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Editors Note

Welcome to the 7th volume of The Forum. Some claim that seven is a lucky number, though I assure you more than luck has made this year's journal one of the best in its short history. Hours upon hours of hard work reading, researching, writing, and editing have gone in to creating what you now hold in your hands. The featured articles this year explore the history of American religious communities, steampunk culture, Western medicine in Malaysia, Cold War ROTC, and American-Zanzibari trade. There truly is something for everyone within these pages.

History itself is an incredibly important area of study, and through it one gets a glimpse of something bigger than his or her self. We get to see people's stories, struggles, and successes. We are all a part of history, whether as subjects, students, or both. Studying history comes from a passion to ask questions with no easy answers. The Forum this year, as it has been in past volumes, is a manifestation of that passion which drives us to try to understand people and look for explanations for why things are the way they are; difficult questions, indeed. Yet we pursue them because of our drive to understand. The arguments in the proceeding pages are all from students who are just now beginning to wonder and develop their passion for studying the past.

This journal serves as the embodiment of the motto we live by at California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo: Learn By Doing. Our "doing" in history is to investigate and argue. The undergraduate and graduate student articles in this journal are examples of this to the highest degree. I would be hard-pressed to find an embodiment more expressive of Cal Poly's ideal than our journal. I am as proud of this journal as I am of our discipline, for it gives students the opportunity to get their hands dirty (not always just figuratively) and go through the long process it takes to polish a piece of work and have it published. It is a testament to Cal Poly and the History Department as an example of what it means to be passionate about what one does. Few things are more important.

I will say no more, but rather let what follows speak for itself. Enjoy.

Austin J. Due
Executive Editor

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ANTHONY WONG

Anthony Wong graduated in December 2014 with a degree in political science and a minor in history. During his time at Cal Poly, Anthony's research primarily focused on U.S. Foreign Policy, American Constitutional Law, and East and Southeast Asian affairs. Aside from academics, Anthony was the president of the Cal Poly Political Science Club and is currently a member of Pi Sigma Alpha, Phi Alpha Theta, and the Golden Key International Honour Society. Anthony is currently applying to several graduate programs to further improve his academic background and career opportunities.

Abstract

Cold War memory is punctuated with many memorable events such as the Cuban Missile Crisis, the Vietnam War, and President Nixon's decision to escalate the Vietnam War by authorizing military incursions into Cambodia and Laos. Due to the negativity of these events, the Cold War has traditionally been associated with the expansion of the American military industrial complex. This has led to the obfuscation of numerous other historical events that occurred during the Cold War. Therefore, this paper attempts to illuminate a tiny segment of forgotten Cold War history by examining the California Polytechnic State University's Reserve Officers' Training Corp (ROTC) from 1953 to 1957. Based on the available evidence from the El Mustang, this paper discovered that the Cal Poly ROTC actively protected Cal Poly students from mandatory military service and served as the university's representative to the collegiate, student, and local communities.

Cold War Culture: The Social Functions of the Cal Poly ROTC from 1953-57

By Anthony Wong

Introduction

Throughout World War II, the Allied and Axis powers devoted vast amounts of resources to develop technologies that could potentially give each side a tactical advantage over the opposition. During the war, each faction made significant advances in the fields of applied science, industrial science, and military science.[1] Among these many scientific innovations, the atomic bomb was the pinnacle achievement of World War II. Due to this discovery, the war in the Pacific Theater quickly drew to a close with the destruction of Hi-

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1   Frank B. Jewett, "Industrial and Scientific Research for National Defense," *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science* 19, no. 2 (January 1, 1941), 41, doi:10.2307/1172587, Joseph F. McCloskey, "U.S. Operations Research in World War II," *Operations Research* 35, no. 6 (November 1, 1987), 910–925; D. S. Davies and Judith R. Stammers, "The Effect of World War II on Industrial Science," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London. Series A, Mathematical and Physical Sciences* 342, no. 1631 (April 15, 1975), 511–518.

roshima and Nagasaki on August 6, 1945, and August 9, 1945, respectively.[2]

In the aftermath of the nuclear attacks, the United States government recognized the value of scientific research and technological superiority in national defense. To capitalize upon its initial successes, the United States established numerous independent research organizations and funded various research and development projects at American universities.[3] As a result, the American public was forced to abdicate its traditional state of isolationism to assume the responsibilities of reconstructing the postwar domestic and international political and economic order under the newly established United Nations. To address these postwar challenges, the Truman Administration considered implementing two policies: "universal military training (UMT), to provide a large and stable pool of trained manpower available for recruitment into the organized reserves and for quick mobilization in any future crisis; and extended selective services, to meet the immediate needs for large numbers of men in the active forces following the release of wartime veterans."[4] However, instead of attracting widespread support, these policies sparked a debate on the issues of peacetime conscription and increasing military involvement at American universities—the military industrial academic complex.[5]

The scientific innovations made by the military-industrial academic complex constitute an important historical issue. Despite the importance of this topic, this paper offers a different glimpse of Cold War history by focusing on the Cal Poly Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) to illuminate its non-military functions and contributions to the San Luis Obispo and Cal Poly communities from its inception in 1953 to 1957, when the Military Science and Tactics Department changed the course materials that were being taught to its cadets. By examining the non-military aspects, this paper argues that the Cal Poly ROTC defied its traditional role as a military recruitment center since it provided students with a safe haven from the draft and served as the university's representative to the collegiate, student, and local communities.

2 "First Atomic Bomb Dropped on Japan; Missile Is Equal To 20,000 Tons of TNT; Truman Warns Foe Of A 'Rain of Ruin,'" *The New York Times*, August 7, 1945; "Soviet Declares War on Japan; Attack Manchuria, Tokyo Says; Atom Bomb Loosed on Nagasaki," *The New York Times,* August 9, 1945.

3 Dan Kevles, "Cold War and Hot Physics: Science, Security, and the American State, 1945-56," *Historical Studies in the Physical and Biological Sciences* 20, no. 2 (January 1, 1990), 239–46, doi:10.2307/27757644.

4 James M. Gerhardt, *The Draft and Public Policy: Issues in Military Procurement* 1945-1970 (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1971), 3.

5 John M. Swomley Jr., *The Military Establishment* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), 29.

Historiography

Before the founding of the United States, the British forced the colonists to quarter their soldiers during the French and Indian War and the Revolutionary War.[6] In response to these experiences, the American public became averse and suspicious of any permanent military, illustrated in the Third Amendment, which states, "No soldiers shall, in times of peace be quartered in any house without the consent of the Owner, but in a manner prescribed by law."[7] Further, during the War of 1812, the British navy exacerbated this aversion, as it impressed many American citizens into military service.[8] As a result of these actions, the American public has also strongly opposed forced conscription since it deprived an individual of his or her rights to self-determination. Due to these historical precedents, many Americans have displayed vehement opposition to the expansion of military control over civilian industries and universities to meet the demands of the Cold War.

As one of the most complex issues in human history, the Cold War has been the subject of rigorous academic research. Among the different areas of research, scholars have usually focused on the scientific projects and achievements that occurred during the Cold War. In her book, *Creating the Cold War University: The Transformation of Stanford*, Rebecca Lowen focuses on Stanford University's joint venture with the military. Throughout the majority of her book, Lowen provides an extensive historical overview of the development of Stanford University from the 1930s to the 1960s. But unlike other scholars, Lowen's research also focused on the undergraduate and political science department's experiences and perceptions of the university's involvement with the military. According to Lowen, many of the undergraduates were upset with the military industrial academic complex at Stanford because it stifled, rather than stimulated, intellectual thought and discussion.[9] Coupled with the students' displeasure, the political science department was coerced by the university to abandon its association with the humanities and adopt modern quantitative and scientific approaches.[10] Through

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6   William S. Fields and David T. Hardy, "The Third Amendment and the Issue of the Maintenance of Standing Armies: A Legal History," *The American Journal of Legal History* 35, no. 4 (October 1, 1991), 395, doi:10.2307/845653.

7   United States Constitution, Bill of Rights, Amendment III.

8   Paul A. Gilje, "'Free Trade and Sailors' Rights': The Rhetoric of the War of 1812," J*ournal of the Early Republic* 30, no. 1 (2010), 9, doi:10.1353/jer.0.0130.

9   Rebecca S. Lowen, *Creating the Cold War University: The Transformation of Stanford* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1997), 227.

10   Ibid., 212-213.

her research, Lowen asserts that the military-industrial academic complex only negatively affected the university's abilities to create a conducive learning and social environment.

Besides this area of research, researchers have also focused on the development of the Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) at American universities. In the literature focusing on ROTC, the majority of studies focused on individual ROTC units and on the entire ROTC system's role in the universities. In his article, "University Neutrality and ROTC," Robert Holmes attempts to answer two questions: Should universities be neutral, and what constitutes neutrality? In his analysis, Holmes argues that universities are ideally neutral institutions of learning, but under certain circumstances, universities must sacrifice independence and ideals to protect national interests. Applying this concept to the ROTC program, Holmes asserts that this organization actually compromises the universities, as it exposes them to external influences that could thrust the students and faculty into the center of political controversies.[11] Due to these findings, Holmes concludes that the ROTC only benefits the military since its primary function is to prepare college students to become officers in the armed forces.[12]

Michael Neiberg disagrees with Holmes' analysis of the ROTC. In his book, *Making Citizen-Soldiers: ROTC and the Ideology of American Military Service,* Neiberg argues that the ROTC did not solely strive to recruit college students into the military. Rather, many university officials approved of the ROTC because it allowed students to concurrently complete their military obligations and university education.[13] Expanding on this point, Neiberg further argues that most universities actually favored ROTC because it ensured ample civilian participation in military training programs, which will check the expansion of a professional military.[14] From these findings, Neiberg concludes that universities might have allowed the ROTC onto their campuses in order to preserve the founding principles of the United States.

Supporting Neiberg's argument, Charles Johnson, in his *African Americans and ROTC: Military, Naval, and Aeroscience Programs at Historically Black Colleges, 1916-1973,* asserts that the ROTC also had other functions besides

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11 Robert L. Holmes, "University Neutrality and ROTC," *Ethics* 83, no. 3 (April 1, 1973), 190.

12 Ibid., 189.

13 Michael Neiberg, *Making Citizen-Soldiers: ROTC and the Ideology of American Military Service* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 36.

14 Neiberg, *Making Citizen-Soldiers: ROTC and the Ideology of American Military Service,* 37-38.

providing officers for the military. According to Johnson, ROTC programs at Historical Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU) enabled African Americans to develop and mature into productive individuals. Further, Johnson also asserts that the ROTC provided African Americans with numerous opportunities to participate in a variety of formal events and organizations in segregated America.[15] Due to these opportunities, Johnson concludes that the ROTC helped African Americans foster stronger social relationships within their own communities and subsequently with other communities.

With these historical studies in mind, the majority of these studies cover a broad range of topics. In this analysis of the existing literature, the majority of these studies neglected to examine the local histories of individual ROTC programs, which contributed to a negative portrayal of the military-industrial academic complex. To counter this negative view, this paper will further contribute to the discussion of ROTC in Cold War America by examining the history of the Cal Poly ROTC. Through this research, this paper will rebuke the arguments made by Lowen and Holmes and supplement the arguments made by Neiberg and Johnson in their respective studies.

The Role of the Cal Poly ROTC in Deferments

Throughout American history, the majority of the public has traditionally viewed and treated the military with suspicion. However, with the onset of World War II, these negative perceptions temporarily dissipated as Americans united to face the threats of Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan. Following the end of the war, the public gradually embarked on the process of normalization, which threatened to limit the expansive powers of the military. As a result, the American community became deeply divided over the continuation of compulsory peacetime military service versus returning to a state of normalcy.[16]

With this setting in mind, the Cal Poly community played an important role in opposing the continuation of compulsory universal military training and selective services in the 1950s. In the student and university's publications, the Cal Poly administration actively reminded students to apply for

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15   Charles Johnson Jr., *African Americans and ROTC: Military, Naval, and Aeroscience Programs at Historically Black Colleges, 1916-1973* (Jefferson, North Carolina, and London: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2002), 204-212

16   Swomley Jr., *The Military Establishment,* 29.

a one-year deferment in order to avoid being drafted.[17] In addition to these constant reminders, the Cal Poly administration also periodically provided students with information and opportunities for selective service deferment tests and due dates for paperwork.[18] Following up on these announcements, Dean of Students Everett Chandler personally urged the students to be mindful of their current and upcoming paperwork to ensure they were still eligible for deferment.[19] For example, Dean Chandler advised students that they had to submit paperwork to change their "1-A" classification to "1-S" classification in order to remain eligible for deferment.[20] Through these publications, the Cal Poly administration was clearly taking an active role to protect its students from being drafted into active military service.

In order to bolster their efforts, Cal Poly administrators, in 1952, began to solicit the United States Army to establish an ROTC unit on campus.[21] By establishing an ROTC unit, Cal Poly administrators likely believed that this organization could prevent a decline in enrollment levels — which happened in the first and second world wars — by offering students an opportunity to complete their military obligations and college education.[22] Due to the administration's persistence, the U.S. Army formally established a "general branch" ROTC unit, which differed from other ROTC units across the country, at Cal Poly.[23] As a "general branch" unit, the U.S. Army christened the Cal Poly ROTC as a pilot program to test the effectiveness of a "West Point"-styled training program. [24]

With an ROTC unit established on campus, individuals — such as Holmes — would argue that the Cal Poly administration's efforts to obstruct the draft were over. But, rather than working against the university's stance on deferments, the Cal Poly ROTC worked concurrently with the university to increase the amount of student deferments. For example, Cal Poly ROTC officers issued statements to the student body to clarify the procedures and

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17 "Are You Draft Bait?," *El Mustang,* September 28, 1951.

18 "What, Again? More Draft Test for Students," *El Mustang,* October 12, 1951; "Deferment Test Application Due Nov. 5," *El Mustang,* October 19, 1951; "Selective Service Test Application Deadline March 10," El Mustang, March 7, 1952.

19 "Save Your Neck by Draft Card Check," *El Mustang,* November 2, 1951.

20 "Draft Eligible Men Make Certain of Your Deferment," *El Mustang,* January 18, 1952.

21 Kennedy, *Learn By Doing: Memoirs of a University President: A Personal Journey with the Seventh President of California Polytechnic State University* 152.

22 Cal Poly: T*he First Hundred Years,* 29; Neiberg, 36.

23 "Branch ROTC Unit Established Here," *El Mustang,* June 27, 1952.

24 Ibid.

requirements for deferments.[25] Through this public outreach, the Cal Poly ROTC received considerable support from the administration and student body. For instance, many students saw this program as an excellent opportunity for first- and second-year students to automatically receive full deferment from the draft.[26] In addition to the students' support, Chandler personally supported the Cal Poly ROTC and urged all eligible students to join since it guarantee a four-year deferment from the draft.[27] Besides urging students to consider the deferment scheme, Chandler also urged students to join the Cal Poly ROTC because it sheltered them from the unpredictable administrative changes in draft policies. For example, the United States Selective Service considered drafting students with a "2-S" classification in late 1952. In response to this policy change, Dean Chandler urged students with a "2-S" classification to join the Cal Poly ROTC in order to avoid being drafted.[28] Therefore, the university's actions strongly indicate that the administration was not aversive to the notion of having an ROTC program on campus.

Through these examples, the Cal Poly ROTC clearly did not solely focus on recruiting students into military service; rather they were highly supportive of continuing student deferments. Therefore, these examples refute Holmes' argument that the ROTC was designed to benefit the military because the Cal Poly ROTC was clearly influenced by the national debate on compulsory peacetime military training. Due to this influence, the Cal Poly ROTC actively helped students to avoid being drafted into active military service.

The Cal Poly ROTC and Its Social Relationships

Despite its military affiliation, the Cal Poly ROTC made significant social contributions to the collegiate, student, and local communities. Since its inception in 1952, the Cal Poly ROTC provided various extracurricular activities and opportunities for its cadets to develop leadership skills. For example, Lieutenant Colonel James M. Cochran, the commanding officer of the Cal Poly ROTC, announced the formation of an ROTC drill team, drum and bugle corps, and the Scabbard and Blade military honor society in the October 3, 1952, issue of *El Mustang*.[29] In addition to these organizations, the Cal

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25   "ROTC Officials Answer Deferment Questions," *El Mustang,* January 30, 1953.

26   Willie Thomas, "I-round th' Corner," *El Mustang,* June 27, 1952.

27   "ROTC Program of Deferment Given," *El Mustang,* September 11, 1952.

28   "Dean's Opinion That Young Men Should Join ROTC," *El Mustang,* September 26, 1952.

29   Glen Johnson, "Cochran Outlines Poly ROTC Plans For Now, Future," *El Mustang,* October 3, 1952.

Poly ROTC also formed a mounted cavalry, a rifle team, and color guard.[30] Through these organizations, Cal Poly ROTC cadets represented Cal Poly in various collegiate events throughout the United States. For example, the Cal Poly ROTC mounted cavalry competed and placed third at the Fiesta de las Flora parade.[31] Furthermore, the Cal Poly ROTC rifle team also traveled to other universities, such as the University of Idaho, to compete with other ROTC cadets across the United States.[32] Besides these individual and group competitions, the Cal Poly ROTC junior and senior cadets also attended a summer ROTC training camp at Fort Lewis in Washington state.[33] At Fort Lewis, Cal Poly cadets consistently placed in the top five out of all the ROTC units attending the training camp.[34] Coupled with this achievement, the Cal Poly cadets also received many individual awards for their merits in military skills.[35] To recognize these achievements, President McPhee and Dr. Kennedy constantly lavished the Cal Poly ROTC and its cadets with both praise and awards.[36] Due to the accolades of the Cal Poly ROTC, the U.S. Army decided to use the program as a template for other ROTC programs at Stanford, UCLA, UC Davis, Montana State, and other universities across the United States.[37] With these examples in mind, they strongly rebut Lowen's argument that military involvement at the universities was mostly, if not always, negative.

Besides representing the university at the collegiate level, the Cal Poly ROTC also built relationships with the local and student communities by participating in university functions such as Poly Royal and Homecoming.[38] During Poly Royal, Cal Poly hosted a variety of activities and events to showcase the students' achievements and college lifestyle to the students' family and

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30 "ROTC Horseman Enliven Poly Activities," *El Mustang,* November 6, 1953; "Poly Bows to Idaho In First Rifle Tilt," *El Mustang,* November 20, 1953; "Guard Places Third," *El Mustang,* May 22, 1953.

31 "Guard Places Third."

32 "Poly Bows to Idaho In First Rifle Tilt."

33 "Poly ROTC Takes Part at Fort Lewis," *El Mustang,* June 10, 1955; "Poly ROTC at Summer ROTC Camp," photograph, in *El Mustang,* July 15, 1955, 1.

34 "ROTC Cadets Rank High At Fort Lewis," *El Mustang,* August 12, 1955.

