THE

GRADUATE

HISTORY REVIEW

Volume 9 | No. 1
Fall 2020

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The GHR offers an exciting publishing opportunity for graduate students working on all fields and periods of history. We welcome original and innovative submissions from emerging scholars in history and related disciplines across the world.

PUBLISHING
The GHR is a peer-reviewed, open access journal published by graduate students at the University of Victoria. The journal is printed annually at Victoria, BC by the University of Victoria Printing Services.
The GHR is published online through the UVic Journal Publishing Services at http://www.uvic.ca/print.

FRONT COVER IMAGE
The front cover of this issue displays a 1797 painting by Isaac Cruikshank entitled *The Delegates in Council or Beggars on Horseback*, reproduced courtesy of © The Trustees of the British Museum under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) license. The British Museum's description of the painting is as follows:

"Naval mutineers, seated and standing at a long table, glare ferociously at Admiral Buckner, who stands (left) calmly, hat in hand, in profile to the right at the foot of the table. The man at the head of the table, seated in a chair which is higher than the others, holds a blunderbuss and wears a hat. He must be Richard Parker, but does not resemble him. At his elbow and on the extreme right stands Thelwall filling a glass from a 'Grog' can; he says "Tell him we intend to be Masters, I'll read him a Lecture"; from his pocket hangs a paper: 'Thellwals Lecture' (see BMSat 8685). One man only is seated on the president's left and on the near side of the table. He places a fist on a long paper headed 'Resolutions'. Under the table in the foreground, lifting up the tablecloth, five secret instigators are (left to right): Lauderdale, holding

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a paper: 'Letter from Sheerness to Ld L------le'; Horne Tooke, Stanhope, Grey, Fox, the most prominent, saying, "Aye, Aye, we are at the bottom of it", and Sheridan. All have satisfied smiles. Four ruffians are seated at the farther side of the table, others stand behind them; one aims a pistol over the admiral's head, one man smokes, another chews tobacco, taking a quid from his box. Weapons lie on the table. On the wall behind them are a print of Britannia head downwards, and two torn ballads: 'True Blue an old Song' and 'Hearts of Oak are our Ships Jolly Tars are our men We alway are Ready', the last word scored through. On the right the slanting window of the captain's cabin is indicated. 9 June 1797."

REAR COVER IMAGE

The rear cover of this issue displays an article cut from the *Dunstan Times* of 14 September 1908, reproduced courtesy of National Library of New Zealand under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 3.0 New Zealand (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 NZ) licence.

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President's Message

It is my pleasure to introduce the 9th volume of the University of Victoria's *The Graduate History Review*.

Our university is committed to providing students and emerging scholars with experiential and research-enriched learning opportunities that empower them to explore and create knowledge. The creation and dissemination of knowledge through this publication advances that goal and is a great example of experiential learning in action.

This thought-provoking collection of articles explores historical periods and events of significance from across the globe. Within these pages, readers will be engaged in discussions about collective action within militaries, immigration and remittance migration, Indigenous community histories, racism and race-based policies and practices and more. The articles represent the vast diversity of historical thought and research that contributes to new perspectives and ongoing debate and dialogue.

The Graduate History Review also highlights collaborations between UVic history graduate students, faculty members and colleagues from University of Canterbury and Carnegie Mellon University, who have worked together to bring us this outstanding publication.

Congratulations to the talented and dedicated graduate students, faculty advisors and mentors for their contributions to this collection of articles. Thank you for sharing your passion and knowledge with us and for contributing to a better future for people and the planet.

Sincerely,

Professor Jamie Cassels, QC
President and Vice-Chancellor
University of Victoria

Chair's Message

It is with great pleasure that I introduce this issue of *The Graduate History Review*.

The *GHR* is a wonderful expression of the rigorous training, cutting-edge scholarship, and warm camaraderie that distinguishes the UVic History graduate program. Over the past thirteen years, I have had the good fortune to work with exemplary MA and PhD students. In addition to their central roles in the department's teaching, many have made critical contributions to the research of the History faculty. Yet because so much of this hard work remains out of sight, it is especially important to have this outlet that highlights the scholarship of current and recent graduate students.

Now, more than ever, it is essential for historians not only to conduct meticulous and creative scholarship but to engage with the salient issues that are redefining our world. I am happy to say that this volume meets both of those criteria. Here we have important articles from four emerging scholars. Their themes include the history of resistance to authority within the British Royal Navy; white colonial migration and identity in New Zealand; representations of space and commemoration in Indigenous communities; and the interplay of racism and violence in the postwar industrial city. We applaud the authors for their original and insightful scholarship, as well as the editors and peer-reviewers for the hard work that went into producing this journal.

Congratulations to everyone who made this volume possible. My colleagues and I look forward to watching your careers take shape.

Sincerely,

Jason M. Colby
Professor and Chair
Department of History
University of Victoria

Editor's Introduction

Throughout my tenure as Editor-in-Chief and assistant editor of *The Graduate History Review,* I have found myself reflecting on the nature of graduate-level journals. I can think of no better way to introduce this issue than to contextualize the articles that follow within some of my reflections.

For starters, I have reflected on the value *for authors* to publish in a graduate journal. It is tempting to assume that graduate journals are somehow less scholarly or less rigorous, and therefore easier to be published in. Yet, as our contributing authors this year know well, this is not necessarily the case. Submissions are peer-reviewed by expert faculty just as with any journal (in addition to student reviewers), and many rounds of revision were carried out before the following papers took their present form. From my perspective, rather than ease of publication, the value of publishing in a graduate journal is in the dedication of such journals to assisting first-time authors and providing a clear and transparent understanding of the publication process that will serve them well in their future academic careers. With publication being such a crucial aspect of a historian's career, having a first-time experience that is not only positive but also informative is important in a historian's professional development. *The Graduate History Review* strives to fulfill this role, and hopes that this year's authors take as much away from publishing their papers as readers will take away from reading them.

From a different angle, I have reflected on the value *for departments* to publish a graduate journal. Again, it is tempting to assume that graduate journals are used specifically to showcase the work of a department's own students. This is not at all the case. *The Graduate History Review* acceptance process is entirely blind, and while each issue does typically include some papers from University of Victoria students, this is only because University of Victoria students have greater exposure to *The Graduate History Review* and so submit a greater proportion of papers. Rather, from my perspective, one of the greatest benefits of publishing *The Graduate History Review* to this department is the experience and training that is provided to the array of peer-reviewers, board members, revision managers, copy-editors, and more who make these issues possible. Just as publication is central to an academic career, skills like peer-reviewing and copy-editing are critical for professional historians

yet are seldom taught in normal coursework. Parallel to our dedication to assisting authors with an introduction to the publication process, the *GHR* also strives to instill in our volunteers with the willingness and ability to perform these behind-the-scenes tasks which are part of the foundation of the historical profession.

These reflections are only partly intended to motivate future graduate journal staff members to treat their publications with the respect and dedication they deserve. More importantly, these reflections are meant to remind readers of the significance of the papers that follow. These papers represent not just the original scholarly research that they explicate. They also represent the beginnings of the next generation of historians, a generation of authors, reviewers, board members, and editors. As Editor-in-Chief, it has been extremely rewarding to observe and contribute to these rising stars, and I wish my successor Dave Lang the best of luck in the year to come.

Sincerely,

Darren Reid
Editor-in-Chief
The Graduate History Review

"Whither Shall We Send Our Son?": A Prosopographical Analysis of Remittance Men in New Zealand

HELEN LEGGATT

Abstract: This article represents a unique exploration of the creation and lived experiences of British gentlemen exiled by family to the colonies during the nineteenth century. Known as remittance men, they constituted a small but consistent migrant type to British settler societies, and later became the subject of popular mythology. Remittance men have remained but footnotes in New Zealand historiography and their presence deserves greater scrutiny. Through prosopographical analysis, my research expands current knowledge of the historical contexts in which their identities were forged, and adds their stories to New Zealand's current historiography of the nation's early immigrants.

Note: As part of this research, the author created an Excel spreadsheet containing data analysed for this article. Individuals interested in viewing the data should write and request a copy from the author via helen.leggatt@pg.canterbury.ac.nz

British governments were not averse to shipping social problems abroad in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. To date, scholarship has focused on official transportation policies following the 1718 Transportation Act as solutions to the country's burgeoning criminal population, an alternative to the death penalty, and an answer to labour shortage in the American colonies.[1] In addition, the nineteenth century witnessed attempts to emigrate British vagrant or orphaned children.[2] Following the loss of the American colonies in the War of Independence, and after a disastrous period during which West Africa was designated a

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[1] A. Roger Ekirch, *Bound for America: The Transportation of British Convicts to the Colonies, 1718-1775* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1987). See also: H. Maxwell-Stewart, "Convict Transportation from Britain and Ireland 1615-1870," *History Compass* 8 (2010): pp.1221-1242; Christian G. De Vito, Clare Anderson, & Ulbe Bosma, "Transportation, Deportation and Exile: Perspectives from the Colonies in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," *International Review of Social History* 63, S26 (2018): p.2.

[2] Roy Parker, *Uprooted: The Shipment of Poor Children to Canada, 1867-1917* (Bristol, UK: Policy Press, 2010), p.6. See also: Elaine Hadley, "Natives in a Strange Land: The Philanthropic Discourse of Juvenile Emigration in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England," *Victorian Studies* 33, no. 3 (1990): p.412.

convict destination, Australia became Britain's primary penal colony in 1788.[3] As such, the relationship between transportation and settlement developed over time.

Less understood is the development and impact of informal networks of emigration that formed over the nineteenth century. Whereas official emigration programmes were institutionally led by governments or charity organisations, another powerful institution of enforced emigration emerged—the family. New Zealand was not a destination in Britain's programme of punitive transportation but, in the mid-1800s, it became a destination to which profligate and socially embarrassed younger sons were sent. Dubbed "remittance men," due to the regular payments sent by family to keep them abroad, the exiled sons found themselves at the centre of emerging nativist debates about unwelcome migrants. The preferred destinations were colonial outposts such as Australia, Canada, and New Zealand. Strictly enforced and observed, these family policies of emigration, driven by expectations of masculinity, class, and social mores, could be as persuasive and powerful as any legislation or government policy.

The presence of remittance men in New Zealand raises important questions, three of which I address in this article. First, when and for what period are individuals identified as remittance men visible across the British colonies of Australia, Canada and New Zealand? Second, which historical contexts contributed to this social type's formation? Finally, what can prosopographical analysis reveal about the socio-demographic make-up of remittance men, and their behaviour and fates in New Zealand? Such questions are absent from New Zealand historiographies of society and migration. Until recently, historians and New Zealanders alike have suffered what Jock Philips and Terry Hearn describe as a "collective amnesia" regarding the backgrounds of settler ancestors. This indifference to acknowledging ancestry beyond the ship on which ancestors arrived might, they speculate, result from a desire to forget regrettable pasts or snub ancestors "thrown out of their families after a youthful misdemeanour."[4] No scholarship has investigated the temporal visibility of remittance men in colonial New Zealand. This is understandable given the paucity of scholarly research focused on remittance men. Instead, the historiography tends towards biography and

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[3] Clare Anderson, "Transnational Histories of Penal Transportation: Punishment, Labour and Governance in the British Imperial World, 1788-1939," *Australian Historical Studies* 47, no. 3 (2016): pp.381-383.

[4] Jock Phillips and Terry Hearn, *Settlers: New Zealand Immigrants from England, Ireland and Scotland 1800- 1945* (Auckland, NZ: Auckland University Press, 2013), p.3.

local and oral histories. This is due in part to the challenges inherent in identifying remittance men—the applied label has generally been dependent on subjective observations rather than established facts.

Answers to the questions posed in this article are found using a mixed methods approach. First, a survey of the English-speaking press across four countries—Australia, Britain, Canada, and New Zealand—during the period between 1870 and 1960, searching the keywords "remittance man" and "remittance men," allows temporal analysis of their presence within colonial societies. While this method allows for a broad transnational comparison of the presence over time of remittance men by colony, it is acknowledged this method is not a catch-all scenario. However, it is adequate for this analysis given the difficulties identifying individual remittance men. Second, prosopographical analysis of 166 remittance men identified in New Zealand explores their backgrounds and behaviours that resulted in their lives as remittance men, as well as their subsequent lived experiences. This unique research adds to current understandings of New Zealand's social history by analysing a little-known social type and inserting them into the colony's migration history.

Erik Olssen observed that the archetypal remittance man was "a recurring figure in older accounts of the nineteenth-century" but has "long since disappeared from the literature."[5] This anonymity in the present requires a pause for definition. The phrase "remittance man" was not a label adopted by those to whom it applied. Neither was it in general use within official and public records—hence Karl F. Zeisler's observation that "the thing about a remittance man…is that no one ever knows for sure whether or not he is a remittance man."[6] Rather, the phrase became associated with a specific, particularly visible socio-demographic group of emigrants to the British colonies in the nineteenth century. In terms of official definition, a remittance man was "an emigrant who live[d] abroad (*esp.* in a former British colony) supported by remittances of money from relatives at home; *spec.* one considered undesirable at home."[7] The term remittance man was in popular use in Australasia by the 1880s and entered

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[5] Erik Olssen, "Where to from Here? Reflections on the Twentieth-Century Historiography of Nineteenth Century New Zealand," *New Zealand Journal of History* 26, no. 1 (1992): p.74.

[6] Karl F. Zeisler, "Mr Langhorne - a Prairie Sketch," *Quarterly Review of the Michigan Alumnus* 65 (1959): p.229.

[7] Oxford English Dictionary, "*Remittance Man*," (Oxford: Oxford University Press, July 2018).

the dictionary *Austral English* in 1898.[8] The phrase remittance man appeared in the New Zealand press for the first time in March 1876, and was used in a humorous manner that assumed readers' familiarity with the term:

> We learn from the Wellington Post that one of the first uses made of the Australian cable was by a remittance man. He telegraphed to his friends in England "Lend me £20." The answer received was "Paid for your telegram and this—balance per mail." He is now waiting for the mail that will bring him about enough to acknowledge the receipt by post.[9]

The phrase "remittance immigrant" is found in the Australian press as early as July 1876, and in the British press a decade later.[10] However, a far earlier mention can be found in 1868 in the Canadian press. The term is used in the short conundrum "Why do the Subscribers of the Mechanic's Institute increase so slowly? Because the Colony is full of Remittance men."[11] The fact that the phrase "remittance man" was used in the press suggests readers were familiar with the archetype. Despite being a social role relatively unheard of today, the remittance man was clearly a recognised character within early colonial societies.

British colonies were considered suitable locations where sons of the upper-class could—with the necessary skills, temperament, and family capital—embark on successful colonial careers far from the rigid behavioural expectations of Victorian English upper-class society. New Zealand was furthest from Britain's shores and sparsely populated with upper-class migrants. This combination of geographic isolation and demographics could virtually guarantee a son would not return, and would be unlikely to be recognised if he did. Two articles appeared in the journal *The Nineteenth-Century* in 1883, both written by Major-General

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[8] Edward E. Morris, *Austral English: A Dictionary of Australasian Words Phrases and Usages, with Those Aboriginal-Australian and Maori Words Which Have Become Incorporated in the Language and the Commoner Scientific Words That Have Had Their Origin in Australasia* (London: Macmillan, 1898).

[9] "News," *West Coast Times*, 4 March 1876, p.2.

[10] "A Holiday in the Rockies," *Pall Mall Gazette*, 10 February 1886, p.11.

[11] "Original Conundrums," *Victoria Daily British Colonist*, March 14 1868, 3.

Feilding.[12] Feilding addressed two questions common among upper-class parents—"What Shall We Do With Our Son?" and "Whither Shall We Send Our Son?" Feilding's answer to the first was a lengthy tract that can be condensed to one word—emigrate.[13] To the second he elucidated the "merits and demerits" of various British colonies to "assist parents and guardians in making the selection most befitting the financial condition, as well as the constitution and natural tastes, of those whom they seek to start in life."[14] Feilding provided an unfeasibly long list of skills he recommended gentlemen acquire to be successful in the colonies, including the laws and principles of agriculture, animal husbandry, horsemanship, irrigation construction, carpentry, hydraulics, seamanship, natural science, chemical science, fishing, curing meat, first aid, geology and mineralogy. Experienced colonists, such as Ernest Albin Smith, refuted Feilding's advice. It was possible, wrote Smith, a British civil servant who emigrated to Queensland at age 30 and gained experience in the breeding and raising of sheep before embarking on a career as a sport journalist, that "sober, industrious and intelligent lads of good birth and education" would find it easier to secure employment in Australia than in the overcrowded professional market in Britain. However, he continued, "idle, weak, or intemperate" sons or a "*mauvais sujet*" exiled by an embarrassed family could expect "pecuniary ruin" and "social degradation."[15] Feilding's knowledge of colonial life informed his determination that the acquisition of relevant skills was key to success in the colonies. He would later become a supporter of the Colonial College in Britain.[16] Similarly, Smith's experience highlights that success in the colonies required self-discipline and hard work.

Even with the required skills, a remittance man's class and its associated affectations were considered a hindrance in colonial society. Such men would find themselves among a population lacking the

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[12] During 1870-1871, the then Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel William Henry Adelbert Feilding, son of the 7th Earl of Denbigh, toured Australia and New Zealand as the chief representative of the Emigrants' and Colonists' Aid Corporation. The Corporation was a private English body, led by the Duke of Manchester, set up to settle a group of people selected from the unemployed agricultural labouring class in Britain.

[13] William H. A. Feilding, "What Shall I Do With My Son?" *The Nineteenth Century* 13 (1883): pp.578-586.

[14] William H. A. Feilding, "Whither Shall I Send My Son?" *The Nineteenth Century* 14 (1883): p.65-77.

[15] "Major-General Feilding's Ideas on Upper Class Emigration," *The Brisbane Courier*, 7 February 1884, p.3.

[16] J. A. Mangan, *'Benefits Bestowed'?: Education and British Imperialism* (Oxford, UK: Routledge, 2012), p.199.

"plebeian deference" from which a British gentleman's status was derived.[17] This was particularly so in the "new" colonies of Australia, Canada, and New Zealand, wrote Herbert Branston Grey, Wintonian, graduate of Oxford, and former headmaster of Bradfield College. There they would not reside among "lower or more submissive races" as in India or Africa. Instead, they would "encounter a people entirely free from subservience to rank or wealth, a people intolerant therefore of dictation or condescension, in whose lives…the distinction between class and class has for all practical purposes disappeared."[18] Instead, as Smith observes, in the new colonies it was an individual's "actions and capabilities" on which they were judged and not a genealogy of esteemed "ancestors and relations."

Smith's opinions are echoed by New Zealand historian, Jim McAloon, who asserts that, among New Zealand's upper- and middle-class settlers, the dominant ethic "was one of individual effort and self-improvement."[19] Drawing on their various colonial and educational experiences, the opinions of Feilding, Smith, Grey, and Duthie concur. Relying on status for success and respect without the skills or experience deemed necessary in a frontier environment was risky. William Swainson, New Zealand's second attorney general, suggested "for candidates for Government employment, for young men who have neither capital nor skill, and who are too proud or too weak to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow New Zealand cannot be recommended."[20]

In addition to upper-class attitudes and a lack of relevant skills, the regular receipt of financial support further distanced remittance men from the "rough and tough" colonial masculinities surviving on "fifteen pounds of meat a week and no bed sheets."[21] Paid in various instalment periods, remittances varied from £1 to £4 per week.[22] Reverend D. Wallace Duthie wrote of his colonial experience in South Africa and

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[17] Jim McAloon, "Class in Colonial New Zealand: Towards a Historiographical Rehabilitation," *New Zealand Journal of History* 38, no. 1 (2004): p.6. See also Monica Rico, "Sir William Drummond Stewart: Aristocratic Masculinity in the American West," *Pacific Historical Review* 76, no. 2 (2007): p.167.

[18] Herbert Branston Gray, *The Public Schools and the Empire* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1913), p.20.

[19] McAloon, "Class in Colonial New Zealand," p.13.

[20] William Swainson, *New Zealand and its Colonization* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1859), p.193.

[21] James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders: From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Auckland, NZ: Allen Lane, 1996), p.429.

[22] Helen Leggatt, *"Remittance Man Database,"* (2018).

Australia that the drive for success among remittance men was diminished because remittances "relieve him of the need of finding employment" or "keeping it by his sobriety and good conduct."[23] Neither was employment in the professions easily found in colonial New Zealand. As early Canterbury pioneer and astute observer Lady Barker relays in her memoires, within the country's frontier society "the machinery of civilisation is reduced to the most primitive scale."[24] A sufficient income may explain how some remittance men were able to maintain the appearance of a "dandy"—at least initially—among settlers whose garb, plain but of good quality, was more suited to colonial life.[25] Gerard Taylor, the son of a wealthy British doctor, "astonished" the Sampson family in Taranaki when he arrived on their small farm wearing "top hat and tails, finely worsted trousers, [and] gloves, and carr[ying] a gold mounted cane."[26] William Howlett, the son of an English clergyman, "wore white silk suits"[27] and George John Fisher, whose family seat was Walton Hall in Yorkshire, was also renowned for his white suits.[28] These are likely the type of upper-class men that were given "lordly" nicknames such as "Dandy Jack" or "The Marquis."[29] However, it is likely these outward trappings of wealth did not last among those who could not find employment, or for whom the only procurable work was manual labour. Certainly, Taylor is remembered in later years as wearing "grubby dungarees and an old felt hat," and working on a farm.[30] British writer Charles Wentworth Dilke recalled a "Life Guardsman" who wore his smock "like a soldier's tunic and his cap stuck on one ear in Windsor fashion" and men who, despite their military and university education and "polished manners," looked to be "the roughest of the rough."[31] Lady

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[23] D. Wallace Duthie, "The Remittance Man," *Nineteenth Century* 46 (1899): p.828.

[24] Lady M.A. Barker, *Station Amusements in New Zealand* (London: William Hunt & Co., 1873), p.17.

[25] George Butler Earp, *New Zealand: Its Emigration and Gold Fields* (London: George Routledge & Co., 1853), p.226.

[26] Hartley, *Colonial Outcasts*, p.135.

[27] Ibid., p.106.

[28] Hartley, *Colonial Outcasts*, p.64.

[29] Jack Adam, Vivien Burgess and Dawn Ellis, *Rugged Determination: Historical Window on Swanson, 1854-2004* (Auckland, NZ: Swanson Residents & Ratepayers Assn, 2004), p.52.

[30] Hartley, *Colonial Outcasts*, p.136.

[31] Charles Wentworth Dilke*, Greater Britain Volume 1* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1868), Project Gutenberg, retrieved 8 May 2020 from http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/41755.

