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The Undergraduate Historical and Critical Race & Ethnic Studies Journal at UC Merced

Volume 10, Issue 1



THE UNDERGRADUATE HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL RACE & ETHNIC STUDIES JOURNAL AT UC MERCED

Volume 10, Issue 1 (Spring 2025)

The Undergraduate Historical and Critical Race & Ethnic Studies Journal at the University of California, Merced

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Letter from the Editor-in-Chief and Co-Editor-in-Chief

For the past few years, we have been living in a time marked by ongoing global crises, widespread protests for justice, and powerful acts of local resistance—all of which influenced the making of this issue of the *HCRES Undergraduate Journal*. Social Justice, Global Conflict, and Local Resistance are the three core themes that form the heart of this issue. We chose these core themes because they resonate deeply with the current political climate. Although these themes are deeply embedded in historical and critical race and ethnic studies scholarship, the articles and reviews in this issue continues that dialogue—bridging past and present through interdisciplinary analysis and reflection.

It is vital to continue these conversations and to recognize how historical events, such as colonialism and resistance, continue to shape our world today. The student scholarship compiled in this issue does just that by reflecting on the historical experiences of people of color who endured colonialism and oppression, and fought back through resistance and community-building efforts. The student authors featured in this issue have approached their subjects with critical rigor and deep care. Without contributions from our authors and the HCRES faculty at the University of California, Merced, this issue would not be possible. They all have worked tirelessly to bring the key topics of Social Justice, Global Conflict, and Local Resistance to light, and to UC Merced Undergraduate students as a whole student body. Thank you to the editorial board and HCRES faculty for all the hard work!

Overall, we are so ecstatic to bring the HCRES Journal back for another edition! We hope you enjoy this new issue and that it prompts you to think critically about the world and events around you, as the political climate seems to be ever-shifting, now more than ever.

Dalila Barragán and Brooke Acebo
Editor in Chief and Co-Editor in Chie

Faculty Forward

The Department of History and Critical Race & Ethnic Studies (HCRES) proudly presents the Spring 2025 issue of the HCRES Undergraduate Journal (Volume 10, Issue 1). This issue is the sixteenth overall to be published by our History and CRES majors at UC Merced, and just the second issue to be released since we relaunched the Journal in 2024 after its hiatus during the COVID-19 Pandemic. Our new and returning members of the Journal's student-led editorial board worked tirelessly during the 2024-2025 academic year to produce, promote, and eventually publish essays and reviews written by their peers. This important scholarly work is representative of the editorial board's sharp aptitude for disciplinary and interdisciplinary scholarship, joyful curiosity for learning about new cultures, places, and ideas, empathy for their HCRES classmates, and steadfast commitment to 'get the work done.' Moreover, this new issue is a product of continued community building initiatives in HCRES and concerted efforts by faculty members and our students to foster and celebrate undergraduate research excellence.

The editorial board sought out paper submissions around the theme of Social Justice, Global Conflict, and Local Resistance to encourage their peers to think critically about processes of oppression and exploitation in the past and present. Through their social media and in-person campaigning in Fall 2024, they marshaled a great deal of enthusiasm for the new issue and HCRES students eagerly submitted their revised term papers, writing assignments, and other research projects to be considered for publication. The editorial board honed their professional skills, like copyediting and community outreach, as they conducted peer reviews of article submissions and worked in collaboration with HCRES faculty reviewers. This current issue is a testament to their teamwork, determination, and unbounded passion to not only bring attention to global and local injustices, but to highlight the acute ways that ordinary women, men, and children resisted subjugation throughout history and in the present-day. It contains one interview with a historian, four articles, two book reviews, and the Journal's first film review.

This collection of outstanding student scholarship will take readers across diverse settings in time and space, from the conquests of the Mongol Empire during the 13th and 14th centuries to the rebellious concerts of 1980s Chilean rock bands during the reign of Pinochet. From these contributions, readers will be introduced to enduring themes, such as colonialism, identity formation, resistance, and community-making, that remain at the heart of both History and Critical Race & Ethnic Studies research. I am grateful for the leadership of the Journal's Editors-in-Chief, Brooke Acebo and Dalila Barragan, and the hard work of our Editors: Castner Hatanaka, Katy Vargas, Kendra Sesco, Virginia Mateo, and Noe Rangel. I am so proud of the team's collegiality, compassion, and dedication to the Journal and each other. I have been lucky to serve with them, and their work is undoubtedly a harbinger of continued academic excellence and community building among our intrepid HCRES student body at UC Merced.

Myles Ali
Assistant Professor
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Faculty Spotlight: Dr. Muey Saeteurn, HCRES Associate Professor

By Dalila Barragan & Brooke Acebo

Dalila Barragan (DB): During the 2024-2025 academic year, I served as the first History Program intern under Professor Muey Saeteurn. I have also had the opportunity to take her classes at UC Merced, and it is a great honor to interview her alongside Brooke Acebo, Dr. Saeteurn also serves as the Program Chair for the History Department, providing many opportunities for history students. In the time I've been at UC Merced, Dr. Saeteurn has made a significant impact on many students on campus and for this reason, we are both very excited to interview her as the Faculty Spotlight for the 2025 issue of the HCRES Journal.

Brooke Acebo (BA): Dr. Saeteurn, we were hoping you could tell us about your path and motivation to work in academia, and why did you pick East Africa as your research specialty?

Muey Saeteurn (MS): I actually went to college thinking I would become a high school history teacher, specifically a US history teacher. I never considered or dreamed of becoming a college professor, as that was never on my radar growing up. I am the first in my immediate family to graduate from high school, then college, and to earn my master's and PhD, so academia was quite foreign to my family and me. It wasn't until my third year of undergraduate studies that I learned professors did more than teach; they also conducted research in addition to being in the classroom. At San Jose State, I was part of the Humanities Honors Program, where a professor asked me one day, while I was walking with him to his office hours, whether I had ever considered going to graduate school and obtaining a PhD. I honestly didn't even know what that degree entailed, so I had to ask him.

This was the moment when a new life path opened up for me. He explained what a doctorate was and told me about the McNair Scholars Program, a federal TRIO program designed to prepare undergraduate students who are either first-generation college students with financial need or members of traditionally underrepresented groups for doctoral studies through involvement in research and other scholarly activities. This was my path into academia. I chose to study African History, specifically to focus on 20th-century Kenyan history, because of my graduate school supervisor, who is also a Kenyanist. I had always been fascinated by Africa's decolonization and nation-building eras, so I knew I wanted to focus on this particular time period. The region (East Africa/Kenya) was purely because of my supervisor, who was (and is) a phenomenal scholar and mentor.

BA: What made you choose UC Merced/ a public university? What do you enjoy most about UC Merced?

MS: I chose to come to UC Merced and work in a public institution because of its diverse student body and its mission to serve all members of the community. I attended a public institution for my undergraduate studies, San Jose State, so I am acutely aware of the value these institutions offer to individuals striving for upward mobility. Additionally, before joining UC Merced, I taught at Mississippi State University, another public university with a socio-economically diverse population. I learned a great deal about myself while teaching at Mississippi State. Therefore, I knew I wanted to continue being in this kind of environment if I ever changed institutions. Finally, I believe in institutions that support and prioritize communities from underrepresented backgrounds, including those who are the first in their families to attend college. For these key reasons, UC Merced is my ideal campus. I truly appreciate and enjoy being surrounded by students who remind me a lot of the person I was as an undergraduate—driven, tenacious, family-oriented, and hardworking.

BA: For all the UCM students that are reading this issue, could you tell us about undergraduate courses that you teach? What can students expect from your courses and what do you want them to take away from lessons?

MS: Since I am a historian of modern Africa, I typically teach classes that focus on the colonial, decolonial, and nation-building eras. I enjoy teaching my decolonial Africa class, as well as the modern African history survey classes. In recent years, I have taught the History Program's Hist.100 course, known as the Historian's Craft, which is the theories and methods class for the majors. This class is also one of my favorites, as it reminds me of what we historians do and practice. It also allows me to learn about the latest research my colleagues are working on.

I am a social historian of 20th-century Africa, so my research and courses foreground the lived experiences of ordinary people. This means that students can expect to read secondary literature and primary sources that highlight the experiences of ordinary historical figures as much as possible. Additionally, students can anticipate using their critical thinking and analytical writing skills in my classes. They should also feel encouraged to provide their honest assessments of the course materials and readings. The main thing I want students to take away from my classes is that training in history is worthwhile because it equips them with the skills and insights to understand the world they come from and to envision the world they want to see created.

DB: We heard you are writing another book! What has that process looked like for you? What is the primary focus of your book, and did you face any challenges in narrowing down your topic?

MS: Indeed, I am currently completing my second book manuscript that focuses on Kenya's tea industry. Specifically, my project foregrounds the importance of Africa and Africans in the history of tea, global commodity studies, and contemporary histories of capitalism while

specifically highlighting the lived experiences of rural Kenyans who cultivated, pruned, picked, packaged, and sold tea leaves from the mid-1950s to the early 1990s. It argues that Kenya's dominance in the tea market was realized through the efforts of rural Africans who creatively negotiated their daily lives amidst the changes brought about by the spread of capitalism.

It has been a very long process since I started on this book project while wrapping up my first book. There have been times (maybe even years!) when I simply did not feel like working on the "tea book" because I lacked a clear focus. This was probably due to having too many archival sources and materials to work with, without a good research question to guide my inquiry. I also experience terrible writer's block; writing does not come easily to me. Therefore, it takes me a considerable amount of time to compose sentences, paragraphs, pages, and eventually a chapter. Accordingly, the writing process has been filled with lots of peaks and valleys. I am almost at the end of it now, thankfully!

Narrowing down my topic was not too challenging, as I wanted to focus on a specific industry and commodity. The issue is that within the tea industry, there are various sectors and, consequently, historical actors and processes that I must consider in my research and writing. This makes it difficult, as I only have limited space to work with in the manuscript. I am currently revising and polishing the chapters I have completed and finding that I need to either cut down significantly or add a little to them to ensure I adhere to my research question and thesis.

DB: As the chair of the History Program, how has your involvement on campus shaped your teaching or professional growth?

MS: My role as chair of the History Program has encouraged me to allocate time in my classes for students to network and build community among themselves. (This usually takes the form of group work.) I understood going into this role that community building was a top priority for the faculty and History students. Therefore, I, along with the History Program's intern, Dalila Barragan, and the Historical Society's student leadership, prioritized events and activities that encourage history students to come together in fellowship. I also believe this role has enabled me to become more attuned to what the students needed and wanted from their professors: namely, for the professor to not only teach their courses but to offer advice about what students can do with their history degrees in the 'real world,' especially in the current climate we find ourselves living in.

DB: Can you share one or two projects/opportunities you have had at UC Merced that you are most proud of and why they stand out to you?

MS: I am very proud to have been part of creating UC Merced's Center of Africana Studies. Along with my colleague, Dr. Sabriana Smith, I have served as one of the inaugural faculty co-

directors of the center for the past couple of years. I take great pride in the fact that Dr. Smith and I have organized and sponsored events that have brought together campus and community members to discuss, collaborate, research, and engage with the historical and contemporary experiences of Africans and people of African descent worldwide.

BA: What do you do to de-stress?

MS: The number one thing I do to help de-stress is run. I run a 5K at least a few times a week to manage my stress and maintain my health. Volunteering at my daughter's school, particularly during lunch recess, a couple of times a week, also helps me de-stress and, more importantly, provides perspective, as I am not only a scholar but also a mom who is watching time fly by way too fast.

BA: Thank you, Dr. Saeteurn, for participating in this interview! Your perspective and wise words are such a powerful contribution to not only the HCRES students but to the entire campus of UC Merced. As a student who got to experience your HIST 100 class in the Fall of 2024, I am so grateful and inspired by your teaching and your drive to share your knowledge of history and the impact your work has on the world. Dalila and I are both honored to have studied and learned under you.

Imperial Shadows: US Colonialism and the Disruption of Pilipino Identity, 1898-1946

By Janelle Amores Perez

Abstract

For 48 years, the United States (US) implemented a colonial project that extended beyond mere territorial control to fundamentally reshape Pilipino identity and cultural self-perception. Resulting in the defeat of Spain at the end of the Spanish-American War. The Treaty of Paris was signed on December 10, 1898, and the United States formally acquired and annexed the Philippines due to Spain's loss. The United States then entered the imperialist game, competing with other countries, such as Spain, China, the United Kingdom, France, Japan, and the Russian Empire, to expand and benefit from its occupied territories. In places like the Philippines, the United States imposed its culture and influenced certain aspects of these places to align with its values. This paper examines the critical question: "To what extent has the United States' colonization of the Philippines impacted Pilipinos' perception of their culture following the Spanish-American War to Philippine independence from 1898 to 1946?" Using a framework informed by postcolonial theory, this investigation analyzes sources from both the United States and the Philippines from people like American official Jacob Gould Schurman, US historian Michael Salman, Philippine revolutionary Apolinario Mabini, and cultural historian Bienvenido Lumbera. By juxtaposing the "benevolent assimilation" narrative against the lived experiences of colonized Pilipinos, this paper reveals how US imperialism enacted not only territorial annexation but a profound epistemic violence that continues to shape Pilipino cultural identity well beyond formal independence. This analysis contributes to broader postcolonial discourse by illuminating how imperial power operates simultaneously through explicit force and the subtle manipulation of cultural consciousness.

