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Editor’s Introduction and Acknowledgments

Welcome to the twelfth edition of The Forum.

I am often asked by my friends who are in other majors how history students fall into Cal Poly’s “Learn by Doing” philosophy. There is a notion that because we are not building our own rockets or coding websites, we do not follow the motto. This publication demonstrates otherwise.

From the introductory History 100 on, history students dive into physical and digital archives, read scholarly article after scholarly article, newspaper from 1907 after newspaper from 1907, all to write their own original histories. This field is certainly as hands on as any engineering class. Someday I hope to receive compensation from the department for the chronic joint pain caused by all the writing my peers and I had to endure.

The Forum is proud to put history students’ hard work on display every year. This year, we had many strong submissions, making it difficult to decide which to publish. Thank you so much to everyone who submitted. I am also incredibly grateful for my amazing staff who edited these papers on their own time and put up with all my random group texts. Thank you especially to Kelly Barr, former Executive Editor, for his invaluable advice. I would have failed either this or school without their help. I would also like to express my gratitude to Carolyn Jean Eaton, Sherrie Miller, Denna Marie Zamarron, and Dr. Lewis Call for all their indispensable work in the front office that made this publication a reality.
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Robert is a fourth year transfer history major from Kraków, Poland. His primary research interests include the history of pre-colonial and early colonial Latin America, Ancient Mediterranean history, as well as the history of twentieth-century Central Europe and imperialism. Following graduation from Cal Poly, Robert wishes to pursue a master’s degree in history with the aim of teaching at a High School level down the line. Outside of the academics, Robert enjoys hiking, rock climbing, strength training, and a dram of good scotch when budget allows.

Development of Cal Poly’s School of Architecture and Environmental Design

Robert Chomicz

Abstract:

In the turbulent decade of the 1960s, Cal Poly consciously diverged from a Master Plan created by the state Department of Education in order to create one of the best architecture schools in the nation, which highlighted the university’s unique position as the only polytechnic in the CSU system. This article details Cal Polys commitment to the development of the program through the examination of the expansion of the Architectural Engineering department into a full-fledged College of Architecture in the years 1948 to 1972. Three landmark academic years are examined in order to highlight the growth of the Architecture program. These are: 1947-1948, 1964-1965, as well as 1972-1973. The analysis focuses on the change in coursework, the increase in degrees offered, the growth of total faculty employed as well as the evolution of the program in terms of an administrative unit.

The 1960s were a time of significant social upheaval in the United States. The baby-boomer generation entering adulthood led to the emergence of a generation gap and the development of a counterculture, both of which fueled civil unrest that was punctuated by the civil rights movement and the anti-Vietnam war protests. As is usual in such moments, the governing bodies, from the federal, to state and local, took it upon themselves to counter the chaos with structure, responding to social turmoil with progressive reforms on the one hand as well as rigid
conservative reaction on the other. In the vein of reform, the state of California took steps to overhaul its higher education system, during which time small universities, such as Cal Poly, sought to expand the scope of their curricula. In 1960, the California State Board of Education developed a Master Plan for Higher Education in order to create a coherent statewide postsecondary education system. The plan was implemented later that year as part of the Donahoe Higher Education Act pursuant to which a California State College System was created.¹ The new system incorporated twenty-three state colleges into a single homogeneous organization separate from the University of California system. Of the universities within the system, California State Polytechnic College, otherwise known as Cal Poly, held a unique position in that it was the only one that offered a degree in Architecture related field.² In 1972, Cal Poly was granted a title of a university. In the same year, a master’s degree in architecture was offered for the first time in the school’s history, culminating the development of the nascent School of Architecture. The development of Cal Poly’s College of Architecture appears as an anomaly within the framework of the CSU system since the original California Master Plan provided that professional fields such as architecture be the province of the UC system universities alone.³ Was the development of Cal Poly’s School of Architecture an oversight by the State Board of Education, in light of the stipulations of the Master Plan for Higher Education? Or was it instead part of a deliberate agenda endorsed and executed by Cal Poly directors? In this paper, I show that the development of Cal Poly’s College of Architecture and Environmental Design was, in fact, the result of a comprehensive effort by the university’s administrators to develop the school into a nationally recognized architecture program.

The goal of my research is to analyze the expansion of the Architectural Engineering Department and its transformation into the College of Architecture in the years 1948-1972. To this end, I will focus on a comparison of the curriculum, faculty membership, and number of majors of study the department offered in three landmark years. These are the academic years of 1947-1948, 1964-1965, as well as 1972-1973. The choice of the College of Architecture and Environmental Design for this research is due to its prestigious standing among California public universities. Architecture is a field of study that is represented by a separate college only at UCLA and UC Berkeley, two of the most respected public universities in the nation, and solely at Cal Poly among non-UCs. Moreover, Cal Poly’s architecture program has been ranked consistently in the top ten in the nation and ranked as the

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best undergraduate school for architecture in 2014. The development of the architecture program demonstrates that Cal Poly was consciously pushing to create a high-profile technical department consistent with its already prestigious engineering school, which would highlight its unique position as the only polytechnic in the CSU system. To demonstrate this, I will first compare the terms of 1947-1948, i.e., the year that the Architectural Engineering Department was first established and 1964-1965, which saw the first addition of a new major to the department’s offerings.

The Architectural Engineering Department grew enormously from its inception in 1947-1948 to the academic year of 1964-1965, which is best illustrated by a dramatic increase in the number of faculty members as well as by the addition of another B.S. degree. During its inaugural year, the department offered a single four-year Bachelor of Science in Architectural Engineering degree and was staffed by only one professor, Gerald E. Ellis. In the term of 1964-1965, the department expanded to offer a five-year Bachelor of Architecture degree in addition to the B.S. in Architectural Engineering that had been offered since the beginning of the program. The faculty numbers increased as well, from a single professor in 1948, to a cohort of sixteen instructors, including the department head, George Hasslein in 1964. The addition of the five-year Architecture major is an excellent illustration of the level of commitment on the part of the university to expand the department. As George Hasslein, head of the Architectural Engineering Department, stated in his 1965 Accreditation Evaluation Report: “The State Educational Code did not permit the institution of any five-year programs until 1963 when it was changed”. This change was made in response to Cal Poly lobbying. In his memoirs, former university president Robert E. Kennedy explained that Cal Poly was able to amend and rewrite a section of the state statute that dealt with instruction in the field of Architecture. Cal Poly’s efforts in the state capital were not the only attempt by the school’s administration to develop the School of Architecture. The addition of fifteen additional faculty members suggests that Cal Poly allocated more considerable financial resources to the department, clearly indicating that expansion was its prerogative. Cal Poly’s active pursuit of an amendment to the Master Plan for Higher Education through lobbying at the state capital also reveals the importance that the university assigned to the growth of the Department of Architectural Engineering in the early years of its existence.

Analysis of the curriculum for the Architectural Engineering major between the terms of 1947-1948 and 1964-1965 reveals a number of

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7 Ibid., 133.


9 Kennedy, Learn by Doing, 192.

10 Ibid.
differences that suggest a trend towards more demanding coursework, a hallmark of conscious improvement by the university administration. The most readily apparent change is that specific courses offered in 1947-1948 disappear altogether from the curriculum for the 1964-1965 term, while others remain but are renamed. In fact, only two course series from 1947-48 curriculum, Materials of Construction and Strength of Materials, were still included in 1964-65, albeit with different course numbers. Another difference is the number of major courses and credits required. In 1947-1948 these are forty-two and 104 respectively, whereas in 1964-1965, students were required to attend forty-seven courses and accumulate 121 credits in the major. The most dramatic difference appears in the senior year when twenty-seven units of Architecture or Engineering courses were required in 1947-48, while thirty-nine units were required in 1964-65. The final difference is an excess of vocational-type legacy courses, such as fifteen units of Heating and Ventilating (AC 201, 202, 203 and AC 241, 242, 243) or twenty units of Drafting (Arch 141, 142, 143, ME 121, Arch 241, 242, 243) required as part of the degree in 1947-48. It appears that the filler present in the curriculum of the department’s inaugural year had been eliminated by 1964-1965 and replaced with a more demanding subject matter. The more intensive coursework points to the fact that Cal Poly administrators were consciously developing the Architecture and Architectural Engineering Department into a program of higher quality that could compete with the best universities in the state.

In the span of the following eight years, that is between 1964 and 1972, a series of developments led to the creation of a master’s program in the field of architecture. These developments deserve a brief mention as they directly impacted the Architecture and Architectural Engineer-

Direct comparison of academic years 1964-1965 and 1972-1973 shows an astronomic growth of the architecture program. Most importantly, the program was elevated from a Department, subordinate to the School of Engineering in 1964-1965, to the level of an independent School of Architecture in 1968-1969. The second most significant change was the addition of four degrees by the 1972-1973 term. The new degrees consisted of Bachelor of Science degrees in

11 Nancy E. Loe and Dan Howard-Greene, Cal Poly: The First Hundred Years (San Luis Obispo, CA: Robert E. Kennedy Library, California Polytechnic State University, 2001), 95.
15 Ibid.
City and Regional Planning, Construction Engineering and Landscape Architecture, as well as an M.S. degree in Architecture, bringing the total of degrees awarded to five in 1972-1973, as compared with just two in 1964-1965. It is also noteworthy that the numbers of faculty expanded proportionally to the growth of the program. For example, in 1964-1965, there were sixteen instructors, while eight years later, fifty architecture professors were employed by the school.\textsuperscript{16} This is an increase not only in the absolute number of faculty but also an increase in the average of instructors per major, which rose from eight to ten.

The number of majors offered, the increase in faculty, the addition of a post-graduate program, and the promotion of a department to a college all point to a concerted effort by Cal Poly to turn its Architecture School into a nationally recognized program.

There is a noticeable difference in the curriculum for architecture, the program’s flagship major, between the years of 1964-65 and the same major in 1972-73, a difference marked by more demanding coursework as well as longer duration. It must be noted that the major was entirely reorganized from a five-year professional Baccalaureate of Architecture to a six-year, professional Master of Science in Architecture degree.\textsuperscript{17} The coursework itself shows that twenty courses were required in the first two years of 1964-1965, accounting for 48 major units while in 1972-1973, first-year students and sophomores were given a load of twenty-one courses to the tune of 54 units. The difference in the amount of credits is explained by the fact that Introduction to Urban Environ-

\textsuperscript{16} California State Polytechnic College Catalog, 1972-1973, 100.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., 105.

-ment series increased its unit load from two to three credits each, and Engineering Problems-Digital Computers (Arch 250) course became a two-unit class in 1972-73 whereas in 1963-64 it was only worth one credit.\textsuperscript{18} The later years of both programs also required similar courses, though they were distributed in a different way over the years. In 1964-1965, architecture students were required 147 credits in 54 major courses, while in 1972-1973 that number rose to 189 units and a minimum of 62 courses, taking six years to complete. The additional coursework in the post-graduate studies consisted of a Thesis Project series (Arch 599), two additional quarters of Architectural Design (Arch 561), and 25 further units of 400 and 500 level architecture school electives.\textsuperscript{19} These more rigorous standards show that Cal Poly was at this point competing to recruit the best and most committed students, signaling the rise of its School of Architecture to some prominence.

The transformation of the architecture program at Cal Poly from a small department in 1947 to a major college in 1973 was a result of a conscious development meticulously planned and executed by the university administrators. It was accomplished by consistent investment in the department as demonstrated by an increase in majors offered, the addition of a post-graduate program, a significant increase in the number of faculty members, an increase in number of courses offerings, a more demanding curriculum and, most importantly, the founding of the College of Architecture and Environmental Design. Such growth and expansion is evidence that Cal Poly devoted considerable time, effort,
and resources in order to build its School of Architecture into a nationally recognized architecture program.

Bibliography


 Darkness in the Parlor: Prostitution and Narratives of Urban Exploration in London’s West End

Aiden Evans

Abstract:

Prostitution in London’s West End came to constitute a multidimensional transgression for middle-class observers during the late-Victorian period, contesting traditional distinctions between West and East, middle-class and working-class, and public and private life. First, through the use of Late Victorian urban exploration narratives, I will show that urban explorers applied a rigid conceptual framework to identify the working-class prostitutes occupying London’s affluent West-End. Rooted in class-based hierarchies, these systems of identification presumed that working-class prostitutes were categorically distinct, visible, and undisguisable in London’s West End. Moreover, I argue that this conceptual framework reveals the authors’ binary understandings of prostitutes’ public and private life, which assigned middle-class prostitutes to the domestic and private realms and relegated working-class prostitutes to the observable public. Additionally, I will show that working-class prostitutes contested the urban explorer’s system of identification by adopting middle-class modes of fashion, dress, and expression. Ultimately, I hope to show that these transgressive activities subverted urban spectators’ systems of knowledge on multiple levels. First, they challenged bourgeois understandings of the working-class as an object of empirical study and a source...
of male pleasure, rendering the activities of working-class prostitutes effectively “unreadable.” Second, they confused traditional middle-class conceptualizations of public life, as groups traditionally relegated to marginalized sectors of London unobtrusively entered middle-class social spaces. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, these activities conflicted with the middle-class observer’s traditional understanding of the West End as a familiar location in the urban environment, decreasing their ability to reliably monitor this affluent sector of the London metropolis.

During a temperate July evening in 1869, the crowds at the Cremorne Gardens of Chelsea gradually dispersed, the Gardens’ various attendants retiring to their homes in London’s affluent West End. By ten o’clock, however, the Gardens were once again teeming with visitors, arriving at Cremorne after sundown to join seven hundred others dancing and promenading upon the venue’s raised platforms. Among these visitors could be seen three hundred prostitutes, “more or less prononcéées.”1 These revelers would continue dancing, promenading, and enjoying other amusements long into the night. However, wrote Dr. William Acton, “I do not imagine for a moment they could have been aware that a self-appointed inspector was among them.”2 Acton did not visit Cremorne to socialize with the various partygoers and prostitutes in attendance. Instead, he imagined himself a detached observer present only to bear witness to the night’s events; a self-appointed inspector carefully assessing and documenting the movements of sex workers in the West End. In this way, Acton became one of the many “urban spectators” or “social explorers” of London’s Victorian middle class; men who discretely entered into the city streets, imbedding themselves in London’s metropolitan scene with the intent of studying its variegated social conditions and developing a coherent, totalizing, and moralizing vision of the urban space.

In addition to its focus on London’s sex industry, Acton’s narrative is significant because of its particular regional focus. While scholars have developed detailed analyses of urban exploration narratives in the nineteenth century and their author’s conceptualizations of prostitution, these analyses have predominantly focused on narratives centered in London’s indigent East End. At this time, historians have developed profound and insightful studies of London’s social explorers, detailing the social and cultural semiotics governing their narratives. However, without a greater exploration of narratives centered in the West End, these historical understandings will be incomplete.

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2 Ibid., 17.
3 Ibid., 17.
These narratives are particularly important to our understandings of Victorian middle-class culture, as the West End was a primary cultural space in which bourgeois male observers consolidated their cultural knowledge of the London metropolis, a regional cornerstone upholding their traditional understandings of regional identity, social class, and female respectability.

In this essay, I argue that prostitution in London’s West End came to constitute a multidimensional transgression for middle-class observers, contesting traditional distinctions between West and East, middle-class and working-class, and public and private life. First, through the use of Late Victorian urban exploration narratives, I will show that the urban explorers applied a rigid conceptual framework to identify the working-class prostitutes occupying London’s affluent West-End. Rooted in class-based hierarchies, these systems of identification presumed that working-class prostitutes were categorically distinct, visible, and undisguisable in London’s West End. Additionally, I argue that this conceptual framework reveals the authors’ dichotomous understandings of prostitutes’ public and private life, which assigned middle-class prostitutes to the domestic and private realms and relegated working-class prostitutes to the observable public. Finally, I will show that working-class prostitutes contested the urban explorer’s system of identification by adopting middle-class modes of fashion, dress, and expression. I aim to show that these transgressive activities subverted urban spectators’ attempts to gain knowledge of London’s West End through empirical methods of analysis.

In their analyses of social exploration narratives of nineteenth-century London, urban historians have developed detailed understandings of the middle-class flaneur’s various frameworks of social and cultural knowledge, as they emerged in their investigations of London’s working classes. Specifically, historians have delineated how social explorers frequently relied upon a traditional regional opposition between West and East London as the primary organizing scheme in their examinations of the metropolis. Judith Walkowitz notes, for example, that “Mid-Victorian explorations into the terra incognita of the London poor increasingly relied on the East/West opposition to assess the connecting links between seemingly unrelated parts of society.” In doing so, historians have noted that middle-class urban explorers regularly utilized imagery of darkness, disorder, unintelligibility and mystery in their renderings of East End London, conceiving of this territory as a world separate, distinct, and alien from their own.

