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Introduction

Men and women entered asylums at similar rates, yet women experienced the most abuse from asylums during the early 19th century in the United States. This changed in the second half of the 19th century. The United States passed many bills restricting married women's rights to a trial to prove sanity after 1860. These bills led to many asylums seeing an increase in the population of women. Treatments based on moral values and gender norms rather than scientific knowledge also led to a rise in individuals diagnosed as insane for deviating from societal standards and expectations. The medicalization of human behavior primarily targeted women. Many diagnoses afflicted only women, which included hysteria, puerperal mania, and nymphomania.[1] Doctors blamed female-only diseases on uterine disorders, while psychiatrists accepted women as patients even if they were sane. Disobedient women and those defying traditional gender roles were at risk of being diagnosed as insane. Husbands paid psychiatrists to admit their healthy and sane wives into their care. This medical system prioritized moralistic values over the health of the patients, allowed corruption to grow, and doctors often went unchallenged.

While the development of the field of psychology had improved the care of mentally ill patients, it was used as a tool for social control. The medicalization of human behavior resulted in anyone deviating from the dominant forms of Christianity being at risk of being deemed mentally ill. Women, in particular, were accused of insanity for trying to expand or exercise their rights outside of the home. Women who rebelled against their assigned roles as mothers and wives were frequently accused of insanity. Doctors believed the reproductive organs of women were connected to overall health. Asylums hired gynecologists because of the links doctors made between the mental health of female patients and pelvic diseases. Women had little say in their treatment and were being removed from medical positions by male doctors. Male doctors removed women's voices from healthcare and asserted medical

1 Elaine Showalter, "Victorian Women and Insanity," *Victorian Studies* 23, no. 2 (Winter, 1980): 157-181.

modals that revolved around women's reproduction.[2] These practices were meant to reinforce traditional values of motherhood and reduce women's presence in their autonomy. In attempts to reverse progress in women's rights, men attempted to control women using biological determination theories, which suggest that behavior is based on the biology of a person. Women defying the roles of a quiet, obedient wife and mother were determined to be insane. Those who argued for some authority in their lives or held different religious principles from their husbands would also be accused of insanity. Women were charged with insanity for speaking out for their rights or about topics of religion. Women who continued to speak out risked removal from their homes and being moved into asylums. Within asylums, women received treatments focused on assimilating them into the preferred docile and quiet women expected by the dominant patriarchal system of the United States. If the treatments or gynecological surgeries did not seem to cause much change in the women, these women remained in asylums and were considered uncurable.[3]

However, asylums benefitted communities before the 1860s. They were the only medical facilities to take in patients afflicted with syphilis or other illnesses that family members could no longer care for. They provided an alternative to almshouses and a better standard of living for patients.[4] Moral treatment became the dominant therapy in asylums during this period. These treatments were based on the religious morals of doctors, and treatments were based on assimilating the patient to those values. They were the first attempts at curative therapy. Psychiatric patients had previously been left untreated as doctors believed God had abandoned them. They were often chained to a wall and stripped of their clothing, where they would have few interactions with other people. The advent of moralistic treatments sought to eliminate this perspective and return patients to society. Doctors attempted to rehabilitate patients using treatments and providing routines to instill good morality. Moral theories suggested a return to nature was one of the most beneficial elements of psychiatric care. These ideas influenced the architecture of asylums. Asylum architecture focused on creating large grounds for gardens and wards that stretched out in long wings from the center of the building.[5]

2 John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Sexual Politics, Intimate Matters* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012), 139-167.

3 Nancy Theriot, "Diagnosing Unnatural Motherhood: Nineteenth-Century Physicians and "Puerperal Insanity," in Judith Walzer Leavitt, ed., *Women and Health in America* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1999), 405.

4 Constance M. McGovern, "The Community, The Hospital, and the Working-Class Patient: The Multiple Uses of Asylum in Nineteenth-Century America," *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 54, no. 1 (January, 1987): 17-33.

5 Carla Yanni, "The Linear Plan for Insane Asylums in the United States before 1866," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 62, no. 1 (March, 2003): 24–49.

Although the new system of moral treatments saw great curative results, the system soon became strained. The 1850s and 1860s saw a rapid increase in patients due to the Civil War and an influx of immigrants.[6] Asylums could not keep up with the massive influx of patients. Conditions soon became very crowded. Overpopulation led to more violence and patients living in dirty conditions. Many patients coexisted with pests, such as bugs or rats.[7] Due to these conditions, curative therapy became very difficult to provide. Doctors and attendants frequently turned to harsh treatments in the absence of proper regulations.

Reform efforts attempted to eliminate or change the policies of asylums to improve the conditions and treatment of patients. Doctors primarily led the reform efforts, and patients rarely started movements. The controlling policies restricted patients' voices and limited information to the public, making it much harder for patients to organize against them. Medical abuse went largely unnoticed by the public. Women were frequent targets of medical abuse and received harsher treatment and punishments. Any attempts to discuss treatments with anyone outside of an asylum would get shut down by the staff. It was not until unignorable cases of medical abuse began circulating that the public became aware of the issues. Women's voices spread in the United States about the abuse they received from doctors.

History of Women in Asylums

By the 1870s, women made up most of the population in asylums. An accumulation of female patients considered to be incurable caused an increase in women in asylums. Many of these women were brought to asylums by their husbands who wanted them treated or punished and would have long stays in asylums. Female patients averagely remained in asylums longer than men. Men's average stay lasted for three to seven years, while women averagely stayed for six years. Other reasons for women remaining in asylums longer included women having lower rates of death from disease and violence.[8] Violent patients might attack and kill their fellow patients with little provocation, which occurred more frequently among male patients.[9] The rate of women entering asylums was also influenced by the economic class

6 Gilles Vandal, "Curing the Insane in New Orleans: The Failure of the 'Temporary Insane Asylum,' 1852-1882," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 46, no. 2 (Spring, 2005), 156.

7 "A Tomb for the Living: Judge Prendergast's Decision on the Insane Asylum Case. There is No Insane Asylum," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 20, 1889, 9.

8 Showalter, "Victorian Women and Insanity," 161.

9 "Northwest News: Murder of a Patient Confined in the Insane Asylum at Indianapolis. Fatal Fall from a Bridge -- Wedding at Aurora -- Decapitated by a Train. A Jury Disagree -- A Boy Hurt by Leaping from a Train -- Fat Stock -- and Other Matters, *The Chicago Tribune*, October 23, 1884, 9.

women were in. Asylum facilities expanded for the poor and increased the number of female patients. Between 1844 and 1890, the female pauper lunatic inmate population quadrupled. Doctors and reformers believed poverty and economic anxiety could cause insanity in women.[10] Female healthcare was affected by cultural ideas of women's nature.

Women's diagnoses were often diseases that only afflicted women. Biological models of sex differences and associations with disorders of the uterus and reproduction system were used to interpret female psychiatric symptoms. Doctors viewed expressions of unhappiness, anger, and aggression as morbid deviations from the typical female personality.[11] Gynecologists and psychologists prescribed nearly all female diseases to uterine malfunction. Causes of malfunction included abandonment or mistreatment by husbands, becoming pregnant while unmarried, being overburdened by too many children and household chores, or emotional drainage from grief or fear.[12] Doctors used treatments that included religious and moral principles to strengthen patients' minds. However, these treatments did not always match the intent. Mrs. Caroline E. Lake described the treatments patients received at the Jacksonville State Asylum, "the patients get no course of treatment for insanity at that Institution, that I could find, but restraint and imprisonment, the loss of their natural rights, and in some cases, great abuse."[13] Female patients received belts, injections, and internal appliances for treatments.[14] More humane treatments for mental illness would be confinement to rooms, denying the company of family and friends, and forced rest with tranquilizers.[15] Women rarely got access to the outside world and received punishment if they attempted to leave.

Punishments were often harsh and cruel. Patients received punishment for various infractions, no matter how small. In one incident, a patient recalled, "I once saw Miss Conkling held under the water, until almost dead . . . and handfuls of hair were pulled from her head . . . simply because she would not eat when she was not hungry."[16] Another patient, Mrs. Yates, described the reaction from the attendants when she protested the removal of her jewelry, "<u>. . . they then thr</u>ew me down upon my back on the floor, and jumped upon

10 Showalter, "Victorian Women and Insanity,"162.

11 Katherine Pouba and Ashley Tianan, "Lunacy in the 19th Century: Women's Admission to Asylums in the United States of America," *Oshkosh Scholar* 1 (April, 2006), 100.

12 Ibid.

13 Elizabeth Packard and Sophia N.B. Olsen, "*The Prisoners' Hidden Life, or, Insane Asylums Unveiled: As Demonstrated by the Report of the Investigating Committee of the Legislature of Illinois, Together with Mrs. Packard's Coadjutors' Testimony*," (Chicago: A.B. Case, 1868), 136.

14 Theriot, "Diagnosing Unnatural Motherhood," 415.

15 Showalter, "Victorian Women and Insanity,"159-160.

16 Packard and Olsen, *The Prisoners' Hidden Life, or, Insane Asylums Unveiled*, 132.

my stomach with their knees, so violently, that it is a wonder, in my weak state, they did not kill me."[17] Physical punishments were frequent, and the staff hid the worst punishments and implements, like straitjackets, from visiting families.[18] Patients lived in fear of discipline if they spoke about their experiences. Patients received different treatments depending on where they were and who they were.

Experiences in asylums varied enormously. Those in single-sex, private asylums encountered décor and regimes designed to remind them of home or school. Asylums hosting male and female patients were separate but not equal in treatment. Based on cultural expectations, women received substantially lower dietary allotments and less recreation time than men. Within mixed asylums, female patients shocked male doctors and patients with rowdiness, obscenity, and restlessness.[19] Many reports of women's bad behavior came from the expectations and wishes of male observers that women should be quiet, virtuous, and immobile. Women received fewer opportunities than men for outdoor activity, active recreation, or movement within the building.[20] Men had access to leisure activities, while women spent most of their time in asylums at work. The staff put women to work performing cleaning, cooking, laundry, and needlework most of the day. The laundry room was well-kept and filled with seemingly happy women. With little to do except work or rest, idleness among female patients led to complaining, vehement declarations, and quarreling.[21] Cultural values about women's roles also led to higher rates of surveillance. All patients were under surveillance, but the attendants watched the women closer. Mail was censored for all patients, but especially for female patients. Doctors and attendants lied to patients about them not receiving mail and hid letters from friends and family.[22] The Lunatics Friends Society protested the censorship of patients' mail, except for women's mail. They believed women required protection against possible indecorous self-revelation.

The Life of Elizabeth Packard

Elizabeth Packard was the daughter of a minister from Massachusetts. Her father, Samuel Ware, provided her with a good education. She was a brilliant student with a caring nature. Her peers competed to sit with her during French lessons, and struggling students knew she was always willing

17 Ibid., 134.
18 Ibid., 126-131.
19 Showalter, "Victorian Women and Insanity," 166-7.
20 Ibid., 167-9.
21 "The Insane Asylum: An Illustrated Account of the Inaccessible Cook County Fire-trap," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, January 11, 1885, 12.
22 Packard and Olsen, *The Prisoners' Hidden Life, or, Insane Asylums Unveiled*, 74.

to help them. After Elizabeth finished her schooling, she pursued a teaching career, which was short-lived.[23] She was forced to end her career after she fell ill with brain fever, an outdated disease characterized by delirium. Samuel had her hospitalized, hoping the doctors could save her. When treatments of purging and bleeding failed to improve Elizabeth's condition, he took her to an asylum for better treatment. She remained there for six weeks before being released. Shortly after Elizabeth's release, her father sought to marry her off.

Elizabeth married Theophilus Packard in 1839. He was fourteen years older than her and known to be a cold and stern man. Theophilus was a long-time acquaintance of her father. During the early years of their marriage, they seemed to be peaceful with each other. Elizabeth believed Theophilus knew best and trusted him to be a good husband. Pressure from her father, husband, and history of brain fever caused Elizabeth to give up her teaching career to pursue a role as a mother. Over several years, Elizabeth gave birth to four sons and two daughters. Despite her love for education, her duties as a mother and wife prevented her from pursuing her passions. These passions were reawakened by the first Women's Rights Convention in 1848 at Seneca Falls, New York. The Women's Rights Convention was the beginning of Elizabeth's and Theophilus's marriage falling apart. Elizabeth argued against Theophilus's worldviews. She first began to argue that wives were a part of society and should have their rights as humans respected. Theophilus argued otherwise, stating that no man should obey women's rights.

The argument turned into years of fights. The Women's Rights Movement had gotten her thinking hard again. Before her bible study classes, she wrote essays that she presented to the class. Elizabeth used her past education and experience as a teacher to discuss topics on women's rights and abolition.[24] She formed her reasonings using biblical study and knowledge from as many religions as possible.[25] All of Elizabeth's teachings went against Theophilus's teachings. He felt like she was publicly humiliating him by teaching her beliefs. The people around Elizabeth encouraged her teachings, much to her husband's ire. Theophilus responded by isolating her and demanding an end to her discussions.

Regardless of Theophilus's efforts, Elizabeth continued to push back and expressed her change in beliefs and desire to leave Theophilus's church. She traveled on her own and performed missionary work. Theophilus was furious over his wife's independence and sought any way he could control her. He

23 Elizabeth Packard, The *Great Drama, Or, the Millennial Harbinger* (self-pub., 1878), 94-95.

24 Linda V. Carlisle, *Elizabeth Packard: A Noble Fight* (Urbana-Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 24-25.

25 Packard, *Modern persecution, or, Insane Asylums Unveiled*, 120-125.

accused her of neglecting their children and duties as a wife.[26] He tried to shame her, but Elizabeth remained stubborn and outspoken. Frustrating him more, she publicly expressed opinions contrary to his outside bible study classes. Meanwhile, the deacons at Theophilus's church expressed their outrage over Elizabeth's behavior. She was speaking too freely about women's rights and abolition. Deacon Smith complained to Theophilus about the topics Elizabeth discussed during class. He demanded an end to Elizabeth's teachings and for Theophilus to get control over his wife.

The Rebellion of Elizabeth Packard

Elizabeth's fate changed when Theophilus brought her into his study. He wrapped his arms around Elizabeth, and he gently spoke to her. Lulling her into a sense of security, he told her she needed to end her discussions. Upset at his words, Elizabeth said that she would step down and stop teaching at bible classes if she was allowed to explain that Deacon Smith and Mr. Packard requested that she stop. There was no honor in stepping down without being able to explain to the class why she stepped down. Elizabeth's conditions were, "I do not like to yield a natural right to the dictation of bigotry and intolerance . . . not from any desire to shrink from investigation on my part, but for the sake of peace, as they view it."[27] Pleas to defend her from Deacon Smith were brushed aside. She believed she should have the same right as a man to present and defend her beliefs. Angered by her response, Theophilus withdrew from her, physically shoving her away. There was no hope in him being her protector; instead, he became her persecutor. Theophilus cut her off from her community and did not allow her to have any visitors. He was determined to give the impression that she was insane so he could defend the cause of Christ.[28] Rumors circulated in Manteno that his wife was insane, all started by Theophilus. He openly spoke about her time in an asylum when she suffered from brain fever. Many Manteno residents began doubting Elizabeth's sanity.[29] People turned against Elizabeth, and she began fearing for her safety. In the home, Theophilus threatened to send her to an asylum if she did not correct her behavior.

No longer trusting her husband, Elizabeth sought out Mr. Comstock, who claimed he was a lawyer. She knew him from her bible study classes and believed he could give her knowledge to protect herself. She needed to legally protect herself and her children from her husband as she thought Theophilus

26 Mariana Brandmand, "Elizabeth Packard," *National Women's History Museum*, accessed November 2, 2023, https://www.womenshistory.org/education-resources/biographies/elizabeth-packard.

27 Packard and Olsen, *The Prisoners' Hidden Life, or, Insane Asylums Unveiled,* 17.

28 Ibid., 18.

29 Brandmand, "Elizabeth Packard."

would no longer let her stay in their home. Mr. Comstock explained that Theophilus could not force her into an asylum against her wishes. All residents of Illinois were entitled to a trial before being forced into an asylum. She had protection by the law and did not have anything to worry about. His advice soothed her fears for some time. However, Mr. Comstock skipped over a crucial detail of Illinois law, and it is unclear if he was aware of it. There was an exclusion of married women from the law. Husbands could request asylums to admit their wives without requiring a trial to take place. Elizabeth took Mr. Comstock's advice and returned home confident she could fight against Theophilus when he tried to have her admitted to an asylum.

Any day, Theophilus would try to have Elizabeth admitted to an asylum. Theophilus did not hide that he wanted her out of the house and openly threatened to remove her. They spent most of their time arguing. Most of their arguments revolved around their religious beliefs. They spent over a year arguing about religious convictions.[30] Theophilus believed in a God who was angry and punished the sins of humanity. In contrast, Elizabeth believed in an all-loving God. Theophilus's resentment grew from Elizabeth's public opposition to his teachings.[31] Eventually, she left Theophilus's Calvinist Church to join a Presbyterian church. They also argued about raising children, which bled into their differences of opinion on the nature of humankind. Theophilus believed his children were deeply flawed due to the nature of humanity. They needed to change to gain forgiveness from God. The children were driven to tears by their father, describing the hellish torment they would receive. Their mother attempted to quell their fears. Elizabeth believed her children were perfect as they were and not sinful from birth. Children needed love and kindness while growing up. Their arguments worsened until Theophilus locked her in their nursery with their youngest son. He boarded up the window to prevent anyone from communicating with her. Elizabeth could only wait until Theophilus acted on his promise to commit her to an asylum.

On June 18th, 1860, Elizabeth Packard woke to the sound of four men outside the nursery; two of them were doctors. Among these men was Theophilus. The temporary imprisonment in the nursery lasted for months. Now, doctors were present to determine her sanity. Elizabeth rushed to dress herself. By the time they reached the door, she was still in a state of undress. They demanded entrance into the nursery, but Elizabeth refused to open the door. To her horror, Theophilus would not relent. The men disappeared only for an axe to break through the window shortly after. Theophilus made short work of the boards and forced his way inside. The doctors closely followed

30 Packard, The *Great Drama, Or, the Millennial Harbinger*, 20-22.
31 Pouba and Tianan, "Lunacy in the 19th Century," 98.

behind him. The doctors only took her pulse before declaring her insane.[32] They announced she must be removed from her home immediately. Despite her terror, Elizabeth tried to protest.

There needed to be a trial before they could admit her. Elizabeth demanded to have her trial. However, Theophilus revealed information she did not know. The Illinois law changed in 1860 to exclude married women from protection to a jury trial if accused of insanity. Asylums could receive a woman at the request of her husband. The state did not require evidence for married women, only testimony from their husbands. In all other cases, the court required proof of insanity.[33] The medical superintendent controlled married women's fates, and his decision led to their admittance, regardless of their sanity.[34] The law viewed women as part of the legal identity of their husbands. Revisions to Illinois law, such as the Act of April 18th, 1851, struck married women from protections against unwilling institutionalization in asylums, which influenced these legal decisions. In the eyes of Illinois law, the husband and wife are one, and that one is the husband. The husband had the right to think for the wife and do what he wanted with her.[35] Men possessed the legal right to deprive their wives of liberty and administer chastisement.

Aware of her inability to escape being sent to an asylum, Elizabeth refused to walk. Any step she took would only help Theophilus, so she was determined to make the process as difficult for him as possible. The men carried Elizabeth to the train station. Elizabeth took meticulous care of her appearance because she was aware of the medical notes on insanity in women. She asked Officer Burgess to help her ensure nothing was out of place as the two doctors carried her.[36] During the trip, Elizabeth begged Theophilus to let her see her children one last time, but he refused. All six of their children were sent away on various tasks to prevent their interference. According to Elizabeth, their father abducted the children to prevent them from seeing the abduction of their mother.[37] Theophilus claimed what he was doing to her was for her benefit and that he would save her soul.[38] He thought he was doing the best thing for his family and had the upper hand until they reached the crowded train station.

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32 Elizabeth Packard, *Marital power exemplified in Mrs. Packard's Trial, and Self-Defence from the Charge of Insanity, or Three years' imprisonment for Religious Belief, by the Arbitrary Will of a Husband, with an Appeal to the Government to so Change the Laws as to Afford Legal Protection to Married Women* (Chicago: Clarke, 1870), 10.

