

Binghamton Journal of History

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Dear Readers,

Thank you for taking an interest in the *Binghamton Journal of History* published by Binghamton University's chapter of Phi Alpha Theta, the history honor society. This journal provides students with the opportunity to not only submit their articles and have them published but also work together editing chosen articles and publishing each issue of the journal. The editors are particularly excited to present the *Binghamton Journal of History* in a new format this year. This volume of the *Binghamton Journal of History* includes a selection of undergraduate articles that span time periods and geographical regions. We hope that you enjoy reading all of the articles. Please be sure to look at the pages following the articles for more information about Phi Alpha Theta, Binghamton University's Research Days, the History Department's Combined BA/MA Program, and tips for future historians.

We appreciate the support of Phi Alpha Theta and its members, and we would like to thank Ryan Foss for designing our journal cover. We would also like to thank all of the people who have made the publication of this journal possible.

Sincerely,
The Editorial Board

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Welcome to Phi Alpha Theta 115

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Kevin C. Anderson was a senior history major when he wrote "The Taxicab Accession: Democratization, Regulation, and the Rise of the Hired Coach." He wrote the article for Professor Heather Welland's London Calling: History of the City seminar. His historical interests include American history and violent and nonviolent revolutionary movements. He is currently pursuing a career as an elementary school teacher.

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Joshua May wrote "Dual-Promise Doctrine: Guantanamo Bay as a Microcosm of US-Cuba Relations" as a senior for Professor Nancy Appelbaum's Latin America and the US course. The article won the Andrew Bergman Award for Creative Writing. May is double majoring in political science and history. His research interests include nationalism and political violence; modern European history; the Cold War; Eastern Europe after 1569, particularly Poland; and the Middle East and North Africa. In the future, he plans to work in the field of political analysis and eventually become a professor of history.

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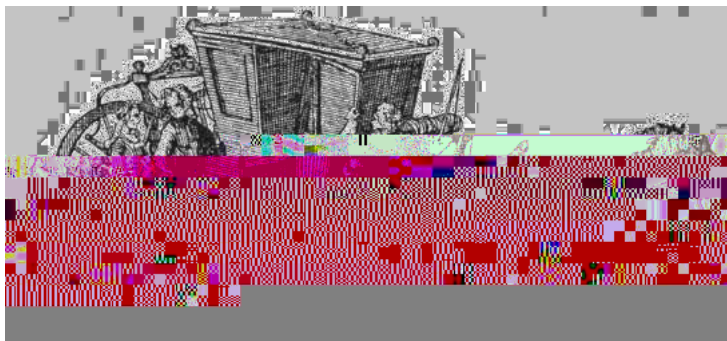
Kevin C. Anderson

The history of the London taxicab trade is not a glamorous one. The drivers of hackney coaches—

were reviled by the watermen and their allies and held in check by a wary and elitist government.

In order to illustrate the conflict, this article will take the form of two parts. The first, entitled “Progress,” will deal with the raw history of the taxi business and the various social, political, and economic advances made by coach owners and operators. It will also discuss the later government protections for cab drivers and owners once the industry was begrudgingly accepted into the fabric of London. Part two, entitled “Resistance,” will deal with just the opposite: the resistance from the traditional order to the coach’s ascendancy and those laws that treated the cabmen as a serious social ill. There was a great deal of simultaneous tolerance and rejection, particularly by Parliament, and it is anticipated that the division between these two aspects—progress and resistance—will make a complicated issue somewhat clearer.

Progress



Hackney coach circa 1680. Printed in Henry Charles Moore, *Omnibuses and Cabs: Their Origin and History* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1902), 189.

The first hired coaches designed for short-distance travel appeared in the yards of the more reputable inns of London in

the early seventeenth century.³ There was little difference between these coaches and the stagecoaches that were simultaneously establishing their predominance on England's highways. While most people might have made a journey by stage perhaps once in their lives, the hackney coaches—as they were quickly becoming known—catered to local travel and were available to anyone with a few pence in their pockets. While they were by no means free, they quickly became a necessary expense for many of London's middle and upper classes who did not want to deal with the filth of the street or the expense of keeping horses. Some early writers on the subject of hackney coaches put their birth in the year 1625; however, their true origin must have been years earlier because by 1623, it was estimated that up to five hundred people were employing them instead of a ferry each day.⁴ This was a virtually instantaneous transition to a new, more convenient form of travel—one that was readily available and soon to be so ubiquitous as to require culling.

The coaches moved out of the inn-yards before 1635. Their presence on London's major thoroughfares indicated that the owners were actively seeking out new customers, in addition to foreign or northern visitors. Hackney coaches were soon available to residents (albeit upper class ones) who simply needed to get to work or the theater. The commonly told

³ Henry Charles Moore, *Omnibuses and Cabs: Their Origin and History* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1902), 183.

⁴ Samuel Pegge, "Dissertation on Coaches," *Curialia Miscellanea or Anecdotes of Old Times; Regal, Noble, Gentilitia, and Miscellaneous: Including Authentic Anecdotes of the Royal Household, and the Customs of the*

on retainer further endeared the industry to the thrifty and space-challenged residents of London. Lastly, while Garrard may have referred elsewhere to Baily's rank as "trivial," the earmarking of various locations for taxi ranks would grow to play a significant role in their regulation. Parliaments over the next century were forced to gradually expand the list of places where hackney coaches could stand as London grew and the government allowed more coaches—the Maypole rank was always among that list.

The trade was an instantaneous success. No records exist for the daily or yearly earnings of the average driver or owner, but through circumstantial evidence, we can determine that not only was the trade lucrative, it was competitive. Being in the hackney coach trade was highly desirable. It provided extraordinary financial benefits to the owners of the carriages and even the lowly drivers. In the mid-seventeenth century, the government began to require that hackney coaches be licensed. As of 1662, four hundred such licenses were issued to owners of hackney coaches, who were granted the privilege of paying a yearly rent to a commission under the Office of Works for the purpose of repaving several vital streets and highways within the city. To the letter of the law: "Every Coach so licensed...shall pay...the yearely [*sic*] Rent of five pounds." In order to operate a hackney coach within the "Parishes comprised within the Bills of Mortality" (the boundary of the commission's jurisdiction), one needed to be one of the lucky four hundred.⁸ Had the hackney

⁸ "Charles II, 1662: An Act for repairing the High wayes and Sewers and for paving and keeping clean of the Streets in and about the Cities of London & Westminster and for reforming of Annoyances and Disorders in the Streets of and places adjacent to the said Cities and for the Regulating and Licensing of [Hackey] Coaches and for the enlarging of several strait & inconvenient Streets and Passages," in *Statutes of the Realm*, ed. John Raithby, vol. 5, 1628–80 (London: Great Britain Record Commission, 1819), 351–57.

coach business not been so remunerative, this would have been an extremely high tax—even prohibitively high. On the contrary, the licenses were eagerly sought after. This is shown through a very healthy aftermarket trade. By 1715, the majority of the original four hundred had sold their licenses directly to new buyers for more than one hundred pounds each (the initial licensing fee was only forty shillings), bypassing the commission altogether. The purchasers were forced to “[sell] Lands of Inheritance, and [disinherit] their children, to enable them to make such Purchases.”⁹ Presumably, the new owners were glad to pay such a steep price. In 1662, the standard fare for twelve hours of service set by Parliament (as opposed to the free market) was a full ten shillings.¹⁰

The hackney coach trade created a whole new class of successful businessmen who were willing to go to any lengths to remain in their chosen trade. As each Parliament transitioned

running up against corrupt commissioners and taking their complaints to Parliament. In 1695, at least nineteen of the “ancient Hackney Coachmen” were denied licenses or extorted for bribes by the new commission.¹¹ One man, William Ball, was told by a commissioner named Villers to pay a bribe of 65£ to renew his license and, after he did, was still denied. When Ball returned to the commissioner’s home to demand his money back, Villers’s wife asked to see his old license and tried to steal it, presumably to tear up the evidence. A fight ensued between Ball and Villers’s footmen, and after a sardonic interjection by the Swedish ambassador (also present, he asked, after the coachman’s mouth was stopped, “if they intended to murder him”), the money was returned and Ball was allowed to leave.¹² It is important to note that 65£ was more money than it cost to buy a coach in the first place.¹³ There is no better evidence as to the profitability of the trade than the coachmen’s determination to remain coachmen.

The economic advantages provided by the coach trade also encouraged the breaking down of political barriers. Throughout the eighteenth century, hackney coach owners and drivers routinely exercised their political rights and strove for fair and just treatment under the law. Ball’s confrontation came to light during a session of Parliament after which a special committee determined that three of the commissioners (including Villers) had acted corruptly and were removed from the commission.¹⁴

¹¹ The number of complainants were likely dozens more than these; however, the records of the House of Commons only list nineteen names followed by the phrase “divers others.”

¹² “Hackney Coach Commissioners,” in *Journal of the House of Commons*, vol. 11, 1693–1697 (London: His Majesty’s Stationary Office, 1803), 259–63.

¹³ Georgano, *A History*, 23–24.

¹⁴ “Hackney Coach Commissioners,” 277–78.

Coachmen routinely petitioned against, or simply flouted, laws made to limit their number or their freedom to operate. The response to a 1635 proclamation that placed stringent prerequisites on operating coaches is particularly telling. After King Charles I refused two offers of compromise from a group of one hundred coachmen who wanted to form a corporation, the 1635 regulation was wholly ignored.¹⁵

thirteen coach owners to nominate the remainder of the "Master Hackney-Coachmen."¹⁹ While this particular feature did not carry over into later laws, it is easy to imagine the effect that this had on the hackney coach industry. If hackney coach owners were held liable for each other, this proto-unionizing would have led to a sense of responsibility and bonding between these businessmen and to the kind of cooperative bargaining that has been seen in the industry over the subsequent centuries.

Only five years after the formation of this "union," drivers ignored Charles II's 1660 banishment from the streets. In 1663, the widows of dead coachmen appealed to Parliament for relief and were given priority in the distribution of new licenses.²⁰ In 1715, the (by then) seven hundred licensed coachmen petitioned Parliament and requested some changes to the rules. They asked that "no Gentlemens [*sic*] Servants...

live as becometh Christians."²² In future acts, the industry was referred to as a trade in goods and chattel, and, presumably, drivers were no longer required to make themselves available on Sundays. The crux of their petition seems to have been ignored—commissioners were still responsible for the seizure of licenses in arrears—but many of the seven hundred's requests were acceded to. Fifty years later, in 1760, the coachmen threatened to strike on George III's coronation day. Eventually, cabmen did go on strike in the year 1853, but they were thwarted by the police who allowed unlicensed cabs to work for the duration of the strike.²³ After 1853, coachmen routinely went on strike or threatened to strike every few years or so.²⁴ Regardless of the limited success of these actions, the coachmen were successful in making their grievances heard, and Parliament routinely accepted a reasonable portion of them. This early political organizing can be seen in a number of contemporary industries. Hackney coachmen were by no means the first to use collective action techniques, but the hackney coach industry brought direct political involvement to a large number of drivers and owners who had routine access to the ruling class.

As we will see later, many critics of the hackney coach industry portrayed their customers as transgressors of the social structure. People who rode in hackney coaches were painted as social climbers desperate to imitate the elite classes, and, in reality, some of them were. But their imitation was only a thin veneer of status while the hackney coach industry provided real advancement to another class of people: the drivers. We have seen already how the hackney coach industry served as a

²² *Some Reasons most humbly offered* (1715).

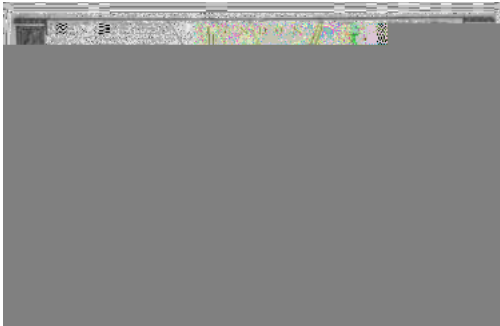
²³ Moore, *Omnibuses*, 232–33.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 250.