In addition to the binary opposition of West and East, historians have noted the convergence of various social discourses and epistemological categories at work in the urban explorer’s narratives. For example, George Stocking notes the Post-Darwinist influence of “socio-cultural evolutionism” among Victorian middle-class social commentators, which resulted in the tendency to draw analogies between colonial

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4 According to Estelle Murail, the archetype of the flaneur, or “man of leisure,” emerged in the urban literature of nineteenth-century French writers Honoré de Balzac (1799-1850) and Charles Baudelaire (1821-1867). A specifically male figure, the flaneur traversed and observed the streets of Paris or London, insisting on the authority of sight in uncovering the essence of urban life.


subjects and the urban poor. Following this, Peter Keating, Deborah Epstein Nord, and Walkowitz have noted the urban spectator’s tendency to adopt imperialist rhetoric in their reconstructions of the London cityscape, figuring East End inhabitants in terms of the uncivilized Other and transforming this East End into an unexplored geographic territory remaining to be discovered, traversed, and made visible to the enlightened public. Additionally, Walkowitz has uncovered the complex network of social and cultural knowledges in which the urban explorers were embedded during the late 1800s. In doing so, she demonstrates that Late-Victorian conceptions of the public urban space as a site of observation and surveillance in which the urban voyeur could immerse or disguise himself; an apparatus of bourgeois male pleasure by which to establish knowledge and control over marginalized groups and unfamiliar spaces.

Additionally, urban historians of the Late-Victorian period have noted the position of prostitution within the urban explorer’s mental maps of London’s urban scene. In particular, they have observed that the urban spectators figured the working-class prostitute as symbols of female public vice, an indication of the lower-class’s severe state of indigence, and demonstrable proof of the need for urban reform.

However, scholars have limited their attention to their analyses of urban exploration narratives situated in London’s East End exclusively, neglecting middle-class explorers’ investigations of prostitution in West London. Indeed, the East End presented an image of an abyss, a bejeweled sector of the city that the urban explorer wished to investigate and analyze. But how did the urban explorers adjust their vision to the bright, enlightened streets of the West End of London, that area of the metropolis in which, they supposed, no secrecy was possible and all activity visible to the naked eye?

Urban exploration narratives of the Late-Victorian period assessed West-End prostitutes through an inflexible class structure that symbolically associated middle-class prostitutes with the sphere of private, domestic life and associated those of the lower or working-classes with the public realm; the sections in West London which were immediately visible, apprehensible, and accessible to the senses. For example, Henry Mayhew developed detailed criteria by which to identify prostitutes from different social classes in his multi-volume work *London Labour and the London Poor*. Specifically, Mayhew divided West End prostitutes into the “higher order” and “lower order,” based upon their relative social positions. He identified the “higher order” not only by the affluence of their patrons but by their comparative seclusion and privacy from the public eye. He noted, that those in the “higher order of prostitutes” were “kept as seclusive by men of wealth, high station and title.”

Mayhew’s use of the term “seclusive” implicitly associated fashionable, middle-class prostitutes with private, domestic spaces. Furthermore,
Mayhew noted that the men who attended these workers generally “induced them to cohabit with them, or to live in apartments provided for them, where they are kept in grand style” and would frequently provide “tutors” or “governesses” to “train them in accomplishments, to enable them to move with elegance and grace in the drawing-room.” In this description, Mayhew characterized middle-class prostitutes as accessories to the private lives of upper-class men, acquiring training in fashionable “accomplishments” that would equip them for domestic life. In doing so, Mayhew precludes the possibility of middle-class prostitutes entering the West End’s public space in any significant capacity, instead relegating them to internal spaces of the apartment or drawing-room.

Mayhew’s system of classification specifically proscribed these middle-class prostitutes from entering the West End’s public urban centers, designating these spaces as unlikely social territories for the “upper order” sex worker. This woman, he noted, remains “aloof from the gaiety of the Haymarket, and lives as though she were a married woman.” In contrast, Mayhew describes his “lower order” as those “open prostitutes who traverse the streets of the metropolis for their livelihood,” consigning working-class sex workers to the West End’s public space. Additionally, whereas Mayhew’s description of the “higher order” of prostitutes focused primarily upon their location in the domestic and private sphere, his description of the “lower order” consists of lengthy descriptions of their physical attire. Specifically, he notes the various styles and qualities of dress that locate their owners in a particular socio-economic class:

Many of them are dressed in a light cotton or merino gown, and ill-suited crinoline, with light grey, or brown cloak or mantle. Some with pork-pie hat, and waving feather – white, blue, or red; others with a slouched straw hat.

As Epstein Nord has observed, most social explorers of the middle class tended to maintain a binary mental map of London in which “the West represented all that was bright, open, dazzling, and enlightened.” Mayhew’s belief in the visibility or transparency of working-class prostitutes in the West End reveals this traditional regionalist assumption of the West End as a center of public exposure in which it would be perfectly possible to distinguish those prostitutes of the “lower order” from the respectable women attending the promenade. Ultimately, by relegating middle-class prostitutes to domestic interiors and unkempt working-class prostitutes to highly visible public spaces, Mayhew reinforced the urban explorer’s faith in his ability to identify the criminal activities occurring in London’s West End.

Mayhew’s categorical approach presumed that the working-class was wholly visible and detectible in London’s West End, revealing the urban explorer’s desire to attain certainty through empirical evidence. Similarly, in his 1897 investigation of the West End, Arthur Sherwell forcefully asserted the authority of the urban explorer’s sense perception in discerning the “intimate facts of [London’s] moral and social

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11 Ibid., 355-56.
12 Ibid., 357.
13 Ibid., 356.
14 Ibid., 358-59.
Moreover, he noted the inadequacy of quantitative information to index the depth of moral degeneration in the West End:

serious as I know these facts to be, I am convinced that we are dealing only with partial and inadequate causes of a problem that lies much deeper, and which, more perhaps than any other problem, demands the utmost intellectual and moral honesty in those who try to investigate it [...] after all, the roots of the problem lie deep down in spiritual facts.¹⁷

Sherwell’s belief in the value of first-hand, observational evidence manifested in his treatment of West End prostitution. For example, he noted that “the closer one’s observation, and the wider one’s experience of the problem becomes,” pointing to unquantifiable facts of urban life such as the “helpless loneliness of London” as empirical proof of the West End’s moral degradation. Ultimately, Sherwell’s analytical approach further reveals the extent to which these urban spectators relied upon visual evidence in their social investigations of working-class prostitution in the West-End.

In their narratives of urban exploration, Mayhew and Sherwell both asserted the value of visual evidence in identifying, assessing, and classifying the working-class prostitutes of London’s West End, upholding the notion that prostitution was “a symptom: an outward and visible sign of a hidden moral disease.”¹⁸ Specifically, these writers pointed to distinguishing habits of dress and manners of solicitation as identifying features of working-class prostitutes of the West End. The urban explorers’ valuation of empirical evidence, their understandings of the West End as an open and observable space, and their practice of designating “lower order” sex workers to the realm of the visible urban centers contributed to a rigid understanding of working-class prostitutes in the West End; one which presumed that they were inherently distinguishable and assessable. However, various urban explorers experienced a kind of intellectual crisis as working-class prostitutes altered their manners of dress and behavior and contested the epistemological categories that designated them as wholly innately conspicuous public actors. Through such transgressive activities, these social actors subverted urban spectators’ attempts to gain knowledge of London’s West End through empirical methods of analysis.

During the late nineteenth century, many working-class prostitutes began adopting middle-class fashions of dress, manners of behavior, and social activities which contested the urban explorer’s expectations of social behavior. Additionally, these alterations allowed them to enter the West End’s public space discretely, without attracting the attention of bourgeois male observers. Several urban spectators noted this tendency among working-class prostitutes. For example, a miscellaneous 1785 poem titled “The Art of Living in London” was re-published in the late-1800s featuring an extended series of footnotes by the editor. Among these was a lengthy invective against the presence of prostitution in London society:

What prostitution in former days carefully concealed, is in the present degenerate age, with an uncommon assurance, exposed to the view of almost every passenger. Actions disgraceful and immodest, formerly confined to the brothel, are now audaciously

¹⁷ Ibid., 147.
¹⁸ Ibid., 148.
transacted in the public streets, in open defiance of law, and a total
disregard to modesty

[...]

They ape the manners of persons of distinction and fortune, emulate
them in their dress, and even frequent more places of public resort
and amusement. The very farmer’s daughter has laid aside her stuffs
for muslins, her handkerchief for the meritricous [sic] display of
naked charms, and her diffidence for coquetry.19

Walkowitz notes that the new consumer culture in the Late-Victorian
period transformed popular understanding of the public space, enabling
women of various classes to enter urban centers while still maintaining
an image of distinction and respectability.20 The editor of “The Art of
Living in London” clearly registered this occurrence in London, exhib-
iting frustration over working-class prostitutes’ tendency to adopt al-
ternational manners of dress and the relative freedom of movement that
they enjoyed in the public space as a result. Such practices allowed
these workers to refashion themselves in accordance with middle-class
norms, to disguise their social class and profession and thereby present
themselves in public inconspicuously.

This practice of refashioning among working-class prostitutes in the
West End violated of the urban spectators’ rigid systems of classifica-
tion, which presumed the immediate visibility of this social group. Ulti-
mately, this precipitated a kind of intellectual crisis among some social

explorers, as these transgressive activities contested and weakened their
empirical methods of analysis. For example, William Acton remarked
upon this new tendency among working-class prostitutes during his vis-
its to the Argyll Rooms in West London:

By their dress, deportment, and general appearance, the visitor
might be inclined to suppose them to belong to the kept mistress
rather than the prostitute class. This is, however, not the case, as
with a few exceptions, they fall within the latter denomination.21

Acton’s own knowledge of the prostitutes’ presence relied primarily
upon anecdotal, secondary evidence relayed by various informants,
revealing the sudden inefficacy of empirical evidence in identifying
and categorizing the working-class prostitutes present in the West
End. Judith Walkowitz notes that the emergence of various social ac-
tors marked London’s streets as contested terrain, “which imperiled
the flaneur’s ability to experience the city as a totalizing whole.”22
Acton’s testimony is particularly significant, as it underscores the pri-
mary ways in which the social practices of middle-class prostitutes
challenged urban spectators to reconfigure their mental maps of Lon-
don’s urban space.

As middle-class prostitutes adapted to the social conventions of Lon-
don’s West End, they challenged male observers’ systems of knowl-
edge on multiple levels. First, they challenged bourgeois perceptions
of the working-class as an object of empirical study and a source of

20 Walkowitz, City of Dreadful Delight, 41.
21 William Acton, Prostitution Considered in Its Moral, Social, and Sanitary Aspects
in London and Other Large Cities and Garrison Towns, 20.
22 Walkowitz, City of Dreadful Delight, 39.
male pleasure. While middle-class observers had previously been confident in their ability to categorize and classify working-class groups by visual markers, working-class prostitutes’ efforts to disguise, or even transcend, their social class effectively rendered them “unreadable” to male spectators. Second, they confused middle-class conceptualizations of public life and disrupted the traditional boundaries limiting access to the city. As groups that were traditionally relegated to marginal sectors of London unobtrusively entered into middle-class social settings, they surreptitiously laid claims to spaces from which they had previously been excluded. In doing so, they contested the urban spectators’ preconceived socio-spatial division between London’s East and West Ends. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, these activities revealed the flâneur’s inability to reliably monitor this affluent sector of the London metropolis. In other words, they conflicted with the middle-class observer’s traditional understanding of the West End as a familiar location in the urban environment. In his 1976 work Into Unknown England, Peter Keating noted that the urban explorers believed “a Dark Continent lies at one’s doorstep.”

In this instance, however, they were searching for the lights in their own parlors.

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Bibliography


Author Bio: **Lucy Wickstrom**

Lucy Wickstrom is a fourth year History major and English minor from the central coast of California. Her research interests include the American Revolution and early national United States, the collection of folktales, British abolition of the slave trade, and family dynamics throughout history. After graduating in Spring 2020, Lucy will attend Tufts University in Massachusetts to obtain a Master’s degree in History and Museum Studies. In her free time, she likes to write short stories, read biographies, watch Shakespeare movie adaptations, and spend time with her sisters and her cat.

**Freedom’s Paradoxes: A Case Study of the Slave Schooner Julita**

Lucy Wickstrom

**Abstract:**

After Great Britain abolished the slave trade in 1807, the British Royal Navy committed one-fifth of its manpower to the cause of capturing other nations’ illegal slave ships. This effort to enforce abolition liberated 250,000 displaced Africans over the course of the nineteenth century and brought the crews that had carried them before officials to have their cases tried. Because of the careful documentation of these cases by the Mixed Commissions, there is a wealth of primary sources detailing the circumstances of these captures and the human beings claimed as cargo.

This paper utilizes a case study of one such slave ship, the Spanish schooner Julita, to yield crucial insight on the reality of the British Royal Navy’s efforts. While abolition is of course an historical moment worthy of celebration, the case of the Julita reveals that the prejudice toward Africans in the Atlantic nineteenth century world led even the British officials tasked with liberating them to often ignore their humanity and treat them with disrespect. By consulting such primary documents as the records of the Mixed Commission in Havana and the British Parliament, this paper will tell the story of the schooner Julita, its capture by the British brig-sloop Racer, and the 353 human beings taken from their homes in Whydah and bound for a life of servitude.
Two Ships

The Racer was a recently commissioned brig-sloop of the British Royal Navy, which would later earn a revered and fearsome reputation for being a voracious capturer of slave ships. The Julita was a Spanish schooner with a crew of twenty-three and an illegal cargo of 353 human beings, forced from their homes and enslaved, bound for Cuba. On January 22, 1835, these two ships crossed paths, and the Julita’s career was over, its captives liberated. These Africans joined the 250,000 who were liberated by the British Royal Navy’s efforts to enforce abolition in the nineteenth century; sent to Trinidad, they were then forced into a life of indentured servitude.

This was one of many similar stories that would play out over a thousand times in the course of the nineteenth century, as the British Royal Navy committed one-fifth of its entire strength and manpower to the cause of capturing slave ships. A specific case study of the Julita, however, yields intriguing and crucial insight on the reality of the transatlantic slave trade. The story of the Julita’s captain, who had conducted other slave trading voyages and was even previously captured by the Royal Navy, demonstrates the ability of slave ship captains to return easily to their inhumane profession even after capture. The activities of the Racer’s captain, who elected to stay out at sea and continue chasing other ships rather than go to Cuba and participate in the Julita’s trial, reveals the disregard the British, too, had for the African people, even as they were liberating them. In addition, the language employed, and the motivations detailed in the documentation of the case by the Mixed Commission in Havana, a joint court consisting of British and Spanish officials, divulge a discounting of the Africans’ right to freedom. In this essay, I will utilize a case study of a single slave ship, the Julita, to argue that the widespread prejudice toward Africans in the Atlantic nineteenth century world led even the British officials who were committed to liberating these captured human beings to often ignore and contemn the Africans’ humanity.

Extensive scholarship has been conducted on the history of anti-slavery, the transatlantic slave trade, and the Royal Navy. W.E.F. Ward’s The Royal Navy and the Slavers: The Suppression of the Atlantic Slave Trade provides a fascinating chronology of the Navy’s efforts and reveals the true scope of the operation: it highlights the initial difficulty of the task and tracks a rise in effectiveness that was achieved through steady persistence, with Ward using primary documents and case studies as his main source of information. The seminal work Opposing the Slavers: The Royal Navy’s Campaign against the Atlantic Slave Trade by Peter Grindal discusses the captures, as well as the ultimate outcomes for the ships and the Africans, with painstaking detail. Grindal skillfully handles international relations and illuminates the various inhibiting factors at work that the Royal Navy had to combat

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2 “His Majesty’s Commissioners to the Duke of Wellington” (23 Feb. 1835), Parliamentary Papers, Irish University Press 14/A/176, no. 91, 143.
throughout their mission. Extensive appendixes filled with primary documents are also provided, with lists of relevant international treaties and ships captured, for example. Other scholars have performed case studies of slave ships in order to reveal the individuality of each voyage placed under the blanket term “slave trade,” present new problems not typically considered when generally studying the trade, and demonstrate the courage of the Africans in instances of rebellion and resistance when attention is so often placed squarely on lawmakers and politicians instead.\(^5\) Rosanne Marion Adderley’s book “New Negroes from Africa”: Slave Trade Abolition and the Free African Settlement in the Nineteenth-century Caribbean investigates the African diaspora in the Americas, providing intriguing information and insights about the Mixed Commissions and British Vice-Admiralty Courts that transplanted liberated Africans in the Caribbean to become indentured servants.\(^6\) All of these works, and others, compose an impressive historiography of the transatlantic slave trade, the people it enslaved, and those who tried to prevent it.

In this essay, I will rely predominantly on primary documents to conduct a case study of the schooner Julita, its capture by the Racer, and the 353 Africans who left Whydah on the second of December aboard the Spanish ship. I will draw on the original records of the High Court of Admiralty (HCA 35), referring to the correspondence between the Admiralty and the Treasury regarding the capture of the Julita. I will utilize the Irish University Press publication of the Parliamentary Papers and the FO 84 series of the Foreign Office (UK) records to investigate documentation by the House of Commons pertaining to the schooner and, in some cases, related ships. I will contextualize all of this with relevant treaties between Britain and Spain which allowed and prompted the arrests of Spanish slave ships; finally, the extensively helpful Transatlantic Slave Trade Database will provide supplemental data to situate the story of the Julita within the wider history of slavery and liberation.