35 "Poly's Crack ROTC Battalion Captures Many Top Awards," *El Mustang,* September 16, 1957.

36 El Mustang, "Congratulations," photograph, in *El Mustang,* August 16, 1957, 1; Gus Beck, "ROTC-Lap Company-AS348," photograph, 1954, Folder Military-ROTC c. 1951-1986. Special Collections and University Archives, Kennedy Library, California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo, California.

37 "West Point Style Proved At Poly; Example For More," *El Mustang,* September 4, 1953.

38 "ROTC Directors Make Big Plans," *El Mustang,* January 16, 1953.

to the local community.[39] For example, during the 1953 Poly Royal, the Cal Poly ROTC sponsored a drill team competition for the local Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps (JROTC) units.[40] In addition to hosting these competitions, the Cal Poly ROTC also held exhibits during Poly Royal to educate the local community and the students' families about cadet life in the ROTC.[41] Also, the Cal Poly ROTC mounted cavalry opened Poly Royal, participated in the Poly Royal Rodeo, and escorted the Poly Royal Queen.[42] With the exemplary participation of the Cal Poly ROTC in Poly Royal, McPhee personally was very proud of all the students who participated in Poly Royal.[43] With that in mind, McPhee's approval indicates that the Cal Poly ROTC was a respected part of the university. Besides participating in the Poly Royal festivities, the Cal Poly ROTC drill team also performed during the annual homecoming parade.[44] Due to its involvement in these activities, the Cal Poly ROTC was not a separate institution that existed at the university — it actually played an active role in enhancing the social lives of the student community.

In addition to participating in these university functions, the Cal Poly ROTC was also heavily involved in the local community. For example, during the Korean War, the local community held blood drives at Cal Poly to gather blood donations for wounded Korean veterans. During these blood drives, the Cal Poly ROTC drill team entertained blood donors while they waited for their turn to donate blood.[45] Due to its contributions, the Cal Poly ROTC was gradually accepted as part of the local community, which granted the organization the opportunity to represent the local community in a variety of public events. For instance, on October 13, 1954, the Cal Poly ROTC provided an honor guard to greet Vice President Nixon during his visit to San Luis Obispo.[46] By inviting the Cal Poly ROTC to this event, the local community respected the Cal Poly ROTC and its cadets enough to allow

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39   Glean L. Black, manuscript letter to Douglas W. Miller, 1954, Box 3, Poly Royal Ephemera(1953-58), Folder: Poly Royal: Planning (Committees, groups, policies, and procedures), 1954.Special Collections and University Archives, Kennedy Library, California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo, California.

40   "Poly Royal Show to Include New Activity," *El Mustang,* March 6, 1953.

41   "Army Life Depicted In ROTC Display," *El Mustang,* April 26, 1957; "Visitors Participate In ROTC Display," *El Mustang,* April 27, 1956.

42   "ROTC Horseman Enliven Poly Activities."

43   "McPhee Says Best Poly Royal Ever," *El Mustang,* May 3, 1957.

44   "Drill Team To Make Debut At Homecoming," *El Mustang,* October 21, 1955.

45   "Big Push Prepared for Coming Blood Pledge," *El Mustang,* February 20, 1953.

46   "Honorguard Greets Nixon," *El Mustang,* October 15, 1954.

them to represent the community in this important event. Further, the local community was invited to campus when the military and the university president conducted an annual inspection of the Cal Poly ROTC.[47] By allowing public attendance, the community was able to demystify the impersonal veil shrouding the military-industrial academic complex. Through their interactions with the local community, the Cal Poly ROTC was gradually able to successfully integrate as a key segment of the local community and student communities.

Besides fostering these relationships with the local and student communities, the Cal Poly ROTC also had its own social events. During the 1950s, the Cal Poly ROTC hosted a variety of social events for its cadets. For example, as a military organization, the Cal Poly ROTC offered its cadets the opportunity to join the military honors society "Golden Blade" and later "Scabbard and Blade."[48] By joining these organization, Cal Poly ROTC cadets could form connections with their peers across the country. In addition to these opportunities, the Cal Poly ROTC also hosted an annual military ball for its cadets at the San Luis Obispo Veterans Memorial Hall and later at Camp San Luis Obispo.[49] During these dances, the Cal Poly ROTC hosted a competition to select an "ROTC Queen" to represent the organization in military inspections and other social events.[50] Due to these experiences, the Cal Poly ROTC was not consumed by military fervor; instead, this organization constituted one of the many subcultures that existed at Cal Poly.

Therefore, the Cal Poly ROTC clearly does not fit into Lowen's Stanford analogy. Due to its integration into campus culture, the Cal Poly ROTC affirms Johnson's argument in his book, which argued that the HBCU ROTC units enabled African Americans to be full members of American society and to have access to better opportunities that fostered cross-racial connections. Translating this to the Cal Poly ROTC, the students, like their African American counterparts, were able to benefit from being involved in the ROTC since it enabled each cadet to gain vital life skills and experience,

47   Gus Beck, "R.O.T.C-Annual Inspection 1954, #42," photograph, Folder Military-ROTC c. 1951-1986. Special Collections and University Archives, Kennedy Library, California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo, California.

48   "Charter Members Selected in ROTC Military Society," *El Mustang,* February 20, 1953; "Golden Blade Dissolved: ROTC Admitted To Scabbard and Blade," *El Mustang,* May 18, 1956.

49   "Final Plans Made for Military Ball," *El Mustang,* February 26, 1954; "Military Ball Has 'Outpost' Theme," *El Mustang,* February 3, 1956.

50   "Five Coed Finalists Vie For Queen Title of 5th Military Ball," *El Mustang,* January 22, 1957.

which transformed them into better members of society.

Conclusion

In this chronicle of the Cal Poly ROTC, the military-industrial academic complex did not always negatively affect the community and student body. Instead, the Cal Poly ROTC had numerous other functions than just military recruitment. To reiterate, the Cal Poly ROTC offered its cadets access to career opportunities and to participate in university functions such as Poly Royal and Homecoming. Throughout the early 1950s, Cal Poly administration was already working to ensure their students were deferred from the draft. With the establishment of the Cal Poly ROTC in 1952, the university administration was given another tool to help students avoid active military service. Despite its military affiliation, the student body and administration favorably viewed the Cal Poly ROTC because it offered students a longer period of deferment while allowing them to fulfill their military obligations. As a result, the Cal ROTC played an instrumental role in assisting students in avoiding the draft.

In addition to assisting student deferments, the Cal Poly ROTC also fostered social relations with the collegiate, local, and student communities. Since its inception, the Cal Poly ROTC has distinguished itself and the university at numerous collegiate events. Due to its accomplishments, the Cal Poly ROTC was eventually chosen as the model for other ROTC units across the United States. Besides representing the university at collegiate events, the Cal Poly ROTC also fostered social relationships with the local and student communities. Throughout the 1950s, the Cal Poly ROTC participated in Poly Royal, Homecoming, and other local events. By participating in these events, the Cal Poly ROTC earned the trust and respect of the local and student communities.

With its high level of involvement in the community, the Cal Poly ROTC clearly was not an organization obsessed with military recruitment. Therefore, these findings contradict the notion that military involvement at the universities was solely focused on developing technologies and recruiting college men for the Cold War. Therefore, this paper illustrates that there was a non-military culture that existed during Cold War America. Due to the existence of this non-military culture at Cal Poly, this paper strongly indicates that Cold War culture was not simply militaristic; rather, the military aca-

demic industrial complex also produced a vibrant social culture that existed at certain American universities during the 1950s.

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WENDY MYREN

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Abstract

This paper examines the economic relationship between the United States and Zanzibar from the 1830s through the 1860s. Through the use of primary sources found in Norman R. Bennett and George E. Brooks Jr.'s compiled book New England Merchants in Zanzibar, this paper explains the complexity of American-Zanzibari trade relationships in the nineteenth century, proves the global trading connections of Zanzibar, and explores the experiences of American consuls in this East African country. With the understanding of Zanzibari trading relations, pre-colonized Africa emerges as a formidable economic force and pivotal trading partner for American interests in the nineteenth century.

A Bountiful Relationship: American Trade Relations with Zanzibar in the 1800s

By Wendy Myren

Unbeknownst to many Westerners blinded by the "dark continent" theory, East Africa has a rich history of global connections and worldwide trade. In the 1830s, the United States intertwined itself into this trade and gained a prominent presence in Zanzibar that remained strong for decades. During the trading heyday between Zanzibar and the United States from the 1830s through the 1860s, both countries benefitted economically from the exchange of goods. Although American trade with both the western and eastern coasts of Africa never exceeded more than two percent of total American commerce, the subject remains an important and revealing subject of study.[1] An examination of Zanzibari trade exposes the interconnected web of this global trading network. In particular, this paper will explore the trade relationship between the United States and Zanzibar, with specific focus on the role of Salem. Emphasis will be placed on the ivory and slave trade, as well as

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[1] Cyrus Townsend Brady, *Commerce and Conquest in East Africa: With Particular Reference to the Salem Trade in Zanzibar* (United States: Essex Institute, 1950), 115-116.

the personal experiences of American consuls and merchants. Through the use of letters from American merchants and consuls in Zanzibar, this paper will prove the complexity of trade between these two countries during the 1800s, describe the importance of this trade, and reveal the trading complexities of this African nation.

Trade with East Africa and the United States began in the early 1800s, with one of the first commercial dealings with Zanzibar beginning in 1826.[2] The American brig Ann, which frequently traded with Sumatra, Manila, and Mocha, first traveled south to Zanzibar for supplies after finding Mocha short of food. The brig acquired ivory from the island and thereby became a continuous trading destination for American ships.[3] In 1827, the American vessel Spy became the first vessel to return directly from Zanzibar, carrying copious amounts of gum copal.[4] Americans became frustrated with the formalities, heavy commissions, and anchorage fees in Zanzibar during the beginning of their trade relationship, which eventually led to trading treaties between the Sultan and the United States.[5] Although American traders set up business houses in Zanzibar beginning in the 1820s, trade did not expand until the 1830s.[6] By 1837, America opened one of the first consulates in the world in Zanzibar.[7] With the arrival of the first consulate, Richard P. Waters from Salem, America became the biggest foreign trading partner for Zanzibar, at least until the eve of the American Civil War in 1860.[8] Zanzibari producers shaped world markets with their large quantities of ivory and cloves. This greatly benefitted and enriched Salem trade, who relied on Zanzibar for its products.[9]

Trade Relations

During the zenith of American and Zanzibari trade, American ships (particularly from Salem) made up a significant proportion of trading vessels in the port at Zanzibar Town. From September 1832 to May 1834 in Zanzibar,

2 Brady, *Commerce and Conquest in East Africa*, 89.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid

6 S. Hoyle, "Early Port Development in East Africa," *Tijdschrift Voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 58, no. 2 (March 1967): 100.

7 Sanford J. Ungar, "Keep Our Zanzibar Consulate Open," *New York Times,* January 25, 1979, A19.

8 Richard Francis Burton, *Zanzibar: City, Island, and Coast* (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1872), 408.

9 Jeremy Prestholdt, *Domesticating the World: African Consumerism and the Genealogies of Globalization* (United States: University of California Press, 2008), 62.

thirty-two of the forty-one vessels that arrived in the port came from America, and twenty-three of them from Salem alone.[10] In a given year, at least half the vessels that arrived in Zanzibar came from America, even as naval traffic toward the island increased to 150 vessels per year.[11] These Salem ships sailed under the trading and shipping company established by Captain John Bertram, who had a strong relationship between Zanzibar and his firm.[12]

Zanzibar became an ideal place to trade starting in 1832, when Sultan Seyyid Said transferred his capital and court from Muscat to Zanzibar. Here, he created a new trading post and town to siphon East African trade to one area. Trade in Zanzibar became highly successful due to the enhanced commercial benefits of the new location. Zanzibar, situated significantly further south than Muscat, experienced proximity to the fertile coastal belt on the mainland — with close availability to the easiest routes to the interior. As a result of this move, Sultan Said controlled the trading routes into the mainland and became a powerful leader in East African trade.[13] Said also created a system of variable tax rates that encouraged merchants to pass through Zanzibar, thereby undermining and surpassing other East African ports such as Kilwa.[14] Furthermore, Americans preferred trade with Zanzibar because the population mostly consisted of Arabs, with only some Africans, and 60,000 slaves.[15] Because of their inherent racist perspectives, American merchants seemed to detest trade with those of African descent, who they saw as "queer," bothersome, and annoying people[16] who did not understand currency.[17] Frequently in the letters, American merchants talked down to the Africans on the East Coast but spoke highly of the Sultan and Master of Customs, both of Arab descent.

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10   Gaurav Desai, "Oceans Connect: The Indian Ocean and African Identities," PMLA 125, no. 3 (May 2010): 714.

11   Brady, *Commerce and Conquest in East Africa: With Particular Reference to the Salem Trade in Zanzibar,* 116.

12   Ibid., 98.

13   Hoyle, "Early Port Development in East Africa," 99.

14   Erik Gilbert, "Coastal East Africa and the Western Indian Ocean: Long Distance Trade, Empire, Migration, and Regional Unity, 1750-1970," *The History Teacher* 36, no. 1 (November 2002): 24.

15   "A Visit to Zanzibar, 1847. Horace B. Putnam's Notes of a Cruise to the Indies or a Life in the Forecastle," in *New England Merchants in Zanzibar*, ed. Norman R. Bennett and George E. Brooks Jr. (Boston: Boston University Press, 1965), 400.

16   "The Log of the Bark Palestine, 1839-1840," in *New England Merchants in Zanzibar*, ed. Norman R. Bennett and George E. Brooks Jr. (Boston: Boston University Press, 1965), 187.

17   "The Log of the Bark Reaper, 1838-1839," in *New England Merchants in Zanzibar*, ed. Norman R. Bennett and George E. Brooks Jr. (Boston: Boston University Press, 1965), 186.

The United States and Zanzibar traded a variety of products during the 1800s, and both sides benefitted greatly from the trade exchange. Exports from Africa included gum copal, aloes, gum arabic, columbo root, tortoise-shell, rhino horn, beeswax, cocoa-nut oil, millet, and especially cloves, ivory, and animal hides.[18] During the beginning of its trade with Zanzibar, the United States also received supplies for whaling voyages in East African waters.[19] However, before the Civil War and the restriction of the slave trade, the United States took slaves from East Africa. A strange irony existed that "slave labor brought from Africa to the United States helped produce cotton that was manufactured into so-called *amerikani* cloth, which was shipped by Salem merchants to Zanzibar for trade."[20] Therefore, the trade with Zanzibar came full circle with the African slaves picking the raw cotton in the American South, only to have it woven into cloth for the Zanzibari people. Occasionally, the Sultan sent his own ships to Salem to conduct trade, but this occurred less frequently than the United States sending its own ships to Zanzibar.[21]

Imports to Africa from the United States remained highly important to the African people, especially in regards to fashion. Zanzibar demanded American cotton cloth from the Northern factories "of unbleached calico, 30 to 32 yards long, a yard wide, and weighing about 10 pounds, stamped in blue 'Massachusetts sheeting.'" This type of cloth gained the name *amerikani or merikani*.[22] *Amerikani* cloth became the superior cotton cloth, and East Africans desired this specific brand.[23] In fact, some Zanzibari people left the "Massachusetts sheeting" label on display while wearing the cloth.[24] East African consumers shaped American companies in the North, who strove to meet African demands by creating fashions to satisfy African tastes, since fashion remained an important part of the life to the Zanzibari people.[25] The cheapness of the raw materials in America allowed the creation of a very du-

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18   Edmund Roberts to Louis McLane, Washington, 14 May 1834, in *New England Merchants in Zanzibar,* ed. Norman R. Bennett and George E. Brooks Jr. (Boston: Boston University Press, 1965), 157.

19   George Shepperson, "The United States and East Africa," *Phylon* 13, no. 1 (1952):,28.

20   Desai, "Oceans Connect: The Indian Ocean and African Identities," 715.

21   Ibid., 713.

22   Brady, *Commerce and Conquest in East Africa: With Particular Reference to the Salem Trade in Zanzibar,* 118.

23   Shepperson, "The United States and East Africa," 28.

24   Brady, *Commerce and Conquest in East Africa: With Particular Reference to the Salem Trade in Zanzibar,* 118.

25   Prestholdt, *Domesticating the World: African Consumerism and the Genealogies of Globalization,* 64.

rable fabric that sold for a low price.[26] Other countries, such as India, could not compete in this trade until the American Civil War interrupted the Zanzibari-American trade. During its scarcity, the American cloth from Massachusetts still remained the most desired fabric. As a result, Arabs on Zanzibar called themselves "cotton-beggars" for American cloth during the war.[27]

In the nineteenth century, East Africa ranked as the principal source of ivory for the world and enticed foreign traders to make the long journey to Zanzibar. Europe and America showed particular interest in this ivory trade, and became high demanders for this product.[28] Zanzibar constituted the main ivory market in East Africa, supplying seventy-five percent of the world's total until the late 1800s.[29] They controlled the trade routes on the mainland and brought the ivory from the interior to the coast, where it was then shipped to Zanzibar Town and sold at a high price to Western merchants.[30] America alone compromised eighty percent of the soft ivory market in Zanzibar.[31] Soft ivory, which elephants in East Africa generally possess, became a more desirable product for Europeans and Americans. Americans brought in close to half a million dollars per year for Zanzibar, just for the purchase of this ivory.[32] This type of ivory is less brittle, cracks less often, and is easy to shape. Americans enjoyed this soft ivory for its malleable qualities, which provided the raw material for billiard balls and piano keys for American consumers.[33]

Ivory adequate for Europeans and Americans, called "Bab Oliah" by the Zanzibaris, sold formally and for high prices. Each piece sold according to weight and quality, and Zanzibaris separately weighed each piece and logged it into a book to ensure consistency and quality.[34] According to accounts from the American merchants in Zanzibar during the trading zenith, ivory

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26 Charles Ward to George Abbot, Kennebunkport, 13 March 1851, in *New England Merchants in Zanzibar,* ed. Norman R. Bennett and George E. Brooks Jr. (Boston: Boston University Press, 1965), 479.

27 Shepperson "The United States and East Africa," 28.

28 R.W. Beachey, "The East African Ivory Trade in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of African History* 8, no. 2 (1967): 269.

29 Ibid.

30 Gilbert, "Coastal East Africa and the Western Indian Ocean: Long Distance Trade, Empire, Migration, and Regional Unity, 1750-1970," 26.

