Roman standards were double-sided when it came to sexual dedication to only one partner. While women were traditionally expected to remain faithful to only her husband, a man may take concubines. When understanding this, it is easy to infer that legislation around a woman's chastity, such as the *Lex Iulia de adulteriis*, implies that deviancy arises only when it is surrounding the woman's actions. Therein, the danger of society is a woman's sexuality.

⁴⁷⁹ Cicero, *de Re Publica*, 5.1. "The Roman state rests on its ancient customs and on its men."

The two major sets of legislation surrounding the topics discussed are the *Lex Iulia de adulteriis*, which sets definitions for prostitutes and concubines as well as guidelines on how to address a woman's adultery, and the *Lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus*, which governs the topics of marriage and children. These two sets of laws set into motion the steps for Augustus to institute his ideas of what Roman tradition was on the Roman public and would serve to be one of the many achievements Augustus himself touted as his greatest in his *Res Gestae*. This legislation created discourse amongst the citizens of the Roman Empire, due to the entrance of government into the private sphere and due to the citizens' unwellness or inability to fulfill the spirit of the law. Discourse over the legislation's efficacy carries even into the modern era, where scholars still debate if the legislation had ever truly changed anything. Attempting to blend traditional Roman identity with his modern society, Augustus sought to institute these behaviours to ensure a secure future for his empire and for himself.

The *Lex Iulia de adulteriis* standardizes the definitions of *materfamilias* and prostitutes, upon which the letter of the law would be emphasized due to the role of these definitions in determining if the acts committed by a woman is considered adulterous.⁴⁸⁰ Augustus implements this ideology in the form of this law and implicates that women were the reason for the perceived moral collapse of the Roman republic, and thus, needed stricter government guidelines on what their adultery was and meant.

This specific legislative act by Augustus is an interesting juxtaposition of tradition and deviation from it, as Augustus is inserting the government into the public's domesticity to recall

⁴⁸⁰ Milnor, *Age of Augustus*, 150.

this mythical time of tradition which he clings to. The *Lex Iulia de adulteriis* addresses the issue of a woman's adultery to tackle the perceived problem of a woman not maintaining her devotion to her husband. Augustus creates legislation that describes how a woman and her lover are permitted to be punished. These laws dictate that a husband is not allowed to kill his wife if she is caught in the act, but he is permitted to kill her lover under specific conditions; meanwhile, a father is permitted to kill his daughter's lover only if he kills her as well, and only after discovering them in the act within his own home and he kills them both with his own hand.⁴⁸¹ Once again emphasizing the actions of men punishing women within this section of legislation drives the idea further that women were the cause for moral disturbances in the Roman Empire due to their deviation from traditional roles of chastity. Moreover, if a man discovered that his wife was adulterous and did not divorce her, he could be punished for not having taken action against her.⁴⁸² Further, he could be identified as a pimp.⁴⁸³

The *Lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus* instituted legislative regulations on the topic of marriage, with particular attention paid to the class status of his citizens and an emphasis placed upon his senatorial class. This legislation implemented a slew of guidelines on what social classes or occupations were allowed to or encouraged to marry, as well as defining who they could marry. Particular attention was paid to members of Augustus' senatorial families, as many guidelines were placed on who they or their descendants were allowed to marry. Marriages between people of the senatorial class and freedmen or freedwomen, or people who have occupations in entertainment was prohibited. In addition, this legislation defined the roles of

⁴⁸¹ Paul, *Opinions* 2.26.1-7.

⁴⁸² Paul, *Opinions* 2.26.8.

⁴⁸³ Paul, *Opinions* 2.26.8. "It has been decided that a husband who does not at once dismiss his wife whom he has taken in adultery can be prosecuted as a pimp."

concubines, and encouraged senators who were enamored with women of these undesired classes to utilize this role to engage in their affairs legally, rather than marry women who would infringe on the honour of their families. The institution of this law could be due to Augustus's frustrations at the Roman public's unwillingness to marry, as the laws under this set of legislation offer important boons to people who follow the spirit of these laws. Hidden implications of these laws could be that Augustus believed that the undesired classes had grown too large, and he wanted to secure the authority of his upper classes.

