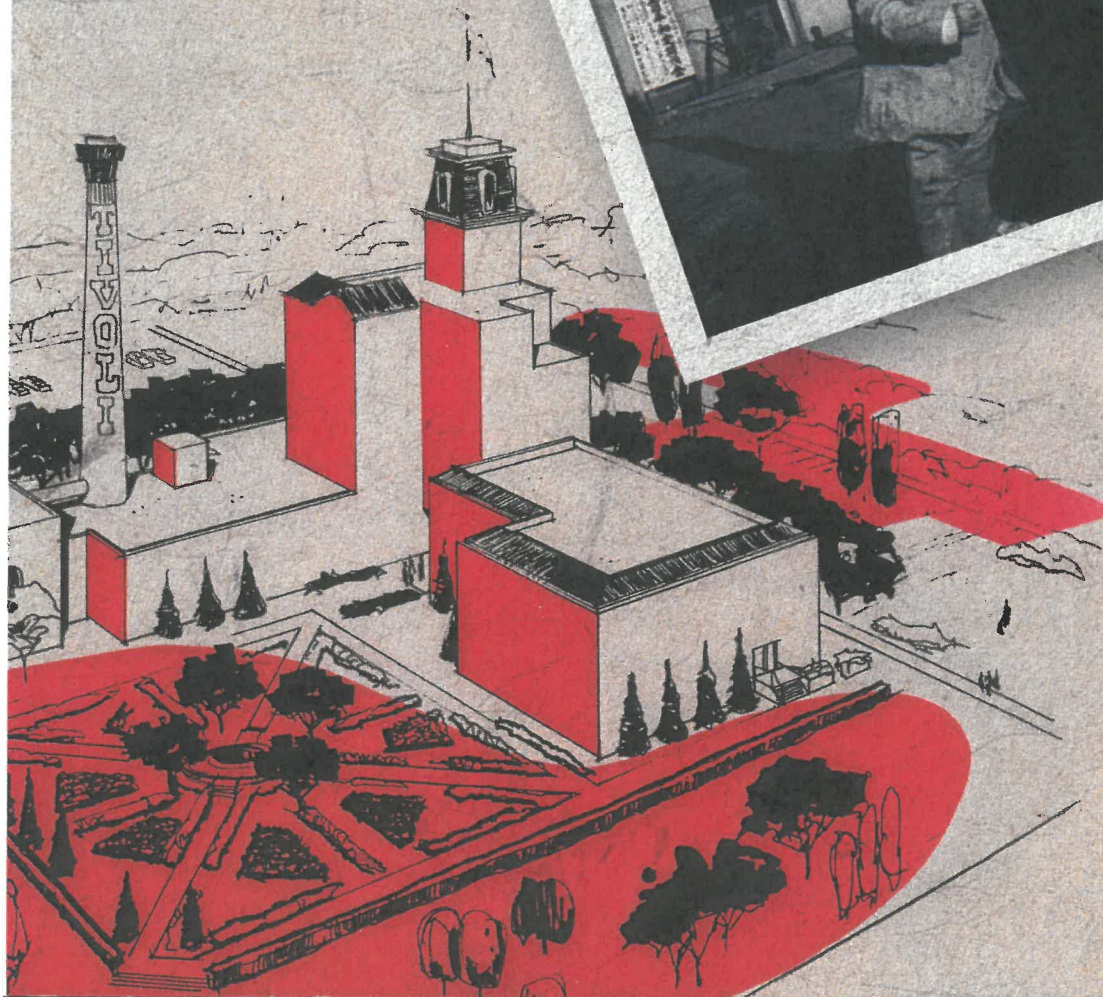


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Preface

The University of Colorado Denver *Historical Studies Journal* has been a unique annual opportunity for students ever since 1983 to display scholarly research and learn the invaluable craft of editing. Students are able to hone their writing and research to a professional academic level. Student editors have this chance to see what goes into the editing process, assisting them in their own works for the future.

I have been fortunate to work as assistant editor for the *Historical Studies Journal* last year and working as editor for this edition has shown me just how difficult the decisions for editors can be – and a lifetime learning experience. The articles in the journal this year cover a wide array of topics that show the diversity in scholarly research. Marie von Haas used her own history and personal experiences to write about Japanese war brides and occupation babies during World War II. She explores not only the World War II in Japan, but looks at the topic with a gender analysis view and examines this unique and fascinating story through the decades, exploring the lives of the children of war brides and soldiers. Gregory Brill, former editor of the *Historical Studies Journal*, wrote a model example of a comprehensive exam. He examines the history of historic preservation in America, giving a thorough historiography of the topic, explaining its importance and evolution over the years. Glen Butterfield's paper on the American Frontier and migration of Native Americans looks at the fascinating history of the movements of Native Americans and their interaction with early colonists in the United States. He gives the reader a unique view trying to show the Native American perspective. "Deconstruction Interpretation" by Kayla Gabehart looks into what we do as historians, and why we do it. Using firsthand experience, Kayla writes about how we record and interpret history. Emma Lane takes on a subject that students on Auraria Campus are familiar with, the recently reborn Tivoli Brewery which is also now a wonderful brew pub. Emma examined the history of the Tivoli from its brewery beginnings to its evolution as a student union building and its current rebirth as a brewery and student union.

As editor of the *Historical Studies Journal*, I would like to thank each of the assistant editors for all their hard work on this year's journal. They each put in so much hard work and without them, it would not have been possible. A special thanks to Professor Tom Noel, our faculty advisor, who provides invaluable help and Shannon Fluckey and Kristen Morrison who designed a beautiful issue. On behalf of the editor staff of the journal, thank you to our faculty in the History Department. We received almost thirty submissions and the level of writing made the final decisions difficult. Please continue to submit papers for consideration in upcoming issues of the *Historical Studies Journal*.

ERICA FONTENOT
Editor

*“Essentially,
she is over here,
because he was
over there.”¹*

Recent scholarship in the form of life stories have come to the fore giving agency to the Japanese War Brides who came to America after World War II ended. It is important that the War Brides are no longer silent and can speak out about the challenges they had to overcome in order to become American. They have made significant contributions to America, socially, economically, and culturally. They have served as a bridge between the international relations of Japan and the U.S. Their life stories have also given clarity to the identities of their children.

OCCUPATION BABIES COME OF AGE

Japanese War Brides and their Children Post-World War II

A Gender History

By Marie von Haas

Marie, the daughter of an American soldier and Japanese mother, came to America in 1952 as a baby. She holds many responsibilities including working with Phi Alpha Theta, Graduate Assistant for the History Department, Archivist for the Japanese American Resource Center of Colorado, and is a Graduate student writing her thesis for her Masters degree. Marie credits her husband, children, professors, and friends for her success. She is currently working on her thesis, telling the story of her life as a post-WWII Occupation Baby.

This narrative is the study of how Japanese women who married servicemen of the Allied Occupation of Japan and bore their children influenced American history and Global history. "Writing women into history necessarily involves redefining and enlarging traditional notions of historical significance, to encompass personal, subjective experience as well as public and political activities."² Following the lead of historian Joan Scott and her views on gender analysis, specifically, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis." I will try to explain the social process of the lives of Japanese War Brides. Professor of History and American Studies, Joanne Meyerowitz wrote "A History of 'Gender'" and in her narrative she argued for Joan Scott saying that the study of Gender history was not just the history of women or the history of men. It is not merely about analyzing sexual differences, but when history is rethought and rewritten could "enter and remap the most resistant domains, such as the history of war, politics, and foreign relations."³ Gender History helps the scholar analyze the social processes of all relationships. This author's search for scholarship about Japanese War Brides post-World War II led to narratives of the Allied Occupation of Japan. This research also reveals the relationships between the United States and Japan and the relationships between the men and women (the victors and the losers) in Allied Occupied Japan. Elena Tajima Creef talked "back against the politics of representation in which the bodies of Asian women are positioned as inarticulate objects of American immigration history and imagination."⁴ Creef's narrative "Discovering My Mother as the Other in the Saturday Evening Post" was intended to give agency to her mother and other Japanese War Brides of occupied Japan who have for many years been silently assimilating into America.

The story of Japanese War Brides cannot be told without first briefly discussing where their stories began. After Japan surrendered and World War II ended, the United States began its project of helping Japan to rebuild and to also become "America's 'bulwark' against communism in the Far East."⁵ This project, the Allied Occupation of Japan, will be hereafter noted as the "Occupation."

World War II ended in 1945. Japan was no longer the enemy. The United States and Japan were now allies and the Occupation of Japan had begun. The 1954 publication of *Typhoon in Tokyo* would provide scholars with firsthand information based upon Harry Emerson Wildes' personal experience with the Occupation of Japan. During the war he was a regional specialist on Japan in the Office of War Information; after the Japanese surrender he was appointed to the Government section of the Occupation and served in Tokyo until the signing of the peace treaty in 1951." According to Naoko Shibusawa's *America's Geisha Ally* the "United States never exploited resource-poor Japan as a formal colony; instead, the U.S. helped make Japan a model of capitalism so that it became the 'richest prize in the American empire.'"⁶ Shibusawa reimagined the Japanese and the U.S as no longer enemies in his book. The U.S. Occupation was a project to teach the Japanese how to be proper partners in the new world political scheme. It was General of the Army Douglas MacArthur who expected the Japanese 'boy' to mature into an adult man and take on the responsibilities and privileges of an advanced society, presumably by the time the Occupation ended."⁷ MacArthur voiced his thoughts and is quoted as saying that "measured by the standard of modern civilization, they would be like a boy of 12 as compared to our [U.S.] own development of 45 years."⁸ "The Americans told

themselves and their servicemen that they were to be teachers and guardians to the impressionable, vulnerable Japanese 'children.'"⁹ It may have been this task of caring for the Japanese people which led to the relationships that developed between the servicemen and the women of Japan. 30,000 Occupationnaires had their feet on the ground to carry out their assignment to work with the 74,000,000 people of Japan.¹⁰ Much organization was needed and mammoth reconstruction projects needed to be completed to heal the physical damage to the islands of Japan. Yukiko Koshiro in her article "Race as International Identity" developed the same concepts of the remaking of Japan whereby the United States was Japan's designated guardian. Post-war occupation created a situation of good will and friendship between the U.S. servicemen and the local population. The close contact between servicemen and the locals required that policies were enforced to prevent fraternization. This goodwill and friendship naturally developed into romantic encounters.

Within two years after the Occupation began, the American and other foreign embassies in Tokyo were flooded with applications from members of the Occupation forces for marriage certificates. The U. S. Occupation of Japan from 1945-1952 led to the phenomenon of Japanese War Brides. This led to thousands of *Kokusai Kekkon* (International Marriages).¹¹

This phenomenon of Japanese War Brides garnered publicity in American publications and became news back in the U.S.A. Journalists wrote of the situation that grew out of the Occupation. People back in America were informed of what was happening in Japan when they read magazines which featured articles about the Allied Occupation. One of these articles appeared in the January 19, 1952 edition of *The Saturday Evening Post*, Janet Wentworth Smith and William L. Worden let America know that servicemen were marrying and bringing home wives in their article "They're Bringing Home Japanese Wives." They wrote of the institutions who worked with these new "Madame Butterflies" to help them become suitable American women. Schools and resources were available to the War Brides to help them before they crossed the Pacific to live in America.

In the June 19, 1948 edition of *The Saturday Evening Post*, Darrell Berrigan wrote about "Japan's Occupation Babies"¹² and caused quite a stir back in America as well as at the headquarters of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP). According to Yukiko Koshiro, Berrigan was ousted from Japan, but, his words had already been printed and all of America was aware of the birth of Occupation Babies. Berrigan began his article by making a profound statement about how

for somewhat more than 300 years white conquerors from the West have been mixing their blood with the conquered people of the East, creating a minority of unhappy misfits belonging neither to the East nor the West. In long-occupied countries like India, Indonesia and Indo-China, the Eurasian population, fathered by European military and civilian administrators, has grown into a troublesome minority of millions living in a political and social limbo between the native populations and the Western nationals. Such a minority is growing in Japan under the Allied occupation.¹³

This statement was totally contradictory to the goals of SCAP . Until 1952, the exact number of births was never concise. Estimates of how many children were born ranged from 1,000 to 200,000.¹⁴ Amerasians are a small percentage of the post-World War II baby boom. Japanese Occupation Babies as well as babies born of the War Brides of Europe and other countries around the globe comprised this population of millions of children who were born between 1 January 1946 and 31 December 1964. There are an estimated 76.4 million “Baby Boomers” in the United States. They made up almost 40 percent of the nation’s population. In the January 19, 1952 edition of *The Saturday Evening Post*, Janet Wentworth Smith and William L. Worden mentioned that thousands of “bright-eyed children soon will be knocking on school doors in most of the forty-eight states.” These children would be the by-product of “six thousand Americans—soldiers, sailors, airmen, civilians and officers—[who] have married Japanese citizens in Japan since the end of World War II.”¹⁵

Within a short section in chapter three of Evelyn Nakano Glenn’s book, *Issei, Nisei and War Bride*, devoted only to War Brides, we find results of research relating to the relationship between the War Brides and their children and their similarities to other Japanese living in America. Glenn said, “Aside from the conjugal tie, war brides’ only close kinship bonds were with their children.” The wives would often keep their unhappy thoughts in the home. Their children were often placed in the position of counselor for their mothers. Also, revealed were their relationships with other *Issei* women. They shared the “basic experience of leaving their family environments, adjusting to a completely foreign culture and language, and confronting limited economic options.”¹⁶

The earlier Japanese women in America, *Issei* (first generation) immigrants and the *Nisei* (second-generation Japanese Americans) shaped the circumstances and choices of the War Brides throughout the United States and also in Chicago. Widespread cultural marriages following a war between two nations have been suggested as a way of increasing mutual understanding. Opinion varies as to whether such marriages can be successful. Sociologists Gerald Schnepf and Agnes Masako Yui reported that 15,500 marriages occurred between Americans and Japanese from 1945 and 1954 in their article, “Cultural and Marital Adjustment of Japanese War Brides.” They studied twenty American-Japanese couples in the Chicago and St. Louis area to determine if hasty interracial marriages would result in severe conflict between spouses. Their studies indicated stability rather than conflict based on the couple’s “age at marriage, educational attainment, [and] residence separate from in-laws, first marriage, and average number of children.” According to Schnepf and Yui if there were any difficulties most could be traced to difficulties with language.¹⁷ Anselm L. Strauss, also a sociologist wrote an article on the “Strain and Harmony in American-Japanese War-Bride Marriages.” Most people made “assumptions that Oriental-Caucasian marriages are subject to greater strains than the ordinary marriage.” His conclusion, after studying Japanese-American marriages in Chicago, was that they are not likely to have any more stresses than the couples who are both Caucasian.¹⁸

