CULTURAL MOVEMENTS AND COLLECTIVE MEMORY

Christopher Columbus and the Rewriting of the National Origin Myth

Timothy Kubal

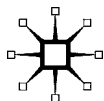# Cultural Movements and Collective Memory

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CONTENTS

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List of Figures

List of Tables

FOREWORD

Most of us first encounter holidays as children, within the protected context of family, school, or organized religion. Initially, we learn to recognize holidays because they break the everyday routine; adults may be off work, there may be special foods, decorations, music, or celebrations. As children age, the contours of the ritual calendar become clearer; we learn that Halloween precedes Thanksgiving, and so on. Schooling fosters new meanings, so that Thanksgiving comes to be understood as related to the history of Pilgrims and New England's natives. Probably most children—or at least most middle-class, American children—first learn to see holidays as harmonious occasions characterized by particular customs or values.

However, as we mature, the contentious nature of holidays becomes more apparent. Most recently, Christmas has been a subject for acrimonious debate, with critics arguing that the ambiguous sentiments "season's greetings" or "happy holidays" represent a "war on Christmas."[1] Often, there is an assumption that things have only recently changed, that the holiday customs we learned as children are centuries old, and that today's developments threaten to tarnish a sacred tradition. But this only means we have forgotten the complexities of holidays' histories. For example, most of us are unaware that the first American campaign against Christmas was fought by reformers trying to control the drunken, disorderly young men who marked the holiday in what they considered the traditional way—by carousing through the streets.[2]

In fact, many holidays have contentious histories. The American ritual calendar has been shaped by the claims of aspiring groups—often newly organized immigrants—demanding their own "days." Thus, Irish immigrants celebrated St. Patrick's Day and Italian Americans celebrated Columbus Day, while Labor Day honored workers. The process continues: Martin Luther King Day (African Americans) is a legal holiday; while Cinco de Mayo (Mexicans) has gained widespread visibility; and even Gay Pride Day gets mainstream media coverage. Publicly celebrating a holiday—and having those celebrations acknowledged by the larger society—is a way of claiming an important place within America.

Often, the story ends there. Each March, cities with large Irish American populations host St. Patrick's Day parades, some people wear green or perhaps exchange cards or even gifts and that's about it. But, as Timothy Kubal points out in this book about Columbus and Columbus Day, there is always the potential for new, contrary meanings to emerge, for what was once a matter of consensus to become an issue of conflict.

Columbus Day—and the story of Columbus's first voyage—has next to nothing to do with Christopher Columbus, of course. Rather, the moment of Columbus's arrival is understood to mark the beginning of a new era, in which Europeans began to reshape the Western Hemisphere. Certainly others had arrived earlier but, following Columbus, knowledge of a new world across the ocean became widespread, and Europeans began to systematically investigate and exploit its possibilities.

It is possible to read various meanings into the Columbus story, and Kubal explores many of the interpretations commentators have offered. For some, Columbus was important for what he was—religious, Catholic, Italian, intrepid, and so on. For others, what was important was what Columbus was not; in the new republic, for instance, some Americans were pleased to note that he was not English (thereby diminishing the strength of England's claims on North America).

More recently, of course, critics have argued that Columbus was no hero, that he should be understood as a villain, the vehicle by which disease, slavery, and oppression arrived in the Western Hemisphere. The city of Denver, in particular, has been marked by conflicts between Italian Americans seeking to hold a Columbus Day march, and Native Americans arguing that Columbus Day celebrates genocide.

There is a tendency to find these conflicts worrisome. If we imagine that holidays and collective memory serve as a sort of cultural glue that fosters social solidarity, then shouldn't we worry when people start to forget—or fight about—how the past should be commemorated? And there is another troubling trend: increasingly, the sacred meanings of holidays seem to be diminished; they are important largely as secular, prolonged weekends. In our nostalgic imagination, Americans once gathered in the town square on the Fourth of July to hear patriotic speeches; today, Independence Day is just one more day of rest, distinguished largely by the opportunity to watch fireworks. Such secular holidays are viewed in secular terms; opponents of proposals to establish new holidays downplay the sacred meanings and emphasize secular costs—the productivity that will be lost if workers are given yet another day off.

But social meaning is always a work in progress. History consists of what we remember; inevitably, most of what happened is forgotten—a process me might call collective amnesia. This is not necessarily a bad thing. One might argue that the places in the world long characterized by intractable conflicts—Ireland, the Balkans, the Middle East, and so on—suffer from too many, conflicting collective memories, and that American's facility at forgetting works to their advantage. Still, history need not be simplistic; we ought to make an effort to understand that events have both multiple causes and multiple consequences. Understanding this complexity can produce a more nuanced understanding of the past—and the present it produced. The story of the many meanings Columbus and Columbus Day have had for Americans illustrates this process.

<div style="text-align: right">JOEL BEST</div>

PREFACE

Memory is pliant to power. What a popular perception. Everyone seems to know that powerful people can rewrite the past. When can the powerless rewrite the past?

When I began this project, I did not think I would be answering this question.

This book was sparked by moments of curiosity and confusion. I didn't get it. In 1992, some of the members of my local environmental movement began networking with American Indian groups to protest the Columbus Day holiday. What was going on?

I had only known Columbus Day as a day off work and as an excuse for all sorts of silly sales in retail stores. I was surprised to see the political excitement about mobilizing on this day. "Movements don't mobilize on holidays," I told myself. "Why mobilize on Columbus Day," I wondered. Those moments in 1992 never left me. In early 1997, I began formally studying mobilization on Columbus Day, and I steadily researched and wrote on the topic for the next decade.

Often surprised at the many different groups that found Columbus Day politically useful, I quickly realized that topic proved too broad. The number of mobilizations that have occurred on the Columbus Day holiday is nearly endless. Some events appear on or near the Columbus Day holiday as coincidence. The first AIDS Quilt, displayed on the National Mall in D.C., sparked a massive movement of AIDS quilting, much of which peaks on Columbus Day weekend, because the time commemorates the first hallowed event in 1987. Also coincidentally, gay rights groups around the country annually celebrate Coming Out Day on (or near) Columbus Day.

Although everything discussed in this book is based on evidence from Columbus Day commemorations, the book does not attempt to catalog all types of commemorations. In particular, data collection and analysis ignored "coincidental" movements because they do not tie their events to the symbolic symbol of Columbus. Neither the quilt events nor the coming out events occur on Columbus Day as strategy; activists use the holiday time as a coincidence, not as a symbolic strategy. This is a book about the political appropriation of the Columbus symbol, a story about the strategic struggles to appropriate commemorations of America's origin story.

This research demonstrates that sociologists can gain new insights by uniting ignored historical methods with established theories; constructionist theories, Joel Best (Best 2003) suggests, will advance with greater attention to patterns across time and space. Data for this study come from thorough searches of digital archives of

published data, searches through archives of unpublished data, several weeks of partici-
pant observation, and more than 50 interviews. Analysis covers several centuries of data
on Columbus commemorations, but emphasizes the 400th anniversary in 1892 and
the 500th anniversary in 1992. Four types of movements—patriotic, religious, ethnic,
and anticolonial—have successfully transformed their partisan, localized memories of
Columbus into collective memories that were shared across time and space. In other
words, by examining competition to shape collective memories, the analysis shows how
some movements were able to institutionalize their vision of the past by shaping com-
memorations in education, arts, politics, religion, and the media.

The main patriotic movement groups include nationalist and Christian socialists.
Religious movements include Catholic organizations such as the Knights of Columbus,
and Protestant organizations such as the National Council of Churches. Ethnic move-
ments include organizations such as the Society of American Indians, the Indians of All
Tribes, the National Council of La Raza, the Zapatistas, the National Italian American
Federation and the Order of Sons of Italy in America. Anticolonial movements include
groups such as anarchists, Afrocentrists, and the American Indian Movement.

This book does not attempt to fully analyze these movements, but rather seeks
to understand the success of their memory mobilization. Collective memories are
partisan interpretations of the past that have become widely shared across historical
time and institutional spaces, and thus the analysts task is to make sense out of the
social processes by which movements help transform localized, partisan memories
into collective memories. How can powerless people shape the past?

Chapter 1 introduces the tools used to conduct the study. Throughout the book,
three political process theories—political opportunity, resource mobilization, and
framing—are used in an attempt to explain successful memory movements. The
political process theories provide three main predictions. The political process
model suggests successful movements are (1) more likely during momentary open-
ings in political opportunity, such as when social changes upset the status quo, (2)
those that can efficiently mobilize resources such as uniting diverse networks and
using surprising tactics, and (3) those that can effectively communicate. The politi-
cal process model traditionally has been used to study noncultural movements, and
collective memory studies usually ignore social movements, so using the political
process model to study memory movements should prove insightful. The political
process model predicts that patriotic, religious, ethnic, and anticolonial movements
were successful because of increasing political opportunities, efficient mobilization
of resources, and framing that effectively communicated.

Chapter 2 uses political process theories to show how activists established a patri-
otic collective memory. Columbus Day began as a patriotic holiday because com-
memorations were framed as a solution to major patriotic problems: supporting war,
constructing identity boundaries, defining change as progress, and teaching patri-
otic obedience. Movements helped construct a patriotic collective memory.

Chapter 3 uses political process theories to show how movements helped con-
struct a religious version of the origin story. As Catholic groups such as the Knights
of Columbus began mobilizing behind Columbus, they faced increasing repression
from anti-immigrant groups. Memory activism continued in the late twentieth cen-
tury by Protestant, ecumenical counter-movements, such as the National Council

of Churches, who celebrated rather than attacked multiculturalism. Protestant and Catholic movements helped construct a religious collective memory.

Chapters 4, 5, and 6 use political process theories to show how social movements shaped ethnic collective memories. The American Indian chapter shows how the Society of American Indians, contemporary Indian activists in Berkeley, California, and college student groups throughout the country each helped replace Columbus Day with Indigenous Peoples Day on college campuses. The Hispanic American chapter emphasizes the Black Legend, 1960's activism, the Hispanic March on Washington in 1996, and the spread of Columbus Day protests throughout Latin America. The Italian American chapter shows how Italian American movements in Pennsylvania, New York, California, and Colorado succeeded in dedicating public statues of Columbus and passing Columbus Day state holiday statutes. Movements helped construct an ethnic collective memory.

Chapter 7 shows how anticolonial movements have mobilized to shape the collective memory of Columbus. Colonization entails a legacy of land and labor looting. African American and American Indian anticolonial movements, along with anarchists, were the primary sponsors of anticolonial Columbus Day activism. The chapter charts the diffusion of anticolonial frames throughout dominant institutions, and the diffusion of anticolonial tactics throughout the country.

The conclusion discusses the four memory movements—anticolonial, ethnic, religious, and patriotic—and asks why movements can shape the institutional commemoration of the national origin myth. The answer, developed throughout the book, relies on an adapted political process theory. Powerless individuals can rewrite the past, if they unite through collective action.

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Abbreviations

Organizations

CALC	Clergy and Laity Concerned
D-AIM	Denver American Indian Movement
GAR	Grand Army of the Republic
KKK	Ku Klux Klan
KOC	Knights of Columbus
NCC	National Council of Churches
NCLR	National Council of La Raza
NEH	National Endowment for the Humanities
NIAF	National Italian American Federation
OSIA	Order of Sons of Italy in America
SAI	Society of American Indians
WKKK	Women's Ku Klux Klan

Sources

CSWR	Center for Southwest Research
DP	Denver Post
NYT	New York Times
RMN	Rocky Mountain News
TYC	The Youth's Companion

Rituals

IPD	Indigenous Peoples Day

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CHAPTER 1

REDISCOVERING

> Who controls the present controls the past.
>
> —George Orwell

Common sense sounds nice. It resonates with our expectations. Common sense repeats Orwell's phrase: Who controls the present controls the past. Common sense is commonly wrong. Sometimes the powerless can control the past.

Every schoolchild knows the rhyme: In 1492, Columbus sailed the ocean blue. Only two individuals warrant United States federal holidays, Martin Luther King, Jr. and Christopher Columbus. Memorials to Columbus have appeared in every state in the United States, and Columbus has inspired the naming of cities, streets, and schools; even space shuttles are named after Columbus. Columbus also has become a contested figure; "Whereas Lincoln and Washington bring Americans together, Columbus pulls them apart."[1] This book examines four of the most significant identity movements in U.S. history (patriotic, religious, ethnic, and anti-colonial) and explains why these movements succeeded in rewriting the Columbus national origin myth. These four movements succeeded in shaping institutional commemorations of Columbus because they reproduced a proven recipe for social change: They took advantage of political opportunities; they mobilized organizational resources; they effectively framed reality.

Columbus has remained the central figure in the U.S. national origin myth despite centuries of debunking. Columbus could not have discovered an already inhabited place. Other explorers—from England, China, Japan, Africa, the Roman Empire, Ireland, and a dozen others—reached the mainland before or about the same time that Columbus "discovered" inhabited islands in the Caribbean. Columbus did not prove the world round. Queen Isabella did not pawn her jewels. No Europeans in Columbus's lifetime knew the North American shore they landed on was a distinct continent. Sociologists and social historians helped debunk these falsehoods about Columbus.[2]

This book does not join the cabal of sociological disbelievers. Rather than seeking to rewrite our nation's origin myth, this book answers a larger question: Why have particular versions of the origin myth persisted?

The story of the origins of our nation has many versions—patriotic, African American, Hispanic American, Italian American, Catholic, Jewish, Mormon, American Indian, and others. In each, Columbus plays a key role. Each group retells the Columbus myth in ways that highlight their place in American society. Although the general purpose of remembering Columbus is shared among these various groups, the meanings they attribute to the origin myth vary widely.

Despite other laudable explorers, the easiest and most popular explanation for why Americans have remembered Columbus is that he did something exceptional. This book offers another explanation: We continue to remember Columbus not because of what he did, but because of what we did with him. The strength of the Columbus symbol lies in its pliability. It grew because so many people with different needs and interests rewrote the story to meet their own needs.

Consider these alternatives:

- Two primary symbols of U.S. patriotism—the pledge of allegiance and the flag in the schoolhouse—were institutionalized because of patriotic Columbus Day activism. Other patriotic movements claim Columbus is a nefarious, jingoistic symbol. Should we use Columbus to remember a patriotic nation?
- The Catholic anti-defamation organization Knights of Columbus reminds us that the Spanish throne funded Columbus's voyage as part of their evangelizing mission (while other religious groups remember the voyage as an extension of the inquisition). Should we use Columbus to remember a religious nation?
- In the Italian language, he is Cristoforo Colombo. In the early twentieth century, Italian American anti-defamation organizations legislated their ethnic celebrations by erecting statues of Columbus in nearly every state, and mobilizing to pass legislation making Columbus Day a holiday in many states. In the Spanish language he is Cristóbal Colón. Throughout Latino communities in the United States, and much of Latin America, Columbus Day is celebrated as Dia de la Raza, a day to celebrate the mixing of Spanish, and Indian (and sometimes African) races. On college campuses throughout the United States, Columbus Day has been renamed "Indigenous People's Day," and people celebrate American Indian culture. Should we use Columbus to remember an ethnic nation?
- When American Indian activists "discovered" Alcatraz in 1969, many whites remembered it as an occupation. When whites "discovered" America in 1492, many Indians remembered it as an occupation. Over the last 15 years, American Indian, African American, and anarchist movements have used the Columbus Day holiday to protest ongoing colonization. Should we use Columbus to remember a colonizing nation?

The Columbus origin myth has been rewritten to serve all these purposes. The power of myth is its multivocality—its ability to encompass contradictory interpretations and purposes. Although the origin myth may seem like an empty slate upon which any group could inscribe their partisan interests, the public memorials to Columbus have been surprisingly patterned.

Throughout history, a few specific groups successfully rewrote the national origin myth to fit their own interests. They created new statues to Columbus, wrote partisan poems about Columbus's landing, and preached sermons about their version of the national origin myth. They sponsored parades that remembered their version of Columbus, and they rewrote history books in ways that showed Columbus as the forerunner of their many contributions to the nation. The idea of collective memory helps us to understand which groups have enough power to rewrite history for others. Whose memories dominate public institutions? Why?

The past is not passed, but a product of the present. Collective memory is constructed by current collective action. Collective memories – *particular partisan memories shared across time and space*—are not simply a reflection of the actual historical past. The past has little precedent over the present. Groups strategically construct collective memory through negotiation and conflict; competing groups seek to institutionalize their partisan memory of the past, and the outcome of that competition is collective memory—particular partisan stories about the past that are shared across space and time. Whose memories are reproduced in social institutions (and whose memories are forgotten) can be documented, and sociological tools can explain these patterns. Whose memories become collective memories? Why?

Many people think of the past as objective—a series of definable events. Alternatively, the past can be seen as completely pliable to the interests of any group willing to rewrite it. It is invariably true and uninteresting that anybody can rewrite the past; it is variably true and interesting that although many groups seek to institutionalize their partisan vision of the past, only some groups succeed. Many groups seek to rewrite the past to meet their needs in the present. Only some groups succeed in institutionalizing their partisan stories about the past.

How a society publicly remembers its past is a political struggle, and how institutional leaders remember the past is neither innocuous nor preordained. The line between history and memory is often blurry, as groups attempt to appropriate history (objective events from the past) to create memories (subjective stories of the past that validate partisan interpretations of the present). The process can be studied empirically.

Some groups can successfully spread their partisan memory so it becomes a regular part of institutions such as media, education, religion, art, and politics, thus creating a collective memory. If every group creates partisan memories, then why do only some groups successfully transform their partisan memories into widely reproduced collective memories? Whose memories become collective memories?

Although existing studies of collective memory examine the policies, strategies, and representations that produce a shared public understanding of the past, sociologists know little about the role that social movements play in creating or shaping collective memories. Studying social movements can provide insight into the politics and processes by which collective memories are molded into distinct patterns.

Columbus Day is celebrated on or near the second Monday in October. Patriotic Columbus commemorations date back to the pre-revolutionary era (see figure 1.1). By 1905, Columbus Day was first declared a state holiday (in Colorado) and in 1970 it became a federal holiday. The story of the U.S. origin myth is historical, and so was much of the research for this book, which involved searching for traces of partisan commemorations in public archives and digital databases (searches that

netted thousands of relevant documents); also helpful were more than 50 interviews with contemporary people who organize Columbus rituals and protests. For more detail on the methods, see appendix A. Despite the hundreds of different groups in our multicultural society, over the last two centuries the patterns were clear. Only four types of groups were able to establish collective memories: patriotic, religious, ethnic, and anticolonial.

SIGNIFICANCE

Studying how movements shape collective memories gives insight into processes by which social movements influence cultural outcomes. Although the social movement literature includes many studies on the policy outcomes of social movements,[3] the influence of movements on culture remains a widely noted gap in social movement research.[4] A few unique studies have empirically documented the influence of movements on a single cultural institution such as literature, media, music, science, fashion, or language,[5] but social movement studies still tend to unduly focus on policy outcomes and state-centered effects.[6] This book contributes to a growing interest in how movements induce cultural change, by showing how movements shape patterns in collective memories.

AN INTRODUCTION TO COLLECTIVE MEMORY

In his collective memory study, Gary Fine[7] nicely distinguishes three assumptions that characterize studies of collective memory: objectivist assumptions, functionalist assumptions, and constructionist assumptions. Objective history assumes a world of facts that can be empirically captured: Either Columbus's men instigated the Indian genocide or they did not. Fine says the functionalist sees history as an outcome or reflection of social organization (or presumably social power). Fine's third model sees history as socially constructed.

Fine explains that the constructionist model sees history neither as grounded in the functional needs of groups in the present nor as grounded in objective events from the past. Rather, history is a constant contemporary struggle. The constructionist posits that collective memory is a process of competition; the constructionist perspective studies "the socio-political motives of groups that gain resources, power or prestige"[8] through establishing their version of history.

Using this constructionist perspective begs important questions: When can powerless groups rewrite the past? Why do only some groups succeed in transforming their partisan, localized memories into collective memories?

Knowledge of how and why movement mobilization brings about changes in collective memory is extremely limited. Agency-centered explanations of patterns in collective memory abound, as do studies that give people in the present nearly limitless power to reshape the meaning of the past.[9] Although nearly every collective memory scholar rightly argues that collective memories are contested, constructed, and multivocal, studies have largely ignored social movement activists as agents that shape patterns in collective memory.

The "engines for change" in collective memory studies are rarely social movements but rather include the functional needs of the present, the interests of economic elites, or a bevy of other innovative choices such as generational differences in the attitudes and beliefs of the general public,[10] a general cultural "postmodernity,"[11] and strategic actions of actors holding positions in official institutional contexts,[12] sometimes referred to as "reputational entrepreneurs."[13]

A few studies have begun to explore the connection between movements and memory. Two studies[14] questioned the popular argument that generational differences in public opinion were causing patterns in collective memory. Each argued that social movements shaped these generational differences in public opinion. Another study[15] showed how movements created memories to shore up consensus within their own organization, and another[16] showed how various movements appropriated the image of folk singer and political activist Pete Seeger. Despite these few studies, we still know little about the memory-movements nexus and we have not yet developed theoretical explanations of why movements are able to shape patterns in collective memory. The political process model may be able to alleviate these problems.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE POLITICAL PROCESS MODEL

By the late 1990s, the political process model had become dominant in the field of social movement studies. The political process model is a combination of three established, competing social movement theories: political opportunity, resource mobilization, and framing. The model suggests social movements succeed because they seize available political opportunities, strategically mobilize resources, and effectively frame reality; in other words, mobilization is positively associated with access to political power, increasing organizational resources, and persuasion of audiences.[17]

The simplest way to think about the political process model is to think about it as a recipe for social change. Public groups can form and change their social worlds if they follow a simple three-step recipe: take advantage of political opportunities, effectively mobilize resources, and produce resonant framing.

Resource mobilization and political opportunity theories have dominated most uses of the political process model. Scholars have "tended to study only one aspect of a movement, for example, the effect of expanding political opportunities or the organizational dynamics of collective action."[18] The dominance of political opportunity theory has been so great that scholars mistakenly claim that the political process model is the same as political opportunity theory.[19] In response, framing and other cultural theories have been used to critique the prevalent political process model for developing spurious, structurally deterministic explanations, for neglecting process, for privileging quantitative evidence, and for ignoring cultural outcomes.[20]

These and other criticisms have become so powerful that they have been characterized as starting a "paradigm war" between structural and cultural approaches[21]; this war has led interpretive scholars to discount and discard the political process

model, and proponents of the model to attempt reconciliation by incorporating culture (ibid). This book suggests interpretive theorists develop rather than discard the political process model. The book makes a strong case for revisiting the highly contested (and, for some, abandoned) political process model.

The traditional political process model is not sensitive to culture because of fundamental assumptions and definitions.[22] Explicitly or implicitly, studies from the political opportunity, resource mobilization, and framing traditions assume movements are "manifestly political, in the sense that a government is involved as a claimant, target, or mediator."[23] These assumptions are troubling because movements not only target political institutions, but also target actions and leaders in other non-state institutions. To study culture with this structural model, a new definition of movements is necessary.

Movements are sustained collective challenges to systems or structures of authority[24]; movements target ideas, symbols, values, rituals, and cultural practices more than public policy. Movements are inherently institutional; they compete to shape meaning and action within media, education, arts, religion, and politics. This definition provides a significant departure from the traditional political process assumption of sustained organizational groups targeting political policy, and this new definition draws greater attention to relatively unorganized activism that occurs in non-state institutions, where institutional leaders and activists produce patterns in collective memories.

BASIC FINDINGS FROM THE POLITICAL PROCESS MODEL

The political process model is a synthesis of political opportunity theory, resource mobilization theory, and framing theory. The political process model provides a simple three-ingredient recipe for successful social movements.

First, social movements succeed when they can take advantage of political opportunities in their environment, such as when events or demographic or political changes create times when collective action is most likely to succeed. Events that may not seem to matter for social movements can prove important; demographic change, for example, provides political opportunity because it upsets the status quo:

> Any event or broad social process that serves to undermine the calculations and assumptions on which the political establishment is structured occasions a shift in political opportunities. Among the events and processes likely to prove disruptive of the political status quo are wars, industrialization, international political realignments, prolonged unemployment, and widespread demographic change.[25]

Studies on ethnic politics, revolutions, and many other topics have also highlighted the importance of demographic change as an opportunity for widespread collective action.

The political opportunity theory predicts that changes that result in openings of political opportunity for collective memory activists will include wars, major social events, an increasing number of allies that are political elites, a decreasing number of political enemies, and an environment when political elites are split

(e.g., when Republicans dominate the executive branch and Democrats dominate the legislative branch).

In short, political opportunity theory suggests that when social changes upset the status quo, then there is a temporary window of opportunity when activism will be especially successful. Political opportunity theory highlights environments, but political opportunity is not simply about objective environments. Political opportunity once was conceptualized as objective, external forces that are impervious to the will of protesters. However, we now know that activists may even interpret opportunities as accessible when they are not objectively available.[26] These subjective understandings of political opportunity do not negate the objective measures of political opportunity such as demographic change. Thus, political opportunities are both objective and subjective. The political opportunity theory predicts that memory movements will succeed because of objective and subjective political opportunities.

Second, social movements succeed when people effectively mobilize organizational resources, such as by raising money, recruiting diverse and large networks of supporters, and by using surprising tactics.[27] Grievances are not enough to motivate collective action, the resource mobilization theory contends; rather, rational and goal-oriented activists only succeed when they are able to amass organizational resources. Resource mobilization studies predict that increasing money and members increases success. Memory movements, then, should be most successful when they have robust financial and human capital.

Resource mobilization theory also predicts that government resources can shape the tactics and success of organizations, so that those that receive economic supports tend to use less confrontational tactics. Traditionally, resource mobilization theories measured only objective resources. However, there are many subjective processes involved.

Understanding why some movements can effectively compete for government funds is an interpretive task; it is not obvious whether movements representing Catholics or Italians, for example, should benefit from civil rights programs. These decisions are the product of a definitional process; although the decisions may be relatively arbitrary, the consequences are real.

Resource mobilization also highlights members and leaders. Charismatic and well-connected leaders help movements succeed. The recruitment of members is even more important than leadership. Resource mobilization theory says movements succeed when they mobilize a diverse network of supporters. This is about not only the amount of supporters, but also their diverse quality. Movements do not grow through individual recruitment; rather, successful movements are characterized by diverse core participants, each with their own distinct network connections to different blocks of potential recruits. Creating this network of supporters can be achieved through overt persuasion of strangers, but more often people are recruited through preexisting attachments to existing members.

If a movement's existing core members are not diverse, the movement will reach overlapping networks of possible recruits, leading to smaller movement organizations. A diversity of networks is one of the most important parts of resource

mobilization. However, not only are networks objective, but also they are subjective. Movement leaders can subjectively construct a community of potential recruits by convincing disparate people that they share a common history.

A diverse network of potential supporters is not just an objective fact, but also a cultural accomplishment. Successful movement leaders portray their organizations as representing the ideals of a broad constituency.

Creating a subjective class of people that share a common identity, history, and future is one of the key resource mobilization challenges for organizational leaders. The resource mobilization theory predicts that collective memory movements succeed because they can objectively and subjectively mobilize resources such as effective leaders, money, surprising tactics, and diverse, large networks of supporters.

Third, social movements succeed when they communicate effectively, such as by framing reality for followers, enemies, and bystanders in ways that foster a politicized identity. Frames, or "schemata of interpretations," allow members to "locate, perceive, identify, and label" their world in ways that support a community that can be mobilized for collective action.[28] Meanings shared among activists are not automatic consequences of their social situations, but rather movement activity is largely about the process of activists producing meanings through interaction.

A central contention of framing theory is that certain ways of framing reality will lead to successful movements; framing theory can be thought of as a theory of successful communication; framing theory predicts that communication can mean the difference between movement failure and success. There are two key ways that framing theory measures this successful communication. Communication is successful when frames align with the expectations of the audience/environment (an issue of reproducing resonant frames) and when frames meet the core tasks of framing (an issue of producing collective action frames).

Resonant frames are strategically produced when activists borrow from and reuse accepted ideas from their audience and environment. Activists are more likely to succeed when they use resonant framing.[29] Collective action frames help the movement "mobilize potential adherents and constituents, garner bystander support, and demobilize antagonists."[30] Collective action frames represent the "core tasks of framing."[31] Activists who attend to these tasks are "likely to be more successful in securing their proximate goals."[32] In other words, framing theory predicts memory movement success when activists produce collective action frames, and when they produce resonant framing.

Framing is a necessary ingredient for successful collective action, but also necessary are resource mobilization and political opportunity. The political process model synthesizes these three theories and provides a simple prediction about the success of collective memory movements. Successful memory movements take advantage of windows of opportunity, efficiently mobilize resources, and effectively frame reality.

Links between social movements and collective memory have received little scholarly attention, even though memory is at least somewhat important to most movements. Movements that target collective memory may mobilize differently

than movements that target the state. Revising the definition of social movements and adding subjective aspects to resource mobilization and political opportunity theories are attempts to alter the political process model to adequately study cultural movements. With these revisions, the political process model is better equipped to explain memory movements. Are collective memories constructed through a political process?

PATRIOTIC

Francis Bellamy not only wrote the Pledge of Allegiance, he also unveiled it after organizing one of the country's first mass media movement campaigns, during the 400th Columbus Day anniversary in 1892. One hundred years later during the 500th anniversary, Russell Means from the American Indian Movement (AIM) used theatrics to gain media attention for a new vision of patriotism. AIM used civil disobedience tactics to protest Columbus Day and challenge jingoistic framings of war, identity, obedience, and progress. Means and Bellamy helped successfully politicize a patriotic version of the origin myth. These two successful memory movements took advantage of contexts of opportunity, efficiently used organizational resources, and communicated effectively by tapping into an established patriotic frame that included themes of war, identity, obedience, and progress.

This framing of Columbus Day as a patriotic holiday appeared during periodic presidential proclamations. Although a few presidential proclamations began in the 1930s and later decades, proclamations did not become an annual tradition until after 1960, a decade before it was a national holiday. A preliminary analysis of presidential proclamations showed the repetition of the patriotic frame; presidents celebrated war efforts, constructed a national identity, proclaimed progress, and asked for citizen obedience. However, a framing analysis does more than analyze overt rhetoric. Analysis of the 53 Columbus Day presidential proclamations (first in 1930) shows that more than 90 percent of the proclamations evoked the patriotic frames of war, identity, progress, and obedience.

The word evoke is important because framing is not simply about specific rhetoric or keywords, but about how words shape the frame that people use to understand reality. Words are used to evoke a frame. For example, in the analysis of the appearance of each frame, a dozen or so words were used as referents; presidential statements of "soldier," "war," and "combat" equally evoke a war frame, statements about "individuality," "character," and "individualism" evoke the identity frame, statements about "resignation," "compliance," and "meekness" evoke the obedience frame, and the words "commerce," "development," "discovery," and "frontier" evoke the progress frame.

All four components of the patriotic frame were prevalent in the proclamations, but there was variation among the four. In terms of both number of years referenced and total number of references, identity and progress themes were most prevalent, and war themes were least prevalent (see table 2.1).

A long string of presidents framed Columbus Day as a patriotic holiday, by evoking the patriotic frame through discussions of war, identity, obedience, and progress. However, the president was only one voice among many—in politics, art, religion, media, and education—that framed Columbus Day as a patriotic holiday. The movements of Bellamy and Means helped spread these patriotic frames. To understand the success of these movements, the political process model suggests examining contexts, organization, and communication; the remainder of the chapter is organized around these three main topics.

Contexts

Holiday activism emerged during the major anniversaries, in 1892 and 1992, in part because political opportunities are opened by events that draw media, public, and political attention to particular issues. It makes sense that the largest patriotic movements would emerge during the 400th and 500th anniversaries, when attention and public funds would promise payoffs for the expenditure of organizational resources. However, other less obvious factors made 1892 and 1992 good times for activism.

Political opportunity theories suggest environments shape movement activism. Opportunities open with increasing numbers of powerful political allies, splits among government elites, and with changes in population. When the political status quo is upset, there is a temporary opening when the expenditure of social movement resources will be more likely to return positive results.

Political opportunities are events or social processes that occur in the movements' environment that upset the political status quo. Movements are relatively more likely to succeed if they mobilize during these limited windows of opportunity. In 1892 and 1992, many factors upset the status quo and created an important moment of political opportunity for all types of activism.

Political Opportunity During the 400th Anniversary

Changes in voting upset the status quo. While presidential elections in the twentieth century rarely reach beyond 50 percent, in the elections of 1892 the participation rate was more than 70 percent. The 1892 numbers varied among states for these years, with Colorado below 60 percent and New York and Illinois more than 80 percent (see figure 2.1). Surprisingly, 1892 participation was not especially high; the 1892 election drew the lowest national turnout in nearly a decade (ibid). The change upset the status quo and signaled a relatively open environment for collective action.

Another political opportunity factor was split political elites. In 1892, and most years in the preceding two decades, power in Washington, D.C. was split between Democrats and Republicans—either the House or the Senate differed in political party from the presidency (see table 2.2). In the late nineteenth century, there was also a significant growth in national population, which is another factor that upset the status quo and led to a temporary political opportunity for movement action (see tables 2.3, 2.4, and 2.5).

Growth in population may be no more important than declines in population—both can upset the status quo. The most likely environments to provide political opportunities are probably those environments that go through drastically changing—rising and falling—population growth rates, such as the period

surrounding the 400th anniversary (see figure 2.2). These rapid changes are likely to disrupt the political system and create openings in political opportunity. The rise in national population growth rates was due largely to increasing immigration (see table 2.5). These broad social changes upset the status quo and produced an era that was especially inviting for all types of social movement activism.

Local changes were also important for creating opportunities for activism. Bellamy lived near Boston, which was a rapidly changing city. In Massachusetts, the population was primarily white immigrants; nearly half of the state population in 1880 consisted of recent Irish immigrants. In terms of mother's birthplace, 39 percent of Boston residents had mothers born in Ireland, while approximately 19 percent had mothers born in Massachusetts; these were times of rapid change (see table 2.6). These data suggest population shifts that created times of instability, where movements had an opening of political opportunity. The environment in 1892 shared many characteristics with the environment in 1992.

Political Opportunity during the 500th Anniversary

The downfall of government celebratory committee provided an important political opportunity for activists who sought to transform the traditional patriotic celebration. By 1985, government and business had joined to organize the 1992 celebrations, events they hoped would be "a unique opportunity for the private sector to band together in support of a cause that is noncontroversial and universally appealing."[1] Activists made public celebration problematic, and the coordinators for national celebrations faced a serious public relations struggle. The Jubilee Committee that was in charge of coordinating national celebrations made some questionable business deals to raise funds, and then suffered from congressional hearings on misappropriations, and loss of corporate sponsors; coupled with low public attendance and high protest at their preliminary events, the Jubilee Committee essentially fell apart months before the 500th anniversary.[2] Failure of the national committee meant openings in political opportunity for anti-Columbus activists.

Changes in the political environment meant a weakened state and openings in political opportunity for activists. In 1992, the established political system was weakened through several factors: The end of a 12-year Republican reign, an economic recession with high unemployment, minorities gaining power through the ascendancy of multiculturalism, and 54 people killed in Los Angeles's Rodney King riots. The recession and other problems were so bad that late 1992 represented the lowest point in the country's mood between 1979 and 2008.[3] Also, the number of people in poverty rapidly increased just before 1992 (see figure 2.3). All of these social changes upset the status quo and created opportunities for activism.

Between 1987 and 1992, split elites created openings in political opportunity—while the White House was dominated by Republicans, the Senate and the House of Representatives were dominated by the Democrats (see table 2.7). Population change also altered the status quo. The population of the United States rapidly increased between 1990 and 1992 (see figure 2.4). A large increase in the immigration population began just before 1992 (see figure 2.5). Finally, the number of American Indians in the population had been increasing rapidly for at least two

decades (see figure 2.6). These broad social changes altered the relations between the populace and the government, and made 1992 an inviting time for activism.

Demographic, economic, and political changes in 1892 and 1992 disrupted the status quo, and thus created an environment especially fertile for social movements. The years 1892 and 1992 shared many of the same social, political, and demographic changes that created openings in political opportunity for social movement activism. Openings in political opportunity meant all movements—not just the patriotic ones discussed in this chapter—experienced a good time to expend organizational resources.

Organizations

Collective memory activists mobilized during windows of opportunity when the expenditure of organizational resources would likely receive a warm reception. Successful movements take advantage of opportunities by efficiently mobilizing resources.

Resource Mobilization During the 400th Anniversary

Resource mobilization suggests that movements succeed or fail based on leaders' ability to strategically expend organizational resources, such as uniting broad networks of supporters and garnering media attention. The main patriotic memory movements in 1892 originated in Boston. Boston included preexisting networks of literate recruits. By 1880, Boston schools could brag about their literate population. Only 5 percent of whites were illiterate, and even more surprisingly, only 7 percent of blacks were illiterate (see table 2.8). During the same year, 13 percent of blacks in New York were illiterate.[4] These literate potential recruits were highly involved in civil society. Bellamy united them during the 1892 Columbus Day celebration.

Francis Bellamy was a leader in three related movement groups—the public education movement, which sought to celebrate and expand public schools, the nationalist movement, which sought to nationalize public services and protect them from privatization, and the Christian socialist movement, which sought to promote an economy based on justice and equality. Bellamy had preexisting relationships with grassroots groups representing each movement, and he united this diverse network for collective memory activism in 1892.

Francis Bellamy fused his participation in the Christian socialist movement and the nationalist movement. Francis began his career as a preacher, but after several years of service, he was ousted by a congregation that disliked his tendency to describe Jesus as a socialist. Bellamy was no simple preacher-turned-journalist, but the brother of the most famous nationalist icon of the era. Edward Bellamy was the symbolic leader of the nationalist movement, which sought to nationalize public services and the economy to meet the needs of the masses rather than the few. Francis's brothers book—a utopian tale of an advanced socialist society—sparked more than one hundred grassroots nationalist organizations around the country called Bellamy Clubs. Edward protested against the name for his local group, and the others agreed to change the name to the Nationalist Club.[5]

Francis Bellamy also drew from networks established by the Christian socialist movement. Early in the nineteenth century, the French philosopher Henri de

Saint-Simon expounded a "new Christianity" that sought to use scientific principles to help solve problems with the poor. Religion, science, and community were to be used to end the exploitation of the masses. By the end of the century, Bellamy and many of the "new St. Simonians," as they sometimes called themselves, saw nationalism (de-privatization) and public education as the policy solutions to meet the goals established by the Christian socialists, thus leading to a natural connection among the nationalist and Christian Socialist movements.

The Society of Christian Socialists, a grassroots organization, was founded in Boston in 1889. Francis Bellamy served as founding vice president and wrote several articles for the Society of Christian Socialists' newspaper, the *Dawn*. The newspaper was run by his brother Edward and Frances Willard, president of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. In one article, Francis Bellamy wrote that Christian socialists had the obligation to live out the golden rule, to act toward contemporary society as did Jesus. He quoted Bible passages that revered Moses and Jesus as denouncing the evils of greed and lust for money (ibid). Francis Bellamy (hereafter Bellamy) was also chairman of the Boston chapter of the Society of Christian Socialists' education committee.

To raise the stature of the organization, bring in funds, and educate the public about Christian Socialism, Bellamy offered public education classes; for a fee participants joined courses with topics such as "Looking Backward," "Jesus the socialist," "What is Christian Socialism?" "The Subject of Labor in Light of the Bible," and "Socialism versus anarchy." This last lecture became particularly popular and Bellamy in 1891 was asked to turn it into a written piece for the Nationalist Club's newspaper, the *Arena*. Bellamy's essay distinguished anarchy from nationalism and socialism, and it declared the need for a strong government to protect the weak masses from the powerful corporations. He argued that only a socialist economy could produce work environments where both the worker and the owner could practice the golden rule (ibid). Through these experiences, Bellamy gained increasing experience with the media and with public relations. He used these tools to coordinate a massive Columbus Day campaign.

As *The Youth's Companion* (TYC) staff member, one of Bellamy's tasks was to encourage people to sell subscriptions of the magazine to friends and family in exchange for flags. Bellamy transformed his task of trading flags for subscriptions into a campaign to have children sell flag certificates throughout the community to raise money for a flag in every school. Probably the idea for this flag-purchasing campaign was spurred by the World's Congress Auxiliary to the Columbian Exposition, which on New Year's Day, 1892, published an open call for support in creating a national patriotic celebration in the schools to coincide with the fair. Bellamy saw this as his chance to sell flags to the schools and convinced the *TYC* editors to allow him to take charge of the national campaign for patriotic school celebrations during the 400th anniversary.

Shortly after he joined the staff of *TYC* in late 1891, Bellamy took charge of the Columbus Day campaign. In February 1892, Bellamy presented his ideas of a coordinated school campaign to the National Education Association and was appointed chairman of their celebration committee.

Bellamy and the *TYC* staff publicized the campaign by sending messages to educational and religious officials, newspapers, and Grand Army of the Republic

(GAR) posts. In March 1892, *TYC* published a "Message to the Public Schools of America." The message briefly described the plans for a national Columbus Day celebration and asked the students to lead the campaign to raise money for flags.

The children were instructed to ask their teachers, who would then order free flag certificates from *TYC* that the children would sell to family and community members to raise money to purchase a school flag from *TYC*. Bellamy sought the support of students as an important resource for his flag campaign. He asked students "to arouse a sentiment in your schools and in your neighborhoods for this grand way of celebrating the finding of America."[6] Bellamy also courted political leaders.

That summer, not even six months before the 500th anniversary, Bellamy traveled to Washington and New York, and he interviewed influential leaders to get their support for the planned Columbus Day event. His lobbying attempts proved successful. He landed the support of General John Palmer (commander in chief for GAR), Grover Cleveland, Henry Cabot Lodge, Theodore Roosevelt, and President Harrison. Each of these leaders provided a promise to provide individual and organizational resources for the Columbus Day flag ceremony.

The appearance of a flag and the promise of taking part in a grand ceremony with millions of others were not enough for some schools; only a few months before the big event, Bellamy promised *TYC* would present a beautiful medal to any student initiating efforts to obtain a flag for any public school that did not yet have one. By September, a month before the event, *TYC* boasted that 26,000 schools had obtained flags through its certificate sales scheme, and that each school was prepared for a coordinated Columbus Day ceremony (ibid). Bellamy wrote the celebration program, which included the unveiling of the Pledge of Allegiance.

Resource Mobilization during the 500th Anniversary

Francis Bellamy and Russell Means have much in common. Both leaders united diverse networks of supporters, and both mobilized media support to spread their message. While Bellamy accessed the media from the inside, Means accessed it from the outside. Surprising tactics helped Denver AIM gain media attention. Several times, they convinced more than a hundred supporters to face arrest and trial for blocking the street during the Italian Americans' Columbus Day parade. Ensuing political trials kept Denver AIM in the spotlight; activists orchestrated a steady stream of media drama, in part through civil disobedience, confrontation, and lawsuits to gain attention for their cause. The differences between Bellamy and Means in terms of resource mobilization speaks to issues of power; we might say that the more power a movement has, the fewer resources they need to spend to gain media access. The similarities between the movements of Bellamy and Means revolve around their ability to unite diverse networks.

Just as the Great Migration led to the growth of African American institutions of education and religion that eventually provided the mass base for the civil rights movement, termination and relocation programs that moved Indians from terminated reservations into the cities also worked to bolster pan-Indian urban organizations:

> As an indirect consequence of relocation efforts, other Indian organizations blossomed to serve the growing urban Indian population: social organizations such as intertribal clubs,

athletic leagues, beauty contests, powwows and dance groups; Indian newspapers and newsletters; social service agencies; political organizations; and Christian churches.[7]

These intertribal organizations provided places that united the diverse Indian people that had come to the cities; participating in these organizations constructed networks that were later mobilized by AIM and their allies beginning in 1969. Successful movements also use surprising tactics.

Beginning in the early 1970s, AIM activists borrowed their confrontational politics and takeovers from the civil rights/black power movement. From its beginnings, AIM represented the most radical organization within the red power movement. Many AIM leaders and participants framed their organization as a religious movement. In the 1970s, AIM called for the urbanized, Americanized, and Christianized Indians to return to their spiritual roots. Although AIM emerged among urbanized Indians that had left the reservation, they sought to organize in ways congruent with traditional Indian identity. One of the AIM founders remembered their spiritual origins:

> Members realized that there was something missing from the movement . . . they went there [to Crow Dog's Paradise, home of medicine man Leonard Crow Dog, on Rosebud Reservation] for advice, and one of the first questions they asked was what is an Indian? And they were told that to be an Indian is to be spiritual.[8]

In the late twentieth century, Denver AIM became one of the most vocal AIM chapters. While Denver AIM copied 1970s AIM, both were carbons of their ancestor's religiously motivated collective action. In 1890, an Indian prophet led a massive millennialist revival, the Ghost Dance. The religious mobilization was so great that the government feared another Indian war. The massacre of hundreds of Indians at Wounded Knee, South Dakota in 1890 was inflicted out of this fear. AIM occupied Wounded Knee in 1973 to commemorate the original event, to draw attention to ongoing injustices and to revive American Indian spirituality. One participant said, "Indian religion as much as politics was also at the heart of the second Wounded Knee in 1973."[9] Their outside monetary resources came primarily from church groups and the federal government (ibid). In 1973, $400,000 was given by civic and religious groups, but a larger proportion came over several years of federal monies from civil rights legislation through "an explosion of federal resources, many earmarked for minority programs."[10]

Although they organized a variety of campaigns between 1969 and 1979, AIM activists are famous for their leadership in two takeovers: the Bureau of Indian Affairs office in Washington D.C. and Wounded Knee. In each, they occupied public spaces to bring attention to Indian issues. This civil disobedience tactic of property seizure is a central defining characteristic of 1970s Indian activism. AIM takeovers were mass-mediated confrontational politics, including takeovers of dams, conferences, buildings, and other public spaces. Between 1969 and 1978, American Indian activists organized more than 70 property takeovers.[11]

The Wounded Knee occupation brought popularity and government repression. In February 1973, approximately 200 AIM activists and supporters began a 71-day occupation of Wounded Knee, South Dakota. Activists, citizens, and government officials had already been in a long-standing conflict over ownership of reservation natural resources. The takeover, coupled with widespread media attention, garnered

a massive show of force: FBI agents stepped up their presence with Army-provided guns, and tanks; agents also provided guns and ammunition to a citizen posse.

By occupying the historic site of the 1890 Wounded Knee massacre, AIM activists hoped to bring attention not only to local land inequities, but also to larger issues of Indian sovereignty and treaty rights. Media commentators described it as "a test tube case of confrontational politics and its symbiosis with the media"[12] and "an example of a new and expanding strategy of political manipulation that neatly circumvents the ordinary process of government and makes a direct and powerful appeal to the public through the mass media" (ibid). The media event brought attention but activists could not dictate the frames that would reach the public. The mediated messages that made it through the national television networks were dominated by frames that did not seem to support the movement.

Activists can conduct events to gain media attention, but the frames observed by the public are often controlled by journalists. The major frames that activists were able to portray to the public through the media were most often not issues of treaty rights, inequality, civil rights, or Indian power; frames of Indian militancy and Indian stereotypes dominated nightly TV news.[13] Militancy frames defined activists as militants and concentrated on violence and disorder. The second most popular frames were stereotype frames, which highlighted activists' stereotypical Indian behavior. Journalists gave partial glimpses of reality at Wounded Knee, but usually only if those glimpses emphasized Indian stereotypes.

AIM used theatrics to gain media attention. Whether they liked it or not, at Wounded Knee, AIM put on a stereotypical performance for white audiences. Approximately half the stories in the nightly news evoked a frame helpful to the movement—the civil rights frame—that discussed Indian inequality and struggles (ibid). Even though AIM could not control the message, they certainly gained attention and found a sympathetic audience. A random sample of U.S. households (n=1472) found that 93 percent had followed the coverage of the Wounded Knee takeover, and 51 percent approved of the takeover, while only 21 percent opposed the occupation.[14] Takeovers would soon wane, but the tactic would not lose its effectiveness. Denver AIM revived a version of the takeover tactic by inciting supporters to take over the street in front of the Italian pride parade.

Repeating the proven tactics of their ancestors, Denver AIM in 1989 began regularly mobilizing hundreds of supporters to take over the Italians' parade route. The police regularly arrest protesters for blocking the street, and often Denver AIM has mobilized large groups to accept arrests, several times including more than 100 supporters.

The peak of confrontation occurred in 1992, during the 500th anniversary. The months leading up to the parade in 1992 were tense. The Denver media published multiple articles daily on the ensuing conflict; headlines such as "Whose Heads Will Roll on Columbus Day" helped spread fear of violence, as did another headline that was a Russell Means quote: "It's Time to Kill Columbus". Fear was also spread by government officials who held "secret" meetings to "warn Italian organizers about the dangers of the American Indian Movement."[15] Denver AIM commanded obedience by "playing into" people's stereotypes and fears. AIM leaders relied on popular conceptions of AIM as a confrontational movement and combined statements such as

"there will be no parade" with "we can't be responsible once people start pushing":

> We didn't say what we were going to do, just that that parade is not going to go. You guys can make up your mind how hard you are going to push us, but it's not going to go. You're talking to the American Indian Movement. There's a lot of other groups that don't have a history around here. You wanna shove physically, at this point we're gonna shove back. And they took a piece out of it. We were trying to contain and control our information flow, but we were also playing into it a certain extent.[16]

Italian American leaders canceled the parade at the last minute because of a fear of bloodshed.

In the 1970's AIM garnered media attention through surprising confrontational tactics. Denver AIM tactics also included disruptive, confrontational tactics that public sphere theorists have identified as an impediment to social health and public-spirited talk.[17] Similarly, some scholars worry that "movement groups' penchant for turning holidays into arenas of contestation may undermine holidays' capacity to unite."[18] However, even with their disruptive tactics, revolutionary movements may be more conservative than first imagined. The Denver AIM Columbus Day protest that is described in this chapter for example, evoked the patriotic frames of their adversaries and helped spread a renewed vision of patriotism.

Communication

It may seem counter-intuitive that revolutionary movements would reproduce existing ways of thinking. However, it could hardly be another way; pragmatic activists must at least give off the impression that they are speaking a legitimate public language. Activists do not create original meanings; they are constrained by the available images from the past:

> The tradition of all dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brains of the living. And just as they seem engaged in revolutionizing themselves and things, in creating something that has never existed, precisely in such periods of revolutionary crisis they anxiously conjure up the spirits of the past to their service, borrowing from them names, battle cries, and costumes in order to present this new scene of world history in this time-honored disguise and borrowed language.[19]

Columbus Day was framed around themes of war, identity, obedience, and progress.

War

For centuries, Columbus Day was framed as a time to support war, but by the late twentieth century, Columbus Day rituals increasingly questioned the need for war, and some activists began to use Columbus Day to reframe war as unjust violence. The Columbus myth was flexible enough to let competing patriotic groups—hawks and doves—use the holiday for their own ends.

During wartimes, the symbol of Columbus helped support war, and people repeatedly framed Columbus Day as a time to support the nation's war efforts. In the early sixteenth century, Spain hired scholars to declare a "just war" against the Indians.[20] War against the "barbarians" could be justified "not only on the basis of

their paganism," but also because of their "prodigious sacrifice of human victims, the extreme harm that they inflicted on innocent persons, their horrible banquets of human flesh, and the impious cult of their idols" (ibid). As the first, benevolent colonizer, Columbus provided an image of beneficial conquest and colonization.

The symbol "Columbia," the feminine version of Columbus, was used to create a patriotic validation of war. During the beginning skirmishes of the Revolutionary War, former slave Phyllis Wheatley described the nation as "Columbia" and denounced the British enemy: "Fix'd are the eyes of nations on the scales / For in their hopes Columbia's arm prevails. / Anon Britannia droops the pensive head / While round increase the rising hills of dead."[21] General Washington's army in Pennsylvania had dwindled to approximately 500 troops by the end of 1776. The winter was harsh, supplies were scarce, and morale was low after a humiliating string of defeats. In her 1776 poem, Wheatley used the image of Columbia to help citizens cope with these losses. She wrote, "[F]or America's human losses / Columbia too, beholds with streaming eyes / Her heroes fall-'tis freedom's sacrifice."[22]

After taking Philadelphia and Saratoga, the Colonial troops began to more clearly envision an end to the conflict. Wheatley's tone changed, as she incited the leaders to "lead Columbia thro' the toils of war."[23] In 1778, the Colonists enlisted formal support from the French, and it increased their chances for victory. In response, Phillip Freneau boasted: "How vain is Britain's strength! Her armies now / Before Columbia's bolder veterans bow . . . / Withdraw your armies from th' Americ' shore / and vex Columbia with your fleets no more."[24] That same year, Timothy Dwight, an Army Chaplain, wrote the song, *Columbia,* in which he praised the power of the continental troops: "Columbia, Columbia, to glory arise / The queen of the world and the child of the skies! / Thy fleets to all nations thy pow'r shall display / The nations admire, and the ocean obey."[25] Dwight's song was so popular with the revolutionary troops that it was considered the national anthem for decades.[26] Two years later, the British surrendered and Columbus symbols temporarily ceased their association with war.

Columbus again became a patriotic war symbol during the War of 1812. At the start of the conflict, the United States was unprepared. The hawks and doves split public opinion, and the nation's armed forces were weak and scattered compared to Britain's. Freneau responded with his "Volunteers March": "Meet the tyrants, one and all / Freemen stand, or freemen fall / At Columbia's patriot call, / At her mandate, march away!" After the battle of New Orleans assured a U.S. victory, citizens celebrated with Columbia. One watercolor from 1815 depicts Columbia and a soldier defending the British national symbol, Britannia. In another, Columbia places a wreath on a bust of George Washington while she steps on the English crown. During the Civil War years, Columbia rides a chariot with Abraham Lincoln, and in another she receives the South back into the United States.[27] Columbus was regularly transformed to meet wartime needs.

During WWI and WWII, Columbus Day became a day to incite public support for war through liberty bond drives. In 1918, a federal consortium launched a campaign to redefine Columbus Day as "Liberty Day." Officials suggested that Columbus Day "reminds America of her high mission to make her experiment in democracy the hope of the world."[28] They argued for the "obvious" use of Columbus Day to support the war effort: "The use of the anniversary of her discovery to remind

herself of her manifest mission, at a time when she is fighting to fulfill it, is obviously fitting. The discovery of America opened a new road to freedom; our task is to keep the road open" (ibid).

During WWII, Columbus Day was once again used as a time to support the war effort. Columbus Day parades in many large cities were transformed from ethnic celebrations into patriotic spectacles, where Italian and Catholic floats were replaced by marching military brigades. Columbus Day dances and celebratory dinners were replaced with war bond drives. After WWII, Columbus ceased widespread association with war.

Occurring only a month after the September 11th attacks on the World Trade Center, Columbus Day 2001 was another example of how Columbus Day has been temporarily transformed to meet wartime needs, such as supporting the war against terror. In most cities, mourning caused Columbus Day parades and protests to be cancelled. The New York City Columbus Day parade continued, and it helped citizens express solidarity and show support for the troops. Although there is usually only hints of patriotism at the Columbus Day parades in New York City, an observer said the 2001 parade "seemed more like an old-fashioned Fourth of July" because bands played patriotic tunes and "military personnel joined a three-hour line of marchers."[29] Participants came from across the country. One participant claimed the event "reaffirms faith in America," and another carried a sign, "Death to the Taliban." As troops marched in battle fatigues, crowds chanted, "U.S.A.! U.S.A.!" (ibid).

