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*Perspectives in History*

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# Letter from the President

Once again, another year is at an end for Northern Kentucky University's chapter of Phi Alpha Theta, Alpha Beta Phi. In that time, it has been both an honor and privilege to serve as this chapter's President. Therefore, I would like to introduce our annual publication of Perspectives in History. This Journal, as in previous years,

contain historical articles written by some of Northern Kentucky University's best and brightest students of history. Much of the success of Perspectives is due to the student contributors who have spent many hours researching and writing their articles. In addition, it should be mentioned that Perspectives in History would not be possible without our talented team of editors. Abigail ("Abby") Carr and Abigail Miller, our Student Editors, worked intensely with the acquisition, submission, and editing of all of the articles. For these tasks they should be greatly congratulated. Also important is our Journal Faculty Advisory, Dr. Eric R. Jackson – Thank you. I also would like to thank Dr. Burke Miller, the Chair of the Department of History and Geography, his leadership and encouragement was outstanding and very welcomed. Much as the chapter's success also goes to our current and past Faculty Advisor, Dr. Jonathan Reynolds and Dr. Andrea Watkins. The leadership and guidance they provide is second to none. I also would like to thank Jan Rachford and Lou Stuntz for all the work and help that provide with the daily operates of the chapter. Finally, I would like to thank the past, current, and future officers of our chapter. Your work never goes unnoticed. So, thank you!!

**Kati Sinclair**

*President of Alpha Beta Phi chapter of Phi Alpha Theta, 2017-2018*

# Foreword

Being the editor of the prestigious *Perspectives in History* journal for the Alpha Beta Phi chapter of Phi Alpha Theta has been a journey that I will forever be grateful for throughout my academic career. The amount of effort that was put into the thirty-third edition of the journal has been astronomical. Gathering submissions for publication was a process that took time and careful selection. I would like to thank everybody that submitted an article for this process. The progression of the journal for the 2017-2018 school year would not have been possible without the incredible help of Dr. Eric R. Jackson. He was a guide that provided immeasurable assistance during the long hours of editing. This journal would not have been produced without his help. Dr. Jackson will always be a key part in making this journal a reality for so many undergraduates. I cannot thank him enough for allowing me to be a part of the ride.

This edition of *Perspectives in History* deals with a multitude of subjects, ranging from many different time periods. Each of the articles reflect on a certain aspects of history that some may have never thought about, such as female involvement during the Irish Revolution, the evolution of the LGBTQ rights movement, and the ordeals homosexuals went through during the reign of Nazi Germany. We also have a take on a piece of local history that many of us drive across every day - the John A. Roebling Suspension Bridge. We have articles that focus on specific individuals ranging from Josef Mengele to Doña Gracia Mendes. A wide variety of historical topics have always been the heart and soul of the journal throughout each of the unique editions.

It truly has been an honor to be the head student editor of this edition of *Perspectives in History*. I am thankful to so many for their assistance. In addition to Dr. Jackson, I would like to thank Dr. Burke Miller, the Chair of the History and Geography department, for his constant words of wisdom and guidance through this process, as well as the entire faculty of the History and Geography department for their kind words of encouragement throughout the months of hard work.

Please enjoy the thirty-third volume of *Perspectives in History* and may they bring you both knowledge and emotion as you read through these quality pieces of student work.

**Abigail P. Carr**

*Editor of Perspectives in History, 2017-2018*



## The Forgotten Women of the Irish Revolution

Nicole Clay

In the year 1916, Europe was embroiled in a war like none before. In the background of the First World War, a rebellion was reaching its boiling point. This rebellion burst to life on Easter Monday in the bustling city of Dublin, Ireland. The backbone of this rebellion was created from an atypical for the time: women. The women who formed the backbone of the Irish rebellion have largely been excluded from popular history, despite the impact that they had on the progression and outcome of the revolution.

A rift formed between Ireland and England that dates back to the year 1541 when King Henry VIII was declared king of Ireland. The arrival of Protestant settlers further deepened the split by displacing thousands of Irish landowners. It was in 1801 that the final blow was dealt with the abolition of the Irish parliament.<sup>1</sup>

Monday April 24, 1916, the day after Easter Sunday, started out just like any other day in Dublin, until a group of Irish rebels took control of the General Post Office (GPO) and turned it into the rebel headquarters. This was the official start of what would become known as the Easter Rising. The Rising rebellion was the culmination of years of planning that almost did not occur. On April 21st, the British arrested Sir Roger Casement on charges of weapons smuggling. The arrest of Sir Casement led the Irish Volunteer's chief of staff to cancel the mobilization orders.<sup>2</sup> This did not prevent Patrick Pearse, along with fourteen others, however, from leading the rebellion.

The leaders of the Rising included Patrick Pearse, who was the commander-in-chief of the GPO forces, James Connolly, who founded the Irish Citizens Army, and Thomas Clarke, who formed the military council that planned the rebellion.<sup>3</sup> These men were a small number of the leaders of the Rising, and they came from a variety of backgrounds that included school headmaster to socialist union leader.<sup>4</sup> Despite their differences, they were all fueled by the same nationalistic fire for independence.

After the establishment of the GPO as the rebel headquarters, a small contingent of soldiers—ten men and nine women—launched an attack on Dublin Castle, the symbol of British rule in Ireland.<sup>5</sup> It was here that constable James O'Brien was killed, making him the first casualty of the Rising.<sup>6</sup> The contingent failed at capturing the

1 Stamp, Gavin, "Neighbors Across the Sea: A Brief History of Anglo-Irish Relations," BBC News, April 8, 2014, accessed December 13, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-26883211>

2 *Encyclopedia Britannica*, s.v. "Easter Rising," accessed November 22, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Easter-Rising>

3 "People of 1916," *The Irish Times*, accessed November 16, 2017, <https://www.irishtimes.com/1916/people-of-the-1916-rising>

4 *Ibid*

5 Ward, Margaret, *Unmanageable Revolutionaries: Women and Irish Nationalism* (East Haven, CT: Pluto Press, 1989) p.111

6 O'Brien, James, "First Victim of the Rising," *The Irish Times*, May 23, 2013, accessed November 27, 2017, <https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/heritage/first-victim-of-the-rising-1.1402766>.

castle despite a small protection squad of only twenty soldiers. The contingent retreated to City Hall, where they undertook fire from British troops. Sean Connolly, the leader of the attack, was shot by a British sniper and became the first rebel casualty.<sup>7</sup>

Rebel posts were established throughout the city at St. Stephens Green, Jacob's Biscuit factory, Boland Mills, Four Courts, and the Royal College of Surgeons.<sup>8</sup> In the following days, Dublin was crippled by the bombardment of British artillery.<sup>9</sup> On Saturday April 29, Pearse issued an order of surrender to the British, signaling the end of the Rising. Nurse Elizabeth O'Farrell accompanied Pearse to the official surrender to General William Lowe. O'Farrell then was given the task of delivering the order of surrender to the rebel and British outposts.<sup>10</sup>

The Rising left Dublin decimated in the end and garnered bitter feelings from the Irish towards the rebels. In the following days the leaders of the Rising were tried and summarily executed with the exception of two leaders. Countess Georgina Markievicz was spared from execution because she was a woman and Eamon De Valera was spared due to his United States citizenship. Public opinion towards the Rising soon changed as the executions turned the rebels into martyrs in the eyes of the Irish people.

Women played a significant role in the years of preparations that led up to the Rising. These roles ranged from fundraising for the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Citizens Army, to smuggling guns from Germany, to acting a "ghost".<sup>11</sup> In the summer of 1914, Molly Childers and her husband, Erskine, were given the task of smuggling nine hundred rifles and twenty-nine thousand rounds of ammunition aboard their yacht the *Asgard* into the seaside town of Howth. The journey hit a dangerous peak on the night of July 16th when they sailed right through the middle of a British fleet practicing maneuvers for the war against Germany.<sup>12</sup>

Countess Markievicz is the only woman credited with being a leader in the Rising. In the years before the Rising, she founded the Fianna Eireann, a boy's movement connected to the Irish Republican Brotherhood.<sup>13</sup> She eventually found herself in close friendship with James Connolly, who made her his "ghost." These "ghosts" were a select group of women entrusted with secrets and plans for the Rising by the Irish Republican Brotherhood. They were appointed to ensure that even if one of the leaders was killed, the ghosts could still carry through their given plans.<sup>14</sup>

The most prolific women's organization involved in the Rising was the Cumann na mBan. Founded in 1914, the Cumann na mBan's mission was dedicated to the advancement of Irish liberty.<sup>15</sup> This advancement included fundraising for the Defense

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7 Ibid

8 Matthews, Ann "The Women's Sections of the Rebel Army, Easter 1916: Class background and role," *Socialist History* (2016): 51-67.

9 *Encyclopedia Britannica*, s.v. "Easter Rising."

10 Ward

11 Ibid

12 McDiarmid, Lucy, *At Home in the Revolution: What Women Said and Did in 1916* (Dublin, Ireland: Royal Irish Academy, 2015), 46-47.

13 Eide, Marian "Maeve's Legacy: Constance Markievicz, Eva Gore-Booth, and the Easter Rising," *Eire-Ireland*, 51(Fall/Winter 2016): 85

14 McCarthy, Cal, *Cumann na mBan and the Irish Revolution* (Cork, Ireland: The Collins Press, 2007)

15 Ward, 102

of Ireland fund, which purchased the weapons used to supply the army.<sup>16</sup> Alongside fundraising, they trained their members in riflery, first aid, and drill. By 1915, the organization had transformed into a quasi-military, but remained as an auxiliary for the Irish Volunteers.<sup>17</sup> The close partnership that Cumann na mBan had with the Volunteers was evident when the women adopted the tweed uniform of the Volunteers. Though members of their own company carried messages, many members and Irish Volunteers were kept in the dark on the planned uprising. Among these orders was the order issued by the military council that called for operations to begin on Monday April 24th.

In the weeklong battle for Irish independence, it is estimated approximately two hundred and eighty women took part in the Rising.<sup>18</sup> These women performed important duties such as administering first aid, cooking food at the posts, delivering weapons and messages, and returning fire on the British. These female rebels consisted of members of Cumann na mBan, the women's section of the ICA, Clan al Gael girl scouts, and simply women who wanted to assist the fight for freedom.<sup>19</sup>

On Monday, these women set off to find the companies they had been assigned to. When the women of the citizen's ambulance corps joined with the men, they were informed by James Connolly that they were now members of the Irish Republican Army.<sup>20</sup> Though not all women were as fortunate as the women of the ambulance corps, for many, the first day was a day of chaos. Many spent time trying to locate battalions and outposts while occasionally being turned away, until Pearse, Connolly, and Clarke sent out an order establishing women at all major outposts.<sup>21</sup> As the week went on, women from different branches filtered into Dublin looking to take part in the action. Some of these women included Nora O'Daly, May Moore, and Bridget Murtagh, who were spotted by Countess Markievicz and she promptly invited the women to join the St. Stephen's Green Garrison.<sup>22</sup>

Countess Markievicz served as second-in-command of St. Stephen's Green, standing tall among the men in her uniform and hat with its incredibly large feather and a pistol held high in the air.<sup>23</sup> Fighting by her side was her protégé, Margaret Skinnider, who frequently cross-dressed. When delivering dispatches, she changed out of her uniform and into a dress and then back once the message was delivered. She was also the only woman injured in the fighting, having been shot while on a mission to bomb a hotel to cut off the British.<sup>24</sup>

In addition to performing "household duties," the women served as medics and messengers. Women were used as couriers, smuggling weapons and delivering messages as they could easily pass through the British checkpoints. These couriers even took

16 Ward, 111

17 Matthews, Ann "The Women's Sections of the Rebel Army, Easter 1916: Class background and role," *Socialist History*, Vol. 49 (2016): p51-67.

18 McAuliffe, Mary and Liz Gillis, Richmond Barracks 1916: *We Were There 77 Women of the Easter Rising* (Dublin, Ireland: Dublin City Council, 2016), 37

19 Matthews, 51

20 Ward, 111

21 Ward, 108

22 McAuliffe

23 McDiarmid

24 Ibid

to donning disguises, such as Elizabeth O'Farrell and Julia Grenan. While wearing the uniform of the Irish Red Cross, they were ushered through a checkpoint by a British soldier to protect them, all the while having munitions hidden under their uniforms.<sup>25</sup> The medics serving the army were trained by Dr. Kathleen Lynn, who was the head medic at the City Hall garrison and of the women's auxiliary of the ICA.<sup>26</sup>

The order of surrender was officially given on Saturday, but the decision was made on Friday night by Pearse. In the middle of the night, a group of women accompanied by Father Flanagan and Desmond Fitzgerald left out a side door of the GPO to transport the wounded to Jarvis Street Hospital.<sup>27</sup> Three women—Elizabeth O'Farrell, Julia Grenan, and Winifred Carney—refused to leave, stating that they were needed to take care of the injured James Connolly.<sup>28</sup> Saturday afternoon, Pearse entrusted O'Farrell to deliver the request for a meeting with General Lowe because, as a woman, she was less likely to be shot. She then accompanied Pearse when he officially surrendered to General Lowe, signaling the end of the Rising. O'Farrell was then given the duty of delivering the orders of surrender to the various outposts while under military escort.<sup>29</sup>

As the news of surrender reached the outposts, many sent their women home so they could avoid arrest. There were, however, seventy-seven women who remained at their posts, choosing to be captured alongside their garrisons. The seventy-seven women arrested during the Rising were taken to Kilmainham Jail where they were housed in Richmond Barracks. The women spent about a week in jail, except for a select few who were detained longer.

Countess Markievicz was tried alongside her fellow leaders, but escaped execution and was given a life sentence because she was a woman. When informed of Connolly's death, she is said to have broken down in tears, saying her only desire was to die alongside her friends. During her incarceration, her correspondence with her sister was heavily monitored for signs of political position, leading the sisters to use allegories and illustrations to bypass the censors.<sup>30</sup>

With the imprisonment of the men, the job of keeping the movement alive fell to the women. The first step in this process was to gain public support against the British in favor of the rebels. The anti-British sentiment garnered by the execution of the leaders enlisted some support, but it was not enough. The women organized masses in honor of the dead and set forth on a propaganda campaign.<sup>31</sup>

The campaign for support extended beyond the Irish borders to America. Convoys were sent to America on lecture tours to gain support from Irish-Americans and the government, but they faced some minor difficulties. England actively produced

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25 Matthews, 63

26 "People of 1916," *The Irish Times*, accessed November 16, 2017, <https://www.irishtimes.com/1916/people-of-the-1916-rising>

27 Ward

28 Ibid

29 "People of 1916"

30 Eide, 93-94

31 Ward



propaganda in America and the fear of socialism and unions was ever present.<sup>32</sup> Hana Sheehy Skeffington and Mary MacSwiney were put under surveillance by the Secret Service during their lecture tours, and the notes were placed in Department of Justice file titled, “Bolsheviks and Socialist.”<sup>33</sup>

In the months following the Rising, Cumann na mBan introduced a change in their constitution, stating that “to follow the policy of the republican proclamation by seeing that women take up their proper position in the life of the nation. From now on, any funds to be collected were to be for the arming and equipping of the men and women of Ireland.”<sup>34</sup> This change was introduced due the inclusion of women’s suffrage in the 1916 Proclamation. In a speech given by Cathal Brugha, he praised the work of the women saying, “it was the women . . . who kept the spirit alive, who kept the flame alive and the flag flying.”<sup>35</sup> At the Sinn Fein convention in 1917, debate began on the creation of a new constitution and it was agreed after much debate that the equal status of women would be included in the proposed constitution. While this was a significant step for women’s suffrage, it never made it off the page and into action.<sup>36</sup>

In the years after the Rising, Countess Markievicz went in and out of prison and never served her full sentence. She eventually served as Minister of Labour from 1919 to 1921 for the Irish Parliament.<sup>37</sup> Seven of those months as minister were spent in jail before she was released in July 1921.<sup>38</sup> In 1925 Margaret Skinnider applied for a military pension, but her application was denied because it was only applicable to male soldiers. It was not until 1934 that the military pension was widened, and her application was granted in 1938.<sup>39</sup> It was treatment like this that led to a distrust for the Military Bureau among the women. In 1950, the Bureau of Military History wanted to collect the stories of the women involved in the rebellion, but the women said, “they would rather burn everything they had.”<sup>40</sup>

The women were treated as second-class citizens in their own time, and continued to be treated as such by history. Photos had been taken at Pearse’s surrender, and in some copies of the photo, Elizabeth O’Farrell had been erased or removed entirely from the image.<sup>41</sup> The only sign that she had been there were her boots. The very woman who delivered the message of surrender to General Lowe was erased because she was a woman, and some individuals believed she should not be commemorated in these documents alongside men.

