

LEGACY

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Volume 15

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A Publication of the Sigma Kappa Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta
& the Southern Illinois University Carbondale History Department

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Table of Contents

Kagawa's English Voice: Helen Faville Topping Bridges the Cultural Gap Between East and West in Spiritual and Economic Affairs Lauren Austin	1
Dawn of the New Women in Sports, Fashion, and Employment: Challenging Gender Roles in the Weimar Republic Joshua Adair	17
The Abduction of Japanese Latin Americans during World War II Olivia Partlow	27
Filipino Guerilla Resistance to Japanese Invasion in World War II Colin Minor	35
From the Taos Battle for Blue Lake to Self-Determination Daniel Perritt	47
Contributors	61

Lauren Austin

Kagawa's English Voice: Helen Faville Topping Bridges the Cultural Gap Between East and West in Spiritual and Economic Affairs

“Our great weakness is that we lack women leaders. Japanese women have never been trained to lead, but to follow. We must develop leaders among women in industry. Miss Topping is fitted to do this.”¹ This quote comes from Toyohiko Kagawa, perhaps the most influential Japanese Christian of the twentieth century. He was the leader of many economic co-operative movements that involved labor, education, healthcare, agriculture, and many others. Many of these movements were spiritually motivated;—Kagawa believed that Jesus was the perfect example of peace and cooperation. He called it “Brotherhood Economics.”² He achieved international fame during his lifetime, writing over a hundred books and speaking in many different countries.³ As a co-operative movement suggests, he had the help of many brilliant and humble people who served beside him. Helen Faville⁴ Topping joined Kagawa in 1925 as his secretary, but she proved useful and influential in a number of different ways. She organized his speaking tours, translated his books, became his representative in other nations, and was a life-long friend whom Kagawa greatly admired.⁵ Helen Faville Topping was irreplaceable to Toyohiko Kagawa because of her influence as both an American citizen and a Japanese missionary, being familiar with the intricacies and differences of both worlds, but with the sharp skill and tireless spirit necessary to promote peace during a time of increasing conflict between the two nations.

An extensive biography of Helen Faville Topping does not exist. When people look at the life of Toyohiko Kagawa, they do not immediately see this steadfast woman who labored beside him. There has been some research revealing similar women in early 20th century Japan, but not nearly enough. Manako Ogawa, from the University of Hawaii, in her article “‘Hull-House’ in Downtown Tokyo: The Transplantation of a Settlement House from the United States into Japan and the North American Missionary Women,” focuses on North American missionaries and their establishment of the Kobokan settlement which was a relief effort for the slums. They were a female organization that focused on helping poor Japanese women. The Young Women’s Christian Organization (YWCA) was also instrumental in the Kobokan, of which Topping served as general secretary before her time with Kagawa, so there is some overlap between different organizations.⁶

Seija Jalagin, a historian from the Oulu University (Finland), investigates the role of Finnish missionaries during a slightly earlier time period, right after the turn of the twentieth century. In her article “Negotiating for Space and Autonomy: Strategies of Finnish Missionary Women in Japan, 1900-1941,” she takes a feminist approach and shows that men were the only ones that were allowed to lead in the Finnish missions and that it hindered the mission itself when women were not given a satisfactory role in the responsibilities. It was often that the Japanese leaders were much more appreciative of the female missionaries, treating them as equals in the church—and encouraging them in their work. The female missionaries often sided with their Japanese counterpart over their Finnish leaders and even defied the home mission board, which proved to have little control over the situation because of the distance separating them, not just geographically, but culturally.⁷

Throughout history, the church has always been dependent on the efforts of both men and women, but in different ways. Unfortunately, due to the less visible role of women, it is often hard to find them in the historical record. They have often been buried under the men they followed. Because women were usually given more unobservable tasks, it is very rare to get a glimpse into the life of individual female missionaries. Topping emerges rather easily in the archival sources that I have used, due to her specific role as a speaker, writer, and international influence. She was unlike other female missionaries in the sense that she was not always behind the scenes, but very much in the public eye during her time with Toyohiko Kagawa. She promoted him even beyond his death in 1960.⁸ She is also unique because of the message she carried, which was primarily concerned with cooperative movements and social reform that could only be accomplished through “redemptive love that transcends race.”⁹ It was the social gospel.¹⁰

In order to understand Topping’s importance, it is essential to first examine her education. Her parents were highly educated missionaries who raised Helen with their values, emphasizing the spirit of cooperation among fellow humans. Her grandfather was also influential in Topping’s life. He believed that social science had to catch up to physical science. Although she spent much of her childhood in Japan, she received schooling in America, attending the Parker School in Chicago at the age of eleven in 1901.¹¹ This school was headed by Colonel F.W. Parker, who was one of the leading educators in America during that time. “School was like church every day,”¹² she wrote dreamily about her experience there. He had a profound impact on Topping, even at a young age, and she took his teachings to heart. In her article “Pioneering Peace” Topping expounded on his principles: “A great deal of our lives as missionaries is spent in ‘breaking down the middle wall of partition’ that lies between the nations, by learning each other’s languages, ideas, customs, etc., and by learning not to disturb the other fellow ... by learning what not to do. Everything to help and

nothing to hinder."¹³ She went on to write the first extensive biographical work on Parker during the years 1945-1955¹⁴ and was appointed the educational chair in his name at Pacifican College in Manila in 1951.¹⁵

Topping graduated with her Masters in Educational Sociology from Columbia University in 1925 but pursued study afterwards with various professors, including Robert E. Park from the University of Chicago. They had extensive communication throughout her early years with Kagawa, discussing many ideas for sociological research in Asia, since she was in a fantastic position to do it.¹⁶ He visited Kagawa's Honjo Settlement in 1929 at Helen's invitation and described his experience in a letter, "I do not need to say I was profoundly impressed by what I saw and what you told me of life among the laboring classes in Japan. I had the impression that this was my nearest approach to actual revolution."¹⁷ During Park's visit with Kagawa, he became acutely interested in the subject of the Eta, the outcasts of Japan, and urged Topping to pursue this line of study because of Kagawa's intimacy with the slums. She received approval from the university and Park promised to apply for financial aid to fund the project. Topping wrote to him in 1931, "Dr. Kagawa has ... turned over to me a quantity of pamphlet material, to be translated, and two of his personal notebooks on the Eta, precious relics of his first years in Shinkawa."¹⁸ This slum was reputedly the worst in Japan, and it was where Kagawa had first set up camp in the year 1909, when he was fresh from theological training at the Kobe Theological Seminary.¹⁹ Although her research in this area was never completed due to Kagawa's consuming dependence on her, it remained an important matter to them.²⁰

Topping had a strong background of social work with the YWCA. She worked predominantly with Japanese girls, both in the United States and Japan. While on the West Coast, she spent five years helping Japanese female immigrants (1913-1918) before she was sent to Japan to found the first YWCA in Kobe.²¹ On working with Japanese girls during that time she wrote, "I tried to use and encourage native leadership. I insisted that we were working together. I didn't try to force the Jesus of the Western world into Japanese hearts. I tried to make them see the Jesus of their own ideal."²² Christianity had become so intertwined with Western culture, that some did not know how to separate the two in order to reach people in Asia. Topping recognized that they were two distinct things. The West did not define Jesus.

The YWCA started out as a Christian social program that provided services to women in need but it became part of a larger movement after the 1940s to involve women in international and governmental affairs. They were highly democratic and advocated for equality, but many Japanese members were bullied into silence during WWII and would not speak out against the brutality of their country. It was only after WWII that Japanese women began to assert more authority and demand reforms.²³ They were influenced heavily by Western

YWCA members, many of whom were forced out of the country during the war. Although Topping left the organization to work with Kagawa, she continued to collaborate with the YWCA afterwards in order to teach young women and promote female leadership.²⁴

It was during these years in Japan with the YWCA that Kagawa first came to know Topping. In his article *Another Dawn*, Richard T. Baker wrote that, "It was an inevitable meeting, sure to come sooner or later. For both possessed hearts acutely interested in the struggling Japanese."²⁵ She attended his church services in the slums. His sister-in-law and many of the female church members were also involved with the YWCA during that time. Kagawa writes, "She uses our language like a Japanese. She has the personality of a Japanese woman combined with the education and experience of an American woman. Our Japanese women are attracted to her as a friend and they feel that she understands them. We always think of her as one of ourselves. We forget that she is not a Japanese."²⁶ She was invited on staff March 7, 1925 as the first non-Japanese person.²⁷

Topping proved immediately invaluable to Kagawa. Because of her background in missionary social work, her experience and knowledge of the Japanese people, and her education, she was not coming into his work a novice. She had great skill at organization on a grand scale. Kagawa put her to work, and she was eager for it. In asking for support from Western countries, Kagawa praised Topping and recognized that money was not the primary need. It was people. "If you think you might send just money, that is not enough. Character first, money second. ... I want to tell you of an American Missionary. ... Miss Helen Topping. ... She is a good organizer and we owe much of the start of the Kingdom Movement to her work and to her prayers. ... She knew our need, and she sacrificed herself."²⁸ The Kingdom of God Movement was one of Kagawa's many organizations, which began in 1929 with the help of Dr. John Mott, an American pastor and Kagawa disciple. It had three main objectives: "Evangelism (one million souls for Christ); Education (training 5,000 lay workers to aid the clergy); and Social Organization (formation of economic cooperatives)."²⁹ The movement would evolve as the future of Japan changed, but its emphasis would remain the same.

Topping traveled extensively with Kagawa. Between the years 1927-1934, she traveled four times to China and to the Philippines "reporting various conferences."³⁰ She can also be credited with the work of organizing Kagawa's 1935-1936 American tour, and she accompanied him at his request. It was by and large his most successful trip to the United States, with thousands of people flocking to hear him speak about the Kingdom of God movement. Helen often stayed after Kagawa's speaking engagements to deal with any more questions from the public.³¹ There was nearly room for waiters to pass through during a New York dinner given in his honor. W.P. Lippard of *Missions* magazine wrote, "So great was the demand for tickets that only 150 could be allotted to New York

Baptists. Similarly restricted were ... other denominations. Even so, the capacity of the room was taxed to the limit."³² In another issue of *Missions* magazine the author wrote, "The organization of Toyohiko Kagawa's amazing itinerary through the United States ... was the subject of frequent favorable comment. ... Who was responsible for this efficiency? The question was often asked and it may now be answered. It was Miss Helen F. Topping."³³ She had spent time in the United States during the year 1934 in order to stir up the public's excitement for Kagawa, and she was amazingly successful in her efforts.³⁴

Topping had a large number of fairly important acquaintances, which is not too surprising due to the role she had as Kagawa's interpreter in the West.³⁵ When Kagawa arrived in San Francisco in November 1935, he was detained because of his trachoma.³⁶ Topping went all the way to Washington in order to plead for his release and urged many of her friends to write President Roosevelt to see to the matter.³⁷ One of those friends was Charles R. Crane, a wealthy diplomat.³⁸ He was able to convince Roosevelt to release Kagawa. He wrote Topping on January 25, 1936, "I made a trip to Washington to lay before the Government the importance of Kagawa's visit as when difficulties arose at San Francisco the President was all prepared and quick to act. Perhaps you would care to see the message I sent him at the time. I think there will not be any more efforts to interfere with your valuable work." He continued with a post script that reads, "A nice message from the President in return and an invitation to see you both."³⁹ Charles Crane was very enthusiastic about Kagawa and hoped that Topping might have a chance to meet with President Roosevelt. Apparently she did prepare a statement regarding Kagawa's tour and had it forwarded to Roosevelt through Charles Crane. President Roosevelt replied to Charles, "I am glad to have the information concerning Mr. Kagawa's activities, contained in Miss Topping's letter, and appreciate your courtesy in sending it to me."⁴⁰ Kagawa would have been sent back to Japan immediately without President Roosevelt's intervention in the matter. It is lucky that he had such friends around him.

At the close of his American tour in June 1936, Kagawa commissioned Topping to go abroad to Great Britain and other European countries as his representative, studying the cooperative movements taking place there, and teaching the people. In a letter to Doctor Yomanouchi on September 1945, Kagawa wrote, "I understand that you already know something of Miss Helen Topping and of the great service she has been to me in all my work both in Japan and in various other countries."⁴¹ Although this letter is dated after the war, it is verification of her service to him across the world.

She was very well received in Europe, where the cooperative movements originated, although England had not allowed Kagawa entry into the country during that time. On her being invited back to Cambridge in 1937, a spokesman for the protestant church remarked, "We have never had a missionary."⁴² She agreed to go back and work with the churches and different organizations

for a time, schooling them in the Kagawa Cooperative method that combined the spiritual with the economic.⁴³ Afterwards, she commenced a world tour, traveling throughout Europe, Australia, Hawaii, and the Philippines before returning to the United States in 1941, where she had “fourteen conference appointments and various others”⁴⁴ that summer alone.⁴⁵

Topping was also multilingual, which proved invaluable during her speaking tours. She spoke English and Japanese fluently, and could carry conversation in French without difficulty.⁴⁶ Her natural ability to “hold her audience spellbound”⁴⁷ was greatly enhanced by her ability to speak a variety of languages. It opened up doors for Kagawa’s message to be taken to other countries where it might not have been understood due to language barriers.