**British Antislavery and the Royal Navy**

The movement to end the slave trade in Great Britain was largely a grassroots one. Through the leadership and effort of such abolitionists as William Wilberforce, Olaudah Equiano, and Thomas Clarkson, and the establishment of organizations like the London Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade in 1787, the British public was able to learn truths of the horrors of the transatlantic slave trade, and many of them mobilized.\(^7\) Historian Lisa A. Lindsay argues in her book, Captives as Commodities: The Transatlantic Slave Trade, that British abolitionism was “the first massive grassroots movement for political change, mobilizing millions of British citizens to sign petitions, contribute


money, attend meetings and rallies, boycott sugar, and campaign for reformist political candidates.”

This remarkable shift in British public opinion led, at last, to the abolition of the slave trade in the British Empire, going into effect on the first day of 1808.

After the Congress of Vienna in 1815, when the nations of Europe signed a treaty for the abolition of the slave trade under the leadership of Britain, subsequent specified treaties with each individual nation allowed the British Royal Navy to capture illicit slave ships and liberate all the Africans onboard. The Navy invested a significant portion of its resources to this enforcement of abolition and British officers acted courageously in their efforts to capture ships, braving difficult weather and dangerous people, as detailed in the works of Ward and Grindal, but there remained many shortcomings in this new system.

In his article “Eyes on the Prize: Journeys in Slave Ships Taken as Prizes by the Royal Navy,” historian Robert Burroughs uses a case study of the captured slave ship Progresso and other primary documents to demonstrate the limitations of British abolitionism and the effort to liberate Africans. In keeping with the arguments of previous historians, Burroughs points out that accounts of British mistreatment of liberated Africans, along with capturing efforts that failed or were exceptionally challenging, were often left out of the national literature, because such stories “provided uncomfortable reminders of the shortcomings of abolitionist policies...[therefore] they were not readily incorporated into the dominant narrative that glorified Britain’s antislavery movement.”

The British desire to exclude the darker aspects of the Royal Navy’s mission not only misled the public then, but causes problems for today’s scholars seeking to understand the complete truth of the campaign.

Spanish Antislavery and the Treaty Between Great Britain and Spain

Britain and Spain’s infamous historical rivalry, going all the way through the Napoleonic Wars, made their bonding together to abolish the slave trade in the nineteenth century highly unlikely, but certain contemporary movements explain this phenomenon. Historian Emily Berquist details the history of Spanish antislavery in her article “Early Anti-Slavery Sentiment in the Spanish Atlantic World, 1765-1817,” revealing that just as there were sincere and passionate abolitionists in Great Britain, such people existed in Spain. One of the most famous was a man named Jose Maria Blanco y Crespo, who moved to Great Britain and began writing anti-slavery articles in 1811; he also translated many of William Wilberforce’s writings into Spanish so that his countrymen could read them, and finally published his own book entitled Sketch of the Slave Trade, and Reflections about this Traffic

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8 Lisa A. Lindsay, Captives as Commodities: The Transatlantic Slave Trade (New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hill, 2008), 135.
9 Lindsay, 128.
10 “Declaration of the Powers, on the Abolition of the Slave Trade, of the 8th February, 1815” (8 Feb. 1815), Hertslet’s Treaties, A Complete Collection of the Treaties and Conventions at Present Subsisting Between Great Britain & Foreign Powers, volume 1, 9-13.
11 Ibid.; Ward and Grindal.
considered according to Morals, Politics, and Christianity. Berquist acknowledges, however, that the efforts of Blanco y Crespo and his counterparts were largely unsuccessful, though “they nevertheless demonstrate that there was an independent legislative movement towards the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the Spanish Empire.” The creation of a new Spanish constitution in 1812 “was exceptionally liberal in granting full representation to indigenous peoples, abolishing Indian forced labor, establishing freedom of the press, and gaining control over the church” in the Empire, but did not make provisions for the abolition of the slave trade.

The first move was made in 1815, when the nations of Europe determined at the Congress of Vienna that “just and enlightened men of all ages” considered the slave trade “as repugnant to the principles of humanity and universal morality.” This treaty deemed the “universal abolition of the Slave Trade as a measure particularly worthy of their attention,” and the ministers of the nations, including Spain, lent their signatures, anticipating future negotiations between Britain and each individual country at a later date.

For Spain, this later date came on September 23, 1817, when a treaty for the abolition of the slave trade was signed between Spain and Great Britain. This treaty guaranteed the “Slave Trade shall be abolished throughout the entire Dominions of Spain, on the 30th day of May, 1820.” It declared any Spanish ships sailing north of the equator with enslaved people as “carrying on an illicit slave trade,” and that ships from both Britain and Spain’s “Royal navies...may visit such merchant vessels of the two nations as may be suspected, upon reasonable grounds, of having slaves on board”; this explains why the Racer was legally able to capture the Julita in January of 1835. Britain also promised that the king of Spain would be paid 400,000 pounds in compensation for the abolition of a trade which, the British admitted, was lucrative. Unfortunately, this treaty did not prevent all Spanish slave traders from carrying on their business; the Transatlantic Slave Trade Database records 681 vessels flying Spanish flags after 1820.

The Racer, the Julita, and the Capture

Commander James Hope was twenty-seven years old in 1835, having already been at sea thirteen years. He went on to have an illustrious career until finally retiring in 1878, but his time as commander of the

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14 Ibid., 193.
15 Ibid., 195.
16 Hertslet’s Treaties, 11.
17 Ibid., 11–13.
18 “Treaty between Great Britain and Spain, for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, signed at Madrid, 23rd September, 1817,” (23 Sep. 1817), Hertslet’s Treaties, A Complete Collection of the Treaties and Conventions at Present Subsisting Between Great Britain & Foreign Powers, volume 2, 275.
19 Ibid., 277, 279, 281.
20 Ibid., 277.
21 Ibid., Slave Voyages.
Racer from 1833 to 1838 was one of great success and renown.\textsuperscript{22} The sixteen-gun brig-sloop was commissioned in July of 1833, making it a relative newcomer among its fellow Royal Navy ships; in fact, its January 1835 seizing of the Julita was the first capture it ever made.\textsuperscript{23}

On the other side of the conflict was Gabriel Perez, aged thirty-five and described by the Commission as a “native of St. Domingo...a Catholic and married,” and he was not only the captain but also the owner of the Julita, according to his first mate.\textsuperscript{24} A prolific slave trader, Perez had commanded two other successful voyages since 1830, transporting a total of 721 enslaved Africans to Cuba.\textsuperscript{25} The Julita’s capture, however, was not Perez’s first encounter with the Royal Navy. On February 22nd, 1831, a Spanish brigantine called the Primera was captured on its second voyage by the British brig Black Joke on the way to the Americas; it carried 311 Africans and was captained and owned by Gabriel Perez.\textsuperscript{26} The Africans were emancipated and sent to Sierra Leone, the Primera condemned, but Perez was back on the seas in less than a year, the first mate and owner of the brig Carolina, which was also captured in September of 1832. The British commissioners from Sierra Leone reported with satisfaction while writing of the Carolina’s fate that the capture of the Primera “has, [Perez] asserts, ruined him; and we hope that similar acts of retribution may befall others of his countrymen, who still outrage humanity by carrying on the slave trade.”\textsuperscript{27} Though made an example of by the commissioners, Perez was apparently unaffected by their disapproval--instead, he continued in his chosen profession until the 1835 capture of yet another of his many investments.

The Julita set sail from Havana on March 24th, 1834 with a cargo of hard alcohol and dry goods, bound for Whydah, a coastal West African kingdom in modern day Benin. Twenty-one-year-old Francisco Calderin, the third mate, testified in his deposition that it was never the intention of the Julita to pick up human beings, but they “were not able to meet [in Whydah] with any gold dust or ivory for sale, and consequently, in return for their cargo took on board 353 slaves of both sexes, as being the only articles to be procured in that country.”\textsuperscript{28} The condescending tone in Calderin’s phrasing, suggesting that Whydah did not have any resources of value to contribute other than human beings, denotes a degree of defiance even in the custody of the Mixed Commission. Though he was the one imprisoned now, while the Africans he had overseen onboard would soon go free, he held on to his racism and prejudice.

Gabriel Perez told a different story, swearing that the Julita was bound not for Whydah, but for the island of St. Thomas to deliver alcohol,

\textsuperscript{22} “Rear-Admiral Sir James Hope (1808-1881),” Collections of Royal Museums Greenwich, accessed December 1, 2019, https://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/14253.html.

\textsuperscript{23} Grindal.

\textsuperscript{24} “Abstract of the Evidence in the Case of the Spanish Sch. ‘Julita’” (5 Feb. 1835), TNA, FO 84/171, 119.

\textsuperscript{25} Ibid., Slave Voyages.

\textsuperscript{26} “Report of the Evidence in the Case of the Spanish Schooner ‘Primera,’ Gabriel Perez, Master” (21 May 1831), TNA, FO 84/117, 99.

\textsuperscript{27} “His Majesty’s Commissioners to Viscount Palmerston” (15 Sep. 1832), State Papers (Presented by Command of His Majesty), 19 January-29 August 1833, 27.

\textsuperscript{28} Ibid., “Abstract... ‘Julita,’” FO 84/171, 120.
silver, and cotton goods. He testified that “he certainly made at first for St. Thomas, but happening by chance to touch at Ayudah [Whydah] on the Coast of Africa, this deponent was induced there to land his cargo.” Why he was thus “induced,” Perez did not describe. Interestingly, in opposition to what his first mate testified, Perez claimed that he was not the owner of the Julita, and that the true owner, a man named Juan Bertinotti, had commanded him to make the journey to St. Thomas in the first place. Whatever the precise truth was, Perez’s attempt to exonerate himself is clear, but surely, his history with the British Royal Navy and the convicting evidence of hundreds of Africans onboard rendered his exaggerations futile. Commissioner MacLeay in Havana reported that “on the passport of the ‘Julita’ an entry is made, which states that, although allowed to trade to the Cape de Verdes and St. Thomas, she was, under no pretext, to engage in the prohibited traffic of slaves.”

The Julita departed from Whydah on the second of December. In the span of only one month and nineteen days, ten captives had already died, and an eleventh lost his life on the morning of the twenty-first of January, leading to a three percent mortality rate. This is not at all surprising, considering the average mortality rate on the Middle Passage was twenty percent. The next day, the Julita was sailing off the coast of Tortuga with its 342 remaining prisoners when it was met by a ship flying the French flag. This vessel subsequently hoisted English col-

ors, detained the Julita, and sent the captured slave ship to Havana.\textsuperscript{32} The operation had failed, and once again Gabriel Perez found himself in the custody of the Mixed Commission.

Rather than go to Havana, Commander Hope elected to send the Julita ahead with one of his men, Lieutenant William Chambers. The Racer continued on with the goal of making more arrests, which it did, beginning with the capture of another Spanish brig called the Chubasco.\textsuperscript{33} This meant that the verdict of the trial could not be pronounced until Hope’s arrival, for under the law established by Britain and Spain the captor’s attendance was required before adjudication. Hope promised to arrive by February 5th at the latest, but did not make an appearance until the twenty-first, nearly a month after the Julita’s capture; apparently, the experience of his first arrest was one so exhilarating that he could not rest until it was repeated.\textsuperscript{34} Unfortunately, his vainglorious delay led to the deaths of two more Africans while they all awaited emancipation, the number of surviving former captives now reaching its final total of 340.\textsuperscript{35} Clearly, Commander Hope’s primary concern was not the human lives he had been charged to liberate.

Ultimately, the Commission ruled that the capture of the Julita was “good and legal, and that the said schooner, with all her tackle, apparel, and whatever may be mentioned in her Inventory, are subject to confiscation, all except the above-mentioned three hundred and forty

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\footnotetext{29} Ibid., 118.  
\footnotetext{30} Ibid., “His...Wellington,” PP.  
\footnotetext{31} “Abstract of the Evidence in the Case of the ‘Julita’” (5 Feb. 1835), PP, IUP, 14/A/176, second enclosure in no. 91, 144; Lindsay, 96.  
\footnotetext{32} “Abstract...‘Julita,’” FO 84/171, 120.  
\footnotetext{33} Grindal.  
\footnotetext{34} “His...Wellington,” PP.  
\footnotetext{35} “Abstract...‘Julita,’” FO 84/171, 117.
\end{footnotes}
negroes, who are hereby declared free from all slavery and captivity." The Julita’s remains were to be sent to auction, the money earned benefitting the governments of Britain and Spain, and Perez and his crew all placed in prison “at his Excellency’s disposal.” In the end, the “moiety of the proceeds of the ‘Julita’ which accrues to his Majesty’s government amounts to $355,” but unfortunately for Commander Hope, his impetuous decision to keep hunting rather than go to Havana cost “the heavy expense of $1164...for the maintenance of the ‘Julita’ negroes prior to adjudication [which] has entirely resulted from the captor’s not coming into Port until long after the detained vessel.” Perhaps it was the Commission’s displeasure, perhaps it was the depletion in his payment, but something prompted Commander Hope to become a more efficient and respectable ship captor. The Racer went on to gain an admirable reputation, engaging in lengthy pursuits of slave ships and becoming so feared by insurance companies that they once “hired (at considerable expense) some fast vessels in ballast to intercept and warn two notorious slavers expected to be closing the island” while the Racer was relentlessly patrolling the coast of Cuba. All in all, this brig-sloop of the Royal Navy captured a total of seven slave ships over the course of its career.

The relationship between the Julita and the Racer had come to an end, but the journey of the liberated Africans was far from complete. Once emancipated, these people were not escorted home or allowed to go about as they pleased; rather, they were taken by the British to the island of Trinidad, facing indented servitude. Their lives, before and after their capture, are an essential component of the Julita’s story.

The Slave Trade in Whydah

Eleven voyages took the same route as the Julita in the 1830s, from Havana to Whydah to purchase a total of 4,680 captives. Of those, seven were captured by the Royal Navy; the other four arrived successfully in the Americas, having taken 1,666 people away from their homes. One hundred sixty-four of those people died on the Middle Passage before ever reaching the Americas. Whydah was a booming cosmopolitan city, the capital of the kingdom of Dahomey, located in the Bight of Benin. Its ethnic diversity was due primarily to its high population of enslaved people, imported from many different inland regions and either kept in the city or sold into the transatlantic trade. Historian Robin Law has produced the seminal work on Whydah’s history as a slave trading post, entitled Ouidah: The Social History of a West African Slaving “Port,” 1727-1892. In this book, Law describes the journey that captives were forced to traverse, revealing that “slaves generally arrived in Ouidah overland from Abomey, via Allada, Tori and Savi...some slaves arrived in Ouidah from the east, from Oyo and other places, brought part

37 Ibid.
38 MacLeay to Lord Duke (12 Jun. 1835), TNA, HCA 35/31, 22.
40 Grindal, 777-780.
41 Ibid.; Slave Voyages.
of the way by canoe.”

The distance from, for example, Abomey to Whydah was sixty-five miles.

The tragic truth is that for many people who were forced to take this lengthy journey, it was only the beginning of one much more harrowing and treacherous. From the 1670s to the 1870s, Whydah was the second largest slaving port in all of Africa, exporting over a million slaves. So lucrative was its relationship with European countries that the latter referred to the region, the Bight of Benin, as the “slave coast,” and Lindsay argues that “the drastic increase in slave supplies from the Bight of Benin seems to be correlated with the emergence of Whydah.”

European slave merchants had held a presence in Whydah since the early eighteenth century. Historian Ana Lucia Araujo describes the relationship between Whydah and Portugal in her article “Dahomey, Portugal and Bahia: King Adandozan and the Atlantic Slave Trade,” detailing that “in 1721, the Portuguese founded the fort São João Batista da Ajuda at Ouidah, which led Portuguese and Brazilian slave merchants to settle at the slave ports of the Bight of Benin.” This kind of permanence signaled a strong bond between the governments of Europe and Whydah. Although Britain’s push toward global antislavery as the nineteenth century dawned presented a commercial predicament for the prosperous city, illegal slave trading was prominent and over a hundred voyages supplied by Whydah after British abolition in 1807 are documented in the Transatlantic Slave Trade Database. Though this is undoubtedly an improvement from years previous, 44,117 people were still taken from their homes and forcibly enslaved.

Three hundred fifty-three of those people were aboard the Julita, liberated in 1835. By examining their ages upon being captured, their names, and their fates after liberation, we may learn just a piece of the great stories of their lives.

The Africans of the Julita

The captives onboard the Julita who survived until liberation were made up of 241 males and 99 females. Of these, 183 were of adult age, meaning that over forty-six percent of the Africans on the Julita were children. This alarmingly high number can be attributed to the rise of enslaved children in the early nineteenth century, a phenomenon studied by Paul Lovejoy in his essay “The children of the slave trade – the transatlantic phase.” Lovejoy argues that although children had historically been regarded as inefficient liabilities in the slave trade, the simpler tasks given some enslaved individuals in the nine-
teenth century—the picking of coffee beans in Brazil, for instance—meant there was now a purpose and demand for children. Lovejoy explains that “they were a cheap source of labor. More children than adults could be loaded on board ships, enabling so-called tight packing,” and points out “the relative ease of controlling children, as opposed to adult males.” As the enslavement of children became more practical and economically advantageous, higher percentages of them were packed onto ships to be traded. Sixteen of the captives on the Julita were ten years old, the youngest age represented on the ship.