Historians will praise the work of the women, yet regulate them to a page or

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32 Eichacker, Joanne Mooney *Irish Republican Women in America: Lecture Tours 1916-1925* (Dublin, Ireland: Irish Academic Press, 2003), 44.

33 *Ibid*, 47

34 Ward, “The Proclamation of the Republic, Easter 1916, was ‘the only instance . . . where men fighting for freedom voluntarily included women’ (Hanna Sheehy Skeffington),” *Socialist History*, 49(2016): .86.

35 Ward, 123

36 *Ibid*

37 Jaffe, Sarah “The Women of The Easter Rising,” *Dissent*, 63(Summer 2016): 160.

38 “Countess Markievicz Released from Prison,” *New York Times*, July 25, 1921, accessed November 29, 2017

39 “People of 1916”

40 McDiarmid

41 “People of 1916”

footnote in their works. For example, author James J. Comerford argued that the Cumann na mBan never received the recognition they deserved, but he gave them only a few pages in the back of his book, a work that is over a thousand pages in length.<sup>42</sup> The erasure of the Irish women from history of the Easter Rising has begun to be rectified in recent years, due to a recent upsurge in material on women in time for the one hundredth anniversary, and in part to the waves of the feminist movement.

Though often overlooked by history, the role women played in the Easter Rising is one that cannot be forgotten. Women like Countess Markievicz, Elizabeth O'Farrell, and Margaret Skinnider challenged the societal rule as they faced gunfire, cared for the wounded, and fought alongside men. These women devoted their lives to battling the British for the independence of their home. While history may have its eyes on many, rectifying the erasure of powerful women is a step forward in the right direction for the study of the past.

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42 Coleman, Marie, *County Longford and the Irish Revolution 1910-1923* (Dublin, Ireland: Irish Academic Press, 2003) 190.

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# PERSPECTIVES

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## Josef Mengele: A Charming Man with a Sinister Motive

*Miranda Nalley*

Josef Mengele was a man of power within the Auschwitz concentration camp. He was a well-dressed, clean-cut doctor that had an enduring “love” of children. As trains would arrive at the camp, he was the handsome face that greeted unfortunate souls as they entered the camp. Pointing to the left or to the right, he determined the mortality of many Jews that entered the “death camp”. As he stood outside of the train cars he chose who was worthy of work, and who should be sent directly to the crematorium. As Perla Ovitz recounts,

“Dr. Mengele was like a movie star, only more good looking. Anyone could easily fall in love with him. But no one who saw him could ever imagine that behind his beautiful face a beast was hiding.”<sup>1</sup>

Mengele was a man of charm, wit, and unbridled enthusiasm.<sup>2</sup> More specifically, he was a charming man with a sinister motive. He took great pride in his job within the Auschwitz and took his duties very seriously. Mengele was revered within the Nazi party as one of the best doctors and was renowned for his work in genetics. Not only did he act as the camp doctor, he also volunteered as supervisor of selection. A position that was detested by many, Mengele accepted the job with enthusiasm. When investigating cause of something, it is rather important to investigate the roots.

Josef Mengele born March 16, 1911 in Gunzburg, Bavaria, was the eldest son of Karl and Walburga Mengele. His family ran a successful business that produced farm machinery. After completing High School in 1930 he went on to study medicine at the Goethe University Frankfurt and University of Munich. Graduating from Munich in 1935 with his PhD in anthropology, Mengele then went on to study genetics at the Institute for Hereditary Biology and Racial Hygiene in Frankfurt assisting Dr. Otmar Freiherr von Verschuer. While working as his assistant, Mengele researched genetics and became particularly interested in twins. After a year of research he developed a thesis on genetic factors resulting in a cleft lip and palate, which earned him a cum laude doctorate in medicine in 1938. Mengele spent six years serving on the front lines against the Soviets traveling from one regimen to another as a medical expert. After

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- 1 Koren, Yehunda and Eilat Negev. *Giants: The Dwarfs of Auschwitz*. (London. The Robson Press, 2013)
  - 2 Lagnado, Lucette Matalon and Sheila Cohn Dekel. *Children of the Flame: Dr. Josef Mengele and the Untold Story of the Twins of Auschwitz*. (New York, NY. William Morrow & Co, 1991),41.

working at multiple camps, he ended up at Waffen SS camp, which was on the front against the Soviets.<sup>3</sup>

While in his active combat duty position he was the recipient of many prestigious war medals for his bravery. However, after being wounded in battle he was seen as “unfit” for combat and was sent back to Germany. In 1943 Mengele applied for a transfer to the Auschwitz concentration camp, hoping to further his career in the Nazi army. His transfer request accepted, Mengele moved to the camp and became its chief medical officer, which gave him the perfect opportunity to research genetics on human subjects. Auschwitz, was considered both a labor and extermination camp, which housed both Romani and Jewish people captured by the Nazis.

Mengele came to Auschwitz in hopes to further his research in genetics from both a medical and anthropological perspective, taking a very specific interest in twins and people with physical or biological abnormalities. Working within the extermination camp gave Mengele unbridled rein over his patients, taking advantage of his ability to conduct any experiment on his patients without facing any consequence. A decorated war veteran, as well as a doctor who had fought on the front lines, Mengele was able to get away with many unethical and unmoral procedures done on his patients. Dr. von Verschuer, Mengele’s previous mentor was able to secure a grant for him to help further his biological research. The grant was used to build a pathology laboratory attached to a crematorium at Auschwitz. There Mengele would extract and send specimens and reports back to his mentor.

Often referred to as ‘The Angel of Death’, Mengele was well known for his good looks, devilish smile, and zealous attitude. Greeting all new arrivals with a smile and charm he would immediately decide their fate. With his gloved finger, he would decide the mortality of the new arrival on whether they would go to the crematorium or become a camp laborer. However, Mengele wasn’t so interested in the fate of the new arrivals, he was more interested in subjects he could take for his own personal interest; subjects he could use in his genetic experimentation.

Once a victim was selected to become part of Mengele’s chosen group, they were showered and branded with an identification number. However, unlike the other prisoners, they were allowed to keep both their hair and clothes. Mengele himself would interview and perform a physical on each child. The questions posed, as well as the physical that was administered, was directly related to the experiments that Mengele would later do on the children.<sup>4</sup>

Alex Dekel was one of the few children Mengele chose that was not a twin and did not have any physical deformity. Dekel, born in Cluj, Romania was thirteen when he arrived in Auschwitz in 1943. Dekel describes his first moments at Auschwitz as well as Mengele’s selection process,

“Dr. Mengele was standing at the head of the selection line. He noticed me immediately because I didn’t look Jewish. I had very blond hair, and blue eyes, and was in excellent physical shape. When he started talking

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3 “Josef Mengele.” United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Accessed April 21, 2016. <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/josef-mengele>. [accessed 4/21/16]

4 Lagnado, 60.

to me, I answered him in fluent German. Mengele wasn't only looking for twins- he wanted triplets, midgets, hunchbacks, any unusual types. Even people like me- Jews who looked like perfect Aryans.”<sup>5</sup>

Although Mengele began to use Dekel as his personal errand boy, he was not omitted from his experiments. Given special treatment, along with the other twins, Dekel felt that he was far from fortunate. Dekel was exposed to many heinous scenes and witnessed some of Mengele's 'scientific experiments' first hand. Dekel recalls,

“I have never accepted the fact that Mengele himself believed he was doing serious medical work- not from the slipshod way he went about it. He was only exercising his power. Mengele ran a butcher shop- major surgeries were performed without anesthesia. Once, I witnessed a stomach operation- Mengele was removing pieces from the stomach, but without any anesthesia. Another time, it was a heart that was removed, again, without anesthesia. It was horrifying.”<sup>6</sup>

Although Mengele's work was obviously outside of moral and ethical standards, he proclaimed that these experiments were all in the name of scientific discovery. He believed his dissection and experimentation on the humans within Auschwitz would not only help extinguish physical deformities, but would also create a perfect human race, known as Aryans.

Still considered prisoners at the concentration camp, some Jewish doctors were forced to assist Mengele as part of their labor duties. Alex Dekel described the doctors as 'depressed', saying,

“I never saw a doctor smiling. They were very depressed, all of them. I lived in the same place as these doctors. I saw them going through their duties like robots, like machines. They would come back at night to sleep, and wake up early in the morning to report back to the laboratory.”<sup>7</sup>

One of those prisoners, Dr. Nyiszli, was considered Mengele's slave assistant. He, among other Jewish doctors, were forced to do experimentation on fellow Jews, or else they too would face certain death. Nyiszli explains that they were to examine those selected because they had some kind of body abnormality. Once they were examined, they were ushered outside and promptly shot. Upon death the doctors had to perform a meticulous protocol on the cadavers and dissect them, looking for any organ that may have some kind of abnormality. Finally, after their organs were harvested the corpses were treated with hypochlorite, packaged, and sent to Berlin Dahlem

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5 Lagnado, 30.

6 Lagnado, 69-70.

7 Lagnado, 62-63.

Anthropological Institute.<sup>8</sup> Dr. Nyiszli goes on to describe some of the other unethical experiments that he performed at the command of Mengele.<sup>9</sup>

Although most remember Mengele as being barbaric and evil, some remember him as a nice man who loved children. It is obvious to see, through both personal accounts as well as official documentation; Mengele did have a certain obsession with children, especially twin siblings. Many accounts detail Mengele as being gentle and compassionate. Eva Kupas, one the girls taken by Mengele, spoke about a gesture he made for her,

“Once, I wanted to go see my twin brother. So Dr. Mengele took me by the hand and walked with me over to where he was staying. Mengele held my hand the whole way.”<sup>10</sup>

Stories such as that explain the relationship he established with twins. He wanted them to entrust in him, he wanted to form a relationship with them. Although he worked to establish these positive relationships, in the end it was only used to manipulate those same children under his care. Since the children felt as if they were able to trust him, he was able to manipulate the children into willing doing things.

This ‘wolf in sheep clothing’ trick easily deceived the children that were already in an extremely vulnerable state. Although he said the right things and acted a certain way (in some instances) he nevertheless was a ruthless killer who did unspeakable things to these children.

Mengele had a very specific selection process, which he insisted on doing at every new arrival of prisoners. For his patients he specifically wanted people who were genetically unique. Mengele chose twins (triplets, etc.) because he wanted to be able to perform medical experiments, yet still have a control that is very similar to the original. By using twins, he was able to subject one of them to various elements or factors, while the other acted as the control. He also wanted to understand how their body would function. He also questioned how ‘identical’ these twins truly were to many people.

By performing dissections on the pair to see if either of them had any abnormalities, if one did, did the other one? Mengele continuously tracked their height, weight, hair growth, and other physical changes to track just how “identical” the twins were. Although Mengele obviously mistreated ‘his patients,’ it was also clear that he was very protective of his test subjects, by making sure that they were exempt from any labor the other inmates were forced to do. He often provided candy and toys for the children to play with, and even permitted some of the women to wear makeup. All of his patients were allowed to keep both their hair and clothing, allowing them to keep some sense of humanity that was robbed from so many others.

One story in particular that displayed the ruthless nature of Mengele’s crimes is that of the Offer twins. Moshe and Tibi Offer were deported to Auschwitz in May

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8 Müller-Hill, Benno. 1999. “The Blood from Auschwitz and the Silence of the Scholars”. *History and Philosophy of the Life Sciences* 21 (3). Stazione Zoologica Anton Dohrn -Napoli: 341. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23332180>. Accessed on [3/24/2016]

9 Müller-Hill, 341.

10 Lagnado, 48.

of 1944. At the age of twelve they were separated from their mother, father, and four other brothers to become patients of Mengele. Moshe recalls first impression of Mengele as, having very soft hands and made quick decisions as he pointed to the left and right deciding the mortality of the new arrivals.<sup>11</sup> As Mengele directed the twins to come under his care, they had to be taken by force from their mother by Nazis as their father was beaten. The boys were taken to the twin barracks where they interviewed and examined. The boys were oblivious to the fact that their parents and two siblings had promptly been taken to the gas chamber upon arrival. The boys spent weeks in the camp, under the constant experimentation of Dr. Mengele. One morning the boys were in a group selected for the days experiments. Upon arrival to the laboratory, the boys were stripped naked and examined. After taking several x-rays of each of the twins they were set in chairs awaiting Mengele's arrival.<sup>12</sup> Describing Mengele, as a 'clean cut doctor' with a lab coat over his SS uniform, he came in to personally inject the twins. After giving them a piece of candy, and an injection, he reviewed their files and left the room. Soon after that day, the twins were selected for experiments on a daily basis. Moshe was selected as the 'control,' while his brother Tibi was selected for the science project. Moshe explains the horrible process Mengele administered on his brother,

“One day, my twin brother, Tibi, was taken away for some special experiments. Dr. Mengele had always been more interested in Tibi. I am not sure why- perhaps because he was the older twin. Mengele made several operations on Tibi. One surgery on his spine left my brother paralyzed. He could not walk anymore. Then they took out his sexual organs. After the forth operation, I did not see Tibi anymore. I cannot tell you how I felt. It is impossible to put into words how I felt. They had taken away my father, my mother, my two older brother- and now, my twin.”<sup>13</sup>

After the death of his twin, Moshe was lucky to be alive. Usually upon the death of one twin, the other is deemed useless and is usually sent to their death. Moshe was able to physically escape Dr. Mengele and Auschwitz, but in a sense, he will never truly be able to escape. He will never be able to escape the memories, or the scars that Mengele gave him.

Mengele also grew a fondness toward the Gypsy culture that was confined within Auschwitz. Some of these Gypsies had some sort of biological defect.<sup>14</sup> Most commonly, Gypsies were known to have two different colored eyes. Mengele, who was an admirer of the human eye, became obsessed with trying to understand this abnormality. On his pursuit to find the perfect set of genetics, he felt he needed to understand why this occurrence was common within the Gypsy population. All of these twins were peculiar because of their eye color, each twin had two different eye colors, known as

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11 Lagnado, 31.

