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About the Authors

Laurel Martin, *New York University, Class of 2020*: specializes in European history, with a particular focus in French history and an emphasis on the intersections of race and gender. In her senior thesis, Martin explored how, during the Algerian War for Independence from France, Algerian immigrant women were crucial to the war effort on both sides in their roles as wives and mothers, and to what extent these women acted as their own political agents. She will continue to address the precarious position of immigrants as she begins her studies at Cornell Law this fall.

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Ben Schneider, *Johns Hopkins University, Class of 2021*: researches the history of medicine in the twentieth and twenty-first century United States, with a focus on urban hospitals and how they have shaped their surrounding neighborhoods. In his sophomore research paper, Schneider explored urban renewal around Johns Hopkins Hospital in the 1950s, and how the medical center pushed low-income minority communities out of the neighborhood to make space for expansion projects. He remains interested in work on housing and health disparities, and he is especially committed to researching how hospitals have upheld neighborhood segregation in American cities. He is currently applying to MD/PhD programs with a focus on the history of medicine.

Letter from the Editors

Dear reader,

After this particularly tumultuous academic year, it gives us immense pleasure to present *Columbia Journal of History*'s 2020-2021 issue.

Although the paper topics span centuries and continents, they touch upon many of the themes and discourses that have defined the past year, from medicine and racial justice to women's liberation and the relationship between the college campus and its broader environs. This is because the best historical writing does not view "history" as a static entity that should be probed from a cool distance, but rather as something that is constantly in flux. In other words, the historian is (or should be, as far as we are concerned) always in intimate negotiation with the past through the socially engaged lens of the present. It is precisely this image of the exemplary historian that we had in mind while assessing the impressive pool of submissions we received this year, and we hope that the four articles we selected reflect this.

The decision to publish only one issue this year was a difficult one, but the unique challenges posed by running a student-led publication such as ours entirely online quickly led the editorial board to the realization that focusing on one issue rather than the usual two—especially with this year's shortened academic calendar—would be the most feasible option for both the editors and the authors. The brilliance and stylistic eloquence of this year's selections are a testament to the success of this decision; special thanks go out to Benjamin, Laurel, Susan, and Alex for their patience as the editorial board has pored over and scrutinized sentence after sentence and footnote after footnote of their scholarship.

Sincerely,

Hiba and Ali
Editors-in-Chief

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THE OPPRESSED OF THE OPPRESSED IN THE LAND OF THE OPPRESSOR: ALGERIAN WOMEN IN FRANCE (1954-1962)

Laurel Martin

Introduction

Years after the independence of Algeria was declared in 1962, Fattoûma begs in the streets of Paris. The once proud mountaineer from a *douar* in the Aurès now stretches out her hand, numbed by the years, under the arches of the metro. The Algerian people did not come to France as tourists, she tells Monique Hervo, a former social worker in the *bidonvilles* (slums) of Nanterre. Those who experienced the atrocities of the Algerian War never dreamed of exploring France for pleasure. Fattoûma and her family, like many others, risked everything with the hope of finding refuge in the very nation their people were fighting to achieve independence from. "We gave up the little that we had. So little … Our bags weren't heavy. We had so little to bring to this foreign land where we were never welcome."[1] Fattoûma and her husband, former militants of the Algerian nationalist movement in France, are left unknown and unappreciated. They ultimately lost everything in their exodus.

Algeria launched its struggle for independence in 1954 after 124 years of French colonialism. In recent years, scholarship has called attention to the central position Algerian women held in the conflict, both in terms of their roles and the ideologies they challenged. As the war raged on, Algerian women increasingly joined the ranks of the Front de Libération Nationale (National Liberation Front, henceforth FLN). They played an essential role in the organization's guerilla tactics, infamously during the Battle of Algiers where female militants planted bombs in cafés. Equally important were the rural Algerian women who fed and nursed soldiers of the FLN's armed wing: l'Armée de Libération Nationale (National Liberation Army, henceforth ALN). Both Algerian society and the French colonial regime held deeply ingrained perceptions regarding the status of women, which female participation in the independence struggle called into question. Both sides used idealized constructs of gender to project an image of Algerian women that served their own interests. Algerian women themselves saw few tangible benefits.

The post-World War II period saw a significant influx of Algerian immigrants to France. Unlike previous waves of immigration from Algeria, this was characterized by family reunification. The French government, facing a severe labor shortage in the wake of the war's destruction, encouraged migrant workers to settle permanently. With the outbreak of

the Algerian War for independence against France in 1954, women and children increasingly joined their husbands and fathers in the metropole in search of a better life. By 1956, about 26,000 of the 330,000 Algerians in France were women. As the war in Algeria escalated in the coming years, more and more families found themselves fleeing to the metropole. Most scholarship focused on Algerians in France during the war tends to either brush over or ignore the activities of the immigrant women who came to France. They are usually mentioned, albeit briefly, in the context of the events of October 1961, when the Parisian police brutally suppressed a peaceful demonstration of Algerian immigrants. This male-dominated narrative surrounding the Algerian immigrant community in France needs to be reexamined. First, because it represents earlier historiographical styles and approaches insufficiently attuned to questions of gender. Second and not least, women played a more active role than previously thought.

As Neil MacMaster observed in 2012, very little is known of female Algerian activists in France. It is by no means that immigrant women did not participate in the independence movement. In a number of ways, first-generation Algerian women in France have been rendered invisible. Their numbers in the metropole were relatively small. By 1960, Algerian women only made up about five to six percent of France's immigrant population. Seeing as roughly 90% of these women were illiterate, they left few documents behind.[2] They had little to no formal education and hardly spoke French. Due to financial constraints, many of these women lived in slums with their families and were spatially isolated from French society. The fact that they originated from what was perceived as a colonial, patriarchal Muslim culture further drove a wedge between them and the European population.[3] For all these reasons, first generation Algerian women in France remained politically and culturally marginalized. Despite disadvantages, women played an increasingly dynamic role in the struggle for Algerian independence. Their efforts were largely forgotten. This thesis is an effort to recover them.

Historiography

While the Algerian War had already been studied extensively, the 1998 trial of Prefect of Paris Police Maurice Papon brought new attention to Algerian immigrants in the metropole. Many scholars focused their attention specifically on the events of October 1961, when peaceful Algerian protesters were massacred by the Parisian police. Initially, work on the subject was mostly descriptive, either chronicling the events or attempting to quantify the precise number of victims. Yet, as time went on, scholars devoted more time to studying the actions of Algerian immigrants themselves, though they virtually always followed a male-dominated timeline of events. *Paris 1961: Algerians, State Terror, and Memory* by Jim House and Neil MacMaster marked the start of this trend. Most scholarship about Algerian immigrants pays less attention to their own lived experiences and perceptions than to the predominant French view(s). Work on the commitment of Algerian women to the liberation struggle is not seen as frequently, and the vast majority study militant action of women in Algeria rather than in the metropole.

House and MacMaster's *Paris 1961* is still the best known account of how colonial violence was imported to the metropole during the Algerian War. The writers argue that the massacre was significant in the context of the Algerian War precisely due to the fact that it happened on the French mainland. Indeed, although Algeria was technically French soil its inhabitants were never truly regarded as equal citizens. In the metropole, however, the rule of law was believed to be more forceful, seeing as France advertised itself as the birthplace of modern human rights. House and MacMaster illustrate how the October 1961 massacre effectively denied the Algerians' status as French citizens, instead handling them as subjects in revolt. Indeed, the sheer brutality of the massacre itself was made possible through the adoption of repressive policing techniques like arbitrary arrest and systemic violence more widely used in colonial Algeria.[4] The 2006 work puts specific emphasis on the events of 17 October 1961 and their subsequent erasure from public memory as the ultimate culmination of a deeply entrenched culture of aggressive racism.

The presence of Algerian women and children in the protest of 17 October is mentioned only briefly. More significant still is the fact that women held their own demonstration under the orders of the FLN three days later, to which House and MacMaster devote a mere two pages of discussion. Without giving much detail, they write that the women openly insulted the police, demanded independence for Algeria, and welcomed threats to deport them, deeming France "unbearable."[5] The demonstration of 20 October shows that Algerian women in France were not only politically conscious, but were active leaders.

With the increased attention paid to the Algerian War in recent years, the amount of research on the place of women in the war has risen dramatically. Virtually all of this scholarship focuses on women in colonial Algeria (rather than in the metropole). These works are still significant since they discuss French and FLN attitudes towards women that did to some degree transfer over to those women who migrated to France. In 2009 MacMaster followed up with *Burning the Veil: The Algerian War and the 'Emancipation' of Muslim Women, 1954-62*. MacMaster cites the term "emancipation" to refer to the French army's program to win over the hearts and minds of Algerian women during the Algerian War. The French continued to portray themselves as civilizers in Algeria, "liberating" the women from the perceived ignorance and horrors of Muslim patriarchy and seclusion.

As Judith Surkis details in *Sex, Law, and Sovereignty in French Algeria, 1830-1930,* the French colonial regime in Algeria saw Muslim law and custom as standing in the way of its chivalric intentions to "save" Algerian women. Muslim Algerian men were perceived as stubbornly attached to their status because of the patriarchal privileges that came with it, such as polygamy and forced marriage.[6] During the Algerian War, as MacMaster notes, Algerians further clung to the last bastions of their religious, cultural, and social identity: their women. In the highly gendered ideology of Algerian nationalism, women were the guardians of the sacred, "private" reserve of the family and household that remained subject to Muslim law and custom. Now, more than ever, the French deemed it necessary to "liberate" Algerian women from their male oppressors. If the French could win over the

women, as the logic went, the rest of the population would follow. Therefore, Algerian women were crucial to the French war effort.

France saw the removal of the Islamic headscarf, or veil, as visible proof of Algerian women's "progress" toward becoming French. As Joan Wallach Scott argues in *The Politics of the Veil* (2007), the veil had long been an object of attention to French settlers as evidence of native women's oppression. It was during the Algerian War, however, that the veil first acquired its association with dangerous militancy.[7] The veil carried with it a sense of defiance, a resistance to Western values and "modernity." Thus, the veil not only stood for the backwardness of Algeria, but the humiliation of France and the frustration of its "civilizing mission." Those who insisted that Algeria must remain French accordingly turned their attention to Muslim Algerian women. The French launched a campaign to educate native women and win their loyalty. It was believed that if the minds of these women were "nourished," the veil would "wither by itself."[8] For Scott this represented another insistence that, to become French, Muslims must assimilate despite the supposed irreducible difference and inassimilability of Islam.[9] The veil continues to hold tremendous political significance, as evidenced by the French government's controversial 2004 ban on the wearing of "conspicuous signs" of religious affiliation in public schools.

Jennifer Johnson, in her 2015 work *The Battle For Algeria: Sovereignty, Health Care, and Humanism*, also touches upon this theme of using Algerian women to "win hearts and minds." For Johnson, the Algerian War was much more than a military affair. It was about who—France or the FLN—was better positioned to care for the Algerian people. Both sides used the provision of healthcare in particular as a strategy to project state power in Algeria. To this end, the Sections administratives spécialisées (SAS), a French wartime program founded in 1955, specifically sought to recruit Algerian women as nurses. The SAS prioritized alleged political allegiance over technical skill, refusing to hire Algerians suspected of rebel activity. Algerian women, however, were considered "politically neutral" and were more likely to be hired.[10] It was believed that if Algerians saw their own working alongside the French, they would be more inclined to accept French aid, and, by extension, French rule. In response, the FLN launched its own efforts to increase the number of Algerian women serving as nurses.

The battle over Algerian women raged on both sides of the Mediterranean. While French policing techniques directed at the immigrant population were extensively studied by House and MacMaster, in 2013 Amelia Lyons called attention to the use of welfare as a wartime tactic. In *The Civilizing Mission in the Metropole*, Lyons argues that the settlement of Algerian families in France was welcomed as an opportunity to instill French values. French officials believed that by reversing the immigrants' social and cultural "handicaps" and adapting them to modern life, they could decrease interest in the pro-Algerian independence movement. Welfare programs targeted at the family, especially housewives, were viewed as the most effective way to integrate Algerian immigrants. As concern about Algerian nationalism in the metropole grew, French authorities encouraged the presence of women to stabilize and depoliticize male workers. French authorities not only regarded Algerian

women as apolitical, but as vessels of social and cultural knowledge and therefore conduits of change. Thus, the mission to "civilize" Algerians and convert them to French ways in the context of the war was carried over to the metropole.

Lyons adds that most scholarship defines Algerians' political action in France narrowly by solely focusing on FLN activities like the protests of October 1961. Demands by Algerians for social aid, Lyons asserts, was an overtly political action.[11] Algerian immigrants understood the system and lodged complaints using the language of citizenship to demand their right to social benefits. They manipulated both sides, telling representatives of the French system and the FLN what they wanted to hear to get by.[12] Because social workers promoted women's liberation from "backward" Muslim practices but not from a "natural" role as wife and mother, Algerian women applied for aid in situations where the traditional family structure had been breached. For instance, some women who had experienced the death of a husband requested financial relief from the French administration.[13]

Access to previously unknown internal archives of the French Federation of the FLN revealed the active participation of immigrant women in the Algerian nationalist movement. In 2012 MacMaster published "Des révolutionnaires invisibles," attempting to break the male-dominated discourse on Algerians' political action in the metropole. He investigates the previously unknown organisation of a women's section in the FLN that existed from the summer of 1961 to August of 1962. MacMaster argues the metropolitan women of the FLN sought a lasting change in the social order. The section aimed for women's equality with men in the organization, education, and vocational training. Furthermore, MacMaster notes differences between younger activists who received a French education and the older generation that remained attached to traditional Algerian values. MacMaster thus not only emphasizes that Algerian women did actively participate in the independence movement in the metropole, but that they had political opinions of their own that differed among them.

Yet the FLN was not the only Algerian nationalist organization operating in the metropole, as pointed out by Nedjib Sidi Moussa in 2016. In "Les visages de l'émancipation," Moussa discusses the Messalist Union des syndicats de travailleurs algériens (USTA) that she argues was just as preoccupied by women's emancipation as by national independence. The USTA openly adopted resolutions calling for efforts to focus on women's vocational training and education. Additionally, Algerian women attended meetings alongside men and openly criticized the USTA's leadership where they felt there was insufficient treatment of women's issues. She argues this attention to women distinguished the Messalists, or the followers of Messali Hadj who founded the first party for Algerian independence, from their FLN competitors. However, the Messalists assigned women the traditional role of wife and mother, promoting the commonly held ideological link between patriarchal values, Algerian nationalism, and religion. Furthermore, by 1958 the FLN had largely crushed its political opponents in the metropole and was by far the stronger organization.

These last two works are clearly steps in the direction of uncovering the role of Algerian women in the metropole, but they are undeniably limited in scope. By only

concerning themselves with militant action specifically, they ignore those immigrant women who were not active participants in the liberation struggle. Furthermore, they do not answer questions about why these women immigrated to France, their perception of the French (and vice versa), or their decision to involve themselves in the conflict if they knew the risks.

Aims and Overview

My intention in this thesis is to study both memoirs and reports concerning Algerian women in the metropole to get a better sense of their beliefs and everyday concerns. While scholarship on women in the liberation struggle often emphasizes their marginalization in the FLN, my own studies reveal that some immigrant women held significant authority and respect in their own community. At the same time, this authority likely derived from the traditional view of women as cultural educators. The diary of social worker Monique Hervo moreover reveals that the Algerian nationalist movement was not the primary concern of the vast majority of immigrant women, but rather escaping the violence of the war and finding suitable housing. Yet, the shantytowns in which they found themselves in France were not much better than the regroupment camps in Algeria they fled from. Many of the women believed they had nowhere else to go, having witnessed their houses burned and their families murdered in front of their eyes. There also seems to have been a widespread mistrust and fear of the French, which perhaps influenced immigrant women to remain indoors and explains the common view of them as "cloistered." Undeniably there is more work to be done on the differences within the immigrant community, as not every Algerian and, moreover, not every woman held the same beliefs.

This thesis covers the ambiguous position of Algerian women in France during the Algerian War, and is divided into three main parts, each with a distinct set of concerns. The first chapter aims to illustrate the longstanding French perceptions of these women, which underlay the French administration's efforts during the war to gain control of the Algerian population in the metropole. It argues that the "civilizing mission," the name the French gave to their colonial mission in Algeria, was carried over to France for this purpose. For the French, Algerian women were oppressed creatures lacking in willpower and autonomy that could be manipulated at will. The following chapter demonstrates how this assumption backfired, as French efforts to dominate the Algerian population further pushed families toward Algerian nationalism, culminating in the protests of October 1961. Algerian women were subjected to horrid living conditions and odious acts of violence at the hands of the French, spurring them to actively protest in favor of an independent Algeria. The last chapter concerns how different female militants perceived the issue of women's role in post-independence Algerian society as the war was drawing to a close. Although feminism was certainly not a guiding ideology for most female recruits, Algerian women saw themselves as political actors in a number of ways. Therefore, as this thesis demonstrates, the role of Algerian immigrant women in the Algerian War was more complex than a binary model based on the idea of either passive victim or active militant would suggest.

In studying Algerian women living in France, I am primarily interested in how their lives and engagements were suspended from the demands and expectations of French and Algerian political organizations. The main contribution of my work thus concerns a gender and a population that is generally treated as an afterthought in most scholarship on France and Algeria. Furthermore, this thesis contributes to the broader recent debates about the relationship of Muslims to French identity, in which they continue to be perceived as outsiders. Part of what I will demonstrate is the specific situation where the perception of Muslim (and especially Algerian) women living in France solidified. In the period before and around Algerian independence, Algerian women in France were first viewed as living (even deserving to live) in *bidonvilles*. Next, unless they integrated by renouncing their cultural origins and feelings of solidarity as Algerian women, they were seen as external to France. Lastly, they were perceived as repressed because they did not shed the veil. The situation these women faced was highly complex, as it pulled them in multiple political directions. They were abandoned to standards of living and ways of life that did not grant them agency or a right to their difference.

Chapter 1: French Constructions of the Algerian Woman

In the context of the Algerian War, the French displayed themselves as "liberators" in Algeria, "civilizing" native women and ushering them into "modernity." In their attempts to appeal to supposedly "politically neutral" Algerian women, the French attacked both the veil and the FLN as representatives of what they viewed as patriarchal, oppressive Algerian culture. The French "civilizing mission" was imported into the metropole as well, but under the guise of "integration." Believing women to be the guardians of Algerian culture, the French sought to integrate them, and by extension their families, into metropolitan life.[14] Both of these strategies, as this chapter will demonstrate, were conducted not out of humanitarian urges but rather a desire to exert control over the Algerian population through its women and win the war.

In the eyes of the French, Algerian women were the oppressed of the oppressed. Due to perceptions of the native culture as backwards, especially with regards to its treatment of women, Algeria's colonization in 1830 was justified as a "civilizing mission." Veiled Algerian women piqued the imagination of French colonialists, who envisioned them as slaves to their husbands and families.[15] Despite this attitude, the French did little to improve Algerian women's rights under colonization. When war broke out in 1954, Algerian women were completely excluded from public life. They had no political rights, and very few had formal education or work.[16] It was only as female involvement in the FLN increased that the French made moves to improve Algerian women's status. To "win the hearts and minds" of the Algerian population and keep Algeria French, the French government and army made specific appeals to Muslim women, now proposing to "emancipate" them.

To international audiences too, the French depicted their attempt to further Western penetration into Algerian society through its women as a "civilizing mission." The Algerian War was watched intently by observers around the globe, who knew that—in the wake of

the independence of India and the formal decolonization of Indochina—its outcome would spell either defeat or victory for European colonialism. In 1957, the foreign press caught wind of the trials of European-looking Algerian female militants Zohra Drif, Djamila Bouhired, and Samia Lakhdari. Dressed as French settler women, they had planted bombs in cafés in Algiers' European neighborhoods. Like the majority of urban female combatants during the Battle of Algiers, they were educated, wore European dress, and did not veil themselves.[17] Their "modern" appearance earned them much sympathy and signaled to the international audience that educated Algerian women were supporting the FLN. Moreover, their combatants' level of education challenged the myth of Muslim "backwardness" the French used to justify their presence in Algeria. With modern-looking Muslim women rebels' activities a reality, France's reputation as a colonial power was at stake.

According to Elizabeth Perego, it was crucial for the French administration to convince the global audience that they, and not the nationalists, were best able to "liberate" Algeria's women. As the French sought to portray things, patriarchal Algerian society employed the veil to keep women shrouded in tradition inside their homes, away from the benevolent effects of modernity. In the midst of heightened scrutiny, the French set out to prove they had a legitimate reason for maintaining control over the territory: the need to "save" Algerian Muslim women.[18] Public unveilings constituted one measure the French administration took to achieve this end. In May of 1958, thousands of Algerian women unveiled themselves in what were portrayed as spontaneous ceremonies. They were aided by the wives of French military officers to show their supposed desire to be, the New York Times proposed, "just like the French lady."[19] In fact, the wives of French military officers sponsored a number of "feminine solidarity centers" across Algeria, aimed at bringing education to native women.[20] In her study of women's education in colonial West Africa, Jennifer Boittin argues that French women were meant to embody a "gendered ideal of bourgeois civilization," as "maternal and domestic beings."[21] It was believed that they, as maternal figures, had "easier access" to colonized women. This concept of maternalism was used to justify French women's role in the "civilizing mission": promoting native women's "emancipation."[22] To hasten this "emancipation," the wives of French military officers publicly "lifted the veils of their Muslim sisters … expos[ing] them to the light."[23]

In response, the FLN argued that these unveilings were highly choreographed. One motive for staging the ceremonies, Joan Wallach Scott notes, was military. By 1958 the FLN was using veiled women to covertly transport messages and weapons, so the unveilings were meant to deprive the rebels of this tactic.[24] Moreover, FLN member Frantz Fanon insisted that those who participated in these ceremonies were "servants under the threat of being fired, poor women dragged from their homes, prostitutes," and urban women who did not wear the veil at all.[25] According to MacMaster's analysis of photographs from the unveilings, a few of the women present did belong to the local educated elite as indicated by their dress.[26] This means they had either never veiled, or wore the veil when they were younger and stopped.[27] Like Monique Améziane, they may have only participated in the unveiling ceremonies under duress. Améziane was an eighteen-year-old *lycée* student whose

brother was arrested for aiding nationalists. Unable to find any other woman to lead the unveiling ceremonies, French officials demanded Améziane's cooperation in exchange for her brother's life. On 26 May 1958, Améziane appeared in front of a crowd wearing a veil for the first time in her life. She gave a speech expressing her desire to become "emancipated" before unveiling herself.[28]

As Perego points out, the ways in which the French sought to portray Algerian Muslim women as "emancipated" directly contradicted the stated goal of the campaign. Coercing women to unveil or depicting them doing so robbed them of the very agency the French claimed to be bestowing upon them.[29] At any rate, Algerian women were only granted agency so long as they acted according to the French administration's will. One French propaganda pamphlet addressed to Algerian women read: "Oh sisters, don't let your husbands, brothers, sons die uselessly … Make them come back!"[30] Although a number of such pamphlets cast Algerian women as apolitical, they just as often described them as secretly yearning to become "emancipated." A ferocious patriarchy was believed to be blocking this aspiration.[31] The pamphlet's authors blatantly assumed that Algerian women whose male relatives had joined the "useless" nationalist cause felt solidarity with the French and were willing to obey their command. Yet, entire families (and not just the men) participated in the FLN.[32] In addition, it is highly doubtful that these women felt any sympathy for the French cause. When asked to speak about Algeria before the war, one female militant confessed, "There were always racists … We decided it would be better to die than to live in injustice. Racism in the schools, racism in everything; the French, they were always better than us, everywhere the French were better than us, wherever you would go."[33]

There was no incentive for Algerians to become French unless they were treated as equals. Perhaps in recognition of this fact, old reforms that had long been forgotten due to the "colonial situation" were dusted off and put forward in the context of the war. One such reform was the law that promised Algerian women the right to vote, which they exercised for the first time in 1958.[34] Directly following this extension of voting rights, three female Algerian delegates were elected to the National Assembly. One of the delegates had in fact participated in the unveiling ceremonies, signaling France's ability to transform an ordinary Muslim woman into a "modern," powerful French one.[35] The most famous of these three delegates was Nafissa Sid Cara, who symbolized the success of the French assimilation agenda: she was educated in the French system and dressed in the Western style. Her appointment image as a Muslim woman loyal to French Algeria rivaled that of the female combatants of the FLN. According to Elise Franklin, Sid Cara was well aware of her purely symbolic function. In a phone call with Prime Minister Michel Debré, she reportedly asked, "Is it because I'm a woman, and a Muslim woman, that everyone is acting with such indifference [toward me]?"[36] For all her attempts to push for Algerian women's rights, Sid Cara encountered profound disappointment.

It is clear the French administration's main concern was not actually "emancipating" Algerian Muslim women so much as projecting an image to the international audience. The

"spontaneous" unveiling ceremonies, as reported by the foreign press, were visible proof that Algerian women could become "modern" with French assistance. Ironically, previous French rhetoric had eroticized the veil. Joan Wallach Scott points out how the French colonizers fetishized the inaccessibility of the veiled, sequestered woman, conflating imperial domination with sexual domination.[37] Yet, in the context of the Algerian War, the French reconfigured the veil as a symbol of the purportedly repressive, patriarchal nature of Muslim society.

French Condemnations of the FLN

A 1957 French propaganda tract addressed to Algerian women maintained the "rebel leaders" of the FLN kept them in "slavery, refusing [them] the freedoms accorded to all women in all the countries of the world."[38] The word "slavery" of course refers to Algeria's supposedly "backwards" Muslim culture in which women generally wore veils, remained at home to take care of children, and did not receive formal schooling past puberty.[39] In the words of Fanon, French propagandists firmly denounced Algerian society as "medieval" and "barbaric" for having transformed its women into "dehumanized object[s]." Without the protection of the more progressed French government, as they portrayed it, Algerian women could expect no hope for their emancipation. They could only expect to be further "humiliated, sequestered," and "cloistered" by the male leaders of the FLN. It was clear to Fanon that the French were attempting to undermine the control of Algerian men and destructure their culture by swaying their women towards Western values.[40]

Many Algerian men likely shared this perception of the French "emancipation" program as a cultural attack. Fatna Sabbah, echoing conventional Western perceptions, has argued that the "traditional Muslim male" experiences his wife's or daughter's entry into the labor force as a threat to his ability to provide for his family, his authority, and thus his very masculinity:

> [S]ince virility in patriarchal Muslim society is defined in terms of economic power, economic failure is experienced by the male as castration, as a problem with virility, as impotence. In the same way, the invasion of women of economic spaces … is often experienced as erotic aggression in the Muslim context, where the female body … has been neutralized by the traditional restructuring of space (seclusion of women and the wearing of the veil when moving through male space).[41]

Algerian men indeed considered moral interference by the French to be a direct assault not only on their traditions, but their pride and identity. French settlers had indeed taken away much of their land and economy, belittled their culture, and presented their own values as essential to civilization. Some Algerian men reacted by attempting to reinforce Islam and the traditional family. Alf Andrew Heggoy affirms that Algerian fathers refused the education offered by their French conquerors, finding the idea of sending their daughters to French schools unfathomable.[42] Their homes and their women, the only things left relatively untouched by colonization, had become the last bastion of their power and influence.

This attempt by the French administration to destructure Algerian society through an attack on its men is demonstrated in yet another propaganda pamphlet. Addressed to the

"women of Algeria," its authors condemned the FLN for causing men to "abandon" their homes. "The barbarous rebellion of the FLN: for you, this is a house without a man, fear, misery, children who are hungry," the pamphlet declared.[43] The patriarchal rhetoric used in this instance reflects the belief that Algerian women were in essence powerless. Without the protection of men, they supposedly had no means to take care of themselves or their children.[44] Not only do the authors of the pamphlet characterize Algerian women as being in desperate need of male protection, they also cast them as apolitical—as though the only concern the women had in the conflict was assuring the wellbeing of their families. It was the FLN who took children away from mothers, husbands from wives, and fiancés away from young girls. According to this definition, it was only Algerian men who were barbarous traitors. Algerian women were free of blame for any wrongdoing, and were urged to recognize themselves as victims of the FLN.

According to one female militant, since the outbreak of the war, "men were absent from most households, being either imprisoned, in the French Resistance, or dead." However, it was not the case that Algerian women were left powerless without their men. They did not put themselves under the protection of the French army. They learned to "get by on their own, they worked, they took care of their budgets, their children." About 1,700 Algerian women, most of them under twenty years old, voluntarily joined the armed wing of the FLN: the Armée de libération nationale.[45] Seeing as the more significant positions in the FLN were reserved for men, many women served as nurses. Those that visibly wore the Algerian Red Crescent, a counterpoint to the French Red Cross, were apprehended by French soldiers and tortured or even killed.[46] For these women, those who perished in the independence struggle did not die "uselessly." As one female militant by the name of Djamila wrote in a letter to her brother, "All that have died, have died for a just and noble cause. We must not cry for them, but follow their example. For us, for them, Algeria will be free and independent."[47]

MacMaster identifies two reactions of the FLN to the French "emancipation" program: insisting that women's rights be put on hold until independence had been achieved, and the construction of the myth of women as the guardians of Algerian identity.[48] The FLN could not accept the advancement of women's rights without being seen as promoting the reforms of their enemy. Conservatives within the nationalist movement clung to traditional beliefs as a defense against what was perceived as a violation of their cultural identity. Women's emancipation was a low priority for the FLN, whose leaders insisted that women in an independent Algeria would be re-confined to their maternal and domestic functions.[49] The FLN encouraged women to support their cause by being good wives and mothers who would educate the next generation in traditional cultural and religious values.

At the same time, the traditional image of Algerian women became central to the FLN's narrative. The veil in particular was re-construed as both a symbol of resistance to French colonialism and a means to carry out attacks, allowing women to transport weapons concealed from "the eyes of the occupier."[50] Like the French, the FLN used women as propaganda for their cause. Women who were praised in the media as heroines, like those

who participated in the Battle of Algiers, challenged stereotypes about Muslim women as passive victims of male oppression. In reality, women were often confined to somewhat invisible roles that would not disturb the future social order, serving as nurses, transporters, and cooks.[51]

Immigration and Integration

Both the FLN and the French administration manipulated the image of Algerian women as vessels of social and cultural knowledge to their advantage. Though no unveiling ceremonies took place in the metropole, these events demonstrate the French state's insistence on using the "modernization" of Algerian women as a political tool. According to Marc André, French regulations prevented the immigration of Algerian women until 1936. This was in part due to perceived cultural differences, as French authorities deemed Algerian women unadaptable to metropolitan society.[52] Despite these doubts, the integration of Algerian women into Western culture became a central concern of French authorities during the war. As the Minister of the Interior wrote in 1958, the adaptation and evolution of Algerian women "to a civilization which they are not, in the majority of cases, prepared for, constitutes the preliminary condition to the total integration of the family into metropolitan life."