33 Brandmand, "Elizabeth Packard."

34 Packard, *Marital power exemplified in Mrs. Packard's Trial*, 46-48.

35 Elizabeth Packard, *Mrs. Packard's Address to the Illinois Legislature, on the passage of the Personal Liberty Bill* (Hartford: Case, Lockwood, and Company, 1867), 3-7.

36 Packard and Olsen, "*The Prisoners' Hidden Life, or, Insane Asylums Unveiled*, 46-7.

37 Ibid., 44.

38 Packard, *Marital power exemplified in Mrs. Packard's Trial*, 2-3.

People supporting Elizabeth packed the passenger depot. The crowd watched the men carrying Elizabeth. Theophilus begged her to walk, but she responded that he must be the one to show them what he was doing to her. He would get no help from her in any way to put herself in the asylum.[39] Despite the show of support for Elizabeth, the cluster of people was ineffective in helping her. Sheriff Burgess threatened the crowd with arrest if anyone interfered. He had a warrant to bring Elizabeth Packard to the Jacksonville State Hospital. Soon, the only support came from whispered encouragement from her friends, who promised she would only be there for a few days and would be liberated quickly under the Habeas Corpus Act. This writ requires a person under arrest to be brought into court or before a judge. It is essential for releasing a person under unlawful detention or arrest. Elizabeth could not use the Habeas Corpus Act as no one would fight for Elizabeth or intervene on her behalf. One of those among the masses, Mr. Blessing, later stated he did not like to interfere between man and wife.[40] One woman attempted to stand up for Elizabeth. Rebecca Blessing challenged the crowd, asking if there were no men in this gathering who would protect this woman. She would seize hold of this woman if she were a man. All Rebecca could do was call upon a few men for help, as she had no power as a woman.[41]

Packard in Jacksonville and on Trial

Dr. McFarland brought Elizabeth into the Jacksonville State Asylum based on testimony from Theophilus. He initially apologized to her for admitting her. For four months, Dr. McFarland treated her himself. He showed Elizabeth respect and even trusted her to care for a group of patients. Elizabeth had permission to leave the asylum during the day to go to the fairgrounds or cemetery, and her residence was in the first ward, which had the best patient care and was the cleanest. However, Dr. McFarland's initial respect for Elizabeth was short-lived. Much to Dr. McFarland's ire, Elizabeth cared deeply for her fellow patients. She held discussions and loaned out books to patients in every ward. Dr. McFarland quickly shut this down and ordered an immediate end to all discourses and books returned. Patients in other asylum sections were forbidden to access books and had to remain on the grounds. Some patients lived in tight quarters, which included harmless patients among violent patients.[42] When she later presented Dr. McFarland with a written reproof of his abuses of his patients, he removed Elizabeth from the best ward to the worst. She threatened to expose him when she got out of the asylum unless he began to treat his patients with justice.

39 Packard and Olsen, *The Prisoners' Hidden Life, or, Insane Asylums Unveiled*, 44-6.
40 Packard, *Marital power exemplified in Mrs. Packard's Trial*, 34.
41 Packard and Olsen, *The Prisoners' Hidden Life, or, Insane Asylums Unveiled*, 59.
42 Ibid., 74-5.

Dr. McFarland retaliated by sending Elizabeth to live among the most dangerous patients. It was one of the dirtiest wards. Elizabeth described it as "the accumulation of this defilement about their persons, their beds, their rooms, and the unfragrant puddles of water through which they would delight to wade and wallow in, rendered the exhalations in every part of the hall, almost intolerable."[43] The ward was an indecent place to live in until Elizabeth cleaned the ward with her own hands. The dormitory she now lived in held three to six patients at a time, and she could not leave the ward at any time. There was no room for her to flee to safety from attacks from other patients. Various patients dragged Elizabeth around by her hair. She received blows from them that almost killed her. Patients threw knives, forks, and chairs at her head. In one incident where an attendant caught her feeding a patient, "She has threatened me with the screen room, and this threat has been accompanied with the flourish of a butcher knife over my head, for simply passing a piece of Johnny cake through a crack under my door, to a hungry patient. . ."[44] Elizabeth asked the matron, Mrs. Waldo, to intervene on behalf of another woman who was deprived of water all day for annoying her attendant. Another attendant threatened Elizabeth with a straight jacket for talking to another patient when seated at a table. The asylum staff cut Elizabeth from written communication with the outside world, except under strict censorship. The attendants turned away all visitors.[45] Elizabeth remained in this ward for two years and eight months. Dr. McFarland only allowed her to leave for the trial she successfully petitioned for.

The trial took place three years after she first demanded one. Elizabeth successfully challenged Theophilus's accusation of insanity. The crowd witnessing the hearing met most of Theophilus's statements with hissing from the spectators. Dr. McFarland and Theophilus insisted Elizabeth was insane during the trial and presented essays and a letter Elizabeth had written to Dr. McFarland. While the love letter hurt Elizabeth's character, the paper helped prove that she was an intelligent woman. An examination by another doctor, Dr. Duncanson, helped her win her case. He told the court that while he and Elizabeth would disagree on many things, he would not call someone insane for differing from him. Packard vs. Packard resulted in her release from the Jacksonville State Asylum. The court declared her to be perfectly sane after seven minutes of deliberation. The crowd erupted into cheers, and the clerk could only read the rest of the verdict after the spectators settled down. Elizabeth was allowed to leave the Jacksonville State Asylum and return home.

After returning home, desperate to see her children, she discovered

43 Ibid., 90-1.
44 Ibid., 107.
45 Packard, *Mrs. Packard's Address to the Illinois Legislature*, 4-5.

a different family in her home. Elizabeth was faced with a situation many women newly released from asylums experienced. Theophilus sold her house and took her children and belongings. Men put their wives in asylums to make it easier for them to sell their wives' property. After discovering Theophilus had relocated to Massachusetts and took their children with him, Elizabeth successfully lobbied for custody of her three youngest children.[46] She never reconciled or lived with Theophilus again. They never divorced because she did not wish to be divorced from her home; she only wanted protection from issues within it. In her eyes, divorce was evil.[47] When discussing her relationship with Theophilus, Elizabeth commented she believed Theophilus did not think she was insane. He was only trying to alleviate his guilty conscience.[48] They parted ways after the trial and never lived with each other again.

The Significance of Elizabeth Packard

Over several years, states changed their laws to accommodate married women. Elizabeth successfully lobbied for legislation in several states to pass laws she wrote. In 1851, Illinois revised an 1823 law to deprive married women accused of insanity the right to a jury trial. In 1867, Elizabeth Packard successfully changed this law and gave married women the right to a trial if accused of insanity. Mrs. Packard's Personal Liberty Law focused on protecting everyone's liberty. It ensured everyone accused of insanity, including married women, would receive a jury trial. Elizabeth provided women a way to get their voices heard and their pain listened to.

However, her fight to change legislation was not unhindered. Dr. McFarland followed Elizabeth around the country, resisting her changes. He opposed changes to new regulations and regular inspections of asylums. Dr. McFarland carefully controlled the checks that did occur. They inspected areas in perfect condition, such as the kitchens and laundry rooms. Inspectors rarely spoke to or addressed the patients during inspections. Asylum staff told patients to lie and threatened them with punishment if they revealed information about their treatment.[49] Dr. McFarland's attempts to stop Elizabeth's efforts resulted in his downfall. In 1867, the courts set up an investigation into Mrs. Packard's allegations against Doctor McFarland. Inquiries discovered his support of treatments that were similar in nature to waterboarding. A patient would be wrapped in a straitjacket and dumped into water over and over until they nearly passed out.[50] Investigations forced

46 Packard, *Marital power exemplified in Mrs. Packard's Trial*, 44.
47 Packard, The *Great Drama*, 111-16.
48 Packard, *Modern persecution, or, Insane Asylums Unveiled*, 120-125.
49 Packard and Olsen, *The Prisoners' Hidden Life, or, Insane Asylums Unveiled*, 117-8.
50 "Andrew McFarland," *Sangamon County History* (August, 2023), accessed Novem-

Dr. McFarland to leave his position as superintendent at the Jacksonville State Asylum.[51] His opposition to regulations and inspections unintentionally helped Elizabeth's goals. Other opposition primarily came from voices trying to keep control over women. Critics of Elizabeth condemned her for being too independent and outspoken.

Despite Dr. McFarland's efforts and attacks on her character, Elizabeth influenced 34 bills in various state legislatures and achieved massive success on the national stage.[52] In 1875, Elizabeth passed a law allowing asylum patients access to mail and made it illegal for asylum officials to intercept the mail of patients. In four states, Packard won cases about commitment, and she protected the property of married women. She also helped win the fight in several states for regularly monitoring asylums and their conditions.[53]

Conclusion

Women were vulnerable to a system that allowed them to be removed from their homes and forced into asylums by their husbands. The 1850s and 1860s saw a rise in the medicalization of women's behavior. Insanity accusations frequently resulted from any deviations from perceived natural womanly behavior. Diseases only seen in women brought more sane women into asylums and crowded the wards. Overburdened asylums resulted in higher rates of medical abuse. Women received treatments that were often painful or isolating. Creating change was extremely difficult. Women needed strength to advocate for legislation and get a say in medical treatments.

It took many women, like Elizabeth Packard, to reverse legislation that expunged married women's autonomy in legal matters. She ensured married women could have a say in their medical treatments. Women in the United States gained the ability to oppose accusations of insanity and better access to more say in medical treatments. Patients and women in asylums began the push for regulation and regular inspections of medical facilities. The abuses Elizabeth experienced and witnessed fueled her drive to fight for medical rights.

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ber 2, 2023, https://sangamoncountyhistory.org/wp/?p=14864.

51 "The Illinois Insane Asylum: Important Report of the Legislative Investigating Committee" *The Chicago Tribune*, December 7, 1867, 2.

52 Samuel Wheeler, "Illinois Supreme Elizabeth Packard and Mental Health Laws," Supreme Court Preservation Commission.

53 Brandmand, "Elizabeth Packard."

Alyssa Dicus

The Chinese Exclusion Act: America's Clarion Call for Racist Exclusion and Building Walls

Introduction

Unwittingly or not, American politicians plague political discourse on immigration and citizenship today with white protectionism. Their constituents follow suit, labeling Mexican and South American border crossers or asylum and refugee seekers as a threat to the national economy or a flagrant attack on American identity. These discourses are not new to the American scene. Still, as the immigrant and immigrant-born population of the United States reaches a record high, their origins become ever more important to understand. Though American immigration and citizenship policies have been rooted in class, race, ethnicity, and nationality since the nation's inception, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 was crafted by the federal government to formally institutionalize these racist exclusions.

While the Chinese Exclusion Act was not an isolated racist policy in the history of the United States, it was the first federal law that barred an entire ethnic group from immigration and citizenship under the pretenses of national endangerment. The Chinese Exclusion Act was a racist policy even though it only banned a specific national group because the Act was rooted in discriminatory beliefs about Chinese immigrants' ethnicity as a whole. The Act was not a retaliation against a distinctive Chinese characteristic but rather an attack against conceptions about these immigrants' social customs and morality. The racist legal and political discourses surrounding Black, Native, and Latin persons in the United States were similarly based on cultural characteristics. Still, they were broader to encompass race and color more specifically. Thus, the Chinese Exclusion Act was also a racialized policy in conjunction with the racial biases and policies towards other groups and their citizenship.

This essay will argue that the federal government curated the Chinese Exclusion Act to placate the concerns of lower and middle-class American citizens on the West Coast while minimizing the economic toll and damage to the Chinese political image of the United States. American politicians used a process of legal fearmongering to link immigration and citizenship directly with ideas of national defense and moral preservation. This link effectively

founded the practice of discriminatory federal immigration policy and paved the way for the American discourse we see today.

This essay will begin with a precursory discussion of the racial and ethnic requirements for American citizenship as they developed from 1790 through 1882. It will then explain how class conflict turned into a racist call for Chinese exclusion by exploring the power struggle between American citizens and states and their federal government's dealings with China. It will conclude with an examination of the Act itself and how it set up the immigration regime and climate of today.

Historiography

Early scholarship on the Chinese Exclusion Act showed that the paradoxical nature of the Act was evident. In 1912, Mildred Wellborn authored her article, "The Events Leading to the Chinese Exclusion Acts," which noted the duality through which American citizens viewed Chinese immigrants. Through examinations of economic and social class attitudes, she argued that the laboring classes saw Chinese immigrants as moral degenerates. In contrast, capitalists saw immigrants as a cheap source of labor. Wellborn, however, was writing to confirm the views purported against the Chinese and their assimilation.

These class components examined in early research became more nuanced in more recent works of those such as Asian American historian Erika Lee. Lee's chapter in *A Companion to American Immigration*, "A Nation of Immigrants and a Gatekeeping Nation: American Immigration Law and Policy," covered the chronological development of immigration policy in America. Lee connected the anti-immigration attitudes towards the Chinese with the complex racial and economic relationship between white Americans and Black Americans throughout slavery and emancipation.

Lee's *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration during the Exclusion Era, 1882-1943,* discusses the development of the Chinese moral image and the origin of the Chinese threat to America. Lee argued that legislators crafted the Chinese moral threat as a way to justify and bolster support for banning Chinese immigration in place of less successful statewide attempts to protect white labor. The book also examined the Act's impact on immigration rules and regulations. Lee asserted that the Act created a new regime of immigration restriction and control that were the predecessors of modern American gatekeeping.

The Racial/Ethnic Nature of American Citizenship

Although the phrase "free white persons" was not the focus of the Naturalization Act of 1790, it nonetheless introduced race and color into

American citizenship requirements.[1] The central provision of the Act was landownership, as "white" had been an assumed condition of the period as non-European people were not yet considered people, if even human. The Naturalization Act of 1790 "set the limits on the access of immigrants to citizenship to mostly restrict European foreigners."[2] It hadn't excluded other races because they weren't even in consideration. Thus, at the nation's foundation, United States immigration and citizenship were exclusively a white privilege.

A seemingly significant development came with the end of the Mexican-American War and the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. Over half of Mexico's land was incorporated into the United States. The United States had never had such a significant inclusion of land, and incorporating the inhabitants was a problematic political maneuver. In other land acquisitions, including the Louisiana Purchase, the inhabitants were all Native Americans who were forcibly removed from the land without moral qualms, as white Europeans did not consider them to be civilized people. This was not the case with the extensively settled Mexican lands. Even if forcible removal was not an option, neither was immediate or easy naturalization of the Mexican residents. As a solution, Article VIII of the treaty gave the residents a choice to retain the rights and title of a Mexican citizen or to renounce that title and become a citizen by conquest of the United States.[3] Stipulations of citizenship included the burden of providing proof of European lineage or Catholic religion. These stipulations justified the naturalization of non-white, non-Europeans by ensuring a degree of what white Americans viewed as civility. Thus, while the treaty was a landmark for its extension of citizenship, it retained national and racial prejudice, even going so far as to call Native inhabitants "savage tribes."[4] Because of this, and the fact that the treaty extended no such privileges to Native or Black Mexicans or Latin American immigrants, the racially progressive nature of this Act was very limited and

1 U. S. Laws, Statutes, Etc., *The Naturalization Act of 1790* (New York: Printed by Thomas Greenleaf. New York, 1790), accessed, December 2022, https://loveman.sdsu.edu/docs/1790naturalizationact.pdf.

2 Cody Nager, "Fear, Foreigners and Federalism: The Naturalization Act of 1790 and American Citizenship/foundering Friendship: French Disillusionment after the Battle of Yorktown" (master's thesis, William & Mary College, 2017), accessed December 2022, https://scholarworks.wm.edu/etd/1516639569/.

3 U. S. Laws, Statutes, Etc., *Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, 1848*," Accessed September 20, https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/treaty-of-guadalupe-hidalgo#transcript.

4 U. S. Laws, Statutes, Etc., *Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, 1848*.

was primarily a political nicety.[5]

Twenty years after Guadalupe Hidalgo, Congress overrode President Johnson's veto and passed the 14th Amendment to the United States Constitution. Congress ratified the Amendment in 1868. The 14th Amendment granted formerly enslaved persons citizenship through a new kind of citizenship- birthright. The first section afforded "all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof"[6] citizenship and equal protection of the law. This excluded, as the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo did, any Native Americans. The 14th Amendment opened a door for legal citizenship for all non-white immigrant groups but excluded those immigrants and enslaved people who were not born in the United States.

The Naturalization Act of 1870 rectified this and extended citizenship eligibility to "'aliens being free white persons, and to aliens of African nativity and persons of African descent.'"[7] It is with this Act that ideas of race and color became confusing. As mentioned, all previous racial inclusion was limited in scope and specific to an event. With the 1790 Act, "white" was a given condition to citizenship, and emphasis was more heavily on the "free" requirement. With the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, it was a geographically constrained inclusion of a specific nationality of people. It was, if anything, a furthering of the idea that American citizens had and would only tolerate those of European background, no matter how scantily defined. Congress directed the 14th Amendment solely at naturalized African Americans, not fully including all formerly enslaved. The 1870 Act re-introduced "white" in a vague way and "African" as a specific eligible nationality to address those formerly enslaved who were born in Africa. The question then became, "Did terms like "African" have color connotations, and did "white" have nationality restrictions or coloration considerations."

These unresolved questions carried their uncertainty into the development of state-level acts and federal treaties that addressed relationships with Chinese laborers and non-laborers, each of which negotiated a national relationship into a racially charged one. The result was the passage of the

5 There is much more complexity between the history and relationship of Mexican imported laborers and Chinese imported laborers than the scope of this essay can give due credit to. For this essay, it is simply important to know that other racial enclaves existed in the Western and Southern parts of the country that influenced racial ideology.

6 U. S. Laws, Statutes, Etc., *The House Joint Resolutions Proposing the 14th Amendment to the Constitution* (June 16, 1866), accessed February 8, 2022, https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/14th-amendment.

7 Marian Smith, "Race, Nationality, and Reality: INS Administration of Racial Provisions in U.S. Immigration and Nationality Law Since 1898," *Prologue magazine* 34, no. 2 (Summer 2002), accessed November 10, 2022, https://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2002/summer/immigration-law-1#f3.

Chinese Exclusion Act, an unprecedented federal decision that excluded an entire nationality of people from the United States.

Early U.S. Relationship with China

Erika Lee noted in her book, *At America's Gates*, that much of how Americans learned to identify the Chinese came from the diplomats, traders, and missionaries in China.[8] These reports called the Chinese uncivilized and the way they lived dirty and immoral. The authors were upper-class American citizens who had found it incumbent upon themselves to bolster the American superior image. However, American businesspeople had founded this attitude of superiority to the Chinese at the outset of U.S. relations with China.

The United States lacked any formal political ties to China, while other countries had already established trade and relations; thus, the Treaty of Wanghai in 1844 was an attempt to improve its political image and standing. This treaty gave the United States extraterritoriality within China so that American citizens charged with crimes were to be tried and punished under the authority of the American consul as opposed to Chinese ones. It also granted the United States access to trading ports and the right not to be "impeded in their business."[9] While the treaty was based on economics, it introduced how the United States formally interacted with China as an inferior country, even within it.

Then, in 1858, the Treaty of Tianjin granted that United States citizens in China were "placed on a common footing of amity and goodwill with subjects of China" and were "permitted to rent houses and places of business."[10] The wording of this treaty was particular to infer that American citizens were to be regarded as equal in the eyes of the Chinese citizens but not that American citizens were to respect Chinese citizens. As aforementioned, the American businesspeople and diplomats who benefitted from these treaties felt superior. The treaty thus established that while the United States was willing to craft and negotiate treaties, the intention was to strengthen American business and image without true reciprocity. It would be ten years until China reached this reciprocity, and by that point, developments in California had already threatened to weaken it.

8 Erika Lee, *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration during the Exclusion Era, 1882-1943* (Chapel Hill, NC: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2003), 25.

9 U. S. Laws, Statutes, Etc., *Treaty of Wangxia* (Treaty of Wang-Hsia), May 18, 1844, accessed November 2022, https://china.usc.edu/treaty-wangxia-treaty-wang-hsia-%E6%9C%9B%E5%BB%88%E6%A2%9D%E7%B4%84-may-18-1844.

10 U. S. Laws, Statutes, Etc., *Treaty of Tientsin* [Tianjin] *1858*, accessed November 2022, https://web.archive.org/web/20160304224140/http://chinaforeignrelations.net/node/206.