31 Beachey, "The East African Ivory Trade in the Nineteenth Century," 288.

32 Burton, *Zanzibar: City, Island, and Coast,* 409.

33 Beachey, "The East African Ivory Trade in the Nineteenth Century," 275.

34 William Hines, "William E. Hines to William H. Seward, Zanzibar, 25 October 1864," In *New England Merchants in Zanzibar,* edited by Norman R. Bennett and George E. Brooks Jr. (Boston: Boston University Press, 1965), 529.

tended to be around $32-$35 per arrobe.[35] With foreign competition prevalent in Zanzibar, arrobe prices did not lower to accommodate American buyers who either waited for the prices to drop or succumbed to the high ivory price. Ivory demand remained high among Europeans, so Americans frequently settled for ivory of low quality — meaning tusks of less than fifty pounds and bags of ivory pieces.[36] Since the ivory trade led to the death of thousands of elephants per year, some populations could not recover fast enough for hunters arriving the next year. As a result, "dull seasons" became detrimental for those Americans and East Africans dependent on the ivory trade for economic income.[37] Despite this pitfall, the United States remained a dedicated ivory purchaser for decades in the nineteenth century — until the depression of trade in the 1860s.

The American Civil War devastated trade between the North United States and Zanzibar. The figures from 1830 to 1860 do not compare with numbers during and after the Civil War. The trade between these two countries never bounced back to the flourishing relationship it once was during the mid-1800s. Before the Civil War, Zanzibar enjoyed America as its biggest and most prevalent foreign trading partner. The yearly value of American outward cargo (mostly cotton cloth and sheeting from the Lowell factory) averaged around one million dollars.[38] Between 1852-1857, Americans averaged about thirty-one ships sailing to Zanzibar annually, with an average of 8,593 tons of cargo being sent to the island.[39] Furthermore, the United States procured two to three million pounds of cloves per year from Zanzibar.[40] In 1859 alone, clove exports totaled 4,860,100 pounds to the United States. Ivory and copal remained important products for American purchase, with 488,600 pounds of ivory and 875,875 pounds of copal purchased by American merchants in one year alone.[41] Western merchants also bought other products such as kopra (dried meat of the nut), orchilla, hippo teeth, amber-

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35   "A Visit to Eastern Africa, 1848. Ephraim A. Emmerton's Journal," in *New England Merchants in Zanzibar,* ed. Norman R. Bennett and George E. Brooks Jr. (Boston: Boston University Press, 1965), 407.

36   Charles Ward to Michael Shepard, Zanzibar, 10 May 1849, in N*ew England Merchants in Zanzibar,* ed. Norman R. Bennett and George E. Brooks Jr. (Boston: Boston University Press, 1965), 441.

37   William H. Jelly to George West Jr., Zanzibar, 26 September 1849, in *New England Merchants in Zanzibar,* ed. Norman R. Bennett and George E. Brooks Jr. (Boston: Boston University Press, 1965), 450.

38   Brady, *Commerce and Conquest in East Africa: With Particular Reference to the Salem Trade in Zanzibar,* 116.

39   Burton, *Zanzibar: City, Island, and Coast,* 408.

40   Brady, *Commerce and Conquest in East Africa: With Particular Reference to the Salem Trade in Zanzibar,* 116.

41   Burton, *Zanzibar: City, Island, and Coast,* 409.

gris, cowris, goat-skins, and some valuable woods.[42] This trading relationship proved fruitful, with £118,688 worth of goods exported to the United States from Zanzibar in 1859 — the year before the onset of the bloody American Civil War.

In 1860, during the American Civil War, other countries entered the Zanzibari market. With the American powerhouse out of the way, foreign merchants found a foothold on the island and sold products with relative ease, thereby destroying America's practically untouchable influence in Zanzibar. During the war, imports from the United States totaled less than £30,000 annually, a significant drop from the pre-Civil War years of well over £100,000.[43] Despite the fact that the North could not send as many ships to Zanzibar because their men became involved with the war, the raw cotton for the Northern cloth factories also abruptly ended with the South's secession. This hurt Zanzibari economy, since a significant amount of income came to a screeching halt in 1860.[44] Specifically, the average annual amount of cotton bales to Zanzibar went from 6,000 bales before the Civil War to a mere 50 bales of cotton during the war.[45] The ships that managed to sail to Zanzibar during the war carried more diversified goods than previous years. Furniture, flour, and other miscellaneous goods became the norm for American exporting cargo to Zanzibar.[46] However, the few ships that arrived during the war did not carry an ample amount of cotton cloth, the product most Zanzibari consumers desired.

Perspectives on the Zanzibari Slave Trade

The slave trade and the suppression of it by the British created moral and trading dilemmas for Americans, who became torn between their moral duty to attack slavery and their commitment to their trading business. American merchants became intertwined with the slave trade in Zanzibar because of the slaves' direct involvement with trade relations. Arab middlemen in Zanzibar found slavery unprofitable by itself, but slavery coupled with the ivory,

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42   Burton, *Zanzibar: City, Island, and Coast*, 411.

43   Ibid., 414.

44   Hines to Seward, 532-533.

45   Edward D. Ropes to William H. Seward, Zanzibar, 1 July 1865, in *New England Merchants in Zanzibar,* ed. Norman R. Bennett and George E. Brooks Jr. (Boston: Boston University Press, 1965), 536.

46   Brady, *Commerce and Conquest in East Africa: With Particular Reference to the Salem Trade in Zanzibar,* 117.

clove, and beeswax trade became an important part of the successful trade on the island.[47] As a result, the proficiency of the ivory trade became dependent on slave labor. Most slave traders captured slaves from the interior of the mainland and walked them to the coast to be sold. However, with Zanzibar controlling the trade routes from the interior to the coast, slaves became an asset. Ivory collected from the elephants from the middle of the continent began to be transported by slave caravans. The slaves carried the massive tusks to the coast, where they would be shipped to Zanzibari markets.[48] Furthermore, slaves had other odd jobs in regards to trade, such as loading and unloading the cargo from the trading vessels.[49] As a result, slavery went hand in hand with the efficiency of Zanzibari trade, making the British attempt to end the slave trade a particularly troubling issue for Zanzibari and American merchants.

United States consuls carried a dual allegiance to both their country and their specific trading house.[50] Most American merchants, sailors, and consuls in Zanzibar hailed from the Northern United States, and therefore many considered themselves Yankees with a moral duty to detest the slave trade.[51] Michael W. Shepard's 1844 account of his visit to Zanzibar expresses the despicable conditions of slaves, especially the slave ship conditions.[52] Shepard describes the cramped conditions of the slave ships and the lack of food and care given to the slaves. Slave traders threw their dead cargo overboard "like sheep" once the ship anchored.[53] During the American and Zanzibari trading heyday, it was not uncommon to see animal or human corpses washed up onshore, which filled the trading cities with stench.[54]

Slave labor on Zanzibar created a moral dilemma for American consuls, especially after the Civil War. William Hathorne, United States consul from 1876 to 1880, experienced the personal conflict between the duty to his

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47 Shepperson, "The United States and East Africa," 27.
48 Gerald J. Pierson, "U.S. Consuls in Zanzibar and the Slave Trade, 1870-1890," *The Historian* 55, no. 1 (September 1992): 56.
49 Ibid., 60.
50 Ibid., 55.
51 Brady, *Commerce and Conquest in East Africa: With Particular Reference to the Salem Trade in Zanzibar,* 122.
52 "A Visit to Zanzibar, 1844. Michael W. Shepard's Account," in *New England Merchants in Zanzibar,* ed. Norman R. Bennett and George E. Brooks Jr. (Boston: Boston University Press, 1965), 261-262.
53 Ibid.
54 Donald Petterson, *Revolution in Zanzibar: An American's Cold War Tale* (United States: Westview Press, 2002), 7.

country and trading company. He felt the dilemma between morality and good business when it came to thoughts on the Zanzibari slave trade. In 1878, Hathorne signed a note to the Sultan urging him to remove restrictions on "hamali gangs" (groups of slave laborers skilled in loading and unloading cargo). Although Hathorne signed this for the interest of Bertram's firm back in Salem, he felt that he misrepresented the United States government, since he personally saw slavery as "morally repugnant."[55] He eventually withdrew his signature to the Sultan, but despite his own personal beliefs, Hathorne still believed slavery to be necessary for the existence of trade in Zanzibar. Also, a consul's loyalty to his trading firm proved to be more important than representing the United States as a whole because slavery became "less of a concern than business."[56] Other American merchants revealed their primary duty as representing their respective trading companies, with moral issues on slavery coming in second.

Most American merchants and consuls did nothing to stop the slave trade in Zanzibar. Tampering with slavery jeopardized America's trading position and profitability of the trading houses.[57] Since Zanzibar's economy depended on slave labor, the United States believed ending the slave trade posed a risk to American trading interests. However, with American slaves newly liberated after the Civil War, the British expected the United States to be supportive of British interests to end the slave trade in East Africa. Despite the pressure to support the British, American consuls valued Zanzibari trade more than ending slavery in East Africa.

United States consuls became suspicious of British motives to end the slave trade, believing it a direct and deliberate attack on American trading interests.[58] The British attempt to end the slave trade in Zanzibar frequently disrupted American commercial interests with the country. In search of slaves, the British destroyed property on American ships, which halted trade completely. At times, the British searched these ships knowing full well that many Americans openly detested the slave trade.[59] Their actions disrupted American trade and lost them profit. Some British seized American ships, claiming the slaves to be disguised as black sailors, only to have the United

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55 Pierson, "U.S. Consuls in Zanzibar and the Slave Trade, 1870-1890," 60.

56 Ibid.

57 Ibid., 54.

58 Ibid.

59 "Charles Ward to Michael Shepard, Zanzibar, 16 July 1850," in *New England Merchants in Zanzibar,* ed. Norman R. Bennett and George E. Brooks Jr. (Boston: Boston University Press, 1965), 465.

States struggle diplomatically to prove them as freedmen. Some American merchants believed the British intentionally sabotaged American trading interests with Zanzibar. However, when Zanzibar asked for American aid from trade and slave restrictions imposed by the British, American consuls became more confused on their position.[60] As a result, American consuls and merchants remained indifferent toward the situation — neither directly supporting the British or Zanzibar. Although the British intervened with trade between America and Zanzibar, the effect of this interference generally did not influence overall trading profits and relations with the country, explaining the United States' refusal to aid Zanzibar directly with the British problem.

Life for the American Consuls on Zanzibar

The letters and documents compiled and edited by Norman R. Bennett and George E. Brooks in the book *New England Merchants in Africa* provide clues as to how merchants of both the United States and Zanzibar conducted business and reveals a fuller picture of the trading process and relations between merchants themselves, the Sultan, and other countries. With the American consuls staying on the island for long periods of time, their letters express various experiences of this unique trading relationship. Generally, the American consuls experienced an excellent relationship with the Sultan of Zanzibar, who they called "Highness." During the Civil War, the Sultan sympathized with the North, therefore earning the American consuls' favor, since almost all of them hailed from Salem.[61] With this choice, the Sultan garnered Yankee approval since much of his business came straight from Salem trading firms.[62] Furthermore, American consuls lived comfortably in Zanzibar under the Sultan's rich accommodations, which included exceptional housing for the trading consuls.[63] (The United States consulate had prime location at the apex of the peninsula of Zanzibar.)[64] Frequently, the Sultan invited American consuls and other trade leaders to all dine together, as a way to encourage healthy and thriving relationships between him

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60   Ward to Abbot, 481
61   Ropes to Seward, 536.
62   Brady, *Commerce and Conquest in East Africa: With Particular Reference to the Salem Trade in Zanzibar,* 100.
63   "The Journals of Richard P. Waters, 1836-1844," in *New England Merchants in Zanzibar,* ed. Norman R. Bennett and George E. Brooks Jr. (Boston: Boston University Press, 1965), 209.
64   Petterson, *Revolution in Zanzibar: An American's Cold War Tale,* 20.

and other traders.[65] He delighted the foreign ladies, who sailed to Zanzibar with their merchant husbands, by giving them gift of cashmere shawls as a courteous gesture.[66]

The Sultan also attempted to accommodate and nurture his trade relationships with other countries. When he believed United States merchants violated the Customs Law, the Sultan did not respond with anger or enforcement. Rather, he wrote a "request" letter to the American president asking him to enforce this law among his merchants.[67] In his letter, the Sultan politely asked the president to deal with this issue instead of demanding him to, which could have damaged the trade relationship between Zanzibar and America. However, the Sultan's attempt to appease every country sometimes backfired, especially when animosity between America and Britain emerged. Out of respect for his trading partners, the Sultan saluted each country and hoisted their flag during that country's respective holiday.[68] Problematically, the Sultan did not honor America's Independence Day on July 4, 1850, out of respect for Britain, which infuriated Charles Ward, the American consul. When confronted about the matter, the Sultan apologized and responded that Britain would feel disrespected through the resurfacing of its bitter loss during the Revolutionary War. Ward, further offended since he believed America to be more important than Britain in Zanzibar's trade relationships, threatened to withdraw United States interests from Zanzibar completely.[69] The situation ends here in Ward's letter, with no further mention of the subject. Indeed, American interests continued in Zanzibar, but it became clear that the Sultan could not appease every country present without upsetting another.

Through the study of exchanged letters between American merchants, the logistics of 1800s trade in Zanzibar are fully understood. In fact, trade complexities in Zanzibar suggest an effective organization of the trading process in general. The Master of Customs in Zanzibar Town dealt with any and all trading relations between Zanzibar and other countries.[70] Jeram bin Seva, the

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65   "Journals of Waters," 209.

66   Ibid., 211.

67   Said Bin Sultan to the State Department, undated, in *New England Merchants in Zanzibar,* ed. Norman R. Bennett and George E. Brooks Jr. (Boston: Boston University Press, 1965), 238-239.

68   Charles Ward to John M. Clayton, Zanzibar, 13 July 1850, in *New England Merchants in Zanzibar,* ed. Norman R. Bennett and George E. Brooks Jr. (Boston: Boston University Press, 1965), 459.

69   Ward to Clayton, 460-462.

70   Richard Waters to P. Starr Parker, Zanzibar, 1 January 1840, in *New England Merchants in Zanzibar,* ed. Norman R. Bennett and George E. Brooks Jr. (Boston: Boston University Press, 1965), 225.

Master of Customs during the trading heyday between the United States and Zanzibar, became a frequent subject of discussion in the letters from American merchants. To test for quality, Jeram demanded to see samples of the products brought in by ships before allowing trade to occur.[71] Furthermore, only fair trade occurred between Zanzibar and America, meaning American cotton could not be exchanged for a luxury such as ivory. Each country in business with Zanzibar needed a written contract to anchor and trade with the island at all.[72] Foreign countries needed to attain permission to trade, putting them at the mercy of Zanzibar's discretion.[73] Although most of the merchants and consuls expressed a deep liking for Jeram, Richard P. Waters did not take an instant fondness to him when he first arrived as American consul in the 1830s. In his letter, Waters expresses distaste towards Jeram, who he caught purposely breaking the American-Zanzibari trading treaty.[74] Waters asserted that the Department would be notified of illegal customs occurring in the Zanzibar port, specifically naming Jeram as falsely charging a five percent export tax on American goods. This expense of removal, which the treaty banned, gave Jeram a certain amount of profit.[75] Ironically, years later, Waters grew close with Jeram, with whom he had a special business relationship.[76] Although Waters initially reported Jeram to the Sultan for lewd behavior, it was he who, three years later, performed the questionable behavior. Other American merchants reported Waters as purposely destroying documents intended for President Van Buren and gaining a high amount of profit by performing disingenuous consulate duties.[77] Despite this corruption, Waters remained as the American consul until 1845, when he was replaced with Charles Ward.[78] Other American consuls conducted business with Jeram and enjoyed the trading relationship they experienced with this Master of Customs.

The port in Zanzibar became highly desirable for the American merchants and consuls, who expressed their preference for trade with Zanzibar over

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71 Richard Waters to P. Starr Parker, Zanzibar, 1 January 1840.

72 Ibid.

73 "Emmerton's Journal," 410.

74 Richard P. Waters to John Forsyth, Zanzibar, 6 May 1837, in *New England Merchants in Zanzibar,* ed. Norman R. Bennett and George E. Brooks Jr. (Boston: Boston University Press, 1965), 216.

75 Ibid., 216-217.

76 Waters to Parker, 225.

77 Edward Brown to William B. Smith, Zanzibar, 9 February 1841, in *New England Merchants in Zanzibar,* ed. Norman R. Bennett and George E. Brooks Jr. (Boston: Boston University Press, 1965), 229.

78 Brady, *Commerce and Conquest in East Africa: With Particular Reference to the Salem Trade in Zanzibar,* 113.

other East African ports. Some American traders found other East African ports to be "oppressive" and insulting with "unlawful impositions."[79] As a result, Waters pushed for a discontinuance of trade with these ports, and a sharper focus and increased trade with Zanzibar, on account of the fact that Americans still desired East African goods.[80] Civility between the United States and Zanzibar existed, unlike other ports, according to Waters, who in 1839 strongly pushed for a continuance of trade with Zanzibar.[81] Furthermore, if business lacked elsewhere in East Africa, Zanzibar became a key port to conduct trade, in order for merchants to achieve their full profit from cargo.[82] The congenial relationship between Zanzibari and American traders and the popularity of the port's products made Zanzibar the most desirable East African port for American ships.

American merchants also pushed for increased trade with the port in Zanzibar since foreign trading vessels from America needed to stay in the country for months at a time. A one-way trip from Salem to East Africa took around 112 days, or an average of three months.[83] With such a long journey to even arrive in Zanzibar, many sailors (and the ship itself) needed ample time to recover from their travels. Also, merchants desired to sell all of their products within these months in order to fully load Zanzibari imports for their homeward-bound journey.[84] The entire voyage for an American vessel to return to the United States generally took around a year.[85] Although the East African trade only constituted a small percentage of America's total commercial interests, it is clear that the products from this small island became valuable enough for a yearlong voyage to retrieve them.

As a result of their desire to acquire the best products (such as high quality ivory) from Zanzibar, American trading companies believed that other

79 Richard P. Waters to John Forsyth, Zanzibar, 1 November 1838, in *New England Merchants in Zanzibar,* ed. Norman R. Bennett and George E. Brooks Jr. (Boston: Boston University Press, 1965), 220.

80 Ibid.

81 Richard Waters to William Waters, Zanzibar, 17 December 1839, in *New England Merchants in Zanzibar,* ed. Norman R. Bennett and George E. Brooks Jr. (Boston: Boston University Press, 1965), 224.

82 Michael Shepard to Charles Ward, Salem, 21 May 1850, in *New England Merchants in Zanzibar,* ed. Norman R. Bennett and George E. Brooks Jr. (Boston: Boston University Press, 1965), 454.

83 "A Visit to Eastern Africa, 1849: Ms. Putnam's Journal," in *New England Merchants in Zanzibar,* ed. Norman R. Bennett and George E. Brooks Jr. (Boston: Boston University Press, 1965), 416.

84 David Pingree et al. to John Waters, Salem, 10 September 1840, in *New England Merchants in Zanzibar,* ed. Norman R. Bennett and George E. Brooks Jr. (Boston: Boston University Press, 1965), 227.