During wartimes, remembering Columbus has helped U.S. citizens perform a variety of patriotic duties related to military conflict, such as inciting military pride, demeaning enemies, venerating heroes, grieving losses, extolling victory, and rousing financial support. Columbus Day became an established tradition in part because memorializing the origin myth met the purposes of supporting war. The Columbus national origin myth gained cultural authenticity because it could be used for so many different purposes.

Denver AIM (D-AIM) activists reframed the patriotic tradition that celebrated war; they did this by arguing that war is often a political excuse for unjust violence. D-AIM documents explicitly argued against the idea that conquest was a "just war." For example, one flyer declared,

> "Defenders of Columbus argue that critics unfairly judge Columbus with moral and legal standards of the late twentieth century. Such a defense implies that there were no legal or moral constraints . . . but in reality European legal and moral principles acknowledged the natural rights of Indians and prohibited their slaughter or just wars against them" (field notes).

During interviews, activists often discussed the Columbus myth as the central justification for the theft of Indian resources. One activist told me about continuing theft of Indian-owned resources such as uranium and coal, and then summarized "The government today is still using the legal system and threats of violence to help businesses get on the Indian land and take the resources from the land. It's the same thing that went on 500 years ago."[30] Some went even farther to proclaim that Columbus was part of a national pathology. For example, one D-AIM leader told me:

> There is such a thick history of violence associated with this Columbus legacy that it has become deeply ingrained in the American psyche. Violence has become the only

reasonable recourse in foreign policy; we are seeing that in Iraq right now. It gets justified as if it is not only moral and right, but also like it is a good thing. I often like to ask this question. How many Iraqis does Jesus want you to kill? What kind of blood sacrifice does this God demand? Americans are in utter psychological denial over and against their own proclivity for violence. The Columbian legacy helps them avoid facing the history of violence that they have lived. And Columbus Day functions quite rationally in a dysfunctional sort of way to justify European occupancy in North America; that justification continues to be necessary to this day, because so much of land title is clouded by massacres, conquest and simple theft.[31]

D-AIM described Columbus's legacy as legitimating violence. Activists also discussed contemporary military injustices; nearly every activist I interviewed said that President Bush was using the same ideology as Columbus. A flyer, titled "Columbush," that was distributed at a protest event claimed Bush's and Columbus's policy was the same:

> "Invade other peoples' lands, murder the innocent people living there (especially children and elders), steal their natural resources, denigrate their spiritual beliefs, overthrow their governments and replace them with puppets of his liking . . . and wrap it all in the facade of 'the rule of the law.'"[32]

The D-AIM reframing angered some people. One author defended the idea of conquest:

> If there's anything more insane than holding ancient people to moral standards that hadn't been invented yet, it's holding modern people responsible for the acts of ancients who didn't know any better. Next time I run into one of those professional "Native American" crybabies, it's going to be hard to resist grabbing him by the squash blossoms and saying, "My ancestors and yours both believed in the right of conquest. Yours lost. Get over it!"[33]

The Columbus origin myth was flexible enough to meet the needs of both hawks and doves, and it also helped address the patriotic problem of defining changing boundaries of national identity.

IDENTITY

Identity boundaries separate insiders from outsiders. The Columbus origin myth has been rewritten to draw identity boundaries, to distinguish between groups of insiders and outsiders, and to tell who does and who does not belong to the nation. In early America, the Columbus myth was used to describe a pro-British identity that excluded Spaniards and Indians. During the revolutionary era, Columbus was rewritten to describe a European, anti-British heritage. When the young republic began to develop, citizens rewrote Columbus again to reflect their anti-European, assimilated American identity. Finally, activists reframed this American identity as anti-assimilation. The Columbus myth was used to construct contradictory identity boundaries.

The first signs that the Columbus myth was being used to construct boundaries between groups came in Columbus's lifetime. As Spain began conquering Indian lands, the Spanish court hired academics to argue that Indians were naturally inferior: "It will

always be just and in conformity with natural law that such people submit to the rule of the more cultured and humane princes and nations."[34] Centuries later, the Spanish, British, and Dutch all competed for control of U.S. land, and the "Black Legend" propaganda campaign spread two intertwined stereotypes: that of the childlike, innocent Indian and that of the cruel Spaniard.[35] Colonial intellectuals also claimed the Spanish had no right of discovery: "[B]y right the Spaniards claim . . . discovery, [but have] massacred and murdered millions of the inhabitants in cold blood, in order to obtain possession."[36] Colonial elites used Columbus to proudly proclaim they were descendants of benevolent British liberty, declare their discovery of unused lands, and portray the Spaniards as cruel colonizers.

As Spaniards lost control of land in North America, the Columbus myth tended to lose its association with Spanish cruelty. Land struggles between British colonists and American Indians intensified, and the Columbus myth was popularly rewritten to portray the Indigenous not as victims but as cruel and "naturally" degenerate. One history is indicative of this trend; it attacked the "savages" for torturing prisoners, and for "degeneracy of mind, body, and character."[37] The indigenous were not only seen as degenerate, but also as "truly inferior to the lowest Europeans" (ibid). Their supposed backwardness became further justification for genocide: "If they had defended themselves even a little, we would not have slaughtered them like animals. If they had shown the slightest inclination for learning we would not think of them as the lowest form of the human species" (ibid). Other historians agreed that colonization would be justified if the Indians were not properly using the land. William Robertson argued that the Indians had "done nothing to open or improve a country possessing almost every advantage of situation and climate."[38] Not only did they lack civilization, but also they were "a different race of men," "indolent," and "beasts of prey" (ibid).

Educators and artists used Columbus to portray the colonized as naturally inferior outsiders that profited from Western Civilization. A 1794 play staged the first encounter between Columbus and the Indians. When the Indians offered Columbus "fruits to feed you, dwellings to shelter you, and garments to clothe you," Columbus responded by showing the Indians a hatchet and proclaiming the white people's spiritual and physical dominance: "God has bestowed upon us superior gifts that could sweep thousands from the earth."[39] Soon the identities expressed with Columbus changed—from a symbol of British dominance over Spaniards and Indians in the colonial era to a symbol of non-British liberty in the revolutionary era.

Rewriting the origin myth helped revolutionaries imagine a non-British country with a distinct, European lineage. In eighteenth-century Europe, "liberty" was a prominent cultural justification for social movements and political revolutions,[40] and the revolutionaries used Columbus to adopt this non-British identity for their new country. In 1761, Harvard students used Columbus to speak about their emerging country, separate from Britain, distinguished by liberty.[41] A poet discussed Columbia as a nation of liberty and prosperity that was distinct from their home country because "no proud despot rules with lawless sway."[42] Another poetically described the "great republic" that "Columbus inspired" as a "land of liberty."[43]

Memorializing Columbus helped citizens imagine a European land of liberty separate from their despotic mother country. Also, using Columbus in place names helped citizens imagine a geographic space separate from their colonizer. In 1784, King's College changed its name to Columbia University. Columbia was a symbol

of non-British liberty. Columbia was a common designation for the new nation; there was even a brief national debate about making the nation's official title to the "United States of Columbia."[44] In 1791, the national capital was placed in the District of Columbia.[45] The European image of liberty had a limited lifespan; it served well to distinguish the nation from its mother country, but was insufficient for developing a distinctive national culture separate from its European roots, and so the myth was rewritten again, from a European to a non-European identity.

By 1800, the use of the adjective "Columbian" became commonplace short-hand by which one could declare public allegiance to a non-European national identity.[46] The Columbian Institute for the Promotion of the Arts and Sciences opened with a goal "to reduce the United States' dependence on a purely European cultural heritage."[47] The Columbian Institute later evolved into the Smithsonian Institution. Columbia was often displayed next to distinguishing American imagery, such as the American flag, George Washington, and the bald eagle.[48] Near the turn of the century, the Columbians World's Fair was a showcase for a distinctly American architecture, "a beginning, at least, of an American style."[49]

Columbus proved a flexible symbol for expressing changing national identities—first a British national identity that excluded the Spaniards and Indians, then a European national identity that excluded its British roots, and finally a distinctively "American" national identity that excluded its European roots.

D-AIM reframed the tradition of assimilation by critiquing the racist legacy described as the "Columbian legacy," a philosophy that made them outsiders. More than a few suggested that their ancestors' problems began with a minimization of their tribal identity—when Columbus (thinking he was in India) lumped together their ancestors under the misnomer "Indian." This basic belief provided the foundation for a larger belief system. One interviewed activist summarized a common sentiment—that Columbus taught racial exclusion:

> Columbus was an individual that perpetuated a particular philosophy, saying that you are less than because you are indigenous because you have dark skin, because you speak with an accent, because you come from another country. That same philosophy is played out today in countless acts of prejudice and bigoted public policy.[50]

D-AIM reframing of the patriotic discourse sparked vigorous debate. Defenders of the patriotic tradition continued to use Columbus to exclude; they defined Indians as backward, uncivilized, and sometimes even as communistic cannibals. The Indians were described as living in a totalitarian culture with no individual freedoms; one writer condemned the "primitivism, mysticism, and collectivism embodied in the tribal cultures of American Indians."[51] Others contrasted the European and Indian cultures; for example, the "mature democracies" in Europe were contrasted with the indigenous people "who obey totalitarian chiefs."[52] Another strategy was to proclaim that the indigenous were cannibals who benefited from European domination. An ex-college professor proclaimed that the Indians should be happy they were discovered because their enemies were literally eating them alive.[53] Several variations of the following appeared in the national media: "Columbus claimed he had to take hundreds of Carib Indians to Spain for their own good and that of their Arawak neighbors, who they were eating."[54] While American Indian activists

used critique and celebration to reframe the assimilated American identity, they also sparked angry dissent that attacked their ethnicity and vehemently reinforced those boundaries.

The Columbus origin myth was flexible enough to allow many different groups to rewrite it to bolster their partisan vision of identity boundaries. Columbus began as a pro-British symbol, was transformed into a pro-European, anti-British symbol, then into an anti-European, assimilated American symbol, and finally was reframed to contest assimilation, which was itself contested angrily. Celebrating Columbus helped address patriotic problems of war, identity, and obedience.

OBEDIENCE

As early as the Jeffersonian era, Columbus was used to tout the importance of patriotic obedience.[55] However, framing of obedience during Columbus commemorations became most prevalent in the industrial era, when immigration threatened to uproot the established political system. After the Civil War, elites began using Columbus to assimilate the immigrants that they had recruited to work as cheap laborers in their factories. Partly as a solution to an ensuing class conflict that they had created, elites subsidized festivals, built statues, and sponsored nationalistic rituals that would assimilate the newcomers.

Organizers and politicians hoped the Columbian World's Fair (1892–1893) would be a massive festival of assimilation. The U.S. Vice President gave an opening speech in which he predicted the nation would become "one people, one language, one law, and one faith."[56] One wealthy fair financier shared this excitement after watching a parade of diverse immigrants who "all marched under one flag, the flag of the united states; to one music, the music of nationality of the flag of the United States; growing up to be educated American citizens, no matter what might be their creed or their origin."[57]

The most important place that holiday activists made Columbus a symbol of patriotic obedience was in the institution of education. The 400th anniversary was celebrated as a time to teach schoolchildren about the obligations of U.S. citizenship. Bellamy coordinated millions. According to both plans and reports, the beginning of the ceremony was the same throughout the country. The students were escorted to the schoolyard (or to the school auditorium) where they first met the glorious stars and stripes; veterans from the local GAR chapter, armed with guns or swords, stood around the flag, and a school official read the president's speech, which asked students to remember their patriotic duties of American citizenship. The GAR elders then led the assemblage in "Three Cheers for Old Glory," and while everyone was giving the flag a military salute, the students recited the Pledge of Allegiance. After the Pledge, the students sang patriotic songs, one whose refrain described a place where people and rulers are united.

Local speakers and festivities appeared next. In Massachusetts, the superintendent reminded students of their patriotic obedience: "We have met to celebrate Columbus Day because President Harrison asked us to, and Governor Russell asked us to. So we obey the Governor and obey the President."[58] He praised the great blessings offered by the nation, and said that these great blessings "ought to make us good, patriotic citizens. We ought to love our parents, our schools, our beautiful flag, and

our country. We ought to love God and obey his commands" (ibid). At the behest of *TYC*, many towns sponsored afternoon celebrations, including a parade, where the public school, according to Bellamy, was to be celebrated alongside Columbus.

In Wisconsin, the state superintendent summarized America's history with a plea for patriotic duty: "This wonderful story should create pride in our American citizenship and a keener desire to discharge its duties worthily."[59] In all accounts, the day was described as a success. The staff at *TYC* proudly declared their leadership behind the successful event that appeared in hundreds of thousands of schools.

The success of the Columbus Day school rituals in 1892 was due in part to Bellamy's success in uniting the goals, constituencies, and organizational resources of three congruent movements—public education, nationalism, and Christian Socialism. That Bellamy sought to use Columbus Day to meet the goals of his three favorite movements was evident in his Columbus Day address:

> "We uplift the system of free and universal education as the master-force which, under God, has been informing each of our generations with the peculiar truths of Americanism. America, therefore, gathers her sons around the schoolhouse to-day as the institution closest to the people, most characteristic of the people, and fullest of hope for the people."[60]

Fellow public-scholar Edward E. Hale also marveled at Bellamy's success: 13 million students simultaneously reciting the same pledge to the same flag, regarding it as a "sublime" ritual that confirmed the "fundamental principle" of education as teaching "the duties and responsibilities of American citizenship."[61]

Columbus Day was used to teach children patriotic rituals of obedience. However, the 400th anniversary event was not merely a tool of economic elites. Bellamy was a leader of both nationalist clubs and the Christian Socialists; these movements shared goals that sought to create a U.S. society that met the needs of the poor masses rather than the needs of a wealthy few.

In the patriotic tradition, Columbus Day commonly induced people to make statements about nationalistic loyalty and patriotic obedience. Although Bellamy may have wished his pledge would teach that the country should make their institutions obedient to the needs of the people, the Columbus Day rituals were more likely to teach obedience of people to the nation. In the modern era, the reframing of the patriotic tradition involved playing off of the expectations for obedience; D-AIM played into people's expectations for disobedience.

D-AIM leaders saw their tactics as not simply attempts to gain attention, but as a challenge to traditional forms of obedience. One leader said,

> That's the thing about hegemony, there's always the threat of violence by the state. The presumption is that whatever violence that is dispensed by the state, is by definition, legitimate, justifiable, and not worthy of comment. Any response to that violence is by definition, criminal. Sorry I don't accept that.[62]

I remained confused about this philosophy and the attendant tactics, so I went back and asked for clarification from another D-AIM leader, who explained,

> There's a respect for diversity of tactics, which is misinterpreted sometimes as support for violence. That's not what it means. What it means is respect for self-determination

and acknowledgment of the fact that you cannot control the action of every individual. No one has the right to do it, not even the police. At heart is simply a very deep belief in the right to self-determination.[63]

The Columbus myth was flexible enough to allow it to be framed and reframed around very different ideas.

Progress

What does it mean to say that Columbus "discovered" America? Artists, teachers, politicians, and fair planners all used discovery and progress as dual legitimating ideologies to celebrate geographic and economic change as progress. In the "New World," one of the earliest political uses of discovery appeared in 1758,[64] but progress rituals peaked in the era of industrial expansion. The legitimacy of the nation state was bolstered by using Columbus to celebrate the unequal acquisition of land and the unequal distribution of economic rewards.

As settlers began to improve upon the wasteland, they rewrote history to show the progress of civilization. When late-eighteenth-century educators retold the Columbus myth, they remembered a welcoming world that was improved through commerce and industry. One late-eighteenth-century educator said Columbus was welcomed to the New World "with friendly arms extended wide," a greeting that inspired their toil for "enterprise and commerce."[65] History schoolbooks saw Columbus as a symbol of progress: "Columbus opened to mankind a new region of science, commerce and enterprise."[66]

Poets and mythmakers joined educators in the celebration of progress. Joel Barlow wrote two epic poems on Columbus and in them validated America as the "last and greatest theatre for the improvement of mankind"[67] and thanked Columbus for "opening the way to the most extensive center of civilization."[68] Washington Irving mythologized Columbus. In Irving's massively popular story, Columbus was the originator of the American empire, "he was desirous of . . . building cities; introducing the useful arts; subjecting everything to the control of law, order and religion; and thus of founding regular and prosperous empires."[69]

Politicians saw progress in one of the U.S. Government's first piece of statuary. The piece shows Columbus in European armor holding a globe in his right hand. A half-naked Indian woman cowers at his side. One politician dubbed the statue "The discoverer and discovered of America"[70] and said it embodied "the march of civilization and Christianity" (ibid). An Alabama Congressman saw in the piece a celebration of national expansion: "And when he likewise placed the ball in his hand he intended further to represent the power of civilization . . . and the freedom that would fill Oregon and Texas, it would pour like a cataract over the Rocky mountains, and passing to the great lakes of the west, it would open the forests of that far distant wilderness to the far shores of the pacific." [sic][71]

Long before the White House was given that name, it was also outfitted with a massive painting by John Vanderlyn that shows Columbus arriving in the New World for the first time. Visitors to the White House were given the suggestion by the tour guide that John Vanderlyn's famous discovery scene was a painting about progress: "Columbus's daring adventure was crowned with the grandest of human discoveries; great in itself and in its consequences; the expansion of mind, the enlargement

of knowledge, the perfection of comfort."[72] Columbus was used to imagine national expansion and celebrate change as progress.

Economic elites spread a positive image of U.S. progress at the Columbian World's Fair. Planning for the 400th anniversary celebration of Columbus's landing began in 1882. Congress set aside $5 million for the event. Privileged elite produced and directed the Columbian World's Fair; the main financiers included mostly business-men who had become financial leaders in the new industrial economy, and many of the main financiers were the "robber barons" that had swindled their way to wealth. The fair provided them a prime opportunity to teach the populace to celebrate the benefits of prosperity. Congress selected Chicago over New York City as the site for the fair, based on its guaranteed $10 million from the capitalists.[73]

The fair directors sought to present a positive meaning of America, one in which the nation stood as a commercial, technological, and cultural leader. The optimistic style was a positive face painted on the troubling social changes that were occurring at the end of the nineteenth century. Not only was the country experiencing massive immigration, but it was also undergoing the shift from an agricultural to an indus-trial society, massive urbanization and poverty, economic recession, and challenges from the progressive movement.

Amidst problematic changes, the fair sponsors used Columbus to present a coherent ideology of positive progress. One Protestant minister noted during a Columbus Day event "our destiny, as an English statesman recently said to me, is a superb destiny, and this week's celebration will assist in believing in a bright national future."[74] Speeches during the Columbian World's Fair often lauded change as progress. One organizer, for example, found progress only after Columbus's discovery: "From the first century to the fifteenth counts for little in the history of progress, but in the period between the fifteenth and the twentieth is a crowned reality of human development."[75] At the fair, Frederick Jackson Turner first presented his now-famous "frontier thesis," an idea that relied on the assumption that the discovery had produced free land and progress. Female leaders still could recount national progress: "The discovery will enable them, especially the toiling millions, to find new worlds of intellectual and moral enjoyment, [and] enhanced material prosperity."[76] African American leaders such as Frederick Douglass also used the Columbian celebration to peddle progress: "Look at the progress the Negro has made in thirty years! Measure the Negro, but not by the standard of the splendid civilization of the Caucasian. Bend down and measure him—measure him from the depths out of which he has risen."[77]

The 400th anniversary commemorations of progress also occurred in New York. New York City hosted a massive Columbus celebration,[78] and the city's politicians proclaimed progress: "The navigators of 1492 and their royal patrons . . . dreamed of wealth, and here it is beyond imagination's furthest limit. They longed for power, and here it is greater than that of any ancient empire."[79] New York City's Metropolitan Opera House opened a score on Columbus Day, 1892. The play's Columbus "was kept firm in his faith," not by God, but rather by "apparitions of the Spirit of Progress."[80] A speaker at a New York City Catholic conference thought that only Columbus deserved such recog-nition: "unlike Moses, Columbus raised up new kingdoms and empires."[81]

Business elites in several cities gave off the impression of a "progressive" city by erect-ing a Columbus statue. In 1892, business elites donated Columbus statues in Chicago,[82]

New York City[83] and many other cities. The patriotic fervor during 1892 was revivied several years later, when acclaimed frontier poet Joaquin Miller penned the lines of his famous poem about perseverance and Columbus, which has the refrain: "On! Sail on!"

Fair organizers, business elites, politicians, artists, journalists, religious leaders, mythmakers, and educators all declared Columbus a symbol of progress. The myth of progress was reframed by contemporary activists.

After D-AIM reframing, Columbus Day moved from being a solution for the potential problem of progress to being a symbol of the crisis caused by change. D-AIM and its supporters tapped into left-wing political culture. Kirkpatrick Sale, an expert on left-wing politics, declared the 500th anniversary a grand opportunity for mobilizing the left. Sale's book on Columbus was widely read and cited in 1992. He argued that the voyage brought about European capitalism, rationalism, science, and technology; these were not signs of progress but the causes of genocide, greed, and environmental destruction.

Many other authors reframed the traditional story of progress by highlighting the role of slavery in Western expansion. For example, one said, "[T]he industrial prosperity of the West was largely financed with the blood and tears of colonial and slave labor put in place by the conquest."[84]

Among D-AIM participants, the idea of progress meant an ideology that justified domination; one activist told us a well-developed belief system that showed the nefarious side to progress:

> Columbus brought progress for mankind. This idea let them steal Indian land and commit the worst holocaust ever. It goes on today in business, science, medicine, and technology. It's written into our society. If you can claim something first, you can say you've discovered it, and you can own it. You can get away with anything in this country with the doctrine of discovery and the idea of progress. The doctrine of discovery helps people ignore others. And people can ignore the harm, because it's done in the name of progress.[85]

The most common reframing of progress was to state the dramatic opposite: Columbus began American Indian genocide. Activists described this not only as a statement of truth, but also as a consciously worded statement to gain public attention: "People know you are serious when you use the word 'holocaust,'" one leader told us.

A patriotic collective memory emerged through centuries of memorials that framed the holiday as a day to address patriotic problems related to war, identity, obedience, and progress.

Conclusion

Through centuries of framing and reframing, activists borrowed from, reinforced, and challenged patriotic ideals on Columbus Day. Activists mobilized to shape public commemorations, and institutional elites also used the holiday to celebrate or protest four of the central concerns for any nation: war, identity, progress, and obedience. Through framing and reframing, people constructed a common identity as proud Americans, and by spreading a patriotic interpretation of the national origin story, they constructed a patriotic collective memory.

CHAPTER 3

RELIGIOUS

Columbus was not widely remembered as a religious figure until Catholics began immigrating in large numbers in the nineteenth century. Catholic and anti-immigrant groups offered competing ways to remember Columbus. By the late twentieth century, the Catholic version of the origin story became eclipsed by a story spread by Protestant, ecumenical activists. Because of Protestant and Catholic movements, a religious version of the origin story was institutionalized in religion, media, education, art, and politics. Father Michael McGivney and Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. were representative leaders of the most successful Catholic and Protestant memory movements.

Father Michael McGivney was one of the country's most important religious activists. Currently a candidate for sainthood, McGivney's vision of a Catholic antidefamation and fraternal society grew widely since he founded the Knights of Columbus organization in New Haven, Connecticut in 1882. Since then, the Knights of Columbus (hereafter Knights or KOC) has grown to nearly 2 million members, who in one year can donate more than 100 million dollars and more than 50 million hours of volunteer time to charitable causes. Their most popular causes are orphans of members, developmental disabilities, war funds, and September 11th victim funds. The Knights leaders had a very difficult time organizing around Columbus during the 500th anniversary. In contrast, in the first 30 years of their existence, the Knights were particularly successful in mobilizing their constituents and persuading institutional leaders—such as teachers, preachers, poets, and politicians—to reproduce a Catholic version of the Columbus origin story. The Knights succeeded in shaping the origin myth, surprisingly, when their constituents lacked political power and when the organization had a relatively small membership. Similarly, the second major movement discussed in this chapter—the ecumenical movement—also succeeded when their traditional forms of power were decreasing.

One of our most important religious leaders was Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who was a member of Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC), an ecumenical social justice organization. King's legacy of religious activism lived on through CALC's protests of Columbus Day, but moreover his vision appeared in the anti-Columbus activism of a much larger allied movement organization, the National Council of

Churches (NCC). These two Protestant ecumenical movement organizations—CALC and NCC—united for anti-Columbus protest during the 500th anniversary.

The NCC is an association of church groups in the United States with 100,000 local congregations and 45 million members from mainline Protestant, Orthodox, African American, and peace churches. The council contains a loose confederation of religious congregations, each with their own interests and values. From its founding in 1950, the NCC response to social issues has shown its particular vision for social justice, through fighting for civil rights legislation, as well as labor, affirmative action, minimum wage, antipoverty, and antiwar legislation.

The ecumenical movements mobilized diverse networks and used established frames, but their success in spreading their partisan vision of the origin myth could not be predicted with traditional conceptions of political process theory. Curiously, like the Knights, the ecumenical movement was most successful in their Columbus mobilization in times of relative weakness. For both the conservative Catholic KOC, and their progressive Protestant counterparts at the NCC, success in spreading their framing of Columbus came during threatening times—when trends in members, money, and elite support show the movement in dire straits.

Though many religious groups commemorated Columbus, only some groups were powerful enough to have their interpretation of the national origin myth become institutionalized as a collective memory. Groups in power rewrite the past; that calls for no explanation. The few successful minority groups, however, do warrant deeper analysis. Why do only some powerless groups successfully challenge established cultural traditions? How can the powerless rewrite the past?

The powerless can rewrite the past through successful social movements. The chapter argues that the successful groups, Protestant and Catholic, were those that included all three ingredients in the recipe of change: political opportunity, resource mobilization, and framing. Surprisingly, despite restrictions in resources such as money, members, and elite support, they still managed to take advantage of limited political opportunities and efficiently mobilize organizational resources. They also used established, legitimate symbols by framing Columbus with established civil religious frames.

Muslim, Jewish, and Mormon groups produced their own sacred rituals on Columbus Day, but these were periodic rather than sustained, and remained in isolated communities; none of these groups sponsored sustained public activism around the national origin myth. Conversely, Catholic and Protestant movements each mobilized sustained campaigns.

Catholic mobilization peaked during the 400th anniversary and Protestant mobilization peaked during the 500th anniversary. In the decade surrounding 1892, Catholic stories of Columbus appeared commonly across time and space.

During the 400th anniversary, the Knights mobilized widely, and their Catholic frame diffused widely: Teachers, preachers, poets, and politicians all revered Catholics on Columbus Day, and commonly celebrated the Catholic origins of the nation. In contrast, a century later, when the KOC had more resources, few U.S. citizens could be found evoking the Catholic frame. Even many Catholics refused to follow the papal edict of using the 500th anniversary to celebrate Catholic evangelization. Power did not afford power over memory. Critics agreed that Columbus was a symbol of evangelization, but countered that celebration was the wrong moral stance.

Outside the Knights, some Catholic leaders asked for forgiveness for the horrors of evangelization. Inside the Knights, leaders described "an unprecedented bashing," and they were forced to very defensive responses of Catholicism in general. What happened? Why were the Knights so successful in rewriting Columbus in 1892, when they were small and powerless, but so unsuccessful in 1992 when they were large and powerful?

The case of religious movements suggests that worldly resources do not dictate spiritual activism, and that success can come through creative combinations of opportunity, resources, and framing. According to political opportunity and resource mobilization studies, the success of collective action should increase during events like anniversaries, and when political power increases through elite support and swelling membership. Thus, it is not surprising that mobilization emerged around the anniversaries, but it is surprising that for Catholic and Protestant movements, their main successes came when elite support and membership numbers were in decline, in times of economic, organizational and political weakness. The implication is that the powerless can rewrite the past.

A religious collective memory was produced by Protestant and Catholic movements; these movements succeeded in spreading their partisan stories to teachers, preachers, poets, and politicians. The chapter proceeds in five parts. The first and second parts examine political opportunity and resource mobilization in the Knights of Columbus and ecumenical movements. The third, fourth, and fifth parts examine the Protestant and Catholic movements' framing of civil religion as a mirror, lamp, and ideology.

POLITICAL OPPORTUNITY AND RESOURCE MOBILIZATION IN THE KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS

In the late nineteenth century, Catholic activists began transforming the origin myth into a religious collective memory; eventually the story of a Catholic Columbus spread throughout religious, political, educational, and media institutions. The Knights success was largely due to their ability to take advantage of political opportunities, and their ability to mobilize resources such as using surprising tactics and bringing together networks of people from different backgrounds.

Successful groups like the Knights also took advantage of political opportunities when migration and discrimination altered their political access. These components of political opportunity and resource mobilization cannot be completely separated analytically; in reality, they were intertwined and played off of each other to shape the movement over time; most important was the time of the Knights greatest successes, from their origins in the mid-nineteenth century to the early years of the twentieth century.

When political access increases through gaining political allies or through quick rises in population, then a political opportunity for movement protest is created. One way to measure the political opportunity of Catholic movements such as the Knights is to examine the population growth of their target members. There was a massive increase in population of Irish Catholics after 1845 (figure 3.1).

The change in population upsets the status quo and creates moments of opportunity, but moreover, it is interesting to note that for three decades before the 400th

anniversary, immigration rates were declining (see figure 3.2). Successful memory protest is not always a reflection of raw numbers. While populations were declining, the Catholic Church was still a massive institution. Catholic Church membership in 1890 dominated even the largest Protestant denominations (figure 3.3)

Another way to measure political opportunity is to pay attention to repression. Traditionally, political process studies suggested opportunities increase with political access and decrease with repression. However, studies are beginning to challenge this idea. Building on this new group of studies, this chapter suggests that religious movements flourish in times of discrimination and competition. When political access is threatened through illegal discrimination, then a political opportunity for religious movement protest is created.

Although traditional views of secularization persist, persistence of religious belief, rituals, and organizations has forced scholars to explore alternatives to the secularization thesis. The new paradigm agrees with the traditional view that society has become increasingly rationalized and that religion has lost its hold on social institutions. However, the new paradigm suggests competition among denominations within an open religious market increases religious activity.[1] The idea that threat and competition may encourage activists to employ organizational resources is not widely accepted but has been confirmed in studies of a few nonreligious movements such as women's suffrage,[2] labor,[3] white supremacy,[4] and voluntary associations.[5] Perhaps because of threat and competition, the Protestant and Catholic movements responded with cultural activism, such as mobilizing to shape the collective memory of Columbus.

The major threat to Catholic immigrants came from nativists; anti-immigrant movements have a long history in the United States. Much nativist ire was directed at Catholic immigrants. By 1790, approximately 10 percent of the white population of 3.2 million was Irish, but there were only approximately 35,000 Catholics—mostly French and in Maryland. The largest Catholic immigration to America was spurred by Ireland's Potato Famines of 1845–1846. More than 700,000 Catholics immigrated to the United States in the 1840s, tripling the Catholic population by the end of the decade. In each decade between 1870 and 1920, more than 1 million Catholics entered.[6] Irish and Catholic immigration changed the ethnic and religious makeup of the country; many of the established citizens saw the change as a threat.

Especially between the 1840s and the 1920s, Catholic immigrants received recurring harassment and violence from anti-immigrant agitators. The label of the immoral and inferior Catholic justified institutionalized discrimination and violent action against Catholic immigrants. The largest Catholic anti-defamation organization has been the Knights. The Knights began in 1882 in Connecticut. Similar to other fraternal organizations,[7] the Knights were primarily an ethnic benefit society (providing sick and death benefits to members), with secondary interests in community benevolence and group rights. The Columbus symbol was central to their goals of fostering assimilation and challenging Catholic defamation.

Christopher Columbus was a masthead because leaders hoped the patriotic image would help fight stereotypes and discrimination. Columbus already symbolized patriotism, and the Knights highlighted that he was Catholic. Bearing the image of Columbus gave them symbolic legitimacy against Protestant nativism, "As Catholic descendants of Columbus, we are entitled to all rights and privileges due

to such a discovery by one of our faith," one founder said.[8] Another founder recalled, "[T]hey had in view the name of Columbus, the great Catholic discoverer of America whose name would be a token of strength as showing we Catholics were no aliens to this country."[9] Another said the organizational seal embodied their resiliency and residency: "In these days of political subservience, when it is sometimes thought a crime to assert Catholic rights, it is truly consoling to find a design that would seem to insist that somebody landed in America before the saintly Pilgrims."[10] The organizational name "affirmed the discovery of America as a Catholic event,"[11] and it symbolized their resistance to discrimination.

The organizational structure of the Knights was an important part of their resource mobilization. The Knights was one of the largest voluntary organizations during the golden age of voluntarism between 1860 and 1920. Empirical research on the largest 21 voluntary associations, including the Knights, suggests membership growth was driven by several factors besides economic modernization or immigration.[12] The Knights began in Connecticut parishes, but by the 400th anniversary, they reorganized to duplicate state and local councils used by the federal government and proven effective by both Protestant fraternal societies[13] and Protestant temperance movements.[14] Studies show that the spread of fraternal organizations increased when heightened electoral competition created an opening in the local political system and in places inundated with soldiers returning with money and leadership experience.[15] Fraternal organizations also grew through competition with religious organizations.[16]

The Knights sought to build a diverse network of supporters. As the Knights gained constituents, they increasingly used Columbus Day to sponsor a pan-ethnic identity of Italian and Irish Catholics. By the early 1870s, Italian Catholic immigrants organized Columbus Day traditions that would last for several decades. In New York City, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Philadelphia, and San Francisco, Italian American Catholics sponsored Columbus Day events. In New York, the events included morning church service, sharp-shooting contests, flag decorating on Italian ships in the New York harbor, a parade, and a dinner-dance. In San Francisco, their celebration was similar to New York's: morning church services, a parade where Italians carried a bust of Columbus throughout the streets (as is traditionally done during a religious *festa* in Italy), a reenactment of Columbus's landing, speeches, concerts, banquets, and dances, all prepared by local Italian fraternities.[17]

The Knights used commemorations of Columbus to help unite Irish and Italian Catholics. A Knights' historian said the purpose of the organization was to create a pan-Catholic alliance,

> The major role of the Knights of Columbus was to provide an organization which transcended parish lines, which healed divisions within Catholic society, which promoted Catholic cultural interests.[18]

The Knights claimed to foster a pan-Catholic membership, but their members, at least in the early years, were almost exclusively middle- or upper-class professional Irish immigrants. Of the first 1105 members, 97 percent were Irish—about half of these were American born.[19]

Organizations like the KOC would not have been the first place where disparate peoples (such as Irish and Italian Catholics) would assimilate, so it makes sense that the Knights did not immediately recruit a pan-ethnic constituency of Italian and Irish Catholics. Earlier than joining organizations across ethnic lines, pan-ethnic networks are created through informal relations such as shared rituals.

Columbus Day celebrations helped community leaders unite Italian and Irish immigrants as Catholic Americans. Italian Americans came together with the Knights to celebrate a Catholic American Columbus Day. Columbus Day was not simply a day to unite the Italians and Irish but all Catholic nationalities. During the 400th anniversary diverse people mobilized for a Catholic celebration, one journalist observed:

> Columbus was the first immigrant to America. He was an Italian; he was a Catholic. Italians, Irish, French, Spanish, Hungarians and all the rest marched by nationalities. While the constituents of the magnificent processions are of differing nationalities, the one thing that unifies them is their religion. They are all Catholic.[20]

In addition to displays of civic loyalty, the Knights public relations tactics tried to protect Catholics from nativist defamation. In response to a tract circulating in 1892, they said in one memo that the "activities of the order are under attack." Apparently dispersed by anti-Catholic agitators, the tract claimed Leif Erickson and John Cabot had discovered and settled in America before Columbus. The Knights thought it was "a definite program which it may fairly be assumed will later be translated into action." They said the writers falsely claimed, "North America, in its beginning, and its development, and fruiting, is Angle [sic] Saxon" (KOC archive; Columbiad/bogus oath record group). These tracts appeared many times through the years. Generally, a member would collect a tract or two, record a memo for the files, and write an article in their newspaper, the *Columbiad*, to encourage vigilance against the anti-Catholic discrimination.

Throughout the country, in the first quarter of the twentieth century, grassroots "patriotic protective associations" actively opposed the Knights. In 1925, Richmond, Virginia's Italian Catholic immigrant societies raised money to donate a statue of Christopher Columbus for the city park, but under pressure the city declined space for it. The Patriotic Welfare Committee, a blue-collar patriotic association, amassed more than 200 signatures for a petition to oppose the monument. The city council then voted six to one to reject public space for the monument. In response, a Klan lecturer hailed Richmond's rejection of the Columbus statue as "a great defeat for the Vatican."[21] The monument, he said, "was a part of the conspiracy to establish Roman Catholicism as a dominant factor in the civic and political life of Richmond" (ibid).

Especially in the first quarter of the twentieth century, the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) and the women's KKK (WKKK) were two of the most radical secret societies that promoted traditional morality, patriotism, and Protestant nationalism. KKK and WKKK drew from Protestant doctrine; established Protestant leaders (Methodist, Pentecostal, etc.) were paid (as organizers or "Kleagles") to travel from town to town, recruit the public, and give fiery speeches about how Catholics were overtaking their country. They distributed tracts that warned how Catholics were taking over the economy, schools, and morality. Catholics were blamed for relaxing morality.

The WKKK saw it as their Christian duty to watch over communities for signs of relaxed morality, which they blamed on Catholics, and sometimes enforced with violence. The KKK and WKKK also worked together to place candidates in state offices and to pass restrictive immigration legislation. In the 1920s, their power base was Indiana, and there, as elsewhere, they mobilized against Catholics; the popular understanding is that the KKK was an antiblack organization; "the most common target of the Indiana Klan, however, was Catholics."[22]

Rumors, tracts, articles, and books followed the evangelization parade put on by the Kleagles. Popular were rumors and tracts about nuns who had escaped from sexually abusive convents. Another popular tract was a farce on the Knights initiation rite that was "a secret blueprint for a Catholic takeover of the country."[23] The "bogus oath" showed that all Knights members had to promise to "wage relentless war, secretly and openly, against all heretics, Protestants, and Masons."[24] Nativists used hundreds of small newspapers, such as the *New Catholic Menace*, to reprint the bogus oath (even in the face of libel suits). The newspapers also regularly attacked the Knights by calling them "Roman Catholic Thugs" with a "criminal and seditious record";[25] the nativists imagined the Knights primary characteristics were corruption, violence, and conspiracy.

When the Knights arrived in Denver, the Klan circulated a revised tract, which suggested the Knights were going to violently take over the city. An "escaped nun" gave 60 lectures. The campaign incited cross burnings in front of Catholic churches, and actual violence, said one victim, "both Jewish activists and Catholic priests were subjected to physical harassment and death threats; feelings ran so high that just the sight of a white collar set them off."[26] Another inflammatory tract described Catholics as gun-toting revolutionaries who mobilized around Columbus to take over the country. A Knight responded during a Columbus Day speech, "The church is accused by these men of trying to make America Catholic and we plead guilty of the charge, but they say we want to make America Catholic by force of arms...which is not only untrue but absolutely ridiculous."[27]

The Knights central tactic was to stage massive showings of respectable Knights at Columbus Day parades. One of the most successful was in the little city of New Haven, where 6,000 Knights marched neatly past 40,000 people through the streets during 1892s patriotic Columbus Day parade.[28] Showings of orderly patriotism at Columbus events was a central tactic the Knights used to dispel the nativist charge of immoral, unpatriotic Catholicism; the Knights' historian said these tactics were part of the Knights promotion: Catholic immigrants were viewed by many as unpatriotic, and loyal to the Pope, and thus the Knights promoted 'citizen culture' through explicit displays of loyalty (Kauffman 1992). Newspaper articles accompanied parades; they helped foster the image of patriotic, respectful Catholics. One journalist said,

> If any doubt existed in the minds of any that Catholics are Americans in every fiber of their being, it ought to vanish in the light of the addresses made everywhere yesterday by Catholic orators and applauded by Catholic hearers...All the members were well-dressed...our people are exceedingly well behaved and orderly class of men.[29]

Another journalist described the parade as a tool to fight stereotypes: "narrow minded people living in New England imagine people in the Irish race are idle, slovenly, and

often vicious…the Irish will compare favorably with every other nationality in all that goes to make up good citizenship" (ibid). In Colorado, the 400th anniversary of Columbus Day was described as a Catholic holiday, "it has been created for Catholics, particularly immigrant Catholics, and their children, the special Catholic holiday of the year…Christmas and Thanksgiving are religious or family holidays for all the people; Columbus Day belongs to our Catholic people."[30] After their successful public celebrations of the 400th anniversary, the Knights turned their attention to a Columbus statue, which they successfully established in the nation's capital.

Political Opportunity and Resource Mobilization in Ecumenical Movements

The ecumenical movement can be traced to the Columbian World's Fair in 1892–1893, but most ecumenical holiday activism emerged much later. In the twentieth century, religious protest on Columbus Day was sponsored by Protestant, ecumenical organizations such as CALC and the NCC.

Political opportunities were important for encouraging ecumenical movements. One of the outcomes from the Civil Rights Movement was the passage of the Civil Rights Act, which created opportunities for religious movements. Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act prohibits employment discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, and national origin. The Civil Rights Movement, and the legislation it spurred, provided an important political opportunity for ecumenical and minority religious movements. Also, other legal changes altered religious groups' political access and thus created opportunities for a plurality of religious groups and movements. Through a series of Supreme Court decisions, Christian and religious symbols were removed from schools, courtrooms, and other government properties. These new policies, in addition to new immigrants, led to a destabilization of elite power and further political opportunity for religious movements, especially those organized around religious pluralism.

Political opportunities came also as the federal government reorganized in the post–civil rights era; groups with professionally run grant managers and mailing list membership were rewarded by the government; these groups benefited from hundreds of court cases and billions of dollars in financial support provided for civil rights. Institutional elites in charge of these funds defined European minorities such as Italian Americans and Irish Americans as assimilated whites and defined them as not deserving of support. Civil rights legislation and funds sparked a new cycle of protest. Minority rights organizations grew from 98 in 1955 to 688 in 1985.[31]

Events and changes in public opinion can change the receptivity of audiences, thus creating political opportunities for some groups and closing opportunities for others. Sex scandals in the months before the 500th anniversary caused public trust in the Catholic Church to decline[32]; declining trust in the church closed opportunities for the Knights to mobilize around Columbus and opened opportunities for ecumenical protesters to mobilize around Columbus. Another opportunity for ecumenical movements was the growth of atheism. Public opinion data from Gallup polls show the years just before the 500th anniversary years to be low points in religiosity:

> In 1952, for example, 67% of Americans said that they were Protestant and 25% said they were Catholic, for a total of 92% Christian, while only 2% said they had no

religion. The percentage who are Christian fell to a low point of roughly 81% in 1990 and 1991, a time when the "no religion" category rose to 11%.[33]

The "no religion" category subsequently decreased after 1992; the spikes in atheism that occurred just before the 500th anniversary were important opportunities for ecumenical anti-Columbus activists not because these movements espoused atheism, but because these movements mobilized atheist supporters. National random samples were asked both religious preference and values toward Columbus; people who defined Columbus as a villain also were most likely to choose a "no religion" response.[34] While religion had no effect on the other responses, "responses classified as 'Villainous Columbus' show a very large and highly significant association in the predicted direction for the dichotomy of no religious preference versus all others: odds ratio 7.75, $p < .0001$."[35] As atheists were the only religious group statistically likely to support protest, spikes in atheism created opportunities for ecumenical activists.

Elite allies open political opportunities; similarly, as a movement's constituents gain political power, political opportunities increase. This has been the established thinking. However, the Catholic dominance in 1892 and the Protestant dominance in 1992 occurred in inverse relation to the political power of Protestants and Catholics, and this is visible in terms of status, institutional positions, and membership.

Analyzing *Who's Who* as a measurement of social status shows Catholics rise and Protestant's decline; Catholics were only 4 percent of elites in 1930, but increased to 23 percent by 1992. During the same period, the number of Protestants declined from 29 to 21 percent.[36] Several NCC congregations declined in status more than the average Protestants, from 14 to 9 percent over the same period for Methodists, from 2 to .36 for Disciples of Christ, and from 11 to 3 percent for United Church of Christ (ibid).

In traditional institutional positions Protestants lost ground and Catholics gained. From 1789 to 2003, appointments of Protestants in the federal cabinet and courts have declined, and appointments of Catholics increased.[37] Although the presence of elite allies can help politically oriented movements, falling status and threatened power may motivate culturally oriented movements.

Members are probably the most important part of resource mobilization, but NCC membership did not enable successful memory movements. Between 1979 and 1989, NCC reported that membership dropped in all of the NCC churches, by 18 percent in the United Methodist Church, 25 percent in the Presbyterian Church, 28 percent in the Episcopal Church, and 20 percent in the United Church of Christ; the NCC also reported that the money contributed by member denominations during this period declined by 53 percent when adjusted for inflation.[38]

The membership declines reported by the NCC began in the 1970s, and continued through the 500th anniversary. The trend holds true for all the major Protestant denominations (see figures 3.4, 3.5, and 3.6). Membership should increase among successful movements and decrease among less successful movements. Protestant movements succeeded in the late twentieth century, at the same time they were losing members. Conversely, 1992 activism by Catholic movements such as the Knights mostly failed, when Catholics were gaining members (see figure 3.7). According to public opinion polls, the number of people claiming to be Protestant decreased

from 69 percent in 1965 to 56 percent in 1995. Conversely, the number claiming to be Catholics increased from 24 to 27 percent over the same period.[39]

As groups gain status and power, they may be drawn to state-oriented action rather than cultural mobilization. Success in traditional politics may also signal the end of the movement to the public, so audiences may be less likely to listen or lend support to "political" collective action after legislative wins. Perhaps the debate about whether increasing political power leads to openings in political opportunities is misplaced; both increases and decreases upset the status quo. Changing access to political power is one of several factors that opened political opportunities for ecumenical organizations such as NCC and CALC.

Resource mobilization of the ecumenical movements involved their ability to recruit a diverse network and their use of resonant tactics, but their success was not due to growth in membership. Both NCC and CALC were organizations that sought to unite diverse religious organizations, and their successful resource mobilization was likely due to their ability to unite these diverse peoples. Also important was their ability to gain charismatic leaders and sponsor surprising tactics.

Throughout the 1960s, CALC was very active in civil rights and antiwar protests. The CALC board of directors included mostly Protestant leaders, although a few Rabbis were also included. There were many scholars on the board; for example, Martin Luther King, Jr. was a representative from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Martin Marty represented the University of Chicago Divinity School, and Reinhold Niebuhr represented the Union Theological Seminary.

NCC and CALC assisted in Civil Rights, Black Power, and American Indian Movement struggles. CALC worked with many civil rights and antiwar groups such as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Quakers, and Students for a Democratic Society. Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. became the official CALC spokesperson, and CALC cosponsored events with other popular civil rights leaders such as Ralph Abernathy, James Bevel, and Dick Gregory. CALC also sponsored regular protests against the Vietnam War, which included advocacy of draft avoidance and tax evasion.

During Columbus Day week in 1967, CALC sponsored major protest events that culminated a national week of antiwar protest. At one rally in Washington D.C., a common statement on the flyers was "support our troops, bring them home alive."[40] A similar scene happened at the rally in Philadelphia. Outside Independence Hall in Philadelphia, six draftees responded to the call to come to the podium and burn their draft cards (ibid). CALC was just one ecumenical organization that took advantage of the political opportunities available for religious pluralism in the second half of the twentieth century.

While CALC supported radical actions, the tactics of the NCC have been relatively moderate. NCC members eschew confrontational politics and prefer community service projects, educational events, and calm policy advocacy.[41] During the 500th anniversary protests, neither NCC nor CALC protest tactics were particularly radical; they included publishing movement newsletters, releasing public statements, organizing meetings, creating a repository for protest information, sponsoring networking among grassroots activists, and running campaigns to shape public school curriculum. Ecumenical movements commonly advocated educational activism as

inexpensive and nonconfrontational tactics that helped them take advantage of opportunities for activism.

Political opportunities and organizational resources helped religious movements capture public attention and transform the origin myth into a religious collective memory. The Catholics in the nineteenth century and the ecumenical groups in the twentieth century were most successful at challenging the traditional institutional commemorations, in part because they took advantage of political opportunities when migration and discrimination upset the status quo. Successful groups mobilized resources such as bringing together networks of people from different backgrounds and using resonant, eye-catching tactics to educate the public. The Knights grew out of political opportunities provided by migration and discrimination and out of threats to their status and power. Protestant ecumenical movements also sponsored increasingly successful Columbus Day activism during times of declining status and power.

The Knights and ecumenical movements also had similar experiences with resource mobilization; both used Columbus Day to develop a diverse, pan-religious network of supporters. Bringing together networks of people from mixed cultures was important for the growth of the movements, and their leadership and tactics helped them communicate with members and with the public.

Resource mobilization and political opportunity are necessary for successful mobilization, but they are not sufficient. Catholics and ecumenical movements were the most successful collective memory activists because they took advantage of opportunities, mobilized resources, and communicated effectively. One type of effective communication is the reproduction of established frames, such as the creative reuse of American civil religion.

Framing and Religious Movements

Within such contested rhetorical terrain as religion and politics, people are especially likely to rely on accepted frames. As frames provide expectations for speakers and audiences, they help define the situation. Rather than redefining each situation anew, people apply existing frames to new events. Thus, frames from the past are put to new ways in the present. Frames are emergent—given from the past, but are also always changing. As established frames are so often reproduced, they become implicitly solidified as recognizable and true. When people reproduce popular frames, their speech is more persuasive. Reproducing common frames is one way that activists can take part in effective communication.

In the modern era, secularization has weakened the role of religion in politics. This is sometimes thought of as a war in which politics increasingly extinguishes religion, where the prestige and public power of religion "declines as power coalesces in the institutions of the state."[42] The U.S. people and courts have broadly defined the establishment clause of the First Amendment, so that challenges to once-accepted forms of religiosity—for example, the words "under God" in the Pledge of Allegiance—have become the foundation for further separation of a private church and a public state. Many forces divide religion from politics, but civil religion brings the two back together.

THE CONCEPT OF CIVIL RELIGION

While church and state may be formally separated, religion and politics are intertwined through civil religion. Civil religious frames help people maneuver the contested terrains of religion and politics by providing a common, accepted way to frame public discussions about religion. American civil religion is not the "worship of the American nation but an understanding of the American experience in the light of ultimate and universal reality."[43] In the United States, the tradition dates back at least as far as the signers of the Declaration of Independence, who pledged their "sacred honor" to each other and declared their reliance on Divine Providence. Civil religion in the United States is a "religio-political system, independent of both organized religions and the institutions of government, which represents a set of collective religious symbols, a sacralized national identity, and a system of transcendent, quasi-religious principles of political order."[44] American civil religion "has its own prophets and its own martyrs, its own sacred events and sacred places, its own solemn rituals and symbols."[45]

Civil religion helps integrate the populace. Especially in a nation of immigrants, civil religion meets the important need of creating a strong sense of identity and social solidarity. The nation is not an objective fact; rather the territorial and cultural identities of a nation are contingent and contested claims constructed, in part, through ritual reenactments of the nation's past. Civil religious commemorations provide "a country's self-definition, explain why and how a society came to be, [and] justify why its members do what they do."[46] The common bonds of nationality and citizenship are created through symbols, values, heroic stories,[47] and through the reproduction of sacred origin myths.

Civil religion developed through three primary events: the American Revolution, the Civil War, and the Civil Rights Movement (ibid). Civil religious rituals and beliefs have their origins in the Judeo-Christian tradition, but speak to the public good[48] and receive broad public support. Surveys show that citizens overwhelmingly support political leaders expressing their faith, and civil religious principles such as "America is God's chosen nation today" or "Social justice cannot only be based on laws, it must also come from religion." Political liberals and college graduates are less likely to support these civil religious principles, while Southerners, African Americans, Hispanics, and Protestants (especially evangelicals) are more likely to support them.[49]

Civil religion is a legitimate, legitimating language, and its power comes, in part, because it is a selective language with boundaries between legitimate and illegitimate speech. There are patterns in how civil religion has been used, and examining these patterns exposes the boundaries of the legitimate. A civil religious frame has become part of the public culture, and it has been used by diverse groups across space and time, thus producing an established, legitimate way of uniting politics and religion. How the established frame was produced is the mystery, so before showing how the Knights and ecumenical activists reproduced the bounded civil religious frame during Columbus Day activism, it will help to examine the general civil religious frame in U.S. political culture. Two axes bind civil religion, "political orientations" and "social functions."

The civil religious frame varies by political orientation. Religious rhetoric with a more conservative orientation of preserving the status quo is described as *priestly* civil religion, while rhetoric with a challenging or liberating political orientation is described as

prophetic civil religion.[50] The former voice tends to come from within the establishment and highlight successes and achievements, while the later tends to emanate from institutional outsiders, challenge existing power relations, and emphasize social problems.[51]

In the U.S. political culture, civil religion has served three social functions. First, as a mirror that reflects the current status of society, civil religion exposes current injustices or celebrates present greatness. Second, as a lamp that guides future action, civil religion provides spiritual legitimacy and hope for the future. Third, as an ideology, civil religion consecrates a normative, partisan vision of the past, present, and future. In practice, the social functions of civil religion are combined with political orientations, so that the mirror, lamp, and ideology are expressed within either a priestly or a prophetic tradition.

Civil religion functions as a priestly and prophetic *mirror*—a defense or challenge to current images of society. While the priestly *lamp* relies on spiritual beliefs for guidance, the prophetic lamp emphasizes the importance of secular institutions. Civil religion functions as an *ideology* that justifies a particular sectarian group and their vision of the past, present, and future. As a priestly or prophetic ideology, civil religion often appears as what is termed religious nationalism, which is characterized by the desire for theocracy. Using legitimated civil religious language of a mirror, lamp, or ideology created legitimacy and characterized effective communication.

Successful movements take advantage of political opportunities, efficiently mobilize resources, and communicate effectively. Effective communication is accomplished, in part, through the reproduction of legitimate frames such as using civil religion as a priestly or prophetic mirror, lamp, and ideology. The remainder of this chapter shows how Columbus Day activists framed their rituals with civil religious frames.

FRAMING CIVIL RELIGION AS A MIRROR

As people commemorated the national origin myth, they reframed the national origin myth into a civil religious symbol. Their successful framing came, in part, because they reproduced frames that functioned as a mirror that reflected back on themselves and their society.

PRIESTLY MIRROR

During Columbus Day rituals, people evoked a civil religious frame when they reflected on the sacred values in their society, such as democracy, liberty, and individualism. Liberty was a common theme in the late nineteenth century. In 1892, the Catholic Club sponsored a major celebration in New York City. One speaker said the missionaries "prepared them [Indians] for the freedom and development with which America impresses the world today."[52] Another speaker praised individual freedoms; Columbus "revealed a place where proud indigenous cultures and Europe's emerging ideals of personal freedom could meet to change forever the routines of human existence" (ibid). The *New York Times* quoted a Cardinal describing America as the Promised Land of liberty, "favored land of ours, would be to us a dry and barren waste if it were not moistened by the dew of liberty."[53]

The Knights framed their Columbus Day rituals with a priestly civil religion. Part of the Knights' grand public displays to educate the public on Columbus Day came over the radio. Freedom and liberty were prominent, as was a democracy theme, largely because of the nearness of Columbus Day and Election Day. In 1945, a radio broadcast said our electors "have our mandate," and that "if we have been careless or derelict in our use of the ballot, and the wrong kind of people are elected, the blame is ours."[54]

Prophetic Mirror

People evoked a civil religious frame when they reflected on pressing social problems. When rituals were framed as a prophetic mirror, speakers critiqued current conditions in society; commemorations became a time for reflecting on contemporary problems such as inequality, racism, colonization, struggles within the church, and moral failings such as greed and immodesty. During the 500th anniversary, the NCC proclamation gained widespread attention for its criticism of contemporary problems, including paternalism and racism, "For the descendants of the European conquerors the subsequent legacy has been the perpetuation of paternalism and racism into our culture and times."[55]

The NCC proclamation also said Columbus's invasion caused genocide of colonized people in the Americas, and that the invasion was the beginning of a racial-economic system that meant slavery for Africans and exploitation of others around the world. The NCC cosponsored an alliance for protesting the 500th anniversary called Kairos USA whose leaders described the holiday as an "imperial liturgy" that was established to "build consensus for more of the same: a two-tiered system of global and domestic economic apartheid."[56]

CALC critiqued ongoing racism against blacks, and discrimination against others, as also part of the Columbian legacy. CALC compared Indian extinction to extinction faced by "the poor, the unborn, the sick, the convicted criminals on death row, young black men and the homeless." They described intolerance toward several groups, "especially against non-Christians, and accelerating destruction of the environment (CSWR Archives Box 47, folder 12)."