The policy of integration, rather than assimilation, was specifically adopted by the French administration in the context of the Algerian War. As Todd Shepard argues, France was forced to back up its claims that it had a commitment to antiracism. Its integrationist policy, introduced by Minister of the Interior François Mitterrand in 1955, was aimed at redressing the discrimination that denied Algerians opportunities. For Shepard, what made this policy distinct was its very recognition that Algerians suffered from racism. Since the nineteenth century, French republican ideology insisted that any official categorization of French citizens based on the concept of race or ethnicity was itself racist. The Algerian War introduced a shift, as French integrationists introduced efforts to combat racism against one category of French citizens: Algerians.[53] Previous assimilationist arguments insisted that Algerians' marginalization resulted from their own unwillingness to abandon their "traditional" ways.[54] By contrast, the integrationist argument pinpointed domestic racism as the problem. Seeking to distance French Algeria from other colonial projects, the French presented integration as a progressive and innovative way to tackle ethnic conflict. As Shepard notes, most scholars have ignored this claim in the face of the extreme forms of violence that French forces employed to crush Algerian nationalism.[55] Whether or not the French administration was sincere in its efforts to combat racism, it certainly used its integration policy as a tool to suppress support for Algerian nationalist movements and project a favorable image of France abroad.

In 1960, the French newspaper *Messages d'Algérie* featured a story concerning a couple who migrated from Algeria to Lyon. The author of the article exalts the wife's "progress," noting that "she learned French, which she now speaks fluently" despite not knowing one

word of the language previously. For this reason, Fatma is "exactly what her husband imagined her to be: upright, intelligent, and courageous." At the same time, the author makes it seem as though her "progress" would not have been possible if it were not for her knowledgeable French neighbors. The article reads: "By observing her neighbors and asking, if needed, for their advice, she has become an accomplished housewife. For her children she is a modern woman, for her husband, a companion with whom he is always certain to find understanding and support."[56]

Figure 1. Photograph by Roger Barillot, in *Messages d'Algérie*, August 3, 1961. Archives nationales: Santé; Direction population, migrations (1955-1968), Pierrefitte-sur-Seine. 19770391, Box 4.

With these words, the author clearly equates the concept of a "modern" woman with that of a housewife. The ideal woman was to look after her children, listen to her husband, and remain at home. Of course, these were already concepts Algerian women were familiar with before coming to France. What made Fatma "modern" and "progressed" according to the French, however, was in part her ability to speak French fluently. The author of the article portrays learning French as an admirable achievement, even a sign of Fatma's intelligence. This implies, then, that the women of the *bidonvilles*, the bulk of whom did not speak French, were unintelligent and "unevolved." Fatma and her husband were clearly a privileged minority within the Algerian immigrant community. The article describes their living arrangements as "a two bedroom HLM [acronym for *Habitation à Loyer Modéré*, a low rent housing service]" with "modern furniture, a well-equipped kitchen and a washing machine."[57] Hundreds of other immigrant families lived in squalid conditions in the *bidonvilles* and had no access to such amenities. By contrast, Fatma is displayed in pristine, Western-style clothing as she proudly washes dishes with her child standing nearby (Figure 1). She appears as a dignified, "modern" woman: a triumph of France's "civilizing mission" in the metropole. As discussed by Camille Robcis, French politicians during the Napoleonic

era had conceived of the family as the foundation of social order and stability. As such, the family is never simply private, but "intimately connected to the public."[58] According to this definition, the family was considered a reflection of society's well-being. Thus, the French administration's ability to adapt its immigrant families to "modern life" was seen as proof of France's modernity and "progress."

Case Study: L'Amitié Nord-Africaine de Nanterre

Concentrating special attention on Algerian immigrants' adaptation to metropolitan life was one way for France to provide concrete evidence that it was committed to establishing equality. Yet, as seen in Fatma's case, the idea that Algerians had to become like the French to succeed at life in the metropole was implicit in this supposed commitment. As Amelia Lyons points out, the establishment of specialized welfare programs for the Algerian immigrant community was predicated on this same notion. Most service providers described immigrants as objects of pity, who were victims of their own deficiencies.[59] Algerian women, who were often regarded as "natural educators," nevertheless had to be taught how to care for their families "properly."[60] Despite France's lip service to quelling discrimination against Algerians, the welfare network was clearly based on an unfaltering belief in the superiority of French culture and values. Moreover, seeing as the French view of Algerian women was not shaped by the reality of their living situation, the French administration was poorly positioned to provide care.

L'Amitié Nord-Africaine de Nanterre, stationed in the *bidonville* on rue de la Garenne beginning in 1956, was an organization dedicated to combating all the problems of adaptation and isolation that arose to the transplanted families. However, in their annual reports, service providers often took a condescending tone when it came to the women who were purportedly "the center of [their] preoccupations."[61] Perhaps this should not be surprising given the organization's title, which uses a term referring to Maghrebian immigrants that took on a slightly pejorative, colonial connotation.[62]

Much of the language used by l'Amitié Nord-Africaine highlights its administrators' misunderstandings of Algerian culture as "backwards" and indifference towards the immigrants' plight. In 1956 l'Amitié Nord-Africaine wrote that the immigrants, upon arriving in France, "quickly realized they found a climate of peace." Yet, they were "plunged into an almost total isolation… they had to face numerous and sometimes very simple problems, which were in their eyes a mass of difficulties."[63] The organization's assumption that the immigrants felt "at peace" in France could not be farther from the truth. The women's fear of the police in the metropole was not merely paranoia based on their experiences in their home country. Especially as the war escalated, the climate in which they found themselves was not one of peace but of xenophobia. Algerian men were often arbitrarily arrested and bludgeoned by the police, who regularly made their rounds in the *bidonville*. Akila Hadjaj wrote that by the end of 1957, the French largely mistrusted immigrants, above all Algerians. She recalled her mother was once rushed to the hospital because she had a miscarriage, and in the urgency her identity papers were left behind. The

workers suspected her of being a terrorist, especially since she could not speak a word of French.[64] In 1960, mothers complained to Hervo the police "always look to humiliate us, to mock us. In the *bidonvilles*, they scare our children: for that they will not be forgiven."[65] Faced with ever-increasing police harassment, poor housing, and a lack of knowledge of the French language and culture, the immigrants' problems were numerous but by no means "simple."

From the French perspective, Algerian women in the metropole were seen fundamentally as cloistered, supine creatures lacking in willpower and autonomy. Jean-Luc Einaudi noted the common situation of living in only one room was "particularly painful for the condition of the women, who go out very little, sometimes not at all."[66] This sentiment was echoed by Amitié Nord-Africaine, which took these infrequent departures from the home as a sign of the women's "backwardness." In 1957 l'Amitié Nord-Africaine rejoiced in the establishment of a doctor's permanent presence on the site, which was "all the more useful" given the majority of women purportedly never left their shelters. The report complains of the necessity to seek out the women in the barracks and implore them to bring their children to medical consultations.[67] It is true to some extent that women largely remained at home to take care of children and prepare meals as per tradition. Hadjadj recalled the traditions of Khenchela emerging alive and well in La Folie, as her father had to give his approval every time her mother and older sister left the shelter.[68] This could also have been exacerbated by the fact that the *bidonvilles* were often places of violence. La Folie in particular was habited in majority by Algerians from Aurès and was long disputed between different Algerian national organizations, the two most prominent being the FLN and MNA (Mouvement national algérien).[69] In addition, the police invaded the *bidonvilles* regularly given they were such hotbeds of Algerian nationalist activity. By October 1961, the women were so afraid to leave their shelters that Hervo witnessed one woman too fearful to even walk outside to the store that was directly in front of her home. Upon hearing footsteps, she slammed the door shut and locked it.[70] Clearly, for the French, social welfare could not be attained without forceful assimilation into French cultural values.

It is also highly possible the women's reluctance to seek out medical care could have been due to a mistrust of the French. As explained by Brahim Benaïcha, who hailed from a southeast region of Algeria that was "isolated from all civilization called 'modern,'" doctors were quite rare. The people there "had a certain mistrust of modern medicine," as "the only true medicine was made by their grandmothers with herbs."[71] For Fanon, Algerians' reluctance to entrust themselves to European doctors went deeper than just an attachment to traditional medical techniques. Medicine from the "dominant society," he argued, is perceived by the colonized subject as another part of colonial oppression. This should not be surprising considering Algerians found themselves openly insulted by the French for their seemingly "backwards" culture. "What should be the brotherly and tender insistence of one who only wants to help" is instead interpreted "as a manifestation of the conqueror's arrogance and desire to humiliate."[72] This sentiment is seemingly confirmed by Zoubeida Benyamina's assertion, cited by Marc André, that visits from French social workers in the

bidonvilles were acts of "symbolic violence." Benyamina described how one social worker targeted her mother, trying to control everything she did. The worker even accused her of "killing sheep in the bathtub."[73]

The 1957 report by l'Amitié Nord-Africaine went on to admit "the *bidonville*, which is essentially a transplanted village, operates under laws we poorly understand … and bring numerous difficulties in relations between families and public services. We shouldn't offend or push aside ancestral habits."[74] As Elizabeth Sloan points out, the language implies a belief that Algerians were used to living in unhygienic shacks with no running water or electricity. It is almost as if the report assumes Algerians had chosen to live this way, despite being offered any alternative.[75] Furthermore, the report assumes that the women's unwillingness to leave their homes was an "ancestral habit" rather than a product of distrust. It appears any perceived "handicap" of the Algerians was marked down as a feature of their "lesser" nature. In fact, much of the language used by the organization highlights this misunderstanding of Algerian culture as "backwards." That same year a Christmas festival was arranged, and the report rejoiced in the presence of ten women from the *bidonville* who received permission from their husbands to participate. They were "adorned in their most beautiful dresses, but veiled," and for one day they were able to mingle in "the life of all."[76] The report demonstrates the widespread ignorance of the veil's significance in Muslim culture, while also embracing the women's retreat from isolation as a sign of their adaptation and "evolution."

Conclusion

During the Algerian War, the French reconfigured their perceptions of Algerian women to project a favorable image of themselves both at home and abroad. Since the conquest of Algeria in 1830, the French viewed the native culture as backwards. Though veiled Algerian women were pictured as either cloistered, oppressed slaves or prostitutes, France did little to improve their status. In the context of the Algerian War, however, the French emphasized what they viewed as the patriarchal nature of Algerian culture. By contrast, the French depicted themselves as righteous "civilizers" who were "saving" Algerian women from the grasp of the FLN. This insistence by the French to "win over" Algerian women reveals numerous deep-seated assumptions. First, these women were viewed as "politically neutral" despite the highly publicized accounts of female FLN bombers during the Battle of Algiers. This refusal to recognize the agency of Algerian women is exemplified in a number of French propaganda pamphlets, which imply a clear link between women and their families. Appropriating the key belief of Algerian nationalism that women were the "last bastions" of Muslim law and custom, the French assumed that if they could "win over" Algerian women, their families would follow suit.

This strategy was carried over to the metropole as concerns about Algerian nationalism there grew. Contrary to previous assumptions, the French administration actively encouraged Algerian family migration. Algerian women, being "politically neutral,"

were believed to be able to depoliticize their families and discourage them from joining Algerian nationalist movements. Thus, they were addressed not as individuals, but in their roles as wives and mothers. The French urge to "modernize" and integrate Algerian women did not derive from a sincere commitment to antiracism, but from a need to suppress Algerian nationalism and justify France's position in the war. This was further exemplified by the welfare network, which was ostensibly dedicated to aiding immigrant families in their transition to metropolitan life. Welfare administrators nonetheless demonstrated a clear belief in the superiority of Western values and an ignorance of both the immigrants' plight and the Algerian culture. For the French, Algerian women were tools to be used for manipulating and dominating an entire population rather than political actors in their own right.

Chapter 2: The Algerian Family in the Bidonvilles of Nanterre and the Path to October 1961

Akila Hadjadj was only six years old when the pressures of the war pushed her family to take flight from Algeria. Raised in Khenchela in the Aurès region, she led a relatively privileged life as she and her older sister were permitted to go to school, something rare for girls at that place and time. Her father travelled regularly to France to work in car factories, hoping to save up enough money to open his own store in Khenchela. Upon his return in 1954, the war began, interrupting all the family's plans for the future. The Legion étrangère of the French army took position in the town, securing it with barbed wire and setting up the first Algerian internment camp. Nearly all the men disappeared from the village, some having left for France, others to defend the Algerian cause, and the rest imprisoned. The daily lives of the women, children, and elderly people who stayed were punctuated by misery, acts of violence, and humiliation.[77] Akila and her family fled to France and set up at 127 rue de la Garenne, in the quarter of La Folie in Nanterre. "This quarter is well suited to its name," she recalled her mother saying, "you'd have to be crazy to live here."[78] By 1959, 150 Algerian families were living in the *bidonville* of La Folie in Nanterre, a ghastly ensemble of dwellings constructed with all sorts of recovered material: scrap metal, wood, cardboard, bricks.[79]

The Algerian family in France was, using the words of Robcis, "intimately connected to the public."[80] Though the immigrant community in Nanterre was spatially isolated from the rest of the population, these families were not forgotten or disregarded by any means. The French administration went to great lengths to ensure that the *bidonvilles*, as strongholds of the FLN, were under its control. This was attempted through a combination of repressive policing tactics and surveillance by welfare administrators. The Algerian family served not as the foundation of social order, but as the victim of a certain order that sought to subdue and conquer it. For all their lip service to the notion that Algeria was France, French officials shared a view of the Algerian presence in France as foreign and threatening. Policing the Algerian immigrant community, particularly through the family, was an

explicitly stated war tactic. This tactic was also intensely gendered, as this chapter will demonstrate. Underlying the actions taken by the police and welfare administrators alike was the belief that Algerian men were inherently dangerous so long as they remained attached to their native culture. Algerian women, on the other hand, were perceived as politically neutral and could be purportedly swayed to the French side. This chapter will elucidate ways in which this assumption backfired, as attempts by the French to dominate its Algerian population further pushed families toward Algerian nationalism. Part of my aim is to show, in the later sections of this chapter, why Algerian women joined and supported the FLN and especially how conditions in the *bidonvilles* contributed to their participation in the major protests of October 1961.

As a volunteer of the Service civil international (SCI) in Nanterre, Monique Hervo recorded the stories of families who fled to La Folie in her diary. Hervo was in fact one of the few individuals of European descent in France who were politically engaged on the side of Algeria. The demand for independence was marginal in the main French organizations in support of peace in Algeria, and few French militants were involved in the demonstration of 17 October 1961.[81] Hervo, however, was one of those militants. She set up a permanent home in La Folie in 1959, where she participated in the construction of new barracks, assisted the inhabitants in administrative procedures, and provided educational support. Other SCI activists confirmed that Hervo was strongly committed to Algerian independence and had contacts with the FLN.[82] Even after the Algerian War, she continued her work in the slums individually until the last families of La Folie were rehoused in 1971.[83]

This chapter draws heavily from—and analyses closely—the testimonies offered in *Chroniques du bidonville*, a record of Hervo's observations in La Folie from 1959 until the independence of Algeria in 1962. As Muriel Cohen has noted, Hervo's strong empathy for the inhabitants of the *bidonville* as well as her militant perspective heavily shaped the book's discourse.[84] In addition, Hervo, having witnessed the Nazi occupation of France in World War II, often draws many similarities between the slums of Nanterre and German concentration camps. She presents an idealized image of the struggles encountered by the slums' inhabitants, underlining the rejection they faced from French authorities. Hervo thus imposes a conception of Algerian immigrants as victims of French cruelty, and casts the slums of Nanterre as a site of martyrdom. The memory that Hervo leaves behind is one that benefits the immigrants only, which must be kept in mind when examining her account of events. Nevertheless, *Chroniques du bidonville* is an essential work for analyzing the journeys as well as daily lives of the families in La Folie.

One mother of five children assured Hervo: "If we come to France, it's to flee the war in Algeria." The French army destroyed their home in Kessabia in northern Algeria and forced them to a "regroupment center" in Ouled Taïer, along with 3,000 others.[85] There were perhaps as many as 1,500 of these camps in Algeria in which one million and a half men, women, and children were held against their will by the Sections administratives spécialisées (SAS).[86] The SAS, created during the war to "curb" the influence of FLN nationalists, forced residents from small towns and villages where Algerian nationalist

militants were believed to hide. Families were pushed from their homes, surrounded with barbed wire, and surveyed from watchtowers. Amelia Lyons cites the colonial regime's massive program of forced relocations as a primary motivation for families migrating to France.[87] Upon being asked by Hervo why he brought his family to the metropole, an Algerian immigrant responded: "Leave my family with the SAS? Not possible!"[88] Whenever possible, families joined relatives in France rather than live in the camps.

Paul Delouvrier, the administrator behind the rural settlement programs, referred to the camps as a "thousand 'new villages.'" Promising to replace the refugee camps with permanent villages, Delouvrier saw resettlement as a means to win over the peasantry. To the international audience, the project was deemed a great success, portrayed as bringing the Algerian population more social and economic "progress" than it had previously known.[89] More likely, the resettlement was only successful in allowing the military greater control over the Algerian peasantry. The women's section of the FLN in France in fact explicitly referred to these so-called "regroupment centers" as concentration camps in their open letter to the First Lady of the Soviet Union.[90] For Hervo as well, the internment camps were not a far cry from those established by the Nazis only a decade prior. Both were less about mere imprisonment than "destroying the soul of a whole population." (This could have been a citation of Article II of the Genocide Convention of 1948, which defined genocide as "acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group" including "(b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part.")[91] Prefect of Police Maurice Papon's directives in 1957 seemingly confirm Hervo's assertion: "The regrouped … are becoming receptive to direct psychological action. Once the physical grip is assured, moral influence and propaganda can be exercised."[92]

Many of the Algerian immigrant women Hervo encountered in Nanterre had either fled from regroupment camps or had taken flight as soon as soldiers arrived in their towns. One named Yâmina saw her house destroyed by soldiers in 1957, after which she and her children were forced to live in a camp. They spent three long years in misery, with hardly anything to eat. Some families had even less luck, having only branches to keep themselves warm at night.[93] Numerous other women and children attempted to escape the starvation that awaited them in the camps, often in vain.

Yet another wartime atrocity that women, even young girls, faced was rape by the French military. While the French publicly declared to the international audience its campaign of "emancipating" and "modernizing" Muslim women, many soldiers and officials committed odious acts of violence against them. As Elizabeth Perego discusses, the torture conducted on women suspected of collusion with Algerian nationalist movements often took sexual and "modernizing" overtones. French soldiers would pass the *gégène* over their victims' genitals, sit on the stomachs of pregnant women, and use Islamic veils to tie up women in torture chambers.[94] Rape was also used to terrorize and shame the Algerian community at large. The women in Nanterre told Hervo they would lay awake at night as

they listened to the screams of their neighbors, terrified at the thought of their own daughters being raped. Some were ultimately forced to watch as their young sons were taken away by the army and their daughters were violated in front of them.[95] One woman confessed to Hervo that people would marry off their daughters at very young ages as a way to protect them from this fate.[96] Although she does not specify exactly how old these girls would have been, it was not uncommon for Algerian girls to be married under the age of sixteen. Marriage was thought to bring great respect to the couple, functioning as a sign of maturity. Yet, the marriages of these very young girls took place almost in secret. "There was no celebration. Nothing," Hervo's interviewee added.[97] She does not indicate who these girls would have been married to, perhaps either young boys or elderly men. Rape and abuse were so rampant that marriage was seen as the only way to safeguard them. Marriage in some way implied their link to a man, which was deemed a necessary form of protection.

Virtually all the women who successfully escaped regroupment camps to find refuge in the metropole had witnessed unthinkable horrors. They had seen either their homes burned, their daughters raped, or their husbands, brothers, and uncles killed in front of their eyes. The suffering these women endured in Algeria engendered a profound fear and mistrust of French authorities. A woman named Yasmîna explained to Hervo the humiliation she felt in Algeria, having to present herself at food distributions organized by SAS officers. "Like a beggar," she held her hand out to the occupant, her heart filled with both fear and indignation. After her arrival to Nanterre, her children reported to Hervo that everyday Yasmîna incessantly repeated the same words: "They took my son, they took my children." There was yet another woman in the *bidonville* who constantly uttered similar tragedies: "They killed my son, my husband."[98] Even before becoming acquainted with violence and repression in the metropole, many women already associated the French police with the soldiers they encountered in Algeria. Jamîla, a fourteen-year-old girl, recalled that as soon as she saw police officers upon her arrival in Paris, she trembled "as if it were the moment of her death."[99] Seeing as these women had every reason to resent and fear the French for the damage they caused to themselves and their families, those who supported nationalist movements in Algeria continued their participation in the metropole.

Undeniably a number of women were already politicized, with politicized families, in Algeria. It remains unclear, however, as to what degree Algerian women were transformed into political actors by fear. Seeing as virtually all the women interviewed by Hervo report to have witnessed numerous atrocities committed by the French army, they would have every reason to join the FLN. At the same time, the FLN ruled over the Algerian immigrant community with an iron fist. Anyone who did not claim to support the FLN would have been branded as a traitor and faced severe retaliation. It is therefore probable that some may have been coerced into joining the organization. However, given the unspeakable tragedies Algerian women faced at the hands of the French, it is only logical that these women did not see joining the FLN as a difficult decision. Moreover, considering that Algerian immigrants found themselves in a nation of people hostile to their existence, taking part in the FLN was certainly a means of fostering solidarity.

Algerian Immigrant Women in the FLN

The FLN was, as Jim House and Neil MacMaster note, by far the most powerful and popular Algerian nationalist organization.[100] In 1959, Yasmina told Hervo she was in Melouza when the FLN murdered three hundred men in the neighboring village as part of their struggle with the MNA. Yet, she still volunteered to carry out the tasks entrusted to women by the FLN.[101] These tasks would not have been significant in either rank or importance, as noted by MacMaster. Women's actions in the FLN were usually restricted to a more clandestine network in accordance with the traditional concept of segregation of the sexes.[102] This same structure was likely imported to the metropole as well after the FLN established its French Federation in 1958. According to Hervo's observations, many of the women who participated in the FLN in La Folie usually served as messengers of some sort. For example, women poked holes in many of the raised sheets enclosing areas between the shacks. No one ever paid them any attention, but the women would use these holes to survey police rounds and even pass instructions to the FLN by whispering through them.[103] Every nationalist activity Hervo took note of was highly secretive.

The FLN often gave responsibilities to the oldest, usually individuals in their fifties or older, as a security measure to avoid suspicion.[104] One such individual in La Folie was a woman known as the "Old Grandmother." The police never suspected an old woman, with her broken back and unsteady pace, to carry out a dangerous mission for the FLN. In her apron, she hid secret documents with messages and directives that she transported under the police's nose. Why would this fragile old woman put herself in such a risky position? The French military tortured and mutilated her sons-in-law.[105] Thus, like many of the other women involved in FLN activities in the metropole, the Old Grandmother had been radicalized by her exposure to violence in Algeria.

The Old Grandmother, responsible for the transport of secret documents, commanded a great deal of respect. In November 1960, Hervo recalled an incident where two men were fistfighting in the center of La Folie. As the neighborhood gathered around, the women called upon the Old Grandmother. She rushed to the scene. All by herself, the little old woman advanced to separate the brawlers. Without uttering a word, each of the two men walked away.[106] Hervo left no further comment on the incident, which leaves a few questions unanswered. It could be that the Old Grandmother's authority drew from a tradition of respect for one's elders. Her nickname seems to imply that she acted as a motherly figure for the entire community. It appears unusual, however, that a woman would hold this type of power given the father was virtually the undisputed head of household in Algerian culture. On the other hand, women were seen as responsible for looking after children. Perhaps the scene between the Old Grandmother and the two fistfighting men could be interpreted as an encounter on a larger scale between a mother figure and her unruly "children."

Although these women played highly discreet roles, all residents of the *bidonville* engaged in Algerian nationalist organizations had to be extremely careful. Given the constant police presence, every meeting and transfer of messages had to pass undetected. Akila Hadjadj recalled that one evening, her father came home accompanied by a group of men, supposedly "cousins." They entered the shelter stealthily. Her father, seeming worried, discreetly told Akila to play outside in front of the door and keep watch. If someone were to ask for her father, she would warn him. Later, Hadjadj understood that she had witnessed a meeting of FLN militants, which were commonly held in people's homes.[107] Hervo had known this during her time working in La Folie, as many of her clients disclosed to her their involvement in the FLN. Yet it was not until years after the war's closure that Hervo learned the full extent of La Folie's participation. For example, one young couple, A'icha and her husband Ahmed, both aided in the transport of arms through La Folie. "With enormous care, we wrapped guns with all sorts of rags. When the arms were transported they couldn't make the slightest noise by hitting against one another," A'icha told Hervo.[108] The metallic sound was quite distinct and the police would have recognized it immediately. On top of that, the FLN had to silently keep watch on a number of police informers. "Like in all wars, there were a few snitches in La Folie. We had to have good relations with them to attract as little attention as possible to the clandestine activities of the *bidonville*. Everyone knew who they were," A'icha added.[109] Evidently all of the FLN's activities were kept secret; not only women played highly invisible roles.

Furthermore, women of the *bidonville* who participated in the FLN could hold some authority. Both A'icha and her husband sometimes went to an apartment on the passage du Petit-Cerf in Paris to personally receive the FLN's instructions. Seeing as Ahmed could just as easily have gone alone, the fact that A'icha accompanied him is significant. Indeed, A'icha told Hervo in her postwar interview that she constantly intervened in the FLN's decision-making. Feeling personally affected by the executions that took place under the FLN, she wanted to avoid them at all costs. She always sought to smooth over internal dissensions and delay condemnations to death.[110] Furthermore, she defended the fathers of families who were inflicted with fines for their delays in providing contributions to the organization. Every month, the FLN collected 60,000 to 80,000 francs between La Folie and the neighboring *bidonville*. Whenever she could, A'icha supplied her own money or borrowed from a neighbor to cover for families in dire financial situations.[111]

There did appear to be some backlash, however, for women taking roles in politics. One afternoon in March 1961, a group of women were discussing how one man forbade his wife to speak to the other women of the neighborhood. His reason: the women were "doing politics," something supposedly only for men to speak about. They were holding political meetings inside the *bidonville,* and he prohibited his wife from participating. However, the man was soon summoned by the FLN to a shack in the center of the *bidonville,* where he was beaten by a number of women as punishment.[112] By this point, women were clearly playing active political roles and had the approval of some higher authority in the organization.

At the same time, the reactions of the immigrant community toward the wives of former *harkis* somewhat fed into the image of Algerian women as apolitical.[113] The vast majority of *harkis* certainly sided with the French, not out of patriotism, but as a means to survive and support their families.[114] Nevertheless, they were all branded as traitors by the FLN and the Algerian immigrant community. Hervo observed two separate incidents where wives of *harkis* were immediately embraced by the community upon their arrival in La Folie, whereas their husbands met a vastly different fate. One of the two men, a repentant *harki*, was killed in the first few days of his arrival.[115] The other, a deserter of the SAS, "would never be fully integrated [into the community] even if the FLN did not kill him."[116] In both instances, the wives were not only left free of blame, but embraced with open arms by the community. Even though their husbands either repented their loyalty to France or were never truly loyal to France at all, they were nonetheless labelled as traitors. The fact that the wives did not suffer the same fate as their husbands reveals the FLN's insistence that Algerian women could not be politically engaged on the side of the French. This kind of apolitical branding on the part of the FLN is vastly different from that granted by the French. In fact, it is conceivable that this came in response to French efforts to integrate Algerian families through their women. To ultimately prevent its members from being swayed toward the enemy, the FLN likely deemed it important to ensure women were on its side. Of course, this feeds into the assumption that Algerian women could be easily "won over," as if they themselves had no prior conceptions of either the FLN or the French.

Women's Agency during October 1961

In most scholarship concerning Algerian immigrants' participation in either the FLN or MNA, women are only mentioned in terms of the events of October 1961. Their presence, along with that of children, in the 17 October protest is acknowledged, but almost never elaborated upon. Given that the protest was deliberately planned by the FLN, there must have been some reason why women and children were involved. According to a letter detailing the preliminary plans for the protest, the "entire Algerian colony (women, children, the elderly, young people, men, etc.)" was to be present to boycott the police-imposed curfew.[117] Seeing as the authors of the letter command that this demonstration "must be spectacular," the inclusion of women, children, and the elderly was likely meant to show solidarity.[118] With the whole immigration population behind it, the FLN could demonstrate its ferocity and strength to the French police.

By using participation to evoke sympathy from the French public, representations of Algerian women stripped them of their agency. The authors of the letter, supposing the inevitability of arrests, deemed it fit to "prepare the women for a demonstration with the following slogans: down with the racist curfew, freedom for our husbands and children, negotiate with the Provisional Republican Government, total independence for Algeria, etc." The letter clearly goes on to state that everything possible must be done "to have as many Algerian women participate as possible."[119] This planned demonstration of Algerian women

demanding the release of their families evidently fed into existing stereotypes. As discussed previously, the French saw Algerian women not as individuals but as wives and mothers. Without their men, they were purportedly helpless and unable to care for themselves. Having Algerian women speak out against the unjust arrest of their husbands and sons, then, was likely intended to pull on the heartstrings of French onlookers. This tactic would fail, as "the French saw quantities of police vans crowded with women … but it did not seem to concern them."[120] Nevertheless, it demonstrates the FLN's insistence on projecting a certain image of women for its own benefit. Whether or not the women themselves voluntarily participated is a matter still up for debate.

The primary sources are mixed with regards to their portrayal of women's agency during the protest of 17 October 1961. Some of the language used by Akila Hadjadj and Brahim Benaïcha to describe the events depicts the women as scared mothers who faced serious retaliation by the FLN if they did not participate. Hadjadj defines the French Federation of the FLN as a "true commission of discipline and justice" that reigned over the Algerian community, enforcing its rules at all costs. Indeed, the FLN imposed its own political and moral authority in France to combat attempts by French authorities to control the Algerian immigrant population. Certain acts, such as neglecting the membership fee, buying or drinking alcohol, smoking, and gambling were sanctioned by the payment of fines. Refusing to attend the protest, then, could have been considered an act of high treason.[121] Thus, according to Benaïcha, everyone capable of standing was there. The crowd contained pregnant women, small children, and the elderly. Trying to remain grouped by family as they advanced, distraught mothers counted and recounted their children.[122] Hadjadj recalled that although her mother was tired and sick, she went to protest with her youngest child in her arms.[123] According to this description, some of the women present seemingly were not invested in the politics behind the protest. Rather, their primary concern was looking after their families.