One such ten-year-old was Adechima, a boy one inch short of four feet tall. Dada’ was a twelve-year-old girl, Dari sixteen, Obanique’ twenty. The oldest captives were thirty-six years old, two of them being men named Fami’ and Oyo. All these names, and nearly all the others, belong to the language group Yoruba, a tonal language with a myriad of distinct dialects; it is spoken in Benin and Nigeria by about thirty million people today. This almost complete universality in name origin indicates that the Africans aboard the Julita were likely nearly all from the kingdom of Dahomey, or very nearby in Nigeria, and brought into Whydah by the same route Law describes in his book. Imagining 157 children on that journey of at least sixty-five miles, let alone thinking of the horrors they must have endured on the Middle Passage, is deeply troubling; and remembering their names and the names of all the captives humanizes them, providing a reminder that all 353 of these captives were human beings, individuals with homes they loved and families they wanted to protect and dreams they hoped to fulfill.

After the Julita was captured, the Africans remained in Havana, awaiting the return of the Racer and liberation. When the Racer returned at last on the twenty-first of February, Commissioner Miguel Tacon wrote to the Commissary Judge, entreating him to “please to have the goodness, without loss of time, to direct a medical gentleman to visit the negroes of the ‘Julita,’ and to set apart such of them as may be fit for the voyage” which would bring them to indentured servitude—the Mixed Commission’s idea of liberty for Africans. Tacon’s letter has an air of well-meaning genuineness, until he betrays his ulterior motive by telling the Judge that he trusted “that, taking into consideration the expenses arising from the delay caused by the detention of the ‘Racer,’ you will cause this operation to be executed speedily.” His next letter was even more explicit in expressing the cause of his impatience, reminding the Judge that “I begged of you to direct the Medical Officer to lose no time in examining them, in order that all further expense might be saved to the Royal Treasury.” Tacon’s urgency to have the Africans of the Julita examined was not due to his desire that they stay healthy or his urgency for them to receive their liberation; rather, he was concerned with expenses and wanted to remove the captives from Havana as soon as possible so the Treasury would no longer have to pay for their preservation.

50 Ibid.; Slave Voyages, African Names.
51 Ibid.
53 “Don Miguel Tacon to His Majesty’s Commissary Judge” (21 Feb. 1835), PP, IUP, 14/A/176, third enclosure in no. 92, 147.
54 Fourth enclosure in no. 92.
These Africans from Benin and Nigeria must have noticed the persistent presence of this irreverent disregard for their humanity. Their capture and forced transportation first to Whydah, then on the Middle Passage is an obvious manifestation of this; but the Royal Navy’s treatment of the captives they liberated is marked by much of the same disrespect. Rather than responsibly travelling with the *Julita* to Havana, where he was required for emancipation to proceed, Commander Hope continued on to chase the self-serving thrill of catching more slave ships. He did not bother to return even when he reported that he would, only making an appearance a month later, by which time two more Africans had needlessly lost their lives. Miguel Tacon was impatient for the Africans to leave Havana, not because he wanted them to experience freedom, but because they were costing the Royal Treasury. Admittedly, the Royal Navy had many matters to attend to and many other slave ships to capture, so it was in their best interest economically to conduct the liberation process speedily; but the Africans of the *Julita* must have felt that their human dignity and basic right of freedom could have been afforded more respect from these people who were supposedly concerned with restoring that right to them.

At last, on February 21st—the very day of the *Racer*’s return—Dr. David Scott Meikleham examined the captives and “found them sound and healthy.” Two days later, Commissioner MacLeay reported that 92 of the males and 92 of the females from the *Julita* were bound for Trinidad, stating that he regretted “exceedingly that the peculiar circumstances of the Island of Trinidad should render necessary the strict observance of the equality of sexes, in the shipments of Africans to be made from this city to Trinidad.” This, indeed, regrettable ruling, which likely separated many families and friends—and the fact that these Africans were sent to Trinidad at all—was the result of a new agreement with the governor of Trinidad, made by the British government in 1834. Peter Grindal records that the governor “had expressed his willingness to take emancipated slaves from Havana, on condition that he was given a month’s notice of their arrival, but he was not prepared to accept a disproportionate number of males.” Since many more men than women were being found on slave ships and emancipated, this agreement necessitated the equal disbursement of the sexes after liberation.

Before the Africans were sent to Trinidad, the Mixed Commission recorded all their names, which is the reason they are available to us today; beside their African names, however, the Commissioners wrote new “Christian” names. Twelve-year-old Dada, for example, was renamed “Genoveva”; twenty-year-old Obanique was christened “Margarita.” After receiving their Christian names—names in Spanish, the language of their captors—the Africans of the *Julita* were declared free and sent to Trinidad, where they would become indentured servants.

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55 “Medical Officer’s Certificate” (21 Feb. 1835), PP, IUP, 14/A/176, sixth enclosure in no. 92, 147.
56 “His Majesty’s Commissioner to Sir George Hill” (23 Feb. 1835), PP, IUP, 14/A/176, ninth enclosure in no. 92, 148.
57 Grindal, 478.
58 “Nombre Africano, Nombre Cristiano” (n.d.), TNA, FO 84/171, 144.
Liberated Africans in Trinidad

Trinidad became the property of Spain in the fifteenth century and remained so until 1797, when it was seized by the British; the 1802 Treaty of Amiens awarded it officially to Great Britain. In her article “Trinidad: A Model Colony for British Slave Trade Abolition,” historian Gelien Matthews details the anxiety of abolitionists like William Wilberforce in the face of the acquisition of Trinidad, as they feared that “its abundant availability of virgin soil would inevitably lead to the increased demand for labor and an indefinite delay in the abolition of the slave trade.”

Remarkably, however, Trinidad “never attained a settled economy based on slavery”; rather, the British utilized it as a place in which to deposit liberated Africans.

In her book “New Negroes from Africa,” Rosanne Marion Adderley discusses in fascinating detail the lives of liberated Africans in their new homes, determined by the Mixed Commission. She addresses the interesting subject of gender imbalance that caused such concern for Trinidad, and relates that “British officials...certified...that the slave trade refugees had agreed to leave Cuba voluntarily and that no separations had occurred between husbands and wives or parents and child...the British wanted to avoid the inhumane attitudes toward Africans that characterized the slave trade.” This is highly reassuring, and we can only hope that the British officials were telling the truth when they recorded this. In turn, before sending the Africans to Trinidad, authorities obtained a guarantee from those on the island that once there, the liberated people would “not be allowed to remain in idleness,” but would be put to work performing “moderate and regular labor.” Upon arriving in Trinidad, the Africans liberated from the Julita would have been expected to begin work immediately, seemingly as though they were paying back a debt to the British Empire for giving them their freedom.

Fascinatingly, there are records of instances when genuine freedom was exercised in Trinidad by the Africans who arrived there. Adderley retells one such story of six women who were brought from their former relocation site of Antigua to Trinidad in 1826, since the ratio of women to men was so low and the island’s government earnestly desired balance. All six women declared they refused to stay in Trinidad, demanding they be returned to Antigua; and the British disappointedly consented due to, Adderley hypothesizes, their “pride in their treatment of Africans they had rescued from foreign slave ships.” Though I have found no such record concerning the women of the Julita, it is gratifying to suppose that perhaps some of them may have exercised a similar freedom.

Conclusion: The Paradox of Abolition

The abolition of the slave trade in Britain was undeniably an exceptional and inspiring moment in human history. The fact that through a

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60 Ibid., 96.
61 Adderley, 131.
The grassroots movement by the people, as Lisa Lindsay phrases it, “after thousands of years in which slavery as an institution was not even questioned, they convinced the world’s most powerful slave trader to abolish it,” is remarkable and nearly unbelievable. Britain’s goal to involve all of Europe in its fight against the slave trade is admirably idealistic, and the mission of the Royal Navy should be appreciated for the courage of its officers and its liberation of 250,000 Africans who were torn from their homes.

Nevertheless, there is an inherent paradox in Britain’s great ideal of abolition. Africans were removed from the horrors of the Middle Passage and slavery in the Americas, but rather than be allowed to return home or choose their next destination, they were ushered into a life of indentured servitude in the place of the Mixed Commission’s choosing; even the officers of the Navy and the officials of the Commission often disregarded the humanity of these people and their inherent right to be free, made evident by the language and behavior of these British authorities. As this case study of the Spanish schooner Julita has shown, these Africans were rarely afforded the respect and dignity they deserved, even upon emancipation.

While it is wholly appropriate to celebrate the abolition of the slave trade, it is also of the utmost importance to remember the millions of Africans who were taken from their homes, their families, and their aspirations to build such significant parts of the societies we enjoy today. The 353 Africans who left Whydah on the Julita in December of 1834, and the remaining 340 who set out for Trinidad in February of the next year, all had names and stories of their own. In our study of the transatlantic slave trade and the Royal Navy’s efforts to end it, we must not forget that the recorded number of enslaved Africans on any given ship is not a mere number; it represents beautiful, individual lives. Every single one of those lives was forced to reckon with the paradoxes of freedom, even after they had been told they were free, in a society and a world that was not ready to treat them with the love and respect they deserved as human beings.

64 Lindsay, 135.
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The Forum

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What Didn’t Happen: Analyzing Cal Poly’s Proposed Educational Assistance Program Following the Korean War

Sam McClintock

Abstract:

Following the Korean War, Cal Poly was approached to take part in a program to provide technical education assistance to vocational schools in the Republic of Korea by the newly formed United States Foreign Operations Administration. This paper seeks to analyze that program in the context of Cal Poly’s history, especially in comparison to other international education programs and other dealings between the University and the United States Government. Although Cal Poly ultimately never took part in the Korea Program, the negotiation process still provides insight into the priorities of the college and its place in the context of US history in the early 1950s.

In the decades following the end of World War II, the United States emerged as a global superpower and foreign policy was dictated by reluctance to engage in another total-war conflict on a global scale. Policies of containment and economic reconstruction developed between the United States and its allies with the goals of limiting the sphere of Soviet influence and promoting liberal capitalism. Foreign aid became an important arm of foreign policy within both the Western and Soviet spheres, as each superpower offered financial support to its potential allies in a bid for the greatest global influence. Cal Poly, a school of just over 2,000 students nestled along California’s
central coast, played a unique role as part of that foreign aid in this game of Cold War Politics.¹

The California Polytechnic College was one of few schools in America during the 1940s and 1950s that specialized in providing practical agricultural and mechanical vocational education. At the end of the Korean War, Cal Poly was approached to take part in the ongoing effort of Korean Reconstruction following the country’s occupation by Japan that ended after WWII. The college’s educational niche likely made it an enticing candidate for the proposed Korean aid program in 1955. The 1955 contract was never signed, however, and Cal Poly dropped out of negotiations with the Foreign Operations Administration and the Korean Ministry of Education completely. That said, there is still value in looking back at the program to place the college in the context of US history during the period. Cal Poly’s proposed Korean Technical Education Assistance Program exemplified the University’s belief in its unique philosophy of “Learn by Doing” and reflected patterns of internal decision making in the early years of the Cold War.

In The Korean War: A History, author Bruce Cummings discusses the United States’ interest in the Korean peninsula in the late 1940s and early 1950s: containment. The United States saw the region as important to containing the spread of communism in the Soviet periphery, and Cummings describes American plans to utilize economic and military measures to pursue these interests.² Another work by the same author looks at what that aid was put towards. Korea’s Place in the Sun, a Modern History describes the poor state of the Republic of Korea’s economy in the 1950s, and how the US was reluctantly willing to foot the bill for President Syngman Rhee’s plans for industrialization in order to cultivate a democratic and economically independent body in what was seen as such a contentious region.³

Looking at the greater project of Korean Reconstruction and the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA), the article “Sowing War, Reaping Peace: United Nations Resource Development Programs in the Republic of Korea, 1950–1953” by Lisa Brady in the Journal of Asian Studies discusses the impact of ecological damage caused by the Korean War’s negative effects upon natural resources and livestock growth, harming efforts to revitalize the Korean agricultural sector after WWII.⁴ Brady’s argument, unlike prior literature regarding Korean reconstruction after occupation by Japan, is that the Korean War greatly impacted efforts to revitalize the region due to destruction of resources and agricultural regions. David Ekbladh’s ar-

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article “How to Build a Nation” in the Wilson Quarterly takes a more overhead approach to Korean reconstruction since 1945.\(^5\) Ekbladh focuses more on American leadership and views Korea as an independent, non-communist state as opposed to Brady’s closer analysis of factors that affect agricultural and industrial development.

Vernon Ruttan’s book *United States Development Assistance Policy: The Domestic Politics of Foreign Economic Aid* devotes a section to the history of university involvement in US foreign aid. The section outlines how university involvement in foreign aid dates back to Truman’s Point Four Program in 1949 when the President of the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and State Universities pledged to aid the program, all the way to the US Agency for International Development (AID) in 1991.\(^6\) In the chapter, Ruttan argues that the relationship between universities and foreign aid was often cause for frustration, with universities continually subject to bureaucratic red tape.

Taking a closer look, Cal Poly student Anthony Wong’s paper “Cold War Culture: The Social Functions of the Cal Poly ROTC from 1953-57” analyzes the role of ROTC on campus during the Korean War. Wong concludes that while the ROTC may have been incepted to contribute to the military industrial complex, in reality Cal Poly’s ROTC was vital in helping students defer military service in order to focus on studies, as well as serving as an important part of outreach with the community.\(^7\) This paper, however, does not discuss Cal Poly’s foreign efforts after the war, and instead provides insight into the school’s socioeconomic position during the conflict.

It is worth stipulating that little writing exists explicitly about Cal Poly’s Korea Program. Most of what is written is not much more than meeting minutes, personal letters, and high-level administrative correspondence between the heads of Cal Poly in the early 1950s and various directors of California State and US Federal departments. Korean Reconstruction was part of a much larger foreign policy campaign, but the extent of Cal Poly’s direct involvement most likely lies in the Kennedy Library Special Collections and Archives.

The Korean War ended on July 27, 1953. Five days later, on August 1st, a letter appeared on Cal Poly President Julian McPhee’s desk. This letter came from one L.H. Dennis, then former Executive Secretary of the Vocational Education Administration in Washington, informing McPhee of a US educational program to aid in the reconstruction of Korea following the war.\(^8\) Both McPhee and Dennis were important figures in vocational education, and this was not the

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\(^8\) Correspondence from L.H. Dennis to Julian McPhee, 1 August 1953, 144.02 Julian McPhee Presidential Papers Collection, Box 29, 042.1 Korea, 1953-55, Special Collections and Archives, Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo, CA.
first time that the College president had been tipped off to a federal program that had the potential to benefit the school. Dennis suggested that McPhee write to J. Russell Andrus, University coordinator for the newly formed Foreign Operations Administration (FOA), “on the assumption that your institution might be interested in carrying out an educational contract abroad.” This letter was the catalyst that set off two years of negotiations between Cal Poly and the FOA to develop an educational assistance program to aid the Republic of Korea.

The FOA, as Dennis informed McPhee, was “The MSA [Mutual Security Agency], the TCA [Technical Cooperation Administration] and other Foreign Operations have been merged… in a new administration known as the Foreign Operations Administration (FOA).” The organizations comprising the FOA were consolidated under the Eisenhower administration. As the President put it in 1955,

> The Foreign Operations Administration established two years ago, was intended to centralize all governmental operations, as distinguished from policy formulation, that had as their purpose the cooperative development of economic and military strength among the nations of the free world.

The merging of these two agencies was viewed questionably by critics, however. The TCA was part of Truman’s Point Four program to offer economic and humanitarian aid to contain Soviet expansion, where the MSA offered economic and military support. From the outside, this consolidation alluded to imperialistic ulterior motives influencing foreign policy. University involvement in the FOA was the result of Administration Director Harold Stassen’s plan to “reduce MSA technical assistance staff” and shift the load to “private voluntary organizations and colleges and universities.” This plan was not without its problems, and this will be expanded upon later.