Barker observed that "at the end of six months their clothes [began] to look shabby."[32]

Despite their presence within British colonies, remittance men remain relatively invisible within historiographies of New Zealand migration and society. A solitary book is dedicated to the topic, Nell Hartley's *Colonial Outcasts: A Search for the Remittance Men*. Hartley makes explicit her aim of countering the negative stereotype associated with remittance men, "a myth which did not include the positive aspects in the lives of many of these men," and hoped to create "a base for social historians to build on."[33] However noble her aim, most of Hartley's biographies contain behaviours inconsistent with late nineteenth-century social mores, both before and after banishment. Such misdemeanours appear tame compared with modern values, but were intolerable in nineteenth-century upper-class society. While some individuals in Hartley's research did reform their ways in New Zealand, many biographies refer to deviant behaviour including fraud, theft, alcoholism, insolvency, vagrancy, and the fathering of illegitimate offspring. Hartley barely manages to rehabilitate the reputation of remittance men in New Zealand.

Within wider historiographies of New Zealand society, discussions of remittance men remain footnotes within larger narratives. Writing of social relations among men in the mining town of Te Aroha, Philip Hart describes "high-spirited young men sent to the colonies by their exasperated fathers and paid a regular sum to remain there."[34] An unpublished transcript of a talk by Rollo Arnold provides a more generous description of the "remittance type" who "were a more important element in our founding stock than is commonly realised." Arnold uncovered the earliest mention of New Zealand's "remittance type" within shipboard diaries of the 1840s and 1850s. "Some of these enforced emigrants made good," writes Arnold, "most added colour to colonial life, few were without redeeming features."[35] Miles Fairburn suggests remittance men symbolised "the absolute inconsistency between morality, status, and

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[32] Barker, *Station Amusements*, p.17.
[33] Hartley, *Colonial Outcasts,* p.17.
[34] Philip Hart, "Social Relations and Class Divisions in the Te Aroha District," (Historical Research Unit - University of Waikato, 2016), p.27.
[35] Rollo Arnold, "Exodus from the Fringes: Emigrants to New Zealand 1839-1879," Typescript of a talk, n.d., https://sites.google.com/site/rolloarnold/migration (accessed 12 June 2018), p.7.

material success in New Zealand."[36] They challenged an idealised social order borne of thriftiness and moderation of behaviour and consumption. James Belich suggests New Zealand was a "favoured destination for 'remittance men.'"[37] Erik Olssen observes that "although there is no good historical study of the phenomenon, in the late-nineteenth century New Zealanders were especially fascinated with 'remittance men.'"[38] The closest that researchers have come to analysing remittance men and their behavioural traits is in Jennifer Kain's investigation of "the ne'er-do-well" in New Zealand migration, and "how moral judgments about abnormal behaviours translated into political policy making."[39]

Remittance men were despatched to distant shores for behaviour that would undermine a family's reputation and social standing. Misdemeanours varied from "an officer not paying his mess bills," "getting a maid 'into trouble'" or, for a clergyman's son, a lack of piety. Alternatively, a remittance man may have been "addicted to drink, or a gambler."[40] John Nathaniel Williams (1878—1915), son of Sir Robert Williams, was educated at Eton and New College, Oxford. He acquired a penchant for gambling and left Oxford with bookmaker and moneylender debts totalling £4,500, which his father settled. For the following six years, Williams socialised with high society at fashionable London venues such as Cox's Hotel on Jermyn Street, resulting in betting debts of more than £12,000—debts that were again settled by his father. Williams declared bankruptcy in 1909, owing over £20,000. At his bankruptcy hearing, reported in the press, his representative declared him "a young man who became obsessed with a desire to bet, the fever having attacked him."[41] Williams' great-nephew Sir Philip Williams recounts that the gambler's father "gave his son an ultimatum[:] to live abroad as a Remittance Man or be disinherited completely."[42] Williams departed

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[36] Miles Fairburn, *The Ideal Society and Its Enemies: The Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society, 1850- 1900* (Auckland, NZ: Auckland University Press, 1989), p.73.

[37] James Belich, *Making Peoples,* p.326.

[38] Erik Olssen, "Where to from Here? Reflections on the Twentieth-Century Historiography of Nineteenth-Century New Zealand," *New Zealand Journal of History* 26, no. 1 (1992): p.74.

[39] Jennifer Kain, "The Ne'er-Do-Well: Representing the Dysfunctional Migrant Mind, New Zealand 1850-1910," *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 48, no. 1 (2015): p.78.

[40] Monica Rico, *Nature's Noblemen,* p.77.

[41] "Young Man's Betting Losses," *Globe (UK)*, 9 February 1909, p.5.

[42] "John Nathaniel (Nat) Williams," Waihi Museum: www.waihimuseum.co.nz/museum-and-research/world-war-i/john-nathaniel-williams.

England for New Zealand aboard the *Tainui* on 21 July 1911.[43] John Nathaniel Williams represents the typical, privileged remittance man who squanders time and money on self-gratification, leaving his family, embarrassed by his behaviour made public in the press, to settle his debts and remove him from British society.

It was not just reckless behaviour that could result in exile. Letting down a proud family tradition or a failing career could also have consequences. William Montagu Davenport Howes was the youngest son of a family long associated with the 51st (2nd Yorkshire, West Riding, The King's Own Light Infantry) Regiment. His father George had served in the Regiment, attaining the rank of Captain, as had his grandfather.[44] In 1903, Howes appeared in the New Zealand press in an article about his conviction in 1900 for assault and use of insulting language. In the article, Howes was represented as an ex-Army Officer and veteran of the first Boer War.[45] However, an examination of his army record reveals a different reality. In 1881 Howes signed a short service attestation (Form B-265) on which he noted his trade as "clerk," and that he had previously been rejected as unfit for Her Majesty's service. Written in pencil next to his admission of rejection is "defective vision." Nonetheless, his impairment was disregarded and a handwritten note at the foot of the attestation form may explain why. It reads "By Authority dated Horse Gds 14.2.81," and it is interesting to note that his father, George Fuller Howes, was employed in the Adjutant General's Dept, Horse Guards, in 1851.[46] The younger Howes was not an officer. He enlisted as a Private in the 62nd Brigade of Infantry (later The Duke of Edinburgh's (Wiltshire Regiment)). Furthermore, his military record makes no mention of service in the first Boer War, which ended one month after he enlisted. Instead, William spent eighteen months in Malta and two years in the West Indies, while the remaining two months of his three year and three months' service were spent in Britain. He spent a large proportion of his military career in hospital care—a total of 477 days—for "general debility."[47]

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[43] "Passenger Lists Leaving UK 1890-1960," database, *FindMyPast*: www.findmypast.com, entry for passenger Jonathan Nathaniel Williams, Tainui, 21 July 1911.

[44] H. G. Hart, *The New Annual Army List, and Militia List* (London: John Murray, 1863), p.638, National Library of Scotland, retrieved 4 May 2020 from https://digital.nls.uk/105741571

[45] "An Ex-Army Officer in Trouble: A Sad Case," *Auckland Star*, 4 May 1903, p.2.

[46] "1851 England Census," database, *Ancestry,* https://www.ancestry.com, entry for George Fuller Howes.

[47] "British Army Service Records," database, *FindMyPast,* www.findmypast.com, entry for William Montague Davenport Howes, 23 February 1881.

William was given the opportunity of an army career through his family's military ties. His failure to live up to expectations, due to physical and mental frailty, almost certainly disappointed his family and led to his despatch to New Zealand.
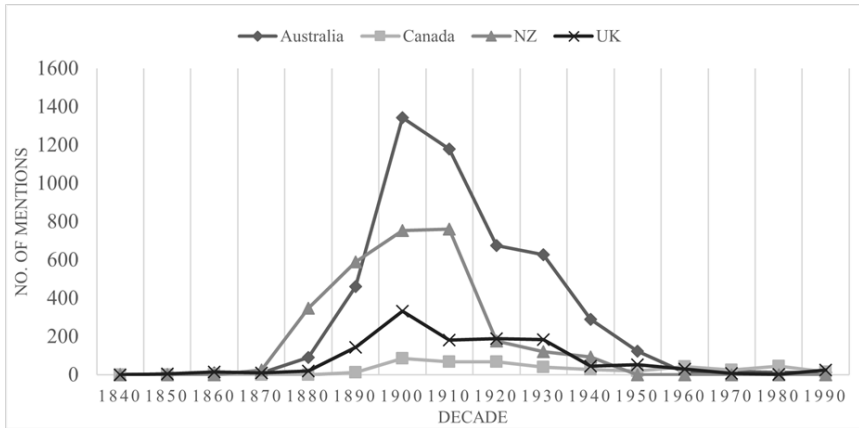
Figure 1: Keywords "Remittance Man" and "Remittance Men" in the English-speaking Colonial Press. Sources obtained through https://trove.nla.gov.au, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz, https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk.

So, when did remittance men begin to appear in the colonies? Surveys of English-language newspapers in Australia, Britain, Canada, and New Zealand go some way towards answering this question. As *Figure 1* illustrates, there is a temporal trend common across all colonies relating to the visibility of remittance men. This suggests that analysis of the historical contexts during which press scrutiny of remittance men in the colonies waxes and wanes can inform understandings of the archetype's putative lifespan. To this end, the temporal trends evident in popular understandings of "remittance men" will be discussed using three key phases, largely focusing on Britain, the country of origin for the majority of the emigrants.

Phase One represents the period from 1870 to the outbreak of World War I. During this period, popular attention paid to remittance men in the colonial press commences and rises significantly, peaking between 1905 and 1910. In terms of economic and social change, this phase is significant. First, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, wealthy British landowners from the aristocracy and upper-classes became increasingly economically vulnerable. The opening of the American West

to farming, coupled with technological advances in agriculture and transportation, led to cheap cereal imports flooding the British market. Between 1870 and 1895 wheat prices halved, and the volume of imported wheat doubled. Britain's landowners saw their land values decrease; gross land value dropped from £104m in 1869 to £62m from 1894 to the turn of the century. Similarly, agricultural revenues fell from one-fifth of national income in 1850 to one-sixteenth in 1900.[48] David Cannadine and F. M. L. Thompson consider the agricultural depression a major cause of decline in the fortunes of the aristocracy and landed gentry.[49] The fact that Britain "ceased to provide them with adequate financial support" meant the gentry's attention turned to the colonies.[50]

Second, entry into careers traditionally occupied by younger sons of the aristocracy and landed gentry, such as the civil service and military, came under political scrutiny. Reforms sought to democratise entry into these careers, disrupting expectations among the upper-classes of obtaining such employment. With these reforms, it was intended that professional success based on money, connections, and social status would make way for success based on merit, ability, and education.[51] Beginning in the 1870s, the civil service introduced "open competition," making way for the accomplished, privately-educated upper-middle classes to enter professions traditionally populated by the upper classes.[52] The Cardwell reforms of 1870 attempted to abolish the purchase of commissions—a system that, while illegal, had long been tolerated in the British army. "Notice to gallant but stupid young gentlemen," wrote *Punch*, advising that sons of the gentry had until the end of October 1871 to buy a commission, after which they would be "driven to the cruel necessity of deserving them."[53] However, the degree to which Cardwell's reforms affected class diversity within the officer corps has been widely debated. The general consensus is that class, public schooling, and social ties remained key to the acquisition of a commission until at least World War Two.[54] Cardwell's reforms may have "opened the army's door to new

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[48] P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion, 1688-1914* (London: Longman, 1993), p.111.

[49] Cannadine, *Decline,* p.293.

[50] Cannadine, *Decline*, p.429.

[51] Cannadine, *Decline,* p.239.

[52] Cannadine, *Decline,* p.239.

[53] "Punch's Essence of Parliament," *Punch*, 5 August 1871, p.45.

[54] See: Albert V. Tucker, "Army and Society in England 1870-1900: A Reassessment of the Cardwell Reforms," *Journal of British Studies* 2, no. 2 (1963): 110-41. C. B. Otley, "The Educational Background of British Army Officers," *Sociology* 7, no. 2 (1973): 191-209; Thomas F. Gallagher, "'Cardwellian Mysteries': The Fate of the British Army

sectors of the middle class who had acquired the appropriate social cachet of a public school education," writes historian C.B. Otley, but abolition of purchase "did not shut the door to the traditional elitist sources of supply."[55] Remittance men embroiled in social scandal might find it challenging to enter the Army with a commission after the reforms, but their social standing and networks continued to place them in favourable positions to do so.

The clergy was another profession that younger sons commonly expected to enter. This was facilitated by landowning fathers' rights of advowson—the ability to present to a Bishop their nominee for a parish priest with its accompanying benefices such as a dwelling and income from tithes. Younger sons of landowners were commonly gifted such benefices as a living. A Royal Commission in 1879 reported abuses associated with such patronage and recommended changes to protect parishes from the appointment of immoral, aged, or incompetent clergy.[56] As lands were broken up after the agricultural depression, advowsons were disposed of, or became unpopular among sons of the gentry as parishes fragmented and associated income decreased.[57] Later, the Benefices Act 1898 ensured Bishops were able to prevent "unsuitable appointments."[58] Ecclesiastical reform and a focus on moral suitability precluded automatic entry into the clergy by younger sons of an unsuitable character.

Decreased land assets, income, and the professionalisation of careers traditionally reserved for younger sons left British society with "surplus gentlemen."[59] Families looked to the colonies as locations where their sons' futures might be forged. However, their sons' goals differed. Some went for fun and adventure away from "the stern gaze of the parental

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Regulation Bill, 1871," *The Historical Journal* 18, no. 2 (1975): 327-48; Anthony P.C. Bruce, *The Purchase System in the British Army, 1660-1871* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1980), pp.157-158; Edward M. Spiers, *The Late Victorian Army, 1868-1902* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1992), p. 18;

[55] C. B. Otley, "The Social Origins of British Army Officers," *Sociological Review* 18, no. 2 (1970): p.234

[56] Royal Commission on the Law Practice of Sale Exchange Resignation of Ecclesiastical Benefices, *Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Law and Existing Practice as to the Sales, Exchange, and Resignation of Ecclesiastical Benefices* (London: George Edward Eyre & William Spottiswoode, 1879) https://hdl.handle.net/2027/umn.31951002137499c.

[57] W. A. Evershed, "Party and Patronage in the Church of England, 1800-1945: A Study of Patronage Trusts and Patronage Reform," (ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 1986), p.37.

[58] Cannadine, *Decline,* p.259.

[59] Rico, *Nature's Noblemen,* p.52.

eye," and some to make a new life abroad. There were also those sent "to live down disgrace, and often became more unacceptable in the process."[60] Writing in 1872, Charles Henry Eden, a British migrant and great-grandson of Sir Robert Eden, third baronet of West Auckland, observed that:

> Every profession and calling in England being already overcrowded, and those unfortunate beings, younger sons, continuing to be born, there can be no doubt that these and other portionless individuals must direct their attention to the only outlet left open, viz. our Colonies.[61]

Phase Two, the period 1915—1945, sees reports of remittance men across the colonial press decline. As Britain entered war in August 1914, sons of the aristocracy responded to a key ethic of their status—*noblesse oblige*.[62] They died in "disproportionate numbers"—one in five killed in action were British peers or their sons, compared to one in eight British soldiers.[63] By January 1916, 800 of those listed in *Debrett's* had been killed or wounded in action, and 100 peerages or baronetcies were endangered without heirs.[64] For many remittance men "the coming of war was a godsend," as it provided them the opportunity to "do noble service in a worthy cause" and be reunited with their family that must surely embrace them after they had "risked their life for king and country."[65] If war was indeed a factor in the decreasing visibility of remittance men in New Zealand during this period, the reasons for it are unclear due to the lack of case studies on which to base conclusions. One explanation might lie in remittance men's patriotism and sense of duty. This was certainly a reason cited by many who knew remittance men in Alberta, Canada at the start of the Great War.[66] Just one remittance man in the database, the aforementioned bankrupt gambler John Nathaniel Williams, serves as an

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[60] Cannadine, *Decline,* pp.429 - 30.

[61] H. C. Eden*, My Wife and I in Queensland* (London: Longman, Green & Co., 1872), p.1.

[62] Richard Carr and Bradley W. Hart, "Old Etonians, Great War Demographics and the Interpretations of British Eugenics, c.1914-1939*," First World War Studies* 3, no. 2 (2012): p.227.

[63] Rico*, Nature's Noblemen,* p.213.

[64] "Losses of the Peerage," *Gloucestershire Chronicle*, 1 January 1916, p.7.

[65] Zuehlke, *Scoundrels,* p.187.

[66] Ryan Flavelle, "Alberta Remittance Men in the Great War," in *The Frontier of Patriotism: Alberta and the First World War*, eds. Adriana A. Davies & Jeff Keshen (University of Calgary Press, 2016), p.107.

example. Removed to New Zealand by his father for significant gambling debts, John did not return to Britain, where he had been recommended for a lieutenant's commission in the Army, at the outbreak of World War One. Instead he joined his friends from Waihi in the ranks of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force.[67] His appearance in the war diary of his friend, Gerald "Tad" Morpeth, was usually associated with lively stories of antics on leave, discipline for late returns to camp, and Williams' fondness for playing bridge.[68] Private Williams died on 25 April, 1915 during the landing of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force at Gaba Tepe, Gallipoli. According to his entry in *De Ruvigny's Roll of Honour*, he died "setting a most gallant example," and that by "dying in the ranks" he had "done more for this force and perhaps for the Empire than he would have done as a commissioned officer."[69]

Figure 2: Private John Nathaniel Williams (far left), 1914. Source: "The Morpeth Waiheathens (WWI) 14-0333," Tauranga Memories: Remembering War, Tauranga City Libraries, New Zealand. http://tauranga.kete.net.nz/en/remembering_war.

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[67] "On Active Service," *New Zealand Herald*, 17 July 1915, p.8.

[68] Allan Philip Morpeth, *The "Waiheathens" at Gallipoli*, Tauranga City Libraries Research Collections, 2008:
https://www.tauranga.kete.net.nz/remembering_war/documents/show/429-ebook-epub-format-the-waiheathens-at-gallipoli-by-allan-p-morpeth.

[69] "De Ruvigny's Roll of Honour Volume 1," database, *Ancestry,*
https://www.ancestry.com, entry for John Nathaniel Williams, 380.

Contributing to the decline in visibility of remittance men between 1915 and 1945 was the abolition of the law of primogeniture. Primogeniture had previously ensured large estates remained intact and passed from father to eldest surviving son.[70] Among the upper middle classes, the eldest would inherit the family business.[71] Introduction of the Administration of Estates Act 1925 allowed spouses to inherit, and allowed land and personal effects to be distributed among male and female children. No longer were younger sons or daughters reliant on allowances from the income of a family's estate or an advantageous marriage. Younger sons were now eligible to inherit part of a family estate or business, and less likely to find themselves being despatched abroad with remittances to make their own way in life.

During Phase Three, 1946—1960, reports of remittance men in the colonial press all but disappear. The remaining narratives represent a change from their existence in society to popular mythology. The 1954 film *The Beachcomber*, based on Somerset Maugham's short story "Vessel of Wrath*,*" features Ginger Ted, a "dissolute remittance man." Ted is "always getting into trouble, frequently drunk, brawling in bars, [and] behaving disgracefully to women" and has a "foul mouth" and "rumpled appearance." However, he eventually finds love and is reformed.[72] The 1959 musical, *Kookaburra*, set in Australia and based on a play by Joyce Dennys, featured an "alcoholic, wistful and well-read" remittance man who is "crumpled" and "bloodshot."[73] On learning he is a baronet, the character eventually returns to England to take up his seat in the Cotswolds. Fictional works include *End in Sight*, a novel about an English remittance man in Spain who is a survivor of the Spanish Civil War. A newspaper review describes the character as a "drifter and drunk" who nonetheless displays courage and the capacity for compassion.[74] Online newspaper archives for New Zealand end in 1949. However, a 1929 article reviewed a silent film *The Poppies of Flanders* featuring a remittance man and earl's son, "Brown," who is battling alcoholism in Africa.[75] A girl fights for his salvation and Brown proves his worth, in turn, by giving his

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[70] Julia A. Smith, "Land Ownership and Social Change in Late Nineteenth-Century Britain," *The Economic History Review* 53, no. 4 (2000): p.775.

[71] Zuehlke, *Scoundrels,* p.16.

[72] Selina Hastings, *The Secret Lives of Somerset Maugham* (London: John Murray (Publishers) Ltd, 2009).

[73] "The World of the Theatre: Down and Across," *Illustrated London News*, 12 December 1959, p.864.

[74] "The World of Books," *The Sphere* (UK), 25 August 1956, p.300.

[75] "Majestic Theatre: Poppies of Flanders and Do Your Duty," *Gisborne Times*, 18 May 1929, p.6.

life to save the girl's lover during the Great War and earning the Distinguished Conduct Medal in the process. Whereas previous phases saw remittance men referred to as real and present entities, press reports in the inter- and post-war periods focus on memory and stereotype, represented within theatre and literature. Of note is the reoccurring theme of the reformed remittance man capable of love, compassion, nobility, and courage. The drunken and broken-down were transformed into the contemporary masculine ideal. By the end of this period, the era of the remittance man is all but over, their disreputable pasts seemingly rehabilitated, and their transformation into characters of popular mythology complete.

My examination of the English-speaking press across four colonies has enabled the identification and analysis of historical events that played significant roles in the creation of the archetypical remittance man. Families faced with reckless younger sons, decreasing incomes from land and assets, and fewer occupations for the upper class, sought alternative solutions for their rehabilitation. Those solutions were found in British colonies where, out of sight and mind and provided a regular supply of money, their sons might find salvation. Those sons, adrift with little prospect of inheritance or prestigious profession, found purpose at the outset of World War I. They abandoned a financially-supported existence to embark on "a noble experience involving all that they had been taught to exalt—glory, honor, and chivalry."[76] Fighting for king and country served to rehabilitate remittance men more than exile and financial handouts. The Great War marked the end of the era of remittance men, but literature, theatre and stereotypes ensured memories of their existence lived on for another three decades.

But, what of the lived experiences of remittance men in New Zealand? To date, this is an aspect that has largely taken the form of anecdotal narratives. This is certainly true of the biographies contained in Hartley's *Colonial Outcasts*. Adopting a prosopographical approach, "the investigation of the common background characteristics of a group of actors in history by means of a collective study of their lives," I have endeavoured to uncover historical truth.[77] Several key demographics were chosen to serve as useful indicators of remittance men's backgrounds and experiences. These include parentage, date of birth, country of origin, education, occupation at home and in New Zealand, remittance income,

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[76] Mark Girouard, "A Return to Camelot," *The Wilson Quarterly (1976-)* 5, no.4 (1981): 188.

[77] Lawrence Stone, *The Past and the Present* (Boston: Routledge, 1981), pp.45-46.

date of death, and cause of death. New Zealand *Police Gazettes 1878—1945,* New Zealand electoral rolls, British census records and available obituaries and personal papers provided additional background information.

A major challenge when researching remittance men lies in their identification being dependent on subjective observations rather than established facts. As such, no official records identify an individual as a remittance man. It was therefore necessary to engage with alternative sources. The New Zealand press proved the most fruitful hunting ground, as did tantalising, yet often vague, glimpses of remittance men in publications by settlers and visitors such as Lady Barker and Charles Wentworth Dilke. However, it is acknowledged that such sources do not provide a representative dataset, and their findings may exclude remittance men who lived out their exile without scandal or who successfully integrated into society. Furthermore, reports in the New Zealand press are, for the most part, considered subjective, as only a few contain admissions from individuals that they are being supported by family back home. What this research does provide is a counter-balance to the only extant detailed research in New Zealand by Hartley.