During her time in Paris in 1938, she spoke at the International Cooperative Women’s Guild Congress as a “delegate from the newly organized Women’s Cooperative Guild of Japan.”⁴⁸ This was during the Second Sino-Japanese War, about which Kagawa and his followers were extremely heartbroken because of their love for China. Topping touched on the war at the Congress writing, “This is not a racial war between Japan and China. The real issue is between economic imperialism and international economic cooperation.”⁴⁹ The Chinese delegates whom she met told her that they were counting on Kagawa to meet the present crisis.⁵⁰

It was during her trip to the Philippines that Topping spent most of her time. Kagawa wanted her back in Japan only four months into her stay, but the Filipinos were “amazingly eager for her message ... and were insistent that she remain another year in Manila, where they had given her a permanent position as director of the Extension Institute of Union College.”⁵¹ While she was there, Topping spoke at the First National Institute on Cooperatives and was soon after also appointed the executive secretary of the Cooperative Institute of the Philippines. It governed a number of different cooperative organizations in the Philippines, more than 100 in total.⁵² She was able to use her position and influence very effectively. The people did not necessarily want Kagawa. They wanted her.

Although she always spoke with Kagawa’s economic and spiritual principles in mind, she was not a puppet by any means. She taught with her own authority, having been immersed in the cooperative spirit her whole life. A Philippine newspaper described her as a “Cooperative Apostle.”⁵³ Some of the criticism towards the cooperative movement came from government officials who publicly mocked Topping. She had a very dim view of cooperatives being mandatory. She was very firm in her belief that cooperatives had to be on a voluntary basis; otherwise, they would not work. Those that witnessed the exchange praised her calm and quiet remarks and sent her kind letters afterwards.⁵⁴ It must be remembered that women hardly had such roles as she did during that time period, and there were those that would not have taken a female leader seriously, no matter how intelligently she spoke.

Despite opponents in the government, Topping was well loved in the Philippines, and had a lot of success despite any enemies she might have made along the way. They were a very small minority compared to the affection she received from the people who knew her. She also designed and taught cooperative classes at Pacifcan College in Manila and was granted an honorary Doctorate of Humane Letters for her generous work among the people.⁵⁵ One of her students described her as “big hearted and willing to serve with sacrifice in order to elevate other people.”⁵⁶ There are other letters that she received from students as well, thanking her for her many kindnesses. The cooperative movement would not have made it a day without leaders like Helen. It needed good leaders—not just skilled ones. She inspired people to believe in world peace during war-time.

In March 1941, Topping was back in Japan and “Kagawa introduced the latest stage in her many-sided work with him to his church congregation as being the Christian Peace Cooperative Movement.”⁵⁷ She was only able to spend a very short time in Japan before she was sent back to the United States due to the growing tension between the two nations. It was Kagawa’s idea that she stay in the United States during the war.⁵⁸ He believed that she would be very valuable to him there, more so than in Japan. She made good use of her time as usual and was invited to speak at events regularly. In June 1942, the Plowshare wrote an article on her, “Miss Helen Topping, Kagawa’s English Voice, conducted a series of forums she reported on Kagawa’s plans for a conference of those nations to build the economic foundations of peace, and to secure national goodwill through cooperatives.”⁵⁹ She even managed to take graduate classes at American University in Washington, D.C.⁶⁰ She was always looking for a new learning experience.

Although communication was difficult between Topping and Kagawa during WWII, he completely entrusted her with the task of working towards cooperative peace in America. A letter from Fremont Avenue Christian Church reads, “Writings from Japan are strictly censored at this time, and Kagawa cannot write as he would like. Therefore he has sent his secretary, Miss Topping, to this country to speak on the world peace situation.”⁶¹ Kagawa had thought it a better idea for her to be in America during this time, in order to keep channels of communication and good feelings flowing as much as possible. There were other female missionaries that worked with Kagawa, such as Betty Killburn, who were trapped in Japan and placed into internment camps during the war. Topping helped nurse Betty back to health when she was finally released back to America.⁶² Had she stayed in Japan, she would have met the same fate.

After the war was over, Japan was reeling from the shock of Hiroshima. Kagawa and his followers felt the pain of it acutely. They had been working towards world peace for decades, having been witnesses to some of the most atrocious and bloody conflicts in history. If anything, they were even more

convinced that cooperation was the only way to world peace. Kagawa needed Helen more than ever and was desperate for her swift return to Japan. In 1945 he wrote, "There is no one among all my coworkers of whom I feel the need so keenly just at present as I do of her. May I ask you to present this matter to General MacArthur."⁶³ There was even a Congress that met in order to petition her return, signed by ten members and put forth by Dr. Kagawa and Dr. Kozaki.⁶⁴

Topping was always busy promoting Kagawa in newspaper articles and publications during her years with him. In a letter written to Mr. Bowen at the National Security Cooperative League of the U.S., she mentioned one of her contacts at the Chicago Daily News, a Mrs. Carroll Binder. Carroll was a Quaker that had visited Japan and met Helen Topping. She assures Mr. Bowen that Carroll "will write articles of the cooperatives as a way to world peace."⁶⁵ Robert E. Park, her colleague from the University of Chicago, was also instrumental in getting her in contact with various magazines, such as the Christian Century.⁶⁶

Topping was especially passionate about his books being translated and published and worked toward this goal tirelessly. Kagawa gave her specific responsibility for this, writing, "I am very grateful for your willingness to help in the raising of funds ... or literary evangelism in both Japanese and English. ... Please understand that you are my accredited representative."⁶⁷ She was an intermediary between the Western world and the Kagawa Cooperators in Japan, who were helping in the endeavor. She was also a consultant between different publishers, including Harper & Brothers Publishers and Abingdon Press. Harper & Brothers deferred to Helen Topping on matters of publication. When writing to the secretary of the Kagawa Cooperators with advice on an unwise decision, Eugene Exman (Harper & Brothers Publishers) wrote, "I will be seeing Miss Topping within a short time and talk the whole matter over with her, then write to you again as to possible arrangements."⁶⁸ She was in the United States during that time in order to have better contact with the publishers.

She was also involved in developing a committee that was based in Chicago in order to organize a textbook and study groups that would train students in the cooperative movements. She understood that the textbook had to be more than just a biography about Kagawa in order to motivate adolescents beyond the classroom. "He is, of course, inspiring as a hero ... but such inspiration will stop short of application in actual living and be merely another religious emotion aroused and then dissipated."⁶⁹ She visited Bennett College (an African American school) after World War II in order to organize study groups. She felt strongly that Kagawa's principles for world peace based on the redemptive mercy of Jesus would be especially powerful among African Americans. She had a very favorable response at Bennett, "In contrast to the attitudes of the white folks, these good friends are wide awake, keen, perceptive, and eager, for the Kagawa message of Emancipation."⁷⁰ Her parents had both worked with African

Americans during the 1880s and 1890s in the South. Topping's heart was inclined towards oppressed peoples of all nations.

Helen Topping and Kagawa were more than just co-workers. They were kindreds—their mission and their goals were the same. In a personal letter to Topping, Kagawa wrote, "Your earnest and incessant prayers for us and for our work here in Japan have always most wonderfully sustained me."⁷¹ Topping's admiration for Kagawa was clear. She was devoted to him and his economic crusades and worked her whole life to see them succeed. She likened him to Gandhi because of his great love and selfless service to the people.⁷² She also knew the value of her work for him. Her personality and heart are plain in this prayer:

Enable me to write letters as a doctor should—clear, concise, convincing, sufficiently personal ... also sending off promptly what should be sent, describing vividly what should be described. Enable me to write Willard⁷³ frequently, regularly, and interestingly, telling the things he will want to hear, such as the tale of the monkeys eating my stocking supporters ... enable me to find Thy way for translating and publishing all of Kagawa's books...make the road of my life from now on as full of friends as this road from Laoag to San Fernando ... give what is according to Thy will, and Thy will alone, of recognition of my thirty years of work with Dr. Kagawa and thirty-seven years of discipleship.⁷⁴

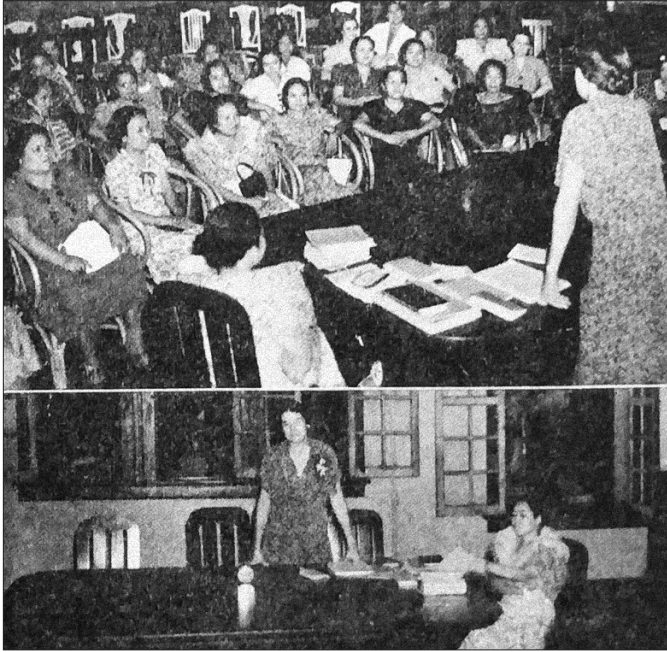
Helen Topping was an extremely important example to women inside and outside of the church. She was active, involved, and worked with dedication for something that she believed in wholeheartedly. She transcended gender roles at the time, far surpassing other organizations' efforts at women's liberation. The Japanese YWCA did not take a stand for women's rights until after the 1940s. Helen Topping was way ahead of them. She was a great leader because of her capacity to serve people. She knew what they wanted and needed, and she suffered with them. Her passion was inexhaustible and she never lost her sense of purpose. She was a part of something that took great confidence. She opened doors for more women to be respected and trusted with leadership roles within the church, government, and public life. Men did not have to display as much courage as she did at the time, because they were already expected to lead. Topping did something bold and unexpected.

It is clear from these articles, letters, and various archival documents that Helen Topping was extremely useful to Kagawa during their decades together, both as his personal representative to other countries and as someone who could successfully promote him in times of conflict. Even her diary was used toward that purpose. It is more of a date book and a catch-all for addresses, names,

greetings, and farewells written by many different hands. However, there are a few entries that stand out, including her father's death and her mother's illness. There is one other death, that of Toyohiko Kagawa on April 23, 1960. She wrote, "Dr. Kagawa died, 9:13 p.m. ... prayed for world peace, the revival of the church, the ... salvation of Japan, smiled, and took my hand in parting."⁷⁵ Helen thought that it was a beautiful prayer, one that encapsulated everything *they* had worked for.⁷⁶



Helen Faville Topping, 1934



Helen Faville Topping addresses the housewives' cooperatives in Manila (above).
Helen Faville Topping with Mrs. Jara Martinez of the YWCA, 1940 (below).



Toyohiko Kagawa (second from left, with hat on knees) and Helen Faville Topping (second from right, in white dress) pose together with other members at the Friends of Jesus annual conference, 1953.



Helen Faville Topping, a trusted Kagawa delegate in international matters.



Helen Faville Topping represents Toyohiko Kagawa's literature.



Helen Faville Topping gives a public speech advocating peace across borders through Christianity and world government.

Notes

- 1 Toyohiko Kagawa, Topping's Autobiographical Data (Carbondale: Special Collections, Box 32, Folder 3, Southern Illinois University, 2014), 2.
- 2 Kagawa Biography Fragment (Carbondale: Special Collections, Box 26, Folder 5 Southern Illinois University, 2014), 452.
- 3 Haruichi Yokoyama, *Toyohiko Kagawa and his Works* (Carbondale: Special Collections, Box 26, Folder 5, Southern Illinois University, 2014), 3-29.
- 4 The collection at Morris Library is labeled "Fayville." However, her middle name has no "y."
- 5 Various, *Publicity Pamphlet*. (Carbondale: Special Collections, Box 30, Folder 2, Southern Illinois University, 2014), 1.
- 6 Manako Ogawa, "'Hull House' in Downtown Tokyo: The Transplantation of a Settlement House from the United States into Japan and the North American Missionary Women, 1919-1945," *Journal of World History* 16, 3 (2004): 359-87.
- 7 Seija Jalagin, "Negotiating for Space and Autonomy: Strategies of Finnish Missionary Women in Japan, 1900-1941," *Scandinavian Japanese History* 28 (2003): 83-102.
- 8 Various. Helen Fayville Topping Papers (Carbondale: Special Collections, Box 32, Folder 3, Southern Illinois University, 2014).
- 9 Helen F. Topping, "Kagawa and the War," (Carbondale: Special Collections, Box 31, Folder 4, Southern Illinois University, 2014), 558.
- 10 Ogawa, "'Hull House' in Downtown Tokyo," 4.
- 11 Helen F. Topping, "The Science of it, in Baby Language" (Carbondale: Special Collections, Box 33, Folder 12, Southern Illinois University, 2014), 1.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Helen F. Topping, "Pioneering Peace" (Carbondale: Special Collections, Box 33, Folder 19, Southern Illinois University, 2014), 1.
- 14 Helen F. Topping, Federal Employment Application (Carbondale: Special Collections, Box 32, Folder 2, Southern Illinois University, 2014), 2.
- 15 *Campus Bulletin* (Carbondale: Special Collections, Box 32, Folder 2, Southern Illinois University, 2014), 3.
- 16 Robert E. Park, Correspondence with Helen F. Topping. (Carbondale: Special Collections, Box 19, Folder 4, Southern Illinois University, 2014).
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 Yokoyama, *Toyohiko Kagawa and his Works*, 1.
- 20 Ibid.

