CORNERSTONE

AN UNDERGRADUATE HISTORICAL JOURNAL

Department of History

University of California, Riverside

NO. 38 MAY 2017

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Welcome to the 2017 issue of *Cornerstone,* the undergraduate historical journal published by the University of California, Riverside's Department of History. Every year, the journal receives numerous submissions representing the best in undergraduate research. The papers submitted this year reflected the variety of chronological and geographic focuses, methodological approaches, and multiplicity of perspectives that make history such a rich discipline. We are excited to see what these authors will accomplish in the future. An editorial board comprised of graduate students in the history department carefully reviewed these papers and are pleased to be able to honor five essays in this year's *Cornerstone*. One of these has been chosen to receive the Peter Schneider Award for the best paper in American history while another has been recognized with the Cornerstone Essay Award. We are excited to be able to share the following five essays in this year's *Cornerstone*: "Football in Buenos Aires: The People's Game, the Government's Tool" by Ali Saadat, "The Black Panther Party: The Political Vanguard of African Americans in Oakland" by Sierra Andrew, "A Smarter Persecutor: Examining Christian Conceptions of Persecution During Julian's Rule" by Nasiha Alicic, "Protectors not Protestors" by Joshua Little, and "Curing the Body and the Mind: Fighting Opium Addiction as Disease in Nineteenth-Century China" by Yang Li.

The Peter Schneider Award recipient for 2017 is Sierra Andrew, for her paper titled *The Black Panther Party: The Vanguard of Black Politics and Personhood in 1960s Oakland.* Ms. Andrew graduates from UCR this year with Bachelor degrees in History and African American Studies, and will join UCR's Education department in the fall to start work towards a Master of Education with an emphasis on diversity and equity. *The Black Panther Party: The Vanguard of Black Politics and Personhood in 1960s Oakland* takes a nuanced look at the foundation, evolution, and dissolution of the Black Panther Party in Oakland, California. Charting the ways in which the Bay Area's development produced a fertile breeding ground for social justice movements in the 1960s, Ms. Andrew persuasively argues that the Black Panther Party were leaders in "elevat[ing] urban communities nationwide while lobbying towards African American social, political, and educational liberation in Oakland." In her exploration of the Party's development, Ms. Andrew deftly tackles the issues of gender and racial identity, arguing that women within the Party "were just as adamant about changing the status quo for Black women as they were about dismantling white supremacy." She concludes that gender inequality within the Black Panther Party was a contributing factor to its dissolution. Perhaps most fascinating is Ms. Andrew's study of the collective memory of Oakland, as she lists the ways in which the legacy of the Party remains a leading symbol of liberation and uplift for Black Oakland residents. This paper is a strong exposition of an emerging scholar who will no doubt contribute to our understanding not only of historical social justice movements and organizations, but also how we can take those lessons and move towards a more just and equitable future.

Nasiha Alicic's "A Smarter Persecutor: Examining Christian Conceptions of Persecution During Julian's Rule" explores how Julian's efforts to marginalize and provoke conflict between various groups created a social and cultural crisis among Roman Christians. Alicic shows how Julian's used legislation to strip Christians of their Roman identity and force them to choose between religious and secular selfhood. Julian also employed strategies such as favoritism to incur infighting and revive ideological disagreements which threatened to destabilize segments

of Roman Christian society. Despite the fact that he did not directly employ violence in his persecution of Christians, many of the elites targeted by Julian came to see the emperor as a divine punishment for divisions within the Church. The author's meticulous research and analysis present a sophisticated and accessible understanding of a complex negotiation between the religious, social, and political selfhood under the pressure of governmental marginalization. This work demonstrates the high level of skill one would expect from a historian. The editorial board is pleased to award Alicic this year's Cornerstone Award for her adept treatment of her primary sources, cogent analysis, and skill in historical writing.

In "Protectors not Protestors," Joshua Little provides a timely and critical examination of the indigenous-led movement in opposition to the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline on the tribal lands of the Standing Rock Sioux. Little argues that while most mainstream media outlets have framed this movement as a "protest," the Native and non-Native activists at Standing Rock should be more accurately characterized as "protectors" of indigenous water, land, and sovereignty. Providing a critique of the ways the mainstream media has marginalized indigenous voices, Little turns his focus to an array of sources including independent news media, photography, and social media. These sources, according to Little, provide a more effective and vivid glimpse into the movement itself, placing greater emphasis on the perspectives and voices of indigenous water protectors and their allies. These sources also serve to illustrate the United States government's violent and coercive actions taken in its attempts to bring the movement to a halt. While the occupation of Standing Rock in 2016-2017 is far from the first mass movement led by Native people or people of color in defense of civil or sacred rights, Little emphasizes that social media's significant role in shaping popular perceptions and awareness of such movements is an extremely recent phenomenon. As indigenous peoples within and beyond Standing Rock continue to assert their sovereignty, Little's research takes up an extremely important place in a body of work that will grow throughout the twenty-first century.

In "Curing the Body and the Mind: Fighting Opium Addiction as Disease in Nineteenth-Century China," Yang Li offers an exciting study of the transformative effect of China's opium crisis on traditional medical practices and understandings of disease. Until the nineteenth century, physicians did not distinguish between the mind and body of the patient in medical treatment. Li's skillful case study of two medical texts shows that in the face of the unprecedented medical and social crisis of widespread opium addiction, doctors began to treat patients of a bifurcated model which distinguished between the bodily illness caused by opium use and patients' mental struggle to overcome addiction. Her use of medical and scientific analytic frameworks offers a fresh perspective on an important period of Chinese history.

In " Football in Buenos Aires: The People's Game, the Government's Tool," Ali Saadat explores Argentinians' agency during the military dictatorship of Junta leader General Rafael Videla during the late 1970s through the 1980s. During Videla's dictatorship, government controlled the use of public spaces in their quest to create a culture of fear and social control. Saadat's paper analyzes the way Argentinians took back their public spaces, and agency, by analyzing their use of football and football stadiums. Saadat provides two scopes for this analysis, a national and local perspective. The national lense is provided through his discussion of the 1978 FIFA World Cup and its power to influence international audiences as well as pressure Junta leaders. The local perspective is provided through an analysis of the Argentinian Club football. Finally, Saadat discusses Argentinians' collective memory in their quest to fight against state-sanctioned violence and regain their voice.

We are pleased to be able to honor these authors' work in this year's *Cornerstone*, and we look forward to seeing more from them in the future. We would also like to acknowledge the hard work of all the students who submitted their papers for consideration this year, and would like to thank them for sharing their research with us. We would also like to thank this year's faculty advisor, Dr. Natasha McPherson, as well as Veronica Ibarra, the Undergraduate Academic Advisor. The editors would also like to express their gratitude for the support of Department Chair Kiril Tomoff, Graduate Student Affairs Officer Iselda Salgado, Department Manager Michael Molinar, and Professor Lucille Chia.

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May 2017
Riverside, California

A Smarter Persecutor: Examining Christian Conceptions of Persecution During Julian's Rule

Nashi Alicic

Since the Edict of Milan in 313 CE, and intensifying after Constantine achieved sole rule over the Roman Empire in 324 CE, Christians in the Roman Empire had enjoyed imperial protection and patronage.[i] Julian's rise to power in 363 CE after the death of his cousin Constantius II, however, marked a change in imperial policy towards Christians. Although Julian's rule was not characterized by an outright and violent persecution of Christians in the manner of Diocletian and earlier pagan emperors, many educated and elite Christians understood and wrote about Julian's legislation as a persecution. Writers such as the Cappadocian theologian Gregory of Nazianzus and Church historian Sozomen viewed Julian's subtle measures as efforts to marginalize and cause contention between different Christian groups by threatening their social and cultural identity, as well as opportunity to gain high office. By framing Julian's actions this way, Christian elites living both during and after Julian's reign rendered his actions intelligible through the now traditional vocabulary of violent suffering and persecution.

Julian's persecution of Christians was motivated by his enmity toward Constantius and his belief that the gods had entrusted him with saving the Roman Empire, and by extension the Flavian dynasty, from ruin.[ii] According to the *Epistle of the Athenians*, written by Julian in 361 at his acclamation as Augustus, Constantius was not fit to rule or a legitimate representative of the Flavian dynasty. His massacre of Julian and Constantius' relatives in 337, his exile of Julian and his brother, and the murder of Julian's brother in 354 showed that Constantius was immoral and embodied the opposite of every imperial virtue that an emperor should possess.[iii] Furthermore, the *Epistle* "indicates that misapprehension of the true gods was to blame, at least in part, for the murderousness and the deviance of Constantine's dynasty, and that Julian's task, therefore, as the sole exception and sole remaining Flavian properly initiated into the true philosophy and its gods, was to reverse that course."[iv] According to Julian, the empire was falling apart not only due to the cruelty of Constantius, but because people were no longer worshipping the correct gods. To reverse this trend and save the empire, Julian had to find a means to convince people to convert to paganism from Christianity.

Julian did not target all Christians in a wide sweeping and physically violent attempt to convince them to convert to paganism. He instead targeted certain Christians in the upper echelons of Roman society through legal measures. One of his most famous pieces of legislation is the School Edict of June 362 A.D. that banned Christians from teaching works by pagan authors because they did not believe in the pagan gods.[v] This seemingly simple legal measure presented potentially far-reaching consequences for the educated Christian population of the Roman Empire. The law had the ability to threaten not only the livelihood of Christians who taught rhetoric, but also restricted "Christian access to the training that was *sine qua non* of a successful career in the elite world."[vi] Without this education, Christians were at a disadvantage to their pagan peers. As Romans, Christians embraced a rhetorical education as a necessary component to the education of a young man; a Christian could safely read pagan school texts so the he might possess the skills to advance in the public sphere of Roman society "as long as

[he] remained vigilant against the errors of the 'pagan' authors."[vii] A classical education did not just represent a collection of rhetoric techniques and knowledge of classical works, but was a crucial component of Roman cultural identity. Due to their conditional acceptance of classical works on the basis that it was important for social advancement, most Christians had not thought of creating a system of education that mimicked the classical works such as Vergil in a Christian context before Julian's rule.

The Christians that were affected by Julian's law, however, did not simply accept the precarious position that Julian's legislation had put them in. Some Christians sought to actively circumvent the law and the restrictions it presented to their advancement in society by adapting Christian texts to fit classical literary models. Among the most notable of these efforts included those of a father and son, both named Apollinaris. Socrates of Constantinople, a fifth century Church historian, reports the men as

> both being skilled in polite learning, the father as grammarian and the son as a rhetorician, they made themselves serviceable to the Christians at this crisis. For the former, as a grammarian, composed a grammar consistent with the Christian faith. He also translated the Books of Moses into heroic verse; and paraphrased all the historical books of the Old Testament, putting them partly into dactylic measure and partly reducing them to the form of dramatic tragedy. He purposely employed all kinds of verse, that no form of expression peculiar to the Greek language might be unknown or unheard of amongst Christians. The younger Apollinaris, who was well trained in eloquence, expounded the Gospels and apostolic doctrines in the way of dialogue, as Plato among the Greeks had done. Thus showing themselves useful to the Christian cause they overcame the subtlety of the emperor through their own labours.[viii]

These efforts to recreate classical literary techniques through the medium of Christian scripture highlighted the dilemma the educated Christians faced under Julian's rule. Many Christians did not want to abandon their Roman cultural identity and sought to preserve it using their religious works, but ultimately, they could not replace nor completely replicate a traditional classical education. Julian's measure represented the threat that their religious and cultural identities would not be able to coexist under his rule. Christians would either have to choose between abandoning their cultural identity, which meant possibly sacrificing their position in society, or renounce their Christian faith in order to keep their job or obtain an education, which would mean abandoning their religion and the possibility of a peaceful afterlife.

Educated Christians recognized these laws as a type of persecution. Christians had become accustomed to thinking of persecution as a physically violent action. Julian's legal actions, however, did not fall into this pre-constructed narrative of persecution. According to Sozomen, a fifth century church historian, Julian did not refrain from violence because he felt "compassion towards the Christians[...]but because he had discovered that paganism had derived no advantage from their tortures, while Christianity had been especially increased, and had become more honored by the fortitude of those who died in defense of the faith."[ix] As a result, the Christian elite had to redefine persecution to include Julian's actions and their effects. To

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Christian thinkers like Rufinus, Julian "showed himself more astute than the others as a persecutor in that he ruined almost more people by rewards, honors, flattery, and persuasion, than if he had proceeded by the way of force, cruelty, and torture."[x] Rufinus lists the measures that Julian took against Christians in public life that would have affected their advancement in Roman society. Julian's measures against Christians include forbidding those who did not sacrifice from holding posts in the civil and military services, and not allowing Christians to govern the provinces or become judges because their religion "forbade them to use the sword."[xi]

Rufinus' writing shows a larger shift in thinking of the Christian elite. For example, Socrates attempts to explain how Julian's actions qualified as a persecution in relation to the tradition of martyrdom Observing that those who suffered martyrdom under the reign of Diocletian were greatly honored by the Christians, and knowing that many among them were eagerly desirous of becoming martyrs, he determined to wreak his vengeance upon them in some other way. Abstaining therefore from the excessive cruelties which had been practiced under Diocletian; he did not however altogether abstain from persecution (for any measures adopted to disquiet and molest I regard as persecution). This then was the plan he pursued: he enacted a law by which Christians were excluded from the cultivation of literature; 'lest,' said he, 'when they have sharpened their tongue, they should be able the more readily to meet the arguments of the heathen. [xii]

Likewise, according to Rufinus, Julian is unlike the other persecutors of the past because he recognized the danger of using physical violence against Christians.[xiii] Since Julian was raised as a Christian, he thus understood the importance and power of martyrdom in the Christian community. Julian's attempts to revive paganism, then, do not rely on capital punishment, but instead on taking away the Christian ability to adequately articulate their arguments and rebuttals by restricting their educational opportunities. Without Christians trained in rhetoric, Julian would be able to persuade ordinary Christians to convert to paganism more easily. Julian and his legislation represented a threat to the dominance of the Christian religion and the elite Christians that were active in Roman society. Such laws restricted attempts by the Christian elite to advance their position in society by closing off paths normally associated with the successful upward progression of an upper-class Roman. In addition, these laws represented a challenge to their previously coexisting identities as a Roman and as a Christian. To advance in society, they would have to pursue a rhetorical education, rejecting their Christian identity. On the other hand, to continue to practice Christianity meant that, in all likelihood, a Roman elite male would not be able to progress very high in the government or public life. Julian and his legislation represented a threat to the dominance of the Christian religion and the sense that educated, elite Christians were being punished and pushed out of high society.

In order to render Julian's attentions intelligible, Christians sought to redefine the violent persecutions of the second and third century to fit Julian's actions. Although they were facing an emperor who preferred subtle legal actions over the forceful policies that previous pagan emperors had employed, Christian writers returned to the theme of "red" martyrdom and physical violence that

was common to the narratives of persecution under the rule of earlier emperors.[xiv] For example, Gregory of Nazianzus, one of Julian's staunchest opponents "declares himself, his father and mother, and Basil to have been among the direct victims of Julian's persecutions, like two others, unnamed, who had resisted torture and threats."[xv] In reality, however, Gregory and his family had not been tortured and Gregory actually was able to advance to become a presbyter. This was an attempt to adapt the language of violent persecution as seen in martyrologies to the treatment experienced under Julian. Gregory's *Oration* not only connects Julian's rule to the persecutions that had come before, but also reveals his motives for accusing the emperor of such actions. Gregory was attempting to connect himself to the tradition of martyrdom and persecution by inventing a story of his suffering at Julian's hands. Although he did not die, he was attempting to build a narrative that glorified him and made him an authoritative voice in the resistance against Julian.

In addition to his legislature restricting education, Julian took a distinctly passive approach to handling violent conflicts between Christians and non-Christians. His refusal to sanction violence lead to the belief that Julian was indirectly instigating violence against Christians. Gregory accused Julian of allowing his hatred against the Christians to be expressed by "mobs and [...] towns, of whom the frenzy is less open to blame on account of their want of reason, and inconsiderate impetuosity in everything; and this he did, not by means of public order, but by not suppressing their outbreaks, making their will and pleasure an unwritten law."[xvi]Julian's silence on these issues amounted to the belief that Julian approved of anti-Christian action, despite the absence of an official persecution. For Gregory, Julian's inaction regarding violence against Christians within the empire was the same as if Julian himself had instigated the violence. Sozomen, like Gregory, places the blame for violence against Christians solely on the emperor's shoulders. Sozomen observes that Julian "only visited the perpetrators of such deeds with verbal rebukes, while, by his actions, he argued them on in the same course. Hence, although not absolutely persecuted by the emperor, the Christians were obliged to flee from city to city and village to village."[xvii] While acknowledging that Julian did not explicitly order violence against Christians, Gregory and Sozomen use Julian's lack of significant retaliation against attacks as justification for framing Julian as a violent persecutor.