12 Lagnado, 65.

13 Lagnado, 71.

14 Lagnado, 32.



heterochromia iridium.<sup>15</sup> Upon their death and dissection, their eyeballs, along with any other abnormality, were removed and sent to Berlin for further testing. Mengele would go to great lengths to complete these 'experiments' on his quest for Aryan genes. He wanted to be renowned by the Fuhrer, himself, as well as make a well-known name for himself within biological studies. As the Gypsy unit of the camp became increasingly overpopulated and the conditions were rapidly deteriorating, the inhabitants were suffering, covered in lice and infected with disease. Upon his completion of examining the Gypsies housed within Auschwitz, Mengele decided that there was no longer a need for them at the camp and agreed that it should be annihilated.<sup>16</sup> On August, 1, 1944 over four thousand gypsies within the unit at Auschwitz were all sent to the gas chamber within a matter of hours.

Another subject of Mengele's test was a family of Jewish dwarves that were deported to Auschwitz. Upon their arrival, Mengele took great interest in the Lilliput troupe. The Ovitz family consisted of seven members, the mother and father, four sisters, and one brother. Upon their arrival at the extermination camp Dr. Mengele was immediately notified and took them under his care. The doctor was able to give this family a small glimmer of hope, that they may just be able to make it out of this death camp alive. From the estimated three thousand five hundred passengers on the train only four hundred survived the night. They had also arrived at Auschwitz with their performing costumes and makeup, which they were permitted to keep in their possession. It has even been said that the Lilliput troupe was provided special care and given privileges, because of Mengele's interest in them. However, despite Mengele's fondness for his dwarves, they were not omitted from the vigorous testing he insisted upon doing.

The family was expected to provide blood samples once a week and were subjected to weekly x-rays. Not only were they forced to give on a daily basis, but they were also tested intellectually, providing extensive documentation and several meetings with a psychiatrist to establish their intelligence level. The dwarves endured several experiments which Mengele described as helping him understand the genetic disorder behind dwarfism. Procedures included boiling water being poured into their ears, having their teeth pulled and eyelashes plucked from their eyes, all in the name of science.

Through all of this torture and humiliation, the Lilliput Troupe was just thankful to be alive and often kept an upbeat, positive attitude in front of the doctor. They were afraid of what fate may befall them, if they were to lose the interest Mengele had in their family.

Dr. Mengele was a man obsessed with creating the perfect race to populate Nazi Germany in the future. Aryans were known for their lean, muscular bodies, piercing blue eyes, and golden blonde hair. In order to better understand the genetics behind building a super race, Mengele felt he had to better understand various parts of the body, and how to successfully manipulate those parts into something desirable. One of his most popular procedures, Mengele would inject dye and other solutions into

15 Lagnado, 64.

16 Lifton., Robert Jay, *The Nazi Doctors: Medical Killing and the Psychology of Genocide* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1988) 323. 185

the eye of children in hopes of changing the pigment around the pupil. One set of twins, Hedvah and Leah Stern recalls, "One day, we were given eye-drops. Afterwards, we were unable to see for several days."<sup>17</sup> Unfortunately all his solutions failed, only causing irritation, infections, blindness, and even death. Mengele was even said to hold a collection of human eyeballs on his wall within his office, displayed on pins as if they were beautiful butterflies.<sup>18</sup>

As Mengele's experiments failed one after another, he continued to press forward in search of superior human genetics, doing whatever he thought was needed to prove that there was a way to form the perfect human race. One of the more common procedures included injecting one or both of the twins with a fatal disease and monitoring them until they passed away. Mengele believed this was a way for them to monitor patients and possible cure the same diseases when they occurred within the Nazi army. Once the child had died or was barely living, the doctor would perform an exam to look for any peculiarities. In other cases, the doctor would perform other surgeries upon patients just for the sake of experimentation. Organs and limbs were removed without anesthesia, in some cases he even tried to transplant those removed body parts onto another body. Girls and boys were both sterilized, while some were experimented on in hopes to successfully change genders. All of these experiments were considered acceptable since Mengele explained them as 'scientific', whereas in reality this torture was nothing more than a man who wanted to experiment for his own satisfaction.

In conclusion, it is not exactly easy to place what exactly the role was that Mengele played within the concentration camp of Auschwitz. He was able to manipulate his title and role to suit whatever he deemed he needed to do in order 'to get the job done'. His overall goal to develop the ultimate human race, the Aryans, was never met, despite his drive to do so. For many he played the role of executioner, sending thousands, upon thousands to their death in the gas chamber and crematorium, but that was not his only role. For others Mengele was nothing more than a mad scientist who was able to choose the method of torture exercised upon them. Yet, for some Mengele was a saving grace, he was the face that helped them through a time of desperation. Others remember him as nothing more than an evil puppet master who had rein over many innocent victims.

As odd as it sounds, Mengele played a dual role in Auschwitz, as a saving grace for some and an evil mad scientist to others, yet it's easy to see his motive was sinister. Mengele was a man of power, who wanted nothing more than to exercise and abuse that power. He was able to practice any procedure on any patient, without so much as a question. He faced no responsibility for the horrendous crimes he committed on the imprisoned at the camp, and died a free man. Never having to face the damage he caused, the lives he ruined, or the people he mutilated. Living on the run for decades underground in South America, Mengele passed away in the late seventies, without ever facing conviction for the crimes he committed. Ultimately, Mengele was only a power hungry man that wanted to do as he pleased as he tried to play God and mad scientist.

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17 Lagnado, 66.

18 Lagnado, 66.

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# PERSPECTIVES

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## The John A. Roebling Suspension Bridge

*Jenny Marsh*

On any given morning, Monday through Friday, thousands of commuters cross the Ohio River into Cincinnati, Ohio from Northern Kentucky. Several bridges span the river to accommodate these commuters, but one bridge stands above the rest. Some call it the “Blue Bridge”, others call it the “Singing Bridge”, but the official name is the John A. Roebling suspension bridge. In Northern Kentucky, this bridge is marked by historical marker #1601.<sup>1</sup> The Roebling bridge was the first suspension bridge to span the Ohio River and was the world’s longest suspension bridge for a time. When the bridge was first built, it was referred to as the Covington-Cincinnati Bridge. In 1983, to honor the architect who designed the bridge, John Augustus Roebling, the name was officially changed to the John A. Roebling Bridge.<sup>2</sup> This suspension bridge was Roebling’s masterpiece and served as a prototype for the Brooklyn Bridge.

John Augustus Roebling was born in 1806 in Mühlhausen, Prussia. Roebling’s birth was at the end of the Napoleonic Wars and the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. These eras influenced Roebling’s education and his contribution to engineering and bridge building. He took the new technologies that the early Industrial Revolution produced to improve bridge construction and the creation of suspension bridges. A massive construction project, such as this, required help from other engineers, master craftsmen and men with political and economic connections to complete Roebling’s innovative bridge design.

In Roebling’s hometown, he attended Mühlhausen Gymnasium public school. Usually a gymnasium school concentrated on the classics and the humanities, but due to the Napoleonic Wars, curriculum changed. Instead of the classics, education became more practical. Subjects like mathematics, geometry, natural science, architecture, and drafting were brought into the curriculum at the Gymnasium level. The rector of the Mühlhausen Gymnasium, reduced the Latin classes and introduced teaching materials for mathematics and physics. The revised curriculum also included a class on drafting where students practiced drawing models for carpenters. This was the educational format for John Roebling with classes on architecture and building specifications.<sup>3</sup>

Roebling excelled at mathematics, languages, writing, penmanship, and drawing. At age fifteen, he left the Gymnasium to study more complex mathematics and geometry with Dr. Ephraim Solomon Unger. Unger taught classes, such as theoretical and practical mathematics, in his own home for students interested in engineering,

1 Martin, McKenzie “Roebling Suspension Bridge,” *Explore KY History*, Accessed September 29, 2017, <http://explorekyhistory.ky.gov/items/show/352>.

2 MacKaron, Erissa “John A. Roebling Suspension Bridge,” *University of Cincinnati Libraries: Digital Resource Commons*, 2009, Accessed December 8, 2017, <http://hdl.handle.net/2374.UC/107>

3 Zink, Clifford W., *The Roebling Legacy* (Princeton: Princeton Landmark Publications, LLC, 2011), 4-5.

architecture, and mining. According to Washington Roebling, John's son, Unger was "very proud of his pupil, John A. Roebling."<sup>4</sup> Roebling later studied civil engineering in Berlin and for a time worked for the Prussian government.<sup>5</sup>

Roebling immigrated to the United States in 1831, along with others from his village of Mühlhausen. They settled in a city near Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania called Saxonburg, where there was a large German immigrant population. Roebling married Johanna Herting, another immigrant from Mühlhausen, and they had nine children. Following the death of Roebling's brother, he moved his family to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, where he found work as a surveyor. Roebling's education and experience in Germany, combined with his surveying, helped him obtain work on canals.<sup>6</sup>

While working as a surveyor, Roebling studied a major problem on the Allegheny Portage Railway, and his solution to this problem launched his bridge building career. Roebling traveled over twenty or more inclined planes that transported the canal boats. Each canal boat was built in sections, and in order to cross the mountains, the canal boats had to be taken apart, hauled across the mountain, reassembled, and then put back in the water. Each incline plane had a double engine that used a heavy hemp rope, approximately three inches in diameter, made from Kentucky hemp. Roebling noticed the wear and tear on these ropes, and the high replacement cost. His idea was to replace the hemp rope with a lighter, stronger rope made from iron wire. According to Washington Roebling, his father had heard that iron wire rope was used in Germany, and although he had not seen it, he spent his spare time devising plans to make wire rope.<sup>7</sup>

Donald Sayenga's article, "Wire Together," published in *Wire Journal International*, credits Roebling as the founder of the iron wire industry.<sup>8</sup> Sayenga's describes Roebling's patented design as built up multiple layers of wire, then wrapped with a softer wire, and formed into iron rope cables.<sup>9</sup> Originally, Roebling built these cables at the construction site, but eventually he started a cable-making factory in Trenton, New Jersey. Roebling's company became a financial success, and once financially secure, he was free to devote more time to design and to make further innovations to bridge building.<sup>10</sup>

John Roebling brought his technical innovations and designs to bridge building, but money and political influence were also needed. A man named Amos Shinkle filled that requirement. Amos Shinkle used his money, business, and military connections to get Kentucky and Ohio legislation passed to obtain a charter to build the bridge to connect Cincinnati and Covington. His company, the Covington-Cincinnati Bridge Company, sold shares to finance the construction. Local Cincinnati historian, Don

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4 Ibid

5 Ibid

6 Zink, 30

7 Zink, 31

8 Sayenga, Donald "Wired Together," *Wire Journal International*, 40 no. 10, October 2007 Accessed December 7, 2017, <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edsbl&AN=RN217411232&site=eds-live>.

9 Ibid

10 Zink, 31

Heinrich Tolzmann, credited Shinkle as instrumental in securing Roebling as the architect for the project.<sup>11</sup>

Amos Shinkle was born in 1818 in Brown County, Ohio of German descent. With only a minimal education and practically no money, Shinkle left home for a job on a flatboat on the Ohio River. Born at the beginning of steamboat travel, Shinkle made his fortune on the river. River travel and trade vessels used steam-powered ships to transport goods and raw materials up and down the river. These steamships required large amounts of coal for fuel, so Shinkle's first business venture was buying and selling coal to steamship owners.<sup>12</sup>

Coal, at that time in Ohio, was mined in the state's eastern and southern counties. These small, open veins were dug by hand and carted out by unskilled laborers.<sup>13</sup> Small coal operators sold their product to buyers, like Shinkle, who sold the coal to steamship companies. The buying and selling of coal made Shinkle wealthy and he soon purchased and built his own steamships. One such vessel, the *Mary Cole*, was an excursion boat that took partiers to Cole's Garden on the Licking River. After the success of the *Mary Cole*, Shinkle built more steamships.<sup>14</sup> In a similar incident to the 1865 disaster of the *Sultana*, another Cincinnati-built steamship, one of Shinkle's steamships was destroyed by the Confederates on the Red River.<sup>15</sup>

As Shinkle's wealth increased, he entered politics and won a seat on Covington's City Council. In the 1860s, he was elected president of the First National Bank of Covington. During this time, he acquired real estate in the Covington area, where he built a grand mansion for himself, and where he played host to President Ulysses S. Grant in 187.<sup>16</sup> Shinkle's contacts in the business, political, and religious communities made it possible for him to obtain the financing to build the Roebling bridge.<sup>17</sup>

As early as 1819, different factions had argued for and against the need for a bridge to connect the cities of Covington and Cincinnati. Cincinnati businessmen believed that if they built a bridge, they would lose business to Kentucky. Steamship companies argued that a tall bridge would impede the smoke stacks of steamships, and thus, hinder steamship travel. Before Ohio's General Assembly agreed to pass legislation for a charter for the Covington-Cincinnati Bridge Company, amendments were added to alleviate these concerns. One such stipulation for the charter was that the Covington-Cincinnati Bridge could not directly intersect with any street in Cincinnati. Essentially the Covington-Cincinnati Bridge Company was given a charter to build a bridge to nowhere.<sup>18</sup>

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11 Tolzmann, Don Heinrich, *John A. Roebling and His Suspension Bridge on the Ohio River* (Milford: Little Miami Publishing, 2007), 15.

12 Reis, "Rode River to Wealth," K4.

13 Van Vugt, William E., *The English, Scots, and Welsh in Ohio 1700-1900*, retrieved October 13, 2017. <https://books.google.com/books?id=XGhLJ2AacqAC&pg=PA144&lpq=PA144>, 144.

14 Reis, "Covington Businessman Rode River to Wealth," K4

15 Ibid

16 Ibid

17 *Shinkle Methodist Church: Centennial Anniversary (1867-1967)*, (Kenton County Historical Society: Summer 1977), 5-10.

18 Stowell, John, "Looking Back on the Building of the Roebling Suspension Bridge," Cincinnati Magazine, November 2016, <http://www.cincinnati.com/citywiseblog/view-from-the-bridge/>

Another major issue for Ohioans was the slave concern and the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. This federal law, passed as part of the Compromise of 1850 and drafted by Kentuckian Henry Clay, forced citizens to assist in the recovery of fugitive slaves. Refusal to turn over an escaped slave made them subject to fine and prosecution. In Section 10 of the charter, approved by the Ohio General Assembly, the runaway slave concern was addressed by the following:

And it shall be unlawful for said company, their agents or officers, to suffer or permit any slave or slaves to pass over said bridge without a written request of the owner or owners of such slave or slaves, or without said slave or slaves shall do so in the company of such owner or owners. And said company shall be liable to pay to said owner or owners, for every slave or slaves so permitted to pass contrary to the provisions of this act, the full value of said slave or slaves, to be ascertained by the verdict of a jury, together with a penalty of ten per cent. thereon, to be assessed by the judgment of the courts, and all costs of suit, to be recovered by action of debt, or on the case, as the plaintiff may elect.<sup>19</sup>

Other issues addressed in the charter were the location of the bridge, dimensions and the amount of compensation money to property owners in Cincinnati. While Kentucky's portion of the charter had straightforward language on these points, the Ohio approval was vague. Ohio wanted rights of ownership to the bridge in order to levy tolls and taxes from their side.<sup>20</sup> After issues were addressed through amendments and compromises were reached, Kentucky in 1846, followed by Ohio in 1849, granted Amos Shinkle's Covington-Cincinnati Bridge Company a charter.<sup>21</sup> In 1856, with the charter approved and financial backing obtained, construction on Covington-Cincinnati Bridge began, but was brought to a halt as quickly as it began.<sup>22</sup>

Cincinnati, Covington, and Newport, are not places one usually associates with the Civil War, however, with access to the Ohio River and the close proximity to the heavy industrialized North, Northern Kentucky and Southwest Ohio were key locations in the war effort. President Abraham Lincoln recognized early in the war the importance of these communities. At the beginning of the war, Roebling's suspension bridge was started but not finished. The country was recovering from the recessions years of 1847, 1853, and the Panic of 1857. Banks and financial institutions were unwilling to finance major construction projects. A bridge to connect Covington to Cincinnati was not a high priority, but with the Civil War and the threat of invasion from the Confederates, the necessity for a bridge came to the forefront.