In addition, the *Lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus* also implemented regulations and benefits for married couples who bore three or more children.⁴⁸⁴ A major problem that Augustus was aiming to combat with his adultery and marriage laws was the problem of elite people of the Roman Empire remaining unmarried and childless. This was a problem for two reasons: First, this behaviour ran counter to the ideals of domesticity, as the domestic home required the existence of the nuclear family, and secondly, remaining unmarried and childless posed population problems and threatened the continuation of the Roman legacy. This encouragement of childbearing through regulation and social and economic benefits is Augustus' way to combat the worry surrounding this threat to the continuation of Roman legacy and population decline. In addition, as previously discussed, this concern concerning the inability of Roman men to find women to marry and bear children to continue the empire is not a new idea. Therefore, Augustus' actions with this legislation follows Roman traditions of seeking ways to preserve the legacy of the Roman Empire even if the method differs from Romulus' approach.

⁴⁸⁴ Milnor, *Age of Augustus*, 140.

Beyond economic benefits for families who fulfil their duty to the state, there was encouragement of bearing children to the Roman state for women specifically, as bearing a specific number of children would earn a free-born or freedwoman the right to leave the guardianship she was under.⁴⁸⁵

All these laws served one goal: A return to an alleged former Roman golden age of sound morality and traditional behaviours, with particular focus on the behaviour of women. By implementing legislation which guided the behaviours of the Roman public into marriage and childbearing, Augustus attempted to recall a time when these were the ideals of the republic. While tradition was the ideology of Augustus, he himself was breaking tradition with his legislative reforms. By inserting the government into the affairs of the home, Augustus drew the ire from and instigated unrest in the Roman public as the laws created a mixed feeling amongst the population and earned the emperor mixed results.

The Public's Response

Augustus' efforts were met with debate amongst his citizens. All sections of the public, rich or poor, had opinions on his legislation and its efficacy. There were people of the empire, such as the poet Horace, who were generally in favour of these legislative transitions; meanwhile, there were people within the empire, such as the poet Ovid, who were generally against the legislation presented by Augustus. Augustus' reforms that were meant to provide a unifying force to the Roman society was, instead, presenting yet another means of division throughout his empire. Divisions amongst the public arose for a variety of reasons as citizens

⁴⁸⁵Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, 69.

sought to dismiss or follow through with the spirit of the law. Those who chose to follow the desires of Augustus' *Lex Iulia maritandis ordinibus* received rewards for fulfilling their duties to the state; meanwhile, those who avoided the requirements imposed on them by the law were encouraged to follow through with the promise of financial or social boons once the requirements were fulfilled.

Citizens like Horace sought to address the same issues as Augustus—the moral corruption prevalent in Roman society.⁴⁸⁶ The existence of prostitution and adultery, rather than the flourishing of traditional marriages and monogamy, appeared as a problem to the more conservative citizens. The legislation put forth by Augustus, and its creation of solid definitions for who was a prostitute, created the image of a government which was tackling this issue of an immoral society. By excluding the viability of marriages to women who provided sex work in any form or was labeled as an adulteress, Augustus and his government crafted the image of a ruling class which was cleansing an immoral rot on society that drew the ire of conservative citizens such as Horace. Horace encouraged and proclaimed the marriage legislation as an area of celebration, believing that the return to the tradition would bring glory to the Roman world.⁴⁸⁷ The legislation created by Augustus and his senate were viewed by some citizens to be beneficial not only to the moral health of their society, but also to the population size itself. After an era of civil war, the continuation and growth of the Roman population was a matter of vast importance; however, this does not necessarily mean that all citizens rushed to follow the legislation put forth by Augustus.

⁴⁸⁶ Horace, *Carmen Saeculare*.

⁴⁸⁷ Horace, *Carmen Saeculare*. “Goddess, nurture our offspring, bring to fruition
The Senate’s decrees concerning the wedlock Of women who’ll bear us more of our children, The laws of
marriage.”

Tacitus himself notes that “[p]eople did not rush to marriage or the rearing of children because of the law.”⁴⁸⁸ While population continuation was a matter of import to the Roman society and Augustus himself, the legislation, and benefits from it did not exactly translate into the Roman citizens following the law. Citizens, in theory, should have had no qualms about fulfilling the required number of children for each family, as even adopted children would count under this legislation.⁴⁸⁹ Coupled with this, the benefits provided to women who bear a specific number of children, depending on her social status, should have encouraged the population boom that Augustus was aiming for; however, this did not seem to be the case.