Dates of birth, standardised into decade for easier analysis, seem to correlate with the first phase of the press analysis. Individuals born in the 1850s and 1860s reached the age of majority during the 1870s and 1880s, a time when their education was complete and an occupation considered. It is at this life stage that remittance men begin to appear in the New Zealand press. Ethnicity was established for 72 (45%) of the 166 individuals.[78] Where country of birth is known, over three-quarters hailed from England—a far greater proportion than the national composition of immigrant inflow from England during the period 1871-1890 of 55%. Six percent hailed from Wales—larger than the inflow composition of less than 1%, while 8% came from Scotland, significantly lower than the inflow composition of 21%, and 5% from Ireland, markedly below the inflow composition of 22%.[79]

Annual remittance amount is known for 18 (11%) of the 166 individuals.[80] Where this figure is recorded, 39% received £150—£200 per annum. According to statistics contained in the 1875 Official Handbook, that income is comparable with the lower end of the pay scale

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[78] Helen Leggatt, *"Remittance Man Database," (2018).*
[79] Jock Phillips, "Boom, depression, and immigration, 1871-1890," *British & Irish immigration, 1840-1914,* 2014, www.nzhistory.net.nz/files/documents/peopling4.pdf, p.6.
[80] Helen Leggatt, *"Remittance Man Database," (2018).*

for a mine manager on the goldfields (£200—£500 per annum), and that of an accountant (£3 to £5 per week). Half (50%) received an income of £120 or more, approximately double the sum received by single males employed as general labourers.[81] Despite generous financial support, the lifestyles these incomes could support were dependent on a remittance man's priorities and whether additional finances were obtained through employment.

Receipt of remittances while employed was not unusual. Occupation was ascertained for half of all remittance men.[82] Only three individuals claimed the occupation "gentleman" which indicates living off their own means. Several had professions such as dentist (1), theatrical manager (2), solicitor (2), salesman (3), accountant (1), or journalist (3). The majority were working as clerks (12) or labourers (13)—occupations far below their gentlemanly status. Other manual occupations listed include gardener (4), farmer (4), gum digger or sorter (3), and miner (3). The fact that most occupations were labourers or clerks suggests that few had the skills or motivation necessary to undertake specialised work. Neither do they appear to have been entrepreneurial: none were business owners, and only one was a merchant. Upper-class and aristocratic gentlemen believed themselves "above" working outside those professions generally taken up by their class. The fact that some would undertake manual work suggests financial motivation, little choice of employment within early colonial society, or a desire for male company.

A good level of income, an occupation, or both, was not enough to deter some remittance men from disreputable activities. Discharged from the British Army as unfit for service in May 1884, the aforementioned William Montague Davenport Howes was, by 1887, living in New Zealand. The Electoral Rolls between 1893 and 1911 show his occupation as "gum digger." Giving evidence before a Royal Commission into the Kauri gum trade, Thomas Shore described the job of gum digging as "wretched" and "one of the last a man would take to."[83]

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[81] '1875 Official Handbook', Statistics New Zealand, www3.stats.govt.nz/historic_publications/1875-official-handbook/1875-official-handbook.html#idsect2_1_20509.

[82] Helen Leggatt, *"Remittance Man Database," (2018).*

[83] Kauri-gum Industry (Report and Evidence of the Royal Commission On), Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1898 Session I, H-12, p.31. Retrieved 8 May 2020 from https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary/AJHR1898-I.2.3.2.16/1.
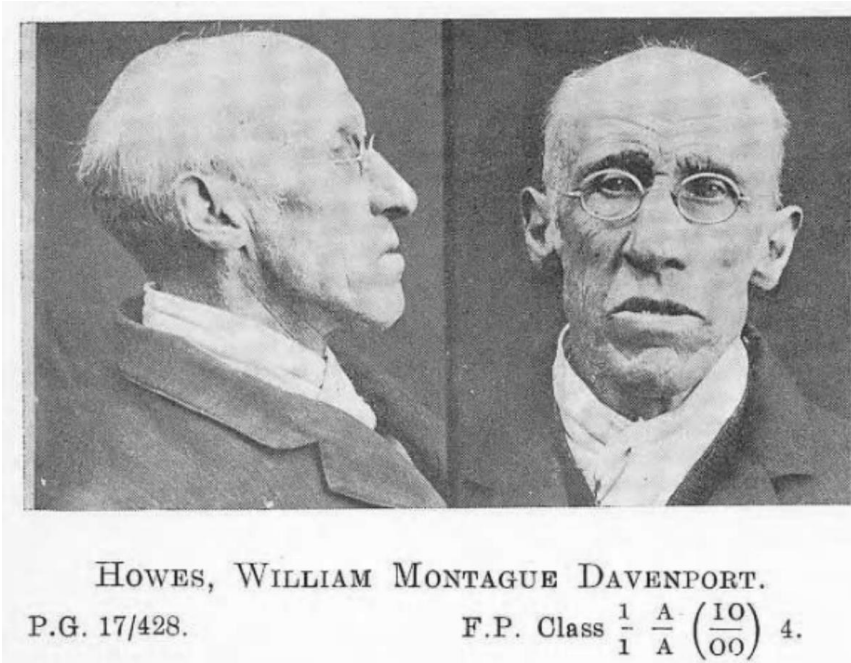
Figure 3: William Montague Davenport Howes, 1917. Source: New Zealand Police Gazette, Volume XLII, Issue 35, 5 September 1917, p.36. Reproduced with the kind permission of the National Library of New Zealand.

In subsequent years, William was charged with various offences including forging and uttering cheques, and two separate convictions for indecent assault on young males, for which he served two prison sentences of seven and ten years respectively. A native of England, Alfred Oswald Smith, working as a solicitor in New Zealand and receiving £120 a year in remittances, was age 49 when charged and convicted in 1915 for passing a forged cheque.[84] In receipt of £200 a year, Welshman Richard Owen Brigstocke was convicted three times for forgery and drunkenness. Arthur Henry Binstead, the son of London newspaper sub-editor and author Arthur Morris Binstead, received remittances of between £15-£20 each month while working as a debt collector and "medical specialist." In 1906, he pleaded with the judge presiding over his court case for fraudulent financial transactions to cable his father who would repay his

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[84] "A Dishonoured Cheque - A Remittance Man's Finances," *New Zealand Herald*, 23 January 1915, p.5.

debts.[85] Eight years later, in Australia, he pleaded guilty to drugging a pawnbroker's wife and persuading her to rob her husband of thousands of dollars of gold and jewellery.[86] Despite receiving various degrees of financial support, not all remittance men could rely on allowances to fund their lifestyle. Renowned for their drinking habits, it was not unknown for remittance men to head straight to the bars upon receipt of funds, only to exhaust their funding before the next payment arrived. It is not unconceivable that the desire to maintain a lifestyle appropriate to their status led some to profit from criminal activity.

A striking finding is that, among the 71 (43% of total) men whose cause of death could be ascertained, suicide is the major cause. Suicide accounted for 27% of all known causes, more than illness (14%), accident (11%), and drink (11%).[87] Could this figure be the result of more frequent reporting of sensational deaths? Perhaps so, the suicide rate compares dramatically with those of between 0.007% and 0.015% during the period 1870-1925.[88] It is acknowledged that the cause of death dataset is too small to extrapolate to deaths per 100,000, but it remains illustrative of a significantly disproportionate suicide rate among this social type. Despair and addiction to drink appear most frequently to have been the cause. Written in the pocketbook of James Priestman, who shot himself in the head, was "how much better to drop the curtain and put out the lights when the best of the play is over. The best is over. It has been a good play, and I have enjoyed it."[89] Newspapers quoted acquaintances saying he was despondent due to his inability to secure employment. Drink, whether an existing addiction or a new-found solution to their predicament, was the cause of many a downfall. Twenty-six-year-old George Harold Brocklehurst, the son of wealthy shipping merchant Septimus Brocklehurst, committed suicide at Coker's Hotel, Christchurch, in July 1900. He had previously been hospitalized for *delirium tremens*. A letter left for his wife stated that his latest remittance payment had arrived but he had not collected it, because he feared that if he had it, he would spend it. A letter left for his father read "my wife and child are destitute. Lay

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[85] "Series of Defalcations - Remittance Man Pleads Guilty," *New Zealand Herald*, 2 February 1906, p.7.
[86] "Stolen Jewellery," *The Maitland Daily Mercury (NSW),* 1 March 1924, p.12.
[87] Helen Leggatt, *"Remittance Man Database," (2018).*
[88] David Victor Madle, "Patterns of Death by Accident, Suicide and Homicide in New Zealand 1860-1960, Interpretation and Comparisons," PhD thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, 1996, p.96. See also Jock Phillips, 'Suicide', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, www.TeAra.govt.nz/mi/suicide/print.
[89] "The Masterton Suicide," *New Zealand Times (Supplement)*, 11 August 1891, p.1.

every blame on me."[90] The remittance men discovered in this research, and many in other British colonies, "represented the utter failure of elite masculinity to function in the modern world."[91] Isolation from family and friends and life in a society indifferent to status proved disastrous for many young men.

Despite representing a small subset of New Zealand migrants, remittance men deserve further scrutiny, and demand incorporation into New Zealand's social history. Understanding their backgrounds, the historical contexts that forged their fates, and their colonial lives and deaths can only enrich current understandings of the colony's founding stock. Tracking their movements across time and nations is complicated by their outcast status, applied label, and subsequent anonymity. However, by better understanding the archetype as well as associated traits and behaviour, it is possible (when coupled with digital databases and record linkage) to begin to piece together a social history that has, until now, been ignored. This research has been limited in its scope, and has uncovered a particular subsection of remittance men—those whose behaviour was newsworthy. There are doubtless many more who did not attract such attention and successfully integrated into New Zealand society, as Hartley's research demonstrates. It is hoped that this initial foray into the lives of New Zealand's remittance men will encourage further research because, whether heroes or rogues, remittance men have an important story to tell about class, gender, family, and society at a time when New Zealand's colonial culture was being forged.

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[90] "Suicide in a Hotel - The Inquest," *Star (Canterbury)*, 7 July 1900, p.7.
[91] Rico, *Nature's Noblemen,* 77.

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"We Have Had It Up To Here": Murder, Civil Disorder, and Civil Rights in a Western Pennsylvanian Industrial Town

ALEX TABOR

Abstract: In 1970, citizens of New Castle, Pennsylvania, a small industrial city an hour north of Pittsburgh, responded to the racially motivated murder of a local black Vietnam veteran in that city with vandalism and firebombing that forced the mayor to place the city under a state of emergency for three days. The series of exchanges preceding and following the murder reveals much about that city's history, and how several factors influenced local forms of racism. Existing scholarship has focused on racialized policies and practices in two spatial extremes—large cities and small towns—while this analysis seeks to illustrate how local, regional, and national influences shaped what forms of race-based policies and practices in spaces between these municipal extremes were permissible. Beyond place and space, this research contributes to a different set of conversations about the ways identity and community are articulated through the actions of individuals and groups, and how those understandings are shaped by individual and collective memory. This analysis begins by situating Ronald Mitchell's murder within the historical context of 1970s New Castle, broadens to place New Castle amid much larger and smaller municipalities across the country, and briefly contours some historical forces that shaped racism in policy or practice across time. I illustrate how federal, state, and local authorities responded to crises comparable to that which occurred in response to Mitchell's murder in the 1960s, and highlight how the underlying causes identified during investigations by those bodies manifested throughout the city's history and at the scene of Mitchell's murder. I also explore the role of institutions and memory in shaping knowledge and use of the past and build upon earlier scholarship in asserting their centrality to equitable futures.

Introduction

On 1 November 1970, Ronald Mitchell—a black Vietnam vet and Purple Heart recipient known by friends as "Fat Man," newlywed husband and expectant father, carpenter and activist—was killed by a white shooter firing from a slowly passing vehicle shortly after midnight in New Castle, Pennsylvania, a small industrial city an hour north of Pittsburgh. Mitchell bled to death nearly one hundred feet from his home while awaiting delayed emergency services, and subsequent racist police action ignited an angry and confused crowd of black witnesses.[1] Physical violence erupted, engaging officers, residents, and city administration until sunrise. That night, firebombs targeting white and ethnic businesses within the black community kept officers and firefighters occupied until the following morning. The mayor invoked a three-day State of Emergency to mitigate the tension arising from the event. Black participants were arrested, racist police action was overlooked, Mitchell's murder was never solved, and New Castle's history of racial struggle was ignored, silenced almost entirely for posterity.

I conducted oral interviews with black and white residents who had lived most, if not all, of their lives in the city. I also conducted a public outreach on social media, in the form of a post on the community's unofficial Facebook page, where I sought more information from anyone who lived through the city's three-day state of emergency. Few of New Castle's white citizens interviewed between 2016 and 2018 can recall any detail about Mitchell's murder, the violent response by black witnesses, or the fire-bombings that induced a three-day State of Emergency. Little written evidence remains to attest to the event or its significance in the city's history—a collective response to a legacy of racist policies and practices valuable for understanding relationships between people, place, and space, and the influences driving their transformation across the twentieth century. Institutions that produce or protect knowledge of different natures and purposes—like historical societies and libraries or school boards and police departments—archive knowledge reflective of the predominantly Anglo-American employees and staff, privilege sources honored and legitimized by a long-standing socioeconomic status quo defined by racist prescriptions, or obstructed, prevaricated around, or otherwise denied requests for information. The compounding

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[1] John K. Manna, "'Quick Chain of Events Brings Confusion: Every Available Man' Called Out," *New Castle News*, November 2, 1970.

consequence of these conditions is a silencing of the past, the forces and influences at play within it, and their lasting impact on today.[2]

    These events provide an important segue into a century's history of racially-inflected social, economic, and political policy and practice, as well as the history of equally dynamic community organizing, in a space between well-documented urban centers and rural *sundown towns*—small communities that prohibited blacks and some ethnic minorities from overnight stay with threat of violence.[3] What is unique

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[2] I first encountered the idea of "historical silences" while reading Michel-Rolph Trouillot's, *Silencing the Past: The Power and Production of History*. Trouillot's analysis of the power and politics fundamental to and inseparable from the production of historical narrative requires a reckoning with the intentionality of omissions and an investigation of the contexts and motivations surrounding their suppression. See, Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: The Power and Production of History* (Boston, Massachusetts: Beacon Press, 1995). Four moments that Trouillot identifies as locations where silences are produced frame the analysis of sources that follows: "the moment of fact creation (the making of the sources); the moment of fact assembly (the making of archives); the moment of fact retrieval (the making of narratives); and the moment of retrospective significance (the making of history in the final instance)." Regarding periodization, Bayard Rustin described the decade between the monumental Supreme Court ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) and the passage of the Voting Rights Act in 1965 as the "classical phase," and the perception found life in works like Gary May's *Bending Toward Justice: The Voting Rights Act and the Transformation of American Democracy* (New York: Basic Books, 2013). This author subscribes to a periodization of the Afro-American Civil Rights Movement that transcends interpretations that confine the movement between *Brown* the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and conceptualizes the Movement's origins in resistance to enslavement and evolving in form—like the racially discriminatory, exclusionary, and oppressive policies and practices levied—across changing circumstances and contexts into the present.

[3] James Loewen, *Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism* (New York, London: The New Press, 2005). Several scholarly works analyze the broader freedom struggle from Reconstruction to the turn of the 21st century. See, Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past," *The Journal of American History* 91, no. 4 (Mar., 2005): 1233-1263; Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, *Racism without Racists: Color-blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in America* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2014); Ian Haney-Lopez, *White By Law* (New York; London: New York University Press, 2006); Deborah Gray White, *Too Heavy A Load: Black Women in Defense of Themselves, 1894-1994* (New York; London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1999); Derek Bell, *Faces at the Bottom of the Well: The Permanence of Racism* (New York: Basic Books, 1992); Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness* (New York: The New Press, 2012); Douglas A. Blackmon, *Slavery by Another Name: The Re-Enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II* (New York: Anchor Books, 2009); Karen E. Fields and Barbara J. Fields, *Racecraft: The Soul of Inequality in American Life* (London; New York: Verso, 2012).

in New Castle is the evolving forms of racist policies and practices and the diverse functions they served when compared to well-documented urban metropoles like New York, Los Angeles, or Chicago, and rural *sundown towns*. Certain social, economic, and political conditions in major cities and rural towns allowed varying forms of public and private, overt and subtle, classed and gendered racism by actors operating within diverse systems to order social hierarchies, determine economic access, and inform political decision-making.[4] New Castle's historical past included both the rural, settler frontier and a late-nineteenth-century urban industrial boom; the city is presently a small hub in a predominantly agricultural region. The city's rapid growth and decline provide one dimension through which the history of New Castle's black communities' mitigation of and resistance to racism can be investigated.

Settled in 1798, New Castle's position on the Pittsburgh and Lake Erie Railroad fostered the growth of a population of some 300 at its beginning to nearly 30,000 by the 1870s. Between the 1890s and 1940s, "Little Pittsburgh" experienced an incredible industrial boom, as changing import tariffs, increased immigration from southeast Europe,

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For studies of resistance against discrimination in urban and rural extremes, see, Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005); Kevin Mumford, *Newark: A History of Race, Rights, and Riots in America* (New York; London: New York University Press, 2007); Gerald Horne, *Fire This Time: The Watts Uprising and the 1960s* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1995); and Loewen, *Sundown Towns*. Importantly, Loewen does not confine the concept of *sundown town* to rural spaces, despite a majority existing far outside and between urban environments. Loewen explains that most suburban communities originally predicated on racial exclusion. Varying levels and uses of violence in the North by whites contributed to maintaining the segregation of *sundown spaces*—a conceptualization of the term I am using to analyze the existence of racialized space bound, cordoned, and policed with violence within an incorporated municipality—but Aldon Morris explains that beyond context-specific experiences, little difference existed between Northern *de facto* segregation and Southern Jim Crow. Unique to the Northern experience, however, and especially noticeable in New Castle, is the "unspoken" nature of the rules ordering society, often demarcated by "invisible" boundaries whose physical manifestations included railroad tracks, bridges, and main thoroughfares. For more discussion of this see, Aldon Morris, *Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change* (New York: The Free Press, 1984), 275-90.

[4] The importance of understanding the influences shaping polities like New Castle and their relation to, relationship with, and interdependence on comparable surrounding spaces is evidenced by new scholarship on the centrality of suburbs to postwar development in the United States, see especially, *The New Suburban History*, Kevin M. Kruse and Thomas J. Sugrue, eds. (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2006).

and steel industry consolidation around Pittsburgh brought New Castle into the fold of the Carnegie and U.S. Steel Companies at the turn of the century.[5] The city's population peaked at nearly 50,000 in the 1950s, but the city endured precipitous decline following World War II, especially in a wave of 1970s deindustrialization, increasing workplace automation, and changes in global trade relationships. Presently, New Castle is a small commercial hub in a regionally agricultural area, where around a quarter of the approximately 22,000 residents experience poverty in the wake of history.[6]

If New Castle's balance in 1970 between rural and urban space belied the achievement of economic harmony, a review of the city's history reveals a more complex evolution. Diverse groups in New Castle's history—like ethnically "white" Italians and Polish and Slovak industrial workers, a small number of ethnic Syrian grocers and shopkeepers, wealthy Anglo-Americans atop outlying hills, and people of color predominantly of African American descent at the city's core—experienced class and class difference, race and ethnicity, and community differently based on the coalescence of unique local histories, collective experiences, and societal positions. This historical journey provides an interesting case in which racist policies and practices respond to changing economic conditions and pervade different dimensions of existence based on forces and influences operating on multiple scales. Between major urban centers and mirroring rural counter-spaces, cities like New Castle demonstrate that varied and changing concepts of class coalesced with dynamic understandings of race and racism, and those racist policies and practices comfortably applied different dimensions of classism and racism in changing ways under evolving circumstances. This analysis will trace these themes in the stratified order of severity conveyed to investigators on President Lyndon B. Johnson's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, formed by executive order in 1967, by interviewees in cities where civil disorders erupted across the preceding half-decade. This stratification ascended from interpersonal forms of social violence to de facto and de jure institutional discrimination, segregation, or otherwise unequal

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[5] David Burcham, "More than a century ago, steel was the rage," *New Castle News*, February 25, 2013.

[6] Between 23.3-26.5% of New Castle's population's annual income falls below the poverty level. U.S. Census Bureau, *2013-2017 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates*, accessed April 26, 2019, https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?src=CF

treatment that transgressed bounds of physical, psychological, and material violence.

Analysis of the use of violence in New Castle by police and society and in resistance to economic exclusion and social circumscription by the black community reveals an important relationship between historical narrative and public memory. The "silencing" of New Castle's freedom struggle contributes to contemporary denial by whites of the structural racial inequalities predating Mitchell's murder that prefaced individual and community responses, or their contemporary consequences. Local history is a pillar of identity, and narratives embraced by local whites deny to the enduring struggle for equitable and fair treatment any historical influence within the city's broader change over time. These silences represent disparities in the power of historical production, the occupation of positions of power in social, economic, and political systems, and access to and ownership of resources—all are products of discriminatory systems maintained by whites but resisted by the city's black community, and are thus critical to understanding New Castle's history and at least some of the dynamics underlying its evolution. These silences are defended in the selection, organization, retrieval, and assignment of retrospective significance to facts of that narrative.[7]

Social, economic, and political power used for the purposes of exploitation, manipulation, and control across the twentieth century serve as primary sources of conflict and contestation in the context of this analysis. Silenced narratives and perspectives incorporated throughout contribute new information to extant histories. The forces influencing and shaping racist practice and community rebuke in spaces between major urban centers and contrasting rural towns present new dynamics and relationships for consideration within broader investigations of the U.S. civil rights movement.

Spaces In-Between

Across most of the South for most of U.S. history, racism frequently took form as overt policy and practice because of historically constructed social, economic, and political systems used to exercise power over and exploit African Americans, Indigenous peoples, Mexicans, and other ethnic and national minorities. In the U.S. during and following slavery, socially enforced codes of conduct displayed in communal practices and ideologically sustained by imagery and performance buttressed ideas of

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[7] Trouillot, *Silencing the Past,* 26.

white superiority with facades of submission by regulating and normalizing ritual performances of "race"—a term increasingly employed to characterize, explain, and justify the maintained domination of African Americans and others.[8] Terroristic violence by whites served as the primary means of enforcement until shifting global contexts later forced the evolution of "lynch law" into subtler, more covert processes, some visible today in criminal justice and judicial systems.[9] However, communal practices and ideology underpinned perceptions of racial

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[8] Stephen Jay Gould evaluates the history of biological "race"-science, highlighting intellectual roots, misconceptions, and assumptions. See, Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1996). Within their broader analysis of "race" throughout U.S. history, Fields and Fields provide several examples of how prejudice against the "otherness" historically inscribed to blackness has framed the social and cultural functions of American institutions and daily interactions between Americans of unique ancestries since the American Revolution. Nell Irvin Painter pursues similar inquiry on a transhistorical scale in *The History of White People* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2010). See also, Mustafa Emirbayer and Matthew Desmond, *The Racial Order* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States* (New York: Routledge, 2015); and Les Black and John Solomos, eds., *Theories of Race and Racism: A Reader* (London: Routledge, 2009).