At the same time, Hadjadj does note the presence of women at the protest who yelled "Long live Algeria!" and expressed their support with you-yous: long, high pitched shouts meant to express a collective emotion.[124] It is therefore likely that some women, though by no means all, actively involved themselves in the events. Paulette Péju, having been commissioned by the Federation of France to prepare a detailed account of October 1961, takes a particular focus on the female militants. *Ratonnades à Paris,* ostensibly a collection of press extracts, only features accounts of Algerian immigrants who demonstrated nationalist convictions. One press extract in particular concerns itself with a mother of a family living in Nanterre who went to protest because "[the French] are killing us too much and because, now, we have to stay in the house like rats." The 51-year-old woman, with her bruised back and swollen eye, described being violently beaten at the hands of the police, who tried to force her to say the words "French Algeria." Responding with cries of "Long live independent Algeria!" and "Long live my brothers!," she declared, "You can kill me if you want, but I will not say anything else."[125] Hervo also casts the women as political agents in her description of the events, writing that "women with babies in their strollers advanced

determinedly toward the police forces waiting for them."[126] According to this description, the women were aware of how consequential their involvement was and were determined to protest for an independent Algeria, no matter the cost.

As written by Hadjadj and Benaïcha, however, the arrival of the police on the scene was either a surprise or a cause for extreme fear. Upon reaching Paris, Benaïcha detailed, the protesters perceived men rising from drains, guns in hand. Others were installed on roofs. After the police opened fire, everyone dispersed and ran.[127] Hadjadj labelled the confrontation with police as "sudden." Her father, she wrote, sheltered their family underneath a porte-cochère.[128] Ironically, Hervo describes this same act as courageous, and omits any mention of male protection. According to Hervo, as the women hid under the portes-cochères, they sensed strongly the "unshakable union that bound them to the *mujahideen* fighting in Algeria."[129] Hervo implies that these women saw their demonstration as an act on par with physically combatting the French, as if they were soldiers engaging in warfare in the name of their faith and their homeland. This account of extreme bravery in the face of danger directly contrasts the picture Brahim Benaïcha paints of the circumstances, one characterized by fear. Benaïcha insists that these women, who had never before left the *bidonville*, found themselves in the middle of the night on the streets of Paris.[130] In this description, the women did not fearlessly stand their ground as soldiers fighting for their country. Instead, they were utterly helpless, finding themselves in the middle of a hostile, foreign land with nowhere to go.

The truth, it would seem, lies somewhere between these two depictions. Hervo, as a militant who advocated for Algerian independence and fought tirelessly to better the living conditions of Algerian immigrants in France, had every reason to portray the Algerians in a positive light. She, like Paulette Péju who wrote specifically for the FLN, emphasized the courageous role of all Algerian immigrants (women included) in their admirable struggle. Hadjadj and Benaïcha, on the other hand, were children during the October 1961 protests. They likely did not have as much of a grasp on the politics behind the events. It is highly unlikely they were political activists at the time, which is why they may have perceived the protest more through a lens of fear and confusion.

At the same time, it was in the interest of the Parisian police to insist that women were demonstrating unwillingly. On 19 October, Prefect of Police, Maurice Papon, issued a communiqué warning of the FLN's plan to use women as a shield, behind which they could fire on the police.[131] The next morning, hundreds of Algerian immigrant women and children took to the streets of Paris. As *Le Monde* claimed, they had done so on the orders of the FLN and their husbands. While House and MacMaster do claim these women protested to realize the FLN's plan, they argued they did so with "extraordinary determination and courage."[132] Hervo unsurprisingly emphasizes the women's bravery, noting that they "dared to return to the street despite the many people killed and the machine guns used by the police three days earlier."[133] At the Place de République, women paraded with cries of "Algeria to us!" as more than one hundred fifty of them were arrested.[134] Some, Hervo adds, were brutalized as they were loaded into police vans. Meanwhile, near the Pont de Bezons,

hundreds of women protested the curfew and the mass arrests of their husbands, brothers, uncles, and cousins.[135] It is important to note that these are the same slogans prepared by the FLN, as detailed in the letter discussed previously. This is clear evidence that these women protested under the influence of the FLN, whether coerced or voluntary.

By the end of the day, nine hundred seventy-nine women and five hundred ninety-five children had been arrested, taken to police stations, and distributed to holding centers by the police. As *Le Monde* notes, some of the women insisted they had not wanted to demonstrate.[136] Of course, this could have been the women's way of telling the police what they wanted to hear in order to be released. In fact, House and MacMaster point out that journalists were invited to these holding centers to photograph "kindly police officers providing shelter, sandwiches, cake, and milk to those rescued from the grip of 'terrorists.'"[137] Despite *Le Monde's* report that "no serious incident was recorded during the day," not all these women who protested were treated with kindness by the police.[138] Although many were brutalized, evidence of the violence was not released until years after the war. Hervo's diary, published in 2001, contains an entry dated to 24 October that describes one woman who could not walk or move her arm due to the bludgeoning she received during the women's protest.[139] Péju's *Rattonades à Paris*, which contains the account of the 51-year-old woman who was also badly beaten by the police, was immediately censored by Papon in 1961. Thus, at the time, the French police's strategy was to cast themselves as saviors, protecting the women who were forced by the FLN to protest. This was not unlike French soldiers in Algeria who were determined to show to the international audience that they were "emancipating" the local female population while simultaneously conducting rape and torture.

Other women imprisoned in the holding centers during 20 October affirmed their nationalist conviction by refusing the hospitality offered to them. According to Hervo, all these women collectively refused the blankets brought for their children. One militant by the name of Dalîla spoke on behalf of all present: "It's for dignity … We don't even want the water for our kids. You keep the water." In solidarity, the other women let out vibrant you-yous that they alternated with cries of "Algerian Algeria!" and "Long live Algeria!." They were not released with their small children until three in the morning.[140] While other sources confess that the women's protest was undertaken on the orders of the FLN, Hervo asserts that this order was unnecessary. She supposes that the women's sufferings in the war at the hands of the French army and police were too awful not to take to the streets, with or without the order from the FLN.[141] While it is impossible to truly know to what degree the women who participated in the protests did so willingly, their efforts were commendable. Before they arrived in France they had never been to Paris, and the vast majority had no knowledge of French. Many never ventured far from the *bidonvilles* in which they settled. Yet, in October 1961, hundreds of these women risked their lives and confronted the unknown.

Conclusion

As this chapter has illustrated, Algerian women were not spared from odious acts of violence despite the French administration's stated mission to "emancipate" and "modernize" them. Many felt the best option to escape the horrors of the internment camps that awaited them was to flee to the metropole, where a number of their husbands and relatives were already installed. The voyage they undertook was one of desperation, as a number of families spent nearly everything they had in the process. As demonstrated by the reactions of the women of La Folie to the brutal treatment they received from French police and soldiers, life in France was wholly not what they expected. To their dismay, the Algerian War was in full force on both sides of the Mediterranean, and indeed right at the Western outskirts of Paris. In the eyes of the French administration, the Algerian presence in France was first and foremost a threat to public safety. Algerian immigrants in the *bidonvilles* were subjected to frequent police harassment and surveillance all the while the French administration paid lip service to antiracism and integration.

To combat attempts by French forces to control the Algerian immigrant population, the FLN set up a formidable counter state. The *bidonvilles* were widely recognized as strongholds of the FLN, as all of their inhabitants were expected to pay heed to the organization. It is thus foreseeable that some Algerian immigrants felt themselves trapped somewhere in the middle of the power struggle between the French and the FLN. However, as this chapter has demonstrated, a number of La Folie's inhabitants actively and enthusiastically took part in the FLN. The fact that some of these militants were female is significant. The leaders of the FLN did not initially assign important roles to women out of a commitment to the traditional separation of the sexes. Yet, this policy was likely loosened to prevent the French from succeeding in their mission to "win over" Algerian women. These women were thus pulled between two opposite forces that sought to use their roles as wives and mothers for their own benefit. A number of Algerian women, however, did actively involve themselves in Algerian nationalist movements, even in dangerous circumstances. Masses of Algerian women took to the streets of Paris in October 1961 out of a firm commitment to liberating their homeland from French humiliation.

Chapter 3: Female Leaders in the Metropolitan Algerian Nationalist Movement

By far the major priority of Algerian nationalism was independence for Algeria. Though women's rights were nowhere near the top of the list of the FLN's priorities, the topic did come into discussion toward the end of the Algerian War. As explained previously, the French justified their presence in Algeria to the international audience with the need to "save" Algerian women from the grasp of their male oppressors. It was only logical that the FLN would adopt its own stance on women's emancipation to give an additional rationale for struggle and perhaps even to save face. This chapter will explore how, with increased attention to the Algerian woman's role in the liberation struggle, female militants in France came to view the issue of women's rights. Women interpreted the issue differently depending on their background, age, motherhood status, and which Algerian nationalist organization they belonged to. At the same time, this chapter examines the particular co-

dependency developed, time and again, regarding women's rights. For most militants, women's rights were either to be *coextensive* to or *subordinate* with Algerian independence. However, they would only be realized through or after the overcoming of colonialism.

According to Baya Jurquet-Bouhoune and Jacques Jurquet, some female supporters of the FLN placed the needs of the organization above their desire for equal rights. The authors cite a 1960 interview in *El-Moudjahid*, the information bulletin of FLN resistance fighters, with a young female militant who had spent six years in the battle. When asked about the problem of securing women's rights, the interviewee responded they would be naturally recognized after women had proved themselves in the struggle. The more immediate concern, however, was that women "continue to raise their children well."[142] At the same time, the interviewee asserted that the outcome of the war would bring a lasting change to women's place in society. From a metropolitan French perspective, however, these changes did not necessarily appear groundbreaking. The young militant affirmed that "more girls are marrying according to their choice," and "men understand it's in their interest to give more responsibilities to their wives."[143] It is important to note the interviewee is defined by the authors as an intellectual, meaning her opinions on the matter of women's rights were likely viewed as progressive at the time. Nonetheless, she seemingly placed more importance on women serving *willingly* and somewhat on their own terms in their traditional roles as wives and mothers.

In the summer of 1961, the French Federation of the FLN introduced a women's section that extended from Paris to other main metropolitan cities with a large Algerian presence.[144] According to the platform adopted by the FLN at the 1956 Congress of Soummam, women involving themselves in the liberation struggle was nothing new. "Everyone knows that Algerian women have each time actively participated in the numerous and renewed insurrections that have pitted Algeria against the French occupation since 1830," the platform read.[145] While women's participation in the struggle was openly acknowledged and admired, it clearly constituted a breach of traditional gender roles. Women's presence in the male-dominated FLN was indeed only tolerated on the assumption that the "natural" order would be restored upon Algeria's independence. "It is therefore possible to organize in this area," the Soummam platform continued, "with original methods *specific to the customs of the country*, a formidable and effective means of combat."[146] Thus, prior to the creation of the women's section, female militants only performed tasks on the orders of men and were excluded from important meetings.[147]

Why, then, did a separate section for female militants in France come about? According to MacMaster, the section was created to counter claims in French propaganda that the FLN was oppressive towards women and blocked their societal progress. Reducing women to mere assistants of men in the movement, it was argued, would have consequences for their place after independence was won.[148] In fact, one way that section leaders attempted to draw more women into the nationalist movement was to promise them a role in managing post-independence Algeria. The 1960 work assembled by the women's section, *La femme algérienne dans la Révolution*, emphasized the "capital responsibility" of

women "in the blossoming of Algerian society." "Tomorrow," the authors declared, "the female militant will … participate directly as a complete citizen in the management of the country."[149] By our standards, this would appear to be a reasonable assertion of women's equal rights. Yet, it must be remembered that at this time Algerian culture still retained conservative notions of gender roles. In light of these values, the women's section was remarkably progressive relative to the standards of the FLN. At the same time, it was also quite divisive.

Divisions within the Women's Section of the FLN

The radical program offered by the women's section revealed divisions between female activists. As discussed by Jurquet-Bouhonne and Jurquet, the women's section was "chiefly animated by young intellectual women who studied in Paris."[150] As a result there were marked differences between the section's leaders and the mass of women they sought to politicize and educate. As mentioned previously, roughly 90% of Algerian immigrant women were illiterate. And, especially in the *bidonvilles*, married women were overloaded by young children and heavy domestic tasks, which made attending meetings difficult. Having recently arrived from poor regions in Algeria, they mainly spoke either Arabic or Berber and had little knowledge of French. By contrast, the young leaders of the women's section had to be reasonably literate and unburdened by family responsibilities. Moreover, many of them were bilingual, having received a French education.[151] In fact, immigrant families came to rely on their children, particularly their daughters, for interactions with French healthcare providers and social services. This can be seen in the case of Akila Hadjadj, who came to France as a little girl and became the interpreter for her whole family.[152] Considering there was no equivalent to the women's section in Algeria, exposure to progressive ideals through French schooling was likely what made the section's program as radical as it was. The young leaders emphasized such goals as the "free choice of a [marriage] partner," the removal of the veil, and the "right to full personal development [education] and employment."[153] These aims directly contrasted traditional Algerian values that dictated women should remain at home, accept their husband's authority, and pass on religious and cultural values to their children.

Though the section was based in France and its leaders were French-educated, it demonstrated a firm attachment to Algerian nationalism through its writings. This can be seen in one of the texts in *La femme algérienne dans la Révolution*, which relays the story of a young female militant who was apprehended by French police and tortured. In response to an officer who condemned her involvement in the FLN due to the fact that she was French, the militant retorted that while she was born in metropolitan France, her blood was Algerian.[154] This text was likely included to reassure immigrant women who may have felt the women's section was too influenced by Western values. After all, some of the section leaders' aims, such as the removal of the veil, were shared by the French administration. Therefore, through the story of the female militant, the section affirmed its Algerian patriotism and denounced any political attachment to France.

Moreover, seeing as the mass of Algerian immigrant women were more attached to conservative values, it was important for the women's section to counterbalance reforms with a respect for tradition. In 1960, the women's section authored an open letter to the second wife of Nikita Khrushchev that appealed to her as a fellow mother. "You, Madame, who knows the joys, the hopes, but also the suffrances of motherhood … we are certain you understand why we, Algerian mothers, women of a people long oppressed and violated by French colonialism, take part in the action of the ALN," the authors declare.[155] In this statement, French colonialism and the resulting independence struggle are defined as "suffrances of motherhood," or, to translate it more directly, as birth pangs. As mothers to the Algerian people, it was their duty to protect their children by taking part in the FLN. Not to do so would be incompatible with the ideal of motherhood. The authors continue: "What each mother desires for her child: health, education, the right to work assured in social justice and dignity, Algerian mothers cannot ensure for their children."[156] It is the French, then, who ultimately caused this suffering. By discriminating against its Algerian population, the French administration hindered Algerian mothers' ability to provide for their children. The assumption is that if French colonialism were removed, Algerian mothers would be able to ensure their children a better life. According to this logic, Algerian nationalism and motherhood were intertwined; the latter could only become a reality as a result of the former.

It is important to highlight that in the above case the women's section of the FLN is attempting to appeal for foreign aid. Both the French army and FLN in Algeria manipulated the image of Algerian women to appeal to the international audience. It is therefore not out of the question that the women themselves recognized this and did the same. If so, then the way the authors of the open letter to the First Lady of the Soviet Union assert themselves as wives and mothers was at least as much a strategic choice as an expression of how they actually felt. The authors appropriated the traditional image of women as dutiful mothers specifically because the First Lady was a mother as well. Moreover, there was an understanding that mothers everywhere would sympathize with the Algerian women's plight as it is portrayed in the letter. Although the letter is addressed to a specific person, the authors intended it to be read by a wide audience. Open letters both state the authors' position on a particular issue and focus broad attention on the letter's recipient, urging them to take action. Thus, the authors blatantly attack French colonialism as a direct threat to good motherhood. They do so with the assumption that the public will take their side, recognizing that women are equated with motherhood in the popular imagination. The open letter was likely a smart work of propaganda.

The Algerian Woman "Emerging from the Shadows"

Evidently, not all Algerian immigrant women who participated in the independence movement understood themselves as "patriotic mothers." Although the FLN was the leading Algerian nationalist organization, especially in the Paris region, it was by no means the only one. The MNA (whose followers were known as Messalists) had a following in the

north of France, with strongholds in Lille, Roubaix, Tourcoing, Sous-le-Bois, Valenciennes, Douai, and Lens.[157] As Nedjib Sidi Moussa discusses, Algerian women actively participated in the Messalist *Union des syndicats de travailleurs algériens* (the USTA). The French Federation of the USTA published a monthly editorial, *La Voix du travailleur algérien*, whose archives are now available. From these archives, it is evident that over the course of the organization's existence, female delegates increasingly asserted their presence and demands for women's emancipation.

The first Congress of the French Federation of the USTA took place in Paris in the summer of 1957. The corresponding issue of *La Voix du travailleur algérien* displayed online is unfortunately incomplete. Moussa, however, was seemingly able to access a complete copy. She notes that the photographs of this issue show women "participating in the work alongside their comrades, or even present in the gallery."[158] This was likely the case, as the speech of a female delegate is displayed alongside those of the male delegates on page 2. The female delegate of Roubaix, designated by her initials M.K., in fact announces that "certain people are shocked to see a delegation of Algerian women present at this Congress."[159] Even though Algerian women's participation in politics was unprecedented, for M.K. it was a logical outcome of events. She says that it is "normal because this appearance is undoubtedly the first that the Algerian woman has made to emerge from the shadows where she was voluntarily immersed … as a sister declared yesterday, colonialism is not a stranger there."[160]

First, M.K. could be suggesting that Algerian women were complicit in their oppression by the French colonial regime. They voluntarily plunged themselves "into the shadows," refusing to stand up for themselves or their people perhaps out of fear. It is unlikely that a female delegate would assign blame to her "sisters" in this way. The other interpretation is that Algerian women hid themselves for their own protection. As we have seen, Algerian men strove to protect their families from Western influence during colonization. The French administration in both Algeria and the metropole made a number of attempts to penetrate the "private" domain of the home and family, the "last bastion" of Algerian cultural identity. Thus, by "voluntarily immersing" herself in "the shadows," the Algerian woman was not giving in to colonialism so much as attempting to preserve herself from it. In France, where the Algerian woman is essentially surrounded by the colonizer, it would make sense that she continues to hide herself. Thus, the appearance of female delegates at the Congress is surprising. However, according to M.K. at some point Algerian women must "emerge from the shadows." The rest of her speech has been cut away. It is unclear why at this particular moment M.K. declares that the Algerian woman is making her first public appearance. Yet, she designates colonialism as an enemy common to Algerian women as well as men. She brings the support of all Algerian women to men engaged in the struggle against French colonialism.

Contrary to the French Federation of the FLN, the French Federation of the USTA did not form a separate section for its female members. As *La Voix du travailleur algérien* confirms, Algerian women participated alongside their male colleagues in the organization. Moreover,

the USTA publicly affirmed its support of equality of the sexes in 1957, however limited its vision. A "resolution on the liberation of the Algerian woman" was adopted at its first Congress. The first line of the resolution declares, "There cannot be equality between man and woman in a country like Algeria where men themselves have no political rights."[161] Note how the authors imply the political rights of men take priority over those of women: it is unthinkable for women to have political rights when men do not. Men must receive their rights first, and the rest will follow. The resolution continues, "The Algerian woman's liberation therefore implies her participation in the struggle for Algeria's liberation from colonial oppression."[162] The authors naturally blame the French colonial regime for denying Algerians political rights. Casting off French colonialism and securing independence for Algeria is therefore the paramount goal. For Algerian women to secure their rights, the authors declare, they must perform their share in the independence struggle. Although they designate women's rights as of lesser priority than those of men (i.e., those of supposedly un-gendered Algerians, with men being clearly privileged), the authors do grant Algerian women political agency— in a sense, they even demand it. In both the FLN and USTA cases, independence is a condition of possibility for women to have a role in post-colonial society. There, however, the two visions diverge. The leaders of the FLN accepted women in their organization on the clear assumption that traditional gender roles would be reinstated, indeed by choice. The leaders of the USTA, however, not only accepted women in their organization, but also expected them to take on an active role to secure a lasting societal change.

The USTA's "Modern" Algerian Woman

In its 1957 resolution, the USTA denounces specific problems the Algerian woman encountered in France. The authors list what they believe to be the first measures necessary to liberate women from "illiteracy, misery, and illness."[163] They call for the establishment of schools, hospitals, a "modern network of nurseries," "maternal and child protection services, and "modern housing with water, gas, and electricity."[164] Without the realization of these objectives, the authors assert, women's liberation was not possible. It would appear that these goals served to alleviate women's duties at home, if not to nearly eradicate them entirely. With the establishment of nurseries, for instance, mothers could afford to spend less time looking after children. With access to water, gas, and electricity, the three of which were either scarce or nonexistent in the *bidonvilles*, housework could be made much more efficient. Interestingly, the word "modern" is invoked numerous times. For the French, the ideal "modern" woman served as a dutiful wife and mother.[165] Here, however, the "modern" woman is perceived as increasingly separate from domestic life and, thus, able to receive a proper education. Given that the USTA was an organization of workers, it makes sense that it sought to enable women to work outside the home. The fact that the organization enumerated specific objectives with the intention to aid women as individuals, not strictly as wives and mothers, was quite progressive. Of course, very few Algerian immigrant women

were employed. The female member of the USTA, then, represented a minority of the Algerian population in France.

Indeed, in the April 1958 issue of *La Voix du travailleur algérien*, a female member of the USTA by the name of Yasmina B. reports on the conditions faced by working Algerian women. Yasmina questions what the emancipation of the Algerian woman entails. "Many opinions," she declares, "which sometimes differ greatly from one another, are expressed by Algerians about the role of the Algerian woman at home, in the factory, in the city … Some are attached to the traditional past, others imagine the future."[166] Here, she is naturally referring to the two main visions of the Algerian woman: one in which she remains at home, and the other in which she is able to work outside the home. She does not outright say that she aligns herself with the latter image, instead opting to "report some facts, some realities lived by female Algerian militants of the USTA or wives of militants."[167] As members of the USTA, these female militants that Yasmina describes are workers. Yasmina details the difficulties faced by Algerian women employed in mines and factories: difficult work, low pay, long hours, and discrimination for not being able to speak French. In the last testimony her interviewee states that "we must support the working class in the struggle for all its demands."[168] Yasmina equated the emancipation of the Algerian woman with worker's rights. She envisioned a future where Algerian women worked outside the home and were afforded the same rights as their male counterparts.

This sentiment was not Yasmina's alone, as it was in fact echoed by the USTA after its second Congress in December 1959. Its "resolution on the emancipation of the Algerian woman" called for the "deployment of all efforts necessary for her professional training."[169] This second resolution concerning Algerian women was likely adopted in response to criticisms from female delegates. During the 1959 Congress, one female delegate by the name of Hedjila openly expressed her disappointment that not enough attention was devoted to women's issues. She specifically asserted that the "moral report" did mention women, but only briefly.[170] Indeed, Nedjib Sidi Moussa points out how the report only devotes six lines of its discussion to Algerian women. While their heroism is hailed, their concrete situations and claims are ignored.[171] Hedjila herself thus calls attention to a number of these issues. For instance, she denounces the French colonial regime in Algeria for neglecting to provide widowed women with family allocations or livable wages. With her intervention, Hedjila criticizes the insufficient treatment of women's issues by the leadership of the USTA.[172] While women's rights were likely not the USTA's central concern, by 1959 female delegates of the organization clearly felt they had enough authority to assert their own demands. Compared to the USTA's first Congress in 1957, when the presence of female militants was seen as surprising, notable changes had been made.

Hedjila justified her concern for women's issues with her declaration that, in modern society, "the woman plays an important role in social and economic life." Again, the concept of the "modern" woman who works outside the home is upheld as an ideal. At the same time, Hedjila distanced herself from the vision of the "modern" woman as set forth by the French administration. She all but mocked the "integrationists" who "believed they solved

women's issues" with the unveiling ceremonies of May 1958, which she calls "masquerades."[173] Women could not be "emancipated," she implies, by merely burning a few veils. Furthermore, by criticizing these so-called integrationists, Hedjila calls into question the French administration's ability to make Algerian women "modern" by converting them to Western ideals. Moreover, for the members of the USTA, Algerian women's emancipation was in fact not possible until the oppressive colonial regime was destroyed. In these militants' eyes, the French were hindering Algerian women's advancement rather than promoting it.

The new secretary general of the USTA, Abderrahmane Bensid, addressed the issues brought up by different delegates in the following issue of *La Voix du travailleur algérien*. Not only did he respond to the criticisms brought up by Hedjila and other female delegates, he also conceded them. "The women protested; they are right," he admits, "We have reserved six lines for them; this is true." Bensid then continued to reaffirm the USTA's commitment to the participation of women: "But is this reason to say that this problem only concerns us secondarily? No! Comrades, the role of women, our other half, we do not underestimate it, the USTA envisages it concretely in fact and not demagogically as others do."[174] Again, compared to the USTA's first Congress in 1957, there is a stark difference with how women are discussed within the organization. The 1957 resolution on women's emancipation seemingly did position the achievement of Algerian men's political rights as a higher priority than those of women. Recall its implication that the existence of women's rights was unfathomable at a time when men themselves did not yet have rights. Here, however, Bensid asserts that women are by no means a secondary concern, that they are men's "other half." While this does not necessarily imply that men and women are equals, it affirms the two sexes' partnership and shared goal.

Moreover, in his declaration that the USTA supported women "concretely" rather than "demagogically as others do," Bensid is likely referencing the FLN. It is true that while the FLN praised women for their participation in the independence struggle, it excluded women from important meetings and leadership positions. Although some female militants ultimately secured leadership roles within the women's section, it is unknown exactly how much authority this section had. The answer, it seems, is not much. According to Neil MacMaster, the women's section offered literacy classes and vocational training. It also attempted to raise women's political awareness.[175] And, as we have seen, the leaders of the FLN certainly did not consider women's rights a priority. It is conceivable that the FLN's attempt to appeal to women by creating a separate female section in 1961 was at least in part a response to French criticisms, as per MacMaster's argument. Perhaps the section was also created in response to the USTA's outspoken support of women. Thus, Bensid's attack of the FLN as disingenuous may have some validity. Of course, Bensid's affirmation of the USTA's could have been for show as well, to not lose any of the organization's dwindling support. However, by 1958 the FLN had largely established its dominance as the most powerful Algerian nationalist organization. Any last-ditch attempt to draw more support to the USTA would have likely proved futile. Furthermore, the USTA's policy on women was

increasingly progressive for the time, and conceivably could have alienated potential supporters. The majority of Algerian immigrant women remained at home.

Even in 1960, when Algerian nationalists saw independence as all but certain, the USTA continued to strengthen its policy on women. Indeed, in that very year official negotiations began between France and the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic.[176] The May 1960 issue of *La Voix du travailleur algérien* features this speech by the female delegate Yamina Lounici: "The emancipation of the Algerian woman can only materialize in a FREE AND DEMOCRATIC ALGERIA … whatever the social achievements that will ensure our wellbeing, nothing can turn us away from our unshakable will to snatch our political freedom."[177] With these words, Yamina linked the fate of Algerian women to that of Algeria itself. With Algeria's independence believed to be within grasp, so, too, were rights for women. With the USTA's mission to secure these rights described as "unshakable," the slogan of women's emancipation was embraced more than ever before.

Conclusion

By the summer of 1961, the USTA was not the only Algerian nationalist organization that carried this slogan for women's emancipation. It was at this time that the FLN created its separate women's section. As Moussa notes, despite how ephemeral this organization was, "its existence testifies to the appropriation by Algerian leaders and militants of the theme of emancipation."[178] Just as in Algeria, the FLN in France sought to win over Algerian women to its side to serve its own interests. With women in its ranks, the FLN could counter claims raised by the French and rival Algerian nationalist organizations that it was hindering women's societal progress. In this sense, the organization used women as political tools to serve its own ends.

That is not to say, however, that these women saw themselves as lacking agency. The leaders of the women's section, as we have seen, knew how to manipulate their image to appeal to a wider audience. In their open leader to the First Lady of the Soviet Union, they put forth an image of themselves as dutiful wives and mothers. They did so despite the fact that most of the leaders were young, educated women who opposed traditional Algerian values dictating that women remain at home to look after children. At the same time, even the female militants who embraced these traditional values saw themselves as acting politically. By teaching their children religious and cultural values, these women believed they were shaping the next generation and thus the future of Algeria. Therefore, women's role in Algerian nationalism had no single concrete meaning. Algerian women served as political agents in a variety of ways.

Conclusion

On 5 July 1962, Algeria declared itself an independent nation and brought an end to 132 years of French rule. With the so-called Evian Accords, France officially recognized that

Algerians were too different from other French citizens to be integrated into French society. As demonstrated by Todd Shepard, this distinction was precisely what the FLN had always argued. The organization insisted that because Algerians were so defined by Arab culture, Berber roots, and Islamic tradition, they formed a distinct nation deserving of independence. It was not until the war was lost, however, that the French conceded this point.[179] Prior to the Evian Accords, the war's very existence was impossible to admit since, according to the French administration, "Algeria was France." However, although Algerian soil may have been French, Algerians themselves were decidedly not.

From the outset, the French had seen Islam as the defining characteristic of Algerian culture, which was deemed incompatible with Frenchness. The colonial administration, after all, made Muslim status an obstacle to Algerians' ability to become full-fledged citizens. For the French, what made Algerian Muslim culture particularly backwards was its treatment of women. French colonizers were preoccupied with Algeria's veiled women, whom they imagined as either prostitutes or slaves to their husbands. Although they publicly justified their presence in Algeria as a "civilizing mission" to liberate the natives from their "backwards" values, the French did little to improve the situation of native women. The vast majority of these women were illiterate and excluded from the public sphere by the French. It was not until the Algerian War that the French administration took a specific interest in "emancipating" Algerian women. This was largely for its own benefit, as the French sought to win Algerian women's loyalty by demonstrating that they could become "modern women" with their assistance. The "emancipation" campaign thus equated French colonialism with progressive ideology, putting pressure on the FLN to take a stance on women's rights.