Background

After the five-month Spanish-American War, which took place in 1898 between Spain and the United States, the war came to a close in August, resulting in the defeat of Spain.[1] Subsequently, the Treaty of Paris was signed, bringing the two countries to a peaceful agreement, and the Philippines, in exchange for USD 20,000,000, was ceded to the Americans.[2] The United States then started to officially occupy the Philippines, noting that their occupation was to give “humanitarian aid” and help the Philippines establish its own formal, centralized government after nearly 400 years of colonization and oppression by other countries like Spain.[3] The United States government promised the Philippines freedom, but, as an institution and in

[1] Elliott. Charles Burke. *The Philippines to the End of the Military régime; America Overseas.* The University of Michigan, 1916.
[2] Elliott, *The Philippines to the End of the Military Régime.*
[3] Dolan, Ronald E, and Library of Congress. Federal Research Division. *Philippines: A Country Study.* Washington, D.C.: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress: For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. G.P.O, 1993. Pdf. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, <www.loc.gov/item/92039812/>.

alignment with political agendas, did not feel like the Philippines was ready to establish its government at that time, fresh from its Spanish colonization and without a robust central authority government.[4] Divergent perspectives on United States annexation among the colonized Philippine population ultimately triggered the Philippine-American War of 1899-1902.[5] The United States continued to occupy the Philippines until 1941, when it lost the Philippines to Japan, and eventually gained the Philippines back; the US was the one to grant the Philippines independence in 1946.[6]

[4] Rogers, William Allen. "Uncle Sam's new class in the art of self-government." (1898).
[5] Elliott, *The Philippines to the End of the Military Régime.*
[6] *Dolan and Library of Congress, Philippines: A Country Study*.



UNCLE SAM'S NEW CLASS IN THE ART OF SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Figure 1. The cartoon visualizes the United States' Uncle Sam hitting a Cuban ex-patriot and guerrilla as punishment in his class of "self-government" to enforce his dominance in defining "self-government" for these countries occupied by the United States. Pictured here are Emilio Aguinaldo (Philippines), Máximo Gómez (Cuba), Hawai'i, and Puerto Rico. This 1899 political cartoon illustrates the "benevolent assimilation" rhetoric that masked violent colonial control while depicting the colonized as childlike and in need of the United States' instruction.[7]

[7] Rogers, *Uncle Sam's New Class*.

Introduction

Over 48 years, the United States occupied the Philippines and established itself as a colonial sphere of influence.[8] The United States won the Spanish-American War, and formally annexed the Philippines as a condition of the Treaty of Paris, signed on December 10, 1898, as a result of Spain's loss.[9] As said by Anderson Stephenson in *Manifest Destiny: American Expansionism and the Empire of Right*, "... the threat of such a prospect had forced the phenomenon of imperialism upon the attention of Americans… The immediate effects were at least twofold… a sort of prescriptive imperialism, a conviction that the United States should seize desirable areas before a rival power got them."[10] The United States then entered the imperialist game, competing with other countries, such as Spain, France, Japan, and the Russian Empire, to expand, profit, and benefit from its occupied territories. In places like the Philippines, the United States imposed its culture. It influenced aspects of cultural values, language, education, perceptions of health,[11] and government infrastructure to be more aligned with their values.[12]

This paper will examine how United States colonization influenced the perception of Philippine culture among its people and its perception as a colony during the US occupation in the Philipines. This paper will also approach the historical debate that surrounds this topic, which may include perspectives that address US imperialism or humanitarian aid as a reason for why the US decided to colonize the Philippines. The question that will be investigated is "To what

[8] Elliott, *The Philippines to the End of the Military Régime.*
[9] Elliott, *The Philippines to the End of the Military Régime.*
[10] Stephanson, Anders. *Manifest Destiny: American Expansionism and the Empire of Right*. 1st ed. New York: Hill and Wang, 1995.
[11] Heiser, Victor G. "American Sanitation in the Philippines and Its Influence on the Orient." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 57, no. 1 (1918): 60–68.
[12] Pitt. Harold M. *The Facts As to the Philippine Islands: Compiled for the Enlightenment of the American People.* [S.1.: s.n., 1913.

extent has the United States' colonization of the Philippines impacted Pilipinos'[13] perception of their culture following the Spanish-American War to Philippine independence from 1898-1946?" To answer this question, I will examine the text "Philippine affairs; a retrospect and outlook; an address," by Dr. Jacob Gould Schurman of the First Philippine Commission[14] and *The Embarrassment of Slavery: Controversies Over Bondage and Nationalism in the American Colonial Philippines* by historian Michael Salman, both a primary and secondary source from a US perspective. In Contrast, I will also juxtapose these US sources to Philippine Revolutionary Apolinario Mabini's "A Filipino Appeal to the People of the United States," and Philippine Scholar Bienvenido Lumbera's "Edukasyong Kolonyal: Sanhi at Bunga ng Mahabang Pagkaalipin (Colonial Education: Causes and Effects of Long Slavery)," both being primary sources written in English from the period and as a secondary source originally transcribed in Tagalog from 2007 as accounts from Pilipino people. Utilizing the above sources will help provide a more profound and nuanced understanding of this investigation, hopefully informing the development of future academic scholarship tangential to this topic.

Section 1: U.S. Influence — Power, War, & Politics

As the United States expanded its ambitions in war and politics, it gained significant power alongside its influence. President McKinley's term from 1897 to 1901 was during the Spanish-American and Philippine-American wars.[15]As President of the United States, William McKinley said in an interview addressing the annexation of the Philippines:

I went down on my knees and prayed Almighty God for light and guidance more than

[13] Throughout this paper, the author deliberately uses "Pilipino" rather than "Filipino" to reflect the native pronunciation and spelling. The "P" spelling acknowledges that native Philippine languages had no "F" sound before Spanish colonization imposed this foreign phoneme. In a paper examining the impacts of colonization, the author has chosen not to perpetuate colonial linguistic alterations except when directly quoting sources that explicitly use the term "Filipino."

[14] Also known as the Schurman Commission

[15] Elliott, *The Philippines to the End of the Military Régime*

> one nigh (1) That we could not give them back to Spain- that would be cowardly and dishonorable; (2) that we could not turn them over to France or Germany- our commercial rivals in the Orient- that would be bad business and discreditable; (3) that we could not leave them to themselves- they were unfit for self-government- and they would soon have anarchy and misrule over there worse than Spain's was; and (4) that there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them [16]

McKinley stated his motives for the Philippines as president of the United States. McKinley also expressed his view that the Philippines was not in the right state to govern itself. As he said, "nothing left for us to do." It was in the interest of US foreign policy to help the Philippines through education, development of civilization, and Christianization. Since this became the United States' duty, the annexation was also seen as a probe into what the United States could do to benefit from the Philippines and its resources through the lens of politics. Additionally, in 1898, the author of *The Duty of the American People As to the Philippines.* wrote, "In one sense it is fortunate that the Philippinos[SIC] have been indurated (ratified) to corruption, for the reason that, while new methods are necessarily liable to entail some mistakes and make some losses, the margin created by honest methods ought to be more than large enough to carry the new authorities over the experimental period."[17] The United States saw Pilipinos as incapable of self-government after the ratification to this "corruption," which portrayed Pilipinos as inferior, weak, and untrustworthy in their eyes.

The author reveals that he felt it was better for the Philippines to be "corrupt," so the United States could "aid" them with their problems and act as their saviors. Discernibly, the United States was idolized and placed on a pedestal to seem like they were helping the

[16] Rusling, James F. "Interview with President McKinley:" The Christian Advocate, vol. 78, 1903. https://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtID=3&psid=1257, Accessed 2024.
[17] [Publicola], pseud. [from old catalog]. *The Duty of the American People As to the Philippines.* [n. p., 1898.

Philippines out of goodwill. Following this, Dr. Jacob Gould Schurman wrote, "And having secured the confidence and friendship of the leading Filipinos in Manila, having convinced them of the humane and beneficent intentions of our Government, having satisfied them that American sovereignty was only another name for the liberty of Filipinos."[18] Dr. Schurman was Cornell University's 3rd president and the head of the First Philippine Commission, created by President McKinley to advise the U S government on how it could utilize the Philippines and establish this new colony within the US political system.[19] US politicians viewed their efforts towards the Philippines as humanitarian, when, in reality, they used US sovereignty as an excuse to impose its ideals of government infrastructure and democracy within the Philippines. As author Ronald E. Dolan in his book, *Philippines: A Country Study* wrote, "The most important step in establishing a new political system was the successful cooptation of the Filipino elite called the 'policy of attraction…' Subsequently, they worked closely with the Schurman and Taft commissions,[20] advocating acceptance of United States rule."[21] The United States imposed its culture on the Philippines proved to be intensely effective and reinforced the lack of control the Philippines had after its long history of oppression and yearning for independence.

Section 2: Social Impact

As the United States continued to impose its cultural values on the Philippines post-Spanish-American War from 1898 to the signing of the Treaty of Manila denoting

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[18] Schurman, Jacob Gould. *Philippine Affairs: a Retrospect and Outlook; an Address.* New York, C. Scribner's Sons, 1902. Web.. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, <leen.loc.gov/02003912>.

[19] Elliott, *The Philippines to the End of the Military Régime*

[20] Also known as the Second Philippine Commission, the Taft Commission was set up by President McKinley to provide recommendations on how the United States should govern the Philippines.

[21] Dolan, Ronald E, and Library of Congress. Federal Research Division. *Philippines: A Country Study.* Washington, D.C.: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress: For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. G.P.O., 1993. Pdf. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, <www.loc.gov/item/92039812/>.

Philippine liberation in 1946, notable reforms within government, education, language, and cultural ideals took place drastically. Written in an excerpt from the Schurman Commission:

> They were impressively voiced by President McKinley, and I have already told you how he set them forth to me three years ago. Our purpose was not selfish, it was humanitarian; it was not the vanity of self-aggrandizement, it was not the greed of power and dominion; no, no, not these, but altruism caring for the happiness of others, philanthropy relieving the Filipinos of oppression and conferring on them the blessings of liberty.[22]

President McKinley and US politicians continued to perpetuate this narrative, citing reasons like "humanitarian" aid and helping Pilipinos on a "path to liberty" as justification for the continued US occupation of the Philippines. US officials repeatedly celebrated American morality and presented idealized images, encouraging Pilipinos to embrace US values so that they, in turn, became more prone to abandoning some of their own. While Americans were portrayed to maintain this positive and glorified image of themselves, Pilipinos were portrayed to maintain the opposite in numerous historical texts. In the book, *The Duty of the American People As to the Philippines.*, Publicola wrote, "By this course there can be retained for the Filipinos that sympathetic adaptation to the mental needs of underdeveloped races, of which the Roman Church has so often demonstrated its peculiar possession; while at the same time means can be found to clear away the mass of corruption and the lust that has gone so far to destroy the value of what good work the Church has done."[23] Pilipinos were portrayed as an inferior race because they were colonized and their culture was viewed as foreign to U.S. ideals. Anything the United States colonized was seen as less than it was. Americans placed themselves on a pedestal because they were the colonizers and not the oppressed.

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[22] Schurman, *Philippine Affairs*, 42.
[23] [Publicola], *The Duty of the American People*, 15.

The lands that the United States colonized were not seen as places where cultures could function by themselves, but rather as cultures that "need aid" in an effort to make them become "civilized." The author emphasized derogatory terms like "sympathetic adaptation" and "mental needs of underdeveloped races" to justify the colonization of Pilipinos. In truth, this piece of evidence revealed how Americans viewed Pilipinos at this time. This portrayal of Pilipinos influenced their self-perception by reinforcing a racial hierarchy that normalized U.S. dominance. Political statements like these helped construct race as a social norm, presenting Pilipino inferiority as legitimate and expected within the confines of colonial discourse. Colonial messaging led many Pilipinos to internalize a sense of cultural inferiority, now known as colonial mentality, as they were repeatedly told that their traditions made them unfit for self-governance.

In addition to this, Dolan wrote, "By 1939, the wealthiest 10 percent of the population received 40 percent of the islands' income. The elite and the cultivators were separated culturally and geographically, and economically… new urban centers rose, often with an Americanized culture."[24] A small portion of the population heavily adopted the shift toward favoring US culture, as demonstrated by their imposed and romanticized ideals of capitalism. This ten percent comprised the wealthiest and most prominent members of Pilipino society, as they had greater access to US-influenced education and economic opportunities. Furthermore, the education system in the Philippines drastically changed as part of the reform efforts to align it with the US colonial agenda. As Shalom and Schirmer noted in *The Philippines Reader: A History of Colonialism, Neocolonialism, Dictatorship, and Resistance.*:

> Thus, from its inception, the educational system of the Philippines was a means of pacifying a people who were defending their newly-won freedom from an invader who had posed as an ally. The education of the Filipino under American sovereignty was an

[24] *Dolan and Library of Congress, Philippines: A Country Study*, 36.

> instrument of colonial policy. The Filipino had to be educated as a good colonial. Young minds had to be shaped to conform to American ideas. Indigenous Filipino ideals were slowly eroded in order to remove the last vestiges of resistance. Education served to attract the people to the new masters and, at the same time, to dilute their nationalism, which had just succeeded in overthrowing a foreign power. The introduction of the American educational system was a subtle means of defeating a triumphant nationalism.[25]

The US government and specialized affiliates, like the Schurman and Taft Commissions, utilized education to impose their ideals and culture on the Pilipinos. A more specific example included implementing English as a restructuring of the curriculum within the Philippine education system.[26] Most notably, the United States reformed the Philippine education system to reflect its ideals, ensuring those values would shape future generations. By implementing their ideals in this way, the United States would be able to have a lasting impact on Philippine culture through means now known as neocolonialism. The authors of this book also wrote:

> The importance of education as a colonial tool was never underestimated by the Americans... The educational system established by the Americans could not have been for the sole purpose of saving the Filipinos from illiteracy and ignorance. Given the economic and political purposes of American occupation, education had to be consistent with these broad purposes of American colonial policy.[27]

Similar to the ideals of the former quote, this piece suggested that the reform of the Philippine education system was utilized as a tool for oppression. By allowing the United States to alter the structure and curriculum, it allows room for exposure to more colonial ideas and less traditional Philippine ideals. This work explicitly said "saving the Filipinos from illiteracy and ignorance," which, from the perspective of Americans, would mean their own, and showed a motive to implement educational reform in the Philippines.