[9] A body of literature elucidates the ideologies underpinning racist beliefs, which often varied in biological, cultural, social, economic, and political content and obligation, and several investigate the pestilence of lynching as an act of brutal, dehumanizing violence and communal identity-making. See, Winthrop Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (Kingsport, TN: The University of North Carolina Press, 1968); Ida B. Wells, *Southern Horrors, Lynch Law in All Its Phases* (New York, 1892); and Cynthia Skove Nevels, *Lynching to Belong: Claiming Whiteness Through Racial Violence* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2007). See, James Allen, ed., Hilton Als, Congressman John Lewis, and Leon F. Litwack, *Without Sanctuary: Lynching Photography in America* (Santa Fe, NM: Twin Palms Publishers, 2000), https://withoutsanctuary.org. The Equal Justice Initiative's December 2018, report *Lynching in America: Confronting the Legacy of Racial Terror* documents 4,075 "racial terror" lynchings in "twelve Southern states during the period between Reconstruction and World War II," and provides historical context. See, https://lynchinginamerica.eji.org/report/. Topical literature also attends to lynching of other ethnic minorities in U.S. history. In *Cold War Civil Rights*, Mary Dudziak illustrates the relationship between civil rights and domestic policy in the United States and international reputation throughout the mid-twentieth century, especially the role of media in presenting circumstances in the United States within changing social and political contexts abroad during the Cold War. See, Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000). Nicole Gonzalez Van Cleve expounds on the psychological consequences of racially imbalanced police forces and criminal justice systems, and how those imbalances translate into and are internalized as tautological stereotypes, see, *Crook County: Racism and Injustice in America's Largest Criminal Court* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016).

difference and black inferiority across many spaces in the North also, ordering social hierarchies and normalizing displays of punitive violence by the general population.

In poor and economically unstable spaces across the North, where differences in generational property ownership and accumulated wealth frequently remained too small for the privileging of class-based understandings of difference and for curated distribution of economic power, racist policies and practices often resembled those designed to maintain antebellum hierarchies of power. In areas of low economic diversity, racist social practices and political circumscription maintained white understandings of difference. In areas characterized by greater economic diversity, class-based proxies for racist policy—like discriminatory loan and lending practices that segregated racial and ethnic minorities to the least valued land in most cities—served to mark difference with greater salience than unbridled violence. This is not to say that unrestrained violence did not serve to communicate place and belonging, especially across the early twentieth-century North, but rather to highlight the economic nature of many acts of racist violence emerged in competition over, or fear of separation from, privileged access to economic resources. Sumptuary codes enshrined etiquette and performance standards predicated on white superiority and black deference into formal law. Unbridled violence synonymous with lynch law ensured complicity. De facto state sanctioning through the frequent oversight and participation by law enforcement often precluded questions of serious legal recourse, which the criminal justice system affirmed. Poll taxes, literacy tests, land ownership and sex requirements, and other discriminatory disenfranchisement mechanisms combined with unrestrained violence to limit the exercise of voting rights. In the absence of significant economic diversity, the roots for notions of economic class difference lacked fertile soil and no class-guised proxy existed for masking historically created and generationally maintained beliefs in racial superiority. Racist social and political practices remained methods of sustaining extant ideas of difference and systems of power for posterity.

While Northern cities may have lacked much of the infrastructure of overt institutions of slavery, racial discrimination was nonetheless perpetuated through economic policies and practices.[10]

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[10] In describing chattel slavery in the United States as *the peculiar institution*, historian Kenneth M. Stampp explained that "Southerners did not create the slave system all at once in 1619; rather, they built it little by little, step by step, choice by choice, over a

Control over employment opportunities, workplace stratification, hiring practices, and wages; oversight of the allocation and distribution of financial assets for community development, improvement, and welfare; and the power to define property values and zoning ordinances and approve building licenses, permits, credit, and loans. All reflected racial discrimination and its consequences but presented disparities in power as products of economic policies formally functioning for an array of purposes, informally grounded in racism for the maintenance of power. In major cities where economic diversity fostered recognizable differences in economic class—whether defined by economic position or status, property ownership, or wealth—racist economic policies and financial practices outlasted overt social practices and political machinations faced by greater judicial and international scrutiny.

In no two urban metropoles, rural towns, or spaces in-between does the balance and relationship between social, economic, and political power, or their distribution and exercise, function in the same manner or produce the same outcomes. Likewise, no experience with any racially-inflected policy or practice falls exclusively under the label *social*, which I use to refer to interpersonal and group relations; *economic*, wherein I refer primarily to financial practices and interactions over material resources; or *political*, which I apply in reference to activity within the purview of government, quasi-government, juridical, or otherwise institutional systems. Unique histories of locations, economic conditions, social practices, and political relationships all influence how racism manifests in policy and practice. Nonetheless, similar conditions and trends among rural and urban spaces within geographic regions do often share similarities.

"A Young Negro…Slain": Community Response to the Drive-By Shooting of Ronald Mitchell

Ronald Mitchell left his home late Saturday evening for a short visit with his brother-in-law at the Rainbow Gardens bar only a few doors down the street.[11] His wife of nine months, Jennie, remembered hearing him

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period of many years." See, Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South* (New York: Vintage, 1956).

[11] "Housing Ceremony Picketed: Black Citizens Protest Hiring," *New Castle News*, June 2, 1970; John K. Manna, "Quick Chain of Events Brings Confusion: 'Every Available Man' Called Out," *New Castle News*, November 2, 1970; Mike Matis, "Shooting Touches Off Violence," continued as, "Shooting Starts Violence," *New Castle News*, November 2, 1970; "BCC Hears Eye Witness," *New Castle News*, November 2, 1970.

say he would be "back in a few minutes." Six months pregnant with their only child at the time of his death, she wept to recall "he had just come home from Vietnam" the previous year.[12] He worked in the Spring Division at Rockwell Automation, producing springs for automobile axels at one of the local manufactories, and "everyone in…town knew him, they liked him. He was a nice guy" and "was never in trouble."[13] Autopsy reports declared Mitchell "dead on arrival" at the St. Francis hospital, having succumbed to a puncture in the abdominal region that resulted in excessive bleeding and subsequent organ failure—a succession of medical needs that might have been stopped had Mitchell received sufficient medical attention in a timely manner that morning.[14] However, emergency services did not arrive for thirteen minutes although stationed only four blocks away from the shooting. Moreover, as Mitchell bled to death within sight of his home as he waited for the ambulance to travel one mile, the police arrived within minutes.[15] In effect, black witnesses, already angered, upset, and confused by Mitchell's shooting, were faced by the aggressive provocation of arriving police officers in lieu of medical help.[16] Black residents battled police officers in the ensuing conflict, and the following evening some black residents firebombed several white businesses.[17]

        Police sealed Long Avenue between Mill and Moravia Streets, which outlined New Castle's predominantly black South Side community, shortly after news of Mitchell's shooting at 12:30 a.m. Both

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[12] Jennie Mitchell, personal interview by author, September 20, 2014, interviewee's home.

[13] Mitchell, interview. Details about work conducted by Rockwell's Springs Division derive from a recent *New Castle News* article in which writer Lugene Pezzuto interviewed members of the Division attending a reunion in August 2017. See, Lugene Pezzuto, "Former Rockwell Springs Division Employees Reunited, Reminisce," *New Castle News*, August 7, 2017.

[14] Mike Matis, "Shooting Touches Off Violence," continued as, "Shooting Starts Violence," *New Castle News*, November 2, 1970.

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] New Castle Police Department Lieutenant Dan Malley "admitted … he 'may' have made the statement 'what are you waiting for now, the stakes are even,' to the crowd when police enforcements arrived to calm the situation." NCPD Chief Richard Hanna was also accused of acting on his recognition of one rioter, Lennie Payne, who earlier passed the department's physical and written examinations, but failed the oral exam facilitated by Chief Hanna. Payne would have been the third black police officer in a department of sixty-one. See, Dick Robbins, "Acquitted on Other Charges: Payne Found Guilty of Riot," *New Castle News*, March 2, 1971; "BCC Hears Eye Witness," *New Castle News,* November 2, 1970.

[17] Matis, "Shooting Touches Off Violence," continued as, "Shooting Starts Violence," *New Castle News,* November 2, 1970.

streets served as borders on New Castle's residential security map, produced in 1928, upon which insurance companies and lending agencies based disinvestment of black communities by denying loans and subsidy.[18] "An angry mob was breaking windows," and when vandalism and word of an attack on John Aeschbacker—the white man believed by black witnesses to have shot and killed Mitchell—spread, the lieutenant commanding New Castle Police Department's south side station immediately requested assistance from other officers. Shortly after, and with greater urgency, the lieutenant exclaimed that "a car had been upset" and "an apparent brawl" had ignited. "Send every available man," he begged.[19]

The altercation between police and black witnesses barely lasted one minute, but a remarkable amount of human injury occurred in that time. Alongside Ronald Mitchell's blood on the streets of New Castle early that Sunday morning was that of at least nine others, including that of at least five police officers, two women, and Mitchell's alleged assailant, John Aeschbacker. In fact, the altercation occurred in defense of Aeschbacker, as police recognized a threat to his life by the crowd that enveloped him, unconcerned about the life taken less than an hour earlier.[20] Aeschbacker's "car had been overturned," and he was "pulled out, beaten and stabbed several times," in the abdomen, back, and left forearm.[21] One officer was stabbed in the left shoulder, stones injured others, and two incurred back and head injuries, one being knocked unconscious. The testimony of one of three black men arrested provides the only information about the injuries of black participants. Lennie Payne reported receiving two hits to the back while engaging with New Castle Police Chief Richard Hanna.[22] The arrival of a small detachment

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[18] See, Appendix B.

[19] Manna, "Quick Chain of Events Brings Confusion: 'Every Available Man' Called Out," *New Castle News*, November 2, 1970.

[20] Matis, "Shooting Touches Off Violence," continued as, "Shooting Starts Violence," *New Castle News*, November 2, 1970; Manna, "Quick Chain of Events Brings Confusion: 'Every Available Man' Called Out," *New Castle News*, November 2, 1970; Robbins, "Acquitted On Other Charges: Payne Found Guilty Of Riot," *New Castle News*, March 2, 1971.

[21] Matis, "Shooting Touches Off Violence," continued as, "Shooting Starts Violence," *New Castle News*, November 2, 1970.

[22] Underlying conflict between Chief Hanna and Payne emerged during testimony surrounding the murder and physical engagement with police, during which the New Castle Police Department's racially discriminatory hiring practices came to light. Matis, "Shooting Touches Off Violence," continued as, "Shooting Starts Violence," *New Castle News*, November 2, 1970. It must be noted that, despite aggressive and racist actions of members of the NCPD, Pennsylvania State Police Officers, who arrived near

of eight state police officers and mediation by black leadership successfully mollified the crowd remaining near the scene on Long Avenue. As crowds dissipated, "an uneasy calm rested over the area," and with daybreak, "police, blacks and whites searched for answers to try and make some kind of sense from the whole thing."[23]

The following morning, the *New Castle News*, the city's primary newspaper, reported that "broken glass was lying everywhere and practically every building had been the target of a rock throwing spree…[W]indows, many of them large store windows, were broken in the several hours of vandalism."[24] The vandalized properties symbolized historical discrimination, segregation, and racism in New Castle. Neighborhood supermarkets operated by ethnically-white Italian, Polish, Slovak, and sometimes Serbian community members daily reminded black residents of their distance from the mainstream economic resources; lumber yards safeguarded the material resources untouched by black tradesmen barred from unions and not hired on job sites.[25] Police arrested three young men between early morning and afternoon, charging them with rioting, disorderly conduct, and obstructing police officers, one additionally charged with assault with intent to kill and aggravated assault and battery. The arrests failed to assuage whites angry about the vandalism and added to the outrage felt by the black community, which viewed Mitchell's murder as one more incident in a long history of racist civil rights violations, one more embodiment of the city's overarching structures of inequality.

From just after sunset until sunrise Monday morning, firebombs kept New Castle's South Side ablaze, literally and symbolically expressing the anger felt by members of the black community.[26] "When

the end of the altercation, confirmed NCPD officers did not draw guns or rifles throughout the event.

[23] Manna, "Quick Chain of Events Brings Confusion: 'Every Available Man' Called Out," *New Castle News*, November 2, 1970.

[24] Matis, "Shooting Touches Off Violence," and, "Shooting Starts Violence," November 2, 1970.

[25] Rombach, "Firebombs Riddle City Last Night," November 2, 1970. Montgomery's recollection of the evening of firebombings, quoted below, seems to imply that actors also targeted, if not primarily or to the same extent as other symbols, police vehicles and the mechanisms of control they represented and transported.

[26] The Old Farmer's Almanac notes that in New Castle, Lawrence County, Pennsylvania, on Sunday, November 1, 1970, darkness replaced the sunset around 7 p.m. and effective moonrise did not occur until after 9:30 p.m. The fire bombings occurred between 8:39-8:58 p.m., then once more, possibly self-reigniting, at 11:00 p.m., burning into Monday's early hours. The sun rose shortly before 7 a.m. Monday morning. See, Rombach, "Firebombs Riddle City Last

Fat Man got shot," Melvin Montgomery, a lifelong resident of New Castle's black community, explained, "They was right there on the South Side," and word "made it to the West Side" that "they just shot him. White dude shot him, da-da-da-da-da."[27] The following night "cops was coming in the projects and…going round in a circle." "We're standing on top of this…main building…right on Grant Street," he continued, and "they're riding by…I remember tossing" and "almost hitting the car."[28] Glass Pepsi bottles and gasoline purchased at nearby gas stations functioned as explosives for which fuel-soaked rags provided fuses.

"Seven firebombings that riddled New Castle last night could have a damage bill in excess of $250,000," the *News* claimed hours after the last flames had been extinguished. Five firebombings scarred the South Side at and surrounding the scene of Mitchell's murder, the article continued, also noting that police reported no injuries or arrests and suspected the prior evening's killing and altercation as the bombers' impetus. News writer Rich Rombach provided a detailed timeline of the night's events for local readers:

> The first bombing took place at Baxter Heating and Roofing at 8:39. Fires then broke out at Rainbow Gardens at 8:40, Joseph's Warehouse at 8:41 and A.M. Supermarket at 8:43. Then at 8:58 the West Side became active as a firebomb was set off in the rear of McCormack Trucking Co. on Grant St.[29]

New Castle Lumber Co., also on Grant Street, was targeted shortly after and briefly reignited a second time around 11 p.m., as did the Rainbow Gardens.[30]

Night," November 2, 1970. The Old Farmer's Almanac for New Castle on November 1, 1970, is accessible at, https://www.almanac.com/astronomy/rise/PA/New%20Castle%2C%20Lawrence%20County/1970-11-01. Prior to recording, Montgomery briefly reminisced upon the use of Molotov cocktails during one period of special violence, fortuitously the event he recalled was the response to Mitchell's murder. When revisited during our interview, he added that he remembered officers "stopping on the street, but they never did arrest nobody." "I remember getting the gas and the Pepsi bottles, them hard Pepsi bottles" he added, with "little rags hanging out" providing fuses. Guthery and Montgomery, interview.

[27] Guthery and Montgomery, interview.

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] Rombach, "Firebombs Riddle City Last Night," November 2, 1970; "Firemen Find Night Quiet," *New Castle News*, November 3, 1970.

[30] Rombach, "Firebombs Riddle City Last Night," November 2, 1970; "Firemen Find Night Quiet," *New Castle News*, November 3, 1970.

Targets of firebombing symbolized economic access unavailable to African Americans in New Castle and their locations indicate an awareness of historically established, socially understood, and legally buttressed boundaries between black and white.[31] Two of the seven firebombings targeted businesses on streets that functioned as borders between "red" and "yellow" spaces on that city's earliest known residential security map produced in 1928. Interviews with lifelong residents corroborated in explaining that the spaces delineated by the redlining map framed and influenced socially understood boundaries.[32] One participant in the firebombing on Grant Street noted its demarcation of the accepted northern boundary of black movement within the city. During separate interviews, Paul Ward, president of the BCC—New Castle's most active civil rights organization at the time—and Anna Mary Mooney, a white, long-term substitute teacher at the now-condemned predominantly black Lincoln Garfield Elementary School on Long Avenue and member of several community organizations, both identified the Jefferson Street and Washington Street bridges as locations black residents—through the unspoken practice and understanding of *all* New Castle residents—were not to cross.[33] These bridges marked the southern and western boundaries of the space whose northern and eastern edges police reified and reinforced in cordoning the "riot" scene, boundaries subsequently contested by firebombing.[34]

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[31] Rich Rombach, "Firebombs Riddle City Last Night," *New Castle News*, November 2, 1970. See, Appendix B.

[32] Denise Guthery and Melvin Montgomery, personal interview by author, December 21, 2017. Denise Guthery, a lifelong resident of New Castle and volunteer at the Lawrence County Historical Society, indicated a similar understanding of Grant Street as a socially understood boundary past which blacks faced prejudicial scrutiny from white residents and police. Denise Guthery, personal interview by author, December 21, 2017.

[33] Anna Mary Mooney, personal interview by author, September 11, 2014; Paul V. Ward, personal interview by author, September 19, 2014.

[34] The same borders established in earlier generations, depicted on documents like the city's insurance redlining map, referenced by black and white interviewees, and confirmed in published statements by New Castle real-estate chairman Cecil Stubbs, are illustrated by this event. Just as the police cordon line reflected the eastern boundary of black space established on Mill Street, fire bombings on Grant Street imply an understanding by perpetrators that this street marked the formerly established, and likely commonly understood, northern boundary of that same space. Interviewees Naomi Gatewood, Anna Mary Mooney, and Paul Ward each remarked, on separate occasions and without prompting, street names that were understood to demarcate borders black and white space. The power of residential security maps to dictate the future demise or development of any given area increased exponentially with the adoption of their use by New Deal organizations like the Home Owners' Loan Corp in

The energy summoned by Mitchell's murder reduced to a smolder by sunrise. Just before 9 a.m., and having already sought a conference with City Council members, Mayor Carl A. Ciallela, Jr. invoked a State of Emergency, which lasted for three days before tensions receded, permitting a return to some semblance of normalcy.[35] In addition to physical damages of more than a quarter of a million dollars, the effects on relations between black and white residents marked the city for years to come.[36] While the events following Mitchell's murder were unprecedented in New Castle—fomenting tensions long accumulating within the community—similar events occurring across the country in larger metropolitan spaces provide several cases for comparison, each revealing contests influenced by unique historical conditions and evolving social, economic, and political dynamics.[37]

President Lyndon B. Johnson formed the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders by executive order in 1967 following a half-decade of urban civil unrest, responding to a series of assassinations of civil rights leaders rooted in a centuries-unfulfilled promise of equal citizenship and concomitant rights and freedoms. The commission's objective was to identify what incited the widespread unrest and what might be done to prevent similar disorders in the future. The commission published the Kerner Report, named after Illinois Senator Otto Kerner who served as chair, where the commission's results illustrated several tiers of grievances stratified by experienced severity. At the lowest level of perceived offense were experiences with disrespectful white attitudes, discriminatory administration of justice and consumer and credit practices, and inadequate federal and welfare programs and municipal services. On the second of three levels of intensity were inadequate education systems, poor recreation facilities and programs, and ineffective grievance mechanisms and political structures. Most pressing

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the 1930s. See Richard Rothstein's *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company Ltd., 2017) for more on residential security maps and other segregating mechanisms and practices.

[35] Rombach, "Firebombs Riddle City Last Night," November 2, 1970.

[36] *Ibid.* According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics inflation calculator (https://www.bls.gov/data/inflation_calculator.htm), $250,000 of damages in 1970 is equivalent to $1,623,787.88 in November2019.

[37] The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders provided detailed accounts of eight "riot" cities but referenced conditions in others to provide historical context. While these accounts independently provide significant data for comparison, a large body of scholarly work has since expounded on these and other cases.

were police practices, unemployment and underemployment, and inadequate housing.[38]

New Castle's "Long History"

Disrespectful white attitudes framed daily life in New Castle. The social consumption of racial tropes performed in minstrel shows throughout the early twentieth century provided one means of creating community and reinforcing white social superiority, and racialized messages inscribed onto the built environment decorated the industrial city's past.[39] For example, Denise Guthery, a lifelong resident of New Castle's white community, and Melvin Montgomery acknowledged the contentious implications of lawn statues popular into the 1960s that depicted a black male servant holding a lantern. Commonly used to light porch steps, Montgomery explained that the statues connoted a subordinate status symbolic of slavery. One means of resistance to the sumptuary implications imbued within the built environment—the emblazoning of racial symbology onto property with ornaments indicative of ownership and status—entailed the throwing of such statues through the wrap-around bay-windows of their owners' homes, Montgomery recalled.[40]

In addition to the inscription of racial hierarchies in community symbols, racial hierarchies evidenced how federal welfare programs routinely failed to address the needs of New Castle's black community, and members regularly attacked the disproportionate whiteness of decision-making bodies and prevarication in the face of black constituents' frustrations. Community groups held the local government responsible for the failure of several proposed developments and derided

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[38] Sean Wilentz, ed. *The Kerner Report: The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* (Princeton, Oxford; Princeton University Press, 2016), 8.

[39] *The New Castle Herald*, "New Castle Tin Mill Plan Banner Night," March 4, 1920. For more about blackface minstrelsy and the American working class, see Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

[40] Montgomery reminisced on throwing lawn ornament statues of black lawn-jockeys upholding a lantern while flashing a wide-grinned white smile, the tropes meant to elicit connotations of obeisant and subservient black service to white employers, through the bay windows of homes whose properties they marked. "We used to throw the statues through the windows," he explained, viewing the exchange as equalizing, "an eye for an eye." The use of coded racial symbology placed upon or ordered into the built environment as devices of disruption, violence, and destruction provided one mode or repurposing their meanings in forms of resistance. Guthery and Montgomery, interview.

representatives for misleading black community leaders.[41] In a dispute over housing development for and within the black community, numerous community members assailed a Council recommendation that recently razed single-family homes be replaced with multi-family townhouse units. The West Side community argued that replacing single-family homes with multi-family townhouse units reduced property values, confined the present population within a smaller geographic space, and limited future community growth.[42] Also, multi-family housing units served lower incomes and therefore produced a smaller tax base incapable of supporting the necessary expansion of municipal services to the area. A so-called urban blight label accompanied the inexorable dilapidation of such spaces, priming them for leveling as part of so-called urban renewal projects. Various black community organizations in New Castle sometimes disagreed over which one represented the legitimate voice of the city's black community best, but all agreed that municipal government consistently failed to recognize and address that community's needs; decisions made by municipal organizations and institutions affecting New Castle's black community ordinarily subsumed its interests to those of white businesses.