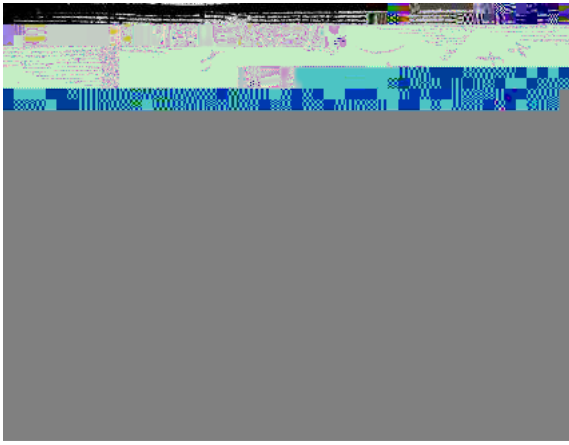
platform for drivers and owners to exercise political rights in the form of petitions and strikes. We have also seen how the drivers and the owners of coaches stood to make a significant financial gain even at the risk of their homes and estates. Drivers also benefitted in social standing. For example, they were granted access to the elites on a daily basis. One story, as told by transportation writer Henry Charles Moore, illustrates that regular users of coaches were upper-class members of London society. "Lord John Russell was in the habit of riding home every night from the House of Commons in a cab." When the Lord accidentally paid his driver a sovereign instead of a shilling, he was able to identify his driver the next day. The sovereign had already been spent, and Lord Russell did not demand it back, but this story and others demonstrate the mostly friendly nature of the interactions between the drivers and their regular fares.²⁵ If one was not a regular customer, however, one could expect no special treatment from the drivers. When drivers found themselves in positions of power, they often extorted their fares for extra money. For example, when Tate Wilkinson was unable to get a coach in the tangle of theatre-goers departing the Drury Lane Theatre, he was asked to pay eight shillings for what was probably a one shilling ride. Mr. Wilkinson was so grateful anyway that he threw in a "bumper" of brandy as a tip.²⁶ Drivers knew that their riders were generally well off and used their access to extort them or play on their generosity and wealth. Their status was also cemented by the fact that many coaches were the cast-offs of the superrich. Coaches that originally cost fortunes were sold very cheaply secondhand and still displayed the original owners' coats of arms on the sides.²⁷ This was one

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waterman poet, wrote a number of pamphlets bemoaning the sorry state that the hackney coaches had brought to his business. As mentioned in part one, it was in his pamphlet *The World Runnes on Wheels* that Taylor insisted that the coaches “do rob us of our livings and carry 500 fares daily from us.” He argued that the majority of Londoners using any ad hoc transportation were people of quality, especially members of Parliament. The hackney coaches had supplanted the watermen’s access to the ruling class, and for this, the watermen were embittered. The coaches were “a prowde, sawcie Intruder...[that] hath driven



Frontispiece from Taylor, *The World Runnes on Wheels*.

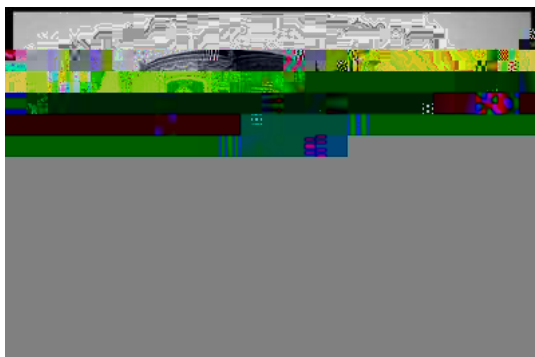
This impression was partially based in reality, as hackney carriages were sometimes used in the effectuation of extramarital trysts.³¹ However, in the early days, this use was only hypothetical, while the association of hackney coaches with hell was rampant. “Hyred Hackney hell-Carts” was Taylor’s phrase. Another writer, Henry Peacham, referred to a coach as a “Devills Carter.”³² A ballad written at some time in the late seventeenth century gave the “true Relation of one Thomas Cox, a Hackney-Coach-man, to whom the Devil appeared on friday Night.”³³ The association with prostitution was a charge often

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levied against the hackney coaches. A ballad penned in 1684 to celebrate the end of the frost and the opening of the Thames to the watermen stated that hackney coaches were “where Whores do debauch,” and they had “spoiled [the Thames’] Grace.”³⁴ Throughout the seventeenth century, the traditional order fought the hackney coachmen for the hearts and minds of the citizens of London, using stories and songs to influence the people against the coaches by portraying them as a tool of Satan and sin. Because of their democratic availability, the hackney coaches were a direct threat to tradition and social order, and understandably, there was significant resistance to them.

One of the early complaints, however, hit home with the more practical British government: the streets were too crowded and in sorry condition, and it was the hackney coaches’ fault. According to Charles I in 1635, “the great number of Hackney Coaches of late time seen and kept in London...were not only a *great disturbance to his Majesty, . . . the Queen, the Nobility, and others of place and degree* . . . but the streets themselves were so pestered, and the pavements so broken up, that the common passage [was] thereby hindered and made dangerous.”³⁵ Accompanying this lambaste were severe restrictions that the king hoped would slow down the hackney coach trade before it did any real damage. Hackney coaches would only be “suffered” in London if they were traveling more than three miles out of the city—

Furthermore, by the Crown's right of purveyance, nobody



Example of a sedan chair. "Sedan Chairmen," last modified February 2004,
<http://www.georgianindex.net/transportationLondon/chairmen.html>.

only one passenger, leading to the hackney coaches' revival before the year was out.³⁷

Unfazed by his failure, Charles I issued a compromise in

directly into defraying the costs of repaving several vital thoroughfares. But for the coachmen, this was a one hundred and fifty percent increase in overhead year after year. The number of licenses was no longer the only limiting factor—it became exorbitantly expensive to maintain one’s license. This was elitist legislation that turned the hackney coach industry from an easy avenue by which to change one’s social status into an industry with its own traditionalist order. No longer could small businessmen afford to own only one coach; if one was to be a licensed coachman, one had to be involved in big business. This same elitism was seen in the nineteenth century when the two-wheeled “cabriolet”—cab, for short—

dictated by status. The advent of the hireable coach brought comfortable and rapid transportation to the middle class. The elite, who wanted to retain travel for their own use, saw this as a threat. Thus, Parliament dictated the fares to be charged and the places coaches could rank. They incentivized travel within London's center and standardized travel to and from elite areas like Westminster, the Tower, and the Inns of Court. Drivers and owners of coaches used their newfound political influence to petition for their rights as businessmen. Still, there were those that r

regarding that knowledge.⁴⁴ Candidates had to recite to an examiner the roads that made up the fastest route between two points of the examiner's choosing. This distinctive oral format had its origin in the standardization of rates by Parliament. By setting a price based on a beginning and end point rather than on mileage, Parliament effectively established the preeminence of the "most efficient route" as opposed to the travel time or the distance.

Hired cars have been a staple of Western culture for centuries, but resistance to coaches, cabs, and taxis continues to the modern day. The cost of a license to "ply-for-hire" as a taxi driver is still prohibitively high: a "medallion" in New York City costs, on average, eight hundred forty thousand dollars.⁴⁵ Newer and even more democratic services like Uber are meeting strong resistance from local governments and the established order of taxi and minicab drivers on both sides of the Atlantic.

After their first century, coaches no longer represented a cutting-

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owners and the drivers, however, the trade provided a tangible economic benefit that they parleyed into real political rights.

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Justine Teu

When spring arrived in 1902, Chinese American Ng Poon Chew had already been in the United States for twenty-one years. He worked as a clergyman in a San Francisco Presbyterian church and lived in one of the country's various emerging Chinatowns. That spring, Chew penned an article entitled "The Chinaman in America" for *The Independent* in which he called for the end of Chinese immigrant exclusion into the United States because the people of his homeland were no threat to the American status quo. On the issue of labor competition with native-born citizens, Chew wrote that the immigrants "could not possibly compete with Americans" because the Chinese tended to stay in their own "clusters and colonies," away from the threat of mixing with white middle-class Americans.¹ By simultaneously defending the inclusion of Chinese immigrants and imparting a sense of inferiority, Chew provided a rare voice for the time. He communicated the unique perspective of someone caught between two cultures—ethnic immigrant heritage and the American one he had grown accustomed to for the past twenty-one years. This pervading notion of "twoness,"

¹ Ng Poon Chew, "The Chinaman in America," *The Independent*, April 3, 1902, 54.

this mixing of cultures, was all too common at the time when white native-born citizens started to take more interest in US Chinatowns.

Because the 1890s to 1920s represent a time of great change to US urban spaces, historical studies must acknowledge that many people saw cities—especially places within them like Chinatowns—as increasingly foreign spaces. With pockets of new worlds found on a block-to-block basis, many of San Francisco’s white middle-class residents sought to rationalize the cultures of “othered” people by reimagining their cultures into a more comfortable American context.² This was far from an exceptional experience as Americans on both the East and West coasts often took East Asian cultural elements from their local Chinatowns and infused them into many facets of popular culture. The industrial innovations of the 1800s also marked a vibrant shift in how Americans viewed their country, themselves, and the spaces around them—especially urban areas where class, race, and other social factors more often intersected. This article investigates all the ways that urbanites took in Chinese culture. Whether physically slumming in Chinatowns for parties and daytime tourism or partaking in cultural exchange through games, fashion, and popular entertainment, white middle-class Americans often appropriated pieces of Chinese culture as accessories and means of leisure in order to redefine the modern self. This article discusses how this

² For the sake of clarity, when I refer to the term *othered*, I am specifically addressing Americans that were not part of the so-called “mainstream” of the time (i.e., any ethnic immigrant groups, blacks, and those not considered part of the white middle-class urban population. For this article, I refer to white middle-class, native-born Americans as “mainstream.”) This article specifically focuses on Chinese Americans as the “othered” people in question, with various “othered” groups serving as comparisons.

type of cultural exchange came to fruition by tracing its history and provides a more in-depth analysis of these direct and indirect exchanges. Ultimately, the interactions between mainstream Americans and Chinatown inhabitants were not symbiotic; native-born Americans built cosmopolitan personas out of other cultures, while the groups they took from battled to reconcile their customs with pervading Americanism.

Extensive literature has been devoted to tracing the ways

glimpses into other worlds for leisure and new cultures to use as accessories for the new Americanism they were trying to redefine.³ As McGerr puts it, many Americans looked to liberate themselves from their confined Victorian spaces while finding the new urban self.⁴ Dumenil's and McGerr's studies, however, represent more of an overview of these decades without honing in on immigrants and othered groups in these urban spaces. Much of scholarship on early twentieth-century America focuses exclusively on the middle-class white perspective, overlooking the rise of immigrant and minority communities who would contribute to a more complete picture of the developing urban self during this period.

A few studies focus on an othered perspective. Sabine Haenni's *The Immigrant Scene: Ethnic Amusements in New York, 1880–1920* focuses on immigrants as active agents in urban development and, in doing so, provides alternative scholarship to the white middle-class viewpoint. She asserts that the rise of immigrant-created leisure allowed for social mobility instead of confinement.⁵ Esther Romeyn's *Street Scenes: Staging the Self in Immigrant New York, 1880–1924* compares the differences between experiences of the mainstream and the "othered," arguing that the white middle class was "transcendent" in finding their sense of self in the city and that their mobility (in sampling different cultures) came with a positive connotation.

stereotypes; they never moved on from that scrutiny.⁶ These two “other”-focused works—with contrasting arguments—illustrate the complexity of turn-of-the-century urban America.

While these studies provide a historical context for early twentieth-century America, other scholarly works delve into the types of cultural exploration that Americans undertook at this time. Indirect cultural transmission through live entertainment, games, and music helped shape the lives of both white middle-class Americans and othered people. Scholars Thomas Heise and Christoph Lindner use literary works of the period to showcase writers’ attitudes about othered groups. Writers’ perceptions and stereotyping of othered areas provided those who did not want to go into these spaces with a version of the cultures they dared not explore themselves and contributed to the morphing of othered people’s cultures for an Americanized context. Heise and Lindner observe cultural exchange through a white middle-class lens, as insiders writing for other insiders.⁷ Although this type of media helped

Greenfield charts the rise of mahjong across cosmopolitan America in the 1920s.⁸ Both studies show how widely disseminated games and music involving other cultures helped Americans find their sense of self. By accessorizing Chinese culture and implementing it in an American context, native-born citizens contributed to the idea of the “fixed” cultural lens that Romeyn wrote about in her work.⁹ Americans continued to roam and find new cultures, while the Chinese were forced into the stereotypes perpetuated by these songs and games.¹⁰ It appears from both of these studies that Americans really did not play these songs or games to create cultural understanding and that Chinese Americans only faced more inward turmoil at the hands of these cultural items. Although “Chinatown, My Chinatown” and mahjong eliminated the notion that othered groups were inherently undesirable, these groups were clearly not fully accepted into American society either.¹¹ This scholarship shows how the outsider-to-insider transmission still

⁸ Charles Hiroshi Garrett, “Chinatown, Whose Chinatown? Defining America’s Borders with Musical Orientalism,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 57, no. 1 (2004): 119–74; and Mary C. Greenfield, “‘The Game of One Hundred Intelligences’: Mahjong, Materials, and the Marketing of the Asian Exotic in the 1920s,” *Pacific Historical Review* 79, no. 3 (2010): 329–59.