85 John F. Webb et al. to John Aulick, Zanzibar, 5 December 1851, in *New England Merchants in Zanzibar,* ed. Norman R. Bennett and George E. Brooks Jr. (Boston: Boston University Press, 1965), 489.

foreign competition for these products posed a direct threat. American merchants felt pressured to send their cargo to African markets first, so their products could quickly sell before foreign competitors arrived.[86] The traders from the United States did not prefer to engage in competitive trade because it frequently drove up prices on products such as ivory.[87] As a result, Americans aimed to arrive in Zanzibar before other ships in order to bargain the prices down. (Ivory prices did not budge with other foreign buyers in town who might be willing to pay full price.) Evidently, the United States remained reluctant to share Zanzibari goods with the rest of the world.

Salem trading companies in particular desired to be Zanzibar's only trading partner. With most consuls representing John Bertram's firm in Salem, and later its successor Ropes, Emmerton, and Company, other firms from ports out of New York and Boston threatened Salem's profits.[88] Richard Waters, in his letter to his brother in 1844, asserted that Salem traders must "keep all new comers at a distance and so try to make one voyage sufficient to disgust and sicken them of Zanzibar and its trade."[89] Waters ordered his brother to prevent the Boston vessel *Mohawk* from acquiring a trading contract with Zanzibar and expressed his willingness to pay thousands of dollars to "keep the trade in the hands of those who now hold it."[90] As a result, Salem interests remained high in Zanzibar, at least until the end of the trading peak later in the 1800s.

Conclusion

As German and British interests toward Zanzibar expanded in the 1880s, the American commercial foothold deteriorated.[91] Although the American Civil War in the 1860s ended the peak of United States trade with Zanzibar, it did not fully conclude until decades later. When British interests firmly rooted

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86 David Pingree and George West Jr. to Richard Waters, Salem, 30 December 1841, in *New England Merchants in Zanzibar,* ed. Norman R. Bennett and George E. Brooks Jr. (Boston: Boston University Press, 1965), 235.

87 "Richard P. Waters, Notes 1842, 1843, and 1844," in New England Merchants in Zanzibar, ed. Norman R. Bennett and George E. Brooks Jr. (Boston: Boston University Press, 1965), 255.

88 Pierson, "U.S. Consuls in Zanzibar and the Slave Trade, 1870-1890," 55.

89 Richard P. Waters to William C. Waters, Bombay, 13 November 1844, in Ne*w England Merchants in Zanzibar,* ed. Norman R. Bennett and George E. Brooks Jr. (Boston: Boston University Press, 1965), 252.

90 Ibid., 251.

91 Pierson, "U.S. Consuls in Zanzibar and the Slave Trade, 1870-1890," 54.

in Zanzibar during the late 1800s, the country became a protectorate of the British in 1890, which then flooded the market with cheap British goods.[92] Therefore, America's presence and trading relationship with this East African country practically ended, as they could not compete with the British goods in the local market. In 1895, Salem's main trading company, Ropes, Emmerton, and Company left Zanzibar.[93] Trade with Zanzibar dried up completely in the 1900s, and the United States closed their consulate in 1915.

Despite the death of United States and Zanzibari trade relations by the turn of the century, the study of the trade zenith between these two countries remains important for historians. Zanzibar trade provided the United States with its source of ivory, copal, and cloves; in return, the United States provided Zanzibar with cotton and cotton cloth, which greatly influenced demand and fashion in this area. For a few decades, the United States remained the foremost foreign trading partner of Zanzibar, and therefore greatly influenced their economy. Trade relationships between the American merchants, the Master of Customs, the Sultan, and other foreign countries remained intertwined and complex and Zanzibar became a piece of the global network. Zanzibar felt the effects of having an economy reliant on the global network of trade and demonstrated its capacity to keep up with the world's standards.

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92   Pierson, "U.S. Consuls in Zanzibar and the Slave Trade, 1870-1890," 67.
93   Ibid.

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Abstract

This article involves the discussion of British imperialism in Southeast Asia, specifically Malaysia, through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. By using Western medicine as an example of the strategies used by imperialists, this paper aims to develop a plausible and defensible argument concerning the reasoning behind the implementation of Western practices. By capitalizing on the use of travelogues as the main source of historical reference, the paper clearly illustrates the true opinions held by the British imperialists towards the native Malays, as well as the bias traditionally present through primary source documents. Along with addressing the British perspective on native practices, this paper highlights the reactions of the indigenous people towards the colonial power.

British Implementation of Western Medicine in Malaysia and the Malaysian Reaction

By Danielle Falconer

From 1771 to 1946, British influence challenged both the culture and unity of Malaysian people. Through the implementation of Western medicine, British imperialists gained access to Malaysian villages to remedy what they deemed "barbaric." With little to no knowledge of native medical practices, the imperialists heavily criticized Eastern medicine, calling it witchcraft and relating it to the lower-class superstitions of European peasantry. This paper asks how the British imperialists viewed Malaysian medical practices and why Western medicine failed to create strong roots in Malaysian culture. This paper will argue that British imperialists sought to implement Western medicine by undermining traditional Malaysian medical practices as a way to further their own power.

Travelogues helped unify many Europeans by creating the illusion of a geo-sphere, which allowed the people of these expansive empires to feel connected

to conquered lands.[1] Furthermore, travelogues painted a mental foundation regarding the concept of a geo-body, allowing societies of the imperialist nations to feel collective affiliation over their colonies.[2] Though travelogues allow historians to view a particular culture under the scrutiny of an imperialist power, they also convey the culture of the imperialist along with the colonized nation itself.[3] By recognizing the cultural bias, researchers can divulge how imperialists felt about a certain native practice, along with the intrinsic values of imperialist culture. Although historians are able to gather what a particular traveler might have felt, there are virtually no primary documents from the natives' point of view, leaving scholars dependent on the imperialists' descriptions. Because of the one-sided nature of the travelogues, researchers must understand that they present an obvious bias towards whoever wrote them and adjust their analysis accordingly. As primary source documents, travelogues provide clear insight into the minds of their authors and how they viewed the world around them. These documents may also have been employed to portray others in a skewed light so as to more accurately benefit the author's cause.

Beginning in the sixteenth century and continuing well into the twentieth, European powers began the process of imperialism as a means of extending their respective empires, partly through the implementation of religious beliefs. Along with the promise of greater religious authority, Europeans recognized the abundance of resources in areas such as Southeast Asia, seeing it as a springboard for trade with China.[4] British imperialists looked to colonize Southeast Asia for its political and cultural benefits as well as its large economic affluence, crucial for any expanding empire. Although the European contributions to culture, religion, and language in the imperialized countries were overwhelmingly prevalent, in reality, the post-colonial state lines created by imperialism acted as the longest-lasting impact.[5] Driven largely by its capitalistic economy, the British government continued with the promise of raw materials that could be brought back to England and sold at inflated prices.[6] Starting in India in the 1700s, British imperialists traveled

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1   Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 3.
2   Mui Ling Han, "From Travelogues to Guidebooks: Imagining Colonial Singapore, 1819-1940," J*ournal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia* 18 (2003): 258.
3   Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 3.
4   Milton E. Osborne, *Southeast Asia: An Introductory History* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1995), 68.
5   Ibid, 79
6   Lance Davis and Robert Huttenback, *Mammon and the Pursuit of Empire: The Political Economy of British Imperialism,* 1860-1916, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 4.

through Southeast Asia, conquering countries such as Myanmar, Singapore, and Malaysia.

The colonization of Southeast Asia, driven by the promise of raw materials, started in the 1600s with exploration by the Portuguese and spread quickly to include other European powers such as Spain, France, and Great Britain. British imperialists colonized and discriminated against the native cultures they conquered, claiming that many of the natives were "disconcertingly credulous."[7] For the Malaysian Peninsula in particular, the British Empire attempted to colonize by building new strategic trading posts in Malaysian ports, which allowed them to swiftly gain access to the country. To the native people of the colonized countries, these infringements disrupted their own methods of living. Contrary to the jaded views of the colonial powers, many Southeast Asian countries had previously established ways of living, complete with religion and traditional Eastern medicine.

Traditional Malay medical practices predate the British insertion of Western medicine into Malaysia by hundreds of years. Homeopathy, the modern term for holistic medicine, was introduced by migrant Hindus and spread rapidly from India into the Malaysian Peninsula.[8] Holistic medicine practices remained the most popular form of medicine because of their spiritual ties, which appealed to traditional Malaysian superstitions.[9] Malaysians believed that sicknesses such as malaria, dengue fever, and other common tropical diseases signified punishments from spirits called the Hantu. They also believed that attacks from one of the evil Hantus were appropriately handled through witchcraft, which was led by medicine men and practiced alongside homeopathic remedies, rather than conventional medicine.[10] Along with this, sicknesses had to be treated by the Bomoh, or local medicine men.[11]

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7   Eric T. Jennings, *Imperial Heights: Dalat and the Making and Undoing of French Indochina* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 63.

8   Frederick C. Colley, "Traditional Indian Medicine In Malaysia," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 233 (1978): 77.

9   Ibid, 85

10 Ling Roth, T*he Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo; Based Chiefly on the mss. of the Late Hugh Brooke Low, Sarawak Government Service* (London: Truslove and Hanson, 1896), 294.

11 Barbara S. Wright, "Dance is the Cure: The Art is Metaphor for Healing in Kelantanese Malay Spirit Exorcisms," *Dance Research Journal* 12 (1980): 7.

British Views on Malaysian Medicine

British imperialists rebuffed the Malaysian style of medicine due to its heavy ties in both Muslim and Indian culture, which emphasized religion and superstitions over science, and related their practices to those of European peasantry.[12] They continued to relate "the Oriental's idea of medical treatment" to the lower and more ignorant social classes in England, emulating the same negative stereotype onto the natives as they would to the uneducated British masses.[13] British imperialists felt superior over the natives because of Western science, which they believed to be more proficient than traditional Eastern practices. For example, imperialists belittled native culture for lacking rudimentary first-aid systems, such as nursing divisions and ambulances, which were common throughout Europe at the time. The imperialists used the lack of these seemingly elementary factors as an attempt to justify their sense of superiority even further, intensifying their paternalistic ways.[14]

The British disregarded native superstitions towards white men and looked down upon the native Malaysians' lack of medical advancement, according to European standards. Imperialists also discounted the methods of native medical practices as well, refusing to aid natives in need. In one case, a doctor equipped with a medical bag refused to see native patients, saying he would "rather see them die than live."[15] Another travelogue author reported that a group of natives asked him for pieces of paper to burn for a certain medical purpose, which he admittedly laughed at.[16]

Much of the discrimination that surrounded Malaysian medicine stemmed from the harsh critiques of travelogue writers concerning the traditional treatments of the Bohom. British doctors questioned Malaysian medicine, criticizing remedies that included items such as the wing bone of a goose, the horn of a wild goat, the spine of a sea porcupine, and various unidentified

12   Ola Hanson, The Kachins, *Their Customs and Traditions* (Rangoon: American Baptist Mission Press, 1913), 72.

13   Cuthbert W. Harrison, *An Illustrated Guide to the Federated Malay States* (London: The Malay States development agency, 1923), 122.

14   Kai K. Liew, "St John's Ambulance Brigade and the Gendering of the 'Passive Defence' in British Malaya, 1937-1942," *Gender & History* 23 (2011): 372.

15   Hermann Nrodan, *From Golden Gate to Golden Sun: a Record of Travel, Sport and Observation in Siam and Malaysia* (London: H.F. and G. Witherby, 1923), 28.

16   W. C. King and G. T. Lay, *The Claims of Japan and Malaysia upon Christendom: Exhibited in the Notes of Voyages Made in 1837, from Canton, in the Ship Morrison and Brig Himmaleh, Under the Direction of the Owners* (New York: E. French, 1839, 10.

jungle roots and barks.[17] Medical practitioners also distrusted the traditional Bohom practice of breathing on an inflicted person as a way of repelling an evil spirit, arguing that it was a disturbing and primitive practice.[18] Travelogue writers considered Malaysians to be ignorant for using their herbs and roots instead of European medicine.[19]

Imperialists believed Western doctors possessed skills far superior to Malaysians and thought the natives were ridiculous for clinging to their own ways of medicine.[20] Though some Western doctors credited Malaysian medicine men with knowing important properties of local herbs, most European doctors overwhelmingly denounced the methods, saying science trumped Malaysian "witchcraft."[21] In some cases, Malaysians waited until their most advanced medicine proved futile before they entered western hospitals. Native skepticism toward Western medicine coupled with heavy emphasis on superstition frustrated the British doctors, leading to further scrutiny of Malaysian practices by the imperialists.[22]

Implementation of Western Medicine

By implementing systems of first aid, such as ambulances and nursing stations, the British medical practitioners gained the natives' trust while simultaneously infiltrating native land. In reality, these systems created a sense of dependency the natives had on the imperialists, allowing them to further their own agenda. The first organizations based off of Western medicine that provided medical relief were those created during wartime. In 1877, imperialists founded an ambulance organization called St. John's Ambulance Association and Brigade on the Malaysian Peninsula.[23] Though the British missionaries used a seemingly helpful organization such as St. John's to implement Western medical practices, they also carried colonial

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17 John D. Gimmlett, "Some Superstitious Beliefs Occurring in the Theory and Practice of Malay Medicine," *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 34 (1913): 31.

18 Ambrose B. Rathborne, *Camping and Tramping in Malaya: Fifteen Years' Pioneering in the Native States of the Malay Peninsula* (London: S. Sonnenschein, 1898), 58.

19 Cuthbert W. Harrison, *The Magic of Malaya* (London: Bodley Head, 1916), 199.

20 Harrison, *An Illustrated Guide to the Federated Malay States,* 125.

21 J. M. Gullick, "The Malay Community od Kuala Langat in the Late Nineteenth Century," J*ournal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 287 (2004): 21.

22 Harrison, *An Illustrated Guide to the Federated Malay States*, 123.

23 Liew, "St John's Ambulance Brigade and the Gendering of the 'Passive Defence in British Malaya," 371.

prejudices and paternalist desires by expanding their territorial reach under medical pretenses.[24]

Another example of British territorial expansion is shown by the creation of the King Edward VII's Medical College. In 1905, the college opened in the Malay states as a way to teach treatments for tropical disease, which simultaneously furthered British superiority through medical practice.[25] By opening colleges to teach Western medicine, specifically in an attempt to curb the spread of native diseases, British imperialists employed their own medical practices. This created a native sense of dependency on the British, further promoting the idea of Western responsibility over indigenous people.[26] The hospitals built in Malaysia brought in enormous amounts of revenue from many Southeast Asian countries. The British then used this income to further their advancement into the country by supplying troops and other material needs to the imperialists abroad.[27]

Along with the direct infiltration of Western medicine into the Malaysian culture, British imperialists encouraged English society to further its implementation of Western medicine in Malaysia. In 1912, Burroughs Welcome & Co. distributed medicine chests to English citizens that included medical and surgical requirements specifically for expeditions to tropical climates.[28] By advertising these medical chests, the British government and imperialists promoted the idea of advancing the imperialists' domination of the natives. Imperialists equipped citizens with Western medicine that protected them from tropical diseases abroad, introducing safe travel to Malaysian colonies. The immunity granted by the medicine in the chests increased the number of eligible British travelers; thus, spreading their sphere of influence.

Along with promotional tactics designed to incite British citizens to travel to colonial holdings as a means of furthering Western superiority, the British government used medical missionaries an additional method of entering Malaysia. Women were commonly employed as medical missionaries as they

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24 Liew, 367-381.

25 Cheah Kheng, "Writing Indigenous History in Malaysia: A survey on Approaches and Problems," *Crossroads: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 10 (1996): 46.

26 Lenore Manderson, *Sickness and the State: Health and Illness in Colonial Malaya, 1870-1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 46.

27 Richard Winstedt, "Malaya," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 226 (1943): 104.

28 Ryan Johnson, "Tabloid Brand Medicine Chests: Selling Health and Hygiene for the British Tropical Colonies," *Science as Culture* 17 (2008): 250.

were perceived as trustworthy and were therefore welcomed where no male missionaries were able to gain entrance.[29] They also used this newfound acceptance as a way of spreading Christianity. For example, Dr. Christiancy, a medical missionary from England, reported that she dealt medicine out to flocking crowds while preaching the ways of Christ.[30] Like the implementation of first-aid systems, these allowed imperialists to enter areas of Malaysia that would have otherwise remained untouched.

British Views and Reasons for Imposing Their Own Practices

As an imperialistic power, British imperialists implemented their systems of medicine under the false pretense of bringing aid to natives. Many travelogue writers described British doctors as compassionate, who were only in Malaysia to show their medical skill to the native people.[31] Additionally, imperialists believed that if they could curb tropical diseases, productivity would increase in native workers.[32] This, in particular, shows clear cultural bias towards the advantage of the imperialist power, rather than the well being of natives. Though Western doctors and medical women reportedly ministered to the needs of the natives unselfishly, they admittedly fought diseases in native tribes to increase the productivity of the people they sought to exploit.[33]

In a specific example, British doctors executed new ways of childbirth in traditional Malaysian villages to expose natives to Western medical techniques. They criticized Malaysian mothers for being unclean when giving birth and for being too attentive afterwards. Imperialists implemented their own techniques for birth and childcare, and in doing so, attempted to break down traditional Malaysian family dynamics, further imposing Western

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29   Cyrys D. Foss, *From the Himalayas to the Equator: Letters, Sketches, and Addresses, Giving some Account of a Tour in India and Malaysia* (New York and Cincinnati: Eaton and Mains, 1899), 63.

30   Martin Van Buren Knox, *A Winter in India and Malaysia Among the Methodist Missions* (New York: Cranston and Stowe, 1891), 192.

31   King and Lay, *The Claims of Japan and Malaysia upon Christendom: Exhibited in the Notes of Voyages Made in 1837, From Canton, in the ship Morrison and Brig Himmaleh, Under the Direction of the Owners,* 10.

32   Soma Hewa, Colonialism, *Tropical Disease, and Imperial Medicine: Rockefeller Philanthropy in Sri Lanka* (Washington D.C.: University Press of America, 1997), 69.

33   Henry Norman, *The Peoples and Politics of the Far East: Travels and Studies in the British, French, Spanish and Portuguese Colonies, Siberia, China, Japan, Korea, Siam and Malaya* (New York: C. Scribner, 1895), 293.

culture on Malaysian society.[34]

Along with the direct imposition of medical practices, imperialists used propaganda to garner support for their invasive domination of the native Malays. British advertisers broadcast an astonishing statistic in parts of British Malaysia that claimed death rates among troops had dropped from fifty to seventeen percent due to the introduction of Quinine, a drug that fought malaria.[35] Further explanation showed that the drug was manufactured chiefly for British troops but was withheld from most of the native population.[36] By using statistics referencing the welfare of their own troops, the British attempted to bolster support for the implementation of Western medicine abroad, while simultaneously proving that they had only their interests in mind rather than those of the native Malaysians. The British fought against tropical diseases mainly to protect their military, though it was carried under the good name of humanitarian work. Though the British rhetoric of propaganda claimed to introduce these medical practices for the benefit of the native people, they were primarily used for white imperialists' benefit.