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[25] Shalom, Stephen Rosskamm., and Daniel B. Schirmer. *The Philippines Reader: A History of Colonialism, Neocolonialism, Dictatorship, and Resistance.* South End Press, 1987.[27] Schurman, *Philippine Affairs*, 48.
[26] Schurman, *Philippine Affairs*, 48.
[27] Shalom and Schirmer, *The Philippines Reader*, 46.

Section 3: Pilipino Perspective

Often dominated by white cisgender men in this topic's literature, the overarching narrative of American colonization lacks a Pilipino perspective. Investigating an argument's multiple dimensions is integral in allowing for better understanding, both in breadth and depth of subject matter. As US historian Michael Salman wrote in his book, *The Embarrassment of Slavery: Controversies over Bondage and Nationalism in the American Colonial Philippines*, "The history of Philippine slavery and the nationalists' use of antislavery discourse therefore mark the historic heterogeneity of identity in the Philippine past. They remind us… of the underlying historicity and hybridity of modern Filipino national identity and modern national identity in general."[28] The Pilipino identity is profoundly complex and composite. The Philippine identity is the culmination of nearly 400 years of slavery and oppression from different colonizers, resulting in a profuse blend of cultural influences difficult to simplify. Oppression, as a deeply embedded phenomenon within the Philippine identity, is not one of serendipitous circumstance, but rather intentional deliberation perpetuated by the ecstasy of colonial power and design.

As said in January 1900 by Philippine revolutionary Apolinario Mabini in *A Filipino Appeal to the People of the United States*, "Moreover, the Filipino commissioners in America must have known something of our intentions, and we would not have made it necessary for them to leave that country like escaped criminals, for we would not have had the heart to expose them to the wrath of the American government and its agents."[29] Mabini's words were filled heavily with grief, referencing the US commissioners' departure

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[28] Salman, Michael. *The Embarrassment of Slavery: Controversies over Bondage and Nationalism in the American Colonial Philippines.* University of California Press, 2003.
[29] Mabini, Apolinario. "A Filipino Appeal to the People of the United States." *The North American Review* 170, no. 518 (1900): 54–60. http://www.jstor.org/stable/25104936.

comparative to that of "escaped criminals." The intentions of Philippine revolutionaries were not fueled by ambitions seeking war, but rather by the pursuit of Philippine sovereignty and independence, often faced with criminalization and met with state retaliation due to imperial violence. Also written in Mabini's address to the people of the United States:

> The truth is that the Filipino people have never felt disposed to measure their strength with powerful America, otherwise Aguinaldo could not have put up with so many infamous actions at the hands of the American generals. They have always considered themselves little and insignificant beside the American people, for they have always been aware that, even they should gain a few victories, the fortunes of war would necessarily change as soon as reinforcements arrived from America.[30][31]

Mabini's perspective acknowledged a shared cultural sentiment of inferiority and comparative militaristic lackluster to its imperialist counterpart. His disposition to restraint was not born out of submission, but rather that of a sobering realism. Pilipinos were forcefully conditioned to see themselves through the eyes of their colonizers through narratives of worthlessness, illegitimacy, and dependency. Mabini's reflection, which mirrored that of an overarching general self-perception in the Philippines, revealed how centuries-long colonial subjugation became its form of psychological bondage.

In its most raw and irrefutable articulation in Tagalog, national artist and cultural historian Bienvenido Lumbera also wrote:

> Sandaang taon nang naghahari ang imperyalismong Estados Unidos (EU) sa Pilipinas, at sinadya man o hindi, nakipagtulungan tayong mga Filipino sa imperyalista sa pagpapatagal ng kanilang paghahari. Pinahintulutan ng Tratado ng Paris noong 1898 ang pag-angkin ng Amerika sa Pilipinas, at noong 4 Pebrero 1899 tahasang gumamit ng dahas ang mga Amerikano upang kubkubin ang ating bansa. "Insureksiyon" ang tawag ng mga bagong kolonyalista sa paglaban ng mga Filipino at ito ang iginigiit nilang matuwid sa kanilang pamamaslang, pagtortyur at panununog sa lupain ng mga ninuno natin. Ito ang unang hakbang ng imperyalismong EU sa mahabang kasaysayan ng panlilinlang

[30] Mabini, "A Filipino Appeal," 60.

> na bumura sa mga krimen ng mga puwersang militar ng EU sa Pilipinas at nagpalaganap, sa Amerika at sa Pilipinas na rin, ng baluktot na mito ng "benevolent assimilation."[31]

Roughly translated to:

> A hundred years ago, during the United States (US) colonial reign in the Philippines, whether intentionally or not, we Filipinos helped the imperialists in prolonging their domination. The Treaty of Paris of 1898 allowed America to claim the Philippines for itself, and on February 4, 1899, the Americans used violence outright to seize our country. "Insurrection" is what the new colonizers called the Filipino resistance, and this is what insisted their murder, torture, and arson on our ancestral land. This was the first step US imperialism took to a long history of deception by the crimes of the US military forces in the Philippines that spread, both in America and the Philippines, this distorted myth of "benevolent assimilation."[32]

Lumbera critiques benevolent assimilation, a term coined by US President William McKinley to describe the supposed kind of annexation to help the Philippines, as colonial deception. The use of this term sanitized colonial violence, criminalized resistance, and justified US military atrocities as upright moral intervention. The United States saw the Philippines not as a sovereign nation of people, but as a prized Pearl of the Orient[33][34] to feed its crown collection of conquests, which allowed the Philippines to fall victim to the hands of a brutal empire. With these people seen as threats to their ambitions of empire, the classification of these so-called "Insurrectionists" provided legal and moral justification for the subsequent campaign of pacification and "kind" imperial authoritarianism that included the killing, torturing, and burning of Philippine communities.

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[31] Lumbera, Bienvenido. "Edukasyong kolonyal: Sanhi at bunga ng mahabang pagkaalipin." *Mula Tore Patungong Palengke* (2007): 1.

[32] This is the author's translation of Lumbera's original Tagalog text. Some nuances and emotional resonances of the original may be lost in translation, particularly regarding concepts of nationalism, ancestral connection to land, and the specific cultural impact of colonial terminology like "insurrection" versus "resistance." The original piece in Tagalog more forcefully conveys the sense of historical manipulation that shaped Pilipino narratives.

[33] A sobriquet of the Philippines during the Spanish and American colonial periods, originating in the late 19th century to describe the archipelago's beauty and value. The term was later used in American propaganda to romanticize colonial possession of the islands.

Paired with an insatiable appetite for imperialist expansion, the United States utilized systemic violence to perpetuate this manipulated narrative through controlled education systems, carefully curated historical accounts, and propaganda disseminated both in the United States and the Philippines. American schools in the Philippines taught students about the United States' benevolent guidance of a supposedly primitive people, what US President William Howard Taft referred to as "our little brown brothers and sisters."[34] This narrative placed colonizers on ideological pedestals as saviors rather than oppressors. Education was seen as a tool for palatable indoctrination, shaping a carefully crafted predisposition towards how Pilipinos perceived themselves that endured long after the formal end of colonial rule.

Conclusion

The historical discourse surrounding US colonization frequently positions itself within binary narratives, benevolent intervention juxtaposed to exploitative imperialism. This investigation of the central question, "To what extent has the American colonization of the Philippines impacted Pilipinos' perception of their culture following the Spanish-American War to Philippine independence from 1898-1946?" illuminates how colonial power operates not merely through territorial occupation, but through epistemic violence that reconstructs the colonized subject's relationship to their own cultural identity.

The complex legacy of resistance remains deeply ingrained as part of the Pilipino identity following nearly five centuries of colonial subjugation. Through examining historical evidence, this investigation reveals how US imperialism fundamentally disrupted cultural frameworks and self-perception amongst Pilipinos from 1898 to 1946. What emerges from this analysis is not merely a documentation of colonial oppression, but rather that of a critical

[34] [Publicola], *The Duty of the American People.*

interrogation. Ultimately, the extent to which US colonization has impacted Pilipinos perception of their own culture has shown to affect their identities significantly through three interconnected vectors: the strategic deployment of US political power and military force, the comprehensive restructuring of social institutions to reflect imperial values, and the psychological reframing of Pilipino self-perception within a colonial paradigm.

Through this multifaceted imperial project, the United States enacted territorial annexation and a form of cultural conditioning that continues to resonate through the present-day understanding of Pilipino identity. This historical analysis thus contributes to broader discourse by interrogating how imperial power operates simultaneously through explicit violence and subtle manipulation of cultural self-understanding.

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Rock & Resistance: Pinochet, Censorship and the Powerful Rock & Roll of Chile

By Ashley Cendejas

Between 1973 and 1990, General Augusto Pinochet ruled the South American Republic of Chile. Under Pinochet's authoritarian military dictatorship, the people of Chile were subjected to nearly three decades of violence and censorship. Under the heavy surveillance of Pinochet's regime, authors, broadcasters, journalists, and even influential members of society were suppressed from speaking against the Pinochet regime. These oppressive measures of silencing opposition directly led to the creation and evolution of alternative creative outlets for victims of the government's widespread oppression and persecution. This essay explores the origins, growth, and long-term impact of Chilean rock music as it developed as a platform to protest or bring attention to the atrocities of the Pinochet dictatorship. Through an analysis of surviving archival records, musical lyrics, and published interviews of Chilean rock musicians, including the prominent band L*os Prisoneros,* my essay aims to carry out two central objectives. First, it will establish the damaging effects of the widespread violence of Pinochet's reign over Chile during the latter twentieth century through the Chilean rock artists' perspectives and their influence on the public. Secondly, primarily through my analysis of lyrics and the testimonials of musicians, I argue that Chilean rock music was an act of bravery and a medium of resistance against the injustices, censorship, tyranny, and brutal violence of the Pinochet regime.

Prior to Pinochet's rise to power, Chilean President Salvador Allende had introduced revolutionary policies that were met with resistance from some members of the Chilean government. Born and raised in Santiago, Salvador Allende was Chile and South America's first socialist president. As the leader of the Popular Socialist Party, Allende's socialist policies clashed with the capitalist members of the Chilean government, contradicting the morals of

influential conservative leaders, which placed Allende on a dangerous pedestal.[1] Along with influential Chilean politicians and prominent Chilean military leaders, like General Pinochet, the government of the United States of America also considered Allende a threat to capitalist rule in the Americas.[2] With fear that Chile would add to the list of socialist countries such as Cuba and the Soviet Union, the American government's involvement in Chilean politics became especially overt. The Secretary of State of the United States at the time, Henry Kissinger, described the Chilean government under Allende's rule as a "challenge to the United States and the stability of the Western Hemisphere."[3] Considering this characterization of the Allende government, the United States backed the overthrow of the Chilean government, arming and helping General Pinochet and the Chilean military to plan and execute a coup d'état on September 11, 1973.

This sudden and unjust rise to power led to the torture of members of the Chilean public who opposed the overthrow of the Allende government.[4] Any person with significance in Chilean society who had public resistance against the dictatorship posed a threat to Pinochet and became subject to severe, life-altering torture. Notable groups that participated in anti-Pinochet resistance included university professors, musical artists, lawyers, doctors, and students. The torture that many endured was heinous, resulting in mass trauma among the population. As addressed in the *Recintos* archive assembled by *Museo de la Memoria y Derechos Humanos'*, a museum dedicated to highlighting the Chilean public's experience with human rights violations during the Pinochet regime, the dictatorship inflicted wicked and atrocious crimes against

[1] Hugo Zemelman and Patricio Leon, "Political Opposition to the Government of Allende," *Government and Opposition* 7, no. 3 (1972): 327–50.
[2] Patricio Navia, "Pinochet: The Father of Contemporary Chile," *Latin American Research Review* 43, no. 3 (2008): 250–58, https://doi.org/10.1353/lar.0.0051.
[3] Henry Kissinger, *Years of Upheaval* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1982).
[4] Brian Loveman, "Military Dictatorship and Political Opposition in Chile, 1973–1986," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 28, no. 4 (1986): 1–38.

political prisoners. These crimes include but were not limited to food deprivation, sleep deprivation, electric shocks, dog mauling, brutal beatings with blunt objects, violent hair cutting, waterboarding, mock executions, hanging, intense interrogation under threats, held at gunpoint, deep water submergence, being thrown in pig pens, being urinated on, suffocation, breaking of bones, sexual assault with animals, and in most cases, death with no trace of the victim's body. [5] As documented by the *Report of the Chilean National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation,* nearly 3,400 Chileans were "disappeared" or murdered, and 30,000 to 100,000 Chileans experienced torture by military officers in detention camps, jails, and other government buildings under Pinochet's dictatorship.[62]

Among these Chilean activists murdered was Victor Jara, a folk-rock singer-songwriter and teacher prevalent in Chilean culture for his political lyrics containing anti-fascist themes (Figure 1). As part of a new musical phenomenon, *El Canto Nuevo,* a political movement in folk music that challenged sociopolitical themes, Jara was essential to folk-rock artists' collaboration on political themes, as his musical work was effective and widespread among the Chilean public. His song, *Venceremos,* was made in political support for President Allende's second term election. Jara also wrote an anti-war anthem, *El Derecho de Vivir en Paz,* a powerful song that protested the Vietnam-American War. The Pinochet regime sought to repress these powerful sentiments and subjected Jara to extreme torture and the ultimate form of censorship: an isolated death. On September 11th, 1973, the same day as the coup d'etat that placed Pinochet in power, Victor Jara was kidnapped alongside thousands of other political activists.[7]

[5] "Recintos," Museo de la Memoria, accessed February 9, 2025, https://interactivos.museodelamemoria.cl/recintos/.
[6] Patricio Navia
[7] "Pinochet Coup & the Murder of Folksinger Víctor Jarajara v. Barrientos," CJA, accessed February 10, 2025, https://cja.org/what-we-do/litigation/jara-v-barrientos/.