⁹ When I use the term *accessorizing*, I mean that mainstream Americans often took pieces of Chinese culture that appealed to them, whether it

resulted in othered people receiving fewer benefits for finding the urban self.

A study of urban spaces at the turn of the century is incomplete without mention of direct and physical cultural transmission, namely the practices of slumming and daytime tourism.¹² Chad Heap's *Slumming: Sexual and Racial Encounters in American Nightlife, 1885–1940* provides an extensive discussion of US slumming practices, observing them along class, immigrant, and even sexual lines. His study emphasizes the idea that Americans were indeed curious about other cultures but only within the narrow context of finding leisure and urban meaning for themselves.¹³ Robert M. Dowling's work on slumming in New York City provides a more specific account of slumming on a regional basis. He asserts that slumming took place across the *entire* socioeconomic spectrum—in other words, even immigrants and the working class partook in a sort of reverse slumming in upper-class neighborhoods.¹⁴

Americans took advantage of Chinese culture to promote their own American leisure, curiosity, culture, and economic goals. Even the physical act of slumming proved to be an endeavor that Americans undertook for their own sake rather than genuinely considering the cultures they surveyed.

By 1885, many urban areas had transformed into hubs for pocketed worlds, divided neighborhoods amongst the poor, the rich, natives, European immigrants, Asian immigrants, and other groups not considered part of the cultural mainstream. Evidence of such divisions appears in writer Howard Clemens' overview of New York City's various ethnic newspapers. As Clemens wrote, "Besides the fifteen hundred English publications in New York City there are no less than eighty newspapers and periodicals printed in foreign languages and dialects."¹⁶ This exemplifies the large array of multiculturalism that immigrants created just by settling in these new spaces within urban areas. The unprecedentedly large waves of immigration came to the United States with the rise of rapid industrialization and modernization across the country. The development of urban space within this period was the biggest and most vibrant the country had seen up to that point.

On the East Coast, millions of southern and eastern Europeans came for the promise of better lives in America, often abandoning their rural jobs for factory work in urban areas like New York City. On the West Coast, Chinese immigrants came for work building railroads, filling positions that white Americans had no interest in taking.¹⁷ Although many immigrants once used major cities like San Francisco and New

wrote of places like New York, “the cramping city plan with new boulevards...that make for the recreation and better health of all classes; vast advancements in public movement, better pavements, cleaner streets; colossal betterments in transit” helped to carry “the metropolitan waves to yet remoter population margins” like Chinatown.²¹ While some members of the younger generation partook in more inward artistic activities and transformations in traditional forms to express their urban ennui and discomforts, other Americans found mixing with other cultures a natural way to open themselves up in a city that afforded them more opportunities to do so.²² This often meant partaking in various forms of cultural exchange and leisure like slumming in these “remoter population margins” or partaking in pieces of culture.

Leisure itself represented an important rising American cultural force, especially when it came to the idea of urban selfhood. For many Americans, urban selfhood meant finding their sense of self and maintaining spiritual comfort in a place that had become systemized, fast-paced, and incredibly vast to the point of being impersonal.²³ Americans became more attuned to the opinions and company of others, which lead to obsessions with self-expression through group activities and consumer culture. As one commentator in a 1916 issue of *McClure's Magazine* noted, leisure was not done to promote a Victorian sense of idleness but rather to achieve “spiritual efficiency...a power to maintain the proper measure of life; a high serenity that finds each moment long enough, and none either over-filled or empty.”²⁴ For many Americans, leisure

²¹ Baxter, “The New New York,” 8.

²² On the younger generation’s activities, see *Dumenil, The Modern Temper*, 150.

²³ *Ibid.*, 158.

²⁴ H. H., “Leisure,” *McClure's Magazine*, April 1916, 19.

often meant indulging in the fantasies brought on by the new worlds they encountered in the expanded urban space, leading to huge intakes of new foreign foods, fashions, travel experiences, and immigrant performances. They sought meaning in their explorations, and they constantly questioned and created open dialogues about the cultures they wanted to explore.²⁵

responds, "I've a knack for remembering silly things."²⁸ This exchange neatly showcases the prevailing attitude Americans had towards the so-called alien cultures they encountered in urban spaces. Aspects of these cultures were something to be remembered and scrutinized, but they were also ultimately beneath Americans—"silly" in that cultures could be picked apart and ultimately criticized for the sake of leisure and entertainment. This partaking of new culture came at a time when mainstream Americans became increasingly aware of the world around them, acknowledged that the world had come to their doorstep, and sought to downplay the importance of immigrants' cultures in a globalized space.²⁹

If urbanites could not travel to other countries to satisfy their curiosities, they could seek solace in cultural imports and physical visits to other communities, to the pocket worlds they might have avoided before. People partook in this leisure in various ways, ranging from physically going into cultural hubs like Chinatown or Harlem to participating in indirect cultural exchange by simply reading periodical accounts or sampling cultural pieces like games, music, food, and fashion. Both methods of cultural exchange provided Americans with a chance to redefine their own urban identities and form opinions—and perhaps misconceptions—about the cultures they surveyed.

Of the two methods, indirect cultural exchange through periodicals and newspaper stories represents the most accessible way people came into contact with other cultures during this period. Along with the eighty ethnic newspapers in New York City by 1901, fifteen hundred English periodicals also existed.³⁰

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad* (North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 12.

³⁰ Clemens, "The Alien Newspapers," 37.

The numerous publications show the influence that turn-of-the-century printed media had on people's day-to-day lives and hint at newspapers' ability to act as connection points across the breadth of the cityscape. The language and tone used in periodicals helped form people's perceptions of othered people without them actually having to venture or go slumming into othered people's communities. Clemens' overview of NYC newspapers called all of these othered groups "aliens."³¹ Other articles also portrayed many newly arrived Asian Americans as otherworldly. For instance, one person in *The Catholic World: A Monthly Magazine of General Literature and Science* claimed, "Money is the only thing that will open the door or mouth of the silent Celestial."³² This sort of language was not abnormal in articles about immigrants at this time, as othering language ran rampant in many publications written for other insiders—white middle-class Americans.

While giving their readers a look into the ethnic communities they were perusing, the authors of these articles often othered immigrants with negative language and tone. In some of their accounts, authors even described immigrant communities in primal, animalistic language. In Mary Davidson's 1900 account of her time in San Francisco's Chinatown, she referred to groups of Chinese immigrants as "hordes" and "many young mice."³³ Further animalizing Chinese Americans, she referred to an infant's eyes as "tiny round black beads, better known as eyes."³⁴ Other writers were even more

³¹ Ibid.

³² E. Lyell Earle, "Character Studies in New York's Foreign Quarters," *The Catholic World: A Monthly Magazine of General Literature and Science*, m

negative in their accounts of the Chinatowns they visited. For instance, a 1905 *New York Times* opinion piece referred to the Chinese as “perishing” from their inability to assimilate, while *Forum* associated this group with a “peculiar, unknown, and dangerous element,” a community “utterly without sympathy for this country.”³⁵ In 1919, a short fiction story in the *Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine* said of the San Francisco Chinatown, “Promise me you won’t ever go down into that damnable place again, dear” and called the Chinese American store clerk an “Oily Oriental.”³⁶ In 1899, *The Catholic World* further described Orthodox Jews as possessing the “shrewdness of a Shylock” and other East Side immigrants as acting with general “savagery.”³⁷ These authors often produced colorfully written accounts of ethnic communities, inviting less suspicion in terms of the physical spaces these people lived in, but their patronizing language (combined with the widespread influence of print media) reinforced stereotypes of othered groups in urban spaces.

When considering the narratives written about immigrants at this time, scholars must take other socioeconomic factors into account. This means examining othered groups that were on the precipice of not being othered at all—the white ethnic Americans and the nonwhite immigrants that achieved economic success. For instance, the survey from *The Catholic World* used most of its derogatory language to describe the only nonwhite immigrants not in their ideal: the Chinese. Every other group described in the article—the Italians, Orthodox Jews, and Syrians—received mild descriptions, and the author E. Lyell

³⁵ Alexander Wallace, “Seeing Chinatown,” *The New York Times*, April 28, 1905; and “The Chinese in America,” *Forum*, January 1902, 598.

³⁶ The Stevensons, “Chinatown, My Land of Dreams,” *Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine*, January 1919, 42.

³⁷ Earle, “Character Studies,” 782.

Earle even went as far as to say the Italians were “raising up a goodly family of sons and daughters in American tastes and manners.”³⁸

As for the nonwhite immigrants, the only Chinese American safe from patronizing treatment in the *Forum* article was Chin Tan Sun, the supposedly richest “Chinaman” in 1902. The paragraph about him is mostly neutral in tone, describing him as being “six feet tall, and a well-proportioned, good-looking man,” nicknamed “Big Jim” amongst companions.³⁹ In part, the tone was congratulatory, especially about his marriage to a white woman. These exceptions show that the only way to escape description in a patronizing tone was to get closer to living up to the American ideal. Otherwise, writers more often than not provided their readers—other mainstream Americans—with the right level of suspicious condescension and vibrant imagery, as illustrated by some writers who explored Chinese American laundromats in an 1896 article titled “Americanized Chinamen” in *Maine Farmer*. They repeatedly mused at the owners using names like “Charlie Ling” or “Cha Q. Lee, First Class Chinese Laundry.”⁴⁰ The author argued that the storefront signs reflected “the natural result of the Chinaman’s imperfect acquaintance with English...it is often alleged that the Chinese never become truly American, but here was a Chinaman pretty thoroughly Americanized, one would fancy.”⁴¹ The key word here is *Americanized*, never outright calling these Chinese Americans *American*. The goal was simple: inspire curiosity with fanciful accounts about the physical spaces of other communities but also let Americans know that the people living inside them were still inferior.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ “The Chinese in America,” *Forum*, J1 Tfl2se 6w Tc0.22 6.48 0 TcC amongst m

Ancient Chinese Game" but also asserted that it was "simple in principle" despite the board possessing 361 pieces.⁴⁵ Like Culin's article on Fan-tan, the writer of the Wei-chi article also suggested a vague, primitive origin, stating that it was "probably derived from the Babylon astronomers."⁴⁶ Americans were getting their hands on actual Chinese games and changing the original context of them by affixing or simplifying the rules and established cultural meaning. This was all done through these new ambassadors and the members of subculture that inspired fashions, themed parties, and other written media. This cultural exchange was different from writers providing accounts of the communities they visited in that there was an *original* context at hand with these cultural products.

Even with the original contextual meanings provided, white middle-class Americans continued to imagine these other cultural groups in ways that were more accessible to their own sense of identity. In a 1924 interest piece about the merits of mahjong versus bridge in *The New York Times*, the writer's opinion on mahjong's Chinese inventors proved to be a double-edged sword for their collective image. While the article praised the Chinese for being the best at their own game, it also phrased this quality in way that made this group seem devious. The article explained, "They have created this and other games to keep their powers fresh. They are like a sleepy house cat which still sharpens its claws on a tree in the garden, and the tree this time is mahjong."⁴⁷ This is also another instance of animalizing language. Although these games directed middle-class Americans away from the idea that Chinese people were

⁴⁵ "An Ancient Chinese Game," *Christian Union*, September 3, 1892, 10.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ "The Joined Battle of the Games," *The New York Times*, January 27, 1924.

dangerous or that their culture was to be avoided, writers clearly still characterized Chinese Americans as devious to refuse them full cultural inclusion. In fact, the article further details that mahjong was here to stay after “its nice adjustment to psychological and emotional needs.”⁴⁸ Ultimately, Americans’ thinly veiled, exclusionary language and the adjustments away from the original Chinese context revealed that these Chinese items were not intended for appreciating the cultures in question. They were ultimately for leisure, and a very American kind at that.

Physical acts of orientalist cultural exchange also took place through New York City slumming and San Francisco tourist ventures. The improvement of city sidewalks, transportation systems, and environments helped create an easier urban space for people to explore, which meant visits to other neighborhoods people might not have ventured into before. For instance, a 1905 issue of *Town and Country* mentions the ways tourist operations improved; “the old plan of slumming with a detective and going through the Bowery and Chinatown have been partially abandoned, as the tourist-cars provide all the necessary protection and guidance for such excursions.”⁴⁹ By the time the turn of the twentieth century came around, the city had transformed enough for people to explore cities themselves, to partake in the cultures that had felt closed to them before.