Turning Economic Conflict into Racial Hatred

While diplomats and traders brokered advancements within Chinese territory, on the West Coast, American businesses were exploiting the availability of Chinese immigrants. During and after the peak of the Gold Rush from 1852 on, Chinese immigrants provided cheap labor in industries such as mining and laundering. The lower-class composition of these Chinese immigrants, primarily impoverished men who had failed to strike it rich, was beginning to ferment anti-Chinese sentiment among lower-class Americans.[11] The West held an unstable population with too few jobs, and American business owners were hiring from the cheap immigrant labor pool. This discontent led California to pass the Anti-Coolie Act in 1862 to "protect free white labor" and "discourage" [12] Chinese immigration. This was an almost futile measure, as in the same year, Congress passed the Pacific Railroad Act, which generated a massive demand for railroad labor that was readily available and cheap.[13]

Six years later, this need was met with a massive influx of Chinese immigrants when the United States signed the Burlingame Treaty of 1868 with China. This treaty created a near-complete reciprocity between the U.S. and China. It granted Chinese citizens the right to free immigration and travel within the United States and full protection similar to what American citizens were provided in China.[14] Californian citizens were enraged and discouraged, especially when European investments slowed during the recession of 1873, and the treaty provided railroads access to cheap labor from non-unionized sources.[15] Californians, who had tried to limit the Chinese influx and secure white jobs, saw a federal government not only unwilling to protect them from wage competition but rather willing to endorse it.

11 Mildred Wellborn, "The Events Leading to the Chinese Exclusion Acts," *Southern California Quarterly* 9, no. 1-2 (1912), 50.

12 California, Laws, Status, Etc., *California's Anti-Coolie Act of 1862*, accessed November 30, 2022, https://loveman.sdsu.edu/docs/1862Californiaanticoolieact.pdf.

13 Ellen Terrell, "Completion of the Transcontinental Railroad," *Library of Congress, Research Guides*, accessed, November 2022, https://guides.loc.gov/this-month-in-business-history/may/completion-transcontinental-railroad#:~:text=The%20railroad%20opened%20for%20through,at%20Promontory%20Summit%20in%20Utah.

14 U. S. Laws, Statutes, Etc., *The Burlingame-Seward Treaty, 1868*," *Milestones* (U.S. Department of State: Office of the Historian), accessed November 2022, https://history.state.gov/milestones/1866-1898/burlingame-seward-treaty.

15 U. S. Department of the Treasury, "Financial Panic of 1873," accessed, February 11, 2022, https://home.treasury.gov/about/history/freedmans-bank-building/financial-panic-of-1873#:~:text=The%20Panic%20of%201873&text=One%20of%20the%20worst%20happened,in%20American%20projects%2C%20particularly%20railroads.

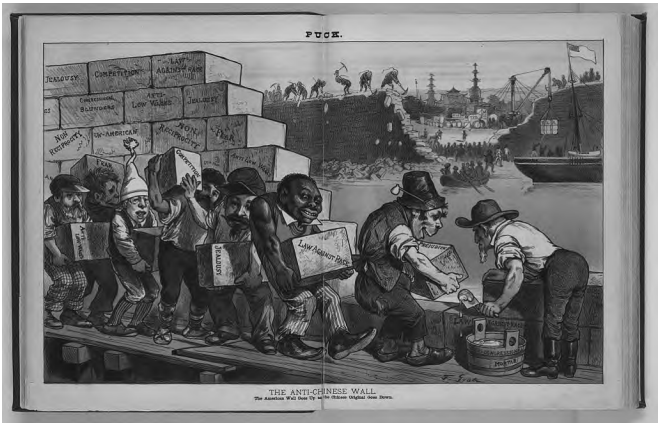

Figure 1. Graetz, F., Approximately 1913, Artist. *The anti-Chinese wall / F. Graetz*. China Great Wall of China, 1882. N.Y.: Published by Keppler & Schwarzmann. Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/2012645635/. This image shows other immigrant races alongside a Black person building a wall to protect against the Chinese threat using blocks of "fear," "competition," and "law against race." In the background, China is tearing down its trade restrictions and access barriers towards the United States.

Subsequently, images such as "The Anti-Chinese Wall" began to permeate newspapers (see Fig. 1.) Rather than the diplomats, traders, and businesspeople who were benefitting from trade agreements and treaties with China, the impoverished Chinese immigrants became targets for economic frustrations of the West Coast American lower-class. This translation of class anger into racial resentment was aided by the reports coming from the very same diplomats and traders. These reports created the image of criminals and heathened Chinese people. Solidifying these accounts of morally degenerate Chinese were the reports of prostitution in Chinese enclaves. As with European immigrant groups coming to the East Coast, Chinese immigrants were often males coming to send money back to support families.[16] This meant that there was a gender disparity within Chinese enclaves that fostered a practice of luring impoverished Chinese women to serve in brothels.[17] Since

16 Office of the Historian, "Chinese Immigration and the Chinese Exclusion Acts," accessed December 12, 2022, https://history.state.gov/milestones/1866-1898/chinese-immigration.

17 Mohini Sridharan, "Prostitution in the Early Chinese Community, 1850-1900," accessed November 2022, https://www.dartmouth.edu/~hist32/History/S02%20-%20Early%20Chinese%20Prostitution.htm.

other Chinese women were often restricted in their movement, the primary female population in Chinese enclaves was prostitutes.[18] The reports of these kinds of behavior came at an opportune time to spur tensions.

During the late nineteenth century, compounding forces were threatening white American masculinity. They were losing independence in the workforce as industrialization grew and saw a burgeoning women's movement and workforce.[19] Therefore, when lower-class American men heard and saw this phenomenon, it became the perfect opportunity to build an image of criminal, degenerate Chinese immigrants while being able to feel like masculine defenders of the American nation and women. Lee summarized this fear well in stating that the Chinese "not only threatened the morals of the larger society," but they ultimately were believed to be able to "cause its downfall."[20] So, rather than an inter-racial banding together of the Californian lower class, as Figure 1 showed European immigrants and Black people were also enticed to fear additional competition, white Americans called for the removal of a threat.

The response was the first federal measure to prevent further Chinese presence and encroachment into American society and labor markets, the Page Act (1875.) The Page Act was a prelude to the Chinese Exclusion Act and a step above the state-level Anti-Coolie Act. It aimed to prohibit the immigration of Eastern Asian or "Oriental"[21] people. It expressly prohibited "persons who [were] undergoing a sentence for a conviction in their own country of felonious crimes other than political" and "'women "imported for the purposes of prostitution.'"[22] This federal policy was more effective in its limitation of East Asian women, specifically the Chinese. It set a pathway to begin to restrict Chinese immigration based on moral grounds, even if it did not address the economic concern surrounding laborers as the California Anti-Coolie Act did. It was a federal bartering of addressing the state-level concern while trying to maintain reciprocity within the national relationship with China.

However, the failure to address economic antipathy was not sated, and many on the West Coast began to return to resentments aimed at the upper-

18 Ibid.

19 Michael McMenamin, ""It Is Here the Romance of My Life Began": The Construction of Frontier Masculinity in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century America," *New Errands: The Undergraduate Journal of American Studies* 1 no. 2 (Spring 2014), 8.

20 Lee, *At America's Gate*, 26.

21 U. S. Laws, Statutes, Etc., *The Page Act of 1875*, accessed December 12, 2022, https://loveman.sdsu.edu/docs/1875Immigration%20Act.pdf. The act mentions that Chinese, Japanese, and or any Oriental country. Lawmakers and scholars of the West often assumed the people of Eastern Asia were all of the same disposition.

22 U. S. Laws, Statutes, Etc., *The Page Act of 1875*

class beneficiaries of the Chinese presence. Labor leaders Denis Kearney and H.L. Knight of California's Workingmen's Party espoused such beliefs in 1878, with an undertone of how existing racial policy had also contributed to their anger. They stated that "under the flag of the slaveholder," wealthier classes had been able to "destroy [their] liberty," and now, after the war, had continued to do so under the guise of the "millionaire, the banker... the railroad king."[23] Here, the economic grievances of the Californian laborer were fueled by and fueling racial prejudice against both formerly enslaved people and the Chinese. Slavery and post-Civil War practices such as debt peonage and sharecropping had allowed wealthy Southerners and Westerners to continue to pool cheap labor outside of the white classes, which added to the ideas of racial inferiority that existed. Erika Lee addressed in her article this contribution of the "race 'problem' in the south" to the anti-Chinese sentiment developing on the Western coast.[24] There, tension with the Chinese was building not due to any inherent quality of the Chinese, who Wellborn even noted were clean and dutiful workers upon arrival.[25] Instead, the exploitation that the Chinese labor pool allowed, such as black labor did in the South, reduced the effectiveness of labor unions forming around the railroad, laundry, and mining businesses and was the cause of the anti-Chinese sentiment. The Chinese became a vessel for the frustrations of the poor white classes to leverage their position.

A Sacramento newspaper commented on the situation in the year of the Chinese Exclusion Act, 1882. It reminded citizens that "so long as the Chinese [were] among [Americans], they [would] be employed"[26] because it [was] of economic prudence. It acknowledged, however, the contradiction Americans were supporting by illustrating how Californians "demand[ed] [Chinese] expulsion even while [they] admit[ed] [they] [could not] refrain from employing" the Chinese.[27]

Nonetheless, white American citizens and politicians on the West Coast had "effectively claimed the right to speak for the rest of the country," so much so that they asserted American supremacy via Chinese exclusion.[28] So arose the argument of Kearny and Knight: "California must be all American or all Chinese. We are resolved that it shall be American and are prepared to make it

23 Dennis Kearney and H. L. Knight, "Appeal from California. The Chinese Invasion. Workingmen's Address," *Indianapolis Times*, 28 February 1878.

24 Erika Lee, "A Nation of Immigrants and a Gatekeeping Nation: American Immigration Law and Policy," in Reed Ueda, ed., *A Companion to American Immigration* (New York: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2008), 10.

25 Wellborn, "The Events Leading to the Chinese Exclusion," 50.

26 "The Employment of the Chinese, *The Sacramento Daily Record-Union*," Sacramento, California; May 13, 1882, 4, accessed November 2022, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82014381/1882-05-13/ed-1/seq-4/

27 Ibid.

28 Lee, *At America's Gates*, 29.

so. May we not rely upon your sympathy and assistance?"[29] The United States government and richer classes—despite profiting from Chinese immigration and reciprocity agreements with China—needed to become accountable to this loud, self-appointed Western voice of the nation. California, a land that struggled with unemployment, vast numbers of non-whites, and a loss of rugged frontier masculinity, wanted Chinese removal, not more immigrant classes beating out union wages.

Finally, with mounting discontent at the federal government, the 1880 Angell Treaty temporarily suspended the immigration of skilled and unskilled laborers from China while allowing upper-class professionals to enter. It was still a compromise designed to maintain the benefits of diplomatic and political privileges for upper-class American citizens. It addressed the immediate demand for action against the Chinese immigrant influx. If no lower-class or middle-class workers were allowed to enter the country, citizens reasoned that crime and wage declines would slow. The treaty was "reasonable and… only to [apply to] Chinese who may go to the United States as laborers."[30] but it was not a complete prohibition due to the provisions of the Burlingame Treaty of 1868. While the United States may have maintained diplomacy for its political image, the suspension was a clear statement that American citizens had and would continue to push the federal government to listen to state demands. The treaty thus also mentioned "embarrassments consequent upon such [Chinese] immigration,"[31] which was a reference to the Page Act and allegations of increased prostitution and crime in and around Chinatowns.

The legal precedent needed for the Chinese Exclusion Act was made permanent through the Angell Treaty. With its legal definition and separation of prohibition versus suspension, the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed as a ten-year suspension of Chinese laborer immigration. It had not broken any former treaties as the United States had already successfully passed a treaty limiting Chinese immigration with little repercussions (the Page Act). Chinese immigrants who were already in the country were allowed to stay but were denied citizenship.

The Exclusion Act and Its Ramifications

An examination of the language and provisions of the Chinese Exclusion Act itself is crucial to understanding life for the remaining Chinese immigrants and future immigrants. As Erika Lee stated, the Exclusion Act was a "'watershed'" not only because it was the first to limit immigration

29 Kearney and Knight, "Appeal from California."

30 U. S. Laws, Statutes, Etc., *Angell Treaty of 1880*, accessed November 2022. https://immigrationhistory.org/item/angell-treaty-of-1880/.

31 Ibid.

based on race and class but also because it "introduced gatekeeping ideology" that spurred the creation of "new modes and technologies of immigration regulation."[32] Chinese immigrants were the ultimate symbol of an economic and moral threat to white Americans, and the response was the creation of federal enforcement agencies, extensive documentation of immigrants, and deportation as a practice to control immigration.

First, in section four of the Act, as provided for in the Angell Treaty, the collector of customs in the districts where Chinese immigration was occurring was allowed to inspect vessels and the Chinese immigrants themselves.[33] These inspectors were required to document Chinese laborers' names, ages, occupations, and "physical marks or peculiarities" on these vessels to identify and track them.[34] The Secretary of the Treasury issued a certificate with the aforementioned details to keep track of this identification and ensure the enforcement of the Exclusion Act. Authorities required Chinese non-laborers, too, to carry a certificate issued by the Chinese Government in English or with a translator present, which stated the right to come as a non-laborer with rank reported on the certificate.[35] The Geary Act of 1892 extended the documentation requirement to all Chinese persons in the United States. These systems were the foundation for modern-day federal inspectors and began the normalization of tracking and monitoring the status of immigrants in the country. These certificates created the precedent for modern "green cards" and international passports.[36] The impact was evident in the Immigration Act of 1924, which required a visa and an application for one to include "age, sex, and race" alongside occupation and description that had to include "complexion, color of hair and eyes."[37] Here, too, immigration developed an overtly racist and ethnic nature as color and "ethnic" appearance were heavily influential to successful immigration.

Beyond the development of the tracking and documentation measures, the Exclusion Act's denial of Chinese citizenship for remaining immigrants while refusing to deport them created a vulnerable, exploitable workforce that still had to work among the very citizens who tried to remove them. Today's undocumented immigrants experience the same kind of targeted hatred and calls for removal. However, many who make those calls remain unaware of the structures that trap these people in the country, just like those living at the time of the Exclusion Act. Instead of recognizing the political maneuvering of the federal government to try to placate the American people and create a

32 Lee, "A Nation of Immigrants," 24-25.
33 U. S. Laws, Statutes, Etc., *The Chinese Exclusion Act*.
34 Ibid.
35 Ibid.
36 Lee, *At America's Gates,* 42.
37 U. S. Laws, Statutes, Etc., *The Immigration Act of 1924*, accessed December 12, 2022, https://loveman.sdsu.edu/docs/1924ImmigrationAct.pdf.

vulnerable labor force, the issues turn to arguments about national protection against non-white American labor and the immorality of other nations and cultures.

Section seven of the Act officially criminalized illegal immigration and created an avenue for the removal of immigrants. For Chinese immigrants, the Act charged them with a fine of one thousand dollars and jail time of up to five years. The issue with simply having illegal penalties, however, was that many of these immigrants were poor and would be unable to pay the fines. The justice system to send them to jail was also a public expenditure. So, Erika Lee argued that this explicit definition and punishment of illegal immigration led to the "establishment of the country's deportation laws as well," citing section twelve of the Act that condoned removal to the country of origin upon discovery.[38] Chinese immigrants were barred from being citizens and thus had no legal rights to fight to remain in the United States. As non-citizens who were unable to pay or play in the justice system, deportation as a tool was a measure used to offload these immigrants in lieu of legal immigrants who were able to contribute to the economy without creating a disturbance.

Conclusion

American legislators and politicians crafted the Chinese Exclusion Act through political maneuvering, allowing American businesspeople and diplomats to maintain a stable political image with China. At the same time, it imported and retained beneficial labor streams. Economic discontent was superseded with appeals to white masculinity and work ethic to link anti-immigrant and anti-immigration with national defense and moral preservation ideas. This link created the practice of discriminatory federal immigration policy, while it never indeed ended the exploitation and utilization of immigrant labor.

Today, the same issues ferment in political forums. Americans cry to build a wall while ignoring the economic and political superstructures that incentivize the labor of non-citizen immigrants. Americans label immigrants as dangerous, deceptive, and second-class without consideration from citizens as to where the information originated. As more research evaluates the aftermath of the Act rather than its creation, more links can be drawn to help foster an understanding of immigrants and how they fit into immigration policy. If historians take steps to understand the foundation of immigration policies, more research can connect how immigration policy changes with international trends and the political sentiments of citizens. Then, more informed and empathetic decisions can be made regarding the increasingly diverse population of the United States.

38 Lee, *At America's Gates*, 43.

Katelynn Rynski

In The Face of War: The Future of Afghan Historical Landmarks

When new leaders have dismantled and replaced the political architecture of government, they have simultaneously determined which parts of the country's culture they continued to honor and which aspects they abandoned. The Middle East and neighboring regions, particularly Afghanistan, contained a plethora of significant cultural landmarks and artifacts. However, political turmoil in the past century left these landmarks vulnerable to vandalism and destruction. From the Soviet Union's interference after the Saur Revolution and the Taliban's extremism and reemergence in 2021, these landmarks occupied tenuous spaces if they hoped to survive.

As for their significance to world history, the tenets of history were inseparable from art, as the wisdom of ancestors ran through the artifacts they left behind. No matter the region or culture, these artifacts were instrumental in understanding human identity. Thus, the plight of Afghanistan's remoteness required the utmost awareness and aid in their plight.

As the centerpiece of the Eastern world, Afghanistan faced constant threats and invasions since ancient times. Both Cyrus and Darius the Great conquered the lands of Afghanistan and added them to the Persian Empire by 522 BC. Alexander the Great's conquest of the Persian Empire in 330 B.C. caused Afghanistan to fall into enemy hands once again, exposing the territory to Greek influence. All of these aforementioned leaders implemented terms of social tolerance, allowing the conquerors and the conquered cultures to mix, rebuilding structures destroyed in the fighting in the civilization of the Afghan kingdoms – with influence from the conquering empires of Persia and Hellenistic Greece.[1] However, invasions from differing ethnic groups persisted into medieval times with Mongol rule.[2]

Competition between Afghan tribal groups developed the tribes' keen fighting abilities. In the early thirteenth century, faced with great resistance, invading Mongol leader Genghis Khan decided to raze cities and cultural

1 Donald Kagan, Steven Ozment, Frank M. Turner, and Alison Frank, *The Western Heritage*, Vol. 1, 11th ed. (Indianapolis, IN: Pearson, 2013), 23.

2 Cynthia Smith, "The Great Game and Afghanistan," *Library of Congress*, accessed June 29, 2023, https://www.loc.gov/ghe/cascade/index.html?appid=a0930b1f4e424987ba68c28880f088ea.

centers to wound the enemy physically and mentally.[3] The carnage of cities weakened trade routes and bodies; the carnage of culture weakened Afghan tribal identity. Two generations later, Mongol successor Hulegu Khan (grandchild of Genghis Khan) reconquered modern-day western Afghanistan in the name of his Ilkhanid dynasty. Hulegu Khan cultivated Mongol influence in Afghan art, commissioning artwork such as statues, jewelry, and manuscripts.[4] The resulting artwork was a testament to the survival of Afghan culture and the combination of all the invaders that shaped them. The forced cultural changes allowed Afghans to adopt multicultural practices, becoming socially acceptable to practice different religions. During the 1700s, the monarchy of Ahmad Shah Durrani finally allowed the land of Afghanistan to establish a national identity through the stability of his reign.[5]

However, Afghanistan still faced challenges in the form of foreign interference. Russia and Great Britain, because of their expanding empires, held significant interest in Afghanistan because of its status as a buffer state. Labeled "The Great Game," a triad of Anglo-Afghan Wars throughout the nineteenth century resulted from the British desire to control Afghanistan. After World War I, Great Britain finally signed an armistice and pledged to withdraw from Afghanistan in August 1919.[6] In Afghanistan's fight for cultural unity, the country was utilized as a pawn, weakening monarchies and allowing for the lead-up of tyrannical governments in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. This attempt at unity has led to the erasure of an identity the Afghan people had fought for millennia to claim.