Malaysian Views on Western Medicine (as Told by the British)

As reported by the travelogues, Malaysian natives opposed Western medicine, mostly due to their spiritual ties and lack of understanding of the newly implemented practices. In many cases, Malaysians reportedly believed Western doctors poisoned native patients in white hospitals. One traveler described the natives as fanatical, commenting that their accusations were "precisely not the way of it."[37] Malaysians feared white doctors more than the plague and convinced themselves that doctors used pieces of Malaysian patients to make their medicine.[38] Moreover, natives feared surgeries performed by western doctors. One travelogue writer reported that Malaysians believed western doctors merely cut pieces of people off during surgical procedures, never attempting any real medical feat.[39] In another account, a Malaysian

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34   Bonnie McElhinny, "Kissing a Baby is Nat at All Good For Him: Infant Mortality, Medicine, and Colonial Modernity in the U.S. Occupied Philippines," *American Anthropologist* 107 (2005): 190.

35   Philip D. Curtin, *The World & the West: The European Challenge and Overseas Response in the Age of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 35.

36   Ibid., 36.

37   Harrison, *An Illustrated Guide to the Federated Malay States,* 123.

38   Norman, *The Peoples and Politics of the Far East: Travels and Studies in the British, French, Spanish and Portuguese Colonies, Siberia, China, Japan, Korea, Siam and Malaya,* 293.

39   Harrison, *An Illustrated Guide to the Federated Malay States,* 123.

woman believed white doctors slowly starved her husband to death, which the British author merely scoffed at, relating it again to the overabundant superstitions of the native people.[40]

According to a similar travelogue, the captain of a group of British troops claimed to want to help a sick and dying Malaysian man who refused to comply with the guards due to his lack of trust in Western medicine. The guard reporting the incident explained his distrust was caused by Malaysians' fear of the unknown, even if it meant saving their lives.[41] Travelogue writers regularly commented on the goodness that they brought to the Malaysians and derided them for being ignorant towards British services in the medical field. Because of the high amount of fear that surrounded medical practices, it is clear that the introduction of Western medicine was troublesome to the native population. This, coupled with the blame of lesser education leading to abundant superstitions, rejects the British claim of implementing their medical practices for the benefit of the natives.

Through trial and error, British medical practitioners attempted to limit the use of traditional Malaysian medicine, spreading their own practices as a means of gaining further holdings throughout the country. Westernized medicinal practitioners faced adversity from many of the natives; their only true triumph was through chiefs and upper classes in Malaysian societies that invited them into their villages. Travelogue authors claimed that communities hoped to protect the royal families from common diseases that regularly plagued the lower classes.[42]

Despite imperialists' attempts, Western medicine was never truly adopted into the majority of Malaysian societies until much later in the twentieth century. Reasons for this included the spiraling costs of health care, the deleterious effects of many Western drugs, and the problems of rural health care delivery. Perhaps the most important factor, however, was Malaysians' strong faith in the ancient and familiar practices of their own ethnic tradition.[43]

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40 Harrison, *An Illustrated Guide to the Federated Malay States,* 123.
41 Nordan, *From Golden Gate to Golden Sun: a Record of Travel, Sport and Observation in Siam and Malaysia,* 28.
42 Ooi G Ling, "British Colonial Health Care Development and the Persistence of Ethics Medicine in Peninsular Malaysia and Singapore," *Southeast Asian Studies* 29 (1991): 172.
43 Colley, "Traditional Indian Medicine In Malaysia," 77.

Through medical missionaries, trading ports, and the creation of first-aid systems, British imperialists gained access to the most rural and inaccessible places in Malaysia. In doing so, they attempted to spread Western culture in hopes of creating a more dependent colonized country, strengthening their own empire with raw materials and greater land mass. Because of the deep-seeded religious and spiritual roots in Malaysian culture, coupled with disdain towards white doctors and places of medical practice, Western attempts to influence the native society could not permanently combat the traditional ways of life in Malaysia.

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Abstract

This paper explores social and political events of the late 1950s and '60s that gave rise to a new wave of religious movements, and out of them, new religious communities in the United States. This paper specifically focuses on economic affluence, social activism, increasing education levels, and the Immigration Act of 1965 as the major social and political factors that sparked the development of these new religious movements. Three categories of religious communities are used as case studies representing the new wave of religious movements: Eastern religious communities, New Age religious communities, and the Jesus Movement communes. While communities of each category responded to the social and political changes of the '60s differently, this paper attempts to bring together those various responses and show them as representative of the general counterculture movement already in full swing during the 1960s. Many of the communes that resulted from these new religious movements were short-lived, often with a high turnover rate and short tenure, but they nevertheless signify a turning point in American religious thought that remains relevant today.

Religious Communities of 1960s America

by Amy Hart

Utopian communities or communes enjoy a long, diverse tenure in the United States. From isolationist and anti-technology Christian communities like the Shakers and Hutterites to primarily economic-equality-focused utopias like Oneida and Brook Farm, communes have existed and even thrived in the United States for centuries. In the late 1950s and '60s, however, the goals and motivations of these communities began to shift. The social and political events of the late 1950s and '60s produced the ideal environment for the rise of new religious movements, and out of them, new religious communities. Until this period, most religious communities shared at least some link with the Judeo-Christian tradition, but the new communes of the 1960s adopted the emerging religions of the East as well as the "New Age" spirituality made popular during this time. Many factors contributed to this new orientation in communes: the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965; timely social movements including feminism and civil rights; and the anti-war movement and resultant political disillusion. These social concerns came to the forefront for the youthful counterculture in the '60s, which ultimately helped form the new religious movements emerging during the era. In their most extreme

form, these religious movements resulted in established religious communities that were at odds with the primarily Judeo-Christian models of the past. Three of these new types of religious communities will be explored in this essay: Eastern religious communities, New Age spiritualist communities, and communes of the Jesus movement. Each of these types of communities responded to the social and political changes of the '60s differently, but their reactions all represent significant parts of the American countercultural movement, and in many ways, the continued direction of American religion today.

The "hippie movement" of the 1960s often brings to mind drugs, free love, and back-to-nature lifestyles. While all of these elements existed in the hippie-oriented intentional communities of the time, those communities actually comprised a numerical minority of the emerging communal living environments. Most emerging communes of the '60s focused on a strictly defined spiritual aim, particularly the communes based on Eastern religious practice and the communities of the new Jesus movement.[1] Of those who were drawn to the new religious movements of the 1960s, the most dedicated and outspoken members lived in organized religious communities. To the extent that religion signifies a foundational shift in the 1960s — as one author wrote: "Nothing changed so profoundly in the United States during the 1960s as American Religion"[2] — the study of religious communities provides one of the most helpful lenses into the cultural shifts of the 1960s.

The concept of an intentional community is still largely foreign in many circles. An intentional community, as referred to here, follows the guidelines given in *The Encyclopedic Guide to American Intentional Communities*, which states that intentional communities:

1. Must be gathered on the basis of some kind of purpose or vision

2. Must live together on property that has some kind of clear physical commonality to it

3. Must have some kind of financial or material sharing; some kind of economic commonality

4. Must have a membership of at least five adults, not all of whom are related by blood or marriage[3]

The term "commune," as distinct from an "intentional community," usually refers to a community that pools its resources among its members. Many communities have shifted on the issue of resource sharing over the years of their existence, however, and so for the purpose of this essay the two terms will be used interchangeably. In short, intentional communities are communities where people of a shared ideology come together to live and practice their ideals in a location separated from the rest of society, either through its physical distance or through an ideological incongruence with societal norms outside the community. The communities explored below separated themselves from society at different levels, but all expressed a general dissatisfaction with societal norms, which led them to an isolated, separate existence.

While the religious shifts of the 1960s are often overlooked in favor of an exploration of the general "hippie" cultural shifts, they represented a huge element of the shifting social customs of the era. To understand these religious shifts and the new spiritual communities they inspired, the social setting of 1960s America and the socio-political changes of the era must first be explored.

American Society in the 1960s

With economic affluence and the rise of higher education levels in the 1950s, new cultural movements appeared that emphasized a questioning of traditional values and a turn toward wandering and self-discovery.[4] The American family's new middle-class affluence meant more education and leisure time for children, all subsidized by their parents.[5] The baby-boomers' desire (and ability) to put off the search for a stable job because of their affluent upbringing meant that this generation could afford a period of exploration.[6] The Beat movement epitomized this idea, using poetry and new Eastern philosophies to tempt primarily white, middle-class youth away from their homes and out "on the road."[7] The new opportunities for critical thinking and travel, along with the popularization of television, meant that the youth of the late 1950s could engage in more aspects of American and international life than any other generation before them.[8]

As the possibilities unfolded before this young generation, many of its members began to question the oppressive social roles placed on past generations, particularly among minorities and women. The civil rights and feminist movements of the 1950s and '60s dramatically shifted American culture,

eventually changing social norms in America permanently. Betty Freidan's book, *The Feminine Mystique*, inspired feminists in the 1960s at the same time that Martin Luther King Jr.'s charisma inspired civil rights activists.[9] The 1960s saw the emergence of a "New Left" that actively opposed social inequality and war in Vietnam, both of which became the primary social concerns of this large, and young, demographic. Feminism, civil rights, and the Vietnam War, which represent the primary socio-political concerns of '60s counterculture, were all incorporated into the messages of emerging religious movements.

With new freedoms also came the questioning of tradition. Both young and old threw out the religious stereotypes of the past in the 1960s — Americans elected a Catholic president, and white Protestants condemned the racial segregation in their churches' pasts.[10] The second Vatican Council produced the most significant reforms of the Catholic Church for a millennium, and new Eastern religions spread across America.[11] In various ways, religious norms shifted along with social customs. As one historian noted: "Between the mid-1950s and the mid-1980s, over a third of all Americans left the denomination in which they'd been raised."[12] Among the baby-boomer generation, two-thirds "stopped going to churches and temples as adults."[13] And those who did remain members of their parents' religious groups saw changes in the message being taught. Dr. King, one of the most popular Protestant ministers of the 1950s and '60s, rose to fame largely due to his "updated" Christian message of racial equality and social justice through nonviolent protest. King's message inspired pro-civil rights Protestants and many young people hoping to find consistencies between social reform and their family's religion. Billy Graham, another incredibly popular minister of the '60s, took Christian reform in a different direction by introducing a simplistic, experience-based evangelical Christianity to the public. Graham appealed to audiences by utilizing television and large musical performances (often featuring racially integrated singers) to spread his message.[14] Graham revamped Protestant Christianity by incorporating new forms of media and entertainment and focusing on an individual relationship with Jesus as the cornerstone of the Christian religion. Whether one joined a new religious movement or experienced the internal changes of a traditional movement, many religions and their devotees changed dramatically with the social shifts of the '60s.

Another dramatic social change of this period stemmed largely from the pas-

sage of the Immigration Act of 1965. This legislation refocused the requirements by which immigrants could be allowed to enter America, effectively changing the long-standing quota system that blatantly discriminated against non-European countries when determining immigration eligibility. The law changed the country-of-origin focus to a more egalitarian policy based on individual skill and family reunification. This change in policy resulted in the dramatic change in ethnic makeup of immigrants entering the United States after 1965. In his speech celebrating the passage of the bill, President Lyndon Johnson stated, "this is not a revolutionary bill. It does not affect the lives of millions … This bill says simply that from this day forth those wishing to emigrate to America shall be admitted on the basis of their skills and their close relationship to those already here."[15] Whether one takes that statement as a political underplaying of the bill's importance or simple ignorance of its future effects, the Immigration Act of 1965 was, in fact, revolutionary. As one record of the Hare Krishna movement (a Hindu religious movement largely made possible by the 1965 immigration reform) reports:

> Between 1871 and 1965, only 16,013 Indians had been admitted to the United States. Between 1965 and 1975, more than 96,000 were admitted...This change in the immigration [laws] also allowed a number of Hindu teachers to come to the United States and establish new groups consisting predominately of new converts from among the general population.[16]

President Johnson's attempt to remove the racial quotas of the previous immigration system, and thereby pressure Congress once again to move further toward racial equality, contributed greatly (if inadvertently) to the religious movements of the 1960s.[17]

Regardless of its intended consequences, the Immigration Act served to open American borders to floods of new immigrants, particularly from East Asia and India. These groups had previously been rejected due to strict immigration quotas keeping many immigrants ineligible for entry and doomed to placement on long, slow-moving entry waitlists. Specifically, the Immigration Act abolished the previous quota system based on the immigrant's country of origin: "An annual ceiling of 170,000 immigrant visas (exclusive of parents, spouses and unmarried children of United States citizens) was established for all countries outside the Western Hemisphere."[18] Second, "…parents of United States citizens over the age of 21 were added to the list of immigrants not

subject to numerical limitations of any sort...the order and size of preference categories was altered so that family reunification was emphasized."[19] Immigrants no longer faced restrictive quotas based on their country of origin, and those with family members in America now encountered much less resistance when trying to reunite with their relatives.

While the social, demographic, and economic changes of the 1960s created the interest and opportunity for the rise of new religious communities, the passage of immigration reform was a critical factor in introducing Americans to the leaders of those new religious movements. Without it, most of the new religious movements studied in this essay could not have grown and succeeded to the extent they did.[20] The arrival of Eastern gurus, and the subsequent rise of succeeded to the extent they did. The arrival of Eastern gurus, and the subsequent rise of American converts and Eastern religious communities, began with immigration reform in 1965.

Eastern Religious Communities

For a growing minority of young Americans, the disillusionment of the 1960s counterculture also meant a turn away from the traditional Judeo-Christian model of religion and "the commercialized, competitive, power-hungry West" that it symbolized.[21] Some of these cynical youth turned to the growing Eastern religious movements and their gurus for guidance. Within the movements inspired by the East, two paths emerged that the alternative religious crowd typically adopted — one was the more rigorous, devoted path of the Zen Buddhists, Hare Krishnas, and other Hindu devotees. The second merged with the drug-heavy hippie culture to form a psychedelic, "New Age" philosophy.[22] Those who pursued the more rigorous discipleship of these Eastern religions were primarily middle-class and educated, which allowed them to articulate their thoughts and ideas to the public in a meaningful way. But while their ability to communicate with academics and the media made their pursuits seem valid and widespread, in reality, even in diverse San Francisco only about 10 percent of the population chose to pursue the alternative religions offered outside of the Judeo-Christian tradition.[23] But while the young followers of Eastern religious movements remained a minority throughout the 1960s, their unique approach to religion represented a significant break from mainstream culture that reflected the social and political changes of the era.

Buddhist influence on American culture began with the writings of the Transcendentalists and early Romantics, such as Henry David Thoreau, Ralph Waldo Emerson and Walt Whitman. These writers first familiarized the American public with their take on the Buddhist religion in the nineteenth century.[24] Then in the 1950s, the Beat poets adapted Buddhism to fit American culture once again. Through their position as the countercultural representatives of their time, the Beat poets transformed Buddhism into a "hip," revolutionary, and individualistic ideology fitting with the emerging Beat culture.[25] Through their representations of American Buddhists in writings such as Jack Kerouac's *Dharma Bums*, the Beats effectively reshaped the stringent Buddhism of the East into a rebellious, youthful American spirituality. Their focus on the Zen movement meant that for many young Americans, Buddhism was first presented and portrayed as a Zen-style, free-thinking withdrawal from traditional society and family.[26]

Zen communities typically involved more rigorous devotee lifestyles than their New Age counterparts, though they fell short of adopting strict, monastic-level policy. These Buddhist communities gained popularity in the late 1950s, when writers like Allen Ginsberg presented them to the public as a new avenue toward simple enlightenment, absent of the materialism of Western religions.[27] During his stay at the Zen Center in San Francisco (a popular temple for young Buddhists through the '60s) Ginsberg learned the art of accepting his "thoughts and sensations" through meditation. This was a fitting goal for a disillusioned youth looking for a more basic lifestyle than the "traditional" expectations expressed by his parents.[28] Ginsberg's experience of individualistic enlightenment required few stifling restrictions, while separating him from the traditional morality schemes presented in Western religion. His model inspired many in the baby-boomer generation and represents the common experience of numerous Zen converts of the era.

San Francisco's Zen Center and its surrounding community offered a practice infused with countercultural social ideals. Founded in 1962 by Shunryu Suzuki, the Zen Center operated as a meditation center offering Buddhist practice and guidance to young people who congregated in apartments surrounding the Center.[29] Then, in 1966, the Center acquired land on a former hot springs resort, where the community/monastery called "Tassajara Hot Springs" was created. While this property was originally intended by Suzuki as a more isolated (and therefore serious) location for Buddhist practice, the counterculture followed the Buddhists there as well: "Beat poetry readings,

Buddhist workshops, and an Avalon Ballroom 'Zenefit'" were just some of the events of Tassajara's early years.[30] With Suzuki's death in 1977, the Zen Center and its subsidiaries shifted to focus on a more rigorous Zen training purpose, and Tassajara eventually became a retreat center and monastery. The Zen Center (as well as many other Buddhist monasteries in America) continues on today with various functions and services, but it was only able to initially rise to its level of prominence due to the perfect merger of social and political factors in the 1960s.

Another well-known religious movement that formed as a result of social and legislative changes is the International Society for Krishna Consciousness, or the Hare Krishna movement.[31] The Hare Krishna movement appeared in America in 1965 when its leader, A.C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada emigration to America. Prabhupada's arrival symbolized the significant change in immigration policy that occurred in 1965, becoming "one of the first test cases to be granted permanent residency under the new immigration laws."[32] Prabhupada taught a message of equal access to God without the traditional Hindu limitations of the caste system.[33] This egalitarian message, along with the practice of singing and dancing as the primary form of worship, attracted many American youths to the movement during the 1960s. After opening a temple in San Francisco, Prabhupada began attracting primarily "Anglo-Americans in their late teens and early twenties from middle- and upper-class families" who were disheartened by America's slow reaction to civil rights issues and involvement in the Vietnam War.[34] Because many of the San Francisco recruits were wandering young members of the counterculture movement, a communal structure emerged at the San Francisco temple to provide living accommodations where devotees could practice ashram-style discipline together. There, Prabhupada's message of tolerance drew those young devotees who tired of the traditional religious responses of their parents. The quick expansion of the Hare Krishna movement through the heavy recruitment of disillusioned, anti-war youths in the 1960s declined sharply soon after the end of the Vietnam war in the mid-1970s but still survives and continues to draw in new practitioners today.[35]

While the Zen Center and the Hare Krishna movement continue to attract members and sustain communities on a smaller scale today, it was the unique social setting and legislative changes of the 1960s that enabled their rapid growth and immense popularity at the time of their emergence in the U.S. The messages of social peace through individual enlightenment, rejection of

material goods, and communal lifestyle attracted many disillusioned youth throughout the 1960s in numbers they never could have in past eras.