Chinatowns in particular became popular on both coasts. By 1899, a Catholic pastor in a *New York Times* article calling for the abolishment of New York City’s Chinatown griped, “I live in the midst of Chinatown. I am kept awake night after night by the noise of these Mongolians...and by the shrill laughter of their

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ “Features of the West Side,” *Town and Country*, January 7, 1905, 15.

white women."⁵⁰ He added, "In fact, when strangers from other sections of the country come to the city to go 'slumming,' the chief point of interest...to gratify their depraved taste is Doyers, Pell, and Mott Streets, known as the Chinese quarter."⁵¹ The author of a May 1893 slumming account published in *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly* wrote, "The foreign quarter of a cosmopolitan city reveals many curious things. It is the more interesting because foreign habits and things are grafted upon native surroundings, the hybrid being in many cases more interesting than the original."⁵² Both articles illustrate that Chinatowns were becoming less and less heterogeneous in demographic with white, middle-class Americans coming into the fold, but what makes the *Frank Leslie* article even more interesting is the fact that it claims the "hybrid" culture of Chinatown was "more interesting than the original." The mixing of two cultures firsthand is clear, but the American context often shines through first and foremost, past the "original" culture. In the *Frank Leslie* article, the keyword is "grafted," implying a thin veneer, a thin *understanding* of the Chinese culture at play, and an American zeal that made it better.

The meeting of cultures was also apparent in cities like San Francisco. As Theodore Wores writes in an 1896 article in *St. Nicholas*, "In this strange and curious meeting of the oldest civilization of the East with that of the youngest of the West, queer neighborhoods are sometimes formed."

city populations that used to reject them outright and prevented people from viewing the Chinese American community with full revilement. On the other hand, the ease with which these middle-class Americans could simply enter into these physically defined spaces like Chinatown, make their judgments, write their articles, and go back to their homes in other parts of the city signified the gulf of separation between being fully “American” and simply becoming “Americanized”—and many mainstream Americans hardly saw Chinese Americans as that either. For instance, in 1895, Eleanor B. Caldwell expounded on “the picturesque in Chinatown” with all the different theatre costumes, furnishing styles, and “rags of gorgeous hues, reds, yellows, blues” but also did not hesitate to call San Francisco’s Chinatown “the very bowels of the underground” at the same time.⁵⁸ Despite less outright exclusionary rhetoric, to many mainstream Americans, the Chinese immigrant remained an othered alien, one to be seen under the guise of temporary spectatorship.

Americans’ acknowledgement with condescension left many Chinese immigrants at a crossroads. Just as Americans became more aware of Chinese culture and Chinatowns in their urban spaces, the Chinese were painfully aware of the American status quo that pervaded across cities. The opening anecdote concerning the “Americanized Chinaman,” Ng Poon Chew, illustrates the crossroads. His article in *The Independent* simultaneously called for the inclusion of Chinese immigrants into the United States but not necessarily the American landscape itself. Acknowledging that the immigrants “could not possibly compete with the Americans” and that “they really have no home here,” he asserted that Chinese Americans could not fully assimilate into places outside of the physical limitations of

⁵⁸ Eleanor B. Caldwell, “The Picturesque in Chinatown,” *Arthur’s Home Magazine*, August 1895, 653.

Chinatown.⁵⁹ Chew further asserted, "The claim has been made that they [Americans] do not care to associate or amalgamate with Chinese people. It would be utterly impossible for them to do so, whether they wished to or not."⁶⁰ Chew, a long time pastor in the Chinese American community, observed that Chinese immigrants clung together in these communities for a sense of familiarity, perhaps in defense of the rapidly developing

abiding, clean, educated, and industrious, are shut out."⁶³ While he did acknowledge "Americans are not all bad," his experiences as a servant and laundromat worker (then owner) illustrated a sense of injustice that many Chinese Americans felt at the time: native-born Americans treated the immigrants as cheap labor, objects of spectatorship in tourist businesses, and cultural items but hardly ever considered them to be true Americans. This resulted in the discontents expressed by these two "Americanized Chinamen." Ng Poon Chew's views express something more conciliatory, a struggle between Chinese culture and the American one he had adopted, while Lee Chew's views express outright agitation. Either way, they both encompass how Chinese Americans felt at this time: constantly

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Nicole I. Schindel

After World War I as the United States became the leading hegemonic power, American culture began to turn their focus away from the arts and towards industrialization and modernization. Because of this, American artists felt lost within their home country as they sensed their art forms were no longer prevalent and appreciated within society. To help combat this, American writers began to travel to Paris and created an American society of writers abroad known as the "lost generation." Throughout the 1920s, Parisian cafés were filled with some of the greatest American writers of the decade. Such writers as Gertrude Stein, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Ezra Pound, and Ernest Hemingway spent their mornings writing articles for newspapers, their afternoons proofreading each other's personal work, and their nights drinking heavily together. These writers came to Paris not only for the inspiration to produce enduring American literature, such as Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* and Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea*, but also for the camaraderie amongst the Americans living in Paris during the decade. Although many of these writers came with the intention of writing novels, many became distracted by the social scene in the city and found themselves unable to produce substantial work. Yet, despite the lack of progress, American writers continued to write home to their colleagues in the United States

to encourage them to join the vibrant community of writers in Paris.

This group of idealistic young American writers who ventured to Paris during the interwar period is often referred to today as “the lost generation.” The term *lost generation* was first coined by Gertrude Stein who exclaimed to Ernest Hemingway, “You are all a *génération perdue*...All of you young people who served in the war. You are a lost generation.”¹ Prior to American writers coming to Paris during the interwar period, many of them served in France or Italy during World War I. During the time, it was the popular conception that men became civilized between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five; because these men were serving abroad during this time in their lives, it was thought that they never had time to mature and were subsequently “lost.”² After Hemingway wrote about the term *lost generation* and his interactions with Stein in his memoir, *A Moveable Feast*, the term stuck and became widely popular.

Throughout this article, I will explore how Paris played the ideal backdrop to the American writers of the Lost Generation throughout the decade and lent itself to creating an exciting community abroad for them. By using *New York Times* articles as well as memoirs from Lost Generation members such as Gertrude Stein, Ernst Hemingway, and Malcolm Cowley, I will closely analyze the writers’ views of the city and how the city of Paris itself was able to help the Lost Generation prosper throughout the decade.

Throughout the interwar period, many American writers felt that while the United States had grown into a leading world

¹ Ernest Hemingway, *A Moveable Feast* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1964), 169.

² Tony Allen, *Americans in Paris* (Chicago: Contemporary Books, Inc., 1977), 85.

power, the country was losing its cultural awareness, and American art was becoming increasingly monotonous. Many of the American writers in the Lost Generation served in either Italy or France during World War I and learned of Europe's admiration of the arts and culture.³ Because of the diminishing respect for American art, the first American writers began to travel to Europe to find respect for their work. Malcolm Cowley was one of the first writers who traveled abroad to Paris during the decade and spent three years there before returning to the United States. In his memoir *Exile's Return: A Literary Odyssey of the 1920s*, he described the nature of the United States prior to his departure: "Life in this country is joyless and colorless, universally standardized, tawdry, uncreative, given over to the worship of wealth and machinery."⁴

As the United States pushed towards their view of modernization by encouraging industrialization throughout the country and the world, the importance of art diminished throughout the decade. In *The New York Times*, O. C. Auringer commented upon the lack of respect towards writers: "My own belief is that the prime cause of our National deficiency in this respect lies most largely in the constitution of our society. The realm of poetry is an aristocracy; and we are in the midst of the reign of the milieu, and the milieu has no soul. Poets, artists, composers, scientists—save of the utilitarian order—are in its

authors continued to be denied respect in the United States, they began to travel to Europe to find the inspiration and respect they were not receiving for their writing within the United States. In *The New York Times*, Merle Schuster wrote about this first large exodus of writers to Paris: "Customs inspectors at the Gare Saint Lazare have been puzzled by the troupe of little black boxes that seems to arrive with every boatload of Americans....The fact is, the little black cases are portable typewriters, brought to Paris by the literary insurgents of America. Each one represents, potentially, the great American novel. Chicago must surrender its leadership as the literary capital of America to Paris."⁶

Because writers in the United States felt as though they had little value in American society, they looked to the "older culture" of France to help rejuvenate them. The members of the Lost Generation felt as though by traveling to Europe they would not only find respect for their work but also have the inspiration to write due to being in one of the largest cultural centers of the world. In Malcolm Cowley's second memoir of his time in Paris, *A Second Flowering: Works and Days of the Lost Generation*, he wrote, "Whoever had won the war, young American writers came to regard themselves as a defeated nation. So they went to Paris, not as if they were being driven into exile, but as if they were seeking a spiritual home."⁷ Due to the lack of appreciation of the arts in the United States, the American writers began to utilize Paris not only for the

Recognize Art?—'Set in the Silver Sea'—Another Novelist's Alleged Error," *The New York Times*, September 26, 1908, 530.

⁶ Merle Schuster, "Paris, the Literary Capital of the United States: French Atmosphere for American Writing," *The New York Times*, December 23, 1923, 13.

⁷ Cowley,

French atmosphere, he suddenly develops a huge interest in America, and this interest, in turn, expresses itself usually in the form of a full-sized novel. More important novels by American authors have been written in Europe during the last twelve months than in any city in the United States."¹¹ The Americans used Paris as this romantic second home in which they would be

Stein's support was essential for Hemingway's success in Paris during the decade. Stein not only helped introduce him to the most prominent writers and publishers in Paris but also proofread his work and helped him publish his first piece, "Indian Camp," in *The Transatlantic Review*.

social scene in Paris, she mentioned in 1926 that "Miss Sylvia Beach...is Shakespeare and Company, the most famous American bookshop and young author's fireside in Europe."¹⁶ When the shop was first opened, Gertrude Stein became the first frequent customer to Shakespeare and Company. Stein often raved to her colleagues about the library, subsequently bringing in some of the most prominent authors, including F. Scott Fitzgerald, Ezra Pound, Ernst Hemingway, T. S. Eliot, and Sherwood Anderson, into the store.¹⁷ As prominent members of the Lost Generation frequented the shop, Shakespeare and Company continued to become a staple in the city. In *The New York Times* Marjorie Reid wrote,

If, as Cicero said, the library is the soul of the house, Shakespeare & Co. may be described as the soul of the

Generation in Paris: "I have known her called upon to produce not only the latest books and periodicals and lend or sell them to her customers, but also jobs, places to live, introductions and reliable information on a diversity of subjects."¹⁹ As her successes as a bookkeeper grew, Beach also became a prominent publisher during the decade. One of her most famous publications was James Joyce's *Ulysses* (1921) in which she received international accolades.²⁰ Although Beach is most famous for being the shopkeeper of Shakespeare and Company, her willingness to help the American writers abroad helped strengthen the writers' community and contributed greatly to their successes abroad.

Through her successes, she became an inspiration to many of the members of the Lost Generation. Hemingway and Beach's relationship was so close that while he was in North America for the birth of his first child, he continuously wrote to Beach and expressed to her how much their friendship meant to him. In one of these letters, he stated that he wished he could name his first-born child after her. Hemingway wrote to Beach on November 6, 1923, "If the baby had been a girl we would have named her Sylvia. Being a boy we could not call him Shakespeare. John Hadley Nicanor is the name."²¹ This interaction between two of the most prominent members of the Lost Generation showed the intimacy amongst the community and the importance of Shakespeare and Company to the writers. Through the establishment of Shakespeare and Company, the authors that ventured to Paris were able to read popular English books to help inspire them for their own writings while

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Flanner, *Paris was Yesterday*, 17.

²¹ Ernst Hemingway, *The Letters of Ernst Hemingway*, ed. Sandra Whipple Spainer, vol. 2, 1923–1925 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 68.

continuing the strong sense of an American community within the city.

While the authors had access to the English books available at Shakespeare and Company, authors struggled to find textbooks on writing in the city. The writers sought out these textbooks to help improve their writing styles and perfect their grammar. With the lack of written material, the Lost Generation turned to each other for support, subsequently influencing each other's writings.²² Hemingway described his working relationship with Gertrude Stein in *A Moveable Feast*: "We had become very good friends and I had done a number of practical things for her such as getting her long book started as a serial with Ford and helping type the manuscript and reading her proof and we were getting to be better friends than I could ever wish to be." Authors met with their mentors and other writers at cafés, such as Closerie des Lilas in Montparnasse, to discuss their writings, proofread each other's work, and give constructive criticism, which helped them find success abroad.²³

There were many writing groups throughout the city for help with specific types of writing, such as poetry, novels, and journalism. One of these was the Anglo-American Newspaper Men's Association, a group of journalists that were employed by English and American newspapers. The journalists had weekly lunch meetings to speak of the struggles of working in France for their respective international newspapers and to work on their articles for publication.²⁴ In addition, there were many smaller writing groups, such as one including Fitzgerald, Hemingway, and Dean Guass. These writers met once a week to help each other with their writing and proofread their work. In this

²² Cowley, *A Second Flowering*, 50.