Figure 1: In 1969, Jara appeared in protests the Vietnam War in Finland.

Moments before his subsequent murder, Jara mustered up his last words into a song that mirrored his emotions on the political state of Chile. Witnessed by thousands of other detainees, one of his most potent literary pieces was born, an untitled poem called "*Estadio Chile",* named after the location of his last moments. The gut-retching testament captured the sentiments of Chile, and the excruciating emotions Jara lived through. Sung to thousands of other political prisoners, the song survived in the audience's memory.[8] As preserved through the recollection of detainees who heard it, the translated lyrics are as written:

There are five thousand of us here
in this small part of the city.
We are five thousand.
I wonder how many we are in all
in the cities and the whole country?

[8] Stephen Tapscott, ed., *Twentieth-Century Latin American Poetry: A Bilingual Anthology* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 337.

...

How hard it is to sing

when I must sing of horror.

Horror which I am living,

horror, which I am dying.

To see myself among so much

and so many moments of infinity

in which silence and screams

are the end of my song.

Jara used these intense lyrics to encapsulate his anger, desperation, and vulnerability in his last moments. The opening lines, "*There are five thousand of us here in this small part of the city,"* suggest both a sentiment of isolation and unity in Estadio Chile, the location of their detention. "Five thousand" highlights not only the political prisoners but also people with distinct lives, yet all the same, that were oppressed by the regime. Despite the many people imprisoned with Jara, their political power remained limited, invoking a sense of hopelessness in escaping political detention. The repetition of "horror" throughout the second verse highlights the physical and emotional pain inflicted by the regime on the Chilean people and the nationwide torture that was to come. With the words, "*How hard it is to sing when I must sing of horror.",* Jara drew attention to the difficulty of the circumstances inflicted on him. Conscious of the dangers, he acknowledges his and his audience's pain. Jara utilized the lyrics "*Horror which I am living, horror which I am dying."* to similarly channel national sentiments about despair and pain under the Pinochet regime. Caught in a continuous repetition of oppression, Jara expressed through these words that even the act of living itself feels as though it is a form of emotional, political, and physical dissipation and a precursor to an imminent death. This dual side to life and a martyred death encapsulates the brutal experiences of the Chilean people. In a time when

kidnappings, torture, and executions were widespread, this song echoes the necessity for survival as a form of resistance.

Victor Jara's song encapsulates the heavy emotional burden of living in an authoritarian regime while simultaneously acknowledging an artist's responsibility to deliver to an audience. It covers the overwhelming and devastating cost of residing in Pinochet's dictatorship. from the raw perspective of a political prisoner with a unique and far-reaching platform. These characteristics sew together collective identity, horrific torture, and censorship in the most extreme form into an influential ode to Chileans, the nation's story, and resistance. The Chilean military murdered Victor Jara on September 16th, 1973, because of his influential song. Jara's last moments were in Estadio, Chile; he was shot 44 times in the hands of the Chilean military and later found in an abandoned field. [3] Despite his tragic death, his influence as a political activist and resistance against Pinochet's regime remains treasured in Chile. In 2003, Estadio Chile was renamed Estadio Victor Jara for the late singer.[9] Jara's work is still promoted and continued by the Victor Jara Foundation, established by his wife, Joan Jara. Jara's dedication to the Chilean people, public activism against Pinochet, and passion for human rights will maintain his legacy for centuries.[10]

Inspired by Victor Jara's legacy, three Chilean university students, Jorge Gonzalez, Claudio Narea, and Miguel Tapia, emerged onto the Chilean rock music scene in the 1980s. These three young men formed *Los Prisioneros* in 1982, which became one of the most influential and dominant socio-political bands in Chile, selling upwards of one million records

[9] "Estadio Víctor Jara (Estadio Chile)," Ir al inicio, accessed February 10, 2025, https://www.monumentos.gob.cl/monumentos/monumentos-monumentos/estadio-victor-jara-estadio-chile.
[10] "Re-Entry," American Civil Liberties Union, February 15, 2022, https://www.aclu.org/issues/smart-justice/re-entry.

globally (Figure 2).[11] Still facing the implications of Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship, *Los Prisioneros* wrote lyrics criticizing Pinochet's socio-economic systems, disappearances of Chilean civilians, and other elements of the over-decade-long oppressive rule of the authoritarian regime.[12] Their first studio album, *La Voz de los '80,* was released on December 13, 1984, and quickly became the most important Chilean rock record among youth audiences.[8] With songs targeting U.S. imperialism, sexism, and media crises in Chile, this debut album elevated *Los Prisioneros* to a national level, gaining attention from Pinochet's military government. On December 7th, 1985, *Los Prisioneros* were set to perform *La Voz de los '80* on *Sexta Teletón* on the Chilean National Television, which was run by Pinochet's regime. After a few seconds on air, the band's televised performance was abruptly cut and removed from the broadcast by the Chilean military.[13] This program's censorship was an evident example of Pinochet's active efforts to limit the voices of the people. Despite the suppression of speech, the government continued to censor *Los Prisioneros*. Between the years 1985 and 1988, Pinochet continuously oppressed *Los Prisioneros'* voices. Claudio Narea, guitarist for Los Prisoneros, reflected on their experience as a revolutionary band during the Chilean dictatorship, stating: "We couldn't play a tour of 40 cities. We only played seven times. We couldn't get more venues…Nothing happened to us physically, but they started to veto us, then we couldn't be on magazine covers, we couldn't be on important shows. [14] Their powerful lyrics resonate with the Chilean population, allowing

[11] Enviado por:, "Encuentra Aquí Información de Rock En La Sociedad Contemporánea Para Tu Escuela ¡Entra Ya!: Rincón Del Vago," Encuentra aquí información de Rock en la sociedad contemporánea para tu escuela ¡Entra ya! | Rincón del Vago, March 7, 2017, https://html.rincondelvago.com/rock-en-la-sociedad-contemporanea.html.

[12] "Music and Dictatorship in Europe and Latin America," Brepols Publishers, accessed February 10, 2025, http://www.brepols.net/Pages/ShowProduct.aspx?prod_id=IS-9782503527796-1.

[13] *"La voz de los 80". Televisión Nacional de Chile. 2012-03-02. Archived from the original on 2 March 2012. Retrieved 2023-02-14.*

[14] *Break It All: The History of Rock in Latin America*, directed by *Rodrigo H. Vila* (Netflix, 2020).

for some form of cathartic release and social connection among fans and listeners as they lived under constant specter of Pinochet's oppressive government.



Figure 2: *Los Prisioneros* in 1987. From left to right: Jorge Gonzalez, Miguel Tapia, and Claudio Narea.

Often, their lyrics served as a powerful vehicle for protest in a time when the government could disappear any public critics of the regime. *"El Baile de los que Sobrán,"* one of Chile's most renowned protest songs, was released in 1986 on *Los Prisioneros'* second studio album, *Pateando Piedras*. *"El Baile de los que Sobrán"* covers the complex themes dealt with by youth in 1980s Chile. With lyrics criticizing the country's economic state, addressing the failed educational system in Chile, and condemning the declining job market for recent graduates, *Los Prisioneros* allowed young Chileans to feel acknowledged in difficult and hopeless times. These selected lyrics best encapsulate the significance of *"El Baile de los que Sobrán"* and are translated as follows:

My friends have all stayed, just like you

This year was the last one of the games

The twelve games

Come join the dance of the people leftover

Nobody will be missed

No one really wanted to help us

They told us when we were kids

"Play as students, Men are brothers

And together they must work"

You heard the advice, the eyes in your teacher

And there was so much sun over our heads

And it wasn't very true, as those games in the end

Were for others with awards and futures

And left my friends kicking stones

Come join the dance of the people leftover

Nobody will be missed

No one really wanted to help us

[Hey! I know some stories about the future

Hey! The time I learned about them was the safest one

Under our shoes, mud and concrete

And the future is nothing of what was promised in the twelve games

Others were taught secrets that you didn't know

Others really got that one thing called "education"

They asked for effort, they asked for dedication

And for what? To end up dancing and kicking stones

In the first set of lyrics in *"El Baile de los que Sobrán,"* the band dives into the *"twelve games,"* a reference made to the 12 years of formal education required to qualify for a job in Chile.[15] Unfortunately, Pinochet's dictatorship's implementation of 'Chicago Boys' policies had severely limited job opportunities in the country. "Chicago Boys' referred to a group of Chilean economists, who were educated at the University of Chicago and served as Pinochet's economic advisors.[16.] Responsible for implementing the free-market model in the Chilean economy, the Chicago Boys cut government spending and privatized social welfare programs.[17] With the increasing unemployment rate in Chile, dubbing these 12 years of schooling "games" acknowledges the foolish, illogical motive of earning a degree to obtain a job in a place where the job market is deteriorating daily.

[15] "Profile," www.chileeducation.info, Accessed: February 10, 2025, https://www.chileeducation.info/k12/chile-k-12-educationsystem.html#:~:text=Compulsory%20education%20in%20Chile%20lasts,education%20is%20compulsory%20in%20Chile.
[16] "Music and Dictatorship" Brepols Publishers.
[17] Pamela Constable and Arturo Valenzuela, "The Rich," in *A Nation of Enemies: Chile Under Pinochet*, ed. Pamela Constable and Arturo Valenzuela (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1993), 219, ISBN 978-0-393-30985-0. Valerie Brender, "Economic Transformations in Chile: The Formation of the Chicago Boys," *The American Economist* 55, no. 1 (2010): 111–22, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40657832.

Following the reference to the failing job economy and unemployment caused by Pinochet, *Los Prisioneros* references naiveness in childhood and socialist themes. To pay homage to their infancy in Chile, *Los Prisioneros* included lyrics containing popular socialist ideologies that reflect those of former President Salvador Allende's government. Raised in a country that prioritized community, as reflected in the lyrics "*Men are brothers, And together they must work,*" *Los Prisioneros* soon had these beliefs attacked, starting with the coup d'etat that removed Allende and replaced him with Pinochet. *Los Prisioneros* alluded to a sense of naiveness, so innocent to believe that a country could run on simple, community-supported ideas. Continuing their criticism of quality education and the lack of job opportunities, *Los Prisioneros* also touched upon the socioeconomic privileges of Pinochet's dictatorship. *El Baile de los que Sobrán"* provides emotional disillusionment, unequal distribution of opportunities, and disappointment in the country's then-state, comparing the tales they recalled as children to the current reality. Alluding back to the "twelve games," *Los Prisioneros* recalled the uncertainty of their future and the devastating state of their present, crushing the spirits of Chileans who once believed as children. This dismay in the future evokes agony, despair, and defeat among those promised a fruitful life without an oppressive dictatorship.

With the lack of educational and job opportunities, accompanied by poverty and sociopolitical tension, the Chilean lower class was at a heightened disadvantage in climbing the economic ladder. Stuck in a place of hopelessness, *Los Prisioneros* channeled their frustrations with the lyrics: *Others were taught secrets that you didn't know; others got that one thing called "education."* This expression of frustration encapsulates the growing disparities in education and job opportunity access in 1980s Chile. The lyrics refer to social hierarchies that gave opportunities that those of lower social standing cannot access, creating a generation-wide feeling of being left behind. When *Los Prisioneros* included the lyrics: "*They asked for effort, they asked for dedication,"* it conveys a sense of expected commitment from the young generation, yet the payoff is absent. Continuing with the lyrics: "*And for what? To end up dancing and kicking stones.",* which implies that even with hard work in education and perseverance, underprivileged Chileans could not achieve upward socio-economic mobility due to the country's state. Although "*El Baile de los que Sobrán"* was written in response to the regime's impact on the Chilean public, this powerful song of resistance has since transcended borders and generations. In 2018, for example, students performed "*El Baile de los que Sobrán,"*[18] This song has remained as influential and powerful as the day it was written, continuing to carry new generations through times of hardship and despair.

[18] Dictatorship, Higher Education and Social Mobility • Higher Education and Mortality: Legacies of an Authoritarian College Contraction • the Intergenerational Transmission of Higher Education: Evidence from the 1973 Coup in Chile," Becker Friedman Institute, accessed February 10, 2025

Los Prisioneros continued to use their music to battle the regime until the Chilean public voted out Pinochet's government in the famous 1988 Chilean presidential referendum. This referendum was Pinochet's attempt to legitimize his rule via a democratic mandate. Jorge Gonzalez, Claudio Narea, and Miguel Tapia of *Los Prisioneros* were dominant members of the musical scene during these initial moments of the presidential referendum. "We started to express our opinion, and we played at the "No" events.", commented Narea. "No" referred to the decision to remove Augusto Pinochet from political power in Chile, permanently ending his dictatorship. A landslide vote decided the country's future: 56% voted to end the almost two-decade-long rule.[19]

Despite the new transition of power, the wounds of Pinochet's dictatorship persisted in Chilean society. Following Pinochet's regime was Patricio Aylwin, a Chilean lawyer, author, professor, and politician affiliated with the Christian Democratic Party of Chile. Elected after the referendum, Aylwin, a close comrade of Pinochet, decided to maintain the former dictator's influential role in the Chilean military and refused to charge Pinochet for his human rights violation against the Chilean public.[20] This lack of accountability allowed Pinochet to walk away from the damage he was responsible for, as the Chilean people realized that there was no proper transition of power; Aylwin was essentially under the influence of the former dictator.[21]

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[19] Lli, "NDI: Standing with Democracy over Military Dictatorship - Chile's 1988 Presidential Plebiscite," lli, October 26, 2023, https://www.ndi.org/our-stories/ndi-standing-democracy-over-military-dictatorship-chile-s-1988-presidential-plebiscite.