New Age Communities

New Age movements, as separate from Eastern religious movements, are difficult to define. While New Age movements stemmed from Eastern religious traditions — normally in the form of a blend or combination of multiple traditions' practices — they also consisted of an added, unique interpretation of those traditions. For example, through the influence of the social movements of the 1960s, Americans reinterpreted Hinduism to mean another form of anti-war protest and alternative lifestyle for many disillusioned youths. Young people found inspiration in the nonviolent activist Gandhi, particularly when Martin Luther King Jr. acknowledged him in relation to the civil rights struggle, thereby combining the Eastern and Western representatives of their social ideals.[36] These New Age movements, admiring Eastern thinkers and gurus but not following any one of them exclusively, represent a molding of Eastern religions into an American social context.

One of the most well known gurus of this New Age movement was Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, the Indian (and Hindu) founder and promoter of a spiritual exercise known as Transcendental Meditation. This exercise focused on meditation through sound as a means of ensuring happiness within the individual and, by extension, the world. As popular American figures became drawn to Maharishi (including, most famously, the Beatles), the Transcendental Meditation movement grew and began to explore ways to reach the general population outside of the counterculture movement. It was soon advertised as a "science of creative intelligence," meant to encompass more than a religious practice, but a holistic approach to life.[37] By the mid-'60s, Maharishi had transformed his spiritual message to appeal to a more widespread American audience by heralding his meditation techniques as grounded in Western science.[38] By creating scientific experiments on meditation's effects on the body, as well as training techniques on how to harness those effects, Maharishi's followers have sustained a dedicated movement that continues on today. Though his movement sustained no physical religious community, his Western-style approach to Hinduism found an audience in the youth of the 1960s.

In contrast to Maharishi's movement without a communal center, the Integral Yoga movement led by Swami Satchidananda represents one New Age movement that later concentrated its practices into a religious intentional community. Born in India in 1914, Satchidananda spent his early life studying under Hindu gurus and traveling across Asia to spread his message of peace and interreligious tolerance.[39] This message soon reached and attracted young, travelling Americans including artist Peter Max, who invited Satchidananda to America in 1966. The ability of his young, traveling host to find and finance Satchidananda, along with the timely appeal of this guru's message to the rebellious American youth, led to great success in his teaching throughout the '60s. In 1968, Satchidananda "received the first permanent visa ever issued for the entry of a 'Minister of Divine Words,'" an immigration designation referring to his ministerial career.[40] His religious practice, termed Integral Yoga, was taught through workshops and retreats at various ashrams across the country until 1979, when Satchidananda purchased a 750-acre property along with devotees interested in pursuing his religious teachings there. Satchidananda's community, called Yogaville, continues on as a religious intentional community today, offering retreats and yoga training workshops to the public to cover its expenses and live out its ideals.[41] While the Yogaville community has sustained itself by using a lucrative business model, it is the message of religious tolerance and personal enlightenment that originally appealed to the youth of the '60s and made Integral Yoga into the successful movement it is.

The Eastern religious movements of the 1960s inspired the most dedicated disciples to create new forms of community living centered around meditation, psychedelic drug use, internal reflection, and the hope for enlightenment-- all ideas that had rarely been sought out or even heard of by most Americans before the 1950s. The emerging demographic of educated and disillusioned young people, along with recently changed immigration reform, meant a unique growth of Eastern religions and the communities they inspired. Some of these youthful disciples followed a path most consistent with the stereotypical hippie lifestyle, including drug use, mixes of new and reformed religious styles, and a more lax religious regiment. Others followed a stricter interpretation of the Eastern religions and formed monastic-style communes in which to express their beliefs. Both movements represented timely Americanization of Eastern traditions that appealed to the 1960s countercultural message and found unique opportunities to spread and deliver its message in a way never before possible.

The Jesus Movement

The religious communes of pre-1960s America largely based themselves on some form of Protestant Christianity. These communities typically emphasized an egalitarian distribution of material possessions and a morally stringent lifestyle aimed at reaching a spiritual goal. Often for these communities, that moral lifestyle included isolation from outside society and its material and social temptations, though each community differed in its approach to specific issues such as, but one emerging group stood out in the '60s as representing a break with previous Christian movements through its embodiment of the liberal, egalitarian, and free-thinking values it adopted from the counterculture movement. This group became known as the Jesus movement.

The Jesus movement arose during a period of widespread American distrust of the previous generation's religious institutions. It coincided with the cultural move toward subjective understanding and individual experience, thereby initiating a renewed understanding of Jesus, based on individual interpretation over tradition. By the 1960s, the emerging generation had established its idea of who Jesus was and what he truly represented. As Religious Studies Professor Timothy Miller puts it, "young revolutionaries refocused their rebellion around a countercultural icon, the long-haired sandal-footed son of Mary."[42] Their Jesus was a rebel like them; he spent time with the disillusioned and downtrodden, he congregated with the lower classes to promote equality, and he did not give in to the dominating worldview of his time. As Miller explains: "…he strode into the temple and overthrew the money changers — but you were there by his side, a countercultural revolutionary. He did not thunder at you. You and he stood together, challenging *them*."[43] This Jesus became a radical role model for the counterculture movement, and was enthusiastically received by those who could identify with his message.

The Jesus movement took in many young people recovering from the prevalent drug culture who were still looking for a similar "high" to what drugs could offer. They soon found that the Jesus movement, through its appeal to emotion and its personal experience with Jesus himself, offered a replacement for the high they had previously found through drugs. This emotional approach to religion, encouraged through the Jesus movement, offered the psychological elation they were looking for and disguised it as ancient religion. As anthropologist Tanya Luhrmann explains: "The early Christian disciples, after all, were young radicals who believed in a love that their elders preached

but did not follow, and they fought against the corruption and war of Rome with a new vision of the way humans should live…"[44] Jesus transformed into the perfect role model for the youth of the '60s. Some converts were not willing to completely give up their involvement in the drug culture, but the Jesus of the Jesus movement accepted them, too. As Religious Studies scholar Stephen Prothero wrote, this new Jesus was one who "would hold your hand, wipe your brow, and get you through a bad trip."[45] This Jesus offered the forgiving acceptance of a best friend, with none of the discipline or judgment of a parent.

As the more dedicated members of the Jesus movement formed communes throughout the country, typically under the direction of a charismatic leader, young people swarmed to them. These Jesus communities offered the opportunity to construct a lifestyle outside of mainstream society and consistent with their new beliefs, while also being trained toward discipleship and missionary work. Many of these community members resembled the stereotypical hippie: long hair, ripped clothes, informal speech. Often, these Jesus movement devotees consciously fit themselves into the style of the youth culture — speaking and looking like stereotypical hippies would lead to more disillusioned youth joining the movement, as they felt comfortable among its members. Their message also spoke directly to the youth. As one movement leader, Jon Braun, announced at Sproul Hall on Berkeley's campus: "Jesus Christ [was] the world's greatest revolutionary."[46] This identification with Jesus as the world's first hippie inspired some Jesus movement followers to form communes where they could live out their Jesus' example of a simple, impoverished life on their own terms.

One of the widest reaching and longest lasting of these Jesus movement communes was known as The Children of God (COG). David Berg, a former minister, acted as both its charismatic leader and missionary trainer. In 1967, he recruited young hippies in Huntington Beach, California, to be missionaries with his tailored message of salvation through Jesus. These recruits lived in his home until he began nomadically travelling with them to preach on the failure of the "System" (Western capitalism) and the need to join his movement to avoid spiritual judgment.[47] Berg approached potential disciples through a message appealing to the '60s counterculture: America had become "the epitome of the degenerate capitalist system" and only a radical rejection of American politics, economics and education could counteract its downward moral spiral.[48] The group of young dropouts eventually settled

into two communal centers, one consisting of 200 members living on a Texas ranch, and a smaller community in Los Angeles.[49]

In 1971, Berg directed the communes to break up into many smaller nomadic colonies to facilitate widespread proselytizing. Most of these colonies consisted of dilapidated housing where members were required to give up their personal possessions for the sake of their religious growth. The focus on proselytizing led to controversial practices, most notably the implementation of "flirty fishing," or the practice of using sex as a recruitment tool.[50] While COG had a primarily oppositional relationship with society due to its unorthodox practices and rejection of traditional values, societal criticism did not discourage its group members. The community continues on today as "the Family International," which is composed of thousands of members worldwide.[51]

The Children of God's distrust in the "System" attracted the youth of the 1960s. For many members, this community offered a refuge free from judgment; the perfect haven after experiencing the whirlwind of the drug culture, and often emerging from it damaged and directionless.[52] The Jesus movement offered a tailored alternative to both the drug culture and traditional religion, which suited the young people of the 1960s perfectly: an experience-based, egalitarian lifestyle that promised natural highs and a religious role model who fought mainstream society. While not rejecting Western culture in its entirety, as many of the Eastern religious movements did, the Jesus movement's new take on Christianity provides insight into the cultural values of the 1960s and the unique economic and educational opportunities that made its pursuit possible.

Conclusion

While many of the communes that resulted from these new religious movements were short-lived, often with a high turnover rate and short tenure, they nevertheless signified a turning point in American religious thought. The accessibility of new religions from around the world to a generation of highly educated, affluent youths meant that new approaches to religion and social values could be examined in ways they never were before. Many of these communes fizzled out with the end of the Vietnam War and the growing acceptance of civil rights and feminism, which lessened the need for organized protest and radical nonconformity. But for a short period in American

history, the mushrooming of the religious commune movement revealed the potential for widespread reflection on social and religious norms. In the end, the 1960s conglomeration of social reform, legislative shifts, and an affluent middle class created a counterculture whose religious views would affect the furthest reaches of American religion.

End Notes

1   Timothy Miller, *The 60s Communes: Hippies and Beyond* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse UniversityPress), xiii.

2   Maurice Isserman and Michael Kazin, *America Divided: The Civil War of the 1960s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 251.

3   Timothy Miller, *The Encyclopedic Guide to American Intentional Communities* (New York: Richard W. Couper Press, 2013), xii.

4   Miller, *The 60s Communes,* 6.

5   Hugh Gardner, *The children of prosperity: Thirteen Modern American Communes* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978), 11.

6   Isserman and Kazin, *America Divided*, 154.

7   Miller, *The 60s Communes*, 6. "On the Road" references the famous Beat-era novel written by Jack Kerouac.

8   Ibid.

9   Isserman and Kazin, *America Divided*, 128.

10   Ibid., 254.

11   Ibid., 258. For more on the changes implemented in Vatican II, see: Lindsay Jones ed., "Vatican Councils: Vatican II," *Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. 14, 2nd ed. (Detroit, MI: Macmillan Reference USA, 2005), 9533-9539.

12   Ibid., 251.

13   T.M. Luhrmann, *When God Talks Back: Understanding the American Evangelical Relationship With God* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012), 15.

14   Isserman and Kazin, *America Divided*, 253.

15   TEXT OF PRESIDENT'S SPEECH ON IMMIGRATION, *New York Times*, October 4, 1965, accessed February 17, 2014, http://ezproxy.lib.calpoly.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/117030173?accountid=10362.

16   Graham Dwyer and Richard J. Cole, eds., The Hare Krishna Movement: Forty Years of Chant and Change (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007), 16.

17   Nation," Los Angeles Times (1923-Current File), Aug 29, 1965, http://ezproxy.lib.calpMultiple sources specifically mention the immigration act as part of President Johnson's wider push toward racial equality. Some speculation may thus be had over Johnson's level of awareness that this legislation change would mean a significant change in the ethnic makeup of immigrants. For more mention on Johnson's push for this legislation see: "Revising the U.S. Immigration Law," *Los Angeles Times* (1923-Current File), Jan 17, 1965, http://ezproxy.lib.calpoly.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/155092826?accountid=10362.; "I Lift My Lamp'," *New York Times* (1923-Current File), Jan 14, 1965, http://ezproxy.lib.calpoly.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/116678726?accountid=10362; "The oly.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/155246333?accountid=10362.

18   Charles Keely, "Effects of the Immigration Act of 1965 on Selected Population Characteristics of Immigrants to the United States" *Demography* 8, no. 4 (May 1971): 159.

19 Charles Keely, *Effects of the Immigration Act of 1965,* 159.

20 Miller, *The 60s Communes*, xxiv.

21 Isserman and Kazin, *America Divided*, 265.

22 Ibid., 267.

23 Ibid., 266.

24 Richard Hughes Seager, *Buddhism in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 34.

25 Ibid., 34-35.

26 Miller, *The 60s Communes*, 4. For more works of the Beat poets with direct references to their Buddhist interpretations, see Jack Kerouac's Desolation Angels and Allen Ginsberg's *Deliberate Prose: Selected Essays* 1952-1995 and *Mind Breaths: Poems* 1972-1977.

27 Isserman and Kazin, *America Divided*, 267.

28 Ibid.

29 Seager, *Buddhism in America*, 99.

30 Ibid.

31 Timothy Miller, ed. *America's Alternative Religions* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 215.

32 Dwyer and Cole, *The Hare Krishna Movement*, 17.

33 See A. C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada, KRSNA: *The Supreme Personality of Godhead* (Los Angeles, CA: Bhaktivedanta Book Trust), 2008; A. C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada, *The Science of Self-Realization* (Los Angeles, CA: Bhaktivedanta Book Trust), 1994; A. C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada, *The Journey of Self-Discovery* (Los Angeles, CA: Bhaktivedanta Book Trust), 1990.

34 Miller, *America's alternative religions*, 217.

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid, 192.

37 Isserman and Kazin, America Divided, 268-269.

38 Miller, America's Alternative Religions, 194.

39 Ibid., 199.

40 Ibid., 200.

41 The philosophy of Integral Yoga as practiced at Yogaville should not be confused with the many other types of yoga introduced to the United States both in the 1960s and years before; Integral Yoga refers to the specific ideology and physical practice introduced by Swami Satchidananda

42 Miller, America's *Alternative Religions*, 19.

43 Ibid., 20.

44 Luhrmann, *When God Talks Back*, 18.

45 Ibid., 20.

46 Ibid.

47   Miller, *America's Alternative Religions*, 131.

48   Ibid., 130.

49   Ibid., 127.

50   James T. Richardson, "Jesus Movement" in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Lindsay Jones (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2005), 4852-4854.

51   Miller, *America's Alternative Religions*, 127.

52   Richardson, "Jesus Movement," 4853.

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Abstract

Steampunk can be defined as a subgenre of science fiction and fantasy featuring fictional technology based on the steam power of the 19th century. Characterized by gears, goggles, and fantastical inventions like airships and automatons, this uniquely bizarre offshoot of SF has recently evolved into a cultural phenomenon. This research paper explores the origins, progression, and modern manifestations of steampunk science fiction in order to discover the reasons for its recent popularity. In this paper, I will argue that steampunk has gained increased popularity because it invokes feelings and reactions to the first technological revolution that have become lost in our apathetic modern society. The Victorian sense of wonder and potential mixed with fear of what this new age could mean was what inspired writers such as Jules Verne and H.G. Wells, whose works are cited as some of the main inspirations of steampunk. Modern society stands on a similar threshold, but unlike the Victorians we lack this sense of mystified fascination; instead, technology has become commonplace and dull. Steampunk is a reflection on the relationship between man and machine that emphasizes the weird and whimsical elements of romanticized Victorian technology to usher in a new era of wonder and progress.

Man and Machine in the World of Steam: The Emergence of Steampunk as a Cultural Phenomeon

By Solange Kiehlbauch

The term "steampunk" was coined by science fiction author K.W. Jeter in 1987. In a letter to *Locus* magazine, Jeter jokingly threw out a term for a budding theme in his own works, as well as novels by Tim Powers and James Blaylock, that blended neo-Victorian elements with futuristic technology. "I think Victorian fantasies are going to be the next big thing," he wrote, "as long as we can come up with a fitting collective term for Powers, Blaylock and myself. Something based on the appropriate technology of the era; like 'steam-punks', perhaps."[1] This term was a play on the SF genre cyberpunk, which explores "(often dark) ideas about human nature, technology and their respective combination in the near future."[2] Cyberpunk emerged in the 1980s as a tool to consider the possible implications of new technology such

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1   Jeff VanderMeer with S.J. Chambers, *The Steampunk Bible* (New York: Abrams Image, 2011), 48.
2   SFAM, "What is Cyberpunk?," *The Cyberpunk Review,* accessed May 9, 2014, http://www.cyberpunk-review.com/what-is-cyberpunk/.

as the Internet. Instead of looking to the future, steampunk looks to the past, using alternate history to explore these same ideas.[3] An official definition of the genre is a topic of much debate, but steampunk is generally described as "a subgenre of science fiction and fantasy featuring advanced machines and other forms of fictional technology based on the steam power of the 19th century."[4]
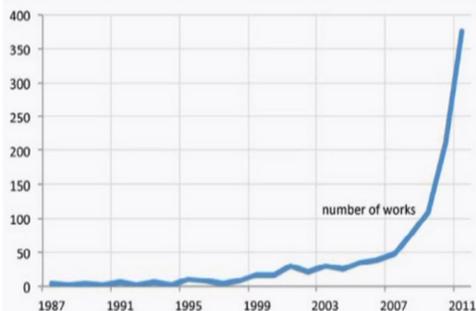

Figure 1: The rise of steampunk culture

In recent years, steampunk has not only evolved into its own distinct literary genre — it has become a cultural phenomenon. In their book *Vintage Tomorrows*, which explores the rise of steampunk culture, historian James H. Carrott and futurist Brian David Johnson included a graph depicting the growth of steampunk cultural activity from 1987 to 2011 (Figure 1).[5] Their data shows that this cultural activity (which includes published works such as fiction, non-fiction, comics, graphic novels, TV, film, games and music) remained at a steady low until 2007, when it experienced a sharp increase that has continued to the present day. This change occurred around the time the iPhone, Kindle, and Android came out — inventions that dramatically altered our way of life and perception of technology. Carrott and Johnson concluded that steampunk's popularity has skyrocketed because people want their technology — which has become commonplace to the point of dullness — to have what they call the big three: humor, history, and humanity.[6] In

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3 Cherry, Brigid, and Maria Mellins, "Negotiating the Punk in Steampunk: Subculture, Fashion, and Performative Identity," *Punk & Post-Punk* 1, no. 1 (2012): 6, accessed May 9, 2014, http://ebscohost. com/stable/84732838.html.

4 Sara Jackson, "Taking the Steampunk Train: Author Mark Hodder Explains the Genre of History and Fantasy." *Writer* 125 no. 11/12 (2012): 45, accessed May 9, 2014, http://ebscohost.com/stable/89372078.html.