²³ Hemingway, *A Moveable Feast*, 91.

²⁴ Hemingway, *The Letters of Ernst Hemingway*, vol. 1, 328.

particular group, one of the most notable novels of the century, *The Great Gatsby*, was proofread and discussed.²⁵ Hemingway was often at the forefront of many of the writing groups in Paris since, as Malcolm Cowley recounted, many writers considered him one of the hardest workers during the decade.²⁶

As the writing groups flourished, the Lost Generation worked together to help each other get their writing published. When writers first arrived in Paris, many of them made it a priority to seek out William A. Bradley and Jenny Bradley. This husband and wife team opened a literary salon in their home and became the top literary agent for American authors during the decade. Through them, countless notable American authors were published in some of the top Parisian publications. The Bradleys had a very good connection with the French publishing house Gillard and subsequently helped publish American works in France.²⁷ Although American writers found success with French publishers with the help of the Bradleys, the expatriates felt it was difficult to publish work with American publishers while they were abroad. This created a negative overtone amongst the Lost Generation because they were frustrated about their lack of published works and recognition in the United States while they were abroad in Paris. In *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, Toklas recalled Gertrude Stein's frustration and the support of the Lost Generation: "Gertrude Stein was in those days a little bitter, all her unpublished manuscripts and no hope of publication or serious recognition. Sherwood Anderson came and quite simply and directly as is his way told her what he thought of her work and what it meant to him in his development. He told it to her then and what was even rarer he

²⁵ Cowley, *A Second Flowering*, 55.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 61.

²⁷ Edwin McDowell, "Jenny Bradley is Dead at 97; Literary Agent Helped Joyce," *The New York Times*, June 11, 1983, 21.

spent his days planning where he was going to drink that night. Malcolm Cowley recalled Fitzgerald's skewed priorities and wild drinking habits in his memoir

Américain.”³⁴ In *A Moveable Feast*, Hemingway reiterated the importance of drinking abroad when he recalled that Gertrude Stein complained to him that “all of the members of the lost generation were always drunk, many before 11 am!”³⁵ This partying atmosphere amongst the Americans caused many distractions in Paris, which led many of the writers to choose to ignore their work to enjoy their time drinking in the city instead.

Some of the most successful writers who came to Paris found that to complete their work without distractions, they had to leave the city for weeks or even months at a time to separate themselves from the pressures of the heavily alcoholic environment and the other distractions of the city. Yet when they were away from Paris, these writers maintained close ties to the members of the Lost Generation in Paris by either writing constantly to them or bringing their colleagues with them. Hemingway’s peers considered him one of the most successful members of the Lost Generation. One of his mentors, Lincoln Steffens, wrote in his autobiography that Hemingway “was gay, he was sentimental, but he was always at work.”³⁶ Hemingway attributed his success to his ability to leave the city to write so he was free from the constant distractions of Paris while able to continue to be a part of the influential community in Paris through writing letters. Through these extensive vacations, Hemingway had the ability to write countless pieces without the distractions that he had while he was in Paris.

Although Hemingway sometimes traveled alone or with his wife Hadley, he often chose to travel Europe with other members of the Lost Generation so they could inspire and aid

³⁴ Allen, e 8-28-2(Steffens12 0 0 12 6.48 54.24 122.7 Tm84)Tj0 T0 0 0 0 12 310.577

each other with their writings. During one of his getaways in

notion of the city, while the writers were able to stay relevant in the United States.

These glamorized articles led many Americans to make a trip to Paris to see the idealized city they had been reading about in their local papers. As American tourists continued to infiltrate Paris throughout the decade, many American newspapers thought it would be ideal to set up Parisian offices to print English versions of their newspapers, which expatriates and tourists were able to read while abroad. These newspapers continued to hire American writers in Paris to write articles for them. Two of the largest American-Parisian papers during the decade, the *New York Tribune* and the *Chicago Tribune*, helped entertain Americans during their visits to Paris and became widely successful.⁴⁴ These papers were popular as Americans abroad were able to stay up to read the news and gossip of both the United States and France.

As the members of the Lost Generation were able to support themselves on only a few newspaper articles a year, the inexpensive price of living in Paris was imperative to the writers. In a letter to his parents during a brief time in the United States during the decade, Ernst Hemingway compared the prices of living in Paris versus New York: "I am working very hard here with very little pleasure. Making no more money than I did in Paris with eight times the expense. For instance an apartment [in Paris] costs 3,000 francs a year. This one [in New York] costs 18,500 francs a year."⁴⁵ For writers, it felt that it was an easy decision to move to Paris. In addition to having a strong community and the ability to network with the leading literary personnel

Some authors, such as Malcolm Cowley, utilized grants to help fund their trips abroad. These grants consisted of both federal and private money and encouraged the spreading American ideals abroad. Cowley was the recipient of the American Field Service Fellowship, which awarded him \$1,000 to move to Paris with his family to write. Although the fellowship was awarded to help fund his time writing abroad, Cowley only wrote a few small pieces during his year and spent most of his time drinking and enjoying himself. Thus, on the Cowleys' return from their year abroad, they only had \$5 and a few completed short stories to their name.⁴⁶ Through the inexpensive living of the 1920s in Paris, many authors felt it was not necessary to complete their personal writings since they were able to live comfortably without publishing anything substantial in France.

After only a decade, the creative and fun lifestyle of the Americans living abroad in Paris quickly came to an end. On October 29, 1929, American society was changed forever with the Wall Street stock market crash. This date, also known as Black

happy ending of fairy tales."⁴⁷ Cowley recalled the transition from the parties in Paris to the bleak everyday lives in the United States during the depression: "The adventure had ended and once more they were part of the common life."⁴⁸

To combat their depression and longing for the time abroad, many members of the Lost Generation began to write memoirs about their experiences in Paris. These memoirs gave the writers a way to remain connected to Paris and their memories of their time there while they were in the United States. Memoirs, such as *A Moveable Feast* by Ernest Hemingway, *Paris France* and *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* by Gertrude Stein, and *Exile's Return* and *A Second Flowering* by Malcolm Cowley, began to be published. Just as the writers of the Lost Generation felt as though they could write about the United States by being removed from it, they conversely felt as though they were able to reflect upon their time in the 1920s in Paris since they were now in the United States. Although some of the writers were distracted within the decade and unable to produce substantial work while they were physically in Paris, their time abroad in the city helped inspire them for years to come.

Throughout the 1920s, the most prominent writers in American history ventured to Paris to create a large artistic expatriate community in the city. After World War I, the United States began to minimize the importance of the arts, leaving the writers lost on where they fit in American society. Soon writers began to travel to Europe and encouraged their peers to make the trip abroad to create a large and vibrant American writing community in Paris. Although some members of this group used their time abroad to spend all of their money and drink, the members of the Lost Generation made connections and strengthened the bonds of American writers.

⁴⁷ Cowley, *Exile's Return*, 289.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

While abroad, the writers helped each other however they could, whether that be proofreading, traveling together, aiding with publications, or simply drinking together. These relationships helped create some of the most famous American novels, such as F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby*, and

Dual-Promise Doctrine: Guantanamo Bay as a Microcosm of US-Cuba Relations

In the decades since US naval and marine forces first disembarked at what would become Guantanamo Bay Naval Base, the base has stood the test of time, riding out revolution, international crises, detainee abuse allegations, and continued implacable antagonism between Cuba and the United States. Throughout the Cold War, the existence of the base was repeatedly threatened, yet it still exists. The puzzle of how the base was able to survive this turmoil, particularly during the Cold War, invites close examination. This article argues that an overarching policy guideline, unarticulated but closely adhered to, can explain the behaviors of successive US and Cuban leaders toward the base within the wider context of US-Cuba relations. This policy guideline, which I label the dual-promise doctrine, has perpetuated a status quo little changed since the Kennedy administration, where the policy has its roots. I will first provide a brief background of the naval base at Guantanamo and then explore how the events of 1959 and beyond created the conditions for the dual-promise doctrine.

Guantanamo before the Revolution

As a consequence of American intervention in Cuba's independence struggle against the Spanish, the United States and Cuba ratified the Cuban-American Treaty in February 1903,

giving the United States permission to operate a coaling station and naval base in Cuba.¹ Only certain limitations, such as free passage through the base's waters for Cuban vessels and a ban on commercial enterprise, were included. In return, the United States agreed to pay \$2,000 in gold annually. Following the 1934 repeal of the Platt Amendment, the legal document that had originally established the base, the United States and Cuba extended the lease into perpetuity in a follow-up treaty that same year and made the lease terminable only by mutual agreement.² In the first few years of the base's existence until US entry into the First World War in 1917, it was a backwater and accommodated only a handful of naval vessels and marines—200 men in total between marines and sailors. The base was obscure to both the American and Cuban publics, entering into domestic Cuban affairs only in cases of revolution (as in 1906 and 1917) when marines engaged in limited operations beyond the base perimeter to secure and defend American lives and interests.³

World War I provided the pretext for a large overhaul and expansion of the naval base, with most work finished by 1918, the last year of the war. The United States limited wartime use

Sincere thanks and gratitude to Professor Nancy Appelbaum for supporting this paper in every stage of its development, from honing my research skills to successfully nominating the paper for the Andrew Bergman Award for Creative Writing.

¹ M. E. Murphy, "The History of Guantanamo Bay," vol. 1, 1494–1964, chap. 4, U. S. Naval Base, Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, accessed October 4, 2014, <http://permanent.access.gpo.gov/lps17563/gtmohistorymurphy.htm>.

² *Ibid.*, chap. 3.

³ *Ibid.*, chap. 4 and 5.

policymakers therefore placed great emphasis on the base at Guantanamo, and relations with the Cubans on both the local and state level were never better than in the early to mid-1950s. In 1951 and again in 1952, a local mayor and the commandant of the base cooperated to host a Cuban American Fraternity Day, attended by hundreds from both sides. Carnivals held throughout the 1950s on the base complemented these festivities, and money raised during the carnivals went to local charities. Many Cubans also worked on the base during these years; of the eleven thousand residents on the base in 1952, three thousand were Cuban guest workers.⁶

The 1952 revolt that brought Fulgencio Batista to power in Cuba was barely noticed at the base, which merely canceled shore liberties for sailors during the fighting. A visit by the new Cuban minister of national defense to the base just months after the coup assured that Batista intended to continue business as usual with the Americans.⁷ As the 1950s began to draw to a close, there was hardly an inkling of the momentous events that would close out the decade. Both governments saw the American presence at Guantanamo as positive, and the local population benefited from employment opportunities and the disaster relief aid the base frequently provided. Within a few years, however, the entire geopolitical scene changed.

La Revolución Comes to Cuba

The last few months of 1958 ushered in major changes to the Cuban political landscape. A number of Cuban revolutionaries, including Fidel Castro, Raul Castro, and Che Guevara, returned to Cuba from exile in Mexico and began rallying support for an insurgency against Batista, whom they

⁶ *Ibid.*, chap. 17.

⁷ *Ibid.*

accused of subverting Cuban democracy. The United States initially considered Castro's insurgency a relatively low-level event, not without precedent in Cuban history. US perception changed drastically, however, when on June 27 a group of Cuban rebels led by Raul Castro ambushed a bus carrying US Marines and sailors from Guantanamo City to the naval base and

at Guantanamo and Castro's rebels during the revolution. In late November 1958, Cuban rebels seized the plant supplying water to the naval base and cut off the water supply on three occasions. A secret report by the Department of State's Bureau of Intelligence and Research speculated at the time that the move was likely an attempt by the rebels to gain recognition from the United States as a belligerent power or perhaps draw Batista's forces away from other areas.¹¹ Whatever the motive, the water cutoff caused consternation in the White House and Pentagon, and the military scrambled to prepare contingency plans to retake the water plant. Coming so soon in the wake of the hostage crisis, the water supply crisis elevated the profile of the insurgency in Washington, DC, and set in motion the official US response to Castro's increasingly successful insurgents.