Gregory and Sozomen use the example of the attack and killing of bishop George of Alexandria by citizens of the city during a rebellion to show how Julian's inaction made him a violent persecutor. George treated the pagans of Alexandria with hostility, insulting them in speeches, preventing pagans from offering sacrifices and celebrating feasts "brought Artemius 'duke' of Egypt, much given to the destruction of idols, with an armed force into the superb temple of Serapis at Alexandria, which was forthwith stripped of images, votive offerings, and ornaments."[xviii] The news of Julian's accession to Augustus reached Alexandria in November 361, and motivated the pagans of Alexandria to take action against George.[xix] Although these two sources imply that such violence was done mainly because of George's religious beliefs, the pagan historian Ammianus Marcellinus provides another reason for the attack of George and two other man by the mob of angered citizens.

The citizens did not hate George

because he was a Christian, but because he had poured "into the ready ears of Constantius charges against many, alleging that they were rebellious against his authority."[xx] Rebellions and treason against the emperor were often put down violently, so while the mob may have had reason to silence George, the impetus behind the attack was not centered on issues of religious affiliation. Ammianus does not deny that George or the others harmed by the Alexandrians were Christian and that there was some religious aspect to the killings. As George had insulted a pagan temple, the pagan members of the crowd feared that George and the others would become martyrs, but Ammianus also states that they were not protected by their fellow Christians because, "all men without distinction burned with hatred for [George]"[xxi] presumably because George told Constantius lies about the obedience of the population as a whole to Constantius' authority, and not the pagans alone. According to Ammianus' account, the motivation and actions of the crowd could not be solely blamed on pagans because George's actions had also angered Christians, who had either participated or allowed for the violence to take place even though they could have come to the aid of George and the other men killed. The contestation of the circumstances of the event underscore the framing devices used by Gregory and Sozomen: by understanding George's death in the traditional manner of violent persecution, their relationship to the emperor could be better understood along traditional lines.

In addition, unlike Sozomen and Gregory, Ammianus does not attribute Julian's lack of retribution for the violence against George and the two other victims to Julian's own actions. Instead, Ammianus states that Julian "was bent upon taking vengeance, but just as he was on the point of inflicting the extreme penalty upon the guilty parties, he was pacified by his intimates, who counselled leniency[…] He issued an edict expressing [...] his horror at the outrage that had been committed, and threatened extreme measures in case in the future anything was attempted contrary to justice and the laws."[xxii] Although, as Ammianus reported, Julian may have expressed a desire to punish those responsible for violence against Christians, the Christian authors did not see the situation in the same light. Gregory and Sozomen frame Julian's restraint in inflicting punishment on those responsible for violence and only reprimanding them in words not as a sign of benevolence, but as proof of Julian's hatred for Christians being expressed on Julian's behalf by violent mobs. In addition, the attacks that are most emphasized in writing and speeches are those on prominent Christians, such as George; demonstrating that the elite were gravely concerned that Julian's policies were and attack on the social order instituted by previous Christian emperors.

Despite the impression conveyed by Gregory, it is important to remember that not all Christians were targeted by Julian and not all Christians opposed his rule. An example of this disparity in the case of Antioch. Antioch was an Homoean stronghold, meaning that a majority of its Christian inhabitants believed that Jesus was of a similar substance as God, as opposed to the official doctrine articulated by the Nicene Creed 325 that Jesus was of the same substance as God.[xxiii] Julian, who was in residence in Antioch in 363, was aware of the city's Homoeon majority and targeted them because their position was closely associated with the rule of Constantius.[xxiv] A minority group of Christians in Antioch, however, benefited from Julian's reign.

Sozomen reports that "the 'Old Church remained open, with its bishop, Meletius, reinstalled after he returned from exile." Similarly, "the church of Paulinus," "one of Constantius' staunchest opponents, likewise remained open for worship, and [...] did not share the difficulties of Euzoius and the Homoeans."[xxv] Constantius exiled Meletius in 361 for a series of orations that displeased Constantius[xxvi] and Paulinus was a supporter of the idea that God and Jesus were of the same substance, setting him as an opponent to the Homeon doctrine supported by Constantius.[xxvii] To Orthodox Christian writers, Julian's recall of Meletius and the fact that Paulinus' church did not face the same difficulties of Euzoius, a supporter of Constantius, was evidence not of Julian's kindness but of the emperor's intention to create tension between different Christian sects. Sozomen asserts that Julian did not issue "this order on their behalf, not out of mercy, but that through contention among themselves, the churches might be involved in fraternal strife, and might fail of her own rights"[xxviii] Once again, Julian is undermining Christian identity by promoting instability and conflict.

This perception of the situation is not only supported by Christian authors. According to Ammianus Marcellinus, Julian did not choose to return exiled clergy out of kindness, but because of Julian's belief "that as freedom increased their dissension, he might afterwards have no fear of a united populace, knowing as he did from experience that no wild beasts are such enemies to mankind as are most of the Christians in their deadly hatred of one another.'"[xxix] Julian was aware that the limited unity that the Christians were able to build among themselves was partly made possible by the exiling of those who did not support the view held by the sitting emperor. Furthermore, it turned the tension and strife that his rule had inspired within many Christians inward so that their attention was on battling each other instead of opposing his rule. Reintroducing Christians that Constantius exiled threatened not only the stability of the religion itself, but reopened the arguments that had caused strife in the past.

Not surprisingly in light of this action, combined with Julian's other measures against Christians and the localized mob violence that was taking place against Christians in cities across the empire, many Christians came to view Julian's rule as a punishment from God. According to Gregory of Nazianzus, God had granted Julian the power to persecute and cause discord among Christians because, "the iniquity of the masses had grown and, one may say, the prosperity of the Christians had reached heights that required a reversal; power, honor, and satiety had made us arrogant."[xxx] Julian, although he was a persecutor, was also meant to teach the Christians a lesson. Christians had grown too accustomed to their place as the religious group favored by emperors, and that had made them become arrogant and complacent. While they had been oppressed and persecuted by pagan emperors, Christianity had gained strength as people were impressed by their commitment to their religion and their willingness to die for it rather than convert to paganism. The persecution that Julian instituted was a reminder that Christians could not grow complacent with the order of things, as it could be reversed, and that it was their responsibility to resist Julian's attempts to convert them to paganism and stay faithful to the true religion of God.

Although Julian's policies were not violent, many Christian writers living after his rule remember his lack of action when Christians were harmed physically as an

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attack against Christianity itself. According

to the view of several Christian writers, Julian may not have implemented laws that promoted violence, but he was responsible for the harm that came to Christians across the empire because he was the emperor and should have taken a firmer stance against the violence in order to put an end to it. Julian further targeted Christians by returning exiled priests and favoring some Christian groups over others. Such actions revived the issues that had been settled under the rule of Constantius, promoting fighting and disagreements that threatened the newly won and fragile stability of the church. Although not a disaster in the most commonly used sense of the word, to Christians Julian's legislation was an organized persecution, considered to be punishment from God for sinful behavior and recast in violent terms to fit the framework of violent persecution developed under Diocletian.

Nashi Alicic

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[iv] *Ibid*., 80.
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[xv] Gregory of Nazazinus, Or. 5.40. For further information, see Elm, Susanna. *Sons of Hellenism, Fathers of the Church: Emperor Julian, Gregory of Nazianzus, and the Vision of Rome* (U of California Press: Berkeley, 2012), 466.
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[xvii] Sozomen. *Ecclesiastical History, Book 5,* Chapter 15. Translated by Chester D. Hartranft. From *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series*, Vol. 2. Edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace.(Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1890.) Revised and edited for New Advent by Kevin Knight.
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Protectors not Protesters

Josh Thunder Little

Photography has long played a significant role in documenting the relationship between Native American tribes and the United States of America. Some of the first photographs of Native people were taken before the effects of colonization radically altered their ways of life. Photographers such as Edward Curtis captured images of Native American people in an effort to document their lives. Academic historians have often written and taught history in a way that perpetuates colonization and silences Native epistemologies. European colonists and settlers chose not to immerse themselves in Native cultures, nor did they make an effort to understand the ways in which Native American people lived their lives. Historical curriculum and common knowledge is often told through the lens of the victors: Euro-Americans. Rises in education and the increasing availability of many outlets of media have allowed Native Americans and their allies to reshape popular perceptions of the relationship between the United States and indigenous people. Indigenous journalists and allies are now taking action to reveal the truth behind the United States government's historical and present treatment of Native American people. One of the largest Native American led movements to ever occur has centered around the opposition to the Dakota Access Pipeline, an oil pipeline that is currently being built through Lakota territory. Many Native American people and allies are leading a movement in opposition of the pipeline because it runs through Indian land legally granted to Native Americans by treaty. A plethora of media sources on various platforms has led to a worldwide awareness of this movement. Social media is changing the ways in which Native people are represented and helps to reveal how the mainstream media often misrepresents political movements. Independent news sites and journalists are currently doing excellent work reporting on the opposition to the Dakota Access Pipeline. The work of independent photographers and journalists is transforming discussions and representations of Native American people and issues in social media. In stark contrast to the mainstream media, independent media sources are now providing reliable and accurate coverage of the movement, a movement that above all else calls for the protection of water.

One of the most important aspects of the media's coverage is the language employed to denote those that are in opposition of the pipeline. Headlines or titles to videos serve to shape the perceptions of those that see and hear them. Many of these videos and photos rely on the term "protesters." This term, despite its popularity in the mainstream media, does not accurately characterize the movement. The proper word to describe the individuals that have led and been a part of this grassroots movement is "water protectors." It is imperative that all people use the term "water protectors" rather than "protesters," because it shows the world that those opposed to the pipeline are chiefly concerned with protecting the Earth. The Earth provides people with food, water, and shelter, and employing the word "protector" reveals action to protect a precious resource. While the word "protest" is in some ways relevant, as the movement is a protest against a pipeline, "protector" is a more accurate description of the role so many people have taken for the past several months. They are protecting. Mainstream media outlets often spoke of protests, and did not use the term protector. Independent and alternative news sources used the term protector more often, because it more

accurately describes the intentions behind the movement.

In June of 2016, the movement to resist the Dakota Access Pipeline first started to gain momentum. Over the summer, people began to gather at the site of the proposed pipeline to demonstrate their resistance against its construction. Not long after this gathering had begun, the water protectors would face violence and terror. Private security companies were called to protect the Energy Transfers investments in the Dakota Access Pipeline construction so it could be completed in a timely manner. Independent photographers and journalists shared these photos of dogs attacking both people and horses, and injuring them. Amy Goodman, a reporter from Democracy Now, was on the ground with the protectors, interviewing them about this violent act.[1] Since major news networks were not present to capture every moment of the movement, independent news networks like "Democracy Now" provided the primary coverage of this atrocity. One image that captured this horrific incident soon came to form part of a political meme displayed in figure 1.[2] It incorporates one image from Selma in 1965 alongside another image from Standing Rock in 2016. The juxtaposition of these images with their corresponding years demonstrate that the same violent tactics are still being used against people of color fifty-one years later.

As time went on, more people came to be a part of the movement. Large influxes of people contributed to the increase in social media posts of the events that were occurring. One of the pages that has archived many of the events and daily life at the three camps (Sacred Stone Camp, Red Warrior Camp, and Oceti Sakowin camp) during the movement is the "Standing Rock Rising" Facebook page. This page is an archive of daily life during the movement.[3] Figure 2 is much like many of the others that appear on the "Standing Rock Rising" Facebook page. It raises awareness of how the United States treats the indigenous people of the land they currently occupy. This single photo raises numerous questions about the relationship between the United States and Native people. There is one water protector in this photo facing a highly militarized police force. The individual is wearing jeans and t-shirt in front of an army of police officers, Humvees, Bearcat armed personnel vehicles, and snipers. This movement is a peaceful action, and there were never any reports of water protectors using firearms. This single photo displays to the world the absurdity of the United States government's protection of corporate interests of the elite. Facebook has become one of the most effective platforms to reveal to the world this movement to ensure clean water for people. Over a billion people throughout the world have Facebook accounts and interact with each other on a daily basis. Social media sites such as Facebook can quickly circulate images around the world. Prior to social media there was a delay in seeing photographs around the world. Increased accessibility to media serves to help movements such as this one gain greater support and awareness.

The photo of the water protector on horseback in figure 2 was taken during a standoff between the water protectors, police, and National Guard in October 2016. The same day that this photo was taken, Unicorn Riot, which describes itself as an "alternative media" network, captured live footage of the chaos that unraveled. One journalist with Unicorn Riot did an excellent job recording a video on the day of the clash between the protectors and armed forces.[4] Other media outlets typically do not send journalists to observe the violence that ensues in these kinds of clashes. When the journalist of Unicorn Riot stood in the midst of the standoff, they offered a first person

point of view of the turmoil that occurs at the sites of the demonstrations. Their reporting illustrates the brutality the police force unleashes upon unarmed people. News media will usually report on such events from a certain distance, or draw on the reports of their news correspondents in the field, but now journalists armed with live camera feeds and audio recording devices can provide greater, more accurate, and immediate coverage. Before the rapid development of video technology, no news sources could disseminate information so quickly from hundreds if not thousands of miles away as Facebook live feeds do today. Now that this technology is widely available, people are using it to better represent indigenous voices in the media.

While independent photographers and journalists have provided excellent coverage of these events, some in the media have openly criticized and denounced the movement and what it seeks to accomplish. One particular video that has recently gained millions of views features political pundit Tomi Lahren. She works for "The Blaze," a conservative multiplatform news and entertainment network available on several media sites. One of Lahren's political commentary segments, "Final Thoughts," is regularly posted on Facebook. Her videos receive millions of views and speak to conservative voices across the nation. In one of her segments on the Dakota Access Pipeline, she fails to acknowledge the importance of one critical issue with the pipeline project.[5] The Treaty of Fort Laramie of 1851 states that the land in question is legally reserved for the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe.[6] In this segment, Tomi Lahren states the protestors at the site need to **"**follow the law." According to the Supremacy Clause in the United States Constitution, a treaty is the Supreme Law of the land.[7] All citizens in the United States need to recognize that it is illegal to trespass on treaty land. A treaty was signed between the indigenous people of the area and the United States. It is a legally binding document that should be upheld by both parties. Lahren also specifically claims that the pipeline does not travel through Native land. While all of the United States is Native land historically speaking, the stipulations of the Treaty of Fort Laramie clearly state the territory the pipeline passes through is legally Native land. Lahren's claim that the pipeline does not travel through Lakota territory is unequivocally false. While she has described herself as a strong supporter of the Constitution, her many discussions on video segments reveal her total disregard for the United States Constitution. She openly contradicts herself on various media segments providing no factual information and only her uninformed opinions on the matter.

The millions of views Lahren receives on her videos do an injustice to the water protectors at the Dakota Access Pipeline. Fake news and opinion-based statements often make up the mainstream "news," but do not constitute the truth. As is often heard today, they are examples of "alternative facts." Lahren's ability to reach so many people with her social media outlet is negatively affecting the movement of the water protectors. Media outlets such as The Blaze prove that the new sources of media that often help water protectors discuss their movement with the world can also be used against them. She takes the information that best fits her own political narrative, and uses her media platform to reinforce the idea that these activists are not water protectors, but an inconvenience to the United States. In this way, social media employs much of the same rhetoric used against Indian people in the past. Under this narrative, Native people are described as a problem, a population that must be forced into a different lifestyle, because the Native American way of life is

not the "right" one. This is what some of Lahren's viewers begin to theorize in their mind. Media holds a powerful influence on people if no one questions what they are told or shown. Whether Lahren sees it or not, she is highly influential to many people and is misrepresenting the movement at Standing Rock. From the perspective of an American that has an interest in oil and a disregard for the law, she is telling her truth. The protectors that post live videos and pictures of what happens on the site are telling the truth of the chaos that ensues at this movement and the law that is written in the Constitution, and in treaties. Networks such as "The Blaze" work to misrepresent the movement and are successful in doing so when viewers choose to ignore other voices in the movement.

Another important component of the media coverage that has played a significant role in shaping popular perceptions can be seen in the celebrities that have shown their support for the movement. Many have used social media to express their solidarity with the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe and water protectors. One such celebrity that went to the site and even got arrested there was actress Shailene Woodley.[8] Woodley has had starring roles in movies such "Divergent" and "The Fault in Our Stars." Millions of fans follow her Instagram or Facebook, learning what she does every day and what she believes in. Woodley's open expression of support to her masses of followers helps provide a whole new audience for the movement. In the 1970s, during the occupation of Wounded Knee, Marlon Brando, a famous Hollywood actor, chose not to attend the Academy Awards for his award. He instead received the help of Sacheen Littlefeather, a Native American woman that read a statement outlining Brando's disapproval of the depiction of Native Americans in the American film industry.[9] Shailene Woodley used her popularity as a celebrity much like Marlon Brando did. Due to the profound influence celebrities exert in the world, their support can be extremely beneficial for the movement. Other celebrities that have used their notoriety to express their concern for the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe include Rosario Dawson, Mark Ruffalo, Jason Momoa, Ezra Miller, Ray Fisher, and Leonardo Dicaprio.[10] The overwhelming support of these celebrities brings an unprecedented level of notoriety and awareness to the movement. Actors such as Woodley, Momoa, Miller, and Fisher portray fictional movie characters that fight for justice. In fictional roles they fight for justice, and in real life they stand in solidarity with this movement to oppose the Dakota Access Pipeline. Celebrities do have a larger voice in society compared to the average person, so they drew on their popularity to gather support for water protectors.