- 21 Topping, Federal Employment Application.
- 22 Richard T. Baker, *Another Dawn* (Carbondale: Special Collections, Box 30, Folder 2, Southern Illinois University, 2014).
- 23 Karen Garner, "Global Feminism and Postwar Reconstruction: The World YWCA Visitation to Occupied Japan, 1947," *Journal of World History* 15, 3 (2004): 1-2, 19-20.
- 24 Helen F. Topping, "Character Education," (Carbondale: Special Collections, Box 33, Folder 18, Southern Illinois University, 2014).
- 25 Baker, *Another Dawn*.
- 26 Toyohiko Kagawa, Topping's Autobiographical Data (Carbondale: Special Collections, Box 32, Folder 3, Southern Illinois University, 2014).
- 27 Helen F. Topping, Topping's Autobiographical Data (Carbondale: Special Collections, Box 32, Folder 3, Southern Illinois University, 2014).
- 28 Toyohiko Kagawa, Article fragment (Carbondale: Special Collections, Box 32, Folder 3, Southern Illinois University, 2014).
- 29 Kagawa: Biographical Data (Carbondale: Special Collections, Box 26, Folder 1, Southern Illinois University, 2014), 2.
- 30 Helen F. Topping, Resume (Carbondale: Special Collections, Box 32, Folder 2, Southern Illinois University, 2014), 2.
- 31 Helen F. Topping, Correspondence with Charles R. Crane (Carbondale: Special Collections, Box 8, Folder 1, Southern Illinois University, 2014).
- 32 W.P. Lippard, "Kagawa in New York," (Carbondale: Special Collections, Box 31, Folder 4, Southern Illinois University, 2014), 151.
- 33 "She Directed Kagawa's Itinerary," (Carbondale: Special Collections, Box 30, Folder 2, Southern Illinois University, 2014), 600.
- 34 Baker, *Another Dawn*.
- 35 Ibid.
- 36 Kagawa: Biographical Data.
- 37 Topping, Correspondence with Charles R. Crane.
- 38 "Charles R. Crane Dies; Diplomat, Manufacturer: 3 Day Illness in California Fatal to Chicagoan," (Chicago: Chicago Daily Tribune, 1939).
- 39 Topping, Correspondence with Charles R. Crane.
- 40 Franklin D. Roosevelt, Correspondence with Charles R. Crane (Carbondale: Special Collections, Box 8, Folder 1, Southern Illinois University, 2014).
- 41 Toyohiko Kagawa, Correspondence with Dr. Yomanouchi (Carbondale: Special Collections, Box 32, Folder 3, Southern Illinois University, 2014).
- 42 Helen F. Topping, "World's Ills Call for Cooperative Cure," (Carbondale: Special Collections, Box 31, Folder 4, Southern Illinois University), 30.

- 43 Ibid.
- 44 Topping, Autobiographical Data.
- 45 Ibid.
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Joshua Adair

Dawn of the New Women in Sports, Fashion, and Employment: Challenging Gender Roles in the Weimar Republic

The Weimar Republic was an era in German history that followed World War I and ended with the rise of Adolf Hitler and the Nazi Party. The Treaty of Versailles ended World War I and ultimately led the German public to feel resentful towards the harsh measures included in the peace treaty. A struggling economy, cultural creativity, and modernization became qualities that defined the reality in Weimar Germany. The twenties were a golden time for experimentation, a decade during which gender norms in Germany were beginning to evolve. It is this era that I focus on in explaining why gender roles and representations changed.

Why did gender roles and representations change in Germany in the 1920s? That is the primary question I seek to answer in this piece. The rise of the new woman was instrumental for the change in gender norms in the Weimar Republic. The “new woman” was an ideal championed by feminists, an ideal that allowed women to break out of traditional roles. The economic, social, and cultural developments after World War I in Germany are the primary themes I will address alongside the mindset of the “new woman” to support my argument that these changes challenged traditional gender roles and representations.

The new woman that appeared in the 1920s Weimar Republic of Germany can be traced back to the feminist movement in the late nineteenth century. The Union of German Feminist Organization (Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine) was founded in 1894.¹ It went on to expand and combine with other women’s rights groups. It was one of the leading groups that promoted equality with men regarding higher education and employment. The Union of German Feminist Organizations was made up of mostly upper class women and went so far as to not allow lower or middle class women to join as members. Feminists of the lower or middle class instead joined socialist groups.² The Union of German Feminist Organization continued to grow in members, eventually totaling a membership of 300,000 before the start of World War I.³ Some prominent influential members and leaders of this organization were Helene Langer, Gertrud Bäumer, and Marianne Weber, some of whom contributed to newspaper articles and books promoting their ideas. While this organization was very influential with regards to women’s suffrage and educational reform, sexual liberation of women was not one of its goals because it was a conservative group. Sexual liberation was not an aspect of the new woman

that was promoted or pursued by this organization. It did have great influence throughout the 1920s, until the rise of Nazism. The rise of Hitler and the Nazi Party in the early 1930s caused a regression back to traditional women's roles in German society. The Union of German Feminist Organizations ended in 1933 with the rise of Hitler and the Nazi Party.

Higher education was one area where feminist organizations saw an opportunity for women, and success can be seen in enrollment numbers of that era. A compilation of data for the enrollment in academic institutions of higher education can be seen in Table 1. According to the statistics provided by the website German History in Documents and Images, this enrollment accounts for universities and polytechnic, veterinary, agricultural, forestry, business, and philosophical-theological colleges, sports and mountaineering academics; not included are teachers' colleges, and art and music schools.⁴

As seen in the table below, the number of female students who pursued higher education grew markedly during World War I and continued to grow steadily after. The total number of students, both female and male, is much lower during the war years and can be attributed to fewer men pursuing higher education to join the war effort. The total number of female students grew incrementally, especially during the late 1920s. The highest total of female students in this table occurred during the spring semester of 1931.

The way World War I affected the creation of the Weimar Republic is vital to understanding the environment that allowed for the evolution of gender roles. The German people were in a state of shock following the loss of World War I. Most Germans did not know they were on the losing side during the war due to propaganda. Germans who fought in the war returned to Germany enraged at their government for the armistice. The Treaty of Versailles concluded the war, burdening Germany with the most blame and the harshest reparations. The economic effects of the Great War would prove to last long into the next decade. Germany lost a total of 1,796,000 soldiers to the fighting of World War I.⁵ The German workforce was in shambles following the war with this sheer number of losses. The "war-guilt clause," as it was known in the Treaty of Versailles, planted the seed of resentment that steadily grew throughout the twenties, up to the death of the Weimar Republic when Adolf Hitler rose to power.

The constitution drafted after World War I created the Weimar Republic of Germany in 1919, though not without opposition. The struggle stemmed from a lack of faith in the government and political opposition from the German Communist Party. The government fundamentally changed with the Treaty of Versailles, even before the new constitution was drafted. Before the treaty, Germany had been led by a Kaiser, otherwise known as an emperor. Kaiser Wilhelm II was the last German emperor as his reign ended with the conclusion of World War I. As a condition, the Kaiser was to abdicate, and Germany was to form a new, democratic government in his place. This new government was

Changes in Enrollment at Academic Institutions of Higher Education⁶

Semester/ Year	Students			
	Total	Number of Female Students	Percent of Female Students	Students per 10,000 Residents
SS 1914	79,511	4,313	5.4	11.7
WS 1914/15	36,201	7,409	20.4	5.3
SS 1915	22,900	4,813	21	3.3
WS 1915/16	20,010	4,927	7.6	2.9
SS 1916	22,225	5,793	26.1	3.2
SS 1917	23,387	7,752	32.3	3.4
SS 1918	25,430	7,573	29.8	3.8
WS 1918/19	46,180	7,861	17	6.9
SS 1919	100,133	8,578	8.5	15.9
WS 1919/20	115,336	8,335	7.2	18.3
SS 1920	115,633	8,676	7.5	18.7
WS 1920/21	119,609	8,693	7.2	19.3
SS 1921	120,196	8,890	7.4	19.2
SS 1922	120,557	8,882	7.4	19.7
SS 1923	125,306	9,883	7.9	20.3
WS 1923/24	114,363	9,421	8.2	18.5
SS 1924	100,751	8,368	8.3	16.3
WS 1924/25	93,566	7,532	8	15.1
SS 1925	90,970	7,612	8.4	14.6
WS 1925/26	87,348	7,637	8.7	14
SS 1926	95,255	8,539	9	15.1
SS 1927	101,005	10,336	10.2	15.9
SS 1928	111,582	12,894	11.5	17.5
SS 1929	122,374	15,955	13	19.1
SS 1930	129,708	18,813	14.5	20.2
SS 1931	134,767	21,195	15.7	20.8
WS 1931/32	126,632	20,256	16	19.6
SS 1932	127,580	19,998	15.7	19.6

then forced to sign the Treaty of Versailles, leading to public distrust. Some politicians deemed this a “stab in the back” to the German public. This was only a conspiracy, however, as Germany had no power to negotiate the treaty.

The new democratic government passed a constitution in 1919 called the Weimar Constitution that declared women and men equal.⁷ Women gained suffrage and were granted equal civil rights, but the new constitution carried over some of the old laws and restrictions that affected women such as marriage laws and the legality of abortion. These holdovers reveal that Germany was still very much a patriarchal society.

Alongside the new government came new ideas. Modernization was a key idea that helped lead the way to the new woman in Weimar Germany. Fashion, hairstyles, and sexual liberation were all informed by the idea of modernization and in turn, the new woman. Women's fashion changed dramatically during the Weimar Republic. As shown in Figure 1, women adopted the pageboy hairstyle early on in the Weimar Republic. Modernized hairstyles such as this were not met with enthusiasm by some German men. Conservative Germans comprised the most opposition and marked it as the downturn of society and culture. Socially liberal Germans, however, saw it as a proud achievement in modernization and sexual liberation, both of which they supported. The goal for women who styled their hair in this manner was to distance themselves from the past and tradition in order to liberate themselves as new women.⁸ Because the hairstyle was shorter in length than traditional styles, it was an indication of masculinity. Therefore, it emulated the patriarchal society by being a symbol of empowerment; the promise of sexual liberation took away the confinements of the patriarchal society. It was very divisive among Germans.

The controversy surrounding women's fashion reached its zenith for one writer for the *Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung* in 1925. In an article titled, "Enough is Enough! Against the Masculinization of Women," the anonymous author bashed women's fashion. The author said, "At first it was like a charming novelty" when women adopted new bobbed hairstyles and dresses that were "denying the contours of the female body."⁹ The author insinuated that these new styles were seen as acceptable to even the most conservative of men in the Weimar Republic. The author went on to compare these new women to angels because both could then be considered "asexual," as if new women lost their femininity.¹⁰ The problem, the author stated, was that the new fashion "did an aesthetic disservice to stately and full-figured women." He continued, "But the trend went even further; women no longer wanted to appear asexual, rather fashion was increasingly calculated to make women's outward appearance more masculine."¹¹ The main complaint was the change in gender roles that resulted in women adopting a more masculine appearance. It is a very powerfully worded article, as the author feels strongly that women should embrace the traditional gender roles and feminine physique of the past rather than the liberated new woman.

Besides fashion, the Weimar constitution was instrumental in expanding employment for women. Aspects such as the equality of women and men that was included in the new Weimar constitution were felt here. Before the

expansion of employment opportunities, women were largely responsible for the household. The triad of *Kinder, Kirche, Küche* (children, church, kitchen) were the primary domains of women prior to the Weimar Republic. However, these three domains prevailed even when combined with employment.