It is important to note the extent of poverty Afghanistan experienced as a result of the corruption of the Soviet and Taliban governments. While in ancient and medieval times, the Islam-dominated countries of the Middle East were the centerpiece of technological and cultural advancement, its stagnation and contrasting Western domination have left the Middle East vulnerable to internal coups. The Afghan people also lacked a secular government, which restricted the freedom to possess wealth and resources because their Islamic government promoted obedience and familial solidarity. With each new political crisis, the people of Afghanistan had fewer resources to rely on; therefore, each generation experienced more profound depths of poverty. As evidenced by a 2022 inquiry orchestrated by the International Rescue Committee (IRC), ninety-seven percent of Afghans were below the

3 Jules Stewart, "Afghanistan: Graveyard of Armies," *Military History Monthly*, accessed July 2, 2023, https://www.military-history.org/feature/17th-century/afghanistan-graveyard-of-armies.htm.

4 Caroline Kim, "The Treasures of Genghis Khan," *Humanities* 23, no. 5 (Sep./Oct. 2002): 12., https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=a9h&AN=7481880&site=ehost-live&scope=site.

5 Smith, "The Great Game and Afghanistan."

6 Ibid.

country's poverty line. Zuhra Wardak, an IRC deputy director, expounded upon the many different factors Afghans faced in simply feeding their families, "Increasing hunger, natural disasters, unemployment, a banking and liquidity crisis, rights-violating restrictions on women and girls, and the lack of functioning economy mean Afghans are facing a multitude of simultaneous crises."[7] The magnitude of such destruction could be remedied only through a revolution of events, a contingency the country cannot afford. What would become of its historical monuments and artifacts if its people were scattered to the winds?

Afghanistan exhibited a long and varied history of civilization and cultures–of which landmarks remain. However, the political turmoil of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries had placed these historical landmarks and artifacts in elevated risk and jeopardy for their very existence. The 1978 Saur Revolution and subsequent Soviet coup started the domino effect, exposing the Afghan people to generations of political strife and poverty, resulting in the Afghan Civil Wars and the rise and domination by the Taliban. Despite their perceived isolation, these historical landmarks had been intruded upon by both conquering regimes and their people seeking relief from their impoverishment. As such, those seeking to profit from ancient histories exploited Afghan culture and legacies. War imparted poverty on its people no matter their allegiance, and the impoverished had no choice but to be complicit in the vandalization of the artifacts of their ancient histories to continue to exist in the present. Afghanistan's cultural landmarks clasped a bleak future due to the lack of preservation and care of those in power. Afghan culture was exploited by those seeking to profit from ancient histories, leaving their legacies to dust.

Afghanistan's ancient kingdoms of Arachosia, Aria, and Bactria covered most of modern-day Afghanistan.[8] Approximately two thousand historic ruins persist in Afghanistan, the oldest dating back to the Paleolithic Era. Since Afghanistan was the backdrop of the transmissions of great cultural and religious expansions, these archaeological sites were necessary to aid our understanding of the ancient world and how Afghanistan significantly shaped the religions and trade routes that developed into the modern world.[9]

It was of the utmost importance to stress examples of these sites to thoroughly demonstrate how invaluable each was to understanding ancient societies and customs. Even the minor details proved precious to furthering

7 International Rescue Committee, "Afghanistan: An Entire Population Pushed into Poverty," accessed, December 22, 2022, https://www.rescue.org/article/afghanistan-entire-population-pushed-poverty.

8 Fredrik Hiebert, "The Lost Worlds of Afghanistan," in Fredrik T. Hiebert and Pierre Cambon, eds., *Afghanistan: Hidden Treasures from the National Museum, Kabul*, (Washington, D.C.: National Geographic Society, 2008), 55.

9 Hiebert, "The Lost Worlds of Afghanistan," 56.

our knowledge to preserve the artifacts and their heritage. For example, Ai-Khanoum was a Bactrian fortress. Its architecture demonstrated Hellenistic Greek influence –caused by Alexander the Great's conquest of Bactria— and the combination of Greek and Bactrian art. The prominence of Greek architecture in the Middle East and Afghanistan showed the extent of trade routes and trading of artistic styles. Furthermore, priceless artifacts– jewelry and statues– discovered in Ai-Khanoum allowed archaeologists to analyze religions and their status symbols. Unfortunately, these artifacts fell victim to pillages and illicit dealings following the Saur Revolution and Afghan Civil Wars.[10]

The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) designated two UNESCO World Heritage sites in Afghanistan: the Minaret of Jam and the Buddhas of Bamiyan.[11] Commissioned by Sultan Ghiyas-od-din as a symbol of his conquests and the glory of the Persian Ghurid dynasty, the Minaret of Jam itself was one of the most significant brick buildings to ever exist at sixty-five meters tall. Meanwhile, the Buddhas of Bamiyan were built between 200-400 A.D. as a Buddhist monastery along the Silk Road. In addition, they were instrumental in understanding the transmission of religions, as the Buddhas of Bamiyan testified to Buddhism's travel along the Silk Road.[12] They were the largest Buddhist statues in existence until their destruction by the Taliban in 2001.[13]

UNESCO expressed interest in adding at least two more Afghan World Heritage sites to their protection: the cities of Herat and Balkh.[14] The city of Herat was the center of the Abbasid Caliphate; the citadel, mosques, and mausoleums still exist today in prime condition. Likewise, Balkh was a Bactrian city; it uniquely was a religious center for Zoroastrian, Buddhism, and Islam.[15]

While UNESCO committed resources to preserve historical sites and artifacts from disrepair caused by age, protecting them from the perils of war and lootings was, unfortunately, a delicate matter. The initial 1972 Conference of UNESCO outlined their reach of power and responsibilities as "shall be understood to mean the establishment of a system of international cooperation

10 Osmund Bopearachchi, "Vandalised Afghanistan," *Frontline: India's National Magazine*, March 16, 2002, https://frontline.thehindu.com/arts-and-culture/heritage/vandalised-afghanistan/article30244351.ece.

11 UNESCO, "Afghanistan," *UNESCO World Heritage Convention*, accessed October 15, 2022, https://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/af/.

12 Francesco Bandarin, "Afghanistan: the Historical Sites of Key Concern after the Taliban's Return," *The Art Newspaper*, August 25, 2021, accessed November 2022, https://www.theartnewspaper.com/2021/08/25/afghanistan-the-historical-sites-of-key-concern-after-the-talibans-return.

13 Bopearachchi, "Vandalised Afghanistan."

14 UNESCO, "Afghanistan."

15 Bandarin, "Afghanistan: the Historical Sites."

and assistance designed to support States Parties to the Convention in their efforts to conserve and identify that heritage…"[16] As an organization of the United Nations, UNESCO was only afforded so much power to protect historical landmarks, as they disallowed to go against both the globalist policies of the United Nations or abided with the nationalist rulings of government. Lacking the nation's support, UNESCO was not authorized to conduct major rescues without committing grave offenses—Afghanistan is a prime example. For instance, in 2001, UNESCO officials could not travel to Afghanistan in an attempt to protect the Buddhas of Bamiyan because the United Nations did not recognize the Taliban as a legitimate government.[17] Nevertheless, Francesco Bandarin, an ex-UNESCO director, maintained the necessity of protecting Afghan landscapes and artifacts, "In this situation, Afghan heritage is at serious risk of attacks and destruction as well as the collapse of the management structures built up in recent years to conserve and protect the country's ancient past…"[18]

In the Western world (particularly the United States), the word 'revolution' communicated a positive connotation for its riddance of monarchies in favor of freedom-filled democracies. However, most people rarely realize the drastic societal and cultural changes that come with the often extreme political modifications. In Afghanistan, the Saur Revolution's Soviet interference removed aspects of Afghan culture in favor of designs that promoted Soviet communist beliefs, such as the replacement of Afghan traditional homes with the Soviet's *mikrorayon*, utilitarian apartment complexes.[19] The Taliban left a similar influence focused on their extremist Islamic ideology, as will be explained in greater detail later on. Combining social, political, and cultural changes from the Saur Revolution and Afghanistan's Civil War led to apathy toward ancient landmarks and artifacts in Afghanistan.

Focusing on the Soviets, the Saur Revolution overthrew then-Afghan President Mohammed Daoud Khan in late April 1978. To guard artifacts, they were removed from the Kabul National Museum and placed in hidden sanctuaries throughout the country. The relics needed unique care and

16 UNESCO, "Recommendation Concerning the Protection at National Level, of the Cultural and Natural Heritage," *The General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization*," (Paris, 1972), accessed, November 2022, https://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext.

17 Hadani Ditmars, "Déjà vu All over Again in Afghanistan: Negotiating with the Taliban to Save Heritage Sites," *Middle East Institute* (September 1, 2021), accessed November 2022, https://www.mei.edu/publications/deja-vu-all-over-again-afghanistan-negotiating-taliban-save-heritage-sites.

18 Bandarin, "Afghanistan: the Historical Sites."

19 Sabauon Nasseri, "What They Left Behind: The Soviet Union in Afghanistan," *Origins: Current Events in Historical Perspective*, December 2014, https://origins.osu.edu/ milestones/december-2014-What-they-left-behind-soviet-union-afghanistan?language_content_e ntity=en.

preservation because of their age; however, the rush to protect them left little time to follow preservation protocols, resulting in the tarnished and damaged condition of countless historical relics.[20] In late 1979, the Soviets—who supported the Saur Revolution—took advantage of the political turmoil to temporarily seize control of Afghanistan out of a desire to control Central Asia to strengthen Soviet domination and its political interests.[21] In a letter written by Soviet Premier Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, he explained the absolute urgency, "Most of all, every intervention into the internal affairs of Afghanistan must be prevented, military and other external actions against the people and government of Afghanistan must cease completely."[22] While seemingly referring to Afghan nationalists, this ploy gave the Soviets license to destroy anything material against the Soviet cause of socialism and communism.

During their decade-long control, the Soviet Union systematically defaced and demolished museums and historical sites to profit from Afghan history. The ancient ruins of Ai-Khanoum and others were raided and deprived of artifacts for money through the black market. Such items like statues and jewelry had been lost to history through these means.[23] Items from the Kabul National Museum were displaced for their protection or through lootings, while the Hadda Museum was raided and set up in flames. [24]In response to the Soviet-caused political and cultural destruction, a 1994 *BBC News* report stated, "Afghanistan may have buried its children, but should not be burying its culture." [25] By the time of the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, approximately two million Afghans had perished at the hands of the Soviet military.[26]

Following the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the subsequent Afghan Civil War that occurred in the power struggle, the Taliban successfully seized

20 Hiebert, "The Lost Worlds of Afghanistan," 35.
21 Kagan et al., *The Western Heritage*, 951.
22 Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, "Letter to the Chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, Chairman of the Socialist International, Willy Brandt," (March 11, 1980), *Wilson Center Digital Archive*, accessed November 2022, https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/letter-chairman-social-democratic-party-germany-chairman-socialist-international-willy.
23 Bopearachchi, "Vandalised Afghanistan."
24 Hiebert, "The Lost Worlds of Afghanistan," 36.
25 "Unrest in Afghanistan," BBC News, London, May 13, 1994, in *At The Crossroads of Asia: A History of the National Museum of Afghanistan*, Omara Khan Massoudi (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2012), 3.
26 Ahmad Shah Masoud, "Letter from Ahmad Shah Masoud to Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister and Special Afghanistan Envoy Yuli Vorontsov," (September 2, 1989), *Wilson Center Digital Archives,* accessed November 2022, https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/letter-ahmad-shah-masoud-soviet-first-deputy-foreign-minister-and-special-afghanistan.

control of Afghanistan in 1996 and legislated strict Islamic law on its people.[27] In a February 2001 edict, Taliban leader Mullah Mohammed Omar ordered:

> Based on the verdict of the clergymen and the decision of the Supreme Court of the Islamic Emirate all the statues around Afghanistan must be destroyed. Because God is one God and these statues are there to be worshiped and that is wrong. They should be destroyed so that they are not worshiped now or in the future.[28]

The Taliban made true to its promise and delegated a specialized task force to destroy statues or any piece of (debatably) idolatrous artwork. There were estimates that approximately three thousand works of ancient art were demolished.[29] Taliban scrutiny extended to artworks without any religious connection, as several museum artifacts were reported to the State Administration of Cultural Heritage for black market sale.[30]

Most notably in their crimes against Afghanistan's cultural heritage, the Taliban was solely responsible for the destruction of the aforementioned Buddhas of Bamiyan, their demise specifically ordered by Taliban leader Omar. The stone rubble and some paintings decorating the Buddhas were later found (for a price) at the Peshawar bazaar, adding further insult to injury.[31] Where once stood the symbols of inner peace, only a vacuum of space born from religious intolerance remained. However, despite their now-inexistence, the Taliban weaponized their memory to enforce their religion and regime in the eyes of Afghanistan and the world.

Nevertheless, relics of antiquity miraculously survived the Soviets' and Taliban's grasp. During the wars, curators from the Kabul National Museum managed to evacuate artwork to the Central Bank, leading to their rediscovery in 2004.[32] In addition, heroic volunteers disguised artifacts in walls and wells to hide their existence. It was highly remarkable that these curators and volunteers protected these relics of history and refused to sell them for their gain, especially considering the priceless works of art—such as gold and jewelry—they were protecting in the face of war and poverty.[33]

Following the Taliban's reemergence to power in Afghanistan in 2021 after

27 Kagan et al., *The Western Heritage*, 975.
28 Mounir Bouchenaki, "Safeguarding the Buddha Statues in Bamiyan and the Sustainable Protection of Afghan Cultural Heritage," in Masanori Nagaoka, ed., *The Future of the Bamiyan Buddha Statues: Heritage Reconstruction in Theory and Practice*, (Paris: UNESCO & Springer, 2020), 19-30.
29 Hiebert, "The Lost Worlds of Afghanistan," 39.
30 Ibid., 49.
31 Bopearachchi, "Vandalised Afghanistan."
32 Hiebert, "The Lost Worlds of Afghanistan," 17.
33 Ibid., 13.

the 18-month withdrawal of stationed United States troops, the Taliban worked to negotiate a moderate stance in contrast to their nineties predecessors, according to an *NPR* interview from Taliban spokesperson Suhail Shaheen.[34] Focusing on cultural matters in a different *NPR* interview, a Taliban political sector spokesperson, Muhammad Naeem Wardak, issued claims that the Taliban would now work to protect – and even research – historical sites and artifacts, stating:

> The Minister of Education and the acting Minister of Information were present with us in the negotiations. They have begun their research in different provinces. For example, they went to Kandahar, Herat, and other provinces, they want to preserve those ancient monuments found in museums and other places, so we want to preserve all of this. They are part of our history and part of the identity of the Afghan people, and you know the Afghan people have a long history dating back to about 5,000 years. So, we will preserve this, and we have no problem with heritage and historical monuments.[35]

Nonetheless, the promises were easy. Although the Taliban promised full pardons to those previously allied with the United States, within days of their takeover, reports of stalking and abuse towards political 'dissenters' filled the media.[36] An attempt to demonstrate a balanced image of cultural acceptance would have benefited the Taliban, for they would have gained global recognition and potential support. Even so, opposing groups in the Taliban with varying extreme to moderate intentions made it challenging to discern what path they ultimately followed in the future.[37] In an October 2022 interview with China Global Television Network, the National Museum of Afghanistan curator, Mohamed Fahim Rahimi, stated, "For now we do not have any concern regarding the security of the National Museum of

34 Suhail Shaheen, "Read What The Taliban Told NPR About Their Plans For Afghanistan." Interview by Steve Inskeep. August 18, 2021. *National Public Radio*. https://www.npr.org/2021/08/18/1028780816/transcript-taliban-spokesman-suhail-shaheen-interview.

35 Muhammad Naeem Wardak, "What the Taliban really want from the world, in their own words." Interview by Hannah Bloch and Fatma Tanis (December 15, 2021) *NPR*. Accessed November 2022, https://www.npr.org/2021/12/15/1064001076/taliban-afghanistan-girls-education-womens-rights.

36 Suhail Shaheen, "Read What The Taliban Told NPR About Their Plans For Afghanistan," (August 18, 2021), *NPR*, accessed November 2022, https://www.npr.org/2021/08/18/1028780816/transcript-taliban-spokesmansuhail-shaheen-interview.

37 Bandarin, "Afghanistan: the Historical Sites."

Afghanistan. It is protected by the government..."[38] Considering Rahimi was under Taliban rule at the time, he likely had been coerced into giving this statement to maintain the moderate agenda this generation of Taliban tried to portray, rendering his assurances questionable.

UNESCO's efforts to secure the World Heritage sites amidst the insurrection proved paradoxically both tenuous and stable. As of late 2022, UNESCO instituted a Transitional Engagement Framework designed to immediately transfer resources toward Afghan refugees and ensure damage was not wrought on historic landmarks during the turmoil. However, UNESCO's blatant refusal to recognize the Taliban government as legitimate potentially caused the Taliban to retaliate against their preservation efforts.[39] Only the passage of time told whether the landmarks were safe against reprisals.

Honestly, it is intriguing to ponder why the Soviet Union and the Taliban did not strategically use their newly acquired historical landscapes as propaganda to showcase the achievements of their conquests. Historical figures often gazed back with nostalgia upon the glories of the past to garner a shared history and strength for the current regime—a classic example is that of Italian dictator Benito Mussolini's fascination with ancient Rome. Mussolini highly desired Rome as the station of shifting histories from which Italy molded a new 'glorious' fascist future.[40] In his autobiography, Mussolini frequently vouched for the virtues of ancient Rome and viewed its historical monuments as a testament to Italy's destiny of excellence, "By isolating the monuments of ancient Rome, the relation between the ancient Romans and the Italians is made more beautiful and suggestive."[41]

Indeed, it is curious how this method of thinking was not applied to Afghanistan. In times of war and poverty, this reminder of golden times could be especially poignant to survivors and translated admiration towards the regime—removing dissent towards the government and finally allowing for peace. In terms of Afghanistan, however, these monuments representing the very ideals of cultural diversity presented a setback to the Soviet's and Taliban's goals. It was to the Soviet's and Taliban's advantage to erase the ancient cultural landmarks of Afghanistan to create a new identity, whether this be a matter of communism or radical fundamentalist Islamism, and

38 Mohamed Fahim Rahimi, "National Museum of Afghan remains bastion of country's rich heritage despite conflict." Interview by Zmaryalai Abasin. October 6, 2022. *YouTube*, CGTN. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NGIYaAK_o5o&list=LL&index=2.

39 Angela Davic, "UNESCO Continues Preservation of Afghanistan's Heritage Sites," *The Collector*, accessed June 2023, https://www.thecollector.com/unesco-continues-preservation-of-afghanistans-heritage-sites/.

40 Benito Mussolini, *My Autobiography* (n.p: Borodino Books, 1928), 189.

41 Ibid., 295.

prevented the people from practicing old beliefs. Removing these landmarks strengthened the beliefs of the regimes to remove the temptation of old ways and to secure their regime's perpetuity and power through force. In particular, the Taliban forbade the Buddhas of Bamiyan to remain because, in their worldview, the 'temptations' of Buddhism or other religions posed a serious threat as they desired to force severe Islamic practices on its people. Therefore, the Buddhas of Bamiyan needed to be vanquished and forgotten through the force of dynamite and the immensity of time.

In a matter of decades, thousands of historical sites and cultural artifacts existing since antiquity ceased to remain. From vandalism, theft, and destruction, parts of Afghanistan's history were unrecoverably lost to its people and the world's history.[42] The motto of the Kabul Museum, "A nation stays alive when its culture stays alive," imparted an important lesson to the world: the significance and necessity for historical and cultural preservation.[43] The artifacts and architecture from historical sites such as Ai-Khanoum and the city of Herat allowed the world a deeper understanding of the Grecian Hellenistic periods and the ancient kingdoms of Afghanistan. The lack of primary documents and oral histories meant the remains of these cities were the sole basis of our knowledge concerning these periods and regions. The erosion of the cultural heritage of Afghanistan threatened to splinter the identity of its people.

In essence, the *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique's* director of research, Osmund Bopearachchi, perhaps expressed the solemnities best:

> The world owes its most profound sympathies to the Afghan people, who were chased from one frontier to another and who suffered the vicissitudes of civil war, famine, and drought. They were the hapless victims of political ideologies that reduce the human condition to a position subordinate to international economic interests. But in promoting the cynical game of realpolitik in Afghanistan, humankind itself has lost a part of its collective cultural heritage - a loss for which the world bears collective responsibility.[44]

Ultimately, Afghanistan faced the gravest sorrows in perhaps its darkest hour. These political ideologies robbed Afghanistan and its people not only of their autonomy but also of their identities, along with their political control relinquished to countries seeking to exploit them. As a part of their Afghan propaganda campaigns and agenda control, the Soviets and the Taliban

42 Bandarin, "Afghanistan: the Historical Sites."
43 Hiebert, "The Lost Worlds of Afghanistan," 23.
44 Bopearachchi, "Vandalised Afghanistan."

ruthlessly destroyed historical landmarks and relics. In spaces of victorious monuments, only rubble and money long spent was left in memory of its people. Despairingly, the Taliban once again gained command of Afghanistan – its future and the fate of their people remain unknown. As of 2023, the world has again turned its back on Afghanistan.