The French were soon not alone in placing Algerian women at the heart of their wartime strategy. Algerian women, who primarily existed within the private domain of the home and family that the French colonizer had never been able to successfully infiltrate, served as the last bastions of Muslim law and custom. This was one of the key beliefs wielded by Algerian nationalists, who reacted to French "emancipation" efforts with attempts to reinforce the traditional Muslim family. The FLN encouraged women to support the liberation struggle through "patriotic motherhood," which meant passing on traditional moral standards to the next generation of Algerians. The French also addressed Algerian women in their roles as wives and mothers, believing that if they could sway the women over to their cause, the rest of their family would follow suit. Algerian women, then, found themselves pulled between two opposing forces: colonialism and independence. Algerian women living in France were made conscious of these pressures everyday, from their living quarters in the *bidonvilles* to the politics of "emancipation." Both French authorities and Algerian nationalists presented idealized constructs of Algerian women that served their own interests.

While the FLN did value female fighters to some extent, it largely used them as propaganda for their cause. For all the attention focused on them, women were not given significant voices or positions in the liberation movement (not in Algeria, at least, as the

previous chapter has shown). As Algeria moved toward independence, some were optimistic about the possibility of women's equality in post-revolution Algerian society. Although female fighters were a small minority, it seemed they had earned the right to be recognized as equals in the independent state they had fought alongside men for. As Frantz Fanon wrote, "The underdeveloped country must take precautions not to perpetuate feudal traditions that give priority to men over women. Women shall be given equal importance to men, not in the articles of the constitution, but in daily life, at the factory, in the schools, and in assemblies."[180]

There were initially promising signs to this effect, as the Algerian government passed a reform in 1963 raising the minimum age of marriage for girls.[181] Yet, for a number of reasons, the first two Algerian presidents abandoned any commitment to gender equality. First, the existing patriarchal system was too deeply embedded to remove without creating dangerous political opposition. Second, feminism was viewed as a Western construction incompatible with the FLN's nationalist ideology. Lastly, because the traditional family structure was faced with crisis, the male-dominated system sought a defensive reinforcement of patriarchy.[182] Thus, in the years after the Algerian War, women's efforts in the liberation struggle were largely forgotten and amounted to little in terms of gender equality. The FLN, attempting to solidify its rule in Algeria, downplayed the contribution of other Algerian nationalist movements (the MNA, their biggest rival) and the role played by Algerian immigrants.

The French government, by contrast, sought to forget the war almost entirely. Under De Gaulle's presidency, the narrative emerged that "decolonization was the predetermined end point."[183] As the story went, France had always planned for Algeria's independence as part of its commitment to liberty and justice. Now, French nationalism could focus purely on the metropole. The French government accordingly abandoned its integration policy for Algerians living in France, who faced a period of abrupt transition in the years following the war's end. These former colonial subjects were given a choice: they could either be Algerian or French. Ultimately very few of them (only a little over a thousand) took steps toward French naturalization. Of the few women who did opt for French citizenship, prostitutes and wives of nationalists saw their applications rejected.[184] French policy publicly encouraged only the migration of temporary, male-workers to supply economic needs. Thus, with Algerian independence came a shift away from Algerians, and from families in particular. The Algerian population in France, despite its growing numbers, grew nearly invisible in the eyes of the French throughout the 1960s.

Renewed Algerian immigration to the metropole played a considerable role in the rise of right-wing politics. It also posed questions about what it meant to be French. Indeed, in the 1970s France saw an increase in the arrival of families, fueling fears about former colonial subjects overrunning France.[185] Jean-Marie Le Pen and the National Front party in particular were largely responsible for fanning the flames of racist discourse on immigrants. Criminal behavior of delinquent youths in the suburbs (where the *bidonvilles* once existed) was attributed to immigrants, who were equated with Algerians, who were equated with

Muslims. At the same time, ideas about Muslim women became less ambiguous. While during the colonial period they were perceived as both prostitutes and slaves, they were now clearly defined as victims of Muslim patriarchy.[186] The veil in turn represented an ominous threat of a takeover by Islamists and a deliberate refusal to become French. Moreover, for many French feminists, Islam and the veil were unequivocally incompatible with feminism.

Algerian women remain at the heart of France's struggle to reconcile with its ethnically diverse population resulting from its colonial past. Condemning the veil does not only condemn Islam; it disregards the differences represented by Arab and Muslim populations. Unlike the United States, which claims to be accommodating of the diversity of its newcomers, France requires immigrants to conform to existing norms. As the logic goes, differences are not recorded, nor do they legally exist, nor do they have to be tolerated. Thus, Muslims living in France continue to be regarded as foreign, immutable entities. Today, just as during the Algerian War, perceptions of Muslim women and their families represent an insistence on the superiority of "modern" Western civilization in the midst of a changing world.

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[165] Lyons, The Civilizing Mission, 55.

[166] Yasmina B., "La femme algérienne sur le front du travail," in Fédération de France de l'Union des syndicats de travailleurs algériens, *La Voix du travailleur algérien*, no. 10, April, 1958.

[167] Ibid.

[168] Ibid.

[169] Fédération de France de l'Union des syndicats de travailleurs algériens, *La Voix du travailleur algérien*, supplement to no. 14, December, 1959.

[170] Moussa, "Les visages de l'émancipation," 116

[171] Ibid.

[172] Ibid.

[173] Speech by Hedjila in Fédération de France de l'Union des syndicats de travailleurs algériens, "IIe congrès de l'U.S.T.A., L'Algérie laborieuse et combattante en marche vers la paix, la liberté et le progrès social," *La Voix du travailleur algérien*, no. 14, December, 1959.

[174] Abderrahmane Bensid, "Réponse de Bensid aux différents orateurs," in Fédération de France de l'Union des syndicats de travailleurs algériens, *La Voix du travailleur algérien*, supplement to no. 14, December, 1959.

[175] MacMaster, "Des révolutionnaires invisibles," 178.

[176] Moussa, "Les visages de l'émancipation," 117.

[177] Speech by Yamina Lounici in Fédération de France de l'Union des syndicats de travailleurs algériens, *La Voix du travailleur algérien*, no. 17, May, 1960.

[178] Moussa, "Les visages de l'émancipation," 118.

[179] Todd Shepard, The Invention of Decolonization: The Algerian War and the Remaking of France (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 6.

[180] Fanon, Wretched of the Earth, 142.

[181] Neil MacMaster, "The Colonial 'Emancipation' of Algerian Women: the Marriage Law of 1959 and the Failure of Legislation on Women's Rights in the Post-Independence Era," *Vienna Journal of African Studies* 7, no. 12 (2007): 107.

[182] Ibid., 108.

[183] Shepard, The Invention of Decolonization, 4.

[184] Marc André, "Algerian Women in France: What Kind of Citizenship? (1930s-1960s)," translated by Helen Tomlinson, *Clio. Women, Gender, History* 1, no. 43 (2016), 112.

[185] Scott, The Politics of the Veil, 69.

[186] Ibid., 71.

From Copies to Curriculums: The Visual and Ideological Evolution of Medieval Medical Manuscripts in the *Schola Medica* Salernitana

Alex Quan

Introduction

The art of the manuscript is two-fold: it is characterized by the text itself (either original or transcribed from a source) and its decoration of the text. From the 11th to 13th centuries, as conceptions of medicine evolved in the West, specifically in Italy, so too did the art of the medical manuscript. I will focus on the visual evolution of medical manuscripts during this period through the lens of one of the most important medical universities of the medieval era: the Schola Medica Salernitana (the school of medicine in Salerno, Italy). The Salernitan school, through its writings and treatises, facilitated the transformation of medicine during these centuries from a trade based on the superstitious medical practices of the Middle Ages to a discipline that thoroughly explored medicine's role in society and produced medical compendiums and treatises remaining in use by students well into the Italian Renaissance. During this period, the visual elements of medical manuscripts produced by the school underwent a significant shift, transitioning from a sparsely decorated visual layout to a more ornamental and beautifying decorative program. I will conduct a visual analysis of these manuscripts throughout three distinct periods: the pre-Salernitan era, the pre-Arabic age of practical medicine in the 11th century, and the post-Arabic age of philosophical, natural medicine in Salerno following the mass translation of Arabic medical treatises into Latin in the 12th century.

I argue that the visual transformation of Salernitan medical manuscripts—from a restrained decorative program to more elaborate layouts and forms of embellishment—can be understood through ideological changes in the school's conception of medicine and medical practice. As the Schola Medica Salernitana evolved from a practice-oriented view of medicine to an exegetical and theoretical one, I argue that its medical manuscripts similarly transitioned from a "sparse" utilitarian style, emphasizing practical ease of use and encyclopedic navigation for practitioners, to a highly decorative style designed for students to critically engage with the text. The first part of this article relies on existing scholarship

as it traces the history of the Salernitan school. As the historical literature tends to exclusively focus on the historical backdrop and textual history of Salerno's manuscripts rather than their visual form, I present the existing scholarship in the form of a narrative history of the school and its manuscripts, as supported by secondary literature, to contextualize the analysis that follows. The second part of this article is my own analysis of the visual attributes of surviving Salernitan medical manuscripts and how these attributes reflect the changes in medical teaching that took place within the school.

Pre-Salernitan Medical Manuscripts

Before the foundation and development of the Salernitan school, medical manuscripts in Western Europe received little attention beyond the sphere of practicing clinicians. Surviving into the Byzantine era of the 6th century, Classical Greek medical manuscripts were often "replete with shorter or longer texts, badly composed, badly marked as to beginning or end and often transmitted anonymously or under pseudonyms."[1] At a time when medieval perceptions of medicine were often rife with superstition and belief in magic, medical manuscripts had little use beyond the hands of practitioners or the sanctuary of monastic scholasticism.[2] Salerno would become known for its compendiums of medical works; however, during the pre-Salernitan period of medical history there was little attempt to consolidate these scattered manuscripts. Greek and Latin medical anthologies were often compiled by "cutting and pasting" medical cures into "recipe books" of sorts, occasionally organizing their content based on the signs and symptoms of a disease, followed by known treatments.[3] Their textual exemplars, or the source texts from which copies were made, survived mainly through the fragmented sections preserved in these compendiums.[4]

However, the 11th century saw a resurgence in Classical medical writings through monastic reproduction despite these texts nearly disappearing in the previous centuries. Since these writings were disordered and scattered in Western Europe, the primary conduit for their survival was the Arabic medical canon. One such manuscript survives in extraordinary circumstances: beneath the ink of an 11th-century liturgical manuscript is an undertext containing a 9th-century translation of Galen's Book of Simple Drugs: the Syriac Galen Palimpsest (Fig. 1).[5] As the name suggests, the palimpsest contains Galen's treatise in a Syriac script, indicating the breadth of the Arabic medical literature, through which these works from antiquity survived.

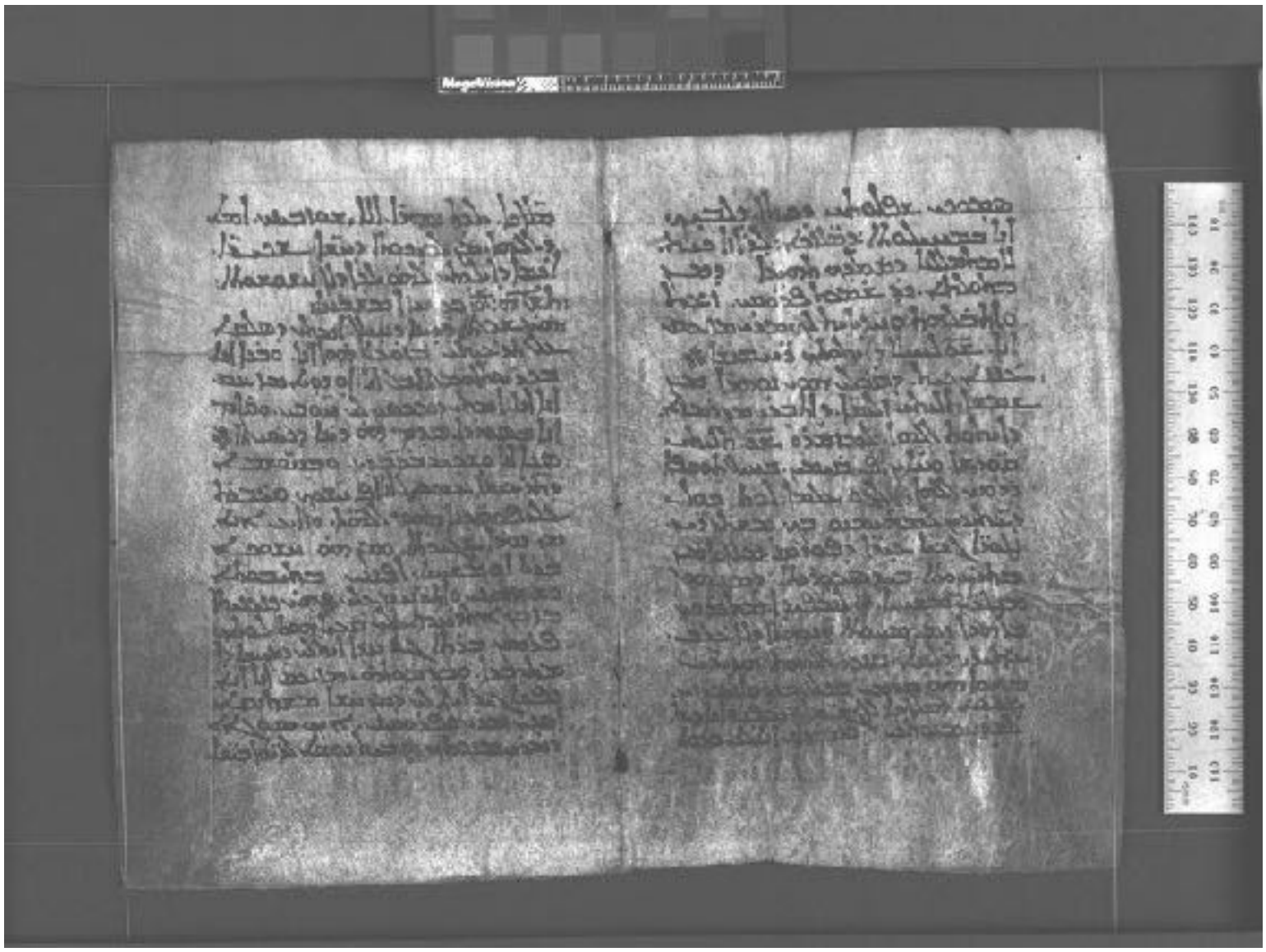


Figure 1: Folios 65v-66r of the Syriac Galen Palimpsest.
The Syriac Galen Palimpsest, 9th century CE. University of Pennsylvania Libraries. http://digitalgalen.net/

Practical Medicine: Salerno in the 11th Century

The Schola Medica Salernitana itself had a rich heritage of medical teaching extending as far back as the 6th century BC, with the Hellenistic philosopher and physician Parmenides founding the school and instructing students like Zeno there.[6] However, it was not until the 11th century that Salerno began to regain its reputation as a center for medicine and medical education not only in Italy, but also on the world stage. An important commercial center increasingly renowned for its medical teaching and libraries, Salerno rose to reclaim its global prominence as a leading center of medicine. Enrico de Diviitis characterizes 11th-century Salernitan medicine by its "constant tendency toward the concrete and the real, spurred by the need to discover the causes of a disease."[7] Physicians took part in a tradition of empiricism based in symptomatology, prioritizing the recognition of symptoms, the identification of their causes, and the prescription of a working remedy.

In this pre-Arabic era of Salernitan practical medicine, we see the first medical compendium compiled for practitioners and students: the *Passionarius* of Gariopontus. The *Passionarius* is remarkable not for its content, but for the manner in which it presents excerpts from existing medical treatises of antique and Byzantine origin.[8] It is a "practica" in every sense of the word, tailored to maximize ease of use by practitioners with little regard for theory or philosophy.[9] In his conception of the *Passionarius*, Gariopontus went beyond

mere transcription, playing an active role in shaping the ancient texts for contemporary use. For example, *Passionarius* manuscripts categorize and explain illnesses and treatments systematically by the "anatomical locus of disease" from head to foot: a novel organizational format at the time.[10] Additionally, the *Passionarius* was meant to be a complete compendium of every known disease and treatment; such a manual did not exist before Gariopontus' undertaking. A prologue written by Gariopontus himself similarly highlights his utilization of chapter headings to the physician referencing his work: "Peruse quickly these preceding chapter headings," he wrote, and "fame will be yours and you will be able to be aware of each individual disease and its cure."[11] Gariopontus' utilitarian, practice-minded organization of the *Passionarius* was thoroughly influential in the development of future medical manuscripts; even as the *Passionarius* evolved in its formatting and ornamentation, the chapter headings and head-to-foot layout persisted. Ultimately, the *Passionarius*' organizational aspects remained its central feature even three centuries after it first entered the Western canon of medicine. More *Passionarius* manuscripts survive today than any of its contemporaries, with over 52 extant copies, testifying to its significance and widespread popularity.[12]

Constantine the African's Latin Translations: Salerno in the 12th Century

While the 11th century marked the age of the *Passionarius* as the preeminent medical manuscript in the Schola Medica Salernitana, the 12th century ushered in new developments in the Western canon of medical manuscripts, resulting in radical transformations to the school's medical practice and philosophy. The Italian monastery of Montecassino and its Benedictine monastic structure gave rise to a tradition of scholasticism, as monks in its scriptorium undertook the Herculean task of compiling, transcribing, and correcting antique manuscripts.[13] Montecassino's treatment of ancient medical texts established a renewed focus in the medieval medical canon on "curing diseases of the body rather than the soul"—akin to the monastery's own physical reconstruction after being ravaged by numerous invasions throughout the Middle Ages.[14] In the 11th century, a Carthaginian monk operating out of Salerno and later Montecassino, known as Constantinus Africanus (1010-1087), or Constantine the African, began a monumental project of translating Arabic medical treatises and literature into Latin.[15] The efforts of Constantine and his workshop resulted in volumes of Galen and Hippocrates, which had been preserved in the Arabic literature, reentering into the Western canon. Additionally, his Latin translations allowed for the cultural exchange of sophisticated Arabic medical treatises previously unknown to the West, such as the *Viaticum* of Ibn-al-Gazzar, the *Pantegni* of Haly Abbas al-Majusi, and the *Isagoge* of Johannitus.[16]

The sudden dissemination of Arabic medical knowledge and reintroduction of Galenic and Hippocratic medical treatises through Arabic sources quickly competed with the medical empiricism of the late 11th century. For the first time in the school's history, Salernitan physicians became preoccupied not only with the practice of medicine, but also with the theory and metaphysics underlying it. Rather than instruct physicians through a

recipe book of causes and cures, the school began to rigorously challenge students to reconcile and justify medical practice using an Aristotelian naturalistic philosophy.[17] Though practica such as the *Passionarius* remained in use, they were gradually eschewed by the school during the 12th century in favor of more philosophical treatises that critically engaged with authoritative medical texts.[18] Essentially, medical handbooks were set aside for a new wave of theoretical medical doctrine.

12th-Century Aristotelianism, New Galenism, and Medical Curriculums:

With the reintroduction of antique medical treatises through Constantine the African's translations of the Arabic medical canon, empiricism gave way to more critical questions about man's nature in relation to the world around him. While Galenic and Hippocratic treatises had existed in some form during Salerno's pre-Arabic stage,[19] Constantine's translations and Arabic medicine as a whole generally, and often implicitly, required an understanding of Galenic ideas.[20] Specifically, Galen's theory of the four humors governing human anatomical function—blood, phlegm, black bile, and yellow bile—was widely accepted as the authoritative foundation for physiology and pathology, as was often discussed in Salernitan medical books in the post-Arabic period.[21] This influence was not invisible to students; one *Viaticum* from the 13th century contains marginal annotations from a student, abbreviating the letter "G" to mark textual citations of Galen (Fig. 2).

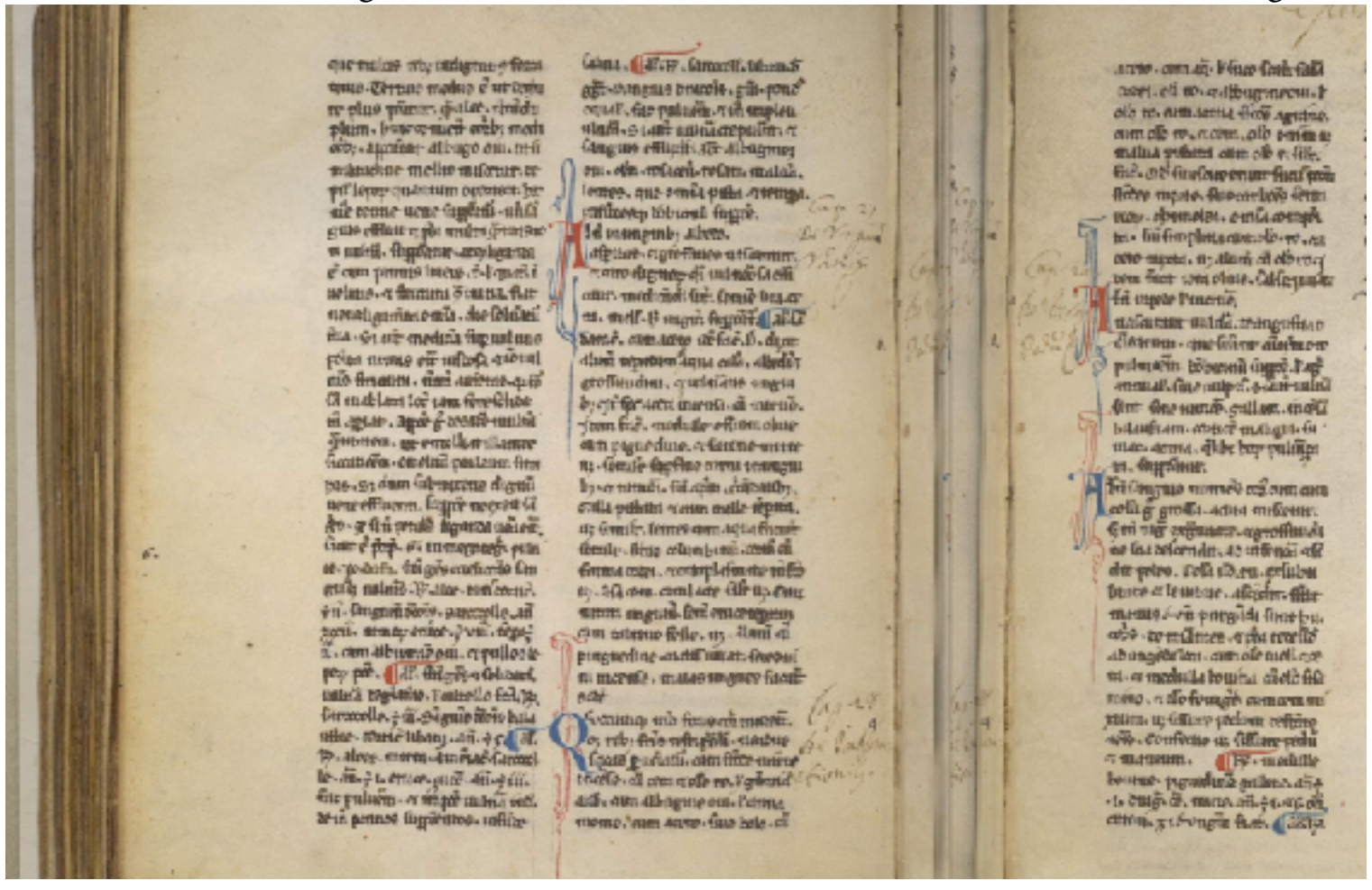


Figure 2: A marginal "G" denoting the *Viaticum's* citation of Galen. Folio 80v.
Constantine the African, Viaticum, 13th century (before 1244). Historical Medical Library of The College of Physicians of Philadelphia Z10 76.

If Galen was the medical foundation for the new wave of Arabic medicine in Salerno, then Aristotle was the philosophical foundation. The Aristotelian philosophy of medicine

strongly invoked the fundamental nature of man and the duty of the physician to restore man to that natural state of health when he is ill.[22] As a result, a beginning medical student in Salerno would have first learned the Aristotelian basis for the art of medicine before spending time in medical lectures and in the clinic with full-fledged physicians. The intellectual revival in medical education resulting from Constantine's translations changed the medical curriculum of Salerno, as well as the manuscripts used by its teachers and students.

This shift towards an analytical evaluation of medical works during the 12th century ushered in an exegetical format of teaching; masters would write commentaries on texts and students would record them in glosses—side-margin notes—within their own copies of these texts.[23] One such master physician known as Maurus of Salerno glossed on the *Prognostics* of Hippocrates by highlighting important passages, correcting information, and supplementing Hippocrates' text with his own experience as a physician.[24] By the time Salerno began compiling these texts into curriculums, the transformations ushered in by Constantine's efforts had thoroughly changed Salernitan medicine from a compendium of medical knowledge to a *comprarium* of "critical review"[25] rather than the "receipt literature...gradually put into order"[26] by Gariopontus the century before. When the Salernitans began compiling the first basic medical curriculum in the 12th century, known as the *Articella*, they drew heavily on medical writings by Galen, Hippocrates, and Arabic writers such as Johannitus and Avicenna. The *Articella* embodies this critical style of teaching, placing a heavy emphasis on "the practice of teaching by use of commentary on these texts."[27] Although the school eventually fell behind its contemporaries, fading from the forefront of Western medicine, manuscripts like the *Articella* were used well into the 16th century, remaining in production through the transition from manuscripts to printed texts.

A Visual Analysis of the Evolution of Salernitan Medical Manuscripts:

So far, I have described the transformation of the Schola Medical Salernitana from its empirical phase through its exegetical phase, as well as the manuscripts produced in each period of the school's history. Though scholars have contributed extensively to the academic literature by summarizing the history of the Salernitan school and its texts, there is a dearth of scholarly examinations of the visual attributes of these medical manuscripts from an art historical perspective. In the following sections, I attempt to determine the extent to which the ideological shifts within the Schola Medica Salernitana relate to the formatting of the text and ornament of the medical manuscripts produced in each era. By examining several medical manuscripts from the pre-Arabic and post-Arabic eras of the school, I argue that changes to the decoration and layout of its manuscripts mirror—and resulted from—the school's transition from a practical to a theoretical curriculum. Additionally, though figural illustration is uncommon in existing medical manuscripts produced by the school, I invoke two examples of such illustrations within pre-Arabic and post-Arabic medical manuscripts to illustrate how these shifts in the philosophy of medicine manifested not only in the

formatting and embellishment of their texts, but also in their pictorial representations of medical practice. By studying the visual ornamentation and layout of Salernitan medical manuscripts, we can understand the perspectives of the patrons who commissioned them, and how the presentation of the text was intended to achieve the manuscript's purpose.

I will begin by examining several *Passionarius* manuscripts that are representative of the pre-Arabic era of Salernitan medicine. Archivio Capitolare San Pietro MS H 44, an 11th-century *Passionarius* in the Vatican Library, displays its chapter contents in a 3-column format above the text, each chapter heading differentiated from the text with a red initial (Fig. 3). MS H 44 exemplifies one of the earliest extant copies of Gariopontus' text, utilizing a single-column Latin minuscule (lowercase) text spanning each page: a layout borrowed from antique manuscripts like the Syriac Galen Palimpsest (Fig. 1). Its utilization of a familiar visual program suggests that the reuse of previous manuscript layouts was sufficient for the purposes of the early *Passionarius*. However, as organization took precedence over decoration, readability was improved primarily through the division of its contents into logical sections. MS H 44 attempts to accomplish this by accenting the beginnings of certain passages and sentences with red letters throughout the text. Additionally, in contrast to the Syriac Galen Palimpsest's stark presentation of lines of text, MS H 44 implements a more intuitive list of its chapters preceding the main body of text. These key organizational and visual departures from manuscripts like the Syriac Galen Palimpsest likely made the act of referencing specific sections more efficient for a practicing physician or student.

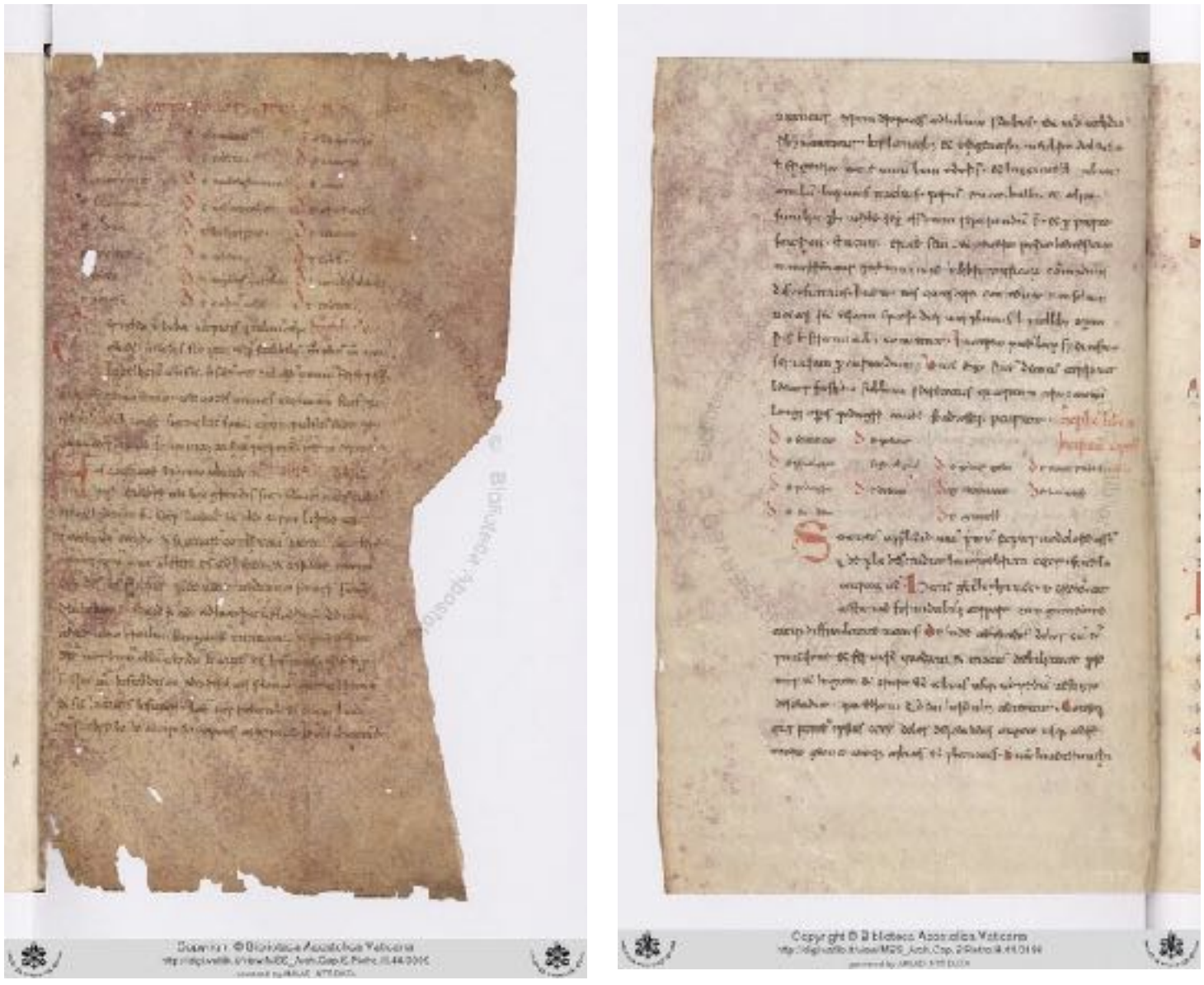


Figure 3: Chapter heading organization in an 11th-century *Passionarius* (folios 1r, 9v).
Gariopontus, *Passionarius*, c 1050. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio Capitolare San Pietro H 44 (MS H 44).
DigiVatLib. https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Arch.Cap.S.Pietro.H.44/0148.

Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht Hs 687, a 12th-century *Passionarius*, retains the characteristic chapter and section headings preceding each new section of text, similarly numbered but now underlined in red for additional emphasis (Fig. 4). Visible on folio 181r are red headings written above each new section: "Cura," or "cure," and "Mialgia," presumably "myalgia," or muscle pain. For the *Passionarius*, decoration was likely distracting to some degree and was therefore deemphasized—its purpose was, after all, to be intuitively useful rather than beautiful. The few decorations present appear restrained and primarily serve an organizational purpose by dividing the text into sense units, which were quicker and easier to read. In contrast to MS H 44 (Fig. 3), the colored initials in Utrecht Hs 687 are no longer uniform, and participate in a hierarchical system of scale in which the relative size of each initial indicates the importance of the section that follows. For example, a large "S" in red ink precedes the first section of text under its tabulated contents on folio 180v (Fig. 4). Other enlarged red initials adorn the adjacent folio; each section is preceded by a red initial, indicating the use of color to differentiate chapter sections from one another. However, none compare in size to the initial following the manuscript's list of chapters, thereby distinguishing the opening paragraph of each chapter from the individual sections

within those chapters. For the 12th-century *Passionarius*, these newly-present methods of delineating sections of text advanced its purpose as a practical manual; both scale and coloration serve to distinguish new sections of text, indicating the use of visual ornament only to guide the eye to the natural starting points in the text for faster navigation and improved ease of use when referencing a catalogued illness or cure.

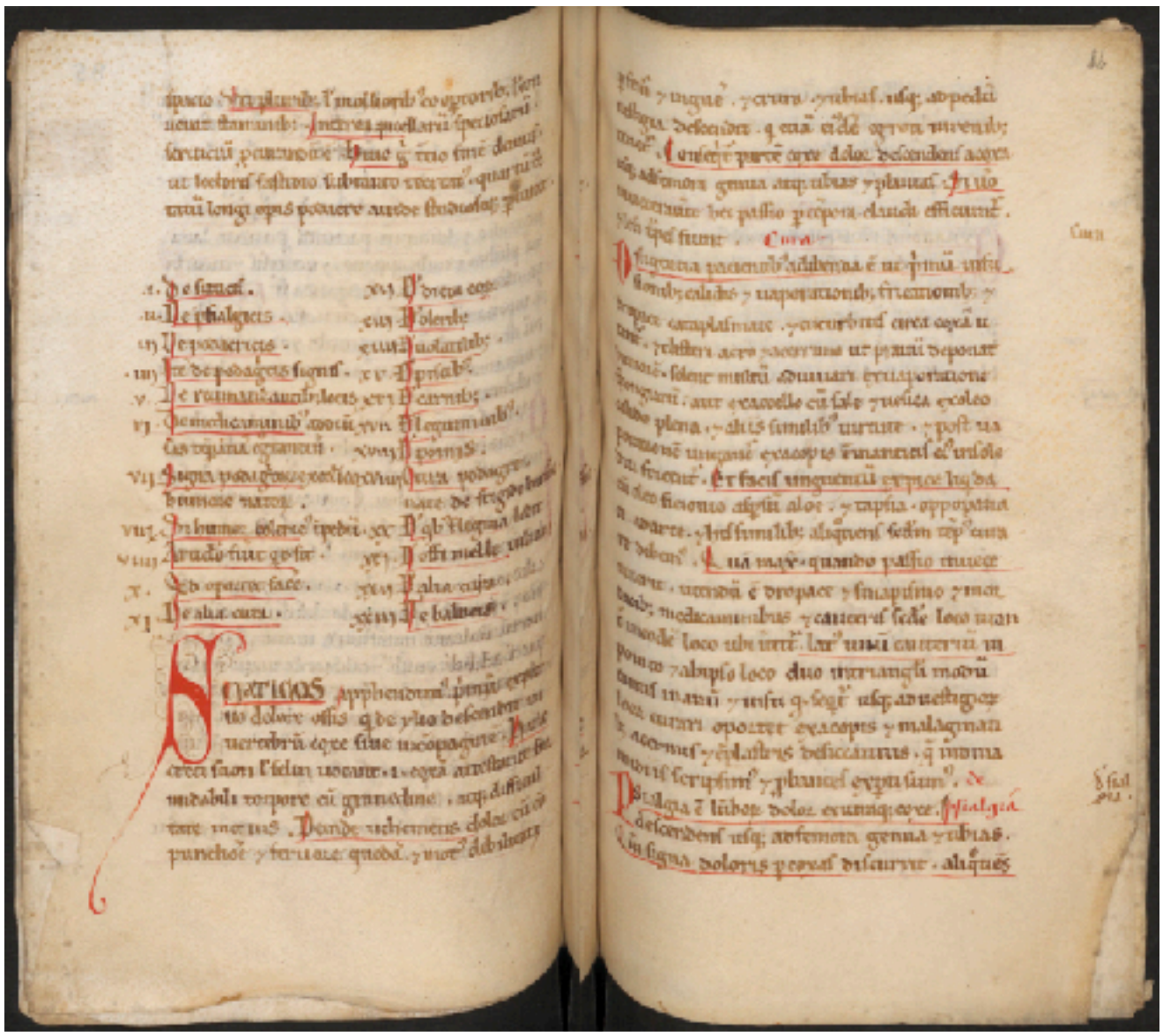


Figure 4: Chapter headings and decorated initial (folios 180v-181r). The words “Cura” and “Mialgia” are visible in red ink on the right folio at the start of each new paragraph.
Gariopontus, *Passionarius*, c 1190. Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht Hs. 687 (Hs 4 H 17). http://objects.library.uu.nl/reader/index.php?obj=1874-334120&lan=nl#page//40/73/24/407324109956111042914606264616226368 57.jpg/mode/1up.

In general, Salernitan manuscripts were part of a written tradition devoid of figural illustrations.[28] Even through its few illustrations, however, the *Passionarius* utilized its decorative program to visually characterize diseases in relation to the list of symptoms and remedies that would follow. As an example, Utrecht Hs 687 includes a large inhabited (though unfinished) initial on its first folio depicting a man, presumably a patient, holding his head in pain (Fig. 5). The patient is one of multiple decorative elements, situated between an alternating red and blue color background and a decorative acanthus vine interwoven around the initial. Of these elements, the man is not the central feature of the capital: he is obscured by the vine and appears relatively unimposing and miniscule in scale compared to the other ornamental features of the capital. He is unaccompanied by other figures; the artist demonstrates a preoccupation not with depicting the patient himself, but

his affliction: a headache. This pictorial representation of a headache immediately precedes the section on diseases of the head, brain, and nerves: the first section in the head-to-toe organization of Gariopontus' compendium. Though it could be argued that the figure serves to visually illustrate the following section, the fact that the man competes for attention in the scene with other decorative elements suggests that the capital, though consistent with the organization of the manuscript, was not meant to feature him prominently; the man and his headache were simply a feature of an existing decorative tool—the upscaled initial—and therefore cannot be differentiated in function from the upscaled initials in manuscripts like MS H 44. Though uncommon, figural illustration in the 12th-century *Passionarius* represents yet another instance of decorative elements serving to improve visual ease of use and navigation.

Figure 5: Unfinished historiated initial depicting a man holding his head (folio 1r). Gariopontus, *Passionarius*, c. 1190. Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht Hs. 687 (Hs 4 H 17).

Wellcome MSMSL133, a 14th-century *Passionarius*, evinces the production of the *Passionarius* well into the Gothic era. As with previous iterations, the 38 chapters of Book II are listed and numbered above the first decorated initial: folio 19 verso (Fig. 6) depicts the heading of Book II, Diseases of the lungs and thoracic viscera.[29] However, the use of

coloration has developed further in Wellcome MSMSL133 to alternate between red and blue letters whereas earlier *Passionarius* manuscripts such as MS H 44 (Fig. 3) utilized only red and brown ink. This 14th-century version additionally expanded its use of scale in its lettering. Rather than simply upscaling the initial before each section, MSMSL133 employs an illuminated capital containing an interlace and floral design, accentuated by expensive pigments and gold leaf, to serve the familiar purpose of differentiating its chapters. However, coloration was still only applied where necessary to highlight each new chapter or section, and the extent of this decoration remained almost exclusively limited to illuminated capitals and alternating red and blue heading initials; even into the 14th century, the *Passionarius* retained its focus on organization over decoration. This "sparse" style (as I will call it)—where decoration is either separated from the main body of the text in the form of a decorated initial or serves primarily to visually guide the reader through its organizational layout—reflects the purpose of the *Passionarius* as a handbook and reference manual: unobtrusive, minimal as not to be distracting, and produced to enhance its ease of use as a quick reference in a clinical or educational setting. Thus, the *Passionarius*, even this version from the Gothic era, reflects the practical, empirical purposes of 11th-century Salernitan medicine in its content, organization, and its relatively restrained visual program.

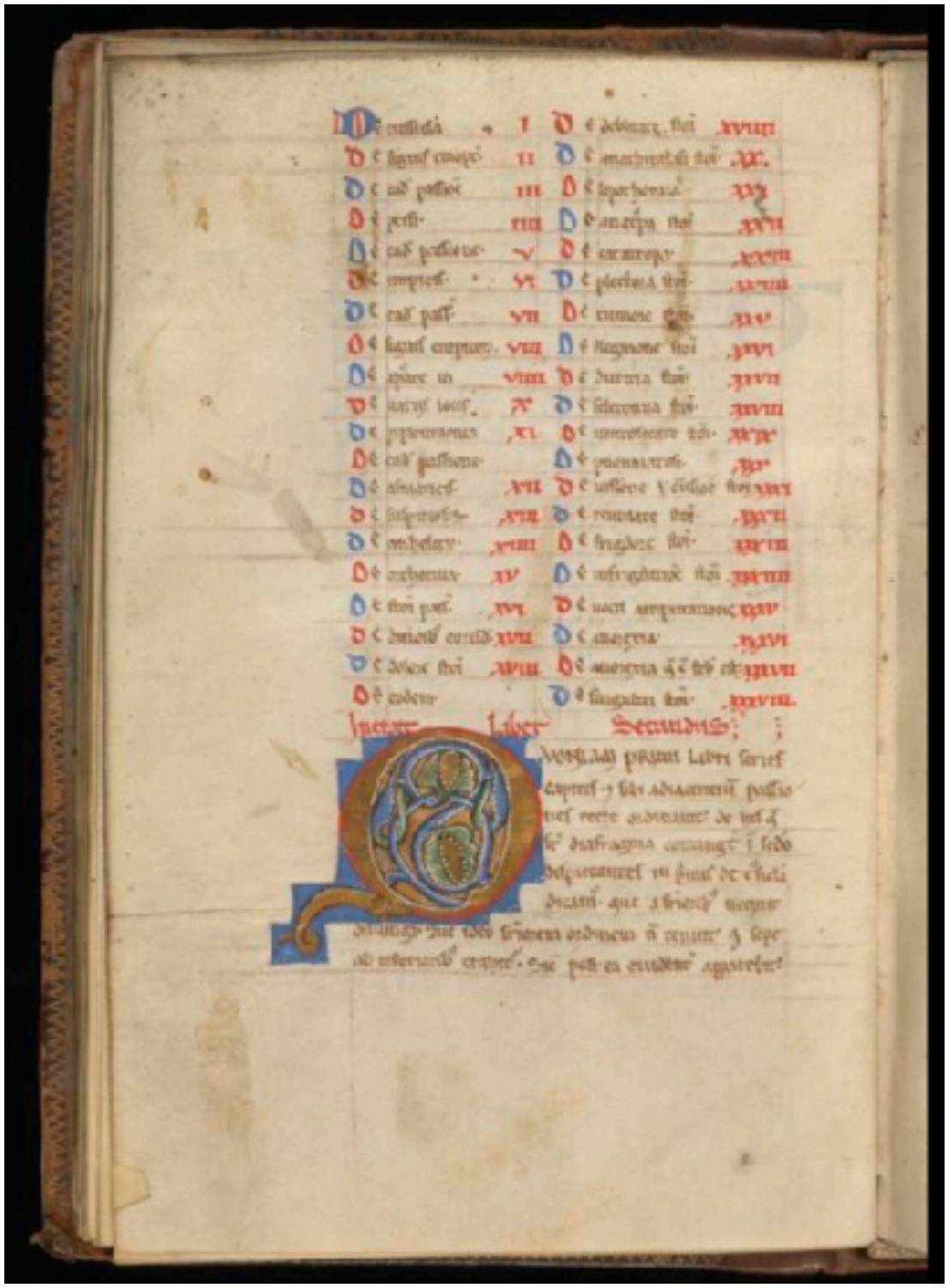


Figure 6: Chapter headings and illuminated initial (folio 19v).
Gariopontus, *Passionarius*, 1350. Wellcome Library MSMSL133. http://wellcomelibrary.org/item/b19571203.

Early Latin medical translations under Constantine's translation program in the 12th century assume a similar stylistic format as the early *Passionarius* manuscripts. Constantine's Latin translation of the *Liber Pantegni*, or "complete art,"[30] in the National Library of the Netherlands (Fig. 7) represents a remarkable surviving manuscript whose production in 1050 CE is often attributed to the scriptorium in Montecassino under the supervision of Constantine himself.[31] The *Kitab Kamil as-Sina'a at-Tibbiyya* ("Complete book of medical arts") of Ali ibn al-Magust, rechristened to the *Pantegni* by Constantine in his translated edition, consists of two parts—the *Theoretica* and *Practica* [32]—comprised of ten books each: a marriage of the practical and theoretical, like that of the Salernitan school's teaching in the 12th century. The *Liber Pantegni* is visually similar to the Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht Hs. 687 *Passionarius* of the same century in both coloration and layout (Fig. 4); identical brown text and red coloration was applied sparsely in the *Liber Pantegni* to the initials of each heading. The *Pantegni* assumes a similar chapter-heading organization as those seen in

Gariopontus' manuscripts, organizing its content into various chapters by topic, such as surgery, anatomy, pulses, and prognoses.[33] The reuse of this formatting suggests that the effectiveness of the sparse style in the widely-accepted *Passionarius* was sufficient for Constantine's Latin translations during the 11th century. During Constantine the African's translation program, the *Passionarius* was still widely used within the Salernitan school as a foundational medical source for students. As such, manuscripts contemporary to the *Passionarius* likely sought to emulate its organizational and decorative elements. Perhaps the reuse of Gariopontus' format further aided in the acceptance and dissemination of the *Liber Pantegni* and other Arabic works in Western medical spheres, as physicians and teachers would have been familiar with the use of its practical layout and unobtrusive visual program. However, the presence of a larger and more intricate decorated initial at the start of the text represents an early step towards the incorporation of more ornament in later medical manuscripts.

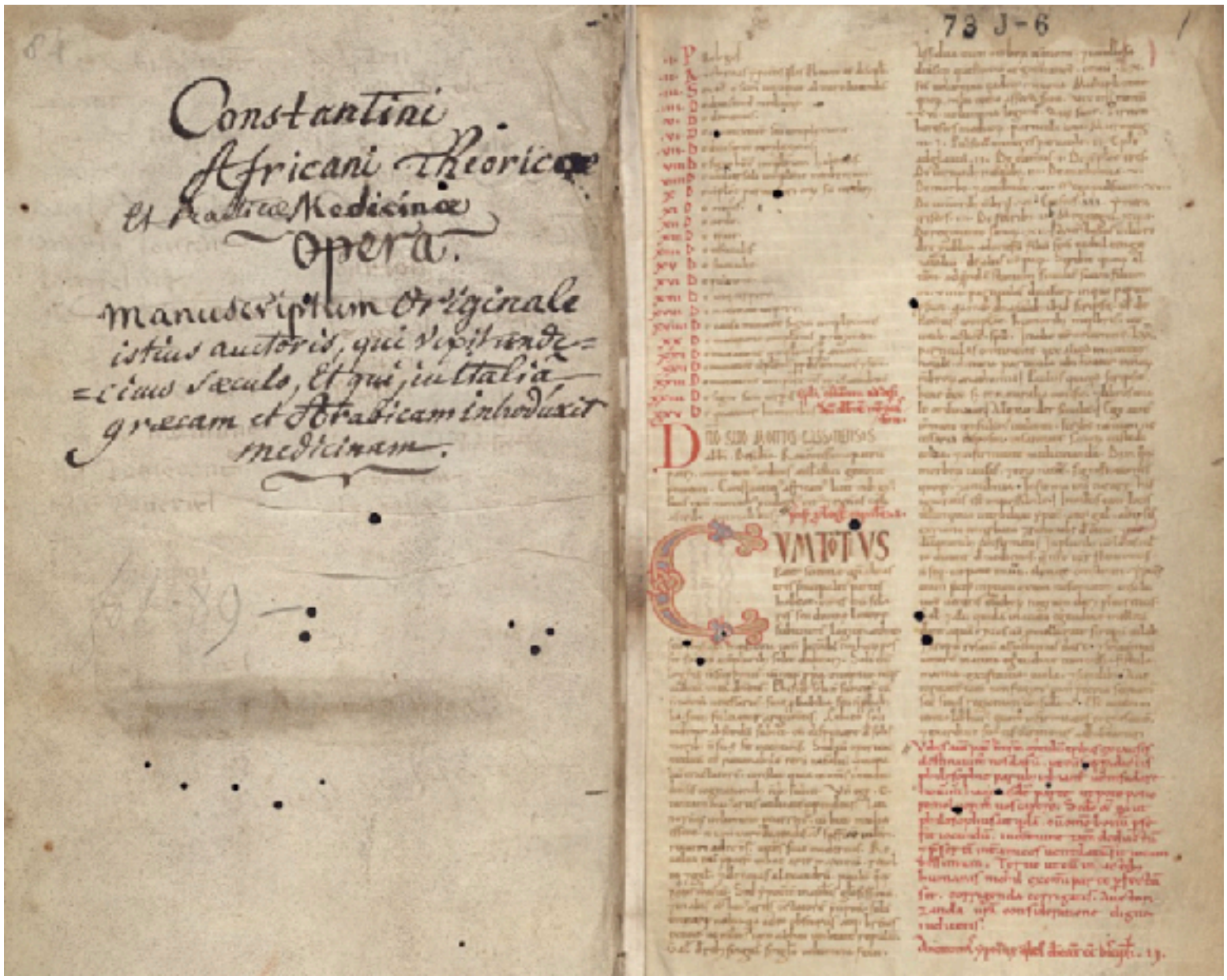
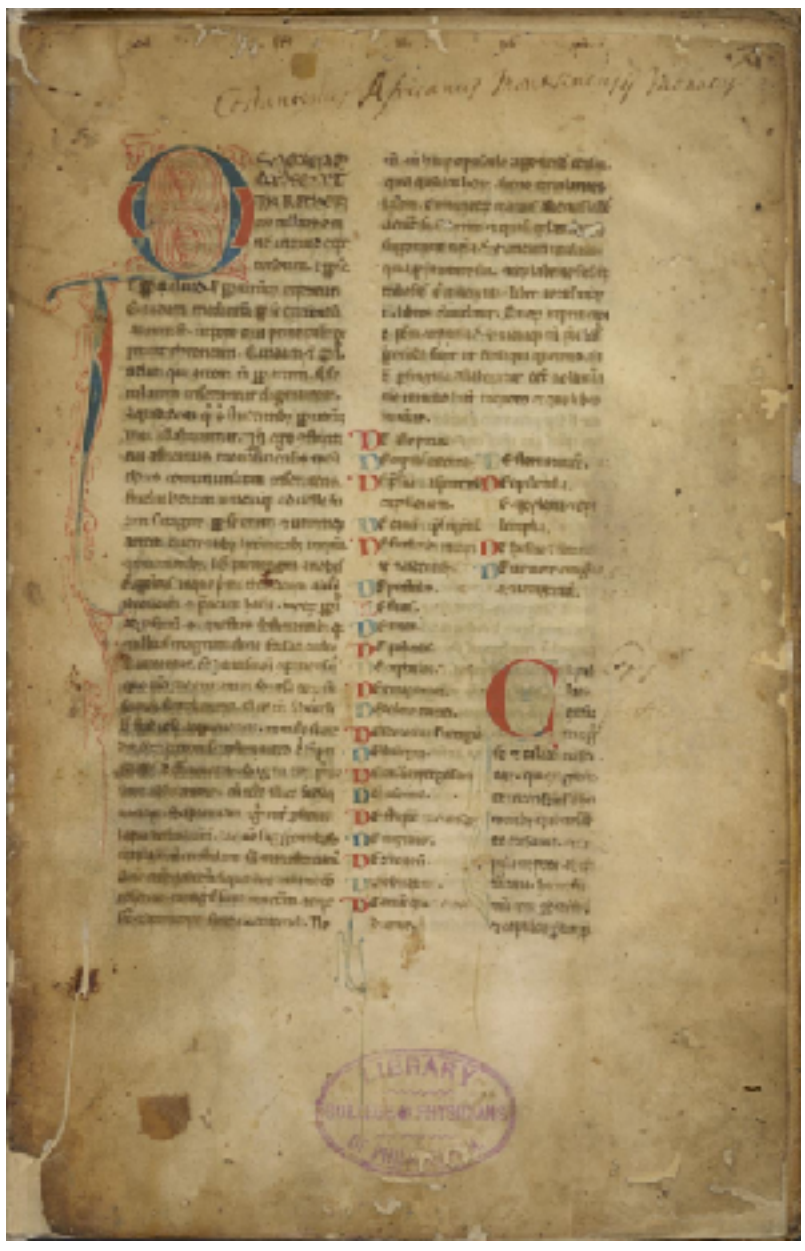


Figure 7: A later annotation of the book's provenance as a "Manuscriptum Originale" of "Constantini Africani" (folio viii), with chapter headings and an upscaled illuminated initial (folio 1r).
Ali ibn al-Magust (translated into Latin by Constantine the African), *Liber Pantegni*, 1077-1086. National Library of the Netherlands KB 73 J 6. https://www.kb.nl/en/themes/medieval-manuscripts/liber-pantegni

The *Viaticum* soon underwent additional visual developments as it evolved within the context of the Salernitan school's 12th-century teaching philosophy. *Viaticums* of the 13th century, such as the Philadelphia Z10 76 *Viaticum* (Fig. 8a), adopt a Gothic script (as

opposed to an earlier Benedictine script), as well as alternating red and blue initials commonly seen in university books at the time.[34] However, even in early iterations of the *Viaticum*, the use of illuminated capitals suggests a trend away from the practicality of the *Passionarius*; Philadelphia Z10 76 not only utilizes color and scale in its initials, but also distributes them throughout and around the margins of the text rather than solely at the start. Whereas the *Passionarius* utilized its ornamentation to divide its text into sensible units, the *Viaticum* ornaments its text with colored initials throughout the text block, suggesting that these initials were not intended to serve a navigational function. In contrast to earlier manuscripts, Philadelphia Z10 76 incorporates additional illustrations such as a zodiac diagram (Fig. 8b) and manicule, or pointing hand illustration (Fig. 8c). Both are indicative of an emerging practice of student engagement with the text; manicules likely pointed to important sections of the text for future reference—a helpful mnemonic for a returning student. Philadelphia Z10 76 also contains the marginal student abbreviations of Galenic references mentioned earlier (see Fig. 2), further testifying to the trend towards student interaction in medical manuscripts produced after the 12th century.



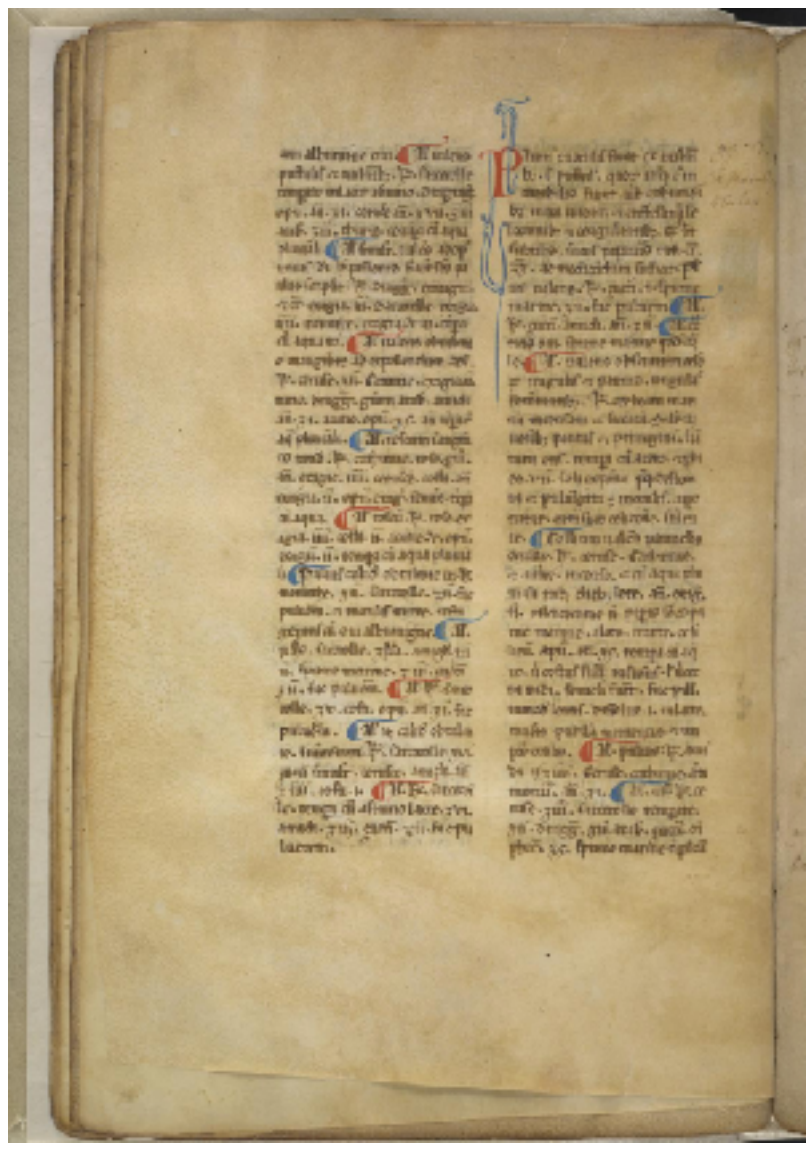


Figure 8a: Chapter headings and illuminated initial (folio 1r) and text with colored initials (folio 14v). Constantine the African, *Viaticum*, 13th century (before 1244). Historical Medical Library of The College of Physicians of Philadelphia Z10 76. https://bibliophilly.library.upenn.edu/viewer.php?id=Z10%2076#page/1/mode/2up.

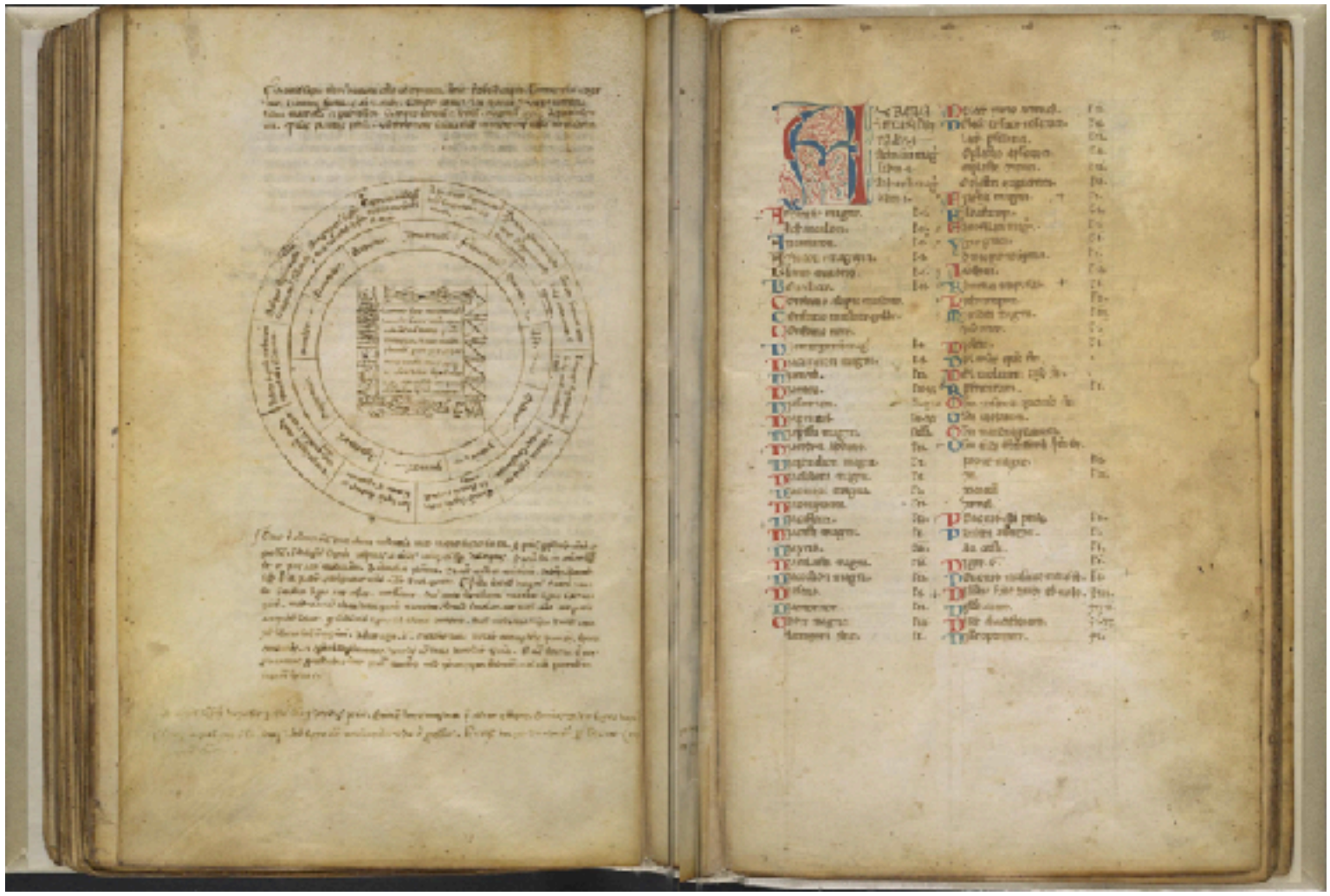


Figure 8b: Astrological diagram and chapter headings. Folios 81v-82r.
Constantine the African, *Viaticum*, 13th century (before 1244). Historical Medical Library of The College of Physicians of Philadelphia Z10 76. https://bibliophilly.library.upenn.edu/viewer.php?id=Z10%2076#page/1/mode/2up.