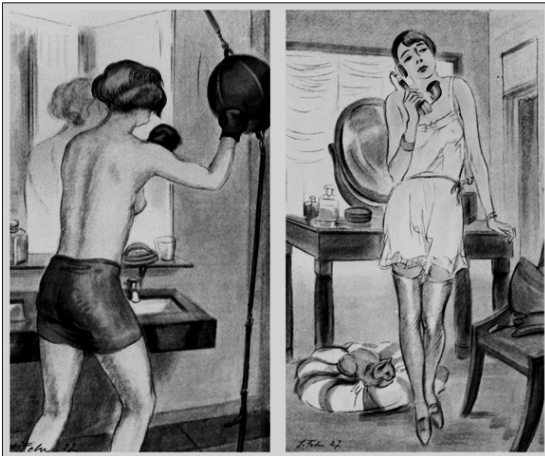
Striped Bathing Suit, by Ernst Schneider, 1925¹²

There are elements of the new woman regarding employment that can clearly be seen in literature written during the Weimar era. The novel *Little Man, What Now?* by Hans Fallada offers a glimpse into a young family's life during the Weimar era. Fallada's story was originally serialized in a magazine and was later published as a novel in 1932 due to a rise in popularity. The story became popular due to its relevance and characters that were easy to identify with. The main characters are Johannes Pinneberg, his wife Emma, and their child. The story follows them through their struggles and accomplishments. Johannes Pinneberg is the sole provider for the family in the beginning of the story, but just as high unemployment hit the Weimar Republic in the late 1920s, the author mirrored the event resulting in

Johannes losing his job. This shows that Fallada's story was contemporary at the time. In the novel, Emma Pinneberg begins to show signs of a transition to the new woman after Johannes loses his job. In the beginning of the story she seems to be content with her role as a housewife, although perhaps not always comfortable filling the traditional role expected of her in the family. With Johannes losing his job and becoming unemployed indefinitely, the roles of husband and wife are switched. Emma then provides for the family while Johannes cares for their baby and the home. By taking on this role, Emma has shown that she possesses the capacity not only to provide for her family but also to be self-reliant. Economic independence, or at least the opportunity to achieve it, was very important to the new woman.

Related to the rising independence of the new woman was the growth of sports during the Weimar era. In May 1926, the German journal *Kulturwille* published an article that connected working and sport. Competition is the root for both work and sport according to author Fritz Wildung, who writes that "people never lose this drive to play."¹³ Working helps people to express creativity and motivation that is driven by play. The importance of sports to women during the Weimar era can be seen in the second illustration. A high-profile tennis player and fashion designer, Paula von Reznicek assembled and published a book containing art depicting women athletes.¹⁴

The second illustration, below, depicts a woman training on the left-hand side and on the right-hand side is a woman talking on a telephone. I interpret Reznicek's art as a shift from what was previously known as femininity to masculinity. The fact that the woman in this image is boxing without a shirt conveys equality to men and comfort with her own body. Each woman has a shorter, modern hairstyle, too.



From *Resurrection of the Lady*, by Paula Von Reznicek, 1928¹⁵

Reznicek was a staunch proponent for the increased participation of women in sports. She believed that sports were important for women to become assertive and more active in society.¹⁶ Not only did the growth in sports liberate women in the Weimar Republic, but it also was of great importance to men in order to feel more masculine. Boxing grew to become a popular sport in Germany and served as an opportunity for men to reclaim their perceived loss of male masculinity after the defeat of World War I. Boxing symbolized the “Greek physical and spiritual ideal.”¹⁷ The loss of the Great War was emasculating for German men, and boxing was an outlet to regain masculinity for their gender. In addition, the economic downturn in the late 1920s in which many men lost their jobs diminished competition for men. Sports were a replacement that filled the need for competition, contributing to the growing popularity of sports.

The change in gender roles in the 1920s was not exclusive to Germany. In fact, it was a worldwide phenomenon that occurred in Europe, Asia, the Middle East, and the Americas. Shanghai, Berlin, London, and other major cities were prime environments for the change in gender roles. According to Carol Schmid, writer of an article in the *Journal of International Women’s Studies* comparing interwar Berlin and Shanghai, “The anonymity of the cities, a change in work force and new possibilities in urban life produced a transformation in many women’s lives.”¹⁸

Large cities allowed women and men to get lost in the mix and become more independent in thought and identity. Experimentation was encouraged. In the monograph, *The New Women in Uzbekistan: Islam, Modernity, and Unveiling Under Communism*, Marianne Kamp shows that the lifestyles of women in Uzbekistan during the early twentieth century were changing in ways that were highly challenging to their patriarchal society. While the advent of the new woman was not unique, the circumstances and the factors involved set each society apart. The Uzbek society, for example, was evolving and leading to the introduction of new women but was brought about through outside influence and the change was met with violence.¹⁹

A European example of gender roles being influenced by World War I can be observed in Britain. Women of Britain also had an opportunity to work in order to support the war effort. However, because of demands of equality by the British feminist movement, tensions arose after the war. The tension was sparked by a divide between men who wanted recognition upon their return from the war and women with their newfound independence.²⁰ Men saw the advent of the new woman as a challenge to traditional gender roles and women were reluctant to regress back to traditional roles, and assume their previous lives as housewives.

The change in gender roles and representations during the Weimar era is a complex issue that cannot be easily pinpointed in one exact area. I have argued that World War I was the catalyst for gender roles to change, as it created

an environment with certain conditions within Germany. The creation of the Weimar Republic would not have occurred without the loss of World War I. The casualties of war were a significant factor because such a large portion of the workforce was lost. This turned out to be an opportunity for women to fill that employment gap. The new woman developed during this time period as sports, modernized fashion, and employment opportunities expanded because of this new environment. These developments allowed women to liberate themselves, leading to the formation of the new woman in the Weimar Republic.

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Olivia Partlow

The Abduction of Japanese Latin Americans during World War II

The United States has a reputation for being prejudiced towards new groups of immigrants. In the past we saw that when non-English, Catholics, people of Asian descent and other groups began immigrating in large numbers. Today we see it with the large influx of Hispanic immigrants. From the 1920s through 1940s this prejudice was directed at Japanese immigrants. There were laws in place that prevented Japanese immigrants from becoming citizens. The United States was not the only country to have laws against Japanese nationals. Several Latin American countries had similar laws. Peru had a very large population of Japanese immigrants and in turn had the most prejudice. The United States took this prejudice to the next level by interning people of Japanese ancestry residing on both United States and Latin American soil. The United States was able to intern Axis nationals from Latin American countries by using outdated laws and finding loopholes in current ones.

When World War II broke out in Europe, the United States began planning for the internment of its Japanese population. The United States also enlisted several Latin American countries to arrest their people of Japanese as well as German and Italian descent and bring them to America to be interned. The United States planned the internment even though the Munson Report found that Japanese Americans were very patriotic and eager to show their support of America. Curtis B. Munson, a private citizen, was hired by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR) to lead an investigation of the loyalty of Japanese Americans that resulted in the Munson Report.¹ Munson recommended that internment was unnecessary, but that recommendation did not stop FDR from ordering it.² The United States planned to exchange the Japanese Latin Americans with Allied soldiers being held by Axis countries.³

The Alien Enemies Act of 1798 gave FDR the power to intern "alien enemies." The original Alien Enemies Act of 1798 was created by a Federalist controlled congress as an attempt to quiet the Democratic-Republican opposition as well as protecting against possible French sympathizers during a time when a war with France seemed imminent.⁴ During World War II this law was abused by FDR. The Latin American countries cooperating in the kidnapping and deportation of Axis nationals arrested and confiscated the passports of these people. Once they were deported to the United States, the United States government used the

Alien Enemies Act of 1798 as a way to legally hold the poor deportees because they could not provide their passports.⁵ Although the Alien Enemies Act was outdated in 1941, that was not the first time it was abused in the twentieth century.

During World War I the United States interned Germans and German Americans suspected in sabotage and did so using the Alien Enemies Act. The internment during World War I served as a precedent for the large-scale internment of Japanese nationals during World War II. The United States worked with several Latin American countries, especially Panama and Cuba, who collaborated by interning Germans living on their soils.⁶ Latin American countries cooperated with the war and internment efforts because they were within the United States' sphere of influence and many of their economies depended on continued support from the United States. This carried through to World War II. The Chargé in Bolivia wrote to Secretary of State Cordell Hull about their support of the United States and added, "Public opinion is mostly with us on our feeling, is superficial and based largely on the fact of Bolivian economic dependence on the United States."⁷ The efforts made by the Latin American countries during World War I made the United States confident of continued cooperation during the time leading up to and during World War II.

The Eighth International Conference of American States held in Lima, Peru, in 1938 discussed the possible attack on a neutral American country. This conference took place three years before the attack on Pearl Harbor and the United States' entrance into World War II. The foreign ministers of the American States attended it and decided that the member states would consult each other if there were to be a threat to a neutral American country. Also concluded at Lima was that enemy aliens would be subject to the authority of the country in which they reside.⁸ Although this was before war broke out in Europe, the decisions made in 1938 laid the foundation for the wartime policies of the United States and the Latin American countries toward their residents of Japanese ancestry.

The following year, with the outbreak of war in Europe, all twenty-one foreign ministers of the American states met in Panama to discuss their previous conferences on American neutrality. The Inter-American Neutrality Committee was established at this time. The purpose of this committee was to provide legal advice to the states in the region so that they could stay out of world conflicts. The committee would later go on to set up the guidelines for internment.⁹ Also during the meeting in Panama, a security zone was set up around the American continent. The security zone was created so that warships could not come close to American soil. Axis ships that entered the security zone would be subject to search.¹⁰

While Latin American states prepared to stay neutral during the war, the FBI, under President Roosevelt's orders, began collecting intelligence on Axis nationals both in the United States and in Latin America beginning in 1939. The United States set up agencies throughout Latin America to monitor Japanese,

Germans, and Italians that could become security threats. During this time the FBI concentrated mostly on those Axis nationals that posed a threat. However, after the attack on Pearl Harbor the qualifications of a subversive quickly changed to include all those of Japanese ancestry and those of German or Italian ancestry who were suspected of fifth column activity. The United States was able to convince several Latin American countries and territories, namely Peru and Panama, to collect intelligence on their people as well.¹¹

Foreign ministers met again at Havana, Cuba in 1940 to discuss the continued neutrality, but also the possibilities of action in the event of a non-American country's hostility towards an American country. The declaration following the meeting stated, "That any attempt on the part of a non-American state against the integrity or inviolability of the territory, the sovereignty or the political independence of an American state shall be considered as an act of aggression against the states which sign this declaration."¹² It was this declaration that led most American states to declare war on Japan following the Pearl Harbor bombing.

The Inter-American Neutrality committee, created at the 1939 meeting of Foreign Ministers at Lima, met in 1940. At this meeting the Committee outlined internment as follows:

The neutral State will intern in its territory, until the termination of the war, all individuals belonging to the land, sea or air forces of the belligerents, who individually or collectively enter its territory, as well as all officers and crews of warships, military airplanes and ships considered auxiliary vessels of war, in all cases in which the interning of the said ships and airplanes is appropriate.¹³

It is this meeting that established how the internment process would take place. At this time it was understood that each country would intern its population on its own soil, with the United States footing the bill, but that was soon changed because it became too costly. The plan was later modified so that the United States would house all the internees.

A month and a half before Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor, the U.S. Ambassador to Panama, Edwin C. Wilson negotiated Panamanian internment. According to this agreement, as soon as the United States acted, Panama would arrest and intern Japanese individuals on Panamanian soil. Panamanian guards would guard internees on Tobago Island, with the United States paying all costs. The United States would also take any and all blame against negative claims, should they arise.¹⁴ The United States was very concerned with the Axis nationals living in Panama because of the security risk of the Panama Canal. Both the United States and the Panamanian governments believed that the Panama Canal could be a target.

On December 7, 1941, the Imperial Army of Japan attacked the United States naval base at Pearl Harbor. Immediately after the attack Latin American countries began writing to FDR and Secretary of State Cordell Hull. Almost every country in the Americas declared war on Japan following the United States, in accordance with the decisions made at the 1940 Havana Conference. Most Latin American states declared their support for the United States in the days following the attack.

On December 8, the Chargé in Mexico, McGurk, wrote to Hull and assured him that, "according to our informant all Japanese subjects will be interned and the Japanese Minister will be handed his passports."¹⁵ Mexico was different from the other Latin American countries because it chose to intern its Japanese subjects on its own soil instead of in the United States. Also on December 8, the United States ambassador to Panama, Wilson, sent a telegram to Hull notifying him that the internment of Japanese nationals around the Panama Canal as well as censorship of radio and other communications had already begun.¹⁶ Panama was the first to cut diplomatic relations with Japan, declare war and begin to intern Axis nationals. As a United States territory that held the Panama Canal, Panama was vital to the United States' internment policy.

Many countries arrested and detained Axis nationals but it was not until a Conference of Foreign Ministers of the American Republics at Rio de Janeiro in January 1942, that it was decided that the enemy aliens would be sent to the United States for internment. This decision was made because the cost would be too high for the United States to set up internment camps throughout Latin America rather than internment in a concentrated area in the United States.¹⁷ Plans for internment within the United States made it easier for the United States diplomats to convince the Latin American states to participate in internment. Also decided at the Rio de Janeiro conference was that the United States would provide security to the hemisphere by moving troops into Latin America as well as providing financial support through Lend Lease programs.¹⁸

Ecuador required convincing to begin interning its alien enemies. In a telegram to Cordell Hull, Minister Long conveyed Ecuador's concerns regarding internment plans:

The President and Foreign Minister asked me to join them this afternoon and indicated they were exploring future possibilities. There are in Ecuador about 25 Japanese plus and active chargé d'Affaires. If Ecuador should declare war or even take some lesser step that might involve the Japanese in a concentration camp it is their feeling that Japan might endeavor to seize the Galápagos as a base which Ecuador is unable to prevent. Thus with the intention of helping us by interning the Japanese Ecuador might actually furnish Japan

a pretext to seize the Galápagos. Is there anything that I can suggest in this connection?¹⁹

On December 10th Hull responded to Long, letting him know that the United States did not believe the Galápagos were in danger whatsoever while stressing the importance of internment.²⁰ A day earlier, the Undersecretary of State, Welles, sent out a memorandum of his correspondence with the Ecuadorian government. Ecuador would be open to complying with all its inter-American agreements if an agreement of protection could be reached with the United States.²¹ Following this agreement Ecuador arrested its Japanese residents and sent them to the United States to be interned.