[20] Admin, "Lessons from Patricio Aylwin," Global Americans, July 1, 2020, https://globalamericans.org/lessons-from-patricio-aylwin/.

[21] Nibaldo Galleguillos, "From Confrontation to Friendly Persuasion: An Analysis of Judicial Reform and Democratization in Post-Pinochet Chile," *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies / Revue Canadienne des Études Latino-Américaines et Caraïbes* 23, no. 46 (1998): 161–92, http://www.jstor.org/stable/41800070.

The rock-ska band, *Los* Tres, emerged during the Aylwin administration and continued to channel Chilean society's frustration with persistent socio-economic and political issues and tensions. Originating in Concepción, the folk-rock band formed by Alvaro Henriquez, Francisco Molina, Titae Lindl, and Angel Parra Jr. in 1987. They released their debut self-titled album a few years after their formation, and their lyrics were poetic and criticized Chilean leadership in a manner that reflected the activism of Victor Jara. In this album, various songs embedded remnants of Pinochet and his existing influence inthe Chilean executive branches. "*Flores Secas"* and "*Pajaros de Fuego"* ruminated on the deep-rooted pain embedded in Chilean society. "We were the soundtrack to that shitty time.", expressed Henriquez. "In Los Tres, we had a powerful political awareness." *Los Tres* reflected on their resistance, releasing their most critical song, "*La Primera Vez."* The lyrics are as translated:

In the streets that gave you,
The power that now rots you,
You asked a thousand favors and said something else
Head between legs
You already tried to please them
You were prepared, you did not apologize
I have never wished harm on anyone
This is my first time
I have never wished harm on anyone
This is my first time
Nauseated by betrayals
You vomited in their faces
And you do not think that maybe they would come back for you
Those streets became cloudy

They were lost in the shadows

Of the remorse that now makes you fall

And I want you to fall

And may you fall to your knees

They spit in your face, and you know how to die

I have never wished harm on anyone

This is my first time

I have never wished harm on anyone

This is my first time

Infused with polka-inspired rhythms, "*La Primera Vez"* maintained the political resistance of a rock song with the poetic grace of a romantic ballad. In the initial lyrics, *Los Tres* acknowledged Pinochets' unjust authority over Chile and criticized his brutal terror in the country. "You were prepared; you did not apologize," evokes the common sentiments about Chile after the Pinochet dictatorship. Despite severe human rights violations under his authoritarian government, Pinochet walked away without consequences, living a peaceful life in Santiago, Chile. The following lyrics: "I have never wished harm on anyone; this is my first time," encapsulate the frustration, anger, and resentment of the Chilean public toward Pinochet and his regime. Responsible for thousands of deaths, numerous economic disasters, and an overall poor quality of life, "wishing harm" represented the emotions and sentiments of the Chilean population, desiring Pinochet and his regime to suffer as the nation did for 17 years.

Henriquez explains that "*La Primera Vez"* was created to call out the regime for its repeated lies and mass murders, as it was composed of "deep hatred" towards the Pinochet government. *Los Tres* continued these ideas of loathing and frustration with the then-current political state of Chile with the following lyrics: "Those streets became cloudy, They were lost in the shadows." Referencing the nation's depressing conditions, "cloudy" highlights the country-wide resentment towards Pinochet's impact on Chileans' quality of life. *Los Tres* then alludes to the "lost shadows" or lost lives because of the dictatorship's censorship and violent repression. Targeting leftists, socialists, and public activists against the regime were kidnapped and tortured, with at least three thousand having been disappeared or murdered by Pinochet's military agents. "And I want you to fall, And may you fall to your knees" further amplifies the damaging effect of Pinochet's regime, causing the public to loathe him for his political actions and wishing him the same suffering and humiliating end Chileans had to endure as a result of his government. The former dictator, however, would not meet his demise until a quarter century after his 1973 military coup d'etat. During a visit to London in 1998, British authorities captured Pinochet on charges relating to human rights violations, including genocide and terrorism.[22] Eight years later, still amid court proceedings regarding his crimes, Pinochet died of natural causes, never having been convicted of any crime he committed against the Chilean public.

[22] Paul R. Bartrop and Samuel Totten, "Pinochet, Augusto, Case Against," in *Dictionary of Genocide*, vol. 1 (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 2007), 331, ISBN 978-0-313-34642-2, OCLC 883597633, archived from the original on August 29, 2021, retrieved August 29, 2021.

Regardless of the painful, soul-deteriorating experience that was the Pinochet dictatorship, the Chilean population persisted in the difficult times and channeled their resistance into rock music. Not only does it serve as a historical narrative for the Chilean people, but the political rock music of the 1970s, 1980s, and early 1980s serves as documentation for a tormenting time for the Republic of Chile. The appreciation of this powerful collection of songs and poems honors the bravery of musicians, their duty as public activists, and their experiences as members of society during the dictatorship. Fighting debilitating censorship, highlighting nationwide frustration, and the disappearances of hundreds of thousands demonstrate Chilean people's resilience and resistance through the lens and soundwaves of music. The strength of the Chilean people, as shown by the evocative power of their music, serves as a testament to the enduring spirit of a society under extreme oppression. Political rock music provides a voice for the silenced and a timeless reminder of the strength found in artistic expression. The way these songs resonate with Chileans and international listeners highlights the importance of music as a tool for memory and resistance. Ultimately, these musical legacies ensure that the atrocities of the past are reflected while also inspiring future generations to safeguard the freedoms that were once so brutally taken away.

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Resistance and Rebellion in Colonial Africa

By Kendra Ruin Sesco

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, European governments began to establish and consolidate colonial territories across the African continent. While the strategies of colonial administration varied across different European empires, systems of violence, exploitation, and oppression were always at the foundations of colonial rule. Repressive European hierarchies were not accepted or endured passively by African men, women, and children who found themselves living under colonial rule. Exploring the pervasive and multifaceted strategies of resistance used by African colonial subjects across the continent, this essay argues that colonized people and communities in Africa found novel ways to adapt and subvert European rule, which ultimately contributed to the end of colonialism in the mid-twentieth century. To demonstrate African subversion of systems of domination, I will explore how colonial subjects adapted, remade, and expressed anti-colonial sentiments through European efforts to control alcohol, introduce colonial sports, and infuse African youth with manufactured loyalty through the Boy Scouts. The history of anti-colonial resistance in Africa proves that European cultural constructs, whether applied through direct or indirect rule, most often failed to erase African cultures and identities.

European efforts to control alcohol engendered adaptive resistance on the part of native Africans who refused to renounce the drinks which held significance both as cultural foci and as a lucrative market in the oppressive colonial economy. Since the European impetus to restrict African drug markets interacted with both extant native traditions and Islamic polity,[1] the history

[1] Heather J. Sharkey, "Christians among Muslims: The Church Missionary Society in the Northern Sudan," *The Journal of African History* 43, no. 1 (2002): 51–75. 51-2.

of colonial prohibition provides a discursive insight into the abiding resilience and imminent adaptability of native African traditions under two different hegemonies. Records exist of both European and Muslim programs of prohibition and of the fluid strategies implemented by native Africans to subvert or circumvent each. Further - considering "prohibition" as a law or decree which proscribes any drug, not just alcohol - the saga of khat, a mild stimulant which also faced colonial prohibition across Kenya, Somaliland, and Aden, exposes fundamental failures across colonial governments which extend beyond their inability to control the liquor trade.[2] Khat grows wild throughout most of mainland Africa, and its cultivation as a trade good, a bride price item, a work enhancer, an aid for meditative religious practices, and a political ritual among elders predates colonialism by at least two hundred years.[3] And as with alcohol, moral panics about the social and medical perils of khat and khat prohibition policies emerged contiguously with times of social upheaval throughout colonial Africa, though khat trade and consumption survived the colonial period and continue in the present.[4] The history of khat proscription also represents an exploration of "[h]ow certain substances come to be viewed as undesirable [which] speaks of underlying social, cultural, and economic processes" and intersects deeply with Europe's failures to suffocate native Africans' liquor traditions and trade.[5]

British efforts to implement and enforce the prohibition of alcohol in colonial Nigeria, a region which had experienced the rule of a Northern Muslim elite under the Sokoto Caliphate since 1804, are among the most pronounced of these failures. Honoring their Qur'anic devotion to abstinence, Northern Nigeria prohibited participation in the native alcohol trade by Muslim

[2] David Anderson and Neil Carrier, "Khat in Colonial Kenya: A History of Prohibition and Control," *The Journal of African History* 50 no. 2, 377-397, 377.
[3] Anderson and Carrier, "Khat," 379-80.
[4] Anderson and Carrier, "Khat," 383.
[5] Anderson and Carrier, "Khat," 377.

rulers well before the arrival of the British in the South. However, those affected by this proscription were only one sector of a populace which was mostly represented by non-Muslim peoples who freely satisfied their taste for homemade *peto* brewed without yeast from guinea corn and millet after a successful harvest.[6] Indeed, the consumption of local homebrews and palm wine, as well as various liquors carried in a thriving import market, had been a part of life for people throughout the totality of Nigeria for centuries, Muslim rule or no.

Faced with only a limited number of administrative personnel on the ground in their colonies, Great Britain relied upon indirect rule by Northern Muslim elites to implement its local prohibition policies. Both hypocritical and racialized, these policies banned liquor consumption for Nigerians who lived in and around the Northern areas where Islamic governance was entrenched and certain peoples who were thought to be more susceptible to alcoholism.[7] British policy also established a system of licensed traffic centered around government stations, which allowed Europeans to partake as they pleased in drink and in the money to be made off of its import and sale.[8] This tendency to apply designations which privileged or disadvantaged certain groups according to racialized arbitration is a pervasive theme throughout the lifespan of colonialism in Africa, and often unintentionally opened opportunities for native Africans to "challenge, circumvent, and thereby destabilize colonial authority."[9] Historian Simon Heap argues that Nigerians who lived within the prohibited zone found five distinct ways to sidestep or exploit the system which sought to exploit them: "by legally drinking indigenous alcohol, by obtaining colonial liquor permits, by smuggling, by substituting unusual alcoholic beverages, and

[6] Simon Heap, "We Think Prohibition is a Farce: Drinking in the Alcohol-Prohibited Zone of Northern Nigeria," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 31, no. 1, 23-51, 26.
[7] Heap, "Prohibition," 26-27.
[8] Heap, "Prohibition," 26.
[9] J.N.C. Hill, "Imperial Classifications and Anti-Colonial Resistance in Northern Africa," *Middle Eastern Studies* 55, no. 3, 464-74, 464-467.

by purchasing liquor cleverly made in the north itself."[10] Each of these methods represents a successful effort by Nigerians to take advantage of some inherent weakness of British colonial systems and impose novel methods of resistance. For example: in addition to homebrewed *peto*, Nigerians used locally sourced alternative ingredients or imported non-potable alcohol like the *alcool de menthe* in French mouthwash or the methylated spirits, which were typically used in lamps to produce, distribute, and consume alcohol in the face of colonial prohibitions.[11]

Further, northern Nigerians commonly adapted southern methods to distill their own liquor, a feat accomplishable with only some pots, pipes, and a kerosene tin, underscoring the mobility of Nigerian technologies as they moved fluidly through colonized geographies.[12] Additionally, while the British were able to combat smuggling by river and by rail with some success, their policies of prohibition were doomed by both the enormous enforcement costs of those policies and by the Europeans' love of alcohol, as colonial officials legally imported as much as they liked for themselves, plus enough to sell on the black markets which typically arise around prohibition in any region. This culture of casual corruption was also exploited via the racialized British liquor licensing system that banned alcohol for "at-risk" northerners but issued permits for purchasing spirits through overworked and outnumbered colonial administrators to more than 2,000 "non-native" workers.[13] Colonial administrators would sometimes sign off on licenses *en masse* to save themselves time and effort, and even when they did personally screen each license, they operated with extremely limited capacity to discern who was from which region. Because of these limitations in will and ability among administrators, liquor licenses for northerners were often no farther away than a change of clothes or a fake accent. Worse for the

[10] Heap, "Prohibition," 24.
[11] Heap, Prohibition," 51.
[12] Heap, "Prohibition", 48.
[13] Heap, "Prohibition", 37.