With the Home Owners' Loan Corp reliant on the city's 1928 residential security map, New Castle followed the national trend of segregating minorities into ghettos located in the least desirable areas of the city and disqualifying those areas from loans and subsidies. Disqualified areas, barred from outside investment, experienced rapid economic divestment and concomitant decline, excluded from mainstream economic networks.[43] Paul Ward elaborated on the

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[41] George Mihalcik, "Center Directors Quiz Razzano, George on Finances," *New Castle News*, August 27, 1969; "Concern Expressed by PAL," *New Castle News*, March 31, 1971; Rich Rombach, "Housing Problem Discussed," *New Castle News*, October 13, 1971; "PAC Will Explain to PAL," *New Castle News*, January 21, 1972; "PAL Asks Seat on Commission," *New Castle News*, February 16, 1972; Rich Rombach, "West Side Housing Problem Still," continued as, "West Side Housing Aired," *New Castle News*, March 24, 1972.

[42] Rich Rombach, "Housing Problem Unsolved," continued as, "Housing Problem Discussed," *New Castle News*, October 15, 1971.

[43] Many works highlight the consequences for urban spaces experiencing white flight, capital flight and economic disinvestment, and discriminatory policy and practice, some influential to this analysis include, Arnold R. Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940-1960* (Chicago and Urbana: The University of Chicago Press, 1985); James R. Grossman, *Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners, and the Great Migration* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1989); Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, *American Apartheid: Segregation and the*

demarcated borders and boundaries reinforced by police stops that complicated desegregation and limited black mobility, explaining that "you had unwritten restrictions and you had to know them and that was your responsibility. That was the way society was at the time."[44] Montgomery explained that though some poor whites and ethnic minorities lived in traditionally black neighborhoods, no blacks owned homes in white neighborhoods. If a socially understood color line did not exist for people of color, financial barriers further ensured that no blacks possessed the capital necessary for outmigration.[45]

In one example, when the first black family, that of a doctor esteemed within the black community, attempted to move into her East Side neighborhood while attending junior high school, Denise Guthery remembered her parents discussing the implications on the neighborhood's future. Melvin Montgomery, an acquaintance of the doctor's family, explained that lending agencies attempted to discourage and stall the doctor's purchase by significantly delaying the approval of credit.[46] Mobility was a power whose exercise by the black community was heavily monitored and scrutinized. Boundaries emblazoned on the city's insurance redlining map in 1928 reflected those socially accepted by whites at that time and cemented their literal and symbolic influence over the life opportunities of black residents in the foreseeable future.[47]

Black ghettos existed on "the West Side and the South Side," Ward explained, adding that "if you were black and crossed the Jefferson Street bridge…you better know somebody down there or you would have to fight your way back. That was a fixture."[48] Mooney described a similar division, explaining that policy and practice segregated black citizens to the South and West sides of town while white residents lived predominantly in the North and East. Cecil Stubbs, a New Castle real-estate chairman, explained that many black families were "being relocated" due to "urban renewal" projects and were "unable to buy a

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Making of the Underclass (Cambridge, London: Harvard University Press, 1993); Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis*; and Kruse and Sugrue, eds., *The New Suburban History*.

[44] Ward, interview.

[45] Montgomery, interview

[46] Guthery, interview; *Ibid.*

[47] See, Appendix B.

[48] Ward, interview. Gatewood recalled: "You better not go past Jefferson Street … [W]e weren't allowed past … You got to the top of the hill and they [police] were right there … You [were] going no further. It was really plain … You knew your boundaries," and "you definitely knew that … it was your color." Gatewood, interview.

house anywhere else than the West Side."[49] The gentrification of inner-city property and white flight coincided with what insurance and construction companies contracted by local officials classified as renewal and redevelopment projects.[50] Public housing projects filled only a few lots razed in the name of urban renewal, part of a much larger area "that insurance companies…consider[ed] as being too big a risk."[51] Contentions over zoning ordinances and urban planning provided several instances of discord between the white city administration and black residents.[52]

"They had us down by the railroad tracks," Ward remarked, "this was the poor section of town."[53] "Housing was segregated," Mooney added. "There was an imaginary red line around certain parts of the city…A black person did not buy a house past where the hills crested…All the white people lived up on hills and the black people downtown."[54] It was the base of the hills ascending in all directions from New Castle's industrial core that marked the barriers of black housing availability.[55] Similar to most urban spaces that experienced the outmigration of whites and businesses and the concomitant decline in centralized capital and investment, housing values increased with elevation and distance from that space. Mooney described a topographic

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[49] *New Castle News*, "BCC to Meet to Discuss Craft Unions," June 8, 1970.

[50] Susan Linville, "1950s saw tide of downtown demolition start to roll in," *New Castle News*, May 27, 2017.

[51] Cecil Stubbs explained the "inconvenience" experienced by blacks forced to relocate because of "urban renewal" as "necessary." See "BCC to Meet to Discuss Craft Unions," *New Castle News,* June 8, 1970; "Lot Happened in a Short Time," *New Castle News*, November 23, 1970.

[52] Mike Matis, "County Revises Planning for West Park Development," *New Castle News*, June 3, 1970; Frederick H. Treesh, "Hope for the Cities: Planned Use of Land Vital to Future," *New Castle News*, June 3, 1970; "County Protests Mandated Programs," *New Castle News*, June 3, 1970; "Building Trades Council is Lauded for Riverside Housing Project," *New Castle News*, June 3, 1970; "Two Parks Approved in Union," *New Castle News*, November 2, 1970; John K. Manna, "Proposed Zoning Ordinance Scored by Seventh Warders," *New Castle News*, April 2, 1971; "Township May Lose Funds," *New Castle News*, May 10, 1971; Noman Kempster, "Real Estate: Government Planner Hits Zoning in Suburbs," *New Castle News*, September 4, 1971; "Application for City

Renewal Grant OKd," *New Castle News*, September 28, 1971; John K. Manna, "Redevelopment Brings Questions from People," *New Castle News*, January 28, 1972; and John K. Manna, "'Instant Housing' Not Quick Here," continued as, "'Instant Housing' In City Neither Quick, Nor Cheap," *New Castle News*, February 25, 1972.

[53] Ward, interview.

[54] Mooney, interview.

[55] *Ibid.*; Guthery and Montgomery, interview.

spread of the city that matched with near-precision the spatial geography portrayed on New Castle's 1928 redlining map. Downtown was "a valley," a "very depressed area," she explained, that housed "two very large projects" while "all the residential areas were on top of hills."[56] Though some poor whites lived in predominantly black communities, economic and physical policing retained white-dominated hills and prohibited the integration of white, middle-class neighborhoods. Upper-class residents lived in outlying boroughs where children attended schools segregated by barriers to affordable housing that excluded the highest-earning black residents of New Castle.[57]

The disproportionate burden placed upon New Castle's black community for fulfilling the mandates of desegregation compounded widespread fears within that community of the social, intellectual, and interpersonal dangers black students faced in white classrooms. New Castle's junior and senior high schools, though officially integrated, reflected the racial imbalance dictated by segregated neighborhood elementary schools. Experiences with segregation in elementary and middle-level education compounded racial ideologies exhibited by parents and older generations in Anglo-normative social spaces, manifesting in numerous conflicts between black and white students.[58] Despite the *Brown* decision in 1954 mandating integration with "all deliberate speed," New Castle did not confront integration until sixteen years later, when following a statewide push for integration that had requested the same of seventeen other school districts by June 1970, a committee was called to formulate a desegregation plan for the community.[59] New Castle's committee included representatives from numerous administrative, civil rights, local and municipal government bodies. After several meetings with community members and state government representatives, however, it determined to close the West Side school that served black children living in West- and South-side projects and to bus those students to the formerly whites-only school rather than to bring white students into the neighborhood.[60]

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[56] Mooney, interview.

[57] *Ibid.*; Kruse, Sugrue, eds., *The New Suburban History*.

[58] Mooney, interview; Guthery and Montgomery, interview.

[59] *Oliver Brown et al. v. Board of Education of Topeka et al.*, 347 U.S. 483; Oliver Brown *et al*. v. Board of Education of Topeka *et al*. 349 U.S. 249; "Ostrowski to Head Integration Group," *New Castle News*, July 24, 1970; and Paul Ward, "BCC Expresses Opinion on Integration Plan," *New Castle News*, November 18, 1970.

[60] "Black Modeling Program Slated: Human Relations Commission Endorses Police Cadet Corps," *New Castle News,* June 9, 1970; "City Schools Desegregation Conferees Named," *New Castle News*, June 9, 1970; "Ostrowski To Head Integration Group,"

Confronting the inequitable decision, Paul Ward alleged at a subsequent board meeting that the committee was "asking one area to bear the whole burden in a community problem." He noted the disproportionate burden placed on black students being taken from a school in their community and bussed into predominantly white neighborhoods and alluded to the social and psychological challenges facing black students in those social and educational spaces.[61] Outrage and resistance to the school integration plan mirrored the extent to which it defied understood boundaries; black children were bussed to John F. Kennedy High School despite its location in a white neighborhood that criminalized the color of their skin.[62] In addition to having no black teachers, black students confronted the overwhelming changes with no support. Ward lamented, "we do feel that it is a miracle" that black students, "overwhelmed by an unsympathetic majority…can function at all."[63]

New Castle's desegregation plan embodied one of several community dialogues that revealed and reinforced the limitations of the black population's collective power. All expressions of dissatisfaction with the committee's decision fell on deaf ears.[64] The historical,

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New Castle News, July 24, 1970; and Dick Garcia, "Alternate Plan Offered Board by West Side," continued as, "Alternate Plan is Offered," *New Castle News*, November 24, 1970.

[61] Paul V. Ward, "BCC Expresses Opinion on Integration Plan," *New Castle News*, November 18, 1970.

[62] "Alternate Plan is Offered," *New Castle News*, November 24, 1970. Mooney recalled that "maybe 5-6 graduated," referring to black students, confirming many South- and West-Side residents' concerns. Mooney elaborated across several conversations the tension that existed between black and white students in New Castle's historically integrated high school. Districting unofficially and imperfectly segregated the city's middle-schools, and interviewees explained that most black students attended George Washington Middle School and white students Benjamin Franklin Middle School. Black elementary school students attended the North Street and West Side neighborhood schools, and whites attended Croton, Highland, or Lockley. When Guthery remarked that "I don't think it was on purpose," Montgomery laughingly noted that segregation never occurred on accident.

       Similar to how white schools with white teachers stigmatized black students in New Castle, regional predominantly white districts also racially stigmatized New Castle High School's black student body. Guthery and Montgomery recalled several instances of violent conflict between Ambridge High School's rural white student body and New Castle's comparatively urban blacks. Tensions erupting among and between student populations in the years preceding Mitchell's murder mirror those simultaneously escalating across the country. Guthery and Montgomery, interview.

[63] Ward, "BCC Expresses Opinion on Integration Plan," November 18, 1970.

[64] Ward, interview; Gatewood, interview.

invariable whiteness of City Council and other local government offices demonstrated the limits of black electoral power. Though New Castle's black population mitigated constraints by forming several politically-oriented activist groups—including the Black Concerned Citizens and Political Action League—and was among the first fifty cities to establish a local branch of the NAACP in 1918, city leadership commonly ignored or downplayed expressions of the black community's political interests.

Neither did the black community's voice produce change when criticizing the racial imbalance of New Castle's police force. Black residents commonly asserted that a dual justice system existed in the city, seen particularly in exchanges between the police and members of the black community.[65] One interviewee explained that police commonly targeted blacks while ignoring violent white aggressors—whose actions spanned from the common use of racial slurs to physical attacks and workplace cross burnings—on the occasions that police were not the latter.[66] For example, the attention given Mitchell the morning of his murder paled in comparison to the defense provided John Aeschbacker, the white man who police immediately sought to protect from blacks desirous of enacting revenge. It was with this in mind that bystanders and witnesses excoriated New Castle Police Department and pointed to Mitchell's prolonged wait for emergency services, which they accused the police of delaying.

Testimony later complained about the small number of black policemen on the New Castle police force and claimed that racial discrimination in New Castle's police department pervaded its highest ranks. Lennie Payne, for example, explained that the physical altercation with police ensued after he swung at Police Chief Richard Hanna, who had recognized his face among the crowd and, determining him suspect, proceeded to search him for a gun without reasonable suspicion.[67] Payne previously applied to the department, passed the New Castle Police Department's physical and written exams, but failed the oral exam conducted by Chief Hanna.[68] Out of the department's sixty-one officers,

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[65] "Black Modeling Program Slated: Human Relations Commission Endorses Police Cadet Corps," *New Castle News*, June 9, 1970; "Our Editorial Opinion: Black Leadership Must Be Supported," *New Castle News*, September 4, 1971; and Paul Ward, "BCC President Writes About Racism in the Community," September 4, 1971.

[66] Guthery and Montgomery, interview.

[67] Manna, "Quick Chain of Events Brings Confusion: 'Every Available Man' Called Out," November 2, 1970.

[68] Matis, "Shooting Touches Off Violence," continued as, "Shooting Starts Violence," November 2, 1970. Though failure of the oral examination is sufficient reason for rejecting applicants to the police force, the assessment functioned in a fashion similar to

only two were black, substantiating insistent claims by members of the black community that they did not receive "equal treatment" in hiring.

Meanwhile, the city's white police force upheld a façade of justice while policing the boundaries demarcating black space and defining the acceptable uses of violence. Warren Taylor, 19, Payne, 21, and Zollie Talley, Mitchell's 24-year-old brother-in-law, were charged with rioting, disorderly conduct, and obstructing police officers; Talley was also charged with assault with intent to kill and aggravated assault and battery.[69] Though Payne accused Chief Hanna in testimony of profiling and unjustifiably searching him after wrongfully rejecting his application to the department, and though witnesses accused Lieutenant Dan Malley of instigating the event by pushing junior officers into the growing crowd of black bystanders while screaming "get them, get them," neither received any charges or departmental reprimand.[70] Indeed, state police arriving after the fact defended and praised both men for not having employed deadly force.[71] The most critical white residents lamented in submissions to the *News* the lack of "dead rioters" while most praised the department's courage and dedication to maintaining "law and order" in the city.[72] Divergent responses to the use of violence by members of the black community and police—seen in the charges

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disenfranchising mechanisms like literacy tests used to control and oppress Southern black voters.

[69] Mike Matis, "Shooting Touches Off Violence," "Shooting Starts Violence," *New Castle News*, November 2, 1970.

[70] "BCC Hears Eye Witness," *New Castle News*, November 2, 1970; "Lot Happened in A Short Time," *New Castle News*, November 23, 1970; and Robbins, "Acquitted on Other Charges: Payne Found Guilty of Riot," March 2, 1971.

[71] "Lot Happened in A Short Time," *New Castle News*, November 23, 1970.

[72] *Ibid.* Elizabeth Kai Hinton illustrates how evolving political currents—specifically a conservative shift in Democratic and Republican party platforms that drew both toward espousing the primacy of retaining "law and order"—justified changes in public policy and exponential increases in local, state, and federal spending on police departments across the country. Though police almost invariably received government sanction in cases of questionable action, Hinton explains that the spending increase beginning in the 1960s climaxed during the Reagan Administration's War On Drugs. Contemporary transformations of comparable racially-targeted state-sanctioned violence include hyper-incarceration and unbridled violence by uniformed officers of the law against people of color. Public sentiment supporting almost exclusively white police forces, despite their role in acting injustice upon groups of citizens, was fostered by daily navigation through primarily segregated white spaces, daily interactions with predominantly white social circles, and daily consumption of news and media mandating unquestioned support for defenders of the color line in their honorable portrayals and ostracizing the critical, particularly in the realm of political conversation and representation.

against Taylor, Payne, and Talley, and the downplay of questionable provocations by Chief Hanna and Lieutenant O'Malley—communicated the acceptable use (and users) of violence and cemented what purposes it satisfied in maintaining social order and the racial status quo in New Castle. Only the latter possessed the ability to navigate between dual-identities as members of New Castle's white community and representatives of the law and state power.[73]

Mirroring restrictions on housing availability and social mobility, discriminatory hiring practices restricted employment opportunity, maintaining a hierarchy resembling that enforced by the police. Strategies involved repeated circumvention, or "the runaround," as Ward described it, resulting in significant occupational segmentation that placed black workers in the lowest-paying, most dangerous jobs. They also created barriers to entry for blacks seeking union membership or access to training programs.[74] "I left for one year" to go to school "in Pittsburgh for architecture and design," Montgomery added his own experiences with discriminatory hiring practices, "and came back here and tried to get into…Rockwell. They told me no, you can't get into the office but you can work in the plant." Montgomery recalled that when he "came back…and got a job…they burned a cross at midnight."[75] Control over hiring and terroristic uses of violence delimited what opportunities education and training might entail for black trades-workers.

Manufacturing and heavy industry employed a majority of residents in New Castle throughout the twentieth century; Mooney described downtown New Castle in 1970 as "bustling" and home to "a lot of heavy industry."[76] Home of two Rockwell plants that employed

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[73] For detailed investigation of urban policing in the twentieth century, specifically the use of violence (in many forms) for the maintenance of social order, see, Didier Fassin, *Enforcing Order: An Ethnography of Urban Policing* (Malden, MA; Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013); Van Cleve, *Crook County*.

[74] "Housing Ceremony Picketed: Black Citizen's Protest Hiring," *New Castle News*, June 2, 1970. Employment and economic access provided black laborers a sense of self-pride. Employment by Rockwell, Montgomery explained, "made you … an outstanding citizen. I'd know everything in my house was brand new … I had a nice car … I was doing big things." Guthery and Montgomery, interview.

[75] Guthery and Montgomery, interview.

[76] Over 52% of employment opportunities in Lawrence County, of which New Castle is the seat, were in manufacturing and heavy industry in 1970. U.S. Census Bureau, *Lawrence County Fact Book, 1970*. Accessed December 22, 2017 at New Castle Public Library. New Castle has boasted nicknames like "hot dog capital of the world," and the "fireworks capital of America." Though the former possessed little significance beyond the region, the city was the local headquarters for two international fireworks producers, S. Vitale Pyrotechnic Industries, Inc. (Pyrotecnico), and Zambelli

over three thousand people each, a Shenango Pottery, Mesta Engineering, and several steel and tin manufacturers, most of New Castle's employment opportunities, especially for minorities and immigrants of the lower and working classes, were industrial in nature, and employers hired poor and ethnic-whites at the discrimination of black workers.[77] Despite completing trade-specific certification programs like those sponsored by Operation Dig of the Pittsburgh Construction Coalition, which sought placement for recently certified black tradesmen on federally-funded projects, or, as in Ronald Mitchell's case, receiving certification in carpentry from the Army, employers constantly evaded or deflected the attempts of black tradesmen seeking employment.[78] At a BCC picket protest against the denial of work to black tradesmen on the Riverside Housing Project in the summer preceding his murder, Mitchell explained he was told he "could not speak with anyone" regarding employment—an injunction familiar to tradesmen of color. These and similar experiences conveyed to black tradesmen the uselessness of their certification and skill in the eyes of white employers.[79]

Occupational segmentation was only one method for maintaining black subordination in the workforce. White leadership also excluded black workers from union membership, barring their entry into numerous "skilled" trades like bricklaying, carpentry, and painting, and monopolizing the power of collective bargaining.[80] *News* writer Ralph

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Internationale. See, "New Castle, Pennsylvania - Our History," http://www.newcastlepa.org/index.html. Mooney, interview.

[77] Ward elaborated on the inequality; his father and other black residents were unable to find employment except at a blast furnace. Chemical exposure to toxins proved fatal to many and claimed Ward's father before the age of 50. "You couldn't get a job as a bricklayer" or any of what were considered skilled trades at the time, Ward recalled, "you were going to be by the blast furnaces." Ward, interview; Gatewood, interview. *New Castle News*, "Housing Ceremony Picketed: Black Citizen's Protest Hiring," June 2, 1970. Gatewood added that Johnson Bronze used to bring in workers from neighboring Jackson Knolls, the northern segment of Mt. Jackson about ten miles southwest, to fill the mills despite the presence of black male workers needing jobs. Clarence Ward, Paul Ward and Naomi Gatewood's late father, trained them, and the company paid for their housing, according to Gatewood's recollection. For more on defining "whiteness" social and legally, see Haney-Lopez, *White by Law*.

[78] John K. Manna, "BCC Plans for Meeting with Building Tradesmen," *New Castle News*, July 24, 1970.

[79] "Housing Ceremony Picketed: Black Citizen's Protest Hiring," *New Castle News*, June 2, 1970.

[80] Ward, interview; "Housing Ceremony Picketed: Black Citizen's Protest Hiring," *New Castle News*, June 2, 1970; "Reasoning Together," *New Castle News*, June 3, 1970; "BCC Plans New Action on Unions," *New Castle News*, August 21, 1970; and,

Deams despaired in 1970 that despite the decade being focused on training African Americans, they still experienced almost "twice the amount of unemployment as any other group."[81] The National Planning Association, responsible for evaluating and recommending improvements to pertinent policy issues, identified the "discrimination against…racial groups practiced by some employers and in some cases by unions" as one of the most significant causes, to which they suggested "public education" for black tradesmen on their right to work, and charged unions to "use these workers" as a step towards resolution.[82] David Crunkleton, Vice President of the BCC in 1970, also stressed the value of education, but noted that "courses in apprenticeship training were to be offered at the Vo-Tech school but were dropped because the teachers were members of the trade unions and too many blacks had enrolled."[83]

Gatewood explained that black women "didn't have nobody to back us up because they wouldn't hire blacks." To discourage black women from seeking gainful employment, Gatewood remembered teachers "told all the black people to take home economics because…you're not to get no job typing, shorthand, or nothing." Gatewood recalled that white teachers expected black students, especially women and girls, to "be in somebody's kitchen, cooking or something." "That high school," she concluded laughing, "oh-ho-ho, Lord, very prejudiced."[84] Gatewood added that while applying to work at Bell Telephone alongside a white female counterpart following graduation from high school in January 1946, the woman receiving applications:

"Meeting Revealed by Ward," *New Castle News,* August 29, 1970. Unions practiced varying levels of discrimination and exclusion, and union actions never represented the positions of all members. Continued investigation is needed to determine the relationship between specific ethnic groups and historic trade specializations in the region, the extent to which ethnic majorities within particular unions influenced discriminatory and exclusionary practice and policy, and the impact of union nondiscrimination and inclusion for varying skilled black laborers.

[81] Ralph C. Deams, "Unemployment in Recessions," *New Castle News*, December 23, 1970.

[82] Roscoe Drummond, "Unemployment and Prosperity," *New Castle News*, April 5, 1961.

[83] "Housing Ceremony Picketed - Black Citizens Protest Hiring," *New Castle News*, June 2, 1970.