On July 13, 1862, the *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer* published, "Great Excitement in Covington. A Raid is Expected by Morgan, 'What the Covingtonians Propose to Do?'" The article related how Captain Amos Shinkle called an emergency meeting of citizens and Kenton Guardsmen to consider action needed to stop Confederate

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19 "Charter and By-Laws of the Covington and Cincinnati Bridge Co.," *Printed by Order of the Company*, (Louisville: R.T. Durrett, 1856), 6.

20 "Charter and By-Laws of the Covington and Cincinnati Bridge Co.," 8

21 Tolzmann, 11

22 Tolzmann, 16

Colonel John Hunt Morgan from advancing north. At the time of the meeting, Morgan was in the vicinity of Bowling Green and Perryville, Kentucky. The citizens of Covington received word that Morgan was headed north towards Covington with one thousand-six hundred infantrymen and two batteries of artillery. At the meeting, a call for volunteers was made by Union General John Finnell. Captain Shinkle and General Finnell were acquainted because they had served together as directors on the Covington Cincinnati-Bridge Company in 1856.<sup>23</sup> In August 1862, Confederate General Edmund Kirby Smith and his forces were reported as headed north toward Covington and Cincinnati with twelve thousand troops.<sup>24</sup> A call to arms was issued for volunteers to defend Covington and Cincinnati. With so many men and materials needed to defend the city, a problem presented itself. How could thousands of soldiers and supplies be moved quickly across the river? Ferryboats were called in, but soon proved too slow and inadequate to handle the large numbers.

To solve the dilemma, two pontoon bridges were hastily put together to transport men, materials and vehicles across the Ohio River. By September 1862, Kirby's forces realized they were outnumbered by the seventy thousand local volunteers and retreated.<sup>25</sup> The constant threat of Confederate invasion proved to be the deciding factor in gaining funds to finish the construction of a bridge across the Ohio River for pedestrians and vehicles. In the spring of 1863, the Covington-Cincinnati Bridge was back under construction.<sup>26</sup>

A full understanding of the construction on the Covington-Cincinnati Bridge is not complete without mentioning the often-overlooked contributor, master carpenter and mechanic, Edmund F. Farrington. Don Heinrich Tolzmann, author of several books on the topic of John Roebling, and the Covington-Cincinnati suspension bridge, republished, *The John A. Roebling Suspension Bridge: A Full and Complete Description with Dimensions and Details of Construction*, by Edmund F. Farrington to help facilitate a better understanding of the construction process. In Farrington's republished text, Tolzmann wrote the introduction to the work and provided additional biographical information on Roebling, Farrington, and other prominent greater Cincinnatians. Farrington's book was originally written in 1867, right after the bridge's completion. Farrington was quoted as saying he wrote the book to tell people in layman's terms how the bridge was constructed. He said that he was asked repeatedly, "How did you do that?"<sup>27</sup> Tolzmann noted that John Roebling also published his account of the bridge's

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23 "Great Excitement in Covington. A Raid is Expected by Morgan. 'What Covingtonians Propose to Do.'" *The Cincinnati Enquirer* (1852-1872), July 13, 1862, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, Retrieved October 7, 2017, 3. ProQuest Historical Newspapers (87728316).

24 Hansen, Brett, "Crowning the Queen of the West: The John A. Roebling Suspension Bridge," *Civil Engineering Magazine*, Vol. 8 No. 9 (September 2010), Accessed September 19, 2017 MasterFILE Premier, EBSCOhost, 46.

25 Ibid

26 Wolff, Ralph G., "A Quick History of the Roebling Suspension Bridge," *Covington-Cincinnati Suspension Bridge Committee*, updated 2016, Accessed December 13, 2017, <http://www.roeblingbridge.org/history/>.

27 Farrington, E.F. *The John A. Roebling Suspension Bridge: A Full and Complete Description with Dimensions and Details of the Construction*. Edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. Milford: Little Miami Publishing, 2016.

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construction in 1867, but his account was written from a scientific and engineering perspective.<sup>28</sup>

Farrington joined forces with John Roebling on the Niagara Bridge project, which took from 1851 to 1855. According to Tolzmann, Farrington was with Roebling in the initial phase of the Covington-Cincinnati bridge project in 1856, but due to the Panic of 1857, construction halted. In 1863, due to the continued threat of invasion from the south, Kentucky and Ohio realized they needed to complete the Covington-Cincinnati Bridge, and with an improved war economy, funding became available and work resumed on the bridge.<sup>29</sup> To get qualified workmen, John Roebling advertised in both English and German newspapers, including a record of Roebling advertising in the *New York Herald* for workers for the Ohio bridge project. Farrington responded to Roebling's advertisement for a master carpenter and because of their history, Roebling hired Farrington.<sup>30</sup>

When it came time to test the catwalk on the Cincinnati Bridge, Roebling was impressed by Farrington's construction skills and his attention to detail allowed Farrington test the Bridge. Roebling said Farrington was the only one who could keep a calm head if something went wrong. This crossing made Farrington the first person to cross the Cincinnati Bridge.<sup>31</sup> When speaking about the Ohio bridge, Farrington wrote: "Each particular department of construction has been under the care of skillful and competent master workmen; and no pains have been spared to make it what it really is – the most substantial, graceful and perfect wire suspension bridge in the world."<sup>32</sup>

The Covington-Cincinnati Bridge was completed on December 1, 1866 and opened for foot traffic. At dawn on that day, one hundred guns and two brass cannons signaled the opening for pedestrians waiting to cross the bridge, and by nightfall forty-six thousand people made the trek across the world's longest suspension bridge. When the bridge opened for vehicular traffic on January 1, 1867, the two men in the lead vehicle were Amos Shinkle and John A. Roebling.<sup>33</sup>

During construction of the Ohio bridge, Roebling was a frequent visitor to the "Over the Rhine" community in Cincinnati.<sup>34</sup> He enjoyed conversing with the immigrants from this neighborhood as he shared details of the bridge's progress. Tolzmann referenced Roebling's preference for using German workers.<sup>35</sup> When faced with a worker's strike, Roebling said, "I have paid them \$1.25 an hour and do not feel inclined to raise their wages. I want to get rid of the Cincinnati wharf-rats and engage

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28 Farrington, 14

29 Farrington, 51

30 Farrington, 6

31 Farrington, 1

32 Farrington, 22

33 Engelken, Ruth, "What Would Roebling Think?" *Cincinnati Enquirer*, March 7, 1976, 184, Accessed November 10, 2017, <https://search-proquest-com.research.cincinnati.library.org/docview/1888709716?accountid=39387>.

34 Tolzmann, 17

35 Farrington, 52

Germans in their place. Germans are most loyal ... Irish alone are disloyal.”<sup>36</sup> Tolzmann speculates that Roebling’s preference for German workers was caused by the German community’s strong support of the Union cause and their aversion to slavery.<sup>37</sup>

The Covington-Cincinnati suspension bridge was Roebling’s masterpiece and came at a pivotal point in American history. With western expansion, changes in education, the advent of new technology, and changing social values, it was men like John Roebling, Amos Shinkle and Edmund Farrington who brought a mammoth construction project to conclusion. Roebling’s German education, Shinkle’s business/political connections, and Farrington’s application of Roebling’s scientific designs were responsible for creating this masterpiece. Northern Kentucky historian, Paul Tenkotte, calls them “complex and true Renaissance men.”<sup>38</sup> The design, construction, and the magnitude of the bridge has been acclaimed for one hundred and fifty years; it connected the cities of Covington and Newport to Cincinnati, and after the Civil War, it was hoped that the bridge could be a symbol for uniting the South to the North.

The one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the completion of the Roebling Bridge has been marked with exhibits and ceremonies held throughout the Tri-State to commemorate this landmark.<sup>39</sup> The Roebling Bridge represents to Covington and Cincinnati what the Statue of Liberty is to New York. The Roebling Bridge is a symbol of what can be accomplished through hard work and dedication. This is how we remember the men responsible and this is why the John A. Roebling suspension bridge is a monument to itself and the ones that created it.

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36 Knight, Marian, “Bridge That Couldn’t Be Built,” Cincinnati Enquirer, May 14, 1965, 38, Accessed November 8, 2017, <https://search-proquest.com.research.cincinnati.library.org/docview/188457056?accountid=39387>.

37 Farrington, 27

38 Farrington, viii

39 Covington-Cincinnati Bridge Committee (CCSBC). “RoeblingFest 2017”, accessed September 19, 2017 <http://roebblingbridge.org/>.

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# Homosexual Persecution during the Era of Nazi Germany, 1935-1942

*Abigail Carr*

Homosexuality has been a controversial topic when it comes to history for a long time. Just as society used to believe that people of African descent did not have history, some still believe that people that fall within the LGBTQ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer) community do not have history or that it is not worth mentioning. Being a part of a community that makes people “different” in a “normal” society is rather dangerous, this is especially so with homosexuals in Nazi Germany. Throughout the era of Nazi Germany under Adolf Hitler, homosexuals were persecuted and placed in Concentration Camps. However, most of their history has gone silent for too long, unlike the history of Jewish people during the Holocaust. This article shows how laws were put into place that went against homosexuals and made it illegal to be gay in Germany. Without question, Nazi leaders Adolf Hitler and Heinrich Himmler believed that homosexuals should be punished by death within German ranks. Atrocities such as castration and rape were punishments for homosexual men in concentration camps. Thus this article also will illustrate how that most people know few details about the history of gay people in Nazi Germany.

Before the First World War homosexuals were regarded as a population that was not harming anybody by their actions. Most people found them to be unsettling, but they were for the most part ignored. The negative mindset towards queer people could be found in conservative small-towns, but others were more accepting in big cities, such as Berlin, Hamburg, Munich, and Vienna.<sup>1</sup> The people of these larger cities had more places to flock to when they wanted to find a place that catered to homosexuals and lesbians, such as bars, cafes, and bathhouses throughout the early twentieth century.<sup>2</sup> Rural areas, however, have a cultural mindset of conservatism, referring to religious prejudice rather than attempting to see another point of view, which was the case for Germany and its LGBTQ citizens.

The most notable law against homosexuals was Paragraph 175. Paragraph 175, first enacted in 1871, gave the official German definition of what a homosexual act was in Germany society. “An unnatural sex act committed between persons of the male sex.”<sup>3</sup> In 1935, the law was revised to include two men involved in “indecenty”, which opened up a new interpretation of how men behaved with one another.<sup>4</sup> Given that gay bars and cafes were still operational, homosexuals did not take the passing of this law seriously.

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1 Johansson, Warren, and William A. Percy. “HOMOSEXUALS IN NAZI.” *Simon Wiesenthal Center Annual 7*, (January 1900): 229. *Historical Abstracts with Full Text* , EBSCOhost.

2 Johansson and Percy, 229

3 *Paragraph 175*. Directed by Robert P. Epstein and Jeffrey Friedman. Vimeo. July 26, 2016. Accessed February 27, 2017.

4 “Nazi Persecution of Homosexuals: 1933-1945.” United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

Although it still faced its challenges, both socially and with the law, the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were considered the first period in history to defend homosexuality on a broad scale. By the 1920s, Weimar Berlin was considered to be a “homosexual Eden” around the world, and most people who identified under the LGBTQ+ spectrum ignored Paragraph 175.<sup>5</sup> Despite this, Paragraph 175 was the most dangerous piece of legislation that was passed against homosexuals.

Once Hitler gained power in Germany, a number of laws were implemented over the land that dictated the life of Jews, homosexuals, and many other minorities. A lesbian woman named Annette Eick said in an interview, “At first, we didn’t believe [that Hitler was brought into power]. We laughed about him, that such a person like Hitler... that people would stay behind him.”<sup>6</sup> Most homosexuals were shocked that Adolf Hitler had come into power. However, in a rare case, Hitler’s right hand man, Ernst Röhm, was one of these minorities. Röhm was a gay man who was the co-founder of the storm trooper battalion for the Nazi Party (the SA).

Hitler largely disregarded Röhm’s homosexuality. It is said that a “brave homosexual was to be preferred than a cowardly heterosexual.”<sup>7</sup> Thus, he was allowed to continue to be the chief of staff of the SA. Once Hitler came to be Chancellor, however, Ernst Röhm was no longer needed and a plan erupted to execute him, using his sexual exploits as a scapegoat for his murder. On June 28th, 1934, the Night of the Long Knives was carried out and over three hundred people were murdered. This night led to the capture of Ernst Röhm and he was executed the following day also under Hitler’s orders. The justification of his murder was laid in his homosexuality and false rumors that he had been plotting against Hitler.<sup>8</sup>

So, what was the main issue people had with homosexuals? One of the most powerful men in Nazi Germany, Heinrich Himmler, declared that it was because homosexuals were preventing the population of Germany from growing. According to Himmler, “two million men were killed in the last war plus two million homosexuals equaled four million German women without husbands.”<sup>9</sup> In a speech that Himmler gave in 1937, he states, “if this vice [homosexuality] continues, it will be the end of Germany, the end of the Germanic world” because of its impact on the decreasing population.<sup>10</sup> By using the reasoning that homosexual males were ruining the population growth in Germany, they were able to justify their persecution.

By 1933, Storm Troopers were beginning to enforce the newly reformed Paragraph 175 and started shutting down homosexual friendly places. Over the course of the next several months, places that were considered safe for LGBTQ individuals to meet were completely shut down. However, a select few were temporarily reopened for the Olympic games in 1936.<sup>11</sup> The Gestapo (the German secret police) began to gather information on potential homosexual men and surveillance was becoming a key to

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5 *Paragraph 175*

6 *Paragraph 175*

7 Plant, 60.

8 Biedroń

9 Plant, 89

10 Himmler, Heinrich. “Speech About Homosexuality to the SS Group Leaders.”  
Speech, SS Gruppenfuhrer, February 1937.

11 “Nazi Persecution of Homosexuals: 1933-1945.” United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

convicting and arresting men that were possibly gay. There are claims that “nearly 37,500 men [were] sentenced for homosexuality between 1933 and the first half of 1940.” From “1941-44, the most reliable estimate is of about 12,000 homosexual men sentenced” because of the Gestapo surveillance of people in their homes and because of neighbors reporting their fellow neighbors of “suspicious and potential homosexual activities.”<sup>12</sup>

Unlike Jews, homosexuals were somewhat harder to identify, but the Nazi regime still had their ways of figuring out who was potentially queer. While gay bars were in the process of being shut down, the Gestapo would arrest individuals, interrogate them, and retrieve names from the people arrested. “Names of friends and lovers were extracted under torture, and Himmler’s list grew longer. Bartenders not overly sympathetic to their gay clientele would occasionally provide names” and address books typically led from one name to the next, always finding new people to arrest.<sup>13</sup>

Homosexuals were denied their human rights while simply trying to make a living in Nazi Germany. Himmler ensured that homosexuals would be “publicly stripped of their positions, dismissed and brought before courts. Before even taken to concentration camps, gay men were not allowed to own businesses, purchase books or newspapers, own cars, or use public transportation such as buses or trains.<sup>14</sup> Once they were stripped of their human rights that could allow them to live “normally” in Germany, life for homosexuals became increasingly difficult. Gay men needed to survive in these trying times and survival usually depended on the suspension of one’s sex life, and if somebody was daring enough, one could attempt to pursue secret and anonymous encounters at an extremely high risk to themselves and their partner.<sup>15</sup>

One specific group of people that were not as targeted, however, was lesbians. Nazi ideology and the German judicial system were rather indifferent to lesbian activity for four core reasons: Nazis believed that being gay was only a “real problem” in men, being gay is more prominent in men, lesbian acts could be considered an intimate form of friendship, and women were not as important in society as men, so it did not benefit them to be arrested anyway.<sup>16</sup>

Lesbians, unfortunately, were simply seen as stubborn women needed as tools to bring the population back up. With the death of over two million men in World War One, the main concern for Germany, according to Hitler and Himmler, was that they needed to have more babies to boost their population growth. Prisoners of War from Russia and France that were thrown into prison cells with lesbians were told, “For each woman they penetrated, they would be given a bottle of schnapps.” Though this was a violation of Himmler’s orders to keep the German race pure, guards still attempted to influence Prisoners of War to take part for their own entertainment, and as a punishment for lesbians.<sup>17</sup>

When World War II started in September of 1939, the Nazi regime only grew in ranks and power as they invaded surrounding countries. Heinrich Himmler

12 Plant, 149

13 Plant, 124

14 Beck, 38

15 Plant, 125

16 Johansson and Percy, 237

17 Plant, 115

believed that eliminating Ernst Röhm from the official ranks would discourage homosexual men from entering their regime. However, this was most certainly not the case. In fact, when Nazism was first introduced, it was fairly popular amongst the gay community with its ideals rooted in “virility, strength, and comradeship” among other men.<sup>18</sup> So how did higher ranking officers deal with homosexual acts within their own army and the paramilitary organization, the *Schutzstaffel* (SS)?