Figure 3 reveals another important aspect of the No Dakota Access Pipeline movement. Hashtags, like those in the photo above, have played a significant role in shaping popular perceptions of Native American people over the duration of this movement.[11] Tracing the usage of the hashtags "#mniwiconi" or "#waterislife" on social media sites such as Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter provide an archive of millions of photos available throughout the world. When one clicks on a hashtag, they are provided a massive online archive, and are able to view every other photo that is posted with that particular hashtag. Being able to see the long list of photos under these hashtags makes it easier to see the support of numerous and various people for the movement. One could search the hashtag "#waterislife," and every photo that is posted with that hashtag will appear.

The movement has also gained solidarity amongst other indigenous groups

of people. Hawaiian people, for example, came to express their solidarity with the Standing Rock movement, and with indigenous struggles generally. Some of the people pictured in figure 4 are holding up a triangular symbol with their hands, which indicates a different movement that indigenous Hawaiian people are currently involved in, concerning the mountain of Mauna Kea.[12] A telescope is proposed to be built on this mountain on the big island of Hawai'i. By expressing their solidarity with the Dakota Access Pipeline opposition, the Hawaiians also receive support for their movement. The pipeline construction on Standing Rock has disturbed and dug up sacred burial sites. Similarly, the proposed construction of the telescope in Hawai'i would disturb the sacred site of the Mountain of Mauna Kea.[13]

The eviction of the remaining protest camps in 2017 was also heavily reported. As the police and national guard were evicting the last remaining members of the Oceti Sakowin camp, an image began to circulate that displays the perspective of indigenous people on their relations with the United States government in contemporary times. It contains two photos of a Native American elder by the name of Regina Brave, one taken in the 1970s during the Wounded Knee occupation, and the other in February 2017 during the eviction of the Oceti Sakowin camp.[14]

During the early 1970s, a major political event took place in Lakota territory, on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota. During the Wounded Knee standoff, the Lakota people and allies from other tribes protested the Oglala Sioux tribal chairman, Dick Wilson, and his corruption.[15] The Wounded Knee occupation also protested the federal government and its disregard for the rights of Indian people. This photo reveals the presence of Oglala Lakota elder Regina Brave during the occupation on Pine Ridge in the 1970s, and now in the current year of 2017 at the site of the Oceti Sakowin territory. The day that the Morton County Police Department emptied the camp, they removed elder Regina Brave. Indian people continue to resist despite all the continuous efforts of the United States government to remove Indian people. Resistance is what this political meme reveals. Memes now form an important part of visual culture providing humor, political commentary, relationship advice and many other social topics. This image reveals that this elder has not given up and will not conform to America and leave her traditional lands. Over the course of 45 years, Regina Brave has actively participated in indigenous-led movements, as told through the combination of these two photos. Including the dates on the photos also emphasizes multiple points. One point this photo makes is that contemporary Native American people have not given up their resistance against the United States in the years since the Wounded Knee Occupation. This photo also reveals that the United States has not changed its treatment of Native American people. Police will remove an elder from her ancestral lands she is legally entitled to. Taken together, these photos have much the same effect as the image of the dogs attacking African Americans in the 1960s alongside water protectors in 2016. These photographs clearly demonstrate that despite the decades that have passed, Native people still endure the same violence and atrocities.

The forces that the state employed to remove all water protectors from the Oceti Sakowin camp were completely unnecessary and an overuse of power. The Fox News television site in North Dakota reported on the eviction of the camps in February 2017.[16] Their reporting, however, did not include live coverage of the removals. During that day, there were several

Facebook live news streams that captured footage of the arrests of the remaining individuals left at the camp. The Fox News anchors reported a news story, but the water protectors with the newsfeed brought the movement to the eyes of many smartphone users and provided a first person point of view of what it is like to be evicted from the camp. While some people may claim that it is "standard procedure" to deploy that much force to evict the protestors one must remember that what is "legal" or generally accepted is not always "right." It is important to question authority and remind this country that just because one has the power to do something does not mean it should be done. The images and videos that the water protectors have released remind people that maintaining the status quo and accepting things for what they are cannot be the right course.

CNN also provided some coverage of the eviction from the camps. Unlike Unicorn Riot, the CNN reporter Sarah Sidner did not go into the camp itself to report on the interactions between the water protectors and police. This severely limits the way in which a spectator of the news can view the situation. Independent media sources have proven capable of providing first-hand reports of the events that unfold at the protest site. One specific CNN segment discussed the burning of structures in the camp. During the evictions, CNN analyst Jake Tapper initially stated that the reason many people were burning the structures was because they were stuck to the ground or did not have enough time to break them down.[17] This analysis suggests that the remaining water protectors were lazy or were simply leaving a mess behind because they were unable to clean it up. A minute or two later in this same segment, Tapper reported that the burning of the lodging structures was actually for ceremonial purposes. In Native American spirituality, ceremonial burning often marks the end of an important event and a return of the materials back to mother earth. The problem that arises with this kind of news coverage is that audiences may only watch part of the segment, and ultimately do not hear the full story. While it is beneficial that Jake Tapper eventually corrected his error and stated the structures like these were being burned for ceremonial reasons, his initial statement will still have influenced his audience's perceptions. Statements like these are extremely powerful and problematic. CNN's coverage did include an interview with an elder from the camp, but overall their reporting was of a very limited scope. Seeing the arrests, removals, and the movement itself from the point of view of someone within the camp can drastically alter one's perspective, something that news reporters on major networks are often unable to do. The live footage captured by independent journalists and activists on social media make the experience feel so much more real. The coming of social media allows us to view the movement live from the confines of a personal screen on a tablet, computer, or phone. The mainstream media can pick and choose what to report on specifically, but a livestream of an incident and its aftermath can be viewed, raw and uncurated, with one's own eyes.

Another photo similar to the one of the water protector on horseback captured in October, was taken on the day the last camp was evicted in February 2017. Rob Wilson, an independent photographer, set up a Facebook page to report on the eviction of the Oceti Sakowin camp. In this photo, a water protector rides a bicycle in front of several armed police in full riot gear.[18] A man riding a bicycle in street clothes facing heavily armed and guarded police officials captures a profound moment on this day. The pictured individual means no harm, but the Morton County Police Officers have

essentially prepared for war with all the resources that were given to them for this evacuation. To strengthen their forces, the Morton County Police deployed two hundred law enforcement vehicles, Bearcat armored personnel vehicles, sixteen Humvees, and two hundred police and National Guard soldiers. Police relied on a similar level of force back in October of 2016. During both incidents, this type of force was entirely unnecessary. Despite this, the police still unleashed the same powerful forces to evict about a hundred people that were remaining at the camp sites.

The struggle against the Dakota Access continues into 2017, and many tribes and allies are doing everything possible to block the complete construction of this oil pipeline. Soon after Donald Trump ascended to the presidency, he signed an executive order to complete the Dakota Access Pipeline and to resume construction on another oil pipeline, the Keystone XL Pipeline.[19] Both pipelines will carry oil and pass through lands near water aquifers that are vital to the life of indigenous people in the northern plains of the United States. Despite this executive order and the evictions from the camp, water protectors will never give up. By organizing demonstrations in various cities, divesting from companies such as Wells Fargo that financially support the pipeline, and exploring legal options within the judicial system of the United States courts, protectors will continue to oppose these pipelines. Independent media and journalists have successfully televised this movement and documented many of the demonstrations and actions that have taken place throughout the world. Independent media and journalists have worked to cover the full story and record live footage of what occurs at the demonstrations and within the camps (Sacred Stone, Red Warrior, and Oceti Sakowin). Drones have also detailed the fight that was going on over the course of the movement. The mainstream media has covered this movement, but does not always frame it in an accurate manner. All media sources, despite their narrative differences, share a common theme, and that theme is resistance. Whether voicing support or criticism of the movement, more and more people continue to talk about this movement, and that is what is most important. It is also worth noting that this movement is not only an indigenous issue, but a human issue. All people need water to live. All citizens of the United States that live along the proposed route for the Dakota Access Pipeline are potentially affected. Historically speaking the United States is entirely Native land, so the pipeline is automatically a Native issue in that sense. From twenty-first century American perspective, there are many non-Native people that live along the proposed pipeline that fear that it could contaminate the water and land it runs under. The overwhelming support from Native and non-Native people around the world reveals that water is precious. Independent journalists and photographers have done an excellent job providing information, images, and videos of this movement. Media networks have brought both accurate and false narratives, depending on the particular news source. Researching this movement reveals that the use of independent photography and journalism is rapidly changing the ways that Native-led movements are depicted in American and world media. Many non-Native people have expressed their support for the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe and are not afraid to openly criticize the government's actions. The increasing availability of a wide variety of media has brought overwhelming support to the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe. It is truly remarkable how photography and video are shaping the future of political movements

such as this one. Mni Wiconi. (Water is life).

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Josh Thunder Little

Figure 1

Figure 2

Figure 3

Figure 4

Figure 5

Protectors not Protesters

Figure 6

Curing the Body and the Mind: Fighting Opium Addiction as a Disease in Nineteenth-Century China

Yang Li

Widespread opium addiction represented a public health crisis in nineteenth-century China. While opium addiction has been studied extensively as a political and social problem, scholars rarely view the epidemic through a medical historical lens. As the first serious drug addiction problem that the Chinese faced, opium addiction posed a challenge not only to the political elite, but also to struggling opium addicts, physicians, and Chinese medicine. Recent studies of opium's trade, consumption, and prohibition have largely focused on political responses and the effectiveness of state control, but neglected the effort of Chinese physicians in dealing with the widespread public health crisis.[i]

This paper will examine medical texts published in nineteenth-century China to reveal how Chinese physicians treated opium addiction as a medical problem. It will also explore how social and political contexts shaped medical knowledge. The medical texts reveal that opium addiction was recognized as a disease as early as the eighteenth century. Chinese physicians started to develop theories and treatments from the beginning of the nineteenth century. As a result of its encounter with this addictive drug, Chinese medicine went through a major transformation in which a mind/body dichotomy emerged and became the most pervasive framework to interpret opium addiction in the nineteenth century.[ii] Although on the surface the medical texts treat opium addiction merely as a medical problem rather than social or political problem, the mind/body dualistic view was in fact charged with the influence of political and social conditions in this period.

By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Chinese had already been familiar with the poppy plant (*yingsu* 罂粟) for thousands of years for its medicinal use. For example, the renowned *Compendium of Materia Medica* (*Bencao Gangmu* 本草纲目) records the use of opium in the form of seed, sprout, poppy shell, and dried fluid gathered from poppy seed pod, which was a relatively new form of opium (*apian* 阿片, or *afurong* 阿芙蓉) responsible for the widespread opium smoking.[iii] Employing the same style as any other medical description, the book introduces the basic characteristics of opium such as sour (*suan*), astringent (*se*), and warm (*wen*), as well as its major function, to cure diarrhea.[iv] The recognition of opium's medicinal use did not fade even when Chinese society developed an increasingly detesting attitude toward opium because of the addiction problem.[v]

Although the influence of missionary doctors coming to China in the nineteenth century has been emphasized in the study of Chinese medical history, Chinese physicians did not seem to get much help from other cultures in dealing with opium addiction at least for most of the nineteenth century.[vi] When the renowned anti-opium imperial commissioner Lin Zexu 林则徐 asked an American missionary doctor in Canton,

Peter Parker, for prescriptions to treat opium addiction, Parker replied that there was no medicine to cure addiction and that mandatory separation from the drug was the only way.[vii] Although missionary doctors often identified opium addiction as the most prominent problem in Chinese society, there was no record of them developing any treatment protocols until the 1890s.[viii] Aside from using alkaloids to replace opium, these treatments were less developed than those in Chinese medical texts almost a century prior. Some evidence suggests that medical knowledge on opium addiction may in fact have spread from China to other regions.[ix]

Extant medical texts indicate a rich history of treating opium addiction in Chinese medicine from quite early on. In 1765, opium addiction was not yet a widely spread social problem in China. However, Chinese physicians had noticed opium addiction and recorded it as a disease. The earliest record of opium addiction in a medical text is in *Bencao Gangmu Shiyi*本草綱目拾遺 (*A Supplement to Compendium of Materia Medica*), published in 1765. The author, Zhao Xuemin 趙學敏, describes in detail how people "cannot stay away from (opium) after smoking it one or two times," and that the detriment caused by opium addiction will "not stop until [the addict's] death."[x] This early text does not include any medical analysis on addiction aside from a description of the symptoms, nor does it provide any treatment.

The first analysis and treatment of opium addiction as a disease, though very brief, appears fifty years later in *Liuqiu Baiwen* 琉球百問 (*One Hundred Questions from the Ryukyu Islands*).[xi] Although the book was published in 1833, it records a physician Cao Cunxin's 曹存心 analysis of and treatment for opium addiction, formulated in the middle years of the reign of the Jiaqing 嘉慶 Emperor (r. 1796-1820) in the first decade of the nineteenth century.[xii] Cao notices that opium weakens patients' bodies, and thus all kinds of diseases arise.[xiii] He prescribes strong restorative medicine and opium paste to treat opium addiction, adjusting his prescription according to the seriousness of the addiction. Cao suggests gradually reducing the amount of opium taken as medicine. At the same time, he completely bans his patients from smoking opium again, warning that "if [the patient develops the habit of] double intakes, [the patient] will not be able to give up [opium] all his life!"[xiv] Cao was planning to write a medical work specifically on opium addiction, but died the next year without being able to do it.[xv]

As anxiety about opium addiction grew in the nineteenth century, physicians compiled medical monographs to respond to the crisis. The inclusion of opium addiction in this format underscores the seriousness of the epidemic. Two such monographs were *Jiumi Liangfang* 救迷良方 (*Effective Prescriptions to Save the Lost*), published in 1833, and *Jieyan Quanfa* 戒煙全法 (*Complete Methods of Smoking Cessation*), published in 1854.[xvi] Both of the monographs were reprinted in different provinces in the nineteenth century after they first appeared. Their popularity suggests that the monographs were viewed as successful and that treating opium addiction was necessary.

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problem went far

When this sense of crisis spread beyond the emperor and his court to wider society is unclear. In most of the medical texts, especially the early ones, opium addiction

seems to be treated merely as a medical problem. Although the emperor appears to

have been alarmed by the rise in opium addiction by the 1830s, it was not until the 1878 reprint of *Jieyan Quanfa* that the view of opium addiction as a state crisis emerged in the medical texts. Chen Lufeng 程履豐, who sponsored this reprint, states in his preface that the widespread opium addiction was related to the recession of the dynasty. He adds that he hopes that by spreading the medical knowledge people's lives in this "sainted dynasty" (*shengchao*聖朝) could be revived and the degenerating fortune altered.[xvii] Cheng Lufeng's perception of opium addiction as a state crisis in 1878 was perhaps partially due to his previous governmental position, which might have trained him to think about problems on a social and state level.[xviii] Yet the 1833 monograph *Jiumi Liangfang* facilitated by Lin Zexu, who was in a much higher official position, shows no clear sense of correlating opium addiction with the fate of the state. These medical texts, for their relatively weaker ideological function, were probably better indicators of Chinese society's view on opium addiction which did not perfectly unfold together with these prominent events in the dominant historical narrative on the opium problem in China. However, the relationship between opium addiction as a disease and as a political

beyond what appears on the surface of these medical texts. As the following discussion on *Jiumi Liangfang* will show, the nineteenth-century understanding and treatment of opium addiction in China was shaped by the agenda of the state and the

status of Chinese physicians. The first and probably the most widely circulated medical monograph on opium addiction, *Jiumi Liangfang*, was the product of a collaboration between the prominent anti-opium government official Lin Zexu, and a physician, He Qiwei 何其偉. Lin was serving as the Grand Coordinator of Jiangsu (*Jiangsu Xunfu* 江蘇巡撫) from 1832 to 1837. Lin noticed and demonstrated concern about opium addiction and consequently began to collect prescriptions to treat it at least since 1823.[xix] He Qiwei was a famous literati-physician in the same region. They became friends after He cured Lin's wife's liver disease.[xx] Lin gave the prescriptions he collected in the past to He and urged him to write a medical monograph on opium addiction. He Qiwei agreed and the result was the first Chinese monograph on treating opium addiction: *Jiumi Liangfang*.[xxi]

In treating this brand new disease, He Qiwei develops his own understanding of addiction and provides a binary view of the disease which was unprecedented in Chinese medicine. He defines addiction (*yin* 癮) as a combination of pleasure-seeking cravings and damage on various parts of the body as shown in symptoms and diseases.[xxii] Based on the nature of opium, He explains how opium weakens people's bodies and

provides curing methods to repair the harm

that opium smoke has done to each body part. He claims that after taking the medicine he prescribes, "[the addicts'] organs and *qi* will reject opium smoke," therefore, "even the most stupid people know and can resolutely repent and return [from being lost to a healthy life]."[xxiii] He adds that:

> It is easy to cure the physical addiction to opium (*yanyin* 煙癮), but hard to treat the addiction of the mind (*xinyin* 心癮). [If the patient] is willing to let addiction develop into a carbuncle attached to the bone, and will not give up [opium smoking] until death, then even elixir that can remold bones cannot do anything.[xxiv]

He's analysis demonstrates a clear distinction between the addiction of the body and the addiction of the mind.