5 Carrott, James H. and Brian David Johnson, *Vintage Tomorrows* (Sebastopol, CA: Maker Media, 2013), 9.

6 Ibid., 13.

her influential article examining steampunk in everyday practice, historian Rebecca Onion also argues that steampunk's rise in popularity is a reaction to contemporary technology. She believes steampunk practitioners "desire to regain a human connection with the machine world," and that "steampunk seeks to restore coherence to a perceived 'lost' mechanical world."[7]

In the past decade, steampunk has leapt from the pages of books to the real world, where it developed into a fandom that is steadily gaining steam (no pun intended). Steampunk has become its own unique culture whose adherents bring imagined worlds of airships, automatons, and raygun-wielding gentlemen to life through art, fashion, music, conventions, and other forms of expression. By grafting futuristic technology onto neo-Victorian worlds, steampunks seek to recapture the sense of awe that the Victorians felt during the Industrial Revolution, which they see as comparatively absent in our own "Third Industrial Revolution." Steampunks embrace and fetishize elements of a romanticized Victorian past to add life and character to not only their technology but also to their lifestyle. By modifying their gadgets, adopting techno-Victorian décor and fashion, and embracing the DIY ethos that the genre promotes, steampunk adherents have allowed this SF genre to evolve into a cultural movement. In a world that has become desensitized and apathetic to progress, steampunk's quirky charm captures the imagination and humanizes the ever-advancing technology that threatens to alienate its users. In this sense, steampunk represents a rebellion not only against contemporary technology, but also against a society that is becoming just as dull and disconnected as the devices it produces. This philosophy has allowed steampunk to evolve from a literary genre to a cultural phenomenon that has begun to infiltrate the mainstream consciousness.

The recent emergence of steampunk culture has been examined by a number of historical and literary scholars. The general consensus among these scholars is that steampunk is a reaction to the technology that has developed in the last decade. In 2010, *The Journal of Neo-Victorian Studies* released a special issue titled "Steampunk, Science, and (Neo)Victorian Technologies." In the issue's introduction, Rachel A. Bowser and Brian Croxall state "the nature of modern technology – sleek, standardized, small, inaccessible – makes Victorian technology (large, quirky, accessible) appealing." Furthermore,

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7   Rebecca Onion, "Reclaiming the Machine: An Introductory Look at Steampunk in Everyday Practice," *Neo-Victorian Studies* 1, no. 1 (2008): 138, accessed May 9, 2014, http://ebscohost.com/stable/2011140637.html.

they say, "steampunk protagonists are tinkerers, which is appealing because our technology is not able to be tinkered with in the same way."[8] Rebecca Onion's article "Reclaiming the Machine" further explores this notion of the accessible machine. Onion argues that "steampunks see modern technology as offensively impermeable to the everyday person, and desire to return to an age when, they believe, machines were visible, human, fallible, and above all, accessible."[9] In their book *Vintage Tomorrows*, James Carrott and Brian Johnson interviewed a number of steampunk authors, artists, pioneers, and enthusiasts in order to understand the genre's increasing appeal. They concluded that people "want their technology to have a sense of humor, a sense of history, and most importantly a sense of humanity."[10]

Steampunk glorifies all of these qualities, and its adherents long for, manipulate, and even build their own devices to combine futuristic technology with a romanticized old world aesthetic. Unlike our iPhones, MacBooks, and iPods, these devices have their own unique sense of character. One can plainly see the sense of quirkiness and whimsy in their design (humor), clear allusions to or use of Victorian mechanics or motifs (history), and the creative force behind them (the human element). Contemporary technology is mass-produced, easily manufactured and replaced, and lacks any real sense of character. Victorian machines, on the other hand, were unique, handcrafted, and often charmingly bizarre. Some examples include intricate mechanical looms, automated machines for folding envelopes and making cigarettes, and larger, more awe-inspiring devices such as steam locomotives. Unlike contemporary machines, which are designed above all to be efficient and cost-effective, these inventions incorporated elements of artistry and creativity, as their inventors designed them to attract attention and appeal to the public's sense of wonder.[11] Furthermore, the average person cannot easily fix, modify, or manipulate their devices — a consequence of our technology's ever-increasing complexity. As Bowser and Croxall point out, even a task as simple as changing an iPhone battery requires a trip the Apple store. This inaccessibility has led people to become alienated from their technology and nostalgic for the simpler devices of the past. In steampunk, they say, individuals are masters of their tools rather than the other way around — a refresh-

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8   Bowser and Croxall, "Introduction: Industrial Revolution," *Neo-Victorian Studies* 3, no. 1 (2010): 1, accessed May 19, 2014, http://ebscohost.com/stable/2011140631.html.
9   Rebecca Onion, "Reclaiming the Machine," 139.
10   Carrott and Johnson, *Vintage Tomorrows,* 13.
11   Herbert Sussman, *Victorian Technology*, 63.

ing and appealing notion to those who fall into the latter category. [12]

The desire for accessible, unique technology is just one important factor in steampunk's recent rise in popularity. In order to understand another piece of the puzzle, we must examine why steampunks chose to embrace nineteenth-century technology. The steampunk aesthetic revolves around the technology of England's first Industrial Revolution. This movement, which was one of the most pivotal events in the history of mankind, marked the first widespread development and use of mechanization. By the 1840s, steam had replaced human and animal power, people migrated to cities to work in the newly constructed factories, and locomotives rumbled through the countryside.[13] The birth of these innovations led Victorian social critic Thomas Carlyle to dub this period "the Age of Machinery, in every outward and inward sense of that word." English citizens of all classes celebrated these incredible new inventions and marveled at the "god-like inventors and makers of machinery."[14] These machines, especially the ones that moved automatically by steam and later electrical power, were particularly enthralling because they seemed to be alive.[15] This sense of wonder surrounding man's technological accomplishments was best embodied in the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, a grand exhibit showcasing new machines and machine-made commodities. [16]

There was, however, a dark side to this feverish quest for progress. The Industrial Revolution spawned a host of horrors such as crowded, dirty cities, rampant disease, inhumane working conditions, and low wages. In addition, a growing sense of anxiety hovered over the Victorian conscience.[17] The blend of wonder and terror surrounding this new technology can be seen in "The Steam Arm," a popular Victorian song about a veteran who receives a steam-powered prosthetic. At first, the invention seems miraculously marvelous, but it proves to be too powerful for the man to control, ultimately leading to disaster. In the end, he is forced to leave his home and wander the streets while "his arm keeps moving with two-horse might" — a fate that represents the Victorian fear of technology's potentially uncontrollable

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12 Bowser and Croxall, "Introduction," 20.
13 Herbert Sussman, *Victorian Technology: Invention, Innovation, and the Rise of the Machine* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2009), 3.
14 Ibid., 7.
15 Ibid., 49.
16 Ibid., 54.
17 Ibid., 4.

power.[18] Steampunk, however, focuses on the positive aspects associated with the Industrial Revolution. Michaela Sakamoto reflects on this focus in her examination of steampunk culture. "In steampunk," she says, "We have the Industrial Revolution sans pollution, poverty, and disease. Indeed, it is truly the dawn of hope for the future. In these worlds that advent of new discovery holds the promise of Utopia, a perfected world."[19]

Steampunks hope to recapture the Victorian sense of wonder surrounding new technology in the hopes of applying it to our own "Third Industrial Revolution." Like the Victorians, we are currently producing and planning a myriad of technological advances with incredible potential, but because these advances are so commonplace, we do not share the same sense of excitement. As Lily Camption, a character from Paul Guinan and Anina Bebbett's novel *Boilerplate* remarks, "We have discovered a new irony of the modern age: In a place where everything is a wonderment, nothing is a wonderment."[20] Advancements that the Victorians could only dream of — space travel, genetic engineering, computers that fit in the palm of our hand — are now just accepted facts of life. We are in a state of information overload; there are so many new innovations that we simply cannot keep up with them all. These advancements, therefore, have largely lost their novelty. Steampunks seek to challenge this view and recapture our sense of wonder.

Steampunk began as a literary movement that sought to explore man's relationship to technology in a more optimistic fashion than hard SF authors. The first true steampunk works were published in the 1980s. Although the term itself was not invented until 1987, novels and stories such as Tim Powers' *The Anubis Gates* (1983), James Blaylock's "Lord Kelvin's Machine" (1985), and K.W. Jeter's *Morlock Night* (1979) are now considered steampunk. These works were "excellent adventure and mystery narratives, often with a social emphasis, a focus on clockwork/steam technologies, and a definite awareness of Verne and Wells."[21] The Victorian SF authors Jules Verne and H.G. Wells provided major inspiration for early steampunk writers. Verne

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18   Kirstie Blair, "'The Steam Arm': Proto-Steampunk Themes in a Victorian Popular Song," *Neo-Victorian Studies* 3, no. 1 (2010): 206-207, accessed May 19, 2014, http://ebscohost.com/stable/ 2011140629. html.

19   Michaela Sakamoto, "The Transcendent Steam Engine: Industry, Nostalgia, and the Romance of Steampunk," *The Image of Technology* (2009): 129, Colorado State University-Pueblo, accessed May 19, 2014, http://ebscohost.com/stable/2009297293.html.

20   Carrott and Johnson, *Vintage Tomorrows*, 160.

21   Jeff VanderMeer and S.J. Chambers, *The Steampunk Bible* (New York: Abrams Image, 2001), 49.

wrote travel/adventure stories that featured meticulously detailed, plausible technologies, such as the famous submarine in *20,000 Leagues Under the Sea*.[22] Wells, on the other hand, was more focused on using SF as a vehicle for social commentary, such as his examination of class warfare in *The Time Machine*.[23] Steampunk novels take "Verne's fantastical and playful imagination" and combine it with "Well's sociological approach to facilitate changing the future."[24] The number of steampunk literary works increased in the 1990s after the genre was given its own name. These later works focused more on technology than their predecessors — a change that reflected the steady advancement and expansion of technology during this time.[25] One of the most famous steampunk novels produced during this period was William Gibson and Bruce Sterling's The Difference Engine, a "dystopian alternate reality [set in 1855] in which Charles Babbage successfully built a mechanical computer, thus ushering in the Information Age at the same time as the Industrial Revolution."[26]

The time frame surrounding the production of the first true steampunk novels gives important insight into their authors' inspiration and recently expanded following. Steampunk literature emerged in the 1980s as a reaction to the cyberpunk genre and pessimistic attitudes surrounding the emergence of new technologies.[27] Cyberpunk SF explores the potential, often dire consequences of recent, life-changing inventions such as the personal computer and the Internet in future societies.[28] These stories are far from the escapist adventures of earlier SF — they are dystopian, pessimistic, and cautionary. Some steampunk works are also dystopian, such as The Difference Engine, but they are usually far more optimistic than cyberpunk. It is this optimism that contributes to steampunk's contemporary appeal. Author Paul Di Filippo commented on this phenomenon, saying, "Steampunk takes a more optimistic view of technology. It's more concerned with things that people can imagine as opposed to why we can't do something."[29] Steampunk's positive view of technology represents a refreshing change from the discouraging, often frightening pessimism that often characterizes contemporary SF.

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22 Jeff VanderMeer and SJ Chambers, *The Steampunk Bible*, 33.
23 Ibid., 38.
24 Ibid., 44.
25 Bowser and Croxall, "Introduction," 13.
26 VanderMeer and Chambers, *The Steampunk Bible*, 57.
27 Bowser and Croxall, "Introduction," 13.
28 "What is Cyberpunk?"
29 Carrott and Johnson, *Vintage Tomorrows*, 96.

The allure of steampunk literature lies in futuristic worlds, where technology is neither cold and dull nor overwhelming and threatening. Steampunk technology is quite different from the usual SF projections of ultra-modern robots, spaceships, and laboratories; its quirky Victorian charm makes it seem artistic and alive. Steampunk worlds are warm and whimsical, and the technology in them has a sense of soul. More importantly, these stories project a future that captures readers' imaginations rather than predictions that fill them with dread.

The next stage in steampunk's transition from a literary genre to a culture of its own was through visual media such as comics and film. Brigid Cherry and Maria Mellins' article "Examining the Punk in Steampunk" includes a graph that traces the history of steampunk through different mediums.[30] This graph depicts a significant increase in the production of steampunk visual media (film and television, comics, computer games) in the early 2000s. These forms of visual media are an important addition to the genre because they serve to capture the beauty of steampunk worlds and devices in a way that text simply cannot do justice. As Cory Doctorow, a steampunk author and enthusiast, says, "Steampunk is best as a visual style. It shines when it's visual."[31] Bryan Talbot's *Luther Arkwright* comic series, which was published in the late 1970s, is perhaps the first example of a steampunk literary work that incorporates these visual images.[32] The series details the adventures of an albino secret agent who travels to parallel worlds such as a "puritanical alternative Britain where Cromwell won the Civil War - a land of Armstrong-Siddley Vibro Beamer weapons, Rolls Royce motor carriages and a populous living in squalor and wearing fashions that haven't moved forwards in centuries."[33] One example of a more recent comic that particularly captures the steampunk spirit is Warren Ellis's *Captain Swing and the Electrical Pirates of Cindery Island*. This comic, which is beautifully illustrated in a traditional woodcut style, features such wonders as electrical bullets, flying ships, and mechanical villains set against the noir back alleys of Victorian London.[34] Steampunk comics have also expanded to the Internet. One of the most notable webcomics is Phil and Kaja Foglio's *Girl Genius*, which revolves

30 Cherry and Mellins, "Negotiating the Punk in Steampunk," 10.
31 Carrott and Johnson, *Vintage Tomorrows*, 55.
32 VanderMeer and Chambers, *The Steampunk Bible*, 69.
33 Richard Bruton, "Graphic Novel Classic Library: Luther Arkwright," *Forbidden Planet*, accessed May 20, 2014, http://www.forbiddenplanet.co.uk/blog/2010/graphic-novel-classic-library-luther-arkwright/.
34 Ellis Warren and Raulo Caceres, *Captain Swing and the Electrical Pirates of Cindery Island,* (Rantoul, IL: Avatar Press, 2011).

around a war between rival scientists during the Industrial Revolution. [35]

Although there have not been any Hollywood films explicitly labeled as steampunk, there are a number of recent films that contain steampunk themes and imagery. Hayao Miyazaki's *Laputa: Castle in the Sky*, for example, takes place on an "alternate Earth in which obsession with flying machines has led to its ultimate manifestation in the form of hundreds of floating cities and fortresses." Miyazaki remarked that the machines in this world "are not the products of mass production, rather they still possess the inherent warmth of handcrafted things"[36] — a truly steampunk idea. Other recent steampunk-esque films include *The League of Extraordinary Gentlemen* (an adventure story based on a comic by Alan Moore that features figures like Wells, Verne, and Arthur Conan Doyle)[37] and Guy Richie's *Sherlock Holmes* (which portrays Holmes as a Verne-inspired mad inventor).[38] Steampunk visual media serves to breathe new life into the genre and emphasize the sense of awe that steampunk technology is supposed to produce. As Cherry and Mellins point out, steampunk lifestyle communities began to emerge just before this surge in visual media.[39] The correlation is no coincidence. First of all, visual media allowed more people to become exposed to steampunk, as these forms of media appeal to a wider audience than literature. This is because, as Adam Roberts states in his examination of the rising popularity of SF films, "the inherent populism of [visual media] has meant that such works achieve a much deeper cultural penetration than was the case with novels or poems."[40] In addition, comic books, films, and other visual media captured audiences' attention more than steampunk literature could because it allowed people to see the antiqued beauty of these worlds and devices. Visual media was one of the major stepping-stones in the evolution of steampunk culture, serving to widen its fan base and provide inspiration for the various cultural manifestations that would soon emerge.

In the last five to ten years, steampunk has expanded from the literary genre where it began to become its own distinct subculture. Interestingly, the mechanism that was largely responsible for this change was technology itself; it was the Internet that allowed steampunk to flourish. As James Carrott

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35 Jeff VanderMeer and S.J. Chambers, *The Steampunk Bible*, 78.
36 Ibid., 182.
37 Ibid., 188.
38 Ibid., 193.
39 Cherry and Mellins, "Negotiating the Punk in Steampunk," 10.
40 Adam Roberts, *The History of Science Fiction* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 264.

remarks in *Vintage Tomorrows*, "if you want to be a steampunk, all you have to do is go online."[41] It may appear somewhat ironic that the Internet, which seems to represent the type of technology that steampunk rebels against, was so instrumental to its evolution. This correlation is not quite as ironic as it seems at first glance, however, as steampunks rebel more against the physical nature of contemporary devices than the advancements that they produce. The Victorians they emulate, after all, were far from opposed to technological innovation; they embraced its potential for positive societal change. The Internet is simply a platform that fosters connection — it's the impersonal devices and their mass-produced, inaccessible nature that steampunks are dissatisfied with.

A steampunk lifestyle community began to emerge online in the mid-2000s. Its genesis occurred "around the same time or shortly after members of the SF fan community began receiving significant online recognition of their art and model making with steampunk mods of popular SF texts" — such as a modified steampunk lightsaber.[42] Steampunk blogger Kim Ryser provides a compelling description of the steampunk lifestyle:

> I think steampunk is an attitude, a philosophy, and a way of approaching things. Steampunk celebrates DIY, remixing, reusing, and repurposing. Steampunk includes an appreciation for beautiful things, decoration for decoration's sake, and quality craftsmanship. Steampunk doesn't follow the rules and defies expectations. [43]

The most important part of Ryser's statement is the inclusion of the phrase DIY. Steampunk is a particularly "producerly" fan culture — that is, its adherents have a particular penchant for producing physical works that represent their fandom.[44] One of the main characteristics that sets steampunk apart from other fandoms and supports its participants' identity as a lifestyle is their love of making things. The Internet has allowed steampunks to exhibit their creations, exchange ideas with other enthusiasts, keep blogs recording their latest adventures, and buy and sell both supplies and finished items. Websites developed in recent years to propagate the steampunk life-

41 Carrott and Johnson, *Vintage Tomorrows*, 10.
42 Cherry and Mellins, "Negotiating the Punk in Steampunk," 10.
43 Kim Ryser, "Living a Steampunk Lifestyle," Steam Ingenious, accessed May 19, 2014, http://www.steamingenious.com/2013/12/living-steampunk-lifestyle.html.
44 Cherry and Mellins, "Negotiating the Punk in Steampunk," 11.

style range from forums such as BrassGoggles[45] to blogs discussing steampunk décor, fashion, music, and news.[46] Steampunks are an extremely unique fandom because they are so focused on adopting a specific lifestyle. This includes endeavors such as adding neo-Victorian elements to their fashion to redecorating their homes with a whimsical Victorian theme.