Cases of homosexuality that were brought to court were somewhat rare and got more common as the war progressed. Tendencies of soldiers partaking in homosexual acts, however, that were never reported, are suspected to be relatively high. Despite the fact that there are only a few recorded cases of reported homosexual behavior in Himmler’s army, the cases that have been presented are significant to the understanding of the Nazi views on sexuality.<sup>19</sup>

The citizens of Germany were to be imprisoned or sent to concentration camps according to Nazi law, but if homosexual behavior was documented and reported within the ranks of the SS or the police, the punishment was different. On November 15, 1941, the government officially prescribed the death sentence for being found guilty of being a homosexual.<sup>20</sup> Despite that, there were multiple court cases dismissed for officers that partook in minor acts of sexual involvement with another man on circumstances that it was not “real” homosexuality, since the war provided no outlet for soldiers to release their sexual energy other than with their fellow men.

Officers in the army pointed out that, “the danger of homosexual activity is especially acute when healthy, youthful, and virile men live together in close physical and emotional comradeship, and have no opportunity to have sexual relations with women.”<sup>21</sup> Police, members of Himmler’s SS, and Hitler Youths, however, “were not always prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law” when it came to having sexual relations with other men.<sup>22</sup>

As for civilians, the punishment was not as harsh as the death penalty, but there were punishments that very well could lead to death. The most popular form of punishment for violating Paragraph 175 was imprisonment or a fine, but Nazis were just as “violently opposed” to homosexuals as they were Jewish and Gypsies.<sup>23</sup> In 1938, everything changed when a new ruling was put into place that insisted that men accused of having relations with fellow men would be immediately sent to concentration camps.<sup>24</sup>

While the Nazis held power in Germany, it is estimated that around one hundred thousand men were arrested because they violated Paragraph 175, and most of these victims were of the working class. Most homosexual men that were working class did

18 Biedroń

19 Giles, Geoffrey J. “The Denial of Homosexuality: Same-Sex Incidents in Himmler’s SS and Police.” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 11, no. 1/2 (2002): 256-90.

20 Giles, 265

21 Oosterhuis, Harry. “Medicine, Male Bonding and Homosexuality in Nazi Germany;” *Journal of Contemporary History* 32, no. 2 (1997): 187-205

22 Boden, Eliot H. “The Enemy Within: Homosexuality in the Third Reich, 1933-1945.” (2011): *BASE*, EBSCOhost (accessed March 1, 2017).

23 Plant, 108

24 Biedroń

not own private apartments and were forced to find partners in semi-public spaces, such as bars or parks, and that put them at a greater risk of discovery.<sup>25</sup>

Life in camps for homosexuals was extremely violent, and in some cases, even more violent compared to the life of Jewish people. Gay men that were taken to camps were exposed to brutal treatment, not only because it was policy to treat them horribly, but also because of personal vendettas guards had against homosexuals in general.<sup>26</sup>The first transport of homosexuals on record was the arrival at Fuhlsbuttel concentration camp in the fall of 1933. People were marked with the letter “A” when they arrived, but it was soon changed to the Pink Triangle, created by Rose Winkel.<sup>27</sup>

As homosexual men and few lesbians were brought into Concentration Camps, most of them saw themselves as Germans before homosexuals and hoped that their national identity would protect them. Though it is true that German homosexuals were treated very slightly better than other homosexuals, they were sadly mistaken. Instead, they were put through slave-like labor, surgical experiments, and castration.<sup>28</sup>Many wanted to believe that their German heritage would save them from suffering through beatings and torture, but that was not the case.

In camps, homosexual men typically did not speak to one another in fear that they would be punished for “fraternizing” with one other and could be killed.<sup>29</sup> The men wearing the Pink Triangle were the main subject of guard abuse, which also made other prisoners, like Jews and Gypsies, have a general low regard for them and shunned homosexuals in fear that they would be accused of also partaking in homosexual acts.<sup>30</sup> Without the support from their fellow prisoners, homosexual men were left isolated and alone, having to deal with being on the bottom of the hierarchy.

Prisoners that donned the Pink Triangle on the chest or arm of their uniform never lasted long, and the SS guards would routinely murder them on purpose. In fact, “55% of homosexual prisoners died in the camps, as opposed to forty percent of political prisoners and 34.7% of the Jehovah’s Witnesses.”<sup>31</sup> Homosexuals were actually a very small minority in camps, but they were killed in the highest number compared to their population size.<sup>32</sup> Three out of four deaths among gay men in concentration camps occurred within the first year of arriving at the camp, as they were the main targets of violence from SS guards.<sup>33</sup>

The main cause of death for inmates was overwork, starvation, physical brutality, or “outright murder”<sup>34</sup>. Because almost all homosexuals in the camps were men,

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25 “Nazi Persecution of Homosexuals.”

26 Johansson and Percy, 243

27 Biedroń

28 *Paragraph* 175

29 Lautmann, Ruediger. “Homosexuals & the Holocaust: Gay Prisoners in the Concentration Camps.” Jewish Virtual Library. Accessed February 24, 2017

30 “Nazi Persecution of Homosexuals”

31 Biedroń

32 Plant, 153

33 Lautmann

34 “Nazi Persecution of Homosexuals.”



they were the ones that were put to work the most, and were given the most extensive and strenuous amounts of labor. This was most prevalent in labor camps such as Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald, and Auschwitz, with Sachsenhausen being regarded as the “Auschwitz for homosexuals” until 1942.<sup>35</sup> The brutality got to a point to where soldiers were given rewards for killing gay prisoners, which was revealed in Concentration Camp survivor L.D. von Classen-Neudegg’s interview in which he states: “for each prisoner killed, a soldier received five marks and three days’ leave.”<sup>36</sup>

The exact number of people that were arrested and put into camps is not known, nor is the number of how many people died, due to the burning of records and the lack of body counts in the camps. The general estimation for how many men were convicted of homosexuality from 1933 to 1944 is somewhere between fifty thousand and sixty-three thousand people.<sup>37</sup> There are three supposed categories of homosexual victims that can be identified that were oppressed during the era of Nazi Germany, which include, “those arrested, sentenced, and executed for homosexual acts, those who were sent to forced labor or concentration camps for homosexual acts and died there, and those put to death as part of the program of euthanasia because they had been committed to institutions as homosexual.”<sup>38</sup> Statistics that are not included in these numbers include those murdered for hate crimes and suicides.

Certain medical procedures were used as punishments against homosexuals in the camps, the main one being castration. In total, the number of castrations that were performed against homosexuals is estimated to be roughly 2,156 from 1934 to 1941.<sup>39</sup> In the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, “a Danish SS doctor [Carl Vaernet] arranged for the castration of about a dozen homosexuals who were later injected with testosterone” with the belief that testosterone and the removal of a part of their sex organ would make them want to have sex with women more.<sup>40</sup>

In the Flossenbürg camp, a house dedicated to prostitution was opened up as an experiment to see if Nazis could force homosexual men to have sex with women as a form of treatment. Despite the fact that there was no scientific proof that these tests and experiments would turn homosexual men into heterosexual men, doctors from a multitude of camps partook. These experiments, either they be physical or psychological, was the cause for mutilation, serious illness, death, and in some cases, suicide in the camps, and nothing scientific was ever proven through these experiments.<sup>41</sup>

Liberation officially came in 1945, Auschwitz being the last Concentration Camp to be shut down. Though prisoners were now freed, returning home was still a major battle. After the war was over and what had happened in the camps was made public, people were horrified and outraged towards the Nazi party, but public opinion remained indifferent to the treatment of homosexual people.<sup>42</sup> Discrimination against

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35 Biedroń

36 Biedroń

37 Plant, 149

38 Johansson and Percy, 252

39 Giles, Geoffrey J. “The Most Unkindest Cut of All: Castration, Homosexuality and Nazi Justice.” *Journal of Contemporary History* 27, no. 1 (1992): 41-61.

40 Plant, 104

41 “Nazi Persecution of Homosexuals.”

42 Johansson and Percy, 253

homosexuals did not stop after the Nazi party was brought down, unlike how people typically felt sorry for the Jewish people and demanded justice for them. Homosexuals were still in the dark, and in many ways, still are today.

Nazi versions of Paragraph 175 were still in effect in the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) after the war until it was revised in 1969, changing the criminalization of homosexual acts to men over the age of twenty-one.<sup>43</sup> East Germany's interpretations of Paragraph 175 differed, as they reverted back to the law and social lifestyles of pre-1935 Germany, meaning that it was still illegal to partake in homosexual acts in public. It was only after Germany was unified that Paragraph 175 was completely abolished, and in May 2002, "German parliament completed legislation to pardon all homosexuals convicted under Paragraph 175 during the Nazi era."<sup>44</sup>

Most prisoners of Concentration Camps were given compensation by the government, but homosexuals to this day have yet to receive any kind of compensation for their time in camps. "Many people deny that the homosexuals have a right to any such compensation, stating that victims with an alternative sexual orientation were justly imprisoned and 'had no one but themselves to blame'".<sup>45</sup> Very few gay men have been given money to make up for what they were forced to endure, seventy-two years after World War II ended.

Individuals have come forward to talk about their experiences living in fear of being imprisoned or sent to a camp over the past sixty years in interviews, documentaries, and books. Pierre Seel, one of the gay male survivors, was forced to watch his lover be eaten by dogs and said at the end of his interview, "I am ashamed for humanity" regarding the Holocaust and the inhumane things that were done to not only homosexuals, but others as well.<sup>46</sup>

The emotional scars that were left on homosexual victims may have never healed before their passing, and not many people know the story of what they went through. Sexuality is something that cannot be changed in a human being, no matter how much hate or violence is thrown at homosexual people. These men and women were faced with horrors that we could not even begin to imagine today, and their stories deserve a spot in history along side the Jewish people that survived the Holocaust along side them. "Despite the fact that they no longer had to wear the pink triangles that designated them, they remained marked to the end of their lives."<sup>47</sup>

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43 "Nazi Persecution of Homosexuals."

44 "Nazi Persecution of Homosexuals."

45 Biedroń

46 *Paragraph 175*

47 Biedroń

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# The Early LGBT Rights Movement: Protest and Progress from 1969 – 1999

Alex Vest

The lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) community has experienced an acceleration of developments in their history over the past fifty years. A majority of the LGBT rights movement in America has revolved around protesting for equal rights and either facing acceptance or rejection from mainstream society. The first thirty years of the LGBT rights movement has yielded laws and protections for the LGBT community. The start of this civil rights movement was in one of the most populated cities in America: New York City.

One of the main events that attributed to the beginning of the American Gay Rights Movement took place on June 28, 1969, known as the Stonewall Riots. The riots were located in Greenwich Village in New York City at the Stonewall Inn. The Stonewall Riots lasted for two days but had lasting implications on the unity and strength of LGBT individuals. According to a *New York Times* article published on June 30, 1969, the police were “unable to control a crowd of about 400 youths, some of whom were throwing bottles and lighting small fires.”<sup>1</sup> While the media may have played down, intentionally or unintentionally, the significance of this riot, the story of how the riots occurred shows how the LGBT rights movement began.

Queer Americans did not have many places open to express their sexual orientation or gender identity. The Genovese crime family, a Mafia organization in New York, saw the financial advantage of having a gay bar in the city. However, the Genovese family did not have a liquor license for Stonewall. Therefore, the police had the right to shut down the establishment at any point they saw fit. To fight this, the Mafia decided to pay off the police to overlook this fact with a weekly bribe placed in a specified location. This, however, did not stop the police from occasionally making their way into the bar to catch illegal alcohol solicitation or sodomy. In response, the patrons and its owners decided to install a light system to indicate when the police were about to show up. The bar went from being black lighted into normal white lighting if the police were on their way. This system worked well until the end of June 1969 when bar managers were not aware of the police raid. It is not clear as the reason why the police raided the Stonewall Inn; the most likely reason is that the bribe was not dropped off in its usual place.<sup>2</sup>

In the early morning of Saturday, June 28, 1969, six police officers stormed the Stonewall Inn yelling “Police! We’re taking the place!”<sup>3</sup> Typical police procedure called for verification of sex; if anyone (especially men dressing as women) were caught dressing as the other sex they were arrested by The Public Morals Squad for violating

1 “POLICE AGAIN ROUT ‘VILLAGE’ YOUTHS: Outbreak by 400 Follows a Near-Riot Over Raid”. *New York Times*, June 30, 1969. p. 22. Accessed September 14, 2016, <http://search.proquest.com/proxy1.nku.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/118687806/fulltextPDF/C021E16BF0D643B3PQ/1?accountid=12817>.

2 Martin Duberman, *Stonewall* (New York City: Dutton, 1993), p. 194.

3 David Carter, *Stonewall: The Riots that Sparked the Gay Revolution* (New York City: St. Martin’s Press, 2004), p. 137

laws set in place by the city. After the police verified people's genders and arrested those cross-dressing, those who were dismissed by the police left the Stonewall Inn and a crowd started to form at the front of the Inn. It is not clear as to who actually started the riots, but human rights activist and drag queen Marsha 'Pay it no Mind' Johnson (born Malcom Michaels Jr.) is credited with starting the riots by throwing objects and rallying people to fight against the police. From this point on, the riots turned violent.<sup>4</sup>

A crowd of people outside Stonewall started to form and soon the police were outnumbered by more than 500 queer people and activists. The police then detained several people in the crowd in attempt to contain the situation. No one was killed during the riots and no major injuries were reported. The riots proved to be significant because the LGBT community felt empowered and united after that night. Drag queen and human rights activist Sylvia Rivera (born Ray Rivera) said that the riot was "the greatest moment of my life"<sup>5</sup>. This was the first time that LGBT people stood up, fought, and defended their freedom of self-expression and existence in society. While this happened on the first day of the riots, the second day saw more people gathering outside the Stonewall Inn.<sup>6</sup>

The significance of the Stonewall Riots was not in any new policy created as a result of the riots, but rather in an attitude change within the LGBT community. The Stonewall Riots proved that there was a growing LGBT population in New York City.<sup>7</sup>

Approximately one year after the Stonewall Riots, on June 27, 1970, the LGBT community of New York decided to organize the first gay pride parade. The event was not called 'gay pride', but was advertised as the 'Christopher Street Liberation Day March'. The march started on Christopher Street and traveled uptown, ending in Central Park. Many people worried that massive homophobia might occur at the event. Yet, no homophobic slurs or attacks were reported at the march. The march also attracted more people than expected with around two thousand in attendance. Other large urban cities then included their own gay pride parades, specifically Los Angeles and Chicago. Gay Pride marches and liberation days then became an annual tradition in areas with a high LGBT population, and continued to focus on the liberation of LGBT people and the expression of one's sexual orientation or gender identity.<sup>8</sup>

Nearly a decade after the Stonewall Riots in 1978, an iconic symbol was created to unify the diversity of the LGBT community. The rainbow flag first made its debut in San Francisco's Gay Freedom Day Parade on June 25, 1978. The original artist of the flag is Kansas native Gilbert Baker. In 1974, Baker met with LGBT leader and San Francisco Councilman Harvey Milk. After this meeting, Baker decided that there

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4 Carter, p. 141-151.