Such a binary view not only satisfied He Qiwei, but also aligned with the agenda of the state at the time. In the same memorial that Lin Zexu sent to the Daoguang 道光 Emperor (r. 1820-1850), which contains the medical analysis of opium addiction from *Jiumi Liangfang*, Lin uses the mind/body dichotomy of addiction to argue for imposing capital punishment on opium addicts.[xxv] Lin claims that "as to opium, it is not hard to eradicate opium addiction, but hard to alter the addicts' mind [that wants to smoke opium against the law], and in order to alter the mind that ignores the law, how can we not establish laws that could scare the mind?"[xxvi] Lin suggests setting a three-month deadline to force opium smokers to quit and implementing punishments up to the death penalty after three months of non-compliance. Qing emperors did enact tough laws to punish opium smokers, but they usually had little effect and were soon ignored.[xxvii] As the opium epidemic decimated the work force and crippled the economy, the state desired to control individuals' bodies, enabling them to function as productive laborers who would continue to produce wealth that stayed in the country. He Qiwei's theory provided a perfect framework upon which the state could make sense of a socio-economic and political problem it found both necessary and difficult to control. It is unclear how much Lin contributed to He Qiwei's theory, but he no doubt found it useful and readily applicable. Besides sending it to the emperor hoping that the emperor could promote it widely in the empire, Lin also promoted He Qiwei's analysis and prescriptions and spread them in the provinces that he governed.[xxviii] The popularity of this first monograph and the spread of the dualistic view is at least partially due to Lin's promotion.

Jiumi Liangfang was reprinted at least sixteen times after its first publication in 1833.[xxix] It was also selected for a popular collection of medical books, *Chen Xiuyuan Yishu* 陳修園醫書.[xxx] The content of the book also spread through a memorial Lin sent to the Daoguang Emperor in 1838, to which Lin attached the analysis and four of the prescriptions from the book.[xxxi] The pills based on the prescriptions from the book were also widely spread throughout the nineteenth century, and were named after Lin Zexu as "Lin Wenzhonggong Jieyan Wan" 林文忠公戒煙丸 or "Lin Shiba" 林十八.[xxxii]

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The theory of addiction and treatment found in the second monograph *Jieyan Quanfa* follows the dualistic understanding of addiction. Chen's idea is similar to that of He Qiwei's in that opium weakens various parts of the body and that opium can provide satisfactory feelings. However, Chen pushes the understanding further by providing a theory on why the latter causes the former. Chen uses a metaphor of a walking man being pressed to walk faster. When opium is applied onto the organs, the organs are like the walking man being chased to walk faster, and the smoker would feel like "a hundred veins are boiling, happy and strong."[xxxiii] But it is only temporary and this pressure "goes against the rules of *yin* and *yang*, and the degree of urgency," and therefore exhausts the organs.[xxxiv] When there is no opium and the pressure stops, the organs perform worse than before. Chen then defines addiction as "pressing too hard, thereupon leading all the organs to be weak and tired and cannot be their own masters (*buzizhu* 不自主)."[xxxv] Using the term "cannot be their own masters (*buzizhu* 不自主)," Chen identifies an important feature of addiction more clearly: loss of control. The mind/body dichotomy is the most evident when Chen discusses treatments. Chen compares quitting opium smoking to returning home after travelling a long way and walking down after climbing up a high mountain, both of which are hard because of depleted resources and fatigue. The medicine he prescribes is then "to assist with travelling expenses and to nurture the strength."[xxxvi] Both Chen's analysis and treatment focus on bodily harm. Chen states that the treatment is good but will be compromised in three cases: "absurd people, lazy people, and capricious people."[xxxvii] Chen blames addicts for "not possessing a strong will and self-retaining the addiction of the mind" as well as for not being able to quit opium smoking.[xxxviii] In the end of Chen's own preface, he claims that it is not hard to quit opium smoking and that he himself has successfully withdrawn from opium using the method described in the book. This attempt to lend credibility to the effectiveness of the treatment also reinforces the mind/body framework and the moral stigmatization that comes with it.[xxxix]

It is unclear whether the author Chen Gongmin had read He Qiwei's *Jiumi Liangfang* when he published his own book in 1854. Chen does criticize the prescriptions circulating for their use of opium as an ingredient, indicating some familiarity with contemporary treatment of opium addiction.[xl] The fact that Chen adopted the same framework indicates it represented not only the idea of He Qiwei but also a broader trend in Chinese medical thought and Chinese society in general.

The idea that the addiction of the mind relies on one's willpower created anxiety, the evidence of which can be found in the subsequent reprints of the first monograph. Zhang Wenwu張文虎, a literatus working as a teacher in the Zhejiang 浙江 Province, wrote a preface for the 1850 reprint of *Jiumi Liangfang*. Zhang shares that he was

worried that one day he himself might become addicted to opium unknowingly, despite his being informed of its perils as well as the prescriptions to treat addiction when he was writing this preface.[xli] This indicates that Zhang realized that addiction was not completely dependent on the willpower of a person. Realizing the helplessness of people who could not get rid of opium addiction even if they wanted to, Zhang says that even people with "millions of wide and long tongues [meaning those who are good at persuasion]" cannot talk opium addicts out of the habit because they often did not "know to understand" (*zhiliang* 知諒) these addicts.[xlii] But Zhang mixes this sympathy with a moral judgment similar to that which we have seen previously. He claims that "the effective prescriptions to save the lost are only prepared for those who can really repent calamity," thereby reaffirming the mind/body binary and the moral stigmatization of those who cannot quit opium.[xliii] Although Zhang acknowledges the treatment of physical opium addiction, his concern about the unpredictability of mental addiction reveals the anxiety produced by the binary understanding of opium addiction.

It is evident from these texts that many physicians held on to the view that medicine could cure the loss of control caused by opium addiction. However, it cannot be read simply as the physicians being optimistic, nor can we conclude that such a framework of understanding addiction was purely a derivative of classic Chinese medical theories. Rather, this theory of addiction was also shaped by the social conditions of medical practice. Facing incurable patients almost everywhere, a framework that separates the addiction of the body and the addiction of the mind is necessary in order to maintain the authority and positive image of physicians. Such a framework places the burden on patients and frees physicians from any responsibility. By taking up this framework, physicians were separating the incurable mental component from being part of the bodily "disease" where the physicians were always omnipotent. As there is no viable way to actually measure a person's willpower, the addiction of the mind would remain a moral burden on opium addicts forever. Therefore, the mind/body dichotomy in interpreting opium addiction served to preserve the authority and reputation of physicians themselves as well as fitting the agenda of the state. In this context, the collaboration between Lin Zexu and He Qiwei symbolizes the state-physician cooperative in constructing the understanding of opium addiction as a mind/body dichotomy in nineteenth-century China.

Given this understanding, the smoking worm (*yanchong* 煙蟲) theory can be viewed as an approach that attempted to resolve such anxiety.[xliv] In the 1878 reprint of *Jieyan Quanfa*, Cheng Lufeng explains the widely circulated "smoking worm" theory of opium addiction, which he finds convincing.[xlv] Earlier evidence of the smoking worm theory can be found in *Zhigu Xinfang* 治蠱新方. In the 1835 reprint of *Zhigu Xinfang*, the editor Miao Fuzhao繆福照 adds an essay discussing opium addiction

to the original book.[xlvi] Miao argues that the effect of opium is no different from that of worm poisoning (*gudu*蠱毒). *Gu*蠱disease was an exotic and mysterious type of disease that was often identified as witchcraft. The name indicates that the host is under the control of these worms. Categorizing opium addiction as a kind of *gu* disease indicates that Miao perceives opium addiction as a condition in which both one's mind and body are to some extent controlled by the toxicity of opium. Miao's idea of opium

addiction as a *gu* disease and the popular smoking worm theory cited by Cheng show an alternative to the mainstream view on opium addiction. It contradicted the pervasive mind/body division adopted by the vast majority of medical texts, especially the most influential, *Jiumi Liangfang*.

Over the course of the nineteenth century, the mind/body dualistic understanding of opium addiction became the most pervasive theory in Chinese medical thought. Its

effects on society are reflected in the numerous reprints[xlvii] and reoccurrence in different medical texts. Chinese physicians created and adopted the binary view to exculpate themselves and place the burden of recovery squarely on the moral failings of their patients. While such a theory marks a new development in Chinese medicine, it also worked on the minds of millions of Chinese people who were struggling to make sense of their experience with opium.

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[i] The majority of the works on opium problem in China deal with the issue from these angles. Even when the books aim to study the social aspect of opium addiction, the medical view and treatment of opium addiction before the twentieth century is rarely seen. See for example: James M Polachek, *The Inner Opium War* (Cambridge, Mass: Council on East Asian Studies/Harvard University, 1992); Timothy Brook and Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi, *Opium Regimes: China, Britain, and Japan, 1839-1952* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); Joyce A Madancy, *The Troublesome Legacy of Commissioner Lin: The Opium Trade and Opium Suppression in Fujian Province, 1820s to 1920s* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003); David Anthony Bello, *Opium and the Limits of Empire: Drug Prohibition in the Chinese Interior, 1729-1850* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Asia Center, 2005); Yangwen Zheng, *The Social Life of Opium in China* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005); etc.

Paul Howard's dissertation discusses the effort of missionary doctors and briefly mentions a Chinese medical text. See Paul Wilson Howard, "Opium Suppression in Qing China: Responses to a Social Problem, 1729-1906" PhD diss., (Princeton University, 1998).

In the current dominant historical narrative, not only are the physicians' view and treatment often neglected, Chinese people's experience and perception of addiction have also largely remained unexamined except in an oversimplified fashion. A few works contribute to this aspect, see for example, historians Frank Dikötter, Lars Laamann, and Zhou Xun have studied the suffering of commoners in the forced detoxification during the Republican period in the 1920s and 1930s. Frank Dikötter, Lars Laamann, and Zhou Xun, *Narcotic Culture: A History of Drugs in China* (London: C. Hurst, 2004).

[ii] It is generally perceived that the mind-body dualism is an idea that appeared early in the West in contrast to China. Although the former has been contested by scholarships showing the much blurred boundary in many cases, it is still widely accepted that there is no mind-body dualism in traditional Chinese medicine. For a detailed history of the ideas in Chinese medicine, see Paul U. Unschuld, *Medicine in China: A History of Ideas* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).

[iii] Shizhen Li 李時珍, "阿芙蓉," in *Bencao Gangmu* 本草纲目 in *Qinding Siku Quanshu* 欽定四庫全書, 子部，Volume 23, 卷二十三, 255. Digitized by China-America Digital Academic Library (CADAL). https://archive.org/details/06048801.cn.

[iv] *Ibid.*

[v] Several of the texts treated in this paper still mention the medicinal use of opium even when they are treating opium addiction. For example, Zhao Xuemin adds to the end of the section that opium cures stomach ache miraculously, see Xuemin Zhao 趙學敏, "Yapian Yan鴉片煙," in *Bencao Gangmu Shiyi*本草綱目拾遺 (Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1969 [1765]), 47. Cao Cunxin also claims that opium is a miraculous medicine for diarrhea and spermatorrhea, see Renbo Cao 曹仁伯, "Yu lu语录," in Liuqiu Baiwen 琉球百问 (Nanjing: Jiangsu Kexue Jishu, 1983 [1859]), 87. Other medical texts also often mention the medicinal use of opium.

[vi] As noted in Footnote 1, Paul Howard's dissertation discusses the effort of missionary doctors but neglects the Chinese medical texts that in fact dated much earlier. See Paul Wilson Howard, "Opium Suppression in Qing China: Responses to a Social Problem, 1729-1906" PhD diss., (Princeton University, 1998).

Although opium smoking was not a problem only pertaining to the Chinese society in the nineteenth

century, it was also a serious problem in many different regions such as India, Burma, several other Southeast Asian countries, and also in Britain.

[vii] George B. Stevens and W. Fisher Markwick, *The Life, Letters, and Journals of the Rev. and Hon. Peter Parker, M.D.* (Boston and Chicago: Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, 1896), 173-175. Online source.

https://archive.org/details/39002011128577.med.yale.edu

Lin Zexu 林則徐 was one of the most important figures in modern Chinese history especially for his involvement in anti-opium activities. He was appointed as the imperial commissioner by the Daoguang 道光 Emperor (r. 1820-1850) in 1838 and was sent to Canton to stop the opium trade. He carried out the famous *humen xiaoyan* 虎門銷煙, destroying confiscated opium from the British merchants at the Tiger Gate near the sea. During the time of his imperial mission, the First Opium War broke out.

Peter Parker was one of the early American missionary surgeons who worked in China from 1830s to 1850s. For his life and work, see, Jonathan D. Spence, *To change China: Western advisers in China, 1620-1960* (Boston : Little, Brown, 1969).

[viii] See Chapter 4 in Paul Wilson Howard, "Opium Suppression in Qing China: Responses to a Social Problem, 1729-1906" PhD diss., (Princeton University, 1998), 118-169.

[ix] The earliest extant medical text treating opium addiction was actually a record of the conversations between the physician Cao Cunxin with his disciples from the Ryukyu islands. Historian Shigehisa Kuriyama in his work on how commercial drugs connected Britain, United States, Japan, India, and China, points out that Japanese ginseng was profitable in China exactly because ginseng was important in treating opium addiction, and that Japanese ginseng had different properties than North American ginseng and they complemented each other in the Chinese market. his indicates that at least Japanese merchants roughly knew how the Chinese treated opium addiction. American and Canadian merchants might also have known about it. It is of course premature to conclude definitely on the transmission of medical knowledge on treating opium addiction, but it is very likely and worth further investigation.

Renbo Cao 曹仁伯, "Yu lu语录," in *Liuqiu Baiwen* 琉球百问 (Nanjing: Jiangsu Kexue Jishu, 1983 [1859]), 87-88; Shigehisa Kuriyama, "The Geography of Ginseng and the Strange Alchemy of Needs," in *The Botany of Empire in the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. Yota Batsaki et al. (Baltimore: Dumbarton Oaks Publishing, 2017), 61-72. The evidence used to suggest that Japanese ginseng was used in China to treat opium addiction is from: Minami Kiji 陽其二, *Shina Bôeki Setsu* [Treatise on the China trade] 支那貿易説 (1878), 6-7.

[x] The excerpts are translated by the author unless otherwise noted. "吸一二次後刻不能離," and "不殺身不止," see Xuemin Zhao趙學敏, "Yapian Yan鴉片煙," in *Bencao Gangmu Shiyi*本草綱目拾遺 (Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1969 [1765]), 47.

The description in *Bencao Gangmu Shiyi* was derived from an earlier text, *Taihai Shicha Lu*臺海使槎錄 (*A Record on the Tour of Duty to Taiwan*). Published in 1736, *Taihai Shicha Lu* was written by an official, Huang Shujing黃叔璥, who was sent to Taiwan by the Qing government. Huang observed and recorded the custom of the places in Taiwan where he travelled. Shujing Huang 黃叔璥, *Taihai Shicha Lu*臺海使槎錄 (Taibei: Yiwen, 1966 [1736]).

[xi] Renbo Cao 曹仁伯, "Yu lu语录," in *Liuqiu Baiwen*

琉球百问 (Nanjing: Jiangsu Kexue Jishu, 1983 [1859]), 87-88.

[xii] *Ibid*, 87.

[xiii] *Ibid*, 87-88.

[xiv] "恐成雙飲，終身不能戒矣！" Renbo Cao 曹仁伯, "Yu lu语录," in *Ibid*, 88.

[xv] *Ibid*, 88.

[xvi] Qiwei He 何其偉, *Jiumi Liangfang* 救迷良方, in *Chen Xiyuan Yishu Qishier Zhong*陳修園醫書七十二種, ed. Chen Xiuyuan陳念祖 (Tai bei: Wen guang, 1957 [1833]), 2539-2548; Gongmin Chen 陈恭敏, *Jieyan Quanfa* 戒烟全法 (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1998 [1854]).