In addition, Tacitus shared further that this legislation had devastating effects on the upper classes who could not afford to follow the law even with the benefits provided from fulfilling what Augustus desired, as prosecution could be brought by informers.⁴⁹⁰ The threat of being punished for being unable or unwilling to fulfill the letter of the law served to turn Tacitus, and likely other citizens, to question if strict legislation regarding matters of domestic concern was truly appropriate for Roman society.

Others of Roman society reacted negatively to this legislation due of the implications of government interference with the domestic sphere. In this way, objections by figures such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus were noteworthy. Dionysius deplored the idea of the state interfering with domestic affairs, and views that Augustus is overstepping the bounds of government by

⁴⁸⁸ Tacitus, *The Annals* 3.25.

⁴⁸⁹ Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, 72.

⁴⁹⁰ Tacitus, *The Annals* 3.25.

requiring a husband or father to consult a counsel before he may take severe action against the woman.⁴⁹¹ In addition, Dionysius deplored the idea of legislation which controls the sexuality of a man or restricts a man to a single wife.⁴⁹² This idea was likely held by many people within the Roman Empire and would have been a reasoning behind the unpopularity of Augustus' marriage and adultery decrees.

Augustus On His Legislation and the Future

Augustus himself saw these laws as the reasoning behind the population growth between the years 28 BC, 8 BC, and 14 CE.⁴⁹³ In chapter 8 of his *Res Gestae*, Augustus described the growth in the senate and senatorial elite, and then later of the population at large with the institution new laws—presumably those on marriage and adultery; thereby implying that these laws were the reason for the Roman population growth. While there are many factors that go into determining the reasoning behind population growth, it can be understood that Augustus himself had the desire to use his legislation as a defining moment of his career in this way. The legislation involving marriage and adultery were both modes that Augustus used to tackle the issue of population growth and moral health within his society; however, this was not the only reason that Augustus sought to institute these new codes of conduct for his citizens.

Augustus was an avid defender of traditional Roman ways, and his legislation was a way to recall times of simplicity that he believed could unite the people within his empire. To assert

⁴⁹¹ Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, 265.

⁴⁹² Dionysius of Helicarnasus, *The Roman Antiquities* II 24.2-6.

⁴⁹³ Augustus, *Res Gestae* 8.1-8.5. The census of 28 BC was 4,063,000. The census of 8 BC was 4,233,000. The census of 14 CE was 4,937,000.

the behaviours he sought as tradition, Augustus would utilize a speech made in 131 BC to express similar desires in the Roman past.⁴⁹⁴ His use of traditional Roman thought to encourage his measures to be implemented was successful in his attempt to prove that these behaviours were what was tradition, as he reiterated a senator's plea for Roman senators to marry and have children. This desire for the continuation of a senatorial familial legacy is a concern that is expressed in this speech by the censor is once again reiterated by Augustus as he attempted to win over his own senate to follow the legislation he had put forth. While Augustus never stated a specific era for which he wanted to draw traditions from, he did succeed in drawing on ideas from throughout Roman history.

The emperor was an exemplar of tradition through his actions as he continued to preach the ideas of behaviours of the past, reaching for historical and mythical examples to profess these behaviours for his citizens. Despite this tradition of leading by example, however, it cannot be overlooked that Augustus himself, along with members of his close family, had rumors and stories of their own infidelities that would circulate throughout his life. While these stories could be just gossip, it is important to note that the emperor who touted the tradition of teaching through exemplary behaviours, he and his family may have been inclined to step outside his own legislation involving chastity and moral righteousness. As previously discussed, Augustus's own daughter would be in flagrant violation of the ideals imposed by her father's legislation. Ultimately, Augustus would exile her due to the knowledge of her behaviour. Further, her own husband, Emperor Tiberius, would withhold her allowance following her exile, ultimately leading to her death from malnutrition.

⁴⁹⁴ Alison E. Cooley, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 143-4.

Despite all of this, Augustus was successful in continuing many long-lasting traditions in his time that would be followed by future emperors. Augustus himself had the desire of “[handing] down to later generations exemplary practices for them to imitate.”⁴⁹⁵ The major tradition he continued through example was the recalling of traditions to strengthen the cohesion of the Roman populace. This idea would be imitated by many future emperors, such as Diocletian and Justinian, who attempted to do the same consolidation and reunification of Roman thought through the re-enforcement of a presumed Roman tradition. Leading by example is another tradition which Augustus continued and was implemented heavily by the later emperor Justinian.