Elena Creef at the time of her article probably experienced what other scholars who studied War Brides experienced. The scholarship about War Brides was inadequate “The history surrounding these Asian women who began immigrating to the United States in the postwar 1950s has not only been marginalized but has also largely disappeared



Keiko Sugie Hinze, January 1952



Marie May Hinze von Haas



Marie May Hinze von Haas and
Keiko Sugie Hinze, May 2010

under the shadow of research that has been done on the *Issei* immigrants and the *Nisei*. War brides tend to disappear somewhere between the ‘picture brides’ of the early 20th century and the postinternment lives of the *Nisei*.¹⁹ *Issei* and *Nisei* shared basic experiences of origin and culture, but not often, language. Kay Sugie Hinze²⁰ by chance met George Sakato in July 2011. Kay was born in Hokkaido, Japan, in the second year of the Showa era (the era Emperor Akihito). She left the islands of Japan in 1952 when she was nearly twenty-five years old. George was Japanese-American. He was born in Colcon, California the 19th of February 1921. They met on the second floor of Sakura Square in Denver, Colorado during the traditional Japanese festival of *Hana Matsuri* (Flower Festival). Kay was reading out loud from a copy of a newspaper written in Japanese which was on display next to the 20 May 1961 edition of the *Rocky Mountain Jiho*, a Japanese-American newspaper that once was published in Denver, Colorado. George shouted out to Kay asking, “You can read that?” Kay responded in English, “Of course, I’m Japanese.” George said, “So am I, but I can’t read Japanese.” This exchange of words turned into a lengthy conversation of inquiry about where each of them was from. Kay learned that George served with the famed 442nd Regimental Combat Team in World War II. He was wounded while fighting in France and was awarded the Medal of Honor years later for extraordinary heroism while fighting the Germans.²¹ George learned that Kay’s husband, William was also in the U.S. Army. His first tour of duty was with the Allied Occupation of Japan. Kay met Bill while he was serving in Japan. Later, he would fight in Korea and Vietnam. William Hinze passed away 15 December 2002 and George “Joe” Sakato died 2 December 2015. Kay Sugie Hinze was 86 years old when she died 13 May 2014. This generation is disappearing; therefore it is urgent that their memories are recorded.

Kay Hinze, like many of the women that Glenn interviewed, “expounded remarkably sophisticated analyses of their work and the ties that bound them to their employers.”²² Kay Hinze retired from Non-appropriated Funds (NAF) after thirty-four years on the job as a custodian for servicemen who lived in the Bachelor Officer’s Quarters (BOQ’s) in

Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri. During her tenure she saw lieutenants become generals. Some of those men went to fight in Vietnam. She began her job when her own husband, William L. Hinze, went on to Vietnam in 1965. She lived in on-post housing, cared for her four children, managed the household budget, and worked during the week.²³

War Brides were facilitators of Japan-U.S. relations bridging the two cultures. Kimiko Side is an example of one such facilitator. She was awarded the Order of the Rising Sun, Gold and Silver Rays from the Emperor of Japan on 2 November 2012. She attended an imperial conferment ceremony in Japan.²⁴ The conferment of this decoration recognized the achievements that she made, particularly including significant positive contributions to mutual understanding and friendship between the United States and Japan. Her long service includes many years as an executive member of Japanese Association of Colorado (JAC), a board member of Japan America Society in Colorado for 17 years as well as a board member of the Japanese American Citizens League Mil-Hi Chapter for 20 years. During this service, she selflessly dedicated herself to the promotion of mutual understanding between our two countries and made large efforts to elevate the social status of Japanese Americans.²⁵

Bill Hosokawa was encouraged by Kimiko Side, while she was president of JAC, to write the stories of the Japanese in Colorado as they observed the JAC observed the one hundredth anniversary of its founding. His gift to the JAC was the publication, *Colorado's Japanese Americans from 1886 to the Present*.

AMERASIANS: SEARCH FOR IDENTITY

Amerasians have been called Hafu, half-half, *Konketsuji* (mixed-blood) and Occupation Babies. They were also called Slant Eyes and Japs. Their mothers were known as War Brides. Americans of Japanese descent share a long and sometimes painful history. Most Americans know very little about the true plight of Amerasians; all they “know” is what they have seen in the media, which tend to depict Amerasians as lost children.²⁶ The politically recognized definition of ‘Amerasian’ is based on the Amerasian Act of 1982. However, the term “Amerasian” was conceptualized in the early 1930s by Pearl S. Buck, in her novel, *East Wind: West Wind*.²⁷

Many babies were left behind. *Konketsuji* grew up longing to know their fathers and only knowing the Japanese ways. William Burckhardt’s article “Institutional Barriers, Marginality, and Adaptation among the American-Japanese Mixed Bloods in Japan” brings scholarship and awareness to those Amerasians who were left behind in Japan.

There were also the Japanese babies of the Allied Occupation of Japan whose fathers may have been British, French, Russian or one of any other men of the Occupation. Always they are first Japanese and second they are white. Walter Hamilton’s book, *Children of the Occupation*, is primarily a narrative of the Japanese-Australian children born of the Occupation.²⁸

In her book, *Trans-Pacific Racisms*, Yukiko Koshiro argued that “the U.S. occupation of Japan after World War II transformed a brutal war charged with overt racism into an amicable peace in which the race issue seemed to have vanished.”²⁹ The children of the Occupation who grew up in America recognize and understand the sacrifice and risks

was the law amended; and only then, for a very short period, were soldiers in Japan allowed legally to marry Japanese in American ceremony. In 1952 the Walter-McCarran Immigration and Naturalization Act provided for repeal of the Oriental Exclusion Act of 1924. It extended token immigration quotas to Japan and to other Asian Nations.³² The Walter-McCarran Act also provided an opportunity for *Issei* in the U.S. to naturalized American citizenship.

Yukiko Koshiro said that “in the context of U.S.-Japanese relations, the term race came to represent two separate ideas—that is, race is manifested by physical appearance, and race as an explanation of national power and status in the world.”³³ This racism of physical appearance which seemed to have disappeared would reappear in the United States as the children of the unions that grew from the cordial relationships of servicemen and Japanese women would find themselves struggling with their identities because of racial formation. Omi and Winant argued that “race” is a social construct. They wrote: “Our society is so thoroughly racialized that to be without racial identity is to be in danger of having no identity.”³⁴ Therefore, while searching for identity understanding that their mothers are Japanese and they are half-Japanese is a truth that cannot be erased. It is disappointing, however, to know that “blood quantum” is still an important issue for others to know who we are. A number of examples can be given with regard to percentage of blood which determines an Asian identity. France Nuyen is not Japanese but she was quoted as having said that she was born in Marseilles, her mother is French, her father is Chinese (post-World War II U.S. Citizen), and she has some Moorish blood.³⁵ Nancy Kwan, also not Japanese, said that she is half-Chinese, three-eighths English, one eighth Scot, blended with a touch of Malaysian.³⁶ Another example of the question, “How much is one Japanese” can be found in the conversation between Major Gruver (Marlon Brando) and his lover Hana-ogi (Miiko Taka) in the movie *Sayonara*. Hana-ogi asks, “What about the children? What would they be?” Major Gruver replies: “Why they’d be half yellow and half white. Half of me and half of you.”³⁷ Thus, Occupation babies would be without question, half Japanese and the other half would be that of our fathers.

Prospective brides of American servicemen took classes in Japan to learn how to be the perfect American wives. The children, on the other hand, did not partake in such lessons primarily because they were just babies when all America was concerned of their place in American society. Later there was less interest in those babies who were the result of American and Japanese relationships. Silent lessons occurred as the children of these unions grew up. Their education would take place in American society. The duality of whether to be more “white” or be more Asian, “yellow” would often create personal struggles for the children as they grew up in the U.S. For some of us what was required was a sense of humor or the ability to laugh at their situation. For example, Gil Asakawa, while growing up thought he was a “banana.” Like a banana he was yellow on the outside and white on the inside. But, he didn’t think of himself as merely a banana, but rather as “more than just a fruit. I’m really a dessert. I’m a banana split, with both my “yellow” and “white” sides sharing equal attention.”³⁸ Asakawa’s story is told in his book *Being Japanese American*. Stephen Murphy-Shigematsu shared the story of growing up

in the U.S. in his book *The Celtic Samurai*. This title is a reference to the fact that he has a Japanese mother and his father is Irish. Murphy-Shigematsu is an American Japanese psychologist “dedicated to helping people navigate the challenges of a tough world by fostering their growth as compassionate, resilient, and responsible human beings.”³⁹

Much of the scholarship found about Japanese War Brides and their children resonates from these same children. It can be argued that their motivation to write about Japanese War Brides comes from their desire to find their own identities. Many of these scholars have confessed to studying their mothers only to realize they were looking for an understanding of who they were. Kathryn Tolbert, Lucy Craft, and Karen Kasmauski recently created a documentary of their mothers, *Fall Seven Times, Get Up Eight: The Japanese War Brides*. This is a film about three women and their stories about the social, economic, and racial processes they experienced as War Brides and then Americans. What is also apparent in this presentation is the story of their children. These children listened to their mothers and then did the background research to bring the stories of their mothers to the screen.

Young Amerasian men might imagine themselves as being like the Japanese of old. The film industry in Japan provided enough examples of being a Japanese male, but of course all of these images were of the Japanese pre-Meiji. “The average American knows two kinds of Japanese movies.” The first kind is that of “grunting samurai slash[ing] at each other with swords.” Akira Kurosawa, Ozu Yasujiro, and Naruse Mikio were the directors and producers of choice in America. The second kind is that of “a prehistoric monster [who] stomps through downtown Tokyo.” A young man was more likely to associate with the samurai rather than the prehistoric monster.⁴⁰ Toshiro Mifune was the star in many of Kurosawa’s movies. Young Amerasian men related to his personae. The prehistoric monster is popularly known as *Godzilla*.

Amerasian females struggled with a different sort of confused identity. While we saw our mothers as Hana-ogi or Katsumi of *Sayonara* and our fathers were Major Gruver or Joe Kelly and quite possibly our mother could have been Cho-Cho-san and our fathers Pinkerton of the ageless *Madame Butterfly* story we imagined ourselves differently.⁴¹ Oh, to be Suzie Wong would have been wonderful or perhaps even Liat from *South Pacific*.⁴² I idolized France Nuyen. I even have a personal copy of *Life* magazine, 6 October 1958 where France Nuyen is on the cover. The only thing missing from this edition is France’s autograph. Nancy Kwan is the most beautiful young woman I have ever seen. I especially loved her performance in *Flower Drum Song* when she sings, “I enjoy being a girl.” I wanted to be that girl in *Flower Drum Song*.⁴³

In the United States, Amerasians became Japanese. It is with common social sameness that the children grew up to understand the ways of their mothers, thereby knowing what it means to be Japanese. It is not unusual for Amerasians to remove their shoes before entering the house, use chopsticks, respect authority, and revere their ancestors. Their mothers would never allow their children to forget the sacrifices they made to bring them to America and the expectations they had of their special children. They were expected to excel in school and become successful real Americans. Asian Americans have done remarkably well in achieving “the American dream” of getting a good education,

working at a good job, and earning a good living. So much so that the image many have of Asian Americans is that we are the “model minority”—a bright, shining example of hard work and patience whose example other minority groups should follow. Occupation babies were often pressured to meet the expectations of their mothers. However, the practical reality is it is not so easy. But then, knowing very well the sacrifices that our mothers made for us only propelled us to meet those expectations. In the process of assimilating most Amerasians spoke English, even with our Japanese mothers. There did come a day when I was told that I needed to hurry up and learn how to read, write, and speak Japanese. This request was made because when a parent who grew up in another country aged, in their later years they would revert back to speaking the language of their youth. Therefore, I had to be ready to communicate with my mother during her last days on earth. Learning a second language when one is fifty plus years old is not as easy as it would have been if one learned that second language at a younger age. But, at the request of my mother, I took four semesters of Japanese in college. I did what I was told, but as fate would have it, my mother had a massive stroke and did not speak to me before she died.

While growing up, children talked with their mothers often. Or rather, their mothers talked at them. They learned about all the places in Japan that their mothers remembered when they lived there. Some day mother and child would go back to the place of their birth or their mothers’ birth, often hand-in-hand, together. They did not desire to stay in Japan. America was their home. There was only a need to see what had happened while they were far away in America. Mothers desired to see their family and perhaps their elders for one last time before they left this earth. The challenges of acting like an American were difficult as it meant working harder, studying harder, behaving properly so that the white population would see past the racial features of an “Other.” Their accomplishments would secure that identity. The “model minority” became the calling card of an ideal citizen. Of course, this too depends on who is doing the looking.

Amerasians are indeed Japanese in their hearts while living as citizens of the United States with all the privileges associated with that status. “Citizenship is a legal construct, but it also refers to living everyday life or the social aspect of membership”⁴⁴ Amerasians who journeyed to the U.S. retained all rights of any other U.S. citizen. Others questioned how that could be so when to be a “real American” means to be white or at least look white. Sue-Je Lee Gage said that her goal in writing her article was “to illuminate these issues and explore how ‘race’ and identity are constructed in U.S. international politics.”⁴⁵ In her article, “The Amerasian Problem,” Sue-Je Gage wrote of the Amerasians born during the Occupation and their contribution to global history.