Peru followed a rather different course of action than Ecuador in dealing with its population of Japanese descent. There had been anti-Japanese sentiment in Peru ever since a large influx of Japanese immigrants began arriving during the earlier half of the nineteenth century.²² Peru also had anti-Japanese laws before the internment process began and had cut off immigration from Japan in 1936.²³ Peru saw the United States proposition as an easy way to rid itself of its Japanese population, the largest in all of Latin America. Eighty percent of all Latin American internees came from Peru. In 1942 undersecretary Welles estimated 1,053 out of 1,747 total would come from Peru.²⁴ Peru also received a \$29 million Lend Lease for their collaboration during the war.²⁵ Officials in Peru had already decided to break diplomatic relations, declare war on Japan, and intern its Japanese population immediately after the attack on Pearl Harbor. This was fueled mostly from anti-Japanese resentment due to their success in business and the cotton industry in Peru.²⁶

The United States and the Latin American countries involved used deceitful practices to “legally” hold Axis nationals in the United States. Once arrested and detained in their countries of residence, the enemy aliens had their passports seized. Then they were loaded onto ships to be brought to the United States. The first shipment of 325 enemy nationals came aboard the *Etolin* on April 5, 1942. 141 of the deportees were Peruvian Japanese, the others of German and Italian decent. Of the 141 Japanese detained, there was not one that had an arrest record and only seven were on the Proclaimed List of Certain Blocked Nationals.²⁷ In the months and years following the first shipment, many women and children were either forcibly or voluntarily (in order to reunite with family members) interned. Once the deportees arrived in the United States, officials would ask for their passports and when no one was able to produce them, they were taken to camps to be interned.

Most internment camps for Japanese Latin Americans were located in Texas in places that previously housed Civilian Conservation Core (CCC) camps or other similar structures. The Kennedy camp in Kennedy, Texas housed the first internees from the *Etolin*. Like other camps, barbed wire fences and guard

towers surrounded the Kennedy Camp. Internees were forced to do a daily line-up when a siren sounded at 9 A.M. Military personnel also heavily guarded them. During an inspection of the camp it was found out that the internees were refused ice water during the scorching summer when temperatures rose to 100° F. After this startling inspection a new director was placed in charge of the camp.²⁸

Unlike the many Japanese Americans that were sent to internment camps, many of the Japanese Latin Americans were deported back to Japan in exchange for Allied nationals in Axis controlled countries. The first trade happened in the spring of 1942 and mostly consisted of Japanese officials in exchange for United States officials.²⁹ Most internees wished to return to Japan once they arrived in the United States. Some were forcibly deported back to Japan as part of an exchange and many voluntarily repatriated after the war was over.³⁰ In a 1945 Presidential Proclamation, Harry S. Truman ordered, all alien enemies be “[removed] to destinations outside the limits of the Western Hemisphere in territory of the enemy governments to which or to the principles of which they have adhered.”³¹ This forced many Japanese Latin Americans to return to Japan. Once the war and internment was over, Peru refused to let Japanese Peruvians return. These Peruvians either stayed in the United States or returned to Japan upon the termination of internment.

Decades after internment, Japanese Americans sought redress for the atrocities committed against them during World War II. The Civil Liberties Act of 1988 apologized to Japanese Americans who had been interned and offered \$20,000 to “eligible individuals.”³² Japanese Latin Americans were not considered eligible. Frustrated by the injustice, four Japanese Latin Americans brought a class action lawsuit against the United States. The United States settled and allotted \$5,000 for each survivor and President Bill Clinton offered a public apology.³³ The United States argued that the Japanese Latin Americans were not eligible for the full redress because they were technically illegal aliens.

The United States Government abusing its power as a world leader as well as abusing its very own laws rendered the internment of Japanese Latin Americans possible. The United States blatantly disregarded reports, such as the one from Curtis Munson, that there was no need for internment. Most of the Japanese Latin Americans that were interned had never been in trouble with the law and were selected because of the anti-Japanese sentiment in their region. Besides acting on prejudices, the United States used outdated laws to justify the kidnapping of roughly 2500 people. Rather than acting as a response to the attack on Pearl Harbor, preparations for the internment of Japanese started well before December of 1941. Some laws and agreements used to justify it were concluded before the war even began in Europe. This was an outrageous abuse of power that unfortunately went unchecked for years and to this day has not been fully discussed.

Notes

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- 25 Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, to Peruvian Minister of Finance and Commerce, David Dasso, U.S. Department of State, Foreign Relations of the United States, 1942 vol. 6, 669.
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- 29 *Ibid.*, 167.
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- 31 Proclamation 2662, 3 C.R.F (8 September 1945).
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Colin Minor

Filipino Guerilla Resistance to Japanese Invasion in World War II

At approximately 8:00 pm on March 11, 1942, General Douglas MacArthur, commander of the United States Army Forces in the Far East, along with his family, advisors, and senior officers, left the Philippine island of Corregidor on four United States Navy PT (Patrol Torpedo) boats bound for Australia. While MacArthur would have preferred to have remained with his troops in the Philippines, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Army Chief of Staff George Marshall foresaw the inevitable fall of Bataan and the Filipino capital of Manila and ordered him to evacuate. MacArthur explained upon his arrival in Terowie, Australia in his now famous speech,

The President of the United States ordered me to break through the Japanese lines and proceed from Corregidor to Australia for the purpose, as I understand it, of organizing the American offensive against Japan, a primary objective of which is the relief of the Philippines. I came through and I shall return.¹

While the soldiers who served under him may have understood the reasons behind it, MacArthur's departure nonetheless left the officers and infantry behind on the Philippines feeling betrayed and dispirited, and understandably so. After all, MacArthur and his staff were now in the relative safety of Australia, preparing for a campaign for combatting Japanese forces in Papua New Guinea to relieve pressure from the Allied Forces' Australian bases; at the same time, the American and Filipino soldiers remaining in Bataan and on Corregidor were preparing for a doomed defense of the bases MacArthur had just abandoned. While MacArthur received the Congressional Medal of Honor and was named Supreme Allied Commander of South East Asia, Bataan and Corregidor fell on April 9 and May 6, respectively, bringing an end to direct, organized United States Army resistance to the Japanese invasion of the Philippines until MacArthur's return in October of 1944.²

However, resistance to Imperial Japan in the Philippines did not cease while MacArthur was away. During this interregnum there were concerted, determined local resistance groups opposed to the Japanese occupying force. These forces achieved an unexpected level of success given the disparity in resources between themselves and the Imperial forces, resulting both

in victories for themselves and decreased work necessary for MacArthur's forces upon their return. It is important to note that there were American forces still in the Philippines at the time, having either evaded or escaped from the Japanese occupying forces; however, this paper looks primarily at the contributions of native Filipino in the resistance movements from 1942 through 1944. In the following pages I will attempt to outline and explain key reasons for the success of these local groups. Specifically, the methods and techniques, resistance organizations, and resistance leaders were key elements in the Filipino resistance to Imperial Japanese occupation. Accompanying these are preceding and succeeding sections providing historical context for the Filipino resistance.

Filipino Resistance to Colonial Powers

The islands of the Philippine Archipelago have varied cultures, languages, and histories. These distinct peoples were involved with Southeast Asian trade and the cultures and religions prominent in the area, particularly Islam. The history of Western contact with the Philippines began when Ferdinand Magellan claimed the islands for Spain on his voyage of circumnavigation in 1521. Colonization did not begin until 1565, and Spanish colonists quickly established control of the archipelago. Over the next three centuries, Spanish overlords faced sporadic resistance from the Muslim population chafing under Catholic rule and Filipino groups seeking independence.

The Philippine Revolution beginning in 1896 and the Spanish-American War of 1898 offered opportunities for Filipino independence, but imperialist ideas and American racial beliefs saw the Philippines remain subjugated at war's end, now as an American territory.³ Horrendous treatment of the native population rekindled Filipino resistance and sparked a third conflict, the Philippine-American War, which lasted until 1902.⁴ Small remnants of the unrecognized First Philippine Republic continued to combat the newly installed Philippine Constabulary for close to a decade.⁵ American colonial incursion onto the lands of the Moro Muslims on Mindanao, Sulu, and Palawan continued local resistance there as well but slowed significantly after a mandatory disarmament in 1911, and guerrilla forces would not be prominent in the archipelago again until the Japanese invaded the islands over thirty years later.

Guerrilla Methods and Techniques

One of the most important reasons for the success of the Filipino resistance movements during the Second World War was the methods and techniques that they utilized, chief among them guerrilla-style warfare. Merriam Webster defines a "guerrilla" as, "a person who engages in irregular warfare especially as a member of an independent unit carrying out harassment and sabotage."⁶

As Chinese military theorist Sun Tzu said,

It is the rule in war, if our forces are ten to the enemy's one, to surround him; if five to one, to attack him; if two to one, to divide our army into two. If equally matched we can offer battle; if slightly inferior in numbers, we can avoid the enemy; if quite unequal in every way, we can flee from him. Hence, though an obstinate fight may be made by a small force, in the end it must be captured by the larger force.⁷

Certainly, in an otherwise even scenario, as Sun Tzu intends, a far larger force will almost always overwhelm its opponent, if only due to reinforcements and fatigue of the superior and inferior forces, respectively. However, this maxim will not necessarily hold if certain other factors are present: superior knowledge of the local terrain provides information on strategic points and informs strategy; a distracted enemy is unable to muster its full force. Furthermore, anti-guerrilla tactics, if too harsh, can instead serve to bolster resisting forces. The Filipino guerrilla groups that fought against the Japanese occupational forces and, later, the pro-Japan Philippine Constabulary were able to use these factors to their advantage. I will use these examples to examine the tactics of the *Hukbalahap* and the Moro Muslim guerillas, beginning with geographical knowledge.

The Philippine Archipelago is a series of over seven thousand islands located between the South China Sea and the Philippine Sea. The islands are categorized geographically into three major groups: Luzon in the north, Mindanao to the south, and Visayas in the center.⁸ The islands' beautiful mountainous terrain gives way downhill to the low coastal regions that contain the majority of the Philippines' major settlements. However, it is the rainforests on the slopes between the peaks and coast that is of most concern here. These forests served dual purposes to the guerrillas: obscuring unit movement and hiding and defending fortifications.⁹ In particular, the *Hukbalahap* utilized the cover the forest provided to allow for easy retreats from strikes and engagements and to hide their base located at Mount Arayat, from which they organized their operations throughout Luzon.¹⁰ While they were highly active and, being the most visible form of resistance, often targeted by the Japanese, what casualties they did suffer were minimal, and the *Hukbalahap* achieved considerable success in their actions through the use of the environment as cover in guerrilla actions.¹¹

In the case of both the *Hukbalahap* of Luzon and the Moro Muslims on the islands of Sulu, Lanao, and Cotabato (to name just a few), the inclusion of a distracting civilian presence was a boon to the guerrillas as well.¹² With Japanese forces and the Constabulary they instituted keeping tabs on the Filipino people, there would be times and locations where they would not and could not keep tabs on rebel forces. Nor did a distinct lack of cooperation from the local populace make Japanese efforts to keep control any easier. Refusing

to believe the Japanese propaganda of “Asia for the Asiatics” and similar slogans, belligerent Moro officials and civilians provided all the more chances for guerrillas to take advantage of opportunities afforded to them to harry and sabotage Japanese forces.¹³ The galling treatment of those same people by the occupying Japanese led to increased support of the guerrillas by the local population.¹⁴ On both Luzon and the Muslim islands the violent methods used by Japanese forces to extract information about, find, and deal with the rebellious Filipinos may have yielded the results they wished for in the short term, but it ultimately led to the “fence sitters ... toppling in the right direction,” as Army Colonel Russell Volckmann, the American guerrilla commander in Northern Luzon, put it.¹⁵

Another technique (or, more accurately, series of techniques) utilized by Filipino guerrillas in resisting the Japanese occupying force was the traditional Filipino martial art known as *eskrima* (also called *Arnis* and *Kali*, among other names). The first Western exposure to what may have been the martial practice of *eskrima* came on the occasion of Magellan's death in battle with the Cebuano chief Lapu Lapu. The only written record of the event, belonging to a passenger on Magellan's ship, states that the explorer was overwhelmed and killed by a large group who “all hurled themselves upon him.”¹⁶ Eskrimador oral tradition, however, holds Lapu Lapu as a hero who bested Magellan in single combat. The truth likely lies somewhere between the two tales; regardless, *eskrima* through World War II was a secretive, traditional Filipino art that emphasized the flexibility and comprehensiveness of the style.