British, Chima J. Korieh argues that Nigerians resented colonial suppression of "their natural folkways… [and] questioned the government's right to make such judgements", leading to some direct actions of anti-colonial resistance, such as when the Ndom Ebom people confronted local police and forced the release of 37 people who had been arrested for "possession of production apparatus and liquor."[14] District Officers despaired of prohibition ever meeting with success in the face of Nigerian resentment and resistance, offering evidence of its failure and arguing for its cessation despite metropolitan demonization of traditional brews as a degenerative threat to society. This condescension also played out in the colonial prohibition of khat, which grows wild across most of the African continent with a deep history of traditional use. As with alcohol prohibition, khat prohibition eventually crumbled under the weight of its own impractical application, subsumed by a European-assisted black market and indigenous defiance. Justified through paternalist pseudo-medicine, khat prohibition was structured and enforced much like alcohol prohibition, with sale restricted to certain ethnic groups, licensing, and dispensation around government posts all present, and all equally thwarted by native African resistance.[15]

Strategies of resistance in African colonies also extended to the cultural import of soccer, or football, as Africans used the sport to subvert foreign rule in stadiums, cities, towns, and other colonial spaces throughout the continent." Sport has been a vessel for the expression of identity across the world throughout most of the 20th century to the present, and in colonial Africa, this manifested as another form of anti-colonial resistance. Laura Fair argues that sport, particularly football, was introduced largely to promote the "muscular Christianity" of Europe's highly gendered societal structures and to unconsciously train native Africans to accept their place

[14] Chima J. Korieh, "Alcohol and Empire: 'Illicit' Gin Prohibition and Control in Eastern Nigeria," *African Economic History* no. 31, 111-134.
[15] Anderson and Carrier, "Khat", 396-7.

within the colonial hierarchies. Instead, African players "symbolically undermined" those hierarchies when they were able to publicly dominate European athletes who were their supposed racial betters.[16] Indeed, Darby asserts that as soccer was diffused through African elites who mostly cooperated with its program of "cultural imperialism" and down through the indigenous working class, it became less of a hegemonic tool and more of a vessel for protest and resistance against colonial domination.[17] For example, in South Africa, football came to be viewed by politically dominant whites as "the cultural domain of lower-class blacks,"[18] and such racist snobbery allowed black South Africans to create their own autonomous leisure culture which served to alleviate the misery of life in a depressed and oppressive economic system, provided icons of indigenous excellence as players became heroes, and fostered a space for political conversation and debate where anti-colonialist sentiments could be expressed, heard, and gain traction.[19] And in Mozambique, African players moved within their own particular aesthetic of kinetics and physicality that were unique to the region and embodied "precepts from old traditions… amulets, fumes, and concoctions adjusted to the world of football" that Mozambiquan poet and journalist Jose Craveirinha called "witchcraft practices."[20] Mozambiquan witchcraft practices on the soccer field were an irruptive force of cultural defiance, a radical and reimagining of European sport into an explicitly African expression of art and spirit that created a space for local Mozambiquans to cope with the deeply imbalanced power dynamics of a

[16] Laura Fair, *Pastimes and Politics: Culture, Community, and Identity in Post-Abolition Urban Zanzibar, 1890-1945* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2001) 1-8, 2.
[17] Paul Darby, *Africa, Football, and FIFA: Politics, Colonialism, and Resistance*, 2002, Routledge, p. 19.
[18] Alegi, "Playing," 23.
[19] Peter C. Alegi, "Playing to the Gallery? Sport, Cultural Performance, and Social Identity in South Africa, 1920s-1945", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 50, No. 1, 7-26.
[20] Domingos, Nuno. "The Malicious Football Game: Urban Interactions and Power Relations in Lourenço Marques, Capital of Colonial Mozambique," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 41, no. 2 (2015): 315–34.

colonized polity. As with prohibition, the subversion of sport highlights native Africans' enduring refusal of colonial authority, their will to resist, and their ingenuity in doing so effectively. Like prohibition, sport is a useful lens through which to study anti-colonial resistance in Africa because it existed at points of tension where indigenous norms and identities were simultaneously denigrated and offered legitimacy by the colonial hegemonies.

Another of these flashpoints of conflict with colonial authority is the Boy Scouts. Seemingly unassuming, the Boy Scouts' conservatism and ingrained amicability to the ethics of whatever status quo dominates their home country can provide a piercing study in social tensions across cultures and nationalities. When the Mau Mau Rebellion sparked in Kikuyu Province over exploitative land use laws and native Kenyans began taking oaths of loyalty to their own people over European authority,[21] the Kenyan Boy Scouts played an important role in the conflict, which highlights tensions across race, class, and gender.[22] Introduced by "colonial officials, missionaries, and educators…to promote social stability and loyalty to the British Empire"[23], scouting was an avenue to prestige and position for native Kenyans, whose uniforms were a badge of civic trust in the eyes of the British Empire and an article of admiration among their own people. Indeed, some native Kenyans believed Scouts to have special powers of woodcraft and survival, but their knowledge of colonial administration was a thing of fact, not folklore, since civics lessons were a part of the Boy Scouts' training.[24] Steeped in this trust and assumed loyalty to British authority, Scouting was even touted as a solution to the unrest of the Mau Mau Rebellion and anti-colonialism in general by colonial Governor Sir Evelyn Baring in 1955, who

[21] Albert Sengulo Msellemu, "Common Motives of African Colonial Resistances 1890-1960," *Social Evolution and History* 12, no. 2, 143-155.
[22] Timothy H. Parsons, *Race, Resistance, and the Boy Scout Movement in British Colonial Africa* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2004).
[23] Parsons, "Race," 4.
[24] Parsons, "Race," 6.

stated that Scouting would insulate native Africans from anti-British sentiment through "the art of citizenship".[25] However, despite the British forbiddance of local, independent Scout troops, the movement was nevertheless appropriated by some rural Kenyans who made their own uniforms, sometimes admitted girls, and were less inclined to toe the line of European dominance.

Scouting's call to political legitimacy, which was designed at the organization's genesis to be tailored and adjusted as needed from country to country, proved an easy vessel for rural troop leaders to disseminate the imperatives of Kenyan nationalism above a manufactured loyalty to their European predecessors. Core values of self-reliance and self-determination syncretized smoothly with calls for Kenyan independence. While many troops did remain loyal to the British, Mau Mau oaths were commonplace among Kenyan Boy Scouts, some of whom took to the forests in armed resistance alongside the rebels. Parsons argues that most scouts "did what they were trained to do in times of widespread unrest…they did their best to support what they considered to be the legitimate symbols of political authority," even if those symbols of authority were African, not European.[26]Even more poignantly, South African Boy Scouts continually used the Fourth Scout Law, which states that a scout is a brother to every other scout, as a rallying cry against the racist injustices of the color bar under Apartheid. What began as an ideology to propagate loyalty to the British Empire became a dangerously subversive creed under Afrikaner oppression.[27] This willful and directed defiance of power elevates their multiracial reading of the Fourth Law from an act of resistance, which can occur in silence and out of sight, to an act of protest, "which assumes a more explicit form of articulation of

[25] Parsons, "Race," 4.
[26] Parsons, "Race," 165.
[27] Parsons, "Race," 194.

grievances."[28] It is a tactic that explicitly placed the South African Boy Scouts who adhered to it in immediate physical danger. While many other forms of resistance highlight the brilliant wit of native Africans, this act of protest is a testament to the depth of their enduring courage.

In conclusion, the reversal of intention from compliance to resistance, which can be seen throughout prohibition, sport, and scouting, is among the most common features of anti-colonial resistance across the African continent. Numerous inversions across vastly different arenas highlight the adaptive and creative character of native resistance to colonial power. The insurrective fluidity of African defiance was an important factor in bringing about the eventual end of colonialism during the 20th century, as system after system floundered on the shifting sands of native resistance to colonial rule. While this essay has highlighted only three subverted systems, the imposition of most constructs of colonial authority was met with novel methods of resistance, many of which share at least one aspect in common with the subjects of this work. Thus, prohibition, sport, and scouting can be seen as microcosms of anti-colonial trends that prevailed across the African continent throughout the entire colonial period.

[28] Jon Abbink, Mirjam De Brujin, and Klaas Van Walraven, "Rethinking Resistance: Revolt and Violence in African History", 2003, Koninklijke, Lieden, The Netherlands, 8.

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More Than Strategy: The Mongols' Brutality as Seen Through the Lens of European and Islamic Historians

By Castner Hatanaka

The Mongol Empire, under the rule of Genghis Khan and his successors, became the largest contiguous empire in the world during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. They are known for their warfare, military tactics, trade, and cultural exchange. As early as the 13th century, the Mongol Empire was able to swiftly conquer almost the entirety of Asia, Europe, and the Middle East, overwhelming their enemies' forces. The core of their success was their military tactics that were unseen by sedentary civilizations, allowing them to outmaneuver and overpower their enemies using nomadic-based military tactics. These military tactics were influential enough, as Timur the lame, who was a Turko-Mongol conqueror who founded the Timurid Empire, took inspiration from the Mongol Empire's military tactics and used them himself. This paper explores key military strategies and how these strategies provided the Mongol Empire with a significant advantage over its enemies by analyzing Carpini, Ibn al-Athir, and Al -awādi al-ğāmia as historical sources. However, it is essential to recognize that these accounts are written by non-Mongols, and therefore, they may reflect biased perceptions shaped by fear, hostility, or cultural misunderstandings. This caveat should be kept in mind when analyzing their views on Mongol warfare. This paper explores how non-Mongol writers such as Giovanni da Pian del Carpini and Ibn al-Athir described the Mongol Empire's military tactics. Their views show that people were not only impressed by the Mongols' military skills but also deeply afraid of them, and that fear shaped how they were described in Mongol Warfare.

The heart of their conquest and rapid expansion can be credited to many of their qualities such as flexibility, numbers, and adaptability throughout the conquest. Another advantage that gave them a lead was the invention of the saddle, allowing the Mongol rider to turn 180 degrees

to shoot arrows behind them while on horseback. Their efficiency in marksmanship and exceptional horseback riding skills gave them an edge in mobility, maneuverability, and range. These qualities stemmed from childhood, while being raised, they were expected to all learn how to shoot a bow and arrow, along with horseback riding. Having these two qualities allowed the Mongols to swiftly attack their enemies, depending on the type of warfare they were to encounter.

These qualities of horseback riding and bow and arrow mastery are not solely a result of their mass victories during their expansion across the regions of the Middle East, Asia, and Europe. A factor in addition to their mass victories is structure. Ghengis Khan implemented his troops into the decimal system. The decimal system is when a leader divides his troops into groups of 10, 100, 1,000, & 10,000, and so on if needed. This system was instilled to efficiently use the number of men needed for what campaigns and orders given. Regarding Ghengis Khan's decimal system, A tümen represented 10,000 soldiers, a minghan was 1,000, a jaghun was 100, and an arban was 10 soldiers.[1] Along with having a decimal system, Ghenghis Khan also implemented strict rules to follow that ensured his men would refrain from disobeying him. As noted from *The History of the Mongols:* Giovanni Da Pian Del Carpini, "if one or two or three or even more out of a group of ten run away, all are put to death."[2] This punishment instilled fear in the men to prevent revolts within the military ranks and the decimal system. A way to curb revolts was the "spoil system" Ghengis Khan had also implemented, by giving out goods after campaign's he kept his soldiers and leaders' morale and emotions high with rewards. Carpini's

[1] McCreight, Richard D. "Mongol warrior epic: masters of thirteenth century maneuver warfare." PhD diss., Fort Leavenworth, KS: US Army Command and General Staff College, 1983.

[2] Christopher Dawson, ed., *Mission to Asia: Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, trans. a Nun of Stanbrook Abbey (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980).

focus on strict rules and harsh punishments helped build the image of the Mongols as scary and highly disciplined, something that may have seemed strange and threatening to Europeans.

In his journey to the heartlands of the Mongols, a Franciscan by the name Giovanni Da Pian Del Carpini lived from 1185- 1252, went on countless missions around the Eastern, Western, and Southern parts of Europe. Carpini visited during Güyük's reign, when the Mongol Empire was solidifying power. The European campaigns, ordered by Ogedei, were led by Batu Khan and the Golden Horde. He is mostly recognized for his mission to the heartland of the Mongol Empire during the years 1245 -1247. Carpini wrote about his firsthand account of the hospitality and knowledge he received and gained during his visit to the heartlands after returning home. His work later became known as *The History of the Mongols* by Giovanni Da Pian Del Carpini. Carpini was sent to the heartlands by Pope Innocent IV to gather knowledge on the Mongol people and their ways, for Pope Innocent had fears of the Mongol Empire's intentions to conquer Europe.

An ambush is a military tactic in which a foe lies and waits for the enemy to come within range and attack. This was a commonly used tactic by the Mongols, only when needed. An observation of Carpini, who learned of their military methods during his travel,s states "It should be known that when they come in sight of the enemy they attack at once,"[3] demonstrating their swift and decisive approach in battle. Carpini highlights how fast and effective the Mongols were, possibly to warn European leaders. His account mixes respect with warning, showing the Mongols as almost impossible to defeat and urging others to be ready. Along with attacking at once, another warfare tactic that was used by the Mongols was open warfare, stated by Carpini

[3] Christopher Dawson, ed., *Mission to Asia: Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, trans. a Nun of Stanbrook Abbey (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), 36.

"If they can avoid it, the Tartars do not like to fight hand to hand."[4] This is where they held the advantage. Hand-to-hand was not a weakness for the Mongols, but more of a secondary aspect of their fighting style. If the Mongols see they are not going to be victorious in battle, they retreat to their safeguard lines, as the ambush awaits. They would ambush their enemies by surrounding them and proceeding to kill them. The tactic of surrounding their enemy originated from the military training of the Mongol warriors. Hunting taught these warriors skills such as archery, horsemanship, and tactical thinking. Through this training, the Mongols not only mastered tactics like ambushes and open warfare but also developed essential qualities such as independence, self-reliance, leadership, and unity traits that shaped them into one of history's formidable military forces.

However, while these tactics demonstrated the Mongols' military discipline and effectiveness, accounts from those who faced their invasions, such as the Muslim historian Ibn al-Athir—reveal the terrifying brutality that often accompanied their strategic precision. In his account (Al-Kâmil fi'I-Târîkh), *Irruption of the Mongols into the lands of Islam: Ibn al-Athir.* He states, "Even the antichrist will spare those who follow him; but these Mongols spared no one, slaying men, women, and children; ripping open the bellies of pregnant women and slaughtering the unborn."[5] Ibn al-Athir's emotional account, full of graphic details, shows the deep grief of a Muslim society in ruin. Rather than focusing on strategies, he condemns the Mongol morality, seeing them as a force of divine punishment rather than just conquerors. Actions such as these tilted the Mongol soldiers to have savage and barbaric tendencies. The Mongol soldiers held very little remorse for the enemy's life and the inhabitants of such cities throughout their campaigns,

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibn al-Athir, *Al-Kâmil fi'l-Târîkh* (The Complete History), ed. K. J. Tornberg, vol. 5, 233-235, trans. John E. Woods (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1851-1876) 1.

looking to instill fear into the enemy. The cruelty of their tactics included mass slaughtering and destruction of cities aimed at crushing the spirit of any resistance before any revolt took place.