Many Amerasians were left behind in Japan. Perhaps they longed for the chance to be more than the Japanese-Other in Japan. Maclear said, “Teresa Kay Williams, in her work on Amerasian populations, has argued that Amerasians have been viewed as ‘either abandoned in Asia, longing to return to their father’s country, or raised as Americans in the United States.’”⁴⁶ The problem with these representations is not so much that they are necessarily false, but that with the general absence of historical contextualization, they offer limited—and limiting—profiles of complex experiences. The assumed complex nature of Amerasians demands closer scrutiny for what they reveal, as well as for what

they obscure.⁴⁷ Kyo Maclear's "Drawing Dividing Lines" was an analysis of Occupation Babies. A more revealing understanding of what life was like for those Japanese-Other in Japan can be had by watching *HAFU the film* 〃 — 7.⁴⁸ This film is a documentary following select Japanese-Other in Japan. In this film the viewer follows the adults who tell their stories of what it was like growing up as the Other in Japan.

I appreciate my father so much more today than when I was a child. He accepted me as his own (which I was without question) and completed all the necessary paperwork and got all the permissions to be able to marry my mother and provide me with U.S. citizenship before I left Japan. Until the time when I understood the lengths that he and other Occupationnaires went through to bring home their Japanese brides I thought he was an ordinary father and my mother was different.

As an Amerasian I was constantly searching for my identity which changed like the skin colors of a chameleon. I constructed in my mind that I was Nancy Kwan or France Nuyen even though they were not Japanese they were the most beautiful Asians I have ever seen. I was often disappointed when I looked in the mirror and did not see *Suzie Wong*⁴⁹. In school when I looked into the long mirror in the girls' restroom with my classmates standing beside me, I saw that I did not look like them either. Within Kyo Maclear's article, "Drawing Dividing Lines," she drew attention to the Amerasian body "as a repository of fear, revulsion and desire" because the media often make references to their "peculiar" features. Her essay is an analysis of her research on Amerasian or Occupation Babies of the 1990s with references to the Occupation Babies of the Allied Occupation of Japan. Her gender analysis is not unlike other sociologists who study the results of race-mixing when East (feminine) mates with West (masculine).

Nearly seventy years later the children of War Brides have learned that they are a product of an historical project which was the result of the Allied Occupation of Japan, the aftermath of World War II. The search for sources for this narrative revealed that much of the scholarship available came from the children of the Occupation. By definition of the Model Minority, they have earned degrees in many disciplines such as history, sociology, journalism, psychology, and ethnic studies. It is not often clear if a scholar is specifically an Occupation Baby or even Amerasian. Their last names indicate that they are at least Asian. Elena Tajima Creef, Gil Asakawa, Stephen Murphy-Shigematsu, Lucy Craft, Karen Kasmauski, and Kathryn Tolbert are recognized by the author as Amerasian Americans who have applied scholarship to the stories of their mothers. This author recognizes as Asian: Sue-Je Lee Gage, Evelyn Nakano Glenn, Masako Herman, Bill Hosokawa, Yukiko Koshiro, Kyo Maclear, Masako Nakamura, Naoko Shibusawa, Caroline Chung Simpson, and Tomoko Tsuchiya. If I have erred as to the Asianness of these scholars, I apologize in advance: *Gomennasai* and *sumimasen*.

I hope that I have given sufficient agency to Japanese women who married servicemen of the Allied Occupation of Japan and also their Amerasian babies. It was my intention to understand how these people of the Allied Occupation of Japan influenced American history and Global history. This was also my attempt to continue the scholarship of these important persons of post-World War II. A result of the research towards understanding the Occupation and War Brides of Japan lead me to a greater understanding of myself.

Throughout the

twentieth century, the American historic preservation movement has undergone a gradual broadening in focus, from monuments that reflected conservative veneration of formative American events and prominent Euro-American leaders, to the inclusion of vernacular architecture, historic districts, historic landscapes, a mosaic of racial, ethnic, gender associations, and sustainable practices. The process was not entirely chronological, but there have been many notable landmark books, essays, and laws that have pushed the field in this direction. The broadening of historic preservation has, at times, been met with resistance. Questions about what we should preserve, how we preserve, and who should act as stewards of heritage, remain contentious.¹

Historic Preservation in America: **A Brief Overview**

by Gregory Brill

Gregory is a UC Denver Alumnus who completed his M.A. in Public History in December 2016. His research is mainly focused on Western American history, Mining history, and Historic Preservation. In addition to his M.A., Gregory earned an 18-hour-credit certificate in historic preservation during his time at UC Denver. His contribution to the "Historical Studies Journal" is a re-worked version of his M.A. comprehensive exam essay on historic preservation. Gregory is the author of a two-part history on the metal-mining company town of Gilman, Colorado. The "Mining History Journal" published part one in 2015, with part two slated for 2017. Gregory presently works as an archivist for the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service.

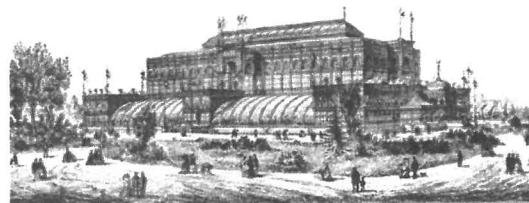


Ann Pamela Cunningham and the Mount Vernon Ladies Association (photo courtesy mountvernon.org)

ORIGINS OF THE U.S. PRESERVATION MOVEMENT

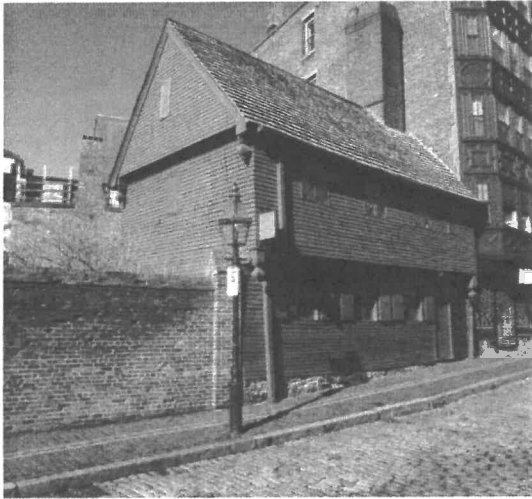
Ann Pamela Cunningham's mobilization of the Mount Vernon Ladies Association (MVLA) may have been, as Diane Lee suggests, the "crowning achievement" of early American preservation. But as William J. Murtagh, Max Page, and Randall Mason have all demonstrated, saving George Washington's estate is not the only notable nineteenth century preservation story worth telling.² The MVLA inspired the formation of other groups, led almost exclusively by women, such as the National Society of Colonial Dames and the Daughters of the American Revolution. However, the sites they sought to preserve as monuments of formative American heritage did not represent everyone's idea of national identity. In Reconstruction Era America, individuals and groups sought out historic association through genealogy that would protect the legitimacy of their homesteads from "new money." Regionally, southern groups responded to the development of northern preservation organizations, such as the Trustees of Reservations in Massachusetts and the Trustees of Scenic and Historic Places and Objects in New York City, with a renewed interest in preserving Confederate heritage.³ Competing ideas of heritage have been at the heart of the American preservation movement from the start.

Appreciation for intrinsic aesthetic value followed patriotic reverence toward the close of the nineteenth century. The Philadelphia Exposition of 1876 introduced many Americans to distinct types of eighteenth century American architecture. More specifically, it precipitated the popularity of colonial revival architecture, and inspired the Progressive Era planners



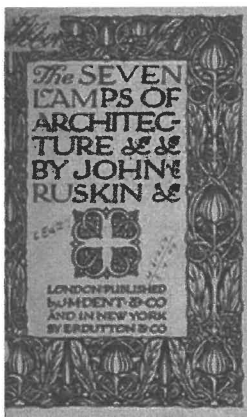
Philadelphia Centennial Exposition (photo courtesy archiseek.com)

and politicians of the City Beautiful Movement who transformed urban boulevards into neatly landscaped parkways leading to city parks, usually surrounded by neo-classical buildings.⁴ The first architecturally motivated restorations, however, occurred several decades later. The John Whipple house in Ipswich, Massachusetts and the Paul Revere



Paul Revere House in Boston (photo courtesy nps.gov)

house in Boston, restored in 1898 and 1905 respectively, were among the first examples.⁵ William Sumner Appleton, an architectural historian and preservationist from Boston was an active supporter for the Revere house campaign. In 1910, he helped found the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities (SPNEA) with a stated goal of saving buildings that were “architecturally beautiful or unique, or have special historic value.” SPNEA not only restored old buildings, it placed regulations on them requiring owners to retain original use. These precedents broadened the scope of preservation beyond historic association.⁶



These early developments in American preservation were, of course, not hastened exclusively by American ideas. Appleton and his cohorts were informed by the Victorian discourse in Europe over scrape vs. anti-scrape approaches to preservation.⁷ On the scrape side of the argument, Eugene Emmanuel Viollet le-Duc contended: “To restore a building is not only to preserve it, to repair it, or to rebuild, but to bring it back to a state of completion such as may never have existed at any given moment.”⁸ In *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1891), John Ruskin presented a harsh rebuttal of le-Duc’s perspective. Restoration, Ruskin argued, “means the most total destruction which a building can suffer: a destruction out of which no remnants can be gathered: a destruction accompanied with

false description of the thing destroyed.”⁹ Contemporary American preservationists typically avoid both extremes, using more complex and nuanced justifications for how, when, and why to keep or replace original features and materials on historic properties. Both trends have had a lasting influence on the preservation movement, but Ruskin’s anti-scrape approach is without question, the more pervasive of the two.

During the early twentieth century, Congress took its first steps toward building a federal preservation program. They became concerned with reports of scavengers removing and selling antiquities from the Ancestral Puebloan cliff palace dwellings of Mesa Verde, Colorado and responded by passing the Antiquities Act of 1906, which established stiff penalties for destroying federally owned sites and gave the president the authority to designate “historic landmarks, historic and prehistoric structures, and other



Mesa Verde Colorado (photo courtesy mesaverdefoundation.org)

objects of scientific interest.”¹⁰ The New Deal also set several important preservation benchmarks. In 1933, the federal government established the Historic American Building Survey (HABS), which served as the nation’s first audit of historic architecture and provided work to unemployed architects, photographers, and historians preparing measured drawings of historic buildings. Two years later, the Historic Sites Act of 1935 appointed the Secretary of Interior the task of conducting surveys across the country and identifying properties to be included in the National Park System. Under this legislation, the secretary also designated a small number of privately owned and nationally significant properties as America’s first National Historic Landmarks.¹¹

Private organizations established several milestones in preservation throughout the first half of the twentieth century as well. In 1926, John D. Rockefeller Jr. authorized and funded plans to restore Williamsburg, Virginia’s 1699 capital. W.A.R. Goodwin, rector of the Bruton Parish Church in Williamsburg, envisioned the restoration of an entire eighteenth century town. That idea came to partial fruition in 1934 after years of careful interdisciplinary collaboration among some of the country’s best historians, architects, landscape architects, archeologists, engineers, and craftsman.¹² Colonial Williamsburg stands as a rare example of a full-scale le-Duc style reconstruction. The experts had replicated an incredibly accurate forgery merging real evidence of the past with seamless imitation. The town served as a monument of U.S. patriotism, characterized by Goodwin as “the Cradle of the Republic,” and “the birthplace of liberty.”¹³ It also served as a model for future museum villages.



Colonial Capital in Historic Williamsburg (photo courtesy history.org)

In 1931, the city of Charleston set another important precedent which would be widely copied. The city government established a Board of Architectural Review that would approve or deny modifications to the exteriors of buildings in the Old and Historic Charleston District. It was the nation’s first historic zoning ordinance and cities like New Orleans, Louisiana, and Annapolis, Maryland quickly followed the template. Another private sector milestone in American preservation occurred in 1947, when representatives

from the various cultural and preservation organizations convened in Washington D.C., and obtained a congressional charter for the National Trust, a non-government agency that could organize voluntary support and act as an intermediary between public agencies and private organizations.¹⁴ Yet by the 1960s, historic districts were not yet the norm. Only a small number of properties had been nominated as national historic landmarks and interpretation of historic properties remained conservative, uncontroversial, and singular in its focus of formative events and Euro-American hagiography. There were a few exceptions, such as the George Washington Carver and the Booker T. Washington national monuments (1943, and 1956 respectively).¹⁵ But cultural diversity would not become a mainstream aspect of preservation until the 1990s.

THE NATIONAL HISTORIC PRESERVATION ACT OF 1966 AND ITS LEGACY

During the 1960s a growing concern arose among preservationists and non-professionals alike regarding the widespread loss of historic buildings due to urban renewal programs that demolished entire blocks at a time. Some of the perceived “blight” they were removing had to do with urban flight, caused in part by the Garden City movement, which drew hordes of middle class white Americans to comprehensively planned suburbs.¹⁶ During the 1920s, European architect Le Corbusier developed a vertical version of the Garden City with skyscrapers surrounding park land. These modern visions left little room for old strips of Victorian and early twentieth century commercial buildings. Out of sheer disgust, Jane Jacobs wrote her seminal work, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) to repudiate the designs of contemporary urban planners and propose an alternative to demolition. Jacobs attacked urban renewal concepts, such as the Radiant City, as superstitious and counterproductive and compared them to the “pseudoscience of bloodletting.”¹⁷ She also argued that cities should save old buildings, not simply for their aesthetic qualities, but because of the diversity of culture they produce. Jacobs saw non-descript, high turnover buildings as “feeders of the arts,” sites of innovation that support city institutions.¹⁸ *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* was widely influential to the preservation movement. It generated public criticism of urban planners and was several decades ahead of its time in making a groundbreaking case for adaptive use.