McPhee promptly wrote to Andrus, who would be the liaison between Cal Poly and the US Government during the development of the program. McPhee’s first letter to Andrus acted as a resume, both for himself and the college, much like a similar letter he wrote to the Navy ten years prior. In the letter, McPhee outlined his own qualifications as an administrator for agricultural and vocational education for the state of California and described the facilities at Cal Poly, attaching a course catalog to entice the University Coordinator with the college’s offerings. Several days later Andrus responded to McPhee’s inquiry, noting that he had not intended for Dennis to contact the schools that the two men had discussed as potential candidates for the program. Regardless, Andrus noted that Cal Poly was mentioned “as eminently

9 Dennis to McPhee, 1 August 1953.
10 Ibid.

12 Ruttan, 206.
13 Ibid.
14 Ibid., 205.
15 Correspondence from Julian McPhee to J. Russell Andrus, 26 August 1953, 144.02 Julian McPhee Presidential Papers Collection, Box 29, 042.1 Korea, 1953-55, Special Collections and Archives, Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo, CA.
16 Correspondence from J. Russell Andrus to Julian McPhee, 31 August 1953, 144.02 Julian McPhee Presidential Papers Collection, Box 29, 042.1 Korea, 1953-55, Special Collections and Archives, Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo, CA.
suited for undertaking a contract in the field of training vocational education teachers—both in the agricultural and industrial fields.”17 Andrus thanked McPhee for sending his and Cal Poly’s credentials but stated that it was ultimately the decision of the Republic of Korea what school would be contracted for the program.18 While it may seem overzealous for McPhee to have written directly to the person responsible for contracting American institutions of education without prior introduction, it is important to consider the result. As a direct result of the letter, Cal Poly received a copy of the generic contract that the US government had used previously to broker deals between American institutions and foreign countries. Word quickly spread through the college, and within the first months of interest in the program Cal Poly instructors were writing to the President for their consideration in the program.19 The American Book Company, a textbook company, even wrote to McPhee, offering to provide the textbooks that would be used for the program.20

McPhee had a knack for pursuing external projects that he felt would benefit the school. Prior to and during WWII, Cal Poly was converted into a Naval Flight Preparatory School through a contract with the US Navy. The beginning of the negotiation process with the Navy was noticeably similar to early negotiations with the FOA. In both cases, the US government had need to fulfill. McPhee, with all his connections, heard about this need and pounced on the opportunity. In a letter dated October 1942, McPhee wrote to L.H. Dennis, the same official who would contact him about the Korea Program a decade later, outlining Cal Poly’s facilities and the advantages to hosting a Naval Preparatory Program at his school.21 In the letter, McPhee praised Cal Poly’s location on the Central Coast and outlined the facilities that the school had in place, and how those may have been used for a number of aircraft and engineering programs suitable to the Navy.22 He ended the letter to Dennis by laying out a timeline of all the other people he had contacted about starting a Naval Program and then asked Dennis to use his connections in Washington to move the program along for him.23 This strategy worked. A few weeks later, McPhee was contacted by the Navy, who had “plans to inaugurate a program to provide aviation ground school instruction for cadets prior to their pre-flight training,” and asked McPhee to outline the available facilities at Cal Poly.24 In May of 1943, a contract between the Cal Poly Foundation and the US Gov-

17 Ibid.
18 Ibid.
19 Correspondence from Harry K. Wolf to Julian McPhee, 15 September 1953, 144.02 Julian McPhee Presidential Papers Collection, Box 29, Korea, Personnel—Applications, Salary Schedules, 1953-55, Special Collections and Archives, Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo, CA.
20 Correspondence from Hilda E. Henke to Julian McPhee, 22 January 1954, 144.02 Julian McPhee Presidential Papers Collection, Box 29, 042.1 Korea, 1953-55, Special Collections and Archives, Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo, CA.
21 Correspondence from Julian McPhee to L.H. Dennis, 21 October 1942, 144.02 McPhee Presidential Papers Collection, Box 14, Navy Flight Program, 1942-1950, Special Collections and Archives, Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo, CA.
22 McPhee to Dennis, 21 October 1942.
23 Ibid.
24 Correspondence from F.U. Lake to Julian McPhee, 31 October 1942, 144.02 McPhee Presidential Papers Collection, Box 14, Navy Flight Program, 1942-1950, Special Collections and Archives, Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo, CA.
ernment was drawn up. This contract would see the use of Cal Poly’s land and facilities as a Naval Flight Preparatory School. This headfirst approach to contracts with the US government was clearly an M.O. for McPhee, which explains his upfront nature in advocating for the Korea Program. The Navy contract kept Cal Poly open during the war, and the resulting population expansion following it may have been in part to the visibility the Naval Program brought to the school. It is possible that a similar goal, be that money, exposure, or prestige, motivated the President’s approach to negotiating for the Korea Program.

Within six months of McPhee’s first letter to Andrus, a group was sent on a month-long fact-finding trip to Korea to analyze the conditions of vocational schools in the country and develop an initial report to decide how the United States, and thus Cal Poly, would aid those institutions. The group consisted of Chester McCorkle, Cal Poly Dean of Instruction and McPhee’s right-hand man, Graham Sullivan, Contra Costa Junior College District Dean of Curriculum, and Dr. Raymond Gregory, Special Assistant to the Commissioner of Education and a big name in vocational education, who also directed the mission. As a result of the trip, Gregory and McCorkle authored

“Report of the Vocational Education Mission to Korea, March 13, 1954, to April 17, 1954”, and presented their findings to members of the FOA and UNKRA. The shape of the program that was ultimately devised was this: a three-way contract between the Republic of Korea’s ministry of Education, the Foreign Operations Administration of the United States, and the Cal Poly Foundation was written.

It is interesting to note that the arm of Cal Poly that negotiated with the FOA and the Republic of Korea was the Cal Poly Foundation, which still exists today as the Cal Poly Corporation. The Cal Poly Foundation was founded in 1940 “for the purpose of furthering the educational aims and the administrative objectives of the College, the Foundation follows the policy of conducting business operations that will be a basis for instruction in best practices.” Foundation programs at the time involved housing, dining, providing basic training from project work, health needs, and even loaning equipment

25 Contract NOp 4 (formerly NOd 3114) between The United States of America and California Polytechnic School Foundation, 15 May 1943, 144.02 McPhee Presidential Papers Collection, Box 14, Lease (NOp4) U.S. Navy--CPS Foundation, 1943, Special Collections and Archives, Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo, CA.
26 Correspondence from Julian McPhee to Roy Simpson, 22 March 1954, 144.02 Julian McPhee Presidential Papers Collection, Box 29, 042.1 Korea—April 8, 1955 Meeting, McCorkle & Wilson, 1935[sic.]-54, Special Collections and Archives, Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo, CA.
27 McPhee to Simpson, 22 March 1954.
28 Interdepartmental Correspondence,” Report of the Vocational Education Mission to Korea” attached, Chester McCorkle to members of the President’s council, 144.02 Julian McPhee Presidential Papers Collection, Box 29, 042.1 Korea—April 8, 1955 Meeting, McCorkle & Wilson, 1935[sic.]-54, Special Collections and Archives, Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo, CA.
30 Julian McPhee, Annual Report California State Polytechnic College, 1951-52, p.12, Office of the President Collection, 141.01 Office of the President Annual Reports, 1945-46 - 1954-55, Special Collections and Archives, Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo, CA.
and money for student projects. The foundation ultimately expanded the scope of what Cal Poly could do for its students while keeping money at the school through its organization as a non-profit corporation. And, although technically a separate body, the foundation was still under the umbrella of the president of the College—McPhee.

Under the contract, each party had its mutually agreed-to role. The Cal Poly Foundation would provide personnel and equipment to aid in agricultural and industrial education at Korean vocational training schools and would submit annual budgets of the cost to the other members of the agreement. The Ministry of Education of the Republic of Korea would provide facilities and transportation in Korea and would advise on budgets and planning. The FOA would provide transportation to and from Korea and cover allowances spent by instructors, essentially footing the bill until they saw a return from their Korean investment. Many iterations of this contract were exchanged between the parties ironing out the specifics, but the general themes of Cal Poly providing instructors and equipment to aid Korean vocational education institutions while the FOA paid for it remains consistent throughout all versions. The rather general nature of this contract essentially gave the Cal Poly Foundation freedom to structure its end of the program in a way it saw fit. The structure that McPhee eventually drew up was hierarchical in nature; the heads of the Cal Poly Foundation, including the president and the board of directors sat at the top. The Foundation Manager and Program Director were below them, and project consultants were below them. Organization then split into two branches. One branch would take up office space at Cal Poly, comprised of two curriculum assistants, a clerical worker, and a bookkeeper. The other branch consisted of the personnel that would be on the ground in Korea: The Chief of Party, five agricultural instructors, five industrial instructors, an office manager, and three office workers. Overall, by the summer of 1955, when the program was set to get off the ground, the Cal Poly side of the agreement had developed a robust plan according to their understanding of their role in the program.

Cal Poly’s Other International Programs

In the context of Cal Poly’s International Programs, the Korea Program was a standout. It would have been the first program that had Cal Poly go abroad rather than the other way around. To get a sense of how the Korea Program was different, it helps to look back. Foreign students had been attending Cal Poly for many years. The first year that the school officially recognized the number of students enrolled from foreign countries is 1946. Prior annual reports dating back to

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32 Ibid., 12.
33 Ministry, FOA, Foundation agreement, 1-5.
34 Ibid., 14-16.
36 Julian McPhee, Chart of Proposed Organization of Korean Project, 1955, 144.02 Julian McPhee Presidential Papers Collection, Box 29, Korea,1955, Special Collections and Archives, Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo, CA.
37 McPhee, Chart of Proposed Organization of Korea Program.
38 Ibid.
39 Julian McPhee, 1946 Annual Report to the State Board of Education on the Progress of the California State Polytechnic School, January 1947, p.9, Special Collections and Archives, Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo, CA.
1940 lump students from other states and foreign countries together as one statistic. It is not until 1950 that the more precise records of foreign student enrollments are kept, keeping track of what countries these students came from and what majors they took at Cal Poly. The majors that international students took as well as countries of origin vary wildly throughout the fifties. Many came from throughout South and Central America: another important theater in US foreign policy during the Cold War. This is especially true of the early years that Cal Poly kept track of these numbers, with 22 of the 49 total foreign students enrolled at Cal Poly in the fall of 1950 hailing from 8 of the United States’ Latin American neighbors. As the decade carried on, this trend of students from contentious satellite countries coming to Cal Poly grew, with enrollments from throughout Latin America, East and Southeast Asia, and the Middle East. It may seem surprising that the countries that consistently saw the highest enrollment at Cal Poly were Iran and Iraq—countries that would face turmoil caused by Cold War politics in the decades to come. Both countries had numbers of students in the double digits, with 39 of 197 total students in the fall of 1957 hailing from Iran alone.

In 1952, another international education program similar to the Korea Program took place at Cal Poly. This was the “Farm Machinery” program with Indonesia. Like the Korea Program, this program was in collaboration with the US Government and a foreign nation. Unlike the Korea Program, the Indonesia “Farm Machinery” program saw Indonesian students arrive at Cal Poly instead of sending university staff abroad. The 15 participants came to Cal Poly to learn farming techniques using the school’s facilities that they did not have access to otherwise, such as tractors and irrigation infrastructure. Additionally, the Indonesian students traveled to other Land-Grant schools in the US to learn about industrial farming methods. The goal was for these students to return to Indonesia with the technical training of industrialized agriculture in order to share that knowledge and advance the Indonesian agricultural economy.

The Korea Program Falls Apart

On July 28, 1955, Dean McCorkle sent a wire to Andrus declaring that it would probably be in everyone’s best interest to cease negotiations about a Korean Program with Cal Poly. McCorkle cited a series of meetings with state officials concerning the budget and legality of the program. The specifics of the decision to cease the

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41 1950-51 Student Directories, 612.03 Student Directories Foreign Students Redacted Copies, Box 5, Student Directories, Foreign Students [Redacted Copy] 1950-1951, Special Collections and Archives, Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo, CA.
42 Ibid.
43 1957-1958 Student Directories, 612.03 Student Directories Foreign Students Redacted Copies, Box 5, Student Directories, Foreign Students [Redacted Copy] 1957-1958, Special Collections and Archives, Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo, CA.
46 Ibid.
47 Correspondence from McCorkle to Andrus, 28 July 1955, 144.02 McPhee Presidential Papers Collection, Box 29, Korea, 1955, Special Collections and Archives, Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo, CA.
agreement were clarified in another letter to Andrus later that summer. Essentially, because Cal Poly was part of the State College System, the State Departments of Finance and Education had concerns about the legality of the Cal Poly Foundation, an independent body, sending state college employees abroad; who would pay their salaries? How? As a result, the possibility of including more parties to the contract to cover the legality of it was considered. This, however, would have unnecessarily complicated the negotiations and would have required new agreements to be written.

Another problem was that of philosophy. In an earlier letter in June, McPhee outlined the problems with the most recent interim contract proposed by the FOA and the news that only $60,000 for the first stage of the program, much lower than initially calculated, could be allocated to get the program off the ground. In the letter, McPhee stated that,

> From the beginning, our main interest in this proposed Korean technical assistance program has been that interest aroused in us by officials of the FOA and the U.S. Office of Education who expressed confidence that the California State Polytechnic College, with its philosophy of practical education, could contribute significantly to the solving of agricultural and industrial vocational education problems in Korea. If we set out to provide only technicians with but little administrative time available for planning and guidance, which the interim contract clearly shows to be the intent, it will mean that we have a program in name only.

By this point in Cal Poly’s history, “Learn by Doing” had become an integral part of the college’s educational programs, and a factor that made it particularly unique. The school had been in operation for more than fifty years at this point and was clearly very proud of its approach. McPhee was very protective of his school’s philosophy, reacting to the FOA’s offer like a slap in the face. Concerns about “Learn by Doing” had been hanging in the air since the first mutterings of the Korea Program. Internally, Dean of Agriculture Vard Shepard had expressed to McPhee the potential difficulties of doing “Learn by Doing” in Asia from the very beginning. Shepard felt that ingrained traditional values and agricultural practices in Asia would make Cal Poly’s style of teaching unappealing, and Korean students would be reluctant to forego those traditions for American values.

Organizational troubles and misfortune also plagued the program from above. FOA director Stassen had a tendency to issue policy directives without any consultation, leading to an explosion of university programs under his leadership. This would ultimately lead

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48 Correspondence, McCorkle to Andrus, 29 September 1955, 144.02 McPhee Presidential Papers Collection, Box 29, Korea, 1953-55, Special Collections and Archives, Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo, CA.
49 Correspondence from McPhee to Andrus, 29 June 1955, 144.02 McPhee Presidential Papers Collection, Box 29, 042.1 Korea--Contract Negotiations, Current, 1955, Special Collections and Archives, Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo, CA.
50 McPhee to Andrus, 29 June 1955.
51 Interdepartmental Correspondence, from Vard M. Shepard to Julian McPhee, 24 September 1953, 144.02 McPhee Presidential Papers Collection, Box 29, 042.1 Korea, 1953-55, Special Collections and Archives, Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo, CA.
52 Ruttan, 205.
to conflict when the FOA dissolved in June 1955, transferring all programs to the newly formed International Cooperation Administration (ICA). The newly-appointed director of the ICA, John B. Hollister, had little interest in technical assistance and believed supplying capital instead of personnel made for more efficient foreign assistance. Lack of communication from Stassen likely caused Cal Poly administration to be blindsided by the sudden change in policy, souring a deal they thought they had more control over. Additionally, Dr. Raymond Gregory had passed away in June 1954, not long after returning from the Korea mission surveying vocational schools he had directed. Gregory had been a driving force for the Korea program from the start, and his unfortunate passing likely sucked the wind from the program’s sails in Washington. Internationally, the UNKRA and the Republic of Korea had been at odds for some time, with Syngman Rhee proposing grandiose plans of industrial development to be built with blank checks, while the US and the UN wanted to ensure more focused efforts and were unwilling to indulge the President’s lofty dreams. The US sought to use military installations to pursue its goals of containment whilst cutting aid costs, while Rhee continued to leverage the value of his nation’s position to keep aid dollars funneling into his pockets.

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53 Correspondence, Eisenhower to Dulles, 17 April 1955.
54 Ruttan, p. 206-207.
57 Bruce Cummings, Korea’s Place in the Sun: A Modern History, Chapter Six, “Korean Sun Rising: Industrialization, 1953-Present.”

Legacy of the Program

None of this is to say that nothing ever came out of the Korean Technical Education Assistance Program. Just because Cal Poly never went to Korea in the 1950s does not mean that the school has been absent from the international community before or since. The Indonesia Farm Machinery Program of 1952 is just one example of the Cal Poly’s contribution to US foreign aid initiative. Later, in the decade following the Korea Program, the ICA was reorganized into the US Agency for International Development (AID) in 1961. Cal Poly’s involvement in international AID and peace corps programs greatly expanded under McPhee’s successor, President Robert Kennedy, in the late sixties and seventies. The groundwork and networking that took place as part of the Korea Program may have been influential in getting those programs off the ground, acting as a dry run for Cal Poly’s interactions with later US foreign aid programs. Cal Poly Study Abroad programs continue into the twenty-first century and fulfill the “Learn by Doing” philosophy for Cal Poly students that would have been absent in the final state of the Korea Program.