Primarily utilizing weapons such as swords, knives, and rods, *eskrima* also includes joint-locks and grapples that can be practiced bare-handed. This is accomplished by using the same movements regardless of the weapon(s) at hand, with the rod or blade seen as an extension of the limb, rather than a tool. In addition, movements are based on angle and location of attack, rather than on specific defenses for each technique. In this way *eskrima* is similar to Japanese *kenjutsu* (literally “sword arts”), although all forms and weapons of *eskrima* are taught as a single art, unlike *kenjutsu* and *aikido*, which use many of the same motions despite being separate martial arts.

Various notable eskrimadors and grandmasters participated in the guerrilla movements in World War II, several of them from the famed “Doce Pares” school tree, including the Cañete brothers and Teodoro Saavedra. While Cacoy Cañete (and his brother) would survive the war and use the combat experience he gained to modify the Doce Pares style, Japanese forces captured and killed Saavedra, regarded as one of the best in his generation. Despite this, his story, as passed down by the Doce Pares and Balintawak schools and told by grandmaster Crispulo Atillo, provides a useful, if most likely exaggerated, case of *eskrima* in the Second World War.¹⁷ A visit to town by Saavedra coincided with an attack on a Japanese convoy. In response,

occupational forces arrested various Filipinos in the area. Saavedra utilized his skills in eskrima to combat seven Japanese troops, but he was ultimately unable to escape. As he was being tortured, Saavedra freed himself and fought four sword-wielding Japanese soldiers with his bare hands. Atillo says his attacks were “so fierce, they had to shoot him to death in order to prevent the death of their poorly trained soldiers.”¹⁸ While at least some of the story is likely hyperbole, or even outright false, the tale of Teodoro Saavedra provides insight on how a skilled eskrimador and the art in general contributed to the Filipino resistance movement.

Guerilla Groups and Organizations

Another key reason for the success of the Filipino guerrillas was the groups and organizations of the resistance. It is important to note that while the Filipino guerillas were not structured as traditional military forces are, they still had distinct organizations whose structure contributed to their overall success. While these groups had very different backgrounds, *modus operandi*, and dispositions, all held the same shared goal: the expulsion of Japanese forces from the Philippine Archipelago. I will discuss the actions of three particular groups active in the fight against the Japanese: those under the United States Army Forces in the Far East (USAFFE), the *Hukbong Bayan Laban sa mga Hapon* (or *Hukbalahap*, for short); and the Moro Muslims.

While there were American forces serving under MacArthur that either evaded capture or escaped captivity, there were also a fair number of Filipinos who did the same. These guerrillas, and those who later joined them, fell under the purview of the United States Army Forces in the Far East and reported, through intermediaries and COs, to General MacArthur. Under the command of officers such as Colonels Wendell Fertig, Russell Volckmann, and Hugh Straughn, and Captain Robert Lapham, the groups that collectively formed the guerrilla forces of the United States Army Forces in the Far East served as the eyes, ears, and hands of the United States Army between MacArthur’s departure and his return.

One of the marquee Filipino outfits under the USAFFE banner were the Hunters ROTC. Formed by and initially comprised of cadets from the Philippine Military Academy, the Hunters ROTC (also known as “Terry’s Hunters” after Eleuterio “Terry Magtanggol” Adevosos who took control following the capture of the unit’s commanding officer Hugh Straughn, and executive officer and founder Miguel Ver) were regarded as one of the most successful guerrilla units on Luzon.¹⁹ Of particular note were their intelligence contributions and their role in the raid on the Los Baños internment camp to free American and Filipino prisoners. The Hunters, along with other Filipino guerrilla groups, provided information on the region, slowed the arrival of Japanese reinforcements, and eliminated guards of the camp.²⁰

Another notable guerrilla raid had occurred less than a month earlier. Guerilla Captain Juan Pejota, serving under Robert Lapham, executed the raid on Cabanatuan to free prisoners of war from the Bataan Death March of 1942 in conjunction with the forces of Colonel Henry Mucci.²¹ The information provided and the planning done by Pejota led directly to the success of the operation; adding to this the defense of the POW's retreat more than earned Pejota and his men Bronze Star Medals for their service, making them one of the most decorated Filipino units in the war.²²

Another key organization in the fight against the Japanese was the *Hukbalahap*. An abbreviated form of the Filipino translation for "the nation's army against the Japanese," the *Hukbalahap* was originally created by the leaders of groups of poor farmers, and it numbered just 500. Under the leadership of Luis Taruc, the organization grew to over 15,000 by 1943, drawing primarily from agricultural regions of Luzon.²³ The "Huks" were not just a group of farmers, however. As the military branch of a growing Marxist movement in the Philippines, Taruc and the *Hukbalahap* had political ambitions as well, frequently putting them at odds with American forces, particularly when it came to recruitment and materiel. Despite low initial numbers, Taruc's forces found success, often by any means necessary. Unable to work out an agreement with American forces regarding supplies, the Huks raided USAFFE arms caches. Talented recruits were given the option to join or suffer. Japanese raids resulted in the loss of soldiers and officers, but despite the Huk's disorganization, their survival only strengthened their resolve.²⁴

Key to Huk success was the organizational system, with a base unit of hundred-man squadrons. At the outset, the *Hukbalahap* consisted of only five such groups; by March of 1943 the organization was 10,000 strong, split into at least forty detachments.²⁵ The focal point of system was Taruc himself, who oversaw and directed the movements of the organization, particularly the information network, and strengthened the territory already acquired as the war progressed. By the end of the war, the *Hukbalahap* had established a legitimate presence within the Philippines, even if the USAFFE and the Philippine Republic did not wish to recognize them as such.

A third group resisting the Japanese occupation was the Moro Muslims native to the southwestern islands of the Philippine Archipelago such as Mindanao, Sulu, and Palawan. The Moros have come into conflict with every imperial power that claimed their land since the fall of the Sulu Sultanate, and the Japanese occupational force was no different. The strength they showed in their struggle with Imperial Japan was noted, with reports of them forcing Japanese troops to retreat to their ships at night for fear of attack.²⁶ Furthermore, Moro Muslims had already reclaimed much of their land by the time American forces returned to the Philippines.

As mentioned previously, a sizable contingent of the Moro citizenry and leadership did not buy into the Japanese propaganda such as “Asia for the Asiatics.” Unlike the USAFFE and *Hukbalahap*, however, Moros did not utilize counter-propaganda, as it was unnecessary.²⁷ Whether this was due to Japanese actions or the Moros’ history of chafing under imperial rule (and whether it is any imposition of rule, or simply non-Islamic) is unclear; what is clear is that the Constabulary, and thus the Japanese occupational forces, had a far harder time in controlling the Muslim population.²⁸ Furthermore, this difficulty spread to the local non-Islamic populations too, as Moro and Christian forces frequently collaborated in opposing the Japanese.

This is not to say that there was no difficulty, however, as there were various cases of Moro hostility toward Christian Filipino and American forces as well. Nor, curiously, was there frequent collaboration between separate Moro communities. Unlike MacArthur for the USAFFE or Taruc for the *Hukbalahap*, there was no central figure in the Moro resistance, possibly due to the difficulty of communication between islands. The Philippine Archipelago is home to more than 140 separate, recognized local languages, in addition to English, Spanish, and Arabic. While a single national language, *Pilipino*, was developed and adopted in the 1930s, its spread was not yet complete or even assured, thus preventing effective communication or cooperation.²⁹ Each fight was a separate, individual struggle for the liberation of that community, making the success each group had that much more impressive.

Postwar Filipino Resistance

Just as combat continued after the brief conflict that was the Spanish-American War, many of the World War II resistance movements did not necessarily put down their arms following the Japanese Empire’s surrender. In particular, Luis Taruc and the *Hukbalahap*, continuously denied a voice in government, continued hostile actions well after the end of the war. With their violent methods already losing public support following the recognition of Filipino independence and the Third Philippine Republic, and without the threat of Japanese occupation, the organization was fully subsumed by the *Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas* as part of the PKP’s struggle against the government beginning in 1948. In addition, the murder of the widow and daughter of former president Manuel Quezon in 1949 did few favors for *Hukbalahap* public support. Coupled with similar attacks and raids on civilians and ostensibly allied forces, both during the war and in the years following, the *Hukbalahap* were seen as outlaws and terrorists and combated the Filipino Battalion Combat Teams under Minister of Defense and former USAFFE guerrilla Ramon Magsaysay. The conflict would continue through the surrender of Taruc in May of 1954, finally concluding in 1955.³⁰

The Moros, too, have rebelled against the government since the end of the war. On March 18, 1968, roughly 60 young Muslim Filipino military recruits were executed by training officers on Corregidor, with only one survivor escaping.³¹ The outrage sparked by the massacre led to the creation of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) by Professor Nur Misuari of the University of the Philippines in 1969, calling for a separate *Bangsamoro* state in the Philippines.³² Fighting came to a head when, in a government effort to reclaim the Jolo, Sulu from the MNLF in 1974, combat resulted in the destruction of much of the city. A peace accord in 1976, which pacified the MNLF, although it did not allow a separate Islamic state, gave them autonomous control over much of Mindanao. The MNLF has not been the only active Moro group, however. The Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) split off from the MNLF in 1977, taking a more militant stance on the issue of obtaining a *Bangsamoro*. And in 1991 the Abu Sayyaf Group was formed in part from radical members of both the MNLF and MILF. These latter groups have proven to be more militant than the modern MNLF, having been party to hostage crises and violent takeovers. The conflicts between these groups and the Filipino government still continue, though negotiations are underway to create a new autonomous region in Mindanao under MILF supervision.³³

When General Douglas MacArthur left the Philippines in March of 1942, the Allied American and Filipino forces under his command had retreated to the Bataan Peninsula and Corregidor Island and would soon be subjected to the torture of the Bataan Death March. Ever on the defensive and on the verge of being overrun, MacArthur, ordered to retreat, effectively surrendered the Philippine Archipelago to the Japanese invaders, although he promised to return. By the time that he finally returned on October 20, 1944, it was the Japanese who were on the back foot, with their naval forces severely crippled from the Battle of Midway. Following the destruction of four Japanese aircraft carriers, Imperial forces proved unable to counter the American strategy of leapfrogging via island hopping;³⁴ preparations were already underway for the now famous amphibious attack on Iwo Jima. On the Philippines, too, the situation was vastly different. While the Japanese forces still controlled the islands, they had been harried by guerrilla forces across the islands for more than two years. Guerrilla groups both communist and capitalist, Muslim and Christian, American and Filipino worked to weaken the Japan's grip on the islands, using a variety of methods, led by the next generation of Filipino leaders. When General MacArthur landed on the beach at Leyte, his first time on Filipino soil in two-and-a-half years, he had this to say:

This is the voice of freedom, General MacArthur speaking. People of the Philippines: I have returned. ... Our forces stand again on Philippine soil—soil consecrated in the blood of our two peoples. We have come, dedicated and committed to the

task of destroying every vestige of enemy control over your daily lives, and of restoring ... the liberties of your people. At my side is your President, Sergio Osmena. ... The seat of your government is now therefore firmly re-established on Philippine soil. The hour of your redemption is here. Your patriots have demonstrated an unswerving and resolute devotion to the principles of freedom. ... I now call upon your supreme effort that the enemy may know from the temper of an aroused and outraged people within that he has a force there to contend with no less violent than is the force committed from without. ... Let the indomitable spirit of Bataan and Corregidor lead on. As the lines of battle roll forward to bring you within the zone of operations, rise and strike! For future generations of your sons and daughters, strike! In the name of your sacred dead, strike!³⁵

The general meant this as a rallying cry to push the Japanese off the islands, but MacArthur knew that through the guerrilla and military techniques used by the *Hukbalahap*, Moro, and USAFFE forces, the people of the Philippines had been doing so ever since he had left.

Notes

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- 7 Sun Tzu, "Attack by Stratagem," *The Art of War*, 1910, trans. Lionel Giles (Public Domain), iBooks edition.
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- 28 Yegar, *Between Integration and Succession*, 233.
- 29 GitHub, "Subfamily: Greater Central Philippine," Glottolog.org, <http://glottolog.org/resource/languoid/id/grea1284> (accessed December 1, 2014).
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- 32 Bangsamoro (from *bangsa*, "people", and *moro*, "Muslim" from the Spanish word for "Moor") refers to the Muslim people of the Philippines, particularly of Mindanao, Sulu, and Palawan.
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- 34 That is, avoiding heavily fortified positions in favor of tactically superior, less defended ones, thereby also cutting off the supply lines for the former.
- 35 Gen. Douglas MacArthur, *I Shall Return*.