Several Christian groups used the holiday to denounce inequality. A Catholic feminist lay group in Missouri called for people to defend the "many peoples who have been and continue to be affected by racial oppression in this hemisphere."[57] A Catholic educator asked, "In what ways are we still oppressors to some groups?"[58] A Protestant criticized greed, "what was wrong with him [Columbus] also happens to be what is wrong with many of us and our social, political, and business institutions: ambition and the fulfilling of dreams at the expense of the weak and powerless." A Lutheran criticized Columbus as a symbol of greed, "Gold was more important than people. That kind of reasoning, that kind of temperament is still with us, very much today."[59] Especially during the 500th anniversary, people used Columbus to reflect on the sins of the present. Ecumenical and other religious activists framed their Columbus Day rituals as a prophetic mirror, and they used legitimate language to shine light on several pressing social problems.

FRAMING CIVIL RELIGION AS A LAMP

The Knights and ecumenical activists also framed their holiday rituals as a time to expound a particular vision for the future. As they remembered Columbus, they

legitimized their vision for the future by framing the origin myth as a priestly or prophetic lamp.

PRIESTLY LAMP

People revered Columbus's godly personal characteristics such as morality, fortitude, faith, and self-discipline. Ralph Waldo Emerson popularized Columbus as a hero for his patience and perseverance.[60] In textbooks, Columbus's godly characteristics were revered. One said Columbus was "irreproachable in his morals," had "no deficiency of any qualification," and was "exemplary in all the duties of religion."[61] Other late-nineteenth-century texts commonly called him patient, perseverant, and distinguished (ibid).

Reacting to the 1944 Knights radio broadcasts, writers called for "a democracy which will look to religion as the navigator looks to the North Star."[62] Columbus became a model for others because of his faith; one KOC radio address said "that extra reservoir of power and confidence from which Columbus drew his inspiration, energy and grim spirit of determination is available to every man and woman, boy and girl today, if they will but trouble to search for it."[63] Many yearly broadcasts were directed at youth. Columbus was described as a hero for showing the utility of particular "values of which the world of today is in such desperate need and assurance," such as "Courage, Perseverance, Faith, Confidence, Fearlessness, and Self-Discipline," they said in one mid-century radio address.[64] Columbus was a moral guide because of "his complete faith in, and devotion to, God—his desire to be of service to his adopted country—his concern for the welfare of his fellow men."[65]

Columbus's godly characteristics were offered as a solution for threatened democracy and disorder. From 1965 to 1972, during the peak of urban riots, it was especially popular for the radio addresses to decry the dissolution of democracy, mourn the violence, and view Columbus's values as a solution. The 1969 radio address praised Columbus for having "eschewed the violent confrontations which have become so much a part of modern life."[66] Columbus "fought with ideas, not the sword," the Knights said in another broadcast, "his dissent was a peaceful one. It was a contest of ideas, a dialogue of persuasion, not of violence";[67] thus, Columbus should be a model for the malcontents,

> Christopher Columbus can be a shining beacon to the young malcontents of our day who seek to change the face of the earth. The courage of Columbus and his daring changed the world as few men before him. He did it with determination, with faith in the God who made him, with patience, and with the conviction that men are influenced more by ideas than by the sword.[68]

The following year, the radio address said Columbus was a hero because his "eternal values" that everyone should emulate would help foster "the development of mankind."[69] Paramount among these values was "his unfailing respect for duly constituted authority…We must all agree that the rewards which were ultimately his may be largely attributed to this virtue which he so meticulously and consistently practiced."[70] In both the 1971 and 1972 address, the Knights said Columbus

was a model for politicians, who must stand firm against the agitators; in the 1972 address, the Knight said,

> To yield to the whims of the crowd they will lead their country by a short road to chaos, therefore, to be strengthened in their resolve to remain on their charted voyage, our legislators, judges and public executives should keep before their minds the inspiring image of Christopher Columbus who calmly but firmly told his mutinous crew that he would not turn back.[71]

The Knights' broadcasts recreated Columbus as an individualist, religious hero for his faith, determination, altruism, and peaceful, lawful solutions to change; their visions for the future were consecrated through a legitimate language.

PROPHETIC LAMP

Visions for the future were also consecrated with a prophetic language that venerated secular institutions and ideals, such as public education and multiculturalism. NCC and CALC members pledged to initiate healing for centuries of colonialism and racism and to assist American Indian advocates with current struggles.

The NCC called for a reexamination of history that spread throughout religious communities; one lay leader's response to the NCC statement was common, "The Council has urged member communions and other churches to examine their historical complicity in the conquest and to ask whether their evangelistic efforts involved what the NCC resolution has called 'crimes against the spirituality of indigenous peoples.'"[72] In response, many people repeated variations of one NCC members' pledge to "use the occasion of the 500th anniversary of the invasion of the Americas…to join actively in the land rights struggles of indigenous people."[73] A letter distributed to NCC members warned against joining Columbus Day celebration, which "threatens to deepen the divisions in our society," and proposed instead, "reflection and repentance…As Christians, we know that repentance is a positive act! It is a necessary step toward true and lasting reconciliation. It can begin the healing of our society."[74]

CALC sought to educate the public with "the truth about the past, presented in attractive and accessible ways."[75] CALC saw "a unique opportunity to challenge and educate Americans" (ibid). To educate, for CALC, meant tearing down untrue myths, to "dismantle that creation myth which holds that the Americas was open space waiting for the brawn and talents of the hardy European explorers" (ibid). In 1990, CALC published a newsletter that gave recommendations for involvement in public schools. They suggested people review the history curriculum,

> Check out what is taught in your public school civics and history textbooks. Will the full story of the past be presented in the schools (Sunday school included)? Look, for example, for how "manifest destiny" is handled. (ibid)

The following year, CALC sponsored another campaign to mobilize community groups to "review alternative textbooks and classroom materials" and "assist in decision making about what will be used in your community schools and how."[76] They

acknowledged likely resistance and told people to "generate petitions, leaflets and brochures if necessary to make this happen" (ibid). In newsletters, they called for community mobilization, "Take the time to learn about American Indian struggles today for justice and self-determination. Participate in resistance struggles" (ibid). CALC commonly described Columbus Day as a time to respect each other across lines of race and cultural differences, and as a time to transform racist institutions and organizations. One CALC leader said people should "celebrate and affirm cultural and racial diversity while working to dismantle institutionalized racism that permeates our society," and "foster appreciation of cultural diversity and understand interdependence" in ways that "can change minds and hearts."[77]

Many people besides activists in CALC and NCC used a prophetic frame. Princeton Seminary Professor Peter Paris called for ecumenical historical reconstruction, "African and Native American peoples must be integrally involved with others in constructing the history of America in such a way that it can be owned by all American citizens rather than by those of European descent alone."[78] The World Council of Churches pledged, "We covenant together to use the occasion of the 500th anniversary of the invasion of the Americas . . . to join actively in the land rights struggles of indigenous people."[79] After some targeted pressure from Native Americans, Catholic Bishops even advocated political action; "we extend our apology to the native peoples, and pledge ourselves to work with them to ensure their rights, their religious freedom, and the preservation of cultural heritage."[80] In one Columbus Day event, more than 3,000 people came to Ellis Island where a Catholic Bishop repeated, "Please know that in the Catholic Church there are no aliens. We are all one in Christ," in English, Creole, Korean, Chinese, Polish, Spanish, and Italian.

Diversity and multiculturalism were common themes within the prophetic frame. Using civil religion allowed people to legitimate their rituals and consecrate ideals of multiculturalism and public education. As people framed their rituals with civil religion, they venerated their vision for the future.

FRAMING CIVIL RELIGION AS AN IDEOLOGY

Civil religion pushes people into contrary ideological positions where they defend a partisan vision of the past, present, and future. Sometimes these competing ideologies lead to direct clashes. During the 400th anniversary, James Gibbons, who held the positions of Archbishop and Cardinal of the Catholic Church, feuded with William Perry, an Anglican Bishop. Gibbons evoked the frame of a prophetic ideology by saying Catholics discovered America, and that the foundations of America were due to Catholics, because Protestantism did not even exist. Perry responded by evoking the frame of a priestly ideology that defended Protestant power by claiming that Catholics did not discover America, "It is a remarkable fact that the discovery of the North American continent, which Columbus failed to accomplish, was made by Cabot."[81] Moreover, Perry argued, the English founded America,

> We, the people of the United States, owe nothing to Columbus, nothing to Spain, nothing to Rome! The genesis of our nationality; our liberty, both civil and religious;

our free institutions; our speech, and our very Christianity....ours are the English tongue, the English liberty, the English law, and English institutions. (ibid)

Civil religious ideologies provide legitimate ways to express partisan visions of the past, present, and future; disputes also appeared among academics.

Catholic speakers gave several prophetic speeches during 400th year anniversary commemorations. One speaker described a Promised Land,[82] paraphrased the Pope, and said the world owes Catholics a great debt for the discovery.[83] Protestant scholars rebutted:

> An unfair verdict has been rendered...it is...incumbent on the Massachusetts Historical Society, representing as it essentially does the English and Protestant settlement of America, as contradistinguished from the Spanish and Roman Catholic settlement, not to let such a verdict be recorded in silence.[84]

Protestants distinguished the Spanish conquerors who "committed atrocities," from the "saintly Pilgrims."[85] These debates attest that academics and religious leaders both used civil religious ideologies to legitimate their visions of the past, present, and future.

PRIESTLY IDEOLOGY

Beginning in the nineteenth century, Protestants, Mormons, and Catholics rewrote the origin myth into a priestly ideology that celebrated divine providence. Artists and educators also helped rewrite the origin myth as a priestly ideology.

Artists tied together Columbus and priestly ideology. Walt Whitman's 1874, "Prayer of Columbus" described a divinely inspired Columbus.[86] In 1892, Thomas Salvini, an Italian playwright agreed: "What weapon did Columbus use to conquer the ferocity of the aborigines? A cross...How did he manage to so easily endear himself to them as to be almost idolized? By gentleness. Thou art really divine, Columbus!"[87]

Priestly ideologies appeared in nineteenth-century textbooks, where Columbus produced miracles,[88] or was divinely inspired.[89] Washington Irving's biography (1846) popularized the view that Columbus evangelized the natives and discovered American paradise. He said Columbus's evangelistic desire was a "vision" that was his life's motivation. Columbus "was not a selfish mercenary" but "devout and heroic." Irving emphasized that Columbus's ultimate desire "was undoubtedly the propagation of the Christian faith."[90] According to Irving, "Columbus was chosen by Heaven" to discover the Promised Land.[91] Irving was a mythmaker:

> Through his figure of Columbus as divinely inspired, Irving not only gave Americans of the early nineteenth century a worthy myth of their origins, but he also confirmed their providential place in history. Irving did what all mythmakers do: he wrote history to ratify the present.[92]

Irving's text was reprinted hundreds of times and influenced generations of teachers.[93] One 1866 school text said Columbus was "commissioned by Heaven to carry the Gospel...to the heathen."[94]

After Irving, textbook authors gave Columbus more attention, and they increased the religious imagery. Particularly expanded were discussions of the first landing; several texts described a religious ceremony, including pictures and lengthy narratives; one said they immediately "erected a cross, before which they performed religious worship."[95] This was not just a religious exercise, but also an exercise in saving souls. Nineteenth-century schoolbooks commonly suggested the Indians were convinced of the sanctity of the discoverers. Several texts repeated the tale; one said, "The native crowded about them and revered them as superior beings descended from heaven."[96] In an 1889 text, "Naked Indians wondered whether these men in bright armor had flown from the skies in their winged boats or had sailed down from the clouds."[97]

Mormons also used Columbus and priestly civil religious frames to consecrate their vision for the past, present, and future. According to a Mormon professor of church history "many Latter-day Saint apostles and prophets have held and do hold Columbus in high regard."[98] Similar to Protestants and Catholics, Columbus is important to Mormons because Columbus brought Christianity to America and worked under divine inspiration. What differentiates Mormon commemorations, however, is the Mormon belief that Columbus literally fulfilled Biblical prophecy: The American prophet Nephi came to the Western Hemisphere, foresaw Columbus, and recorded his vision on plates, all 600 years before the birth of Christ. Joseph Smith became a prophet because of his special access to these plates. Through several divinely inspired visions, Smith translated the plates and published them in the *Book of Mormon* (1830). In *1 Nephi*, Chapter 13, verse 12 is a prophecy that God will lead his people across the waters to join the Indians in the Promised Land.

Mormon commemorations celebrated the divine inspiration of prophecy. In 1854, Church President Brigham Young said, "The Almighty…moved upon Columbus to discover the American Continent."[99] In 1869, an elder spoke at a Mormon Columbus Day commemoration, and he said that not only was Columbus divinely inspired, but also was everything that followed, "Columbus was inspired to penetrate the ocean and discover this Western continent…and the consequences which God desired to follow its discovery have taken place."[100] Mormons took the subtle rhetoric of divinely inspired colonization and transformed it into written biblical prophecy.

Protestant's prophetic frames were used to discredit Catholics, principally by reproducing the "flat earth myth," the false story that closed minded Catholic clerics almost stopped Columbus's voyages because they insisted he would sail off the edge of a flat earth. Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, but especially between 1870 and 1920, scholars and educators "with a disdain for the Catholic revival"[101] described Columbus as the visionary who overcame Catholic dogmatism.

Although the trend began among scholars (e.g., historians and philosophers), and mythmakers (e.g., Washington Irving), it eventually affected schoolbooks. One 1892 textbook, for example, said many people knew the world was round, but the Spanish-Catholic persecution was so great that "it was not prudent for one to publish openly one's belief in the notion."[102] Protestants and other critics unleashed a powerful weapon that not only told about the past but also had important implications for the present and future: If Catholics "had for centuries insisted that the

earth was flat against clear and available evidence, they must be not only enemies of scientific truth, but contemptible and pitiful enemies."[103] Traces of the myth appear in today's texts and speeches.

Anti-Catholic priestly frames appeared elsewhere. Several movements conspired to print a children's book on Columbus for the 400th anniversary. It said Columbus did not discover the divinely inspired Protestant America: "God's plan was that Protestantism and not Catholicism should have its chance in the New World. If Columbus, representing Catholic Spain, had struck the continent, we would all have been Catholics…[but] we are Protestant."[104]

Another part of the Protestant priestly ideology came from nativists. In the first quarter of the twentieth century, more than 60 anti-Catholic newspapers operated; subscriptions paid organizers' salaries. In an article in the *Menace*, the writers criticized Catholics use of Columbus,

> The attempt of the Knights of Columbus to rob the Norsemen of the glory of discovery of America is on par with many other claims of the Roman Catholic Church—false in history and based only upon legends and superstitions. The Columbus monument in Washington D.C. had better be removed…It does not represent American ideals or American achievements. It is papish—sectarian and Jesuitical.[105]

In the 1920s, a string of KKK tracts condemned Catholics for celebrating Columbus Day. One said that "North America is Anglo Saxon," and that the true discovery was made by Leif Ericson a half century before Columbus: "Every true American" should "take a lively interest in helping to uncover the Columbus claim…Columbus is a leading medium of propaganda, the false argument being, that since he 'discovered' America, it rightfully belongs to his co-religionists."[106] The Spanish and English colonizers were the true discoverers:

> The advocates of Columbus have been diligent for centuries in claiming the Western Hemisphere as a possession of the Latin races, particularly the Spanish and Italians…Columbus never set foot on North America…As if following a divine plan, the colonization of North America began with representatives of the Anglo-Saxon or Nordic race—the Pilgrims…Erickson and Cabot…North America, in its beginning, in its development, and fruition, is Anglo-Saxon. (ibid)

During the 400th anniversary, Catholics framed their Columbus rituals with a priestly ideology that justified their domination of Indians. The Pope's proclamation was restated within Catholic commemorations for decades. One part praised the Catholic for helping the Indians, who were "reclaimed from savagery to gentleness and humanity."[107] The Catholic Club of New York sponsored several days of ceremonies for the 400th anniversary. Speakers celebrated the Catholic domination of Indians, and eventually, the Christian domination of the world. In 1912, a KOC speaker envisioned worldwide power for Christianity, "that the whole world should kneel before God in union with the Christian West…Such was the spirit of Columbus."[108]

Catholics celebrated a Christian view of the past, present, and future. In a 1941 commemorative speech, a Boston Knight envisioned global Christianity, "when the leaders of the world recognize the wisdom of these Christian principles, when the

peoples of all nations acknowledge their sanctity."[109] Catholic's priestly ideologies appeared also in the years before the 500th anniversary.

By the 1980s, a Judeo-Christian consensus became stigmatized,[110] and so praising Christian dominance seemed ethnocentric. Textbooks ceased celebrating religious components to the origin story, and politicians ceased celebrating the religious origins of America on Columbus Day. The Knights began to struggle to celebrate Columbus or even say positive things about Christianity in general.

The radio broadcast in 1992 acknowledged their ideology might "strike some people today as debatable, even controversial," but still proclaimed, "Let us be grateful for our Judeo-Christian value system, so central to everything that we hold dear. And let us recall that, along with much else, Christopher Columbus lives in our esteem for having introduced it to the new world."[111] KOC chapters around the country similarly struggled with public relations and many state newsletters offered defiant or apologetic celebrations of evangelization; one said, "I'm not ashamed to be a Knight even when the celebrations of that historic event are being turned into an unprecedented bashing."[112]

The Knights' struggle with Columbus in 1992 did not preclude them from evoking a priestly ideology and celebrating their role in helping the heathens. Leading up to the 500th anniversary celebration, Pope John Paul II reminded Columbus Day planners that the church fostered the Salamanca debate, which "led to the proclamation of laws for the protection of the Indians and gave birth to the great principles of international human rights."[113] In 1992, a quote from the KOC public relations specialist appeared in several parish newspapers,

> …the Indians suffered a lot after the Europeans arrived—just as many of them suffered a lot before. The role of the Catholic Church? On balance, a force for the protection and advancement of the Native peoples.[114]

These Catholic priestly ideologies appeared among some important leaders, but did not spread among rank and file members or within institutions. Evoking priestly frames allowed people to celebrate their partisan vision of the past, present, and future and to proclaim divine providence for their dominance.

PROPHETIC IDEOLOGY

Prophetic ideologies were common among ecumenical activists who used civil religious frames to legitimate their vision of the past, present, and future. Jews, Muslims, Catholics, and ecumenical activists reproduced prophetic ideologies. Ecumenical activists venerated revisionism, which accepted diversity but eschewed complete relativism; they defined clear truths to combat harmful myths.

CALC and NCC criticized traditional history. The phrase, "what some historians have termed a 'discovery' in reality was genocide" was often repeated, sometimes with the word genocide replaced with colonization, legalized occupation, the beginning of economic exploitation, institutional racism, or moral decadence. CALC sought to use the holiday to teach "the truth about the past, presented in attractive and accessible ways."[115] Education for CALC meant refuting harmful untrue

myths about discovery; for example, one memo said they should seek to "dismantle that creation myth which holds that the Americas was open space waiting for the brawn and talents of the hardy European explorers" (ibid). Framing Columbus as a prophetic ideology made problematic Columbus's religiosity and challenged the Christian status quo. Many people other than CALC and NCC framed their Columbus rituals as a prophetic ideology.

Beginning in the nineteenth century, prophetic ideologies of humanism appeared in children's books, such as one in 1826[116] in which writers described the villainous Columbus as using false religious motives. These statements were not rare. For a more educated audience, Justin Winsor's widely reprinted 1892 biography of Columbus debunked the myth that Columbus lived up to Christian morality. Winsor's Columbus decimated and enslaved the Indians. The moral of the story was that Columbus used religion to justify the cruelties: "He talked a great deal of making converts of the poor souls, while the very first sight which he had of them prompted him to consign them to the slave-mart, just as if the first step to Christianize was the step which unmans."[117] A scholar writing in the *Magazine of American History* also reproduced prophetic frames that challenged the sincerity of Columbus's practice of Christianity.[118]

In the nineteenth century, Catholics used a prophetic ideology to challenge dominant Protestants. Prophetic pro-Catholic ideology appeared most often in education. Catholic textbooks "revised the national narrative created by Protestants."[119] Illustrations in Catholic schoolbooks showed that America's discovery was a religious, Catholic event. Catholic texts celebrated a Catholic discovery. One 1858 textbook shows Columbus rowing ashore with a hooded and bearded friar who holds a large cross.[120] The pattern of prophetic pro-Catholic ideology occurred also in the texts' narratives. After planting the cross and thanking God, Columbus' first acts were explicitly Catholic: "The cross being completed, it was solemnly exalted while the 'Vexilla Regis' was chanted. At the conclusion of the ceremony, Columbus again intoned the Te Deum."[121]

Catholics in art, media, and politics framed Columbus with prophetic ideology that praised a Catholic past, present, and future. One of Boston's main Catholic newspapers, the *Sacred Heart Review*, sponsored a campaign to erect a statue of Columbus on the spot in the Bahamas "where Christian civilization took its rise in the new world" and where "Columbus built the first church 400 years ago."[122] They explained that "By this public act of commemoration we hope to direct public attention to this modest birthplace of our Mother church" (ibid). During the unveiling, they described a Catholic country,

> One hundred and twenty six years before the Congregationalist church landed on Plymouth rock, 110 years before the Anglican Church came to Jamestown, and thirty-five years before the word Protestant was invented, this church was erected…No other denomination of Christians can claim priority or even equal duration with us in point of time. (ibid)

Jews also used a prophetic ideology to challenge dominant groups and venerate their partisan vision of the past, present, and future. In 1892, Jewish leaders appropriated Columbus. One Rabbi preached, "[T]he Hebrews had ceased too long to

return to Jerusalem, and had come to regard America as the true land of promise."[123] He explained, "The Jewish people certainly have cause to express gratitude for the hero who founded a haven of repose for our noble race...he discovered a country for wandering Israel" (ibid). Another Rabbi called the nation the savior of Jews: "America is the promised land of the Jew. This land has become our Canaan."[124]

Scholars have long speculated about Columbus being a Spanish Jew who was also, because of the persecution of the Spanish government, a forced convert to Christianity.[125] This academic debate "peaked in the 1930s when 'the Jewish question' was very much on the public mind."[126] Some people claimed that the question of whether a Jew discovered America was moot because the 10 lost tribes of Israel preceded the Indians. The famous Nazi-hunter Simon Wiesenthal claimed, "Columbus embarked on his first voyage westward for a secret purpose: to discover the lands settled and ruled by the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel so that they might serve as a refuge for Jews being expelled from Spain;" Jews were thus the true discoverers of America.[127]

The scholarly debate over Columbus's heritage has uncovered several pieces of evidence that Columbus was a Jew: that he had Jewish parents and grandparents; that he lived in Jewish communities in Italy, Spain, and Portugal; that he often referenced the Old Testament, and occasionally, Jewish mystical sources and ancient Jewish history; that he left a small inheritance to a Jew; that there were five Jews in his crew; that his name, signature, and written language were Hebraic in origin; that his trade was common among Spanish Jews; that his most trusted financiers, mentors, and lobbyists were perhaps Jewish; that he had many character traits common among Jews; and that he left Spain at the same time as the Jews were expelled.[128]

Jewish art and music also connected Columbus and a prophetic ideology. Jews have produced contrasting images of Columbus as both hero and villain. A Jewish scholar said, "My mother, growing up in Sioux City, Iowa (born 1912) remembers a childhood nursery rhyme to the effect that 'Columbus was a Jew / Just like me and you.'"[129] The Yiddish theatre song, "Lebn Zol Columbus," which praises Columbus for discovering the "golden land" of America can be contrasted with a less laudatory story, a song like "Di Grine Kuzine, My Newly Arrived Cousin," in which the main character grows prematurely old working in sweatshops, until the "Long live Columbus's land!" in the beginning refrain becomes "May Columbus's land burn!" by the end. Variations and parodies of this song were performed live and rerecorded, with the last line rewritten, "Columbus's land can go to hell."[130]

Like Jews, Muslims reconstructed prophetic frames and remembered Columbus in ways that justified a partisan vision of the past, present, and future. Jews and Muslims both have claimed that the voyage was funded by secretly converted members of their faith or by money stolen from the inquisition. People from both groups claimed that Columbus could have been of their ancestry, they claim that explorers of their religion were on the first voyage, and that a member of their faith "discovered" America long before Columbus.

Muslims apologists rewrote the origin myth as a prophetic ideology by celebrating their pre-Columbian discovery of America. A Harvard historian and linguist, Leo Wiener (a Russian Jew who was the first Jew to be appointed a professor at Harvard),[131] was one of the first to publish (in 1920) a comprehensive scholarly examination of the West African Muslims interaction with Algonquian and Iroquois nations before

Columbus arrived. Weiner's contemporaries, such as Ivan Van Sertima, a pioneer in Africana Studies, have presented archaeological, cultural, linguistic, and other evidence to demonstrate the presence of Mandinka Muslims in North America before Columbus. They present several other pieces of evidence: similar cotton and gold economies, Muslim art in the pre-Columbian New World, Muslim names given to towns in the New World, the fifteenth-century Indians may have known Arabic, and the records of several African explorers from the twelfth century.[132]

A 540-page history primer, sponsored by the Middle East Policy Council, called the "Arab World Studies Notebook" was sent to elementary school teachers. It discussed at length the notion that Muslims were here before Columbus and even suggested the Muslims intermarried with Indians to produce Muslim-named chiefs; one part said, "When European explorers finally made it to the New World they met chiefs with names like Abdul-Rahim and Abdallah Ibn Malik."[133] Opponents on the right complained, as did Indian groups. After giving several hundred workshops, the educational group was told that their curriculum did not mesh with Indian oral history. The protest sparked a foundation report that explained the transgression as "interest groups and ideologues yearning to use America's public school classrooms to shape the minds of tomorrow's citizens by manipulating what today's teachers are introducing into the lessons of today's children."[134]

Muslim apologists rewrote the origin myth as a prophetic ideology, in part to create goodwill toward Muslims after September 11th. One journalist wrote on his web log that "Columbus's voyages are now an object of manipulation by…militant Muslims and their apologists [who] have produced a…campaign to establish an American Islamic heritage dating from the beginnings of our history."[135] The *San Francisco Chronicle* wrote about the "California undersecretary for public diplomacy," who has recently begun a public education campaign to improve the image of Muslims in America. She travels around the state teaching people to understand that Muslims have a long history of doing great things for the country. Her story always begins with one of the first persons to discover the New World, a Muslim who sailed with Columbus.[136]

Muslim terrorists have also seized the date. On Columbus Day 2000, two suicide bombers attacked the U.S.S. Cole and killed 17 crewmembers. There is now a memorial to the Cole victims, and annual memorial services occur at Arlington National Cemetery over the Columbus Day weekend.[137] In 2002, there were terrorist bombings in Bali,

> The U.S. had issued a general travel advisory about increased al-Qaeda activity around the globe. But the possibility that terrorists would strike Bali, a Hindu island in mostly Muslim Indonesia, seemed so remote that several officials from the U.S. embassy in Jakarta decided to spend their Columbus Day weekend there; one of them was relaxing just outside the Sari Club an hour before it blew up.[138]

Terrorists killed more than 200 people. When the relatives got together to mourn three years later, they narrowly avoided another terrorist plot; over the previous week, suicide bombers killed 26 others in local restaurants.[139] The Islamic terrorists chose this date because many Westerners congregated on vacation during this time and because of the historic significance of the date.[140]

Just as some Jews mark 1492 as a time of mourning (caused by the inquisition), so do some Muslims, who say 1492 represents the demise of Islamic glory in Spain: the date has become a radicalized symbol for some Muslim terrorists. A *Washington Post* writer noted of 2004 terror attacks in Spain, "[T]he bombers who killed 191 Spanish commuters on March 11, 2004, justified their actions by invoking the defeat of the Moorish caliphate in 1492."[141]

In sum, Muslims, Mormons, Jews, Catholics, and Protestants reproduced prophetic ideological frames during Columbus commemorations. Priestly and prophetic frames were reproduced as people addressed the functions of a mirror, lamp, and ideology during their commemorations. The civil religious frames that varied by political purpose (priestly and prophetic) and social function (mirror, lamp, and ideology) were more recognizable and familiar, and thus are examples of effective communication. Legitimacy is created as people reproduce established frames, such as reusing civil religion frames.

Civil religious frames provide a limited number of commonly accepted ways of understanding the world. These frames vary based on social function and political purpose. As people reproduce common frames, they draw from these symbolic resources from the past and creatively apply them to a new situation in the present. In doing so, their speech becomes more understandable and believable, so that, as the frames are reproduced, the speaker's legitimacy is improved. Reproducing resonant frames is one form of effective communication. Successful movements are created out of the combination of this effective communication with the mobilization of resources and the realizing of political opportunities.

Conclusion

Some groups successfully challenged established cultural traditions by altering institutional commemorations. Successes of the Catholic movements in the nineteenth century and the ecumenical movements in the twentieth century were created through a political process.

Religious pluralism was enticed by several political opportunities, and ecumenical groups such as CALC and NCC mobilized resources to take advantage of these opportunities. Most studies show that political opportunities open with increasing political access, but the cases discussed in this chapter show that any change in political access is likely to disrupt the status quo and serve as a political opportunity.

Although changes in political access were important, other factors also help explain the success of the nineteenth-century and twentieth-century movements. Success would not have happened without mobilizing established networks, using surprising public education tactics, and reproducing common frames. The political process model provides a recipe for success; this chapter has shown that all three parts of this recipe—political opportunity, resource mobilization, and framing—are necessary for powerless groups to construct collective memories.

Protestant and Catholic groups mobilized resources such as bringing together pan-ethnic or pan-tribal networks, and each group used eye-catching tactics to educate the public. Each group also reproduced common frames. Although Muslims, Jews, and Mormons also framed Columbus with established, legitimate civil religion frames, Catholics and Protestants succeeded in institutionalizing their interpretation

of the national origin myth in part because movement organizations took advantage of political opportunities, mobilized organizational resources, and communicated effectively.

Successful Protestant and Catholic movements realized political opportunities spurred by migration, population growth, and changes in political access. They mobilized resources by establishing anti-defamation organizations that used annual holiday commemorations to fight discrimination and build pan-ethnic networks across ethnic or religious lines. They communicated effectively by reproducing well-established discursive frames that varied by both political orientation and social function.

Catholic and Protestant movements took advantage of similar political opportunities—both had amassed a new, migrant population that was gaining political attention and both movements grew out of harsh repression in the midst of promises of equality. Both movements mobilized similar resources such as anti-defamation organizations, pan-ethnic networks, and civic loyalty tactics. Catholics started benevolent organizations in Columbus's name. They sought to fight discrimination and hasten assimilation by bringing together Irish and Italian Catholics in a grand, orderly spectacle of civic loyalty on Columbus Day. Protestant groups united a diverse ecumenical membership and sought forgiveness and reconciliation through public education on Columbus Day. Both groups communicated effectively by reproducing established civil religious frames.

Political opportunities were not always open, and resource mobilization was not always flourishing; in fact, the success of these movement groups seemed to happen in times of decreasing political opportunity and resource mobilization—when the groups had fewer elite allies, when they faced discrimination, and when they had weak membership. This does not invalidate the political process model, but shows the importance of the interrelations among various measures of political opportunity, resource mobilization, and framing. Strength or weakness in any one measure of any of these will not dictate success or failure; it is the confluence of various factors of opportunity, resources, and framing that explains movement success or failure.

Although many groups reproduced prophetic civil religious frames during Columbus commemorations, success in constructing a religious collective memory came largely because a few particular groups were able to take advantage of political opportunities, mobilize resources, and reproduce legitimate civil religious frames. These successes came despite deficiencies in worldly resources. Sometimes the powerless can rewrite the past.

ETHNIC: AMERICAN INDIAN

Two American Indian movement groups succeed in spreading a version of the origin story that highlighted American Indian ethnicity. The two successful Indian memory groups are the Society of American Indians in the early twentieth century and the Indians of All Tribes in the late twentieth century. A Native American version of the origin story spread across space and time, in part because of the mobilization of these movements and their adversaries. Successful movements usually have iconic leaders. Two leaders represent these successful American Indian memory movements: Arthur Parker (1881–1955) and Millie Ketcheschawno (1937–2000).

He was a Seneca from New York, and she was a Creek from Oklahoma. Although differences abound, their similarities are striking. They both left their families to attend Indian schools (he at Carlisle, and she at Haskell); after completing school they both chose urban over reservation life; and they both provided important leadership in helping urban Indians overcome stereotypes and discrimination. He was a central leader in the first twentieth-century pan-ethnic American Indian activist group, the New York based Society of American Indians (SAI). She provided important leadership in the San Francisco based Indians of All Tribes, one of the most important pan-ethnic movements in the late twentieth century. These two movements—the Society of American Indians and the Indians of All Tribes—provided the spark for an ethnic, American Indian memory that spread through educational institutions.

Although distinct for their contributions, Arthur and Millie share a life history like the typical American Indian activist. This trajectory is driven by their need, on the one hand, to address stereotypes and discrimination, and on the other hand, to reconcile their ethnic and national identity. They shared four core experiences: attendance at an Indian school, urbanization, pan-ethnic organizing, and the appropriation of U.S. national symbols. After following this common trajectory, Arthur and Millie both served leadership roles in two of the most visible American Indian groups that mobilized sustained ethnic activism on Columbus Day. Both sought to

use Columbus Day to launch a holiday that would celebrate American Indian ethnic culture, and both were criticized by others for their tactics. These two movement groups succeeded because they maneuvered a political process.

POLITICAL OPPORTUNITY

Political opportunity theory predicts that certain times are conducive to movement activity. Social changes that disrupt the status quo create temporary windows of opportunity when the expenditure of movement resources likely will be rewarded. The transformation of Indians' lives through drastic reversals in public policy created environments ripe for collective action. The demographic changes experienced by Indian youth also created environments ripe for collective action. Public policies and demographic changes were the two main triggers that sparked the opening of political opportunities.

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, the federal government used Indian schools and relocation to assimilate Indians. Indian reformers such as Richard Henry Pratt believed that exterminating Indian identity would help Indians evolve as a race. By removing Indians from their families and reservations, the reformers hoped they could improve the lives of Indians by helping them to assimilate into white society.

Pratt opened Carlisle Industrial Training school on November 1, 1879. At Carlisle, Pratt developed the model for off-reservation Indian schools that would spread throughout the country in the following decades. Pratt was among many reformers who sought to help the Indian through policies of assimilation.

The idea of assimilation became part of federal policy in 1887 with passage of the Dawes Act, which sought to civilize Indians by privatizing Indian lands and "giving" parcels to "legitimate" Indians who "proved" their ancestry. Many Indians refused to participate, and the remaining Indian lands—millions of acres—were sold as private land on the open market, resulting in the mass transfer of lands to non-Indians, breakup of Indian communities, and decline of Indian political power. From the reformers' perspective, this may have been an unintended consequence. By attempting to make the Indians individual farmers, the reformers may have sought to assimilate the Indians and appease the settlers who coveted Indian land and did not respect Indian life. Nevertheless, the result of the Dawes Act was mass disenfranchisement.

The schools basically worked as do all total institutions. A total institution takes complete control over people's lives to resocialize them; they do this through degradation rituals, which consist of three main components: separation, control, and punishment. There are many total institutions that use degradation rituals to resocialize people. Examples are prisons, boot camps, cults, mental asylums, and Indian boarding schools.

Students were removed from their homes and communities, and their daily lives were totally controlled. They were allowed to keep a portion of the money they "earned" by "learning" agricultural labor from local farmers, but where they worked, when they awoke, ate, and went to sleep were all highly regulated. The students were not just controlled by the administrators, but also regulated by the minute, with the clock replacing natural rhythms. The educators also forbade any sign of American

Indian culture—language, hair, and dress; even each student's names were changed. The students were taught values of Christianity and skills such as industrial or agricultural labor. They were punished if they tried to leave school grounds, or express their Indian culture. Separation, control, and punishment are the three components that characterize all total institutions, and they were central to Indian boarding schools. For some students, these boarding school experiences, ironically, were birthing grounds for later leadership as American Indian community organizers.

Although the schools did much to erase tribal affiliations among participants, something happened that the reformers did not foresee. The students (like Arthur Parker who attended Carlisle school) did not lose their Indian identity, but rather traded their particularistic tribal affiliations for a much broader pan-ethnic identity that included all Indians. This pan-ethnic identity would become very important once the students left school and entered the cities.

After educating them and unwittingly instilling in them a politicized pan-ethnic identity, Indian reformers encouraged the students not to go "back to the blanket," but rather to live in cities and compete with other Americans in modern capitalist life. This was pushed informally since the late nineteenth century when the schools began, through the 1940s. Beginning in 1945, and for the next 15 years, relocation of Indians off of rural reservations into urban areas was national policy. However, before the relocation policy, there was a short respite between 1934 and 1945 when it appeared that the attempts to extinguish Indian culture might be halted.

In 1934, the reformers lost control of federal policy, as John Collier passed the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), which sought to overturn the Dawes Act and protect Indian lands from sales to non-Indians. Collier wanted to empower Indians and end blatantly racist, assimilation-oriented policies. Collier proudly introduced the IRA as an "Indian New Deal" that would preserve the tradition of recognizing sovereign Indian nations. The IRA allowed Indian communities to write constitutions and organize tribal governments. The IRA program facilitated the transfer of millions of acres of government lands to Indian communities.

Collier left office in 1945, and his departure led the old assimilation-oriented reformers to lobby for reversal of the new deal. They succeeded. By 1954, the termination and relocation program became official policy. After 20 years of self-determination, Indian nations once again lost their sovereignty. Indian schools survived two decades of the new deal, and with the passage of the termination and relocation program, again the schools became part of the reformers' tools for resocializing and assimilating Indians. To the dismay of the administrators, the schools also socialized some students (such as Millie Ketcheschawno at Haskell School) into a pan-ethnic identity, which led them to leadership roles in urban pan-ethnic movements.

The reformers changed the details of their campaign, but not the goals. Although the Dawes Act sought to make Indians into productive rural farmers, the termination and relocation policy sought to make them into productive urban laborers. The termination and relocation program terminated more than 50 Indian tribes and forced the relocation of thousands of Indians off their terminated reservations into urban areas in the west.

After leaving the schools and coming to the cities, the students found many other Indians who had relocated. With the exception of some of the Indians who attended boarding schools, most relocated Indians did not see themselves as part of a common

community with other Indians. Reservations were organized based on national (if not tribal or clan) segregation, so most participants in the relocation programs, when they arrived in the cities, did not recognize a pan-ethnic American Indian identity.

Once they arrived in the urban areas, the students from the Indian schools found themselves in positions where they could implement their politicized pan-ethnic identities, help their people fight urban injustices, and participate in modern American life—ironically, all goals they adopted while at the Indian schools. The Indian reformers had sought to extinguish Indian identity. In some ways they were successful; many students did lose associations with reservation life and with Indian language and culture. Although the schools may have extinguished much of their tribal ethnic culture, among some students there remained a strong attachment to a pan-ethnic American Indian identity.

Many former boarding school students such as Millie played important roles in American Indian activism. The San Francisco area was one of few urban relocation centers, but San Francisco was different from the other cities; it was also a hotbed of activism because of the political opportunities there. Not only had Indian population of San Francisco skyrocketed (figure 4.1), this occurred while the overall population remained stable (figure 4.2). In addition, there was low segregation between Indians and European Americans (table 4.1); integration increases the likelihood for collective action. The takeover of Alcatraz in 1969, led by the Indians of All Tribes, sparked resurgence in ethnic identity that resulted in a massive increase in the U.S. Indian population over the next several decades. The new Indians have distinct characteristics from the "core" Indians: they are more educated, wealthier, less likely to be unemployed, more likely to be unilingual, and more likely to live in urban areas.[1] This change in population was an unexpected change that could not be attributed to birth and death; it was a true cultural resurgence characterized by ethnic switching spurred by the increasing status of Indians in the U.S. culture.[2] The resurgence included several important characteristics in addition to population, including the revival of Indian arts and crafts shows, and the proliferation of Indian powwows. One such celebration of ethnic culture is the alternative Columbus Day celebration, Indigenous Peoples Day (IPD). Before examining the diffusion of IPD, it is first necessary to uncover the origins of this alternative American Indian holiday.

Resource Mobilization and Framing: The Origins of an Indian Holiday

The first pan-ethnic Indian movement of the twentieth century, the SAI mobilized on Columbus Day to fight discrimination, express their ethnic identity, and foster assimilation. Throughout its decades-long existence, the SAI helped win citizenship rights for Indians and fought for the inclusion of American Indians into the professions.

The SAI emerged during years of legislative threat; activists debated, critiqued, and supported portions of the Dawes Act, which was a major threat to American Indian sovereignty and land rights. Population changes may have also created opportunities; in New York City, the number of American Indians grew considerably, in the decades leading up to SAI activism (see figure 4.3).

SAI leaders gained support of legislators, who sought the Indians' support for their controversial legislation such as the Dawes Act. Leaders were scholars and doctors, and they saw themselves as the vanguard of a new American Indian society.

Their meetings were strategically timed to maximize the connection to the wider white world. During its first few years (1911–1913), the society's annual meeting occurred on Columbus Day. Their educated membership made it problematic when many fellow members, during these meetings, would "use" Indian stereotypes to reach white audiences, such as by dressing in stereotypical Indian dress and acting (or singing or dancing) like a "real Indian." Nevertheless, these Columbus Day performances were integral to the SAI success with whites, and the popularity of their "authentic" Columbus Day performances encouraged them to advocate for an Indian holiday.

SAI represented the "red progressives," Indians who believed in education, hard work, and in adapting and assimilating into the larger American society. SAI used resonant framing by "sharing the enthusiasm and faith of the white reformers"; their tactics and framing helped the SAI become "the first secular pan Indian movement organized on a national basis."[3] These red progressives do not seem so progressive by today's standards; leader Charles Eastman, for example, "can be located, by chance or design, on what would seem the 'wrong side' of nearly every major issue. He was a supporter of the Dawes Act, an advocate and onetime employee of the (in) famous Carlisle School for Indians, and perhaps most vexingly, he found himself posted with U.S. forces at what remains the signature atrocity of Native American and U.S. relations, the 1890 massacre at Wounded Knee."[4]

The SAI sought to revise the origin myth to forward their goals of helping Indians become accepted in the dominant society. Their words and actions sought to produce resonance with white audiences and create ways to express Indian ethnicity, fight anti-Indian stereotypes, and foster Indian incorporation into the white world.

The SAI developed both organizational resonance and frame resonance. Organizational resonance, the strategic alignment of the environment and the movement organization, came from their desire to build a fraternal society modeled on the successes of religious and patriotic predecessors. Just as the Knights of Columbus had before them, the SAI developed an organization founded on ethnic solidarity and segregation. Moreover, Parker "was a devout mason and wrote a pamphlet on American Indian masonry...This and other writings on masonry exercise an important influence on the development of fraternal pan Indianism in the 20s...Not only did Parker like masonry for its implicit link with Indian past, but it also offered upward mobility in the white world."[5]

Parker served as the editor of SAI's magazine, as its secretary, and eventually, as its president; he attempted to "provide it with a rationale based on modern social science, and to devise and organizational format like that of white academic and reform organizations."[6] Parker sought to bring prestige by having the organization perform organizational resonance.

SAI also made their organization resonate with accepted groups in their environment; for example, they hailed their heritage within the Christian socialist movement. The SAI leaders "attempted to put into a coherent system based on modern social science, social work and Christian idealism."[7] One of the founders of the organization, like many other Christian socialists, was a sociologist who sought to use scientific

methods to create a more humane society, "The man who took the initiative in the formation of the organization, Professor Fayette A. McKenzie of Ohio State University was not himself an Indian; he was an educator, a sociologist, a Christian idealist, a reformer, a supporter of the Dawes Act, and a critic of its implementation."[8]

Frame alignment strategies occur when movements attempt to connect their ideas to accepted ideas among their audience. Frame alignment strategies were evident in the SAI activists' love for patriotism and assimilation. Members of the SAI saw themselves as true patriots, and they repeatedly proclaimed they were ready to sacrifice everything for their country. One participant said, "I do believe that the solution of our Indian problem is that he must identify himself with every interest and phase of American life."[9] Another participant recognized that people don't believe that American Indians are intellectually equal with whites, but that this prejudice will disappear if they could only "encourage our boys and girls not to be afraid of taking up the professions; it will help to break down this prejudice."[10] Their belief in the greatness of U.S. society was no patriotic facade hiding radicalism; the SAI, with informally trained archaeologist Parker as a leader, supported the Darwinian images of the day and advocated mobilizing educated Indians for what they saw as a type of "race transformation" that centered on assimilation. By aligning their organization and their frames with existing, accepted organizations or frames, activists can create resonance, a type of successful framing.

Part of the SAI attempts to create organizational and frame resonance was their mobilization around the national origin myth. The founding conference for the SAI occurred on Columbus Day 1911, in Columbus, Ohio, the date and place "no doubt symbolic."[11] Most of the attendees were graduates of Carlisle or other Indian schools. More than three quarters of those whose educational history is known were graduates, return students, or employees of Carlisle, Hampton, or both. The most important single influence at the conference was that of the Indian boarding schools, especially Carlisle.[12]

SAI created frame resonance by framing their events and goals around both assimilation and pluralism. Although topics of the papers at the first conference ranged widely (law, politics, education, professions, and cultural assimilation), several of the 27 authors were adamant that assimilation did not mean losing one's ethnicity. In one passionate paper, the author suggested that the goal was to assimilate and then spread Indian identity from more advantageous positions within dominant institutions (ibid).

Parker had an idea for a tactic that melded assimilation and pluralism, but he added that the benefit was to the dominant society. He said the Indian should not be "like clay" but should "use his revitalized influence and more advantageous position in asserting and developing the great ideals of his race for the good of the greater race, which means all mankind."[13] Parker thought an Indian holiday was one of the best ways to reach the goals of gaining preference with whites and celebrating Indian culture. At that first Columbus Day meeting, Parker helped write one of the first goals of the society, which was to establish a nationwide holiday that would celebrate Indian ethnicity.[14]

Although they sought to preserve their culture, framing of SAI activists like Parker did little to challenge assimilation or racial hierarchies. Participants at the first meeting "complained about white attitudes toward them and a strong note

of defensiveness ran through discussions"[15] but also noted that there were many opportunities for Indian advancement in the white world of business. However, the SAI tactics emphasized performances of ethnic culture that perhaps precluded the framing of equality and sovereignty.

The SAI leaders created resonance with the white audience by regularly exploiting their ability to "play Indian," which apparently was one of the only ways to get audience attention (Patterson 2002). After the first meeting, the Columbus, Ohio press focused on performances that showed the "authenticity" of SAI, especially through the props in their performances: costumes, language, songs, and dance. Parker also reached white audiences with his frequent allegiance to ideas of racial Darwinism, which were exceptionally popular at the time, especially among white progressives. Parker declared that the SAI membership as a higher class because they had contact with whites:

> The American Indians' society is formed for "racial Independence." They are the nobler red men, without the bloodthirstiness of their sires and their capacity for rum and mischief. They have passed through the critical period of contact with the white races, and have emerged into the full light of civilization.[16]

The SAI attempted to align the movement's message with both whites and American Indians. Parker and SAI repeatedly framed their tactics and goals as racial independence for Indians, which meant the ability to address problems of their own race, the power to make decisions, and the ability to work as full participants in the dominant U.S. society. Sovereignty was not a central issue. Full membership in the SAI was restricted to those with Indian blood; membership included many prominent Indian leaders—politicians, doctors, lawyers, religious leaders, and other educated men and women. This bridging of frames across both white and Indian audiences allowed SAI activist to unite disparate ideas and audiences.

A main SAI tactic to create organizational resonance was their public performances on Columbus Day. At the second annual SAI Columbus Day conference in 1912, the media attention was not given to the discussion of Indian issues, but to the performance. White audiences wanted Plains Indians, which posed a problem for the SAI. To be perceived as authentic, they could not perform their authentic culture. The media and more than one thousand people watched Cherokee and Chippewa costumed players perform "authentic" songs and dances.

Parker continued to work hard to frame the SAI causes in ways that would resonate with white audiences. After the 1912 meeting, Parker wrote another letter to the editor of the *New York Times*, this time describing a "crisis in Indian affairs," whereby otherwise honest whites' "deficient moral code" allowed them to overtly cheat Indians of land. Given Parker's tradition of supporting the Dawes Act, it is not surprising that Parker diagnosed this problem not as government duplicity, but as the lack of government: "the graft scandal at White Earth, MN, at which place the Chippewa Indians were robbed of millions of dollars' worth of land and timber through lack of proper Government protection."[17]

Although he advocated limited sovereignty, his vision of Indian identity was probably closer to that taught at Carlisle than what was being taught by traditional people

on the reservation; he argued that sovereignty was a questionable solution, given the obduracy of Indian ethnicity among the uneducated masses:

> One of the great drawbacks to the Indian of the present is the fact that he has been condemned to a grammar-school education. None of the great Government schools takes its pupils beyond the grammar grades. Carlisle is not a college, but a grade school. Its graduates are turned out to compete in a world of white men who in educational equipment have eight to ten years' advantage. Can it be wondered that one or two Indians now and then go back to the tepee and, in discouragement, wrap themselves in the blanket?[18]

Resonance would come from an academic movement, Parker thought, and so he was especially excited about producing an organizational facade for the SAI as an academic organization, despite having few academics as leaders. For example, Parker insisted the society meet on college campuses rather than reservations; the society published an academic journal, and they published conference and meeting proceedings; these "inventions" of Parker, who had practical more than academic training, put strains on the organization.[19] Another barrier to efficient resource mobilization came from their struggle to develop a middle ground between two established groups of supporters; there were no tribal officials among them, and "they occupied a middle ground, marginal to both the tribe and the dominant society."[20] In part because of these struggles, the SAI failed to mobilize large numbers of Indians.

Faced with limited successes, they went back to basics. The SAI third annual meeting occurred on Columbus Day, 1913 in Denver. Again, white audiences were drawn to the SAI Columbus Day performances. In Denver, the highlight for the white press was the ethnic performances, which included stereotypical native dress, speech, music, and dance.

At the Denver meeting, SAI members voiced frustrations regarding their limited membership and influence. They vowed a two-pronged strategy, a letter writing campaign to increase membership, and a campaign to infuse increased energy into the cultural observance of an annual holiday. As they revisited Parker's idea for an Indian holiday, they agreed that the new American Indian day should be sponsored by the society, as "a nationwide holiday (unofficial or otherwise), devoted to the study or recital of Indian lore," and should include "picnics, parades, Indian games, music ceremonies, drama, speeches or recitals of history exercises by schools, clubs, societies, and outdoor lovers."[21] Parker smartly marketed the holiday as an obvious solution: "See the scheme? Every red-blooded American … would yell long and loud for American Indian day. The attention which the red man would command would help him immensely."[22]

The holiday resonated with American ideals:

> [I]t was an idea early in the American grain, at home with the American idea of civic celebrations. So suitable was the observance of American Indian day to the purposes of secular pan Indianism that it has continued ever since as a characteristic pan Indian activity.[23]

After the Denver Columbus Day meeting, the SAI members came home with new determination to mobilize the masses through an Indian holiday; one of the SAI leaders, Red Fox James, began a campaign to solicit support and lobby the U.S. president. He received numerous letters from prominent citizens urging the establishment of the national holiday, and he presented the letters to the president. The manner by which he did this shows how petitioning has changed. James, a full-blooded Indian of the Blackfeet Tribe of Montana, rode more than 4,000 miles on a pony, in the clothing of the tribe, collecting letters of support for the holiday from 24 governors, which he brought to the president in Washington.[24]

Although the Indian holiday ritual spread to some schools in New York, within a few years, it disappeared. In the following decades, Indian holidays were adopted by the United Nations, and a handful of U.S. cities. South Dakota in 1990 voted to abolish Columbus Day and replace it with American Indian Day. That was an outcome of a campaign spurred by publisher and journalist Tim Giago, the owner of the *Lakota Times* (which later became *Indian Country Today*, the largest Indian newspaper in the country). This was an important moment for South Dakota, as that state has one of the highest concentrations of Indians in the nation. Giago's efforts would have been worth more than a mention in the story if it weren't for the 500th anniversary protest in California.

Resource Mobilization and Framing: The Modern Origins of Indigenous Peoples Day

On Columbus Day, 2007, nearly 200 people occupied the streets of Lawrence, Kansas to protest the celebration of Columbus. Most of the participants were students of the Haskell Indian School. The event was organized by Haskell's American Indian Studies club, with support provided by other local social justice organizations, including anarchist and peace activists. The march was part of a day of events, starting with a rally at the city park, where elders and leaders from the Native community addressed the crowd. After the rally at the park, the students took the streets, chanting and carrying signs that framed their cause; chants included "We will never go away, this is Indigenous Peoples Day"; banners and discussions revealed their frame prognoses: To bring enlightenment to the atrocities of Columbus, not the storybook version mainstream education teaches, to educate the public that the government is constantly trying to negate the responsibility it has toward Native peoples, and to work toward a permanent change in Lawrence from Columbus Day to IPD. The day's events concluded at Haskell, where participants took part in "teach-ins," film showings, presentations, discussions, and a potluck.[25]

As an alternative to Columbus Day, IPD is celebrated in many ways; most visibly, it occurs annually on college campuses throughout the country; often like the Kansas example, these events are sponsored by Indian Student Organizations. In the late twentieth century, this tradition of replacing Columbus Day with an Indian holiday can be traced to California.

Although no single group or individual can be said to have caused this "new" tradition, clearly one of the most important and well-placed individuals to

organize collective action was Millie Ketcheschawno, former student at Haskell and movement leader.

Like many of the American Indian activists in the San Francisco area, Millie migrated to the area because of the Indian relocation program. She attended Haskell in Kansas, and in the late 1950s enlisted in the Federal Relocation Program and moved to Oakland. Once she arrived, she became involved in pan-ethnic, inter-tribal groups such as the Indians of All Tribes, the group that sponsored the occupation of Alcatraz Island beginning in 1969.