Ultimately, Cal Poly—and by a very short stretch, McPhee—had its own priorities and identity that it stuck to above all else. Firm, unwavering pride in the philosophy of “Learn by Doing” played a huge role in all parts of the Korea Program. Participation in the Korea Program was a golden opportunity to advertise the idea and the school that McPhee pounced on, just like he did with the Navy Program, and the failure of the program to live up to McPhee’s esteem is what
led to its end. McPhee constantly seemed to be pursuing some program or deal that he thought would benefit the school, but only for so long before moving on to the next thing. Both the Navy Program and the establishment of the Cal Poly Foundation exemplify such initiatives designed to fund or expand the school. At one point during negotiations for the Korea Program, McPhee expressed concern to McCorkle about the slow pace of the program in lieu of “so many other irons in the fire.” Annual reports from the early to mid-1950s refer to those years as a “period of expansion” for Cal Poly, alluding to other projects with the same intent of growing the school and its resources. For example, 1955 was the first year that women were readmitted to Cal Poly. Administrative pressure from the State of California ultimately forced McPhee’s hand on that decision, and if that pressure was one of the “irons in the fire,” Cal Poly was ultimately all the better for it. While it is sad to see how bureaucratic gridlock and one man’s insistence led to the failure of a program that may have been one-of-a-kind in its execution, Cal Poly’s Korea Program acts as a microcosm of the college in the early years of the Cold War, and eventually led to an expansion of the school and its programs that still reverberate today.

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59 Correspondence, Julian McPhee to Chester McCorkle, 13 August 1954, 144.02 McPhee Presidential Papers Collection, Box 29, Korea, 1953-55, Special Collections and Archives, Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo, CA.


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Consider the Source: The Media’s Coverage of Female FBI Agents in the 1970s

Kali deVarenesse

Abstract:
This paper explores the representation of female FBI agents in newspapers throughout the 1970s until the early 1990s. While this subject is not widely discussed, due to lack of exposure and research, this paper reveals how crucial these women were during this period as they redefined how society and male FBI agents viewed women in previously male-dominated fields. In 1970, the media responded to these women with a variety of assumptions and stereotypes defining women as sex objects, physically weak, and mentally unable to handle the dangerous work environment. Through examination of scholarly and primary sources, this paper uncovers the media’s integral role in influencing the public’s view of women by reinforcing these stereotypes, and explores why the shift in opinions occurred in later decades. In the early 1970s, journalists focused on the women themselves as their attitudes reflected the negative stereotypes about women that Hoover’s administration engrained into the bureau and public, while in later periods journalists expressed their concerns with institutional issues within the FBI and the negative perceptions of female agents from their male colleagues. The reason for this shift was that as the decade progressed and Hoover’s legacy dwindled, women proved their capabilities in the workforce. As a result, journalists shifted to focusing on whether the FBI complied with these new policies and how the public and male agents adjusted to this transition. This paper is divided into

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two categories: sources in the 1970s and sources in the 1980s to early 1990s which aids readers in observing the clear shift between these two critical decades.

Before the early 1970s, the Federal Bureau of Investigation prohibited women from becoming agents. J. Edgar Hoover, the first Director of the FBI, claimed that a job in this field “was too dangerous for a woman” and turned away applications for potential female agents.1 Even though women participated in women’s liberation movements to end gender inequality in the early 1960s, it took over a decade for any changes within law enforcement.2 It was not until after Hoover’s death and President Richard Nixon’s signing of Executive Order 11478 Equal Employment Opportunity in the Federal Government in 1972 that women could work for federal organizations.3 Women took advantage of this new policy and entered several breakthrough careers not only in the FBI but also within other organizations such as the Secret Service, the Drug Enforcement Administration, and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms.4 Women finally had the opportunity to prove themselves in careers that men previously dominated.

As women progressed into these various fields, the strong presence of the media during this period rapidly unleashed an entirely new realm of information to the public. However, the press also had a reputation for associating women with certain stereotypes and gender roles. In Gaye Tuchman’s 1979 article in Signs, the leading international journal in women’s and gender studies, she asserted that the media often portrayed women as “sex objects” or “as wives and mothers.” Tuchman also claimed that the media depicted women as “victims,” and men as the “aggressors.”5 As a result, the media played an integral role in influencing how the public viewed women by reinforcing these stereotypes. While the term “media” includes several different outlets, this paper will primarily focus on articles from the New York Times and the Los Angeles Times to generalize media coverage of female FBI agents. Throughout the 1970s to the beginning of the 1990s, female FBI agents redefined how individuals viewed women in previously male-dominated fields, which garnered media response.

Yet, how did media coverage of the progressive integration of women into the FBI shift over time and why? I argue that in the early 1970s, journalists treated female agents as a curiosity and could not imagine how they would fulfill their job in a society that previously prohibited women from male-dominated fields. By the 1980s, the public slowly adjusted to the new work environment that included women and

journalists expressed their concerns with institutional issues within the FBI and how they treated women under the new discrimination policies issued by Nixon. This shift partially occurred because of the administration change from Hoover to Patrick Gray who revoked a lot of the discriminatory practices Hoover engrained in the Bureau from the 1920s to 1970s. Under Hoover, the FBI kept a tight, close “old boy network” of fathers, sons, nephews, and neighbors and the sudden addition of women caused male agents to develop negative perceptions of their female colleagues. As the decade progressed and Hoover’s regulations dissolved, newspapers revealed the shift in accepting women in the FBI. At the same time, women also proved they could handle the demands of the job when given the opportunity to succeed which diminished the media’s stereotypical views of the capabilities of women.

Unfortunately, there has been hardly any scholarship on the inclusion of women in the FBI and the media’s response to these specific issues during this period. Research does exist, however, on similar topics such as women in federal law enforcement and women policing. In an article that reviews women in law enforcement broadly, Helen H. Yu of the University of Hawaii at Manoa acknowledged that women were “grossly underrepresented in law enforcement” because several organizations did not always follow through with their proposed policies regarding the integration of women at the time. Yu showcased a

section of the institutional issues within federal law enforcement, yet she did not specifically mention the FBI, nor address the media’s responses to these problems. Other scholars have researched inequality and discrimination within federal law enforcement. In the article “Difference in the Police Department” from the Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice, Venessa Garcia argues that despite the entrance of females into police departments in the 1970s, women faced constant discrimination and obstacles when advancing their careers. Garcia explained that for this cycle to change, women had to prove their abilities within the organization. Yu and Garcia acknowledged that there were issues with the representation of women in law enforcement because of various factors such as wage gaps, physical barriers, and negative attitudes toward women. Yu and Garcia revealed the challenges of being a woman in law enforcement, but their research inspires others to study similar issues specifically within the FBI.

 Interestingly, despite the limited research on women in the FBI, scholars have engaged far more thoroughly with the media’s portrayal of women in general. In the chapter “Sex/Gender and the Media: From Sex Roles to Social Construction and Beyond” within The Handbook of Gender, Sex and Media, Cynthia Carter provided insight on the media’s part in stereotyping the role of women in society.

10 Ibid.
gested that in the early 1970s, gender experts determined advertisements “as potentially debilitating and demeaning, and as inaccurate reflections of ‘real women.’” While this source demonstrates the media’s history of portraying women in questionable ways, it also reveals how the media has a significant role in influencing others. However, this source lacks any focus on news articles and provides a general overview of women in the media rather than the media’s depiction of women in law enforcement. Therefore, this paper differs from the sources above as it brings together the ideas from previous scholars but focuses on factors that contributed to the shift in media coverage of the acceptance of hiring women in the FBI.

Sources in the 1970s

Journalists have historically covered men in the FBI heavily by acknowledging their successes in the field and showcasing their incredible attributes. Many of the articles discuss male agents who captured hijackers, infiltrated gambling schemes, and prevented bombings. The articles that praise these victories only include the experiences of men, as the FBI prohibited women from becoming agents until 1972. The Los Angeles Times even contained an entire section dedicated to “Men and Events” that covered the achievements of men in a variety of fields, from politics, to law enforcement, and business. In the 1970 article “A Round of Applause for the FBI,” a journalist praised male agents for their “tireless determination and highest professional dedication” which differed from the other journalists that investigated the physical characteristics and capabilities of women in male-dominated fields. Although there are a few articles that address some of the controversial discriminatory practices of the FBI in this decade, it was not until the 1980s that journalists began to question male FBI agents and the institutional practices of the Bureau.

Meanwhile, in the 1970s many news outlets saw the potential women possessed in the FBI, but others expressed certain limitations on their ability to succeed as agents. The media’s initial responses to women in the FBI began with publications on the first female agents, Susan Roley Malone and Joanne Pierce. These key figures provided the perfect opportunity for the news to generate reactions to female agents, as Malone and Pierce were pioneers of their time. One such reaction was found in the 1972 Los Angeles Times article “FBI Names Ex-Nun, Ex-Marine First Female Agents,” in which the author presented agent Malone and agent Pierce as single. The utilization of the term

12 Ibid.
“single” was significant because during this period, women in the FBI broke away from the expectation of having “housewife” roles and the media assumed that women in the FBI could not be women in traditional ways. The inclusion of “Ex-nun” and “Ex-marine” in this article reveals the beginning of women transitioning from other careers to working for the FBI. However, the title also demonstrates that even though Malone was a former officer of the Marine Corps, which validates her credibility as an FBI agent, she still received hesitations from the media about integrating into this field. Because the FBI prohibited women from the bureau for so long, journalists possessed stereotypical attitudes and biological myths about women which they further spread to the public.

Moreover, while a comment on relationship status seems irrelevant on the surface, the implications undermined the addition of women into the bureau as it assumed that women could not be married or have children if they wanted to become an agent. However, many of the female agents during this period were married and handled the demanding expectations of the job. Even though the job requirements included a lot of overtime, they still managed their relationships with their families at home.17 Some articles saw the potential of females in the FBI but also expressed their concern with the likelihood of women being able to fulfill their roles as agents. The media’s fascination with the personal lives of these women fueled the public’s curiosity about them as the regulations of not allowing women in the FBI officially dissolved and it was an event the public never previously experienced.

Undoubtedly, this shift caused society to question their assumptions about gender roles and break down gender barriers that existed for so long in the workplace.

Similarly, the media also highlighted the controversial issue of whether women were physically capable of becoming an agent. In the 1972 Los Angeles Times article “Female G-Men? One Agent Asks: ‘Want Daughter to Pack a .38?’” a staff writer questioned the physical capabilities of women. The title of this article suggested that it was shocking for women to be a part of the FBI and that a woman could never be a “G-man,” a synonym for a male agent. The title also implied that fathers would disapprove of their daughters enlisting in such a career. While there were articles that successfully integrated and prompted women to join the FBI, not all sources had the same intentions. The article featured several statements from anonymous agents about their opinions regarding the addition of females into the bureau. All the comments included in the article discouraged females from joining the FBI. One agent claimed, “The job isn’t for a woman…there’s a lot of danger involved.”18 Another agent addressed the factor of a woman’s weight and believed that “if a fellow [was] with a 120-pound girl he’d have to do most of the job.”19 Both of these statements demonstrated inherent curiosities about the future dynamic between a male and female agent because they assumed that the male agents would now do twice the work. This article reflected more of the attitudes gener-

19 Ibid. Italics added for emphasis.
ated by Hoover’s administration as it reveals the fears men possessed about allowing women into their established brotherhood. Furthermore, journalists also focused on the complaints and lawsuits women filed against the FBI. Sandy Nemser, a woman who applied to be the first female agent, sued the FBI in the 1970s. For example, in the 1971 Los Angeles Times article “She Wants to Be First G-Woman,” a staff writer described Nemser’s suit against the FBI for not accepting her application to become an agent. Two FBI representatives told Nemser that a woman could not move around like the male agents and that they would not give her any respect. Nemser later expressed her frustration with these comments. When asked about her stance against the FBI, Nemser responded, “I’m not going to burn my bra in protest...I’d rather hit them in the courts where we can win.” The inclusion of Nemser’s statements provided the opportunity for the media to encourage other women to fight for the right to become agents. Rather than accept defeat or protest with little success, Nemser took action against one of the most influential organizations in the country. The media knew that the public would be curious to see Nemser’s position as well as the outcome of the case. Nemser’s suit represents a small glimpse into the many women that fought against discrimination through the courts and lawsuits become an essential tenet in later years to understand why the FBI eventually promoted and advertised employment opportunities within the bureau to women. Therefore, the publication of this lawsuit directly supported Nemser’s advancement into the FBI because it gave Nemser a voice. Although she received several discouraging comments from the Bureau about the qualities she lacked as a female agent and the Bureau ultimately denied her application, Nemser proved that she was a force to be reckoned with.

While questions about the physical abilities of women concerned many journalists, they also covered changes in policy and style within the FBI. After Hoover’s death, the recruitment process for women and minorities became a priority under Hoover’s successor Patrick Gray. Gray demanded that several advertisements, radio stations, and newspapers should promote the FBI as a workspace that supported women. For example, in the 1972 New York Times article, “Gray Plans Wide Change in F.B.I Policy and Style,” by Robert Smith, the author described the proposed policies in the bureau. These policy changes included recruiting more women and minorities, altering dress code, and making committees more focused on recruitment. However, this article also revealed that Gray worried about women performing their duties in dangerous situations. Despite the advances Gray made to improve policies regarding women, an underlying hesitation about women being able to handle a job as an agent remained. Thus, while

21 Ibid.
22 Ibid.
this source had a promising headline, the author revealed that the FBI still expressed concerns about the physical capabilities of women, which undermined their integration into the Bureau.

**Sources in the 1980s Through the Early 1990s**

By the late 1980s to early 1990s, there was a significant change in the media’s representation of women. More journalists no longer questioned the abilities of women as agents, as women had proved that they could handle the job under the new policies implemented by Patrick Gray. For example, Marlene Cimons, a woman, wrote an article in 1981 titled “Women in FBI: Novelty is Over.”28 Cimons’s utilization of the word “novelty” revealed that the public no longer viewed female agents as unusual or as a new addition to the bureau. The curiosity that sparked many of the initial assumptions about women was now in the past as women proved they could handle the job’s requirements and Hoover’s discriminatory legacy slowly faded away. The majority of work within the FBI consisted of interrogation and conducting research, and women performed just as well, if not better than, their male counterparts.29 The integration of women into the FBI paralleled the increase of women in other previously male-dominated fields, but now journalists recognized their achievements and abilities rather than hindering them. Over time, Cimons’s support for the progression of women became stronger as she dedicated her reports to the advancement of these female agents from the 1970s to the 1980s. She wanted the public to see how these women redefined the way others viewed them, and that people could no longer question the abilities of women in the FBI.

But even so, other journalists still had doubts about the agency’s true intentions despite many of the progressive plans and programs the FBI advertised. In the 1985 Los Angeles Times article “FBI’s Most Wanted List: More Women and Minority Agents,” author Rita Ciolli supported the advancement of women into the FBI, but also admitted that it was a slow process and ultimately a public image boost.30 While this article mentioned that other news outlets proclaimed that women made an average salary of $28,998, this was not the case.31 Women who had college degrees and proved their capabilities within the FBI had meager wages compared to their male counterparts.32 The FBI may have been in the process of changing its old habits, but the organization was far from respecting women to the highest standard. While the FBI portrayed women as a priority to the institution, Ciolli asserted that it was just a “cosmetic uplift” so they could please the public.33

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29 Ibid.
31 Ibid.
More importantly, this “cosmetic uplift” possibly stemmed from the FBI having to pay over a million dollars to dozens of women who filed class-action discrimination lawsuits in the 1970s after Hoover rejected their applications on the basis of sex. With all of the negative publicity the FBI received from this, the Bureau realized that promoting the FBI as a beneficial workplace for women helped their public image. Ciolli made a direct attack on the FBI’s true intentions behind the addition of more women into the FBI. Although some of the other articles published in the 1980s showed development, Ciolli made it clear that there would always be a fight no matter how much changed because of the “manufactured elitism” and brotherhood Hoover established. Ultimately, the majority of journalists no longer expressed concerns about women handling dangerous situations or overcoming physical requirements, but instead focused on the institutional failures of the FBI.

In addition, other journalists revealed that the FBI also failed to acknowledge complaints from female agents about discrimination in the bureau. By 1981, more than two thousand women joined together as part of a sex-discrimination class-action suit against the FBI, which inspired other women to take action. For example, in the 1986 *Los Angeles Times* article “Women FBI Agents in L.A. Get Hearing,” William Overend documented responses to the recent ban of nude posters of women on the walls of male agent’s quarters after women filed complaints against the Los Angeles FBI office. The office had the reputation of male agents making degrading and inappropriate comments towards women. Overend mentioned that several male agents referred to women as “cupcakes” and “broad agents.” While women ignored these comments, they took a stand against the nude posters and blatantly expressed their complaints concerning the degrading work environment. This article demonstrates that while the FBI attempted to make dramatic changes to the administration after Hoover’s death, many instances of discrimination persisted.

Moreover, while several of the male agents Overend interviewed prevented women from feeling comfortable in the workplace, Overend also questioned, Richard Bretzing, the head of the Los Angeles FBI office. According to Overend, Bretzing stated that the women in his office had little to complain about. While this ban of posters was a historic moment of progress for women in the FBI, Bretzing questioned whether or not these women had legitimate claims. Therefore, when the female agents spoke out, there was a very different response than when Bretzing commented on the issue. The author’s inclusion of Bretzing’s response to the issue undermined the progress women made as the audience saw the Bureau’s resistance to integrate women into their offices. Despite these women proving their capabilities as agents and fighting against discrimination, the FBI failed to acknowledge their concerns and covered up any issues regarding discrimination.