Logan E. T. Shelton

The Civil War: Death and Photography

Introduction

The Civil War was the intertwining of the nexus of the history of death and technology in American history. The Civil War was the bloodiest conflict in U.S. history, and due to the high casualty rate, the war disrupted America's relationship with death and changed the funerary and grieving process. Not only did the Civil War dement Americans' ideals of how to die, but it also disrupted Americans' notions of who should die and as Clark Braden wrote to his local newspaper: "This loss of noble life—this premature death of great talent and virtues is the irreparable loss of the war."[1] Americans adapted to the change in their lives through the new technologies of the time, like photography. Because of the high casualty rate of the Civil War, Americans started embalming corpses to extend the funerary process in addition to giving the bodies of the dead a more significant role in the lives of the living. Another way Americans grew the grieving process was through pictures of their loved ones dead or alive to supplement the funerary death rituals at home. The growth of the funerary process through new technologies gave families a final moment to remember their loved ones and have one last memory of the dying loved one. Newspaper clippings, obituaries, and photos written and taken during the Civil War show the change in Americans' attitudes toward death and their adaptations to the funerary process. In this study, looking at these primary sources through a cultural lens, one can understand how death/dying during the Civil War changed American perceptions of death through a bottom-up perspective.

Histography of Death

The historiography of the Civil War is vast with analysis of its violence. However, only in the last twenty years have new interests in the Civil War raised questions about the broader impact of battlefield slaughter and mass carnage. Historians such as Drew Gilpin Faust, Ian Finseth, and Kirik Savage suggest that such mortality, even in a society far more accustomed to death than our own, must have exerted a profound influence on Americans'

1 Clark Braden, "M. W. Adams," *The Weekly Gazette* (Elgin, Il), Dec. 2, 1863, 1.

perceptions of the world around them as well as their hopes for a world to come. When looking from a bottom-up perspective of the Civil War, these historians gave insight into how the Civil War affected families and traditions during and after the conflict.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Americans embarked on a new relationship with death through the rise of new technologies changing how Americans remember, celebrate, or honor the dead. As Charles O. Jackson explains, death was domesticated and sentimentalized in America between the mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries.[2] The effect of this movement was to increase the role of death and the dead in the world of the living.[3] Death was perceived increasingly by Americans within the context of a growing attachment to life and the uncertainty of an existence after death.

Death's significance for the Civil War generation also derived from how it violated prevailing assumptions about life's proper end, who should die, when and where, and under what circumstances. As Drew Gilpin Faust explains, soldiers died far from home, disrupting the family order and grieving process.[4] Americans, however, adapted to this change by extending the grieving process since the soldiers could not have a proper death at home.[5] Soldiers and their families struggled in various ways to mitigate such cruel realities and construct a Good Death, even amidst the chaos of the Civil War, to substitute for missing elements or compensate for unsatisfied expectations.[6] Americans believed that to have a 'Good Death,' one should die amidst family assembled around the deathbed to witness the death and to assess the state of the dying person's soul.[7] Another important reason for death in the home with loved ones present is that it provided a critical means through which the deceased could continue to exist in the lives of the survivors.[8] Last words played a central role in the tradition of dying for Americans before the Civil War but had to take a new shape due to death away from home. Americans adapted their last words in the form of letters and photos to allow the grieving family to have a means by which the deceased could continue to exist in the lives of their family.

Historians have debated how death impacted the Civil War with mixed results. As Nicholas Marshall argues, this is because some historians interpret the impact of Civil War carnage from a modern point of view, centering much

2 Charles O. Jackson, "American Attitudes to Death," *Journal of American Studies* 11, no. 3 (1977), 298.
3 Ibid.
4 Drew Gilpin Faust, "The Civil War Soldier and the Art of Dying," *The Journal of Southern History* 67, no. 1 (February 2001), 4.
5 Faust, "The Civil War Soldier," 5.
6 Ibid., 11.
7 Ibid., 13.
8 Ibid.

of their interpretation on the factually correct death statistics, exaggerating the war's impact. He argues that this violates one of the central pillars of historical analysis and that of avoiding presentism.[9] However, in focusing too much on the problem of relying on statistics, Marshall undersells the cultural impact that death had on Americans' personal lives.

Historiography of Photography

Historians such as Josephine Cobb, Eliza Richards, Sarah L. Thwaites, Annie E. Proulx, and Alan Trachtenberg analyze the impact of new technologies, such as photography, on Americans' perceptions of death during the Civil War. With the relatively new photography technology, people could see the carnage of war closely, therefore altering the American perception of death. The Civil War was not only the bloodiest conflict in American history but also took place during the Industrial Revolution, which produced many new and deadly technologies emerging throughout the world.

One of these pieces of technology was the camera, which sparked the photography profession, allowing photographers to capture or freeze a moment in time much faster than the painter's craft. However, Josephine Cobb explains that keeping good supplies and avoiding debris and bad weather was challenging.[10] During the photo-taking process, even a breath of wind ruined the chance of obtaining a picture because of the unreliability of the new technology. However, as Cobb has noted, photography was still profitable, with towns holding exhibits of war views from photographers.[11]

However, Civil War photographs are vulnerable to the same obscurities of other forms of evidence, as Alan Trachtenberg warns. He argues that historians should take a closer look at photos during the Civil War and be just as skeptical of their context as other primary sources.[12] The reason for Trachtenberg's warning is primary sources such as Alex Gardener's photo sketchbook that arranges the dead bodies of soldiers to dramatize and romanticize death.[13]

Sarah L. Thwaites, in her essay, explains how photography came of age during the Civil War era and how their images gave Americans what

9 Nicholas Marshall, "The Great Exaggeration: Death and the Civil War," *Journal of the Civil War Era* 4, no. 1 (2014), 3-6.
10 Josephine Cobb, "Photographers of the Civil War," *Military Affairs* 26, no. 3 (Autumn 1962), 129.
11 Ibid.
12 Alan Trachtenberg, "Albums of War: On Reading Civil War Photographs," *Representations*, no. 9 (Winter 1985), 2.
13 Ibid., 11.

seemed to be unmediated witness to terrible battle scenes and war tragedies.[14] Photography was able to freeze the terrors of war in Americans' minds while also extending the grieving process. Photographs such as Gardner's did not shy away from the dreadful reality of death in combat: many of the images in his text show twisted and distorted corpses lying bloodied and abandoned across mud-swamped battle sites. Often, the faces of the dead were deliberately turned directly toward the camera, gaunt and ghostly, and the pictures were consumed as much with fascination as with repulsion.[15]

Annie E. Proulx, in "Dead Stuff," explains how photography, while depicting death, was also used to extend the grieving process through memorial photography.[16] Dead loved ones would be posed on chairs or sofas as though reading or asleep, which showed the importance of these keepsake photographs in the previous century when death was intimate, with the funerary process taking place at home. Proulx explains further that the photographic record of the Civil War often shows broad landscapes with distant horse and human corpses like rocks or heaps of turned earth; the feeling is one of remote sadness, implying that in war, death is both massive and inescapable as weather.[17] Some families of slain Civil War soldiers were willing to pay to have the bodies sent home by train for burial, creating a new profession to embalm, arrange, and repair the broken corpses for the last ride home.[18]

The Nameless Dead

As Ian Finseth argues, one crucial issue relating to death and photography during the Civil War is the "nameless dead." Of course, the dead soldiers were not nameless, but a lack of documentation attached to civil war photography rendered them so. As noted by Finseth, "the unprecedented numbers of the dead made difficult to account for, identify, or adequately intern the body of the fallen soldier, not to mention those of slaves or other noncombatants whose lives the war had claimed--and thus appeared the figure of the unknown soldier."[19] Thus, the emergence of the figure of the unknown soldier, a single entity imbued with the spirits of all unidentifiable and unrecoverable soldiers, the unknown soldier gave the death of a soldier when nothing else could, both during and

14 Sarah L. Thwaites, "Battle-Pieces, Drum-Taps, and the Aesthetic of Aftermath in Civil War Photography," in Christopher Sten and Tyler Hoffman, eds., *Convulsion": Whiteman and Melville Write the Civil War* (University of Iowa Press, 2019), 50.

15 Ibid., 51.

16 E. Annie Proulx, "DEAD STUFF," *Aperture* 149 (Fall 1997), 30.

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid., 31.

19 Ian Finseth, "The Civil War Dead: Realism and the Problem of Anonymity," *American Literary History* 25, no.3 (2001), 535.

after the Civil War.[20] Finseth explains how a subtle and probably unintentional social exclusion created anonymity for the "nameless dead."[21] A condition in which the dead body is preserved for circulation and contemplation while the name is representationally absent: unknown, irrelevant, and a distraction.[22]

In the same vein as Ian Finseth, Kirk Savage uses a photo taken by Alex Gardener as a springboard to explore the broader dilemma of text and image. Savage argues that photography tapped universal fears surrounding death and culturally specific anxieties brought on by the rupture of the Civil War. He focuses on the unknown dead, how easily the physical body became disconnected from its name, and how fragile personal identity was. Savage argues that the search for solutions to this predicament of the unknown dead fueled a new system, indeed a new art, of commemoration.[23]

Photography was able to give the dead an everlasting image. It affected perceptions of death among Americans. Eliza Richards explains through the lens of the Northern literary expression of writers at the time; she compares the essays of Oliver Wendell Holmes and the poems of Emily Dickinson as a method to explore the divergent ways that two writers on the home front thought of the ramifications of distant violence. Holmes celebrates how photography can expose and heal the illnesses of the nation, while Dickinson contrasts him and emphasizes the narrow singularity of any insight photography can provide.[24]

The historiography of the Civil War regarding death and photography has a commonality in changing the grieving process for Americans. This study seeks to link the commonality between death and photography and how Americans used photography to adapt to the tragedies of the Civil War death. This study will utilize a bottom-up analysis of photography during the Civil War to better understand the cultural impact that photography had on the change of the grieving process for Americans.

Americans' Death during Colonial Times

The attitudes to death in America were grim from the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries. Death was generally accepted as a commonplace if harsh reality to be followed by the entrance, at least for the righteous, into a somewhat ill-defined heavenly state.[25] Americans came to accept death as

20 Ibid., 542.
21 Ibid., 536.
22 Ibid.
23 Kirk Savage, "The Unknowable Dead: The Civil War and the Origins of Modern Commemoration," *Studies in the History of Art* 81 (2016): 81-102.
24 Eliza Richards, "Death's Surprise, Stamped Visible': Emily Dickinson, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and Civil War Photography," *Amerikastudien / American Studies* 54, no.1 (2009):13–15.
25 Jackson, "American Attitudes to Death," 299.

a natural occurrence and never denied it because colonial times were harsh. With an average of 8.8 births per family, every couple could expect to lose two to three children before age ten.[26] Most people could not have gotten along without losing more than one person in their immediate circle of relatives and friends. The culturally proper place for death was in the home, with loved ones gathered to witness the final moments. Ideally, the dying person "presided" over the event in full knowledge of their condition. [27]

Because the great majority of inhabitants of colonies of North America lived in small communities with mutual decency and familial relationships, colonists experienced death as a community.[28] In turn, the community rallied in various ways to assist the bereaved family in the crisis. Colonists accomplished the grim business of the deceased's final disposition. Preparing the dead for burial typically included dressing, "laying out," and attending the body in the home until burial; constructing a coffin; bearing the body to the burial site; and digging and covering the grave.[29] The respect paid, and interment completed the impact of death passed with reasonable rapidity, bereaved spouses often remarrying within a short period. An interval of less than a year was not uncommon.[30]

The Early History of Photography

Although photography sprouted and spread like wildfire in the United States between the 1840s and the 1870s, historians agree that it did not have any of its wondrous births in the United States.[31] The French, British, and Brazilians each claimed the invention of photography. Regardless of who and what image process is said to be workable, the advent of photography was in the 1820s and 1830s.[32] Even though the United States was not the source of the birth of photography, it may well claim the dawn of the "history of photography." The American versions of the history of photography, with no claims of priority to carry or defend the birth of photography, developed differently.[33] The broader American audience did not take photography seriously until the 1930s because it was primarily commercial and not the assumed worthwhile materials to study, like paintings.

Photography came of age in the United States during the Civil War era, with more than a million photographs about the war taken, comprising battle

26 Ibid.
27 Ibid.
28 Ibid., 300.
29 Ibid.
30 Ibid.
31 Anthony W. Lee, "American Histories of Photography," *American Art* 21, no. 3 (Fall 2007), 2.
32 Ibid.
33 Ibid.

scenes and portraits. As photography became more affordable, there was a new surge of interest in images of soldiers wearing their uniforms, with many photographs taken to be mailed home as keepsakes for loved ones.[34] As the Civil War progressed, a mass of stark photographic evidence was available to the nineteenth-century consumer, providing what seemed to be an unmediated witness to the terrible scenes of battle and a new way to have a "Good Death."

The "Good Death"

By the mid-nineteenth century, Americans' attitudes toward death changed; The dead were more significant in the living world, and a more sophisticated perspective had developed on dying and the deceased. [35] The reason for this change was the evolution of Western thought with the coming of the "Good Death." American culture treated passing as an art, with the "Good Death" as a goal that all men and women should struggle to achieve.[36] From the fifteenth century onward, texts describing the *Ars Moriendi* ("art of dying") provided readers with rules of conduct of how to meet death through the religious faith in God.[37] Further texts on the tradition of the *Ars Moriendi* spread throughout American culture, seeping into popular literature like Emily Dicken's *Little Nell*.[38] The Good Death reached a broad spectrum of the American population in the mid-century and would become a central aspect of the Civil War's popular culture, songs, stories, and poetry.[39]

Death during the Civil War: Adapting to War

The Civil War proved bloodier than any other conflict in American history. The number of soldiers who died between 1861 and 1865 parallels the number of American fatalities across the sum in the Revolution, the War of 1812, the Mexican War, The Spanish-American War, World War I, World War II, and the Korean War combined.[40] Even in a society far more accustomed to death than our own, such death must have profoundly influenced hopes for a world to come.[41] The Civil War separated families, and not only did soldiers die far from home, but their loved ones also died far away. American families could no longer experience death the same way. They had to wait for the bodies to come home by train. During the lengthy process of sending the bodies home,

34 Thwaites, "Battle-Pieces, Drum-Taps," 51.
35 Jackson, "American Attitudes to Death," 300.
36 Faust, "The Civil War Soldier," 6.
37 Ibid.
38 Ibid., 7.
39 Ibid., 8.
40 Ibid., 5.
41 Ibid., 4.

morticians embalmed the body to freeze the body in time for the grieving families. The dead became domesticated and beautified.[42]

The increasing fatalities during the Civil War forced Americans to adapt how they had traditionally carried out funeral practices and rituals about death and dying. As Americans faced the horrors of the war, through the numbers of the dead, they sought ways to problematize their ability to cope with the carnage and their commitment to the war efforts, to the point of questioning the righteousness of their own God. For example, Clark Braden reflected on the death of a young man. In a letter to the local newspaper, he wrote, "How many noble lives have been sacrificed by the unholy rebellion!"[43] In this writing, he expressed significant concerns about "copping" and the "patriotic" frustrations of this "second war of Independence." He concluded by stating, "All of these fond hopes have been buried in his early grave, solaced only by the thought that he gave his life heroically to his country."[44] This writing illustrates the anxieties about death during the Civil War. The Civil War exacerbated the struggle to achieve the "Good Death." Much of the "Good Death" ritual focused on the *hors mori*, the hour of death. According to the hour of death, the ritual must be witnessed, scrutinized, interpreted, and narrated.[45] The sudden and all-but-unnoticed end of a soldier slain in battle and the unattended deaths of unidentified wounded men too ill to reveal their last thoughts denied these long-cherished consolations. Not only did the Civil War disrupt how people died, but it also departed from the prevailing assumptions about who should die. As Clark Braden says: "This loss of noble life, this premature death of great talent and virtue is the irreparable loss of the war."[46] The loss of these soldiers during the Civil War robbed Americans of their "Good Death" and separated death from the context of the home.

Soldiers died far from home, and no one was there for them in their final moments. Nevertheless, Americans tried their best to adapt to this horrific change. Since families could not grieve their dying loved ones in the context of the home with them, they developed a more significant relationship with their departed through the funerary process once they were already gone. The dead became precious. The attention to the burial receptacle and the body ensured that the deceased, adequately reposed in an aesthetically pleasing setting, did not die for a long time.[47] First, the bodies had to return home, which took some time. The introduction of embalming corpses started during the Civil War to prevent the body from decaying on the trip home.[48] Embalming helped freeze

42 Jackson, "American Attitudes to Death," 300.
43 Braden, "M. W. Adams," 1.
44 Ibid.
45 Faust, "The Civil War Soldier," 10.
46 Braden, "M. W. Adams," 1.
47 Jackson, "American Attitudes to Death," 304.
48 Jeremiah Chiapelli and Ted Chiapelli, "Drinking Grandma: The Problem of Em-

their final moment in time to make it back home for an adapted "Good Death" in which the dying no longer took part. Other than embalming, another way in which Americans froze their loved ones in a moment in time was through photography.

Photography as a Remedy: Post-mortem Photography

Fig. 2[49]

The living and dead alike were prisoners of war. The Civil War rendered soldiers incapable of dying with dignity with their loved ones nearby, while in turn, the war also robbed the family of experiencing death domestically. In an obituary written in a newspaper about a one-year-old baby who passed when her father was off in the war: "The bereavement is accordingly a sad and heavy one—rendered but the more severe by the absence of the father as a prisoner of war—thus leaving the stricken and devoted mother in her lonely grief to mourn apart."[50] Americans could not correctly mourn their dead on or off the battlefield. With this problem came the obsession to remedy it. One of these remedies was the photography of the living and dead. For example, in Figure 2, a photo of a mother posing with the body of her infant daughter who passed away, one can see how the dead became precious and had a place in the world of the living. In doing this for the dead, Americans could prevent, delay, or adapt the grieving process to rationalize the carnage of the Civil War.

Post-mortem photography is the process of taking photos of the dead; it was a common practice from 1839 to the 1930s. Since death was frequent

balming," *Journal of Environmental Health* 71, no. 5 (December 2008), 24.

49 Anderson, "Post-Mortem Photography."

50 A. N. S., "Obituary," *The Charleston Mercury* (Charleston, S. C.), Aug. 6, 1864, 1.

during the war, many people, especially children, had no photographs taken of them when they were alive. However, due to the need to memorialize them and freeze their likeness in history, families would have pictures taken of the body alone or with the family posing next to or with the body. For example, in Figure 3, a stereoscope with the image of a dead baby, one can see that Americans were willing to capture the likeness of their loved ones, dead or alive. Family members' pet post-mortem photographs of the pets' bodies further express the deep emotional attachment humans feel toward animals and death. For example, in Figure 4, a person lovingly or sorrowfully posed with their deceased dog.

Figure 3[51]

Figure 4.[52]

Photography in War

Some families of killed Civil War soldiers were willing to pay to have the bodies sent home for burial.[53] The embalming, arranging, and repairing the broken corpses for the last ride of life sparked the new profession of a mortician. By the beginning of the 20th century, the dead, now beautified and arranged, were in the hands of the undertakers and funeral parlors, and the first gap of distance had opened between the living and the dead.[54] Photography's part in the Civil War was not significant to military or naval operations but a boon and curse for the people. Due to the technological limitations at the time, the primary aesthetics in Civil photography is that of the aftermath, in which

51 Anderson, "Post-Mortem Photography."
52 Ibid.
53 Proulx, "Dead Stuff," 30.
54 Ibid., 34.

the photos depicted that which is, in the wake of action, ruined or uncanny. The photographs reveal scenes that appear lifeless, empty, or obliterated by the effects of war.[55] This style encourages the viewer to reflect on the ruins and dead of the war. Photography gave the dead an everlasting image; on a personal basis, it was an effective tool to remember their loved ones pictured dead or alive. It affected perceptions of death among Americans.