The next stage in the evolution of steampunk culture was the development of steampunk art, which serves to bring imagined worlds and inventions vividly to life. Steampunk art began to emerge around the mid-2000s influx of steampunk novels and visual media. The steampunk aesthetic incorporates elements of an imagined Victorian past such as distressed theater posters and faded maps; cogs, clockwork mechanisms, and watch parts; steam engines, airships, and hot air balloons; color palettes of golds, browns, and sepias; patina and rusted metal (signifying age); and materials like wood and brass. Steampunk art includes everything from traditional illustrations and paintings to sculptures and Victorian-inspired machines.[47] Some of them are awe-inspiringly grand, like the Neverwas Haul, a three-story travelling neo-Victorian house,[48] and "The Sultan's Elephant," a life-size model of the mechanical pachyderm in Jules Verne's *The Steam House.*[49] Others are smaller but no less intriguing, such as Mike Libby's robotic insects[50] and Doctor Grordbort's techno-Victorian guns.[51] Steampunk art has also developed a specific subgenre known as modding: "the act of modifying contemporary technology with the addition of an ornate steampunk exterior." This practice began primarily with "case modding," where people modified their laptops, computers, and iPods with various steampunk-influenced designs using cogs, wheels, steam pipes, radio valves and typewriter keys. Modding has taken the steampunk world by storm, and it's enthusiasts have customized everything from computers and telephones to musical instruments.[52]

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45   "The Steampunk Forum at BrassGoggles," *BrassGoggles,* accessed May 20, 2014, http://brassgoggles.co.uk/forum/.

46   See, for example, "The Steampunk Home," accessed May 20, 2014, http://thesteampunkhome.blogspot.com/; "Steampunk Fashion," accessed May 20, 2014, http://steamfashion.livejournal.com/; "Steampunk Music: The Sound of a World That Might Have Been," accessed May 20, 2014, http://steampunk-music.com/; "Steampunk News," accessed May 20, 2014, http://www.steampunknews.co.uk/.

47   Cherry and Mellins, "Negotiating the Punk in Steampunk," 7.

48   "Neverwas Haul – Obtainium Works," *Obtainium Works*, accessed May 20, 2014, http://www.obtainiumworks.net/neverwas-haul/.

49   Jeff VanderMeer with S.J. Chambers, *The Steampunk Bible,* 116.

50   Jay Strongman, *Steampunk: The Art of Victorian Futurism* (London: Korero Books, 2011), 124.

51   Jay Strongman, *Steampunk*, 108.

52   Cherry and Mellins, "Negotiating the Punk in Steampunk," 7.

The steampunk forum *BrassGoggles* showed just how popular modding has become when they calculated a breakdown of the number of posts in various topics. Their data revealed that Tactile topics (making and modding items) were by far the most popular, far outweighing fashion, literature, and lifestyle concerns.[53]

Steampunk art and artifacts have also expanded beyond their niche in recent years. The popular website Etsy.com, for example, currently lists 269,731 steampunk items for sale.[54] These include cell phone cases emblazoned with gears, jewelry made out of watch parts, and top hats adorned with industrial goggles. The popularity of steampunk art, particularly the practice of modding, offers telling insight into steampunk's steadily growing appeal. Artists who modify their technology are clearly dissatisfied with their cold, unappealing, mass-produced devices. By encasing them in ornate neo-Victorian exteriors, steampunks seek to imbue their devices with a sense of warmth and character. The desire to change technology to better fit one's needs or aesthetic vision also exists outside of steampunk, as evidenced by the growing popularity of practices such as "jailbreaking" iPhones in order to allow further customization. Steampunk art is just one of the ways that these old-world enthusiasts rebel against contemporary culture. By producing artwork that invokes a romantic past age and modifying their mass-produced devices to encompass quirky old-world charm, they are searching for a sense of individuality in a world that lacks color and character. Modding also allows steampunks embrace the DIY ethos and get their hands dirty like the Victorian inventors they idolize. The tinkering aspect of this craft appeals to the idea of the accessible, humanized machine by allowing steampunks to transform their devices from lifeless metal and plastic to warmer, more accessible devices with a distinctly human touch.

Steampunk art has also manifested itself into fashion — a particularly creative and personal niche. Steampunk clothing consists of Victorian items such as top hats, waistcoats, bow ties, wing-collar shirts, bloomers, corsets, bustles, and elbow-length gloves, and often (but not always) signifiers of science, technology, and engineering such as goggles and aprons.[55] This revival of nineteenth-century fashion can be traced back to a small group of artists,

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53   Cherry and Mellins, "Negotiating the Punk in Steampunk," 12.

54   "Steampunk Items on Etsy," *Etsy*, accessed May 20, 2014, https://www.etsy.com/search?q=steampunk&ship_to=US.

55   Cherry and Mellins, "Negotiating the Punk in Steampunk,"7

led by Kit Stolen, who produced Victorian-inspired handmade garments in the late 1990s. The style began to gain widespread appeal in the steampunk community when people realized that it could easily be incorporated into their everyday wardrobe.[56] According to Libby Bulloff, the cofounder of Steampunk Magazine, there are two kinds of steampunk fashion: serious cosplayers, con-goers, and reenactors, and "steampunk casual" — everyday clothing that incorporates vintage influences.[57] The rising appeal of steampunk fashion has inspired clothing companies such as Clockwork Couture,[58] independent designers who sell their wares on websites,[59] and online communities devoted to formal and casual steampunk fashion.[60]

The fact that steampunks would willingly don floor-length dresses and corsets may seem rather strange; after all, by modern standards such clothing would seem appallingly restrictive. In a group interview conducted at a steampunk convention, a man named Darren explained his motivation for adopting steampunk fashion:

> If you went to a museum of clothing, you would see distinct styles of Victorian, Edwardian, and Georgian Britain, but if you look at fashions nowadays what would we put up? A football shirt, a tracksuit and a pair of jeans with the crotch round the kneecaps? I personally don't like these clothes, and I would rather dress in something that is period and distinct rather than dress in shapeless modern fashion.[61]

It seems, then, that steampunk clothing is more than a stylistic choice: it is also a rebellion against contemporary fashion. Libby Bulloff also commented on the rebellious nature of steampunk fashion. "When you walk down the street in a top hat and spats," she says, "you are causing a riot."[62] Like other subcultures that embrace fashion as a way of defying the norm (goths, punks, hippies, etc.), steampunks are using their outward appearance to make a

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56 Jeff VanderMeer with S.J. Chambers, *The Steampunk Bible*, 132.
57 Cherry and Mellins, "Negotiating the Punk in Steampunk," 7.
58 "Steampunk Clothing at Clockwork Couture," *Clockwork Couture*, accessed May 19, 2014, http://www.clockworkcouture.com/.
59 See, for example: "Somnia Romantica," accessed May 20, 2014, https://www.etsy.com/ s.v. "Somnia Romantica."; "MGD Clothing," accessed May 20, 2014, https://www.etsy.com/ s.v. "MGD Clothing."
60 See, for example, "Steampunk Fashion," accessed May 20, 2014, http://steamfashion.livejournal.com/; "Casual Steampunk," accessed May 20, 2014, http://casualsteampunk.tumblr.com/.
61 Cherry and Mellins, "Negotiating the Punk in Steampunk," 20.
62 Carrott and Johnson, *Vintage Tomorrows*, 45.

powerful statement about themselves and their place in society. Translating the futuristic neo-Victorian clothing worn by the characters in steampunk novels, comics, and art to the real world allows this subculture to further express its individuality. Unlike today's fashion, which consists of nearly identical items churned out by machines in foreign sweatshops and sold in stores to the masses, pre-industrial Victorian clothing was custom-made by hand — a difference that made these garments unique. Embracing old-world clothing allows steampunks to stand out from the crowd and break the chains of normality that limit their ability to truly express themselves.

The steampunk artistic movement has also expanded to the musical realm — a uniquely powerful medium that allows steampunks to celebrate their culture and truly capture its spirit. Steampunk bands began to emerge in conjunction with other artistic developments such as modding and visual art. Steampunk music does not have its own singular style; instead, it combines genres such as cabaret, classical, science fiction film soundtracks, and alternative/underground. One of the earliest examples of a steampunk band is Joshua Pfeiffer's Vernian Process, a project that he established in 2003 to "create music that would accompany steampunk adventures in his own mind."[63] In recent years, steampunk music has expanded to include a wide variety of styles, from burlesque and swing to prog rock and metal. Although its sound is widely variable, steampunk music can be characterized by traits such as theatrical performances, a Gothic or Victorian aesthetic, playfulness and spontaneity combined with grittiness and darkness, and narratives and storytelling.[64] The two most important elements are the band's appearance/ stage performance and the narratives in their songs.

Steampunk music allows the genre's themes and whimsical tropes to come vividly to life. One of the most famous and influential steampunk bands that celebrate the genre's vision is Abney Park. In addition to playing modded instruments and donning techno-Victorian fashion, their lyrics tell stories of steampunk adventure and glorify the subculture's message. One of their most popular songs, "Steampunk Revolution," features lines such as, "Your subculture shops at the mall/We build ours with blowtorch, needle, thread, and leather awl" — a clear example of steampunk's defiance of contemporary cul-

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63   Cherry and Mellins, "Negotiating the Punk in Steampunk," 15.
64   Ibid., 16.

ture.[65] Another song, "Building Steam," features the refrain "I made my own machine/Yes, we're building steam/I hate the same routine," which alludes to the ever-popular rebellious tinkerer persona.[66] Another unique feature of Abney Park is that they are a "concept band" that performs as members of a pirate airship crew. The idea of band members adopting an imaginary fantasy persona is another common theme embraced by steampunk bands. Another example is Steam Powered Giraffe, whose members adopt personas as robots and don elaborate makeup to bring their characters to life when performing.[67] Like Abney Park, Steam Powered Giraffe produce whimsical songs that tell of grand adventures. One example is "Brass Goggles," which recounts the tale of an explorer who builds a steam-powered mechanical giraffe to battle hostile elephants.[68] Music is a particularly powerful form of artistic expression because it deeply resonates with human emotions. Many rebellious cultural movements, from Britain's punk rockers to Norway's black metal scene, have used music as a means to express themselves and their discontent with society. On a more superficial level, steampunk music's use of fantasy personas and whimsical lyrics contribute to a sense of lighthearted escapism. On a deeper level, it allows messages such as disdain for current technology/society, a longing for the past, and the need for societal change to appeal to a wider audience; after all, it's hard not to be inspired by rousing instrumentals and passionately sung vocals that promote visions of a brighter future.

One of the most obvious examples of steampunk culture's rising popularity is the ever-growing number of steampunk-themed conventions that have sprung up in recent years. Conventions have become a major part of various fandoms, from SF and fantasy to comics and anime. These gatherings allow fans to meet other people with similar interests, buy merchandise, meet celebrities, authors, and other public figures, and otherwise bring their fandom to life. In the past few years, steampunk conventions have begun to join the ranks of other well-established cons. The Science Fiction/Fantasy website Tor.com listed a total of thirty-nine steampunk or "steam-friendly"

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65 "Abney Park: Steampunk Revolution Lyrics," *Lyric Wikia*, accessed May 19, 2014, http://lyrics.wikia.com/Abney_Park:Steampunk_Revolution.

66 "Abney Park: Building Steam Lyrics," *Lyric Wikia*, accessed May 19, 2014, http://lyrics.wikia.com/Abney_Park:Building_Steam.

67 "Whut Is Steam Powered Giraffe?" *Steam Powered Giraffe*, accessed May 20, 2014, http://www.steampoweredgiraffe.com/.

68 "Brass Goggles Lyrics," *Steam Powered Giraffe*, accessed May 20, 2014, http://www.steampoweredgiraffe.com/BGlyrics.html.

conventions and events that occurred worldwide in 2013.[69] Currently, the largest steampunk convention is the Steampunk World's Fair in Piscataway, New Jersey, which features the enticing slogan "A Grand Adventure Awaits!" Their website, which is topped by an illustration of airships floating over the New Jersey skyline, proudly announces the grand exploits they have to offer: vendors, guest speakers, workshops on steampunk and Victorian culture, musical performances, and wonderfully bizarre events such as parasol dueling.[70]

Conventions also offer participants a unique opportunity to truly embrace their fandom: cosplaying. Cosplay is a shortened version of the words costume and play. This practice, which began in Japan and gained widespread popularity in the early 1990s, is "the practice of portraying a fictional character — at times completely identifying as that character while in costume (and thus acting as if the individual was that character to add to the authenticity of the experience)."[71] In the course of their research for *Vintage Tomorrows*, Carrott and Johnson interviewed a group of steampunk cosplayers at Norwescon. One woman remarked that one of the biggest draws of steampunk is that it allows its fans to make their own characters. "It's completely our own," she said, "unlike an anime convention, where you dress up as somebody else." "In steampunk," another woman added, "it is generally expected that you make your own character."[72] Creating a steampunk character involves choosing a persona, name, and backstory and then making a costume that represents the character. A particularly interesting trend has also evolved in which many female steampunk cosplayers choose to wear male or androgynous clothing. This grants them a full range of movement and allows them to participate in the science, technology, and engineering aspects of the genre[73]. Although the Internet has allowed for greater interaction, conventions physically bring people together and enable them to participate in their culture in a more meaningful way. Cosplay embodies the creative aspect of the genre and allows steampunks to express themselves by creating a new persona – a powerful form of escapism from both personal and societal boundaries. If the trend continues, the number of steampunk cons will only increase, thus

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69   Ay-Leen the Peacemaker, "Gearing Up for 2013: A Steampunk Convention Listing," accessed May 19, 2014, http://www.tor.com/blogs/2013/01/steampunk-conventions-2013.

70   "The Steampunk World's Fair: The World's Largest Steampunk Event," *Steampunk World's Fair*, May 19, 2014, accessed May 19, 2014, http://steampunkworldsfair.com/.

71   Molly McIsaac, "What Is Cosplay And Why Do People Do It?" *iFanboy*, accessed May 18, 2014, http://ifanboy.com/articles/what-is-cosplay-and-why-do-people-do-it/.

72   Carrott and Johnson, *Vintage Tomorrows*, 166.

73   Cherry and Mellins, "Negotiating the Punk in Steampunk," 21.

further expanding its fanbase and broader cultural influence.

Perhaps the greatest testament to steampunk's rising popularity is its ever-increasing influence on mainstream culture. The trend of fandoms branching out into society at large is not a new phenomenon; many other fan cultures, from *Star Trek* and *Lord of the Rings* to the more recent *Game of Thrones*, have made appearances in areas outside their niche as a result of a widening fanbase. In the past few years, steampunk has followed a similar trend. Some examples include articles in the *Los Angeles Times, Time, The Guardian*, and *The Ottawa Citizen*, a steampunk art and design show hosted at Oxford University's Museum of the History of Science,[74] and a Prada Fall/Winter steampunk-inspired menswear collection.[75] Steampunk has also begun to infiltrate pop culture. Tory Spelling, for example, planned a steampunk wedding on network television, and A*merica's Next Top Model* aired an episode with a steampunk-themed photo shoot in which models donned corsets and goggles. [76] Steampunk has even branched out into the mainstream music scene. In 2011, teenage heartthrob Justin Bieber released a music video titled "Santa Claus Is Coming to Town (Arthur Christmas Version)."[77] The video shows Bieber, who is dressed in Victorian attire and goggles and sports a brass mechanical arm, in a toy workshop that resembles a romanticized Victorian factory. The video clearly emphasizes the neo-Victorian technology in this workshop, with numerous close-up shots of grinding gears, smoking pipes, complicated lever systems, and a female automaton. In the course of his research for *Vintage Tomorrows*, Brian Johnson arranged an interview with Bieber's manager, Scooter, to discover his inspiration for this project. Scooter said that he had first become aware of steampunk after watching a dance troupe perform at his thirtieth birthday party. Impressed by their "cool" aesthetic, he began to research the genre and realized that it would be a perfect theme for Bieber's latest video — a song used in the movie *Arthur Christmas*, which, like steampunk, blends the old and the new.[78] Undoubtedly inspired by the Bieber's success, David Guetta and Nicki Minaj also released a steampunk-inspired music video the following month. Their video "Turn Me On" features tropes such as Nicki Minaj as a beautiful cyborg, a

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74   Bowser and Croxall, "Introduction," 12.

75   Carrott and Johnson, *Vintage Tomorrows*, 282.

76   Ibid.

77   Justin Bieber, "Santa Claus Is Coming to Town (Arthur Christmas Version)," directed by Alice Brooks, accessed May 3, 2014, http://www.youtube.com/ s.v. "Santa Claus Is Coming to Town (Arthur Christmas Version)."

78   Carrott and Johnson, *Vintage Tomorrows,* 277.

neo-Victorian scientist's workshop, and people riding horses through cobblestone streets.[79] These are just a few examples of how steampunk is steadily making its way into the mainstream consciousness. The steampunk aesthetic is not only unusual and distinct; it is also, as Scooter said, "cool." Steampunk represents a world that seems vibrant and alive compared to our own; it conveys a sense of adventure and straying from the norm. In this sense, steampunk offers a tantalizing image of the future: a world that blends the advancement of our modern age with the charm of days gone by.

Thus concludes our examination of the emergence of steampunk as a cultural phenomenon — but this is far from the end of the story. If the trend we have seen in the last decade continues, steampunk will continue to gain popularity and attract the attention of an even wider audience. The most important thing to consider in examining steampunk's rising popularity — like all other cultural movements — is what this trend can reveal about society. Many people are beginning to feel overwhelmed by an ever-increasing influx of advancement and technology — so much so that these developments have largely lost their excitement. Steampunk represents a rebellion against the mass-produced, cold, inaccessible technology that has infiltrated our lives and the apathetic society that it has contributed to. Steampunk advocates a future that combines the elements of a romanticized past with futuristic advancements to create a world of progress that does not lose its sense of humanity. Perhaps as steampunk continues to grow this desire will become more mainstream, allowing its adherents to translate these ideas to the real world and build a brighter future.

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79   David Guetta, "Turn Me On ft. Nicki Minaj," directed by David Guetta, accessed May 3, 2014, http://www.youtube.com/ s.v. "David Guetta – Turn Me On ft. Nicki Minaj."

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Information For Authors

The Forum welcomes submissions from currently enrolled or recently graduated students from all accredited colleges and universities. Submissions must be historical in nature and should be sent electronically to calpolyforum@gmail.com in accordance with the stated requirement and procedures available on our website: http://calpolyforum.wordpress.com. The following summary explains out policies but should not be considered exhaustive.

Editorial Procedure: All submissions to The Forum are read and evaluated by a panel of three editors using a double-blind review system. All decisions rest with the executive editor(s) and the faculty advisor based upon the needs of the journal. The editors may request revisions and, where appropriate, reserve the right to make adjustments to the text.

Style: Excluding book reviews, all submissions should follow the Chicago Manual of Style (Turabian) and cite all sources using footnotes. Papers should also include a complete bibliography of all works cited. Book Reviews should use parenthetical citations.

Length: Upon initial submission, book reviews should be between 500 and 800 words. All other submissions should be between 1,500 and 5,500 words, exclusive of footnotes and bibliography. Submissions for the Senior Project section of the journal may exceed the maximum length requirement.

Recency: All papers must have been written within one year of their submission. Therefore, a paper submitted during fall term must have been written no earlier than the previous fall term.

Recommendation: All submissions must be accompanied by a recommendation form. This form must be completed by the professor of a class for which a paper was written. In rare cases, the editors may waive the recommendation requirement. Please see our website for complete information.