Alcatraz has been repeatedly connected to the origin myth. On Columbus Day in 1933, the U.S. Department of Justice transformed Alcatraz from an army prison into a federal prison, which it remained until 1963. In 1964 and in 1969, a pan-ethnic group of American Indian activists from the Indians of All Tribes sponsored occupations of Alcatraz island. The second 1969 action became an 18-month occupation. Their first public statement at this occupation was that they had seized the island "by right of discovery":

> We, the Native Americans, reclaim the land known as Alcatraz Island in the name of all American Indians by right of discovery.[26]

Takeovers were meant as dramatic displays of self-determination, and using Columbus was an important way to frame their tactics around self-determination. Graffiti on the building walls on Alcatraz said "Indians Discovered America." Before the end of the Alcatraz takeover, a different pan-ethnic Indian group, United Indians of All Tribes, took over the Fort Lawton military base in Seattle, Washington. They borrowed the Alcatraz proclamation and the trope of discovery; one leader, Bernie Whitebear, "wrote" the proclamation, "We, the Native Americans, reclaim the land known as Fort Lawton in the name of all American Indians by right of discovery."[27]

Like Whitebear and others who participated in the occupations, Millie's activism was decidedly pan-ethnic; mobilization was through intertribal groups, such as through communion with the various Indians—Creeks, Cherokees, Paiutes, and dozens of others—that socialized and commiserated at the Intertribal Friendship House in Oakland. The house provided the central networking hub for Indian activism, beginning before the Alcatraz takeover, and continuing for decades. Millie was central to local pan-Indian activism through the following decades, through leadership positions in the Bay Area Native American Council, and as the first woman president of the Intertribal Friendship House. In her final decade, Millie's success as an activist came through her sponsorship of Berkeley's IPD.

Berkeley's IPD began during the 500th anniversary and continues today as a pan-ethnic celebration of Indian arts, crafts, and dance. For many, the centerpiece of the event is the powwow; it has become one of the most important powwows in the state, because it brings together a diverse group of Indians from the Western United States.

Berkeley's IPD originated after a coalition of American Indian and progressive activists lobbied the city council to replace Columbus Day. The progressive party, Berkeley Citizen Action (BCA) dominated the city council, and its decision to replace Columbus Day fits with a pattern. Locally, they instituted rent controls and neighborhood preservation ordinances to fight the capitalist onslaught of developers,

and they banned plastic and foam packaging. Internationally, they gave refugee status to Central American immigrants, and they funneled aid to sister cities in El Salvador and Nicaragua.

The idea of replacing Columbus Day with IPD was not original to the Berkeley activists; they say it was first suggested back in a 1977 United Nations Conference in Switzerland,

> The idea of replacing Columbus Day with Indigenous Peoples Day was not a new one. It was first proclaimed by representatives of Native nations and participants at the United Nations-sponsored International Conference on Discrimination Against Indigenous Populations in the Americas, which took place in 1977 in Geneva, Switzerland. The declaration of this body was applauded and echoed by Native peoples around the globe.[28]

Another uniting moment happened in 1990 at an anti-Columbus organizing conference in Quito, Ecuador, where hundreds of Indians from around the world met for the first intercontinental gathering of indigenous people in the Americas. Some Berkeley activists attended the Quito conference, where they promised to organize activism in the United States. Accordingly, once they returned they sponsored a two-day organizing conference, with the first day at Native American D-Q University in Davis, CA and the second day in Oakland. The purpose of the conference was to foster networks and develop goals for mutual coordinated collective action during the 500th anniversary year in 1992.

Looking at the 10-point program of the 500 Coalition (see table 4.2) shows the influence of the international conference (e.g., declarations 1, 3, 9), and foreshadows many later successes by the California Columbus Day protesters. Through local action, Millie and her allies in the 500 Coalition accomplished many of their goals; some clearly would have happened without this coalition (such as number 10—the failure of the national commission to secure funding for the replicas of the Nina, Pinta, and Santa Maria that were to land in the bay during Columbus Day, 1992), but other actions of the Coalition clearly produced important, lasting changes.

The most important declaration was number 7, "Coordinate common dates in which indigenous peoples can join together in a common effort, for example, quarterly at season changes (similar to Earth Day)." Although members of the Coalition compared their proposal to Earth Day, their suggestion appears a near carbon copy of the suggestion of Arthur Parker in 1911, during the first SAI Meeting on Columbus Day, in Columbus, Ohio. After several meetings, the 500 Coalition decided to focus their attention on local action and in particular on goal number 7.

They lobbied city hall and held community meetings to convince the public that Columbus was a slave trader; the group remembers it this way: "The Task Force presented their research which showed overwhelming evidence that Columbus himself took personal leadership in acts that would today be called genocide."[29] Their research convinced Berkeley to abolish Columbus Day, to replace it with an official IPD city holiday, and to provide $5000 in funds to sponsor the annual IPD festival. The annual festival has occurred each year since 1992, and in addition to the powwow, includes a market for ethnic arts and crafts, indigenous musicians, and ethnic foods such as Indian tacos and fry bread.

Before the inaugural IPD in October 1992, an editorial from the San Francisco *Chronicle* staff warned that IPD "seems a harmless gesture toward focusing some proper attention on the tragic and proud history of Native Americans since Columbus' celebrated voyage 500 years ago," but the real target was political correctness. The council, they said, did something "stupefyingly correct" by renaming Columbus Day.[30]

In the following months, the fury of whether Columbus should be celebrated or condemned came to overshadow the celebration of ethnic culture on the first Indigenous People's Day. The debate came to a head on Columbus Day, 1992. Italians' sponsored a mock landing in the San Francisco harbor and a mock coronation of Queen Isabella. Members of the resistance coalition crashed the mock coronation at San Francisco City Hall on October 2, chanting "Genocide! Killers! Murderers!" The demonstrators provoked an angry confrontation until an AIM spokeswoman was allowed to address the crowd.[31]

These tactics gained attention, but not as much as did the protest on the next day, Columbus Day, when protesters stopped a 70 year Italian American tradition. A group of approximately 4,000 protesters was arrayed along the city's waterfront to expose "the colonial mentality and the subjugation and the loss of land and lives and the hypocrisy of this European invasion."[32] Another contingent of activists boarded boats and kayaks and blocked the shore. After several passes in front of the landing site at Aquatic Park, the boat carrying the Italian Columbus turned and sped away, delighting the demonstrators onshore, "We turned him back in the water. This is a victory for us," said one of the leaders of the demonstration.[33]

Overly emboldened by their successes, some in the group became a temporary mob during the Italians' Columbus Day parade later that day. Police arrested 40 protesters for disrupting the parade and throwing Molotov cocktails and bottles at officers. Another faction threw raw eggs at the Italian Americans' floats and yelled epithets at the parade. In response, Joseph Cervetto Jr., dressed as Columbus in full period costume, waved back from his float and taunted them with his sword.[34]

The inaugural IPD in Berkeley began with only approximately 200 people in attendance, but the 1992 protest of the Italian's events in San Francisco drew more than 4,000 activists, so certainly many groups were involved in the protest that were not part of the 500 Coalition. Although members of the coalition took part in the protest, they did not sponsor the violence. Nevertheless, the 500 Coalition was named as the sponsor for the "protests" (ibid). Protests overshadowed celebrations of ethnic culture such as IPD. In 1993, the *Chronicle* gave the new IPD commemoration only a few sentences announcing the powwow and Indian arts festival. For the next decade, the annual Berkeley celebration received scant attention by local media. This trend has persisted through 2006. News coverage is especially important because it helps the tradition spread beyond its grassroots origins. Even with limited media coverage, ritual traditions can spread, and resource mobilization theory suggests, they often diffuse in predictable patterns—in particular, through preestablished networks.

The key to the diffusion of IPD was college students. Many in the 500 Coalition were students, and as the movement spread students became more involved. In 1995, students organized an IPD march to the California capitol, where a rally supported the proposed holiday.[35] Despite failing to win legislatively, the IPD ritual eventually spread outside of California. Beginning in 1996, IPD rituals spread to college

campuses across the country. For the next decade, college groups used IPD rituals to reenact and reinforce ethnic boundaries. As an American Indian alternative to Columbus Day, the Berkeley ritual provided a model of mobilization that *diffused* throughout the country, and the ritual carried a set of cultural framings that *resonated* culturally.

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Diffusion of IPD

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Detailed analysis can uncover patterns in the diffusion of the ethnic ritual. Despite the overt controversy over replacing Columbus Day, several nearby California cities for a few years followed Berkeley in changing the holiday. Within only a few years, however, several reversed their decision, and others conveniently forgot ever changing the name in the first place. Despite "very anti-Columbus" comments in the city council when IPD was dropped in 1994, the Santa Cruz city council created a combined Columbus Day-IPD. The council "took heat from the Italian-American community," and a shared holiday was not enough to appease them. The following year the council acknowledged, "they were wrong" in passing the 1992 resolution, and passed a resolution that "designates Oct. 12 as [only] Columbus Day."[36] Outside of California, the practice was adopted by only a few other cities, such as Columbus and Cincinnati, OH, cities where there was already a strong tradition of American Indian and peace protest groups. The ethnic practice then spread to locations that also had many preexisting groups looking to overturn "Euro-centric" traditions with ethnic practice.

IPD diffused through higher education, especially during the decade beginning 1996 when at least 22 different campuses adopted the alternative Columbus Day practice. The diffusion of this symbolic practice did not spread randomly. Rather, it spread to hosts at two specific locations: schools in states with high Indian populations and to elite universities. All but one of the cases meets at least one of these two criteria (Census 2000; see table 4.3).

Simple analysis of correlations can provide insights into the diffusion of this ritual across the 22 campuses. Findings suggest with 99 percent probability (.01 level) that the correlation between IPD and top 50 schools is not due to chance (see table 4.4).

Universities provide fertile soil for seeding new practices; important are not only the university climates, but also the institutional support given to student groups. The insulation provided to these groups from the outside society is important; U.S. public opinion is skeptical of ethnic groups setting themselves apart through special rituals, and new adopters that sponsor practices such as IPD become especially vulnerable to condemnation. IPD commemorations diffused to contexts relatively insulated from such condemnation, mostly through the support of Indian Student Associations, who organized the new practice in alliance with other race and social justice student organizations. These university student groups usually sponsored a campus commemoration; sometimes they also induced the university or city to "officially sponsor" commemorations. Although not controlling their actions or speech, the university institution provides many resources that these groups use, including a huge cadre of potential recruits, an environment that encourages critical thinking and multiculturalism, meeting places, equipment, and faculty with a broad array of professional expertise.

The diffusion of the IPD ritual was not random, but was significantly correlated to low Indian segregation (table 4.5), total Indian population in the state (tables 4.6 and 4.7), and total poverty in the state (table 4.8). The diffusion of the ritual was not correlated with Indian or white income; it also was not correlated with Indian-white income inequality (tables 4.9 and 4.10). Examining the diffusion of this ritual across the 22 campuses does not say anything about how participants framed their participation in IPD.

Cultural Resonance of IPD

Cultural resonance is a sign of successful collective action; charting the cultural resonance of a frame or ritual is one way to measure effective social movements. Success of the 500 Coalition can be seen by examining the diffusion and resonance of IPD. Diffusion entails the spread of a tactic and can be simply counted. Cultural resonance is more complex. Resonance is not simply an attribute; rather, it is a process. The opposite of cultural resonance is indifference—being ignored. Cultural resonance does not assume people agree with a particular idea, only that the idea is repeated. This means that critics and advocates play similar roles in producing cultural resonance. There are four types of cultural resonance: reproducing, expanding, arguing, and redirecting.

REPRODUCING

As the IPD ritual spread to college campuses, it provided an opportunity for people to both express Indian identity and display their support for Indian causes. IPD became an event that reinforced boundaries between minorities and whites. Reproductions of the IPD ritual were celebrations of ethnic culture that marked past and present cultural vibrancy, and proclaimed Indians' moral supremacy.

Cultural celebrations included ethnic dancing, music, and arts, which helped celebrate the vibrancy of ethnic culture. Reproductions commonly appeared at Penn State, Michigan, Michigan State, California State University Sacramento, and Stanford. At Michigan State, sage was prominent, as was "a drum, which represented the heartbeat of the community."[37] Bystanders participated, "Dozens danced in a circle while the group performed" (ibid). Students shared art and music; a member of a Western Cherokee tribe sang original lyrics about indigenous culture, and another said her artwork was "representative of the meaning of her ancestral tribes."[38] At Western Michigan, ceremonies included Traditional drumming, dancing, and storytelling. Stanford's Indian Student organization regularly sponsors annual IPD events that include a pilgrimage to Alcatraz Island. The Alcatraz sunrise service includes drumming and dancers from the Aztec, Pomo, and Ohlone tribes, singing in honor of ancestors, a tobacco blessing to the fire, prayers for the coming generations, and speakers that discuss Indian culture and political issues.[39] After the three-hour ceremony, students return to campus to discuss their experience.[40] Although the Berkeley model of a powwow and Indian market was never exactly copied on college campuses, reproduced IPD practices helped construct ethnic culture and solidarity through sponsoring indigenous music, art, and dance.

Speakers honored Indians past contributions, such as at Montana University, where commemorations praised Indians for "playing games that have today evolved into modern day sports like hockey, basketball and lacrosse."[41] Whether through celebration of indigenous contributions or through expression of ethnic art, dance, sports, and music, IPD events were pluralist practices that fostered ethnic solidarity. Participants in these practices also proclaimed moral supremacy.

Participants commonly asked to be seen "as people," humans rather than caricatures or mascots,[42] but they also commonly proclaimed ancient natives as moral guides to a superior life. At University of Montana, University of Wisconsin, Michigan State, and Yale, the indigenous were lauded for their ability to model an ethnically diverse, environmentally healthy society.[43] Indians were celebrated not so much for their contemporary contributions, but for the guidance gleaned from Indian ancestors, who offered a morally superior way of living compared to modern industrial capitalism. As the IPD ritual spread, it was not merely reproduced to proclaim moral supremacy, mark cultural vibrancy, and honor past contributions, but also it was expanded to accomplish new goals such as demanding local change or organizing for other Indian political issues.

EXPANDING

On college campuses, the IPD practice was expanded by student groups that demanded local, institutional change, by those that focused on related Indian political issues, and by those that wished to reinforce racial boundaries. At Michigan State University, organizers used the ceremonies to request five acres of university land for "ceremonial purposes and cultural celebration by indigenous peoples."[44] At University of Michigan, American Indian and African American student associations organized a walkout to begin their commemoration. Students gathered and heard speakers challenge the university administration to address the low number of American Indian students and faculty at the university and to develop a American Indian studies program. Speakers implicitly drew boundaries between authentic Indians and spoiled Europeans. One said, "In order to get our side heard, we need Native professors and new focuses of study, instead of the Eurocentric one."[45] The binary between an illegitimate Western culture and a revered minority culture was reinforced again at Columbia University events, where they "blasted the Columbia administration for not being receptive to minority issues, citing Columbia's lack of support for ethnic studies and the Western emphasis of the Core Curriculum."[46] IPD provided an opportunity for Indian students to challenge local institutions. Participants reinforced boundaries between minorities and Europeans. Similar expanding practices occurred on the campuses of Stanford, Yale, and others.

Commemorations on campuses included speakers on various contemporary indigenous issues such as political prisoner Leonard Peltier, and commemorations addressed issues such as land rights. Most commonly discussed were the relocation of the Navajo/Dineh of Big Mountain, AZ, and issues of environmental justice faced by the Western Shoshone in NV. At Western Michigan University, ceremonies included a presentation by a member of the Western Shoshone National Council who educated the community about "nuclear weapons testing and radioactive waste

dumping on their sacred homeland."[47] IPD commemorations were expanded to address several political issues such as human rights, political prisoners, environmental justice, forced relocation, and protection of sacred sites. Practices were also expanded to call for local institutional change.

Participants expanded the ritual by using it to draw identity boundaries and reinforce their own belief system. There are two central actors in the liberal belief system—an innocent victim played by ethnic minorities and an evil villain played by Europeans. The Columbus myth provides a readily understandable template for reenacting these social relationships. Expanded IPD commemorations created racial solidarity and strengthened racial boundaries. Showing that Europeans infused evil into the origins of our society helps construct group boundaries, reinforces the notion that racism is endemic, and supports the assumption that minorities are victims and Europeans are perpetrators. These rituals typically included listening to Indian speakers (live or videotaped) and participating in a dramatic candle light vigil.

At Penn State, a group of multiethnic student groups took part in a candlelight vigil. They met to watch traditional American Indian dances and listen to descriptions of the violence and disease that followed Europeans into the New World. One of the organizers said the observance was a day of mourning, especially for the people who were here "before the Europeans arrived."[48] The crowd, holding candles, reassembled at a prominent location on the edge of campus to hold hands in a huge circle.[49] The following year, sponsored by American Indian, African American, and Hispanic American student organizations, "The ceremony concluded with a candlelight vigil…where the group stood in a circle honoring the suffering of indigenous people."[50] Similar candlelight vigils annually occurred on the campuses of Yale, Michigan State, Columbia, and Stanford.[51] Events helped participants develop solidarity and a shared history of injustice; they also reinforced existing ideologies that victimized minorities and demonized Europeans. At Columbia, the event was sponsored by Native American, African American, and Chicano student organizations; organizers said, "The protest was intended to raise awareness about the history of European settlement and to promote cultural identity and solidarity among minorities."[52] Students expanded the traditional IPD by framing their events as rituals of racial solidarity, by spreading the word about Indian issues, and by advocating local change. As the rituals diffused they carried not only affirming framing that was consonant with the framing of the original event, but also condemning framing that was dissonant with the framing of the original event.[53]

ARGUING

Students directly argued against IPD. At Yale, a student argued that the IPD organizers' comparison of Indian history to the holocaust "lacks historical integrity and disrespects the victims of the Nazi genocide."[54] At Eastern Michigan University, a student defended Columbus. The author used tactics that were common among many pro-Columbus advocates, such as suggesting that Indian tragedies were inevitable:

> While it is tragic that deficiencies in immunity caused many Indians to die of disease, blaming this on Christopher Columbus is ludicrous. Had Columbus not discovered

America, eventually someone else would have. That disease would come to the shores of America was an inevitability.[55]

A Yale student argued that Columbus could not have initiated genocide because the colonizers sought to enslave rather than eliminate,

> Europeans did not invade and conquer the Americas with the intention of coldly and systematically destroying a whole people simply because of their race. They came seeking wealth, adventure and a safe haven from political persecution. The fact is that native Americans were a valuable labor resource in the Spanish colonies, and their deaths were seen as a problematic loss, not a desirable end.[56]

Critics used patriotism to argue against IPD; they made comparisons between Columbus and patriotic figures such as George Washington, the Wright Brothers, Neil Armstrong, Louis Pasteur, and Jesus Christ.[57] Critics also reinforced ethnic boundaries between Europeans and Indians by explicitly defending the greatness of Western Civilization. At Yale, IPD critics said Columbus lit the way for people, "Adventurous Europeans," who brought the "Western Tradition" of democracy, liberty, human rights, liberal education, and the belief in a transcendent God.[58] These basic characteristics were lacking among Indian nations, the writer said. From this perspective, it is "hard to understand how colonizing, settling and civilizing are inherently wrong."[59]

REDIRECTING

Although some directly argued with the premise of IPD by offering alternative information, others redirected the argument, often by attacking the sender. In this case, the most vehement attacks on the educational practice came from outsider critics of campus culture. Outsider educational critics said "Indigenous Peoples' Day was the intellectual equivalent of junk food," and was organized by people who hate America.[60]

Another vehement attack came from outsiders who said IPD was part of a larger problem, the "so-called multiculturalists" who "lead an attack on our culture"; these are "Westerners who seek the overthrow of the West," and have dangerous goals, "a decline in freedom, democracy, prosperity, individual rights, and equality under the law."[61] Another outsider critic said, "Unjustified guilt-mongering about Columbus Day blackens the reputation of Western civilization," and that the IPD practice was "established to help spread lies about great Indian cultures, fallacies in the treaty/reservation system, and the infamous trail of tears."[62] This speaker said IPD was part of a system that is established to create racial superiority for minorities and collective guilt for whites. The IPD organizers were then compared to terrorists who wish to tear down Western civilization and its core values—reason, science, technology, progress, capitalism, individual rights, law, and the selfish pursuit of individual happiness here on earth (ibid).

Compared to critics from the inside, these attacks from "educational critics" were uncommon in their tone, but the strategy of avoiding the topic and instead assailing the speaker was common. among insiders as well.

Dismissing IPD as politically correct was a common tactic. At California State University-Chico, a student found it "shocking" that Columbus Day and other traditional holidays have been "replaced by a horrifying array of New World Order events" such as "Women's History Month, Earth Day, Indigenous Peoples Day, National Coming Out Day and World AIDS Day."[63] At Columbia, a student called the IPD practice extreme, unpatriotic, cliché, and insignificant, "There has to be a balance of opinion...I think that we need to recognize the value of our American culture first....these things have become a-dime-a-dozen...there are more meaningful causes that they could take up."[64]

In a repressive context, dissonance will appear in careful language. For example, critics of affirmative action programs carefully couched their critiques in the language of a color-blind society, thereby implying that practices that privilege minority groups might be racist. One insider critic ignored the message of the IPD practice and redirected attention to "reverse racism,"

> Special enrichment activities and holiday celebrations (i.e. Kwanza, Malcolm X Day, Indigenous Peoples Day, etc.) have been supported and encouraged, even when such activities exclude White students, because this is a school and a school district that has gone to great lengths to promote cultural pluralism.[65]

At Brigham Young University, a faculty critic implied that IPD organizers were racist against whites, "America was and is a dangerous society to the above groups, and is beyond redemption, for racism is in the very DNA of all that Whites think, do, say and worship."[66] Another critic said that IPD was created to dispense "fantasies, lies, and sanitized half-truths about non-White cultures designed to make them seem spiritually and morally superior."[67]

To critics, IPD represented white dispossession, "The purpose is to induce racial guilt in gullible Whites which can be exploited for the purpose of White dispossession. An elegant proof of this thesis is 'Indigenous Peoples Day.'"[68] At Eastern Michigan University, a critic stigmatized IPD as "multiculturalism run amok," and organizers as "fashionable" and "fanatics," who "simply hate and fear all of Western Civilization."[69] At Princeton's IPD events, organizers noted regular critics who ask students to "Stop being a victim."[70]

At Yale, a week of IPD events were marred by what IPD organizers called "hate speech," "harassment," and "threats."[71] IPD organizers used flyers and chalked sidewalks around campus to publicize their events and issues, and critics countered with their own flyers and with a chalking campaign that referred to organizers as "squaws and braves" and included "racist statements" not printed in the student newspaper. One dean called the acts "bizarre and disgusting," and another dean called them "an act of cowardice" and "an affront to the entire community," particularly because the perpetrators were hidden, "If you have something to say, you should say it, identify yourself, and engage in a dialogue."[72] A Yale IPD organizer realized that people might not grasp that words such as Squaws, Braves, and

Redskins are ethnic slurs; she said participants and organizers faced such treatment each year that they held an IPD event, but also that addressing the problems made them stronger as a group.[73]

While they did not recognize it, the students who commemorated IPD on modern campuses were improvising from scripts written by Indian students such as Millie Ketcheschawno and Arthur Parker. At least in educational institutions, social movements successfully shaped an ethnic, American Indian version of the national origin story.

Conclusion

American Indian activists institutionalized a distinct American Indian version of the holiday. The SAI and the 500 Coalition both benefited from political opportunities created by federal policy and demographic change. The SAI mobilized stereotypical Indian performances on Columbus Day that gained attention of white audiences; they also advocated an American Indian holiday. The idea of an Indian holiday was revived during the 500th anniversary. It took four more years for IPD to begin diffusing throughout the country, but in the decade following 1996, the movement ritual diffused to more than 20 college campuses around the country. The ritual diffused in patterned ways, and ritual participants helped produce cultural resonance, by reproducing, expanding, arguing, and redirecting the frames associated with the original ritual. By successfully maneuvering a political process, activists shaped an American Indian memory of national origins that spread across space and time. The efforts of Millie, Arthur, and other student activists helped produce an ethnic collective memory.

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ETHNIC: HISPANIC AMERICAN

Connections between Columbus and Hispanics—e.g., Spaniards, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Dominicans, and Central Americans—seem obvious given that centuries of European stories have claimed that Columbus "discovered" the Spanish colonies. However, throughout much of U.S. history, colonized Hispanics were not included in popular retellings of the origin myth.

Negotiation, debate, and interaction among Hispanic movements, their adversaries, and institutional leaders constructed Hispanic collective memories of the origin myth. The (partial) institutionalization of a Hispanic version of the origin story was prodded by various Hispanic activists. Five key movements helped create a Hispanic version of the origin myth that spread across space and time. In other words, five successful Hispanic movements helped construct an ethnic collective memory. Each of these five successful movements benefited from an effective leader.

Five leaders represent the main movement campaigns that spurred the construction of Hispanic collective memories. First, Spanish Priest Bartoleme Las Casas was an eyewitness to Spanish colonization and wrote garishly about Spanish "wolves" attacking innocent Indians, killing millions. His words became the foundation for a Black Legend propaganda campaign that was used to impugn Spanish character during several important historical moments.

The second key leader was Jose Angel Gutierrez, who successfully lobbied 1960s Mexican American movements to mobilize behind a pan-ethnic identity that would include Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and others. On Columbus Day 1967, commonly called Dia de la Raza among Hispanics in the United States, Gutierrez, along with many other important leaders, met to discuss central issues such as their identity, accommodating youth, and developing a political party. This meeting defined Chicano rights activism that followed, including, at the prodding of Gutierrez, the establishing of what became the largest Hispanic American civil rights organization, the National Council of La Raza (NCLR).

The third key leader was Raul Yzaguirre, who transformed the NCLR from a localized Mexican American organization into a 35,000-member organization,

with revenues exceeding $42 million. This large income base came partially from working with established economic elites, and working within the system had other benefits, such as the ability to influence congressional funding in favor of Hispanic commemorations of Columbus. The NCLR sponsored a Hispanic commission to shape commemorations on the 500th anniversary.

The fourth key leader was Juan Jose Gutierrez, a progressive immigrant advocate from Los Angeles; despite his outsider status, Gutierrez's vision for a national March on Washington in 1996 gained support when the policy climate became increasingly threatening. The march was the first, and to date only, Hispanic March on Washington, and it created solidarity among pan-ethnic Hispanics.

The fifth key leader was Subcommandante Marcos. Marcos is the leader of the Zapatistas, the most vocal Latin American movements that regularly mobilized on Columbus Day. Marcos was one of many leaders throughout Latin America that mobilized thousands of Latin American people for what became known as the 500 Years Movement, representing 500 years of resistance. While the Zapatistas are one of the most radical and vocal representatives of this movement, the moderate wing of this movement has also gained power. Recently, Indigenous candidates such as Hugo Chavez in Venezuela and Evo Morales in Boliva have amassed electoral victories, thanks in part, these leaders note, to the 500 Years Movement.

These five leaders—Las Casas, Jose Gutierrez, Raul Yzaguirre, Juan Gutierrez, and Marcos—helped construct a Hispanic version of the origin story that spread across space and time. Each contributed to the construction of a Hispanic collective memory.

Black Legend

The Black Legend refers to stereotypes that Spanish colonizers were especially cruel. When journalists, scholars, politicians, and others remembered Columbus, they sometimes disparaged Spaniards. This was not isolated to one period or merely a few institutions; the notion that innocent Indians were decimated by cruel Spaniards spread across time and space. Examining the emergence of the Black Legend within Columbus commemorations can give insight into the processes by which framing can motivate social action. Hundreds of studies have documented relationships between stereotypes and systematic discrimination suffered by U.S. minority groups. The Black Legend transformed the memory of Columbus into a story about Spanish cruelty, which provided an important motivation for social action against Spaniards.

The legend was used in many anti-Spanish propaganda campaigns, and it has come to characterize some common ideas:

> Spaniards killed thousands of Indians unnecessarily in their conquests. Everywhere Spaniards killed, burned and tortured…Spaniards were not content with simple victory…They must have enjoyed skinning Indians alive, gouging out their eyes, cutting off their hands and feet, or they would not have done these things. No military necessities justify such acts, and the only possible explanation lies in a national psychological perversion.[1]

The earliest examples of campaigns to tarnish Spaniards with cruel stories of colonization occurred within Columbus's lifetime, and it is important to note, did not begin as a propaganda campaign to tarnish the Spanish. After the discovery of America by Columbus, the Spanish court sponsored a debate to discuss the benefit of their colonization of the Indians. Las Casas, the voice of conscience, vividly described his firsthand observations of the cruelty of the Spaniards toward the Indians. Las Casas's themes were not particularly innovative; he took a common cultural theme—the noble savage—and he applied it to new circumstances. Las Casas provided the central source material for the Black Legend throughout the ages.

The Black Legend propaganda campaign was born in the late sixteenth century, when Spain still controlled much of Europe and the Americas. Columbus may have grown up in an Italian city-state, but by the time his discovery became known by most people in Spain and Italy, Italy was a Spanish colony. Over the decades following Columbus's landings in the West, Italy and the other Spanish colonies rewrote history to bolster their anticolonial campaigns against Spanish colonizers; the ability to distribute the tracts with the new printing press that appeared in most European cities by 1500 helped the Black Legend become one of the world's first mass media propaganda campaigns.

In the sixteenth and later centuries, Las Casas's writings were reprinted and used in ways not intended by Las Casas—as worldwide propaganda against Spain. Translations of this work, with new lurid titles and illustrations, appeared in Dutch, English, French, and other languages. In England his bland title of an "A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies" was rewritten, "The Tears of the Indians: Being and Historical and True Account of the Cruel Massacres and Murders of 20 Million Innocent People."[2] Anti-Hispanic propagandists valued Las Casas in part because of his status as the first Bishop in Chiapas, Mexico, and in part because of his insider status—he was not an enemy of Spain, and his writings were based on personal observations and experience.

Las Casas is still quoted today—primarily among groups wishing to highlight Indians' resistance; this longevity is due in part to Las Casas's perceived authenticity,[3] and in part because his descriptions clearly touched on themes that had an even longer history of resonance: colonizing the "noble savage." Las Casas said the Indians were "peaceful," "without fraud or malice," "delicate and tender," and "feeble." In contrast, he describes the Spaniards as "cruel tigers, wolves and lions, enraged with a sharp and tedious hunger" who "cruelly and inhumanly butchered" all but 300 of the 3 million people they met upon landing in Hispaniola.[4]

As countries tried to break the chains of Spanish colonization, their intellectuals, politicians, and activists used Las Casas to assail Spain and justify decolonization. William of Orange was one of the first; he is the inspiration for modern Orange order movements.

For many others, remembering Columbus provided a time to celebrate the newly formed American empire. A Bishop gave a "Columbian sermon" that condemned the "enslavement and extermination of these guileless children of nature" and said, "[T]he Latin race sought rather to ratify its greed for gold than to colonize Commonwealths in the New World."[5] Academics were even more likely to remember a version of the origin story that depreciated Spaniards. These were often openly

published arguments, such as in a professional journal, which said the Latin races have always been cruel and merciless:

> [M]any, taken alive, were condemned to slavery…Numbers were slaughtered, multitudes fled to the forests and mountains. Bad as the cannibal Caribs had been, these Christian Spaniards were infinitely worse…The Spaniards suffered, but stayed and revenged themselves by further atrocities, the Indians dying in droves, of famine, sickness, misery…and shall Columbus escape the blood-guiltiness of destroying a million and a half of his fellow men in Espanola, a million in Cuba, half a million in Jamaica, a hundred thousand in the Bahamas? Why need I speak of the millions of Mexico, the millions of Columbia and Central America, the millions of Peru? All these dreadful holocausts owe their origin to him and his thirst for wealth. Cruel and merciless, indeed, the Latin races have always been.[6]

Similarly, the Massachusetts Historical Society president published his Columbus Day speech, which distinguished the aimless, brutal Spanish atrocities with the guiltless, progressive English occupancy:

> It is true that both the so-called "Spanish Conquests" and the progressive English occupancy of our national domain have alike resulted in the territorial spoiling and the threatened extinction of the aboriginal races. But the way and method by which these tragical results have been reached were marked by ruthless barbarities and atrocities on the part of the Spaniards, of which the English colonists were wholly guiltless. The ruthless frenzy of passion, the ingenuity of device in torture, maiming and mutilating the sensitive organs and members of living men, women and children, the chopping off of hands and feet, and the putting out the eyes of victims left to a wretched remnant of existence—these were hardly aggravations of the appalling brutality of Spanish inventiveness in cruelty…the ingenuity, the gloating delight, the persistency and utter aimlessness of Spanish brutality leave us the only relief of being able to charge it only to the people who first desolated the new world.[7]

In the decades preceding 1892, the Columbus myth was commonly used in popular history texts to depreciate the Spaniards. One text summarized and quoted Las Casas and implied Spaniards were cannibals:

> Such a cruel and destructive slavery has seldom, if ever, been known…It was cheaper to work an Indian to death, and get another, than to take care of him; and accordingly the slaves were worked to death without mercy. From time to time the Indians rose in rebellion; but these attempts were savagely suppressed, and a policy of terror was adopted. Indians were slaughtered by the hundred, burned alive, impaled on sharp stakes, torn to pieces by blood-hounds. In retaliation for the murder of a Spaniard, it was thought proper to call up fifty or sixty Indians and chop off their hands. Little children were flung into the water and drown, with less concern than if they had been puppies…Once, "in honor and reverence of Christ and his twelve apostles," they hanged thirteen Indians in a row, at such a height that their toes could just touch the ground, and then pricked them to death with their sword points, taking care not to kill them quickly…Can it be, says Las Casas, that I really saw such things, or are they hideous dreams? Alas! They are no dreams; "all this did I behold with my bodily eyes."[8]

Another text said, "As to the relative cruelty of dominant races…there cannot, it would seem, be much room for doubt that for sustained cruelty Spain stands first on the list."[9] One of the most popular texts, reprinted for decades in the post–Civil War period, remembered Columbus as a Spanish imperialist that misrepresented Christianity,

> But the Indians, seeing our rabid greediness and immeasurable avarice, there are some among them who, taking a piece of gold in their hand, say "this is the god of the Christians; for this they've come from Castile to our countries, and have subjugated us, and tormented us, and sold us as slaves, besides doing us many other injustices."[10]

Even Francis Bellamy, ardent supporter of both public education and Christian socialism, used the Columbus Day holiday to disparage the Spaniards. After his great success in the daytime school rituals on Columbus Day, 1892, Bellamy gave a special address at an afternoon parade of 4,000 schoolchildren in Malden, Massachusetts:

> Those mighty men of the Lord that settled Massachusetts, the sturdy Dutchmen of New York, the clean Quakers of Pennsylvania, the Cavalier Stockton established itself on the James—these were the true makers of America.…if the old 13 colonies had been Spanish colonies or were Portuguese colonies, instead of British colonies, then all this continent would have wallowed on in the dirty ignorance and superstition and barbarism which have characterized all the colonies of Spain.[11]

Bellamy reiterated, "America is not due to the enterprise of Spain. If we have anything worth celebrating here, we are to remember it was in spite of Spain" (ibid).

The image of a cruel imperial Spanish Columbus became an excuse for colonization of former Spanish colonies. The Columbus myth helped writers and speakers contrast a cruel Spanish imperialism and a beneficent U.S. colonization. From this popular image, it was only a short step toward the massive expansion of the U.S. Empire through "helpful" colonization of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. The Black Legend played an important role in constructing a Hispanic version of the origin story that spread across space and time. Another contributor to the construction of a Hispanic collective memory was the 1960s activists that mobilized around an inclusive identity of La Raza.

Raza in the 1960s

The pan-ethnic identity of La Raza incorporates the diverse Hispanic people—primarily people from Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Mexico, but also elsewhere in Latin America—into a common heritage group through their common heritage. They are mixed race people: Indian, European, and African. In the United States, the largest Hispanic group is Mexican American, and the immigrant population grew dramatically beginning in 1953 (see figure 5.1).

In the 1960s, La Raza ignited diverse peoples behind a single heritage; the term "raza" is commonly interpreted as "the people." La Raza was a common shared identity used by the 1960s and 1970s Hispanic movements. In the 1960s and 1970s, Hispanic movement groups such as the Brown Berets and the Young

Lords reinterpreted historical events such the Spanish-American war, the Treaty of Guadelupe Hidalgo, the Alamo, and Columbus's voyages, to place their minority experience at the center of historical consciousness.

Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, Hispanic Columbus Day events appeared primarily in New York City and the Southwest. New York City celebrations were ethnic celebrations of Puerto Rican identity but did not use the symbol of Raza; they mobilized established politicians looking for votes, and rarely sought to work outside the established political system to bring social change. The Hispanic Columbus Day events in the Southwest sponsored social change protest that united people behind the pan-ethnic identity of La Raza.

While Columbus Day was being celebrated as a Hispanic/Puerto Rican holiday in New York City, Mexican American activists in California and Colorado were appropriating the holiday to create a pan-ethnic identity. Community leaders worried that as many of the Mexican American immigrants began speaking English instead of Spanish, Mexican identity would be replaced by English and the U.S. culture. The Chicano movement in the United States—made up primarily of Mexican Americans—sought to revive Mexican culture and bolster it by making connections to other Hispanic groups. The cultural nationalism of a Chicano identity was balanced by another common community identity at the time, the pan-ethnic identity of La Raza. One of the earliest groups to attempt to make this balance was the Crusade for Justice, led by "Corky" Gonzalez in Denver. The main roles of the crusade in the Chicano movement were establishing a notion of La Raza that respected the indigenous aspect of Hispanic culture, providing a notion of separatism through the mythic land of Atzlan, and sponsoring Hispanic self-sufficiency through barrio-led businesses.[12] Probably more important for the development of La Raza, however, was Jose Angel Gutierrez.

One of the first organizing meetings for the emerging pan-ethnic Hispanic movement occurred on Columbus Day, 1967, in El Paso, Texas, and was attended by the pioneers of the Chicano movement from California, Colorado, and Texas. Gutierrez was a Texas leader and asserted that La Raza was the best term to identify Mexican American people, because Chicano was restricted to Mexican Americans and was not yet as widespread as La Raza. At this meeting, also, the idea of holding a mass national meeting of Mexican-American youth was discussed—this led to the historical National Chicano Liberation Youth Conference of March 1969. In addition, the concept of a Chicano political party emerged at this meeting, an idea that came to fruition within a few short years in the formation of La Raza Unida Party and the Council of La Raza, two groups that remain at the forefront of movements for Hispanic rights.[13]

According to the Civil Rights Commission, the key to the strength of the meeting was the diverse participants that began networking:

> There was one common theme stressed at the conference: the urgent need for unity, greater communication, greater group awareness, the development of political strength, the development of clear definitions of purpose and methods of operation, and the need for coalitions with other minority groups to achieve common goals. A direct outgrowth of La Raza Unida Conference was the formation of the Southwest Council of La Raza.[14]

The Civil Rights Commission report also stressed the significance of diverse networks, which were united behind a common identity of La Raza, and transcended even Hispanic diversity:

> La Raza has become more than a slogan; it has become a way of life for a people who seek to fully realize their personal and group identity and obtain equality of rights and treatment as citizens of the United States. (ibid)

La Raza was a battle cry and mobilizing identity of 1960s activists; it was more inclusive than alternative identities such as Puerto Rican, Mexican American, or Chicano. Neither Latino nor Hispanic had yet taken hold as a common cultural identity. *La Raza,* meaning "the people," or "the race" highlights the pride of a mixed heritage, that is, a mixture of white heritage with Indian and perhaps black heritage.

In Spain and in countries with colonial ties to Spain, Dia de la Raza was associated with annual Columbus Day celebrations as early as 1892. It was not long, however, before the holiday became a hotbed for activism. The politicized conception of La Raza appeared in popular culture at least as early as 1925 in *The Cosmic Race* written by Mexican philosopher, secretary of education, and 1929 presidential candidate, José Vasconcelos to express the ideology of a future "fifth race" in the Americas; a mixed race that would erect a new civilization.

The phrase La Raza proved an important mobilizing tool. Resource mobilization theory predicts that networks mobilized around a diverse inclusive concept of identity will be more successful than movements that use less inclusive concepts of identity.

Viva La Raza! was a popular protest phrase during the Los Angeles walkouts of 1968 and 1969. The Brown Berets in Los Angeles produced a newspaper called *La Raza* that "specialized in exposing police brutality and educational inadequate inadequacies, issues that resonated among East Los Angeles Mexican-Americans."[15] More important than ephemeral protest chants, La Raza provided a pan-ethnic community identity to guide major movement groups, such as the Southwest Council of La Raza, which was well known for drama and street theater to gain attention.[16]

The current leader of the organization, which was renamed the National Council on La Raza, reflected on why they chose the name La Raza:

> Q: Why did you call the organization La Raza?
>
> A: Well, I questioned that at the time myself. There was a feeling that La Raza was our term, was our name that could have easily been the Spanish speaking, Latino, Hispanic organization, but our community believed in the concept of la raza cosmica, which was about celebrating our diversity. It was a term we used to identify ourselves. In our usage it means people: the Hispanic people of the New World. And so the founders thought that it was the right name. When I came aboard, I was asked whether I should change it or not and I just didn't feel any compelling reason to do so. Throughout Latin America, we celebrate Dia de la Raza and why shouldn't that be the term that we use?[17]

By the late 1980s, the NCLR became an institutionalized movement group that worked within the legislative system as often as outside of it. Their ability to

recruit the support of elite allies proved especially important during the planning for 500th anniversary festivities.

500th Anniversary in the United States (1989–1992)

Most Hispanics in the United States ignore their Indian roots, and even more, their African roots. Is La Raza really a celebration of the mixing of diverse cultures, or is it a celebration of Spanish dominance and power? Examining the framing of Hispanic movements such as the NCLR during the 500th anniversary shows their struggle to give off the impression of a diverse constituency. During the 500th anniversary celebrations, there were many forces that opened political opportunities for Hispanic movements. Most of these revolve around elite allies, in part created through decades of organizing by the NCLR.

The federal government set aside millions to sponsor events for 1992. When Italian Americans appointed to the federal celebratory commission outnumbered Hispanic appointments, the NCLR set up a rival private group, the National Hispanic Quincentennial Commission, to create alternative programs. The NCLR ability to sponsor such an alternative, national organization was built on decades of growth.

When the NCLR became institutionalized, the walkouts, street theater, and other collective action tactics tended to subside.

Although celebrations of La Raza continued in some annual Columbus Day parades, and periodically as a marker of politicized collective action, the political radicalism of La Raza became co-opted with the establishment of official political organizations such as the La Raza Unida party in 1972, and the institutionalization of a national lobbying organization named NCLR.

Although the Southwest Council of La Raza was dominated by regional Mexican Americans, at the behest of their major sponsor, the Ford Foundation, in 1970 the organization moved to Washington; there they gained a new president (Raul Yzaguirre), made connections with key community leaders such as farm worker organizers such as Herman Gallegos (who worked with Caesar Chavez), and sociologists such as Julian Samora. The NCLR began lobbying for immigration reform, social welfare reform, affirmative-action, and greatly expanded their membership base.[18]

Over the following years, Yzaguirre transformed the NCLR from a localized Mexican American organization into a national organization with revenues exceeding $42 million; this financial solvency came primarily through courting of donations from multinational corporations. The NCLR has opened offices in many major U.S. cities, and it has become the largest Hispanic civil rights and advocacy organization in the country. Their main advocacy issues are investments, civil rights, education, employment, and health. With supporters' donations of money and time, they have provided millions of dollars of community services in these areas over the years. Their organizational revenue and support consists of thousands of individual donors, hundreds of corporate sponsors, and one major benefactor: the Ford Foundation. Their experience provides an interesting case with which to think about the relations between political opportunity and resource mobilization.

Usually relations between political opportunity and resource mobilization show the former guiding the later. In the case of the NCLR, we see an interesting relationship between opportunity and mobilization: As public funding increases, movements tend to become less dependent on their constituent publics. This relationship is part of the reason that movements often become co-opted when they receive a large portion of their funding from the government. As public funding decreases, movements tend to become more dependent on their constituent publics.

By the late 1970s, the NCLR became overly dependent on government grants, and had those grants swiftly cut during the republican and recession-filled 1980s, when cuts in federal grants made many community social justice organizations cease operations. Those organizations that remained in the tough climate likely responded the same way as the NCLR—they built an infrastructure of private funding sources. Thus, cutting government funding can actually help motivate movements to build diverse, powerful networks of supporters.

In 1980, the NCLR had a 4 million dollar budget, 90 staff, and 21 publicly funded service projects. Due to massive cuts in federal grants, the following decade, Yzaguirre said, "was the most difficult period of my life."[19] The organization responded by cutting costs and consolidating positions; by 1983, they were down to 32 staff and a budget of only 1.7 million. The most important strategy that secured their success was building a funding infrastructure of large multinational corporations, medium sized corporations, small organizations, and representing them through policy papers and advocacy.

By 1990, the infrastructure and advocacy was starting to pay off, and even some federal grants were returning; they grew even stronger than before the cuts—to 113 staff and 4.4 million dollar budget, but not based on government support but rather based largely on the gifts of 90 separate funding sources. Most importantly, they changed their organizational principles to mandate that the organization never again receive more than 1/3 of its funding from the government (ibid).

In 1992, the NCLR organizing was integral to Hispanic commemorations during the 500th anniversary, largely through the National Hispanic Quincentennial Commission and their elite allies. Yzaguirre and the NCLR wanted to use their connections to sponsor Columbus Day celebrations of Hispanic heritage; Yzaguirre, of course, was aware that such celebrations potentially split his constituency, "We're part of the conquerors and the conquered…the oppressor and the oppressed. It's like a Greek tragedy, and we're descendants of that Greek tragedy."[20]

The NCLR creation of an alternative Columbus Day commission was not a clear indication that federal organizing for the holiday was ignoring Hispanics. Several Hispanics were on the federal commission, including several Puerto Ricans, and the chair, who was a Cuban American. In fact, among federal organizers, Hispanics appeared overrepresented compared to all other identity groups.

There were several signs that a Hispanic version of the origin myth was spreading widely; the PBS TV series that accompanied the popular quincentenary book by Carlos Fuentes, both named *The Buried Mirror*. The National Endowment for the Humanities, between 1985 and May 1991, sponsored 335 awards worth more than $23 million, all specifically on commemorating the Columbian Quincentenary. These awards addressed many groups: 116 Hispanic heritage, 109 American Indian, 12 African American, 6 Italian American, and 9 religious groups. The favoritism toward Hispanics was even

more pronounced at the U.S. Department of Interior, which sponsored 41 projects on the Columbus anniversary. Thirty-five of the project sites focused on Hispanics.[21]

The Smithsonian celebrated Hispanic culture by releasing its first bilingual book, *My Puerto Rico,* a photo essay on the transformation of Puerto Rico since 1940s. The Smithsonian also sponsored an exhibit that appeared at American history museums called "American encounters," which examined the consequences of Columbus's arrival and the development of Hispanic culture. One museum representative spoke to the national Hispanic committee, "We want this—I can't emphasize enough—to be the beginning of a significant and permanent involvement of a Latin American presence, let's say, at the Smithsonian."[22]

During the 500th anniversary, Hispanic movements like the NCLR garnered elite allies and achieved several signs of success. However, whether they sought to represent the diverse Hispanic people during their Columbus events can be debated. As it became increasingly tied to economic institutions in its Reagan reconstruction years, the NCLR continued to lose its edgy tactics and message of indigenous representation. This representation of European ethnics was especially evident at the Columbus events, where they seemed to hide the pan-ethnic origins of La Raza.

The NCLR Columbus commission tended to ignore the Indian and African heritage and frame their events as celebrations of Hispanics with European origins. If they discussed injustices, it was not Indian injustices but rather public misunderstanding and stereotyping of Spain. For example at the first annual conference they sponsored, the keynote speech was titled, "Black Legend: Origins of Anti-Hispanic Stereotypes." In the opening statement for the conference, the NCLR Columbus commission leaders repeated an argument that they used widely that highlighted the need to rewrite history to overcome Spanish discrimination:

"Regrettably, American history texts tend to deemphasize early Hispanic contributions to U.S. history. Invariably, the history of the United States is depicted as one colonized exclusively on the East Coast and out from there, with over 100 years of Spanish exploration in the Southwest, Florida and Chesapeake area falling from our history books. And, Hispanic contributions since that time have been underappreciated and under promoted."[23] The implicit message in this statement is that Hispanics are not Indian, but that Hispanics are colonizers—the East Coast was colonized, and the Southwest was explored. When the national commission said that Hispanic contributions are neglected, they did not mean that Hispanic-African or Hispanic-Indian contributions were neglected; they meant the contributions of the European colonizers were neglected.

The NCLR Columbus Day commission focused much attention on rewriting history to better reflect the contributions of the Spanish colonizers, and regularly complained that history had ignored Hispanics' contributions; these complaints continued to frame the holiday around a limited identity of Spanish colonizers. For example, in their speeches and reports, they did not seek to recover or celebrate ancient Indian cultures, but instead often said that they sought to recover the lost century between Columbus and the pilgrims. In another common statement they said Hispanics were New World settlers, "Hispanics first settled in the New World during the sixteenth century, before the arrival of the pilgrims at Plymouth rock."

At their first annual conference in 1990, one speaker distinguished between Indians and Hispanics, "along with the native Americans, Hispanics have been

here longer than anyone else. I'm still startled by the surprised reactions of many Americans to this assertion. Doubtless this stems from the fact that all Americans, Hispanic and non-Hispanic, have overlooked a century of our country's history: that the 115 years between Columbus's arrival in 1492 and 1607, when the first English colonists arrived in Jamestown, have been a void in American history."[24] The NCLR Columbus commission sought to remember the European Spanish colonizers, rather than the diverse African, Indian, and Spanish identity characteristic of La Raza.

Exemplary Columbus Day events that highlighted diverse ethnic representation included grassroots multicultural rituals in Austin, Miami, Denver, and Washington D.C. The Puerto Rican protest in D.C. sought to decolonize Puerto Rico, and it was led by contingents of gay and lesbian activists. One member of the organizing committee commented, "I think it's very important we're here today as gay men and lesbians to show that we understand that all oppression has to be ended, that Puerto Rico has to be free before full human rights can be guaranteed in the U.S."[25] Miami organizers sponsored a traditional Latin American Carnival, "I want this carnival to be an economic juggernaut, benefiting the Caribbean," one organizer said. The Miami Carnival annually mobilized more than 150,000 participants to enjoy Caribbean music, food, and crafts. In Denver, for a decade organizers have sponsored an annual "Festival of the Americas" to "showcase the beauty and diversity of Hispanic folklore." Representatives from at least 15 Latin American countries displayed costumes, performed folkloric dances, and sold foods, arts, and crafts representing their homelands.[26] In Austin, Hispanic organizers began a tradition of a multicultural festival of Indian, African, and European heritage, which included an eight-hour lineup of music, dance, and poetry entertainment representing the diverse Hispanic heritage. Grassroots events in several cities (and 1960s activists) celebrated the diverse pan-ethnic unity within the Hispanic heritage, while the NCLR and elite allies united to present an origin story that represented a narrower conception of Hispanic ethnicity. Another contributor to the construction of a Hispanic version of the origin story that spread across space and time was the first—and to date, only—Latino March on Washington.

March on Washington (1996)

West Coast Hispanic mobilizations against threatening political and educational environments have become increasingly common in the last decade. These events occur periodically and include masses in excess of a million, but only one time have Hispanic activists mobilized for a March on Washington, and this was, indeed, a time of legislative change and threat. Analysis of their response—a massive national mobilization to unite the diverse interests of Hispanics—shows the importance of all three components of a political process (political opportunity, resource mobilization, and framing) within a single event.

One important opportunity is changing demographics, such as through immigration, which upsets the status quo and provides a political opportunity for activism. Mexican American immigration varied in the years preceding 1996 when the March on Washington occurred, but it remained far lower than the peak experienced in the years leading up to the 500th anniversary (see figure 5.2).

Another important opportunity is legislative proposals, which can also upset the status quo; if these proposals subject a class of people to what the class broadly perceives as a threatening political environment, then an important moment of political opportunity may exist for movement activism. The organizers for the Hispanic March on Washington were clear that their protest was motivated by the threat of political discrimination, "It's the year of the election," explained one organizer that brought a Methodist congregation from Chicago; because the laws against immigrants are increasing, she said, "We needed to come and show our numbers."[27]

In the months leading up to the march, several historic federal bills were passed, or were nearly passed: affirmative action limitations, limitations to government benefits that could be provided to non-citizen immigrants, and an English only policy. These bills were widely reported to mandate English in all government supported organizations and to summarily deny health care and education to non-citizens. In the months before the protest, President Clinton signed a measure doubling the Border Patrol and passed the historic Welfare Reform Act, which barred hundreds of thousands of legal immigrants from food stamps and other federal entitlements. "We're experiencing an anti-Latino climate," said Juan Jose Gutierrez, national coordinator for the historic march. Another leader, Juan Jose Bocanegra said, "We have to cut the edge off the xenophobia that is being created in this country."[28] Planning for the march took nearly three years, and began when California voters were debating Proposition 187. That ballot initiative, passed in 1994 but still stalled in the courts at the time of the march, would deny education and public services to the children of illegal immigrants. Legislative changes, particularly threatening ones, can provide a window of opportunity for movement activism.

Environments do not determine behaviors, and to be successful movements must take advantage of opportunities through efficiently mobilizing resources and effectively framing reality. Resource mobilization and framing can shape activism by framing a pan-ethnic identity, mobilizing diverse, preexisting groups behind common causes, and creating group solidarity through participation in shared rhetorical framing, rituals, and song.

Mobilizing for a national event requires a massive amount of resources, and activists must mobilize diverse networks, in part through mobilizing preexisting organizations. Mobilizing individuals is less efficient than block recruitment, which secures participation of preexisting groups. The march did not get much backing from the more established Hispanic national leadership organizations. In the first two years of planning, groups such as the NCLR, the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, the Mexican American Legal and Defense Educational Fund refused to join the march. However, at the last minute, amidst the legislative threats, all these groups came out of their legislative shells to send representatives to support the historic collective action, even though they neither helped organize the march, nor called for broad participation among their members.

Mobilizing is not something that only happens before joining activism; much resource mobilization is created after joining. Participation in the rituals during the march created solidarity and a common pan-ethnic identity, while also providing an opportunity for participants to publicly declare their unity.

Gutierrez said the October 12 date was chosen because it is celebrated throughout Latin America as "El Dia de la Raza," commemorating the birth of a new race

as Europeans came to the new world and mixed with indigenous peoples. Despite some terrible things that followed Columbus's landing, his arrival remains a part of history that could unite Mexican Americans, Cuban Americans, Puerto Ricans, and other Latin Americans: "The date itself gives rise to the eventual intercourse between Spaniards and indigenous women, hence the birth of the mestizo. We should celebrate this day as our birthday," Gutierrez said.

At the end of the march came musical performances and speeches, including Jesse Jackson, who said, "We're celebrating Columbus Day. Let's not forget when Columbus landed in America he was considered to be an illegal alien and an undocumented worker."[29] The march united diverse groups such as those protesting police brutality, those protesting labor injustices, and those protesting immigration injustices. "Viva La Raza" was a popular phrase in chants and on signs, as was "Migra no, Raza si" (immigration police no, the people yes) and "La Raza unida jamás será vencida" (the people united will never be defeated).

Changes in migration and public policy created an opportunity that was realized through block recruitment, participation in rituals of solidarity, and effective framing that further united diverse groups. Participants framed their collective action as a symbol of pan-ethnic unity. The framing of pan-ethnic unity also emerged in Latin America, where Columbus Day protests have become far more confrontational than events in the United States.

Columbus Day Protest
in Latin America, 1988–2007

Land, water and liberty.—For this we fight.