Photographers did not shy away from death, with photos of the dead on the battlefield.[56] A photograph in Alex Gardener's *Sketch Book* shows dead Union soldiers littered on the battlefield. Gardener gives a flowery description of the carnage that attempted to beautify the dead while trying to understand or rationalize their final moments:

> With those who wore a calm and resigned expression as though they had passed away in the act of prayer. Others had a smile on their faces and looked as if they were in the act of speaking. Some lay stretched on their backs as if friendly hands had prepared them for burial.[57]

Figure 5. *Field Where General Reynold Fell, Gettysburg, July 1863*

Gardener embraced the Civil War conflict and tried rationalizing it through a patriotic and religious understanding rather than dismissing it. His pictures take meaning from their place within a specific event concerning an imminent whole: the war. He uses photography to memorialize the effects of

55 Thwaites, "Battle-Pieces, Drum-Taps," 51.
56 Ibid.
57 Gardner, Alexander, and Alfred R Waud. *Gardner's Photographic Sketch Book of the War*. United States Virginia, 1866. [Washington: Philp & Solomons] Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/01021785/.

war. He tells a story through the pictures and can convey the terrors of war through photographs.[58]

Photography garnered as the medium for death due to how it came to be in the United States during the Civil War. The persistent documentary reputation of photography and the continuing public belief in an objective role for the photographer's eye has funneled much of the illustration of death out of literature, sculpture, and painting and into photography. Americans refused to deal with mortality and accept death for what it was: an end to life. Americans used photography to suspend and delay death. It reminded Americans of their loved ones but in a false reality. Some pictures would pose the dead in a way to imitate life; for example, the post-mortem photos discussed earlier. Rather than extending the grieving process, photography alleviated the burden of death away from home for certain families who got pictures of their loved ones dead or alive. However, the problem of the "unknowable dead" and "nameless dead" prevented this from taking full effect because not every dead body was identifiable after a battle, or some families did not have enough money to embalm and transport the body back home.

Alex Gardner noted the impossibility of honoring the fallen soldier when he stated, "How many skeletons of such men are bleaching today in out-of-the-way places no one can tell. . . But there are hundreds [of dead] that will never be known of, and will moulder into nothingness among the rocks."[59] Laying the war dead to rest was almost impossible. The dead were restless bodies that circulated physically, spiritually, and ideologically in a society that struggled to solve the predicaments they created. The "unknown dead," or what one would call unidentified, collectively became a substantial cultural crisis during the Civil War, which photography helped remedy.[60] During this time, a person who lost his name had a second death, a death by disappearance.[61]

58 Trachtenberg, "Albums of War," 14.

59 Gardner, Alexander, and Alfred R Waud. *Gardner's Photographic Sketch Book of the War*. United States Virginia, 1866. [Washington: Philp & Solomons] Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/01021785/.

60 Savage, "The Unknowable Dead," 83.

61 Ibid., 90.

Figure 6. *A Sharpshooter's Last Sleep, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.*[62]

Namelessness had a paradoxical effect: while it rendered the dead susceptible to symbolic appropriation and the cultural logic of abstraction, it also made them elusive as objects of awareness and historical constructs. The nameless dead in photos allowed Americans to imbue meaning in the anonymous bodies' deaths. For example, in Alex Gardner's photographic sketch book, he made the dead seem dramatic or heroic. In Figure 5, Gardner arranged a Confederate sharpshooter to convey a dramatic scene. The nameless dead Confederate soldier now represents a historical construct and is removed from their previous identity of the domestic and family into the collective memory of America as a whole. Americans wanted the Civil War and the death that came with it to mean something. Mainstream American culture during the nineteenth century shows that Americans did not let go of the Civil War dead nor accept them on terms other than those of heroism and sacrifice.[63] Clark Braden puts it best: "But as we cherish the names of the heroes of the Revolution, so should and will we cherish the memory of the noble men who fall in this our Second War of Independence."[64] Rather than accepting the death of the Civil War, Americans held to their notions of patriotism, creating a false reality that the death of their loved ones had some higher meaning. This notion is also reflected in Gardner's photo sketchbook: "With those [dead] who wore a clam and resigned expression, as though they had passed away in the act of prayer."[65]

62 Gardner, Alexander, and Alfred R Waud. *Gardner's Photographic Sketch Book of the War*. United States Virginia, 1866. [Washington: Philp & Solomons] Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/01021785/.

63 Finseth, "The Civil War Dead," 537.

64 Braden, "M. W. Adams," 1.

65 Gardner, Alexander, and Alfred R Waud. *Gardner's Photographic Sketch Book of the War*. United States Virginia, 1866. [Washington: Philp & Solomons] Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/01021785/.

Conclusion

The Civil War was the intertwining of the nexus of the history of death and technology in American history. The Civil War was the bloodiest conflict in U.S. history, and due to the high casualty rate, the war disrupted America's conceptualization of death and funerary processes. Americans adapted their funerary processes and conceptions of death by utilizing new technologies like embalming and photography to achieve the "Good Death" even through the carnage of war. Because of the high casualty rate of the Civil War, Americans started embalming corpses to extend the funerary process to give the bodies of the dead a more significant role in the *Ars Moriendi*. Americans took pictures of their loved ones, dead or alive, to supplement the process of death at home, gave families a final moment to remember their loved ones, and the ability to freeze a memory in an object like a photo. This adaptation or change over the course of the Civil War in newspaper clippings, obituaries, and photographs written and taken during the Civil War shows the impact that photography had on how Americans experienced death during the Civil War.

Grant L. Smith

A Historical Examination of John Dewey's Influence on the Southern Illinois University School of Medicine

Introduction

John Dewey was one of the twentieth century's most influential philosophers and educators. During his career, he taught and researched at several prestigious universities, including Johns Hopkins, Columbia, the University of Michigan, and the University of Chicago.[1] While at these universities, he wrote much of his work regarding education. Although the breadth of Dewey's ideas and writings was far-reaching, central to his education philosophy was using experiences as learning tools, which he outlined in *Democracy and Education*, one of his books.[2] To Dewey, learning was more than memorization or the use of formulas. Instead, it meant understanding the *why* and *how,* emphasizing student input concerning what students needed to learn to be proficient in their chosen careers.

Many educational institutions, including SIU, have been impacted by Dewey's work and incorporated his philosophy of experiential learning into their pedagogy. In the 1960s, SIU established its Center for Dewey Studies, which compiled much of his work, including *The Collected Works of John Dewey*, a thirty-seven-volume collection of Dewey's work.[3] While the Center remained an excellent resource for the collections of Dewey, the full extent of Dewey's influence on SIU has been largely overlooked. Dewey's influence on the SIU system is apparent in one largely unnoticed area – the SIU School of Medicine (SIU-SM). SIU-SM borrows much of its pedagogy from Deweyan ideas. There is a dearth of information regarding these connections. This study aims to explore the history of Dewey's impact on the curriculum of SIU-SM and highlight Dewey's influence on SIU outside of the Center for Dewey Studies.

1 George Dykhuizen, *The Life and Mind of John Dewey* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973).

2 John Dewey, *Democracy in Education* (Gorham, ME: Meyers Education Press, LLC, 2018), 149-154.

3 Jo Ann Boydston, "The Dewey Center and *The Collected Works of John Dewey*," *Free Inquiry* (Winter 1992/93), 19.

Deweyan Philosophy: Widespread Impact and Influence

John Dewey outlined his philosophical ideas regarding education in his book *Democracy and Education*, which articulated philosophical theories he believed would aid students' learning.[4] One focus of his theory centered on the concept of experience as learning. Praxis of this theory involved hands-on learning. There is no shortage of studies about Dewey's ideas, including his experiential learning theory. Much of the academic literature that discusses American educational curriculum building, or pedagogy in general, mentions Dewey and his philosophies.[5]

Many studies on Deweyan influence revolve around his concept of experiences as learning.[6] Essentially, the theory emphasizes the importance of students' use of hands-on projects and applicable kinesthetic learning methods. Additionally, numerous studies related to curriculum building draw from philosophy in *Democracy in Education*.[7] For example, Alice and David Kolb's study, "Learning Styles and Learning Spaces: Enhancing Experiential Learning in Higher Education," takes the ideas of Dewey, but

4 Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, 148-160; John Dewey, *Experience and Education* (New York, NY: Kappa Delta Pi, 1938).

5 The studies on education, curriculum building, and pedagogy are vast—many studies mention Dewey, his influence on curriculum development, and his educational philosophies. Many also mention the idea of experiences as learning. A few are James O'Hanlon, "Three Models for the Curriculum Development Process," *Curriculum Theory Network* 4, no. 1 (1973): 64–71; Thomas Fallace, "Repeating the Race Experience: John Dewey and the History Curriculum at the University of Chicago Laboratory School," *Curriculum Inquiry* 39, no. 3 (2009): 381–405; Colleen Conway, "Curriculum Writing in Music," *Music Educators Journal* 88, no. 6 (2002): 54–59; Jim McKernan, "Action Research and Curriculum Development," *Peabody Journal of Education* 64, no. 2 (1987): 6–19; and Erin A. Hopkins, "John Dewey and Progressive Education," *The Journal of Educational Thought (JET) / Revue de La Pensée Éducative* 50, no. 1 (2017): 59–68.

6 As stated before, studies on experiences as learning are broad. Some studies mention experiences as a means of learning but do not mention Dewey. A few that mention both Dewey and experience as learning are Alice Y. Kolb and David A. Kolb, "Learning Styles and Learning Spaces: Enhancing Experiential Learning in Higher Education," *Academy of Management Learning & Education* 4, no. 2 (2005): 193–212; Margaret Schmidt, "Learning From Teaching Experience: Dewey's Theory and Preservice Teachers' Learning," *Journal of Research in Music Education* 58, no. 2 (2010): 131–46; and Laura Helle, Päivi Tynjälä, and Erkki Olkinuora, "Project-Based Learning in Post-Secondary Education: Theory, Practice and Rubber Sling Shots," *Higher Education* 51, no. 2 (2006): 287–314.

7 A few diverse studies include Latasha Holt, "John Dewey: A Look at His Contributions to Curriculum," *Academicus International Scientific Journal*, 21 no. 1 (2020): 142-150; William Schubert, "Educationally Recovering Dewey in Curriculum," *Current Issues in Education* 7, no. 1 (1987): 1-32; Paulus Mentz, "The Influence of John Dewey on Curriculum Development in South Africa," paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Education Research Association April 20-24, San Francisco, CA.

more specifically his notion of experiences as learning, and applies them to a modern version of education.[8] What is important to note about this study is that the authors use these ideas in higher education instead of solely in K-12 schools. Most of the piece revolves around the authors' discussion of their Experiential Learning Theory (ELT). This theory has six propositions, all of which can be summarized in the first proposition:

> Learning is best conceived as a process, not in terms of outcomes. To improve learning in higher education, the primary focus should be on engaging students in a process that best enhances their learning – a process that includes feedback on the effectiveness of their learning efforts. As Dewey notes, "[E]ducation must be conceived as a continuing reconstruction of experience: … the process and goal of education are one and the same thing."[9]

In the first principle, they construct the foundation on which the theory is based. The process of learning is the most important part; focusing more on the means to the end is perhaps more beneficial than focusing on the end itself.

Another broad idea regarding institutions and methodology for formulating curriculum is found in Allan Ornstein's article "Philosophy as a Basis for Curriculum Decisions."[10] Although Ornstein discusses several philosophies in this article, he demonstrates that Dewey's progressivism is the most important. The author wants the reader to understand Dewey's perspective on using philosophy as the starting point for curriculum building. It is foundational to building an institution where students learn and comprehend. The goal is for the student to learn by asking questions instead of simply accepting what the instructor says.[11]

Dewey's ideas were as influential in the United States as in other countries such as China, Russia, Spain, and Japan, among other countries.[12] In Zhixin Su's study, "A Critical Evaluation of John Dewey's Influence on Chinese Education," she provides insight into Dewey's contributions to Chinese education.[13] This

8 Kolb, "Learning Styles and Learning Spaces," 193.
9 Ibid., 193–212.
10 Allan C. Ornstein, "Philosophy as a Basis for Curriculum Decisions," *The High School Journal* 74, no. 2 (December 1990): 102–9
11 Ibid., 102-9.
12 Zhixin Su, "A Critical Evaluation of John Dewey's Influence on Chinese Education," *American Journal of Education* 103, no. 3 (1995): 302–25; Irna Mchitarjan, "John Dewey and the Development of Education in Russia before 1930 – Report on a Forgotten Reception," *Studies in Philosophy and Education* 19, (2000): 109-131; Antón Donoso, "John Dewey in Spain and in Spanish America," *International Philosophical Quarterly* 41, no. 3 (2001): 347-362; and Victor Nobuo Kobayashi, "John Dewey in Japanese Educational Thought," (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1964).
13 Su, "A Critical Evaluation," 302–25.

piece aids in understanding Dewey on a global scale, as Dewey spent more time in China than in any other foreign country. Su offers several perspectives on Dewey's successes and failures within China. While Dewey did influence Chinese education, he failed to shape Chinese politics through education. This is important to understand because of the contrast to American education and its rejection of democratic approaches to education. Dewey's ideas were accepted in Chinese academia but not in Chinese politics. By contrast, democracy was accepted in American politics but not philosophically accepted in the realm of education. Jin Shenghong and Jua-wei Dan offer a similar perspective in their study "The Contemporary Development of Philosophy of Education in Mainland China and Taiwan." [14] But their focus is primarily broader than that of Su's. They discuss Confucianism and other Eastern philosophies before the 20th century. At this time, they note that education philosophy emerged as a fundamental discipline as ancient Eastern philosophies, like Daoism and Confucianism, merged with Western thought and Marxist ideals. They argue that a Western model of education was needed.[15]

Dewey spent most of his time lecturing on education in China.[16] The relationship between Dewey's philosophies and China is partially due to the 1842 Opium War. At this time, many Chinese individuals wanted to learn and embrace some form of Western education in hopes of then being able to reform China's declining feudal dynasty.[17] China sought to identify Western educators to breathe new light into Chinese education. Dewey was the most evident choice for a Western, liberal philosopher of education who could bring reforms to Chinese education. Many of his former Chinese students studied abroad at Columbia University in the United States. These Chinese bureaucrats called upon him to come to China and lecture about educational practices.[18] Dewey's *Democracy and Education* was immensely popular in China. As Zhixin Su explains, there remains literature insinuating Dewey's success in Chinese education and literature that insists on his failures. Ultimately, Dewey's influence in China lies somewhere between success and failure. While he successfully influenced several Chinese educational intuitions, Dewey's ideas did little in a political sense. *Democracy and Education* could not survive in China politically. Nevertheless, Dewey's ideas strictly concerning education, apart from the importance of democratic freedom to education, did impact China. Jin Shenghong and Jau-wei Dan note in their paper, "As Dewey stayed a whole year in China and his Chinese students, such as Hu Shi and

14 Jin Shenghong, and Jau-wei Dan, "The Contemporary Development of Philosophy of Education in Mainland China and Taiwan," *Comparative Education* 40, no. 4 (November 2004): 571–81.
15 Ibid., 579.
16 Su, "A Critical Evaluation," 302.
17 Ibid., 304.
18 Ibid., 305.

Tao Xingzhi, successfully introduced his ideas into China, it is hard to deny that his thoughts played an important role in the development of the Chinese education system and educational theories."[19] Interestingly, considering China's political history, Chinese education systems embraced Deweyan pragmatism and the ideas of a democratic form of education.

Any literature regarding local influence by Dewey comes indirectly. The book *Southern Illinois University at 150 Years: Growth, Accomplishments, and Challenges* by Jackson, Montemangno, Buhman, and Sneed looks into many parts of SIU's history and dedicates a chapter of discussion to the medical school.[20] Within this chapter, the authors detail SIU-SM's history and unique approach to curriculum, which, essentially, is that SIU-SM uses experiential learning theory.[21]

Dewey's Idea of Experience as Learning

Dewey's philosophical framework regarding education consisted of a vast number of theories. However, the idea of experiential learning stood out, as one can conclude that this was the concept that Dewey may have wanted individuals to understand the most. He believed that experiences were central to understanding. By experiences, he meant that learning happened when the learner practiced rather than just listened to instructions. For example, Dewey would probably favor lab-based science classes that allowed students to be immersed in their learning by conducting experiments. Rather than just read books about how seeds germinate and grow, Dewey would have likely recommended planting a seed and observing its growth. This allowed students to connect with what they learned instead of just reciting concepts. In *Democracy and Education*, Dewey lays out his ideas about learning through experiences:

> Two conclusions important to education to follow. (1) Experience is primarily an active-passive affair, not primarily cognitive. But (2) the *measure of the value* of an experience lies in the perception of relationships or continuities to which it leads up. It includes cognition in the degree in which it is cumulative or amounts to something, or has meaning. In

19 Shenghong and Dan, "The Contemporary Development," 572.

20 John S. Jackson, Carlo D. Montemagno, Steve Buhman, and Vanessa A. Sneed, J. Kevin Dorsey, Phillip V. Davis, J. Hurley Meyers, and Pamela J. Charlson Speer, *Southern Illinois University at 150 Years: Growth, Accomplishments, and Challenges* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2019). Most of the information in this chapter comes from David Silber, Reed Williams, Rosalia Amitrano Paiva, Dax Taylor, and Roger Robinson, "The SIU Medical Curriculum: Systemwide Objective-Based Instruction," *Journal of Medical Education* 53, no. 6 (1978): 473-479.

21 Jackson, et al., *Southern Illinois University*, 190-191.

> schools, those under instruction are too customarily looked upon as acquiring knowledge as theoretical spectators, minds which appropriate knowledge by direct energy of intellect. … An ounce of experience is better than a ton of theory simply because it is only in experience that any theory has vital and verifiable significance.[22]

Dewey believed that the foundation of learning involved allowing students to engage in hands-on experiences, followed by teachings or lectures based on that experience. He also thought there was no point in only trying to teach students what they should learn when they may have no practical reason. It is better to give them a *why and, in most cases, an experience,* a kinesthetic version of learning. The environment in which students learn was also vital to Dewey. In "John Dewey and Progressive Education," Erin Hopkins notes, "Dewey explained that an experience between an individual and their environment results in learning as the individual tries to make meaning upon the experiential learning."[23] Another way of understanding this is that a student (or group of students) conducts an experiment or tests a hypothesis before the instructor provides them with any theory. Then, after the experiment, students could reflect on their experience and ask questions about what they still need to learn. With this model, educators become more like facilitators in students' learning process.[24] To Dewey, this was the most complete form of democratic learning, allowing for proper understanding and comprehension without hierarchies of knowledge.

Dewey and Southern Illinois University

Dewey never taught nor researched at SIU nor visited the university. So, why, then, give any attention to a possible correlation between Dewey and SIU? There are several reasons for this. As mentioned previously, SIU is home to the Center for Dewey Studies. In 1961, George Axtelle founded the Co-operative Research on Dewey Publications (or the "Dewey Project"), which would later become the Center for Dewey Studies.[25] Axtelle was a prominent Dewey scholar. He, university press director Vernon Sternberg, and university president Delyte W. Morris brought the project together. Although the Dewey Center was not necessarily on Delyte Morris's to-do list, it was vital to Axtelle,

22 Dewey, *Democracy in Education*, 149-154.

23 Erin A. Hopkins, "John Dewey and Progressive Education." *The Journal of Educational Thought (JET) / Revue de La Pensée Éducative* 50, no. 1 (Winter 2017), 61.

24 Robert Louis Jackson, "Pedagogues, Periodicals, and Paranoia," *Society* 45 (2008): 20-29.

25 Boydston, "The Dewey Center," 19.

and Morris fully supported it.[26] Shortly after the Center's founding, Axtell stepped away, and Jo Ann Boydston became director of the project.[27] As discussed, most of the Center's work focused on bringing Dewey's works together in several collections. *The Collected Works of John Dewey* was the Center's first major accomplishment, completing thirty-seven volumes. The center also, under director Larry Hickman, published over 22,000 pieces of Dewey's correspondence.[28] In January of 2017, Dewey Center closed due to funding cuts.[29] However, the center was re-opened in 2022.