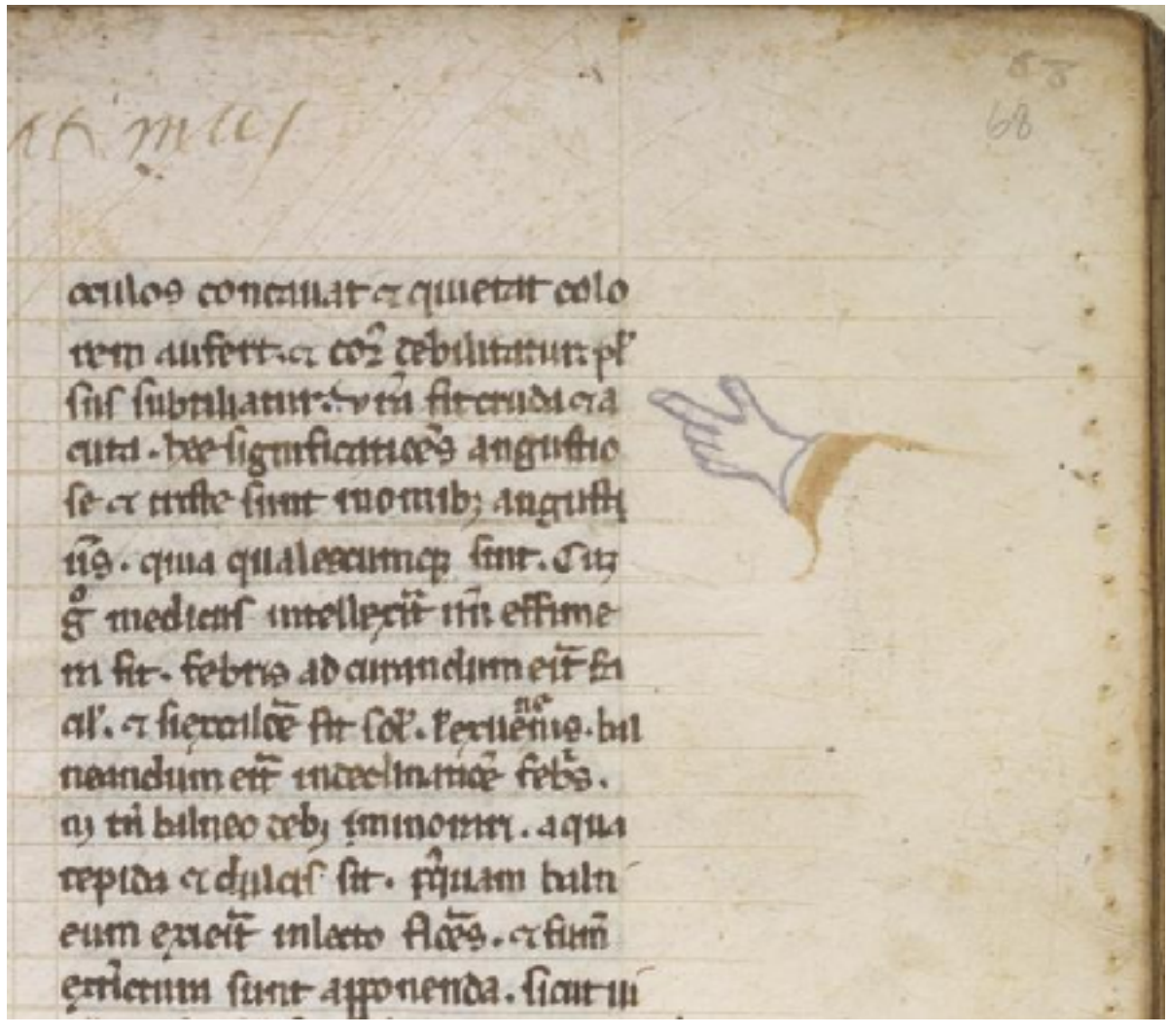


Figure 8c: Manicule detail. Folio 68r.
Constantine the African, Viaticum, 13th century (before 1244). Historical Medical Library of The College of Physicians of Philadelphia Z10 76. https://bibliophilly.library.upenn.edu/viewer.php?id=Z10%2076#page/1/mode/2up.

With the Salernitan school adopting radically different styles of teaching and understanding medicine in the post-Arabic era of the 12th century, medical manuscripts assumed new and unconventional layouts distinct from the relatively straightforward sparse-style manuscripts of the previous century. Wellcome Library MS207, a late 13th-century *Viaticum*, assumes an unusual layout for a medical manuscript; rather than organize text in columns, Wellcome MS207 places four blocks of text around a central text column (Fig. 9). The *Viaticum* itself is contained within the central column, while the surrounding blocks are glosses containing a single commentary on the *Viaticum*: one of the first full commentaries on an authoritative text by a master physician.[35] The red and blue puzzle initials characteristic of 13th-century university manuscripts appears in the upper margin of the folio as a page heading, demonstrating that decorative elements still retained some purpose in ease of navigation. Moreover, a more typical red and blue puzzle initial is also present at the start of the *Viaticum* text itself within the central column.

Figure 9: Constantine the African, Viaticum with glosses by Geraldus Bituricensis, late 13th century. Folio 89r. Wellcome Library MS207. https://wellcomelibrary.org/item/b19677984.

The inclusion of Gothic decorative elements increased into the 14th century as generations of medical students continued to study Constantine's Latin texts. For example, the text of manuscript Vienna MS 2315—one of Constantine's translations of Galen and the "Aphorisms" of Hippocrates—contains historiated initials depicting a doctor with a student and patient, extensive marginal decoration with red and blue flourishes, and alternating red and blue puzzle initials marking the start of each subsection (Fig. 10). The initials at the beginning of each new section are large and contain majuscule, or uppercase, display text that contrasts in scale with the minuscule Gothic text below. The red and blue page headings in the top margin categorize the text and section its contents to streamline navigation in a more elaborate fashion than the simple numerals used in the Philadelphia Z10 16 *Viaticum* (Fig. 6). One such folio depicts the "REGIMENTI ACUTORUM," or "Book of the Management of Emergencies,"[36] at once retaining the chapter-heading format of the *Passionarius* and embracing new decorative attributes. However, the wide variety of pigments utilized on the page suggest that increasingly elaborate and ostentatious visual programs no longer served the sole purpose of mapping the text; coloration now functions to beautify the empty space of the page through decorations that extend along the margins of the text. However, the manuscript's extensive embellishment did not divorce it from its purpose as a student book, as extensive glosses of various lengths fill the margins around the main text itself. These glosses are less organized and uniform than the commentaries in the MS207 *Viaticum* (Fig. 9), now in the fashion of marginal student notes during a lecture, reflecting the increasing student engagement with medical texts following Constantine's translations. Thus, the sparsely decorated, utilitarian manuscript styles of the 11th century fell out of favor as ornament took on a significant role in the educational manuscripts of the 12th century and beyond; the more intricate the decorations and glosses of medical books became, the better they served as organizational, mnemonic devices for students to navigate and engage with authoritative texts in the new exegetical age of Salernitan medical education.

Figure 10: Verschiedene, and Ugo Cappellarii. *Medizinische Sammelhandschrift*, 1300. Folio 36r. National Library, Vienna MS. 2315. https://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC13961659.

Notably, Vienna MS 2315 prominently features a depiction of a patient and a doctor examining a bottle of urine in a historiated initial (Fig. 11), which is comparable to the initial in the 12th-century Utrecht MS 687 *Passionarius* (Fig. 5). Whereas the Utrecth MS 687 *Passionarius* featured a figural initial only on its first folio, prefacing the contents of the entire manuscript, Vienna MS 2315 uses numerous inhabited initials to preface various sections throughout its text. In this initial, the other decorative elements do not compete for the space that the figures occupy; decorative flourishes are limited to the outer areas of the initial, leaving the two figures as the primary focus of the composition. As such, the figural illustration of Vienna MS 2315 differs in function from that of the Utrecht Hs 687 *Passionarius*. The *Passionarius* integrates its depiction of a headache patient into the initial behind other layers of ornamentation, visually emphasizing the *initial* rather than the scene

inside it for the purposes of marking a specific place in the text. On the other hand, Vienna MS 2315 depicts both a patient and a doctor unobscured in its central scene: these figures are featured prominently and legibly within its myriad inhabited initials, emphasizing the *scene* and its contents in addition to its location in the text.

Figure 11: An inhabited initial containing a scene of a physician examining a patient's urine.
Verschiedene, and Ugo Cappellarii. *Medizinische Sammelhandschrift*, 1300. Folio 25r. National Library, Vienna MS. 2315. https://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC13961659.

Within the Vienna MS 2315 initially shown in Figure 11, a physician holds up a bottle of urine—a Galenic practice by which one would infer the imbalances of the four humors by examining the "color, odor, density, and translucency" of urine.[37] If the illustrations in the *Passionarius* (however obscured) demonstrate a preoccupation with depictions of disease and pathology, then the illustrations in Vienna MS 2315 focus not on the affliction, but on the qualities of the physician attending to it. This is hardly the only vignette into a physician's professional duties within Vienna MS 2315; other historiated initials from the same manuscript offer other scenes of the physician's practice, including a scene of the doctor teaching a student (Fig. 10). These decorative vignettes illustrate the Salernitan school's shifts away from a purely symptom-focused approach to diagnosis and treatment, instead reflecting a broader preoccupation with the art of medicine as a whole. More specifically, the pictorial decorations in medical manuscripts changed from depicting the nature of illness to illustrating an Aristotelian medical ideology in which "[medicine]

had a moral imperative to devote its explanatory powers first of all to the human body and its health-related needs," thereby reflecting broader philosophical attempts in the 13th century to reconcile medicine with "human nature and in man's relationships with his immediate surroundings…and with the universe as a whole."[38] The recurring renditions of the physician at work in various inhabited initials within Vienna MS 2315 is consistent with the "great respect for [the] authority [of the physician]" characteristic of the Arabic medical scholarship, which had integrated into the Salernitan curriculum.[39]

By the post-Arabic age of medicine in Salerno, illustrations no longer strictly served to landmark specific sections of the text; by depicting the virtues of the physician and his embodiment of Aristotelian imperatives for medicine through the scenes of inhabited initials, the illustrator additionally offers a sort of pictorial treatise showing what the practice of medicine should look like to an aspiring physician. Just as the Salernitan school shifted focus from the practical presentation of a disease to broader, philosophical questions about the nature of medical practice, so too did the decorations of their medical manuscripts evolve to reflect these revitalized theoretical pursuits. Ultimately, Vienna MS 2315 was not a practical reference book like the *Passionarius*, though both were used by students. It served an entirely different purpose from the medical compendiums of previous centuries, with both the content and visual focus of its illustrations reflecting the philosophical shifts that took place following the dissemination of Constantine's translations in Salerno and Western Europe. As is visible in these illustrations, the changes within the curriculum and philosophy of the school are apparent even in the figural decorations of their manuscripts.

Conclusion: Manuscripts in Salerno

The art of the book, as with much of art history, reflects the values and goals of its creators and commissioners. Similarly, the visual evolution of the medical manuscript in Salerno illustrates the striking transformation within the Schola Medica Salernitana between the 11th and 13th centuries. Due to the work of Gariopontus with his *Passionarius* and Constantine the African with his prolific translations from Arabic to Latin, the school refined its practice and explored the art of medicine through its written works. Though the primary scholarship on the school has focused primarily on the medical texts themselves, I have demonstrated how the changes in the embellishment and organization of Salernitan medical manuscripts can be understood and explained through the school's various ideologies of medicine.

Following the dissemination of the medical handbooks of the 11th century, Salernitan scholars ceased to view medicine as a mere trade of following symptoms to catalogued cures. Through the critical evaluation of the natural sciences and philosophy in the 12th century, the Salernitans elevated medicine to a discipline of engagement with historical theories, lively debate, and active dialogue between both ancient and contemporary medical treatises. As is visible in existing Salernitan manuscripts like the *Passionarius*, *Liber Pantegni*, and *Viaticum*, the transition from a sparse style of ornamentation and formatting used solely for navigational purposes evolved into a style of student manuscripts with elaborate

decorations and layouts aiming to facilitate student engagement and scholarly glosses on authoritative texts. The figural illustrations of these manuscripts likewise transitioned from a symptom-focused depiction of illness to a broader depiction of the physician at work, reflecting ideological changes within the school on the nature of a physician's authority and vocation in maintaining the natural order of health.

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"THEY SAY GIRLS WANT IT": SEXUALITY AND COERCION AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY AND BARNARD COLLEGE IN THE 1920S

Susan Evans

Introduction

It started on February 7, 1921. In response to a Brown University article claiming that smoking, petting parties, and dancing led college women to "perdition," or eternal punishment and damnation, a Barnard College student voiced her own opinion to *The Evening World*. Fed up with the constant double-standards young women were held to in the developing dating system of the early twentieth century, she declared that men were always complaining about women for "one thing or another." The headline concisely summarizes her feelings: "Barnard Senior Says Men Reformers Make Her Tired."[1] Although exasperated, this young woman positions herself and her female peers as concerned about how the public, and especially college men, perceived their morality. The article goes on to explain that she is a part of a national organizing effort to confront "liberal modes" pervading campus life. The difference between herself and this young man at Brown University, she contends, is that she is making a genuine effort to combat these so-called "perditions," not scapegoating young women.

BARNARD SENIOR SAYS MEN REFORMERS MAKE HER TIRED

Calls Attention to Voluntary Ban on Smoking and "Toddle" Walk at College.

The women students at Teachers College, Columbia, and Barnard College laugh at the youthful editor of the Brown University Daily Herald, who recently attacked the morals of men and women undergraduates in American colleges.

The editor wrote that dancing, "petting parties" and cigarette smoking were evils driving the college girls straight to perdition. A number of Barnard seniors were asked an opinion.

"They make me tired," ejaculated one. "They are always raking women over the coals. If it isn't one thing it is another. I don't believe that conditions are as bad there as that article says they are, but if it is telling the truth the place ought to be cleaned out and fumigated.

"As for our dancing here, there is never any occasion for criticism. Occasionally you see one of the girls try to wiggle or shimmy, but she is asked to stop, and if she doesn't discontinue it she is eliminated from the dances."

But at the very minute the Barnard student spoke the club women of New York had just formed a national organization to fight "liberal modes" and to "restrain the younger set," of which the college girl is unquestionably a member.

The new woman's reform movement will be nation-wide in scope and have as its object the consolidation, in purpose only, of all of the feminine movements of the day. Among other aims will be:

Reform in dress.

An active campaign against the worst features of present day dancing.

Stricter censorship over the activities and habits of the younger set.

The movement, which will be known as "The League of American Women," was informally launched at a meeting held at the Colony Club when a number of prominent society women gathered to discuss outlines.

Mrs. J. Kennedy Tod, of Sound Beach, Conn., was elected Chairman of the committee pro tem.

"We will positively have no connection with the blue laws, as such,"

Figure 1: "Barnard Senior Says Men Reformers Make Her Tired," *The Evening World*, February 7, 1921.

Questions of gender and its relationship to the body and to violence saw unprecedented, yet widely unacknowledged, reframing and fluctuation during the early twentieth century in the United States. How did these changes occur on college campuses? What did relationships look like as new ideas about courtship evolved? How did students regard sexual violence as these shifts took place? Present-day conversations about campus sexual violence bemoan consent as a complex, difficult-to-navigate concept that only twenty-first century, younger generations are preoccupied with. Are you supposed to ask for permission before every sexual act? What about trust built over the course of a relationship? These kinds of questions, however, are by no means new. Archival materials from Columbia University and Barnard College reveal the gendered power dynamics used to police sexuality on college campuses in the 1920s, decades before most timelines of campus sexual violence begin. American sociologists only began publishing studies on the topic in the 1950s.[2] The stories examined in this article, however, demonstrate that the language used today to warn young women of sexual dangers on campus has been around for almost a century. This article thus exposes the glaring similarities between past and present, challenging political narratives of "progress" in response to sexual violence generally and to campus sexual violence specifically.

This article examines how a culture of violence can be created on campus, and how that culture can become so embedded in a nation-wide system of education that by the

twenty-first century, students anticipate campus sexual violence as part of the college experience.[3] By writing the history of the term "campus sexual violence," historians uncover how students initially came to view sexual misconduct, assault, and coercion on campus as a university's social problem rather than a governmental, legal concern, as it later became framed through Title IX (1972).[4] By grounding this project in the historiography of courtship, youth and sexuality, and twentieth-century debates over definitions of sexual violence, I intend to focus on how college students described, witnessed, questioned, and understood consent on campus, and how young women foregrounded their sexual agency in these debates.

Coming of Age in the 1920s

The ways young people forged romantic relationships changed dramatically in the first half of the twentieth century. As Beth Bailey argues in *From Front Porch to Back Seat: Courtship in Twentieth-Century America,* in this period, courtship moved out of the home and into public spaces. This shift was tied to new "national systems of convention," referring to "unofficial" rules that governed American courtship from 1900 through the mid-1960s.[5] Bailey focuses on what she calls the "wooing" aspect of courtship and contends that young people in the first half of the twentieth century defined this shift as moving from the home to the public sphere, emphasizing the role of changing consumption and economic patterns that were connected to courtship dynamics.[6]

Besides how courtship conventions themselves shifted in the early twentieth century, the terminology describing young people's relationships changed too. Paula Fass' *The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920s* provides a clear distinction between the two terms that dominate relationships in the 1920s: dating and petting. Dating was a label for people who were meeting up with each other in public (going to dances, shows, restaurants) and did not necessarily imply a sexual component to the relationship. Petting was an umbrella term for multiple kinds of erotic activities, from casual kissing to more "intimate caresses and fondling."[7] Pictured below is a pseudo dictionary written for freshmen by Columbia College men.[8] Under the heteronormative social system, petting was *not* considered sexual intercourse. Someone who was known to "pet" could still be considered a virgin. This was a contentious fine line, though, especially for a young woman: being known to pet could have a detrimental effect on her reputation.[9] There was a pressure to perform as the ideal college woman for the sake of popularity and social standing not only among male peers, but also among other women, who regulated their own behaviors to distinguish themselves as "respectable" compared to those who overperformed (being *too* "easy"), which also put a young woman at risk of losing her friends and social life.[10]

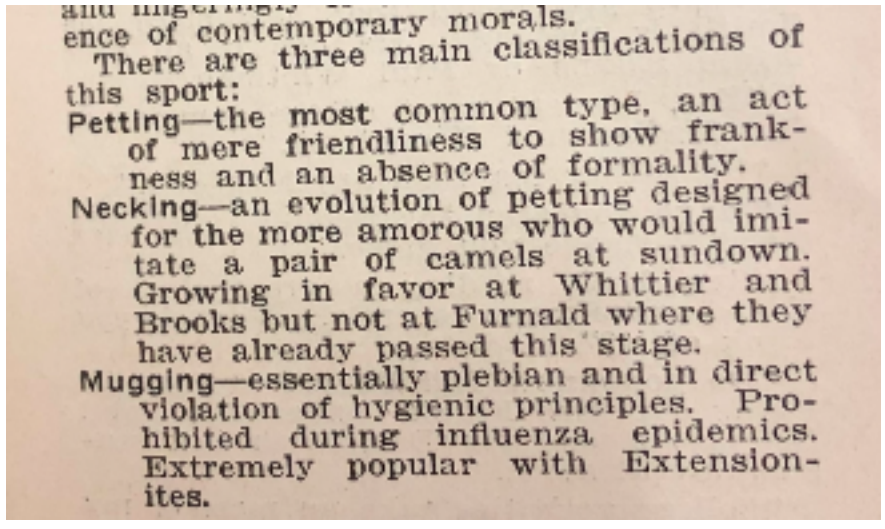

ence of contemporary morals.
There are three main classifications of this sport:
Petting—the most common type, an act of mere friendliness to show frankness and an absence of formality.
Necking—an evolution of petting designed for the more amorous who would imitate a pair of camels at sundown. Growing in favor at Whittier and Brooks but not at Furnald where they have already passed this stage.
Mugging—essentially plebian and in direct violation of hygienic principles. Prohibited during influenza epidemics. Extremely popular with Extensionites.

Figure 2: The Black and Blue Book's (1921-22) definitions for petting, necking, and mugging. Courtesy of University Archives, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Columbia University Libraries.

The stereotypical image of the "Roaring Twenties" obscures the presence of sexual violence in this era, making it even more difficult to study and write these histories. The 1920s was a complicated time for American women's agency because even as the country advanced women's political rights, female sexuality was still highly surveilled. For example, more women than ever before had the right to vote, yet the Comstock Laws, which prevented the importation, mailing, and interstate shipment of contraceptive information and devices, had been in full swing since the late nineteenth century.[11] Part of the work in researching histories of sexual violence is reading silences, or challenging assumptions about what certain types of sources can reveal. As historians, we should take issue with brandings like the "Roaring Twenties" that, while catchy, dismiss the complexities of the past.

For histories of sexual violence in this period, the categories of "woman" and "victim" were extremely racialized. In *Redefining Rape: Sexual Violence in the Era of Suffrage and Segregation*, Estelle Freedman contextualizes sexual violence in a time that emphasized "women's rights" while simultaneously disenfranchising Black Americans. She argues that sexual violence was seen as a site to further political objectives and identified as one of the central ways white men maintained political, social, and economic power.[12] Thus, much of white activism on legal definitions of sexual violence "approached rape instrumentally and incrementally, only rarely challenging white male dominance directly."[13]

This is a crucial component to the history of campus sexual violence specifically because it complicates histories that portray the 1920s as an era of unified "youth culture."[14] In *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America*, Freedman and John D'Emilio highlight that "youth" in this period often meant *white* youth. Black college students found themselves navigating campuses where sexuality and sexual violence were extremely racialized. LaKisha Michelle Simmons' article on the experiences of Howard University students in the 1930s reveals that college administrators deployed the idea of "respectability" to surveil and regulate young Black Americans' "bodies and desires."[15] Therefore, we must be wary of histories of campus sexual violence claiming to capture the experiences of all "college students." In the case of Columbia University in the 1920s, we must account for the power of whiteness undergirding campus social life and hierarchies.

Creating a Campus Culture

A college campus is a culturally distinct environment, and the power dynamics that form there, like social hierarchies, are a theme across literature on courtship, sexual violence, and higher education in early twentieth-century America. The terminology of "campus sexual violence" alludes to the campus as a producer of cultural phenomena distinct from American society at large. What implications does this have for the social and political definitions of a campus? What about the campus environment makes the sexual violence that takes place within it different from sexual violence in general? Sites of sexual violence on campus, such as fraternity houses and dorm rooms, are often part of students' social, academic, and economic lives, making it difficult for victims to avoid places or people associated with their trauma. Locating the college campus as a complex historical subject has increased in scholarship over the second half of the twentieth century. Christine A. Orgen and Marc A. VanOverbeke synthesize this history in their edited volume *Rethinking Campus Life: New Perspectives on the History of College Students in the United States*. The text centers on the idea that histories of campus life cannot be told through "one sustained narrative," and instead require a compilation of different scholarly works that explore the various demographics that make up a "student body" and campus culture.[16] This is especially true for the history of campus sexual violence, which draws on histories of gender, sexuality, race, and class.

In turn-of-the-century America, coeducation increased in popularity, especially with the rise of public universities after the Morrill Land Grant Act in 1862.[17] Columbia University, although not coeducational at this point, was also a changing campus landscape. Through its growing number of professional and graduate schools (Teachers College in particular), Columbia admitted more Jewish, Catholic, Black, and female students.[18] All-male Columbia College, however, dominated undergraduate student life. These male spaces, like student clubs and organizations, and especially fraternities, became the face of Columbia social life.

Barnard College eventually opened for women in 1889. The first chapters of Rosalind Rosenberg's book *Changing the Subject: How the Women of Columbia Shaped the Way We Think about Sex and Politics* details the history of women on Columbia's campuses. For the parameters of this article, Rosenberg's analysis of Columbia University President Frederick Barnard's push for coeducation is key. It was never President Barnard's goal to open a separate women's college; in fact, he saw that decision as counterproductive to the principle of coeducation.[19] In 1879, President Barnard released a report titled "Higher Education of Women," where he argued that women in classes and on campus with men would serve as a "civilizing" force, stating that "inter-training and equal training take the simper out of the young woman and the roughness out of the young man."[20] Here, President Barnard framed women and men as two groups who should rely on each other for moral and social balance, suggesting that he wanted nothing less than a fully coeducated university. It is ironic, then,

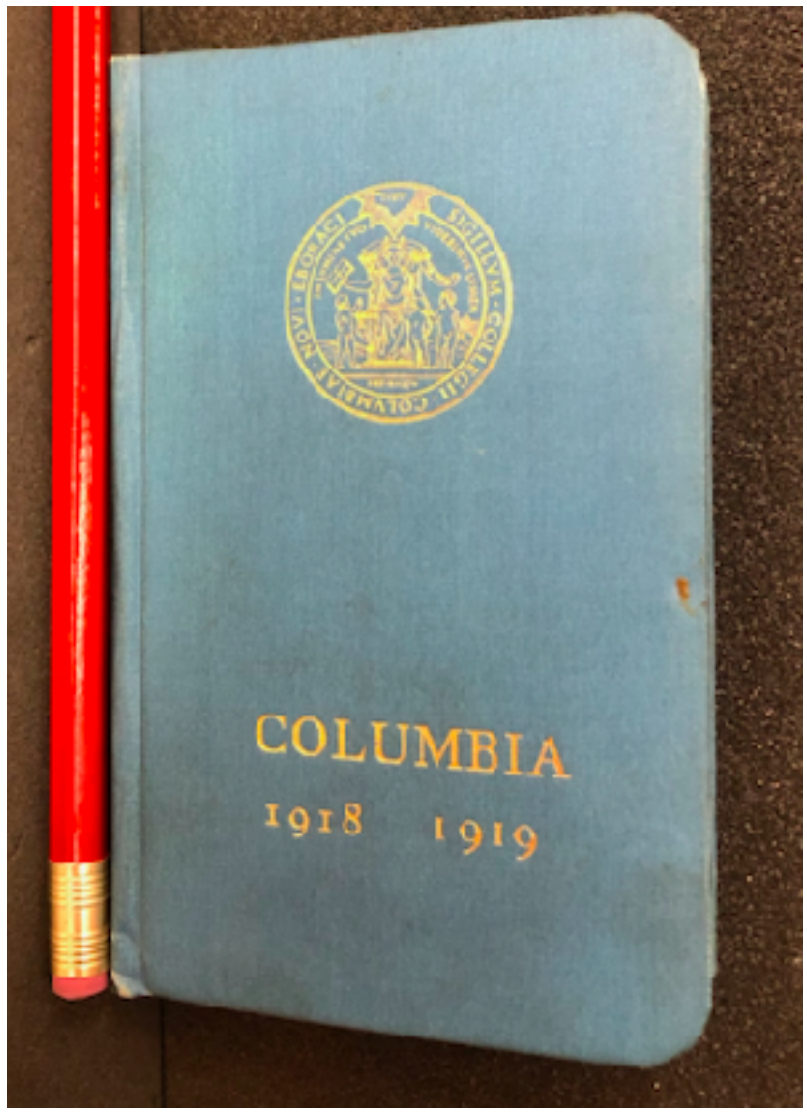
that Barnard College, which remains a women's college to this day, is named after him. It was Columbia College's Dean John W. Burgess who so strongly opposed coeducation that he eventually gave in to the creation of a women's college that was separate from Columbia. But, as Rosenberg argues, by creating Barnard College, Burgess created a space for a "separate undergraduate female student body, conscious of its own identity."[21] Barnard and Columbia students thus began a complex social, academic, and, as this article will explore, sexual relationship, as two distinct campus identities came together to debate terms of consent in the 1920s.

So, what did it mean to be a Columbia University student in the 1920s? Definitely white. Majority Christian. Most certainly middle-class. But was it exclusively male? The turn of the century saw constant change in higher education, and Columbia University was no different. After moving to Morningside Heights from Midtown Manhattan in 1897, Columbia had more space than ever to expand into a university: Barnard College was across the street, the Extension School offered non-degree classes to New York City's working class men and women, professional schools were opening, and Teachers College was making an international name for itself.[22] What did this mean for the "Columbia student" identity? In response to these changes, the undergraduate men of Columbia College sought to keep that elite title for themselves.

At Columbia College, the rules of campus life were defined in the Blue Book each year. Blue Books were the "how-to" campus life guide published annually by the Columbia University Christian Association (CUCA). The Blue Book version of Columbia established particular standards that it envisioned for Columbia's campus, which avoided discussions about social life beyond religious activities and campus clubs.[23] By analyzing these books, we can compare those standards to other student voices at Columbia.