—Emiliano Zapata

Old statues are toppled. Stories are purged from newspapers. Textbooks are rewritten. History provides a recurring stream of examples, mostly from countries that have experienced political revolutions, including the U.S. and French revolutions, the great Chinese revolutions, and most recently in Iraq as the new regime toppled the statue of Sadaam and then proceeded to rewrite the textbooks that had been controlled by the Baathist regime. The pattern appeared in Latin America in recent years. Most recently, statues of Columbus have been attacked or toppled in Venezuela, Guatemala, and Mexico, as Indigenous groups have transformed Dia de la Raza into a day of indigenous resistance, a day to reclaim power over immigrant Europeans and the privatization advocated by politicians and multinational corporations.

In many Latin American countries, indigenous people represent a slumbering giant, a mass of poor, rural people that could democratically alter a political system through sheer numbers; mobilization on Columbus Day provided an important tool for groups separated by ethnic barriers to unite behind a common pan-ethnic identity.

Just as conquerors razed buildings so too did they raise their own culture above the colonized, whose values, ideas, and histories were nearly extinguished. While political decolonization entails the removal of official political power, cultural decolonization moves much slower. Troops and politicians can be moved in a matter of years, but cultural decolonization takes longer, in part because it is never entirely

clear what decolonization would look like: Some leaders suggest a wholesale abdi-cation of the colonizer's culture, while other leaders suggest assimilation, and still others advocate a middle position between assimilation and autonomy.

A half-century after separation of the United States from Britain, a similar move-ment of decolonization spread across Central America, including Columbia in 1819, Mexico in 1821, Peru in 1824, Argentina in 1825, and Cuba in 1898. In the decades before 1992, revolutions spread throughout Latin America, often these were Marxist-led revolutions in the style of Cuban mobilization of class conflict. The 500th anniversary sparked the 500 Years Movement, a movement that successfully mobilized pro-indigenous changes in Mexico and Latin America.

In 1892, Mexico was ruled by Porfirio Díaz, who remained in power for more than 30 years and was a great admirer of European culture. At that time, the govern-ment prepared a celebration of past, present, and future. In Spain, the official Dia de la Raza commemoration of October 12th began in 1915 in Barcelona, spreading quickly to Madrid and certain other Spanish and Latin American cities; in 1918, it was declared by law the National Holiday of Spain. In colonized countries, the tra-dition of Dia de la Raza commemorations began in Argentina in 1917, Venezuela in 1921, Chile in 1923, and Mexico in 1928. For the indigenous populations of these countries, Columbus was a primary symbol of colonization, as the history books rewritten by the Spanish defined Columbus as a hero, and his voyages as the origins of their societies. Although political decolonization occurred in the nineteenth cen-tury, these societies did not decolonize the origin myth until more than a century later.

In 1988, a tradition of Columbus Day ethnic protest first became publicly visible in Mexico City. Indigenous and leftist political movements mobilized mass move-ments in Mexico City on Columbus Day in 1988 and periodically for the next two decades. Traditionally, in the years before 1992, these events would mobilize from 200 to 500 people. They would start their Columbus Day protest event at the statue of Aztec emperor Cuauhtemoc. This part of the protest was to honor their ancestors and create a common pan-ethnic, identity. They sponsored music, dancing, and col-orful costumes representing their common Indian heritage. While the first part of the event emphasized a pan-ethnic identity by celebrating a common ethnic history, the second half of the event emphasized a pan-ethnic identity by angrily protesting a common history of discrimination.

After the ethnic celebration, the group would march two blocks to the statue of Columbus where they chanted against repression, and they handed out leaflets denouncing ongoing government repression of the poor and the indigenous popula-tions. They often threw rocks and other projectiles at the statue, while shouting that Columbus was a killer. At least one year they attempted to tear down the statue, but they were stopped by the police. In 1988, they threw rocks at the police, but in 1991 and before, there was no signs of violence during the events.[30]

By 1991, none of the original Zapatistas were alive. After Zapata died in 1919, his descendants tried to preserve his legacy, but the descendants of Zapata and the descendants of his army did not have the zeal or authenticity of their ancestors, and the Mexican government sought to declare the revolution dead; on November 7, 1991, Mexican President Carlos Salinas killed the ideals and institutions most reflective

of Emiliano Zapata and the Mexican Revolution. This changing system and economic threat provided the key opening in political opportunity for the 500 Years Movement.

Salinas hoped that after more than 80 years, he could silence the cries of Zapata and his followers before signing the—North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). In late 1991, Salinas and the Mexican Congress passed a series of proposed constitutional amendments that repealed article 27 of the Mexican constitution and privatized and deregulated the country's 28,000 farms known as ejidos, allowing even foreign commercial control. The ejidos made up more than half the arable land in Chiapas, and one-third of the Chiapas population lived on these lands, so Salinas' reforms put an especially high burden on the peasant Indians in Chiapas, many of whom were already radicalized from communicating with the many Guatemalan refugees that settled there. Citizens had also been socialized into the Marxist message by decades of revolutionaries in the preceding decades, and by the Catholic missionaries that taught Indians a common Spanish language and instilled in them a sense of Christian justice known as liberation theology. While citizens were prepared for the Zapatistas from their past experience with revolutionaries and evangelists, it was local threats such as the repeal of article 27 that created a momentary opening in political opportunity. While openings in political opportunity were important for the emergence of the Zapatistas, equally important was their ability to use resonant framing.

Framing that connects the claims of the movement with existing ideals will appear more resonant and successful, and the Zapatistas were experts at connecting their rhetoric to their environment. According to their leader, former professor Subcommandante Marcos, after the Cold War, the world's major superpower became the multinational corporations that began using the American military threat to instill "capitalist" economic policies. The Zapatistas fought in the image of their ancestors, claiming that neoliberal economic policies such as the NAFTA would decimate already struggling indigenous peoples.

The impetus for the neoliberal reforms came from international pressure. Economic recessions in the early 1980s meant declining profits for the major Mexican exports: corn, coffee, and oil. Over the following decade, oil industries went into debt to U.S. lenders to increasingly privatize, but the weak market and their comparatively inefficient production could not compete on the international market with the more advanced U.S. companies. The Mexican economy began to falter. Companies began to lose more money, and they could not continue repaying their debt. United States business interests began to pressure the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) to impose economic sanctions to make sure that the multinational corporations would continue receiving payments. The IMF and the WB pushed the Mexican government to institute economic controls, such as structural adjustment programs (SAP) to "stabilize" the Mexican economy. The SAP's demanded further external control of local assets and markets. These were significant reforms that effectively unraveled Zapata's revolution; neoliberal reforms privatized the economy, took the land away from locals who used it for subsistence farming, and transformed it into land used for export markets. These reforms essentially reduced government investment in the economy, agriculture, and public services and reduced the value of the peso to the dollar. Also, new industries struggled to sell goods in their own country

because part of the SAP was trade liberalization, which lowered import tariffs so that U.S. imports competed with local industries for control over the local Mexican markets.

The destabilization of the ruling regime through economic changes and land reforms upset the status quo in Mexico and was an important opening of political opportunity for the Zapatistas. Salinas was right in thinking his reforms would effectively end Zapata's goal of unprivatized access to land, water, and liberty for the peasants, but he was wrong in thinking that his reforms would extinguish the revolution.

International attention also provided a momentary opportunity for collective action. The award of the 1992 Nobel Peace Prize was given to Rigoberta Menchu, a peasant Mayan woman from the highlands of Guatemala. Indigenous activists had been involved in developing a United Nations (UN) working group on indigenous affairs for many years, and leading up to 1992, they sought to have the UN declare a "year of the indigenous." Menchu was active in participation in the UN mobilizations, which helped her gain favor with the Nobel Prize committee. Menchu's book was her main voice to the world, and it had already been in print for nearly a decade when she won the award. She also had more than a decade of experience in self-imposed exile, traveling the world to publicize the human rights abuses from a civil war that resulted in government officials murdering members of her family, and thousands of her compatriots.

Her campaign came to a head at a time when her voice gained significance, at least for people not attuned to indigenous human rights abuses. The planned celebrations of Columbus Day in 1992 brought increased attention to indigenous issues. Menchu became a symbol of the growing indigenous protest to Columbus Day. Before the award was given to Menchu, several Guatemalan government officials discouraged her candidacy because they said she aided guerrillas that had been waging a civil war against the government for three decades. Once the announcement was made by the Nobel Prize committee—to highlight the symbolic significance, the announcement was made on Columbus Day, 1992—the Guatemalan government officials rescinded their earlier statements and proudly supported her candidacy. However, Menchu did not participate in any state oriented event to celebrate.[31] Rather, the celebratory event was a Columbus Day protest—she joined what would be one of the largest Columbus Day protest marches anywhere in 1992.

Despite ongoing fear of government death squads, 10,000 people joined Menchu in a Columbus Day rally. The event started at the Mayan ruins just outside Guatemala City, where Menchu shared in traditional dance and music and then marched through the city streets with her compatriots. Like the Mexico City protests of earlier years, the Guatemala City event began as a celebration of ethnic culture and then transformed into a time for protest of shared injustices. The first part of the event was characterized by cheering for Menchu, fireworks, and traditional Mayan music, dress, and dance. Then the crowd marched through the city streets, chanting against Columbus, and denouncing government abuses of the poor and indigenous.[32]

Guatemala was not the only place where Columbus Day in 1992 was used to celebrate indigenous culture and protest government injustices. In Mexico City, a movement event had become a tradition in the five years leading up to the 500th anniversary. In 1992, a crowd of nearly 10,000 converged on Mexico City for ethnic celebrations and protests. Following tradition, they recreated ancient rituals at the pyramids of Teotihuacan, just north of the city.[33] They then marched through the

city to the Columbus statue. There were no serious altercations with police, although protesters did continue the tradition of throwing projectiles at the Columbus statue, this time eggs and red paint. A demonstrator wearing an Aztec, feathered head dress climbed the 50 foot Columbus statue, and said,

> If we wanted to we could tear this statue of Columbus down but we are not going to tear it down because we are not barbarians like the conquistadors were…These so-called celebrations of Columbus Day are nothing more than a day of mourning for us, a very black day.[34]

Demonstrators broke a finger and a cross from the statue and tried to drag it down with ropes, but ceased when police converged (ibid).

The crowd then gathered in the Mexico City central plaza, where they presented to President Salinas demands such as land, deprivatized public services, and bilingual education.[35] These calls for democracy and justice were the standard for the 500 Years Movement, which sponsored Columbus Day protests in many different cities across Latin America.

One of the most important Columbus Day protests was in 1992 in the state of Chiapas, Mexico. While the Zapatistas had publicly declared a revolutionary organization as early as 1983, and rumors of an armed insurrection had been circulating throughout Chiapas, the Columbus Day protests were the first public takeover by the Zapatista National Liberation Army. Most scholars wrongly suggest the first takeover was their most famous takeover on New Years Day, 1994, but an unacknowledged precursor was Columbus Day, 1992.

On Columbus Day, 1992, they stormed the historic capital of San Cristobal de las Casas, took over government buildings and demanded liberty, justice, food, water, and other basic rights granted under the Mexican constitution. The Columbus Day protests in Chiapas in 1992, before Zapatistas made their bold entrance on the public stage in 1994, one expert suggests, were a precursor to later uprisings: "On October 12, 1992, the Christopher Columbus quincentennial, several hundred Indians marched into San Cristobal in what may have been the precursor to the Zapatista rebellion."[36]

The holiday protests were an important point of uniting diverse indigenous communities throughout Latin America. These communities had seen many revolutionaries attempt to unite them throughout the previous decades, but the Columbus Day protests differed because of their decidedly ethnic character, which celebrated ethnic culture, and protested inequities against ethnic minorities. Other cities followed Mexico City model of balancing ethnic celebrations with civil rights activism.

In Buenos Aires, Argentina, President Carlos Menem sponsored American unity through "Americas 92," a two-month extravaganza of European music, arts, and a life-size replica of the Santa Maria. The exhibition "dedicated no space to Argentina's ancient cultures or the estimated 3 million native people that still survive there, mostly isolated in remote mountain areas" (ibid). Even strong government support for European celebrations of Columbus did not squelch ethnic protest. A small group of Indians ended a 1,000-mile walk to Buenos Aires on Columbus Day to commemorate, "a day of mourning" for the "greatest genocide in the history of humanity" (ibid). However, one

Indian leader also hoped their walk would spark reconciliation, "We don't harbor any grudge, hate or vengeance. We call for reflection and historical recognition."[37]

The 500th anniversary was a major moment of ethnic protest throughout Latin America. In Quito Ecuador, police and army troops guarded the presidential palace and other government buildings, but they were not able to stop several thousand native protesters from taking over the highways and central plaza for a protest. In Chile, Mapuche Indians protesting the celebrations of Columbus clashed with police in Santiago and other cities. In Concepcion, 350 miles south of Santiago, police used a water cannon to disperse about 200 Mapuche Indians who attempted to reach the city's main plaza.[38]

In Costa Rica, demonstrators burned American and Spanish flags. In La Paz, Bolivia, at least 50,000 indigenous people marched on the Plaza of Heroes to denounce "500 years of genocide and mourning." A bomb went off at a Justice Ministry building in Cochabamba, 300 miles southeast of La Paz, but no injuries were reported. In Paraguay, Andres Chembei, an Indian leader punctuated their protest, "Today we remember the last day of Indian liberty and for us it is a day of mourning" (ibid).

Indian ethnicity and history dominated the protests, but in some places, religion seemed as important as ethnicity. In Peru, as elsewhere, the Church supported protest; "It was never an encounter of two worlds, but rather the conquest of one world by another," said Omar Arbocco, secretary of education and theology for the Peruvian Evangelical Church. He also said, "The conquest of one culture over another brought as a consequence the crushing of an economic political and social order that, with all its faults as established by the Incas, made for a more dignified and just life for the people than that which reins in our land today."[39] A similar scene appeared in El Salvador; "With the sword and the cross, they took everything from us," said an Indian chief; protesters damaged statues of Columbus and Queen Isabella with hammers and paint (ibid).

Collective action on the scale of what occurred on Columbus Day, 1992 is bound to be remembered as a special moment among activists. One Mexican activist described the 500th anniversary as a "detonator of resistance" and the "antecedents of the movement":

> in 1992 because that year was a very important detonator...it was like concentric circles that started out very small, and grew, but really expanded in 1992, as many groups started to articulate not the commemoration of 500 years, but the commemoration of resistance...In 1992, for the first time, Mexican society turns its gaze on the Indians. That is to say if 1994 had happened in 1990, Mexican society would not have responded the same way to the Zapatista uprising. Those four years made an enormous difference. Between 1990 and 1992 the idea of indigenous visibility was beginning to be cemented...The indigenous people wanted to fix their position, politically, and to stake the claim that this was not a celebration for us, but rather an invasion. We were contesting what exactly the celebration was about. And this was very interesting, and it formed the antecedents of the movement.[40]

The 500 Years Movement grew out of several currents of political opportunity— Salinas's land reforms, the new indigenism policy that emerged in the international courts, the university/student movement that was sparked by government repression in 1969, the Marxist, Lenninist, and socialist movements that were spreading

throughout Latin America in the 1970s and 1980s, and decades of local peasant struggles in rural Latin American countries. Before 1992, many of these poor communities had not thought of themselves as occupying a similar history and future. They saw themselves as poor people, each with a distinct ethnic and cultural heritage; in each country, dozens of distinct ethnic groups each spoke a different language and celebrated a distinct religion and culture. Before their mobilization during the 500th anniversary in 1992, they did not recognize themselves as a common ethnic group of indigenous peoples. Columbus Day mobilization helped create this pan-ethnic identity and provided the precursor for widespread activism that spread across space and time. The Zapatistas was the most vocal, sustained activist group in the 500 Years Movement.

The first Declaration of the Zapatistas, from the Lacandon Jungle, issued on January 2, 1994, opens with the statement, "We are the product of 500 years of struggle," which was the battle cry from the 500 Years Movement. Marcos was an intellectual with a feeling for how to create resonant rhetoric by connecting his cause to existing ideals. It was only a slight achievement for the former college professor to evoke the memory of Emiliano Zaptata and call for a class struggle, but Marcos liked to say that he listened to the people, and this is where his unique contribution arose—he mobilized an ethnic revolution, one that united the diverse indigenous groups. Many predecessors had sought to unite poor indigenous peoples as workers in a class struggle. Marcos sought instead an ethnic protest. A pan-ethnic indigenous community provided the key to uniting the revolution and overcoming the barrier of ethnic differences.

While Catholic evangelists taught Spanish language to the diverse Indian groups, shared events created solidarity and gave them a chance to perform their new pan-ethnic identity. Protest during the 500th anniversary in 1992 helped build this new pan-ethnic identity, a mobilizing identity that would break from the class based movements that Guevara and socialists had used for decades to mobilize Latin American movements.

Framing a movement around a pan-ethnic identity was key to the Zapatistas success, but it was slowly realized. Marcos's writings, at least at the beginning, referenced the poor and the indigenous as if they were synonymous; even as late as 1994, the Zapatistas "did not anticipate the potential for a specifically indigenous challenge to the Mexican state, or of an identity-based analysis of oppression."[41]

This pan-ethnic community identity was a significant, slowly developing accomplishment in several Mexican states, as leaders and masses began to share a pan-ethnic identity, "Five hundred years after Columbus, the indigenous peoples of Guerrero discovered not only that they were all 'indigenous,' but that with this identity came a new kind of political power."[42] Especially after 1992, the Zapatistas began amassing support from indigenous groups, student groups, labor groups, and other groups on the left.

Although the annual holiday continued to gain attention, some leaders suggested it had lost its ability to mobilize after 1992: "The 12th of October is symbolic, but it is no longer a reference point, as it was in 1992, for pushing for substantial changes in the situation of indigenous peoples," said Jose del Val, director of the Inter-American Indigenous Institute, an Organization of American

States agency based in Mexico (ibid). In 1993 and 1994, clearly, the public attention on Columbus Day was not the same as 1992, but the annual anniversary date continued to motivate collective action. This was overshadowed, of course, by the 12 days of warfare between the Zapatistas and the government, and subsequent peace talks, both of which grew out of the Zapatistas takeovers on January 1, 1994. The takeovers were timed to coincide with the beginning of NAFTA. Three thousand activists with the Zapatistas military army took over the government buildings of San Cristobal de Las Casas, and more than a hundred ranches and other public places, making demands to secure their rights to democracy, food, land, and water.

This tactic gained attention, as they planned, but they did not plan on such a swift and deadly retaliation from the Mexican government, who used tanks and jet fighters to drive back a rifle-carrying peasant army that had been using words far more than weapons. There was 12 days of fighting where nearly 200 people, mostly weakly armed Indians, were killed. By August 1994, the Zapatistas expanded their base of operations by declaring autonomy and sovereignty for 38 indigenous municipalities. The Mexican economy began to falter, and multinational-banking organizations called for the elimination of the Zapatistas, who by 1995 had amassed support of 50,000 civilians; the government responded with more than 60,000 troops to "protect" the countryside.[43]

The Zapatistas evoked the memory of 500 years of struggle to unite the indigenous peoples. Columbus was a convenient symbol of their protest. On Columbus Day in 1995, Marcos published another communiqué titled "503 years later, the persecution continues." In this Columbus Day communiqué, Marcos developed the famous Zapatista philosophy of uniting diverse peoples,

> The word is the weapon, brothers. We say, the word remains. We speak the word. We shout the word. We raise the word and with it break the silence of our people. We kill the silence, by living the word. Let us leave the powerful alone in what the lie speaks and hushes. Let us join together in the word and the silence which liberate. Today, October 12th, 503 years ago the word and the silence of the powerful begin to die. Today, October 12th, 503 years ago our word and our silence began to resist, to fight, to live. Today, 503 years after beginning, we remain here. There are more of us and we are better. We are of many colors and many are the languages which speak our word.

In October 1996, Ramona became the first Zapatista leader to emerge from the jungles since they had been beaten back after the New Years occupations; she came to Mexico City for a meeting and a march on Columbus Day. Like Marcos, Ramona's mystique was partly an outcome of her mask, and her rare public appearances only added to her charisma. For fear of government death squads, the Zapatista leaders spent little time in public after their 1994 takeovers. They knew public events could induce increased government repression. Marchers, and especially leaders, had to think about their personal safety. The first time any Zapatista leader led a public action outside of Chiapas was Ramona's appearance at the 1996 Columbus Day march in Mexico City. Ramona's attendance at the march coincided with her appearance in Mexico City for the National Indian

Congress, held for the first time since 1974. The congress, also held on Columbus Day weekend, was a significant victory for the indigenous people; one leader said, "The National Indigenous Congress today begins a new stage in its struggle, it begins the reorganization of the regional movements of peoples and communities...in order to make the country face up to us."[44] While the congress united leaders, the Columbus Day march united the people. Ramona's appearance transformed a Columbus Day march that typically mobilized 1,000 into a march that mobilized nearly 20,000.

Marchers carried banners with pictures of Emiliano Zapata, Ramona, and Marcos. Marchers chanted, "If you want work, if you want land, if you want peace, you have to fight for it."[45] They sang the Zapatista anthem and chanted "Zapata lives." One participant, an elderly Mexican, said, "I wish all the Zapatistas would come here. They could help us put a stop to this awful government that has Mexico in crisis." Another Mexican man brought his nine-year-old daughter to the march and proclaimed his pride in the Zapatistas, "They represent the demands of all the people. They are expressing the pains of society."[45] As per tradition, the Columbus Day march ended at the Columbus statue, which was heavily guarded by police this year. Ramona, dying of terminal cancer, spoke wearily to the crowd, repeating the same words she said to the pan-Indian conference, "We must all struggle so that indigenous people can live like human beings and not the way the powerful have kept us, like animals."[46]

The legacy of the Zapatistas was complex, but included peace talks with the government, and a diluted law to recognize the rights of indigenous Mexicans. However, perhaps the largest success was a curious if not ironic and unintended one—the replacement of a liberal government party (that had corruptly held power for more than 70 years straight) with a democratically elected conservative party (in 2000). The Zapatistas and other Mexican activists profitably used the 500th anniversary to unite ethnic protest in Mexico and throughout Latin America.

In 1997, Columbus Day protest in Ecuador included thousands of Andean and jungle Indians who mobilized to capture the capital city. In the Honduras capital, a crowd gathered at the downtown Colon Plaza to smash a Columbus statue. One organizer said the protest occurred because Columbus "started one of the biggest holocausts in history," and because Columbus was responsible for "the death of 70 million indigenous people and the most disgraceful plundering of the indigenous peoples."[47] That same year in Chiapas, two separate groups of 5,000 Mayan natives marched through the cities of San Cristobal and Ocosingo. The Zapatista leaders were often central to the Columbus Day protests but did not appear in either of these marches, which were primarily to demand the withdrawal of the Mexican army after the Zapatistas takeovers in January 1994 (ibid).

On Columbus Day in 1998, nearly 1,000 people participated in the Mexico City march, which included the typical expressions of ethnic culture and typical demands for indigenous rights. Once the marchers reached the Columbus statue, one surprising tactic included a poet who got naked, climbed the Columbus statue, and said Columbus represented the government's attempt to extinguish the true Mexican culture.[48] Also in 1998, in Honduras, 3,000

protesters occupied the city park and demanded land for the indigenous. They also gained attention with their tactic of a mock trial for Columbus. "He was found guilty of kidnapping, ethnocide, theft, rape of our women, invasion, slave trading, the genocide of our ancestors, torture against thousands of natives, and massive murder," said a spokesman for the "jury" before executing a nine foot effigy of Columbus.[49] The following year in Tegucigalpa, a protest crowd of more than 4,000 surged near the president's house and began throwing stones at police, which induced police to shoot rubber bullets, resulting in 18 injuries.[50]

In 1999, Venezuela's government created a huge political opportunity for Columbus Day protest. Following the 500 Years' Movement call for a government that respects indigenous culture, Hugo Chavez made good on his election promise to reorganize the government to meet the needs of the 500,000 indigenous Venezuelans; he instituted a new constitution. Article 9 proclaims that while Spanish is the official language of Venezuela, "Indigenous languages are also for official use for Indigenous peoples and must be respected throughout the Republic's territory for being part of the nation's and humanity's patrimonial culture." In chapter eight of the constitution, the state recognizes the social, political, and economic organization within indigenous communities, in addition to their cultures, languages, rights, and lands. The government recognized land rights as collective, inalienable, and nontransferable. Later articles declared the government's pledge not to engage in extraction of natural resources without prior consultation with indigenous groups. Chavez had the new constitution translated into all of Venezuela's languages, and he helped elect other indigenous activists.

In 2000, Columbus Day protests in Chile were used by Mapuche indigenous groups to pressure the government to ratify the International Workers Organization Agreement 169, which was a pro-Indigenous land rights and affirmative action policy that was spreading across Latin America.[51] In 2002, the annual Columbus Day protest occurred in Mexico, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and elsewhere. The most visible collective actions were in Chiapas and Guatemala. Thousands of protesters blocked highways, roads to military bases, and occupied border crossings in Guatemala, Mexico, Honduras, and El Salvador. Organizers lamented that their protests were not as big as expected, but still one of the Guatemalan march organizers proclaimed, "The 12th of October is a symbol of resistance for the Indian communities before the Spanish invasion."[52]

The following year a similar protest occurred, where activists again attempted to takeover border crossings to gain attention for their demands of agrarian reform. Although they were able to mobilize hundreds of thousands of supporters to block roads and border crossings, organizers also confirmed that police action was impeding their mobilization: "We have more than 10 roadblocks with hundreds and thousands of supporters, but we may not be able to take over everything we hoped because police are blocking our supporters who were coming in trucks and buses."[53]

In 2003, organizers continued the tradition of pan-ethnic Columbus Day meetings that began with Ramona's visit to Mexico City in 1996. Slightly altered by moving to a rural area and adopting a changed name ("The Indian Nations of Mexico

Meeting") the event was similar to its predecessor in that it occurred on Columbus Day and mobilized hundreds of Indians representing many diverse communities from seven Mexican states. In a series of roundtable discussions, delegates "blasted Congress and the administration of President Vicente Fox for putting international free-trade agreements ahead of the needs of subsistence farmers" said one of the meeting organizers.[54]

In 2003, Hugo Chavez continued to use the Columbus Day holiday to foment activism. In a Columbus Day radio address, Chavez said,

> We used to celebrate the "discovery of America". We have been fooled since childhood. My compatriots: they brainwashed us with their colonialist ideology . . . The discovery of America is a lie. America already existed and was not called America, by the way. Even the name was imposed on us . . . Europe came down like a plague on this land . . . They massacred 97 million people in 150 years. Statistically speaking, they executed one Indian every 10 minutes—the greatest genocide in the history of the world . . . Christopher Columbus was an important figure, but he is not our hero. Our heroes are not the conquistadors, but Indian chiefs such as Guaicaipuro, Tupac Amaru, Tamanaco, Chacao and Paramaconi. Those are our true heroes, the heroes of the people of this continent who, to this day, continue to fight for their dignity and carry the burden of the legacy of those centuries of exploitation.[55]

In 2004, Venezuelan protesters gathered at the Columbus statue on Columbus Day, tore it down with huge ropes, and then dragged it away with a truck. The protesters claimed to be supporters of Chavez, and before hauling it off, scrawled on the statue base "indigenous resistance continues."[56] Government officials condemned the act: "Even if we believe the history should be revised and the indigenous culture that marks our roots should be vindicated, we cannot tolerate anarchical situations," said Information Minister Andres Izarra. "We condemn vandalism against any public structure," he added.[57]

In 2005, Hugo Chavez used Columbus Day to announce his agrarian reforms, 865,000 acres returned to indigenous communities. Hundreds of indigenous listened to Chavez's historic Columbus Day speech announcing the reforms; "We are doing justice," said Chavez, dressed in military fatigues and a red beret. "We can now start to say that there is a homeland for the Indians."[58] Still, some Indian groups sponsored Columbus Day protest in Caracas, calling government efforts to recognize their ownership of ancestral lands a "fraud" and demanding an end to coal mining on their land (ibid). As he distributed farm equipment and returned farmland on Columbus Day, he also announced the expulsion of Christian missionaries. Chavez said the missionaries were "imperialists" and he felt "ashamed" at their presence in indigenous areas of Venezuela. "These violations of our national sovereignty have to stop . . . Enough colonialism!" Chavez said in his Columbus Day speech.[59]

By 2006, the political successes of the 500 Years Movement sparked the election of several indigenous presidents—in Ecuador, Venezuela, and Bolivia. Bolivia's first Indian president, Evo Morales upon election quickly instituted land reforms and began lobbying for the nationalization of the country's oil, water, and public services, all

main goals of the 500 Years Movement. His 2006 inauguration speech aligned his candidacy with the 500 Years Movement,

> 500 years of campaigning and popular resistance by indigenous people has not been in vain. We are here, and we say that we have achieved power to end the injustice, the inequality, and oppression that we have lived under.[60]

On Columbus Day, 2006, Morales proclaimed his election an outcome of the 500 Years Movement,

> My friends, it has been 514 years since the Western invaders thought to finish us off, since they sought to exterminate the indigenous people. We have not only defended ourselves, we have not only resisted … here in Bolivia, we have begun to liberate ourselves…We carried out the campaign of 500 years of popular indigenous resistance, we said together, from resistance to power, from protests to proposals, we have organized ourselves and here we have advanced.[61]

The 500 Years Movement gained legislative successes through collective action by relatively powerless people who took advantage of political opportunities, used surprising tactics to mobilize the masses, and produced resonant framing.

Conclusion

The 500 Years Movement, the March on Washington, the NCLR sponsorship of the 500th anniversary, the 1960s La Raza activists, and the Black Legend each contributed to the construction of a Hispanic version of the origin story that spread across time and space. Activists mobilized to transform the origin myth into a Hispanic collective memory. In turn, Hispanic ethnic identity was constructed by participation in annual Columbus Day events. In Latin America, the legacy from the 500th anniversary protests is visible in the indigenous revolutions that are still sweeping the countries after 15 years. In the United States, the main examples of Hispanic mobilization were the March on Washington, the 500th anniversary celebrations, 1960s protests, and the Black Legend. Each of these campaigns was the outcome of a political process.

Activists took advantage of openings in political opportunity by mobilizing during wars (e.g., the Black Legend), by taking advantage of increases in population (e.g., 1960s activism), by accessing elite allies (e.g., 500th anniversary), and by threatening policy change (e.g., the March on Washington and Latin American protest).

Campaigns differed also in their experiences with resource mobilization. One difference was the length of the campaigns. The Black Legend was an intermittent campaign, but it has had the longest history. The March on Washington was the shortest and most focused campaign; even though it took two years of planning to mobilize thousands to the capital, it was over in a day. The 500th anniversary in the United States included broader participation, and NCLR activists benefited from significant elite support, which resulted in several years of organizing meetings, and hundreds of Hispanic events throughout the years leading up to October 1992. The

Mexican and Latin American campaigns are the most persistent; since 1992, there has been a steady stream of Columbus Day activism.

Campaigns differed in their framing as well. Latin American groups diagnosed economic problems and framed a pan-indigenous identity, and the March on Washington diagnosed economic problems and framed a pan-Hispanic identity. The 500th anniversary events by the NCLR and the Black Legend campaigns both highlighted the Spanish colonizer.

Although each campaign had important differences, it was their shared experience of successfully negotiating a political process that allowed activists to help construct an ethnic collective memory.

ETHNIC: ITALIAN AMERICAN

Two leaders of Italian American community activism—Angelo Noce (1848–1922) and Carlo Barsotti (1896–1975)—were very different, yet both experienced a life trajectory similar to that of many Italian American leaders of their era. Their differences were obvious—they came from different regions of Italy, and they settled on opposite ends of the continent (Noce in California and Colorado, and Barsotti in New York). However, they shared important formative experiences that put them in positions to lead ethnic activism. As the Italian American elite, or prominenti, both men acted as porters between immigrant groups and the dominant society. They held positions as notary publics, naturalization agents, bankers, founders of Italian language newspapers, and leaders of mutual benefit societies. They used their newspapers, business connections, and organizational experience to foster a pan-ethnic Italian American identity.

The creation of a pan-ethnic Italian American identity was not inevitable. Sociologist Robert Park observed that immigrants created pan-ethnic networks,

> Italian immigrants from all provinces, with their historical and dialectic differences, brought together in our great cities, have developed a national feeling and sense of solidarity that did not exist in Italy.[1]

Park argued that this pan-ethnic identity was a consequence of relations between the ethnic press and the government agencies that repressed the media. Park is correct, but holiday rituals were as important as newspapers.

Italian American activists chose tactics with relatively permanent consequences—the erection of statues and the establishment of state holidays. Their success came because they were able to effectively maneuver three main parts of the political process; they succeeded by taking advantage of political opportunities, by efficiently mobilizing resources, and by framing reality in ways that encouraged activism.

This chapter contends that Italian Americans institutionalized an Italian American version of the origin story that spread across time and space, largely due to Italian American movement success in creating legal holidays and erecting public

statues. Understanding how Italian American activists transformed the origin myth into an ethnic collective memory entails a five-step argument. First, migration and oppression altered political opportunities for ethnic movements. Second, Italian American movement organizations took advantage of this receptive environment and flourished between 1890 and 1920. Third, these movements succeeded by securing public space for Columbus statues. Fourth, specific Italian American campaigns established Columbus Day statutes and Columbus holiday statues in Pennsylvania, California, Colorado, and New York. Fifth, the statutes and statues were maintained in New York and Colorado. Connecting these five points produces a vivid picture: through a political process, Italian American activists helped transform the national origin myth into an ethnic collective memory.

POLITICAL OPPORTUNITY: MIGRATION AND REPRESSION

Usually migration opens political opportunities; there is a positive relationship between migration and mobilization. Migration creates an opening in political opportunity because it disrupts the established power relationships between the government and the public. Openings of political opportunity are positively correlated with peaks in population. Patterns in Italian immigration show that peaks occurred in 1900–1927, and between 1990 and 1993; these were patterns that signaled openings in political opportunities. Low points in immigration occurred between 1930 and 1945, which upset the status quo, but did not provide the potential recruits provided by increasing immigration. (see figure 6.1)

Ethnic enclaves appeared in many major cities, provided protection from outside discrimination, and produced voting blocs that increased political opportunities for ethnic movement groups. However, the opportunities were tenuous and not often realized because the community did not define itself as a common unit. Although the larger Italian communities contained whole sections of a city that were dominated by Italian immigrants, these people did not see themselves as Italians—for many of them, there was no Italy but only their allegiances to provinces in the Old Country.

The 1924 Quota Act set the quotas for arrivals from southern and eastern Europe at 2 percent of the group's numbers in the 1890 census. From 1900 to 1915, the United States consistently saw 200,000 Italian immigrants per year, but by 1924, the number fell to approximately 6,000 per year. Although activists complained of an excessively low quota, the quota far exceeded the number of Italians who actually entered the country between 1935 and 1945.

There was support for Mussolini and his Fascist Movement among several U.S. movement groups before 1940. Italy had not aligned itself yet with Germany, and at least before 1930, many top U.S. government officials supported both Italy and fascism as a working-class political ideology that would help in the struggle against communism. During the same prewar period, one of the nation's largest labor unions, the American Federation of Labor, also supported fascism as "an exciting new wind of doctrine blowing fresh from Rome."[2] The largest Italian American social and political societies in New York also supported the fascist cause: Dante Algheieri Society, the Sons of Italy, the Italian Historical Society, and the Italian Chamber of Commerce. Thus, before Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia in October 1935, Columbus Day was an

opportunity for many sympathizers to revere Italian nationalism and praise Mussolini. Also supporting fascism were many Italian American community leaders, who used Columbus Day events to celebrate fascist Italy.

In late December 1941, enemy aliens throughout the United States and its protectorates were required to surrender cameras and radios.[3] In January 1942, all enemy aliens around the country were required to register at local post offices, where they were fingerprinted, photographed, and given an "enemy alien registration card" they were required to carry at all times. Then, at the prodding of Army General DeWitt, U.S. Attorney General Biddle added 69 more districts in California to the earlier list of West Coast residential and work areas where Italian enemy aliens were barred. Most of these were areas near ports, power plants, and munitions factories, and Italians who lived or worked near them were required to move and/or quit their job.[4] More than 50,000 Italian Americans in California lived under curfew, and by the end of the program, approximately 10,000 Italian alien residents living on the West Coast were forced to relocate. Aliens living in other places along the coast were threatened that if they did not register within the week, they would be interned for the entire war.[5]

Internment of all Italian immigrants was never a fully enacted national policy, but formal and informal rules led thousands of Italian Americans to relocate. The Italian-alien program was effectively stopped on Columbus Day, 1942, when Attorney General Biddle made the announcement that although they had questioned many more, only 228 Italian enemy aliens had been interned, and "that beginning Oct 19, a week from today, Italian aliens will no longer be classed as alien enemies."[6]

In 1965, the Immigration and Nationality Act repealed the quota system. A peak in Italian immigration occurred between 1989 and 1993. Following changes in immigration, political opportunities for Italian American mobilization seemed to open especially between 1900 and 1907, during the WWII era, and between 1989 and 1993 (see figures 6.1, 6.2, 6.3, and 6.4). These, not coincidentally, were also the main periods of Italian American collective action, sponsored by organizations that often adopted the moniker of Columbus.

RESOURCE MOBILIZATION:
RISE AND FALL OF FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS

Most of the Italian American movement groups that mobilized to shape the collective memory of Columbus were mutual benefit societies. Mutual benefit societies are sometimes called mutual aid societies, benevolence societies, or voluntary associations; organized around ethnicity, religion, geography, or occupation, these organizations typically provided segregated socialization and economic benefits such as insurance for sickness and death expenses.

The growth of Italian American organizations occurred during a time when voluntary associations around the country were proliferating. Voluntary associations sprouted between 1870 and 1920, an era called the "golden age of fraternity," not coincidentally the years of high immigration.

These grassroots volunteer civic associations served several social functions. They fostered good citizenship and patriotism, and they provided pathways to democratic citizenship by creating space at the local level for discussion of national political issues.

Most organizations helped build citizenship skills, and participants gained valuable experience that encouraged later political participation. As advocates for assimilation, these organizations also fought cultural defamation, and built cross-class associations that fostered upward mobility.

The success of these organizations was largely defined by their ability to represent a diverse constituency. The common assumption is that fraternal associations provided a chance for socialization that was segregated from outsiders. However, it is also true that the group of insiders was not a simple reflection of the networks that existed in the outside world; the community identity within these fraternal societies was a social construction, a product of leaders' attempts to transform people with provincial ties into a pan-ethnic community.

When they arrived, most Italian immigrants did not think of themselves as Italians but more often identified with the community or province in which they lived in the Old Country. Before 1900, the town or provincial origins of Italian immigrants provided the focal point for organizing of Italian benevolence associations. Across the United States, hundreds of organizations were named after the provinces, cities, or small communities in Italy that they represented. Many of these groups sponsored public rituals that honored a hometown saint with a traditional Italian festa—a yearly festival that included a Mass, street procession where crowds would worship the saint of their Italian hometown, light displays, fireworks, food booths, games, and entertainment.

Before 1900, the Italian mutual benefit societies were strongholds of segregation, in part because of the cultural differences among members. Many groups had explicit rules about membership that only allowed members from either northern or southern Italy, or more likely, from one particular province. For those organizations for which segregation was not the formal rule, informal organizational segregation was perpetuated by language, food, and religious differences among the Italian immigrants. Leaders realized that celebrating Columbus provided a symbol that was simultaneously American and pan-ethnic—it was a widely respected symbol that could unite the diverse Italian ethnics, e.g., the Sicilians and Neapolitans, as Italian Americans.

Although the provincial groups had sponsored commemorations of local saints from the Old World, the new pan-ethnic societies needed symbols that would draw provincial Italians away from their local or regional attachments. Columbus symbols helped unite these disparate Italian immigrants; instead of *festas*, they sponsored Columbus Day events.

The first national pan-ethnic Italian American benevolence society, the Columbian Federation, was launched on Columbus Day 1893, during the Columbian World's Fair. The group then established its headquarters in Pueblo Colorado, dedicated a Columbus statue in Pueblo in 1905, and helped pass the country's first state holiday bill that same year. By the end of the 1940s, they had more than 200 chapters throughout the United States.[7]

The largest pan-ethnic Italian American benevolence society is the Order of Sons of Italy in America (OSIA). Since its origins in 1905 in New York City, the OSIA has chartered more than 3,000 lodges across the United States, each promising in their constitution to sponsor an annual Columbus Day event. Many of the local lodges, along with the national OSIA office, raise funds for maintaining Columbus statues.

By the late twentieth century, Italian American ethnicity became largely symbolic, that is, not a part of the organization of Italian Americans' everyday life. Italians reached parity with other whites in terms of access to most valuable social resources. Italians were no longer married to Italians, they did not live among Italians, and they suffered little or no educational or economic discrimination. In short, they had assimilated.[8] Their ethnic celebrations became events that mobilized smaller groups of people seeking to mend the last threads of their ethnic identity. Italian American ethnic organizations withered.

The new minority rights organizations flourished. Theda Skocpol counted a massive change—from 98 organizations in 1955 to 688 in 1985.[9] The growth of these professional minority rights organizations met the needs of African Americans, Hispanic Americans, and American Indians, but by the mid-twentieth century, federal civil rights bureaucrats mostly ignored Italian Americans, who were considered assimilated whites.

Many fraternal organizations failed to adapt to a changing political system that created an institutional niche for "minority rights" groups. Government funds were generally not given to Italian American voluntary associations, not only because they were no longer considered "minorities," but also because of the inexperience of regular citizens who were voluntary association leaders. These inexperienced leaders could not compete with the professional grant writers employed by the new civil rights groups. The new civil rights organizations could afford the professional organizers because new technologies became widely available and made it easier to build a massive national and international network with thousands of dues-paying members, without local membership expenses. The Columbian benevolence societies' demise was part of a larger decline among all fraternal groups (ibid). These short-lived organizations produced lasting consequences.

COUNTING STATUES

A statue is just an object; but if that statue is in public space, then a statue can also be a symbol of political power. Only some groups have enough power to appropriate limited public space for a statue of their choosing. Usually, public policy is seen as a goal of activism, but movements also have other goals, such as the appropriation of public spaces. As one of the goals of the Italian American movements was the erection and maintenance of Columbus statues, the distribution of Columbus statues across the U.S. landscape is a measure of the success of these movements.

To measure the distribution of statues across the United States, I used the data collected by the Smithsonian Art Inventory (and data from the Census Bureau) to create two databases on the variation in statue dedications: one measuring variation across states (see figure 6.10) and the other measuring variation across years. Analysis of the yearly database showed two things, how many statues per year were dedicated between 1824 and 1995 (see figure 6.5 and 6.6). The second thing the yearly database showed is that the number of Italians immigrating by year over a period of 80 years was not significantly correlated with statue dedications ($r = 0.014$, $p = 0.902$). The database organized by states showed that statue dedications by state (N = 51 states, including D.C.) is not correlated to the number of Italians in the state in 1880 ($r = 0.110$, $p = 0.619$). However, statue dedication by state was very strongly correlated with the Italian

population of the state in 1990 (r = 0.904, p < 0.001). In the states with a large 1990 Italian population, there are more statues. Understanding the cause and meaning of these statue dedications requires grassroots analysis.

Political Process,
and the origins of tradition

Not all Columbus statues were erected by Italian Americans, but many states were likely similar to Pennsylvania, California, New York, and Colorado, where Italian American mobilization successfully erected statues and created official state holidays. In Philadelphia, San Francisco, New York City, and Denver, Italian Americans organized Columbian fraternal societies, and they mobilized on Columbus Day and took advantage of political opportunities such as rapidly increasing Italian immigrant population.

Between 1880 and 1910, all four cities experienced a jump in Italian-born populations (see figure 6.7). In 1880, New York City and San Francisco had the largest Italian-born populations, at approximately 1 percent of the city population (ibid). By 1910, New York City had jumped to approximately 6 percent while San Francisco had risen, but still remained less than 4 percent (ibid). Between 1880 and 1910, Italian-born immigrants as a percentage of the city population in Denver went from 0 percent to approximately 1 percent, and in Philadelphia it went from less than 1 percent to more than 2 percent (ibid).

Italian American populations grew rapidly, especially as the new immigrants entered the second and third generations. In 1880, just more than 1 percent of the population of San Francisco and New York City had mothers who were born in Italy (see figure 6.8). By 1910, San Francisco had grown to more than 4 percent, which was about the same as Philadelphia, while the New York City rate grew to more than 10 percent (ibid). Italian American migration upset the status quo and created openings in political opportunities for grassroots Italian American movement organizations. These opportunities were realized through collective action in Pennsylvania, California, New York, and Colorado.

Pennsylvania

During the centennial celebrations in 1876, Philadelphia's Italian American groups mobilized to dedicate the tenth Columbus statue in the nation. This statue was dedicated with the support of the local Catholics, and a leader of the Catholic Church presided over the dedication ceremonies.

Some of the 1876 celebration leaders organized a "Columbus Association," transplanted a chapter of the organization to Colorado just after 1900, and pushed a Columbus Day holiday bill through the Pennsylvania legislature in 1910.

At the signing ceremony, the governor said the holiday would hearten Italian American assimilation:

> As a matter of fact there are two sides to every question, and the opponents of additional holidays were many, but if the celebration of Columbus Day shall be the means of bringing Italians together on a common cause and while showing a laudable

attachment to the mother country, will be the means of making better citizens of them, I shall be simply repaid for my part in making Columbus Day a legal holiday.[10]

CALIFORNIA

Italian immigrants in San Francisco tended to settle in segregated neighborhoods. Immigration tended to move along "chains" of family and friendship, so that when immigrants from a certain town settled in San Francisco, they sent for relatives and friends, and these new immigrants settled nearby. Eventually, they began to develop a common community identity based on Old World regional associations, and then they began organizing themselves around these regional identities. By 1910, most regional societies were eclipsed by an increasingly assimilated pan-ethnic identity of Italian American. The construction of these new identities was accomplished during Columbus Day rituals.

Public Columbus (or "Discovery") Day celebrations predated mass immigration to San Francisco. The first event came in 1869, when one of the city's largest mutual benefit societies, the Ghiribaldi company, "following the example of the New York company of Italian sharpshooters," organized a public event for "Italian residents as well as foreigners."[11] The next year, the Ghiribaldi company, along with the Italian sharpshooters and other Italian mutual benefit societies, organized a public celebration that included dancing, target practice, a parade, speeches in Italian, and fireworks. For decades, more than a dozen of San Francisco's Italian provincial groups put aside their differences and came together for one event each year.

Before moving to Denver, Angelo Noce lived in San Francisco and helped organize the Columbus Day ceremonies. He realized Columbus Day could unite a disparate, feuding immigrant community. In his diary, Noce framed the 1876 San Francisco celebration as a time of unity,

> All the Italians were enthusiastic at the coming of that memorable event. Petty bickering and sectional strife were unknown or laid aside. Everyone was contented to have the great Genoese Navigator worthily honored.[12]

Another community member said these early Columbus Day events served "as an opportunity for all to unite in a common observance."[13] Although much of their lives were segregated based on Old World regions, annual events united the disparate, segregated regional associations. In 1885, they started the tradition that would last over a century—a landing reenactment in the San Francisco Bay.

San Francisco's two Italian language newspapers, *L'Italia* and *La Voce del Popolo,* began as bulletins of particular regional societies and in time covered the activities of other fraternal societies as well. In the early years, the newspapers emphasized regionalism, with the exception of the pan-ethnic Columbus Day events:

> Up to 1910 the two newspapers were clearly no more than the combined bulletins of several regional societies, rather than the press of an ethnic community enjoying some sort of internal cohesion. The first page reported in detail the different activities of regional societies. There was only one annual event that engaged the interest of all societies, the Columbus Day parade.[14]

The newspapers helped the various societies develop political power, and they used this power in Sacramento, where they lobbied for a state holiday bill.

During California's first official Columbus Day celebration in 1909, the Italian community sponsored two parades and two banquets. The San Francisco celebrations in 1909, and for many years to come, were "dual ceremonies" because of provincial divisions within the Italian immigrant colony. After 40 years of local celebrations, legislators made California one of the first states to declare Columbus Day a public holiday.

New York

Probably the first Italian American group in the United States to publicly organize sustained public ceremonies was the New York City Italians, who began to celebrate Columbus Day in 1866. The Italian Sharpshooters Association of New York sponsored the first events, including a parade, sharpshooting contests, dancing, a banquet, and sometimes, symbolic ships in the harbor. Their examples were followed by Italian associations in New York, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Boston, San Francisco, and New Orleans.

In an environment of economic and cultural repression, leaders such as Carlo Barsotti in New York City did not see many inroads to assimilation and thus had an acute need for a positive American symbol like Columbus, one that could unite the diverse Italians, overcome rampant prejudice and discrimination, and help them gain inclusion into the dominant society. In New York schools, Italian culture was given very little respect, with the possible exception of Columbus:

> Throughout my whole elementary school career, I do not recall one mention of Italy or the Italian language or what famous Italians had done in the world, with the possible exception of Columbus, who was pretty popular in America. We soon got the idea that "Italian" meant something inferior, and a barrier was erected between children of Italian origin and their parents. This was the accepted process of Americanization. We were becoming Americans by learning to be ashamed of our parents.[15]

Columbus Day events were framed as a time to unite the diverse Italian immigrants behind a common pan-ethnic identity. New York's Little Italy was not only segregated from the outside world, but also internally segregated. Each block in a neighborhood contained people who lived in the same province in Italy. In the early history of Italian Harlem, for example, "immigrants from the same towns and provinces in Southern Italy clustered together whenever they could. A spirit of regionalism, or campanilismo, prevailed."[16] Columbus Day rituals helped united these disparate Italian immigrants.

Carlo Barsotti was different from prominenti in other cities that had founded the holiday—he was far more successful in his newspaper business. In 1880, Barsotti founded *Il Progresso Italo Americano*. Barsotti used his paper and print shop to "promote his pet project, the commemoration of Columbus's accomplishments."[17] By 1890, the paper had a daily printing of 6,500 and its owner boasted, "the most influential Italian newspaper in New York and the United States" (ibid). Spurting to 7,500 in 1892, the paper gained clear dominance after 1900 and stood at a total circulation

of 82,000 in 1915.[18] Barsotti sponsored Columbus Day festivities and he worked with the economic elite to erect statues—of Columbus and other Italian heroes such as Alighieri and Garibaldi.

Despite the name of his newspaper, Barsotti did not always espouse progressive causes by defending the interests of the underdog. Although labor leader, Samuel Gompers, gave money to be a part of Barsotti's Columbus Day statue committee in 1892. Barsotti was probably closer aligned to the capitalists than the laborers; this is evident not only in his explicit focus on assimilation, but also in his overt stance against many organized labor unions, and his use of his paper to produce editorials criticizing legislation meant to protect Italian immigrant workers.

Two years before the 400th anniversary, the Italian American societies began planning for the unveiling of their Columbus statue at the center of the city. They set up a committee to raise the necessary funds for the statue, and eventually succeeded by erecting a massive monument at the geographic center of New York City, Columbus Circle. One historian has noted that the "New York Columbus Day observance was clearly the brainchild of Barsotti" (ibid) but not only was Barsotti still in Italy during the first celebrations in 1869, but also during one of the movement's greatest successes, he was denounced by other community leaders.

On May 23, 1892, just five months before the statue unveiling, several Italian American organizations united against Barsotti. They—"many Italian societies"—organized a protest event that included "red hot resolutions against Barsotti," the expression of Italian culture, and reverence paid to Columbus. They framed Barsotti as a "private schemer":

> The sentiment and purpose of the affair was well expressed on the transparency with which a crowd marched around the streets, headed by a band who played Italian airs. The words on the transparency were: "We want to honor Christopher Columbus and no private schemers."[19]

Apparently, Barsotti competed with the committee of 100 to take credit for the statue. Nevertheless, Barsotti was not completely pushed out of the statue ceremonies. At the laying of the statue cornerstone, Barsotti was lead speaker and presented a "eulogy of Columbus." After unveiling the statue on the 400th anniversary, Barsotti and his compatriots then turned their efforts to making a state holiday.

By 1908, a holiday bill made it through the New York state legislature but the governor refused to sign it; he said it did not represent the broad public interest.[20] On Columbus Day 1908, the Italian American Democratic League of New York organized 2000 Italian Americans for a political rally. There Congressman William Sulzer said, "[E]very year a Columbus Day bill passes through the New York legislature, but Governor Hughes refuses to pass it."[21] Hughes's Democratic opponent told the audience that he "promised if elected to make Oct. 12 a public holiday."[22] Perhaps from this pressure, when the bill passed Hughes's desk again in 1909, he passed it into law.

Italian American movements still faced conflict. The passage of the law elicited controversial letters to the editor that framed the holiday around problems of ethnicity and work. These two often came together in one frame, such as one letter that said, "There is no particular reason why the whole state of New York should be compelled to take another holiday every year simply to oblige the Italians."[23]

Many people complained about impeded work. A New York City citizen insinuated that Italians would just get into trouble on the holiday and that passing the Italian holiday was opening a multicultural conundrum: "The people who want these holidays do not know what to do with themselves with the day comes. Most of them carouse and get into trouble. We might as well have holidays for Russians, Austrians, Greeks, Turks, and so on."[24]

Despite the conflict they induced, the Italian immigrant movements had succeeded. The first New York City celebration after Columbus Day became a legal holiday "was marked by an Italian parade" where 30,000 Italian Americans marched to Columbus Circle to hold ceremonies at the statue that they had dedicated a few years earlier. The *Times* reported that ceremonies were "almost exclusively Italian, the only other organization that took part in the parade being the Knights of Columbus."[25]

COLORADO

In 1905, Colorado was the first state to make Columbus Day a state holiday. Compared to New York and California, Italian immigrants in Colorado had a newer and weaker community, with only a fraction of the population, mutual benefit societies, ethnic newspapers, and economic elites that characterized settlements in New York and California.

Italian immigrants in Denver were segregated the same way they were in other major cities. Each segment of the community spoke its own dialect and celebrated the particular social and religious traditions of its region or town in Italy. Before the twentieth century in Denver, festas were popular and the many variations of festas reflected neighborhood and provincial segregation. Also in Denver, the housing settlement reflected divisions between relatively wealthy and educated northerners and the less educated and much poorer southerners that migrated later. People from different regions or provinces from the old country did not cooperate with each other in Colorado, but rather each viewed persons from other regions of Italy as outsiders. Thus, community leaders sought a tool to unite these disparate people, give them a common history, and encourage their assimilation into dominant society. Leaders hoped that sponsoring a Columbus Day holiday would be this tool.

After moving from San Francisco, Angelo Noce founded in Denver an Italian language newspaper and a mutual benefit society; he was fluent in both Italian and English, and he used these positions and talents as a mediator between the dominant American society and the immigrant Italian communities. One of his most important tools for connecting disparate groups was Columbus Day. In his autobiography, he noted "I have lost no opportunity to suggest and agitate among my countrymen the formation of Columbus societies in honor of Columbus, that his name might be held in esteem by all."[26] Noce promoted the integration of immigrants into the wider community, as well as their political enfranchisement, and their physical and economic health. He founded Colorado's first Italian language newspaper in 1885, called *La Stella*, which served as a vehicle for promoting Noce's interests, including Columbus commemorations. The paper only lasted four years and predated any significant successes regarding the promotion of the holiday.