Dewey's Influence on the Southern Illinois University School of Medicine

In the late 1960s, SIU became the ideal spot for a new medical school in Illinois. In 1968, the "Campbell Report" was released and endorsed the idea of SIU being the home of a new state medical school.[30] The medical school officially opened in 1970. From the genesis of SIU-SM, the founding dean, Richard Moy, vocalized his unique approach to curriculum building. Moy wanted the teaching methods of SIU-SM to be different from those at the University of Chicago. Moy expressed criticism of the University of Chicago and characterized its faculty's teaching methods as full of "… esoteric facts that were interesting but not too useful on the front lines of medicine."[31] Moy envisioned that the approach to medicine at SIU would be different. Moy's goal was to create a student-focused medical school that allowed students to learn through non-traditional teaching methods, including hands-on approaches and a focus on clinical.[32] Moy sought to shift from teaching theory before praxis to start with clinical and allow the students to understand through experiences. This deviated from standard pedagogy at the time, as most universities treated their medical schools as extensions of the undergraduate curriculum, which focused on literature over practice but within the framework of medical courses.[33] A typical medical program operated as such: In years one and two, the student was void of patient

26 Dr. Kenneth Stikkers (SIU-C philosophy professor), in correspondence with the author, April 2023.

27 Center for Dewey Studies, "History of the Center: Center for Dewey Studies: SIU," accessed April 13, 2023, https://deweycenter.siu.edu/center-information/history.php.

28 Center for Dewey Studies SIU website under "History of the Center," https://deweycenter.siu.edu/center-information/history.php.

29 Thomas Alexander, "What Happened to the Dewey Center?" *American Institute for Philosophical & Cultural Thought*, January 26, 2017, https://americanphilosophy.net/what-happened-to-the-dewey-center/.

30 Associated Press, "Medical Education Curriculum OK'd," *The Daily Egyptian* (Carbondale, IL), June 5, 1968.

31 Jackson, et al., *Southern Illinois University*, 190-191.

32 Silber, et al., "The SIU Medical Curriculum," 473-479.

33 Jackson, et al., *Southern Illinois University, 196.*

exposure and focused only on learning the science behind medicine and disease. Most universities structured these classes as undergraduate classes – lecture-based and consisting of exams and a final. In year three, students participated in clerkships in their specialized fields. Then, in the fourth year, students leaned into their specializations, where they finally understood how to use their experiences from year three.[34]

SIU-SM did not adhere to traditional teaching approaches—they ultimately rejected them. Moy and SIU-SM developed seven principles on which to base their medical school's curriculum:

> 1. The focus of development and implementation of the curriculum will be on what students should learn as opposed to what teachers shall present. All decisions regarding what and how to teach will be made on the basis of clear statements of learning objectives.
> 2. Self-pacing will be applied whenever possible.
> 3. Students will be allowed and encouraged to work independently, within reasonable time constraints, toward program goals. Whenever possible, alternative routes for learning will be made available to the students.
> 4. All learning activities should approximate experiences anticipated for the practicing physician. The learning of basic knowledge and skills should, therefore, be carried out in a clinical context throughout the program.
> 5. Students will be required to meet predetermined acceptable levels of performance with provisions for remediating deficiencies when needed.
> 6. Time will be provided for students to pursue special interests.
> 7. Evaluation of the program will include recurrent feedback from students through structured discussions and written responses.[35]

Their approach, especially principal four, resembles the experiential learning theory developed by Dewey. A close reading of SIU's education policies reveals that Richard Moy implemented Deweyan theory into SIU-SM's pedagogy design. The true genius of Richard Moy was not that he formulated the teaching philosophy of experiential learning but that he implemented it at SIU-SM.

There are some connections between SIU and Dewey's philosophies. As we have observed in the vast literature on Dewey's ideas, experiential

34 Ibid.
35 Silber, et al., "The SIU Medical Curriculum," 474.

learning theory is a Deweyan concept. Richard Moy wanted to focus on clinical learning and experiences rather than notes and concepts, emphasizing praxis over theory. This approach closely resembles Dewey's philosophy in *Democracy and Education*.[36]

The article "The SIU Medical Curriculum: Systemwide Objectives-Based Instruction," by Silber, Williams, Amitrano Paiva, Taylor, and Robinson, studies SIU-SM and how its curriculum works.[37] The study breaks down the curriculum of SIU-SM piece by piece. The analysis reveals the seven learning principles by which SIU-SM was founded. Again, the fourth principle states, "All learning activities should approximate experiences anticipated for the practicing physician. The learning of basic knowledge and skills should, therefore, be carried out in a clinical context throughout the program." This learning objective closely resembles Deweyan philosophy. What is missing from the study is any explicit mention of Dewey. The relationship between learning and experiences in principle four has the same intention as those Dewey recommended in *Democracy and Education.* The authors' concern is in the material of a new medical school curriculum, not in the influence behind it.

As mentioned earlier, Richard Moy studied medicine at the University of Chicago. Interestingly, Dewey taught and conducted research at the University of Chicago from 1894-1904. He served as the head of the Department of Philosophy. He wrote and published several books about education and philosophy during his tenure there.[38] Perhaps Moy was influenced by Dewey's ideas. Although Moy's medical education was, according to him, dissatisfactory, it is more than plausible that he studied alternate teaching methods while at medical school. Considering Dewey's direct connection to the University of Chicago, one can infer Deweyan thought at least indirectly influenced Moy. It is plausible that Moy was close to the ideas of Dewey while at the University of Chicago, and as someone who later became the dean of a medical school, he likely had an interest in education philosophy. It was common practice for incoming deans of colleges to know education philosophy and history.[39] In particular, he seemed interested in alternate ideas for education since he opted to build SIU-SM around principals different from his own medical school experience. It is possible that Moy even studied Dewey's methods for teaching during medical school to gain an alternate

36 Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, 160.

37 Silber, et al., 473-479.

38 Dr. A. B. Hinsdale, "John Dewey (1858-1952): Philosophy and Education," *The University of Chicago Library*, accessed April 20, 2023, https://www.lib.uchicago.edu/collex/exhibits/university-chicago-centennial-catalogues/university-chicago-faculty-centennial-view/john-dewey-1858-1952-philosophy-and-education/.

39 Debra D. Bragg, "Preparing Community College Deans to Lead Change," *New Directions for Community Colleges* 2000, no. 109 (December 2002), 77.

perspective. Although these are just speculations, they are not hard to infer, given the closeness between the seven SIU-SM principles and Dewey's theories.

Arguably, the structure and curriculum of SIU-SM are based on Dewey's idea of experiences as learning. Yet, Dewey's name does not appear anywhere within the context of the SIU-SM curriculum literature.[40] This is especially interesting considering the presence of SIU's Center for Dewey Studies. Other education philosophers' ideas went into SIU-SM's pedagogy formulation. Still, there appears to be a link between Dewey and the pedagogy used to create SIU-SM's groundbreaking approach to medical school education. This is evident when examining the seven principles of the SIU-SM curriculum. Principle four could have easily been taken from *Democracy and Education* as it explicitly mentions using experiences as a basis for teaching methods. The SIU-SM curriculum wanted students to be in clinical, real-world contexts throughout their academic experience. This is, in essence, precisely what Dewey talked about. Although Dewey mainly focused on elementary and high school education, these theories are not necessarily bound to any grade level. Richard Moy and SIU-SM implemented them within their medical school in 1970.

Conclusion

While Dewey's ideas permeate many institutions, SIU stands apart from others because of the seemingly unnoticed influence. SIU is home to the Center for Dewey Studies, yet relatively no literature details the lesser-known indirect impact of Dewey on the university. While elements of his ideas are likely present in many of the university's departments, SIU-SM is the one in which it is the most explicit. Within the history of SIU-SM are guidelines for how the school operates, much of which resembles Dewey's ideas. In particular, the direct approach to using experiences as learning, which is among the most important of Dewey's theories introduced in *Democracy and Education*, is apparent in SIU-SM's pedagogy. Richard Moy used these ideas to build SIU-SM's curriculum during its founding in 1970. The groundbreaking new approach to medical school stood out at the time, as no other school designed its curriculum the way SIU-SM did.[41] Many of the ideas utilized by SIU-SM were Deweyan, yet despite the university's longstanding Dewey Center, this connection has largely gone unnoticed. While several Deweyans within the SIU system understand this connection, such as philosophy professor Dr. Ken Stikkers, it is not commonly discussed. This paper aimed to explore the wide-ranging influence of John Dewey and, mainly, present an unnoticed history

40 Dr. Kenneth Stikkers (SIU-C philosophy professor), in discussion with the author, March 2023.

41 Jackson, et al., *Southern Illinois University,* 199.

– that John Dewey influenced SIU far more than previously understood. The Center for Dewey Studies is an underutilized resource, and the university should celebrate Dewey's influence, especially within the history of SIU-SM.

Gabriel White

Killer Fears: Slasher Films and 1980s American Anxieties

The opening scene of the film *Scream IV* frames a film professor nervously waiting at a restaurant for her blind date. While waiting at the bar, she received a phone call from her date informing her that he got lost and could not find the restaurant. She decides to find him. Remaining on the phone with her date as she attempts to pinpoint his location, the conversation shifts to the topic of slasher movies and their importance. "You can really examine the culture of the moment by looking at the tropes of the time,"[1] says the professor before being gutted by her supposed blind date. This scene illustrates the significance of studying slasher movies.

Horror films, as an all-inclusive genre, have been produced for generations. Each era of horror film has left its mark on society. From the early horror classics such as *Nosferatu* and *Frankenstein* to more recent films such as *Get Out* and *X*, American audiences have eagerly consumed horror for over a hundred years.[2] However, one horror subgenre arguably stands out from the rest: the slasher film. First popularized in the late '70s and amassing an even larger audience in the '80s, the slasher genre and its slew of antagonistic characters have become iconic. Although many people appreciate slasher movies, others discredit them as cheap and dirty entertainment. Slasher films, however, are much more than just entertainment. They can provide historians a gateway to understanding the past by focusing on society's anxieties captured in the celluloid. These films offer a glimpse of the socio-economic, political, and cultural anxieties of the historical period when they were produced. Understanding these slasher films is important as they can provide an accessible and easy-to-understand bottom-up approach to many issues plaguing the United States in the '80s. Using cultural theorist Stuart Hall's notion of encoding and decoding media texts, this study shows how slasher films can provide glimpses of the socio-economic and cultural issues

1 *Scream VI*, directed by Matt Bettinelli-Olpin and Tyler Gillett (2023; Montreal, Canada: Paramount Pictures, 2023), Theater.

2 *Nosferatu*, directed by F.W. Murnau, (1922; Germany: Jofa-Atelier Berlin-Johannisthal,1922), Streaming; *Frankenstein*, directed by James Whale, (1931; Universal Studios, CA: Universal Pictures, 1931), DVD; *Get Out*, directed by Jordan Peele, (2017; Fairhope, AL: Blumhouse Productions, 2017), DVD; and *X*, directed by Ti West, (2022; Queenstown, New Zealand: A24, 2022), DVD.

occurring when they were made. It follows Kara M. Kvaran's methodology deploying Hall's ideas "which states that texts can have multiple meanings that are then interpreted by audiences in different ways depending on their subject position. The creators may not intend these decoded meanings and can be collectively or individually understood by the audience."[3]

The Rise of 1980s Slasher Films

Slasher films are a subgenre of horror movies that often involve a wicked character that stalks and kills a group of people, usually youth (high school/college age), involved in inappropriate and what society or their parents deems as immoral behaviors. These behaviors include premarital sex, underage drinking, and illicit drug use. While not all slasher movies depict these behaviors, the most prominent slasher films, such as *Friday the 13th Part III* and *A Nightmare on Elm Street 3: Dream Warriors,* do.[4] These two films include characters who participate in these behaviors, including a drug abuser and characters who engage in premarital sex and underage drinking. Along with portrayals of youth engaged in improper conduct, slasher films tend to have a sole survivor who successfully defeats the killer. This surviving character is usually a woman who does not participate in the aforementioned immoral behaviors.[5]

While many view the 1960s classic *Psycho* as the first slasher movie, the film does not meet many of the earlier characteristics of traditional slasher films, like having a youthful cast or heavy use of drugs and alcohol.[6] The earliest examples of traditional slasher movies include *The Texas Chain Saw*

3 For the work of Stuart Hall, see David Croteau and William Hoynes, Media Society: Industries, Images, and Audiences (London: Sage Publications, 2003), 269; and for Kara M. Kvaran, see Kara Kvaran, "'You're All Doomed!' A Socioeconomic Analysis of Slasher Films," *Journal of American Studies* 50, no. 4 (November 2016): 953-970.

4 *Friday the 13th Part III,* directed by Steve Miner (1982; Saugus, CA: Paramount Pictures, 1982), DVD and *A Nightmare on Elm Street 3: Dream Warriors*, directed by Russell Chuck (1987; Los Angeles, CA: New Line Cinema, 1987), DVD.

5 For films containing the trope of sole survivor, see *Halloween*, directed by John Carpenter (1978; Pasadena, CA: Compass International Pictures, 1978), DVD; *Friday the 13th*, Cunningham (1980; Blairstown, NJ: Paramount, 1980), DVD; *A Nightmare on Elm Street,* directed by Wes Craven (1984; Los Angeles, CA: New Line Cinema, 1984), DVD. For films depicting sexual situations, see *Halloween,* Carpenter, 1978. *Friday the 13th: The Final Chapter,* directed by Joseph Zito (1984; Santa Clarita, CA: Paramount Pictures, 1984), DVD; *Sleepaway Camp*, directed by Robert Hiltzik (1983; Glens Falls, NY: American Eagle Films, 1983), DVD. For films containing drug and alcohol use, see *Prom Night*, directed by Paul Lynch (1980; Toronto, Canada: Guardian Trust Company, 1980), Streaming. *Halloween,* Carpenter, 197; and. Cunningham *Friday the 13th*, 1980.

6 *Psycho*, directed by Alfred Hitchcock (1960; Universal Studios, CA: Shamley Productions, 1960), DVD.

Massacre and *Black Christmas*, both released in 1974.[7] These movies popularized many of the tropes that later became staples of the genre. Both films featured a cast of late high school/early college-aged people who unexpectedly become targets of a malevolent killer. In some movies, there are multiple killers, such as *The Texas Chain Saw Massacre,* where the survivor characters face a family of cannibals. *Black Christmas* and *The Texas Chain Saw Massacre* also created the "final girl" trope as both movies focus on a female lead who manages to survive the killer. These films also ignited a trend of having the storyline occur in a single location. *Black Christmas* takes place at a college sorority house, while *The Texas Chain Saw Massacre* occurs at a house in the middle of nowhere.[8] The confining of the plot to a single location became a common occurrence in the slasher genre. This boundary created greater tension for both the on-screen characters and the audience, as both parties would feel like there was nowhere to run from the killer. The movie *April Fool's Day* uses this idea to full effect. The film takes place on the confinements of an island where the characters realize they have no way to escape the killer.[9]

The release of the film *Halloween* in 1978 quickly became the blueprint adopted by future filmmakers of the genre. Scholars often credit his movie as the first actual slasher film that set the standard for the slasher craze of the '80s.[10] This film firmly brought together all the previously mentioned tropes and featured all the aspects of what became traditional slasher movies. These characteristics included an antagonistic killer stalking a group of delinquent friends, who eventually kills everyone but the "final girl," who is not involved in the immoral activities her friends participate in, such as drug use and immoral sexual practices. In the article "Razors in the Dreamscape: Revisiting 'A Nightmare on Elm Street' and the Slasher Film," James Kendrick discusses the trope of the "final girl." He describes some characteristics of the "final girl" and states, "Unlike her girlfriends, she is not sexually active."[11] This quote helps explain why the "final girl" is supposed to be of a higher moral character than her friends, which is why she is the one who survives the terror. *Halloween* also includes a very self-contained setting, a small town in Illinois. Critics have noted *Halloween's* influence on many popular slasher movies, such as *Friday the 13th* and *My Bloody Valentine,* on establishing the tropes and

7 *The Texas Chain Saw Massacre*, directed by Tobe Hooper (1974; Watterson, TX: New Line Cinema, 1974), DVD; and *Black Christmas,* directed by Bob Clark (1974; Toronto, Canada: Warner Brothers, 1974), DVD.

8 Ibid.

9 *April Fool's Day*, directed by Fred Walton (1986; British Columbia, Canada: Paramount Pictures, 1986), DVD.

10 Carpenter, *Halloween*, 1978.

11 James Kendrick, "Razors in the Dreamscape: Revisiting 'A Nightmare on Elm Street' and the Slasher Film," *Film Criticism* 33, no. 3 (2009), 26.

techniques of how those films were shot.[12]

Slasher movies gained a massive amount of success, especially during the 1980s. One reason slasher movies were so popular during this period was the introduction of strong female leads and the inclusion of female characters who defied typical gender roles. Strong women protagonists were not the norm in horror movies. In the past, lead characters were predominantly white men who came to the rescue of women characters needing to be saved. For example, the films *Dracula* and *Creature from the Black Lagoon* end with women being taken away to the monster's lair and having to be saved by courageous men.[13] The slasher genre changed the norm, however, with the introduction of strong female leads as the women became the ones who would fight against evil. This empowerment attracted a female audience to buy tickets to watch slasher movies. As Kara Kvaran notes, "The target demographic of slasher films, historically speaking, was adolescent males, though a large part of the audience was likely to be female."[14] More women became interested in slasher movies due in part to this shift in which female characters went from always needing to be saved to now becoming the ones who defeated the killer and survived the carnage. For example, in the 1988 slasher film *Child's Play*, a single mother unknowingly buys a possessed doll for her son but soon must fight against it to save her life and her son's. While this film does not contain a teen lead like other slashers, such as *A Nightmare on Elm Street*, it has a female lead role like *A Nightmare on Elm Street*.[15] This woman empowerment can help explain why slasher films became so popular, especially with younger women who wanted to fight back against the more traditional gender roles stressed by the conservative adults, not only as a result of the age gap but also in terms of the changes in the political climate of the nation. This lead woman embodies the 'Final Girl.'

The Final Girl is often the very last member of the teenage group alive at the end of the slasher; this includes characters like Laurie Strode (*Halloween)* and Nancy Thompson (*A Nightmare on Elm Street*.)[16] These characters have been important in demonstrating women's empowerment in horror movies and how the role of women changed during the 1980s. Carol Clover's article "Her Body, Himself: Gender in the Slasher Film" discusses this relationship between women and empowerment in films. In her article, Clover details

12 *Halloween*, Carpenter, 1978; and *My Bloody Valentine,* directed by George Mihalka (1981; Sydney Mines, N.S.: Paramount Pictures, 1981), DVD.

13 *Dracula*, directed by Tod Browning (1931; Universal Studios, CA: Universal Pictures, 1931), DVD; and *Creature from the Black Lagoon*, directed by Jack Arnold (1954; Universal City, CA: Universal Pictures, 1954), DVD.

14 Kvaran, "'You're All Doomed!'," 958.

15 *Child's Play*, directed by Tom Holland (1988; Chicago, IL: Universal Pictures, 1988), DVD; and Craven, A *Nightmare on Elm Street,* 1984.

16 Carpenter, *Halloween*, 1978; and Craven, A *Nightmare on Elm Street,* 1984.

the evolution of the Final Girl throughout the history of slasher movies and describes the characteristics of these characters. She breaks down the main elements of a slasher film, which include the killer, weapons, 'Final Girl," and the "terrible place." According to Clover, the terrible place is a location, typically a house or tunnel, where the victims find themselves at the mercy of the villain.[17] James Kendrick also discusses the Final Girl in his paper "Razors in the Dreamscape: Revisiting 'A Nightmare on Elm Street' and the Slasher Film." Kendrick also discusses similar characteristics that were mentioned in the previous article, such as the fact that the Final Girl is usually not sexually active.

A source from *A Slash Above* dotcom created a comprehensive list of slasher movies released over time.[18] This list included 604 individual slasher movies spanning from 1960 to 2015. Of these 604 movies, 264 debuted between 1980 and 1989. In other words, 42% of the films on the list came out in just the 1980s. The author of the list noted that there were some movies left off because they did not meet the author's criteria, which is why there are a few problems with this source. It does not include *A Nightmare on Elm Street,* a commonly held slasher franchise.[19] This omission makes one question the validity of the source as it is challenging to know what other slasher films were left off and what ones were included that should not have been, which means that the number of slasher movies in the '80s could be higher or lower than what the list shows. Nevertheless, this source still provides a way to illustrate that more slashers were produced in the '80s than any other decade before or after.