While Augustus sought to re-establish these traditional ideals and behaviours, the emperor also unintentionally set traditions within his own time. When it comes to State interference within the domestic sphere, the tradition has always been that of a family regulated by the head of the house. However, this would shift with Augustus’ legislative movements concerning what a man could do without consultation in his own home. The *Lex Iulia de adulteriis* unintentionally set a precedent for the Roman state that later emperors would follow. Interventions into the private sector of Roman life would only increase as barbarian outsiders increased in the fourth century, strengthening the public’s need for a definition of what it meant to be a Roman.

⁴⁹⁵ Augustus, *Res Gestae* 8.5.

Government intervention into the domain of the home is not an idea that is unheard of in modern society, as governments across the world in modern times regulate against actions of domestic abuse, corporal punishment, and more. Like in Roman society, this enforcement of national law in the realm of the private citizen's home is occasionally met with pushback from some citizens who believe the government to be too prominent in their daily lives. Along with this idea, the need to define a national identity around a certain set of behaviours and moral standards is not a new idea. While Romans would exhibit this emphasis on a shared national identity throughout the rest of the Roman Empire's history, this need for a definition of what it means to be a citizen of a specific society occurs both before the Romans, as well as after, even in the modern society. This idea is exceptionally prominent in the political discourse of America where citizens and politicians alike argue over who gets to be American, and what set of behaviours, languages, or other societal standards make a person more American than the other.

Augustus' legislation relied heavily on the re-establishment of traditional feminine behaviour ideals in the face of contemporary behaviours; however, by attempting to assert this legislation to correct his citizens, Augustus himself was deviating from Roman customs. The expected behaviours for women in the Roman past idealized her domesticity and dedication to family. In Roman tradition, a woman was expected to be able to manage the home, her children, as well as maintain strict chastity to her husband. This was, however, not the case for many Romans under the reign of Augustus.

Creating his *Lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus* and *Lex Iulia de adulteriis* to combat changes in behaviours, Augustus hoped to address the issues of moral health in his society while

also tackling the issue of population growth. Despite Augustus' motivations and desires to continue Roman traditions,⁴⁹⁶ maintain class differences, and increase the birthrate of the upper classes, rather than celebrate the behaviours, the public response to his legislation was a mixed result. Some citizens, such as Horace, praised these legislative assertions; meanwhile, citizens such as Tacitus would exemplify these codes as an overreach of the Roman government. Augustus both broke and created tradition through his utilization of these laws. Previously, issues that would arise in the domestic sphere would be the domain of a husband or father's control; however, with the rise of Augustan laws, he now must worry about following Roman law before giving the punishments he deemed necessary. Augustus's *Lex Iulia* legislation, while being revised both within Augustus's time and by later emperors, would ultimately remain in effect throughout the course of the Roman Empire.

In retrospect, we now see that the *Lex Iulia* heralded a shift in many facets of the Roman way of life—ranging from the dynamic between the government and the *paterfamilias*, the way the Roman government legislated the rights of women, and even set precedents for how future Roman leaders would attempt to create unity within a tumultuous public. Augustus's attempts at crafting the ideal image of traditional behaviours in the Roman society set a precedent for many standards that are now considered to be basic feminine values in western society. Additionally, the standard for corporal punishment in return of adultery, as set by the *Lex Iulia de adulteriis*, set a precedent for what is known as the *delitto di onore*⁴⁹⁷ that occurs quite prominently in Mediterranean laws.⁴⁹⁸ With the *Lex Iulia*, Augustus, despite his attempts to proclaim his

⁴⁹⁶ Augustus, *Res Gestae* 8.5. "...I revived many ancestral practices which were by then dying out in our generation."

⁴⁹⁷ *Delitto di onore* means honor killing.

⁴⁹⁸ Treggiari, *Roman Marriage*, 293.

retention of tradition, was a tradition breaker himself. This reshaping of what life as a Roman meant influenced generations after himself, as his legislation would stand well beyond his time and set the groundwork for modern ideals of women and family today.

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