The National Trust got the message. In 1966, they published a canonical piece of preservation propaganda, largely in response to the loss of historic buildings due to urban renewal: *With Heritage So Rich*. But the scope of the publication, comprised of several essays and a set of preservation findings and recommendations, was broad. Some contributors made progressive arguments. George Zabriske reiterated Jacobs’s stance on urban renewal and advocated converting slums into historic districts and Carl Fiess made an argument for enhanced local preservation with “no fixed criteria of judgement” for historical associations.¹⁹ Others, such as Sidney Hyman, presented more conventional preservation ideas: “What we want to conserve...is the evidence of individual talent and tradition, of liberty and union among successive generations of Americans.”²⁰ Clearly, a cohesive national heritage was still a priority for preservationists

during 1960s. But the Trust's findings and recommendations led to the passage of a landmark in preservation legislation that opened the door to a greater diversity of ideas and principles – The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. The Act laid down a multilayered preservation infrastructure that is still widely used today. It expanded the National Register of Historic Places to include properties of local and statewide significance. It also authorized tax benefits to aid approved rehabilitation. Finally, the statute established a new federal watchdog agency, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP).²¹

Thirteen years later, the National Park Service devised the first version of the “Secretary of Interior Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties.” The publication, which has since been amended several times, provides guidance to preservation officers and historic district commissioners on whether or not to approve proposed changes to historic structures. Since the first edition in 1979, the ten standards for rehabilitation advised a cautious and minimalist approach toward preserving layers of material heritage, more in keeping with Ruskin's legacy than le-Duc's. It did, however, endorse a conditional acceptance of additions provided that “the new work be differentiated from the old and shall be compatible.”²² This standard, which related to massing, size, and scale, can be seen as a compromise between the scrape and anti-scrape extremes.

CONTEMPORARY PRESERVATION ISSUES

During the 1970s, a few preservationists started recognizing that the field was, in some ways, incompatible with changing demographics and ideas of American heritage. In a July 1972 issue of the National Trust's newspaper, *Preservation News*, Robert E. Stipe addressed the need for change: “Ancestor worship and aesthetic motivations are no longer enough. Our traditional concern with great events, great people, and great architects will not serve the larger society in any full measure.”²³ Stipe was addressing societal pressures that would only grow stronger in the coming decades. The specific issues that emerged are too numerous to cover them all in this short essay, but the questions of: preservation for whom and by whom underscore much of the current discourse.

Adaptive use of historic buildings has become one area of contention. In “Making History: Historic Preservation and Civic Identity in Denver,” Judy Mattivi Morely argues that Denver developers, fronted by Dana Crawford, exhumed a wild-west creation myth in order to promote an exclusive cultural center, comprised of rehabilitated and restored Victorian era buildings with Italianate and Commercial Style features. Morely concludes that the Larimer Square Historic District is one of many that are frozen in time, ignoring the history that its buildings produced after Denver's precarious nineteenth century boom and bust years.²⁴



Dana Crawford in Larimer Square
(photo courtesy Denver Public Library)

In *How Buildings Learn: What Happens After They're Built* (1994), Steward Brand offers a similar thesis. In the broadest sense, he argues that architecture's primary assumption of "unchanging deep structure" is an illusion that masks a deep and personal dynamism connecting the fabric of the built environment with human vitality: "first we shape our buildings, then they shape us, then we shape them again – ad infinitum."²⁵ Brand adopted many of Jacobs's ideas of adaptive use and has a special affinity for what he refers to as "low road" buildings, which he categorizes as low-visibility, low-rent, no-style, and high turnover. Though not a preservationist by trade, Brand has been one of the leading voices expressing an enhanced emphasis on vernacular buildings on the basis of adaptability: "The continuing changes in function turn into a colorful story which becomes valued in its own right. The building succeeds by seeming to fail."²⁶

Arguments for enhanced material diversity parallel arguments for enhanced cultural associations. Antoinette J. Lee has been writing about the latter since 1987 with the publication of *The American Mosaic: Preserving a Nation's History*. Her contribution, "Discovering Old Cultures in the New World: The Role of Ethnicity," was criticized at the time for being either too divisive or not worthy of a full chapter. Lee has written extensively on the history of preserved ethnic heritage sites in America, which began long before it was ever a mainstream topic of discussion. She has also been a leading and influential advocate for preserving sites with controversial historical associations, such as the Manzanar War Relocation Center in Lone Pine, California. The camp was one of ten Japanese internment camps built by the U.S. government during World War II and became a national historic landmark in 1985. Lee has emphasized the importance of sites that have become multi-racial in time, such as Monticello, and the inclusion of "intangible resources," such as crafts, language, and rituals into the domain of the field. She suggests that standards of criteria will have to change, and that a more diverse spectrum of "professional elites" will have to initiate this change.²⁷

Most of Lee's ideas have since become mainstream. Old-guard preservationists, who joined the movement in response to the period of late-twentieth century demolition and modernization, have enhanced their emphasis on diversity without abandoning their commitment to aesthetic value. Thomas J. Noel is a prime example. Noel and Nicholas J. Wharton's second edition of *Denver Landmarks & Historic Districts* features sections in the introduction on Denver's architects, architectural characteristics, and styles, yet it also discusses Denver's Jewish, Italian, and German heritage.²⁸ Vernacular ethnic landmarks, though few and far between, are interspersed throughout the book, along with neo-classical municipal buildings, Victorian commercial blocks, historic theaters, and early-twentieth century art-deco buildings.

Diversity continues to raise questions of whether or not multiculturalism can be compatible with a common cause, an issue that American historians have long struggled with as well. Issues such as gentrification and displacement of minorities and low-income groups continue to add contention to the current discourse. In *A Richer Heritage: Historic Preservation in the Twenty-first Century*, Lina Cofresi and Rosetta Radtke stress the need for enhanced application of the "Charleston Principles." Devised by a National Preservation Conference in Charleston, South Carolina in 1990, the document

recommends local leadership and affordable housing as integral aspects of the development of new historic districts. But Cofresi and Radtke dismiss the common claim that the Main Street movement has caused an affordable housing crisis stating: "Blaming preservation for gentrification is an oversimplification."²⁹ The argument is reasonable. The Main Street movement is certainly part of a larger trend in neighborhood recycling. But as Steward Brand pointed out, preservationists "first reluctantly, later with relish... learned to think and act like developers and property owners in order to recast economic incentives in favor of preservation."³⁰ And as William J. Murtagh admitted in *Keeping Time: The History and Theory of Preservation in America*, "The by-product of historic district designation tends to be social homogeneity and economic stratification."³¹ In short, preservation has become less economically democratic while it strives to become more culturally democratic. If the field is to become truly diverse, preservationists are going to have to discuss the side effects of their own success.

The disconnect between green building and preservation is another contentious issue that has entered the mainstream discourse of the field. In the summer of 2007, Carl Elefante, Principal Architect and Director of Sustainable Design at Quinn/Evans Architects in Ann Arbor, Michigan, published the highly influential article "The Greenest Building Is...One That is Already Built," for *Forum Journal*, The Journal of the National Trust for Historic Preservation. Elefante concurred with the case made by Reed Business Information in "Green Buildings and the Bottom Line," from the November 2006 edition of *Building Design + Construction*, that green buildings increase productivity, performance, and profitability while reducing risk, insurance premiums, and financing costs.³² But he added a bold counterargument to RBI's findings. Pointing out that approximately 55% of America's building stock was built between the 1950s and 1980s, Elefante argued that "we cannot *build* our way to sustainability, we must *conserve* our way to it."³³ He offered several suggestions on how to merge green building with preservation including: identifying inherently green aspects of historic buildings (more durable materials, less reliance on fossil fuels), Life Cycle Analysis tools (LCA) to properly determine when to repair or replace any given assembly by dissecting it into core components, and computer generated energy models to predict the performance of a building.³⁴ Elefante's ideas have since become integrated into the curriculums of most University Public History and Architecture and Planning programs, as well as preservation textbooks. They have also inspired numerous preservationists to seek Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design (LEED) certification for historic properties.

LOOKING AHEAD

In the conclusion to *A Richer Heritage: Historic Preservation in the Twenty-First Century*, Robert E. Stipe aptly noted:

“In political terms, historic preservation, despite the fact that congressional support is usually bipartisan, is assumed by many to be a liberal cause. To this extent, it will always be anathema to conservative political interests, for which cutting government expenditures and reducing government control over private property are fundamentally important goals.”³⁵

At present, it seems incontrovertible to point out that we are in an ebb in the areas of government regulation and discretionary funding. Enhanced state and not-for-profit initiatives, volunteerism, and private donations, may help reduce the impact of the ebb, but if federal funding recedes, it will inevitably compromise many of the goals of contemporary preservationists until flow returns. Contentions over adaptive use, cultural diversity, and green preservation, however, will not disappear if congressional budgets present new challenges. If anything the questions of preservation for whom and by whom will likely become more contentious.

After the officially recognized discovery of the Americas by Christopher Columbus in 1492, every major power in Europe wanted part of the new country. Within a relatively short time, the Dutch, English, French, and to a lesser extent, the Russians, joined the Spanish. All of these groups, in their bids to expand their empires and treasuries and in some cases their religions, failed to recognize those that were already living in this “virgin” land, the Native Americans. The Native Americans had established cultures, religions, and societies,

America's Frontiers and Borderlands:

**A Look into Manifest Destiny and Native American
Sustainability and Religion**

by Glen Butterfield

and would struggle to hold on to their identity in the face of this new onslaught. In this paper, I will examine the relationships and hardships that the European powers had with the Native Americans and how they all moved about the newly named North America and what it was that drew them to do so. Also I will examine the ways and reasons of Native American migration and how European innovations, trade, and product both built up their societies and cultures and then had the unintentional consequence of bringing them to the brink of decimation.

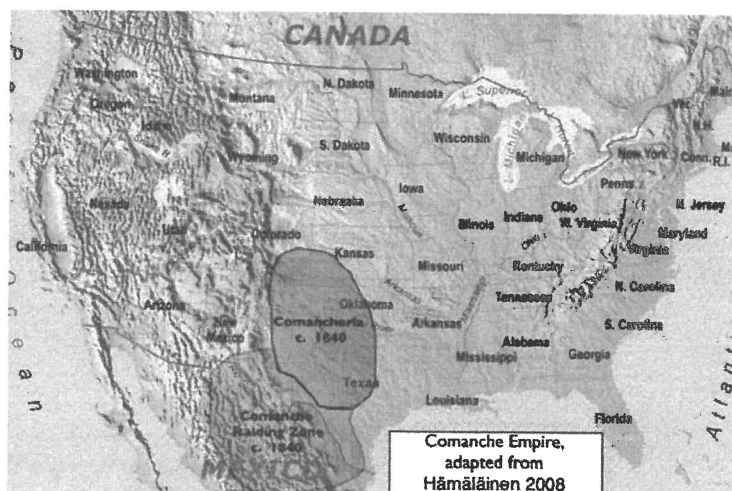
Glen graduated from Metropolitan State University of Denver in 2013 with a double major in History and Anthropology. He is currently getting his masters from CU Denver in Public History with an emphasis in Museum Studies. He also completed the Historic Preservation certificate that is offered by the department. Glen loves traveling and has visited many locations in Europe.

IN THE BEGINNING:

A popular theory regarding Native Americans has them coming to and settling into North America around 10,000 years ago. Within this period they split and divided into the many different and unique tribes, groups, and bands that we know of today, along with more that we may never know about. During their long history in North America, these groups moved and settled all over the continent where they began to assign different spiritual, cultural, and ecological significances and meanings to the different areas in which they lived and hunted, areas that they called their own. Through all of this, they marked and altered the land into more useful and accessible areas that allowed them to get the most out of the land and its game.

In his book *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* William Cronon shows how Native Americans cultivated the land around them to help support their hunting preferences and patterns, as well as how they used this cultivation to change the land around them into a more hospitable location and place to live.¹ This is important to remember when considering how European settlers and explorers viewed the new country of which they now were a part. According to Cronon when English settlers saw this country in its cultivated form, they saw it as a “perfect garden” to which they had been blessed.² It was this idea that the new land to which these settlers were moving was somehow meant for them that, along with the Native Americans differing views on land ownership and use, these settlers felt it was destiny.

When the exploration of the Americas started, it was the Spanish, who were to become one of the longest-lived and influential European powers in the new world, working their way up from South America. They would eventually claim modern day Mexico, the American Southwest, the Pacific coastline and Spanish Florida. The French, who quickly joined the Spanish, held the now famous Louisiana Purchase area, but also laid claim to areas in Canada, the Ohio River valley area, and some of the North East area of America around the Great Lakes. Lastly, the other long-lasting and influential group was the English, who claimed the eastern seaboard, where it ran up against Spanish Florida, area of America to the western seaboard, but in all reality only had relative control to the Appalachian Mountains.



*A map of the Comanche Empire as described by Pekka Hamalainen
(photo courtesy theamericanwestanelectichistory.blogspot.com)*

When examining the reasons behind why Native Americans chose to move, it is best to examine the areas to which they moved and the overriding motivators to do so, but in doing so historians are confronted with missing puzzle pieces and in some cases the incorrect notion that the Native Americans just vanished. Author Pekka Hamalainen, who wrote *The Comanche Empire*, says it best: "Indigenous societies did not simply vanish in the face of Euro-American onslaught. Many adjusted and endured, rebuilding new economies and identities from the fragments of the old ones."³ One example of the missing puzzle pieces is that of the Comanche and their migration and eventual settlement in the central and southern plains of America. In his book, Hamalainen highlights some of the difficulties in showing the Comanche rise to power, "Understanding Comanches' rise to power requires more than unearthing previously veiled patterns and structures: it also requires describing events and developments on Comanche terms."⁴ Here, Hamalainen discusses how many Native groups did not keep written records until much later in their histories, and only major events, and religious stories. Historians have to base their studies on oral stories and reports, not written records. Some other groups are easy to follow because they were very meticulous in keeping their cultures intact in the face of extinction, and therefore expended great effort on their part to save everything. One of these groups is the Mandans, as talked about in Elizabeth Fenn's book *Encounters at the Heart of the World: A History of the Mandan People* who lost up to 90 percent of their total population, but were so determined to hold on to their culture that it is still mostly intact to this day.⁵

In Fenn's book, it is easy to see that the Mandan were an easier group to follow and timeline their movements and migrations from the simple fact that they were horticulturists and agriculturists, which led them along a specific migratory path and to stay put in a very specific area. Throughout her book, Fenn talks about her time and adventures in going to the different archeological sites that remain from the Mandan past, although two of the most famous sites for Americans are where the Corps of Discovery stayed which are no longer visible. In explaining the Mandan migration Fenn says: "Geography shaped every aspect of Mandan existence. It is a key component of the two Mandan creation stories."⁶ The Mandan, who were in essence farmers who hunted some on the side, had to stay in a very localized region to which they could ply their growing skills. "Their arrival in the Missouri River valley coincided with a major climatic shift: a trend toward warmer, wetter conditions... They had settled in a location of stunning ecological diversity."⁷ This led the Mandan settlement to become a centralized trading

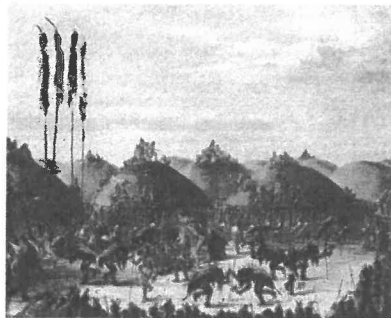


Illustration of the Mandan Native Americans
(photo courtesy of britannica.com)



Plains Indians on Horseback
(photo courtesy legendsofamerica.com)

spot, since they were on the Missouri River and eventually became surrounded by nomadic tribes who needed their corn to survive on the plains, as well as the European traders who would use them as a way to distribute their goods farther afield.