Although two does not seem like a large number, opium addiction was already among the very few diseases which were considered serious enough and attracted attention sufficient to motivate the writing of monographs. I counted the numbers of medical monographs on specific diseases in nineteenth-century China in *Song Yuan Ming Qing Yiji Nianbiao* 宋元明清医籍年表. The most frequently appeared disease is smallpox (*dou* 痘), followed by opium addiction and other diseases like various types of *shazheng*痧症, diphtheria (*baihou* 白喉), dysentery (*liji* 痢疾), cholera (*huoluan* 霍亂), each of them having one to three monographs published throughout the nineteenth century. Shijue Liu 刘时觉, *Song Yuan Ming Qing Yiji Nianbiao*宋元明清医籍年表 (Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 2005).

Further, the analysis of opium addiction and prescriptions also appear in many collected writings of physicians, collections of prescriptions, materia medica books, and even the collected writings of literati who were not medical practitioners. These medical texts include: in early nineteenth century, *Liuqiu Baiwen* 琉球百問, *Jiumi Liangfang* 救迷良方, *Zhigu Xinfang* 治蠱新方, *Fang Yuyicao* 仿寓意草, *Guisi Leigao* 癸巳類稿, *Chongqing Tang Suibi*重慶堂隨筆; in the middle of the nineteenth century, *Qianzhai Yihua*潛齋醫話, *Lenglu Yihua*冷廬醫話, reprint of *Jiumi Liangfang* 救迷良方, *Jieyan Quanfa* 戒煙全法; in late nineteenth century: *Wangshi Yicun* 王氏醫存, Reprint of *Jieyan Quanfa* 戒煙全法, *Chuaimo Youde Ji* 揣摩有得集, and etc.

[xvii] Lufeng Cheng 程履豐, "Preface序," in Gongmin Chen 陈恭敏, *Jieyan Quanfa* 戒烟全法(Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1998 [1854]), 3.

[xviii] Jie Zhang 张杰, "Qingdai Keju Shijia yu Difang Zhengwu 清代科举世家与地方政务," *Journal of Liaoning University* 辽宁大学学报 29 (2001): 41-46.

[xix] Zexu Lin 林则徐, "Zhi Yang Guohan 致杨国翰," in *Lin Zexu Shujian* 林则徐书简 (Fu zhou: Fujian renmin, 1985), 9-11.

[xx] Qiwei He 何其伟 and Shixi He 何时希, *He Shutian Yizhu Sizhong* 何书田医著四种, ed. Chen Xiuyuan 陈念祖 (Shanghai: Xuelin, 1984).

[xxi] *Ibid*, 55, 74-93.

[xxii] Qiwei He 何其偉, *Jiumi Liangfang* 救迷良方, in *Chen Xiyuan Yishu Qishier Zhong*陳修園醫書七十二種, ed. Chen Xiuyuan陳念祖 (Tai bei: Wen guang, 1957 [1833]), 2544.

[xxiii] "臟氣與煙拒格," and "雖下愚亦知可以毅然悔悟而返矣," in *Ibid*, 2545.

[xxiv] "則煙癮易治，心癮難醫，甘成跗骨之疽，死而後已，雖有換骨仙丹，亦末如之何矣。" in *Ibid*, 2545.

[xxv] Memorial is an important form of official communication between the emperor and the government officials in late imperial China. Zexu Lin 林则徐, "Chouyi Yanjin Yapian Zhangcheng Zhe筹议严禁鸦片章程折," in *Lin Zexu Ji* 林则徐集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 567-575.

[xxvi] “夫鴉片非難於革癮，而難於革心，欲革玩法之心，安得不立怵心之法。” in *Ibid*, 568.

[xxvii] For a detailed account of anti-opium laws and decrees, see, Ende Yu 于恩德, *Zhongguo Jinyan Faling Bianqian Shi* 中國禁煙法令變遷史 (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1934).

[xxviii] Zexu Lin 林□徐, “Chusheng Chana Yanfan Shoujiao Yanju Qingxing Zhe楚省□拏煙販收繳煙具情形摺,” in *Lin Zexu Ji* 林□徐集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 596-598.

[xxix] Qiwei He 何其伟 and Shixi He 何时希, *He Shutian Yizhu Sizhong* 何书田医著四种, ed. Chen Xiuyuan 陈念祖 (Shanghai: Xuelin, 1984), 69-70.

[xxx] Chen Xiuyuan in fact died in 1823, ten years before *Jiumi Liangfang* came out. But his name still remained and was continuingly used to market these collections.

[xxxi] Zexu Lin 林则徐, “Chouyi Yanjin Yapian Zhangcheng Zhe筹议严禁鸦片章程折,” in *Lin Zexu Ji* 林则徐集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 567-575.

[xxxii] Qiwei He 何其伟 and Shixi He 何时希, *He Shutian Yizhu Sizhong* 何书田医著四种, ed. Chen Xiuyuan 陈念祖 (Shanghai: Xue lin, 1984), 80-82.

[xxxiii] “百脈沸騰，暢然有力,” in Gongmin Chen 陈恭敏, *Jieyan Quanfa* 戒烟全法 (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1998 [1854]), 2.

[xxxiv] “與陰陽緩急之準違矣,” in *Ibid*, 2.

[xxxv] “迫之太甚，遂致五臟六腑皆衰憊而不自主，是謂癮也,” in *Ibid*, 2.

[xxxvi] “助其資，養其力,” in *Ibid*, preface (no page number).

[xxxvii] “妄人，懶人，反復無常之人是也,” in *Ibid*, 6.

[xxxviii] “矢志不堅，自留心癮耳,” in *Ibid*, 7.

[xxxix] “曾為煙累，乃據此法戒之,” trans. “I was once implicated by opium, and quit opium with this method,” in *Ibid,* preface (no page number).

[xl] *Ibid*, 2.

[xli] ‘Zhang Wenhu’s 張文虎preface,’ in Qiwei He 何其偉, *Jiumi Liangfang* 救迷良方, in *Chen Xiyuan Yishu Qishier Zhong*陳修園醫書七十二種, ed. Chen Xiuyuan陳念祖 (Tai bei: Wen guang, 1957 [1833]), 2542.

[xlii] “雖百萬廣長舌，亦無能為力役，多見其不知諒也,” in *Ibid*, 2542.

[xliii] “救迷良方為真能悔禍者聊備一籌,” in *Ibid*, 2542.

[xliv] The idea of *chong* 蟲 or *gu*蠱are similar to but not the same as parasites. They also refer to small worms that enter human body and can cause certain effects.

[xlv] Lufeng Cheng 程履丰, “An 按,” in Gongmin Chen陈恭敏, *Jieyan Quanfa* 戒烟全法 (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1998 [1854]), 18-19.

[xlvi] Shunde Lu路順德, and Fuzhao Miao繆福照, “Fu Yapianyan Sihao Lun附鴉片煙四耗論,” in *Zhigu Xinfang* 治蠱新方, in *Congshu Jicheng Chubian* 丛书集成初编 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1991 [1835]), 35-38.

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The Black Panther Party: The Vanguard of Black Politics and Personhood in 1960s Oakland

Sierra Andrew

The conclusion of World War II marked a tremendous rise in global independence movements throughout the late 1940s into the 1960s. Political uprisings in Africa and Asia prompted African Americans to challenge the system of white supremacy that kept Blacks subordinate in the country they helped build. Amidst urban unrest in the 1960s, Huey Newton and Bobby Seale founded the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense in Oakland, California. While the organization started as a vigilante police protection force, it ultimately expanded to include community service, political activism, and Black Pride. The party's major initiative was to build a self-sufficient Black community without the involvement of white institutions. Today, the original Black Panther Party is highly regarded by Bay Area residents, as city art, breakfast programs, and local legislation are still dedicated to the party's initiatives and its founders.[1] The Black Panther Party is important to Oakland's collective memory because the Party utilized their *Ten Point Platform* to elevate urban communities nationwide while lobbying towards African American social, political, and educational liberation in Oakland.

After World War II, the city of Oakland expanded to include suburban areas designated for middle-class whites. Whites benefitted from the New Deal, which granted them upward mobility, among other things, and which disenfranchised many inner city African Americans. The Federal Housing Authority established as part of the New Deal refused to grant mortgages to African Americans in white neighborhoods across the country.[2] As a result of these exclusionary practices, the Federal Housing Authority in effect created segregated housing districts in which African Americans remained in poverty-stricken areas. Though the 1963 Rumford Open Housing Act prohibited housing discrimination, conservative legislatures lobbied for the right to own and lend property exclusively. According to conservative logic, the right to purchase property regardless of one's ethnic background interfered with the property holders rights to sell and rent homes to those they deemed a "good fit" for the neighborhood.[3] This form of de facto segregation allowed white property owners to bar African Americans from certain neighborhoods, subjecting them to poor housing conditions. This housing phenomenon would be one of many factors which would have great influence over Oakland's destabilized race relations.

Oakland, California, the central location of the Black Panther Party, was also a city divided by two post-war political agendas. The first agenda sought "expansions of the social wage and racial equality," while the second celebrated property rights and land ownership characterized by Populist-Conservative beliefs.[4] The welfare state that was established by the New Deal fell short in African American communities, as institutionalized racism permitted persistent poverty in communities of color. Segregationist housing, unbalanced employment, and the exclusion of Black employees sanctioned by exclusionary labor laws contributed to the shortcomings of the post-war provisions.[5] The failure of the New Deal caused African Americans in Oakland to rally around Black Nationalism to achieve economic, political, and social equality. Frustrated African Americans dreamed of a reality that granted them ownership of the political and social institutions present in their communities. Persistent police brutality and financial inequality in urban American

cities resulted in African Americans focusing on resisting structural violence through the celebration of Black Power.[6] African Americans in the inner city began to reject integration as a way to resist legal segregation, replacing integration efforts with Black Nationalism and independence

Following the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the United States experienced upheaval, as structural poverty and institutional racism began to be challenged by marginalized citizens. The 1960s marked the first time that television programming allowed Americans to view the horrors of segregation and poverty in their own homes. The year 1965 commenced with frustrated residents participating in nationwide riots in city ghettos as communities responded to white oppression and extreme poverty. The most notable inner city riot of the 1960s took place in Watts, California, after the Los Angeles Police Department violently arrested motorist Marquette Frye.[7] Prior to Frye's arrest, Officer Lee Minikus stopped him for allegedly driving while intoxicated. A crowd of 300 disturbed onlookers grew as the arrest became more contentious. In Watts, the relationship between residents and the police reached a breaking point with the violent arrest of Frye.[8] The altercation triggered a major riot between police and residents, who had grown tired of the lack of justice in the neighborhood, and who eventually caused over thirty million dollars in damage.[9] The Watts Riots demonstrated that African Americans on the West Coast were not exempt from the harsh realities of racial violence and discrimination still present in the American South. While liberals viewed the Watts Riots as a call for urban renewal, conservative politicians overwhelmingly saw the riots as a sign of social decay brought upon by progressive reforms of the 1960s.[10] The constant media coverage of the Watts Riots had a polar effect—it either pushed suburban whites to gain sympathy for the Civil Rights Movement, or it caused them to be turned off by Black "militancy." As for Black Americans, the Watts Riots were a pivotal moment in which residents had to choose between peaceful or violent protest against the white supremacist system, which had produced unacceptable discrimination in the housing and job markets.

Ongoing police brutality, housing discrimination, and a lack of employment opportunities in Black communities led to a rise of Black Nationalism nationwide. Black community leadership in cities like Chicago, Los Angeles, and Oakland reiterated the teachings of Malcolm X and the Nation of Islam. Malcolm X and the Nation of Islam approached the topic of racism by advocating separation from Anglo-American institutions and culture.[11] As a preacher, Malcolm X was most revered for his knowledge of the law and for promoting "an eye for an eye" approach towards white aggression. Malcolm X warned the government that if the United States did not extend the right to vote to Black men and women without poll taxing and testing (which represented the ballot in his allegory of "the ballot and the bullet"), Black citizens would eventually take matters into their own hands (with the bullet). To achieve equity, waiting for white society to have a change of heart was not an option for Malcolm X. The orator believed that after years of injustice, Black Americans needed to utilize aggression in the form of a bullet to overcome white supremacy. It was Malcolm's conviction that white Americans no longer deserved the patience of Black passivity. White Americans often regard Malcolm X an advocate for violence towards them; however, he only encouraged violence as a response to racial agitation.[12] Malcolm X explicitly stated that he and the

Nation of Islam were not "anti-white." According to his work, the system of racism in the United States had become too much to bear and was bound to breakdown.[13] His 1964 "The Ballot or the Bullet" speech highlights different demands that African Americans were commonly rallying around throughout the 1960s. For example, he lists equal voting rights, the end of police brutality, and the end of gerrymandering as possible changes that needed to take place in order to sustain justice for African American communities across the United States.[14] "The Ballot or the Bullet" speech laid the foundation for which the Black Panthers would formulate their demands to the United States government. As a successful orator, Malcolm X "served as a model for a new generation of militants in the latter half of the 1960s, young men and women in groups like the Black Panthers who dubbed themselves the 'heirs of Malcolm X.'"[15] Aspiring social justice activists admired Malcolm X for his ability to incite fear and demand respect among white populations, all while preaching the importance of a Black nation. The ideologies of nationalism and self-determination were at the forefront of future Black Panther Party inspiration: economic, social, and political liberation are essential to achieving the full liberty of African Americans. Oakland, being a hotbed of police brutality, crime, and poverty, was an ideal location for a revolution to occur.

Inspired by the emerging Black Nationalist groups in the 1960s, the founders of the Black Panthers believed that the federal government intentionally created a cycle of poverty and violence in African American communities. On October 15, 1966, Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale founded the Black Panther Party for Self Defense in Oakland, California.[16] Being highly educated activists, Newton and Seale founded the organization after witnessing countless confrontations between Oakland police and Black residents. Following the formation of the Black Panther Party, Newton and Seale established the *Black Panther Party Platform and Program*, along with a *Ten Point Program*.[17] The *Black Panther Party Platform and Program* describes the Party's ideologies and proposed methods of achieving the goals of freedom, fair housing, full employment, self-determination, the end of police brutality, and the exemption of military service.[18] The most important objective of the Black Panther party was to gain "freedom" and the power to "determine the destiny" of Oakland's Black community with the help of an exclusively Black political party.[19] The desires of the Black Panther Party have lived on through modern street art in the San Francisco Bay Area as depicted in Figure 1. Newton identified the Black Panther Party as a Marxist organization against the oppression of a capitalist society.[20] In the past forty years, the goal of achieving a socialist Black society within the Bay Area persists through political involvement, culture, and art. With the help of Eldridge Cleaver as the Party's Minister of Formation, Newton and Seale expanded the goals of the Black Panther Party to their neighboring cities. The Black Panthers referred to themselves as "the Vanguard" of the revolution, leading inner city African American youth to challenge capitalism and the white elite.[21] In the 1960s, the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense became the voice of Black Oakland, calling for armed and active self-defense against white supremacy.

Prior to becoming the Prime Minister of the Black Panther Party, Stokely Carmichael argued in his 1966 address at University of California, Berkeley that African Americans could no longer wait on liberal whites to create movements towards

equality across all races. Carmichael's "Black Power Address" at UC Berkeley highlighted that the Black Panthers were not against integration, but were against the idea that integration produced access to equal rights and resources for poor Black citizens. According to Carmichael, African people across the globe needed to unify against oppression and create political opportunities for themselves. Carmichael joined the Black Panther Party in 1968 after leaving Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). He had grown tired of frequent arrests as a result of protesting peacefully, and thus opted for a more unapologetic Black movement. By 1968, the Party elected Carmichael as Prime Minister for his staunch views on Black-only leadership. In response to Carmichael's assertion, Newton and the Black Panther Party proclaimed that African Americans should begin taking the law into their own hands. As a result, Party members not only carried guns for self-defense, but also made an agreement to provide neighborhood services for the advancement of Oakland's Black residents.[22] This blatant taking up of arms allowed the Black Panther Party to stand out

in the midst of several other Black Nationalist groups.The Black Panther Party became a household name throughout the West Coast after the disruption of the California State Legislature on May 2, 1967. Twenty-nine armed Panthers stormed the California State Legislature protesting the Mulford Act, a bill that prohibited the carrying of a loaded firearm within California state limits.[23] The Panthers protested the anti-arms bill because they believed that in order for Oakland residents to protect themselves from the unpredictable behavior of local police, residents must carry firearms. This belief extended not only to individual confrontations, but communal safety as well. The primary focus of the Black Panther Party was to secure the safety of Oakland residents by following law enforcement vehicles and monitoring their interactions between police and civilians.[24] While on duty, Black Panthers would also make an effort to recruit more members.[25] The Black Panther Party appealed to "the common man," primarily seeking East Oakland's youth for recruitment. As a result, teenagers and young adults comprised the majority of Black Panther Party members at the turn of the decade.[26] The Black Panthers referred to themselves as "the Vanguard" of the revolution, leading inner city African American youth by example. Ultimately, the mentorship of Black youth was a powerful but threatening image to the United States government, who imagined student movements to be pinnacle of American chaos in the 1960s. Because of their efforts to support and protect the city's Black residents, and especially youth, the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense became the voice of Black Oakland, calling for armed and active self-defense against white supremacy. The common image of Black Panthers holding large rifles is reflected throughout the collective memory of the

movement. Black Panther art and memorabilia depicted an empowered image of Black leadership that resonated with many African Americans regardless of their political viewpoints.