5 Carter, p. 156.

6 David Deitcher, *The Question of Equality: Lesbian and Gay Politics in America Since Stonewall* (New York, Scribner 1995), p. 70

7 Deitcher, p.71

8 The New York Public Library, *Christopher Street Liberation Day 1970*, NYPL, 1969, Accessed October 18, 2016, <http://web-static.nypl.org/exhibitions/1969/christopher.html>.

needed to be a symbol that expressed “This is who I am!”<sup>9</sup> It is not clear from where Baker drew his inspiration but, most suspect that Baker took it from the Flag of the Races: a symbol that unified all races under a flag. Baker’s original LGBT pride flag had eight colors, each with their own symbol of meaning which transformed to represent the incredible diversity of the queer community.<sup>10</sup> The rainbow flag helped to legitimize the community as an entity that people could not deny existed and which led to increased support. Soon, several non-governmental organizations advocated for the rights of transgender and LGB people.

The earliest queer allied organization created in the U.S. was PFLAG (Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays). In April of 1972, Morty Manford was assaulted because he was distributing flyers during a political event known as the Inner Circle dinner. His mother’s response to his assault is the reason PFLAG was founded. Jeanne Manford, Morty’s mother, was outraged by the fact that her son was assaulted and she alleged that the police were not active in attempting to provide justice for him. She used various public media outlets to make the people aware of her son’s assault. Jeanne then went on to march with her son on June 25, 1972 and proudly declared herself as the mother of a gay son with a sign that said “Parents of Gays Unite Support for Our Children”<sup>11</sup> She received very positive feedback from her sign at the pride parade from members of the LGBT community and straight allies. As a result, Jeannine and her son decided to make the first LGBT and straight allies’ organization.<sup>12</sup>

The organization held its first formal meeting on March 26, 1973. Jeanne and her husband Jules hosted the meeting at the Metropolitan-Duane Methodist Church in Greenwich Village. Approximately 20 people attended this first meeting and the organization quickly spread via word of mouth. The organization grew over state boundaries and reached as far as California. The organization became national in 1981 after a 1980 “Dear Abby” news post about P-FLAG was published in Los Angeles. Adele Starr became the organization’s first national president in 1981.<sup>13</sup> PFLAG became the first of many pro-LGBT rights group. The involvement of straight allies benefitted the LGBT rights movement immensely. While PFLAG is an organization that grew to the national level, one university had a similar organization at the local level.

One of the earliest advocate organizations of LGBT people came from the University of Michigan. The city of Detroit had a Gay Liberation formed on March 17, 1970. This inspired gay students to form the Gay Liberation Front (GLF) and Radical Lesbians on Michigan’s campus. With requests from these student organizations, Jim Toy and Cindy Gair were hired by the university to work quarter-time positions. The new campus office was called the Human Sexuality Office (HSO) and was the first

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9 Paola Anotelli, “MoMA Acquires the Rainbow Flag”. [www.moma.org](http://www.moma.org). 2015. Accessed October 26, 2016.

10 Tegra Straight, *Symbols of Pride of the LGBTQ Community*, <http://apps.carleton.edu/campus/gsc/students/ally/lgbtsymbols/>, 2015. Accessed October 26, 2016.

11 Eric Marcus, *Making Gay History: The Half-Century Fight for Lesbian and Gay Equal Rights* (NY, Harper Collins, 2002), p. 173

12 Linas Alsenas, *Gay America: Struggle for Equality* (NY, Amulet Books, 2008), p. 93-94.

13 Marcus, p. 170-175.

university office to promote LGBT student advocacy and rights.<sup>14</sup>

The University of Michigan Gay Liberation Front inspired a chapter of the organization to start in East Lansing, Michigan at Michigan State. Members of this organization protest when companies were allegedly firing employees based on their sexual orientation. The pressure of the East Lansing GLF caused the city council to update its non-discrimination protections to include sexual orientation. East Lansing became the first city to include civil rights protections based on sexual orientation on March 7, 1972.<sup>15</sup>

The city of Ann Arbor, Michigan also created protections for homosexual and bisexual people in December 1972. Ann Arbor passed the same civil rights protections included in East Lansing, but its legislation added comprehensive protections that extended into private employment and housing. This made the city of Ann Arbor the first in the US to ban housing and workplace discrimination based on sexual orientation.<sup>16</sup> This paved the way for other cities in the United States to vote on ordinances that protected sexual orientation from discrimination. The first legislation for transgender protections came slightly later in 1975 from the city of Minneapolis.<sup>17</sup> Several pieces of legislation were passed in order to promote LGBT people throughout the 1970s.

An early step in protecting LGBT people was through repealing sodomy laws. Many states started repealing their anti-sodomy laws in the 1970s. Illinois state legislators became the first state to propose and repeal sodomy laws in 1961; Connecticut followed next in 1971, and 19 other states repealed similar laws in the decade of the 1970s.<sup>18</sup> While the LGBT rights movement did make substantial progress in the 1970s, organizations and individuals tried to contest the movement.

In 1971, Dr. Frank Kameny was the first openly gay person to run for the U.S. Congress. Kameny ran as the congressional, non-voting delegate of Washington D.C. He lost the election to Democrat Walter E. Fauntroy, but as a result Kameny and the individuals who ran his campaign founded the Gay and Lesbian Alliance of Washington D.C. The goal of this organization was to promote and lobby for pro-LGBT candidates and legislation.<sup>19</sup> This was the first time that someone belonging to the LGBT community has ascended to the main political stage in American politics. Kameny then went on to lobby to change views on homosexuality by challenging the discipline of psychology.

In psychology, psychiatric diseases have been classified in a textbook known as the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM). The DSM viewed homosexuality as a personality disorder, an idea not contested in mainstream American society. After the Stonewall Riots, people like Kameny protested and lobbied to remove homosexuality from the DSM. Psychiatric researchers such as Alfred Kinsey's scale

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14 Nick Burris, *Our History* | Spectrum Center, 2016, Accessed October 23, 2016, <https://spectrumcenter.umich.edu/article/our-history>.

15 Gretchen Millich, *East Lansing Marks 40th Anniversary of Gay Rights Ordinance*, WKAR-FM, 2012.

16 Michigan Department of Civil Rights, "MDCR Report on LGBT Inclusion under Michigan Law with Recommendations for Action", *michigan.gov*, 2013, Accessed October 23, 2016

17 "Transgender Activism", *glbtq.com*, 2013, Accessed October 23, 2016.

18 *Getting Rid of Sodomy Laws: History and Strategy that Led to the Lawrence Decision*, ACLU, 2012.

19 David R. Boldt, "Homosexual Files Delegate Papers: Number of Contestants Is Now Eight", *The Washington Post*, p. A17, February 27, 1971.



of sexuality and Evelyn Hooker's research proving that homosexual and heterosexual men had an equal chance of being diagnosed with a mental disorder helped the argument to remove homosexuality from the DSM. In the third edition of the DSM in 1973, homosexuality was removed as a personality disorder from the DSM. This decision, however, was not met without some confrontation.

In response to the opposition to homosexuality being removed, the APA replaced homosexuality with Sexual Orientation Disturbance (SOD). People diagnosed with SOD were people who were in conflict/confused about their sexual orientation. Very rarely were straight people dissatisfied with their sexual orientation so the LGBT community was targeted in this diagnosis.<sup>19</sup> While homosexuality was now recognized (from a medical perspective), there was still a diagnosis that discriminated mainly towards LGBT people in the medical world. A more conservative and religious rooted opposition had more success than the APA in the mid-1970s.<sup>20</sup>

In 1974 California, Christian minister Paul Weyrich and Robert Grant wanted to increase the Christian voice in America. Weyrich and Grant felt that the best way to get their message out was through political lobbying. The two launched their lobby and called it Christian Voice and the Heritage Foundation, who wanted to establish a "research and educational institution—a think tank—whose mission is to formulate and promote conservative public policies based on the principles of free enterprise, limited government, individual freedom, traditional American values, and a strong national defense."<sup>21</sup>

The Christian Voice peaked in 1978 when Robert Grant enlisted the help of television evangelist Jerry Falwell. Grant did not like the slow progress of Christian Voice and felt that enlisting Falwell could improve the quality of the organization. Grant, Falwell, and Weyrich promoted Falwell's organization the Moral Majority on Falwell's show in order to get more people to rally behind their cause. Millions of people wrote in support of Falwell, as well as to TV executives who were against the conservative ideas of heterosexual-only marriage and outlawing abortion.<sup>22</sup>

These three men were able to create an organization that rallied millions of conservatives together and made people who felt disenfranchised become a community of common ideas and goals. The result of the Moral Majority had similar implications to the Stonewall Riots, where a minority of people felt that they had a large group of support. The LGBT rights movement up to this point had been relatively peaceful and was not violent until the late-1970s followed by the death of a leader.

On November 10, 1978 San Francisco city supervisor Dan White resigned from his chair position on the city's board of supervisors. He resigned over dissatisfaction with the city politics, as well as his business struggling to profit. He then changed his mind and decided to reclaim his seat after already resigning from his position. The progressives on the city council saw this opportunity to pass local legislation White may have voted no on, which would have shut down the progressive legislation. Mayor

20 *The History of Psychiatry & Homosexuality*, LGBT Mental Health Syllabus, Fall 2012, Accessed October 23, 2016, [http://aglp.org/gap/1\\_history/](http://aglp.org/gap/1_history/).

21 *About Heritage*. The Heritage Foundation, 2016, Accessed October 26, 2016. <http://www.heritage.org/about>.

22 Melissa Rossi, *What Every American Should Know About who's Really Running America*, (NY, Penguin, 2007), p. 109.



George Moscone announced on November 26th that White's seat would stay vacated.

The next day, on November 27th, 1978, White entered the San Francisco City Hall through the basement window and made his way to Mayor Moscone's office. When White entered Moscone's office, White shot the mayor once in the chest and shoulder and twice in the head. White then proceeded to go into his former office and have Harvey Milk join him in his former office; Harvey Milk inspired the man who created the LGBT pride flag and was also a San Francisco city councilman that was openly gay. White shot Milk three times in the wrist, shoulder, and chest and then shot him two times in the head, execution style. Supervisor Dianne Feinstein heard the gunshots and found Milk bleeding and called the police.<sup>23</sup>

White was convicted on May 21, 1979 but instead of being charged and convicted for two counts of first-degree murder, White was convicted of committing voluntary manslaughter, the most lenient sentence for his crime. The prosecutor had asked for the death penalty due to the political disruption and that more than one person was killed, but White's defense attorney asked for a more lenient sentence, using pseudo-psychiatry to explain White's actions. A psychiatrist stated that after White resigned from the city council and learned he could not be appointed back to the Council. He also ate a lot of junk food with high amounts of sugar. This diet, according to this psychiatrist, caused White to experience severe depression and commit acts that he may not have done with a more healthy diet; this defense is commonly referred to as "the Twinkie Defense".<sup>24</sup>

Afterwards, Cleve Jones, friend of Harvey Milk, gathered a crowd of approximately 500 people and started the White Night Riots, stating "Today, Dan White was essentially patted on the back. He was convicted of manslaughter—what you get for hit and run. We all know this violence has touched all of us. It was not manslaughter. I was there that day at City Hall. I saw what the violence did. It was not manslaughter, it was murder."<sup>25</sup> Eventually, Jones' crowd grew to over five thousand people once reaching city hall. People started rioting by disrupting traffic and destroying cable car lines; rioters also set cars on fire, civilian and police alike. The police, not knowing how to deal with an angry crowd, turned to using night sticks and tear gas as crowd control. Around one hundred and forty rioters were injured, two dozen were arrested, and sixty police officers were injured.<sup>26</sup> Riot organizers planned a more peaceful protest on May 22 to honor Harvey Milk on his birthday. Not only was there peaceful protesting in San Francisco, there were also protests in Manhattan. This riot was more physical and much larger than the Stonewall Riots but it showed a great unity of LGBT people and across the country. Yet the LGBT community was soon to suffer a setback with the discovery of AIDS.

This epidemic was strongly associated with gay men and drug users. In 1981, the Center for Disease Control diagnosed the first Auto Immune Deficiency Syndrome

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23 Randy Shilts, *The Mayor of Castro Street: The Life and Times of Harvey Milk*. (NY: "St. Martin's Press", January 1, 1982), p. 250, 254-262, Wallace Turner, "Suspect Sought Job", *New York Times*, November 28, 1978, p. 1.

24 Carol Pogash, "Myth of the 'Twinkie defense'", *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 23, 2003, p. D1.

25 Shilts, p. 327, 1982

26 Kim Corsaro, "Remembering 'White Night' – San Francisco's Gay Riot", *San Francisco Bay Times*, May 18, 2006. Accessed October 26, 2016.

(AIDS) case. At the time the main issue was that medical professionals had no idea what AIDS was and why gay men were experiencing immune system problems.

Unfortunately for the LGBT community, a lot of the early references to AIDS referred to it as a gay disease. One of the CDC's earliest term for AIDS was the 4H disease; the 4 H's referred to those affected by the disease: heroin users, homosexuals, hemophiliacs, and Haitians.<sup>27</sup> The mainstream media also used their own separate term for AIDS which they called GRID, or Gay-Related Immune Deficiency. As a response, doctors in a conference in 1982, presented that GRID was misleading as a disease since more than just homosexual people were being diagnosed with AIDS.<sup>28</sup> From 1982, AIDS became the official term for the disease affecting thousands of Americans.

Many people with an AIDS diagnosis faced discrimination. The largest case study that gained national attention was a boy from Kokomo, Indiana: Ryan White. Ryan was circumcised soon after his birth and during the operation he did not stop bleeding. At three days old on December 9, 1971 he was diagnosed with hemophilia A, a blood disorder. Ryan stayed relatively healthy in his younger life until in 1984 he became ill quickly with what doctors thought was pneumonia. Early in 1985, Ryan felt well enough to start regularly attending school. Ryan's mother, Jeanne Hale, asked the school officials if it was okay for Ryan to return to school; school officials said that Ryan was not going to be allowed to return due to his diagnosis.<sup>29</sup> This sparked a national debate over the country about AIDS and the right to an education.