As for all plains Native Americans, the largest and longest lasting impact that Europeans had on their societies, excluding diseases, was the reintroduction of the horse to the Americas. The horse, and the Native Americans' quick adoption of it, is what led the Comanche to become the dominant power in the plains area. The horse was also a pivotal part in making the major trading centers throughout the west, such as the Mandan villages on the upper Missouri River. The horses' largest impact though was its improvement in Native American mobility; it allowed Native Americans to travel much farther over much harsher terrain and to carry a considerably heavier load. The want, use, and breeding of horses was a major contributing factor to the development, ecology, society, and environment of the frontier borderlands, most specifically in the American West. This had no larger impact than in Spanish Texas and on the frontier that was to develop there.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE FRONTIERS/BORDERLANDS-TEXAS:

The formation and evolution of the borderlands and frontiers in American history are awash with constant reiterations of the classification of what the terms actually mean as well as how to accurately define them. Many different historians argue over how to classify these terms into specific uses that change with the circumstances as they arise, along with debating what the different connotations are with each different variation on the term. Frontiers and borderland studies is a field that has a vast base of sources and just as many differing opinions on those sources. The formation of these areas in Native American and Euro American history within the Americas has had a substantial influence on how these two cultures interacted and lived amongst one another.

The most famous examples of frontier definition is Frederick Jackson Turner's speech and paper *The Significance of the Frontier in American History: Address Delivered at the 1893 Annual Meeting of the State Historical Society*. Turner's paper is important because it is the hallmark from which all frontier historians cite. It is the beginning of what was to become the study of American frontiers. Turner's argument was that the frontiers of America had become, in 1893, closed based on the most recent census data that was available to the public.⁸ Turner argued that Americans had settled in sufficient enough numbers throughout the United States that there were no longer any frontiers to worry about, that Manifest Destiny had met its inevitable end and that Native Americans were no longer an issue to be worried about.⁹ Turner's statements would become the fodder for many historians to come, in either his defense or arguing against it.

One of the best ways to describe the Native American views toward these new groups comes in Juliana Barr's *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spanish on the Texas Borderlands*. It is in her book where she says "In the eyes of the Apaches, Comanches, Wichitas, and Caddos, Spaniards operated as just another collection of



Frederick Jackson Turner
(photo courtesy of pbs.org)

bands like themselves in an equal, if not weaker, position to compete for socioeconomic resources in the region.”¹⁰ Here, Barr argues that because the new-comers were in a numerically deficient position compared to that of the Native Americans, they were not seen as a viable threat to the Native Americans livelihood or their control over the resources the land offered. Barr also makes the argument, similar to many different historians, that the Spaniards claim to the land was tenuous at best and only largely on paper.¹¹ She illustrates this with “The Spanish state cast a little shadow in these lands” and “Indians were the rulers in these lands.”¹² Here Barr’s argument is helped by official reports from the government officials stationed within the region where their exasperation is almost palpable. This sense that the Spanish were not going to be the dominant culture in this borderland led to it becoming one of the more unique places in the new world.

One of the most diverse areas for frontier and borderland study is that of Spanish Texas. The reason for this diversity is the many different players that were involved in this area. First were the Native Americans, then the Spanish, the Mexican government, the French traders, English traders, and finally the American traders and settlers who would move into the area. Again looking to Juliana Barr, we can get a good idea of why Spanish Texas was so different:

“Texas thus does not fit any of the usual categories posited in colonial and Native American historiography. No stories of Indian assimilation, accommodation, resistance, or perseverance here. Eighteenth-century Texas, instead, offers a story of Indian *dominance*.”¹³

Here we can see that the experiences of other Native Americans who had contact with other European powers, including Spain in different areas, did not necessarily match the early familiarities that those living near Spanish Texas had. Many different historians echo Barr’s statement here, since this was such a volatile area. One of the historians that agree with her, in sentiment at least, is Pekka Hamalainen who has written on this area with a focus on the Comanche.

In his book, *The Comanche Empire*, Pekka Hamalainen examines the rise and fall of the Comanche as a formidable power in the southern plains and how their actions came to dictate how European powers were to interact and deal with them. The premise of his book is simple, that the Comanche established an unrecognized empire in the American southwest that, since they were not a European power, most historians have chosen to not examine them as such and ignore their larger national and international role. “This book is about an American empire that, according to conventional histories, did not exist...it is a story in which Indians expand, dictate, and prosper, and European colonists resist, retreat, and struggle to survive.”¹⁴ Hamalainen’s argument correlates very closely with Barr’s in the respect that for a very long period of time it was not necessarily the Europeans in charge of their colonies, but that they were in a sense, ruled by the Native Americans. Hamalainen states that it was not these Europeans and their colonists that were reshaping the socioeconomic world around them, but that it was the Native Americans, the most notable being the Comanche. “In the Southwest, European

imperialism not only stalled in the face of indigenous resistance: it was eclipsed by indigenous imperialism.”¹⁵

Hamalainen’s argument goes hand in hand with that of Barr’s because they both are arguing the same point, that it was the Native Americans who dictated the happenings around them, they are just using two different viewpoints to do so. It is Hamalainen’s argument that has a somewhat stronger base, since he is approaching the interactions between the two prominent powers that were in “charge” of the area in question. This gives him the better base for his argument because it allows historians to view the movements and policies of the Comanche in a new way, the way they are used to examining the European powers and their motivations. “The Comanche empire was powered by violence, but, like most viable empires, it was first and foremost an economic construction...”¹⁶ Hamalainen’s sources are able to show that the Comanche had a much more advanced governing body and society that was incredibly flexible, which allowed them to be so ambitious.¹⁷ It is through this that historians are able to see that the Comanche had differing views on the world, but when compared to other European powers on the most basic of levels, they not only compare but exceed what some of them were able to accomplish in their time in the Spanish Texas area. Hamalainen’s argument is not only that the Comanche were a stronger empire than the Spanish, and later the Mexican’s, but also that they were the very active and very visible reason for their failures in the American southwest, an idea that is shared by Brian Delay.

The eventual failure of Spain in the Americas is a combination of many different variables, but one of the most poignant and often overlooked is the impact that the Comanche nation had on Spain’s failure in America. Hamalainen says in his book that it is a good idea to give the Comanche most of the credit in eroding away at the Spanish and then the Mexicans. In his book *War of a Thousand Deserts: Indian Raids and the U.S.-Mexican War*, Brian Delay also makes this argument but goes into more depth concerning the international repercussions that came in the form of the U.S. and Mexico, but he does at least pay a good portion of attention to Native Americans. The main argument that both Hamalainen and Delay have is that the Native Americans, specifically the Comanche, constant raiding and “demands for tribute”¹⁸ are what drove Spain out and caused Mexico to become so weak that it lost Texas, New Mexico and resulted in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.¹⁹ Both authors argue that it was Native American raiding that weakened the socio-economic and militaristic viability of the Spanish colony, the Mexican government, and the Texas Republic: “Indians helped conjure up this transformation. By shattering northern Mexico’s economy, depopulating its countryside, and opening up great wounds in Mexico’s body politic... indigenous peoples were indispensable in the reshaping of the continent.”²⁰ It is here that we can see the Native Americans great success that they had in going up against all Euro-Americans at this point, but it is argued by both authors that this success hinged on both their “enemies” small numbers and weak positions and their ability to continue to maintain large numbers and not succumb to disease.

The other major point that both authors agree on is that while the Native groups in this area may have had free run and long lasting success over the Euro-American

colonist, they had no such luck against the United States. “The native peoples who lived in the territories that the United States and Mexico warred over eventually had their own lives transformed by the outcome of that war.”²¹ It was a drastic change of events for the Comanche who had held out the longest against becoming indebted and engrossed with Euro-American powers. The American inclusion en masse of this area led to the complete ruin, which had been ongoing for some time, and the final migration of many Native peoples. The major contributing factor to the failure of both Spain and Mexico in this area was the Comanche, but the Comanches decline as the dominant power in the area came because the disease that had affected everyone else had finally caught up to them along with their inability to continue to play multiple empires off each other.

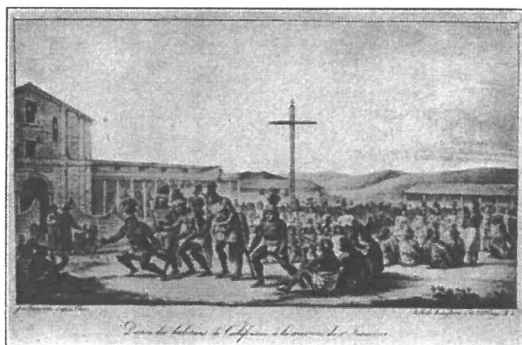
The final migration of the Native Americans in this area was the reservation system that the United States had adopted to deal with the “Indian Problem”. The other Native American groups in the area, in fear and desperation from the Comanche, had turned to and became entangled with Euro-Americans and were already accustomed to giving up land, moving, and not having all the freedoms they used to. Delay says: “Comanches, Navajos, Apaches, and others enjoyed dominion over millions of acres of land before the American invasion would, within a few decades of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, be living in impoverished, bounded lives on political reservations.”²² This was a bitterly fought and unwanted end for the Native Americans who had enjoyed so much freedom in their previous lives. The Comanche were the last to give up, continuing to fight with some success until almost the 20th century.²³

DEVELOPMENT OF THE FRONTIERS/BORDERLANDS— CALIFORNIA AND THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS:

Spain’s struggle in the southwest is something that has been of great interest to many historians for years. The thought that it was just mismanagement on the government’s part has been countered with arguments from historians such as Pekka Hamalainen who argue that they were weakened by the more powerful tribes in the area, most notably the Comanche.²⁴ Another problem that can be seen with the Spanish in the Southwest is that they were used to using a heavy handed religious route that worked for them to some extent in California, but backfired on them most notably with the Pueblo revolt. Having already observed how the Spanish fared in the Southwest it is time to examine

how things came out differently in colonial California and how Native Americans would have to move and migrate to try to even stay alive.

In “Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1760-1850” Steven Hackel studies this affiliation. “This study’s purpose is to explore crucial aspects of Indian-Spanish relations across Alta California.”²⁵ Hackel’s goal for his book



Native Americans at a Spanish Mission
(photo courtesy of britannica.com)

is to draw comparisons to colonial California along with other areas in the Spanish borderlands, such as Spanish New Mexico and Texas. Hackel does a good job of this by examining good primary sources, such as those records produced by the missions he is looking at along with other records kept by Native Americans who lived in the missions or had relatives who did. This is important because it allows us to see the same time and situation from both sides, so historians are not stuck only guessing what the other party said and so Hackel can give a well sourced account of what happened.

Throughout his study we can see that the Spanish are arguing that they were having great success with converting the Native Americans, but Hackel is quick to point out that the biggest push for Native Americans to join the missions was that they were suffering terribly from a drought that was only compounded by the Spanish coming in, and most importantly the addition of deadly disease brought by the Europeans.²⁶ “They saw the growth of agriculture and a pastoral economy as drawing Indians to the missions rather than pushing them there.”²⁷ This is an important moment, because it shows that the Native population had almost no choice but to go to the missions and to accept whatever caveats the missionaries chose to impose. This is significant because it helps to explain why it was that the Spanish were so bound and determined to make the same system work within the rest of their borderlands. While this may be the case with the Spanish, they were not going to be in the North American picture for much longer. They were to be replaced by Mexico and by the forming United States.

The United States had a drastically different approach with how to deal with Native Americans when compared to the French and the Spanish, and was remarkably similar to that of the British. In the book, *The Contested Plains: Indians, Goldseekers, and the Rush to Colorado*, Elliott West explores the strange dichotomy that was the Rocky Mountain region of the Great Plains. In his book, West explores this region’s early history, taking it back to when Native peoples are first presumed to have made it to the North American continent and highlights the European settlers complete lack of interest in the area.²⁸ Although with the eventual on again off again discovery of gold in the region Americans were now suddenly very interested and, in the beginning and for a very limited time, willing to work with Native groups so that they could all live separate and prosperous lives.²⁹ What eventually shifted this stance was, as it always was when it came to the differences between Native Americans and Americans, improvement in travel, i.e. the train, which created a better supply chain. This meant Americans no longer had to be as considerate of their Native neighbors and were thus the new dominant culture in the area. They did this knowing that the main areas in which these new “colonists” were building their own settlements were forcing the Native Americans to change their migration patterns and making them find other suitable places in which to try and survive the winter, which was to become a continual struggle.



*Native Americans watching the construction of James Fort
(photo courtesy of nps.gov)*

The frontier that developed in the Rocky Mountain regions, and specifically in what was to become Colorado, was first established with the creation of the Santa Fe Trail and the Oregon Trail, both of which skirted the boundaries of the Natives in the area. These pioneers needed the Native Americans to be both friendly and hospitable, or if nothing else, just to leave them alone. The sources that West uses are heavily lopsided to those made by the encroaching Americans, who had a predisposition to over exaggerate and out-right lie on many occasions.³⁰ This does not take too much away from West's argument that "The great stampede change the plains at least as much as the mountains, and yet we have kept our gaze on what was rushed *to* rather than what was rushed *over*."³¹ The greatest aspect of West's book is that while examining his plethora of research, he never truly takes one side over the other. He tries to his greatest ability to show both sides of the argument while neither condemning one culture or the other, even when it came to the varied amounts of violence that were to be perpetrated by each.