New Year's Day 1959 saw the triumphant entry of rebel forces into Havana and the collapse of the Batista regime. The Eisenhower administration was now forced to come to terms with the reality of Castro, and many in the administration, particularly the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS), worried in memos and at meetings that the status of Guantanamo Bay was in peril,

equivocal position of the Soviets. These issues did not stop Che Guevara from announcing publicly while on a trip to India that the base would soon be gone. By 1960, the Cuban government launched a two-pronged propaganda campaign for both domestic Cuban and international audiences.¹³

Back in Washington, DC, senior policymakers unanimously agreed not only that the United States had the right to maintain its base as per the original lease but also that the base must be defended with the full might of the United States against any attack. Just weeks after Castro's Guantanamo City speech, the navy issued a statement reaffirming US commitment to a presence at Guantanamo.¹⁴ Eisenhower himself expressly addressed the matter, publicly announcing that "the termination of our diplomatic and consular relations with Cuba has no effect

and political weaknesses and the sure threat of overwhelming retaliation, but “harassment” techniques were an almost guaranteed substitute. Burke revealed plans to reinforce the marine contingent at the base and pledged to protect US citizens still in Cuba, asserting confidently that US forces could, if needed, move around the island to aid US citizens without serious impediment.¹⁶

Realizing, as US policymakers did, that a frontal attack on the base would be insanity, Castro took his anti-Guantanamo campaign abroad. On 26 September 1960, Castro delivered a rousing oration at the United Nations (UN) General Assembly in which he lambasted American treatment of Cuba, saying it had been “virtually a colony” and that the base at Guantanamo had been used to promote “self-aggression, to justify an attack on Cuba.”¹⁷ As Castro took his anti-Guantanamo campaign to the international level, the Americans were working at the same level to counter him. Just days after the UN speech, the Eisenhower administration decided to seek support from the Organization of American States for the continued presence of the naval base. At the Department of State and JCS meeting, it was pointed out that the Cubans were fastidiously avoiding using such words as *attack* in their rhetoric that could be construed to have a martial connotation and that any efforts henceforth would likely be through legal channels.¹⁸

¹⁶ “Document 483: Memorandum of Discussion at the 437th Meeting of the National Security Council, Washington, March 17, 1960, 10 a.m.,” in Glennon and Landa, *Foreign Relations*, 856–59.

¹⁷ Glennon and Landa, “Document 581: Editorial Note,” in *Foreign Relations*, 1071–73.

¹⁸ “Document 585: Memorandum of Discussion at the Department of State–Joint Chiefs of Staff Meeting, Pentagon, Washington, September 30, 1960, 11 a.m.,” in Glennon and Landa, *Foreign Relations*, 1078–80.

On the ground, Cuban forces erected more fencing around the base and started detaining Cuban guest workers, forcing them to turn over their salaries in order to exchange their US dollars for Cuban currency.¹⁹ In the last few months of his presidency, Eisenhower faced a particularly troublesome dilemma in Cuba with no obvious solution bef44 54750.2(obvioa)-59t

Guantanamo, and the navy stepped up “routine” air and naval training exercises in the area.²⁴

In April of Kennedy’s first year in office, a group of CIA-trained Cuban paramilitaries launched an abortive invasion at the Bay of Pigs. Accounts differ as to who bore the ultimate responsibility for the failure of the invasion, but President Kennedy’s refusal to provide air support to counter the capable Cuban air force and the steady loyalty of Cuba’s army are generally listed as signal causes for Castro’s resounding victory, which he touted as a victory not only for himself but for the entire Third World against American “imperialism.”²⁵ A classified after-action report developed a few weeks later by the CIA provided an in-depth sequence of events and sought to identify root causes for the operation’s failure. Guantanamo Bay was scarcely mentioned, and it appears from declassified sources that the base was not utilized in either an active or a passive function during the operation.²⁶ In a soul-searching discussion amongst senior Kennedy administration officials around the same time, Secretary of State Dean Rusk said that he had earlier suggested the rebels land closer to Guantanamo and position themselves with the base at their back (thus creating strategic

²⁴ “Document 73: Memorandum from the Commander in Chief, Atlantic (Dennison) to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (Lemnitzer),” in Smith and Patterson, *Foreign Relations*, 175–76.

²⁵ “The Bay of Pigs,” John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, accessed November 21, 2014, <http://www.jfklibrary.org/JFK/JFK-in-History/The-Bay-of-Pigs.aspx>.

²⁶ “Document 198: Memorandum Prepared in the Central Intelligence

depth), but “military friends [who] didn’t want to spoil the virginity” of the base nixed the idea.²⁷

The events of the Bay of Pigs invasion provide invaluable insight into the Kennedy administration’s overarching policy regarding Guantanamo Bay. From the beginning, administration officials from the president on down publicly and repeatedly asserted the US claim to the base and the willingness to defend it by all means necessary, rhetoric that may have encouraged Castro not to swerve from his nonviolent approach to resisting the US presence in Cuba. Although the second part of Kennedy’s policy was less pronounced, it was equally efficacious: limited provocative action involving the base in order to deny Castro the pretext for an assault. This two-pronged approach—the vocal promise of total defense and the tacit assurance of no provocations—formed the bedrock of not only Kennedy’s policies but also those of all subsequent presidents. This idea, which I am calling the “dual-promise doctrine,” more than anything else, is responsible for the continued existence of Guantanamo despite the odds.

Cuban acquiescence to the dual-promise doctrine was confirmed by a peculiar back channel between Havana and Washington that briefly existed to facilitate confidential dialogue. In August 1961, Assistant Special Counsel to the President Richard Goodwin attended a cocktail party in Uruguay where Che Guevara was also a guest. Although Goodwin was not authorized to do anything more than “listen” to Guevara, Guevara came with the full backing of Castro and his government, making the late-night conversation between the two men an invaluable glance into Havana’s thinking during Kennedy’s first year in office, after the Bay of Pigs but before the Missile Crisis. Among other things, Guevara reassured Goodwin

²⁷ “Document 200: Memorandum for the Record,” in Smith and Patterson, *Foreign Relations*, 447–54.

broken into the base.³¹ In all of these, Guantanamo played only a limited support role, and its involvement was kept strictly quiet. Chairman of the JCS General Lemnitzer and CIA Director John McCone were the two most vocal supporters of this policy, but support for the dual-promise doctrine was not universal.³² As late as August 1962, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy was still wondering aloud during White House meetings about whether more aggressive action should be taken, including “provoking action” against Guantanamo that would permit the United States to retaliate.³³

Although Robert Kennedy’s suggestion was never acted upon, the Joint Chiefs of Staff throughout the Cold War maintained well-established contingency plans for reacting to potential Cuban attacks. The essence of these plans changed very little, and the standing orders as of 16 October 1961 are representative. In the event of a Cuban incursion, defined as an unmistakable and sustained armed attack on Guantanamo Bay, the following would occur:

- ! the base commander had complete discretion to act in his own defense as he saw fit;

³¹ “Document 358: Memorandum from the Department of Defense Operations Officer for Operation Mongoose (Harris) to Chief of Operations, Operation Mongoose (Lansdale),” in Smith and Patterson, *Foreign Relations*, 864–72; and “Document 374: Memorandum from the Chief of Operations, Operation Mongoose (Lansdale) to the Special Group (Augmented),” in Smith and Patterson, *Foreign Relations*, 928–36.

³² On the most vocal supporters, see “Document 378: Memorandum of Meeting,” in Smith and Patterson, *Foreign Relations*, 940–41.

³³ “Document 382: Memorandum for the File,” in Smith and Patterson, *Foreign Relations*, 947–49.

- ! the three main aims of retaliatory action would be to defend Guantanamo, reestablish a pro-US government in Cuba, and restore and maintain order;
- ! the progression of events would begin with a blockade, followed by a reinforcement of Guantanamo, and finished off with full amphibious landings with a force totaling at least 15,500 marine infantry, a 9,000-man marine air contingent, a 23,000-strong army unit comprised mostly of the 82nd Airborne, and a naval covering force.

The October 1961 plans rested on two key assumptions: there would be no Soviet military response and no nuclear weapons would be required. In the words of the military planners, a nuclear attack “would be a political disaster anyway,” meaning that the stigma and condemnation the United States would inevitably draw from a nuclear strike would far outweigh the benefits accrued by removing Castro.³⁴

Castro for his part continued to be appeased, if not fully content, with the dual-promise doctrine. The Cubans committed no serious provocations, and incidents of harassment were limited to belligerent but nonviolent actions against marine sentries. The propaganda war, however, continued unabated, and extensive coverage was given to allegations of territorial incursions by the United States into Cuba, especially from Guantanamo.³⁵ A Department of Defense estimate in September 1962 suggested that Castro had

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personnel strength on base was 3,017.³⁶ Taking note of the perceived imbalance, Kennedy took to the airwaves that same month and in a press conference warned of grave consequences

infiltrate marine reinforcements into the base, with ships standing by to evacuate dependents.³⁸

Marine reinforcements were a welcome sight for the base, where conditions were tenuous than at any point in history. The marines arrived just a day after the NSC meeting. One sailor at the base expressed his relief, stating "I sure felt better seeing those Marines."³⁹ Despite the threat of nuclear annihilation, morale at the base remained high for the duration of the crisis. Members of the Naval Mobile Construction Battalion ("Seabees") completed a series of hundreds of concrete reinforced bunkers "in record time," and nearly everyone at the base experienced sixteen- to twenty-hour workdays.⁴⁰ Meanwhile, the dependents of base personnel, ranging in age from four days to seventy years old, were taken by ship to Little Creek, VA, where they received temporary provisions and medical care. The outpouring of support from across the country was overwhelming; one radio station in Houston organized a Gifts for Gitmo campaign that saw some two thousand Christmas presents collected and delivered to the families.⁴¹

In a NSC meeting on October 21, Kennedy once again firmly shot down a proposal to surrender Guantanamo, arguing that it would indicate to Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev that the United States was "in a state of panic" and that such a move

³⁸ "Document 34: Minutes of the 505th Meeting of the National Security Council," in *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1961–1963*, vol. 11, *Cuban Missile Crisis and Aftermath*, eds. Edward C. Keefer, Charles S. Sampson, Louis J. Smith, and David S. Patterson (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1996), 126–36, <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1961-63v11>.

³⁹ Murphy, "The History of Guantanamo Bay," chap. 19.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

would appear "completely defensive."⁴² Throughout the crisis, Kennedy faced confrontation from not only the communist world but also his own government. The pressure from his advisors and military chiefs, such as Air Force General Curtis LeMay, to attack or take other hostile action was immense.⁴³ Even his brother, Attorney General Robert Kennedy, who a year earlier had suggested provoking aggression at Guantanamo, was once again in favor of an extreme confrontational position. Kennedy's tape recorders picked up an officially off-the-record conversation from October in which Robert Kennedy wondered whether "we can get involved in this through...Guantanamo

Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers Anastas Mikoyan reiterated Khrushchev's call for a dismantling of Guantanamo. American delegates responded that the present meeting was to discuss "only one problem" and any discussion of Guantanamo was strictly off the table.⁴⁶ The Soviets were not the only ones to continue to demand the removal of the naval base; Castro personally wrote UN Secretary General U Thant expressing his view that any US promise not to invade was ineffective without a number of preconditions, one of which, naturally, was an American withdrawal from Guantanamo.⁴⁷ Predictably, the letter met with silence from the United States.