[84] Gatewood, interview.

tore it up right in front of me. She didn't care. She…tore it up right in front of me…didn't make no bones about it. She didn't say, you know…turn back and, and I'm going to tear it up. You know, nothing like that…That right there let me know…The whites were here and the blacks were there. We knew we were separated. We knew that.[85]

Colorism determined which, if any, black women found employment. "Betty Gunn…was really light," Gatewood recounted, and "got hired as the secretary, but she had to be near white looking." At New Castle Dry Goods, "the man said they would hire us," referring to black women, "but we'd have to be almost white-looking, not black like I am, no way they would hire you." "If you were light and everything, whatnot, they'd hire you."[86]

   Resistance by New Castle's black community to diverse and evolving forms of racially discriminatory and segregating practices across the twentieth century demonstrates that spaces between urban metropoles and rural *sundown towns* experienced manifestations of, and transformations in, racially discriminatory, exclusionary, and oppressive policies and practices encountered at both historiographical extremes in response to changing social, economic, and political conditions. Despite the presence of several organizations addressing unique concerns for specific groups within the black community, a shared ideology— fostered and strengthened by relation through the local branch of the NAACP, New Castle's exemplar national organization—provided a platform upon which groups collaborated toward establishing a network of opportunities and resources for community members, regardless of specific group membership. That community resisted throughout evolving conditions and circumstances by blending urban organizational principles with rural operational philosophy—bureaucratic and structural bodies collaborated in developing community-wide networks of opportunity and support regardless of group membership.[87]

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[85] *Ibid.*

[86] *Ibid.*

[87] After elaborating briefly on the various positions comprising the Black Concerned Citizen's executive body, Gatewood explained the intentionality behind that name: "with our name being, *Black Concerned Citizens*, we would hold some weight" and chosen representatives "wouldn't have anything to worry about" (emphasis added by this author). In describing groundwork conducted by the BCC, Gatewood described a collaborative effort to find employment opportunities and disseminate them among blacks in need. "We had different people out in the field," she explained; some checked the post office, and others different places. She continued, "[M]aybe you're on this side

Acknowledging some successes, it is difficult to overestimate the presence of overarching systems of structural inequality in framing daily life for people of color living in New Castle.[88] Multimodal social, economic, and political violence in defense of white social, economic, and political interests inhered purposes comparable to sumptuary codes that fixed social stratification in the Jim Crow South, sharecropping and tenant-leasing systems that retained economic dependence following the abolition of slavery, and disenfranchisement or deterrence that limited the electoral power of the black vote into the mid-twentieth century.[89] In

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of town trying to do something at this place, maybe you went to the courthouse, maybe I went to City Council, maybe I went to the hospital … because maybe I can do something you can't do." In describing the working relationship between local organizations like the Black Concerned Citizens and the coexisting national bodies, namely the NAACP, whose structure the BCC mirrors, Gatewood noted humorously that "just about the same people [in the BCC] was in the NAACP … [W]e didn't try to knock one another down. We tried to work together." Gatewood, interview.

[88] The consequences of multigenerational racisms and discriminatory practices persist today and can be measured across multiple dimensions. Geographic space remains predominantly segregated, with residents of color comprising most project-housing constituents. Unemployment among black residents remains disproportionately higher than white residents. Residual effects of earlier discrimination in housing and employment emerge from data on the number of black residents unemployed or living below the poverty line. From data collected in 2015, 22.6% of all New Castle residents living below the poverty line are African American, despite comprising only 11.8% of the total population. The median income for historically black census tracts ranges from $11,250 to $21,136, while incomes in historically white census tracts surrounding the city core range from $38,750 to $53,691. This data was compiled by DATA USA, a project begun in 2014 under Cesar Hidalgo, professor at the MIT Media Lab and Director of Macro Connections, with the collaboration of several organizations, including Deloitte and Datawheel. See, https://datausa.io/profile/geo/new-castle-pa/#housing. Though New Castle's populations identifying as "White alone" (13,786) and "Black alone" (1,558) graduate high school or higher at comparable levels (11,976 / 86.9%, and 1,373 / 88.1%, respectively), attainment of a Bachelor's degree or higher differs widely between the groups. While 16.3% of the population identifying as "White alone" (2,226) reported attaining a Bachelor's degree or higher, only 4.2% of the population identifying as "Black alone" (66) reported doing so. See, *American Community Survey (2012-2016 Estimates): S1501 Educational Attainment*, (Washington: U.S. Census Bureau, accessed online).

New Castle only recently (2002) began developing formerly cleared properties near the city-center into parks and other cultural attractions; those in Mitchell's former neighborhood remain abandoned and falling into disrepair or are replaced by housing projects or industrial manufactures.

[89] Most popular in the early twentieth century, the declining acceptability of cross burning as a form of racial intimidation—the combined outcome of a plethora of national and global factors—primed an environ welcoming to increased racial violence by police forces already historically rooted in the restriction and suppression of blacks. Gatewood, interview.

response to an inquiry regarding the prevalence of cross-burnings in New Castle as means of racial intimidation, Gatewood explained that whites used "the cross more than anything," though extensive reports of racist abuses of power by police challenge the former practice's predominance. Montgomery added the inequitable outcomes of such violence against people of color. "It was happening every day…You'd see two people fighting and…the only one who is going to jail is the black person." Actors introduced race-based policies and practices in New Castle influenced and shaped by the city's unique history. Denise Guthery and Melvin Montgomery both collaborated in explaining how financiers stalled the approval of credit to a wealthy black dentist to defend the racial homogeneity of neighborhoods outside the city's core and ascending the surrounding hills. By 1970 a declining steel town but with a history dating to the U.S. frontier in 1798, forms of racism reflected the shaping of a fluctuating and changing economy and population under the influence of national and international circumstances and developments. The mistreatment of black residents by whites, especially the police, reified that city's racial hierarchy, long entrenched in cultural fixtures like minstrel shows and later lawn ornaments ordering social space.[90] In seeking to reconcile the racism her father displayed in some contexts and settings, Guthery explained "I think everybody needs to be a bully in some way. You know, when you're growing up you need to have someone that you can bully that you can feel like you're better than, and sadly, that goes with the color of skin."[91] Prevarication, occupational segmentation, prohibition from unions, and canceled training programs obstructed any potential for upward mobility sought through industrial employment. Zoning ordinances, urban development schemes, and

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[90] Beyond the minstrel shows popular in the early twentieth century and racist lawn ornaments into the following decades, interviewee accounts include narratives of police mishandling of individuals with mental illnesses, abusive behavior and language toward black children, overuse of clubs in suppressing conflict, and racial "one-sidedness," as one interviewee described what others called a "dual system of justice." When asked if the New Castle Police Department remained disproportionately white, Montgomery responded, "oh hell, yes, man, to this day … They're the same way. They haven't changed. They're all white. There are no blacks," adding "they'd call you a 'nigger' too." "They never arrested them white kids … They called me a nigger and they put me in the paper but they never said a thing" about white perpetrator. "They always, always, went for the black guy." Montgomery lamented how little has changed, as "police didn't arrest no damn body" in response to his daughter's murder in 2000. "They just brushed it under the rug," he lamented, "they've been brushing shit under the rug for years." Guthery and Montgomery, interview.
[91] Guthery and Montgomery, interview.

racially discriminatory housing policy limited the domicile available to black residents.

"Where Do We Go From Here?": Historical Narrative and Public Memory[92]

Martin Luther King, Jr. recognized independently that which the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders recognized after over six months of research conducted by hundreds of individuals across the country. Where the Kerner Commission feared the further devolution of the United States into "two societies" both "separate and unequal," King recognized the historical impossibility and unsustainability of this outcome and concluded in his title that extant options included "chaos or community." The use of King's question in the heading of this analysis's conclusion seeks to revisit that question, "Where do we go from here?" The conversation surrounding historically discriminated and segregated communities of color necessarily requires a consideration of how much change has occurred since his assassination fifty years ago. A speech given by the president of the University of Cincinnati's Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity, James Lacy, at an event commemorating King's life and legacy on the 50th anniversary of his assassination at the city's National Underground Railroad Freedom Center, reckoned with the problematic dichotomy and questioned if "chaos" and "community" were mutually exclusive, and if restoring and emphasizing community cannot function as one means of disrupting the systems maintaining and perpetuating structures and systems of inequality. Perhaps the single greatest act of violence is erasure from memory.[93] Based on the oral interviews conducted between 2016 and 2018 for this research, it was found that many of New Castle's residents cannot recall any detail about Mitchell's murder or the violent community responses that induced a three-day State-of-Emergency. The informative power of this historical moment is silenced; past generations' racially discriminatory and racist practices, and their residual consequences and contemporary forms, are disclaimed

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[92] See Martin Luther King, Jr., *Where Do We Do From Here: Chaos or Community?* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968).

[93] Trouillot illustrates how silences created at fact identification, creation, archiving, and recall silenced the memorialization of Colonel Jean-Baptiste Sans Souci by his assassin—Haiti's first King, Henry Christophe I—by constructing a narrative in which Christophe's decision to name the building erected at the site of Sans Souci's assassination after the Colonel is construed as an emulation of the earlier-named palace of Prussia's Frederick the Great, denying the possibility of Christophe memorializing or silencing Sans Souci's existence, replacing the man with the building and place.

in their absence. These silences are "less visible than gunfire, class property, or political crusades," or an evening of vandalism and firebombing, but "are no less powerful."[94] Community memory gauged by public outreach revealed incomplete, if existent, awareness of the incident or vague recollection framed by themes of conflict and violence.[95] Some interpretations reduced the importance of the perspectives sought by this author and offered alternatives that marginalized discrimination extant during the period of investigation or equated types of violence by actors occupying vastly different social, economic, and political positions.[96] These responses often emphasized "good times growing up in New Castle," described by Otie Carmody as "a great place in the 1950s" compared to today, or maintained the "good and bad on both sides" raised by Florence Bruno Richardson. Specifically, Carmody reduces the importance of the subject of inquiry

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[94] Trouillot, *Silencing the Past,* xviii.

[95] Alex Tabor, "Fine People of New Castle, I need YOUR Help," Facebook, January 31, 2018, https://www.facebook.com/groups/newcastlepa/permalink/10155566066776051/. Carol Hamed regretted, "I wish I could help you with this project … I would have been 18 at the time and have no memory of this. I asked my husband who lived just a few blocks from this area … he would have been 19 years old. He cannot remember this murder." Robin Masi, who explained she "was only in 2nd grade" and lived "on the upper east side," had no recollection. Kara Melissa Stevenson Stinnett was "4 or 5 at the time" and remembered only her "father being upset and not allowing my mom to take us to that area to shop." Though remembering with notable detail the violence between black and white students while first transitioning from a Catholic school to New Castle Area High School her sophomore year, Marilou Tomski Zaverl did not recall Mitchell's shooting or subsequent responses; both Zaverl and Cindy Crognale describe violent interaction between black and white students as "riots."

The inquiry stirred incensed responses from others. Susan Delores rebuked some of the outreach's wording, writing "I don't know where you['re] getting antagonistic police force unless you were there." She noted fear of when her father "had to go out in riot gear," and that caused by anonymous callers' threats to harm her family. Given that all experiences are unique and valid to those experiencing or receiving them, Susan Delores's response provides one gauge for the sensitivity of some members of the white community to precarious relationships between New Castle whites and people of color (emphasis added by author, full Post text appended).

[96] Dissonance to contentions within local history, imbued within a seemingly innocuous comment disconnected from the framed inquiry, is one means of deflecting, obscuring, and redirecting efforts to incorporate that suppressed history into broader, general civic discourse. As surely as intentions and motivations varied widely between individual actors in the plethora of tumultuous conflicts in mid-century New Castle, Carmody and Richardson illustrate additional means of coping with complex, complicated, and contentious aspects of local history that run counter to the extant positive narratives responsible for binding New Castle's white community. Alex Tabor, "Fine People of New Castle."

by shifting the topic and ignoring that which is posited, and Richardson acknowledges contention, but damns individuals on both sides, conceptualizing the source of conflict as individual action, behavior, and consequence, rather than a product of structural, systemic inequalities.

The contemporary silences surrounding Mitchell's murder and its context within New Castle's freedom struggle—whether neglected, overlooked, or suppressed by local institutions and organizations—and the minimal account of black history in the city's records, render current narratives of the city's history, a pillar of local and regional identity, incomplete. Members of the New Castle Police Department and New Castle Area School District School Board employed what interviewees called "the run-around" upon the author's request of certain documents and information, and several white residents contested and denied the realities of black contributors and interviewees. When discussing the extent to which this research involved several public institutions in New Castle, Gatewood laughed, explaining: "They're not going to tell you nothing." Describing most as "very prejudiced," she added that "the people that would know about that murder here in New Castle, those are the ones you're not going to get no information from."[97] The dynamics inherent to contests over social, economic, and political resources in the economically fluctuating, semi-urban, regionally agricultural city are critical to understanding its history and at least some of the forces shaping its evolution, and that of similar spaces in-between.

Indeed, Mitchell's murder did not independently incite the evening of vandalism, physical conflict with police, or subsequent firebombing. A matrix of racisms and discriminatory practices occurring and compounding across generations framed black interpretations of Mitchell's murder, many of which manifested at the scene in the delay of emergency services, racist police actions, and ignorance of the plights of New Castle's black citizens.[98] The denial and elision of this narrative

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[97] Gatewood, interview.

[98] Guthery and Montgomery corroborate brief references to fights between black and white students in the *News* in 1968-1969 while Mitchell served as a carpenter in the Army in Vietnam, providing a modicum of evidence that tension between members of New Castle's black and white communities increasingly took violent form throughout the 1960s. Ignorance to the needs and interests of black citizens repeatedly demonstrated throughout the decade, compounded especially by events occurring nationally, namely the assassination of numerous black and white civil rights leaders, spurred a militant ideological outgrowth within the black community. Montgomery explained that The assassinations of Kennedy and MLK, Jr., "kind of made me a rebel … I cried when he got shot." "It kind of made me more militant. I don't remember being militant as a little kid." "But … when Kennedy got shot, then his brother got shot

from New Castle's public memory and civic discourse, whether neglected, overlooked, or suppressed, renders many narratives of the city's history—a core dimension of civic identity—incomplete and thus denies to the enduring struggle for equitable and fair treatment historical influence.

    As systematic control of housing availability, employment opportunity, and educational access circumscribed life opportunities for people of color across every dimension, similar control over public memory—the narratives used in formulating individual and community identities—maintains similar limits upon civic awareness and obligation.[99] In the same fashion that isolation from federal loan and subsidy decimated opportunities for black families to accrue a modicum of the generational wealth amassed by white families throughout the mid-twentieth century, the silencing of New Castle's freedom struggle from the city's historical narrative, and from that city's civic discourse, similarly obstructs the addressing of inequitable systems and redressing of past violations responsible for the disproportionate disadvantages experienced by members of the city's communities of color. The consequences of racially discriminatory policy dictating the use and purpose of residential space and workplace organization, and of racially segregating practices framing relations between black and white citizens, remain discernable in their influence on the present and future.

    Despite obstructions and barriers to access in fair and equitable housing, education, and employment, the black community organized to collect and share resources like employment opportunities, protest

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and then Martin Luther King … I was militant as all get-up. I ain't going to tell no lie. That's all I wanted to do, was fight." Guthery and Montgomery, interview.

[99] In his analysis of social movements, Aldon Morris applies Resource Mobilization Theory to hypothesize various reasons for the successes or failures of social movements within the Modern Civil Rights Movement that he periodizes between 1954 and 1963. Beyond lacking sufficient resources—as diverse as population size/human capital, consumer power/financial capital, social network connection or economic access/social capital, political affiliation, or control over narratives used in identity-formulation or community maintenance—the momentum unachieved also precluded the support from external groups necessary for sustained campaigns against inequitable systems, the notable exception being the black-led Pittsburgh Construction Coalition, which collaborated in educating black male laborers on their legal rights to employment on various jobs. Morris's application of Resource Mobilization Theory is applicable to intangible, sociocultural generational wealth expressed in ancestral or familial history in relation to mainstream society, sense of individual or group pride or sense of belonging derived from connection to and investment in reciprocating social order, and also individual and collective public memory. See Morris, *Origins of the Civil Rights Movement*, 275-90.

discriminatory businesses and projects like the Riverside housing development, where black tradesmen were denied work despite the project's federal underwriting, and respond with violent resistance to violent racism. However, contemporary manifestations of social, economic, and political policies and practices experienced throughout the mid-twentieth century persist in legal precedent, sociocultural perceptions, and consumed imagery.[100] Beyond disparities in accrued generational wealth, the scars of residential security maps and discriminatory housing policy mark urban spaces almost ubiquitously, including New Castle.[101] Consequences of discriminatory hiring

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[100] Haney-Lopez, *White by Law* and Bonilla-Silva, *Racism Without Racists* illustrate how historical and social perceptions of race and equality are embedded within daily consumption, discourse, and performance. Martin Luther King, Jr. noted the social and psychological consequences and implications of similar ritualized performances of "race" continuing nearly a century following emancipation. King specifically addressed the false superiority-inferiority complex often internalized but needing resisted by actors existing within a societal framework built upon white supremacy. See, *Why We Can't Wait* (New York: New American Library, 2000). Nicole Gonzales Van Cleve's *Crook County: Racism and Injustice in America's Largest Criminal Court* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2016) illustrates how racial (mis)perceptions and racial ideology are daily constructed, affirmed, and validated at the interaction level— as actors navigate unique and evolving contexts and spheres of social space—but also by contextual, sensory consumption.

[101] Some investigations emphasize economic disinvestment: Bruce Mitchell and Juan Franco, "HOLC 'redlining' maps: The persistent structure of segregation and economic inequality," National Community Reinvestment Coalition, March 20, 2018, https://ncrc.org/holc/; Mitchell, "Reversing the red lines: Disinvestment in America's cities," National Community Reinvestment Coalition, March 27, 2018, https://ncrc.org/reversing-the-red-lines-disinvestment-in-americas-cities/; Jesse Meisenhelter, "How 1930s discrimination shaped inequality in today's cities," National Community Reinvestment Coalition, March 27, 2018, https://ncrc.org/how-1930s-discrimination-shaped-inequality-in-todays-cities/; Alana Semuels, "The Resurrection of America's Slums," *The Atlantic*, August 9, 2015, https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2015/08/more-americans-are-living-in-slums/400832/?fbclid=IwAR3Ws6Wr66HfAAXmXvA3g_a1APr1ZIRyGNu5VQJ75EshgDJs9csNArf6AyU&utm_campaign=the-atlantic&utm_content=5caa3acfe6dfda0001dc9e59_ta&utm_medium=social&utm_source=facebook; Adrian Florido, "Black, Latino Two-Parent Families Have Half The Wealth of White Single Parents," *Codeswitch: Race and Identity, Remixed, National Public Radio,* February 8, 2017, https://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2017/02/08/514105689/black-latino-two-parent-families-have-half-the-wealth-of-white-single-parents?fbclid=IwAR0r1z6pvT87iMuF9KRA5jV5aj-cW7JRFaccTqytCamoskxYWTQ4Kxfvxc0.

Others focus on environmental racism intertwined with discriminatory housing policy: Jonathan Lambert, "Study Finds Racial Gap Between Who Causes Air

practices leave traces in schools with few black teachers and predominantly white police departments.[102] The enduring consequences

Pollution and Who Breathes It," National Public Radio, March 11, 2019, https://www.npr.org/sections/health-shots/2019/03/11/702348935/study-finds-racial-gap-between-who-causes-air-pollution-and-who-breathes-it?fbclid=IwAR0f96-ZYkFIvz2s5Jgjw1DGNRah0VdTeO2CMpANovBQC8xBxwifMwgRunU. CityLab writer Tanvi Misra's April 10, 2019, article "From Gentrification to Decline: How Neighborhoods Really Change," highlights new and changing trends in concentrations of poverty and demographic distribution as consequence of discriminatory behavior. See, Tanvi Misra, "From Gentrification to Decline: How Neighborhoods Really Change," CityLab, April 10, 2019, https://www.citylab.com/equity/2019/04/gentrified-cities-neighborhood-change-displacement-poverty-data/586840/?utm_campaign=citylab-daily-newsletter&utm_medium=email&silverid=%25%25RECIPIENT_ID%25%25&utm_source=newsletter.
        The University of Richmond's Digital Scholarship Lab has produced three invaluable assemblages of data able to be analyzed graphically and visually with maps that illustrate significant changes in housing availability, distribution, and occupation over time and in response to changing racially discriminatory policies and practices. *American Panorama: An Atlas of United States History* serves as a hub at which several graphs and maps depicting historical change are accessible, among which *Mapping Inequality: Redlining in New Deal America* and *Renewing Inequality: Urban Renewal, Family Displacements, and Race 1955-1966* can be found. See, https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/ (American Panorama), https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/#loc=3/36.74/-96.86&opacity=0.8 (Mapping Inequality), and http://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/renewal/#view=0/0/1&viz=cartogram (Renewing Inequality). Rothstein, *The Color of Law*.
[102] The NAACP continues to enjoin the New Castle Area School District to hire more teachers and administrators of color in 2018. See, Debbie Wachter, "NAACP urges school district to recruit minorities," *New Castle News*, January 18, 2018, http://www.ncnewsonline.com/news/naacp-urges-school-district-to-recruit-minorities/article_60043562-fbd8-11e7-88f5-e30668e3fe6c.html. U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, *Census of State and Local Law Enforcement Agencies, 2008*, by Brian A. Reaves, Bulletin NCJ 233982, July 2011, http://www.bjs.gov/index.cfm?ty=pbdetail&iid=2216; Mike Macaig, ed., *Diversity on the Force: Where Police Don't Mirror Communities*, Governing: The States and Localities, September, 2015, http://images.centerdigitaled.com/documents/policediversityreport.pdf; Clarence Edwards, "Race and the Police," National Policing Foundation, February 8, 2016, https://www.policefoundation.org/race-and-the-police/; Jeremy Ashkenas and Haeyoun Park, "The Race Gap in America's Police Departments," *The New York Times*, April 8, 2015, https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2014/09/03/us/the-race-gap-in-americas-police-departments.html?mtrref=www.google.com&gwh=2F6F843489403DC1470A0BA7A0A3DC6A&gwt=pay. Human Rights Watch, an international advocacy organization, has produced among the most extensive reports on systems protecting excessive and undue use of force by police and law enforcement, often fatally and almost invariably without

of disproportionate criminal punishment, social and political discrimination, and the influence of changing social, economic, and political conditions mark communities of color.[103] Classism and racism continue to intersect locally, regionally, and nationally to perpetuate inequality much alike caste systems.[104]

New Castle's expansion from a rural, frontier village to booming industrial steel town, and since into more uncertain economic territory, and the changing composition and size of its population, framed a context in which diverse groups competed for limited resources. The pale disposition of the city's historic officeholders was not produced by majoritarian politics alone, though the African American population historically comprised between ten and fifteen percent of the city's total population. Local social, economic, and political behavior, and respective means of acting on racist belief, never escaped the influences, limits, obligations, and obstructions of national and international scale— sometimes embraced and mirrored, others spurned and resisted.[105]

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consequence in the United States. Aside from investigating the judicial and political systems that protect officers and shield departments from oversight or consequence, the report details fourteen U.S. cities and appends relevant government documents. See, "Shielded from Justice: Police Brutality and Accountability in the United States," Human Rights Watch, July 1, 1998, www.hrw.org.