34 Ibid.
37 Ibid.
38 Ibid.
Subsequently, in the early 1990s the media covered another lawsuit filed by Joanne Pierce, who was one of the first female agents in the 1970s. In 1994, a staff writer for the *New York Times* published the article “In Lawsuit, Former Agent Says F.B.I. Would Not Promote Her,” which responded to the lawsuit with comments from Pierce’s attorney Leon Friedman, a professor at Hofstra University Law School.\(^{39}\) The lawyer claimed that even though agent Pierce performed well in all of her assignments, the FBI did not promote her because of the “old boy network.”\(^{40}\) The “old boy network” defined the gender-exclusive nature of the FBI before the 1970s, as there were only male agents. Many of them feared that with the addition of women, they would lose their brotherly bond. The author also included in his article that the spokesmen for the FBI refused to comment on the situation because he was unaware of the existence of the case, which showed the FBI’s problems as an institution.\(^{41}\) This article revealed that several men within the Bureau did not support this change and that the organization prevented women from advancing further in the FBI. Even though women proved they performed well in the Bureau, women like Pierce did not get promoted, while many of her male colleagues did. Thus, the staff writer demonstrated that over time, journalists shifted their articles to include the institutional issues within the FBI rather than the women themselves as they were curious if the FBI would follow through with its progressive policies.

On the other hand, some women received promotions in the FBI even though the process took decades. For instance, in the 1994 *Los Angeles Times* article “Promotion Heightens Her Profile,” by Nicholas Riccardi, he discussed Kathleen McChesney, a former policewoman who received a promotion to the highest-ranking female agent in the 1990s.\(^{42}\) This article detailed how McChesney overcame obstacles, such as physical requirements and discrimination, throughout her journey in federal law enforcement. She also spent seven years as a detective working on the Ted Bundy case.\(^{43}\) While she started her journey in the FBI in 1978, it was not until the 1990s that she received a promotion.\(^{44}\) Riccardi noted that in the past the public knew McChesney as the woman who “had to gain seven pounds to go on patrol,” but now the focus was on her promotion.\(^{45}\) Riccardi’s article revealed that news outlets transitioned from focusing on the concerns of a woman becoming an agent to exposing how difficult it was to advance a woman’s career within the FBI. Although McChesney had fulfilled all the requirements and outperformed her role as an agent, the Bureau failed to acknowledge her accomplishments for over a decade.

Overall, the examination of the topics that journalists and respondents covered in a few decades provides a new perspective of the progressive changes that occurred within the FBI in the 1970s and the decades that followed. However, these issues revealed something far more

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40 Ibid.
41 Ibid.
43 Ibid.
44 Ibid.
45 Ibid.
The concerns that journalists expressed in the 1970s revealed that not everyone supported the progression of women into the FBI and that many news outlets undermined the abilities of women in previously male-dominated fields. While several journalists had a common goal of reporting various events, they also revealed fascinating trends about the curiosities within society. They showcased how these female agents redefined societal norms and challenged history, regardless of their positive or negative opinions towards women. Therefore, when reading news articles or viewing broadcasts on television about the underrepresentation of women in law enforcement, be sure to consider the source.

Even though several female agents in the 1970s proved that becoming a member of the FBI was not an impossibility, there is still a severe underrepresentation of women in federal law enforcement today. In 2015, only fifteen percent of all law enforcement officers were women. By 2018, the percentages were still low but the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, an organization that enforces federal laws that make discrimination against potential job applicants illegal, continues to work on implementing policies to recruit more women in law enforcement.

significant than just the media’s representation of female FBI agents. There was a dramatic shift in the media’s portrayal of these agents, as in the early 1970s journalists focused on the women themselves, while in later periods journalists investigated how the FBI adjusted to the different work environment and how they treated women after anti-discrimination policies passed. While Hoover’s legacy includes many successes and victories for the FBI, women could not become FBI agents until after his death. The FBI’s new administration coupled with the federal government’s initiatives to provide women with more opportunities in the workplace reflected only the beginning of a long battle for equal treatment in previously male-dominated fields.

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Bibliography


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Urban Palimpsests: Studying Enlightenment Influences in the Post-Earthquake Rebuilding of Lima and Lisbon, 1746–1765

Emily Chung

Abstract:

Urban renewal has long existed as a vessel for the assertion of authority, embodying hierarchy, policy, and culture in the most tangible way with architecture and civic landscaping shaped to accommodate the upper strata of society. Particularly interesting to study through this lens is the latter half of the eighteenth century which marks the turning point between royal absolutism and the emergence of competing forms of power in the European Empire, through the growth of the Enlightenment movement.

This paper offers a comparison of two imperial cities, Lima and Lisbon, which due to similarly tragic earthquakes, were provided the opportunity to implement reforms at an urban scale, bringing opposing thought to the forefront of cultural debate and identity and redefining the roles of Church and State. Through an analysis of primary and secondary texts as well as original architectural documents, this study focuses on highlighting how urbanism can be used as a mechanism of power. With these sources, the paper compares the two events to synthesize a greater understanding of the roles of Lisbon and Lima as parts of the greater Iberian empires. Ultimately, this juxtaposition of the two cities provides a unique study of how architecture and urban morphology manifested the Spanish and Portuguese empires’ respective Bourbon and Pombaline reforms, and the reasons for the differences in their impacts.
From Dinocrates’ plan for Alexandria to Chicago’s redlining, urban renewal has long existed as a vessel for the assertion of authority. In the cyclical struggles between the rich, the poor, and the State, cities offer themselves as a canvas onto which power is painted. They embody hierarchy, policy, and culture in the most tangible way, with architecture and civic landscaping shaped to accommodate the upper strata of society. Particularly interesting to study through this lens is the latter half of the eighteenth century, which marks the turning point between royal absolutism and the emergence of competing forms of power in European imperialism. As the scales started to swing away from monarchical systems, urban landscapes became the fighting grounds for conflicting parties. This essay compares two cities which, due to unforeseen natural disasters, found themselves forced into a process of reconstruction that brought opposing thought to the forefront of cultural debate and imperial identity, driven by a reexamination of the roles of Church and State.

In 1746 and 1755 respectively, Lima and Lisbon experienced severe shocks to their streets and hierarchical systems. On October 30th, 1746, Peru was struck by earthquakes, tsunamis, and volcanic eruptions, which destroyed buildings and infrastructure throughout the country. Their impact proved to be devastating to cities all along the coast, the most notable of which is Lima. Nearly a decade later, a similar cataclysm befell Lisbon: on November 1st, 1755, Portugal was hit with a massive earthquake. Like in Peru, the initial phenomenon was followed by a tsunami, and together they razed the country and its capital. Despite the devastating nature of these events, these cities could now be interpreted as blank slates, providing unique opportunities for urban renewal to epitomize the greater European transition into modernism.

Concurrently in Western Europe, developments in the fields of science and mathematics instigated new philosophies condemning blind faith in the church and monarchy, propagating reason as the new driver for culture and leadership. With roots in the secularization movements of the Renaissance and the Protestant Reformation, this shift involved a focus on intellectual and scientific reason. A period now discussed as “the Age of Enlightenment,” the movement associated with it advocated for order, proportion, and humanism, steering the Western continent towards secularization and liberty from monarchical systems.

Guided by this new wave of thought and shifting power dynamics, the Spanish and Portuguese governments instigated a series of reforms to their empires. When the earthquakes hit Lisbon and Lima, not only did they provide an opportunity for the implementation of enlightened reforms, they also highlighted the attention—or lack thereof—given to these capitals by the heads of their respective empires. These projects of urban reconstruction followed the new policies, respectively dubbed the Bourbon and Pombaline reforms after their leaders, in prioritizing “enlightened” ideals. Despite this common foundation, the

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2 Mark Molesky, This Gulf of Fire (New York: Penguin Random House LLC, 2015), 69-82.

the rebuilding of Lisbon and Lima in fact reflected the systemic differences in the two Iberian monarchies’ interpretations of the movement, as well as emphasized the standing of each city within the imperial hierarchies.

Following the end of the Habsburg rule with Charles II’s heirless death, Spain fell to the War of Spanish Succession out of which Frenchman Phillip of Anjou came out the victor. Under the Habsburgs, the Spanish empire had succumbed to severe corruption with the sale of offices and developed in the style of decentralized composite monarchies—within which the Church’s influential reach had begun to threaten the Crown’s authority. In an attempt to regain control of their territories and modernize the systems under which their empire was run, the Spanish Bourbon monarchs of the eighteenth century instigated a series of administrative and economic reforms, shifting the empire back towards royal absolutism. These “Bourbon Reforms”, were directly guided by the Enlightenment movement, following rational, scientific principles based on the ideas of contemporary theorists. Through this systemic restructuring of the empire, the Crown sought to reduce the power of the Church, establish a stronger presence in the colonies, and stimulate state finances through a streamlining of revenue from the American colonies.

Inspired by the same wave of change which barreled through western Europe, the neighboring Portugal took steps in a similar direction.

5 Ibid., 3
process. Equally important to consider, despite the larger scope, is John Fisher’s *Bourbon Peru: 1750-1824*, which brings up important issues in discussing Peru’s reforms and the extent of their effectiveness. Even so, these are only two sources in a larger pool of literature on Lima’s development. On the Lisboan side, a number of scholarly articles have zeroed in on the Pombaline reconstruction of the city, mapping out the its political dynamics and the administrative responses. The content provided by these well-researched academic sources is incredibly valuable in painting the landscape of the events. However, while it is clear the reconstructions of Lima and Lisbon have both been thoroughly analyzed individually, this paper seeks not to summarize, but to juxtapose the two conditions in search of new answers. In drawing from these sources, alongside drafts and images depicting architectural elements of each city, the following text is guided by two leading questions: To what extent did Lima and Lisbon respectively integrate or reject enlightenment principles in their post-earthquake rebuilding? And how might architecture embody nuances in each region’s socio-political climate? The contextual similarities of both events allow for a unique opportunity to study the parallels and polarities between the cities, thus providing a more comprehensive understanding of the Iberian Enlightenment.

Following the earthquakes in 1746 and 1755, a majority of Lima and Lisbon was destroyed. Without discrimination, the disasters hit the homes of the rich and the poor, the Church and the State. In this state of rubble, the cities became slates onto which the royalties would write. In the eighteenth-century post-earthquake rebuilding of Lima and Lisbon, architecture served as a physical manifestation of the reforms and conflicts characteristic of this era. This comparison of urban morphology reveals key differences in the Peruvian viceroy and Pombaline approaches to Enlightenment thinking, as one used the opportunity to reinforce its standing as a great European city, while the other’s compromises highlighted the fragility of imperial rule.

In the New World, where Spanish colonialism and Spanish Catholicism were two sides of the same imperial coin, ecclesiastic monuments staked out the spread of Christianity from parish churches in the hinterlands of the colonial reach to the grand Cathedrals of urban hubs. As the Spanish crown shifted with the rest of Europe into the Age of Enlightenment, however, nuances of anti-clericalism started to bleed into Peru’s viceroy rule. In Lima, a city with a high concentration of religious buildings, those frictions came head to head as the earthquake destroyed secular and clerical buildings alike, requiring the rebuilding of the Cathedral as part of the city’s urban fabric. Where previously there had stood an ornately Baroque monument to Catholicism, now only the structure’s nave remained, its two bell

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8 Walker, *Shaky Colonialism*.
towers having crumbled in the disaster. Under Viceroy Manso de Velasco’s direction, the city’s reconstruction took on themes of Spain’s Bourbon reforms, with rationality and reason guiding the design of Lima and consequently the future of Lima’s cathedral.

With Enlightenment thinking inspiring movement toward royal absolutism, the earthquake and its aftermath proved to be an opportunity for Manso de Velasco to implement Bourbon policies—in particular by seeing a regression of the Church and its independent power which over time had grown in presence, threatening the monarchy’s rule. Many reformers saw the Catholic Church as excessive and in the words of Manso, “errantly pious.” They denounced the elaborate sculpture and ornamentation of the cathedral which, while having been typical of the Baroque, were considered as distasteful and gaudy.\(^\text{13}\)

Crucial to understanding the Bourbon reforms, however, is the acknowledgement that contrary to other countries in Europe, Spain sought not to weaken the Church, but rather to fold its power and loyalty under the Crown rather than the Vatican.\(^\text{14}\) Therefore, Manso de Velasco had the towers reconstructed in the austere and rational Neoclassical style which aligned with the regime’s regalian priorities (fig.1) not to undermine the importance of the structure, but rather to symbolize the shift in alliance the Spanish Crown hoped to see. This reconstruction was to establish that under Bourbon rule, “faith is what must be grand, not the temples themselves,” a guiding principle which Viceroy Manso sought to implement.\(^\text{15}\) In contrast to the cathedral’s richly sculpted nave, the new towers displayed functional geometry and form, following the tenets of order and reason quintessential in Enlightenment thinking. The incongruous result (fig.2) reflects the divided rule of Lima, where Church and State grappled for power of the city.

This rationality and proportion of Neoclassical design were guiding concepts in Manso’s plan for Lima, and with Frenchman Louis Godin’s help and support, the regime set about developing a new plan for the city. Under Godin’s suggestions, the capital was to have wider and straighter streets (fig. 3), replace masonry with wattle and daub, and limit buildings to shorter single-story heights—moves typical of the Enlightenment era, which were intended to control the urban masses and work towards solving inequalities.\(^\text{16}\) Leading up to the great earthquake, Lima’s elites had used architectural ornamentation as a public manifestation of their status and wealth, lining the streets with sculpture and balconies. To Manso, however, this overindulgence seemed to have incited God’s wrath and played a part in bringing on this unforeseen tragedy: “The vanity of Lima’s inhabitants, who, driven by the abundance of their treasures, had erroneously built the city . . . so ran against God’s prophecies that he had sent the general destruction we are now facing.”\(^\text{17}\) In the viceroy’s eyes, these architectural flaunts had acted as a taunt, provoking this dramatic reprimand. The reconstruction was a chance for Manso to rectify this affront, and the

\(^\text{13}\) Ibid., 79.
\(^\text{14}\) Ibid., 110.
\(^\text{15}\) Ibid., 79.
\(^\text{17}\) Walker, *Shaky Colonialism*, 78.
Fig. 1: Flat Profile and Elevation of the Cathedral of Lima’s Towers, 1794.
Source: España, El ministerio de educación cultural y deporte. AGI, Mapas y Planos, Lima-Peru 244.

Fig. 2: The Lima Cathedral
viceroy developed a plan which would restrict the use of ostentatious embellishment on the renovated façades.

This, however, came under serious scrutiny and heavy contestation from Lima’s upper class, who claimed a right to upper story apartments as a display of their wealth and standing in the social hierarchy.

While Manso’s plan projected an orderly and homogenous Neoclassical new city, Lima’s elites felt the stylistic revival to be a threat to their status as fears of social upheaval rose. Under the guise of tradition, spatial availability, and cost of reconstruction, the city’s vicenos—elites—fought for a preservation of Baroque elements such as balconies and ornamentation and by extension, second stories. After a lengthy battle between regularity and elaborate grandeur, Manso de Velasco gave in to the vicenos demands allowing second stories and key Baroque elements, for without the unified support of the elite, “it was impossible to govern the republic . . . and there were many motives for [Manso] to attend to this all-important task.” With the urban order of Lima already thoroughly upheaved from the catastrophe, the viceroy admitted that giving in to some of the vicenos’ demands would mitigate further disruptions to the “economic and social codes that sustained Spanish urbanism.” As such, Lima was reborn as a compromise of two eras characterized by Neoclassical communal urbanism and private Baroque frontages, projecting this turning point in colonial Peruvian history onto streets and the buildings which line them. The result of this great earthquake is a city which can still be read as an architectural palimpsest of sorts, embodying the city’s cultural shift out of Spain’s golden age of imperial rule and into an era of autonomy and eventual independence for Latin America.

Eight years later and across the seas, when Lisbon was hit with its own severe earthquake, many of the same tensions and struggles

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18 Ibid., 63.
19 Ibid., 79.
20 Ibid., 79.
resurfaced. This time however, the reconstruction’s leader implemented urban reforms which would serve to reassert his own rule and power, effectively undermining those of the Church and the nobility.\textsuperscript{21}

In the wake of the catastrophe, Pombal rose out of the rubble to head the reconstruction movement. In a time when chaos and despair ruled Lisbon, Pombal saw a future driven by order and reason. Inspired by other famous philosophers of the era, such as Christopher Wren and Voltaire, the marquis’ administration developed a new Lisbon, following principles of Enlightenment thinking to transition into the era of modernity.\textsuperscript{22}

As in Lima, Lisbon’s cathedral severely suffered from the earthquake; when the dust settled, a crumbled cathedral was revealed, with the towers having fallen into the nave. And, as in Lima, this became an opportunity for the administration in charge to reinforce its policies, which under Pombal favored secularization. Despite the reconstruction of the Lisbon Cathedral employing certain Neoclassical geometries, the design was predominantly medieval, reconstructing the previously Gothic facade to emulate the monument’s original medieval style (fig. 4). While the rest of Lisbon moved into the contemporary era, the cathedral stuck out as \textit{retardataire} in aesthetic, the medieval design contrasting heavily to the now predominantly Neoclassical city. By refusing to rebuild the cathedral in the grandiose Baroque or Gothic styles, Pombal was perhaps declaring the rule of Christianity in Portugal to be moving into obsolescence, a thing of the past. Furthermore, while Spain and Manso de Velasco had used the reconstruction of the Lima Cathedral as a symbol of power consolidation, the Portuguese administration simply abstained from rebuilding the Inquisition headquarters.\textsuperscript{23} In time, Pombal would eventually take his fight against the Church one step further, “in 1769 [moving] against the Inquisition itself, destroying its power as an independent tribunal and making it dependent on the government.”\textsuperscript{24} With these moves, Pombal reinforced his position towards secularization, establishing the church as a subordinate of the state and bringing Lisbon another step closer to the rest of “enlightened” Europe.