In addition to the Mongol Empire's military mastery, they were exceptional at psychological warfare as well. Using fear and deception can have huge effects on the enemy, knowing who and what they are soon to come into contact with. Their reputation was not solely built on brutality amongst their enemies, but also created by clever tactics and creating a sense of terror amongst their enemies. One such tactic they would use to deceive the number of military forces they would bring to battle consisted of each Mongol taking with them "a string of several horses."[6] As well as "mounting dummies on spare horses, could have the effect, on the battlefield, of multiplying the apparent size of the army."[7] Deceptions caused enemies to doubt themselves as well as their military brothers, which led to their defeat. The fear of facing such overwhelming forces can cause the enemy to make rash decisions before and during battles. Many times, the enemy would surrender before anything escalated further.

In addition to Western sources capturing the cruel ways and acts of the Mongol Empire, like Carpini, the author who captured the way the Muslims perceived their Mongol invaders was Ibn al-Athir. Ibn al-Athir was a Muslim historian (12th-13th century) who spent most of his life in Mosul, along with being renowned for his work titled *al-Kamil fi al-tarikh.* Originally Ibn al-Athir was hesitant to write about the invasion of the Middle East and how it caused great destruction, but in the end decided to write and publish what he experienced during his own personal experiences during his lifetime. Ibn al-Athir's background in a scholarly environment helps provide us with an accurate depiction and account of the invasion of the Middle East, as

[6] David Morgan, *The Mongols* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2008), 76.

[7] David Morgan, *The Mongols* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2008), 76.

well as the fall of Islam. Personal motivations for writing his account were to express and explain the struggles of the Islamic Empire at the time, and events such as the invasions, we can learn and grow.

Expanding on the theme of cruelty and savage behavior, a killing spree period would be applied after capturing a city "with the exceptions of those they wish to have as slaves, they kill with the axe."[8] A more detailed example of a killing spree period that took place would be during the Battle of Baghdad. The invasion of Baghdad (1258) occurred thirty-one years after the death of Ghengis Khan, The invasion was led by his grandson Hulagu Khan, son of Tolui Khan. During this time, the Mongol Empire was being led by Möngke Khan and sent Hulagu Khan on a campaign to seize land in the Middle East. Another source we can examine about the brutality of the Mongols is Al-Hawādiḏ al-ğāmiʿ, the ownership is completely anonymous to historians.

Which have translated and dissected this document word by word, sentence by sentence, but there are thoughts of it belonging to either one of these two Iraqi historians by the names of Ibn al-Kazaruni or Ibn al-saI, Ibn al-Fawati's teacher. In the chronicle newspaper, read the translation by H. Gillli-Elewy, on February 11th during the invasion of Baghdad (1258), after the fall of the Abbasid Caliphate, the inhabitants "were subjected to 40 days of continuous killing, pillaging, enslavement; and they tormented the inhabitants using different ways to torture."[9] These treatments were a regular occurrence in their warfare, becoming a powerful weapon in

[8] Christopher Dawson, ed., *Mission to Asia: Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, trans. a Nun of Stanbrook Abbey (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), 38.

[9] Hend Gilli-Elewy, "Al-awādi al-ğāmia: A Contemporary Account of the Mongol Conquest of Baghdad, 656/1258," *Arabica* 58, no. 5 (2011): 367.

itself, causing many to surrender out of fear long before the Mongols even arrived. It should be known that the inhabitants of cities were given the option to surrender before the arrival of the Mongol Empire.

Aside from killing the inhabitants of cities and enemies, the Mongol Empire was strategic in their treatment of captives. They valued men with skills such as engineers, craftsmen, and soldiers. They were integrated into Mongol society to serve a purpose, engineers were used to improve siege engines for siege warfare such as rams or catapults, which were essential for breaching city walls. Instead of sending Mongol soldiers they would send soldiers they had captured to be the front force to make contact with the enemies.

While both Carpini and Ibn al-Athir document Mongol tactics, their perspectives reveal differing motivations. Carpini, as a Christian envoy, offers a detailed look at the Mongols' military strength, perhaps out of respect or to understand a potential threat to Europe. In contrast, Ibn al-Athir, writing from a devastated Muslim society, condemns the Mongols' brutality, painting them as merciless conquerors. This difference raises questions: why did Carpini portray the Mongols with a somewhat neutral or even admiring tone, while others saw them as apocalyptic forces? Was it the Mongols' hospitality that shaped Carpini's view, or was it a strategic choice to gain intelligence? These varying perspectives shaped how Mongol warfare was remembered: either as disciplined strength or a terrifying force of destruction.

Renowned for their speed and physiological warfare, the Mongol Empire was also skilled in siege warfare. They were skilled and resourceful, using such engineers to build and operate engines such as catapults to destroy and break away city walls to then enter. If this did not work, the Mongols were often patient when it came to siege warfare. Carpini states that "they

do not leave fighting by day or night, so that those inside the fortress get no sleep."[10] To achieve this constant fight, they would divide up their soldiers to keep the attack going for as long as they are ordered to. Along with using engines such as the catapult, they would "take the fat of the people they kill and, melting it, throw it on the house."[11] These, along with other tactics, such as flooding out fortresses, if there is a nearby river, and or making "an underground passage and bursting forth into the cities"[12] demonstrates the Mongols' adaptability to ingenuity in warfare. If all these tactics failed, the Mongols were more than prepared to wait as long as it would until those in the fortress were ready to surrender or run out of food. In one case, "in the lands of Alans, they have been besieging a hill for the past twelve years."[13] Against cities with walls, the Mongol Empire was patient when it came to this type of warfare.

Another source offering a positive view on the Mongols is Juvaini, or by his full name Ala' al-Din 'Ata-Malik Juvaini (1226-1283) was a diplomat for the country of Iraq and for the Mongolian Empire to be more specifically the governor of Baghdad. He is most known for his account "*The History of the World Conqueror*" which illustrates the Mongol invasions of countless lands, including the Islamic lands, Central Asia, the Uighurs East lands, and many more. In his account, Juvaini focuses on documenting his personal experiences, the history and achievements of the Mongols, legitimizing the rule of the Mongol Empire, and focusing on their

[10] Christopher Dawson, ed., *Mission to Asia: Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, trans. a Nun of Stanbrook Abbey (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), 37.

[11] Ibid., pp 37.

[12] Christopher Dawson, ed. and intro., *Mission to Asia: Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, trans. a Nun of Stanbrook Abbey (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), 42.

[13] Ibid., pp 49.

positive impact on the lands they conquered, even saying they turned regions "from a prison into a garden."[14] However, it is important to question how genuine Juvaini's positive portrayal is. As a high-ranking official in the Mongol administration, he might have been restricted from speaking out against the empire. This raises the possibility that Juvaini's account was shaped by his position; he may have been writing to keep his job and stay in the Mongols' favor rather than expressing an honest opinion.

In conclusion, the Mongol military success was not about just large numbers; it was well organized and made up of many different peoples they conquered, which gave them a strategic advantage, along with brutality but a combination of advanced strategies, adaptability, and psychological warfare. Their tactics range from organizing soldiers with the decimal system, strategic gathering of information, their expertise of ambushes, siege warfare, and the manipulation of fear. Additionally, the strategic use of captives, drawing on their skills and knowledge to reinforce their forces and help win future campaigns, Genghis Khan's leadership and unity of his forces played an important role in the success of the tactics. The Mongol's ability to adapt to different battle situations, the creation of the saddle, and brutal tactics all helped the great Mongol Empire expand quickly, becoming one of the strongest military forces in history.

[14] 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Aṭā Malik Juvaynī, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, trans. John Andrew Boyle, from the text of Mirza Muhammad Qazvini, vol. 1 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958), 22.

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Book Review: Jane-Marie Collins, *Emancipatory Narratives & Enslaved Motherhood Bahia, Brazil, 1830-1888* (Liverpool University Press, 2023).

By Virginia Mateo

Jane-Marie Collins' recent monograph, *Emancipatory Narratives & Enslaved Motherhood Bahia, Brazil, 1830-1888*, examines the complexity of motherhood and women's strategies of emancipation for themselves and their children. Collins emphasizes the cultural and historical importance of her study as it bridges gaps in scholarship on slavery, which has predominantly focused on the experiences of enslaved men in the rural and urban settings of Bahia. Women, especially enslaved mothers and their children, are far less represented in the existing historiography. By acknowledging the imbalance between research on enslaved men and enslaved women, Collins highlights how it is necessary to conduct research on mothers and children because they navigated unique conditions under enslavement. Women endured gendered expectations, including giving birth to enslaved children, not by choice, but as a result of the violence and restrictions they faced. Thus, Collins' monograph analyzes race, gender, family, and freedom through the lens of mothers and their children to encourage scholars to study enslaved populations that have historically been overlooked in Brazil and in slave societies elsewhere.

Emancipatory Narratives & Enslaved Motherhood is divided into four parts, with eight total chapters. Part I, "Emancipatory narratives and enslaved motherhood" introduces four freedom suits, which were court petitions. These freedom suits are used to provide context into how motherhood motivated enslaved women to pursue freedom for themselves first, and then their children afterwards. Through this first section, Collins outlines the unpredictable results of freedom suits, explaining that many enslaved people adapted their petitions to obey politics at

the local and national level. For example, bills stating the sale and purchase of an enslaved person needed to be notarized, so enslaved people used this requirement to their advantage. They would show that their sale was never notarized, thus claiming their freedom. Part II titled, "Enslaving children, emancipating children" shifts the focus to enslaved and free children. The chapters in this second section focus on Collins' argument that manumissions were beneficial for children born to enslaved mothers, but not necessarily to enslaved mothers themselves. The data presented in this part exposes a dark truth about experiences of enslaved mothers. As Collins shows using baptismal records, enslavers who fathered children with captive women would deliberately not claim their paternal connections as a strategy to protect inheritances from their progeny. Part III, titled "Enslaved mother, enslaver father" provides deeper insight into the relationships between free and enslaved women with free men. For this section, Collins provides the experiences of two women, one freed and one enslaved, with the same Portuguese slave owner. By providing two different women and their experiences, Collins addresses how these individuals had varying limitations and advantages when considering their relationships with the Portuguese slaveholder, Alexandre Gomes Rodrigues. Part IV titled, "African mothers, Brazilian daughters" analyzes female slaveowners and how their gender influenced behavioral dynamics. In this part, Collins explains how after enslaved women were made free, some became slave owners themselves. These formerly enslaved female slaveholders, as the book outlines, often treated their captive mothers and children differently because they themselves recognized how their gender opened them up to sexual violence. The organization of *Emancipatory Narratives & Enslaved Motherhood* is structured intentionally so that the major findings and/or central arguments of each section builds onto or sets up the next.

When collecting data for her book, Collins draws upon a variety of primary and secondary sources that advance her key objectives. Her central primary sources include wills, testaments, baptismal records, and manumission letters, which were gathered from the Arquivo Público de Estado de Bahia (APEB), which provided the cases that were presented in the book under categories such as Seção Colonial e Provincial, Seção Judiciária, and Seção Jud. De Relação, Processo Civil. Her secondary sources include the work of researchers who have studied freedom suits, race and gender throughout other slave societies. These works contextualize the socio-economic and political circumstances of the time period and Collins uses them to demonstrate how *Emancipatory Narratives & Enslaved Motherhood* builds upon this long-established historiography. Moreover, her utilization of historical maps and other geo-spatial data is essential in demonstrating the geographies of slaveholding and the sheer number of enslaved mothers and children in Bahia. This is especially effective in her analysis of childhood manumissions in Chapter Four, where she offers statistical data from these manumissions ranging from age, race, and sex. Collins notes that 60% of all the freed children in her subsample were under the age of 14, with the average age being 5 years old.[1] She uses the primary sources in this section to emphatically outline the socio-cultural conditions that determined which children were freed and which remained enslaved.

One of the strongest components of the monograph is Collins' utilization of a black feminist approach to analyze how black women specifically experience violence and injustices at greater degrees than other women. As part of this approach, she references black women's history in Brazil, observing that their accounts offer details that broaden racial and reproductive

[1] Jane-Marie Collins, *Emancipatory Narratives & Enslaved Motherhood: Bahia, Brazil, 1830-1888*, Liverpool University Press, 2023: 132.

justice. Dr. Collins used a feminist approach to ensure that her narratives were centered around including women into research on slavery, especially as they appear in a vast amount of freedom suits. The works of prominent researchers in slavery studies and gender history are also incorporated into her book. Collins expands on the gendered research of scholars such as Angelyn Mitchell (*The Freedom to Remember*, 2002), Edlie L. Wong (*Neither Fugitive Nor Free*, 2009), and Alys Eve Weinbaum (*The Afterlife of Reproductive Slavery*, 2019). When using a theoretical framework, Collins references the historiographies of Stephanie M. H. Camp, Jessica Millward, and Sasha Turner, for example, emphasizing how their works provide stark differences in their interpretations of slavery and gender. By referencing and analyzing the works of researchers in her subfield, Collins cultivates a comprehensive understanding of how gender, race, and age were factors that shaped the experiences of enslaved peoples. In addition to a black feminist approach, *Emancipatory Narratives* draws on the methodologies of micro history to shed light on findings at a local level within broader scalar contexts.