The majority of Black Panther members were young adults at a time when militant student movements skyrocketed, which shocked conservative white Americans. White Americans remained shocked by the Black Panther Party's ability to use strong, divisive rhetoric that challenged the status quo. Statements such

as "Black Power" conjured images of urban violence and served as the opposite of peaceful civil rights protests.[27] Panther leaders did not refrain from using African American vernacular and vulgarities during public appearances in opposition to capitalism and white supremacy.[28] As public recognition of the Black Panther Party reached its peak, Newton warned Seale and Cleaver to prohibit the use of profane language in order for the party to maintain legitimacy as a political organization. Newton feared that profanity and the glorification of violence within the party distracted from their political goals, delegitimized claims of police brutality, and resulted in alienation from less radical members of the Black community.[29] While youth membership and Black radicalism were the core of the Black Panther Party's success, adult Panthers who were familiar with the main stream media's critiques of the Party strove to maintain the public image and the legitimacy of the Party among Blacks and non-Blacks alike.

The Party began producing published works in 1967, gaining a variety of exposure in the media with their own newspaper and autobiographies. Published in 1968, *Soul on Ice* is a memoir that captures Minister of Formation Eldridge Cleaver's controversial

experience as a Black man evolving in Oakland, California. The memoir documents Cleaver's metamorphosis from an abusive drug-dealer to a Marxist insurgent who was influenced by the Nation of Islam's active stance against negative race relations in the United States.[30] *Soul on Ice* is significant because it marks the first time that the urban, Black male experience was made accessible to whites academics. For once, white Americans on the opposite end of the spectrum delved into the life of an inner city Black man. Cleaver provided readers with insight on the American Black male psyche, and how white supremacy had aided in the deterioration of self-knowledge and manhood in the African American community.[31] The publication of *Soul On Ice* proved to be a pivotal moment in the legitimacy of Black Panther Party literature. One of the strongest aspects of the book was Cleaver's ability to connect the struggles of young Black men to the hardships that other oppressed people face.[32] Cleaver compares the oppression of African American males to that of Asian males in Vietnam, citing that Communism was beneficial to the political and social liberation of the citizens of the Vietcong. Cleaver wrote *Soul On Ice* while serving a prison sentence in Folsom State Prison for sexually assaulting a white woman. He pled guilty to the charges and claimed that the act of raping a white woman was a defiant act against white supremacy.[33] In this so-called act of defiance, Cleaver believed that the rape of white women asserted his dominance in a white patriarchal structure. This dangerous view of women also extended to those within his own community as *Soul On Ice* failed to recognize the oppression dealt to African American women at the hands of Black men. Cleaver claimed that Black women could never achieve traditional femininity in the same way that white women could due to their low position in society.[34] According to Cleaver, this resulted in the envy of white femininity and

the quest for Black women to strive for whiteness. Cleaver's stance exemplifies the position held by a number of Black male leaders within the Black Power movement, who were not concerned about the Black community as a whole, but were concerned with being placed at the top of a patriarchal system that oppressed women and white males. Cleaver's failure to acknowledge the

Black woman experience epitomized the key notion of Black male supremacy in the Black Panther Party.

The role of Black femininity has long been understudied in the historiography of the Black Panthers. Even today, the general public conflate the Black Panthers with dominant Black masculinity, and collective memory of the Panthers brands the organization logo as a gun-toting, Black male wearing a black beret.[35] In actuality, by the 1970s two-thirds of the patriarchal Black Nationalist group were women.[36] Contrary to the media's focus on its militancy, the Black Panthers adopted many practices that were characterized as more traditional, feminine gender roles in the United States. Women in the Black Panther Party advocated for community-based programing that included childcare, free groceries, and other services that substituted for the absence of working mothers in the domestic sphere. In addition to the encouragement of community-motherhood, the women of the Black Panther Party depicted themselves as tough revolutionaries to counter sexism within the organization.[37] Black Panther women, such as Angela Davis, were just as adamant about changing the status quo for Black women as they were about dismantling white supremacy. Similar to former Party member Elaine Brown, Davis expressed the importance of Party members recognizing the intersectional identities of Black women. Angela Davis, Elaine Brown, Kathleen Cleaver, Assata Shakur, and other

female Panthers are commemorated by today's Bay Area communities, as depicted in figure 2. The collage features photographs of female members throughout the history of Panther leadership to acknowledge the contribution of Black women in the international women's movement. Despite resistance and challenges, African American

women ultimately morphed Black Nationalist movements in the 1960s by gaining leadership positions in organizations such as the Black Panther Party.

The Black Panther Party originally rallied around legitimizing African American masculinity. Historian Steve Estes examines the significance of gender and the definition of manhood throughout 1960s social movements in his book, *I Am a Man! Race, Manhood, and the Civil Rights Movement.* Estes claims that manhood played an essential role in the formation of the Black Panthers, who were able to fight white supremacy with knowledge of self. He argues that African American men reclaimed their manhood by fighting in World War II and then returning home to fight white male supremacy. To accrue the social standing of white men, Black men

attempted to intensify patriarchal leadership styles in their communities. The concept of male superiority ran rampant within Black Power social justice movements. Former Party member Elaine Brown stated that the Black Panther Party had, "a chauvinist tone" that garnered criticism from Black feminists.[38] Brown, who was once chairwoman of the Party, complained that the needs of Black women were often ignored and that female members were at the disposal of male leaders.[39] In order to neutralize sexism within the Black Panther Party, female members like Brown challenged gender roles by patrolling the streets with guns, an image that was once discouraged by male leaders of the Party. In contrast to today's commemoration efforts by Oakland and Berkeley residents to remember the significance of the women within the movement, female Black Panthers endured misogyny, discrimination, and

violence from male leaders during the height of the Party. According to Brown, the women of the revolution were never able to rid their movement of misogynistic views despite their efforts to educate their compatriots.[40] Black feminism within the Party served as a threat to the Black male patriarchy that the original co-founders attempted to establish in order to destabilize white male supremacy. Misogyny became a common problem for both men and women involved in the greater Civil Rights Movement as Black men searched for a sense of masculinity which specifically devalued the social standing of Black women. Commonly, Black civil rights organizations taught their members that reforming structural racism in the United States was more important than addressing the "woman issue" of gender inequality. The degradation of Black women in the Black Panther Party would be a factor in its demise as members saw this conflict as a justification to separate themselves from the party at the height of the second wave feminist movement. Unfortunately, Black women who dedicated their lives to the intersectional civil rights struggle found themselves stuck between the misogyny of Black men and the inherent racism of white women.

The disregard for women within the Party encouraged the government and city law enforcement to exclusively target male leaders. On October 28, 1967, party co-founder Huey Newton was hospitalized and charged with the voluntary manslaughter of Officer John Fey after a police confrontation in Oakland.[41] Newton, who had been shot in the stomach after police used excessive force during a traffic stop, was incarcerated for the charge. Oakland's Black Power community rallied around Newton's revolutionary image in prison.[42] Eldridge Cleaver, the Minister of Information, demanded Newton's freedom, and the expression "Free Huey" became a common rallying cry throughout the country. Newton's imprisonment gave the Panthers an explosion of press coverage and attention from other organizers, such as those from the LGBTQIA, Feminist, Chicano, Asian, and Native American civil rights movements. Support from other marginalized communities allowed Newton to empathize with conflict affecting various communities in the United States, causing him to restructure his ideas about forming solidarity with non-Blacks. For example, he took a stance in favor of the Gay Liberation movement in 1970, stating that an alliance with the gay community could strengthen the Black Power movement: "We must gain security in ourselves and therefore have respect and feelings for all oppressed people."[43] Newton rejected the idea that homosexuality threatened intrinsic manhood, which was a characteristic of Black Nationalism. Cleaver eventually followed in Newton's footsteps, declaring that the Black Panthers must serve as a "Vanguard also in the area of women's liberation, and set an example in that area."[44] Though a grand jury found Newton guilty of voluntary manslaughter, the nature of his arrest amplified his status as a social justice hero who now had to address all areas of marginalization, including intersectional power dynamics within his own community. In the 1970 *People vs. Newton* case, Newton pled not guilty and argued he was not able to recollect exactly what happened during the altercation that ended in several gunshots. The California Appellate Court reversed Newton's charge due to a hung jury that debated the legitimacy of Newton's claims to being unconscious during a portion of the shootout. By the end of the trials, the Black Panther Party received support from major

social justice movements across the country and garnered consistent media exposure,

which would ultimately work to both the benefit and detriment of the Party.

Though for members of Black Oakland communities, the Black Panthers were private vigilantes who protected the public from a system of racism and disenfranchisement, the media coverage of the "Free Huey" protest supported the idea that Huey Newton and the Black Panther Party were martyrs for the Black Power movement at large. The Black Panther Party drew the attention of many sources of multi-media industry that became fascinated with the unique image of the organization.[45] Large Afros and dark, leather clothing became a symbolic aesthetic of the Party, as the militant fashion style played up on the stereotypical fears that whites had of Black activists. The Panthers celebrated "Blackness" in every sense of the word by using clothing and African physical features to represent defiance of white supremacy. Aside from political movements to promote the idealism of communism, the Black Panther Party focused its efforts on improving conditions of inner city Oakland residents. Newton's "Survival Programming" included complementary Sickle Cell anemia testing, senior escorting, literacy lessons, food giveaways, free breakfast, and after-school care.[46] The Free Breakfast initiative expanded to ten locations, feeding children from Northern California to the mid-West. Newer social justice organizations adopted neighborhood improvement implementations from the Black Panther Party. The Black Power movement that the Panthers embodied empowered ethnic minorities across the nation to assert their unique identities as worthy of complete citizenship. Modeled after the Black Panther's *Ten Point Plan*, the Red Guard Party emerged in San Francisco's Chinese districts in 1969. The Red Guards aspired to apply Black Panther itiatives to the Asian American community in the Bay Area.[47] For example, instead of offering a free breakfast program, the Red Guards created a Sunday Brunch Program that honored city elders. The Black Panthers served as an example to Black youth as well as an example to neighboring socialist organizations, garnering nationwide support and public recognition as a social justice movement that aimed to empower people of color through economic support and public defense.

The social demands constructed by the Black Panther Party helped generate solidarity between Black Oakland residents and other ethnic minorities within the San Francisco Bay Area. More specifically, other social reform groups and independent political parties such as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) formed coalitions with the Black Panther Party. Initially, the "Free Huey" movement attracted low-income whites, Latinos, Asian Americans, and women of color to protest class stratification in major cities across the United States. Solidarities formed as residents who were lower on the social hierarchy sided with the Black Panthers' *Ten Point Plan* initiative. An influential aspect of the *Ten Point Plan* was its emphasis on equal education in the inner city. The Party sought to educate members and Oakland city residents about the Constitution of the United States. Panthers deemed political and judicial literacy necessary in order for the citizens of Oakland to resist social injustice.[48] The Black Panther Party also formed a coalition with the Young Patriots, a white anti-poverty group centered in the Appalachian region.[49] Following the formation of bonds between the Black Panther Party and the Young Patriots, the Puerto Rican Lords of New York held cluster meetings with Black

Panther Party chapters, educating members on their rights as citizens.[50] The Panthers epitomized socialist ideals throughout the United States' working-class marginalized communities, and worked to implement them widely.

As press coverage and police raids grew to be the norm for the Black Panthers, outside supporters hesitated to join a "hot" organization.[51] The critical stance that Black Panthers took on formal law enforcement contributed to the both public stigma and support of the organization. Prior to the formation of the Black Panther Party, Huey Newton and Bobby Seale became frustrated by the harsh treatment of Oakland Police Department towards Black East Oakland residents.[52] Prior to the 1970s, African Americans only comprised three percent of the Oakland Police Department.[53] The Party pledged to essentially police the police, exacerbating a hostile relationship between African American community residents and the police department. Originally, the Panthers were known to advocate educational and peaceful reactions between the Oakland Police Department and Oakland residents.[54] As tension between the police and Panthers grew, the Panthers served as an informal police force for Black enclaves in Oakland, emphasizing their efforts to inform citizens of their rights and supervise police confrontations. J. Edgar Hoover's COINTELPRO mandated that West Coast police departments to keep a close eye on Panther activities.[55] As a result, there were many confrontations between the Panthers and police officers that resulted in the use of gunfire on both sides. The most publicized standoff between Black Panther members and the police occurred on April 6, 1968.[56] This shootout resulted in the death of young Party member, Bobby Hutton. From then on, members across the nationwide Black Panther Party were stricken with fear; they came to terms with the fact that association with the Black Panther Party could possibly result in violent death. Finally, the question of who ran Oakland came into play; did the police truly have control of the city or did the Black Panthers?

As the Panthers expanded across cities and formed coalitions with other social justice organizations in the United States, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) listed the Black Panther Party as the most dangerous domestic terrorist organization, ranking higher than the violent, racist actions of the Ku Klux Klan. Under Hoover's counter-intelligence program, the FBI infiltrated the Black Panther Party to "expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize the activities of Black Nationalists."[57] The true threat of the Black Panther Party was their ability to promote the legitimacy of socialism, which directly served as the antithesis to capitalism. According to the Panthers, socialism would rid the country of socio-economic class inequality and also police brutality. Historian Clayborne Carson argues that Black women became the head of the Party out of necessity in the 1970s, as the police increasingly targeted male party members.[58] The Panthers believed that William O'Neale, an African American FBI informant, was the source of several FBI raids against the Black Panther Party chapter in Chicago. The FBI sent O'Neale to join the Party in 1968 after he agreed to work for them in exchange for felony charges being released from his record. By 1969, O'Neale had infiltrated the organization to become a prominent Panther leader in Chicago, even arranging the murder of Fred Hampton, the Illinois Chapter Chairman.[59] The number of Black male members that were targeted in contrast to female Party members suggest that Black Power threatened law enforcement officials only when men exuded the ideology. The FBI sought to annihilate the Black Panther Party from

within its own membership to prevent militancy and social upheaval.[60] Infiltration by African American informants became a popular method used by the FBI to compile information about Party members and their whereabouts. The Black Panther Party held an open recruitment policy and thus any government infiltration came without warning.[61] The open recruitment policy can be accredited to the Party's need to attract a wide-range of participants to counter negative images in the mainstream media. The openness of the Panthers worked to garner new membership during meetings and events, but this came with a price. Due to the instability of the open recruitment policy, Panthers remained in a constant state of paranoia about the intentions of others. Panther member Ericka Huggins recalled that Panthers "were followed everyday, our phones were tapped, and our families were harassed."[62] Similar to many other branches of the Civil Rights Movement, Black Power activist groups suffered both internally and externally from government infiltration.

Similar to other social reform movements in the 1960s, the Black Panthers finally succumbed to ongoing infiltration by government agitators. The fall of the original Black Panther Party is characteristic of many Black Nationalist groups that arose at the height of the decade that challenged the establishment. By the end of the 1960s, the anti-war movement overshadowed the goals of Civil Rights and Black Nationalist activism.[63] This shift in social activism caused the goals of Black Nationalist groups to be given lower priority. Along with the rest of the nation, Black Panther members lost sight of Black Nationalism and searched for a sense of stability as the atrocities of the Vietnam War penetrated the reality of many lives. The lack of political centrality permeated the Panther's membership and leadership roles. Informants and agitators found it easy to create disarray in several Black Panther chapters across the nation. The Black Panther Party split into two factions by 1972: Huey Newton led one faction in Oakland that focused on community outreach, and Eldridge Cleaver led another faction in Algeria that emphasized political movement garnering global support for his socialist ideals. The cause of the Party's fracture is attributed to a culture of paranoia that manifested after several FBI raids, as well as Party members being pitted against each other during court trials. In addition to interference from outside agitators, Cleaver resented Newton for allowing the party to become too race neutral and inclusive.[64] Luckily for conservative politicians and government officials like J. Edgar Hoover, the split of the Panthers proved that there would not be a "Black Messiah" and that the Party would quickly lose momentum as a cohesive movement. Contrary to the goals of the co-founders, the Party is better known today in popular culture for its aesthetic symbolism rather than the organization's contributions to Black empowerment. The City of Oakland, however, has remained dedicated to the commemoration of the organization that fought for the rights of disadvantaged groups.