[103] Emily Badger, Claire Cain Miller, Adam Pearce, and Kevin Quealy, "Extensive Data Shows Punishing Reach of Racism for Black Boys," *The New York Times*, March 19, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/03/19/upshot/race-class-white-and-black-men.html. The National Women's Law Center provides extensive data necessarily including the experiences of women of color, including Hispanic, Native, and black women. See, *Race & Gender Wage Gaps*, National Women's Law Center, https://nwlc.org/issue/race-gender-wage-gaps/. Louis Menand, "The Color of Law," *The New Yorker*, July 1, 2013, https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2013/07/08/the-color-of-law. In an "Announcements" email by The Sentencing Project's Marc Mauer to subscribers titled "New Prison and Jail Population Figures Released by U.S. Department of Justice," Mauer notes that though six states reduced their prison populations by over 30% in the last two decades, the U.S. remains the world leader in rates of incarceration and that racial disparities in women's incarceration, and women's incarceration generally, have increased dramatically, with black women incarcerated at 10.8% and Hispanic women at 8.4% the rate of white women. Marc Mauer, The Sentencing Project, e-mail message to author, April 25, 2019.

[104] Alexander, *The New Jim Crow*; Blackmon, *Slavery by Another Name*; Subramanian Shankar, "Does America Have a Caste System?" *CityLab*, January 26, 2018, https://www.citylab.com/equity/2018/01/does-america-have-a-caste-system/551591/?utm_source=atlfb.

[105] Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*. Director of Franklin and Marshall College's Center for Politics and Public Affairs, Terry Madonna, in a televised C-Span commentary titled "Political Dynamics of Pennsylvania" that aired November 1, 2018, noted that though the economy's influence on regional voting patterns is decreasing, economic

A body of literature illustrates how changing social environments, fluctuating economic conditions, and volatile political balances interact within major urban cities to affect the lives of people of color. Corresponding dynamics in rural spaces receive increasing attention as investigations of the urban-suburban relationship incorporate broader regions. New Castle's local and regional history, social disposition, economic transformation, and political history defined the spectrum of permissible racist policies and practices throughout the twentieth century. Uniquely, New Castle and similar mid-sized cities, especially those experiencing significant change or transformation across the twentieth century, provide cases in which transforming policies and practices can be analyzed.[106] New Castle's economic fluctuation provides an interesting case in which racist policies and practices evolve in response to changing economic conditions and weave through different fields of existence in response to diverse pressures. In places between major urban centers and rural counter-extremes like New Castle, varied and changing concepts of class coalesced with dynamic understandings of race and racism to inform policies and practices able to comfortably apply different dimensions of classism and racism under evolving circumstances. A greater understanding of relationships between external influences and local dynamics in places between population extremes supports ongoing research on contemporary manifestations of racism in policy and practice in the U. S.

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improvement in the state falls short of national averages and stagnant local economies lacking jobs are spurring outmigration. Madonna explained that urban areas and "third class cities" leaned heavily democratic, and described rural, small towns, like "old mining and mill counties," as "republican havens." *Washington Journal*, "Terry Madonna on the Political Dynamics of Pennsylvania," C-Span, November 1, 2018, Pedro Echevarria.

[106] Pennsylvania owns eight of the United States' 769 cities with populations greater than 50,000 (1.04%), in which reside 2,403,365 citizens. New Castle, however, falls among that state's additional 1,005 incorporated places with populations ranging from ten to over 44,000—home to 5,608,476 of the states approximately 12.8 million. U.S. Census Bureau, Population Division, *Annual Estimates of the Resident Population for Incorporated Places of 50,000 or More, Ranked by July 1, 2017 Population: April 1, 2010 to July 1, 2017*, May, 2018, and, *Annual Estimates of the Resident Population: April 1, 2010 to July 1, 2017*, May, 2018.

Appendix A: Social Media Outreach Targeted Facebook Inquiry (Text Only)

Fine People of New Castle, I need YOUR help:

I am currently finishing my Master's degree in history at the University of Cincinnati, and in 2016 completed undergraduate studies at Slippery Rock University.

A project I began while a studying history at Slippery Rock that has now become my primary work focuses specifically on New Castle throughout the 20th century, and though my research has been rewarding, no better sources exist than those who experienced the moment—thus why I reach out to you today.

Shortly after midnight on November 1st, 1970, a drive-by shooter killed Vietnam veteran Ronald Mitchell outside the Rainbow Gardens Bar on Long Avenue. Shortly after, a fight broke out between some bystanders and a questionably antagonistic police force. Though some vandalism occurred along Long Avenue that morning, the real damage remained unseen until that night, when firebombs on Long Avenue and Grant St. occupied firefighters until morning and provoked Mayor Carl A. Cialella to order a state of emergency for three days.

Though Ronald Mitchell's story is but one among many of a list of tragedies, his serves as a doorway into much broader conversations about race/racism in the 20th century, but also about community, identity, and the struggle toward progress…even how we define "progress."

I am looking specifically for people who recall this moment in New Castle history: people for whom what I have very briefly summarized is recognizable or familiar, individuals present or aware of others present that evening, or those who recall the events broader reception within New Castle.

Beyond this specific event, I am also interested in people's individual experiences growing up in New Castle, particularly between the Great Depression and today. Personal and family stories, photographs/artifacts, and memories of New Castle's presence in

Pennsylvania or its relation to national events are all enthusiastically encouraged and welcome.

If any of this connects with you and you feel compelled to share your experiences and stories, I am beyond appreciative of your time and willingness. Feel free to contact me on here with any unanswered questions, I can also provide further contact information at that time.

Looking forward to hearing your story,

All best,
    Alex Tabor

Appendix B: Insurance Redlining Map, New Castle City, Lawrence County, Pennsylvania (1928)
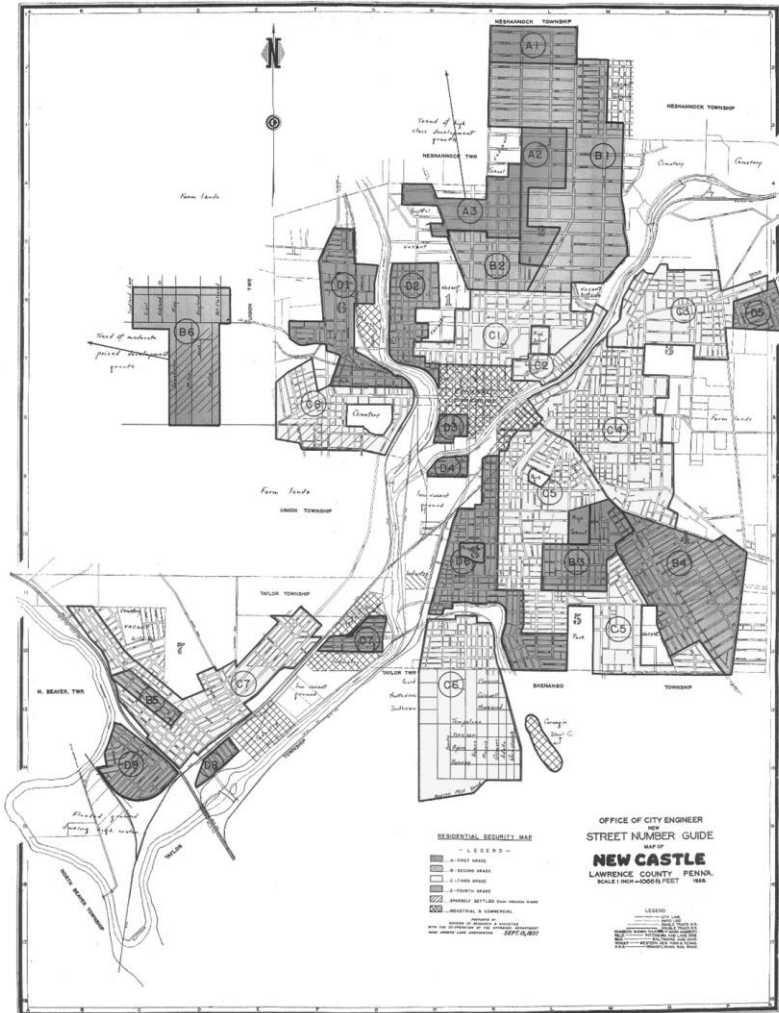

Figure 1: City of New Castle Office of the City Engineer, Street Number Guide Map of New Castle, Lawrence County, Penna., Division of Research & Statistics with the co-operation of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation Appraisal Department, September 15, 1937.

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Justified in their Actions: A Historiographic Analysis of the Causes of the Spithead and Nore Mutinies of 1797

ANDREW JOHNSTON

Abstract: Justified in their Actions *takes an in-depth look at nearly two centuries of literature surrounding the Spithead and Nore Mutinies of 1797, one of the largest examples of collective action ever undertaken by any western military force. Despite arising from largely similar sources, the mutinies' end could not have been more different—that of the Channel Fleet at Spithead resulted in the Royal Navy's first pay raise in a century by Act of Parliament and a general pardon for all involved. The mutiny at the Nore, however, culminated in dozens of courts martial and over thirty hangings. In Justified in their Actions, the mutinies will be studied through the lens of the age-old debate of "sedition or ships' biscuits," as it becomes clear that over-analysis of a subject can be just as dangerous as not studying it at all.*

"Black, bloody mutiny" was among the most feared crimes in the Royal Navy of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The 1749 Articles of War, the code of law which governed the sailing navy, clearly promised death for any "endeavour to make…mutinous assembly," mutiny was one of a select few crimes for which a court-martial would actually carry out that promise.[1] The average sailor of the Royal Navy would have had ample reason to avoid engaging in such action, yet the British navy suffered several dozen cases of mutiny in the 1790s alone.[2] The question then arises: why did such action take place? What factors could have led to the breakdown of the famous ironclad discipline of the Royal Navy, and caused so many ships to rise up in rebellion? This question has been central to the arguments of virtually every writer on the subject for the past two hundred years, especially in regard to the "Great Mutinies" of Spithead and the Nore. These mutinies, which saw nearly a quarter of the fighting strength of the Royal Navy rise in rebellion between April and June 1797, remain unique among the history of the sailing navy due to their scale as well as their outcome: Spithead was resolved without a shot

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[1] Consolidation Act, 22 Geo. II c. 33, Article 19.
[2] Niklas Frykman, "The Mutiny on the Hermione: Warfare, Revolution, and Treason in the Royal Navy," *Journal of Social History* 44, no. 1 (2010): 160.

being fired, whereas the Nore saw dozens of courts martial and nearly thirty mutineers hanged.[3]

The causes of the Spithead and Nore mutinies remain central to writings on the topic, but one must be careful when approaching such an expansive historiography. In *The Face of Battle* (1976), John Keegan laments "military historians' habitual reluctance to call a spade a spade."[4] Other scholars have cautioned against the use of "conspiracy theories" to explain historical phenomena, as John Langbein argued regarding Douglas Hay's *Property, Authority and the Criminal Law* (1975).[5] Although such an approach is not always completely fair to the complexities historians must face in their work, it is also important to not let such complexities completely eclipse the realities of the period. In the case of the Spithead and Nore mutinies, it is important that the grievances of the seamen remain central to the discussion of their outbreak, even as new analyses provide further understanding of the events. The question, then, is how does one approach the causes of these major mutinies? Discussion of the causes of the Spithead and Nore insurrections has varied over the past 200 years, but despite the specific factors which authors analyze, two major lines of thought have developed. The question, as described by Anthony Brown, is one of "sedition or ships' biscuits."[6] In other words, was mutiny caused by active revolutionary desire among a part or the whole of the crews, or a desire to have the Admiralty redress the grievances of the seamen, such as issues of pay, leave, food, and others that existed at the turn of the nineteenth century. Many authors have used some combination of the two to argue their perceived causes of the mutinies, but as will be shown it was the question of grievances that earlier writers chose to focus on more heavily, and that the majority of recent scholars have analyzed as well. Although there is still room for the discussion of revolutionary ideals within such an expansive historiography, many scholars have acknowledged that the "participation of Jacobins…is still conjectural"[7] and "the evidence is still inadequate"[8] to suggest any political motivations on behalf of the mutineers. Studying

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[3] James Dugan, *The Great Mutiny* (London: The Trinity Press, 1965), 359.

[4] John Keegan, *The Face of Battle* (Jonathan Cape, 1976), 32.

[5] See John Langbein, "Albion's Fatal Flaws," *Past and Present* no. 98 (Feb. 1983): 96-120.

[6] Anthony Brown, "The Nore Mutiny - Sedition or Ships' Biscuits? A Reappraisal" *The Mariner's Mirror* 91 no. 1 (2006): 60-74.

[7] Dugan, *The Great Mutiny*, 473.

[8] Andrew Lambert, review of *The Naval Mutinies of 1797: Unity and Perseverance* ed. by Ann Coats and Philip MacDougall, *Annual Bulletin of Historical Literature* 96 no. 1 (2013): 89-90.

how historians have approached this question over the past two centuries, this paper is organized chronologically, attending individually to each major piece written on the subject of the "Great Mutinies." Beginning with the work of William Johnson Neale's work in the mid-nineteenth century and moving all the way to the recently published works of sociologists Michael Hechter, Steven Pfaff, and Katie Corcoran, I argue that the issue of grievances is the single strongest cause of mutiny in 1797.

One of the most widely-cited early histories of the Great Mutinies of 1797 was that published by William Johnson (sometimes spelt "Johnstoune") Neale in 1842. The son of a military physician and author, Neale was a former naval officer, author, and barrister, who coincidently was married to Frances Herbert, the eldest grandchild of Viscountess "Fanny" Nelson.[9] His *History of the Mutiny of Spithead and the Nore* was published at the height of his career and was done so anonymously. Neale's name appeared nowhere in the original text, possibly signifying that his "suggestions for the prevention of future discontent in the Royal Navy" were somewhat controversial for their time. From a historical point of view, Neale's work is primarily a narrative account of the events of the Spithead and Nore mutinies of 1797, as well as their immediate causes and aftermath. However, in his efforts to explain the *causes* of the mutinies, Neale effectively summarized the two major historiographical strands that would dominate the discussion for the next two centuries; the aforementioned question of "sedition or ships' biscuits."

Neale, unlike later authors of the subject, chose not to argue the role of political conspiracies in the outbreak of the mutinies of 1797. However, he did acknowledge the fears that such collective action aroused at the time, especially in parliament, and emphasized that some form of shared impulse among the crews had a role in causing the mutiny, even if it did not come with the cry of *liberté, égalité, fraternité*. Neale noted that a desire for reform in the navy did not necessarily translate to a concrete desire for social revolution, and although he argued that the ringleaders should have been charged with treason rather than mutiny, this was due to Neale's belief in the "absurdity and injustice of courts martial" rather than a deep-seated belief that the mutineers were revolutionaries.[10]

Neale cited "grievances" as the main cause of the 1797 mutinies. Whether looking at "the shameful nature of the provision of the navy" or

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[9] Gordon Goodwin, "Neale, William Johnstoune Nelson (1812-1893), lawyer and novelist," Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, accessed 20 March 2019: https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19833.

[10] William Johnson Neale, *History of the Mutiny at Spithead and the Nore* (London: Bradburn and Evans, 1842), xii.

other specific factors, he recognized that there were many aspects of life in the Royal Navy of 1797 that the sailors took issue with. Importantly, he also emphasized a number of issues with the navy's code of discipline and brutal system of corporal punishment.[11] Although such discipline definitely qualified as a grievance by most definitions of the term, it is unlikely that the seamen at Spithead and the Nore saw this in the same category as the everyday effect of corrupt pursers and the like, and this was very much the product of Neale's horror at the state of courts martial compared to common-law trials.[12] Despite his heavy bias and a number of factual errors, his arguments for the various potential causes of the mutinies remain among the most important, lasting legacies of his work.

This became increasingly clear in the early twentieth century, when historians began to take a closer look at the 1797 mutinies and naval law in general. Conrad Gill's *The Naval Mutinies of 1797* (1913) was very much the spiritual successor of Neale's book, although Gill specifically decried the former work as having "very little historical value…resolving itself into an attack on Pitt and his colleagues."[13] Gill's volume would go on to become the standard historical analysis of the mutinies for the next several decades, and despite explicitly challenging Neale's factual accuracy, would be instrumental in propagating Neale's two causal theories of the mutinies for future historians. It is important to recognize that although Gill dedicated an entire book of his multi-volume work to the discussion of "the grievances of the seamen," he put a much greater emphasis on the socio-political factors of the outbreak than Neale did, explicitly arguing the revolutionary nature of the mutinies at Spithead, the Nore, and elsewhere.[14]

A self-proclaimed amateur in naval affairs, Gill argued that the social, political, and economic effects of the mutinies were their greatest legacy and therefore, the reason for his study.[15] His discussion of the grievances of the mutineers followed along similar lines, as he categorized grievances into issues of wages and provisions, discipline, and "other grievances" which included impressment, prize money, and the corresponding lack of reform.[16] Additionally, Gill conducted a comparative analysis of such grievances in 1797 and those of earlier centuries, tracing developments in wages and discipline back to the

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[11] Neale, *History of the Mutiny at Spithead and the Nore,* 1.

[12] Neale, *History of the Mutiny at Spithead and the Nore,* 310.

[13] Conrad Gill, *The Naval Mutinies of 1797* (University of Manchester Press, 1913), 395.

[14] Gill, *The Naval Mutinies of 1797*, 299.

[15] Gill, *The Naval Mutinies of 1797*, viii.

[16] Gill, *The Naval Mutinies of 1797,* xviii.

sixteenth century. Despite the evident grievances of the seamen at Spithead and the Nore, Gill argued that these alone could only have led to mutiny if a significant change in the grievances had occurred immediately beforehand. Issues with pay, provisions, and discipline were long-standing in the Royal Navy, and barring any outside influence, such widespread unrest in 1797 should have not occurred. As stated, "the mutineers themselves appreciated the fact that there was nothing new in the hardship of which they complained," and Gill clearly attributed the "spark" to the democratic revolutionary fervour that was sweeping the Atlantic world during the late eighteenth century.[17]

Gill's central argument, and the manner by which he linked the grievances of the mutineers to the discussion of the political causes of the mutiny, was that the mutineers of 1797 were confronted with the idea that "the hardships they had endured were not essential to life in the navy."[18] The theory of natural rights, which had spread along with democratic ideals around Europe, had finally arrived in the Royal Navy, and Gill clearly believed that it was this theory that provided the framework by which the sailors at Spithead and the Nore could have challenged such long-lasting grievances.[19] At least one copy of Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man* was found aboard one of the mutinous ships, and Gill cited many clear examples of revolutionary rhetoric from the sailors, including their letters, petitions, and songs.[20] It was these ideas, Gill argued, that convinced the mutineers that they need not deal with the status quo for any longer. Gill argued for the importance that this type of language played in the mutinies while clearly dispelling the myth that the revolutionary powers of Europe had taken any steps to instigate the mutinies. Despite this, the idea that these powers had played an active role in the mutinies' outbreak gained some traction in later years.

Conrad Gill's book formed the first account of the 1797 mutinies by a historian but was followed less than a year later by an equally ground-breaking work in the field of naval law—David Hannay's *Naval Courts Martial* (1914). This book, which remains the only published general history of British naval courts, does not focus on the 1797 mutinies to the

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[17] Gill, *The Naval Mutinies of 1797*, 295.

[18] Gill, *The Naval Mutinies of 1797,* 299.

[19] The revolutionary ideals which swept Europe in the late-eighteenth century are often believed to have been "imported" to France following the American Revolution a decade earlier. For an English perspective, see Roy Porter's *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*, chapter 7. For primary materials, see Paine's *Rights of Man*, or Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès' *What is the Third Estate?*

[20] Gill, *The Naval Mutinies of 1797,* xi.

same degree as Neale or Gill, but is still notable as the first analytical work composed by a naval historian. Dealing with mutiny as a part of a larger whole, *Naval Courts Martial* analyzed the manner by which the court-martial process actually functioned, thereby implicitly asking the questions "what causes crime" and "how did the Royal Navy dealt with it." Hannay defined the vague nature of mutiny as it existed in the navy at the time, notably equating mutinies of various sizes; the mariner who "was exasperated into threatening to throw [the boatswain] overboard was guilty of no less than mutiny," whereas "the crews of the fleet at Spithead, who combined to coerce the government" were guilty of no more.[21] That said, he separated mutiny into two major categories—questions of discipline and of sedition. As suggested, the former was rarely violent and usually involved a single person or a small group at most. The latter, Hannay argued, was what broke out at the Nore in 1797, and the causes were larger than a simple breakdown in discipline. Hannay cited the cause of the mutiny at Spithead as "the acute manifestation of a chronic and absolutely just discontent with the way, and the times, in, and at which, the sailors were paid."[22] While this is admittedly a much simpler understanding of the mutiny than was argued by either Neale or Gill, the focus on a specific grievance was equally as important to the understanding of the mutinies in years to come.

The works of Neale, Gill, and Hannay provided a suitable beginning to historical analysis of the mutinies of 1797, but it was quickly determined that such studies were incomplete. Neale's work was full of factual errors, and although Gill attempted to provide a much more comprehensive look into the historical context of the mutinies, he achieved only limited success due to his self-proclaimed status as an amateur naval historian. The lack of a formal historical narrative surrounding the events of 1797 inspired the next major work on the mutinies: George Manwaring and Bonamy Dobrée's *The Floating Republic*, originally published in 1935. According to the authors, the inspiration behind this book was a desire to approach the study of the mutinies from a different angle, using documents not available nor utilized by Gill. Also, they argue that Gill "seems to have had less sympathy with the sailors than we have," which is evident when looking at Manwaring and Dobrée's conclusion and perceived justification of the mutinies.[23] Few

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[21] David Hannay, *Naval Courts Martial* (University of Cambridge Press, 1914), 115.

[22] Hannay, *Naval Courts Martial,* 116.

[23] George Manwaring and Bonamy Dobrée, *The Floating Republic* (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1935), viii.

scholars mentioned here or elsewhere suggest the mutiny at Spithead was not justified, as a resolution for the grievances endured by the seamen was long overdue. Combined with the incredible discipline and restraint displayed by the Spithead mutineers, few were unwilling to acknowledge their demands. On the other hand, the "very evil developments" that the Nore mutiny displayed made both contemporaries and later scholars significantly less comfortable sympathizing with them to the same degree as at those Spithead.[24] And it is here that Manwaring and Dobrée differ from previous writers.