To bring attention to the gendered conditions of being a mother under enslavement, Collins includes first-hand accounts of enslaved mothers. The narrative of Harriet Jacobs, for example, vividly depicts the weight of worry that loomed over enslaved mothers regarding their children. Harriet Jacobs, as she gave birth to her daughter, recalled, "When they told me my new born babe was a girl, my heart was heavier than ever it had been before."[2] Jacobs further explained her fear, stating that while slavery was horrible for men, it was a different kind of horrible for enslaved females. They would be vulnerable to violence and exploitation unique to their gender, and Jacobs knew this all too well, considering she lived it. This personal account,

[2] Jane-Marie Collins, *Emancipatory Narratives & Enslaved Motherhood: Bahia, Brazil, 1830-1888*, Liverpool University Press, 2023: 168.

which is one of many in *Emancipatory Narratives & Enslaved Motherhood*, identifies how women gave birth to enslaved laborers under reproductive slavery, with no guarantees for emancipation for themselves or their children, regardless of who fathered their children. Collins included other powerful case studies throughout her monograph that emphasize the importance of uncovering and recognizing the experiences of survivors of slavery in Brazil. This focus provides needed insight into the unique ways that enslaved and free mothers navigated their socio-cultural and economic positions in Brazilian society. Collins ultimately reflects on the contemporary legacies of this history, illustrating how race relations created under slavery connect to political, cultural, and socio-economic formations in the present-day.

Emancipatory Narratives & Enslaved Motherhood Bahia, Brazil, 1830-1888 is an impactful book that addresses the complexity of motherhood and the necessity of including children in studies of slave societies. Collins provides a well-rounded narrative on motherhood in an unimaginably difficult setting, highlighting factors of race, gender, age, and politics in the shaping of enslaved life at multiple scalar levels. The monograph seeks to restore humanity to enslaved subjects who endured inhumane treatment, including the stripping of the very names they were given at birth. Ultimately, Collins emphasizes the importance of studying overlooked groups in histories of slavery in Brazil and the broader Atlantic World.

Book Review: Trevor Getz and Liz Clarke, *Abina and the Important Men: A Graphic History*, Second Edition, (Oxford University Press, 2016).

By Noe Rangel

Abina and the Important Men: A Graphic History by Trevor R. Getz and illustrated by Liz Clarke is a remarkable work that transcends traditional historical narratives. Getz is a Professor of African and World History at San Francisco State University, and Clarke is a South African illustrator who has been the artist behind several graphic histories, including *The Great Hanoi Rat Hunt: Empire, Disease, and Modernity in French Colonial Vietnam* and *Witness to the Age of Revolution: The Odyssey of Juan Bautista Tupac Amar*. In *Abina and the Important Men*, Getz and Clarke reconstruct the life history of an enslaved woman in the British Gold Coast Colony of West Africa during the nineteenth century. Through the experiences of Abina Mansah, they engage the readers with powerful themes, such as slavery, slave trading, colonialism, and women's agency, in a highly accessible format that breaks stereotypes of typical academic writing.

One of the strongest elements of Getz and Clarke's work is their use of a wide array of primary and secondary sources, especially in retelling and illustrating Abina's courtroom experiences. From primary sources, like Abina's lengthy courtroom transcript, the authors effectively present the complexities and limitations of the legal and social structures in colonial West Africa. *Abina and the Important Men* highlights the colonial legal system's bias and inconsistency in applying British abolition laws. The system favored the economic interest of wealthy palm oil producers," known as Important Men," who supplied the English crown with tax revenue, over Abina's cause. The author's analysis of text-based sources is bolstered by their incorporation of well-detailed historical maps, underscoring the vastness of the Ashanti Empire and showing its territorial expansion over time. At its peak in the late eighteenth century, the

Ashanti Empire ruled over much of the territory that comprises modern-day Ghana and parts of the Ivory Coast and Togo. The book creates the context of the exploitative colonial relationship between the Ashanti and the British Empire. With large swaths of land under the control of the Ashanti, the authors emphasize how British government control was limited to protectorates. Regional control and stability lay mainly in the relationship forged with the Ashanti Kingdom, which ebbed and flowed between them. Ashanti customs adapted to give the perception that the kingdom no longer partook in the slave trade. The British, in turn, overlooked seemingly blatant violations of abolition laws, such as customary practices involving domestic servitude, economic control disguised as dependency, and coerced marriage as part of bride price in favor of maintaining the colony's political stability and protecting the commercial interests of the so-called "Important Men." The authors effectively use historical maps to illuminate the intricate dynamics of power, control, and compromise between the Ashanti Kingdom and the British colonial government, revealing the nuanced reality of colonial rule and its implications for the practice of slavery.

Traditional historical narratives have predominantly placed considerable importance on prominent political or social figures, essentially silencing the voices of ordinary individuals. The authors have brought forth an otherwise forgotten voice in their approach to *Abina and the Important Men*. Abina's narrative adds to attempts by historians to dive deeper and learn to use new sources, which can include oral traditions and archaeological remains, to tell the stories of "people without history." Except for Abina, her narrative is focused on a small group of key figures, including her former master, Quamina Eddoo. Eventually, the reader understands that although he is included among the "Important Men," he is largely irrelevant to the history of the Gold Coast, and few records exist outside court transcripts. However, several courtroom

officials, such as James Hutton Brew, who represented Eddoo, and Abina's attorney, James Davis, are traceable throughout multiple surviving judicial records of the period. By foregrounding Abina's story, the authors capture the lived experience of an otherwise ordinary person who was enslaved and thrust into a new reality, navigating the complexities of colonialism and the patriarchal society of the British colonial administration and its influence on the Gold Coast.

Getz and Clarke also effectively use Abina's story to shed light on enslaved people's strategies of resistance against their enslavers. Abina's decision to escape from her enslaver and seek legal recourse exemplifies one of the many ways in which enslaved people sought self-liberation in colonial West Africa during the nineteenth century. Her choice to escape and the journey she undertook to reach British territories represented her physical resistance to enslavement. Yet, as the authors emphasize, Abina's resistance also manifested itself on intellectual and emotional levels. The authors' analysis of her testimony demonstrates how Abina questioned the legitimacy of her enslavement and asserted her rights. First, by refusing to accept the clothes offered by Tado (the man Eddoo intended for her to marry) and asserting her freedom by choosing to escape rather than go through with the marriage. During this period and in this region, accepting cloth as a gift implied marriage and control over women, regardless of their status as enslaved individuals or free. Secondly, by testifying in court, Abina reveals how the legal system fails to deliver her justice. For example, early in Abina's journey, her attorney explains that her enslaver, Eddoo, is an 'important man', who the British do not like to alienate, especially in matters related to allegations of illegal slaveholding in the Gold Coast. As the authors reaffirm throughout *Abina and the Important Men*, men like Eddoo brought in revenue and served as vital instruments in the British model of indirect rule, even though they often held

large numbers of human captives. The jury's verdict of innocence exemplifies how the court was more interested in maintaining the status quo than upholding the British civilizing mission of abolishing African slavery.

Nevertheless, Abina's testimony asserted her humanity and forced the court to recognize her as a person, and not as a commodity. These forms of resistance challenge the notion that enslaved people were passive victims. Instead, it highlights agency and resilience in the face of oppression. Overall, Getz and Clarke balance scholarly works, which can be dense and unavailable to the public, with an introductory reading that serves as a starting point to think critically on the themes of slavery, slave trading, colonialism, and women's agency. The book is grounded in research, drawing from primary and secondary sources and deep analysis. Choosing to take on complex issues only adds to their credibility and authenticity. Their book can guide historians to reach a wider audience, encourage critical thinking, and enhance comprehension of historical concepts.

Film Review: Joffé Roland, director. *The Mission*, Burbank, CA: Warner Bros, 1986.

By Katy Vargas

The popular film *The Mission* (1986), a British period drama depicting the experiences of a Jesuit missionary in mid-17th-century South America, underwent severe critique upon its release due to its sterilization and distortion of Indigenous struggles. Written by Robert Bolt and directed by Roland Joffé, the film primarily uses English, though several other languages, most notably Spanish and Guarani can be heard. Historically, the film had a significant impact, partially due to the time of its production as well as the reaction it garnered. Although considered "innovative" at its time, it ultimately sanitizes Indigenous resistance to serve a palatable version of history to a growing culturally conscious audience. The film does depict the brutality and violence endured by Indigenous populations, but these portrayals are largely one-dimensional, robbing them of much of their cultural identity. Furthermore, it adopts a Eurocentric perspective, focusing more on religious conflicts rather than the detrimental effects these disputes had on Indigenous peoples.

During the 16th century, European states began their conquest of South America, leading to the establishment of missions. This film is set almost a century later, during the mid-17th century, and takes place within the borderlands of present-day Argentina, Paraguay, and Brazil, where Jesuit missionaries, backed by the Christian church, established missions to convert and subjugate native populations, using coerced labor to cultivate mission lands. The line of thinking used as justification involved the "modernization" of Indigenous populations in order to make them "useful". The film portrays these missions as sanctuaries for "backward" individuals when in reality, many of these missions were similar to what the general public and scholars alike

might consider slave encampments. The film romanticizes missions, presenting them as a more humane alternative to native freedom, yet individuals were often coerced or incentivized to stay. Few chose to remain voluntarily, and all who converted were trapped in these systems for generations, facing harsh punishment for even minor infractions. For example, Indigenous converts often received severe physical abuse, including floggings, for supposedly not working "hard enough." *The Mission* glosses over the coercive and subjugating elements of the missions, and instead, conveys the message that Indigenous people benefitted morally and financially from the work of the missionaries. In reality, Indigenous converts and laborers were not fairly compensated, and it was the missionaries who reaped the benefits of their hard work.

The film takes place between 1754 and 1756, during the Guarani War—a native rebellion against Jesuit missionaries. This conflict was triggered by the signing of the Treaty of Madrid, which redefined colonial borders in South America and removed protections previously granted to missions, such as military protection and state-sponsored financial support. As a result, many privileges were lost, stripping one of the main reasons some individuals had chosen to stay. Supplies were no longer given, and security was nearly non-existent, leaving missionaries and local Indigenous populations vulnerable to outside forces. For the Indigenous converts, they were stripped of their way of life, taught "better", and then promptly discarded by the missions. While *The Mission* touches upon the drastic change endured by Indigenous converts, it does not adequately depict the dislocation, trauma, and inherent violence of how Indigenous lives and culture were completely uprooted during the period. Rather the film shows the aftermath briefly and depicts it as the Indigenous returning to "savagery". This reinforces the idea that the missions were vital, minimizing the real struggles of those who were displaced and abandoned.

The plot of *The Mission* begins with a priest sending his disciple to establish a South American mission, only for the Indigenous people to seemingly "crucify" him, sending him downriver unconscious. Father Gabriel, the head priest, then arrives and quickly integrates himself into the community with the use of a musical instrument that the film depicts as taming or charming to the local Indigenous population. Thus, Indigenous characters are made to appear almost animalistic, as though they are dangerous creatures that can be pacified or controlled. In particular, this scene seems reminiscent of a snake being swayed by a charmer. Within a short time, the group converts to Christianity, and the priest builds a mission to "civilize" them. However, the film overlooks the reality in that many Indigenous people fought for generations to preserve their religions, identities, and cultures, instead implying that Christianity was readily accepted. The only significant resistance to the spread of Christianity is shown briefly when the priest's disciple is nearly drowned and at the end of the film when the Indigenous fight against the Treaty of Madrid through warfare. Even then it is striking that these instances of resistance to the Church were depicted in the film as vehicles for the European characters' personal growth, rather than the exploration of Indigenous struggle and displacement.

Rodrigo, one of the main characters, is driven by grief and guilt after killing his brother and sees the mission as a form of repentance. When he arrives at the mission, the Guarani people cut the ropes he used to carry his belongings, symbolizing his release from his burdens. He is physically and metaphorically being cut free and while this scene is meant to show Rodrigo's transformation, it also mistakenly places the responsibility of his redemption on the native people, almost reducing their spirituality to a form of "magic." Additionally, the film implies that "helping" these people was so virtuous that it could absolve a man of murder. The film progresses to the signing of the Treaty of Madrid, which would lead to the destruction of the

missions as they no longer had protection and thus would be open to attacks from outside forces. Despite the priests' protests, their pleas go unanswered as soldiers arrive to destroy the mission and forcibly relocate the remaining Indigenous residents. The two main characters—Rodrigo and the head priest—choose different paths of resistance. The priest organizes a prayer circle, while Rodrigo steals the invading soldiers' equipment and teaches the Indigenous people to fight using European weaponry. The climax of the film takes place as soldiers overrun Rodrigo and the Guarani indigenous people, leading to many deaths and the burning of surrounding villages. While this scene highlighted acts of acute violence and brutality perpetrated against the Indigenous people, the director of *The Mission* foregrounded Rodrigo's journey from a simple mercenary to "Hero".

The Mission stands as a visually stunning film that tackles complex historical and cultural themes but ultimately falls short in its portrayal of Indigenous struggles. While it strives to shed light on the injustice and savagery faced by the native populations, it is an inherently Eurocentric film about European guilt and redemption, with Indigenous characters mostly relegated to the background. The production may have been considered cutting-edge at the time of its release, but it ultimately silences the resistance of the Guarani people and presents their struggle as secondary to the emotional journey of the European characters. By focusing on the internal conflicts of the Jesuit missionaries and their personal growth, the film misses the opportunity to explore the real, painful consequences of colonialism and the true cost of displacement and destruction of Indigenous cultures. The film could be described in many ways as justifying 17th-century missionary work (and imperialism) in South America, which in the present day is a much more scrutinized history. As such, *The Mission* serves as a poignant

reminder of how narratives can be shaped and manipulated to fit certain ideals, often obscuring the voices and experiences of those most affected by history.