The contested memory of the Black Panther Party in popular culture has most recently played out as a result of American entertainer Beyoncé Knowles' 2016 Super Bowl halftime performance. Knowles performed her song "Formation" from her latest studio album *Lemonade*. With lyrics like "OK ladies, now let's get in formation," the Super Bowl performance featured intense choreography in which Beyoncé and her dancers wore all black and pumped their fist in "Formation," which clearly symbolized the women of the Black Panther Party.[65] Coincidently, the fiftieth-anniversary of the Party's founding coincided with the fiftieth-annual Super

Bowl game. While Beyoncé opted for her typical blonde, flowing locks, her backup dancers sported large natural Afros with black berets and leather vests. At the height of the 2016 general election campaigns, with the rise in awareness of the police murders of unarmed Black men and the continuing trauma of the Prison Industrial Complex, the performance stirred up critique on political news networks and social media alike, and resulted in numerous academic articles produced by Black Studies scholars. White, conservative spectators criticized Beyoncé for utilizing an "all-American" (or white) event to convey messages of Black Power and exclusivity. To support this claim, police rights groups have argued that the pop-star's tribute to the Black Panther Party and the Black Lives Matter movement contained an "anti-police" rhetoric that is divisive to the unity of the country.[66] In this way, conservative commentators today have continued to contribute to a culture of fear regarding the significance of the Black Panther Party as a terrorist organization, just as it was first branded under J. Edgar Hoover's COINTELPRO projects. On the other hand, Black feminists' critique is split in two. Some argue that Beyoncé's overtly sexualized rebranding of female Panthers—despite the Afros and berets being the only historically accurate fashion statements made on stage—actually represent the true image of the Panthers, while others argue that the performance accurately displayed the African American plight through a woman's perception.[67] Though Beyoncé started a dialogue about inner-racial appropriation and white fear of Black Power, the relative success of the Party's *Ten Point Platform* in Oakland has been excluded from the mainstream discourse of the Party in exchange for conversations about the appropriateness of the movement. The complete depth and impact of the Black Panther Party movement has been lost in today's collective memory outside of the San Francisco Bay Area as the Party has either been commodified or stigmatized.

Adopting the stigma from whites, African Americans lost the momentum to join risky Black Nationalist groups that were under surveillance by the end of the 1960s. Infiltration and white backlash in response to the Panthers caused a split in the public's historical memory of the organization: the Party is both revered and feared in modern American thought. The citizens of Oakland generally have a positive recollection of the Black Panther movement. Oakland benefited from the *Ten Point Plan* proposed by the Black Panther founders in 1966 and the reforms are still demanded by the citizens of Oakland, who use the document to protest and persuade local politicians in their favor. Following the official end of the Panthers in 1973, Bobby Seale ran for Oakland city mayor while Elaine Brown campaigned for a council position.[68] Although the city of Oakland re-elected Mayor John Redding, the majority of Black East Oakland residents favored Seale. The Black Panthers' socialist ideologies created the standard in which local government officials would have to appease Black Oakland residents. Implicitly inspired by the Black Panther Party, Head Start and free breakfast programs for children from low-income families are now a universal requirement in the United States.[69] The Black Panther Party was also essential to Black Nationalism in the twentieth century, as they were key leaders in the Civil Rights Movement. While the Black Panthers initiated many successful reform practices, they struggled with internal misogyny and the conservative white media's branding as a terrorist organization. However, internal power dynamics did not overshadow the success of the organization in Oakland's collective

memory. The Black Panther Party remains as the Vanguard of African American civil liberty in Oakland, California.

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Figure 2: Collage of the Black Panther Party Newspaper. Photo by author, Berkeley, California, March 19, 2016.

Figure 1: Black Panther Party collage celebrating female leaders of the movement. Photo by author, Berkeley, California, March 19, 2016.

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[1] As evidenced in part by collage portraits depicted in Figures 1 and 2. Photos by author, Berkeley, California, March 19, 2016.
[2] "African Americans and the New Deal." Digital History. ID 3447. Accessed May 09, 2016. http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtid=2&psid=3447
[3] Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), 185.
[4] Robert O. Self, *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), 321.
[5] Ibid., 11.
[6] For more information about the origins of the 1960s Black Power movement, please see Penial E. Joseph, "The Black Power Movement: A State of the Field," *Journal of American History* 96, no. 3 (2009): 751-776.
[7] "Watts Riots," *Civil Rights Digital Library*. Accessed May 09, 2016: http://crdl.usg.edu/events/watts_riots/?Welcome.
[8] For more information about the Watts Uprising, please see Gerald Horne, *Fire This Time: The Watts Uprising And The 1960s* (Boston: Da Capo Press, 1997).
[9] "Watts Rebellion (Los Angeles, 1965)," *King Institute Resources*. Accessed May 09, 2016: http://kingencyclopedia.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/encyclopedia/enc_watts_rebellion_los_angeles_1965/.
[10] McGirr, 183.
[11] Steve Estes, *I Am a Man!: Race, Manhood, and the Civil Rights Movement* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 91.
[12] Ibid., 97.
[13] Malcolm X, "The Ballot or the Bullet." Speech. Cory Methodist Church. Cleveland, Ohio. April 3, 1964. Accessed April 11, 2016: http://www.edchange.org/multicultural/speeches/malcolm_x_ballot.html.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Estes, 106.
[16] C.E. Jones, "The Political Repression of the Black Panther Party 1966-1971: The Case of the Oakland Bay Area," *Journal of Black Studies* 18, no. 4 (1988): 415-434.
[17] "Black Panther Party Platform and Program," *The Black Panther* (November 23, 1967). Accessed May 15, 2016: https://web.stanford.edu/group/blackpanthers/history.shtml.
[18] For a complete list of the Ten Point Plan, please see Steve Estes, *I Am a Man!: Race, Manhood, and the Civil Rights Movement* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2005).
[19] Estes, 104.
[20] Joshua Anderson, "A Tension in the Political Thought of Huey P. Newton," *Journal of African American Studies* 16, no. 2 (2011): 249–267.
[21] *The Black Panthers: Vanguard of the Revolution*. Directed by Stanley Nelson (Firelight Films Inc., 2015), DVD.
[22] Estes, 155.
[23] Ibid.
[24] For a historiography of the Black Panther Party, please see by Joe Street "The Historiography of the Black Panther Party," *Journal of American Studies*, 44, no. 2 (2010): 351–375.
[25] *The Black Panthers: Vanguard of the Revolution*. Directed by Stanley Nelson (Firelight Films Inc., 2015), DVD.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Self, 218.
[28] Ogbar, 106.
[29] Ibid, 108.
[30] Estes, 159.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Steven W. Bussard, "Soul on Ice" review, *The Harvard Crimson* (November 6, 1968). Accessed May 12, 2016: http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1968/11/6/soul-on-ice-pbebvery-so-often/.
[33] Rolland Murray, *Our Living Manhood: Literature, Black Power, and Masculine Ideology* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 74.
[34] Estes, 159.
[35] Nicole Martin, "Women Key in Shaping Black Panther Party" *The Clayman Institute for Gender Research* (January 6, 2014). Accessed May 03, 2016: http://gender.stanford.edu/news/2014/women-key-shaping-black-panther-party.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid.
[38] *The Black Panthers: Vanguard of the Revolution*. Directed by Stanley Nelson (Firelight Films Inc., 2015), DVD.
[39] Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver was known to carry out violent attacks towards women. He had a reputation amongst the Oakland chapter of directing aggression towards his own wife, Kathleen Cleaver.
[40] Taryn Finley, "This Fact About Women Of The Black Panther Party May Surprise You," *The Huffington Post* (September 2, 2015). Accessed May 16, 2016: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/this-

is-why-you-shouldnt-forget-the-women-of-the-black-panther-party_us_55e702cbe4b0b7a9633aef2d.
[41] *The Black Panthers: Vanguard of the Revolution*. Directed by Stanley Nelson (Firelight Films Inc., 2015), DVD.
[42]"Free Huey! You Can Jail a Revolutionary, But You Can't Jail the Revolution" *The Black Panther* (undated). Accessed May 18, 2016: http://xroads.virginia.edu/~ug01/barillari/pantherchap2.html.
[43] Jeffrey Ogbonna Green Ogbar, *Black Power: Radical Politics and African American Identity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 102.
[44] Ibid, 103.
[45] *The Black Panthers: Vanguard of the Revolution*. Directed by Stanley Nelson (Firelight Films Inc., 2015), DVD.
[46] Self, 231.
[47] Daryl J. Maeda, *Chains of Babylon: The Rise of Asian America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 87.
[48] Estes, 160.
[49] *The Black Panthers: Vanguard of the Revolution*. Directed by Stanley Nelson (Firelight Films Inc., 2015), DVD.
[50] According to historian Mike Klonsky, the Black Panther Party was the Vanguard of all social movements.
[51] The term "hot" typically refers to an organization, district, or neighborhood that attracts frequent harassment from intrusive law enforcement officials.
[52] Estes, 156.
[53] Ibid.
[54] "Huey P. Newton and Black Panthers Interviews" Youtube.com. Accessed May 22, 2016: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e7OgbfLCgzM.
[55] Jones, 416.
[56] "Bobby Hutton." *A Huey P. Newton Story*. Public Broadcasting Service. Accessed May 19, 2016: http://www.pbs.org/hueypnewton/people/people_hutton.html.
[57] Jones, 415.
[58] Ibid.
[59] *The Black Panthers: Vanguard of the Revolution*. Directed by Stanley Nelson (Firelight Films Inc., 2015), DVD..
[60] Jones, 416.
[61] *The Black Panthers: Vanguard of the Revolution*. Directed by Stanley Nelson (Firelight Films Inc., 2015), DVD.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Estes, 175.
[65] National Football League, *Super Bowl 50*. Columbia Broadcasting System. "Beyoncé and Bruno Mars Crash the Pepsi Super Bowl 50 Half Time Show." Youtube. February 11, 2016. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SDPITj1wlkg
[66]Lisa Respers France, "Why the Beyoncé Controversy is Bigger Than You Think." CNN. February 24, 2016. Accessed May 08, 2017: http://www.cnn.com/2016/02/23/entertainment/beyonce-controversy-feat/.
[67] Kiara Collins, "This Woman's Work: The Case for Beyoncé and Black Feminist Criticism." BLAVITY. Accessed May 08, 2017: https://blavity.com/this-womans-work-beyonce/.
[68] Self, 304.
[69] Ibid, 231.

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Football in Buenos Aires: The People's Game, the Government's Tool

Ali Saadat

Football in Buenos Aires: The People's Game, the Government's Tool

Football in Argentina is by far the most popular sport in the nation, as it is in much of the world. In particular, the football-mad city and capital of Argentina, Buenos Aires, has a large appetite for the 'beautiful game.' The popularity of football in the city has resulted in supporters using stadiums and football attendance to organize, to regaining control of public space from an existing authority, to dissent against the police and state, and as a means of self-expression. This was exemplified during the 1978 FIFA World Cup and, beyond the scope of the one month World Cup, during the annual club football season. The use of football and football stadiums in regaining control of public space, organizing and protesting against the state was especially important during the late 1970s and through the 1980s when a military dictatorship took over the country's government. The dictatorship ruled under the guise of the National Reorganization Process and was headed by Junta leader General Jorge Rafael Videla. The government also used football as a way to shift collective memory as Argentina's hosting of the 1978 FIFA World Cup was used by the Junta to gain popular support and deviate the public's attention and focus from the disappearances and state-sanctioned violence that had defined its dictatorship since it came into power in 1976.

The men of Buenos Aires used football as an effective means of organizing, as it was an excuse to be out in the city which was not necessarily identified as direct dissent against the government, regaining control of public space, protesting (as it offered strength in numbers), and as a means of self-expression. However, it was also a method for the state to attempt to shape and shift collective memory of the violence that permeated the years from 1976 onward. Football, and the public spectacle surrounding it, was a shared priority amongst the people and government, but was used for opposite purposes.

After Juan Peron's sudden death in 1974, his wife Isabel assumed the presidency. At the time, varying factions of 'Peronists' in Argentina were vying for power, resulting in daily occurrences of fatal violence that engulfed Buenos Aires. The *Montoneros*, the leftist Peronist group, clashed with the *Alianza Anticomunista Argentina*, better known as the Triple A, who represented Peronist fascist groups and the ministry of social welfare.[1] The two groups engaged in open violence, but particularly devastating were the many assassinations they carried out against each other, which often included people who were not involved with either group.[2] Violence and chaos peaked towards the end of Isabel Peron's deposition. On March 24, 1976, the Army General Jorge Videla, Navy Admiral Emilio Massera, and Air Force Brigadier Orlando Agosti led a military Junta that deposed Peron. The Junta was a coalition between the three branches of Argentina's armed forces, the Army, Navy, and Air Force. Together, they staged the coup and appointed the Army's General, Videla, as the leader of the Junta. Initially, there was a general acceptance of the coup by the majority of Argentines because the Junta presented a change from persisting

[1] Luis Alberto Romero, *A History of Argentina in the Twentieth Century* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013) 212.
[2] Ibid, 212.

economic crisis along with guerrilla and Triple A terror, high death tolls and a formerly weak leadership.[3] The ultimate goal of the Junta was to eliminate what it saw as 'subversion' and 'subversive elements' within society, which included, but were not limited to, people from social and political organizations, union leaders, and other obvious authoritarian targets such as human rights activists, intellectuals and even priests.[4] Subversion was loosely defined as any activity against the government in order to justify violence against a wide variety of people, whether they were guilty of 'subversion' or not.

The execution of what the Junta leaders called the Process of National Reorganization was methodical and premeditated. The detainees, often abducted from their own homes, were given a number and kept track of and had a record of their history and affiliations.[5] The organization that accompanied the violence allowed the Junta to keep track of people who were deemed suspicious and furthers the argument of the premeditation that the terror was carried out with. Lower-ranking officers carried out the abductions and tortures, while the decision on whether or not to kill a person was given by the highest levels of the military officers.[6] The Junta sought to create an environment of fear and paranoia while exerting total control of the consciousness of its citizens, making them vigilant of themselves out of fear of punishment.

Football persisted despite the climate of society in Buenos Aires, where the Junta based its rule. A rich history of football in the city, dating back to the late 1800s, developed due to heavy immigration from Europe which created a large working class to popularize the sport. Club football is an annual, months-long event in Argentina, allowing years of local history, animosity between clubs and supporter loyalties to develop. Buenos Aires became the home of five of the most successful football clubs in all of Latin America. The 'Big Five' were founded within four years of each other from 1901 to 1905.[7] From the barrio of La Boca came Boca Juniors and River Plate, arguably Argentina's two most successful teams.[8] River Plate later relocated to a new stadium to a section of the city called Nunez, in a move which solidified them as a posh and rich club. From the city's industrial heart, the section of Avellaneda, came two more very successful teams, Club Atletico Independiente and Racing Club de Avellaneda.[9] The last of the 'Big Five' was San Lorenzo, who hailed from the Boedo neighborhood.[10] All of these clubs, with their popularity and large fan bases have massive stadiums that act as not just grounds for the clubs to play football, but as cathedrals for the supporters to visit weekly, cheering on their team with a fervor unrivaled by fans of any other sport. Each of the clubs' respective stadia has a capacity of over forty thousand people; River Plate's El Monumental holds 61,688, Boca Juniors' La Bombonera holds 49,000, Independiente's Estadio Libertadores holds 48,069, San Lorenzo's Estadio Bidegain holds 43,494 and Racing Club's Estadio Presidente Peron holds 55,000 spectators.[11] Combined, on any

[3] Ibid, 215.
[4] Ibid 219.
[5] Ibid, 216.
[6] Ibid, 216.

[7] Vic Duke and Liz Crolley, "Fútbol, Politicians and the People: Populism and Politics in Argentina," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 18, no. 3 (September 2010): 97.
[8] Andres Campomar, *Golazo!* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2014) 55.
[9] Ibid, 55.
[10] Ibid, 182.
[11] "Monumental Stadium," Club Atletico River Plate, http://www.cariverplate.com.ar/el-monumental. "La Bombonera," Club Atletico Boca Juniors, http://www.bocajuniors.com.ar/el-club/la-bombonera. "Estadio Libertadores de

given match day, over two hundred and seventy thousand people attend football matches all over the city. The population of the city of Buenos Aires is, as of July 2016, slightly over three million people.[12] The population of the city has been steadily rising since the 1980s, so based on present day data, with stadium capacities being the same, on any given match day, nearly ten percent of the city was attending football matches in the 1970s and 1980s. The large concentration of people in stadiums is a massive group of primarily able bodied men from varying backgrounds, of protesting and easily outnumbering police forces, effectively giving them an opportunity to exert influence over a large amount of public space within the city.