Manwaring and Dobrée chose to describe the first of the two 1797 mutinies as "the breeze at Spithead," emphasizing the extremely calm nature by which the entire affair was managed.[25] Although they were not as gentle in their treatment of the Nore mutiny, their usage of Frederick Marryat's description clearly stated their opinion of the matter:

> There is a point at which endurance of oppression ceases to be a virtue, and rebellion can no longer be considered as a crime: but it is a dangerous and intricate problem, be acknowledged, that the seamen, on the occasion of the first mutiny [Spithead], had just grounds of complaint, and that they [those at the Nore] did not proceed to acts of violence until repeated and humble remonstrance had been made in vain.[26]

In this capacity, Manwaring and Dobrée were among the first published historians who were substantially sympathetic to the Nore mutineers, and it is quite clear that this approach shaped their view of the causes of the mutinies. They argue that the grievances of the seamen were not with the Articles of War themselves, but rather illegal infractions against the Articles as stated in the *Regulations and Instructions relating to Service at Sea*, which was in its thirteenth edition by 1797. Manwaring and Dobrée argued that these infractions were noticed by many officers at the time, and it was well known that "every captain [had] taken upon him to establish rules for himself."[27] Combined with the Admiralty's wilful denial of "a picture of culpable misadministration from top to bottom" in the Royal Navy, it was this knowledge that convinced many at the time,

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[24] Gill, *The Naval Mutinies of 1797*, xi.
[25] Manwaring and Dobrée, *The Floating Republic*, 1.
[26] Manwaring and Dobrée, *The Floating Republic*, 245.
[27] Manwaring and Dobrée, *The Floating Republic*, 247.

especially politicians, that external revolutionary pressures must have been the root cause of the mutinies.[28]

Manwaring and Dobrée did not argue against the possibility that revolutionary ideas swept the seamen at Spithead and the Nore, but they drew issue with the suggestion that such sentiments were intentionally spread through the work of Britain's enemies. The ideas of *liberté, égalité, and fraternité* were undoubtably present in the fleets and in the writings of domestic British thinkers such as Thomas Paine. However, Manwaring and Dobrée clearly put the suggestion of foreign involvement to rest with the simple answer that none of Britain's enemies made any effort to capitalize on the affair. Specifically, they mentioned the lack of response from the United Irishmen under Wolfe Tone, for whom the crippling of the majority of Britain's home fleet would have presented a golden opportunity to acquire French support for a strike against Britain.[29] Additionally, knowledge of the mutiny would certainly have spelled doom for Admiral Duncan's deception of the Dutch fleet at Texel; had the Batavian Republic known that nearly the entirety of the North Sea Squadron was involved in the mutiny at the Nore, an earlier breakout of the besieged Dutch fleet would almost definitely have ensued.[30] The success of Duncan's blockade and subsequent decisive victory at Camperdown in October 1797 suggests that knowledge of the mutinies was successfully kept from the French, Dutch and others, at least until well after the moment of opportunity had passed.

Whereas Manwaring and Dobrée chose, like their predecessors, to focus largely on the mutinies themselves, the next major work on the 1797 mutinies explicitly chose to analyze the wider world of contemporary insurrection, expanding even beyond the Royal Navy. In *The Great Mutiny* (1965), James Dugan studied the mutinies within the wider context of the French Revolution, the Irish rebellions, and the tide of "repression and reform" that swept Britain at the turn of the nineteenth century.[31] In addition to this wider focus Dugan was also fortunate to possess a much more developed collection of secondary works surrounding the mutinies, which allowed a significantly larger discussion regarding problematic

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[28] Manwaring and Dobrée, *The Floating Republic*, 247.

[29] Manwaring and Dobrée, *The Floating Republic*, 101.

[30] Manwaring and Dobrée, *The Floating Republic*, 277. With the vast majority of his fleet in rebellion at the Nore, Admiral Duncan used the few ships available to him in an elaborate deception: his frigates stood just offshore, and his flagship several miles further out. By continuously passing signals between his ships, Duncan successfully convinced the Dutch that an entire British squadron was waiting just over the horizon.

[31] Dugan, *The Great Mutiny,* 34.

approaches to them—approaches that further complicated the question of "sedition or ships' biscuits."

Dugan focused on two major causes for the outbreak of mutiny in 1797: grievances and "revolutionary fervour." His emphasis was much more on the former, but unlike Manwaring and Dobrée he greatly emphasized the importance that revolutionary sentiment played at Spithead and the Nore. Additionally, Dugan presented the narrative of the mutinies as a story, using first-person language and the present tense to convey a more "personal" version of the mutinies.[32] Unfortunately, while this provided an intriguing "bottom-up" approach to the mutinies and their causes, it is harder to detect the structural causes that are more evident from a "top-down" study. Still, Dugan's comprehensive snapshot into the life of an eighteenth-century sailor that Dugan provided allowed for a different analysis of these grievances. His discussion regarding food, disease and general living conditions in the Royal Navy provides crucial context for understanding the grievances mentioned by other authors, notably without the pejorative language such authors are often wont to use.[33] Dugan also chose to focus on the inequalities of prize money (rather than wages) in the navy to a greater degree than other authors, specifically regarding the battle of Camperdown shortly after the Nore. The difficulties that many had in obtaining their prize money clearly displayed that nothing had changed for the average sailor, or even Admiral Duncan. In effect, this further emphasized the desire of the Admiralty to ignore what was clearly a root cause of the mutinies in order to focus on external factors.

In addition to his focus on the grievances of the sailors, Dugan also analyzed the revolutionary aspects of the mutinies. Despite beginning his book with a discussion of the storming of the Bastille, Dugan was careful to avoid drawing a direct link between the two events. Both the 1797 mutinies and the French Revolution may have been influenced through similar political and social theories, but he suggested any theory directly linking one to the other is flawed. As Dugan and previous authors noted, the lack of reaction by the continental revolutionary governments suggested their lack of awareness of the 1797 fleet mutinies, and therefore the absence of any intent on their part behind the mutinies' outbreak. This was especially clear in his analysis of the battle of Camperdown, which

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[32] Dugan, *The Great Mutiny,* 7.
[33] Neale, 5; Manwaring and Dobrée, 46.

again argued that Duncan's success could only have come from Franco-Dutch ignorance.[34]

Dugan also chose to emphasize the question of Irish loyalty, a point that future historians would return to. At the turn of the nineteenth century the Irish were the largest ethnic minority in the Royal Navyand with that group's history of insurrection against the British crown it was no surprise that a significant portion of Dugan's contemporaries, along with many historians, cited the Irish role in the mutinies' outbreak. However, as Dugan clearly stated, this was simply not true. Fear of French-supported Irish rebellion during the Revolutionary Wars was definitely well-founded, as significant military pressure had been placed upon the British by groups such as Wolfe Tone's United Irishmen. Nevertheless, Dugan argued that although Irish rebels were planning to seize British warships as part of their insurrection, it was not until after the Spithead and Nore mutinies that they realized "the surprising effectiveness" of formulating sedition within the Royal Navy.[35] The oath sworn by the mutinous members of the crew of the *Defiance* shows that members of this "Gaelic sea network" were hard at work as early as 1798:

> I swear to be true to the Free and United Irishmen, who are now fighting our cause against tyrants and oppressors, and to defend their rights to the last drop of my blood, and to keep all secret; and I do agree to carry the ship into Breast the next time the ship looks out ahead at sea, and to kill every officer and man that shall hinder us, except the master; and to hoist a green ensign with a harp on it; and afterwards to kill and destroy the Protestants.[36]

In contrast to other arguments Dugan kes it quite clear that although fears of Irish rebellion were well-justified in the discussion of naval mutiny, such large-scale insurrection only occurred *after* the Great Mutinies of Spithead and the Nore.

James Dugan's *The Great Mutiny* (1965) was, and remains, one of the most influential works on the Spithead and Nore mutinies because it was one of the first to have a developed historiography to draw upon. This was crucial, in fact, because Dugan dedicated the entire first appendix of his book to discussing one of the more radical arguments that had arisen surrounding the mutinies, that of E.P. Thompson in *The Making of the*

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[34] Dugan, *The Great Mutiny,* 398-419.

[35] Dugan, *The Great Mutiny,* 427.

[36] Dugan, *The Great Mutiny,* 428.

English Working Class (1963).[37] It should be emphasized that the only naval connection in Thompson's book is a tangential reference to the plight of dockworkers, and that the mutinies are only mentioned in passing twice in the thousand-page book.[38] Thompson's major assumption surrounding the 1797 mutinies, that of Jacobin and Irish ties to their outbreak, was one that Dugan explicitly rebutted in his own work. Like many previous scholars Dugan allowed for some revolutionary sentiment in his reasons for the mutinies' outbreaks, but as he himself argued, "the participation of Jacobins[in] the mutinies is still conjectural."[39] Even allowing for some committed republicans in the fleets, it stands to reason that they did not hold much power in the relative calm of the Spithead mutiny or the fragmented chaos of the Nore, despite Thompson's claims.

The publication of Dugan's *The Great Mutiny* marked the last large-scale examination of the 1797 mutinies. Many smaller works have since addressed gaps in the analysis of these key events and have involved varied approaches from different academic fields. One important recent effort, Richard Woodman's *A Brief History of Mutiny* (2005), is notable for a variety of reasons. It is one of the few general histories of naval mutiny that has ever been published, all the more impressive given that Woodman is not a professional historian. An author, amateur historian and naval aficionado, Woodman has published widely on the topic of the Royal Navy; his best-known work being *The Sea Warriors* which contextualized the historical fiction of authors such as C.S. Forester and Patrick O'Brien.[40] In *A Brief History of Mutiny,* he covered nearly four hundred years of naval insurrection, from the days of Sir Francis Drake to the mutiny aboard USS *Vance* in the 1960s. He dedicated two full chapters to discussing the Spithead and Nore mutinies, and in doing so analyzed them in a relatively separate manner compared to previous authors.

Woodman's description of the causes of the mutiny at Spithead is perhaps one of the simplest that has been published on the topic. He acknowledged the potential role of "revolutionary zeal" in its outbreak, but, like Dugan, stated that it is all-but impossible to gauge "to what extent it was merely a subject of discussion among the fleet's messdecks and to

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[37] Dugan, *The Great Mutiny,* 473.
[38] E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: Penguin Books, 1963), 162, 183-4.
[39] Dugan, *The Great Mutiny,* 473.
[40] Richard Woodman, *The Sea Warriors: Fighting Captains and Frigate Warfare in the Age of Nelson* (New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 2001).

what extent it was a real motivator for change."[41] Regarding the central factors of the mutiny's outbreak, Woodman focused on five major grievances which the seamen themselves clearly articulated: issues of pay, leave, food, medical care, and punishment. Many officers at the time were quite sympathetic to at least some of these demands, and even Nelson acknowledged the Admiralty's failings in properly paying its sailors. One final, yet important, aspect of Spithead that Woodman highlighted was the cohesion of the mutinous fleet. The anchorage at Spithead gave the crews ample opportunity to organize *en masse*, and the mutiny erupted. However, as the Channel Fleet's cohesion gave rise to the mutiny, so too did it prevent its escalation, which Woodman referred to as the distinction between the mutineers' discipline and disobedience.[42] The sailors at Spithead clearly maintained their discipline, despite their disobedience, but as will be seen, this was not the case a few weeks later at the Nore.

Although his chapter on the Nore was much shorter than that on the mutiny at Spithead, Woodman was still able to provide ample contextual information in addition to his analysis. He discussed the formation of the North Sea Squadron to counter the Dutch threat in the region and emphasized its eventual importance at Camperdown several months after the mutiny. Additionally, he made the crucial observation that the ships at the Nore did not constitute a "fleet" in their own right.[43] The ships were transitory, not belonging to a single squadron or unified command structure, and it was this factor that led to the violence at the Nore and the mutiny's ultimate failure. This, Woodman argued, was the key difference between the mutinies at Spithead and the Nore, not some overblown emphasis on Jacobinism or revolutionary fervour. Such radical ideas, of course, might have existed at either affair, but the central difference between the seamen's success at Spithead and failure at the Nore came down to the cohesion of the mutineers and their ability to maintain internal discipline while simultaneously expressing their discontent through disobedience.

Woodman was the first to describe the causes of the Spithead and Nore mutinies in such simple terms. However, the first decade of the twenty-first century also saw a flurry of articles that clearly displayed that the debate over the causes of mutiny was still very much alive. As with Woodman's book, a great number of these articles present the Great

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[41] Richard Woodman, *A Brief History of Mutiny* (London: Constable & Robinson Ltd., 2005), 97.

[42] Woodman, *A Brief History of Mutiny,* 105

[43] Woodman, *A Brief History of Mutiny,* 114.

Mutinies as one example of many, one of the few exceptions being Anthony Brown's *The Nore Mutiny - Sedition or Ships' Biscuits?* (2006). Looking exclusively at the Nore, Brown came to a very similar conclusion to Woodman, arguing that the lack of cohesion at the Nore precluded the success of the mutiny and the possibility of any organized revolutionary organization from seizing control. Failures of communication at the Nore both prevented its success, and were responsible for its outbreak, which may well have been averted had news of the end of the Spithead mutiny arrived earlier.[44]

Historian, Niklas Frykman also drew attention to communication in his 2010 analysis of the mutiny on the frigate *Hermione*. Although he did not explicitly discuss the Spithead and Nore mutinies in any great depth in this article, Frykman provided clear insight into his understanding of the causes of naval mutinies, one quite different from that of Woodman or Brown. He did not completely discount the role that the grievances of the seamen played in the outbreak of mutiny on the *Hermione*. Rather, he argued more explicitly for the effects of the "cosmopolitan networks of the revolutionary Atlantic" as a cause for mutiny, in addition to dispelling the "great man myth" that surrounds the discussion of insurrection at sea.[45]

One of the central factors to Frykman's argument was his belief that mutiny could not be fully understood in isolation, and to study each mutiny as an individual event would prevent proper analysis of systematic issues at work.[46] While this was not a new argument, certain mutinies, including those of Spithead and the Nore, were traditionally seen to exist outside of this rule. Whether due to their size, scope, or outcome, these events were seen as unique among the wider analysis of the subject, as was quite clear in most analyses up to this point. Frykman disagreed, however, and drew parallels between the revolutionary tendencies scholars such as E.P. Thompson saw at Spithead and the Nore and smaller but, as he argued, no less isolated mutinies, such as the *Hermione*. In Frykman's eyes, the flurry of mutinies in the late eighteenth century were primarily rooted in the ideals of the French Revolution and the Rights of Man, not in questions of pay or leave.

In his analysis of the *Hermione* mutiny, Frykman decried previous efforts for succumbing to what he termed "a miniature version of the great man theory of history."[47] He argued that by putting so much emphasis on

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[44] Brown, "The Nore Mutiny - Sedition or Ships' Biscuits? A Reappraisal," 62.
[45] Frykman, "The Mutiny on the Hermione," 177.
[46] Frykman, "The Mutiny on the Hermione," 160.
[47] Frykman, "The Mutiny on the Hermione," 159.

the action or inaction of the individual(s) in charge of the specific circumstances, it became nigh-impossible to draw the sort of far-reaching analysis he was attempting. At its heart, Frykman's argument was not incorrect, as many naval historians have tended to describe mutinies as a battle of wills between the officers and ringleaders, such as between Fletcher Christian and Captain Bligh of *Bounty* fame, or the crew and Captain Hugh Pigot of the *Hermione*. While this may well have been true for the sources about which Frykman was writing, in recent years the discussion surrounding the causes of mutiny has taken a distinct turn towards the collective, away from the focus on individuals, and even historians themselves.

Recently, the debate over the causes of naval mutiny has, at least in part, left the historian's realm for analysis by sociologists, as the study of mutiny as a form of collective action has led scholars to problematize the narrative of grievances that was passed down since the days of William Neale's original book. In 2016, Michael Hechter, Steven Pfaff, and Patrick Underwood (henceforth Hechter *et al.*), a trio of sociologists at Arizona State University and the University of Washington published an article where they attempted to analyze grievances as the central cause for mutiny in the Royal Navy over the course of a century.[48] As this paper was published by sociologists, it unfortunately does not provide the same level of historical context to its topic, nor does it fully engage with the previous historical literature regarding the study of mutiny in the Royal Navy. However, despite potential flaws with the predictive claims of their model, Hechter *et al.* still managed to provide a fascinating analysis on the role of grievances in the outbreak of mutiny in one of the most convincing arguments on the topic yet published .

In their article, Hechter *et al.* chose to focus on two specific types of grievances: structural and incidental. Structural grievances are chronic, existing due to some inequality in the social structure. For sailors in the Royal Navy these would have consisted of issues of pay, leave, and difficult working conditions, among many others. While these factors would by no means have been viewed favourably by the sailors, they were deemed to be "their lot in life," and Hechter *et al.* argued that these types of grievances did not usually lead crews to mutiny. On the other hand, incidental grievances "arise from wholly unanticipated situations that put

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[48] Michael Hechter, Steven Pfaff, and Patrick Underwood, "Grievances and the Genesis of Rebellion: Mutiny in the Royal Navy, 1740-1820," *American Sociological Review* 81, no. 1 (2016): 165.

groups at risk."[49] For the eighteenth-century navy, these would have included issues such as excessive punishment, disease, and incompetent officers, issues that were much more likely to threaten the survival of the ships' company as a whole.[50] Despite issues with the sociological modeling they used in their analysis, Hechter *et al.* still managed to argue quite effectively that mutiny was much more likely when incidental and structural grievances coincided. In effect, this answered the major issue that Conrad Gill raised over a century earlier, of how grievances that had existed for decades or longer could play a role in such a sudden breakdown of order and discipline.

Hechter *et al.* explicitly chose to ignore the Spithead and Nore mutinies in their study as "those cases were not independent," but have since dedicated a separate article to analyzing the Nore mutiny in particular. In "The Problem of Solidarity in Insurgent Collective Action" (2016), Hechter *et al.* use the Nore mutiny as a case study to question the cohesiveness of insurgent groups.[51] Although less relevant to the discussion of the mutiny's causes than their previous article, Hechter *et al.* agreed with Woodman that it was the lack of collective solidarity between the ships at the Nore that led to the mutiny's eventual failure. The ringleaders emphasized an "all or nothing" approach to their demands to compel obedience from their shipmates, using illegal oathtaking and other actions to enforce loyalty, but their efforts proved less than successful.[52] Ultimately the risks undertaken by the Nore mutineers were see as too great by the sailors, especially in the face of the benefits won at Spithead mere months earlier, and the mutiny collapsed.

Despite the fairly limited addition to our understanding of the causes of the Spithead and Nore Mutinies, much of what Hechter *et al.* argued in their first article is still relevant to the wider historical discussion.[53] Their very argument for choosing to ignore the Great Mutinies directly conflicted with Frykman's belief that mutinies cannot be studied in isolation, suggesting that Frykman's argument was not taken for granted within the field. This also questioned Frykman's own criticism of the "great man myth," as the presence or absence of incidental grievances often came down to the action or inaction of a single person, usually the

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[49] Hechter *et al*, "Grievances and the Genesis of Rebellion," 167.

[50] Hechter *et al*, "Grievances and the Genesis of Rebellion," 168.

[51] Michael Hechter, Steven Pfaff, and Katie Corcoran, "The Problem of Solidarity in Insurgent Collective Action: The Nore Mutiny of 1797," *Social Science History* 40, no. 2 (2016): 247.

[52] Hechter *et al*, "The Problem of Solidarity in Insurgent Collective Action," 267.

[53] Hechter *et al*, "Grievances and the Genesis of Rebellion," 175.

commanding officer. Additionally, Hechter *et al.* explicitly questioned the role that revolutionary ideas played in the outbreak of mutiny, suggesting that the factors that Frykman and others argued were not generally the defining features that led one crew to mutiny when another did not.[54]

The study of mutiny in the Royal Navy is as old as the events themselves, since contemporaries were as interested as modern historians by the question of what could lead to such systematic loss of order and discipline. The example of the Great Mutinies of 1797 makes clear that many analyses are unique to their authors and the times in which they were written. However, certain themes have remained constant from the work of William Johnson Neale in the 1840s to the present. The more controversial of these themes is the "sedition" highlighted in Brown's article, emphasized in some works as "revolutionary fervor." It is not possible to completely discount such suggestions, as there is at least some evidence that such ideas influenced actors at Spithead and the Nore. Nevertheless, historians must be careful to avoid drawing too much importance to this factor, as it is clearly easy to give it too much credence despite such scant evidence.

Most important, however, is the discussion surrounding the grievances of the seamen of the Royal Navy. Few scholars have denied the central role such factors played in the outbreak of mutiny in 1797, and the discussion itself has developed significantly since the work of William Johnson Neale. Debate has existed surrounding the relative importance of individual grievances, but it was not until recently that the very concept of grievances themselves was properly questioned. The work of Michael Hechter, Steven Pfaff, and Patrick Underwood challenged the findings of a century of historians and provided a better understanding of how individual grievances did or did not affect mutiny in the Royal Navy. Even with this new knowledge, the discussion regarding the exact role grievances played in the Great Mutinies is a subject that still needs to be fully explored, and the collection of essays published by Ann Coats and Philip MacDougall in 2011 will greatly assist.[55] However, it is quite clear that despite the need for additional research to further our understanding of the events of 1797, the age-old question of "sedition or ships' biscuits" is one that has long been answered.

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[54] Hechter *et al*, "Grievances and the Genesis of Rebellion," 183.

[55] Ann Coats and Philip MacDougall (ed.), *The Naval Mutinies of 1797: Unity and Perseverance* (Boydell, 2011).

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    Warfare in the Age of Nelson*. New York: Carroll & Graf
    Publishers, 2001.

About the Authors

Andrew Johnston
Andrew Johnston (BA '18 University of Western Ontario, MA '20 University of Victoria) is a PhD student at the University of Victoria, specializing in the history of law, crime and punishment in the British Royal Navy of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a period which saw the "arbitrary and cruel" punishments of the "golden age of sail" eventually give way to a more regulated system of naval law under the Pax Britannica. His research focuses on trends in naval courts martial during the long nineteenth century, especially in comparison to contemporary criminal courts and jurisprudence, aided by various digital methodologies.
Contact: ajohn338@uvic.ca

Helen Leggatt
Helen Leggatt is a PhD Candidate at the University of Canterbury in Christchurch, New Zealand, where she received a Bachelor of Arts (Hons) History (1st Class) in 2018. Her research focuses on nineteenth century social history with a bottom up approach. Her current research focuses on the history of modern cremation from a transnational and prosopographical perspective. Helen's interests include colonial deathways, social fringe groups, social reform, transnational history, and the use of prosopography.
Contact: helen.leggatt@pg.canterbury.ac.nz

Jill Levine
Jill Levine is a recent MA History graduate from the University of Victoria where she studied early displays of Chinese artifacts and culture in the United States. She received her BA in 2013 from Vassar College in Chinese and Asian Studies. Jill currently works for Seshat: Global History Databank, a project of the University of Oxford, Complexity Institute of Vienna, and the Evolution Institute. She is interested in accessible digital humanities and community-consulted history.
Contact: jilldanalevine@gmail.com

Alex Tabor
Alex Tabor is a Ph. D. student at Carnegie Mellon University. Their dissertation explores ways that ranging forces interweave to shape and perpetuate race-based policies, practices, and systems, and how different communities organize to challenge and disrupt an array racializing practices that serve extant inequities in access, participation, and power. Their interests include historical constructions and performances of race, specifically of the ambiguous fluidity of whiteness, and employing historical knowledge to address contemporary inequities in educational access and equity, housing availability and affordability, social welfare, and voter and worker rights.
Contact: atabor@andrew.cmu.edu