When comparing Colonial Spanish California to the Colorado Frontiers, it is important to realize that there were contrasting ideologies behind why each Euro American culture was doing what it was doing. Although it is important to remember that economic reasons both played a part in the exploitation of both the land and the Native Americans, it is also important to remember that the Spanish were just as equally interested in the ecclesiastical resources of the native peoples as well. This is an important distinction between the two frontiers because it focuses on the two approaches, the Spanish who wanted the Native population if for nothing else than a quasi-slave labour, and the Americans who eventually moved to a quasi-genocidal policy. This is a fascinating discrepancy between the two, where Spain was "pulling" Native Americans in and the Americans were "pushing" them out. The thing to remember though is that economic benefits are never far from anyone's mind when dealing with the frontiers and borderlands on the North American continent, and have been shown to have been the driving force behind many of the relationships between Native Americans and European and Euro American powers.

EMPIRES, TRADE, AND AMERICAN RESOURCES:

When it comes to considering the relationship between Native Americans and the European Empires that they dealt with, it is vitally important to remember why there was even a dialogue between the two cultures, and that was trade which was used in part to try to legitimize their sovereignty, which was a stronger motivator for the Native Americans than for the Europeans. These relationships became a huge dynamic in the development of the North American continent. It led to the rise and fall of many different Native American groups and it even led to the formation of a new country after being founded by descendents of those Empires which they then forced out. The dichotomy between trade and success in this new world is traced brilliantly by Anne Hyde in her book *Empires, Nations, and Families: A History of the North American West*.

This book is where Hyde examines how traders from different European nations intermingled and intermarried with the Native Americans in order to try and corner the market in their particular area. "These people lived in very different places, but places that were surprisingly interconnected even at the opening of the nineteenth century. And it was fur that linked them."³² Hyde's argument is a very simple one. She argues that fur was the original commodity that was sought by Europeans in North America. In her book she explores how, in order to get this commodity, European traders developed a trans Mississippian association of multi-ethnic families that were able to become huge players within the multiple Nations.

Hyde's argument is a unique one for two reasons. First, she focuses on specific examples of families that developed during this time, and she also highlights their trials and tribulations as their power base eventually eroded in the face of the onslaught that the quickly growing, newly-formed America would present. Secondly, Hyde's interpretation is so different from the others that have looked at how trade did impact the relationship between the European nations and the Native Americans. Two of the more notable writings are Richard White's book *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and the Republic in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* and Alan Taylor's book *The Divided Ground: Indians, Settlers and the Northern Borderland of the American Revolution*. These two books, while groundbreaking in their investigations into the relationships between Europe and Native Americans, are more of a traditional examination of the sources than the out-of-the-box sort of thinking that Hyde was able to do with hers. This is because while Hyde admits, "Much of what I describe is really an updated version of 'great man' history."³³ She spends more of her time investigating the family aspect of what these men made of their lives. The largest overriding theme throughout all these books is the focus on how the economy, and fur trade in particular, was paramount to all the relations between the Native Americans, European powers, and the Americans.

CONCLUSION:

When one begins to examine the motivations and factors that led to the movements and migrations of both Native Americans, Europeans, and Americans in response to, and in spite of, each other, one is struck by how limited the understanding is of that relationship. Looking into this area of Native and Euro American history and relations is important because as Pekka Hamalainen states in his book:

"Outside a cadre of Native and early American specialists, the understanding of Indian-Euro-American relations is still limited but what Vine Deloria, Jr., called 'the 'cameo' theory of history': indigenous peoples make dramatic entrances, stay briefly on the stage, and then fade out as the main saga of European expansion resumes, barely affected by the interruption."³⁴

Too often historians are focused on what has been called “great man” history, if for the only reason that they are the only records available. As my argument above shows, this trend is slowly changing and evolving to include a more diversified understanding of our recent past.

When comparing these books together it is important to remember they are all “great man” histories in a sense, if for no other reason than, as Hyde states, “These families are important, and their papers and letters get saved because the men in them did great things by somebody’s definition.”³⁵ The way in which European powers slowly march their way across the North American continent from coast to coast was fueled by economic relationships and would eventually be overtaken by the newly-formed America to become, somewhat infamously, known as “Manifest Destiny”. All of these books have highlighted the fact that Native Americans tried as hard as they could to survive in the face of an unending onslaught of new cultures, ideas, and diseases. Migration had always been one of their greatest assets but it eventually evolved to become one of their greatest tools to try and survive the calamities that were to befall them, and sometimes this migration even worked to give them great power, if only for a short time. All of the European Empires that came to the new world had one thing on their mind and that was economics and, in the beginning, the means to the end for this desire included the Native Americans.

After a substantial power base was established and decades of continual Native American depopulation, there was no longer as pressing a need to ingratiate themselves with the Native Americans and the mood turned towards one of domination and control. This control eventually led to the Reservation system that forced Native Americans to give up their migratory ways, ways that had been a part of their lives and culture for as long as they could remember, and in other cases their sedentary ways that were in the way of American progress or on fertile ground.

*"You can put it
another way,
of course; you
always can."*

– Julian Barnes

In his 2011 Man Booker Prize winning book, *The Sense of an Ending*, prolific novelist Julian Barnes summed up the methodological core of what makes us historians in this single, eleven-word sentence. Despite the fact that Barnes's work is fiction, a coming-of-age tale, his narrator Tony Webster manages to capture the essence of what makes history an iterative process and an ever-changing field. This is a reality that every historian must grapple with: everything we study, we research, we write—we also interpret. That we

Deconstructing Interpretation:

An Exploration of Historical Methodology and Primary Sources

by Kayla Gabehart

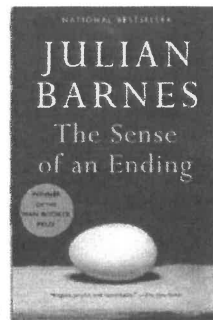
choose to specialize and study anything at all is an interpretation in itself, for what would be the point of committing years to archival research, manuscript writing, copyediting and revising if we did not feel something for that idea that came to, in some ways, consume us? For all the warnings of its dangers, ultimately, interpretation is the beauty of the craft. It motivates us to reduce our consideration of other perspectives in favor of our own. It keeps the field on its toes, as we have exchanged the traditional "Great Man" approach to history for gender, ethnic, cultural, social, scientific, and environmental approaches to history. Recognizing that we all have our own interpretations keeps us honest.

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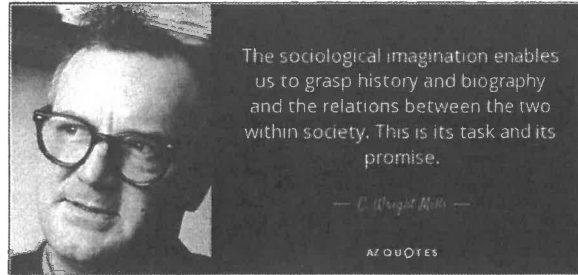
“

This was another of our fears: that Life wouldn't turn out to be like Literature.

”



Julian Barnes The Sense of an Ending
(photo courtesy of Buzzfeed.com)



C. Wright Mills (photo courtesy AZ Quotes.com)

Our work is a product of our interpretations, but it is also a product of the interpretations of others. Sociologist C. Wright Mills calls interpretation “intellectual craftsmanship.” He affirms that “the most admirable thinkers within the scholarly community... do not split their work from their lives.” He encourages aspiring academics to “learn to use your life experiences in your intellectual work: continually to examine and interpret it.”¹ As historians in a number of different professions, whether archivists, researchers, or writers, we do incorporate our work into our lives, perhaps without even noticing. As people, our predispositions to care about one thing and not another lead us to certain topics, subjects, and disciplines. Because of this, the processes by which primary documents become evidence involve many layers of interpretation performed by many different individuals, perhaps many years apart. Primary documents must first be recorded before an individual interprets which are worth saving and which are not. Interpretations by archivists then determine how a collection will be processed, what terms will be highlighted as keywords, and what organizational scheme will orient researchers in the collection; researchers enter the archive equipped with their own biases that will direct them towards particular key words and documents; and finally, writers lay out their own interpretations via their style and conventions.

THE BIAS OF THE “CRAFTSMAN”

Recorder of Information

The first level of interpretation is far removed from any control of academic historians, that of the recorder of information. Some individuals are simply predisposed to keep personal records in one form or another. Martha Ballard kept meticulous record of the day-to-day events of her eighteenth-century midwifery. Thomas Jefferson recorded each of his debts in a pocket-sized notebook, though he died insolvent and left many of them unsettled. Conversely, Sojourner Truth was illiterate, and our best sources regarding her abolitionism come from transcriptions of her speeches, versions of which conflict with one another. La Malinche, an indigenous slave woman believed to have served as a translator for Hernán Cortés, is known only



Martha Ballard Midwife
(photo courtesy traditionalmidwife.org)

through centuries-old visual depictions of her alleged betrayal of the native people of Mexico.² Thus, we know Ballard and Jefferson through their words. Truth and Malinche exist primarily through the accounts of their contemporaries. Moreover, as historian John H. Arnold points out, we tend to “misread, misremember, misinterpret, or misunderstand.”³

Other actors we know only through the minutiae that remain of meeting minutes, decisions of boards of directors, or other official documents; or through newspaper clippings, the words of friends, or perhaps of constituents. I, for example, know Richard Pough, the first president of the Nature Conservancy, one of the wealthiest environmental non-profits in the world, only through what he chose to save in his personal papers, now held by the Western History and Genealogy Archives at Denver Public Library. For me, Pough is the sum of what he saved, of his highlights, penciled in notes, circles on meeting minutes, and of his occasional comments recorded by the Conservancy’s secretary.⁴ I know nothing of his life outside of his environmental protection legacy and, surely, he was more than that. Benjamin Stapleton, mayor of Denver for five terms and member



Mayor Benjamin Stapleton
(photo courtesy Denver Public Library)

#1128 on the role of Denver’s Ku Klux Klan, also left his collection of papers behind for exploration at the Denver Public Library. They, however, tell us little, as they include only official documents from his tenure as mayor. What I know of Ben Stapleton is what is recorded in the *Denver Post* and *The Rocky Mountain News*. In the 1920s, he was at the very least colluding with racists, if not one himself. By 1944, Denver City Council voted to rename Denver Municipal Airport in his honor, and journalists largely do not mention his ties to the Klan

again until the early 2000s.⁵ In Stapleton’s case, I know him as much from what was not written about him as what was. We can corroborate evidence, but we cannot know for certain whether or not these accounts that remain are representative of who these people really were. I would say in most cases they probably are not. I certainly hope future historians do not interpret me by the substance of my tweets, but I have not chosen to keep any other substantial records of my day-to-day existence. We are what we are, but we will eventually become only what we leave behind, that is, if anyone preserves it. Any other traces, such as our unrecorded effects on other people or places, are unrecoverable regarding building narratives.

Preserver of Information

Records, however, are inherently worthless unless they are kept, and thus preservationists of information add another layer of interpretation. Whether or not primary sources are saved at all is an interpretation in itself, for the choice of the preservationist to retain a collection is an assessment of its value. From there, the pieces that are saved also reflect the biases of preservationists. Until the post-World War II era, such biases assured that, in the words of philosopher Thomas Carlyle, history was “nothing but the biography of the Great Man,” the politicians, military heroes, and businessmen—the powerful, upper-class white men.⁶ The extensive archival collections,

libraries, and a plethora of biographies dedicated to presidents attest to that. With the cultural turn in the humanities and social sciences in the 1970s, many historians began paying attention to the societal and cultural dynamics in history, thus studying previously underrepresented groups and perspectives. Nonetheless, historically, less importance was attached to the sources produced by such groups, and less is available to mine in many instances. We, as historians, are biased products of our environments, and these environmental factors influence the paths we take in our studies; so too were the preservationists of various collections of information products of theirs, and it certainly influenced the documents that they deemed worthy of saving.

Worth is subjective. Arnold points out “if the past came without gaps and problems, there would be no task for the historian to complete.”⁷ Historians David E. Kyvig and Myron A. Marty demonstrate such a gap in that “usually fewer than 5 percent of a business or government agency’s files are deemed worth saving.”⁸ My experiences have proven this to be both true and untrue. In my first semester as a graduate student, my research required a hunt for meeting minutes of the Advertising Club of Denver from the 1890s up through the 1910s. I needed rhetoric describing their motivations for professionalizing the advertising industry in Denver and for attacking patent medicines, products that were prominent among early advertisers. My search first took me to the Colorado State Archives at History Colorado’s Stephen H. Hart Library. What I did not find were meeting minutes. Instead, the collection consisted of a scrapbook of flyers promoting the Ad Club’s weekly meetings.⁹ They sometimes included cartoons and pithy slogans, but they were not my smoking gun. The Advertising Club of Denver happened to have a sister collection at the Denver Public Library, and I was sure the meeting minutes must have ended up there. Again, I was mistaken. Minutes were scant, though the collection included a history of the organization and a number of printed promotional materials.¹⁰ The minutes simply were not saved, at least not in a comprehensive way. The priorities of the preservationist, in this case, seemed to be increasingly professional-looking graphic materials, not a record of day-to-day activities. My historical question required revising, and further research led me to two more archives and many more collections. My argument was much different than what I started with, though perhaps more interesting and nuanced, but I had to work with what was saved and that was not meeting minutes.

Conversely, my more recent research has taken me on a hunt through the collections of the Nature Conservancy, both the papers of Richard Pough and the only partially processed, much larger collection named for the agency. Pough’s collection is full of meeting minutes, financial records, and internal memos. The Nature Conservancy collection, the surface of which I have barely scratched, is much the same. While my questions required such evidence, based on my previous experience, I was not prepared for *so much* of it. Unlike my project on the Denver Advertising Club, which required a synthesis of limited information in several collections, my Nature Conservancy project required significant paring down of the enormous amount of applicable information in this single collection. I cannot say why the motivations of the preservationists of these two bodies of material differed so markedly. Perhaps the preservationist of the Ad Club was focused on evolving graphic design by experiences in an America that was pushing

towards professionalization for many occupations. Perhaps the preservationist of the Nature Conservancy recognized that the meteoric financial rise of the organization was worth documenting, as its total assets grew by fifty-five times in less than two decades as they set their sights on international expansion. Whatever the reasons, individual proclivities and professional niches dictated the preservation of very different information.