On June 30, 1985 Ryan's parents submitted a formal request to be readmitted to the Western School Corporation, which was declined by the superintendent, James O. Smith. As a result of this decision, Ryan had to attend school by listening to his classes via telephone. Then in November of 1985, the Indiana Department of Education (DOE) ruled that the school district must follow the guidelines set in the Indiana Board of Health. This victory for Ryan was short lived. One month later in December of 1985, the school board voted unanimously to appeal the state department's decision and Ryan was barred from attending school for a second time.<sup>30</sup>

The DOE stepped back in and ordered that Ryan must be allowed back in school. However, in order to appease the district and the complaints, the DOE included the prerequisite of a health officer deciding whether or not he was a medical liability to the school. AIDS is not a contagious disease, but many people did not fully understand what AIDS was and how it was spread. The health officer ruled that Ryan did not pose a health threat to the school and Ryan started attending school again on February 21, 1986 and many people were upset by this decision. Ryan's mom Jeanne says she remembers people yelling derogatory statements at Ryan. Later in the afternoon of

27 Sander L. Gilman, "AIDS and Syphilis: The Iconography of Disease", *The MIT Press*, Winter 1987. Accessed October 26, 2016. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3397566>.

28 Umesh Kher, "A Name for the Plague", *Time*, Original published in 1982 Archived in 2003. Accessed October 26, 2016.

29 Michael Specter, "AIDS Victim's Right to Attend Public School Tested in Corn Belt", *The Washington Post*, September 3, 1985, Accessed October 26, 2016.

30 Lisa Perlman, "School Board Votes to Appeal Decision Allowing AIDS Victim in Classes", *Associated Press*, December 18, 1985, Accessed December 7, 2016. <http://www.apnewsarchive.com/1985/School-Board-Votes-to-Appeal-Decision-Allowing-AIDS-Victim-in-Classes/id-c005f766fb8facd12c4b1fe71b099d89>.

Ryan's first day back, a judge approved a restraining order against Ryan, which barred him from the school again. A circuit of appeals judge dissolved the restraining order and the state of Indiana refused to be involved anymore with Ryan and this case.<sup>31</sup>

While Ryan's legal battle was a strenuous yearlong battle, it was significant because it pushed AIDS onto the main stage of American politics. It forced people to understand that those diagnosed with AIDS are simply average people and could be diagnosed at any age; Ryan's case also forced immediate research conducted on AIDS that may not have happened otherwise. Research from AIDS started after Ryan's case and after his passing in 1990. In 1995, treatments using drugs such as 3TC, AZT, and ddC were shown to help treat HIV, thus slowing down the process of AIDS.<sup>32</sup> While strides were being made in medical research that benefitted people within the LGBT community, LGBT and mainstream culture were about to blend.

One of the biggest icons representative of the LGBT community in the 1990s was a drag queen: RuPaul. Born RuPaul Andre Charles, RuPaul is a drag queen who came up through the club system in Georgia and then New York. RuPaul started releasing his own music in 1993 with his song and music video for Supermodel (You Better Work); the song reached #2 on the Billboard Hot Dance Music/Club Play Charts in 1993. In 1994, RuPaul was signed to a modeling contract with MAC cosmetics. This made history by having the first drag queen supermodel.<sup>33</sup> RuPaul forced the issue of LGBT people to become recognized in mainstream media. However, some people did not want LGBT people to be so public about their sexual orientation.

While RuPaul was making music and proudly representing the LGBT community, the United States government was working on passing legislation that suppressed expression of self-identity in the military. Commonly, LGBT people were discriminated against and discharged from the military due to their sexual orientation. Ed Spire in 1948 was discharged from the military because of his sexual orientation.<sup>34</sup> Under Bill Clinton's presidency, a significant legislation came to exist commonly known as "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" This legislation had benefits and drawbacks. On the positive side, it technically prohibited discrimination of people who were gay or bisexual. However, these individuals could not openly express their sexual orientation while in the service.

The legislation passed in December of 1993 due to the Clinton administration not being able to garner enough support to repeal the outright ban on homosexual and bisexual men and women serving in the military. The legislation was successful in the sense that military men and women did not have to reveal their sexual orientation while in the military.<sup>35</sup> But, the need for "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" showed that a majority of Americans felt that gay and bisexual people were not able to serve effectively in the military. Interestingly enough, people on both sides of the political spectrum

31 John Strauss, "AIDS Schoolboy Back in Classroom but Judge Rules against Him", *Associated Press*, February 6, 1986.

32 Phillip Hilts, "FDA Sticks to a New Drug to Fight AIDS", *New York Times*, November 21, 1995, Accessed October 26, 2016.

33 Bridget March, "Viva Glam, MAC AIDS fund returns with RuPaul showcasing 90s Lipstick", *Cosmopolitan*, Accessed October 27, 2016, 2013.

34 Andrew Blake, "Ed Spire, elderly gay veteran, sues Air Force over 'undesirable' discharge in 1948", *The Washington Post (online)*, November 19, 2016, Accessed November 2016.

35 Robert B Ridinger, "Don't Ask, Don't Tell", *Salem Press Encyclopedia Research Starters via EBSCOhost*, 2016. Accessed October 27, 2016.

supported gay and bisexual people openly serving in the military. Former Republican Senator Barry Goldwater wrote an op-ed supporting Clinton and his original policy stating “You don’t need to be straight to shoot straight.”<sup>36</sup>

Just like Ryan White, Matthew Shepard became a poster child of the LGBT rights movement. Shepard was a college student enrolled at the University of Wyoming. On October 6, 1998, he went to a bar he frequented and was seen leaving with two men around his age. These two men were later identified as Aaron McKinney and Russell Henderson. Matthew was robbed, whipped, tortured, tied to a fence post, and left to die by these men, with his body being discovered the next day by Aaron Kriefels.

Matthew was rushed to the hospital in a coma, where he was diagnosed as HIV-positive shortly after arrival. Despite efforts by medical staff, Matthew Shepard died early in the morning on October 12, 1998. McKinney and Henderson were both charged for the murder of Shepard and the two alleged that they only wanted to rob Matthew during their trial. After learning of the brutality and state of his body when he was attacked the country was shocked. His death inspired a documentary style play that recorded witness accounts about the kind of person Matthew Shepard was, the moments before he died, and the effects seen in his hometown of Laramie after his death.<sup>37</sup>

Many people at this point in time did not agree with gay marriage nor accepted the “homosexual lifestyle” but many agreed that homosexual people should not be treated as poorly as Matthew. The death of Matthew Shepard, at least in Laramie, showed an acceptance of LGBT people. Moises Kaufman, author of *The Laramie Project* described the town of Laramie as a microcosm of the United States; implying that the US was starting to accept LGBT people.<sup>38</sup>

The LGBT rights movement started as a violent protest for civil rights and equality in 1969. The people at the Stonewall Inn did not realize how large their community of LGBT people and straight allies was at the time. From Stonewall onward, the LGBT rights movement gained small victories in pockets of the country. However, LGBT people had to organize, protest, and sometimes become violent to gain their rights. What changed over time is that more people felt comfortable “coming out” into the community or defending the friends and/or family who did come out. The death of Matthew Shepard in 1998 brought on some optimism because both liberals and conservatives started to agree that LGBT people should have similar rights or the same rights as other people. Despite all of these victories, the LGBT rights movement continues well into the twenty-first century and will continue for many decades to come.

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36 Robert Goldberg, *Barry Goldwater*, (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1995), p. 332.

37 Moisés Kaufman, *The Laramie Project*, (NYC, Vintage Books, 2001).

38 Kaufman, Foreword.

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# “Doña Gracia Mendes Nasi: A Feminist Legend in the Ottoman”

Caroline Winstel-McLeod

Doña Gracia Mendes Nasi was a trailblazing figure in post-expulsion Sephardic History. Nasi gained notoriety for the use of her wealth and political to influence the negotiates, which led to the preservation of her safety and the continuation of her business interests with some of the most powerful authorities during the 16th century.<sup>1</sup> Doña Gracia is a unique example of post-expulsion Sephardic history as she journeyed from *conversa*, a Jew or descendent who converted to Catholicism in the face of restrictions and anti-Semitic persecution in Spain and Portugal, to return to Judaism while expanding her merchant empire. Doña Gracia Mendes Nasi furthered the cause of *converso* and Jews in the Ottoman Empire and negotiated an opportunity for her people to return to the Holy Land.

Nineteenth century historian Heinrich Graetz considered Nasi, “the Esther of her time,” alluding to the power and influence and cunning skill at her disposal, which if utilized, could save her people from persecution.<sup>2</sup> Doña Gracia, formerly known by her Christian name, Beatrice De Luna, hailed from a *converso* family from Portugal. In 1528 Nasi married her uncle, a wealthy merchant named Fransico Mendes, upon whose death she assumed half of his estate.

The power and wealth she acquired led her and her family first to Antwerp and next to Venice where she was given special permission to live outside of the established Jewish ghetto. She increased her wealth with the aid of Sultan Suleiman the first of the Ottoman Empire. After leaving Venice for the Ottoman Empire around 1553, her presence both challenged and advanced the status of Jews.<sup>3</sup> Doña Gracia Mendes Nasi’s evolution from *conversa* wife to one of the most influential and powerful Jewesses in Turkey established an enduring feminist legacy.

While Doña Nasi’s marriage solidified her position in the wealthy Portuguese merchant family, the House of Mendes, her prolific legacy began following the death of her husband. The change in her wealth due to Christian law in regard to her husband’s estate increased her vulnerability as a Marrano, a Spanish term for *conversos*, targeted by the expanding Inquisition.<sup>4</sup> The division of Francisco’s wealth was in accordance with the will and the governing law.<sup>5</sup> Widowhood provided women during the 16th century freedom to control not only their new fortune, but also the trajectory of their lives. The death of her husband allowed Nasi the opportunity to manage decisions regarding the House of Mendes’ merchant-banking business on her own, even as a woman during this time period. This allowed Nasi a more public and active

1 Andree Aelion Brooks. The Woman Who Defied Kings: *The Life and Times of Doña Gracia Nasi, A Jewish Leader During the Renaissance*. (St. Paul: Paragon House, 2002).281-283.

2 Howard Tzvi Adelman. “The Venetian Identities of Beatrice and Brianda de Luna.” In *A Journal of Jewish Women’s Studies and Gender Issues*. Vol. 25. (2013). 12.

3 “The Venetian Identities of Beatrice and Brianda de Luna.” 15

4 “The Venetian Identities of Beatrice and Brianada de Luna,” 15.

5 Ruth Landan. “Jewish Women as Providers in the Generations Following the Expulsion from Spain.” *Nashim: A Journal of Jewish Women’s Studies & Gender Issues*. No. 12. 2007. 57.



presence in society and the business world as compared to that of a married or single woman.<sup>6</sup>

Her position of power in the House of Mendes allowed her to increase the reach of their trade network throughout Christian Europe.<sup>7</sup> As the Inquisition spread through Italy, Doña Gracia took matters into her own hands; she began to implement new strategies for her protection. She gained Papal permission to live in a “Papal State,” with the right to leave when she desired with her wealth intact, an unusual, but important provision for the time. The provision for her wealth was further protected by an immunity agreement, which prohibited any restrictions on her commercial activities within the areas controlled by the Church. This agreement was fueled by the Church’s willingness to continue lucrative financial arrangements.<sup>8</sup>

The agreement offered an alternative to the financial restrictions the Venetian authorities planned for Nasi.<sup>9</sup> Nasi’s second effort to fully secure her safety and fortune from the Inquisition involved Turkey, where she already had established power from her trade endeavors. She exerted her standing and wealth and utilized her business agents in Constantinople to complete her negotiations with the Sultan. These negotiations included an escort for Nasi and her family to the Ottoman empire. The indomitable reputation the Ottoman Empire gained in Mediterranean trade added weight to the defense of Nasi and her wealth especially with the qualifier of the escort being an Ottoman official.<sup>10</sup>

Historical legend identified the involvement of Moses Hamon, a Jewish physician to Sultan Suleiman I, in the negotiations with Turkey. This was predicated on a well-circulated rumor that Doña Gracia promised her daughter’s hand in marriage to Hamon’s son. The motivation for such Hamon being such a figure within the Ottoman court were related to business interest and the involvement of the House of Mendes in the trade world.<sup>11</sup>

The financial power which allowed Doña Gracia to negotiate with the Vatican and the Ottoman empire led to tensions between Nasi and her sister, Brianda. Brianda was unaware of the plans to move to the Ottoman Empire and the safety nets Nasi had secured. Brianda and her daughter were less financially well off compared to Nasi and her daughter, Ana. Nasi had acquired more wealth following the death of Brianda’s husband Diogo, Fransico’s brother and participant in the House of Mendes. Diogo’s will suggested he placed little trust in Brianda and her management of wealth. As the Inquisition spread, Nasi’s plan to leave with her wealth and family was revealed to a group called the Council of Ten. The sister, wished to remain in Venice as a Christian

6 *The Woman Who Defied Kings: The Life and Times of Doña Gracia Nasi, A Jewish Leader During the Renaissance*, 81-82.

7 “Jewish Women as Providers in the Generations Following the Expulsion from Spain,” 57.

8 *The Woman Who Defied Kings: The Life and Times of Doña Gracia Nasi, A Jewish Leader During the Renaissance*, 281-283.

9 *The Woman Who Defied Kings: The Life and Times of Doña Gracia Nasi, A Jewish Leader During the Renaissance*, 281-283.

10 *The Woman Who Defied Kings: The Life and Times of Doña Gracia Nasi, A Jewish Leader During the Renaissance*, 283-284.

11 Uriel Heyd, “Moses Hamon, Chief Jewish Physician to Sultan Süleymān the Magnificent.” In *Oriens*. Vol. 16. 1963. 159-160.



with her daughter known by many as La Chica, who's formal name was shared with her aunt's Christian's moniker, Beatrice.

A hearing was held, which angered the Ottoman emissary who was in Venice at the time to aid in securing Doña Gracia the right to travel. An agreement was reached between Nasi and her sister in which Brianda agreed to no longer interfere with the business interests of the House of Nasi while Doña Gracia would contribute one hundred thousand ducats for her niece's inheritance alongside an additional fifteen thousand ducats for expenses and fifteen hundred ducats for annual education and living expense for La Chica. This substantial settlement was significantly less than that which the Venetians previously tried to impose, which was three hundred thousand ducats.<sup>12</sup> The agreement allowed Doña Gracia to leave Venice.

Nasi, although publicly a *conversa*, had a previous reputation for exemptions from Jewish-specific regulations targeted to draw attention to Hebrew's "otherness," within society. Such exemptions for Nasi were first seen in Venice as she lived outside of the Jewish ghetto as well as prior to her departure for Constantinople as she secured a release from dress regulations applied to Jews. She maintained her freedom of dress as well as social status in Turkey, but most importantly, she gained the opportunity to live publicly as a Jew. These bold actions endeared Doña Gracia to the Levantine Jews, showcasing the potential of life beyond the persecution of Christian Europe.<sup>13</sup>

Doña Gracia boarded the ship bound for Constantinople with a hope for a new and profitable life. By the turn of the sixteenth century, the Jewish population in the country rose to eight thousand. The Jewish religion was an accepted part of daily life within the Ottoman Empire. The chief Rabbi held an influential societal position, viewed as more powerful than the Patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church. Employment for Jews in the Empire involved minting coins, collection of customs duties, tax farming (collection of taxes by individuals from private groups and individuals), and trade. Jews rose to positions of influence in court life.<sup>14</sup>

Doña Gracia's journey along the Adriatic Sea took her from Venice to Ragusa, a midpoint in her voyage, located half-way down the Dalmatian coast. Previously established business connections offered secure entry point to Constantinople. Here, her agents' names appear as "Abner Alfari" and "Izak Ergas", the first record of Nasi using Jewish agents, but she still maintained an affinity for *conversos* in her dealings.<sup>15</sup>

To increase trade and shipping into the port, she negotiated credit for six months and a long-term five-year deal in Ragusa, complete with the inclusion of a warehouse and immunity from confiscation of her and her interests' goods. Echoing her earlier moves to protect her finances against the Vatican and her sister, she preemptively dispatched two letters. These letters were sent to the Vatican in an appeal for immunity against financial claims, including that of Brianda's estate. This additional protection

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12 *The Woman Who Defied Kings: The Life and Times of Doña Gracia Nasi, A Jewish Leader During the Renaissance*, 288-289.