Back at Guantanamo, troop levels were slowly returning to normal. An attack carrier group remained in the immediate area until December 20, but dependents were returned as quickly as possible to assure a reunion with family members before Christmas.⁴⁸

would prompt retaliation and “protective action.”⁵⁰ The plans proceeded to spell out that should the Cubans resist (and it was assumed that they would) “the security of the element would justify broadened actions” that would naturally “require U.S. invasion.”⁵¹

From the Cuban side, Castro was devastated by what he perceived as Soviet betrayal during the crisis. Following these dramatic events, Cuban foreign policy began to take a decidedly more independent direction, and Castro quietly began to put out feelers to the United States for some kind of accommodation. But because he gave the impression that “we

to cut off the water supply to the base in response to the arrest of Cuban fishermen who had been fishing illegally off the Florida coast. Instead of responding with force, as had been envisioned in various Department of Defense scenarios or as might have been suggested by Robert Kennedy, Johnson chose to continue his predecessor's policy of limited provocation. He ordered a policy of self-sufficiency at the base that has continued to the present day. Following a truly herculean effort, a full desalination plant was shipped from California to provide the base's water needs, and the Cuban water supply was never restored.⁵³

The rest of the Cold War saw various ebbs and flows in Cuban relations. Under President Richard Nixon in January 1974, the Cuban ambassador to Mexico publicly announced Cuba's willingness to resume normal diplomatic relations with the United States in exchange for a lift on the embargo without the surrender of Guantanamo being a precondition. Later that year, two US senators visited Cuba, the first such visit since Castro's revolution.⁵⁴ The policy of limited détente continued under the short-lived Gerald Ford administration, but the tenor of the relationship turned cold again in 1975 when Cuba began large-scale support for Angolan Marxists.⁵⁵

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In October 1979, the Soviet Union again sent a brigade of combat troops to Cuba, and US President Jimmy Carter acted to assert American resolve, ordering a massive amphibious landing drill with the 38th Marine Amphibious Landing.⁵⁶ Although Carter's successor Ronald Reagan is today renowned as a hardened cold warrior, the Reagan administration's Cuba policy was remarkably restrained and even lukewarm, especially in comparison to action elsewhere in Latin America. A number of naval exercises, rhetorical broadsides, and a resumption of high-flying airplane surveillance of the island was the extent to which Reagan moved against Castro, and relations were not altered significantly under his tenure. By the end of Reagan's term, he even received praise from Castro as a "realistic" president who "might be trying to go down in history as a peaceful president," which are surprising words indeed from a man who had earlier compared Reagan to the Nazis.⁵⁷

With the end of the Cold War, relations at the local level became more muted than in the past; despite state-level hostility, disputes at the local level have been few. Occasional diplomatic flare-ups

attacked with grenades by Cuban forces.⁵⁸ The most recent use for the base as a detention facility hosting terrorists apprehended as part of the US War on Terror has surprisingly not created waves in Castro's Cuba. When the facility opened shortly after the American invasion of Afghanistan, the Cubans registered protest only that the detainees might escape and enter Cuban territory and

continue to refuse to cash the checks sent by the United

international headlines. For the first time since the beginning of the War on Terror, however, scrutiny of the naval base is leveled not at the terrorist detention facility but at the status of the base itself. Eighteen months of secret negotiations between Cuba and the United States, which resulted in a “spy-swap” arrangement for jailed intelligence personnel and the release of Cuban political prisoners, apparently did not definitively resolve the Guantanamo question.⁶³ A White House fact sheet released in the wake of the announcement made no mention of the base, but Raul Castro’s January 28 demand for a return to full Cuban sovereignty has created an elephant in the room.⁶⁴

The White House was quick to rule out any transfer, stating unequivocally on February 4 that the base would remain in US hands and radio and television programs being broadcast from base soil into Cuba would continue unaffected.⁶⁵ This represents the strongest Obama-era defense of the base to date and is almost certainly a reaction to bipartisan domestic opposition to diplomatic relations, as well as a healthy sense of caution in uncharted waters. Neither Obama, already under attack for his foreign policy decisions, nor Castro, who is known for his slow and steady pace of reform, are yet willing to place all of the cards on the table. Despite much progress thus far—including

⁶³ Warren Strobel, Matt Spetalnick, and David Adams, “How Obama Outmaneuvered Hardliners and Cut a Cuba Deal,” *Reuters*, March 23, 2015.

⁶⁴ “Fact Sheet: Charting a New Course on Cuba,” Office of the Press Secretary, The White House, December 17, 2014, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2014/12/17/fact>

the exchange of ambassadors, loosening of trade restrictions, and liberalization of banking and remittance policy—both sides suffer from a fundamental mistrust of the other, a product of five decades of antagonism. This attitude was captured succinctly by aging ex-President Fidel Castro, who while not condemning the deal publicly expressed his mistrust of US policy.⁶⁶

For all his bluster about a rapprochement not “mak[ing] any sense” without a return of Guantanamo, Raul Castro is likely engaging in political showmanship when he demands the base as a precondition to further normalization.⁶⁷ Because such a handover was not a part of the originally announced agreement, it is unclear whether US policy will waver on this issue. If Castro is able to sense the historical significance of the moment, he may very well back down from his threats and settle for the already attractive package agreed upon by the two countries. Alternatively, he may continue to insist for the base’s return after over a century of American rule. Although it is impossible to make predictions with any accuracy, the dual-promise doctrine itself may ultimately become a victim of the new rapprochement, as leaders on both sides learn to chart a new path forward.

⁶⁶ “Fidel Castro: I Do Not Trust US, but Talks Needed for Peace,” *The Telegraph*, January 27, 2015.

⁶⁷ Alastair Jamieson, “Raul Castro Demands Return of Guantanamo Bay, End of Trade Embargo,” NBC News, January 29, 2015, <http://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/u-s-cuba-relations/raul-castro-demands-return-guantanamo-bay-end-trade-embargo-n295886>.

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Susan Lee

Since 2010, several microbiological studies have conclusively traced the source of Haiti's first cholera epidemic in over a hundred years. These studies concluded the source was the United Nations' (UN) Nepalese peacekeeping troops who were stationed in Haiti after the 7.0-magnitude earthquake. Failure to sanitize the waste at the United Nations' base infected a tributary that feeds into one of the largest rivers in Haiti.¹ Despite these findings, the United Nations has failed to accept any responsibility for the outbreak and therefore has breached the basic principles of humanitarian aid. Since the 1940s, the United Nations has been granted absolute immunity under several international treaties, protecting them from any legal recourse in the matter of the Haitian cholera epidemic. Should the United Nations be allowed to enjoy absolute legal immunity

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¹ R. R. Frerichs, P. S. Keim, R. Barrais, and R. Piarroux, "Nepalese Origin of Cholera Epidemic in Haiti," *Clinical Microbiology and Infection* 18, no. 6 (2012): 158–63.

from malnutrition.⁷ In essence, the government and its officials abdicated all of its responsibilities to the Haitian citizens. Prior to January 2010, Haiti was known as the “Republic of NGOs” because more nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) operate per capita in Haiti than in any other country in the world. NGOs provide 70 percent of the health care in rural areas and 80 percent of public services, such as schools and wells for potable water.⁸ The lack of government regulations coupled with NGO involvement led to the near privatization of all basic services in Haiti prior to the 2010 earthquake.

In the last two decades, natural disasters have disrupted the lives of billions of people with effects ranging anywhere from property damage to illness and even death.⁹ Earthquakes occur when the earth’s plates lock together and are unable to release the accumulated energy trapped between them.¹⁰ Once the energy grows strong enough, the plates break free and cause vibrations, also known as seismic waves, which travel outwards in all directions. Two major faults along Hispaniola, an island adjacent to Haiti and the Dominican Republic, make Haiti vulnerable to earthquakes. The historic 2010 earthquake

⁷ European Commission: Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection, *Echo Factsheet: Haiti*.

⁸ “Aid in Haiti,” *Haiti Net*, Northeastern University, accessed April 15, 2015, <http://www.northeastern.edu/haitinet/aid-in-haiti/>.

⁹ “Environmental Health in Emergencies: Natural Events,” World Health Organization, accessed April 17, 2015, http://www.who.int/environmental_health_emergencies/natural_events/en/.

¹⁰ “Earthquakes,” Ready,

held fear of disease communication associated with dead bodies is vastly exaggerated.¹⁶ Following a natural disaster, hundreds if not thousands of people are evacuated to camps for shelter, safety, medical aid, food, and water. These camps combine the problem of poor sanitation and high population density while creating the perfect conditions for fecal-oral and airborne transmission of disease.¹⁷ Camp crowding following natural disasters has contributed to epidemics of acute respiratory illnesses, pneumonia, measles, and meningitis. In the case of Haiti, it contributed to a cholera epidemic.

Cholera is a severe, acute, dehydrating diarrhea caused by an infection of the pathogenic strain of the bacterium *Vibrio cholerae*. This disease can inundate or kill a person in less than twelve hours once the symptoms begin.¹⁸ Depending on the severity of the infection, cholera needs to be treated with oral rehydration salt solutions, intravenous fluids, or antibiotics. The control of this disease requires a combination of a clean water supply, sanitation improvements, and oral cholera vaccines.¹⁹ According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, the ongoing cholera epidemic following the 2010 Haitian earthquake was likely the worst in recent history. As of August 2013, the epidemic had killed over 8,000 Haitians and inflicted

¹⁶ David M. Lemonick, "Epidemics after Natural Disasters," *American Journal of Clinical Medicine* 8, no. 3 (2011): 144–52.

¹⁷ Daniele Lantagne, "Understanding Haiti's Cholera Outbreak" (PowerPoint presentation, Tufts University, Medford, MA, May 20, 2014), <http://sites.tufts.edu/teli2014/wp-content/blogs.dir/2025/files/2014/05/Lantagne-WHD.pdf>.

¹⁸ Lemonick, "Epidemics after Natural Disasters."

¹⁹ "Cholera in Haiti," Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, last modified November 7, 2014, <http://www.cdc.gov/cholera/haiti/index.html>.

600,000 more in Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and Cuba combined.²⁰

Despite a clear need to take sanitary precautions in a vulnerable country, especially post-earthquake, the United Nations failed to do so. In early October 2010, Nepalese peacekeeping troops were exposed to a cholera epidemic in Nepal either during a three-month training period or a ten-day visit home before leaving for Haiti. Once they arrived for duty in Haiti, they were not subjected to any medical examinations or stool testing. Prior to the outbreak, reports from the Centers of Disease Control and Prevention warned that the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) camps housing these troops were unhygienic and that these camps would not be able to sufficiently prevent fecal contamination of the neighboring tributary. Although the United Nations stationed scientists in the MINUSTAH camps to investigate these claims of compromised sanitation standards, the scientists did not report any severe cases of diarrhea and dehydration, nor did they mention the existing mild and moderate cases. The septic waste from these UN bases was being deposited into an open pit near the tributary where the troops had been retrieving their drinking and cooking water.²¹ This tributary flowed directly into the Artibonite River, the largest river in Haiti and the country's main source of fresh water.²²

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Frerichs et al., "Nepalese Origin of Cholera Epidemic."

²² Rosalyn Chan, Tassity Johnson, Charanya Krishnaswami, Samuel Oliker-Friedland, and Celso Perez Carballo, *Peacekeeping without Accountability: The United Nations' Responsibility for the Haitian Cholera Epidemic*, published 2013, http://www.law.yale.edu/documents/pdf/Clinics/Haiti_TDC_Final_Report.pdf.

The Haitian Ministry of Health (MSPP) formally identified the first cases of cholera in the Mirebalais community hospital in central Haiti. The MSPP reported that the epidemic began on October 14, 2010, just five days after the arrival of the first group of Nepalese troops.²³ Within the first month that Haitian health officials identified the cholera outbreak, nearly two thousand people died. By November 2010, there were over seven thousand cases of the infection. By July 2011, a new case of cholera was diagnosed every minute. The number of Haitians infected with cholera grew to be greater than the total number of afflicted people in the rest of the world.²⁴

A study conducted by the Technical University of Denmark analyzed twenty-four specimens of *V. cholerae* from five different districts in Nepal provided by the Nepalese National Public Health Laboratory. These samples were collected from cases that occurred between July and November 2010. The investigators used whole genome sequencing typing (WGST) to compare the twenty-four genomes of the Nepal specimens with the genomes of specimens collected from the 2010 Haitian outbreak.²⁵ The WGST provided a nearly whole picture of genetic polymorphisms, or a simultaneous occurrence in the

²³ Frerichs et al., "Nepalese Origin of Cholera Epidemic."

²⁴ Chan et al., *Peacekeeping without Accountability*.

²⁵ Rene S. Hendriksen, Lance B. Price, James M. Schupp, John D. Gillece, Rolf S. Kaas, David M. Engelthaler, Valeria Bortolaia, Talima Pearson, Andrew E. Waters, Bishnu Prasad Upadhyay, Sirjana Devi Shrestha, Shailaja Adhikari, Geeta Shakya, Paul S. Keim, and Frank M. Aarestrup, "Population Genetics of *Vibrio cholerae* from Nepal in 2010: Evidence on the Origin of the Haitian Outbreak," *mBio* 2, no. 4 (2011): 1–6, <http://mbio.asm.org/content/2/4/e00157-11.full.pdf+html>. Whole genome sequencing is a method of DNA sequencing that uses multiple-locus variable-number tandem-repeat analysis.

same locality of two or more discontinuous forms. In other words, the tests revealed a genetic variation that was so rare that it could not be maintained by mutation alone and helped scientists conclude that the cholera strains must be related to one another. This study showed that the samples collected from Nepal and Haiti belonged to a single monophyletic, or shared common ancestor.²⁶ In addition to this study, several other microbiological studies conducted by the US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, Yale University, the Haitian National Public Health Laboratory, and even a study commissioned by the UN have conclusively confirmed that the strain of *V. cholera* that caused the 2010 cholera epidemic could be traced to the UN Nepalese peacekeeping troops.²⁷

Formed in October 1945 in the wake of the devastation caused by World War II, the United Nations was assembled to promote international cooperation and prevent another major global conflict. In 1947, the UN and its agencies were granted absolute immunity to protect their neutrality no matter where in the world they operated. Peacekeepers granted the body this immunity in the hopes that it would allow the United Nations to swiftly carry out all of its duties of protecting, promoting, and respecting human rights.²⁸ The absolute immunity granted to the United Nations can only be circumvented if the UN chooses to waive it. The United Nations, however, has used this privilege beyond its intended functionality to avoid taking responsibility

²⁶ Frerichs et al., "Nepalese Origin of Cholera Epidemic."