Daniel Perritt

From the Taos Battle for Blue Lake to Self-Determination

From the beginnings of the country, citizens of the United States have had many different views of Native Americans. At first it was a popular belief that assimilation or the practice of indoctrinating, that is, actively forcing Native Americans to partake in American society, was the best policy. In the early twentieth century, views shifted to one that supported a termination policy in which the United States sought to actively terminate any standing recognition of not only the rights of natives, but also to limit the parameters of the federal government's dealings with the native tribes. During the 1970s the focus officially shifted from that of termination to self-determination under the presidency of Richard Nixon. Prior to Nixon's presidency there was a legal battle already taking place that set the stage for this policy change. The Taos Pueblo of New Mexico had been in dispute with the United States government for the return of the Taos Blue Lake watershed. Without the Taos case, the North American Indian tribes located within the United States would most likely not have rallied behind President Nixon's policy change. This paper is organized around four main sections, starting with the historical background of the lands. Part two explains the religious significance that the land held to the Taos. Part three traces the legal battle for the Taos Blue Lake. The last section focuses on the Indian Self Determination Bills: Senate Bill (S.) 3157 and S. 1573.

Historical Background

The Taos Pueblo have been located in the present state of New Mexico since at least the fourteenth century, where they occupied an estimated 300,000 acres of land prior to the Spanish colonization.¹ Over time, as Spanish colonization claimed more territory, the Taos lost a significant portion of the land they had inhabited for centuries. By 1900 it is estimated that only about 67,000 acres, including Pueblo itself and the Blue Lake watershed, were under Taos control/ownership.² This rapid recession in territory was not a new phenomenon for Native Americans in North American regions. As the expansion of the United States continued to encroach on Native lands, in 1906 President Theodore Roosevelt dealt a very heavy blow to the Taos. He ordered the seizure of some 50,000 acres of land, including the town of Taos, and the watershed itself. This was to be done without giving any compensation to the Taos Pueblo Indians.³ Thereafter the Blue Lake lands became part of the Carson National Forest, under the "care" and "jurisdiction" of the National Forest

Service.⁴ The Taos were to act as caretakers of the land, ensuring that it would not be desecrated or despoiled. However, the Taos were already acting as the caretakers, and allowing an outside entity to have jurisdiction over lands they were already tending was seen by the Taos as paternalistic. Another issue with the Forest Service taking over jurisdiction pertains to the commercial logging practices that took place in the decades to come.⁵ After the seizure of the lands, the Taos leaders began a political battle that would last for sixty-five years. In 1926 the Taos agreed to not make a claim to the property in the Town of Taos, which was appraised at a value then of more than 300,000 dollars; instead, the Taos wanted 50,000 acres returned to them.⁶ The U.S. agreed to this. However, the federal government never fulfilled their promise to return the lands. In place of ownership, the Taos were “permitted” the “free use” of the lands. Then in 1928 the Forest Service constructed facilities on the land, which included a corral, outhouse, and cabin.⁷

There are many problems with not only the seizure of the lands, but also the rhetoric used, or “permissions” given by the United States government to the Taos. The first issue is with how the land was seized, though no compensation was given.⁸ Another problem had to do with the livelihood of the Taos who lived off the land and still resided in the region. The second issue was the “permit” and how it provided the Taos access to the land, though the Forest Service only allowed such for certain religious activities that were deemed acceptable.⁹ This left the Taos vulnerable to having their religious practices and way of life controlled by the Forest Service and United States government.

After the creation of the Carson National Park, there was an increase in outside traffic by non-Indians into the area. With increased traffic there came a desire by the Forest Service for the building of new facilities. This was at least the justification given by the Forest Service for the creation of the cabin and outhouse. These acts were seemingly benign in their intent because the cabin and the outhouse were built in order to provide shelter to the rangers. However, the outhouse was located on the edge of the Blue Lake, the most sacred area of the region for the Taos.¹⁰ This could be interpreted by the Taos as open hostility, which mirrored the United States policy at the time. Non-Indian persons on the Blue Lake lands also reminded the tribe of negative treatment when dealing with Franciscan missionaries seeking to suppress their rituals. The effects of Franciscan intrusion would cause the Taos to be incredibly secretive, as the rituals were thought to lose power with outside interference or witnesses. With the Forest Service and the visiting of United States citizens to the “National Forest,” the intrusion occurring was considered an egregious affront to their beliefs.¹¹ The Taos did appeal to the Forest Service, asking for a requirement of a permit that non-Indian persons would have to receive prior to visiting the land, which would have to be agreed to and approved by a Taos representative. However, the Forest Service sought to keep the lands “recreational” in use, not adhering to the wishes of the tribe.¹²

Another important issue connected with the ownership of the land was the exploitation of its resources. Whether for fishing, hunting, or lumbering, without ownership or direct control of the land itself, the Taos were left at the whims of a bureaucratic entity that represented the interests of the United States government. Knowing about the interplay between the Forest Service and the Taos before the 1970s is important in order to understand one part of the discussion that would take place later on, during Congressional hearings. The other important part of the debate concerns the significance of the lands to the Taos.

Religious Significance

Understanding and establishing the religious significance of the Blue Lake watershed is essential within the context of the transition from termination to self-determination, especially in this case. As will be discussed in the next section, the spiritual significance of the land became the main reason for the United States to consider Blue Lake's return. In order to appreciate the religious significance of the land, it is important to detail how and for what purposes the Blue Lake was used by the Taos. Although, as previously stated, the Taos are secretive about their rituals and the meanings behind them, that does not mean there were no accounts of the rituals available to United States decision makers. There were a few books published detailing the elusive and secretive rituals at Blue Lake. Three specific examples are given by anthropologist John Bodine. They include Blanche Grant's *Taos Indians* in 1925, John Collier's *On the Gleaming Way* in 1926, and Elsie Parson's *Taos Pueblo* in 1936. The problem with these accounts, according to Bodine, is that they are varied in the details described, which denotes that the secretive ways of the Taos proved difficult to bypass. However, there is one account that would stand the test of authenticity to Bodine, being discovered in 1965. Ironically, the ritual described in that most reliable account actually occurred in 1906, when the watershed and Taos lands were seized. Matilda Cox Stevenson, an ethnologist hired by the Bureau of Ethnology to record Indians, presented the most reliable account available.¹³ Stevenson's account detailed what others could not, arguably because the principal informant, who was a Taos, helped Stevenson to interpret the rituals, assisting her in providing clear understanding in her account. Where other accounts did not even see the ritual at Blue Lake, Stevenson did.¹⁴

The Taos Blue Lake ritual is performed by ten different societies known as *Kivas* within the region. Stevenson's account detailed the Feather Kiva. There is a period of preliminary "training" that each society gives its initiates, which ranges from six to eighteen months, during which initiates may have no outside contact with their family, friends, or village until the ritual at Blue Lake. Ages of the initiates vary between eight and ten.¹⁵ At the end of their initial training, the initiates begin their pilgrimage to Blue Lake. Blue Lake's significance in the

ritual is described to be the place “into which the dead descend into the nether worlds,” acting as a spiritual gateway for the Taos.¹⁶ Prior to the pilgrimage initiates must purify their bodies, first by drinking water from a creek. It should be noted that all of the waterways are interconnected within the watershed, thus making all of the water flowing down from Blue Lake sacred in accordance with Taos views.

After camping, singing, and dancing for the night, the initiates are then instructed to put on finer clothing, comprised of vibrant colors. Boys wear traditional leggings, girls wear silk dresses, and both wear moccasins. There is a separation between the groups moving to make the pilgrimage; it seems that the initiates are kept separate from those that have already transcended into the tribe formally. Their journey eventually leads them to a spring where the women grind cornmeal to be carried to the lake, making an offering to the gods. Both women from the initiation party and the main party will make offerings, though the main party women will offer *more*, seeming to denote their status as members of the kiva. During this time the men also pray to the “women grinders” to ask the gods for a good hunt, which in turn will affect their offerings at the lake.¹⁷

Upon reaching the Lake itself, the whole kiva group bathes in the lake, with men wearing only breeches and women wearing a white *camisa* (gown). Every person drinks from the lake using his or her hands. The whole beginning ritual can be seen as an entirely spiritual affair, where affirmation of oneness with the land happens with those already initiated and the spiritual purity of new initiates to be tested.¹⁸ There are also portions of the ritual that have to do with hair tying, with the females fixing the hair of the males, which symbolizes communal caretaking. Another ritual takes place where flowers are distributed to the men from the female initiates, ending with ritual dancing, song, prayers, and a sunrise vigil.¹⁹

Upon returning to the village, a ritualistic feast takes place, where the newly initiated males are kept separate, being required to eat native food. Everyone who made the pilgrimage has to travel to another location, approximately two miles up into a canyon, where they perform a ritual sacrifice by plucking out all of their facial hair, digging a hole, placing a traditional native meal in the hole, covering it with the hair, and then covering the hole with a stone and prayer.²⁰ The kiva then feasts on native food, and more specifically they *must* have deer meat. The concluding rituals take place over the next couple of days at the leader of the Feather People’s house, where he gives them medicine, they eat more native food, and, finally, feast individually at each initiate’s house.²¹

Stevenson’s account of the Taos rituals gave very clear insight into why the land itself is so significant to the rituals. Beginning with the “purification” rituals, drinking from both the land and the lake, it is evident why the Forest Service as well as increased traffic from outsiders could disrupt the rituals by soiling the

lake and the water throughout the whole watershed. The same could be said for the “native food” mentioned in Stevenson’s account; food comes from the land itself. The food, the land, and the lake had all been essential for generations upon generations. The account also gave credence to the grievance that the Taos had with buildings being built upon the land, especially near the lake itself. When they have to not only drink, but also conduct their spiritual rituals in view of an outhouse and cabin built by outsiders, it compromised the secrecy as well as tainted the ritual by potentially making the scene impure. No longer was the location just that of the Taos; their sacred ground was not wholly theirs. Similarly, with the requirement of deer meat, if the land was owned or managed by the Forest Service, then it would be subjected to the game and fishing laws of the federal government, which further disrupted the Taos ways. Overall it can be reasonably asserted that the land itself held deep symbolism for the Taos: it was them and they were it. Desecrating Taos land by allowing others onto it is akin to having someone vandalize a church to a Christian.²²

John Bodine was the one who brought this account to relevancy by seeking to verify its authenticity, which he did on three separate occasions. The first was in 1965 after he discovered Stevenson’s account, then again in 1975 and 1981. He did this by seeking out members of the Feather Kiva, who largely agreed with the authenticity of Stevenson’s narrative. Some details were possibly embellished, but that doesn’t detract from the overall proof of spiritual significance to the Taos. It was this significance that provided Congress with the justification to return the lands to the Taos.

Legal Battle

Ever since their lands were seized, the Taos had sought its return. For sixty-five years they attempted to safeguard their way of life by appealing to the United States federal government. Although the Taos used the method of legal appeals, the true pathway lay in rallying public support, which would root itself after the publication of Frank Water’s *The Man Who Killed The Deer* in 1942. However, it was not until the 1950s and 1960s that the book picked up momentum, spreading knowledge of the Taos in a favorable light. Water’s book, according to Gordon-McCutchan, “made people aware that the whole natural landscape, the entire fifty thousand acres, contained innumerable shrines where the Indians would go to pray and hold ceremonies.”²³ By establishing that the land was religiously significant to the Taos, this eventually led to wider support, which would come to manifest itself in different newspaper and journal accounts across the country.²⁴

A major victory for the Taos came from the Indian Claims Commission (ICC) in 1965. At that time, after reviewing the Taos claim to Blue Lake, the ICC found that the Taos had rights to some 130,000 acres of land and that the land had been seized without compensation.²⁵ The committee reported that, because

of the religiously significant rituals that are a part of the Taos spiritual base, the Taos had a legitimate claim by way of religious freedom.²⁶ Since the land was essential to the Taos, it would be considered unjust to seize them, especially without compensation. Unfortunately the ICC was limited to giving only monetary compensation, and only an act of Congress could actually return the lands to the Taos. The Taos, however, had never sought monetary recompense; their only goal was the return of the lands.²⁷

ICC's finding, coupled with growing public support, brought the political support needed to bring the issue to Congress for resolution. By 1968 the House of Representatives had passed the Blue Lake Bill unanimously with the support of New York Senator Robert F. Kennedy, Florida Congressman James Haley, and Interior Secretary Stewart Udall. Despite getting the initial bill passed by the House of Representatives, the Senate was an entirely different matter. Clinton Anderson from New Mexico was the largest opponent and was also a powerful member of the Senate. His stance was against the return and any sort of legislation that would take away the lands from the Forest Service.²⁸

Anderson's blockage of the Blue Lake bill caused the tribe to launch a national campaign pushing for the ability to exercise its religious freedom. They were supported, most notably, by the National Council of Churches (NCC), an organization comprised of thirty-two different Christian denominations.²⁹ Its advocacy in support of the Taos consisted of, according to Gordon-McCutchan, "duplicating, mailing, public relations, provision of access to religious and general press outlets, contacts with people in Washington, receiving of mail and calls in New York, and in fund raising."³⁰ With this powerful organization acting as a sort of loudspeaker, they were able to reach out to its considerable base of member organizations. Those organizations would reach individual members of their congregations and, in turn, they would pass the word even farther. The methodology used in spreading knowledge regarding the Taos struggle was powerful mainly because of how it could force political change. Politicians were bound by their constituents, and when the constituents supported an issue upon which the majority of Americans agreed, that of religious freedom, it not only benefited the Taos but also benefited the politicians who got involved.