The right to host the 1978 FIFA World Cup was awarded to Argentina before the Junta took power, but the Junta still saw it as an opportunity to further suppress the collective memory people had of the past two years of state sanctioned murders and kidnappings and to garner national support for the Junta's regime.[13] The Junta sought to replace the memory of the disappearances with a wave of nationalist support on the back of the Argentine National Team during the World Cup.[14] The Junta used the media in order to promote a positive image of themselves towards Argentines and the international media alike in the months counting down to the tournament. A letter that the Junta sent to newspapers read:

"it is forbidden to inform, comment or make reference to subjects related to subversive incidents, the appearance of bodies and the death of subversive elements and/or of members of the armed and security forces in these incidents, unless they are reported by a responsible official source. This includes victims of kidnappings and missing persons."[15]

The Junta wanted to prevent the publication of any references of its criminal activities against its own citizens to the public and to the millions of foreign dignitaries and supporters visiting for the World Cup. With Nunez, Buenos Aires being the site of the Naval School of Mechanics (ESMA), one of the primary detention and torture centers of the military, and many of the World Cup's matches, including the final, being held in River Plate's Estadio Monumental, the government was keen on keeping any clandestine criminal activity hidden from the public eye.[16] The Junta had hoped that the fear it had been trying to instill within the citizenry, and especially those involved with the press, would lead to a self-censoring attitude in the run up to the World Cup. However, when journalists continued putting out news criticizing the Junta, the government decided to act. In 1977, the year before the tournament, five different media outlets were suspended by the Junta and twenty-one reporters and editors had been disappeared, presumably taken to detention

America," Club Atletico Independiente, http://www.clubaindependiente.com/es/institucion/estadio.
"Sedes," Club Atletico San Lorenzo de Almagro, http://www.sanlorenzo.com.ar/institucional.php?codigo=2. "Estadio Presidente Peron," Racing Club de Avellaneda, http://www.racingclub.com.ar/estadio.

[12] "Argentina Area and Population," Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, http://www.europaworld.com/pub/entry/ar.ss.2 (July 1, 2016).

[13] Romero, *A History of Argentina,* 235.

[14] Ibid, 220.

[15] B.L. Smith, "The Argentinian Junta and the Press in the Run-up to the 1978 World Cup," *Soccer and Society* vol. 3, 1 (2002): 71.

[16] "Remembrance and Human Rights Centre," Ente Público Espacio para la Memoria y para la Promoción y Defensa de los Derechos Humanos, http://www.espaciomemoria.ar/descargas/timeline_english.pdf.

centers such as ESMA.[17] The paranoia of the government did not stop at coverage of the Junta itself, Videla banned any commentary on the National Team's coach and players.[18] (Create wrap-up sentence)

In a further attempt to divert the collective memory of the public, the Junta promoted celebrations in the papers in the months leading up to World Cup, building more nationalist fervor. In May of 1978, only a few months before the start of the tournament, the press covered celebrations of the Anniversary of the National Anthem, the Day of the Navy, the Day of the Armed Forces among other government agencies.[19] The focus on patriotic events was a calculated move by Videla in order to focus the public's attention on the festivities of the upcoming World Cup rather than on the past two years of the government's criminal kidnappings and killings. Videla also met with the head coach of the National Team, associating himself with the team, who had popular support heading into the tournament, in another measured attempt to gather public support. The opening match at the Estadio Monumental sold out, with eighty thousand fans packing the stadium and over a billion people watching on television, accompanied with an effortless opening ceremony. The world was shown a peaceful nation that was united and ready to welcome the world.[20] When Argentina won football's most prestigious trophy a month later, the Junta again took credit for the victory and popular support spiked. With Argentina never having won the World Cup before, the collective memory of Argentine society, for the time being, had something else to think about besides the violence that was so prevalent in their lives for the past two years. Along with the positive image the World Cup brought the Junta, they also collected an estimated three to four hundred million dollars in profits and also profit from stadium construction.[21] The cheers of the fans in the Monumental were heard over the screams of those detained at the ESMA just a few blocks up the street. The Junta again attempted to divert collective memory and public consciousness in one year later in 1979, when Argentina won the FIFA Youth World Championship. As the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo gathered to demand answers for disappearances, the Junta encourage football supporters to celebrate the nations triumph in the Plaza de Mayo in order to mask the protest with a celebration of national pride.[22] The Junta multiple times used the success of the nation's football teams in order to distract society from the internal violence encapsulating Buenos Aires, and Argentina as a whole.

Football and football attendance was used as a means of public organization during the reign of the military Junta. As a part of the National Reorganization Process, the Junta did not permit strikes and demonstrations.[23] Any large gathering of people would be seen as an attempt to cause social unrest, which the Junta sought to keep to a minimum by any means necessary. However, the demonstrations of the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, and with the women's association to motherhood, they made certain that their actions would not be seen as subversive. This is because being a mother was not an occupation that was seen as being subversive or dangerous. The

[17] Smith, *The Argentinian Junta and the Press*, 71.
[18] Ibid*,* 72.
[19] Ibid, 73.
[20] Ibid, 76.

[21] Joseph L. Arbena, "Generals and goles: assessing the connection between the military and soccer in Argentina," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* vol. 7, 1 (Mar 2007): 122.
[22] Duke and Crolley, *Fútbol, Politicians and the People,* 114.
[23] Jesus Fernando Gomez, "Military Rule in Argentina 1976-83: Suppressing the Peronists," (Austin: University of Texas, 2001): 19.

increasing popularity and coverage of the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo led to an increase in public inquiries demanding explanations from the government.[24] From 1976 to 1977, most of the limited organization was done on factory grounds, with the only other cases of public demonstration that happened in prior to the World Cup and after the Junta took power where religious in nature.[25] In the same vein as the Mothers', whose organization prevented being labelled as subversion, football fans also took to the streets during the World Cup. The fans, celebrating the World Cup victories on June 2, 1978, paraded in the streets and on cars through Corrientes Avenue in Buenos Aires. Further celebrations in the streets continued throughout the month, with the largest coming on June 25, after the National Team defeated the Netherlands three goals to one to lift the trophy. Thousands of supporters flooded the streets in Buenos Aires, outside of River Plate's Monumental stadium to the 9 de Julio Avenue, in the first spontaneous mass organizations in over two years.[26] Without football, a massive organization, such as the World Cup celebrations, would be seen as subversive activity, especially given that there were male actors involved.

The public organizations brought about by the World Cup was significant because it was an outburst of joy that had not been seen for two years. The organization of the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo was for a much graver and somber cause, but the National Team had brought some sense of happiness and normalcy to life in Buenos Aires again.[27] Despite the intentions of the supporters, who organized in the streets and outside of the Monumental stadium, being to celebrate their nation's victory, the ability for people to be outside in the main areas of Buenos Aires without a fear of being hurt hanging over their heads was important in giving the people hope. The Junta allowed the organization as they sought to let nationalistic pride and sentiment flourish. The Junta also used the public organization as a distraction, and in the midst of the celebrations, twenty-nine people disappeared.[28] Oscar Barnade, a journalist from the newspaper *Clarin,* called the World Cup the most important sporting event in Argentina's history, as a concentration camp sat meters from the main stadium and the Junta used the celebrations of its own people to abduct others.[29] The celebratory organizations were a powerful display of joy and unity amongst the citizens of Buenos Aires.

Football as a grand spectacle in Argentina is not limited solely to the World Cup. Club football is dominates the calendar and the passions of Argentine people, in particular men. The Argentine club season runs from August to May, giving the city competitive football nearly all year long. In Buenos Aires, the aforementioned Big Five clubs pack their stadiums each weekend with nearly ten percent of the entire city's population. During the dictatorship football attendance allowed primarily the match attending men of Buenos Aires to reclaim public space through the stadium and its surrounding areas. At a time where public organization was not permitted, football attendance became a method to circumvent the Junta's efforts to keep people isolated

[24] Romero, *A History of Argentina,* 239.
[25] Antonius Robben, *Political Violence and Trauma in Argentina* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005) 310.
[26] Ibid, 310.
[27] Graham McColl, *How to Win the World Cup* (Transworld Digital, 2010) 224.
[28] Campomar, *Golazo!,* 343.
[29] Ibid, 344.

and unable to use public space to express themselves.[30] On a match day, when people and transport flooded the streets around the site of the stadium, the amount of force the police show has a noticeable increase as well. The geography surrounding the stadium becomes militarized as police seek to control the ways in which fans can enter the area and leave the area immediately around the stadium by setting up barriers and specific walkways for supporters to take, attempting to restrict their movement and maintain control over the space.[31] With the presence of tens of thousands of home supporters, rabid travelling supporters of the visiting team and police who are prepared for violence, the tension and potential for violence is what the Junta had been attempting to quell among the general populace since they took power. The supporters, however, outside of the stadium continue to occupy space, drinking beer and singing with their shirts off, causing disruption.[32] Within the stadium itself, fans feel an increased sense of bravery as they are surrounded by thousands of similar people, and they cheer and sing things that they would not be doing outside of the context of football. The stadium gives them the access to a public space where they can express their ideas and defies the isolation and helplessness that the Junta imposed on society. The stadiums allowed for a temporary breaking down of the culture of fear cultivated by Videla and the police.[33] Violence by the police tends to not discriminate between people who seemed to be involved in fighting or causing trouble and those who are just in the surrounding area.[34] This draws parallel to the Junta's campaign of kidnappings and disappearances where a person may have been involved in "subversive" activity, but often those disappeared might have simply been a relative to someone deemed subversive or simply were at the wrong place at the wrong time.[35] Neither elements of authority were particularly diligent in determining who 'earned' retaliation.

Especially important was the demographic of people who sought control of public space through football attendance and stadiums. The Mothers' of the Plaza de Mayo used their female identity to their advantage during their demonstrations as a way to deter their actions from being labelled as 'subversive' and to keep themselves, to an extent, safe from violent retaliation from the Junta.[36] Football attendance was used as a means of controlling public space for men as they did not have the same ability to demonstrate on the basis of ethical claims as did the Mothers. The majority of football attendees were men, with the most hardcore supporters, standing in the loudest and rowdiest sections of the stadiums, being younger men who were rarely older than thirty-five years.[37] The demographic of football supporters attempting to control public space through stadium attendance reflects the demographic of people primarily disappeared by the Junta. In the first years of the Junta's government, when kidnapping was most common (1976-78), the primary demographic of people who were kidnapped was young people aged between fifteen and thirty five years old.[38] With these younger people being the most likely to be targeted for kidnapping by the government, their participation in the use of traditional public space, such as the Plaza de Mayo, was

[30] Romero, *A History of Argentina,* 219.
[31] Chris Gaffney, "Stadiums and society in twenty-first century Buenos Aires," *Soccer and Society* vol. 10, 2 (March 2009): 165.
[32] Ibid 165.
[33] Romero, *A History of Argentina,* 220.
[34] Gaffney, *Stadiums and society,* 165.
[35] Romero, *A History of Argentina,* 217.
[36] Romero, *A History of Argentina,* 239.
[37] Gaffney, *Stadiums an Society,* 165-66.
[38] Romero, *A History of Argentina,* 218.

incredibly dangerous. As a result, the football stadiums of the city became their refuge, their piece of public space to occupy in the face of a repressive government and fellow fans their support.

Supporters of the Big Five clubs used the relative safety of their stadiums and the strength found in the numbers of fellow supporters as a place to express themselves publicly. They did this primarily through chanting and singing, which along with expressing their ideas, felt was important factor in helping their team to victory.[39] The chants on the terraces of football stadiums all over world often reflect the sentiments of its supporters towards opposing fans and social issues, amongst other topics. The lyrics of the chants would not be said outside of the context of the stadium or in any other public forum as they could result in retaliation from the police. Chants during the Junta's dictatorship were often passed down from generation to generation as fathers often raised their sons in their own clubs colors or other family members attempted to impose their own clubs its traditions on younger kin.[40] The effort put into raising new supporters with the traditions of the previous generation led to contemporary fans inheriting the anti-establishment views at the time, regardless of their current relevance.

River Plate fans today still chant anti-police songs that were most likely contain similar lyrics during the dictatorship. One chant that expresses this anti-police sentiment that fans felt is called "Llega el Domingo," where the River fans sing not just about their passion for their team but also "suck my balls the police" and refer to rival Boca supporters as vigilantes who associate with the police.[41] The rhetoric of the chant outside of the stadium would incite retaliation from the police. River Plate fans again insult Boca Juniors supporters in another chant by singing that they arrive to the Monumental (River's stadium) with police, meaning that they are under control by authority and fraternize with the police as well.[42] In a footballing culture that acted against the interests of the Junta, police interaction was frowned upon, as they stadium was meant to be a refuge from the control of the state, ironic in River Plate's case given that ESMA was only a few blocks from El Monumental. The institutions of state violence and civilian protest were closely intertwined in Buenos Aires, physically and ideologically.

A common theme of supporters' chant, along with being anti-authority and anti-police, was causing disorder and acting out of control. An example of this wild and raucous behavior is portrayed in chants sung by both River Plate and Independiente called "Aye Che Bostero" and "El Dia que Me Muera" respectively.[43] Many chants also reference male genitalia, such as in Independiente supporters' chant "Del Barrio de Avellaneda," to express their masculinity. The chant is explicit in its praise of Independiente supporters' masculinity and

[39] Gasto Julian Gil, "Soccer and Kinship in Argentina: The Mother's Brother and the Heritage of Identity," *Soccer and Society* vol. 3, 3 (Sep 2010): 12.
[40] Gil, *Soccer and Kinship,* 19.

[41] "Llega El Domingo," Fanchants, http://en.argentina.fanchants.com/football-songs/club-atletico-river-plate-chants/2-47/.
[42] "Ay Che Bostero," Fanchants, http://en.argentina.fanchants.com/football-songs/club-atletico-river-plate-chants/ay-che-bostero-bostero-boca-fan/.
[43] "El Dia Que Me Muera" and "Del Barrio de Avellaneda," Fanchants, http://en.argentina.fanchants.com/football-songs/club-atletico-river-plate-chants/the-day-that-i-die-i-want-my-red-and-white-painted/ and http://en.argentina.fanchants.com/football-songs/club-atletico-independiente-chants/until-10/.

puts down rival Racing Club supporters by calling them terms associated with female genitalia because the Racing supporters receive police escorts, again reinforcing the theme of having control of the space surrounding the stadium.[44] The suppression of individuality and expression of ideas by the Junta in daily life directed the frustrations and emotions of young male football supporters to be expressed in stadiums of Buenos Aires, giving them control of an aspect of public space that was not as heavily monitored by the government.

Furthermore, stadiums gave football supporters a way of combatting government authority and controlling public space is by giving people a ground to engage in violence. One of the Junta's primary reasons for kidnapping and killing people it deemed 'subversive' was to stop the political violence the Junta inherited when it took power in the middle of the 1970s.[45] Football clubs often led to the formation of groups called *barras bravas*, which were comprised of the clubs most hardcore supporters.[46] With an inability to physically combat police in other public contexts, stadiums became places were the bravas clashed violently with police to maintain control of public space of the stadium. Bravas are comprised often of supporters aged between twenty and twenty five years old, within the demographic of the most common Junta kidnapping victims.[47] The bravas are often clashing with police because of the police's repressive measures against the people. In 1983, only one year removed from the technical disbandment of the Junta, rivals bravas chanted and gestured at police who attempted to arrest two youths at River's El Monumental stadium.[48] The police are often blamed for football related violence, mirroring how society blames the government for violence against citizens, as they are responsible for sixty eight percent of football related fatalities.[49] The stadium and football landscape, particularly in Buenos Aires with its massive stadiums and biggest clubs, gives the members of bravas a means to physically rebel against Junta's police violence. The bravas also combatted the Junta's ban on democratic political participation as their own hierarchies and systems of internal government allowed for the people to participate in a democratic system when they had nowhere else to express their political rights.[50] Stadiums, along with being places where fans could regain control of public space with their voices, became grounds for bravas to wrest control of public space from authorities through violence.

The military dictatorship of Argentina was one of the bloodiest regimes of state violence in the twentieth-century. Along with the establishment of a culture of fear, public space was heavily controlled by the government as well in order to prevent dissent. Yet, a method to gain control of public space came from the power of football supporters and the relatively safety of football stadiums within the city of Buenos Aires, where the biggest clubs were located and were backed by the unwavering support of the largest fan bases throughout the club football season. The stadiums in Buenos Aires gave supporters a means to

[44] "Del Barrio de Avellaneda, Fanchants, http://en.argentina.fanchants.com/football-songs/club-atletico-independiente-chants/until-10/.
[45] Romero, *A History of Argentina,* 215.
[46] Eugenio Paradiso, "Football, clientelism and corruption in Argentina: an anthropological inquiry," *Soccer and Society* vol. 17, 4 (2016): 483.
[47] Duke and Crolley, *Fútbol, Politicians and the People,* 108.
[48] Ibid, 109.
[49] Ibid, 109.
[50] Ibid, 112.

organize, regain control of public space, express their ideas and even be violent with the police throughout the Junta's rule. Equally, the government attempted to use football and stadiums to its own gain during the 1978 World Cup. The supporters from the dictatorship and their actions still influence fans in stadiums across Buenos Aires to this day. Presently, with social media being one of the most important parts of life, football fans across the world have greater access to audiences that they can voice their opinions from the terraces to. By extending the voices of the fans beyond the stadium, the conflict over the control of public space will become more and more transparent involving more actors than just the two who are at odds.

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