Noce took credit for persuading Governor Jesse McDonald to designate October 12th as Columbus Day; he apparently nearly wrote the bill that was introduced in the Colorado House and Senate in 1905. The first state proclamation declaring a Columbus Day holiday was given by the Colorado governor in 1905. He proclaimed the new holiday as a day to revere the Italians' good citizenship:

> I, Jesse F. McDonald, Governor of Colorado, do proclaim Thursday Oct. 12, 1905 to be Columbus Day, and to call upon all citizens of Colorado to observe the occasion in a manner suitable to its great importance, and moreover, as a day upon which may be gratefully recognized the patriotic Americanism of the Colorado Italians whose generosity prompts them to present to the state an emblem of appreciation of the services to mankind of one of their countrymen, and a material evidence of the good citizenship of those Americans who belong to the same race as he did. (ibid)

Governor McDonald presented Noce with the pen with which he had signed the bill, and Noce promptly sent it off to Genoa, Italy, so that "Genoa and its citizens know that a son of Genoa, Angelo Noce, had not forgotten the land of his birth and was the prime mover in having the great Navigator honored in the land he discovered, and that October 12th had been legally declared a holiday, to be known as 'COLUMBUS DAY.'"[27]

The Governor was not the only one to describe an Italian holiday. The *Denver Post* framed the holiday as a tool to fight anti-Italian prejudice:

> There are in Colorado some 18,000 Italians, most of them very hard working and industrious people, some of them highly cultured, but the average American child sums up all the sons of the erstwhile mighty Roman empire in the one term of derision, "Dago," and lets it go at that. Perhaps if, once a year, this self-sufficient young person should hear something of the struggles, the courage, the indomitable perseverance of Columbus, the tragic story of defeat and the more tragic story of success that ended in prison, it might make him a little less bumptious, a little better mannered to his dark-eyed, olive-skinned comrades at school.[28]

Denver's Italian American community worked to sponsor a citywide Columbus Day parade in 1905, but the plan did not come to fruition because of internal strife among the Denver Italians. Noce, leader of one group, was attacked by the leader of another Italian American group.[29] Noce was active in Denver affairs, but he was a relatively recent immigrant to Denver and was not fully accepted by existing Italian leaders. Before the 1905 holiday, a member of the Knights of Columbus attempted to unite the feuding groups. Several meetings were held but the Italian organizational presidents "finally agreed to disagree."[30] Despite Noce's political successes, he could not unite the Denver Italian American societies.

Also in 1905, the Pueblo Italians presented to their city a Columbus statue. This was largely due to the efforts of the Columbian Society, the first national pan-ethnic benefit society, which was founded at the 1892–1893 Columbian World's Fair and had established its headquarters in Pueblo.[31] Before the statue was unveiled, the Pueblo paper ran four different stories on the statue, but barely mentioned the Italians. The statue was framed as a symbol representing all immigrants: "It would not have been possible to have selected a more fitting token to represent the cosmopolitan character of our population

or the ties that bind our people in their common welfare. Each immigrant is a Columbus seeking a New World."[32] The pre-event publicity did not preclude an Italian affair.

At the statue unveiling, Italian American dignitaries stood below the statue platform, which was "decorated with the American and Italian colors and in the rear were pictures of Christopher Columbus, President Roosevelt, and King Emanuel of Italy."[33] At the ceremony, the mayor of Pueblo framed the event as a sign of Italian immigrants' patriotism: "This handsome monument is a magnificent tribute to the devotion and Patriotism of our Italian citizens."[34] After the unveiling, Italians sponsored a dinner/dance where numerous speeches and toasts asked that Italians be recognized as American citizens. The first toast, given by a local judge, praised Italian Americans as good citizens: "The standing up of Columbus over the entire world goes to show that we cannot ask for a better citizen than the Italian. The citizens of Pueblo are proud of the Italian colony" (ibid).

Although the paper said little about the Italians before the ceremonies, journalists praised them afterward: "Every Italian resident of Colorado has good reason to feel proud."[35] The next day, the paper noted a "peculiar and remarkable coincidence" that "every person connected with the active ceremonies, including Christopher Columbus, was a native of the province of Genoa."[36]

In 1906, Italian Americans were poised to lead celebrations in both Denver and Pueblo. Public commemorations occurred in neither; "a grand fizzle," sparked by "the petty jealousies and quarrels of the various Italian societies of the state."[37] Apparently, a cadre of Denver Italian Americans began a movement to present a Columbus statue to the city. The Pueblo Italian Americans "began to grow jealous," and "scorching words were passed between the two"; the Pueblo Italian Americans said of the Denver group: "[T]hey are of small consequence, include the poorer classes of their countrymen, and their support is not necessary" (ibid). The Denver chapter of the Knights of Columbus, "in order not to let the day go by unremembered, has taken charge of the program, but was unsuccessful" (ibid). While intended to incite unity, from its beginnings the holiday has brought conflict.

In 1907, the official state holiday bill took effect and Denver and Pueblo Italian societies sponsored celebrations. In both Denver and Pueblo, Italian Americans dominated the new public holiday. Denver headlines read, "Italian residents celebrate with parade and feast."[38] Noce was grand marshal of the Denver parade.

In Pueblo, Italian bands opened the ceremonies with "The Italian Royal March." The speaker stand was "draped with a canopy of four flags, two Italian on one side and two United States on the other."[39] The audience, "which was made up largely of the sons and daughters of sunny Italy," (ibid) cheered when Giuseppe Toro framed the holiday as a day for Italian pride and solidarity:

> This is to us all not a mere celebration accompanied by external demonstrations of patriotism, but more than that, this day goes to our hearts, stirring our emotions and enthusiasm, thus renewing our solidarity. We see our mother country personified in its great son, whom we today honor.[40]

The Pueblo paper stated, "[W]hile the day was not meant to be confined in its celebration to the countrymen of Italy, they have persisted in commemorating the

event that made this great republic a possibility."[41] In Pueblo and Denver, Italian American activists were responsible for erecting statues and for making Colorado the first state in the United States to declare a public holiday.

In New York, Colorado, Pennsylvania, and California, Italian Americans mobilized to establish state holidays and erect public statues. The maintenance of these statues and holidays was not automatic, but an accomplishment that sometimes induced significant conflict.

Political Process
during WWII

Sometimes resource mobilization and framing strategies used by movements are shaped less by the isolated wishes of leaders and shaped more by the trade-offs leaders must make as they address conflict with audiences and counter-movements.

Pennsylvania

Italian American benevolence societies in Philadelphia began many different Columbus Day fund raising campaigns to support Italy's war efforts; they sent money to the Italian government and to the Italian Red Cross. In one year, the lodges of the OSIA in Philadelphia raised $31,000 for the Italian Red Cross, as did many other Italian immigrant groups. By 1941, when Italy officially declared war on the United States, Philadelphia's leading Italian language newspapers disavowed their previous pro-fascist sympathies and stated that all Italian Americans were "100% for the United States."[42] In 1943, a reporter for a local Italian language press called the overemphasis on patriotic sentiments toward the United States "rhetoric necessary in order to be in harmony with the times."[43]

The Italian American community in Philadelphia may have continued Columbus Day fund raising for the Italian government after Italy became a war enemy, but if so, these were private events. Publicly, Columbus Day was transformed into a day to raise money for U.S. troops. In part to prove their loyalty, OSIA lodges organized war bond drives. The OSIA raised more than $3 million in the state.[44]

In July 1943, Philadelphia's Italian groups celebrated the end of Mussolini's regime, and three months later during Columbus Day they celebrated the end to the enemy alien status of Italian immigrants. The Columbus Day announcement led them to raise their war bond drive to $1 million: "gratitude of the Italian-Americans for your act of patriotism and justice in removing the label of enemy alien from Italians—our people, who have proved by deeds that the minds and hearts of all American Italians are in fact 100% Americanized."[45]

California

By the time the war broke out, there were more than a half-million Italian immigrants living throughout the United States who had not become citizens. When they arrived, some planned to return to Italy, some were students, and some were short-term workers with visas. Many were in the process of gaining

citizenship. Based on the Alien Enemy Act, the government defined all Italian non-citizens as enemy aliens.

The community in San Francisco was especially targeted for repression, not only because of the geographic location as a coastal city, but also because of the concentration of Italian nationalists and fascist supporters. One of the nation's leading pro-fascist movement groups, the OSIA, gained members in San Francisco through the 1920s and into the early 1930s. Fugazi Hall became an exceedingly popular organizing location, as a pro-fascist meeting place. The San Francisco Italian Chamber of Commerce was revamped, and the Italian American newspapers and radio experienced growth. By 1931, the leading paper, *L'Italia,* had a circulation in San Francisco of nearly 100,000, and within a few short years, the movement had started three openly fascist radio programs.[46] Since the early 1920s, fascist propaganda had been inundating large numbers of students; the Italian Language School expanded from Fugazi Hall into five separate branches. The Italian government paid for these schools and sent textbooks, which praised Italy and Mussolini. Through at least the mid-1930s, Italian fascism was still openly advocated in San Francisco. As Italy became a national enemy, San Francisco Italian immigrants were targeted in part because of the schools, media, and other organizations in San Francisco that had openly espoused pride in the Italian government.

The California legislative Committee on Un-American Activities said that the "spearhead of fascist activities in California was found to be in San Francisco," and mentioned the Italian newspapers, Fugazi Hall, Italian Chamber of Commerce, Italian language schools, and the OSIA as fascist threats.[47] The committee concluded, "of all Italian communities in the United States, only that of New York had been the target of more intense [fascist] propaganda." (ibid)

In response, many Italian Americans moved from the area, and even more sought citizenship. Between 1943 and 1945, more Italians were naturalized than in the preceding decade (ibid). Italian schools were investigated and parents discouraged from enrolling their children. Italian language newspapers and radio programs were censored and/or censured. The Italians also responded by altering their Columbus Day ceremonies.

The 1942, 1943, and 1944 Columbus Day celebrations in San Francisco were conducted under the theme "victory." There were numerous booths throughout the north-shore Italian American neighborhood selling war bonds and stamps. In the usually joyous Italian parade marched "disaster units, bugle corps, mobile blood receiving units, rescue squads and air-raid wardens."[48] In Philadelphia and San Francisco, Columbus Day was used to showcase the patriotic assimilation of Italian Americans. New York's Italian communities also transformed their Columbus Day rituals, but only after significant conflict with counter-protesters.

NEW YORK

Generoso Pope became the successor to Carlo Barsotti when he purchased the country's largest Italian language newspaper in 1928. The circulation of *Il Progresso* varied in the following years from 80,000 to more than 200,000, and that growth in circulation made Pope a powerful figure in the United States and in Italy. Similar to Barsotti, Pope had strong ties to the business community and a significant hand

in local politics. Pope became a member of Tammany Hall, a powerful member of the local American Federation of Labor chapter, a participant in Italian benevolence societies, and sponsor of annual Columbus Day events.

Between 1930 and 1942, Pope experienced a profound transformation from Italian nationalist to American patriot. He began an Italian Nationalist, but by 1942, his public presentation denounced Italy, hid ethnic culture, and highlighted Italian Americans' commitment to the United States.

Before 1935, Pope actively organized public community campaigns (some on Columbus Day) to raise funds for the Italian Red Cross, and to pressure President Roosevelt to maintain United States neutrality. However, by 1937, Pope began framing his public events as 100 percent American. He organized Columbus Day campaigns to raise money for the U.S. military fight against Italy. Through the process, the last vestiges of Italian nationalism were extinguished.

The day before Columbus Day, 1934, the *New York Times* announced "police are taking extra precautions to guard against antifascist demonstrations, during three major Columbus Day celebrations."[49] In the morning was planned the "traditional" exercises at Columbus Circle (where the Italians would hold their wreath laying ceremony on the Columbus statue). At noon, Columbus Park would be reopened to the public and a long-lost statue of Columbus unveiled there. In the afternoon at Yankee stadium was planned the American-Italian international University games. The Communists announced that they also planned to protest on Columbus Day—at both the morning ceremony and the afternoon athletic event; they also announced "conflict appears inevitable."[50]

Indeed, conflict did emerge, as the front-page headline for one of the 1934 Columbus Day stories read "Police Club Reds at Fascist Games."[51] The story tells of more than 2,000 communists and socialists separately coming against the "fascist" Italians. The police took part in "spirited clashes" where they "belabored the surging Reds with blackjacks" (ibid).

Spectators entering the stadium passed the protestors, who "held canes raised in the air as if to strike at the antifascists who hurled taunts at them" (ibid). Once inside the stadium, a faculty member from New York's City College gave opening remarks. He attacked the antifascist demonstrations and claimed that the student athletes "came solely on a good-will tour and for no political reasons" (ibid). Nevertheless, "a quantity of literature extolling fascism was distributed during the games" and Italian victors in the various events "gave the fascist salute in response to thunderous applause by the Italian American spectators" (ibid). The audiences also framed the events as fascist; the Italian Ambassador gave a speech in Italian, which ended with a "fascist yell" from an audience member that elicited "tremendous applause" from the "mostly Italian American spectators" (ibid).

Mayor LaGuardia, himself an Italian, gave the opening remarks at the noontime park commemoration. He framed Columbus Day as a symbol of equal opportunity and common American ideals: "Columbus Day is an opportunity for giving to the world an example of how it is possible in this country to mold, amalgamate and blend . . . Every race has the same opportunities and the best proof of that is the position I occupy today" (ibid). After wreath laying ceremonies at the Columbus statue, the governor of New York, a local senator, and

Supreme Court Justice Salvatore Cotillo each came to the speaker stand in the midst of antifascist protest. Approximately 5,000 antifascists jeered, hooted, booed, while others raised clinched fists to match the speakers' words of Italian pride (ibid).

In 1935, Mayor LaGuardia claimed that he would not participate unless he was "certain that the controversial fascist, anti-fascist, and Ethiopian questions were avoided and an American celebration was assured."[52] However, the American event was overshadowed by the protest, "fascists who clashed with anti-fascists."[53] The 1935 wreath-laying commemorations at the Columbus statue were plagued by violent confrontations. The "fascists" began their short procession toward the statue where the Mayor and other dignitaries were to speak. The mayor was taken to the statue via auto, but the majority marched in step to Italian music.

The antifascist counter-movement was led by Girolamo Valenti (the editor of a labor newspaper), who organized the protest of approximately 2,000 supporters (ibid). The antifascists were waiting along the parade route with a huge caricature of Mussolini below which was labeled "public enemy number one" (ibid). They were "booing violently" and chanting "down with Mussolini" as the 2,500 people in the parade passed.

As the last few hundred were passing, "a bottle somersaulted toward a head." This "sparked another round of wrestling, punching, kicking, and cane-swinging among the 500 men and boys in the mixup. Fists smashed on jaws and outcries cut through the traffic din, police sticks were wielded and varied other forms of vehemence attested the intensity of political hatreds" (ibid). The warring parties then went to opposite ends of the park and continued their activities. The antifascists "went back to their speakers' stand to go on with their clamor against Mussolini," (ibid) and the fascists laid a wreath on the Columbus statue and began their ceremonies.

At the "fascist" celebration, the governor told the largely Italian American crowd that Columbus day was "a real American holiday transcending geographic or racial lines" and that being an American meant not shared race or religion, but shared values: "people of many stocks and many religions, but we are united by an intense love of liberty" (ibid). He went on to praise Italian American contributions to America: "in every crisis from the earliest days of our history, the sons and daughters of Italian birth or ancestry have fully adhered to the best traditions of our country."[54] Again, the speakers either did not mention Italy or Mussolini, but rather praised proud American values.

Before the 1936 Columbus Day celebration, Girolamo Valenti, chairman of the Italian antifascist committee, telegrammed Governor Lehman and criticized him, the Sons of Italy, and Pope's Italian newspaper for sponsoring a celebration that would "only serve to advance the fascist cause and not patriotism."[55] He said that the Italian antifascist committee "had conclusive proof that the organizations and individuals sponsoring the Columbus Circle meeting are Fascist" (ibid). The telegram ended by complaining Columbus Day had become a fascist, anti-democratic and un-American holiday: "will the Governor participate in this fascist holiday tomorrow and

help advance the cause of that tyrannical form of government which has destroyed democracy and has persecuted and banished the liberals, the Jews and all other minorities?"[56]

Mayor LaGuardia, having vowed the previous year to bow out of an "un-American" celebration, announced that he would not face another year's conflict, and that a representative would read his statement.[57] Facing rising conflict and falling support, Generoso Pope sent a request to the Central Park Association requesting that the antifascist demonstration permit be rescinded because of "a possibility of trouble" and the "embarrassment" of his participants.[58]

During the 1936 Columbus Day ceremonies, conflict continued; countermovement protesters and journalists continued to generically frame the Italian American leaders and the Columbus Day ceremonies as fascist. There was "rigid police supervision," to keep violence at bay, but "boos and catcalls came from the antifascists and communists." Across the street from the antifascist protest, the Italian Americans merged symbols of Italian fascism with American patriotism; two black shirted fascist marching bands presented renditions of the United States and fascist anthems.[59]

Government officials, including Governor Lehman, Supreme Court Justice Ferdinand Pecora, and two district judges spoke at the fascist exercises. The governor came to the speaker's stand with a wave to the crowd. While recounting the patriotism of Italian immigrants, he was "embarrassed" when the audience responded with hundreds of palms raised in the fascist salute.[60] The antifascists, organized across the street, signaled the end of the governor's address with "a special outburst of boos and catcalls" (ibid). An antifascist responded via loudspeaker: "Governor Lehman, as a Jew, you ought to know what Fascism means, and yet you are over there speaking to those fascists and pro-fascists and accepting the Fascist salute from them" (ibid).

Girolamo Valenti, chairman of the Anti-Fascist Committee, took the antifascist speakers' stand and denounced the Columbus Day celebration: "America was born fighting against tyranny, and yet [Generoso] Pope advocates fascism and fascism stands for slavery."[61] Valenti claimed that Generoso Pope was wrongly using patriotism to cover "Mussolini Propaganda" that was being used to "further slavery."[62] Antifascists, in contrast, were holding a "meeting of liberty loving Americans," that was "for democracy and liberty" (ibid). Leaders shape movement tactics and framing, but audiences and counter-movements can be just as important.

By 1937, Generoso Pope began publicly condemning fascism; Columbus Day continued as an Italian American event that, once again, elicited dissension among Italian Americans. While organizers denounced fascism, Italian American audiences, the Italian-led antifascist protestors, and journalists all recounted a ruse. The 1937 ceremonies began with Pope claiming that Columbus Day "was neither fascist nor anti-fascist, but American."[63] The crowd responded with fascist salutes. The governor next came to the podium. He denounced "any political philosophy which denies equality to certain religions and encourages persecution of those who differ with the dominant party" (ibid). The crowd responded with fascist salutes.

In the midst of the obvious conflict, the governor praised common American ideals:

There is no place in American life for group or clique alliance. There is no place for those who, while professing Americanism, practice un Americanism. Our nation has become great because here races and nationalities have lived side by side with each other in friendship and with understanding, because they were actuated solely by the common interest of love of State and country. (ibid)

Mayor LaGuardia next came to the speakers stand and spoke, in English and Italian, great praise for the contributions of Italian Americans:

of all Americans no group is more loyal than the Italians. They know what it means to live in a free country. Having already made great contributions to the development of this nation, they will continue to cooperate in ever-new discoveries that will facilitate the realization of the ideal of social justice and elimination of all human exploitation (ibid).

The crowd responded with boos and fascist salutes. Mayor LaGuardia's Democratic opponent, Jeremiah Mahoney also spoke at the ceremony. After the two opponents spoke, Generoso Pope asserted that the presence of candidates from both parties demonstrated that the ceremony had no political meaning. Many in the crowd laughed, others gave fascist salutes, and still others taunted angrily at Pope, "Fascist!" (ibid).

In 1937, an editorial in a socialist newspaper criticized Pope and the pro-fascist Italians for usurping Columbus Day. The editorial said that Columbus Day should not be celebrated by pro-fascists like the Sons of Italy and Generoso Pope, but rather "the memory of Columbus belongs to the people of the world who hate tyranny of the mind and tyranny of monarchies and fascist rulers."[64] Similarly, the socialist party mayoral candidate criticized both the Democrats and Republicans for taking part in a Columbus Day ceremony that was "tainted with Mussolini propaganda."[65]

The Pope-led 1938 Columbus Day festivities continued the conflict between the organizers and the crowds. The crowd was larger than ever—35,000—and was especially aggressive. Generoso Pope again sponsored the ceremonies, and Mayor LaGuardia declined to attend. The gathering "was definitely sympathetic toward fascism."[66] When Governor Lehman said, "[W]e are all Americans," the crowd responded with fascist salutes (ibid).

They provided deafening protest when a LaGuardia representative came to the microphone. They were heartened, however, by the speech of Supreme Court Justice Salvatore Cotillo, who said, "I am glad that it was Mussolini himself more than any one man who intervened at the right time to bring peace to the world. For that reason, Mussolini deserves a place equal to that occupied by any world-renowned peacemaker." The crowd happily screamed, "Viva Mussolini" (ibid).

At the antifascist counter demonstration, speakers made clear that the answer to fascism was American patriotism. For example, one said, "We are Americans without reserve. We owe allegiance to one flag, the American flag. We owe allegiance to one country, the United States of America, to one government, the democratic form of government. We must have a Columbus Day celebration that is imbued with the spirit of the great navigator as well as the spirit of the founding fathers of our great nation."[67] The New York City case shows that both audiences and counter-movements can be as important as leaders in shaping resource mobilization and framing. By 1939, Italy joined the Axis powers and New York City Columbus Day conflict stopped.

Some Italian American communities cancelled their Columbus Day ceremonies. In 1940, Italian Americans in New Haven, CT cancelled all parades and banquets. Traditional leaders in San Francisco's North Beach abandoned the customary Columbus Day celebration. In Buffalo, NY the Federation of Italian Societies cancelled their Columbus Day festivities when "younger delegates objected to displaying the Italian flag."[68]

Most celebrations, however, continued with a new timbre; often this involved Italian Americans avoiding or de-emphasizing their Italian identity and highlighting their allegiance to an undivided American identity. Italian American activists in Des Moines, Iowa dropped Italian American themes and dispersed 300 American flags to student marchers. One speech was titled, "I am an American." In Newark, NJ Italian Americans relinquished the annual parade to the American Legion. In Philadelphia, Italian American societies continued to lay a wreath on their Columbus statue, but afterward "led a pilgrimage to lay wreaths on the Washington monument and Franklin statue."[69]

At the 1940 New York City gathering of "1,800 of the leading Italian Americans of New York" activists used Columbus Day to "proclaim their loyalty to American principles of democracy and personal liberty."[70] At the ceremony, a dinner organized by Generoso Pope, speakers "carefully avoided all reference to fascism or the Italian anti-democratic axis" (ibid). Supreme Court Justice John Freschi said Italian immigrants "pledged loyalty to the United States" (ibid).

Pope's patriotic pose became even more public in 1940, as he started a committee for Italian Americans of New York State, which sold millions of dollars of United States war bonds. Pope was accused of making antifascist declamations only in the English section of the newspaper while still defending Italy's actions in the Italian section. Only when confronted with this charge in 1941 did Pope publicly repudiate in both versions of the paper "past errors and past allusions."

In the early 1940s, Pope continued to sponsor Columbus Day festivities, but they were of a different character than the decade earlier. The 1942 Columbus Day festivities celebrated the 450th anniversary of the 1492 landing. Like Philadelphia and San Francisco, New York City's Italian Americans hosted a citywide victory war bond sales drive.[71] The *New York Times* covered the Columbus Day festivities with the following headline: "Loyalty of Italian Americans Lauded at Columbus Day Rally."[72] Governor Lehman spoke at one of the ceremonies and claimed that Italian Americans were not enemy alien but, rather, had "made great contributions to the security of this nation."[73] Speakers at New York City's five celebrations either attacked fascism or touted Italian Americans' allegiance to America. The New York governor praised Italian American loyalty. President Roosevelt spoke at another Columbus Day event and promised respect for Italian immigrants, and he demanded all ethnic groups unify to win the war. The U.S. Vice President said that Columbus discovered America so that, "here for the first time could be established wide areas where people would speak almost identically the same language, enjoy the same customs about democracy, liberty and the dignity of the individual human soul."[74]

During the 450th anniversary celebration, Attorney General Biddle's broadcast Italian American emancipation:

> We now have the results of ten months of an unprecedented exercise of wartime vigilance. We have watched you Italians, you so-called "alien enemies." We have investigated; we have acted upon the slightest impulse of doubt. We have taken no chances.

And what did we find? We find that out of the total of 600,000 persons, there has been cause to intern only 228, or fewer than one-twentieth of 1 percent! I have an announcement to make to you tonight, that comes as a result of the splendid showing of Italians of America have made in meeting this test. I now announce to you that beginning Oct 19, a week from today, Italian aliens will no longer be classed as alien enemies.[75]

By the time the U.S. war with Italy began, Italian Americans had taken a considerable step toward assimilation, as they were forced to show their patriotism to the United States.

POLITICAL PROCESS DURING (AND AFTER) THE 500th ANNIVERSARY

In Colorado, sometime during the WWII era, Italian groups that had been celebrating Columbus Day gave up their public rituals. By the late 1980s, in preparation for the 500th anniversary, they sought to revive their celebrations. However, they faced significant resistance from counter-movements such as the Denver American Indian Movement (D-AIM), which reframed the Italian American pride parade as a celebration of Indian genocide.

Regularly, protesters poured blood on the Columbus statue or on the parade route, and masses of people took over the parade route by sitting in the street. Each year, arrests were made, but the city failed to secure prosecutions. The rhetoric and fear escalated in the months leading up to the 1992 parade.

The corporate sponsorship for the parade faded, and the parade numbers dwindled in the years before 1992. Remaining Italian Americans—only a handful of leaders and their families—feared they could not safely celebrate their ethnicity. The leaders canceled the 1992 parade at the last minute rather than subjecting themselves to possible bloodshed. The victors—an interethnic coalition of more than 40 Denver social justice groups organized by the D-AIM—proudly declared that there would never be another Columbus Day parade in Denver. For nearly a decade, they were right.

While the old guard fumed and remained too apathetic to demand group rights, the younger New Generation, as they called themselves, mobilized to regain Italian American rights.   They also tell of mistreatment. The first year the New Generation returned (2000) they were forced to meet with federal mediators who pushed them to sign a gag agreement stipulating that no one would mention Columbus during the festivities. During their second year, Italian American activists had to hire a lawyer to ensure they could receive a parade permit. Despite mistreatment, they succeeded in securing permits and in organizing and running the parade for the next seven years. However, problems remain. Ornate floats have been replaced by choppers, humvees, and trucks adorned with massive advertisements against abortion and gay marriage. According to D-AIM protesters, the candy lovingly tossed from float to observer was replaced with angry hurls of handfuls of rock hard candy. D-AIM photographs show that the friendly wave from the floats was replaced with the middle finger. Despite faults in execution, Denver Italian American movements were able to mobilize successfully to preserve First Amendment rights because activists took advantage of local political opportunities, efficiently mobilized resources, and used effective framing.

Political Opportunities

Increasing population brings increasing political power and upsets the status quo. Between 1980 and 1990 in Denver, the population of Indians stayed almost the same at less than 1 percent of the population, while the number of Italian Americans increased from 2.4 to 2.6 percent of the population.[76] Although objective political opportunities may have existed for Italian American activists, these opportunities were not acknowledged by the activists. One leader said,

> Italians now are separated, they don't live together, and they aren't suffering together. Once we got the education, we became more affluent and moved to the suburbs. We're not going to live in the slums anymore. Once that happened, we started to lose our sense of ethnic community because we now live in communities with lots of different ethnic groups. We began intermarrying with non-Italians. And since we are now professionals, we now have little time to devote to participation in ethnic groups and ethnic celebrations.[77]

During a 1999 focus group interview, two old guard participants who remained active with the New Generation agreed that the geographic space dispersed their communities. One informant said, "That's why Colorado is different, because Colorado is much more rural. New York and Chicago is so urban, they go up, they don't go out." Another agreed, "We go out, we have plenty of land to do that, that's true." Italian American activists described the political consequences of the changes. One said that since moving to the suburbs, Italians had "lost their political power."[78] When I went back to Denver, one leader explained further:

> All of the voting power is in the Hispanics and Native American communities because they dominate Denver. The Italians, most of us live out here in Arvada and Wheatridge; we are not in Denver County. We cannot vote for Denver politicians. We all used to live in Denver years ago, but as we got wealthy we moved to the suburbs. So the politicians are going with their voting blocs, which are the Hispanics and Native Americans.[79]

While reflecting on the differences between Colorado and other states, a demobilized old guard leader did not hold back his animosity, "If this had happened in Chicago or San Francisco, or New York those Indians would have been axed" (personal interview). The annual Columbus Day events were filled with this sort of violent posturing by both the Italian and the Indian activists. The Italians were not only angry with the Indians, but also they were frustrated at themselves for disunity.

Resource Mobilization

Mobilizing a common pan-ethnic Italian American constituency was hampered by the legacy of provincialism. In the years before the 500th anniversary in Denver, the provincial groups were united into a common "Federation of Italian American Organizations," but the organization was largely ineffective, in part because of ongoing disputes among the leaders of the various Italian groups.

Rather than adopting a common identity as Italian Americans, most Italian American groups in the Denver area remained organized around provincial Italian identities. One Federation rank-and file-activist said, "[E]ven today, here in Denver, people fight, if they come from different provinces. That is a big problem with the Italians here in Denver"; another said, "[I]n Denver the Italians are very provincial. There are different regions of Italy that people are from, and each provincial group feels that they're the cut above all the other groups."[80]

The Federation was hampered by internal disputes about how the Federation should have faced the protest. One leader said, "After we cancelled the 1992 parade I was probably the most despicable person in the community. There was name-calling, and they were writing me nasty letters." Another leader said, "The leaders of other Italian groups were not happy with the Federation. Even some people in the Italian community complained. But they didn't come down there. They weren't there to support us. We would have to have taken to the streets in a big street brawl just to defend our rights to have a parade."[81]

Nine years after the cancellation, a new group emerged to regain rights. A New Generation leader described the origins of their group,

> They [the old guard] were intimidated and we did not have a Columbus Day for eight years. In that time a lot of younger people got more involved in the Sons of Italy. These really are middle-aged people in their thirties and forties and they restarted the parade. When we restarted this New Generation Lodge, we had a lot of meetings and a lot of brainstorming, and the thing that we came up with was number one, we wanted Columbus Day back. Number two, we wanted to celebrate our heritage, we are going to get our day back. No one is going to take that away from us. It is in our national bylaws, not just our group of the national bylaws for the Sons of Italy that we must celebrate Columbus Day, whether it be a parade, a dance, or a festival. We must celebrate it.[82]

As the New Generation organized their first parade in 2000, the city provided a permit for an "Italian American Columbus Day parade," and then the federal government sent in a negotiating team from the Department of Justice to diffuse potential conflict. The result was an agreement, brokered by the feds and signed by Denver city officials, D-AIM, Italian leaders, and other community leaders.

The agreement said that D-AIM would promise to call off the protest and help the Italians celebrate an Italian heritage parade if the Italian activists would agree to not mention the name or present the likeness of Columbus in any part of the parade or other ceremonies. They also had to agree to not hold ceremonies around the Columbus statue in downtown Denver and to forbid all participants from using the words or symbols of Columbus. Failure to comply would rescind the parade permit. Italian American leaders later said they only signed the agreement to show how horribly they were being treated. After they signed, they contacted the American Civil Liberties Union and held a press conference. City officials realized they could not enforce the agreement without breaching the Italian Americans' First Amendment rights. The agreement was quickly cancelled, and the city promised to protect the Italian American parade.

The following year (2001), Italian activists were again intimidated, and responded with legal representation:

> So the next year rolls around, and I said, the way you guys are issuing these permits is illegal. Why do I have to wait in line, outside? They made a line down by that police building and they said there would be only one permit, and the first one in this line gets the permit, first come first served. So we were forced to wait outside and make sure we were first in line. We knew it was not right, but we decided to play the game. So all the guys, we waited outside for 48 days. We set up camp, we cooked out there and we went to the bathroom out there. Then this Indian supporter, she walks in right in front of us and and they give her a permit. They gave it to her. I could not believe it.[83]

This experience motivated one of the most important things the New Generation leaders did: They contacted the national OSIA office:

> A: So at that time I got a hold of the national Association, the national Order of Sons of Italy in Washington. There was a conference in Florida, and I went on the floor, and I told them about what was going on.
>
> Q: So did the social justice commission pick it up?
>
> A: The commission for social justice, they are very dear friends of mine. They picked it up, and they got us $40,000 for lawyer fees. So I flew back and hired this attorney who is the best to fight this thing.[84]

The result was a citywide permit system that secured an annual Columbus Day permit for the New Generation activists. The struggles with adversaries also created solidarity, and reconnected the local group to resource-wealthy national sponsors.

The movement also communicated effective framing to supporters and the public. Not only do activists need to create communities of believers that efficiently use resources and take advantage of political opportunities, but also, successful movement communities construct collective action frames.

Collective Action Frames

Collective action frames are action-oriented sets of meanings that justify, motivate, and sustain movements. Collective action frames help the movement "mobilize potential adherents and constituents, garner bystander support, and demobilize antagonists."[85] Collective action frames represent the "core tasks of framing."[86] Activists that attend to these tasks are "likely to be more successful in securing their proximate goals."[87]

Two main conceptions of a collective action frame have emerged in the literature, each providing a slightly distinct set of themes that meet the core tasks of framing. One conception says they contain three main themes: injustice, agency, and identity.[88] Injustice frames represent a hot cognition—the emotional button that distinguishes this issue from other less distressing social problems. Agency frames seek to empower and motivate activists; this often entails success stories. Identity frames define protagonists and antagonists—"us" versus "them."

Another conception of collective action frames says they contain three different components: diagnosis, prognosis, and motivation. These two conceptions of collective action frames can be fruitfully combined. Injustice frames are essentially the same thing as diagnostic frames; they define a problem and its causes. The ideas of a motivational frame and an agency frame refer to essentially the same thing—through interaction, activists construct their rationale for action. Prognostic frames describe the solutions, strategies, and tactics used by the movement. Identity frames describe the community, its boundaries, and its ideals. Diagnosis, prognosis, motivation, and identity frames provide the core frames most likely to motivate and sustain activism.

Among Denver activists, there were important differences between the framing of the old guard and the New Generation, but they cooperated in producing diagnostic, prognostic, motivation, and identity frames.

Diagnosis

Diagnosis frames rationally and emotionally emphasized First Amendment rights. The old guard used a different type of rational diagnosis than the New Generation. One old guard leader used logic to understand the inevitability of violence leading up to 1992,

> Q: Why did you feel there would be violence?
>
> A: They said that they were going to take whatever means necessary to stop the parade.
>
> Q: What did that mean to you?
>
> A: That meant that if you got slugged, you got slugged. If all the signs point in the direction of violence, don't you have to assume that that's what will happen?
>
> Q: So you got the sense that something actually would happen?
>
> A: You're not kidding, because they promised. They promised to destroy the floats.[89]

Rational diagnoses discouraged political action among the old guard: "if you get them together, they all agree that their rights have been taken away. But they won't stand up individually and look someone in the eye. They don't want any problems," one old guard participant said.[90]

In contrast, the New Generation diagnosis encouraged collective action,

> These are our First Amendment rights. The First Amendment says the government shall make no law prohibiting the right of free people to assemble. It does not say if we approve of who you celebrate…you can use that excuse all you want. You cannot take away someone's rights, just because they are protested.[91]

New Generation participants and leaders also rationally diagnosed specific D-AIM tactics as violations of their rights. One leader said, "That is our street. We have a permit to be there. They do not."[92] A New Generation participant said, "If they want to protest, it's their American right, it's their freedom of speech. But if you're violent, or sitting down in the street, blocking a legal parade route, intimidating people, that's illegal."[93]

Emotional diagnosis frames included fear, shame, and sadness. Remembering the failed 1992 parade induced emotional feelings of fear from many in the old guard. One participant said,

> Yes, I remember very well. Besides that I couldn't forget the foul language. They had loud speakers. I never heard such filth. That was one day that I was ashamed to be a part of this country…I thought they were going to beat me up.[94]

Federation leaders remembered the fear leading up to the 1992 cancellation,

Q: What do you think would have happened if you would have had the parade?

A: They would have torn down the floats, they would have started throwing rocks, sticks, or hitting or something. They even caught one guy with a gun there. That's all you need is one gun, and it probably would have been reserved for me.[95]

The elderly man who had been dressing up as Columbus in the federation parades before 1992 worried about his safety,

> It was a scary time…I had dressed up like Columbus the last couple of parades, and I planned to do it again in '92. But I got a call the night before the parade from a friend down at the police station; he told me that someone had called in and threatened to kill me if I dressed up like Columbus. He got me the bullet proof vest.[96]

An old guard participant described the fear in the community before the 1992 parade, "My co-workers, they're not even Italian. They were begging me to not go to the parade. They thought I would get killed. They were so afraid, they pleaded with me, they said please don't go, I know something awful is going to happen."[97]

The New Generation approached emotions differently than the old guard; they did not acknowledge their own fears, but rather often used words such as "bothersome" and "unnerving" to describe their feelings toward the D-AIM confrontational tactics. However, they did blame fear for their inability to mobilize other participants. One New Generation leader told us, "Regular people are too scared to come out for an ethnic celebration because of what the American Indians did." Another leader said, "We still have horrible participation because people are too afraid to come out and support us. They are afraid because of all of the threats of violence by the American Indians."[98] A New Generation participant said, "The people who would normally come out just to observe the parade and have a good time, they don't come because they're afraid. They are afraid for their life."[99]

New Generation activists described the shame they felt because they were not able to protect their elders and women and children. One participant said, "We had this one float filled with elderly, and they flipped them the finger and called them murderers. It was so degrading." Another said, "I felt so disrespected, and ashamed that I was being treated this way. Why am I the villain?"[100] A New Generation leader said, "Why does it have to be vulgar language, flipping people off, calling us murders, and saying that Columbus is guilty of genocide? Why does it have to be all this ugliness, especially when there are kids and older people there?" He went on to say,

"There was one float that was filled with a bunch of senior citizens. The protestors railed on these people and were so vicious. It was humiliating."[101]

Feelings of sadness were prevalent among the demobilized old guard. One Federation leader said, "We can't celebrate our ethnicity anymore because there are these radicals out there trying to get publicity? We all have to suffer for that. It is so sad."[102] In one interview with another old guard leader and his wife, he retold the story of her being physically assaulted by non-AIM "activists," even though the Italian Americans had just cancelled the 1992 parade,

> Look what they did to my wife. That was an encounter, and they knocked her flat on her face. There was a whole group of them, attacked her from a full run. They came right at us as we walked to the Capitol steps, they put a good block on her. She hit the pavement and she was all scraped up. She came from Italy. She said that that was one of her darkest days in America.[103]

Remembering this event brought sadness,

> I feel very hurt, (voice cracks) very sad and upset. There is a Constitution that gives us equal rights to all, but we don't have that . . .

> Q: It sounds like you believe your rights have been infringed upon.

> A: Yes, very much so. You know we learned the Bible and the Constitution when we got citizenship. It stands for something, and you believe it. Like the freedom behind the Statue of Liberty. If someone takes that away its really painful. It's like something inside of me, a real part of myself has been taken away. Now I'm just sad . . . They cursed me, they called me a murderer. They threw me on the ground, for what? We were just trying to celebrate our ethnicity. We had to have horses and swat teams, like we were going to be executed, like we did something bad (crying). What is this? What is this? (crying) . . . If I would have known this would have happened, I would have never left my country.[104]

The old guard and New Generation used different diagnosis frames. How a group diagnosis their situation—especially the emotional tenor of their diagnosis frames—can have important implications for their ability to motivate and sustain collective action. Identity framing is also necessary to sustain activism.

IDENTITY

Constructing identity may be an important part of recruitment, but research suggests that identity is crucial for creating commitment and solidarity among people already recruited.[105] Identity framing within the Italian American movement helped create (or sabotage) commitment and solidarity.

Italian American activists constructed an identity around three main themes: age, colonization, and racial equivalence. Age was an important identity for both the old guard and the New Generation. The New Generation, most of whom were in their 40s, commonly excused the old guard, most of whom were in their 70s, for giving up the parade in 1992 because of their age; one New Generation participant said, "[W]hat are we supposed to

expect from the Federation, that a handful of elderly people will stand up and fight against thousands of angry youth?" An old guard leader said, "We have 17 grandchildren. Many of the other officers are the same way."[106] Before the New Generation emerged, old guard leaders commonly complained that their struggles were due in part to the fact that the younger Italian Americans were not involved in ethnic organizations. While D-AIM mobilized thousands of college students of all ethnic backgrounds, Italian Americans (even the New Generation) mostly failed to mobilize even Italian American youth.

Another important part of their identity framing was addressing their potential identity as colonizer. Activists in the old guard and the New Generation used a few common strategies to dismiss the potential negative identity as colonizer. One way to do this was to remember Columbus in a different frame than the rest of history; for example an old guard participant said,

> [T]he Indian has suffered many atrocities, at the hand of the white man, but not by Columbus! It was the English, the Norwegians, the Spaniards, people that came to this country after Columbus, even up to not long ago, there was massacre on the Indians. The U.S. Army, they've been a big culprit. There's no doubting this, its history. But was Columbus the same? To me there's no proof.[107]

This made atrocities conveniently out of frame. A New Generation leader used a phrase that was common among participants "You can't judge a fifteenth century man by twenty first century standards. It was a whole different world back then."[108]

Overtly denying or justifying cruelty also was common. Many participants acknowledged that they "feel bad" for Indians in general, but followed that with some form of excuse. One New Generation leader said, "I think it's jealousy. It's just jealousy, because none of them get it. If Columbus had not come here, the Indians would still be without the wheel. There are a lot of reasons why people should thank Columbus."[109] An old guard leader claimed the normalcy of conquest,

> Colonization, just like slavery, happened so long ago. Christ talked about slaves. Anytime you have a majority, a minority is going to suffer. That's just the way it is. There's nothing wrong with that. Why should we worry about it? Why should we waste our time being hurt? It's natural.[110]

One New Generation participant felt he did not need to worry about being a colonizer, because he was not celebrating atrocities faced by Indians, "Even if that is what happened, we are not celebrating that."[111]

Probably most important for sustaining an activist community was their framing of their ethnic identity as a minority community, what we call racial equivalence framing. New Generation activists used racial equivalence framing by claiming inclusion with other racial or ethnic minority groups. This is a common movement tactic. Minorities are usually thought to be ethnic groups, such as African Americans and Native Americans, but also many other groups seek to appropriate this identity, such as women, homosexuals, the disabled, and overweight people. One New Generation participant said, "[N]obody goes out and protests St. Patrick's Day or black American month. They would be thrown out of the country. We are

doing nothing wrong."[112] Another New Generation participant said,

> It's good for everybody because other groups have their holidays. St. Patricks Day, Columbus Day, Cinco De Mayo, October Fest, Martin Luther King Day—we have a day for everyone. It helps us respect their culture, and understand all the good they've done. That's for the greater good.[113]

Another New Generation leader compared Columbus Day and other ethnic holidays,

> Martin Luther King was not an angel, he was not a saint. He may have done great things for society, but he did wrong things too, he was not perfect. And so I could walk up and say I don't like what this guy did, change the name to black day. The same thing goes for Cesar Chavez he was not perfect. He had problems, so I could walk up and say, I don't like this Cesar Chavez guy. You should not have a Cesar Chavez holiday. And they are supposed to change the name because I do not like it? It doesn't work that way.[114]

Italian Americans' identity frames highlighted racial equivalence, colonial ideology, and age.

MOTIVATION

Sociological research has uncovered three common types of motivational frames: propriety, efficacy, and urgency.[115] All three of these appeared in Italian American activists' motivational frames. Propriety frames emerged when many Italian American activists argued that defending the holiday against attacks was the only honorable thing to do; one participant said, "The protests are a reminder of all of the discrimination that we faced and our grandparents faced and our ancestors faced. It's like we fought for nothing. It's like nothing has changed. It is a huge slap in the face."[116] They also described a duty to children. One activist said he took part because "we need to protect our children."[117] For one New Generation participant, the fight for First Amendment rights was for the unborn grandchildren, "that is right, when they step and taken away our American rights. That is what I have to fight for not just for me, not just for my community, but for everyone, my children, their children, and their grandchildren."[118]

The rhetoric of efficacy appeared in Italian's motivation frames, and it appeared especially as the New Generation activists revived the parade in 2000, when Italian Americans participants and leaders expressed more pride and excitement. Other efficacy frames appeared primarily in the form of complaints about the power of their adversaries. Several informants complained about how no one supported them but everyone was quick to support the Indians, and that they are deemed racist if they criticize the Indians. This type of efficacy frame came often in their critique of minority politics. Several complained that a small faction of a small minority group was controlling them. One leader summarized, "We're losing that respect, because we're letting the loudmouths run the country."[119]

Italian Americans' motivation frames described an urgency prodded by D-AIM disruptive tactics; one participant explained that he was participating because he understood that "if you back down on a little things, if you let people stop you and

take away your rights, they will continue to do it and soon you will lose all of your rights."[120] For many potential rank-and-file participants, the urgency wasn't high enough to overcome threats of violence:

> I am full-blooded Italian. I'm first-generation. I am very proud to be an Italian. But my life is worth more than standing up for Columbus Day. And if I'm going to have death threats or tear gas thrown at me or just red paint, it's not worth it to me. I have a nine-year-old son. I thought about bringing him to the parade, but really, that is risking his life at this point. And it is not worth it. It is just not worth it.[121]

Remaining leaders and participants shared the sentiment that they saw the tactics as an urgent plea for collective action. One New Generation leader said,

> Probably if all of this throwing blood on the statue of Christopher Columbus and the parade route, all of these nasty remarks, if all of these things didn't happened, I wouldn't have even joined. You probably wouldn't have half the people out there, if it weren't for their tactics, nobody would feel as strongly about it as they do today, but the fact that they wanted to deny us of our rights to celebrate, I think really drove people to want to participate more than ever.[122]

Several New Generation activists said they were motivated by the confrontational tactics; one said, "[T]here was vicious, ugly, intimidating behavior. That's when I said, I got to do something. If you're not going to be a part of the solution to something, then you have no reason to complain about it."[123] Another New Generation participant agreed:

> I think their tactics work against them. What their tactics did is that they made people like myself get involved, and I'm not the only one. I've talked to a lot of people that were actually moved to action because of their tactics. If they had not come out and do those sorts of things, most of us, we would not care about celebrating Columbus.[124]

PROGNOSIS

For Italian Americans, prognosis frames were expressed as frame disputes over important tactical choices in the movement's past. One old guard activist continued her activism by joining the New Generation: "I would have been willing to compromise, but they want to play hardball. They threaten us. They yell at us. They push our priests. I'll fight to the end."[125] In a focus group interview with mostly old guard activists who wanted to remain active (one of whom was a Catholic priest), I asked how they should have reacted, then followed with a question for the priest:

Q: How do you respond to these threats of violence, Father?

A: I think we gave up too easy. We saw potential violence, and we backed down. What we should have said is that if they start any violence with us, we will fight right back, and we will show them. The city would have had to protect us and protect the Indians. But because we were so mild in our reactions, we let ourselves get

stepped on. We should not have been so mild. I know from experience. They will back down if you threaten them back.

Q: From my understanding that is exactly what the Indians were saying—that we will not be pushed around and if you push us, we will push back. And what you're saying, it sounds like, is that you should have said the same thing.

A: Yes, yes that is exactly what we should have said.[126]

When activists attend to the core framing tasks of prognosis, motivation, identity, and diagnosis framing, then they are more likely to succeed in both their attempts to recruit new supporters and in their attempts to sustain and motivate people already recruited. Italian American movements succeeded in shaping memory because they constructed collective action frames, mobilized resources, and benefited from political opportunities.

CONCLUSION

Diverse Italian American movement groups helped construct an ethnic collective memory. In turn, Italian American ethnicity was constructed through Columbus Day mobilizations. These ethnic movements succeeded in shaping memory because they took advantage of political opportunities, mobilized resources, and constructed resonant frames.

Italian Americans helped construct an ethnic collective memory in five steps. First, they took advantage of political opportunities such as migration and oppression. Second, Italian American organizations were one of many fraternal organizations that grew between 1890 and 1920 during the golden age of fraternalism. Third, the success of Italian American fraternal organizations, often called Columbian societies, is reflected in their ability to pass Columbus Day holiday bills and in their ability to secure public space for Columbus statues. Fourth, they secured grassroots successes in Pennsylvania, California, Colorado, and New York. Fifth, establishing traditions was not enough; the statutes and statues were maintained, and this maintenance was most problematic in New York and Colorado. Connecting these five points produces a simple conclusion: By maneuvering a political process, Italian American activists helped construct an ethnic collective memory.

This chapter provides examples that challenge the political process prediction that the success of movements will vary based on traditional objective resources such as money and elite allies. Italian American memory mobilization peaked in the early twentieth century, when Italian Americans still faced significant discrimination, and Italian American organizations were much smaller and less powerful than contemporary organizations. These relatively small and weak organizations successfully mobilized to erect public statues of Columbus, and successfully passed state holiday bills. They succeeded primarily between 1892 and 1910.

This was a time of small numbers and little power compared to the Italians at the end of the century. In the major cities discussed in this chapter—San Francisco, Denver, Philadelphia, and New York City—Italian Americans were facing declining economic power. Between 1880 and 1900, there was a small decline in full employment, but the biggest economic downturns in these communities came precisely

at the time of the Italians strongest mobilization, between 1900 and 1910 (see figure 6.9).

By the last quarter of the twentieth century, Italian American economic fortunes had drastically improved; essentially they had assimilated. Contrary to political process predictions, this increased power did not increase the success of memory movements. Once Italians assimilated, it became more difficult to celebrate Columbus, as witnessed in Denver. It appears that the powerful do not always control the past.

ANTICOLONIAL

After the Columbus Day protest in 2007, the lead sentence of the *Denver Post* article showed how the Denver American Indian Movement (D-AIM) repeatedly captured media attention: "Police arrested 83 Columbus Day Parade protesters including American Indian Movement activist Russell Means after fake blood and dismembered baby dolls were poured on the parade route Saturday."[1] Their use of blood gained media headlines and symbolized the suffering of their ancestors.

D-AIM was not the only pan-ethnic group to mobilize around an anticolonial version of the national origin myth. In reality, there were hundreds of grassroots groups around the country that pledged to support anticolonial protest during 1992. In many cities throughout the country, preexisting progressive communities each sponsored dozens of events surrounding the theme of protesting Columbus as colonizer in 1992. Of course, many of these networks were multicultural.

The U.S. pan-African (sometimes called "Afrocentric") movement appropriated the image of Columbus and helped construct an anticolonial collective memory. For example, the father of the Afrocentric movement, John Henrike Clarke, in an attempt to uncover colonialist lies told with the Columbus story, promoted an alternative Columbus Day holiday called Maafa. Clarke and Means are leaders of the two main movements that helped construct an anticolonial collective memory.

This chapter suggests that an anticolonial version of the origin story spread across space and time in part because of the movements of Means and Clarke. The political process theories can make sense of these patterns in memory mobilization, with one exception. The earlier chapters showed how the political process model wrongly predicted relations between traditional forms of power and successful memory activism. This chapter demonstrates that, again, the political process model wrongly predicted the relationship between power and successful memory movements. Anticolonial movement successes in the years 1985–2005 have not been driven by increases in resources.

In the past 20 years the gap between colonized minorities and European Americans in terms of poverty (figure 7.1), education (figures 7.2 and 7.3), and meeting basic food and medical needs (figures 7.4 and 7.5) have remained relatively stable. A symbolic dimension of inequality also persists in the persistent gap between colonizer and colonized regarding their perception of equal opportunity in employment and education (figures 7.6 and 7.7).

In the post–civil rights era, public stereotyping has nearly disappeared and much discrimination has become covert. Recent research shows that the most dangerous military sites are also near Indian-owned land; thus, military expansion, rather than only overt economic discrimination, is responsible for Native exposure to environmental dangers.[2] Covert and overt discrimination continues, and activists know that the legacy of colonization is also maintained by covert cultural performances that address, hide, rationalize, or legitimate the traumatic legacy of colonization.[3] Despite relatively stable inequality relative to European Americans, colonized minorities still successfully shaped public memory. Sometimes groups can rewrite the past without increases in traditional forms of power; sometimes the powerless can rewrite the past.

To many anticolonial activists, America's origin myth is the nation's original sin, reproduced as a celebration of discovery to justify colonization and its consequences. By celebrating discovery, Columbus Day rituals are performances of the "racist process by which the nightmare of the American Holocaust is transformed into the reassuring image of the American Dream."[4]

Africana studies scholar Manning Marable defined Columbus's voyages as the foundation for racial inequality. In 1992, Marable, then a chair in the ethnic studies department at the University of Colorado, said Columbus's landfall was the point at which racial hierarchies were discovered: "Columbus represents fundamentally the beginnings of modern white racism and the construction of racial identities in America."[5]

The origins of the pan-African movement in the United States is sometimes defined as the early-twentieth-century meetings in Europe,[6] but actually the origins of the pan-African movement can be traced at least as far back as the 400th anniversary Columbus Day celebrations in Chicago in 1892–1893. To accompany the Columbian World's Fair in Chicago, there was a pan-African congress that brought together diverse groups of activists from around the world to debate the fate of Africa. These meetings, rather than the European meetings organized later by Dubois "may be taken as the beginning of Pan-Africanism as a movement."[7] Within the Columbus fair, eminent organizers such as Frederick Douglass and Ida Wells used their spotlight to tell stories about ongoing colonization of African Americans, for example, they discussed the convict lease system and patterns of lynching.

Recently, African feminist bell hooks devoted a chapter to Columbus in her book *Outlaw Culture* and claimed Columbus was a key symbol of the "white supremacist, capitalist patriarchy" that makes it nearly impossible for rich, white males to see inequality and their own privilege.[8] Marx and Engels began the *Communist Manifesto* with a very quick history of how economic hierarchies developed out of a feudal society, beginning with Columbus, they said, was the spark,

> The discovery of America, the rounding of the Cape, opened up fresh ground for the rising bourgeoisie. The East-Indian and Chinese markets, the colonisation of America, trade with the colonies, the increase in the means of exchange and in commodities generally, gave to commerce, to navigation, to industry, an impulse never before known, and thereby, to the revolutionary element in the tottering feudal society, a rapid development.[9]

Modern derivatives of Marxist theory suggest racial hierarchies are not simply a reflection of social class, but that these racial hierarchies must be consistently reinforced.

Racial formation projects are the institutional and public ritual performances that repeatedly reconstruct racial hierarchies. Winant developed the idea of racial formation projects and suggested Columbus's "discovery" was the first and greatest racial formation project:

> "[C]onquest of America" was not simply an epochal historical event, however unparalleled in its importance. It was also the advent of a consolidated social structure of exploitation, appropriation, domination...The conquest, therefore, was the first—and given the dramatic nature of the case, perhaps the greatest—racial formation project.[10]

Marxist theories provided an unacknowledged unifier among anticolonial activists, and together the actions of Afrocentrist and American Indian movements (and allies) helped transform the origin myth into an anticolonial collective memory.

How and why have activists constructed an anticolonial collective memory? This chapter seeks to describe and explain the success of anticolonial movements; it proceeds in five parts. The first two parts describe the success of the anticolonial movements; first, by dissecting the diffusion of anticolonial movement rituals and then by reconstructing the resonance of anticolonial movement frames. The next three parts explain the success of anticolonial movements by using the three parts of the political process model to analyze D-AIM anticolonial activism. These five points describe and explain the success of anticolonial memory movements.

DIFFUSION OF THE BLOODY STATUE TACTIC

In 1989, D-AIM sponsored a Columbus Day protest where Russell Means poured fake blood on the statue of Columbus in downtown Denver. This tactic gained media attention, as did the media-soaked trial that followed. Columbus statues were vandalized before D-AIM's first bloody statue tactic in 1989, but these actions were just vandalism, not political speech; they did not politicize the practice with red fluids or paints. Between 1991 and 2006, the bloody statue practice was repeated annually, at least 23 times around the country. No actions publicly claimed connection to AIM.