Archivist

What preservationists collect and save, archivists are then tasked with organizing. While an archivist's bias might be less explicitly expressed, it results in an additional layer of interpretation nonetheless. Whereas academic historians present their interpretations in articles, manuscripts, and books, archivists lay out interpretations in finding aids, suggestions for further research, and exchanges regarding the content of collections. Collections arrive at the archives unprocessed, leaving organization up to archivists and the methodology of their craft. The logical organization of the materials may be obvious, particularly if collections are small. A collection that takes up several linear feet, however, may not be so straightforward regarding organization, leaving archivists with a daunting task in which the information and key words that end up in the finding aid are up to their interpretation. This leaves researchers with a finding aid that, while helpful, cannot adequately illuminate the material in a collection. For example, the finding aid for the Colorado Women's Christian Temperance Union, a collection housed at the Norlin



Denver Women's Christian Temperance Union
(photo courtesy Denver Public Library)

Library at the University of Colorado Boulder includes a non-digitized finding aid that lacks organization and key words. Perhaps the archivist in this particular situation wanted to keep the finding aid concise, due to the size of the collection. Maybe adequate key words could simply not be decided upon due to the vast number of topics addressed by the WCTU. Nonetheless, when I filled out the form to request the sections of the collection pertinent to my research, I did so incorrectly as I was unable to follow the outline of the finding aid. Though I found the information I wanted, about the WCTU's opposition to patent medicines at the turn of

the century, I had to synthesize the information from a decade and a half of programs from annual conferences.¹¹ The Richard H. Pough collection, on the other hand, is digitized and highly organized. I needed financial records from the organization, and from the finding aid I knew that I could find them in box two, files folders five through eight.¹² Even the Nature Conservancy collection, which is only partially processed, has a relatively helpful and detailed finding aid. Some of my upcoming research involves the Nature Conservancy's perceptions of the environment. Box five is a compilation of publications by and about the organization, two of which are titled, *The Relationship of Man and Nature* and *Saving America's Wilderness*.¹³ The language of the titles alone tells me they are a good place to start. Such a helpful finding aid might reflect the experience of this archivist in terms of organizing business-type archives, or maybe we simply have the same interpretations regarding what is important in environmental history.

Where the finding aid comes up short, archivists often know the answers. In many cases, however, archivists' knowledge remains untapped unless the researchers ask the questions they struggle to answer. Just as academic historians have their specialties and biases regarding what should be done with a particular collection, so too do archivists. During my time researching my advertising project at the Denver Public Library, I was often in the company of another historian. What her research was about or what archive she was mining I do not recall. I do remember the archivist in the reading room remarking on what she wished some historian would do with the collection. She had processed it and seemed to have a soft spot for it, and thus her own bias. On another occasion during a visit to Norlin Library, an archivist mentioned to me that he knew of a collection of a Colorado man who helped pioneer automobile safety regulations and the seatbelt. When I mentioned I was a graduate student, he suggested I consider it for my thesis, as to his knowledge, it was untouched by researchers, but unfortunately so, as it was a "gold mine." My predispositions have led me to environmental history, not a history of safety or regulation. Thus, an untapped gold mine it might very well remain.

However, during the year I researched Benjamin Stapleton, I exhausted every resource I could think of at the Denver Public Library to discover how the general public talked of him leading up to and following the renaming of the airport in his honor. I looked through every file folder of the collections of every mayor since Stapleton, I searched every combination of applicable keywords I could think of, and I exhausted decades worth of microfilm. There was nothing connecting Stapleton to the Klan after the airport bore his name. In articles about the Klan after the late 1930s, Stapleton's story was simply omitted. It was a gap that I could not fill. It seemed like there should be opposition to this controversial man, and the absence of it did not make sense to me. So I asked an archivist if there was any opposition to the airport's name change. He responded without hesitation, "No, and there wouldn't be. Stapleton was a hero. He was 'Ben the Builder.'" Three other archivists had not known where to find the answer to my question because what I searched for over the course of months was not there. It just took a particular archivist, whose own interests had led him to a special knowledge about the former mayor, to give me my missing link. All I had to do was ask. Those three sentences became the backbone of my article, thanks to the specialty of a particular archivist.

Writer

All of these layers of interpretation may culminate in a final, written product, though writers will filter all that they have found in the archives and on rolls of microfilm through colored glasses. However, as Arnold claims, "historians *attempt* to get it 'right'. We try to stick to what we think the evidence says, to search out all the available material, to understand fully what is happening, and we never fabricate 'the facts.'"¹⁴ Even so, we are who we are, and our predispositions and interpretations creep in all the same. Mills acknowledges this truth as a necessary facet of the sociological imagination. Referring to his own work, he wrote, "the idea and the plan came out of my files"; an idea that ended up in his file in the first place by virtue of his interests and passions. However, once it emerged from his files, "the whole set of problems involved came to dominate me.... At any rate I try to surround myself with all of the relevant environment—social

and intellectual—that I think might lead me into thinking well along the lines of my work.”¹⁵ Whether sociologist or historian, I think this remains true. Historians do not spend decades writing books about things they do not care about.

In my work, I have been exploring the intersections between neoliberalism, American identity, and environmentalism, and I have sought out the intersections between these three things. That work brought me to the Richard Pough and Nature Conservancy collections at the Denver Public Library. Within the collection I poured over financial statements to assess the rapid increase of assets the organization accrued in less than two decades. To pursue those particular documents was a choice, the result of my predispositions, and I inevitably ignored a number of other documents that did not suit my needs. My research on the environment and America’s frontier identity has also biased the way in which I look at language. I am particularly aware when a document characterizes the physical world as a “wilderness” or as “veritable” and “untouched,” but that is because I am programmed to look for it. Other historians of other specialties surely have their own predispositions to certain words and phrases. While I think it would be impossible to completely strip ourselves of these predispositions, to analyze primary sources without context, it would be an interpretation all the same, not a study free of subjectivity. Regardless, we do not necessarily enter archives with foregone conclusions about what we want to argue, and hopefully we let the sources guide us, but our passions certainly guide us down certain paths. We are what we care about and so too is our writing.

However, regardless of our predispositions regarding what we choose to study, the evidence that writers ultimately utilize in their narratives, articles, and books represents just a fraction of their research. I have files on my computer full of hundreds and hundreds of photographs of manuscripts, the majority of which have gone and will probably continue to go unused. I have physical folders brimming with accompanying notes. I often lament the stacks of primary source material that I will not use. However, regardless of the project, we simply cannot use everything we find. We have to prioritize sources in terms of importance, which is somewhat subjective, and pare down our original research into the bits that best support our thesis. That does not mean compromising the integrity of the sources, but it may mean that the body of evidence upon which a social history is built differs from that of an environmental history. The evidence that is sitting in my picture files unutilized might bolster another historian’s study.

Conclusions

As historians, we can only make contributions, and those contributions are inevitably built of layers of interpretation constructed by many “craftsmen,” perhaps over large spans of time. There is always more to be said, more to be found, and more to do. Our bias, or our interpretation rather, orients us as academics and no one is without it. We cannot possibly sift through all evidence that exists on a particular topic, and hence we rely on “craftsmen” with other interpretations and specialties. The discussion that results ultimately defines the discipline. Arnold affirms this: “history is ‘true’ in that it must agree with the evidence, the facts that it calls upon. [A]t the same time, it is a ‘story,’ in that it is an *interpretation*, placing those ‘facts’ within a wider context or narrative. History is about making sense of that mess.”¹⁶ And make sense of it we will.

Beer is important. According to the Oregon Culinary Institute, beer has previously been used as barter, aided in the fight for women's equality, and had a major hand in the founding of the United States.¹ Whether or not any of that is historically accurate, beer is important. Historic preservation is also important. Not only is historic preservation cost effective and environment-conscious, it aids in the celebration of culture surrounding historic buildings.² In the case of the iconic Tivoli-Union Brewing Company, beer and historic preservation come together to illustrate the importance of culture and historic integrity. For a town that is known for its craft beer and

The Tivoli: A Historic Preservation Marvel

by Emma Lane

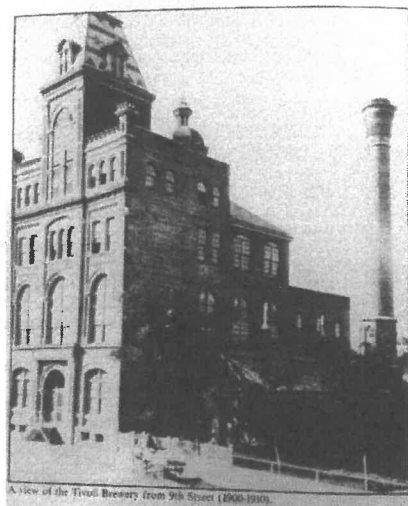
historic buildings, Denver and the Tivoli together create a great story of the growth of cities and the trends of the beer scene. The history of the Tivoli-Union Brewing Company and its magnificent building stretches from 1864 to the present day, in both celebrating the history of Tivoli beer, and the history of the Tivoli Student Union as it is called now.

Emma Lane is a current graduate student at the University of Colorado Denver. She is in her second semester studying Public History. Before moving to Colorado, Emma studied History at San Diego State University in California. She is interested in Historic Preservation and American History. Eventually, Emma would like to work on preserving residential neighborhoods and maybe even breweries.

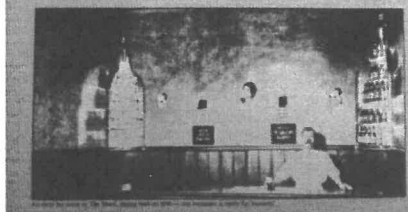
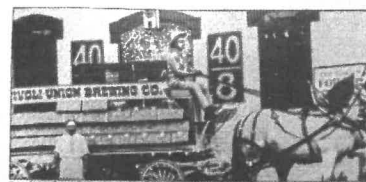
The Tivoli-Union Brewing Company did not come about until 1901, but beer has been brewed on the present site of the Tivoli student union since 1864.³ There are many different accounts on the beginnings of beer in Auraria and Denver Cities, but the most common goes as follows. John Good came to Colorado along with thousands miners in 1859, after gold was found. He started the Rocky Mountain Brewing Company in 1859 and served beer to the miners after their long days in the mines. Sigi's Brewery, also located in Auraria City, was started by Moritz Sigi in 1864.⁴ Sigi's Brewery was renamed the Colorado Brewery, and when Sigi died in 1875, the new owner, Max Melsheimer renamed it the Milwaukee Brewery. Under Max Melsheimer's ownership, the Turnhalle Opera was opened, the iconic brewery tower was built, and the Milwaukee Brewery continued to grow. Melsheimer was also partly responsible for the growth of the Turnverein in Denver. Turnverein was an international German club that advocated German culture such as song, dance, opera and gymnastics. Such clubs were popular around the turn of the century throughout the United States where large populations of Germans resided. These teutons also played a major role in promoting the public school physical education plan in the United States.⁵

While the new Turner Hall was being built, the Turners met in Sigi's Hall, which was Melsheimer's old brewery. When the new building was finished in Auraria, the West Denver Turnverein met in what is now the Tivoli for quite some time in the late 19th century.⁶ In 1900, Melsheimer became bankrupt and sold his brewery to John Good. The Milwaukee Brewery was renamed the Tivoli Brewery after Good's favorite place in Copenhagen, Denmark, the Tivoli Gardens, one of the first and largest amusement parks in the world. In 1901, Good merged the Union Brewery and the Tivoli into what became known as the Tivoli-Union Brewing Company.⁷

The Tivoli-Union continued to thrive under the Good name until 1965, when the last of the Goods passed. John Good died in 1918, when the business was taken over by his son, John E. Good. Just a few years into his reign as president of the company John E. Good experienced the biggest test of all: Prohibition. John E. survived Prohibition by making "near beers."⁸ These near beers contained less than a quarter of a percent alcohol; most of



An early view of the Tivoli Brewery from the turn of the century, when the original red brick of the building was still an eminent image of Auraria. (photo courtesy Auraria Archives)



*Image 1—One of the Tivoli wagons starting their daily delivery of beer throughout Denver.
Image 2—A plaque that still sits in the Tivoli, celebrating the oldest brewery in Colorado.
Image 3—Early picture of the Tivoli Brewery bar, from around 1890. (photo courtesy Auraria Archives)*

which was removed by using a vacuum process. The several near beers that the Goods developed and sold kept the Tivoli-Union Brewery Company afloat during Prohibition.⁹ After the dry spell, John E. Good married a lady from New York by the name of Mabel "Lorraine" Croffut. Shortly after their marriage, John E. Good died. In 1931, Lorraine took control of the company, and appointed William Burghardt, who was one of John Good's partners, to manage the brewery. Over the years that Lorraine had control of the Tivoli-Union Brewing Co., the company had at least five different brewmasters, and Lorraine had at least two more husbands. At the time of her death in 1964, Ms. Croffut-Good-Kent-Vichey¹⁰ ended the long Good family reign. After almost 100 years of Good family control, the Tivoli-Union Brewing Company was sold to two brothers from Pueblo, the Occhiatos.¹¹ These brothers had a tough time with nature; in 1965, the South Platte River flooded and drowned Auraria in an estimated 20 feet of water in some places, and filled the Tivoli basement with 9 feet of water.¹² The flood of 1965 was a state-wide phenomena but the Tivoli was damaged pretty badly. The damages were estimated at \$135,000, which the Occhiato brothers recovered from slowly. As the brewery was getting back on track, in September of 1966, the Tivoli-Union Brewery workers went on strike. The strike lasted over a month, and the brothers could not come back from the loss they had sustained. At the time of the flood, the Tivoli-Union claimed to be the second oldest continuously operating brewery in the country.¹³ Even with all its historical significance, in 1969, the Tivoli-Union Brewing Company closed its doors for the first time in 105 years.¹⁴