The cathedral was not the only instrument Pombal used to exemplify his power. The Marquis’ approach to the city’s reconstruction garnered strong objection from the city’s nobility, who resented Pombal’s authoritarianism.\textsuperscript{25} Where Velasco had capitulated to the \textit{vicentosos}’ demands, however, Pombal yielded little ground to the Lisbon aristocracy—commanding the public execution of such dissidents—and moved forward with a raze and rebuild approach to the city.\textsuperscript{26} Despite the tragedy of the earthquake, urban renewal now served as a handy tool in Pombal’s belt, providing him with an opportunity to rebuild the city as the epitome of “national economic independence

\textsuperscript{22} Hamblyn, \textit{Romanticism}, 110.
\textsuperscript{23} Ibid., 111.
\textsuperscript{24} Kenneth Maxwell, Pombal: Paradox of the Enlightenment (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 91.
\textsuperscript{25} Mullin, 3.
\textsuperscript{26} Hamblyn, 118.
and a modern, well-regulated, and utilitarian state.\textsuperscript{27} Laying out the capital into a grid pattern, the administration developed a plan which fought back against the region’s natural topography, imposing order and asserting the regime’s power.\textsuperscript{28} Furthermore, in implementing his vision for the city, the Marquis employed facade detailing as an emulation of success, achieving a sense a grandeur not through rich ornamentation but by evoking the powerful splendor of Paris, London, and other such European capitals through the controlled Neoclassicism fashionable in such cities.\textsuperscript{29} Where the Baroque style had been opulent and organic, the Neoclassicism here applied to Lisbon reflected a regimented sense of structure and homogeneity. Along the straightened streets, facades followed a standardized pattern of proportion and solid-void ratios creating a fabric of utilitarian regularity (fig. 5). In time, Lisbon would become a physical embodiment of Pombal’s power and reflect his dedication to reason and rationality, pushing the city into Europe’s Age of Enlightenment.

\textsuperscript{27} Maxwell, 27.
\textsuperscript{28} Mullin, 11.
\textsuperscript{29} Underwood, 99.
politicians supporting the ideals upheld in the Pombaline reforms. With the inspiration of famous Enlightenment theorists and the Neoclassical precedence set forward from other European capitals, the Pombal administration showed stronger resolve in the implementation of urban order as a tool for control.

Moreover, as Spain’s standing in the European power structure began to decline, pressures on the Crown both external—such as the conflict between the neighboring British and French over the North American Colonies—and internal—with situations in the Caribbean and Mexico threatening the stability of Spanish imperialism—acted such that the Peruvian Viceroyalty fell lower in the monarchy’s priorities. While Lisbon was the seat of Portuguese power and thus held considerable symbolism for the country, Lima’s standing in the Spanish empire was slipping as other Latin American cities such as Buenos Aires rose in importance, and as such the integration of Bourbon principles along the Peruvian coast became a lesser concern for the Crown. This, alongside the colony’s distance from Europe—which meant a much lower concentration of Enlightenment culture—left space for negotiation between Eurocentric traditionalists and the Velasco regime, and together work towards explaining the disparity in the extent of implemented reform in the two countries.

The tensions seen in this post-earthquake era did not wane as the cities were reconstructed, and in fact kept escalating, eventually contributing to the breakdown of Iberian imperialism in the Americas. As enmity grew between the royalties and their upper classes, the new urban architecture came to display opposite reactions to the conflict in Lima and Lisbon, with the former exhibiting a developing sense of Criollo independence and the latter a manifestation of authoritarianism. Such responses certainly reflect the futures of these cities: Pombal’s iron fist rule which restructured Lisbon into a rational city would help secure its position as a European capital, meanwhile, the wavering Spanish authority in Lima would continue to be questioned and defied, with this anti-imperial sentiment growing through the rest of the eighteenth century and eventually leading towards a fight for independence in Peru seventy years later.

Furthermore, with the church and royalties at odds, the reconstruction reforms served to force secularization on the Christian communities of these cities. This Enlightenment-supported movement would carry on into the nineteenth century, with European countries moving towards State-held consolidations of power. In time, the reconstruction of Lima and Lisbon would prove to be a turning point in the political histories of their countries, moving them into an era of industrialism, secularization, and independence.

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30 Fisher, 28.

Bibliography


Sedentary Flesh: Nineteenth-Century French Orientalists and Bodies of the Female Other

Amelia Aitchison

Abstract:

As visual texts of subjectivity and ideology, paintings are uniquely useful tools for historical analysis. Peaking in popularity in nineteenth-century Europe, the enduring erotic mystification of the Turkish seraglio manifested frequently in the form of paintings. At this time, French academicism and realism rose in status internationally and, bolstered by the esteem of the Paris Salon and the competitiveness generated by the advent of photography, so too did elaborately (and misleadingly) detailed depictions of the Orient. This paper concerns the inherent politics of French depictions of Turkish odalisques, focusing on the orientalist discourse generated by the quasi-realistic style of nineteenth-century French academic artists. I define pictorial orientalism through the words of theorists Edward Said, Linda Nochlin, and Malek Alloula, then use them to analyze five harem-themed paintings in order to prove that French artists in the nineteenth century both reflected and further entrenched orientalist values by fetishizing and alienating female colonial subjects as orientalist ideographs.

In his 1853 letter to Louise Colet, Gustave Flaubert described the “oriental woman” as “a machine, and nothing more; she doesn’t differentiate between one man and the other. Smoking, going to the baths, painting her eyelids and drinking coffee, such is the circle of occupations which make up her existence…we are thinking of her, but she is

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hardly thinking of us. We are weaving an aesthetic on her account.”

Beginning around the late eighteenth century, many Western academics and artists developed a long history of cultural interactions with those of the colonial “Orient.” Central in the construction of a mystical, exotic Near East was *le femme orientale*. Especially notable among the women that enthralled scores of European artists in the nineteenth century was the artistic archetype of the Turkish *Odalisque*. As defined by Joan DelPlato:

The English and French term *odalisque* derives from the Turkish ‘oda’, meaning “chamber”; thus, an *odalisque* originally meant a chamber girl or attendant. In western usage, the term has come to refer specifically to the harem concubine. By the eighteenth century, the term referred to the eroticized artistic genre in which a nominally eastern woman lies on her side on display for the spectator.

By analyzing five individual paintings, this paper argues that, through the commissioning, creation, and consumption of *Odalisque*-themed works, French artists in the nineteenth century not only passively reflected, but actively entrenched orientalist values: effectively fetishizing, otherizing, and dominating female colonial subjects with their distinctive iconography.

The “Orient” concerning this essay chiefly refers to the areas that cover modern-day Turkey, Greece, the Middle East, and North Africa.


Most post-colonial academic scholarship concerning oriental cultural production is heavily critical of occidental depictions of the Orient and engages with previously un-scrutinized methods of exerting ideological influence throughout Western (and non-Western) society. Orientalism is defined by Edward Said as “a style of thought based upon the ontological and epistemological distinction made between the ‘Orient’ and the ‘Occident.’” This distinction, as a form of cultural hegemony, denotes fundamental authority or superiority of the West over the East. Further, according to Said, “orientalism expresses and represents [material civilization] culturally and even ideologically as a mode of discourse” with supporting vocabulary and imagery.

Art historian Linda Nochlin, in applying Said’s theory directly to art, considers the implicit “colonial gaze” in orientalist works to have strengthened Western audiences’ control over their colonial subjects by further distinguishing occidental viewers from the depicted cultures and rendering the subjects consumable and powerless.

Nochlin regards orientalist paintings as “a distillation of the Westerner’s notion of the Oriental couched in the language of a would-be realism.” In his examination of Algerian postcards, Malek Alloula concluded that French colonial imagery of the harem, particularly when manifested

4 Ibid., 2.
6 Nochlin, 35.
through “pictorial orientalism,” helped contribute to the multi-faceted fantasy indulged in by the West and “set the stage for [oriental] phantasms.” In this paper, I draw on these previous theories and analyses in order to critically engage with the paintings of French artists Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, Léopold de Moulignon, and Jean Jacob Benjamin-Constant. As Said asserts, “the oriental genre tableau carried representation into visual expression and a life of its own.”

The historical utility in analyzing these paintings is clear, for they had great impact and relevance in their own time and represent ideologies that remain entrenched in Western culture.

Despite there being similar orientalist motifs found in the works of many prominent European artists predating this period, French contact and fascination with these cultures truly began in earnest in 1798, after Napoleon led the French army to invade Egypt and occupied the country until 1801. Many artistic and literary projects initiated by the French government in the nineteenth century concerned the documentation and circulation of Eastern cultural milieu, and most of the artistic schools at the time embraced these programs with vigor. In 1893, well after the orientalist movement had gained traction, the “Société des Peintres Orientalistes Français” was formed with the intent to “foster a critical approach to the study of their ancient arts and civilizations.” According to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, “some of the most popular orientalist genre scenes—and the ones most influential in shaping Western aesthetics—depict harems.” As “visual documents of colonialist ideology,” these scenes drew on existing colonial stereotypes and iconography, serving as “a type of image that is palpable in manifest form and denotative in function.” Worth noting is the fact that male artists would not have been allowed access into actual Turkish harems, so the women they painted were created using only “hearsay and imagination.” Because of this, many of the painted depictions of harem odalisques were inaccurate, subjective, and highly sexualized.

Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres was one of the single most prolific and active orientalists concerned with the odalisque. During his tenure as an artist, Ingres sketched and painted hundreds, if not thousands of odalisques. The most famous of these depictions by far is La Grande Odalisque (Fig. 1). The painting is of a single woman reclining on a generously adorned bed, with a peacock-feathered fan draped lazily in her hand and her eyes tilted directly and invitingly at the viewer. The

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8 Said, 119.
proportions of her body are visibly incorrect, with the artist’s blatant disregard for anatomical realism betraying his desire to grossly over-sexualize the subject. Her skin is noticeably pale, almost translucent in color. These physical characteristics are important to note due to the clear fabrication of their authenticity. Ingres painted in a stylized manner (especially for the time), but his smooth, invisible brushstrokes and otherwise realistic depiction of an interior scene almost tricks the viewer into believing her proportions are natural. This is a key factor in orientalist painting, as the “strategies of pseudo-realist mystification go hand in hand with orientalist mystification.”

In concealing any evidence of their brush strokes and consequently the artist’s own hand, naturalist artists insist to the viewers that their depiction is verifiable. This is especially problematic considering the inaccuracy of Ingres’s likeness, not only because of its implications regarding women’s bodies in general, but also its skill in denoting oriental reality as fundamentally different from its equivalent in the West. Despite the familiarity in her skin color and facial features, Ingres’s odalisque communicated to French audiences that sexual deviancy, indulgence, and mysticism characterized the Orient.

In an appraisal of Ingres’s Odalisque à l’esclave (Fig. 2) by the Marquis de Custine, he considers the depiction “conscientiously correct,” as the painter has “depicted his dream; he has painted neither which he has seen, nor seen that which he thought.” This painting similarly features a reclined woman as the focal point; however, in this presen-

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15 Nochlin, 39.
17 Hans, 84.
vigorouos activity of the worn, unfeminine ugly black one...suggests a sense of erotic availability."¹⁸ The element of hierarchy inherent in these depictions further entrenched orientalist notions of colorism and racism while at once heightening the sexuality of the pale, Turkish odalisques.

Ingres’ third painting, Le Bain turc (Fig. 3), features a crowded scene of female bathers in a harem, presumably washing and preparing themselves for service. Much like in his earlier paintings, Ingres’ style remains deceptively natural despite the highly stylized and unrealistic bodily forms. Another motif explored further is the black servant, with this particular work containing two visibly darker-skinned, active women. The eroticism in all of Ingres’s works is palpable, with voluptuous figures, a soft haze, and sensuous atmosphere characterizing the bulk of his representations. Many of Ingres’s odalisque figures were

¹⁸ Nochlin, 49.
noticeably paler and “often resembled their European counterparts” in conformity with Western standards of beauty.\(^{19}\) Like many artists at the time, Ingres himself never actually visited the Orient and instead relied on imagination and the secondhand work of others to construct his lavish scenes.\(^{20}\) The reality behind the veneer of these paintings and so many others like them was that they were completely artificial constructions based on an already existing ideological orientalist culture. These paintings only served to further establish orientalist fabrications as factual with an increasingly alarming tone of realism and normalization.

*Le Toilette de l’odalisque* (Fig. 4) by Léopold de Moulignon superficially represents a stylistic departure from the *odalisques* seen in Ingres’s work; however, some key continuities remain. Both figures in this painting are much less pseudo-photorealistic than Ingres’s models. Additionally, they were given features more accurate to that of actual Turkish and Arab women, as opposed to the previous European projections or favored Circassian models.\(^{21}\) However, as with all orientalist pictorial productions, there remains an immutable and unmistakable element of otherizing and domination. Moulignon’s scene similarly contains an unambiguous racial hierarchy, perhaps even starker than Ingres’s. The juxtaposition of slave and master is highlighted by the proximity of the two women to one another and the clear difference in skin tone. The dominance of the lighter-skinned women.


\(^{20}\) Ibid., 42.

\(^{21}\) Ibid., 40.
odalisque is buttressed by her height superiority and physical authority implied by using the servant as a stabilizer for her large mirror. Her vanity is quite literally reliant on the subservience of the dark-skinned slave. In addition to this, the setting of the room and the style of clothing is unmistakably oriental and exotic, and despite the lack of overt sexualization, the decision to voyeuristically paint such an intimate, private setting (the toilette) maintains the orientalist fascination with female eroticism, albeit in a more subdued manner.

The final painting, L’Odalisque Allongée (Fig. 5) by Jean Jacob Benjamin-Constant, returns to the style of Ingres, dripping with sexual innuendo and quasi-hyperrealism. The odalisque pictured here is once again reclining and nude, apparently either in the thralls of ecstasy or simply lying in languid exhaustion. In a setting replete with Persian rugs and exotic draperies, this piece is certainly emblematic of orientalist iconography. The tenebristic spotlight effect of pronounced shadow and light highlights the woman’s bare breasts and torso, while at once obscuring her face (and with it, her identity and agency). The erotic atmosphere is further developed with this dramatic lighting: the day is presumably winding down and the woman will soon begin her shift in the Sultan’s chambers. Like Ingres, Benjamin-Constant’s odalisque is extremely fair-skinned, further alluding to the Western projection of beauty standards on oriental women. As with the others and inherent to all odalisque depictions, the woman in this painting serves chiefly as an occidental masculine fantasy. Harkening back to Flaubert’s letter, the odalisques seen here are machines: dehumanized objects and bodies serving only as untouchable instruments of pleasure without consciousness, demands, or selfhood. This orientalist truism was made very real by these paintings, despite having little

Fig. 5: Benjamin-Constant, 
L’odalisque allongée, vers 1870, Huile sur toile, 
H. 115.0 cm; L. 149.0 cm, 
Musée d’Orsay, Paris, France, 
© photo Musée d’Orsay/rmm

to no factual basis. Resulting from these perpetuations was a distinct sense of Western superiority—the men and women of the Orient were thought to have been uncivilized, helpless, and backward. Many of the institutions and political ideologies that negatively affected Middle Eastern lives were either conceived because of or justified by these ideographs.

Prior to Edward Said, orientalist doctrines were left largely untouched and rarely criticized so widely and successfully. Certainly, within the
field of art history, paintings, sketches, and photographs were seldom considered to be capable of being ideological vehicles of colonial discourse. However, despite years of criticism and reorienting within many academic fields, much of the ideological products of orientalism have endured. Orientalists have long considered Islamic societies stagnant, primitive, or fundamentalist, especially regarding gender politics. Many Western scholars and policy makers today continue to perpetuate this myth in staging civilizing or emancipating missions for women as justification for invasion and interference in Islamic countries. The narrative of Islamic gender inequality has had a lasting legacy, with blatantly erroneous contemporary forms of the very same cultural production found in the time of French orientalists. The distinctly orientalist characterization of the helpless and politically impotent Eastern woman, found in the bare bodies and blank stares of French fabricated odalisques, has mutated and adapted to inform modern events and justify Islamophobic ideology.

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22 Ali, 34.


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