There was one member of the NCC who acted as a voice for the Taos, Rev. Dean M. Kelley who was the director of the Commission on Religious Liberties.³¹ He assisted in interpreting for the public and for Congress, the meaning of the Blue Lake to the Taos. After he went to the Taos and explained how he wanted to help them, he wrote an article for the *Journal of Church and State*, which summarized the Taos perspective:

The members of the tribe feel an ancient identity, not only with Blue Lake—the headwaters of their life-sustaining stream—but with the entire watershed, its plants and animals.

Anything which mutilates the valley hurts the tribe. If the trees are cut, the tribe bleeds. If the springs or lakes or streams are polluted, the life stream of the tribe is infected. The mining of ore would inflict wounds upon the land and upon the people who revere it. ... The spiritual kinship which the tribe feels for the sources of their life and livelihood clearly cannot be localized in any one spot or a few, but extends to the whole region. The aura of sanctity, which has its source in the water-courses where the Creators' life-sustaining water flows out to the inhabitants of semi-arid land, is indivisible from the related lands and the living things they produce.³²

During the period in which momentum was building between the Taos and the American people, they garnered more political support in Congress against Senator Anderson. Even the Governor of New Mexico, David Cargo, threw his support behind the Taos.³³ There were multiple hearings on the Blue Lake bill, though the most substantial of them came after the support of President Richard Nixon on July 8, 1970. He wrote a letter to Congress explicitly stating his support for the Native Americans, identifying the historical wrongs that had been done to them first by European settlers and then by the United States government. With his letter Nixon addressed his personal change from supporting the termination policy to supporting self-determination for the Indians. His reasoning for the change was that it was "morally wrong" to continue the old policy because the promises made by the federal government had never been actualized in favor of Indians; he argued that the agreements the government and tribes entered into were always one-sided--never mutual nor completed on the part of the United States. Termination, according to Nixon, removed even that small safeguard of wardship the Indians had in relation to the federal government. He went on to detail how termination as a policy often made Indians more reliant on the federal government by taking away their ability to survive autonomously. Another point Nixon made was that, along with that policy, the people in charge of the reservations or tribal affairs were often not even the tribes themselves, but bureaucratic agencies. He did not specifically name the agency, but it seemed to be the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Forest Service to which he referred. Nixon also gave nine specific areas he wanted to address during his term: rejecting termination, the right to control and operate federal programs, restoring the sacred lands near Blue Lake, Indian education, economic development of legislation, more money for Indian health, helping urban Indians, an Indian Trust Counsel Authority, and an Assistant Secretary for Indian and Territorial Affairs. It was in his letter that Nixon specifically stated his support not only for the Taos, but also for H.R. 471, the bill that would return Blue Lake (which, at that time, was being held up in the Senate by Anderson).³⁴

Nixon's support for the Taos stemmed not only from the pressure of public support during the campaign by the Taos and the NCC, but also from his personal experience. During his time at Whittier College, Nixon had an Indian football coach by the name of "Chief Wallace Newman" whom he respected. This admiration would foster a positive image of Indians for Nixon, making this a matter that was both political and personal for him.³⁵

In the Senate hearings after Nixon's support became known, specifically for H.R. 471, there followed a sort of last stand by Senator Anderson, who defended his position against the return of the land. Within the Senate committee hearings on the matter there was a discussion between Secretary of Interior Walter Hickel and Senator Anderson pertaining to the differences between H.R. 471 and Anderson's S. 750 counterproposal. The differences between the two were blatant, with Hickel supporting the Taos under the religious grounds that had been established, documented, and affirmed, whereas Anderson argued that the United States was justified in its claim to the land on the basis of the Spanish Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty of 1848. Anderson stated that his position derived from the idea that the Taos had been largely unhindered even after the land was taken by the United States.³⁶ To further his point, he asked Hickel whether the land was indeed "stolen" and "by whom." Throughout the discussion Anderson's disposition might have been described as crude in that he clearly did not want the return to happen. He also stated in a letter to the committee that there were multiple attempts to reconcile or pay monetary damages to the Taos for the land itself, even though, technically, the tribe did not have "aboriginal title" claims due to the 1848 treaty. To Anderson, it was unjust for the United States to compensate the Taos while, at the same time, turning over the land. Anderson was also concerned about setting a precedent of land return to Indian tribes throughout the United States, citing approximately 1,373,810,150 acres of land being claimed through the ICC.³⁷ His concern lay in both the broader context and for the state of New Mexico. It can be asserted that his bias toward the Forest Service derived from the possibility of exploiting the land for profit through the lumber industry. Any intrusion upon the jurisdiction of the Forest Service undermined the authority of the government on land that was rightfully the property of United States.

He was countered, not only by Secretary Hickel but also by many representatives of the Taos, including Paul Bernal, Querino Romero, William Schaab, and David Cargo. These individuals were important for their respective places in the Taos community. Paul Bernal was the leading spiritual guide, Querino Romero was the Governor of the Taos, William Schaab was their leading special counsel, and David Cargo was the Governor of New Mexico. All of them stated their support for H.R. 471, and reaffirmed their positions of spiritual justification for the return of the Blue Lake to Indian trust and title.³⁸ Though it was Secretary Hickel who aptly defended the Taos perspective best; as he stated

in contradiction to Anderson's view, the lands were not compensated for, and the Taos had been denied compensation since the battle began. It was not about monetary value, which set it apart from the other claims in the ICC, Hickel argued; he concluded that "it is a very difficult thing to try to settle a religious thing with money."³⁹ Another major participant in the debate was Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona, who was considered an expert on Indian Affairs. He weighed in against Anderson's point of view, throwing his support to the Taos.

Anderson's point of view is linear in concept, drawing on the previous notion that the only way for the United States to right the wrong was by payment, not by land return. Yet the only form of repayment available in the eyes of the Taos was the land return. Senator Anderson's S. 750 would put the land back under the control of the Forest Service, and even then, as detailed by the "Taos Indian Delegation," it would essentially split up the land in a combination of Forest Service areas and Taos run lands, which was counter to keeping the entire watershed sufficiently intact for religious purposes.⁴⁰ The significance behind the Taos Pueblo case in comparison to the other cases in the ICC was due to the cultural aspects that separated it from other claims.

Ultimately, amidst strong public, political, and presidential support, Senator Anderson lost his battle for S. 750 on December 2, 1970 with a six-to-one vote, and on December 15, 1970, less than two years after the campaign gained attention and less than six months after Nixon's support, H.R. 471 was signed into law. It returned the Blue Lake lands, totaling 48,000 acres, to the Taos Pueblo Indians of New Mexico in order to protect their religious rights and way of life. During the signing ceremony President Nixon expressed his gratitude to the bi-partisan effort that made the bill happen, as well as restating his desire for a change in United States policy toward Native Americans. The ceremony concluded with Romero, the spiritual leader of the Taos giving thanks to President Nixon for the return of the lands and offering a prayer.

Indian Self-determination

What followed the 1970 signing was the drafting of legislation for general Indian self-determination. There were two different bills that were introduced during the process, S. 1573 and S. 3157. The goal of the Nixon administration was to give Indians as much power over federal programs as possible, allowing them to set up what they saw fit, though allowing them the ability to let the federal government maintain programs should the Indians want them. This was supposed to allow for autonomy of sorts from the United States government, providing them with the safety of support while still being able to manage or control tribal destiny.

Similar to the Blue Lake's H.R. 471 and S. 750, there were two fundamental differences between S. 1573 and S. 3157. The latter bill contained paternalistic language that conflicted with what Nixon wanted; while it allowed for tribes to

contract programs through the government, the government would ultimately have authority to take control of the programs should it see a “violent” or “negligent” situation happening. If it had passed, there would have been nothing to stop the United States government from exerting its authority over the tribes, with little explanation or description of what might constitute violent or negligent acts. S. 1573 provided a timeline upon which the Secretary of Interior had to turn over programs to Indians, once created.

There were concerns on both sides of each bill for the Indians. William Youpee, the President of the National Tribal Chairman’s Association, had reservations about S. 1573 because it sounded too much like termination. He also stated his hesitancy toward proposed United States policy change because of how Indians have been treated earlier. This view was blunted by the signing and return of the Taos Blue Lake, which showed the government intent to right the wrongs that were previously commonplace. The bulk of legislators were in support of S. 1573 because it was more inclusive of the Indian populace and because S. 3157 treated Indians as if they were no more than a contracting party.⁴¹ These fundamental differences in policy would create unified support for the passage of S. 1573, creating the authority for the Indians to determine their own destinies. On January 4, 1975, the Indian Self-determination and Education Assistance Act was signed into law, effectively changing the way the United States government interacted with Indian tribes.

Legacy

In the aftermath of the adoption of self-determination as the new policy, some Indians were hesitant to exercise their power for fear of termination. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) had to adopt its own more forceful stance and actually push Indian groups to create their own programs. Once this began, and Indians saw the usefulness of the programs, there was a surge of use. This did have some lasting effects, specifically in terms of budgeting. With the growth in use, the funding had to be distributed in a more specific manner. Ultimately tribes in “critical need” were given priority over others. Allen C. Quetone, a veteran of the BIA, asserts a mixed result in the implementation of self-determination. He states that, in order for the programs to be effectively introduced to the Indian community that created them, there should be proper government setup within the tribe. There is also a seeming gap between the actual interpretation of the law and the personnel in the BIA who exercise either not enough or too much control over programs.⁴²

It appears that Quetone’s stance on the subject is mostly positive in light of the past government policy objectives. With the right intentions on behalf of the BIA and the right infrastructure in tribal politics, Indian self-determination can be useful. It does have its pitfalls. However, it is still a relatively new policy that is undergoing its own changes after implementation.

Throughout the history of the United States, no policy toward the Native populations of North America has been so starkly in contrast to the past than that of Indian self-determination. The promotion of Indian inclusion and autonomy through the wanted assistance of programs that are specifically designed by and for Indians meets the objectives outlined by President Richard Nixon and have been made possible through the struggle of the Taos for their religious freedom. The Taos case allowed for the United States government to actually implement a change in policy, raised public awareness, and garnered the support needed to shift from termination to self-determination.

Notes

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- 2 R.C. Gordon-McCutchan, "The Battle for Blue Lake: A Struggle for Indian Religious Rights," *Journal of Church and State* 33, 4 (September 1991): 785.
- 3 Dean M. Kelley, "Guest Editorial: The Impairment of the Religious Liberty of the Taos Pueblo Indians by the United States Government," *Journal of Church and State* 9, 2 (Spring 1967): 161-62.
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- 5 *Ibid.*, 33-34.
- 6 Kelley, 161-62.
- 7 Gordon-McCutchan, 2.
- 8 U.S. Senate. Subcommittee on Indian Affairs. Taos Indians-Blue Lake Amendments: Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, United States Senate, Ninety-second Congress, Second Session (Washington: U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1970): 30.
- 9 *Ibid.*, 31-33.
- 10 *Ibid.*, 33-36.
- 11 Gordon-McCutchan, 2.
- 12 *Ibid.*
- 13 C. Colwell-Chanthaphonh, "Matilda Coxe Stevenson: Pioneering anthropologist," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 32, 2 (2008): 140-43.
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- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Ibid., 95-96.
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- 21 Ibid., 98-100.
- 22 U.S. Senate. Subcommittee on Indian Affairs. Taos Indians-Blue Lake Amendments: Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, United States Senate, Ninety-second Congress, Second Session (Washington: U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1970), 36-37.
- 23 Gordon-McCutchan, 2.
- 24 Ibid., 2-4.
- 25 Kelley, 161.
- 26 U.S. Senate. Subcommittee on Indian Affairs. Taos Indians-Blue Lake Amendments: Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, United States Senate, Ninety-second Congress, Second Session (Washington: U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1970), 11.
- 27 Gordon-McCutchan, 3.
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 Dale E. Luffman, "The Emerging Face of Being One: Community of Christ's Discernment into Ecumenical Community," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 49, 2 (2014): 281-284.
- 30 Gordon-McCutchan, 4.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 Kelley, 163.
- 33 Gordon-McCutchan, 5.
- 34 Richard Nixon, "Special Message to the Congress on Indian Affairs," July 8, 1970. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=2573>.
- 35 Gordon-McCutchan, 6.
- 36 U.S. Senate. Subcommittee on Indian Affairs. Taos Indians-Blue Lake Amendments: Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, United States Senate, Ninety-second Congress, Second Session (Washington: U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1970), 47-49.
- 37 Ibid., 48.

38 Ibid., 105-15.

39 Ibid., 32.

40 Ibid., 116.

41 U.S. Senate. Committee On Indian Affairs. Indian Self-determination: Hearing Before the Committee [i.e. Subcommittee] on Indian Affairs of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, United States Senate, Ninety-second Congress, Second Session (Washington: U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1972), 57.

42 Allen C. Quetone, "Indian Self-Determination—The Human Factor." *Public Administration Review* 44, 6 (November 1984): 533-538.

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