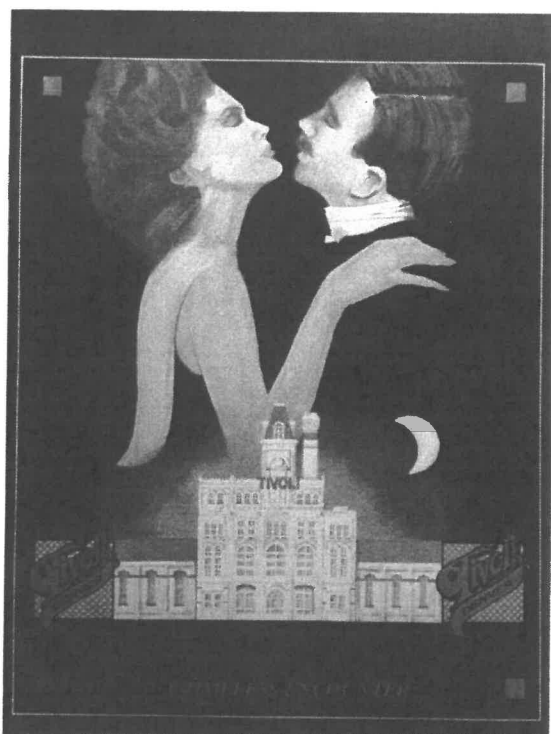
During the years after the Tivoli's closure, the Denver Urban Renewal Authority (DURA) had an eye on Auraria, in the hopes of tearing down its lower class neighborhood and the industrial plants that shared the area. In DURA's own history of their urban renewal in Denver, the Auraria campus was mentioned as a great addition to downtown Denver, with its creation of the Historic 9th Street Park and the preservation of St. Cajetan's Church, but the Tivoli building was not mentioned once.¹⁵ Some sources state that once DURA got its hands on the Auraria neighborhood, the Tivoli was destined for demolition,¹⁶ while others mention that DURA's primary intention for the Tivoli building was to transfer its ownership to the Auraria Higher Education Center (AHEC), which was being built at the time.¹⁷ Everything except the Tivoli, Emmanuel Synagogue-Sherith, St. Cajetan's Church, and St. Elizabeth's Church was demolished to make way for the Auraria Campus, hosting Community College of Denver, Metropolitan State University of Denver and University of Colorado Denver. All four buildings were saved from the wrecking ball and landmarked. They all are still in use on the Auraria Campus today. In 1972, when it was placed on the National Register of Historic Places, the Tivoli was transferred to AHEC in hopes of creating a new purpose for the building.¹⁸ Its historic status did not help to reopen the Tivoli's doors though, and the building continued to sit empty, only occupied by vagrants, pigeons and rodents.¹⁹ The condition of the building was in worsening shape and badly needed a renovation. The plans for the Tivoli revival were approved by the Denver Landmark Preservation Commission and the Auraria Higher Education Center, which took bids from private companies to restore and recreate the Tivoli as a brand new state-of-the-art shopping center.

The students of the new Auraria campus were actually against the Tivoli becoming a shopping center, and there was a special meeting of students to discuss it. On May 9, 1974, Jay Muzychenco began the discussion at the special meeting about the Tivoli. He claimed that he was appalled the school would allow retailers to rent out the space on their campus. He argued that there would be governance problems and that the center would not benefit students, as it was originally planned.²⁰ Other students at the meeting mentioned that it would not be economically better for the students and student organizations to rent space in the Tivoli, because that money could be going toward paying for a student union of their own.²¹ Though the students took their needs into account, they did not mention anything about the deteriorating nature of the Tivoli and did not seem to have a suggestion for what to do with the Tivoli if the shopping mall was not put into place.²² Nevertheless, in 1975, Henry Beer and Richard Foy began their plans for a newly designed Tivoli.

In the mid to late 1970s, much of Denver was being redesigned. The Tabor Center was being planned and executed at the same time as the proposed Tivoli shopping center was being considered for the Auraria Campus.²³ The Denver Center for the Performing Arts was also being constructed and the Cherry Creek Greenway was being installed. Each of these projects helped the renewal of Denver, and fulfilled DURA's plans for the city. The Tivoli fit into this plan with its proposed 60 shops, 132,000 square feet of leasable space and movie theaters.²⁴ Beer and Foy's design incorporated three major historic buildings that were close together and connected the three by a skylight. They also planned to restore the 1882 Turnhalle Opera House back into an operating theater and events center. The state determined that the renovations were too expensive to take on, so the state looked to a private group to take on the task.²⁵

The Associates for the Redevelopment of the Tivoli (ART) came up with a feasible plan for the redesign, but just as the redesigned Tivoli Center seemed to be within reach, DURA sued ART claiming that their proposal was too commercial and not student-oriented enough.²⁶ The disputes between ART and DURA caused a pause in the plans for the Tivoli. While this quarrel was taking place, the Tivoli continued to rot away, being empty for so many years. Because of a recent flood, a main beam in the Turnhalle Opera House fell and created a structural hazard for the building.²⁷ It was not until 1980 that new redesign plans for the deteriorating building were put into place. In 1980, a Canadian Company, Trizec Co., signed a 62 year lease with the Auraria Campus and started their redesign of the Tivoli.²⁸

Many different fundraisers were planned and executed in the name of the Tivoli. The main money-making event held was a black tie gala in 1984. This gala hosted a silent auction and a pricey ticket all for the cause of Tivoli renovations. The night consisted of dinner and dancing, which was the Tivoli's first black tie event since the renovations had started. Governor Richard Lamm and Mayor Federico Peña were honorary co-chairmen at the event, and both expressed their excitement for the prospect of a "new-old Tivoli."²⁹ Just over a year after their gala, the \$27 million Tivoli center reopened its doors to the public for the first time in over 10 years. The opening was a huge happening in Denver, with at least ten different articles written about the opening



*An invitation from a black-tie fundraiser in 1984, the first event held at the Tivoli since it closed its doors in 1965.
(photo courtesy Auraria Archives)*



*One of the first pictures of the Tivoli after it was stripped of its white paint to reveal the original red brick.
(photo courtesy Auraria Archives)*

within a few days of its opening. Papers claimed that the balance of commercial and academic was a blend that was unique to the Auraria Campus.³⁰ The new Tivoli included most shops that were talked about and updated structural support that strengthened the building's frame. The restaurants that rented space in the Tivoli served beer, but they did not highlight the fact that the Tivoli was once a successful brewery. The shopping and entertainment center did relatively well for the first few years, but because of the market crash of the mid 1980's and the inconvenience of the center being in the middle of a college campus, business dwindled in the next few years.³¹ By 1990, only 55% of space was leased, and Auraria started looking for options to help fill the space, and expand its academic capacity. The campus then came up with the idea to buy the lease from Hahn, Inc. who operated the complex for Trizec. AHEC proposed a bond measure to raise the student fee by \$3 in order to buy the lease back from Hahn, Inc. and turn the Tivoli into the student union.³² The proposed measure included the purchase of the lease and renovations that would make the Tivoli more easily accessible for student services. Students on the Auraria campus today are still paying this \$3 fee for the lease and renovations of the Tivoli. The bond also

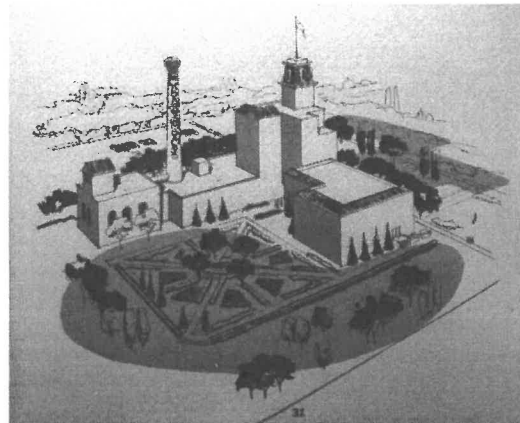
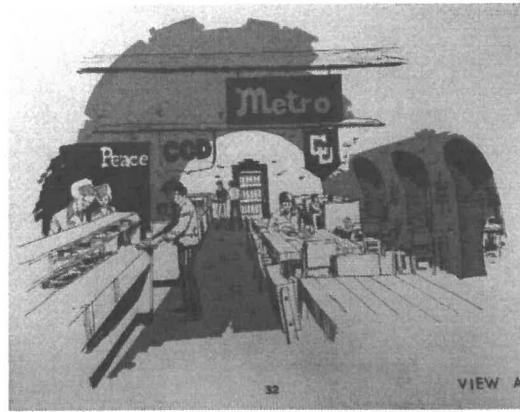
mentioned that there would still be a good number of retail businesses in order to keep the student fees low.³³ In April 1991, the student bond measure passed with an 85% majority and the space in the Tivoli returned to the Auraria Campus.

AHEC's 1992 proposal for the Tivoli did not change the configuration of the building much, but offered much more in the way of student services. Their design not only brought in academic assistance like disability and military services, but also brought in the book store, a pool hall and arcade. AHEC's goal for the student union was to bring together the students on campus in their out-of-class-time. AHEC put a lot of effort

into designing a convenient and easy place for students to engage in their daily lives primarily because the campus was then a 100% commuter campus, which means that students do not spend as much time at school. The school's plan for the Tivoli also included a new interior design, highlighting its historical value.³⁴ After a two year renovation, the new Tivoli Student Union opened to students in October of 1994. The student union boasted a movie theater and retail shops such as a vintage clothing store,³⁵ and was at a 95% occupancy.³⁶

Another historic feature of the new Tivoli was the conference rooms that replaced restaurants in the shopping center.³⁷ Students and faculty could enjoy the upscale nature of the rooms without having to rent out a whole restaurant. Sigi's Game Room and Cabaret proved to be one of the more popular spots in the updated Tivoli. Named after Moritz Sigi who operated the first brewery on the site. Sigi's offered pool tables, dart boards and arcade games for students and non-students alike.³⁸ Sigi's served beer as did the ruckus Boiler Room, another popular restaurant in the Tivoli, but it did not capitalize on the fact that the Tivoli was once a brewery with many wonderful beers. Neither did any of the fast food operations in the basement food court. Students and faculty had a more positive view on the opening of the student union which stayed much busier than the shopping center ever had. In the following years, not much changed in the Tivoli. Businesses came and went, but nothing major happened until 2003 when yet another renovation came to the table.

The next major renovation of the Tivoli happened from 2003 to 2005. History Colorado's State Historical Fund supported this \$10 million restoration



Early plans for the Tivoli renovation, including a groovy cafe, large copper brew kettles used as conversation pits, and far-out signage throughout. (photo courtesy Auraria Archives)



"The Tivoli Revitalization Project Begins." *Auraria Update*, Fall 2003. (photo courtesy Auraria Archives)

to revitalize the deteriorating landmark. SlaterPaull, a leading Colorado architectural firm specializing in historic preservation, made this a model project. They improved the integrity of the building, preserving its history and allowing it to last even longer. Some of the improvements done to the building were replacing the roof, upgrading exterior lighting, replacing exterior windows and the complete restoration of the facade of the building, stripping the white and blue paint that had coated the red brick for so long.⁴⁰ Though it was a immense change for the people of Denver, so used to seeing the white and blue structure, the change has impacted the building in a positive way. This 2003 revitalization was the first in all of the renovations to return the Tivoli to its historic appearance. Nothing major has been done since then, except for small improvements here and there. In 2012, the Tivoli decided to start brewing original Tivoli-Union Brewing Company beers once again.⁴¹ Some of the beer that they serve now in the Tivoli use the same recipes as the beer that was originally brewed in the same building over 100 years ago. Corey Marshall, a fifth generation German-American, and his Tivoli Brewing Company, opened a beer hall and outside beer garden next to the Turnhalle in 2015. This operation fronts the Tivoli Plaza, the largest open space on campus. The recent years of Tivoli history has not only brought the structure full-circle, but has also brought the use of the building full-circle as well.

The history of the brewery really follows the path of urban history in large cities. As cities were growing, the brewery grew. As urban renewal was becoming more popular in urban slums, the Auraria campus was built, and the brewery turned into a marvel for urban renewal as a shopping center, and as historic preservation has become more accepted, the brewery has returned to its original practice. From being slated for demolition to being almost completely unsalvageable, the Tivoli has defied all odds, saved from Denver Urban Renewal Authority's wrecking ball by the Denver Landmark Preservation Commission's designation. Even if historic integrity has not always been a priority for the groups involved with the Tivoli, their efforts to use the building for their own purposes has actually helped in saving it. Preserving the Tivoli has been important because it highlights two major Denver attractions: historic buildings and locally brewed beer. The Tivoli not only serves as a landmark to many Denver natives, but it also serves as a meeting place for the more than 40,000 students on the Auraria campus, the largest in Colorado. By celebrating the Tivoli and its long history, we celebrate the wonderful combination of historic preservation *and* beer.

Notes

OCCUPATION BABIES COME OF AGE

Japanese War Brides and their Children Post-World War II A Gender History

Marie von Haas

- 1 Elena Tajima Creef. "Discovering My Mother as the Other in the Saturday Evening Post." *Qualitative Inquiry* (Sage Publications, Inc.) Volume 6, Number 4 (2000): 450. Creef's mother was "innocently posed by a less than innocent American photographer in a Red Cross cooking class." Her mother was not interviewed and her name was spelled incorrectly in the article of the 19 January 1952 edition of *The Saturday Evening Post*, Smith and Worden, pp. 26-27, 79-81. Her mother was not aware that an article was published until thirty years later.
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- 3 Joanne Meyerowitz. "A History of 'Gender'." *The American Historical Review*. Vol. 113, No. 5 (Dec. 2008), 1347.
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- 5 Naoko Shibusawa. *America's Geisha Ally: Reimagining the Japanese Enemy*. (Cambridge, MA: Presidio Press, 1988), 3.
- 6 Shibusawa. *America's Geisha Ally*.
- 7 Shibusawa. *America's Geisha Ally*.
- 8 Shibusawa. *America's Geisha Ally*, 54-55.
- 9 Shibusawa. *America's Geisha Ally*, 57.
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- 12 Darrell Berrigan. "Japan's Occupation Babies." *The Saturday Evening Post*, June 19, 1948.
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- 19 Creef. "Discovering My Mother," 452.
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- 21 Author's personal documents about George Sakato and also photos of George and Kay.
- 22 Glenn. *Issei, Nisei, Warbride*, xi.
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- Japan Imperial Decoration* (11 02, 2012 Denver Sister Cities.org).
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Historic Preservation in America:

A Brief Overview

Gregory Brill

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