Blue Books warned incoming freshmen to "not place your fraternity over your college."[24] CUCA feared that fraternity men had more allegiance to each other than to Columbia. At the same time, during the start of the 1920s, fraternities cemented themselves as pillars of campus social life, not just for sports and academic achievements, but also through "heterosexual aggression," as Nicholas Syrett argues in his essay "'We Are Not So Easily to Be Overcome': Fraternities on the American College Campus."[25] Syrett situates his work in the history of masculinity in America, and he contends that masculinity is dynamic with standards that have changed over time. He uses correspondence between fraternities and university officials to document a distinct kind of masculine identity formed by fraternity men that was heavily focused on heterosexuality, dominance, and exclusivity. Syrett not only provides a gendered analysis of campus life in the early twentieth century, but his work also reminds us that gender and its many performances are socially constructed and thus constantly changing. This further shows why studying the history of sexual violence is so important: it is part of a larger American story of how we understand the history of gender and sexuality, and how this understanding informs our present politics. CUCA's worry over freshmen devoting themselves to fraternities illustrates the shifting social order of the campus. Blue Books assured new students that by *not* joining a

fraternity, they would still enjoy social life and status on campus. In fact, the authors encouraged, "you will find that some of your warmest friends will be made among non-fraternity men."[26]



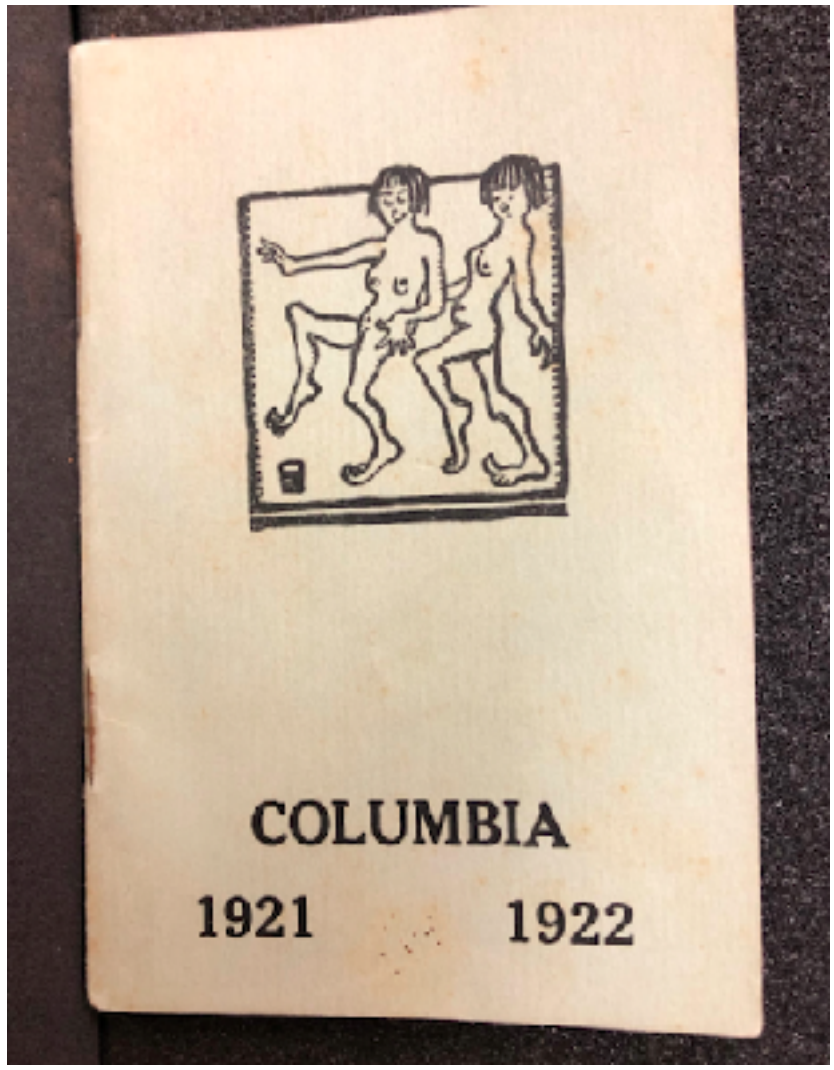
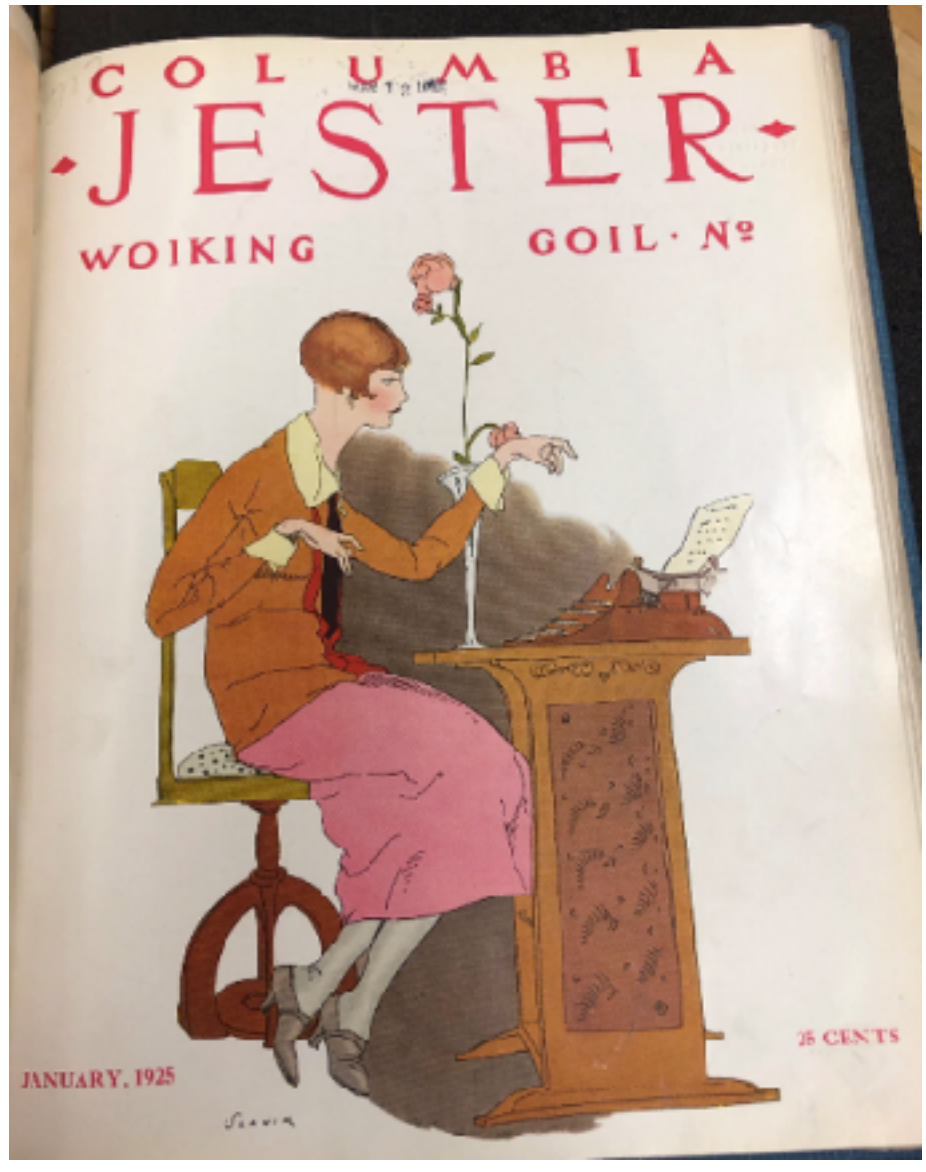


Figure 4: Cover of a Blue Book (1918-1919) compared to the Black and Blue Book (1921-1922). Courtesy of University Archives, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Columbia University Libraries.

The Blue Books sought to introduce freshmen to campus life expectations and values from the CUCA perspective. However, they were obviously not the only voice on campus. Blue Books became ingrained into campus life, so much so that in the 1921–1922 academic year, an anonymous group of students published a satirical version: the Columbia Black and Blue Book. The fact that students felt the need to satirize the annual Blue Book suggests that they did not believe it reflected the realities of life on campus. The Black and Blue Book positioned itself as overtly sexual from its cover and publication pages, where it caricatures naked women dancing and sarcastically references the Comstock Laws. The Black and Blue Book sexualized college women, especially through stereotypes of flappers. It presented Columbia as a haven for men who liked to drink and party, where petting was recognized as "the most enjoyable intercollegiate sport."[27]


COLUMBIA
JESTER
WOIKING
GOIL · Nº
JANUARY, 1925
25 CENTS

COLUMBIA
JESTER
EDDINS
MARCH, 1924
PRICE 25 CENTS

Figure 3: Covers of *Columbia Jester*. From top to bottom: January 1925, March 1924, and October 1922. Courtesy of University Archives, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Columbia University Libraries.

Columbia College men ran a monthly satire magazine called the *Jester of Columbia*. Although it was published by men for men, women played a prominent role in the publication's thematic interests. Flappers and "broads" were regularly the focus of jokes and brash short stories.[28] Images of women dominated *Jester* cover art, as illustrated in the pictures above. Despite women clearly holding an influential role in each *Jester* edition, they were rarely regarded as individuals with political or social power until they threatened Columbia College's identity as a men's campus.

In the October 1922 issue titled "The Columbia College Number," the *Jester* editorial board wrote about the "exclusivity of Columbia College," and expressed its concern that it was losing its power as a status symbol due to the influx of "new" students on campus.[29] By declaring that "we may only be properly recognized in the eyes of the city and of the country as the bearers of the Blue and White Standard, when we shall exist separate and apart on our own Campus," Columbia College men made a clear distinction between themselves and anyone else falsely assumed to be a part of *their* campus.[30] Students who did not live on campus ("the commuter"[31]), those in professional schools, non-Christians, women, and especially non-white students were made to feel excluded from all aspects of campus life. Columbia College men asserted themselves as the controllers of that space, or as the people

who had the "real" right to belong there, and consequently set the tone for social, moral, and behavioral codes on the expanding Columbia University campus.

In Their Own Words: Students' Debates over Consent and Sexuality on Campus

In the first year of the supposedly "sexually promiscuous" decade of the twentieth century, Columbia University students in Earl Hall organized a space to debate the meanings of consent within the new order of dating. In early February 1921, Columbia College's newspaper, *The Columbia Daily Spectator*, shocked readers by reporting in "'To Pet or Not to Pet' Query Threatens to Stir Up Columbia" that some young women liked being kissed and being sexual with a male partner, while others felt they were expected to do such things due to campus gossip and peer pressure.[32] While this may seem like typical young adult behavior, the very existence of this debate challenges both the assumptions we hold about sexual violence as something that has always happened and the assertion that timelines of American campus sexual violence history began in the mid-twentieth century.

That news article marked the beginning of a series of debates not only on Columbia's campus, but also connected Columbia to a much larger debate over sexuality and questions of morality that was taking place on campuses across the country.[33] The author of the "To Pet or Not to Pet" *Spectator* article contextualizes the "Barnard-Columbia struggle" by linking it to "wars" between Amherst and Smith and morality debates at Cornell and Syracuse Universities.[34] The article goes on to cite commentary from the *Jester*, whose editorial board stood "unequivocally and irrevocably for the continuance of petting," and believed that "wine and women" were essential to college life.[35] In response to this, a Barnard student wrote a letter explaining how she was annoyed at the insinuation that "the girls want it." Her frustration was aimed at the lack of complexity college women were allowed to have. Men compartmentalized young women like herself as either girls who "wanted it" or did not, when in reality she and other young women believed that "a kiss or two between discriminating people is all right." She foregrounded her own sexual agency as a young woman at her own discretion—she concluded her statement with, "There aren't many people I'd allow to kiss me…"—and ultimately consent defined her sexuality.[36] Recall the Barnard student who said that she was "sick and tired" of male reformers trying to blame her and other women for the supposed moral failings of college students, like drinking, smoking, dancing, and petting. Similarly, the Barnard student voicing her concerns here in the "To Pet or Not to Pet" article challenges the moral dichotomy projected onto college students. These Barnard students positioned themselves as much more complex individuals who could have and enjoy sexual experiences while resisting hypersexualization from their own peers and the world around them.

Shocked at the idea of a Barnard girl wanting to be kissed, the *New York Tribune* printed "Girl's O.K. on a Kiss or Two Arouses Storm at Columbia" on February 11, 1921. The subheading spoke volumes: "'If They Want to Pet, Pet Away!' Seems To Be Male Attitude Toward Co-eds…," which assumes that there were particular kinds of college

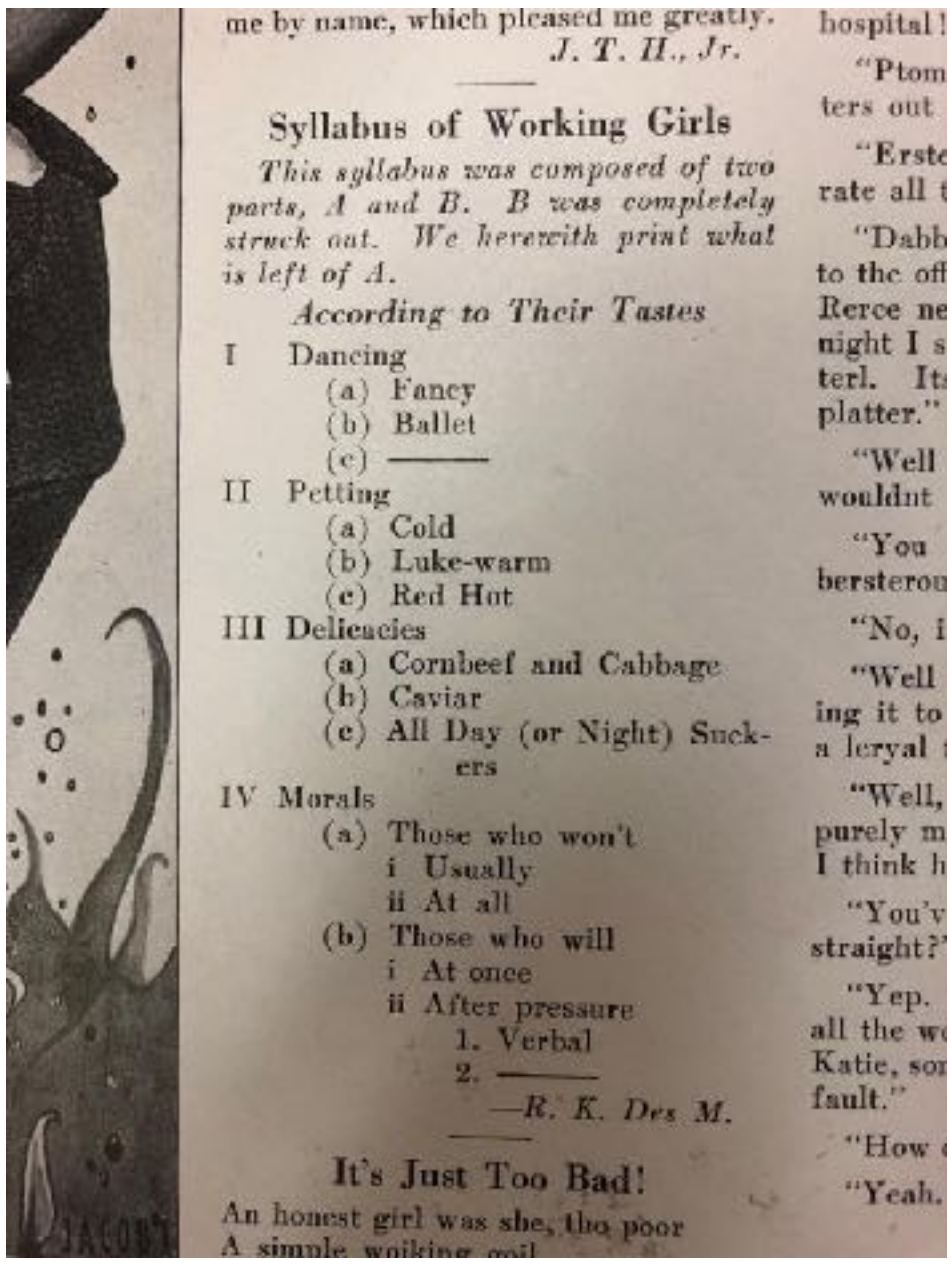
women who *always* wanted to pet.[37] The *Tribune* distorted that Barnard student's original statement, where she explained that kissing was okay when it was with a man she knew and wanted to kiss, not that she and other young women wanted to be kissed by just anyone. After this article was published, another Barnard student, Helen B. Jones, made her objections to this claim heard. In "A Protest From Barnard," printed in the bottom right corner of the *Tribune* on February 15, 1921, Jones' letter to the editor explained that the opinion on kissing from the "so-called Barnard girl" interviewed was not representative of the college's entire student body.[38] The public's view of the institution and its students clearly mattered to many at Barnard, so much so that a student felt obligated to define who a "Barnard girl" actually was. According to Jones' vision, a Barnard girl would not be "O.K." with a kiss or two, and even if she was, she definitely would not speak to the *Tribune* about it.

Over the next three years, the petting question remained unanswered. Then, on March 20, 1924, the *Spectator* published "Barnard and Columbia Will Discuss Petting, Fraternity Dances and Other Evils Tonight." A formal debate was set, and the author anticipated that the conversation would devolve into "conflict." Hosted by CUCA as a part of its regular discussion series, we can only speculate what exactly was said in the room, as no record or notes were archived.[39] One can imagine that the men who wrote for the Blue Book, the *Spectator*, the Black and Blue Book, and the *Jester* attended, and perhaps participated in, this debate in Earl Hall. Barnard students would be there too, maybe even the young woman who was tired of male reformers in 1921, or the young woman who wrote that college men "say the girls want it."

The article announcing the debate gives us some insight into the mindset some Columbia College men brought to the evening. The author anticipates that "the gentler sex," or Barnard women, will "belie [petting's] name in emphatically and vigorously denouncing the terrible practices."[40] This sentiment contradicts actual Barnard women's thoughts on petting, as we saw in "'To Pet or Not to Pet.'" There was no consensus of petting at Barnard, yet the desire to frame petting as an "evil" young college women sought to combat at every angle furthered Columbia College men's attempts to control the campus' social identity and culture. These men had been aware of this since the start of the decade. Back in 1921, the same person who authored the "'To Pet or Not to Pet'" article wrote that college students "always have and always will [pet]."[41] Petting and sexual experiences were clearly understood (and wanted) as a part of campus life. Therefore, these kinds of debates cannot be solely analyzed as a question over whether or not petting should take place, but rather as new understandings of consent and agency. The *Spectator* announced that "Group Will Again Discuss Fraternities and Petting" on April 3, proving that students, both men and women, had a lot to say on the topics of college sexuality and consent, so much so it could not be contained to a single debate.[42]

Coercion, Persuasion, and Consent

This exchange between the *Spectator* and the *Tribune* raises two important questions: Why was it so surprising that college women would want to kiss men? Were men operating on the assumption that they had to convince women to have some kind of sexual interaction with them? The Black and Blue Book's authors addressed concerns over what to do when a young woman does not want to pet. Their solution: "bring up Freud or Long in a knowing way and you will find the barrier removed."[43] This kind of persuasion presupposes a power imbalance between women and men. While a woman could say no, it was the man who could ultimately persuade her otherwise for his own sexual gain. As discussed in *Intimate Matters*, "liberating" sex and dating norms during and after World War I conversely instituted a new kind of sexual double standard on young women, especially those on campuses.


me by name, which pleased me greatly.
J. T. H., Jr.

Syllabus of Working Girls

This syllabus was composed of two parts, A and B. B was completely struck out. We herewith print what is left of A.

According to Their Tastes

I Dancing
- (a) Fancy
- (b) Ballet
- (c) ———

II Petting
- (a) Cold
- (b) Luke-warm
- (c) Red Hot

III Delicacies
- (a) Cornbeef and Cabbage
- (b) Caviar
- (c) All Day (or Night) Suckers

IV Morals
- (a) Those who won't
  - i Usually
  - ii At all
- (b) Those who will
  - i At once
  - ii After pressure
    1. Verbal
    2. ———

—R. K. Des M.

It's Just Too Bad!

An honest girl was she, tho poor
A simple working goil

Figure 5: "Syllabus of Working Girls," in the *Jester's* "Working Goil Number," January 1925. Courtesy of University Archives, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Columbia University Libraries.

That second formal debate did not end the discussion, though. Editors of the *Jester* offered college men some updated social guidelines in the magazine's January 1925 "Working Goil Number." The entire premise of this edition focused on breaking down the category of "girls" between those who "worked" and those who did not. Working-class girls, who included some college women, were seen as almost entirely sexual objects. The

"Syllabus of Working Girls" presented by the *Jester's* writers was broken down into four categories: dancing, petting, delicacies, and morals. Under morals, working girls were further classified as either "those who won't" or "those who will," leaving readers to imagine for themselves what word is supposed to follow. Working girls "who will," however, might require some convincing. The predominantly male audience reading the *Jester* each month learned that some working girls could be convinced "after pressure," either verbal or otherwise. The blank option left below verbal is quite ominous. If not verbal pressure, then what? Physical? Embedded in this syllabus is the idea that in a heterosexual dynamic, young women have to be convinced to be sexual, and, in turn, young men were expected to pressure women into sexual acts, compromising women's agency.[44]

A study of college youth in the 1920s also documented this kind of coercion, finding that "ninety-two percent of coeds had engaged in petting, and that those 'rejecting all sex play [felt] that they [were] on the defensive.'"[45] For the *Jester's* writers, applying pressure on someone to be sexual was a question of morals. Similar to earlier discussions of "To Pet or Not to Pet," morality and consent were interrelated issues. By asking if it was morally correct to kiss, smoke, or drink, students took their questions one step further, asking themselves and each other where to draw the line between yes and no, or if it was ever permissible to pressure someone. Even further, the *Jester* situated coercion within the college experience by suggesting ways to pressure young women for sex in a "syllabus," a document used by students to know what to expect in the upcoming semester. This pseudo syllabus assumed that college men would need to pressure young women, verbally or otherwise, to let their guards down. While satirical, this small piece points to a widely understood campus experience that *Jester* readers could relate to.

Connecting the 1920s to the 1950s and Beyond

In 1957, sociologists Clifford Kirkpatrick and Eugene Kanin[46] published what is often cited as the first study of campus sexual violence, "Male Sex Aggression on a University Campus." They surveyed 291 college women, with 162 reporting "offenses," which Kirkpatrick and Kanin defined as "unwilling participation" in "'necking,' 'petting' above and below the waist, sex intercourse, and attempts at sex intercourse with violence or threats of violence."[47] A distinction was made between nonconsensual sex and nonconsensual sex *with violence*, illustrating that by the mid-century, new terminology for sexual violence had developed, reflecting new understandings of sexuality and the violence people experienced. Kirkpatrick and Kanin wanted universities, parents, and police to understand that stigmatization of sexual violence encouraged secrecy and deterred reporting to any kind of authority.[48] It would be inaccurate, however, to present these studies as representative of campus sexual violence in the twentieth century; they did not consider the fact that men may also be victims of "offenses," they focused only on heterosexual experiences, and the number of participants was quite small. The fact that there was serious scholarly inquiry into the subject of campus sexual violence, and that these sociologists recognized the

implications of their findings, suggests that in the years preceding the late 1950s, there was an increased interest in treating campus sexual violence as distinct from sexual violence in general.

It is important to extend the history of campus sexual violence farther back into the twentieth century so that we can see how a study like Kirkpatrick and Kanin's came to be. While timelines of campus sexual violence tend to begin with this 1957 study, examining campus life at Columbia and Barnard in the 1920s demonstrates that we must understand how campus culture and rape culture developed in tandem over the course of the first half of the twentieth century.[49] Limiting the scope of campus sexual violence history to this first sociological study ignores what was previously happening on college campuses that inspired those researchers' questions. By extending the timeline before the 1950s, we can better understand how our contemporary issue of campus sexual violence has become so pervasive and embedded in the American college experience, thus making us better equipped to combat campus sexual violence specifically and sexual violence more generally.

Studying the early twentieth century teaches us that definitions of "violence" were relative, depending on marital status, race of the victim, and race of the accused perpetrator. Because campus sexual violence consumes so much of our current discourse on higher education and rape culture, it has, more than ever, become a growing research topic in history and other disciplines. In "The Perils of the Back Seat: Date Rape, Race and Gender in 1950s America," Lisa Lindquist Dorr explores the complex history of the term "date rape," particularly how sexual danger and threats were almost always racialized, even when it was common knowledge (and even anticipated) that young white men were threats to white women on dates.[50] New public health and sociology research in "Social Constructions of Rape at Columbia University and Barnard College, 1955-1990," examines articles from the *Spectator*, concluding that the power to define "rape" or any kind of sexual violence was contested, shifting from a solely racialized problem of "pathological, violent men" to a problem of "women victims" who needed medical help, mental health counseling, and self-defense lessons.[51] Both this study and Dorr's intertwine with Freedman's research in *Redefining Rape*, where rape is "malleable and [a] culturally determined perception of an act."[52] Campus sexual violence, then, not only has a much longer history than is usually recognized, but also a more intersectional history.

The past three decades made campus sexual violence a much more visible issue. By not expanding its history, we are doing a disservice to present-day activism. Some might object that because contemporary college experiences are so different from that of the 1920s, the history of campus sexual violence is not urgent to modern activism. But as this paper shows, the language used to describe and define morality, coercion, and pressure used almost a century ago is eerily familiar to what college students hear today. It is tempting to rally behind a linear narrative of progress, where the passing of time begets positive social change. We must be cautious of rhetoric that deplores consent as a product of over-sensitive young people coming of age in the twenty-first century who are obsessed with "political correctness." College students were parsing out concerns over sexual violence for

themselves almost one hundred years ago. Simultaneously, patterns of aggressive behavior and gendered double-standards reflective of the debates we still have today took form in the early twentieth century. To make any kind of progress in dismantling rape culture, it is imperative that we recognize not only the progress we have made, but also the glaring realities that remain.

Acknowledgement:

This paper and the questions that inspired it have been with me for a long time, and continue to stay with me. Thank you to Professors Estelle Freedman, Lâle Can, Elizabeth Reis, Lisa Brundage, and Logan McBride for helping me work on this project over the past two years. The librarians and archivists at Columbia University Archives, Rare Book & Manuscript Library and Barnard Archives and Special Collections were always so welcoming and helpful to me in navigating both physical and digital collections. To Abir for reading every draft I've ever written, and to my family, friends, and classmates who've listened to me talk about this project endlessly: thank you.

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[45] John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters*, 257.

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WHOSE STREETS? OUR STREETS.

URBAN RENEWAL AT JOHNS HOPKINS HOSPITAL

Ben Schneider

Introduction

Between 1950 and 1955, the city of Baltimore displaced 1,162 families—ninety percent of whom were Black—from their homes in Middle East Baltimore.[1] The city government cleared the neighborhood directly west of Johns Hopkins Hospital through the Broadway Redevelopment Project, an urban renewal plan that sought to rid the Broadway neighborhood of its poor housing infrastructure and general state of deterioration, a condition Baltimore's urban planners called "blight." The hospital, in the minds of the urban planners and administrators, had a responsibility to maintain the public health of its surrounding community—not by investing in or engaging with these neighborhoods, but by wholly eradicating such blighted areas. Johns Hopkins University administrators thus embraced urban renewal as an efficient means to expand university territory.

Baltimore emerged from World War II as one of America's most prosperous cities.[2] The wartime industrial boom had brought hundreds of thousands of manufacturing jobs to the city, prompting a massive influx of workers from the surrounding area. The sudden population explosion exacerbated Baltimore's already tenuous housing situation, and the city soon faced widespread overcrowding.[3] In an effort to preserve the vitality of their city, urban planners in Baltimore readily embraced the post-war trend of urban renewal. Designed to breathe new life into Baltimore, renewal projects conveyed a sense of optimism for the city's future. As Chicago Planning Commission employee Harvey C. Brown, Jr. noted after a visit, "Planning in Baltimore has an air of excitement and promise which was refreshing to my jaded senses. Chicago has definitely gone to Hell."[4]

City planners described housing which they had deemed to be dilapidated using the word "blight," a term with a shifting meaning throughout the twentieth century. Before the urban renewal period, in the 1930s and early 1940s, city officials had used the term to describe areas in which communicable diseases were more prevalent. But over the course of the following decades, the word took on a new meaning, one far more vague and easily weaponized against poor communities of color. By the end of the 1940s, blight shifted from a *descriptor* of neighborhoods with particularly high rates of disease, to encompassing a

disease itself—one whose symptoms included substandard housing that threatened to spread across the city. By examining the framework within which urban renewal agencies, newspaper reporters, and national policymakers used the term "blight," this paper develops a comprehensive analysis of the factors which motivated renewal projects during the mid-century.

This paper will analyze the unique environment of post-World War II urban America, which influenced how and why governments settled on particular urban renewal projects. I will show how Baltimore lawmakers, planners, and academic administrators engaged with national trends in urban policy, ultimately selecting a nine-block area across from Johns Hopkins Hospital to redevelop. As the American perception of blight shifted from a descriptor to a disease itself, federal lawmakers and urban planners in dozens of American cities adopted a distinctly medical framing of blight, perpetuating, with the help of the media, the notion that poor housing conditions were contagious. Concurrently, the postwar rise of community health approaches inspired American medical centers to become more deeply involved with the health of the neighborhoods surrounding their medical campuses, pursuing expansion projects under the guise of public health projects.

Postwar perceptions of urban blight, community health, and urban universities coalesced at Baltimore's world-renowned Academic Health Center—the Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions. By examining the social and political climate that created the Broadway Redevelopment Project in Baltimore, this paper uses that project as a case study to understand how urban renewal projects that took place in the communities surrounding university medical centers were inextricably tied to the medicalized approach to blight and a newfound claim by such medical center to be concerned with community health.

Historiography

To advance my argument, I draw on a diverse array of primary sources, including legislation, media, and personal correspondence records between city planners. The texts of the Federal Housing Act, the Hill-Burton Act, and the Hygiene of Housing Act each reveal the racialized and medicalized language that lawmakers employed in their discussions of housing policy and community health. Newspaper articles from the *Baltimore Sun* and *Baltimore Evening Sun*, the city's largest local papers, serve as a catalog of statements from local stakeholders on urban renewal, from city planners to Johns Hopkins University trustees. Articles from the *Afro-American*, a Black-owned newspaper, provide insight into how East Baltimore's population viewed the redevelopment project, pointing out the individual and systemic racism present in the city's housing policies and realtor offices. Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions student newsletter *Under The Dome* reveals a growing focus on community health and housing in the medical school through the 1940s-1950s.