13 *The Woman Who Defied Kings: The Life and Times of Doña Gracia Nasi, A Jewish Leader During the Renaissance*, 292.

14 *The Woman Who Defied Kings: The Life and Times of Doña Gracia Nasi, A Jewish Leader During the Renaissance*, 310-312.

15 *The Woman Who Defied Kings: The Life and Times of Doña Gracia Nasi, A Jewish Leader During the Renaissance*, 310-312.

empowered her relationship with the Ragusa. In exchange for five hundred ducats, Ragusa relieved Nasi from further custom duties on received goods to be exported to the Ottoman Empire. She also agreed to use her influence and encourage her co-merchants to utilize Ragusa in their shipping. Nasi would utilize agents, Alfari and Ergas, to obtain assurance from authorities that the two Jews would not be harmed as they conducted business.<sup>16</sup>

Her business continued to grow in the Ottoman Empire as the journey continued by land to the destination in Constantinople. Her arrival in the city involved a grand procession with forty horses, four carriages, and an entourage of Spanish ladies, maids, and male servants. The exemption she received from the Empire in regards to style of dress also extended to her servants. The men wore Venetian style clothing without the Turkish style hood or caps. The Western influence that she presented in her procession stretched into their residence in Galata. Galata was a contrastingly European colony that differed from traditional Jewish areas of settlement in Turkey.<sup>17</sup> The city was notorious for its sensuous women and taverns. Resembling an Italian city, it was primarily settled by Western Europeans.<sup>18</sup>

Doña Gracia shed her converso identity of Beatrice de Luna as she embraced the religious freedoms offered in Constantinople by reverting to Judaism. She began formally using her Jewish name, Gracia Mendes Nasi. Mendes was the Hebrew form of her deceased husband's name. The use of Nasi, is intriguing as it was not a family name. Historians have theorized in keeping with the practice of conversos, she chose a name with personal significance. Nasi translates to mean birth in both in Latin and Portuguese. In biblical times, it was reflective of someone of societal importance like a chief or head of an important family. With her reversion to Judaism room is left for speculation with potential of the Nasi name being previously associated with her family and their status prior to the forced conversion to Christianity.<sup>19</sup>

Her importance in the Ottoman Empire was evident in her business dealings and efforts to provide for the Jewish resettlement. When she arrived in Constantinople, the Sultan demanded a ten thousand ducats loan from Nasi. This economic provision established her importance to the Empire.<sup>20</sup>

As her status increased for the Jewess, questions arose regarding her sincerity in her reversion. These stemmed from a letter in 1553, which stated, "that she was taking steps to make certain she would be welcomed back, should she ever need or wish to return to Venice". The reality of such a letter was reflective of her previous tactic of securing safety and exit strategies from persecution and the seizure of her fortune.<sup>21</sup>

16 *The Woman Who Defied Kings: The Life and Times of Doña Gracia Nasi, A Jewish Leader During the Renaissance*, 311-315.

17 José Alberto Rodrigues Da Silva Tavim. "Jews in the diaspora with 'Sephard' in the mirror: ruptures, relations, and forms of identity: a theme examined through three cases." *Jewish History*. Vol. 25 (2). 2011. 178.

18 *The Woman Who Defied Kings: The Life and Times of Doña Gracia Nasi, A Jewish Leader During the Renaissance*, 318.

19 *The Woman Who Defied Kings: The Life and Times of Doña Gracia Nasi, A Jewish Leader During the Renaissance*,

20 *The Woman Who Defied Kings: The Life and Times of Doña Gracia Nasi, A Jewish Leader During the Renaissance*, 331.

21 *The Woman Who Defied Kings: The Life and Times of Doña Gracia Nasi, A Jewish Leader During the*

The House of Mendes maintained connection to Italy through trade, actively exporting wool, pepper, and grain to Venice from the Ottoman Empire. Nasi was involved in the trade of alcoholic beverages, despite the fact that consumption of alcohol by Muslims was banned under Islamic law. The participation in such a controversial trade proved lucrative. She became involved in tax farming, applying for the privilege under her own name. Such an application led Nasi to be the only woman recorded in the Ottoman Empire's tax record of the time.<sup>22</sup>

Nasi's reputation as a provider in the Jewish community was seen in her benevolent acts. She was to have fed as many as eighty Jews a day in her home. She provided endowments for the Jewish establishment that served the poor and the sick. Doña Gracia then purchased a rental property, which has been speculated was used for the resettlement of Jews with the personal benefit of increasing her economic wealth. Nasi had a unique way of furthering the Jewish community while increasing the dominance of the House of Mendes in the process. This was seen in her partnership with the Jewish cloth merchants of Salonika by allowing a portion of their taxes to be paid in wool product. This agreement provided cash savings on the procurement of cloth goods.<sup>23</sup>

Doña Gracia's interaction with Italian states and Ancona continued and tragedy loomed from the Inquisition perpetuation in Italy. "Twenty-four *conversos* were publicly strangled and burned in an Inquisition in the Italian port of Ancona in 1556."<sup>24</sup> Such a tragedy emboldened Nasi. She utilized her status and position with the Sultan to intercede on the treatment of Jews and Marranos that were Ottoman citizens in a letter sent to the Pope. The Inquisition in Ancona affected those "who had lived as Christians in Portugal" and were detained with their property seized by the Church. Some of those held captive escaped and fled to Ottoman lands while others sought refuge in Pesaro, a nearby port. The call for the boycott of Ancona followed.<sup>25</sup>

The Jews sought to divert business to the port of Pesaro, where sanctuary was offered to fleeing Jews. The boycott movement originated in Solonika, but was dependent on the Jewish trading areas of Constantinople, Adrianople, and Bursa, which were all part of the Ottoman Empire. Constantinople Jewry agreed to an eight-month boycott concluding on Passover. Despite the agreement, some merchants continued business in Ancona while displaying public support for the boycott. The Pesaran Jews contacted Doña Gracia to sway support for the boycott. Nasi and her nephew applied their power over Rabbis to force the co-religionists to abide by the boycott. The boycott created factions within the Jewish community in Constantinople. The Jews who participated were more financially affected than the targeted port Ancona. Some viewed the House of Mendes financial exposure as insignificant

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*Renaissance*, 331.

22 *The Woman Who Defied Kings: The Life and Times of Doña Gracia Nasi, A Jewish Leader During the Renaissance*, 330-334.

23 *The Woman Who Defied Kings: The Life and Times of Doña Gracia Nasi, A Jewish Leader During the Renaissance*, 330-334.

24 Andrée Aelion Brooks. "A Jewish Woman Leader of the Renaissance." *European Judaism: A Journal for the New Europe*. Vol. 33 (1) 2000. 51.

25 Marc Saperstein. "Martyrs, Merchants and Rabbis: Jewish Communal Conflict as Reflected in the Respona on the Boycott of Ancona." *Jewish Social Studies*. Vol 43 (3/4). 1981. 215-220.

compared to the monetary losses of fellow Jewish merchants. Doña Gracia risked her status in the trading world, inspired by what historian Cecil Roth saw as, “her great Jewish heart stirred her to act so vigorously on its behalf.”<sup>26</sup>

Continued efforts to further the Jewish community in the Ottoman Empire elicited comparisons of Doña Gracia to the prophet Deborah. Popular theory pictured Nasi as fulfilling a divine plan to use her wealth and political relationships to aid her people. Doña Gracia was renowned for her role in establishing and supporting homes that aided the poor, centers for learning, and synagogues. Nasi founded a synagogue for conversos from Portugal in Solonika, Livyuat Hen. She established a yeshiva in Balat, one of the oldest neighborhoods in Constantinople. The yeshiva grew and expanded to include a synagogue named the Synagogue of La Señora or Crowned Lady, transliterated to *Shel ha-Geveret ha-Ma’atriah*.<sup>27</sup>

Her theory on synagogue attendance was revolutionary. She rebuffed the accepted practice in which a person belonged to the synagogue where one had personal or familial history and did not stray from this congregation. Instead, Nasi favored the freedom of choice by allowing one to choose what synagogue the individual preferred to attend. This idea was supported by an adjudication by Rabbi Samuel de Medina. In terms of Nasi’s motivation, was it simply a benevolent conscious that wished to help newly reverted Jews find their preferred place of worship, or was there more of a personal, economic angle? Regardless of the motivation, the push for freedom of choice in one’s synagogue offered to the Sephardim a new chapter in religious freedom.<sup>28</sup>

Doña Gracia continued her work for the Jewish people. Her actions were viewed as a precursor to Zionism through her establishment of a colony in Palestine. The dream of returning to the promised land was brought to fruition by a Jewess from the Ottoman. The proposed settlement for Palestine aimed towards Jews and *conversos* embattled in an Inquisition riddled Europe. Nasi petitioned Sultan Suleiman for a lease of land in Ottoman-controlled Palestine. The lease was for land near the city of Tiberius. The colony would be independent and self-sufficient, utilizing mulberry trees to produce silk export.<sup>29</sup> Located on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee, the area’s significance traced back to biblical times involving Joshua, who designated the area for the tribe of Naphtali. The city was previously decimated, leaving those who desired settlement upon its land frightened of violence from Arabs.

The settlement was a sub-district of Safed, a more popular option for Jewish resettlement during the time, with a population of one thousand Jews during the 1560’s. The colony offered the Sultan a channel for revenue and the opportunity to operate the settlement as *waqf*, which utilized income for charitable purposes.<sup>30</sup> The Sultan received one thousand gold pieces annually through tax farming dependent on

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26 Martyrs, Merchants and Rabbis: Jewish Communal Conflict as Reflected in the Respona on the Boycott of Ancona.” 215-225

27 *The Woman Who Defied Kings: The Life and Times of Doña Gracia Nasi, A Jewish Leader During the Renaissance.* 424-5

28 *The Woman Who Defied Kings: The Life and Times of Doña Gracia Nasi, A Jewish Leader During the Renaissance.* 424-5.

29 “A Jewish Woman Leader of the Renaissance,” 50-51.

30 *The Woman Who Defied Kings: The Life and Times of Doña Gracia Nasi, A Jewish Leader During the Renaissance.* 438-39

the condition that the land be exclusively for Jews. Bedouin raiders terrorized the settlement and pirates prevented many settlers from ever reaching the colony, allowing its growth to expand. At the apex of the settlement, the population hovered around a few hundred settlers.<sup>31</sup> Disputes with the nearby Arabs over the undeveloped land hindered the growth. These tensions spurred further raids, which pushed Doña Gracia's appeal to the Sultan for aid. Some Turkish officials even farmed the land allocated to the Jews, which in turn repressed the ability to collect necessary taxes for the Sultan. Over a span of eight years, the taxes collected in the area doubled, but this proved to be a brief swell before its eventual collapse.<sup>32</sup> Doña Gracia's vision for Palestine would pave the way for future Zionist movements. Unfortunately, this initial colony was never seen by its creator. She died in 1569. There is some speculation and historical legend regarding the location of her death with the obvious site being in Constantinople, but some questioned if she died in a shipwreck on her way to Palestine.<sup>33</sup>

The rise to prominence of a Jewess in the Ottoman world at the helm of a mercantile empire demonstrated a woman who pioneered a path within the Early Modern period. The journey from Venice to the Ottoman Empire was spurred by the spreading Inquisition, which made a targeted powerful merchant like the head of the House of Mendes.<sup>34</sup> The ability to barter her way to safety while simultaneously expanding her trade empire secured Nasi a position of prominence within Constantinople society. The funding of synagogue and yeshiva choices through endowments and a freedom of choice movement driven by Doña Gracia ushered a new chapter in Sephardic Jewry.<sup>35</sup> The role of Gracia Mendes Nasi in the evolution of the Sephardim was that of a trailblazer whose legacy as the head of a mercantile empire forever changed the trade and Jewish life in the Ottoman Empire, all while facing the hardships of being a woman in her era.

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31 "A Jewish Woman Leader of the Renaissance," 50-51.

32 *The Woman Who Defied Kings: The Life and Times of Doña Gracia Nasi, A Jewish Leader During the Renaissance.* 446-450..

33 "A Jewish Woman Leader of the Renaissance," 50-51.

34 *The Woman Who Defied Kings: The Life and Times of Doña Gracia Nasi, A Jewish Leader During the Renaissance,* 291-299.

35 "A Jewish Woman Leader of the Renaissance," 43-51.

# The Black American Gender Gaps: American Citizenship, Educational Attainment, and National Leadership Positions

Amadu Jacky Kaba

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Review by Dr. Eric R. Jackson

Every four years, on January 20, in Washington, D.C., one of the most important events in the United States takes place, when the newly elected president (or re-elected president) is sworn into the Office of the Presidency. However, January 2008, and January 2017, carried even greater significance into the White House, with President Barack Obama and President Donald Trump respectively. President Obama, a self-identified African American, took the oath of office as the forty-fourth president of the United States, and of course, the first person of African descent to enter the White House as the commander-in-chief. He had been elected, it appeared to be, by a solid majority of the American population. Additionally, the election of President Obama for not just one term, but also his re-election four years later, seemed to sign that a new era of American ethnic and race relations had started, and for the better. However, with the election of President Donald J. Trump, in 2016, who had declared his alignment and allegiance to the Republican Party about ten years early, seems to have moved the nation back a few decades on the topic of ethnic and race relations, with has been primarily articulated via his views on from specific countries in Africa, Latin American, and the Middle East. Despite this current situation, African American made some great progress in a new of areas, rooted in the concept of American citizenship. The book under review here focus in on this topic.

In *The Black American Gender Gaps: American Citizenship, Educational Attainment, and National Leadership Positions* author Amadu Jacky Kada highlights the “substantial” economic, political, and social progress African Americans have made in the United States since World War II. More specifically, this book seeks to examine “Black Americans, American citizenship and educational attainment with a special interest in gender and higher education” (p. x). In seven somewhat uneven chapters, Kada that despite the advancement of African American males in many areas after the Second World War, and based on the ability of African American women to attain more academic credentials, they are poses to obtain more leadership and other important economic, political, and social positions during decades or century. Kada’s *The Black American Gender Gaps* is a compelling and remarkable book the uncovers data to show variety of improvements for African Americans after the 1940s, such as, for example, as of 2013, there were 60,000 Black Americans physicians, 50,000 lawyers and judges, 110,000 engineers, 329,000 mathematical or computer scientists and about 300, 000 registered nurses. In the end, this book adds much to understanding of the plight of African Americans after World War II.

Dr. Eric R. Jackson has taught numerous classes in a variety of fields, such as “Introduction to Black Studies,” “History of Race Relations in the Americas,” “Historical Themes in African American History,” “History of the New South,” and the “War of Independence and the United States Constitution.” He also has published a wide array of book reviews and articles in many local, regional, national, and international journals, such as the *Journal of African American History*, *the Journal of Negro Education*, *Ohio History*, *the International Journal of World Peace*, and the *Journal of Pan African Studies*.