One of the reasons why slasher movies were so abundant during the '80s was that they were very lucrative and easy to make. Often, the production cost for these films was less than two million dollars; however, they grossed millions at the box office.[20] Slasher movies did not require an all-star cast or various filming locations. All they needed were young actors and a unique idea of a killer. They usually do not even need a complex plot or a deep story. One of the most significant examples of a slasher with a minimal story and small budget is the original *Friday the 13th*.[21] The production budget for the first movie was only $550,000, while it grossed $60 million worldwide.[22]

17 Carol Clover, "Her Body, Himself: Gender in the Slasher Film," *Representations* no. 20 (Autumn, 1987): 187-228.

18 "A-Z of Reviews and Full List of Slasher Movies," *Aslashabovedotcom*, accessed Apr. 14th, 2023, https://aslashabovedotcom.wordpress.com/a-slash-above-slasher-index/.

19 Craven, *A Nightmare on Elm Street*, 1984.

20 John Hoskins, "Top 20 highest grossing slasher films of the '80's," *IMDB,* Apr. 13th, 2023, https://www.imdb.com/list/ls009410482/.

21 Cunningham, *Friday the 13th,* 1980.

22 "Friday the 13th Box Office History," *The Numbers*, Apr. 4th, 2023, https://www.the-numbers.com/movies/franchise/Friday-the-13th#tab=summary.

When adjusted for inflation, this equals $2 million and over $200 million, respectively. The success of *Friday the 13th* demonstrated how a studio could make a profitable movie with such a small amount of money.

The rise of slasher movies also parallels the rise of another film genre that was very prevalent: the teen film.[23] Both film genres contained similar features, such as a group of youth throwing parties; however, the characters in slasher movies had a worse fate than those in typical teen films. Slasher films provided a dark contrast and a stressed-filled take to the lighthearted teen films of the decade. While teen films gave the youth a vision of what they wanted their life to be, slasher films showed the audience a glimpse of that life before the killer disrupts it. When related to real life, the killer is a representation of the fears and anxieties many teens had during the 1980s.

Slasher Films and the '80s in Literature

The slasher genre gained its most success from the late 1970s to the end of the 1980s when the United States underwent a broad societal change. The 1980s saw a rise in conservatism. Conservatism is a political ideology that greatly emphasizes traditional values over change. In the 1980s, conservative ideals began to become mainstream due to the presidency of Ronald Reagan. Reagan was widely known as a proponent of conservative beliefs, mainly traditional "family values." For example, as Simon Heffer stated, Reagan advocated returning daily prayer to schools and supported a bill allowing school prayer to return.[24] He also fiercely opposed communism and enacted many neoliberal policies. As Reagan's time in office sparked moves towards conservatism for American culture, many Americans began consuming more traditional media forms. In "America During the '80s: Summing up the Reagan Era," Karl Zinsmeister explains this return to conservatism and how it specifically affected many means of expression. He explains that there was a push to return to more traditionalist and conservative ideals, especially in film and music.[25] These ideals often included family and religious Christian values. These values are often not represented in many slasher movies.

Karl Zinsmeister also discusses the United States under Ronald Reagan's leadership in the article "America During the '80s: Summing up the Reagan Era." This article details the socio-economic and political landscape of the United States in the 1980s. It discusses government spending as well as the eventual recovery of the economy. The author also describes that with this

23 Tim Dirks, "The History of Film The 1980s," *FIlmsite*, accessed, Apr. 13th, 2023, https://www.filmsite.org/80sintro.html.

24 Iain Dale and Simon Heffer, *The Presidents: 250 Years of American Political Leadership* (London, England: Hodder & Stoughton, 2023), 430.

25 Karl Zinsmeister, "America During the '80s: Summing up the Reagan Era," *The Wilson Quarterly* 14, no.1, (Winter 1990), 117.

recovery, American families had more money to spend on luxury items such as electrical technologies, better houses, and even increased movie theater ticket sales. Zinsmeister also explains the social problems that were occurring, such as the crime and drug waves. The *Bureau of Justice Statistics* states that "The number of Federal cases involving drug offenders and the sanctions against them [drug offenders] increased dramatically between 1980-1986. There was a higher filing rate for such offenders than for all other crime categories."[26] The issue with drugs was so severe that Nancy Reagan, the wife of President Ronald Reagan, championed the "Just Say No" campaign, which aimed at encouraging children to reject the use of recreational drugs. Zinsmeister ends his article by explaining that many films, books, and music looked to return to praising traditional values.[27]

Kara Kvaran looks at slasher movies through a socio-economic lens in the article "'You're All Doomed!' A Socio-economic Analysis of Slasher Films." In this article, Kvaran explains that the slasher movies of the '80s provide a way for historians to understand the United States economy in the '80s and how the youth of that era felt about it. She argues that the slasher movies arose during a period of great recession, which helps explain their dark tones.[28] Kvaran also explains how, in these movies, the youth battle a seemingly unstoppable evil, representing the economy to her. She concludes that the youth used slasher movies as a way to escape the stressors facing them in adulthood and, thus, a possible bleak future.

From a different standpoint, slasher movies suggest that the villains of the stories represent the conservative and religious revival underway during the 80s. Conservatism and a religious revival swept through the nation, and as a result, many forms of expression, including music, art, and films, were under attack for promoting 'satanic beliefs.' John Brackett suggests that religious groups believed that these forms of entertainment, such as heavy rock and slasher movies, contributed to the decline of American morals.[29] Slasher movies were considered part of the problem as they not only depicted violence, but the characters in the films were participating in acts such as premarital sex, uncontrolled drinking, and drugs.

Alternatively, slasher movies can be understood as sites of both pro and anti-conservative values. While it was previously mentioned that slasher films contain images that are very much against conservative beliefs, it also, in a sense, demonstrates that characters who participate in immoral acts get

26 Jan M. Chaiken and Douglas C. McDonald, "Drug Law Violators, 1980-1986," in *Bureau of Justice Statistics* (Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1988).

27 Zinsmeister, "America During the '80s," 115-17.

28 Kvaran, "'You're All Doomed!'," 953-970.

29 John Brackett, "Satan, Subliminals, and Suicide: The Formation and Development of an Antirock Discourse in the United States during the 1980s." *American Music* 36, no. 3 (2018): 274-275.

punished like the conservatives suggested. So, looking at both sides, these movies can be seen as both pro and anti-conservative. The films promote and contain many anti-conservative images while at the same time making it clear that those who do partake in them will be punished. Richard Fink discusses this in his article "How Slasher Horror Movies Reflect Conservative Values," where he states, " These films are typically the favorite of a younger audience, as they tap into the unseen darkness hiding in the shadows as well as featuring plenty of nudity and bloodshed that makes for a cinematic experience…. While these villains are trapped in darkness, they are also instruments to remind young people to stay on the proper path."[30] This quote does a great job of encapsulating the tension between pro and against conservative values.

The idea of adult abandonment is very prevalent in many slasher movies. In the article "You're All Doomed! A Socio-economic Analysis of Slasher Films" Kvaran explains how in many slasher films, the cast is primarily comprised of youth, and the adults are often either not present at all or are unhelpful when they are present. She implies that in most cases, an adult represents authority and safety, but in slasher movies, however, they often do little to help or hinder their survival.[31] Pat Gill also echoes this in the article "The Monstrous Years: Teens, Slasher Films, and the Family," arguing that even the caring parents will often be too distracted to help or may even create the monster.[32] This trope is essential to slasher movies and understanding the relationship between the young and generations in the 1980s. The lack of help from the parents in slasher movies can be seen as a reflection of reality, with the parents standing by and allowing the new conservative ideas to attack the freedom of expression and behaviors that many of the youth enjoyed.

Slasher Films and Disposable Income

The beginning of the '80s was marked by stagflation when an economy suffered from high inflation coupled with a high unemployment rate.[33] As the decade progressed, this began to improve, and many Americans eventually enjoyed increased prosperity. Karl Zinsmeister noted that during the Reagan years, many Americans were able to enjoy leisure activities more frequently. These activities included buying new houses, going on trips, and increasing attendance at leisure events, including sports games and art shows. As a result of the leisure spending, there was an increase in theater

30 Richard Fink, "How Slasher Horror Movies Reflect Conservative Values," *MovieWeb*, accessed July 10, 2023, https://movieweb.com/slasher-horror-movies-conservative/#:~:text=Audiences%20looking%20deeper%20at%20the,stay%20on%20the%20proper%20path.

31 Kvaran, "'You're All Doomed!'," *959.*

32 Pat Gill, "The Monstrous Years: Teens, Slasher Films, and the Family," *Journal of Film and Video 54, no. 4 (2002), 17.*

33 Kvaran, "'You're All Doomed!'," *956.*

attendance. Zinsmeister notes that the admissions increased from "$4.5 billion in 1988 versus $2,7 billion in 1980."[34] More people could see new movies in theaters, which helps explain why slasher movies were so profitable.

Slasher movies also appealed to a wide range of teen audiences as their characters lived an idealistic middle-class life that teens strove to have. The film *A Nightmare on Elm Street* portrays this ideal middle-class life. In this movie, a man terrorizes a group of teens in their dreams. The characters in this movie live in very nice homes, wear expensive clothes, and have luxury items like their own cars and TVs. Thus, much of the young adult audience envied the luxurious lives and freedoms the fictitious characters in these films seemed to enjoy. They watched movies like *A Nightmare on Elm Street* and *Halloween* and longed to be in the same financial situation as the characters in the film.[35] However, the socio-economic and political realities of the '80s made this dream of a luxurious life unrealistic for many teens.

Fear of The Cold War and Nuclear Fear

One of the most explicit connections that can be made is the connection between slasher films and the Cold War. While the war was stabilizing and eventually came to an end in the late 80s, there were still many fears about a potential nuclear war. John Muir writes about this in his book *Horror Films of the 1980s*. In the introduction, Muir explains that the idea of an "apocalypse mentality" was prevalent in horror during the '80s. This idea responded to the public's fear of a potential nuclear war.[36] This anxiety can be seen in many famous horror movies of the 80s, such as *Friday the 13th,* where a group of people tried to live out their lives, but all the while, there was a foreboding presence threatening to kill them all.[37]

The fear of nuclear annihilation was at the forefront of many Americans' minds during the 1980s. This fear was due to the Cold War, which was an ideological battle between the United States and the Soviet Union that had been ongoing for decades, ever since the end of WWII. One of the most important developments that came with the Cold War was the threat of nuclear weapons. Nuclear weapons were used by the two superpowers (the U.S. and the Soviet Union) as a way to intimidate other nations, especially each other. While the Americans were the only nation to use nuclear weapons on their enemies, the Soviets' testing of similar weapons caused panic among many Americans. Many Americans feared that the Cold War would eventually lead to a massive military conflict that could end civilization entirely. John Muir's *Horror Films of the 1980s* illustrate the idea of apocalypse

34 Zinsmeister, "America During the '80s," 117.
35 Craven, A *Nightmare on Elm Street,* 1984; and Carpenter, *Halloween*, 1978.
36 John Muir, *Horror Films of the 1980s*, Vol. I (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2013), 6-7.
37 Cunningham *Friday the 13th*, 1980.

mentality and how it shaped many artistic expressions during this era. Muir argues that apocalypse mentality is the fear of a sudden apocalyptic event occurring, such as a nuclear war. He notes that many Americans, especially the youth, had this fear during the 1980s, creating a sense of foreboding doom for them.[38] Most of the slasher movies of the 80s follow the pattern of having youthful characters attempting to enjoy the pleasures of American life, yet they are always under the shadow of an evil force. For example, in *The Evil Dead*, the main character Ash opens the Necronomicon Ex-Mortis, also known as the Book of the Dead.[39] The opening of the book acts as a catalyst for the remaining events of the movie, where a demonic entity slowly kills off the characters. The opening of the Necronomicon can also be seen as a metaphor for the Cold War, where the opening represents the firing of a nuclear weapon, which would lead to massive destructive events that would follow.

The common theme of carefree youth living under the threat of a menacing force, like in slasher films, is a good analogy of what it was like to be a teenager in the 1980s. During this period, the possible occurrence of an apocalyptic-like event was not out of the realm of possibility. Once nuclear arms were introduced into their daily lives, many Americans began to question whether they were genuinely safe since the enemy had a way of causing significant damage to the country from afar. People began to fear that the places they felt most safe no longer provided that same sense of security. Many slasher movies play into this idea through their filming locations. Places like high schools, summer camps, suburban homes, and even one's dreams became unguaranteed of safety. These fears of loss of security and the previously mentioned possibility of nuclear annihilation are represented in slasher films.

In slasher films, the teens had to worry about being attacked by a seemingly unstoppable killer such as Freddy Krueger or Jason Voorhees. In contrast, in the real world, the teens had their unstoppable monster to fear in the Soviet Union.[40] The 'final girl' case, thus, is recast as the sole survivor of a nuclear or world-ending event. This reformulation can especially be seen at the end of *Friday the 13th*, as the 'final girl,' Alice, runs through the camp and finds the dead bodies of all her friends.[41] Alice slowly realizes that she is the only survivor of the annihilation that happened at the camp. Another horror film depicting the idea of mass destruction emerges in *Killer Klowns from Outer Space*.[42] While this is not a traditional slasher film, it still contains an analogy between the fears of a war with the Soviet Union and the horror films of the

38 Muir, *Horror Films of the 1980s,"* 6-7.

39 *The Evil Dead*, directed by Sam Raimi, (1981, Marshall, Michigan: Renaissance Pictures, 1981), DVD.

40 Craven, A *Nightmare on Elm Street,* 1984; and Cunningham, *Friday the 13th,* 1980.

41 Cunningham, *Friday the 13th,* 1980.

42 *Killer Klowns from Outer Space*, directed by Stephen Chiodo, (1988; Santa Cruz, CA: Chiodo Brother Productions, 1988), Streaming.

time. This movie features a colony of aliens invading a small town on Earth who begin to harvest the town's people until only a small group remains to defeat the Klowns. This struggle is a metaphor for the fear that the Soviet Union may invade the U.S. and destroy the American way of life, where the invading aliens are the representation of the Soviet Union coming to take over the United States. The idea of adult abandonment is also prevalent in both slasher movies and a teenager's view of the Cold War.

Adult Abandonment and Conservative Backlash, and the Religious Right

As suggested earlier, one of the most common tropes in slasher movies is the presence of incompetent adults. Throughout almost every major slasher movie, the adult figures are largely absent or uncaring throughout most of the film. Pat Gill states, "Even caring, concerned parents are impotent; often they are hapless and distracted, unaware of their children's problems and likely to dismiss and discount their warning and fears."[43] An example of this is seen in the film *A Nightmare on Elm Street,* where Nancy's parents do not believe her when she tells them that she is being attacked and stalked in her sleep. The parents are unhelpful to the point that during the movie's climax, where Nancy is fighting for her life against Freddy, her mother is asleep, and her father only comes to help once Freddy has already been defeated. While Nancy's parents cared for her, which is evident in that they sought help from a dream specialist, they never took her cries for help seriously.[44] This feeling was very familiar to many American youth as they felt that the adults in their society had abandoned them similarly.[45] From their continued participation in the Cold War to the adults attacking the media that the youth liked to consume, many young people felt like the characters in the films that the adults of their day had failed them.

Conservatives were also opposed to slasher movies, as stated earlier in the essay. Many felt the contents of most slasher movies went against the most prominent conservative beliefs. Sam Raimi's *The Evil Dead* is an example of a slasher movie that was not well received at the time of its release.[46] This film contains everything that traditional conservatives opposed. It depicted underage drinking, sexual deviancy, demonic possession, and a copious amount of gore. For these reasons, the film received an X rating typically reserved for pornographic films. Several foreign countries even banned it.

Religious values, in particular, became prevalent during this time as there was a rise in a group called the Religious Right, also known as the New

43 Pat Gill, "The Monstrous Years: Teens, Slasher Films, and the Family," *Journal of Film and Video 54, no. 4 (2002), 17.*

44 Craven, A *Nightmare on Elm Street,*1984.

45 Kvaran, "'You're All Doomed!'," *958-961.*

46 Raimi, *The Evil Dead*, 1981.

Christian Right. The Religious Right was a group of evangelical conservatives who believed that the morality of American society had begun to collapse. In a document titled "The Moral Majority And Its Goals," the group is stated to be "Americans from all walks of life united by one central concern: to serve as a special-interest group providing a voice for a return to moral sanity in these United States of America."[47] This group openly opposed the use of drugs and pornographic media and championed preserving traditional family values. The Religious Right also believed that one of the primary causes of the breakdown of American society was the films and music of the '80s. They believed that this media not only contained satanic imagery but that it also promoted it. John Brackett states that many leaders of the Religious Right "threatened to boycott the major television networks over charges of excessive and graphic descriptions of sex, violence, drug use, and other forms of immoral behavior."[48] They attributed all of these behaviors to the decline of American morality, especially in the youth. Slasher movies were under attack by this group as they went against everything that the Religious Right stood for. An example of this can be seen in the movie *Hellraiser.*[49] The film was centered on a family who found themselves under attack by an undead family member, as well as a group of interdimensional demons who are bent on imprisoning the family in a version of hell where they will experience all kinds of torture. This movie contains everything that the Religious Right was against, from satanic images and the breakdown of the traditional family to sexual deviancy.

It was not just the Religious Right that attacked slasher films, as many critics also had very scathing reviews of them. In an article from the horror movie magazine *Fangoria,* film critic Gene Siskel expressed his dislike of the genre when he noted that "To [him], these [slasher] films, [were] nothing more than killing films," he considered them "sick, and [he] fail[ed] to appreciate the entertainment value on that."[50] It was commonly understood among many adults that slasher films were a filthy genre and lacked taste. This image of slasher movies has persisted and is part of why many horror movies do not receive the recognition they deserve, especially from major film guilds. Slasher movies in and of themselves can be used to reflect the opposition to them. The survivor characters of the slashers represent the youth in the 1980s, while the force that attacks them represents the people who attacked the forms of expression that the youth commonly enjoyed. While the creators

47 Moral Majority Incorcoparated, "Moral Majority and Its Goals [1979]," in Robert Muccigrosso, *Basic History of American Conservatism* (Malabar, Florida: Anvil Press, 2001), 195.

48 Brackett, "Satan, Subliminals, and Suicide," 276.

49 *Hellraiser,* directed by Clive Barker, (1987; London, England: New World Pictures, 1987), DVD.

50 Joseph Reboy, "Taste Will Tell…," *Fangoria* 3, no. 15 (October 1981), 38.

of this media may not have had this specific idea in mind during the writing and production process, we can return to Stuart Hall's notion used by Kara Kvaran that "texts can have multiple meanings that are then interpreted by audiences in different ways depending on their subject position. The creators may not intend these decoded meanings and can be collectively or individually understood by the audience."[51]

Conclusion

The slasher films of the 1980s have become renowned worldwide and have launched several successful franchises that are still relevant to this day. However, slasher films are more than just a successful form of entertainment. Just as the film professor in *Scream VI* explains before her untimely demise, slasher films have provided historians a way to understand the past.[52] Slasher films can help historians explain a great deal about the political, economic, and cultural anxieties of the '80s through the lens of the relationship between youth and elders. The directors of the '80s slasher films incorporated the fear and anxieties present in the 1980s, such as that of nuclear annihilation, while capitalizing on those themes by creating movies targeting an audience fearful of the future. The writers not only succeeded at making massive profits at the box office, but they also successfully produced a medium that captured the *zeitgeist* of the 1980s.

Horror as a film genre has existed for over a hundred years and has dozens of other subgenres beyond slasher. Each of these other horror subgenres has a unique perspective about the eras in which they were produced. For example, one could look at the various horror films of the '50s, like *Invasion of the Body Snatchers,* to understand the fear of the Red Scare and McCarthyism.[53] Alternatively, one might look at the slasher revival of the 2000s to understand the housing crash and the war on terror. There are countless lessons and understandings that horror films can provide. There is much more to learn in the future about movies of the past, assuming one lives to see the sequel.

51 For the work of Stuart Hall, see David Croteau and William Hoynes, Media Society: Industries, Images, and Audiences (London: Sage Publications, 2003), 269; and for Kara M. Kvaran, see Kvaran, "'You're All Doomed!'," *953-970.*

52 Bettinelli-Olpin and Gillett *Scream VI*, 2023.

53 *Invasion of the Body Snatchers*, directed by Don Siegel, (1956; Los Angeles, CA: Allied Artists Pictures, 1956), Streaming.

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