During a D.C. Knights of Columbus ceremony, an activist from the Catholic Worker Movement climbed the huge statue, poured fake blood, and shouted about human rights abuses. The tactic garnered media interest, but in the news, his public message was limited to a few sentences. In 1998, a woman on a White House tour defaced a Columbus bust with red spray paint. She was arrested and not asked to make a statement. In 1999, I watched Chicano youth in Pueblo, Colorado throw water balloons filled with red liquid at a Columbus statue while Italian Americans held their wreath-laying ceremony. The protesters did not succeed in publicly politicizing their trial.

In other cities, anarchist groups expanded the bloody statue tactic. In Santa Barbara, a surveillance video showed a person wearing all black and a mask tossing red paint on the sidewalks and spray-painting an anarchy symbol. The Columbus statue was beheaded. Italian American activists lobbied the state's attorney to seek a hate crime charge for the vandal. In Pennsylvania, anarchists pelted the Columbus statue with a dozen Christmas tree bulbs filled with red latex paint. Italian American activists lobbied city council to pass a law defining future desecrations as ethnic intimidation. Although D-AIM succeeded in organizing their bloody statue ceremony as

a strategic political act, the diffusion of the tactic did not necessarily mean similar successes; others were more likely to be seen as criminals than political activists.

Simple statistical analysis shows that the diffusion of the bloody statue ritual was not randomly distributed across states (see tables 7.1, 7.2, 7.3, 7.4, 7.5, 7.6, 7.7, 7.8, and 7.9). The appearance of a bloody statue ritual in a state was not correlated with more than a dozen variables measuring Indian population in a state (see tables 7.1, 7.2, 7.3, and 7.4), but was highly and positively correlated with the number of statues in a state, the number of IPD events in a state (see table 7.5), and several measures of college-level educational attainment (see table 7.6). Strong positive correlations appeared between the appearance of a bloody statue ritual in a state and several measures of total poverty in the state, but the correlation did not appear with several measures of Indian poverty (see tables 7.7 and 7.8). Strong positive correlations appeared with total income, white income, and native income, but did not appear with income inequality between whites and Indians (see table 7.9). Studying the diffusion of bloody statues gives some insight into how activists can shape other people's behavior, but it says little about the ideas and meanings that accompanied these diffused rituals.

DIFFUSION OF ANTICOLONIAL FRAMES

Anticolonial frames highlight destruction, genocide, and holocaust. Anticolonial frames can be traced to Las Casas. Thanks to a desire to impugn the Spanish empire, enemies such as English, Spanish, and Dutch reprinted Las Casas, but with lurid subtitles and woodcuts by Theodore deBry. These were mostly illustrations of the heinous scenes in the book—several images showed Spaniards torturing and burning Indians. These images popularized the cruel portions of Las Casas's text and were likely the initial sparks for the Columbus-holocaust frame. This frame was revived while remembering Columbus.

Eighteenth-century historians mourned Columbus's mass killings,[11] as did others. One 1770 historian proclaimed that the discovery and conquest "remains the most shocking calamity humanity has suffered by the hand of man."[12] In 1784, another discussed the negative impact that the discovery had on the natives:

> I need only present the blessings the discovery of America brought to its natives. But in spite of all my research, and the great desire it might have to enumerate these blessings, I have found none of any kind. I dare to say it: the discovery of America was an evil. Never can the advantages it brought about (no matter how one considers or depicts them) compensate for the harm it has caused.[13]

In 1787, slave Ottobah Cugoana wrote that Columbus and his men,

> began their settlements in the West Indies and America by depredations of rapine, injustice, treachery and murder...This guiltful [sic] method of colonization...led them on from one degree of barbarity and cruelty to another until they had destroyed, wasted and desolated the native Inhabitants.[14]

An early nineteenth century children's book author wrote that

> Columbus and his men fell upon the Indians at the moment they least expected the attack. The shouts and fury of the assailants, the noise of the fire arms, the neighing

of the horses, the barking of the dogs, struck the Indians with such consternation and terror, that, after a slight resistance, they fled in disorder and dismay. Some fell by the musket, some by the sword; others were trodden down by horses, or torn by the dogs; and others made prisoners; the residue fled to the forests. Thus, the die was cast, and these inoffensive people constrained to bend beneath the yoke of European slavery![15]

During 400th anniversary commemorations, several scholars publicly read narratives (often from Las Casas) where Indians were tortured and burned. One said, "Indians were slaughtered by the hundred, burned alive, impaled on sharp stakes, torn to pieces by bloodhounds."[16] Another summarized that Columbus began holocausts throughout Western Hemisphere, "All these dreadful holocausts owe their origin to him and his thirst for wealth."[17] The holocaust, a term denoting slaughter through fire, is a thirteenth century term, and the holocaust was a political symbol long before WWII.

In the modern era, many have appropriated the holocaust term to describe their group's innocence and suffering—and to cast moral culpability on another group or social actor. The holocaust has become a powerful symbol because of clear contrasts between innocent Jews and evil Nazi's.[18] However, the Holocaust was not an automatic label for even the Jewish experience.

Jeffrey Alexander showed that in the United States, popular media reports first came in 1943, and for the following several years the holocaust term was not used. Rather the term used was war atrocities, or sometimes it was even called a false atrocity story.[19] The disputes disappeared in the popular press abruptly on April 3, 1945, when the camps were liberated (ibid). By 1955, an Israeli government commission began using the term holocaust. Jewish activists then spread the term, for example, "Eli Weisel and other gifted writers and speakers, in public meetings or in articles."[20] In the late 1960s and early 1970s, antiwar activists expanded the Jewish holocaust analogy by framing Mai Lai and Enola Gay as United States-inflicted holocausts.

Jewish writers were also among the first in the twentieth century to connect Columbus and a holocaust: "Spaniards were after something financially more sound and than a Nazi style Holocaust. The wealth that slipped from tortured hands helped pay for Columbus's expedition...Columbus knew, approved and benefited from this."[21] By the 1980s, AIDS and gay rights activists used the holocaust metaphor.[22] When the radical right railed against gays for inflicting a holocaust, gay rights groups responded that AIDS was *their* holocaust. This view was popularized in the 1989 publication of an ACT-UP founder's text, "Reports from the Holocaust." Practical AIDS activists began noting limits in the holocaust frame,[23] but others found it useful.

D-AIM leaders said the idea to use holocaust imagery came from watching a radical group on the other end of the political spectrum, the Ku Klux Klan (KKK):

> We knew that the Italians were getting ready to do this grand slam celebration in 1992. We would have taken action anyway. We had already highlighted conquest and colonization, but watching the KKK is where our particular line came from. Our strategy was, here's the holocaust, here's the association with Hitler. If you present these things in a straightforward but obvious way you can generate public response from people. If you present it in a straightforward way they will respond. That was demonstrated quite clearly by the Klan.[24]

D-AIM had no real connection with the Klan and indeed considered it an opposing counter-movement, but leaders adopted the holocaust symbol because of its proven effectiveness.

> The specifics of AIM's action will find their roots in the Klan demonstrations. The first incident was in 1987, the organizing tactic was to conduct a birthday celebration for Adolf Hitler on the steps of the state capitol. This attracted a little attention as they intended it to. But they didn't quite anticipate the magnitude of the attention. The police had to protect the KKK from the counter-demonstrators.[25]

Observing the emotional energy of the holocaust symbol encouraged D-AIM to use the holocaust frame, D-AIM was only one of many groups that offered an anticolonial version of the Columbus story, but their flamboyant activism brought tremendous attention and helped spread the anticolonial frame. In the years surrounding the 500th anniversary protests, the anticolonial frame diffused throughout dominant institutions of religion, media, art, politics, and education.

RELIGION

Anticolonial versions of the national origin story diffused widely through preestablished religious networks, and the victim of colonization was as likely to be African as Indian. One African American church scholar predicted alliances between African Americans and American Indians: "African American churches will not be celebrating the quincentennial anniversary of Columbus' first voyage to America because the occasion perpetuates an American myth of origins that repulses all self-respecting African American and Native American peoples."[26] After claiming that neither Columbus nor his sponsors felt any moral angst for their deeds, the author described Columbus as the father of African slavery in the Americas:

> He enslaved the native peoples he encountered in the Americas. In the wake of the near decimation of the indigenous population, he imported African slaves as substitutes. In those activities he achieved the infamous distinction of becoming the father of American slavery. That alone is sufficient cause for the rejection of the quincentennial celebrations by both African and Native American peoples. (ibid)

Catholic leaders on the East Coast also adapted their commemorations to the new anticolonial vision of Columbus. One Maine Father proclaimed Christians should not celebrate the 500th anniversary because "Columbus brought to the new world a form of Christianity that justified homicidal violence and resulted in the extermination of half of the native people in less than two years."[27] In Providence, R.I, Catholic religious leaders adopted the holocaust fame:

> We must teach honestly; as Christians we must teach all things according to the standards of Christ. How can we hold up as a model Christian a man who destroyed a civilization for the sake of gold? Do we merely overlook genocide for the sake of a famous voyage? That would be like presenting Hitler as a model of a great leader and looking on the Holocaust as a mere tragic flaw in his plan for progress in Germany.[28]

In Washington D.C., the Knights of Columbus organized a 1991 Columbus Day celebration in front of the Columbus statue in Columbus Memorial Park. The Attorney

General was the principle speaker and the U.S. Army Band sang the National Anthem at the Knights celebration. At the celebration, Catholic activists from a Dorothy Day House led protest by pouring blood over Columbus's head and reading to the assembled Knights a list of human rights abuses against Native Americans. The statement began, "We as Catholic Workers, are disgusted by the Church's celebration of Columbus, and angry at the United States perversion of the truth."[29] The activist described the slavery and murder that the Indians suffered. He told how the tradition has become reality for people today. He ended his speech by describing Columbus Day as "a means to cover up the colonization and conquest of a continent by force of arms, so that they can continue justifying the political domination of our peoples and nations" (ibid).

After pouring blood on the Columbus statue and reading the statement, he came down and was arrested. Several Knights called the local Dorothy Day House with complaints. The protestor responded by writing a letter of apology, "an open letter to the Knights of Columbus" (ibid). The letter said the protest was not meant to insult or degrade the Knights, but to stand in solidarity against celebrations of genocide:

> For the past several months, a few of us at the house have been receiving literature from Native American groups debunking many of the myths about Christopher Columbus. Native Americans believe that America was stolen, not discovered, that the Native cultures and religions were raped and decimated not evangelized. They call on people of faith to recognize love for sister and brother by standing in solidarity with the Native people against celebrations of Columbus' genocide of the Americas. (ibid)

In the contemporary era, Afrocentric rituals have appropriated Columbus Day and advocated instead a ritual called Maafa. One of the originators of this alternative holiday was the father of the Afrocentric movement, Columbia University scholar Dr. John Henrik Clarke, who used the 500th anniversary to draw attention to the tie between Columbus and the African slave trade. Clarke said Columbus began the "Afrikan Holocaust" in a 1992 book of the same name.

Clarke encouraged people to reflect on the Middle Passage during annual Columbus Day commemorations; on Columbus Day 1993, for example, he told a reporter "We should be mourning on that day, and all flags in our community should fly at half mast." He said that church services should be held in African American churches for those who died because Columbus's "exploitation led to a massive slave trade."[30]

During Columbus Day 1992 in Michigan and 1993 in Cleveland, Ohio, Afrikan holocaust commemorations were sponsored by local churches or temples; commemorations were organized to "ceremoniously remember . . . the many atrocities which have been committed against them over the centuries."[31] By 1997, underground reporters began noting several African American communities throughout the country were commemorating an alternative Afrocentric Columbus Day. In Chicago, for example, educational and religious leaders organized an "African Holocaust Day" that included speeches and prayer for ongoing African struggles.[32]

Other religious leaders latched onto the idea and began to promote annual counter-commemorations on Columbus Day that discussed the African holocaust. They named the day Maafa. Maafa is a Swahili word that means great disaster or great

suffering, and the leaders of the movement say that it is preferable to the previous academic terms of slavery or middle passage because it better reflects an internally created definition. Just as the Jews turned the "final solution" into the holocaust, so did pan-Africanists help turn the sterile "Middle Passage" into Maafa.

Maafa is a multiday church ritual, often commemorated through art, dance, and theater. While it began as an alternative Columbus Day event, now it is usually not held on Columbus Day. For example, since 1994, a Baptist church in Brooklyn, New York has been sponsoring annual dramatic Maafa commemorations. During 18 days in September, the maafa story is reenacted by church members, "from the bloody capture of Africans in their villages to the brutal voyage in the holds of crammed ships, to the whippings, brandings and lynchings once they arrived."[33] The leaders also have trained many other churches throughout the United States, who also now hold their own Maafa commemoration. Although most contemporary Maafa commemorations use neither Columbus nor the holocaust, Henrik Clarke's Columbus Day vision lives on.

MEDIA

Anticolonial interpretations of Columbus Day spread widely through media contexts. The underground press published dozens of articles on Columbus protests. Several national periodicals published special issues for the commemorations. Suzan Shown Harjo's *Newsweek* essay framed resistance to colonization:

> The pressure is on for Native people to be window dressing for the quincentennial events, to celebrate the evangelization of the Americas and to denounce the Columbus bashers. We will be asked to buy into the thinking that we cannot change history, and that genocide and ecocide are offset by the benefits of horses, cut-glass beads, pickup trucks and microwave ovens.[34]

Between 1987 and 1992, there were 49 national periodical articles on Columbus that discussed specifically the topics of genocide or the American Indian holocaust. Many appeared in high profile outlets such as *Time, Newsweek, U.S. News,* and *National Geographic*. Major outlets helped gain widespread attention. Together these 4 outlets alone amass 18.4 million readers.

Between 1987 and 2007, there were 344 articles published in the Denver media on the Columbus controversy; analyzing the framing within these articles provides some insights about the media diffusion of anticolonial frames. Anticolonial frames dominated media coverage; D-AIM collective action frames were referenced more than the Italian American collective action frames, and D-AIM collective action frames appeared in more sources than Italian American collective action frames. The Denver media referenced the seven main leaders of D-AIM far more than the seven main leaders of the Italian American movement. The D-AIM leaders also appeared in print far more than the top eight Denver government elites (see figure 7.8).

D-AIM encouraged members to write letters to the editor, and often they were not published. The public forum also provides space for adversaries' vehemence. A letter to the editor questioned genocide, "As best we know, there were about 10 million people, many

of them busy enslaving, conquering, sacrificing, and eating each other when Columbus arrived in the Americas. Now they have perhaps 300 million descendants. How can anyone honestly call that genocide? So despite his evil intent, Columbus wasn't even efficient at being a white Euro-Cultured, hetero-patriarchal genocidal oppressor."[35]

Although D-AIM gained attention, much of it was negative. In the Denver media, negative emotion words were more likely than positive emotion words to exist within five words of the name of a D-AIM leader (see figure 7.9). D-AIM leaders gained media attention, but at a cost.

ART

Rastafarians have always attacked hegemonic history, but only after 1992 did Columbus become a popular symbol of their musical resistance. Since then, artists such as Peter Tosh, Burning Spear, Steel Pulse, Mutabaruka, and Toots and the Maytals have released songs that use Columbus to celebrate African control over history. All these artists portray the purity of African culture against the evil Europeans represented by Columbus, from Burning Spear's hit "Columbus is a damn blasted liar," to the Steel Pulse hit that calls Columbus an evil pirate, to Mutabaruka's 1994 song, *Columbus Ghost* that tells proud essentialist stories of African dominance. Mutabaruka says that Columbus's chief navigator was a Moor and says the Moors discovered and ruled Spain for more than 700 years before Columbus. Instead of enslaving whites, Mutabaruka says, the Moors downfall was befriending the Europeans who then repaid them with destruction, slavery, and a myth of Columbus to justify oppression. He thus ends: "1492, to you the beginning of western world democracy; 1492, to me the beginning of White supremacy."[36] Columbus became an important symbol to other African musicians; rap icons Public Enemy are famous for songs about African American resistance. In 1993, Public Enemy released a song, *Hitler Day* that highlighted resistance to an evil European Columbus. The Columbus Day holiday, they said, was a celebration of death: "October celebratin'/ The dead / of the black the brown and red." (Ridenhou, Carlton and Larry Walford, 1994. "Hitler Day." Released by Public Enemy in 1994. Def Jam Records). All these Afrocentric artists tell similar storylines with Columbus, either recovering a proud African history while documenting a cruel colonizing Columbus. Through their shared rewriting of the national origin myth, these artists spread anticolonial frames through their music.

In 1992, two major motion pictures—with all star casts and production teams—celebrated Columbus's heroic discovery. The director of one of the films, Mario Puzo (of *Godfather* fame), said Columbus was innocent because genocide was "ordinary morality for his times."[37] Neither film sought to address any negatives of colonization, but film critic Roger Ebert's review of one epic, which starred Tom Selleck, showed that the anticolonial movements had politicized Columbus, so that a scene of a rat scurrying on a ship's rope became symbolic of genocide:

> Columbus and his discovery of America are not politically correct subjects just now (Native Americans point out that from their point of view he discovered nothing). And Columbus brought disease and genocide as his cargo. So, the producers supply a zoom shot to the Santa Maria at anchor, and we see a rat scurry down the

anchor rope and swim ashore. This symbolizes all the evil that Europeans brought to the New World, I guess.[38]

Anticolonial activists did not control the frame that was used by the artistic producers, but they did politicize some frames, and changed the way that the audience framed the art. This was also true with the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH).

NEH funded many 500th anniversary Columbus projects. In 1991, they supported a seven-part documentary series, *Columbus and the Age of Discovery*, which aired on public television. In 1992, they supported the "Seeds of Change," a major Smithsonian Institution exhibition that toured to 60 cities (Viola and Margolis 1991). In the years leading up to 1992, the NEH distributed nearly $50 million in grants and matching monies for Columbus projects. The NEH panel had provided initial funds but eventually turned down a final grant for a public television series called *1492—clash of visions.* They reportedly turned down the grant because of the way the filmmakers addressed the first meeting of Columbus and the Arawak Indians. More telling, however, was the phrase that caused NEH administrators to flag the project as too partisan, "As a result of this incident, the New World's first genocide was set in motion," the script said. The genocide frame had been politicized by D-AIM and other anticolonial activists, and this was clear in the explanation provided by the NEH chair, Lynne Cheney, who adapted the anticolonial rhetoric when explaining why the script was rejected.

She agreed that the historical events were "tragic" for Indians, but also that "it is unfair to charge Columbus with genocide. He may not have been a saint, but neither was he a Hitler."[39]

Cheney, said she must be accountable to Hispanics and others that would find that statement offensive, and that the NEH "might be interested in funding a film that debated that issue, but we are not about to fund a film that asserts it. Columbus was guilty of many sins, but he was not Hitler" (ibid). AIM had politicized Columbus, and this apparently put up red flags among the politicians that were charged with the task of inoffensively spending limited NEH funds.

Cartoonist Gary Larson apparently thought the anticolonial frame was common public knowledge. In one of his popular *Far Side* comics, he drew three Indians standing on a cliff, watching the Nina, Pinta, and Santa Maria sail away. One of the Indians says, "Did you detect something a little ominous in the way they said 'see you later'?" The humor in this cartoon is based on an understatement, which is created when the reader applies the anticolonial frame.

POLITICS

State, city, and federal officials have responded to anticolonial protest. After nearly 50 Columbus Day proclamations, in 1993 President Bill Clinton's proclamation was the first to acknowledge the suffering of Native Americans. The first proclamation to acknowledge Indians came in 1990, when President George H. Bush lauded a great exchange between two cultures. He framed Columbus's voyages as a "milestone" and asked for a national "celebration." The next year, Bush did not mention Indians in his proclamation, but invited the executive director of the National

Congress of American Indians to the White House for holiday festivities, which were held in the Indian Treaty Room. In 1992, Bush's proclamation asked the country to "celebrate the rich heritage of America's native peoples."

In 1993, Clinton delivered the first presidential proclamations to acknowledge American Indian suffering. He asked all citizens to recognize sacrifices, hardships, and suffering:

> Columbus set the stage for the encounter between Europeans and Native Americans, an encounter whose impact continues to be felt today. It is particularly important to recognize anew the sacrifices and hardships suffered by both sides as a result of this meeting and to salute the rich cultural heritage each group has bestowed upon its descendants.

In 1994, Clinton said, "Columbus set the stage for the encounter between Europeans and Native Americans, an encounter whose impact continues to be felt today," but there was no mention of suffering or hardship. None of the proclamations between 1994 and 2006 has mentioned American Indians or any negative aspects of colonization, and the 1993 proclamation was the only one to evoke an anticolonial frame. No proclamation has ever mentioned African Americans.

The Columbus Day holiday is a good time for a March on Washington; the second week in October is typically cooperative weather. The million man march occurred on October 16, 1995. Nation of Islam leader Farrakhan's incisive, and often divisive, language had already used Columbus to demonize Jews; Columbus, he said, was a secret Jew who brought a legacy of racism and slavery to the New World (anonymous 1992g). Most of the language at the March was decidedly more moderate. Million Man March leaders sought to unite African American communities that had been separated by social class and ideology, but many leaders from the broader African American community complained that the event did not live up to the pan-African ideals. Angela Davis, Socialist-Black Power activist and current professor at University of California, Santa Cruz, condemned the March for excluding women: "No march, movement or agenda that defines manhood in the narrowest terms and seeks to make women lesser partners in this quest for equality can be considered a positive step."[40] Manning Marable, then a professor at Columbia, criticized the March for ideological exclusion, especially of groups representing political progressives.

> The Million Man March of October, 1995, was the largest public demonstration of African Americans in US history. Many hoped that this demonstration would mark a renaissance of black male activism and a commitment to black unity. But even at the March itself, there were signs that these goals would be difficult to achieve…A real African American united front can only be achieved when there is the full democratic participation of all mass organizations, ideological perspectives and political groups within our community, and not dominated by any single organization or national leader.[41]

Political action can often lead to unintended consequences, and this often occurred with anticolonial activism.

Politicians and activists complained when D-AIM leaders compared Columbus and Nazis.[42] The juxtaposition of the two men "tended to diminish understanding of the unique degree of evil" of the Holocaust and precluded "proper historical understandings

of the Nazi phenomenon."[43] A member of the Jewish Defense League contested the D-AIM comparison because it "served to diminish public respect for the singular nature of the Jewish experience at the hands of the Nazis" (ibid). A Colorado politician told us,

> The opposition using the word genocide is absolutely horrid. It's an absolute disrespect to the people and their ancestors who have been victims of genocide in the past, like Jewish people. That was genocide. That was somebody leading a quest to deliberately do away with another group of people because they didn't like them. When you try to compare the genocide of killing off six million people in WWII to a discovery in fourteen ninety two, it's just apples and oranges. How am I guilty of genocide in following the philosophy of Columbus, just because I am there to celebrate a national holiday?[44]

A Denver politician told us, "it was pre-destined. Two civilizations clashed. One prevailed."[45] Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell wrote a letter to the old guard Italian Americans, "dispossession and deliberate annihilation of entire Indian populations in the West Indies…are commonly known facts. Perhaps this was inevitable, given the times. Who is to say? Unlike some I do not consider Columbus an evil man."[46]

EDUCATION

The Black Power Movement espoused an ideology of empowerment over history, and as the ideology of empowerment spread, African American scholars began more seriously studying Africans in early American history. Ivan Van Sertima's book, *They Came before Columbus*, published first in 1976, brought attention and academic prestige to the idea that African immigrants to ancient America were not only slaves.

Van Sertima presents diverse archeological and linguistic evidence that suggests Africans and Moors ruled much of the world before Columbus; he suggests the traditional documents recording this history have been destroyed, so that a traditional historical method that relies on only the written record is inadequate, and the only valid method to understand African history is to examine skeletons, sculptures, plants, metals, and other nontraditional measures of history. He does rely on some traditional sources, such as Columbus's own logs and documents from other fifteenth-century political leaders to suggest that Columbus learned much from the Portuguese, who had learned from the Africans about the spherity of the earth and the possible existence of a new continent.

Van Sertima retells the traditional patriotic origin myth as an Afrocentric history. He describes ocean currents that helped sailors travel from Africa to the Caribbean. He notes that colonizers found metal spears that they took back to Spain; Spanish metallurgists said the metals were from Africa. He also suggests that cotton that had been produced in the Caribbean appeared in Africa before Columbus came. He discusses classical African stone heads that were discovered in the New World in 1940; archaeologists suggest the heads predated Columbus by many hundreds of years, and one carbon dating test dated the stone heads at hundreds of years before Christ. He examines cultural, linguistic, and archeological evidence suggesting that African Olmecs, Egyptians, and Phoenicians existed in America before Christ.

Van Sertima suggests that history has suppressed the contributions and power of Africans around the world, and that the European control over history has produced

a false understanding of Africa and African Americans. In early America, Africans either remained in Africa or were slaves in America. In contrast, Van Sertima said there were African leaders in America not only before Columbus, but perhaps before Christ.

Although Van Sertima has received several scholarly awards, others describe his claims as "without fact" and claim he is "robbing" American Indians.[47] Despite controversy, after 1992 Van Sertima's ideas gained a boost and became widely institutionalized in public schools. This was part of a larger trend throughout the late 1990s that included teachers and textbook authors' attempts to infuse new Afrocentric histories of blacks and Muslims into the traditional American history curriculum.

Van Sertima's arguments of a pre-Columbian African presence in America became a central tool of instruction. Van Sertima was hired as a consultant for an Afrocentric infusion program in the Atlanta, GA public school districts. Throughout New Jersey, in Portland, OR, and Baltimore, MD, Van Sertima's book, *They Came before Columbus* was part of Afrocentric public school teacher training. Van Sertima helped the origin myth become an important symbol for African American anticolonial movements.

At an African History Month school ceremony, a seven-year-old girl named Autum read an original poem that referenced Columbus. After reciting the Black Panther Child's Pledge, she read the poem, "White nationalism is What Put U in Bondage," which repeats a refrain that Columbus was a slave-trading pirate. When the home-schooled child was asked what she had been taught, she said, "Christopher Columbus did not find this world. He did not find America. We Black people made America."[48] White parents protested. School officials sent an apology via recorded telephone message to parents. Black parents protested. The school banned the girl from school grounds. City council members, the state attorney general, Al Sharpton, and others defended her poem and provided opportunities for her to publicly reread it (ibid).

Not all educators supported the anticolonial framing of Columbus. By remembering positive things traded in an exchange between two cultures, public educators redirected attention away from the cruelty of conquest. The idea came from academic historians, who studied exchanges of corn, horses, cattle, smallpox, syphilis, and other diseases.[49] Leading up to 1992, exchange arguments were popularized by the Smithsonian; it produced six symposia, several television and radio specials, several bound volumes, and a 2.8 million dollar exhibit that traveled to all 50 states and 3 U.S. territories. Although materials did not completely ignore conquest and genocide, the central themes were the five seeds of change—maize, potatoes, horses, sugar, and disease. Highlighting the exchange of foods, animals, and disease allowed the curators to bury a few negative facts in a sea of safe exchanges between the two cultures. In the notes during a planning meeting, one of the curators scribbled, "focus on horses to make the Indians feel good."[50]

Contemporary scholars confirm the catastrophe of colonization for American Indians.[51] Others suggest that these are academic moralists, that the moral weight behind the numbers provided a natural attraction for students, scholars, and social justice advocates.[52] Many professional historians avoided the political conflict by focusing on an exchange—of syphilis, potatoes, horses, and so on.

National History Standards advocated teaching a Native perspective on Columbus. The middle school/junior high recommendation for grades 7–8 suggests students "should understand the immediate and long-term impact of Columbus's voyages

on native populations and on colonization in the Americas." Nearly 100 articles on Columbus appeared in curriculum and instruction journals surrounding 1992. Many of these reproduced anticolonial frames. The journal "radical Teacher" published a whole volume on the alternative views of Columbus. One teacher wrote in first person in a much less political education journal, "Young Children," about cruelty toward America's indigenous. Columbus and his men "were not respectful, but greedy and cruel." They "attacked us with the dogs, cutting off our hands if we could not bring them enough gold." This cruelty had dreadful consequences for the indigenous: "there may have been more than 3 million Tainos living in the Caribbean when Columbus first arrived. 50 years later…only 200 Tainos still lived there."[53]

Textbooks were not likely to reproduce anticolonial frames. Textbook authors told students that the Native Americans discovered America: "after all, the Americas had long sense been discovered by others, the Native Americans."[54] Out of the dozens of late 1990s high school history textbooks examined, only one described detailed cruelties:

> Yes, Christopher Columbus was the first European to sail to America in recorded history. But Columbus set into motion a sequence of greed, cruelty, slavery and genocide that, even in the blood history of mankind, has few parallels. He organized an extermination of Native Americans.[55]

Textbooks rarely take chances by making such aggressive claims, and this passage was little different. It appeared not in the central narrative, but rather in a side box meant to stir critical thinking. Most other textbooks ignored native deaths; the few that discussed the issue described unintentional spread of disease as the primary culprit; several texts repeated a phrase similar to this: "One disastrous result of contact with Europeans was that Indians caught diseases never before known in America. Smallpox, measles, and tuberculosis spread rapidly among the Indians, causing terrible suffering and thousands of deaths."[56]

Texts rarely described the carnage with as much detail as did students. Prodded by their teachers to explore the Indian side of the Columbus story, students seemed to relish writing in their classroom diaries that Columbus enslaved and murdered the Taino Indians; one said, "Columbus and his crew treated the Tainos as if they were less than human."[57] Some teachers encouraged their students to produce skits representing alternative visions of Columbus. One student introduced their skit by saying: "many people think that Columbus was a hero, but he was not. Columbus sailed to Bohio [the Taino name for the Island of Hispanola] and tortured the Tainos. He forced them to mine gold and be slaves."[58] Another teacher had his students write a protest letter to a textbook publisher; one letter said, "Columbus and his crew took slaves, and killed thousands of Indians for not bringing in enough gold."[59]

One Denver high school teacher described a "major shift in consciousness,"

> One perspective is that Columbus did the Indians a favor by civilizing them. I don't teach this radical European perspective because it is so far away from reality. I will, however, teach the radical Indian perspective even though I won't teach the radical European one. The reason for this is that the Indian perspective is almost a majority one in this community and many communities around the nation. You have to address it. Now we can't ignore it. There's been a major shift in consciousness.[60]

This major shift in consciousness was really a shift in how teachers, preachers, poets, and politicians framed their performances of the national origin myth.

The diffusion of the anticolonial framing of Columbus across institutions was not due solely to the D-AIM and the Afrocentric movement organizations. It is impossible to know if the diffusion of the anticolonial frame would have happened had not Afrocentrists and D-AIM worked to rewrite the origin story. However, political process theory offers an enticing explanation of D-AIM successful memory mobilization.

POLITICAL OPPORTUNITIES

Events create narrow windows of opportunity. Once an event captures public attention, activists have a narrow window when mobilization of organizational resources will maximize returns. The pomposity of the proposed 1992 anniversary brought attention to Columbus throughout the year in 1992, and this attention provided an important window of opportunity for D-AIM to spread their message about the American Indian holocaust. Moreover, a bevy of other activists attacked the planned celebrations as problematic, thus weakening AIM political enemies and further opening political opportunities. The patriotic chapter analyzed characteristics of the political environment in 1992, and concluded that it was a time of upheaval with many political opportunities. Also important are local opportunities.

Demographic and geographic forces opened political opportunities for D-AIM activism. A D-AIM leader told me that the termination and relocation policy that created a political opportunity for 1960s AIM similarly propelled D-AIM in the late twentieth century: "AIM has persisted here because there's been a consistent Indian community in Denver since the 1950s, when the Bureau of Indian affairs selected Denver as a relocation Center." The relocation policy created jobs and lured Indians of diverse tribal backgrounds to Denver where they worked in national, pan-ethnic organizations. One member of D-AIM's network told me after a D-AIM sponsored dinner:

> Denver is the hub of Indian country. We have so many national Indian organizations here. We also have more critical thinkers that are around here, and a high proportion of Natives from the tribal colleges. Denver is only second behind Washington DC in the number of citizens that have bachelor's degrees. There are many that work for agencies such as the Native American Rights Fund, the Council of Energy Resource Tribes, the National Indian Health Board, the office of Native American programs through HUD is here, the Native American Fish and Wildlife Society is here, the American Indian College Fund is here…There are 15 different national native organizations in this area. So what happens is that you get those individuals that are probably more likely radicals and activists that have college degrees. They are right here, and the organizations for which they work are right here.[61]

Another reason that Denver grew as a hub of pan-ethnicity is that its specific geographic location made it a prime location for pan-ethnic Indian mobilizing. One D-AIM activist described the receptive environment of preexisting Indian organizations:

> The popularity of American Indian protest in Denver has a lot to do with the neutrality of Denver. There's no one particular tribe that can heavily influence the decision-making.

Oklahoma City, Albuquerque, Phoenix, Seattle, any of the cities, they have tribes that are so close. These tribes heavily influence the direction of national Indian organizations in their nearby cities. You don't see as many Indian organizations there. It's not like it had to happen that way it's not like anybody planned it that way, but now we have over 100 different tribes represented here in Denver.[62]

Relocation programs brought educated Indians to Denver to work in national Indian organizations, providing a ready network for D-AIM mobilizing, particularly in the absence of a single dominant tribal group. The largest Indian group in Colorado makes up only approximately .1 percent of the Colorado population, in contrast to Arizona and Oklahoma, where the largest Indian groups make up more than 2 percent of the state population (see tables 7.15, 7.16, 7.17).

The high population growth rate in Colorado created a political opportunity by exposing the political system to rapid change. Denver was ranked as third in the nation in population growth between 1990 and 2000 (see table 7.10). American Indians in Denver are relatively integrated with whites (see table 7.11), which is associated with increased activism. The actual number of American Indians in Denver also increased although not as fast as other groups so as a percentage of the population, the number of American Indians decreased between 1980 and 2000 (see table 7.12).

RESOURCE MOBILIZATION

One of the largest organizational consequences from government repression has been continued factionalism in the movement, the central one being the split between a federation of local AIM chapters declaring "autonomous AIM," and another group claiming "national AIM." In addition to the FBI counterintelligence program (Churchill 1994; Carley 1997), the splits in the movement were exacerbated by several factors that appeared already during AIM's campaigns in the late 1960s: trying to communicate to different constituencies (urban/rural, tribal/pan-tribal), differences over the use of disruptive tactics, differences over whose side to support in pressing public issues, and different views regarding government "support." D-AIM leaders wrote that the final disagreement that caused the split was a public issue dispute over the Nicaraguan Sandinistas. According to D-AIM files, the other faction aligned itself with the white left-wing liberals, and the Denver autonomous chapter aligned themselves with the traditional values of Indian elders. Since then, there has been a vociferous propaganda campaign between the autonomous and national AIM. D-AIM and delegates from more than a dozen other autonomous AIM groups convened a three-day convention whose sole purpose was to discredit the group calling themselves national AIM. For their part, the national-Minnesota AIM convened a Grand Governing Council that conducted discrediting research on D-AIM leaders.

Factionalism also occurs regarding one's relationship to the government. D-AIM continues to describe themselves as defenders of traditional Indian peoples with complete self-determination, while denouncing the "Minnesota" AIM leadership as a federally controlled corporation. For their part the Minnesota-National chapter touted their "Grand Governing Council," declared the sole legitimacy of "national AIM" and said D-AIM leaders were fake Indians with no right to speak as movement leaders.

Resource mobilization theorists hypothesize that a few factors will lead a group to be more likely to experience factions. Resource mobilization pioneers McCarthy and Zald[63] suggested that factions would more likely emerge in movement groups with an ideology that questions the basis for authority, movement groups with low chances of reaching goals in the short term, and movement groups that struggle with replacing charismatic leaders. The AIM sovereignty goals make it a movement group that simultaneously questions the foundation of authority and is unlikely to reach their goals in the short term. Similarly, government repression that killed or imprisoned many of the movement leaders suggests the factionalism may have been tied to the movement's attempts to replace charismatic leadership. AIM disruptive tactics not only brought attention to their cause, but also brought government repression and internal factions.

While AIM leaders and reservation Indians disagree about the effectiveness of confrontational tactics,[64] many scholars argue that the use of disruptive tactics increases movement effectiveness.[65] The case of D-AIM's Columbus protests suggests that disruptive tactics are not simply "successful" but rather that they are successful for several reasons, including the performance of organizational resonance and the disruption of the taken for granted norms of everyday life.

Instigating cultural change is not just about the persuasive power of rhetorical arguments. The context in which audience receive messages and perceive actions needs to be receptive to alternative meanings and new messages. One way to create a receptive audience is to challenge their taken-for-granted assumptions. Sociologists suggest this process can begin with "disrupting the quotidian," that is, actions or events that shake the taken-for-granted aspects of daily life.[66] Breakdown theories became popular in 1950s sociology because they showed positive associations between objective breakdown of society and increasing collective action. Recently, Snow and his colleagues showed that the breakdown was subjective not objective.

They suggest the key to the breakdown-movement relationship resides in the actual or threatened disruption of the quotidian. Four conditions are especially likely to disrupt the quotidian and heighten prospects of collective action: accidents that throw a community's routines into doubt or threaten its existence; actual or threatened violation of citizens' sense of privacy, safety, and control; alteration in subsistence routines because of unfavorable ratios of resources to claimants or demand; and dramatic changes in structures of social control.

By violating public expectations with dramatic actions and pronouncements, D-AIM was able to disrupt the normal operation of public routines, and for some observers and adversaries, D-AIM threatened the community's sense of peace and safety. By upsetting familiar, taken for granted assumptions, movement tactics can provide a normative shock that mobilizes some groups and demobilizes others (Jasper and Poulsen 1995). Tactics were important but were only enacted successfully because of the strong network of supporting groups.

D-AIM tended to lack connections to established political elites, but developed strong leadership, student support, and support from many of Denver's minority social justice organizations. D-AIM leaders Glenn Morris, Ward Churchill, and George Tinker built sizable networks from within their positions as professors at three different nearby universities. Each of these leaders also had what might be described as a "second profession." Tinker was the spiritual leader who acted as

pastor at a local church (which also sometimes served as movement headquarters). Churchill was the movement spokesperson; his second profession was writing books and regular public speaking. Morris was the Harvard-educated lawyer who organizes the pro-bono lawyers needed to keep mobilized members out of jail. Educated leaders with years of experience speaking in front of crowds are important resources for any movement, but in Colorado, educated leaders were especially important. Colorado has one of the most educated populaces in the country (see tables 7.13 and 7.14). These academics may have lacked some star power, particularly beyond the local region, and so they regularly enlisted the support of Russell Means, who carried wide public notoriety.

D-AIM began protest of Columbus Day in 1989. A small group of supporters watched Russell Means pour fake blood on the Columbus statue in downtown Denver. D-AIM staged the event so the police would arrest Means, who had just finished filming *Last of the Mohicans*. Denver television and print news recorded stories and pictures of the bloody statue.

According to D-AIM leaders, it was a successful tactic because it forced the media and the courts to listen: "We had the action, we had the arrest, we had a little trial, we had the media statements, we had no outrageous demands, and they were forced to hear us" (personal interview). Disruptive tactics not only created a space to spread a message, the tactics also carried a clear symbolic meaning—Columbus's hands were stained with Indian blood.

D-AIM planned an equally symbolic but more aggressive tactic the next year on Columbus Day, 1990. They blocked the parade and poured blood on the street in front of Italian Americans' parade route. A D-AIM leader described the tactic:

> We stopped them for an hour. The police weren't quite sure how to respond to this because nobody is making any really aggressive moves; it's just that the street is blocked. They brought the dogs up front at that point. We put blood all over the street, more of that expensive, simulated blood. All of the rest of the parade, if they got any further, they would have to track blood up and down the street as they went (ibid).

After the protesters were cleared from the street, an Italian activist covered the bloody streets with newspaper so the remaining marchers did not have to spread the blood. A newscast caught the coverage, and one D-AIM leader, poised to take advantage of the spectacle, proclaimed, "[L]ies written on paper will never cover truth written in blood" (ibid). The symbolic association of Columbus and Indian blood was presented again for not only the parade goers, but also for Denver's viewing and newspaper audience.

The tactic was so successful that D-AIM used it the next year as well. But in 1991, leaders vowed even tighter control over the presentation of their message. AIM again asked Italian American parade organizers to drop the name Columbus "or we would be forced to get our people and meet in the street."[67]

Even with the presence of federal and city mediators trying to induce a truce between these two competing parties, they did meet on the street again in 1991. The police threatened to randomly arrest the horde of rank-and-file protestors that

were blocking the parade. D-AIM leaders negotiated for their own arrest:

> The canines were growling, and these guys were supposed to have their day off, but they're
> out there in their swat gear. And then one of the police tactical commanders comes over
> and says "I'm going to give you three minutes and then we're going to start arresting peo-
> ple." We [D-AIM leaders] had a caucus on that right in the street because it wasn't a bad
> scenario. But what we decided was that what we wanted was a more precision trial. If we
> had mass arrests, then we would have had chaos in terms of articulating a message out of it.
> Everyone, during their trial, would be saying whatever they wanted to say. They're going to
> command the attention at that time, and they're going to say all kinds of crazy shit (laugh).
> So, basically, we had a negotiated stand-down where the leaders took the bust.

As desired, arrests brought a long, well-publicized trial. D-AIM brought the idea
of Indian genocide as the rhetorical centerpiece of their defense. Essentially, they
argued that if jurors agreed that Columbus initiated American Indian genocide,
then arrested D-AIM leaders should go free. In the trial, D-AIM lawyers argued
that the free speech of Italians was not protected because of past and present geno-
cide against American Indians made it hate speech: "not all speech is protected
under the U.S. Constitution."[68]

In an unconventional defense that risked alienating onlookers, they argued that under
international prevention of genocide laws, they were *obligated* to block Italians' parade.
One of the defendants explained the defense, again calling to mind the Nazis and the
Holocaust, but portraying themselves as unlike those tried for war crimes after WWII:

> We used the Nuremberg doctrine. Following justice Jackson we were compelled in
> circumstances like this where you have crimes against humanity occurring to inter-
> vene in such a way to make peace. Whatever action is necessary to accomplish that
> is the action that you take. On that scale of things that happened in 1492, the action
> that we took was inconsequential. We were justified, and in fact obligated, to do it.[69]

The D-AIM leaders were acquitted. The successful mobilizations provided motiva-
tion for the next year's parade.

Tension mounted in the months leading up to Columbus Day 1992. Emboldened
by their legal success, D-AIM worked to gather even more support and planned to
increase the militancy of their stand against Columbus Day commemorations. Indeed,
AIM played off of what became public expectations of violence and was eventually able
to take advantage of their adversaries' fears. Movements regularly try to manage oth-
ers' emotions as a way of gaining a tactical or strategic advantage. "Evoking not only
positive but negative emotional states in others can be a useful social tool in attaining
solidarity, behavioral compliance, social change, or identity change."[70] Disruptive tac-
tics work also by eliciting emotional responses from movement outsiders.

These disruptive tactics presented a strategic dilemma for movement leaders. Actually
using force and violence can have negative effects and may undermine the advantages
gained from other disruptive tactics. Power is more effective and stable when secured
through compliance. Creating a climate of confusion and fear can be an effective move-
ment tactic. Rather than openly advocating violence, D-AIM leaders vowed to stop
Columbus Day in 1992 by simply demanding that there would be no parade.

This situation was not new for D-AIM leadership, as their ancestors had used confrontational tactics. Although some participants showed unease with confrontational tactics, AIM leaders proved comfortable with the tactics. One D-AIM leader (Respondent 1) and two rank-and-file members (Respondents 2 and 3) discussed how the tactics, expectations, and framing came together in the months before the 1992 parade:

> Respondent 1 (R1)—Well what we said was that the parade is not going to even start, and we're not going to say any more. What we do is going to be totally determined by how hard they want to push to do what we're not going to let them do.
>
> Respondent 3 (R3)—Rus [Russell Means] was quoted in the Rocky Mountain News
>
> R1—Laugh
>
> R3—A number of inflammatory statements, because I remember reading them and thinking, oh my God, why did he say that. But…
>
> R2—Well Rus was misquoted in Rocky Mountain News.
>
> R3—That's what I was going to say because I know he is smarter than that.
>
> Interviewer—What kinds of things did he say?
>
> R2—Like we can't be responsible for what might happen if the city or the Italians start pushing. He sort of implied that there might be some sort of violence.
>
> R1—Well, we had taken that position from the get go. We're going to stop the parade, if they try to use force to push it through us…we're going to stop the parade. We didn't say what we were going to do, just that the parade is not going to go. You guys can make up your mind how hard you are going to push us, but its not going to go. You're talking to the American Indian Movement. We're not a pacifist organization. We've engaged in armed struggles—it's not been the most fruitful of all of our endeavors (laugh), but its true. (personal interview)

The D-AIM confrontational tactics were framed by activists not as anger, but rather as calculated facets of a "public education campaign":

> Collectively, our leaders have hundreds of years of experience with confrontational politics. And these are always public education campaigns. Even Wounded Knee was an education campaign. The purpose of confrontational politics is to capture people's attention. But once you've got their attention, you've got to have something to say to them. Create the issue context, capture the attention, and communicate the message.[71]

The confrontational tactics certainly succeeded in getting public attention. Whether this created a situation conducive to public education can be debated, but at least for some interested parties, a climate of fear developed. This was particularly true for Italian Americans parade organizers; one Italian American leader explained,

> We had this one meeting at the Sons of Italy where a city official showed up. He told us about the rights of the Indians, and all the bad things that might happen from the

Indians. They forewarned us of all this. That's a big reason why no one showed up for the parade, they were so scared.[72]

About 200 Italian Americans and other celebrants gathered for the 1992 Columbus Day parade. All Denver police were there, and several federal mediators as well. D-AIM also showed up en masse that day, and leaders claimed they had mobilized 4,000. While the stage was set for confrontation, Russell Means led the D-AIM contingent and instructed the group to stay put until the Italians made a move and tried to start the parade.

Rather than attempting to start the parade, the Italian Federation leaders cancelled it because of "fear of bloodshed." Both sides claimed victory. Italian Americans claimed victory for "civic responsibility" and mourned the loss of their First Amendment rights; D-AIM leaders declared victory for stopping the parade and praised the Italians for reconciliation. However, journalists, public officials, and Italian Americans still complained that AIM only "won" because they had threatened violence. AIM denied the charge:

> We never made a threat of violence. The city officials were the first ones to tell the reporters about violence. The reporters ran with it and misquoted our guys. They're the guys with the police force, the dogs, and the guns. We didn't have any guns, not there anyway. They had dogs and mounted patrols. And we're the thugs? They had .357's bolted to their hips. They had shotguns, batons, mace, tear gas, horse cavalry, dog patrols and we we're the thugs?[73]

The public expectations of violence mobilized activists who were willing to escalate beyond verbal confrontation. Not all of these people were under the control of D-AIM leaders. As one leader explained,

> If there had been a parade, it would have gotten ugly. I know of at least two crews from Boulder that were self-styled revolutionary types. They have no real experience with anything, but they really wanted to know what it was like back then, when confrontational politics was the rule...They had armed themselves with slate roofing tiles that they were going to use as Frisbees. This is a carry over from Chicago in '68. They had their pockets sown shut, they had leather, motorcycle helmets, mail carrier bags with slate tiles. They stationed themselves to be at points along the [parade] route.[74]

D-AIM leaders did not orchestrate or support these groups, but they did disperse the warning to the police and to Italian American leaders, at the same time disclaiming any responsibility for the potential violence:

> A whole bunch of people could have gotten hurt. It wouldn't have just been demonstrators. The police had the potential to escalate well beyond slate tiles. These are potentially lethal weapons, and this allows the police to respond with a weapon that is absolutely lethal. So it could have gotten really ugly. There's no way we could have controlled it at that point. We had already said that to the police and other officials, look, you have a volatile situation of your own making here and if you're going to push it, we can't say what's going to happen.[75]

The symbolism of D-AIM tactics provided resonant images that disrupted public order, and the blood gained attention and communicated an image of a cruel, colonizing Columbus. D-AIM used vague public statements and disruptive tactics to mark Columbus Day with Indian blood, to provoke arrests and trials, and to create spaces where they could communicate their message. Tactical expectations mobilized other confrontational groups that were willing to use violence, and D-AIM leaders managed to intimidate their rivals without perpetrating acts of violence.

Although D-AIM may have manipulated the fears and expectations to their advantage, they claimed they did not recruit the anarchists. Leaders repeatedly proclaimed the anarchists' participation was not from recruitment or preexisting network ties. One leader said, "[W]e don't do recruitment in the traditional sense...They just show up...The protests are our recruitment tactics."[76] This may be true, but at least one leader had a pre-existing relationship to the anarchist movement.

Physical threats should not be a part of public education, but they are unlikely to disappear because of their effectiveness. Sociologists have shown that, unfortunately, threats and violence can be effective movement tactics. Manipulating fear in a public education campaign can play an important role in creating change. By orchestrating a cultural assault that disrupted the sense of safety and control, D-AIM disrupted the quotidian, which captured public attention and laid the foundation for delivering their "radical" message about genocide. As D-AIM leaders said, once you have created the context and captured the attention, you have to have something to say.

FRAMING

Using surprising but organizationally resonant tactics and disrupting taken-for-granted expectations of the audience may be necessary parts in creating cultural change, but they are not sufficient. Successful activists sponsor efficient communication, such as orchestrating a frame alignment campaign to recruit diverse supporters, and building a community that reproduces resonant collective action frames.

FRAME ALIGNMENT

Movements use frame alignment campaigns to recruit supporters. The strategic effort to link organizational interests and frames with prospective members and resource providers was initially conceptualized as "frame alignment processes."[77] Frame alignment processes were integral for the development of D-AIM's broad support among diverse constituents. As the salience of Columbus to diverse groups was not immediately apparent, D-AIM used frame alignment strategies to find common ground in Columbus. The frame alignment campaign acted as the active recruitment phase of the movement's public education campaign; D-AIM could transcend the inefficient tactic of mobilizing individuals and move toward the tactic of bloc mobilization—bringing preexisting groups into the movement.[78]

D-AIM's primary frame alignment strategy was to develop Columbus as a figure salient to diverse groups by arguing that Columbus was the centerpiece of their common

history of discrimination and racism. One participant explained the success of the frame alignment campaign simply as a shared history: "oppressed people understand each others oppression, and can support each other." The frame alignment campaign mobilized people around a collective memory of discrimination.[79]

According to one D-AIM leader, this was not as easy as might be imagined. Many liberal multiculturalists seek inclusion into established society, while Indian activists fight for land rights. Moreover, the liberal multiculturalists often seek inclusion based on individual rights, while American Indian activists seek redress for collective rights.[80] Such claims based on group rights are outside of the repertoire of accepted political speech.[81] A successful frame alignment campaign not only had to teach people about their relationship to the Columbian legacy, it also had to overcome the individualism and assimilation desired by their potential allies.

To create the connections among diverse populations, AIM sponsored discussion sessions and potluck dinners where representatives from assorted social justice organizations and movements were encouraged to express their own issues and concerns, while AIM leaders attempted to tie the issues and concerns back to the "Columbian legacy."[82] Several informants said D-AIM leaders came to their meetings to talk about how Columbus was a link between AIM and their organization. D-AIM regularly sent representatives to support protests and activities of other groups, along with visiting the regular meetings of organizations to talk about the common ground between them. Their frame alignment campaign emphasized the specific connections between each group and the American Indian struggle.

African American organizations such as the Nation of Islam, the NAACP, the Rainbow Coalition, and African student groups from local schools all lent support to AIM after AIM leaders reminded them of the Seminole's role in supporting slave insurrections and described Columbus as the originator of the transatlantic slave trade. Chicano groups such as the Crusade for Justice, the Barrio Warriors, MEChA, and other Chicano student groups lent support after AIM reminded them of the common heritage of Indians and Latinos in their suffering from colonization. The message suggests Chicanos align themselves with their Indian rather than Spanish heritage—a common tactic used by Colorado's Corky Gonzalez, and the central message of the Latino version of Columbus Day, Dia de La Raza.

AIM also aligned the Columbian legacy with other groups, but these met with more resistance. Some newer Asian American immigrant groups agreed that Columbus was a resonant symbol of discrimination, but most Asian organizations were not convinced of the connection. Similarly, while a few Jewish organizations were convinced by D-AIM's argument that Columbus's journey was directly related to the Spanish inquisition, Jewish support was narrowed by two AIM alliances: the Nation of Islam and Palestinian rights organizations.[83]

The frame alignment strategy was the explicit component to the D-AIM recruitment campaign. The implicit component to that campaign happened as a mostly unintentional consequence of the moral shocks from D-AIM disruptive tactics. Their tactics and frame alignment campaign resulted in a very diverse alliance of organizations. By 1992, more than 20 social justice organizations sponsored the anticolonial protest. By 2007, the alliance (now under the name Transform Columbus Day Alliance) had grown to more than 70 social justice organizations.

The message of the public education campaign was not simply shared during protest events; the people in the movement are the carriers of the movement message. Once people join movements, they learn to frame reality in different ways that these people share with their family and friends. The most successful movements teach their recruits some version of a collective action frame.

COLLECTIVE ACTION FRAMES

Collective action frames are especially effective forms of movement rhetoric that are "intended to mobilize potential adherents and constituents, to garner bystander support, and to demobilize antagonists."[84] Movements that use collective action frames are more likely to be successful.[85] Collective action frames are effective because they meet core tasks such as defining identities, diagnosing problems, offering a clear and feasible prognosis, and supplying motivation.

IDENTITY FRAMING

Simple ideas defined the identity of the movement. Leaders sought to create an organization firmly committed to the time-honored indigenous ideas of spirituality, sovereignty, sobriety, and self-determination. These concepts often appeared on letterhead, buttons, flyers, and other movement communiqué. They appeared in slogans, as in the popular phrase that AIM is "the shock troops of Indian sovereignty." A few participants during interviews told stories about how they had used the D-AIM community in their struggles with sobriety. When I asked D-AIM leaders why they were making alliances with Denver anarchists but fighting with another group calling itself the AIM, he explained that the other AIM group had tried to control the Denver group, and the Denver group shared with the anarchists "a deep respect for self-determination." Despite the importance of self-determination, it was spirituality, community, and diversity that emerged as the three main D-AIM identity frames.

Spirituality is a major component of the movement's identity. One of the movement's headquarters is an old church where one of the D-AIM leaders, an ordained Lutheran minister, serves as pastor and spiritual leader of the American Indian community. The church also houses the Four Winds Survival Project (a multicultural advocacy agency fighting discrimination in housing, jobs, and education) and runs a sobriety program modeled on AA (but altered to incorporate American Indian spirituality). Participants described the protests as spiritual revivals, and D-AIM as a movement to reclaim spirituality.

Several participants reported that many sweat lodges (a spiritual gathering) are held the night before each year's Columbus Day protest. One organizer described widespread spiritual practices the night before Columbus Day protests: "there was a lot of prayer going on, a lot of lodges being held. Some of us the night before the protest were praying the entire night" (personal interview). Another participant remembered "traditional prayers" and "traditional Native American drumbeats" at the protests. Another described the protest as a religious revival:

> Native Americans historically have not had the freedom to express their religion. That theft is part of the Columbian legacy. This protest is an attempt to re appropriate and

reclaim native religion, and you can see it during the protests. There's burning of sage and Sweet grass. There's spiritual drumming and spiritual singing. There are medicine men. This is all about reaffirming their spirituality and taking back religious freedoms (ibid).