Letters of correspondence between city planners across the United States reveal a close-knit network of urban policy makers and an energetic exchange of ideas about the causes and solutions to blighted housing. Articles written by university administrators at

urban universities advocating for more expansion efforts in American cities show the changing notions of the role of academic institutions in their neighborhoods. Finally, the official plans for the Broadway Redevelopment Project and the meeting minutes from Baltimore's urban planning agency demonstrate the intentions of the renewal efforts and the issues that city officials hoped to combat through such projects.

Urban renewal scholarship has identified how such projects spelled out displacement and disruption for majority-Black and Latinx neighborhoods across the country. Many historians have examined how urban renewal projects during the 1960s and 1970s forcefully gentrified urban communities, perpetuating segregation in American cities. Few scholars, however, have examined the very first renewal projects that took place after the Federal Housing Act of 1949, and the factors that initially motivated city governments to bulldoze neighborhoods.[5] And while several historians have mentioned the medicalization of urban blight in the mid-century, there is a dearth of research on how this medicalization influenced urban renewal policy and planning discussions.[6] Scholarship on the American universities and their respective academic health centers often cite urban renewal policies as central to their stories, but few works have incorporated the changing view of blighted housing, and most neglect early postwar developments.[7]

Marisela B. Gomez has written the only scholarly work which mentions the Broadway Redevelopment Project. In her book *Race, Class, Power, and Organizing in East Baltimore: Rebuilding Abandoned Communities in America*, Gomez chronicles the Project and the community backlash it caused. However, *Race, Class and Power* focuses more closely on Johns Hopkins Medical Institutes' interactions with Middle East Baltimore in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, and uses mid-century territorial expansions to contextualize Hopkins' later developments. Gomez writes only about the actual events of the Broadway Redevelopment Project, and offers no analysis of the circumstances that drove the city to select its first urban renewal area.[8]

Antero Pietila, a former *Baltimore Sun* journalist and current historian of Baltimore housing, wrote *Not in my Neighborhood: How Bigotry Shaped a Great American City, and The Ghosts of Johns Hopkins: The Life and Legacy that Shaped an American City*. Both works discuss in detail the history of Baltimore's neighborhoods, including the demographic shifts in East Baltimore that took place after World War II. Pietila specifically emphasizes the impact that blockbusting had on Baltimore's racial segregation. Many of Baltimore City's white residents, Pietila points out, saw the postwar influx of Black homeowners as a threat to the city. In general, as Black residents moved into a neighborhood, white Baltimoreans, fearing that the presence of Black residents would cause neighborhood real estate prices to decrease, quickly sold their homes and fled north to Baltimore County. Sudden vacancies in turn caused local house prices to decline, thus reinforcing the view that Black residents hurt real estate prices.[9]

Discussing Blight in Baltimore

In 1941, the Baltimore City Council approved the Hygiene of Housing Act, which established several strict housing codes and requirements for Baltimore homeowners.[10] The act's passage indicated that Baltimoreans wished to address determinants of health outside of the clinical setting, and believed housing sanitation to be a key health policy measure. A July 1943 article from the Baltimore Evening Sun celebrated the Maryland Court of Appeals' decision to uphold the act as an important first step in improving the community health of Baltimore, and asserted that the act passed "in response to a strong public sense of outrage against slum conditions in Baltimore." The article displayed the Baltimorean public's belief that eradicating so-called "slum conditions" was a public health necessity. Further, appellate Judge Lindsay D. Sloan wrote that "the only purpose of the ordinance is to protect and preserve the health of the people of Baltimore," a clear endorsement of governmental involvement in housing policy.[11]

The Hygiene of Housing Act sent the city government into decades of public investigation into the effects of housing conditions on public health, and the city government launched an inquiry into health and housing immediately following the bill's enactment. The Baltimore Department of Health conducted an extensive study of the frequency of several diseases within heavily populated areas of the city and concluded that zones with more overcrowding exhibited significantly higher rates of meningitis, tuberculosis, and other communicable diseases. The report first mentioned the dire sanitary condition of the Baltimore housing landscape, identifying wartime industrial production as the cause of overpopulation and overcrowding in the city. As a consequence of overpopulation, the report claimed, the year 1943 saw an astronomical rise in the frequency of many communicable diseases, and the rates of meningococcal meningitis, diphtheria, typhoid fever, and tuberculosis had increased dramatically from the previous year.[12]

The diseases, especially tuberculosis, disproportionately affected the city's Black residents. The report pointed out: "when it is recalled that Negroes compose about 19 percent of the population of the city it is clear that about one-fifth of the city people contribute one-half the tuberculosis mortality."[13] The Department of Health stated further that the areas with the city's highest concentrations of diseases were "blighted," and the report's conclusion advocated that the government forcefully evacuate residents living in those neighborhoods.

The Commissioner of Health recounted the process of seizing property from homeowners in areas with high infection rates:

> While every effort was made to obtain the cooperation of owners and tenants . . . it was necessary to summon 103 owners, 61 tenants and 22 rooming house operators to police magistrate courts for failure to comply with notices of violations. Cases tried in the Criminal Court . . . of these cases 26 were found guilty, 3 were dismissed, and 4 were still pending trial.[14]

The concept of "blighted" neighborhoods appeared first here as a description of places—mostly populated by Black Baltimoreans—which were more likely to have high rates of communicable diseases and therefore pose a threat to community health.

But over the decade following the Department of Health report, Baltimoreans, along with the rest of the country, came to view urban blight not simply as a descriptor for an area with high disease prevalence, but rather as a disease in and of itself. Discussions of urban renewal policy reflected a belief that blight was a communicable health condition, and the whole city was at risk of becoming infected. Policymakers and civilians alike embraced this medicalized understanding of blight, and urban renewal project planning reflected a medical framework.

Residents of Baltimore took quickly to the idea that blight was a disease. Several community members voiced concerns that blight would spread to their neighborhood and devalue housing across the entire city. In a *Baltimore Sun* article from November 16, 1952, a journalist wrote: "Baltimore's slum blight is spreading cancer-like in residential areas . . . infecting areas as far from the center of the city as Irvington." The article then quoted the Commission in Government Efficiency and Economy, which stated that "it is far more effective and less costly to prevent than to attempt to cure blight," implying that the so-called disease could not be cured by anything short of destruction.[15] In a clear embrace of the medicalization of blight, the *Sun* articulated the fear held by many Baltimoreans that poor housing quality may be contagious. The article then claimed that the "spread" of blight across the city would rapidly diminish the price of real estate throughout Baltimore, jeopardizing the city's economic future. Concern that the disease of blight would take over the city and destroy its economy permeated the article, indicating that residents of Baltimore viewed the blighted neighborhoods as a public health crisis which posed an immediate threat to the city.

In addition to the economic framing, Baltimoreans viewed blight as a distinctly racialized issue. The Baltimore Department of Health's report of higher disease rates in predominantly Black neighborhoods, along with the medicalization of blight, prompted a belief among Baltimoreans that Black residents must also carry blight with them just as they would carry any other communicable disease. The *Baltimore Evening Sun* declared that the social conditions of a neighborhood caused blight, and quickly identified the presence of Black residents as a key condition for the presence of the disease.[16] The *Evening Sun* article used the lower average income of Baltimore's Black population—a result of decades of slavery and segregation in the city and surrounding area—to argue that Black residents caused the neighborhood to have poor economic development.

This conflation of blight and race was reflected in national housing policy. On January 31, 1948, the *Afro-American* published a report claiming that the National Association of Real Estate Boards had referred to non-white people as "'blights,' which no reputable broker should introduce into a respectable neighborhood." The article continued on, stating that realtors had asserted that selling real estate to African-Americans was a violation of the Board's Code of Ethics, since such an action would be "detrimental to property values."[17]

Once again, journalists reveal that public fear of blight was rooted in financial self-interest and racism. On both the national and local levels, white homeowners exhibited the belief that any neighborhood with Black residents was doomed to be infected with blight, and that the market value of the neighborhood would subsequently deteriorate, damaging the local residents'—and the city's—economic stability.

Medical language of blight appeared frequently in discussions between Baltimore urban planners. Members of the Baltimore Urban Renewal and Housing Agency (BURHA), renamed in 1957 from the Baltimore Redevelopment Commission, explicitly laid out their criteria for selection of urban renewal areas. In meetings and letter exchanges among BURHA staff, urban planners consistently perpetuated the disease framework of blight when deciding on new target areas for urban renewal projects. In a letter outlining his ideal selection procedure, planner Francis W. Kuchta referred to neighborhoods subject to renewal as "areas declared for treatment," as if blight was an illness that must be quarantined and cured.[18] A joint statement by planners Nathalie Georgia, Seymour Tatar, and John Van Derveer suggested that renewal projects should target areas needing "a minimum of spot clearance," and that new projects be "adjacent to other renewal projects to protect the gains made in these projects," further supporting the notion that neighborhood deterioration can be contagious.[19] The statement further claimed that "it would be desirable to have uniformity of social characteristics in the area," echoing the *Evening Sun* article about maintaining a neighborhood's racial homogeneity. Meeting minutes of the BURHA Program Planning Committee confirm the agency's medical framing of blighted areas. Minutes from an April 29, 1958 meeting indicated that the agency classified units which did not meet local housing codes into a "rehabilitation" category, and denoted them as ready for "treatment."[20] Throughout all discussions within BURHA about selecting new neighborhoods for urban renewal projects, Baltimore city planners maintained a rhetoric of disease containment and argued for neighborhood clearance.

A National Network of Urban Renewal

Urban planning in Baltimore did not exist in a vacuum. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, BURHA planners continually sought out advice and critiques from city planners across the United States. A January 30, 1957 letter from Phil A. Doyle, Deputy Executive Director of the Chicago Land Clearance Commission, sent BURHA Director Oliver C. Winston a public brochure advertising Chicago's Rockwell Gardens urban renewal program. The brochure included several photos of the neighborhood, and outlined the Commission's motivation for selecting the area for urban renewal. As with BURHA, Chicago urban planners employed medical rhetoric when referring to blighted areas. The brochure stated that structures in prospective renewal areas possessed "an air of dilapidation," and were "suitable for rehabilitation." The passage then mentioned the Chicago Housing Authority's intention to "clear out the blight and replace it with new housing."[21] Such language, utilized in both personal correspondence to BURHA and documents distributed to the public,

further contributed to the notion that blight was a medical condition in need of rehabilitation.

The communication between urban renewal agencies in other cities and BURHA revealed a nationwide conversation about urban renewal projects. The vast network of urban planners shows that urban renewal efforts and ideas all across America were interconnected. Practically no urban renewal project in the postwar period operated in isolation, and planners across the country fed off of each others' ideas. Within the letters, any mentions of blight referred to poor housing conditions with the same medical terminology that was prevalent in BURHA internal discussions, routinely using words like "treatment," and "rehabilitation" to advocate for bulldozing neighborhoods. Several planners also adopted the language of "preventative care" when referring to a neighborhood, similar to the language a doctor might use when advising a patient. The American urban renewal network reveals nationwide endorsement of the disease framework of blight among city planners. Through their correspondence, urban planners developed a national consensus as to the nature of urban blight: that it was a disease in itself that had to be isolated and destroyed.

Not only did Baltimore's planners participate in the urban planner network by providing advice to other agencies, but BURHA also incorporated practices from other cities into Baltimore renewal projects. At the April 29, 1958 meeting of the BURHA Program Planning Committee, Baltimore planners cited guidelines from the Philadelphia Housing Association which made mention of "treatment techniques" in the form of neighborhood clearance for blighted areas and once again suggested "prevention." The BURHA employees also looked to reports published by the Chicago Plan Commission and the Cincinnati Planning Commission, which specified further classification of blighted neighborhoods. Each cited report used the same medical terminology as BURHA did with any mention of blight, indicating that the other cities' rhetoric influenced Baltimore urban planners' selection of areas for new urban renewal projects.[22]

Medicalizing Blight at the Federal Level

The growing public sentiment that certain neighborhoods in Baltimore had become blighted was reflected by similar rhetoric in federal housing policy. The Federal Housing Act (FHA) of 1949 signaled the onset of a nationwide craze for urban renewal. Title I of the FHA, "Slum Clearance and Community Development and Redevelopment," laid out the objectives of urban renewal projects and mentioned the proliferation of blight. Similar to Baltimore journalists and city planners, the FHA referred to blight as a disease itself, rather than a description of an area with elevated disease frequency. The law stated that the federal government would support urban renewal programs "for preventing the spread or recurrence, in such communities, of slums and blighted areas."[23] By using the words "spread," and "recurrence" in the act, legislators appropriated terminology of disease and illness into housing policy, declaring that entire communities could become blighted. The FHA prompted dozens of urban renewal projects across the country with the goal of slum clearance.

Just as with perceptions of urban blight, conversations of public health also shaped urban renewal policy. Just as the postwar moment spurred a massive increase in public spending on housing, the US government began investing heavily in the expansion of medical facilities across the nation. In 1946, Congress enacted Title VI of the Public Health Service Act, also called the Hill-Burton Act, which created a national funding program for construction of new medical facilities. The Hill-Burton program then provided funding to local hospitals and clinics to provide health services to underserved communities.[24] The act placed emphasis on the growing idea of "community health," expanding the understanding of health from just clinical care to include social determinants as well.

The concept of community health had existed for several years prior to Hill-Burton, and American publications had long discussed improving the health of the community. The early mentions, however, advocated that Americans improve their community's health through personal decisions and daily behavior changes rather than through public policy. The *Community Health Series*, a set of five leaflets which the US Public Health Service published from 1941 to 1944, demonstrated several specific actions that Americans could take in order to maintain good public health conditions in their community.[25] Examples of these activities included avoiding needle sharing or pouring kerosene into a body of still water to kill off mosquito larvae.[26]

The Hill-Burton Act represented the federal government's new postwar attitude towards public health. The federal government began taking an active role in community health and funded the construction of new hospital buildings and clinical facilities throughout the country. Concurrently, the war's conclusion ended the national deficiency of physicians, and the number of practicing medical professionals grew along with their facilities. The Hill-Burton Program prioritized the construction of small and medium-sized community hospitals and clinics, aiming to provide communities with more local health resources than just one general hospital.[27] In the fifteen years after the war, medical development programs had stressed the role of hospitals in maintaining the health of its surrounding neighborhood, encouraging medical centers to take an active role in community health. The Association of Academic Health Centers (AAHC) noted this trend in a 1980 report titled *The Organization and Governance of Academic Health Centers*, which states that the postwar American government "required [medical facilities] to assume a larger role in providing basic health care services in their own communities."[28]

In addition to small local hospitals, the Hill-Burton Act also provided funding for the creation of Academic Health Centers (AHCs). After the war, many medical education and training facilities moved into universities to bolster their academics.[29] Abraham Flexner's 1909 report on the state of American medical education first introduced the idea of unification between medical campuses and universities. Flexner assessed several medical facilities throughout the country and declared that within the state of Maryland, "the Johns Hopkins University is the only academic institution in the state capable of conducting a modern medical school."[30] Despite Flexner's findings, medical schools did not begin

merging with universities *en masse* until after World War II, and many followed closely the example of Johns Hopkins.[31]

The federal government encouraged university-medical center mergers and saw them as key elements of community health development, especially in metropolitan areas. Federal investment in AHCs sought to create more community health resources for the urban poor, and most funding was focused on AHCs located in large East Coast cities.[32] The American Hospital Association promoted "community understanding" in hospital care to serve the local population.[33] Medical professionals also articulated that the intention of hospital expansion was for the community "to achieve progress through its social institutions, [the health services.]"[34]

The concept of community health also brought hospitals into the political sphere. Possibilities of federal funding of health services, where previously the sole sources of revenue had been tuitions and medical bills, motivated AHCs to advocate for themselves to the government. As medical historian Rosemary Stevens points out, "It was becoming obvious by the late 1950s that community planning was not a technical process, appropriately relegated to experts, but a politically charged process, subject to the power of vested interests."[35] AHCs were generally successful in securing government funding for community health-based expansion projects. In the first decade of the Hill-Burton Program, the federal government awarded more than 25 percent of program funding to AHCs, with the specific goal of promoting community health care.[36]

Congress passed the Hill-Burton Act in close proximity to the Federal Housing Act (FHA) of 1949. The two acts shared certain ideological underpinnings: both ushered in new eras of public investment aimed at improving public life, in health and in housing. The two laws also both focused on building up American cities and maintaining the economic prosperity of the war. Just as the FHA was the first instance of the federal government endorsing urban renewal, the Hill-Burton Act was "the first major example of Federal assistance to nonpublic groups, for public ends," according to a report published by the US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare's Public Health Service in 1958.[37]

The acts were also similar in their implementation techniques. The FHA stressed the importance of state and local government involvement in urban renewal projects, with the federal government providing supplementary funding. The FHA also required that each city which wished to receive funding for urban renewal programs create a "Local Public Agency," to select, plan, and implement the project. In detailing how a city would carry out a renewal project, the FHA detailed a specific process which consisted of the Local Public Agency developing a comprehensive renewal plan, surveying a neighborhood for blight, designating an area for renewal, relocating the people living in the neighborhood, clearing the blighted area of all dwellings, and the government hiring a private contractor to build up-to-code housing for the relocated residents.[38] The Hill-Burton Act laid out a nearly identical process for the development of medical facilities. The "Methods" section of *The Nation's Health Facilities* mandated that each hospital coordinate with a "single agency of the State

government" to develop a detailed expansion plan, followed by a survey of the hospital's current facilities, and federally funded construction of new developments.[39]

While similarities in legislative framing does not prove a correlation between urban renewal and medical development, the identical layout of the two acts' project procedures suggests that lawmakers considered both policies to be parts of the same push for federal involvement in American cities. The FHA provides further evidence that legislators saw housing policy as a public health issue: "the Nation and the health and living standards of its people require housing production and related community development sufficient to remedy the serious housing shortage, the elimination of substandard and other inadequate housing through the clearance of slums and blighted areas."[40] The opening section of the FHA clearly indicates that the discussion of community health tied into federal urban renewal policy, since lawmakers wrote about slums and blighted areas as a public health threat.

The postwar understanding of community health along with the Hill-Burton Act motivated the rapid expansion of hospitals and medical facilities throughout American cities. Large Academic Health Centers then lobbied for and received Hill-Burton funding. New emphasis on providing health services to the community caused hospitals to focus not only on treating the patients who came in for appointments but also on building a healthy environment around the medical facility. For the American legislators, the medical understanding of urban blight motivated the desire for healthy communities around medical facilities. A blighted neighborhood in close proximity to an Academic Medical Center directly contradicted the mission of community health. Therefore, it was necessary for the government to prioritize areas around AHCs when creating urban renewal projects.

Community Health at Johns Hopkins

In Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions embraced the nation's new understanding of community health. Echoing the federal government's community health language, the representative of the Johns Hopkins Board of Trustees wrote a *Baltimore Sun* article in 1946 titled "Your Debt to Hopkins," advertising the Hospital's recent fundraising drive. In the article, the Board appealed to community health ideals to support expansion, claiming that "there must continue to be growth at Johns Hopkins Hospital because it is a vital force in our community and in the nation."[41] In their postwar fundraising, the Trustees of Baltimore's leading Academic Health Center endorsed the hospital's role in community health in order to increase its territory.

Discussions of community health also circulated within Johns Hopkins Medical School during the Hill-Burton era. The March 1954 issue of *Under the Dome* contained a brief overview of a housing study that the Federal Housing Authority was beginning that month in Baltimore. The newsletter stated that "the purpose of the study is to develop a scientific proof of a direct relationship between health and housing."[42] Publishing an article on the housing study shows that medical students at Johns Hopkins University participated in community health conversations. Furthermore, the mere existence of the study confirms

that both the federal government and the Medical Institutions treated that housing policy as a public health issue.

As a result of the population influx during the Second World War and strict redlining policies which segregated Baltimore neighborhoods, the neighborhood surrounding Hopkins Hospital, Middle East Baltimore, was inhabited mostly by Black residents at the time of the Hill-Burton and Federal Housing Acts. Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions (JHMI) showed little dedication to improving the health of its neighboring community and instead sought to isolate itself and curate its own. Community members frequently expressed dissatisfaction with the fence that surrounded the living area for JHMI house officers across from the hospital; the fence quickly became a physical symbol of the disconnect between Hopkins personnel and the hospital's neighbors.[43] While Hopkins administrators and researchers embraced the community health trend, they took few steps to actually repair the poor relationship between the medical institution and the East Baltimore community, and a study conducted by the Johns Hopkins Hospital Board of Trustees revealed that community members viewed Hopkins unfavorably in the decades following the war.[44] While policymakers at Hopkins Hospital took quickly to the federal focus on community health and housing, the institution remained an unwelcome actor in its own neighborhood. Adopting the language of community health allowed the hospital to put forth the image of community involvement while actually advancing its institutional goals of territorial expansion.

Urban Universities Across the Country

The renewal era spurred national conversations about the role of the urban university. In contrast with previous attempts at isolation, many university officials during the urban renewal period advocated for involvement in their communities. As William L. Slayton, commissioner of the U.S. Urban Renewal Administration, captured this new spirit: "While this attitude of isolation may have been justifiable in the seventeenth century, and maybe even in the nineteenth century, it is untenable today… This attitude of isolation is breaking down."[45] Adopting a perspective commonly held by city and university administrators across the country, Slayton pointed to urban renewal projects as a tool for universities to develop *positive* relationships with their surrounding communities, stating that renewal projects would bring increased enrollment (and revenue) to institutions. Pointing out that urban universities were often surrounded by low-income neighborhoods, Slayton pointed to urban renewal projects as a way to increase the overall economic health of such communities.[46]

Urban universities across the country exerted their political power on city governments to fund expansion. In a lecture called "Ground Space for the University," the University of Chicago's Julian H. Levi argued that urban universities served as centers of power in their cities and communities, pushing for such institutions to involve themselves not just in their communities, but in city politics.[47] Similar to the University of Chicago, University of Pennsylvania's Harold Taubin stressed that the City of Philadelphia had, in the late 1940s and early 1950s, designated several neighborhoods adjacent to UPenn as high-

priority urban renewal areas. Key to Taubin's argument that physical expansion ought to be a necessary goal of the urban university was the idea that urban renewal projects and government involvement were necessary to the development of university space.[48]

The newfound readiness to engage nearby communities motivated urban renewal projects in university towns. In his 1966 book *The Urban University*, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Chancellor J. Martin Klotsche positioned the neighborhoods surrounding the University of Chicago as an oppositional force to what he praised as the institution's positive contributions to "the battle against urban blight."[49] In a similar step, the Association of American Universities implemented a national study "to determine what could be done to prevent further deterioration of neighborhoods adjacent to urban universities."[50] In the 1960 announcement of his resignation, University of Chicago Chancellor Lawrence A. Kimpton summarized the university's previous decade as one defined by the school's battle with encroaching blight. He put it simply: "If the university was to exist, that threat had to be removed."[51] Over the course of the 1950s and 60s, university administrators across the country turned to urban renewal and the new language of blight as a convenient means to address the poverty in the neighborhoods surrounding them, which they already viewed to pose a dire threat to their institutional value.

Changing attitudes towards the role of the urban university prompted academic institutions to involve themselves with neighborhood and city politics rather than continue operating in isolation. But rather than meaningfully engaging with local populations, such universities expressed fear of their surrounding neighborhoods due to changing racial and class demographics. Klotsche chronicled such changes in the neighborhood surrounding the University of Chicago, explicitly tying the area's "steady deterioration" to the "heavy influx of low income whites and Negroes."[52] In New York, Chicago, Cleveland, and New Haven, university administrators repeatedly pointed to poor Black and Latinx residents as the root of neighborhood deterioration, and as the reason that white university personnel often refused to live in local neighborhoods.[53]

The medical understanding of urban blight further influenced how urban universities viewed themselves in relation to their cities, and the growing concept of community health particularly implicated the university health centers. While universities sought to expand their campuses and properties further into their respective cities, they found that these communities did not meet the wealthy white standards they sought. Complicating matters was the fact that, in accordance with postwar expectations of community health, university medical centers were newly responsible for the public health of the institution's neighbors. This new public health approach was bolstered by the fact that federal policymakers, local urban planners, and university administrators treated urban blight as a disease itself, of which the neighborhood must be "treated" or "cured," a convenient excuse for universities to receive city and federal funding to clear such neighborhoods of blight and make space for institutional expansion.

Case Study: The Broadway Redevelopment Project

In 1950, immediately after the Federal Housing Act began providing funding to urban renewal projects across America, the Baltimore Redevelopment Commission (BRC) evaluated the neighborhood surrounding Johns Hopkins Hospital. The BRC concluded that the nine-block area west of the Hospital, bounded by North Broadway, Orleans Street, North Central Avenue, and East Monument Street, had become blighted and was therefore in dire need of renewal, through the Broadway Redevelopment Project.[54] The city articulated the Project's intention to relocate the neighborhood residents, clear the "blighted" area, and rebuild up-to-code housing for the neighborhood's original residents. A *Baltimore Evening Sun* article reported that the new buildings would include low-income housing, with 328 united for white families, 178 for Black families, and dormitories to house 250 Hopkins students.[55] A November 1952 report from the BRC revealed that the city had acquired half of the redevelopment property and relocated nearly one third of residents.[56]

But as relocation progressed, the project changed drastically. Early in the spring of 1953, the city announced that it had run out of funding for new developments and would ultimately leave the area vacant.[57] Three years later, in March 1956, The BRC revamped the Broadway Redevelopment Project through a new plan that had dramatically different goals than the 1950 plan. The "Revised Redevelopment Plan" explicitly identified Johns Hopkins University as the developer of the primary residential lot and stated that JHU would expand its campus and residency into the redevelopment area.[58] The City of Baltimore received funding for the Revised Plan from a federal grant.[59]

Johns Hopkins' developments did not provide housing for the population that the Broadway Redevelopment Project displaced. Rather than a mix of student dormitories and public low-income residential apartments, Hopkins built high-rent units specifically for students at the JHMI. Hospital house staff (doctors in residency) took first priority as potential tenants, followed by medical, dental, and nursing students.[60] Hopkins also charged monthly rents of $90 for the new units, 196 percent of the average rent cost in Maryland.[61] Such high rent prices restricted the area's previous residents from moving back into their neighborhood, and the block was soon entirely occupied by wealthy Hopkins personnel.[62]

Middle East Baltimore community members voiced consistent opposition to displacement, and backlash to the Broadway Project shaped discussions of later renewal projects in the area. Mitchell Clearance, in a February 1958 article in the *Afro-American*, accused the city government of creating renewal projects only in areas where they expected little retaliation: "The number one mistake of the [urban renewal] planners is that they select the sites where they anticipate the least resistance rather than the areas which contain the largest assortment of slums."[63] One month later, the *Afro* published community member Eugene Morrison's response to residents of Gadsden, Maryland protesting a renewal project in their neighborhood. Morrison applauded the outcry, and lamented his own neighbor's displacement in Middle East Baltimore: "I was glad to see that the Gadsden homeowners are not taking that redevelopment racism lying down. The same thing happened here when we were 'redeveloped' out of our homes in the Broadway and Orleans area."[64]

Marisela B. Gomez stated that the Middle East Baltimore community viewed the Broadway Redevelopment Project as a betrayal by the City and Johns Hopkins University. East Baltimore residents often cited the Broadway Project as evidence that urban renewal was designed not to improve the housing conditions of a neighborhood, but to displace the local population and make room for wealthy white people. Gomez points out the impact of the Broadway Project on later conversations of urban renewal:

> The residents were still angered by the results of the Broadway Redevelopment Project, which area residents called "The Compound" because a high fence had been erected around it "as protection from vandals." Today [in 2012] residents in the Middle East Baltimore community still remember "The Compound" and the hurt it caused them to have their neighborhood taken from them and then to be prohibited from walking through the area where they used to live.[65]

The medicalized understanding of blight permeated the planning and implementation of the Broadway Redevelopment Project. The Capital Grant from the federal Urban Renewal Administration described the project's objectives and mandated that it seek to stop the spread of blight by eliminating "unhealthful, insanitary or unsafe conditions."[66] Further, the Project took place at the height of community health discussions at JHMI; in May, 1956, the Hopkins Hospital observed National Hospital Week with the theme "Your Hospital … For You and Your Community."[67] Hopkins supported the national rise of public health, and affirmed its dedication to the health of its community. Additionally, JHMI followed its peer institutions in becoming more involved with local politics and urban renewal agencies; In a letter to BRC employee R. L. Steiner, Johns Hopkins Medical Planning and Development Committee member Dr. Bard requested advice on how to legally purchase a section of the Broadway Renewal Area called the Hampton House for the University's redevelopment priorities."[68] As the Broadway Redevelopment Project progressed, Hopkins Administrators adopted postwar perceptions of both community health and the role of the urban university in renewal.

Conclusion

In 2001, Johns Hopkins University, in conjunction with the City of Baltimore, launched the East Baltimore Development Inc. (EBDI), an urban redevelopment organization that would acquire nearly 200 homes to make room for JHMI expansion. The project would clear "trouble neighborhoods" and make space for new university housing and a park.[69] The City next created the Relocation Advisory Committee whose goal was to create a "healthy Middle East community."[70] A half-century after the Broadway Redevelopment Project, language suggesting a medical understanding of blight was still apparent. By 2011, EBDI had seized an 88-acre area and displaced 740 families. At the time of this paper's publication, only one in ten of those displaced residents had returned to the neighborhood.[71]

The Baltimore city government once again displaced Middle East Baltimore residents in the name of redeveloping the neighborhood and expanding Hopkins territory, just as it had in the 1950s. EBDI is evidence that the medical framework of blight did not end with the Broadway Redevelopment Project. JHMI continued to prioritize "securing the edges" of the community, and used the language of public health to justify housing displacement. The university's close involvement with the planning of EBDI also showed the same expansion-driven willingness to participate in local politics that was popular in the postwar moment.[72]

The medicalized understanding of blight, coupled with community health concepts and more politically active urban universities, drove the Baltimore city government to pursue urban renewal in the neighborhood surrounding Johns Hopkins Hospital. With support from federal legislation and urban planners across America, the three drivers converged at the Academic Health Center, and the Broadway Redevelopment Project became the first of many urban renewal and redevelopment initiatives in Baltimore. For Johns Hopkins University and the City Government of Baltimore, both the medical framework of urban blight and the postwar understanding of community health were necessary in order for the city to displace community members and allow the university to expand.

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