²⁷ Chan et al. *Peacekeeping without Accountability*.

²⁸ August Reinish, "Introductory Note [on the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations and Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the Specialized Agencies]," Audiovisual Library of International Law, United Nations, accessed April 15, 2015, <http://legal.un.org/avl/ha/cpiun-cpisa/cpiun-cpisa.html>.

for its actions and mistakes in various countries and to circumvent numerous complaints of breaching international treaties.²⁹

Unable to achieve justice through international courts, victims and their families turned to domestic courts. *Delama Georges, et al. v. United Nations* was a class action lawsuit filed by Haitian and United States citizens against the United Nations, MINUSTAH, United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, and former MINUSTAH Under-Secretary-General Edmond Mulet in October 2014. Plaintiffs Delama Georges, Alius Joseph, Lisette Paul, Felicia Paule, and Jean Rony claimed that the cholera epidemic in Haiti caused by the United Nations made them or their relatives ill or killed them.³⁰ Prior to this case, the *Bureau des Avocats Internationaux*, the primary public interest firm in Haiti, and the Institute for Justice and Democracy in Haiti, a US based non-profit organization, petitioned the United Nations on behalf of five thousand cholera victims in November 2011.³¹ This petition was filed directly with the United Nations and MINUSTAH for a public acknowledgement and apology regarding the cholera outbreak, compensation to those affected by the epidemic, and funding for sanitation infrastructure like clean drinking water. In February 2013, the United Nations' legal counsel stated that the UN would not receive these claims nor accept further requests for

²⁹ Chan et al., *Peacekeeping without Accountability*.

³⁰ Beatrice Lindstrom, Shannon Jonsson, and Gillian Stoddard Leatherberry, "Access to Justice for Victims of Cholera in Haiti: Accountability for U.N. Torts in U.S. Court," Boston University *International Law Journal* (blog), November 3, 2014, [http://www.bu.edu/ilj/2014/11/03/access-to-justice-for---ke.63vq40\(,\] TJ0 Tc](http://www.bu.edu/ilj/2014/11/03/access-to-justice-for---ke.63vq40(,] TJ0 Tc)

traced to their soldiers' camp?"³⁶ Several microbiological studies, including one commissioned by the United Nations, confirmed that the Nepalese peacekeeping troops were the source of the outbreak.³⁷ This point begged the question of whether or not the UN should be held accountable despite their legal immunity considering that the United Nations caused Haiti's worst cholera outbreak in recent history.

Despite this tragedy, victims of the cholera outbreak—those who have lost family members or have fallen ill themselves—have had to leap through multiple hurdles to secure justice for themselves and their families. In part, these families struggle for justice because, as of 2015, two separate treaties, the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations (CPIUN) and a status of forces agreement (SOFA) protect the United Nations from all legal proceedings and, therefore, grant the UN immunity.³⁸ Haiti granted the United Nations these privileges on the premise that some legal exemption was necessary to fulfill their purpose as a humanitarian aid provider. Despite this immunity, section 29 of the CPIUN explicitly states, "The United Nations shall make provisions for appropriate modes of settlement of: disputes arising out of contracts or other disputes of a private law character to which the United Nations is a party; disputes involving any official of the United Nations who by reason of his official position enjoys immunity."³⁹ In essence, this treaty states that the United Nations will provide appropriate measures of

³⁶ Lindstrom et al., "Access to Justice for Victims."

³⁷ Frerichs et al., "Nepalese Origin of Cholera Epidemic."

³⁸ Preet Bharara (US attorney) to J. Paul Oetken (US district judge), 7 March 2014, <http://www.ijdh.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/Georges-v.-UN-13-Civ.-7146-SDNY-Statement-of-Interest.pdf>.

³⁹ Chan et al., *Peacekeeping without Accountability*.

accountability for disputes. These settlement resolutions are imperative for organizations that enjoy immunity because often times these means may be the only way for victims to seek justice and relief.⁴⁰

The United Nations and the Haitian government signed a status of forces agreement to grant MINUSTAH immunity. However, the SOFA included a clause in which the United Nations agreed to establish a standing claims commission for settlements. This commission would handle third-party claims for personal injury, illness, or death arising from or directly attributed to MINUSTAH.⁴¹ To date, the United Nations has failed to create any commissions 13(inclu11commissionareateommissi19(

but there are also treaties stating that the UN would accept responsibility for damage and injury related to their camps and organization. In other words, the United Nations used their absolute immunity to avoid sections of these treaties that no longer benefited them.

Immunity is not impunity. This statement has been the single most uttered description of the situation brewing between Haiti and the United Nations and is also the second argument made in *Delama Georges, et al. v. United Nations*.⁴⁴ After being denied claims at the international level, victims sought justice and compensation through the domestic court system. When

The third and perhaps most widely agreed-upon portion of this lawsuit is how accountability ultimately endows strength and a sense of trustworthiness to the United Nations. As the number of victims affected by the UN's mistakes in Haiti grows every day, the international community has begun to recognize that immunity should not be an absolute organizational doctrine by which organizations live and die.⁴⁷ For instance, a former UN special envoy stated that there were instances where immunity should be lifted, and Haiti should be one of those instances. The former special envoy expressed that admitting fault would not compromise the United Nations as a human rights promoter, but it would, in fact, bolster the UN's image to take responsibility after this devastating epidemic.⁴⁸ Several human rights experts affiliated with the United Nations, such as the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Water, 20cWater, specia Right Right take

provided diplomatic envoys immunity and, therefore, Ban Ki-moon and Edmond Mulet—both of whom currently hold diplomatic positions—were immune from this lawsuit as well.⁵⁴

The United Nations has argued that their preservation of immunity enables the organization to carry out its most important and basic functions as a human rights promoter and humanitarian aid provider. United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon dictated in his letter to the US Congress that the UN is doing all that it can to help Haiti. The UN, however, has barely managed to raise 18 percent of the ambitious \$2.2 billion it promised to aid Haiti irradiate the cholera epidemic.⁵⁵ MINUSTAH's careless actions that led to the introduction of cholera in Haiti and the UN's continuing denial of any responsibility to the victims, however, has exasperated the inadequate response to the ongoing crisis. Despite the UN's absolute immunity, it has an ethical obligation under international laws to respect, promote, and protect human rights.⁵⁶ The United Nations has undermined its own moral commitment to protect human rights to water, health, and life by failing to rectify the mistakes made in Haiti.⁵⁷ These failures have seriously condemned the UN's credibility as a human rights promoter in Haiti and everywhere else in the world. As more

their attention to new disasters. If the international courts cannot dismiss the UN's legal immunity on the basis that it is necessary to carry out humanitarian aid, then the United Nations should waive its own immunity in the case of Haiti. Waiving its own immunity will allow the United Nations to reestablish its credibility as a human rights promoter and set a precedent in the international community for how organizations should respond when humanitarian efforts harm civilians. Such action promises to create a stronger institution, reinforce its credibility, and refine the standards for upholding international human rights laws.⁵⁸ In addition to rectifying its mistakes in Haiti, the United Nations should cautiously proceed in its efforts to provide humanitarian aid in other parts of the world. The prevention of cholera in Haiti could have spared thousands of lives. As the United Nations is called upon to provide humanitarian aid to Nepal after its earthquake in April 2015, mistakes made in Haiti must resonate in the new efforts.

⁵⁸ Chan et al. , *Peacekeeping without Accountability*.

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Phi Alpha Theta is a professional society whose mission is to promote the study of history through the encouragement of research, good teaching, publication, and the exchange of learning and ideas among historians. We seek to bring students, teachers, and writers of history together for intellectual and social exchanges, which promote and assist historical research and publication by our members in a variety of ways.



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During Binghamton University's Research Days, the History Department and Phi Alpha Theta host an undergraduate research conference. This provides undergraduates and honors thesis writers who have undertaken substantial independent research with an opportunity to share their work with one another and the History community. The first Undergraduate History Research Conference was held in 2012. The 3rd annual conference held in spring 2015 had seven outstanding presentations.

2015 Participants

Laura Earls—"Trade Tokens, Enterprise, and America: Local Currency in 20th Century Binghamton and Slovak Unity"

Kelly Garson—"The Sardar Sarovar Dam Project: Implications upon Sustainable Development, Human Rights, and Environmental Planning"

S. H. Kang—"From Rebellion to the Renaissance: The Reformation of the Castilian Statehood under the Dynastic Change"

Eric Lee—"Yinbu, A Manifestation of Political Corruption: Examining Early Northern Song Political Culture through Laws of Ancestors"

Josh May—"Dual-Promise Doctrine: Guantanamo Bay as a Microcosm of US-Cuba Relations"

Nicole Schindel—"Les Années Folles: The American Portrayal of Interwar Period Paris"

Jake Tesch—"The Sage of Monticello': Jefferson's Views on Slavery and Their Future Implications"

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At Binghamton University, students have the option of combining a Bachelor of Arts with a Master of Arts in history, completing both degrees in just five years. Students take graduate-level courses that satisfy both graduate and undergraduate degree requirements. The combined BA/MA program provides an excellent foundation for applying to top doctoral programs in history or pursuing careers in journalism, public service, historical parks, museums, and many other areas. Students develop skills that prepare them for occupations that require research, analysis, organization, and reporting. Specific skills include planning and prioritizing work, making persuasive arguments that influence others, processing information, decision making and problem solving, and verbally communicating ideas.

Students chose between the major fields of the United States, Europe, East Asia, Latin America, and the Ottoman Empire and between such thematic areas as women, gender, and sexuality; imperialism and colonialism; environmental history; and science, technology, and medicine.

For more information about the program, please visit the department's webpage:

www.binghamton.edu/history/graduate/combined-ba-ma.html.

Interested students should contact the Director of Undergraduate Studies in History and/or the Director of Graduate Studies in History for more information.

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This year's edition of the

We have compiled the most common answers in surveys conducted this fall.

Plan Ahead—Planning is a fundamental skill that every historian needs to master. If you are hoping to enroll in a graduate program in history, start practicing your planning skills by scheduling ahead to meet application deadlines. When submitting the various parts of an admissions application, make sure to leave plenty of time for transcripts, recommendation letters, and other materials to arrive before the deadline. Asking for a recommendation letter at the last minute will not only rush your recommender to write a less-than-shining letter but also show others that you have not mastered the critical art of planning ahead. Planning ahead will serve you well now and later, as you complete your weekly graduate school assignments.

Analytical/Critical Thinking—“But why?” “What does it mean?” “What is missing from the analysis?” Every historian regularly confronts these questions. They represent basic fundamental issues about being a historian: how to best analyze the sources in order to arrive at the best possible solution to one’s research question. What does it mean that X preceded Y but was concurrent with Q? Were there other possible influences or potential outcomes that have been overlooked? Thinking analytically or critically allows historians to connect the usually opaque historical dots.

Practice Budgeting Time—Every historian faces the problem of having seemingly too much work to complete in too little time. You can solve this problem with a simple trick: budget your time. Set aside certain times during the day or week to read and other times to write. During those times, minimize distractions to maximize your work output. Master this skill in graduate school, and it will serve you well as a historian.

Perseverance—It’s midnight on a Friday in late November. You feel exhausted. Your eyes so weary the blurry words appear

on the page in front of you, just five, ten, fifteen more pages. Or, after spending weeks or months researching a topic, you know the material lies somewhere in this enormous archive of material, but where is it? Follow the illusive breadcrumbs, even if they seem to be only in your mind. Continue on when others, and sometimes even reason, tell you to stop.

Ability to Dissect Arguments—Much of your time and work in graduate school will be spent critiquing and contrasting historiographical arguments and conflicting viewpoints of historians. One good strategy when approaching this kind of work is to focus not just on the dates, facts, or names in a book, but also on a book's thesis. Once you have identified a thesis, write a one or two sentence summary of the author's argument and then identify relevant details used to support the thesis. Practice and perfect this skill early in graduate school, and you will end up spending less time reading while gaining a greater understanding of each book.

Insight/Knowledgeability—Ideally, when developing a research project, every historian could discover a brand-new untapped fountain of source material. New information would

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We would like to thank our History Department professors listed below. Without them, we could not have accomplished everything we have accomplished thus far.

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Dr. Kent Schull

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