Another participant said the spirituality precluded conflict,

He explained very clearly to everyone that we were following the pipe, and what that meant, for those of us that don't have a tradition with a pipe. That says volumes if people know anything about Lakota or Plains traditions. Among Indian people, you don't follow the pipe if you intend to fight, if you intend to have any kind of confrontation. It centered us all in a spirit of peace and love, trying to do right by our ancestors and our descendants.[86]

Community and diversity were two other major types of D-AIM identity frames. One participant proclaimed "community is why it works, you can't have sustained resistance without creating a community." One participant described D-AIM potlucks as "really good for creating community in getting people to know each other and support each other." Another had fond memories of a dinner:

It was a wonderful indigenous dinner. We ate on the floor with wood bowls and wooden utensils. We ate only foods that were indigenous to this hemisphere. Somebody asked but they wouldn't let us eat fry bread (laugh).[87]

Several activists described the community created within the D-AIM organization as providing the motivation for taking action. They happily declared that activists had accepted them; one said they felt accepted "almost as family," even though they were non Indian newcomers,

I was a little intimidated, not knowing how I was going to be accepted as a newcomer. I read books like the spirit of crazy horse where they talk about the FBI infiltration and I thought if they do not know me they are not going to trust me and accept me, and I surely would not blame them. But when I arrived, and ever since then, it is like I am a member of the family, at least to an extent. The people are very dedicated and they are very intelligent. I feel at home with them. So I intend to stay as long as they want my support.[88]

Dealing with diversity is a struggle for every organization, and agreeing on a shared identity can be problematic. D-AIM sometimes struggled with issues of diversity. One such tension was with those people who self-identify as Hispanic Americans and celebrate Columbus, which made the recruited Hispanics feel the need to explain their distinction from other Hispanics. One said, "[I]dentifying and with their Spanish heritage—that's like identifying with a rapist it's like your father raped her mother and you still identify with your father." Another Latino said,

Well, there's a big misunderstanding around here. People don't understand why Chicanos are involved in this issue. That's part of our educational mission, is to educate the community and the country about how significant our Indian ancestry is. Chicanos have indigenous, native blood, it is as simple as that.[89]

Another tension was with gender diversity. For example, some women participants struggled to gain a voice in a male dominated movement. Women have continued to take part in the male dominated group, but they have also started the Red Earth Women's Alliance that has been responsible for orchestrating a vision for an alternative Columbus Day—a celebration of diversity. One female organizer discussed some of these issues:

> Well, I know from experience, because I've seen it. I know that women in this movement face some of the same stereotypes in discrimination that they face in regular society. But lately, they have taken a stronger role, especially with the Red Earth Women's Alliance. In Native American culture, women have always been very involved in what is going on in the family and politics. In Native America men expect the women to take part as equals.[90]

Several female participants described a movement dominated by a masculine culture of aggression; both the movement meetings and rhetoric were described as too aggressive. However, one participant said it was not just the men, "A lot of times the rage expresses itself in very doctrinaire testosterone laced ways and rhetoric. That's not unique, that's throughout our movement. We all do it. I find it frustrating."[91]

Diversity frames were common at the central event organized by the women's alliance is the "Four Directions March." It is modeled after the indigenous tradition of using the Medicine Wheel as a way to share wisdom about the diversity of life. The four directions symbolize the coming together of the four races. One participant described the event as a "very symbolic of people coming together people of different groups of different races coming together, the separateness coming together as one, it's a very spiritual thing for Native Americans."[92]

The tensions of gender and racial diversity were released, at least partially, through the Four Directions March. Most members described a very diverse group within the movement. For example, one participant described it as "very multiracial." Several others described the racial and age diversity at protests. For example, one said,

> One thing I've seen time and again are the different types of people who come out to these protests are not just one type of people, there are young, there are old. There are white. There are black. There are Latinos there are lots of Native Americans.[93]

Although the official D-AIM ideology emphasized spirituality, sovereignty, and sobriety, the identity frames produced among D-AIM leaders and participants emphasized diversity, community, and spirituality.

DIAGNOSTIC FRAMING

It was common to hear things such as rapes, hangings, decapitations, and cutting off of hands described as the central meaning of Columbus's arrival. Participants and leaders proclaimed that Columbus brought genocide. Variations on the theme of holocaust and genocide appeared often in the placards used during protest, in movement discussion and memos, and in the interview transcripts. One D-AIM leader even wrote a 400-page book on the issue of holocaust denial, called "A little matter of Genocide."[94]

One feature of D-AIM diagnostic frames is that they defined a faceless cause to their problem. D-AIM's desire for diversity within their movement perhaps precluded them from clearly defining Europeans, Spaniards, or whites as enemies that brought the holocaust. The malaise was usually described as a faulty ideational or economic system. D-AIM leaders debated, discussed, and defined their diagnosis:

> When we started this, we asked ourselves. What is the real meaning of Columbus Day? We decided that it's not about the celebration of Italian heritage, it's not about the celebration of the joining of two countries, it's not about the encounter, it's about a project of colonization and domination. There are some people who have benefited greatly from that. They are not going to give up Columbus, the rationalization for their existence in this hemisphere.[95]

D-AIM's diagnostic frames varied widely within the theme of colonization. To most of the participants, Columbus symbolized colonization, but colonization provided a passageway to many other issues. One participant, an ally that runs an indigenous coffee business in Mexico, told us that Columbus's "ideology of conquest spread throughout the whole Americas. He started a lot of the colonization of Mexico, Central America, and South America."

Activists tended to write their favorite message into the story of colonization. For example, Columbus became a symbol of political prisoners; people repeated stories that Columbus took prisoners on his first voyage and that D-AIM has consistently worked to free contemporary political prisoners like Leonard Peltier. There seemed almost no boundaries as to what problems Columbus could symbolize. Racism, globalization, environmental destruction, rape, poverty, homelessness, suicide, greed, capitalism, police spying, corruption, immigration, war—all appeared in some way caused by Columbus the cruel colonizer.

Racism was one major theme within a bewildering variety of diagnostic frames. Some of the most prevalent terms in the transcripts were "racist parade," and "racist holiday." In a national interview on Free Speech TV, Russell Means tied Columbus to institutionalized racism against American Indians:

> America celebrating Columbus Day, it speaks volumes about the inherent institutionalized racism against us…why is it that our life expectancy is still 44.5 years of age, and the highest suicide rate, this doesn't fluctuate with the GNP. I am sick and tired of having empathy.[96]

Columbus provided a malleable symbol used to talk about many problems related to colonization. One activist said that Columbus brought globalization. Another blamed Columbus for bringing the evils of capitalism:

> The Columbian legacy is dehumanizing. Yes, it is. The system that takes from you all of your fundamental rights, including your right to feed yourself, your right to shelter, your right to childcare. Those are all natural rights that we have. The system puts them under armed lock and key and says now you work for them Columbus brought this dehumanizing legacy, and it still plagues us today.[97]

A leader proclaimed in an interview that celebrating the lie of Columbus was a strategy used by politicians to cover up and justify the ongoing colonization. A participant explained that D-AIM leaders taught that Columbus was responsible for beginning the system of elite dominance:

> I've learned from the leaders of this movement. They have told us that Columbus created the three-part structure of military state and business. That same three-part structure exists today and still steals Indian land. This structure is still used to steal the resources like uranium that are on Indian land. Columbus set up this structure of domination. It's the same thing today as 500 years ago.[98]

For a few of the leaders, the problem was not so grand, but rather one of protecting their children. For example, one said that the central problem with Columbus is that the schools and families offer different curriculum; their job was to arm the students with the tools to "defend themselves in class" (ibid). AIM proffered diverse diagnoses.

MOTIVATION FRAMING

Three types of motivational frames have been uncovered: propriety [duty], urgency, and efficacy.[99] These also appeared in D-AIM's motivational frames. The rhetoric of propriety often appeared in D-AIM's motivation frames. Their duty was to their family, particularly their children and their ancestors. Responsibility to ancestors and future generations (and to a lesser extent, the land) appeared often during motivational speeches. One movement communiqué told participants that they all shared a responsibility, "to past present and future Indian generations, who struggle for freedom and self-determination in our own land." Events or protests were often described as occurring explicitly for the children of the next seven generations. Mobilizing younger activists was also a motivation, as described by this organizer, "it is gratifying to see them growing up in continuing to stay connected to this issue. That is very gratifying to see them move, be active, and be involved."[100]

Although frustrations and limitations were discussed, they were almost taboo subjects; perhaps this is not surprising given the movement had constructed a sacred rhetoric of propriety. They framed efficacy also by constructing and celebrating activist agency. These appeared in large ways, such as when D-AIM threw an honorary celebration dinner when a group of young girls were the only ones to storm the streets and block the Italian Americans' Columbus Day parade. These constructions of agency also appeared in small ways, as when meeting minutes would include cartoons with motivating statements about the power of the movement.

The third type of motivation frame is the rhetoric of urgency. Activists used the rhetoric of urgency by describing the Columbus legacy as the foundation of many social problems. Columbus was not independently related to all the many injustices of colonization, but Columbus was transformed into the Columbian legacy, which was defined as the foundational cause for all these problems. This created a sense of urgency for mobilization. One participant said,

> I don't think you can fix the problems that are occurring today, make redress for the things that have occurred, or set a just policy for the future until you change the way

of thinking, the model, of which the whole system is based upon. The dominating model, now, is represented by the arrival of Columbus.[101]

This sort of urgency appeared in multiple applications, as activists connected Columbus to the colonization of all of the Americas. One participant even explicitly stated that this was motivating:

> The Indian struggle, the Chicano struggle, and the indigenous struggle in Mexico, it all has behind it common roots that I'm not in agreement with. Therefore, I feel obligated to take a stance.[102]

D-AIM's motivation frames taught activists a duty to ancestors, efficacy through celebrating success and power, and urgency brought on through foundational rhetoric. AIM collective action frames also offered solutions.

PROGNOSIS FRAMING

Prognosis frames commonly appeared during protests, where leaders were good at keeping feet and voices busy. Common chants and signs were "No honor for slave traders," "No parades for genocide," and "No parades for murderers." Prognosis frames stated that collective action could abolish the parade and holiday. Leaders often asked that people pressure public officials to abolish the holiday. As a leader wrote in a movement circular,

> State and national holidays should promote inclusion and respect—city, state and federal officials must demonstrate public responsibility and actively oppose such overtly racist and divisive displays.[103]

D-AIM called for a change in the name of the holiday several times, suggesting, "Holidays should be based on tolerance and respect, not divisiveness and racism"; (Flyer; personal field notes) their most common suggestion for the parade organizers was Italian Pride day.

Activism did not stop once they had "defeated" the parade organizers in 1992. They began more diligently discussing and planning their alternative vision for the holiday. One participant proclaimed they were looking for a Columbus Day that was "more inclusive and that more accurately reflects the cultural and racial richness of the Americas."[104] A D-AIM participant said the point was to use Columbus to enact a new vision for society:

> What we need to do is re envision that encounter, and build a society based upon that vision of equality and justice and respect rather than oppression. To me that is a vision of the future, a vision that is one of integrity, it is comprehensive in addressing the fundamental problems in this society.[105]

Another major theme within the prognosis frames was the education campaign. Several participants suggested greater contact with the grade schools, and others reveled that several teachers involved in the movement have changed their curriculum. Although some participants wanted to achieve the task of simply "teaching the

truth" about Columbus and U.S. history, others envisioned a more strategic use of the education system:

> The Jewish community has set up a wonderful job of marketing their Holocaust, what they have done is institutionalized it in the public schools. That's why people will never forget. That's a tactic American Indians can take; we can learn from that.[106]

Others described public protests as the powerful prognosis for their public education campaign. Several people took solace in the idea that "all you can do is plant the seed," while others developed more elaborate philosophies of dissent:

> You can change a law, and never change people's minds, but if you change people's minds the law will change to keep up with the people. Ultimately, real change comes from within the community.[107]

And another activist furthered the idea that the movement's message should live on through the participants:

> We can teach others throughout the country and throughout the world how important it is to rethink this history. We can show the rest of the nation how to do this. That is the ideal.[108]

D-AIM mobilized supporters through a frame alignment campaign and built a community that spread collective action frames.

CONCLUSION

The anticolonial collective memory was constructed through a political process; activists in pan-African movements and pan-Indian movements each helped transform partisan memories into a collective memory that was widely performed in media, education, arts, politics, and religion. Anticolonial frames diffused throughout institutions, and one of the characteristic anticolonial tactics—throwing blood on Columbus statues—also diffused widely, but not randomly. The diffusion of the tactics and frames of the anticolonial movements shows that they were successful in transforming the origin myth into an anticolonial collective memory. The political process model explains why that happened.

The D-AIM success came because of their ability to take advantage of subjective and objective political opportunities. Their success came because of their ability to use surprising tactics that both spread a tactical message and disrupted expectations. The tactics also induced fear in the government and in Italian American adversaries, so that AIM could release vague public statements and benefit from the confusion.

These mobilizing tactics were supplemented with a frame alignment campaign that recruited more supporters. When joining the movement, people learned to evoke frames that motivated and sustained collective action; activists began to share among themselves and with outsiders a collective action frame that diagnosed colonization,

presented a spiritual identity, motivated them through frames of propriety, efficacy, and urgency, and provided a prognosis that emphasized public education through collective action. D-AIM took advantage of political opportunities, innovatively mobilized resources, and used effective framing. Their ability to maneuver a political process made them the central movement that sparked the construction of an anticolonial collective memory.

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REMEMBERING AND FORGETTING

> Memory is the mother of all wisdom
>
> —Aeschylus

Our lives are filled with the search for meaning, and central to this is the search for origins. Each individual celebrates his or her own origins through an annual birthday. Creationists and evolutionists tell about the origins of the human species. The origins of marriages are celebrated through wedding anniversaries, and couples retell stories about their first meeting, first date, or first kiss.

Origin stories represent important moments in our past, but these past moments are just that—moments. Even the Age of Exploration in the fifteenth century was but a few distinct moments when compared to the tenaciousness of memory about those moments. Memory—the rituals and processes of social remembering—can be even more important than the moments remembered.

As we remember important events we retell stories, and because these stories are about important moments in the history of our groups or institutions, the stories take on a mythic character—they become symbolic reflections of something important in our present society. Despite the ability of the evolution-creation debate to capture media attention, the creation story of Adam and Eve is only one of many mythic stories about the origins of humanity. Many hundreds of American Indian tribes have their own origin myths about the beginnings of humanity, or the beginning of their group. Every major religion has their own origin myths that explain the origins of humanity and the origins of their organizations. Every country also develops a mythic story about their consecrated origins.

The intelligent response to myth is not debunking but deconstructing—not searching for the truth of the story, but rather searching for the social processes by which these stories are shared and spread. In other words, these stories should not be scrutinized for their ability to reflect past reality, but rather should be analyzed as variable consequences of present collective action that competes for limited institutional space and attention. Documenting the various uses of history and myth is not enough. We must ask: Why do some memories become collectively shared, while others are forgotten?

Nations are constructed through their common rituals. What do we have in common? What makes us "a people"? Through enacting our government and our common ideals of citizenship we become a nation. But it is not through our actions that we truly become citizens, it is through the meanings of our actions. Nation-states throughout history have constructed elaborate origin stories to inform their sacred existence. Universally commemorated, but incredibly diverse in terms of details, origin stories are performed in many ways, but routine retellings reappear among teachers and scientists; the stories are sacralized in sermons, sang in sonnets, popped up in the speeches of politicians, or slung in slogans of protesters.

Many of the world's ethnic groups have their own origin myth, and so do most successful organizations. Movements have origin myths—the gay rights movement began at stonewall, the Civil Rights Movement began with Rosa Parks, and so on. Scholars excel at poking through the facade and showing how these were not the true beginnings. We know that stonewall and Rosa were convenient rhetorical devices; although important, neither represents the origins of the movement as much as they represented the beginning of our stories about the movement. In the same sense, we had for centuries in the United States retold a common story about our national origins. For hundreds of years, a generally accepted story was told in schools, churches, artwork, politics, and the media about the origins of the United States (and the inevitability of white, Christian dominance). Many historical figures could have informed our national origin story. Why Columbus?

The dominance of Columbus was not inevitable. In fact, it is odd that he has remained the central figure in our national origin story. Columbus was not the first European to reach America, and there were dozens of non-European explorations of America before Columbus. If there were so many alternative characters for us to choose from when retelling our origin myth, why did the Columbus story dominate?

To understand how Columbus has become such a popular symbol, we need to look at social movements. Columbus has dominated because so many people could rewrite the myth to meet their needs in the present. The pliability of the symbol may explain its popularity, but does not explain why some partisan versions of the story were widely remembered across time and space, while other people's partisan versions of the story have not spread beyond localized contexts and thus have been largely forgotten.

Columbus Day remains one of only a handful of national holidays because of its resonance with so many different, status-seeking groups of Americans that mobilized communities around their distinct version of the origin myth. It was the successful collective action by status-seeking patriotic, religious, ethnic, and anticolonial movements that assured that their partisan versions of the origin story would be widely remembered while other versions of the story would be forgotten. The success of these movements made Columbus a more useful mythological symbol than other explorers. Every group rewrites history to create localized partisan memories, but only some groups are successful enough to have their partisan reinterpretations of the past become widely shared throughout society as legitimate and normal. Successful memory movements followed a predictable recipe.

The political process model provides a recipe for successful social movements. The model does not provide a strict recipe for successful cultural movements. Just as standard food recipes can be successfully adapted by changing the weight of ingredients

or adding new ingredients, so too is the success of opportunity, resources, and framing dependent on activist creativity. There are many components of opportunity, resource mobilization, and framing, thus there are different combinations that might prove effective. These combinations will not be successful in all times and places. Just as the success of recipes may differ based on the environment (e.g. humidity or altitude), so too are the ingredients and weights within the political process model subject to revision based on changing environments. Cultural movements succeed for the same reasons as movements that target the state, by taking advantage of opportunities, efficiently mobilizing resources, and effectively framing reality.

Hundreds of studies have shown that the political process model can explain patterns in state-oriented social movements. Few studies have explored the ability of the political process model to explain patterns in culturally oriented social movements. The political process model profitably explained cultural mobilization by patriotic, religious, ethnic, and anticolonial movements. The model wrongly predicted that movement mobilization would be positively related to increases in membership, money, and political power, but it still provided a very valuable tool with which to understand the spread of partisan memories across space and time.

The political process model does not preclude study of cultural protest. The opposite is true. Despite failed predictions, the political process model likely represents the best theory to understand movement organizations that target culture. The political process model may deserve a renaissance.

Although objective, structural factors of political opportunity and resource mobilization played important roles in shaping the success of particular movements, the groups that were able to shape the collective memory of Columbus were those that displayed sustained creativity and agency. Objective components of political opportunity such as demographic change were important, but also important was the subjective understanding of opportunity. Religious and anticolonial movements mobilized during closings of objective political opportunities, in part because they were able to subjectively define opportunities as open.

Resource mobilization—traditionally an objective theory—is also largely based in subjectivity. More important than the objective structure of networks is the ability of citizen groups to visualize expanded boundaries of new, diverse networks of potential supporters. Pan-ethnic Columbus Day mobilizations by Catholics, Italian Americans, American Indians, and Hispanics helped expand their community boundaries by uniting diverse groups behind a common pan-ethnic identity. Solidarity is created through participation; when people join movements they learn frames from leaders.

Framing by movement leaders helps followers and the public understand a common shared understanding of identity, diagnoses, prognoses, and motivation. Developing shared frames produces group solidarity among recruits, and summarizes the movement message for potential recruits, enemies, and other onlookers. Patriotic movements used Columbus to create or protest group boundaries. Catholic and Protestant movements reused resonant frames. Italian American and anticolonial movements produced effective collective action frames.

The political process model developed as an "objective" theoretical model, but this is only because scholars tended to ignore both subjective processes and

movements that target culture. An objective political process model is overly limiting. Subjective components of political opportunity and resource mobilization are especially important for cultural movements. A subjective political process model deserves a renaissance.

How we remember the past tells us where we come from, which shapes how we think about ourselves today. How we remember our past also tells us who we want to be in the future.

Although some people suggest the term "myth" should be used only for stories about gods or near-gods, when the stories are about group or institutional origins, they are stories about sacred origins of the community. In other words, origin stories are not simply stories we retell that reinforce our own culture and institutions, but also these stories transform a collection of secular entities into a body of sacred cultures and institutions. By reproducing and rewriting origin myths, we are venerating our own society, and in the process of genuflecting to our shared past, we are helping to make sacred our group, institution, or nation. However, this is not simple hubris.

Collective memory is a powerful resource. Paraphrasing Zapatista leader Marcos's words: forgetting leads to oblivion. But controlling memory is not merely another tool to obliterate the weak masses. Common sense assumes collective memory is a reflection of power: the powerful control the past. Certainly there is a link between memory and power, but not in the assumed way.

Poised against collective action by memory movements, and a "victim industry" that promotes defense of victims (Best 1997), powerful people cannot erase bad collective memories. For relatively weak movement, groups, mobilizing around memory draws attention and resources, and helps fight discrimination. If these status-seeking groups succeed and institutionalize their partisan memories across time and space, they are not simply constructing collective memories, but they also may be taking an important step toward assimilation.

Key moments in history, often instigated by a handful of wealthy and powerful people, have changed our world, but even more important and long-lasting than these moments are the memories of these moments, which are products of interaction among larger numbers of relatively powerless people. Many people seem to think that ideas are soft and money is hard, that money trumps culture, and that how we tell our collective past is at least partially based on who is in power. Through this research I learned that yes, the past is pliable, but I also learned that history is sometimes not pliable to elite power.

Decades of studies of state-oriented movements using the political process model have clearly shown that movements are most successful with increases in allies, membership, and money. While state-oriented movements are positively related to traditional conceptions of these hard resources, culturally oriented movements may succeed when these hard resources are diminishing. This was true for religious, ethnic, and anticolonial memory movements. For status-seeking cultural movements, success may be inversely related to allies, membership and money.

We even might think of collective memory not simply as a thing—the partisan story of the past diffused across space and time—but also as a process, a process by which people gain status or power while attempting to institutionalize their partisan story of the past. As groups gain resources, and increase their status and power,

they tend to abandon memory protest. Producing collective memories may be the beginning of a symbolic ladder for the oppressed.

Successfully spreading a partisan memory across space and time—constructing collective memories—might be a preview of established patterns of assimilation. Before attaining assimilation in public organizations, housing, marriage, and wealth, groups unite and successfully shape historical symbols. As groups attain assimilation, they increasingly flex their muscles and turn from easy targets like cultural symbols to more tangible targets like jobs, housing, and wealth. Collective memory, then, can be seen as a preliminary stage of assimilation, not a reflection of earned status and power, but a means toward earning status and power.

Variably, this means that as groups gain power, they will lose control over cultural resources like memory. Collective memory likely does not simply reflect the wishes of people holding economic power, but in fact collective memory may be inversely related to elite interests. The powerful do not control the past. It is not the powerful that control the past, but rather it is the "soon to be" powerful that control the past. Memory mobilization may motivate upward mobility.

Common sense sounds appealing. Common sense says the powerful control the past. However, the past is not pliable to powerful people in the present. Sometimes the powerless can control the past, if they mobilize through social movements.

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APPENDIX A

METHODS

This research seeks to describe and explain patterns in how people have publicly remembered Columbus; data come from interviews, observations, and historical documents. The purpose of data collection was to document patterns in the diffusion of partisan commemorations. The most visible example of partisan appropriations of the Columbus Day holiday, at least over the past 15 years, has occurred in Denver, Colorado; the Denver American Indian Movement periodically disrupted the Denver Italian American celebrations, often by mobilizing several hundred protesters who physically block the "ethnic pride parade."

Federal Department of Justice mediators are regular players, as are the city's safety and legal departments. Some years, the entire Denver police force attends, and dozens of officers appear in full riot gear. Although most years the protests induce a few arrests, several times police have arrested more than 100 AIM supporters. The *Associated Press*, *Reuters*, *CNN, Democracy Now*, and *Indian Country Today* regularly cover the annual confrontation, as have several educational documentaries; HBO's *The Sopranos* even dramatized the conflict. Initially, I saw this as a very interesting ethnic conflict between Italian Americans and American Indians. I quickly learned that there is much more to this story than a simple, two sided ethnic skirmish. To understand Denver's commemorative conflict, and place it within a larger historical context, this research relied on interviews, participant observation, and analysis of secondary and primary data.

Telephone and face-to-face interviews were conducted with 63 Denver participants: AIM activists (22), Italian American activists (28), and institutional leaders (13). Approximately one-fifth of all the interviews were conducted by telephone, and trained research assistants conducted approximately one-fifth of the face-to-face interviews. I conducted the remaining three-fifths of interviews in person. Interviews lasted approximately 1 hour each, but varied from 20 minutes to more than 6 hours. All informants were promised anonymity. We chose informants by starting with people identified in newspapers—leaders and other major players; we found other informants through referrals, and eventually, by examining organizational archives. Two different research assistants and I also took notes during several weeks of participant observation with both the AIM and the Italian American activists in Denver. I fully transcribed the notes and interviews.

To understand the historical context, data collection analyzed articles on Columbus commemorations as indexed in Poole's Index, Reader's Guide, New York Times Index, College Newswire, Alternative Press Index, Ethnic Newswatch, Archive of Americana, Historical New York Times Index, Historical Los Angeles Times Index, Proquest Index, and Lexis/Nexis Index.

The analysis presented in this book also draws from unpublished data from archives, principally the Colorado Historical Society, the Knights of Columbus archives, Center for Southwest Research at the University of New Mexico, Immigration History Research Center at the University of Minnesota, and the Library of Congress. Several of these archives housed special collections on Columbus commemorations, or the groups that sponsored Columbus commemorations, and I spent many days sifting through boxes.

Constant comparative techniques[1] called forth dozens of rounds of analyzing data; in each round, patterns emerged among the data, and then these patterns were compared and contrasted with existing theories. Lingering questions sparked a revisit to the ethnographic context,[2] and data from the revisit sparked several more rounds of comparative analysis (Glaser and Strauss 1967). At the beginning of this research project, computer-aided qualitative analysis was in its infancy, but by the end of the project, advanced tools were available. These tools helped preserve the complexity and detail of the qualitative data, while uncovering patterns in the data that would have been otherwise invisible.

There were limitations in the data. Collective action that occurs on holiday commemorations does not occur daily or monthly. Analysis of centuries of commemorations shows that public appropriations of the Columbus symbol are intermittent with peaks during the month of October and during the major anniversary years, primarily 1792, 1892, and 1992. This intermittent data source provided a methodological challenge.

Intermittent data require a different approach than traditionally used by historians, sociologists, and ethnographers, all of whom tend to emphasize narrow periods. A traditional study that adopts an analysis that lasts more than a decade contains thousands of opportunities for data collection. If each day is a data point, then there are more than 3,650 points in a study of a single decade. In contrast, because the commemorations studied here occur only annually, it would take more than 3,650 years to amass the same number of data points as exists in a traditional study conducted throughout one decade. The dilemma is how to account for historical patterns with intermittent data sources.

One answer is to tell a very long history. Of course, long histories can quickly get unwieldy, and make it very difficult to understand the context within which collective action occurs. This difficulty is part of the reason traditional social science tends to focus on narrow periods, because we all know that context shapes action, and that context can vary dramatically over a decade, let alone a century or two. This book offers a better solution than simply telling long histories: focusing on periods of heightened activity and placing these periods within historical contexts by use of historical statistics. To that end, the book references 36 tables and 36 figures, which are reproduced in the appendix B. Another methodological dilemma is not particular to this project: personal bias of the researcher. I kept a journal to

write about the ways that my own interests and biases shaped the research, and I will share some of those insights here. I never paid much attention to Columbus before I started this project; I do not personally identify with any of the main groups discussed in this book; I am not Italian American, Hispanic American, or Native American; I am not Catholic, Mormon, or Jew; I am neither particularly patriotic, nor am I an anticolonial activist. Although this outsider status may mean that I do not have an axe to grind, my status as outsider to the groups studied in this book may have precluded me from gaining a complete understanding of their social worlds. Despite limits, the outsider status was beneficial in that it produced a steady stream of curiosity and wonder.

My professional interests shaped the project in innumerable ways. The two most important ways appear in the method and theory used. I was trained as a qualitative sociologist, which means I was taught that I should let people define their worlds, that I should seek the voices of the less powerful, and that I should pay close attention to patterns in meaning. I was also trained as a social movement researcher, which means that I study patterns in mobilization. In sum, there is a nice fit between my training and this topic. I am an ideal person to tell this story.

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FIGURES AND TABLES

"Christopher Columbus" in American historical
newspapers
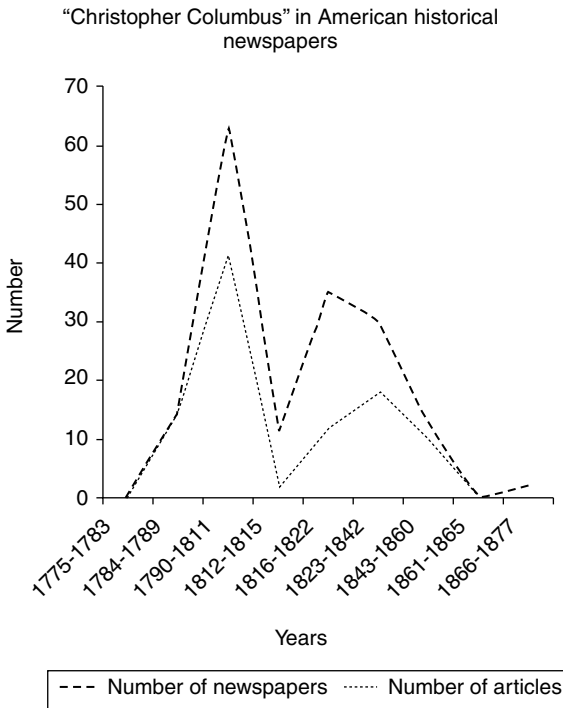
Figure 1.1   Columbus in news, 1775–1877

Source: Data from American Historical Newspaper Database (Archive of
Americana), 1775–1877.
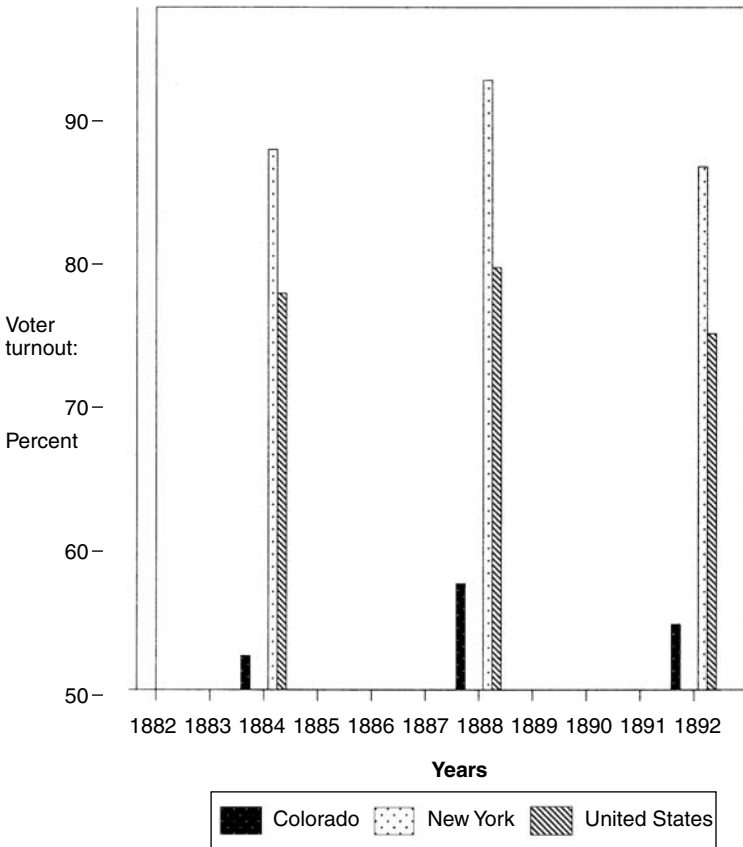
Figure 2.1   Voter turnout for presidential elections, 1882–1892
Source: Carter et al. 2006.
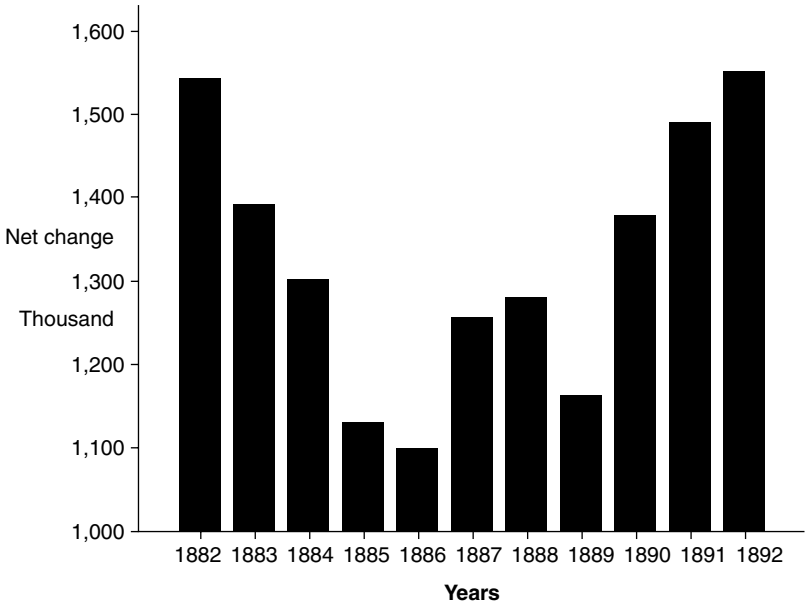
Figure 2.2   U.S. population growth, 1882–1892
Source: Carter et al. 2006.

Figure 2.3   Percentage of U.S. population in poverty, 1982–1992
Source: Carter et al. 2006.

Figure 2.4   U.S. population growth, 1974–1999
Source: Carter et al. 2006.

Figure 2.5   Growth in immigration population in the United States, 1982–1992
Source: Carter et al. 2006.
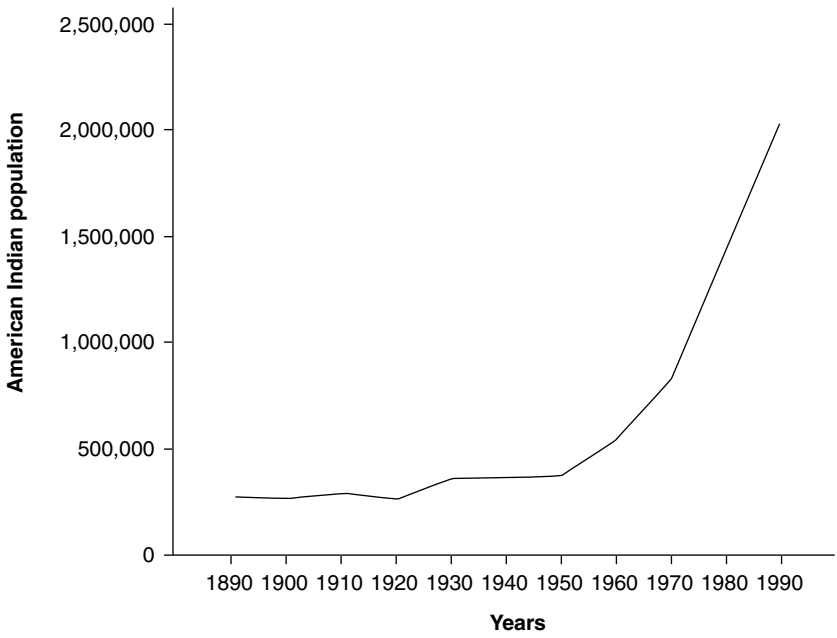
Figure 2.6   American Indian population, 1890–1990
Source: Carter et al. 2006.
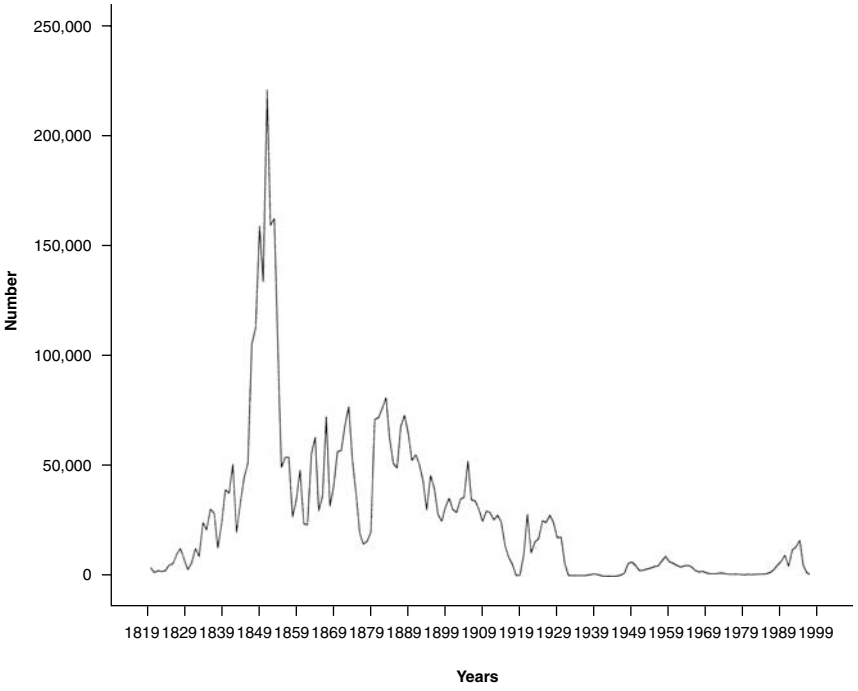
Figure 3.1   Irish immigration, 1819–1999
Source: Carter et al. 2006.
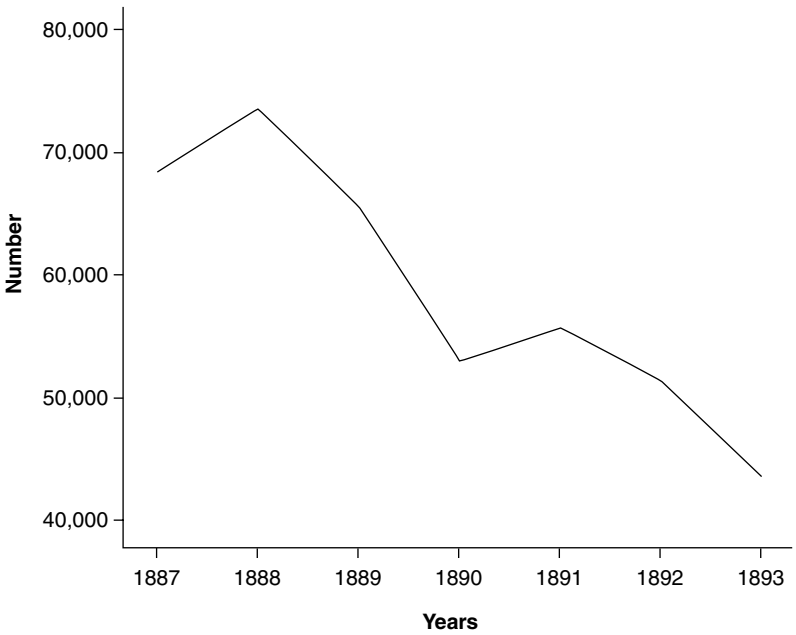
Figure 3.2   Irish immigration, 1887–1893
Source: Carter et al. 2006.
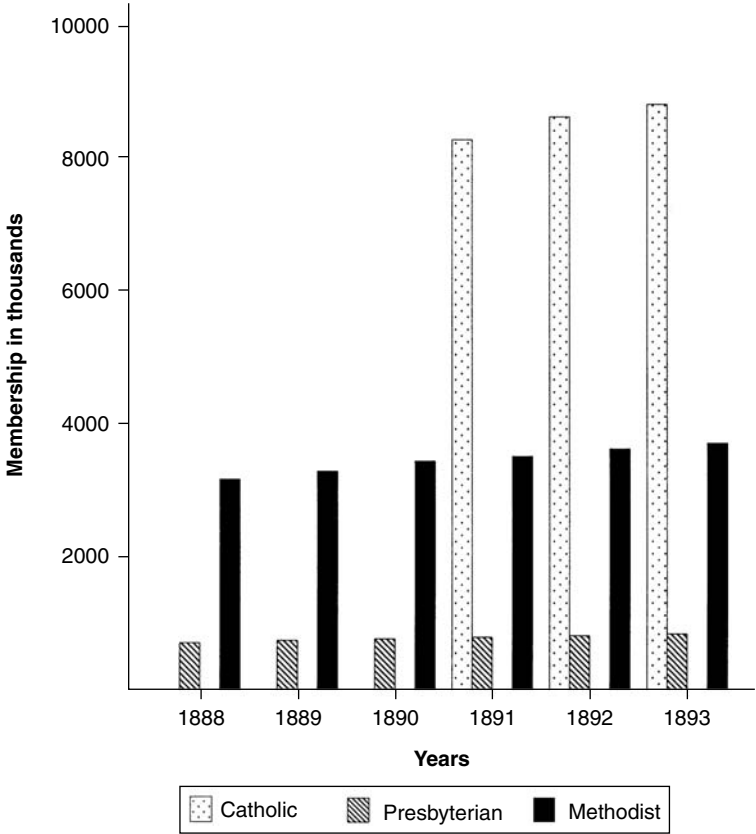
Figure 3.3 Catholic, Presbyterian, and Methodist Church membership, 1882–1892
Source: Carter et al. 2006.
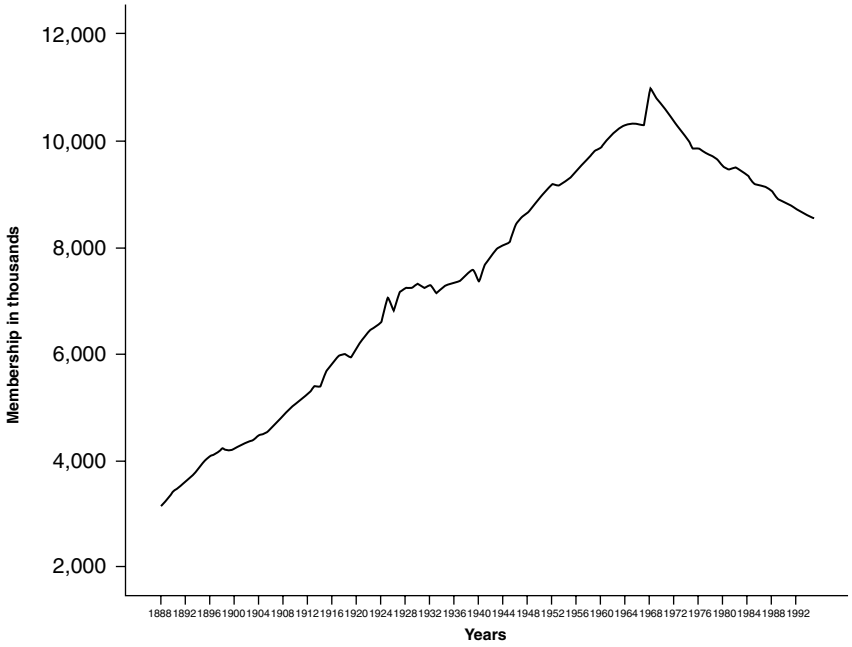
Figure 3.4   Methodist Church membership, 1888–1994
Source: Carter et al. 2006.
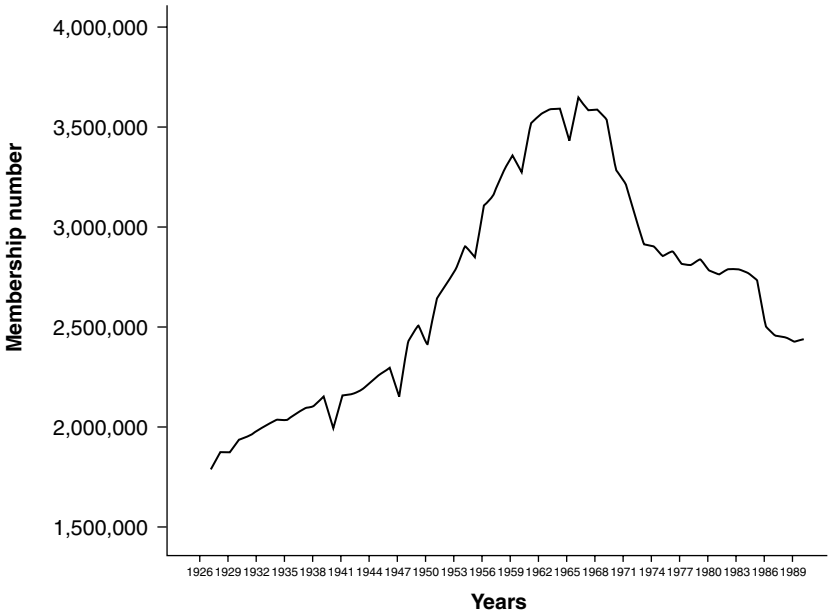
Figure 3.5   Episcopal Church membership, 1925–1990
Source: Carter et al. 2006.
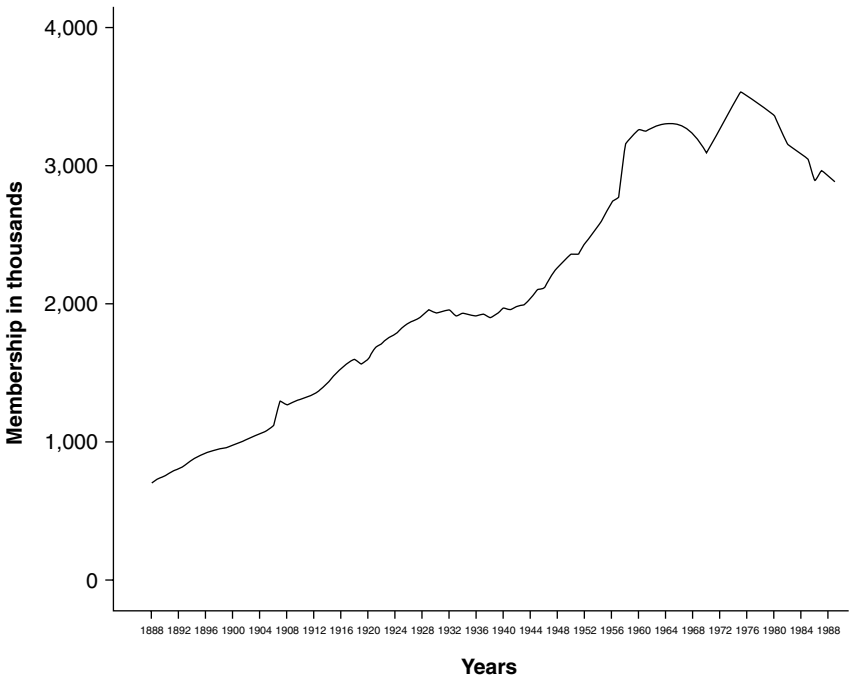
Figure 3.6   Presbyterian Church membership, 1888–1990
Source: Carter et al. 2006.
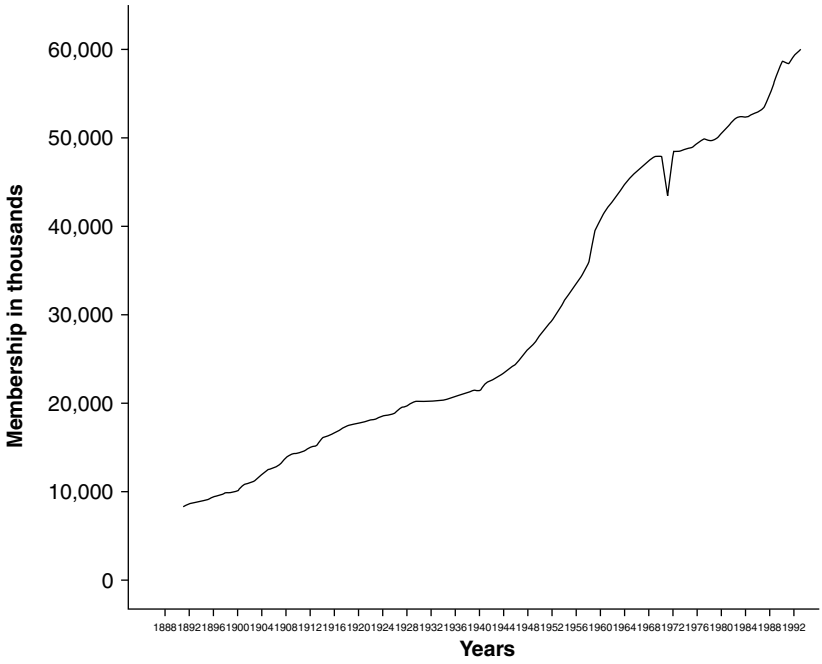
Figure 3.7　Catholic Church membership, 1888–1994
Source: Ruggles et al. 2004.

Figure 4.1　Indian population, 1890–1990, San Francisco and Oakland, California
Source: Ruggles et al. 2004.
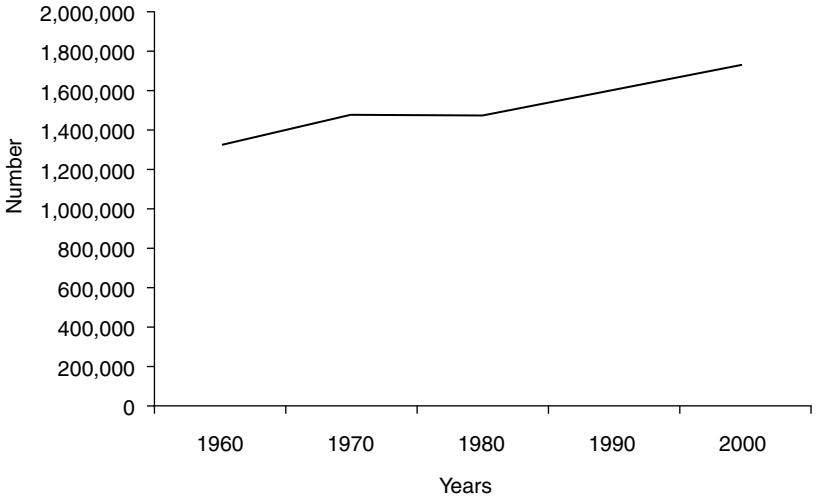
Figure 4.2   San Francisco population, 1960–2000
Source: Ruggles et al. 2004.
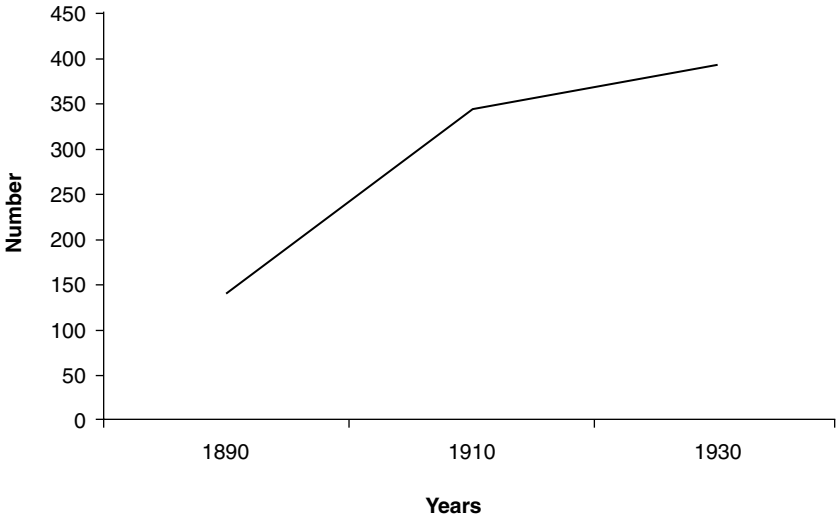
Figure 4.3   Indian population, 1890–1930, New York City
Source: Carter et al. 2006.
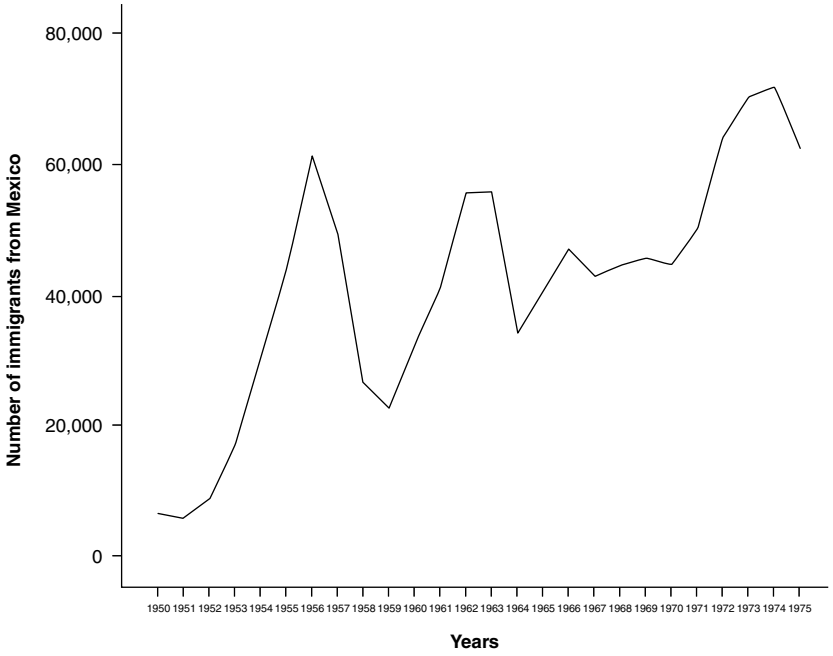
Figure 5.1   Mexican American immigration, 1950–1975
Source: Carter et al. 2006.
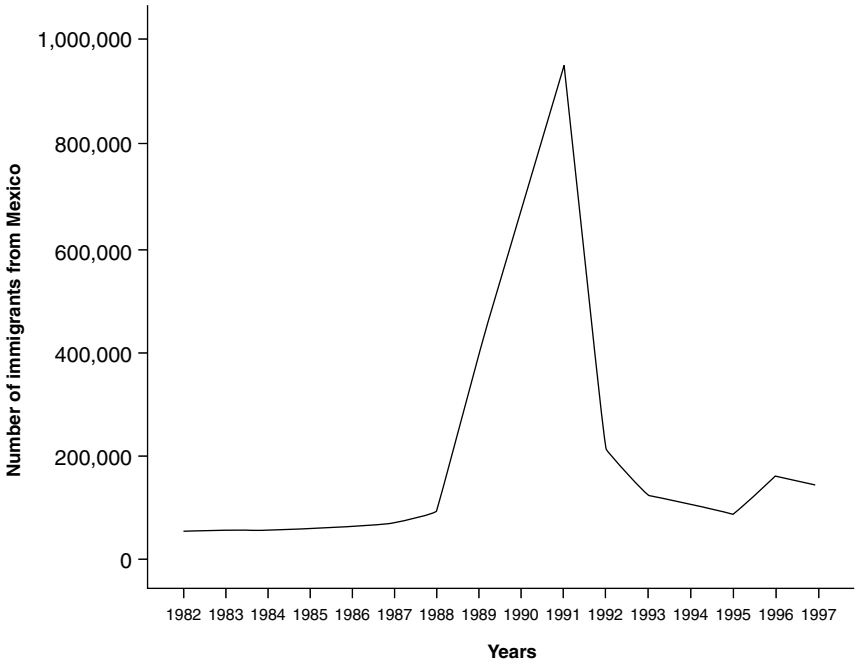
Figure 5.2   Mexican American immigration, 1982–1997
Source: Carter et al. 2006.
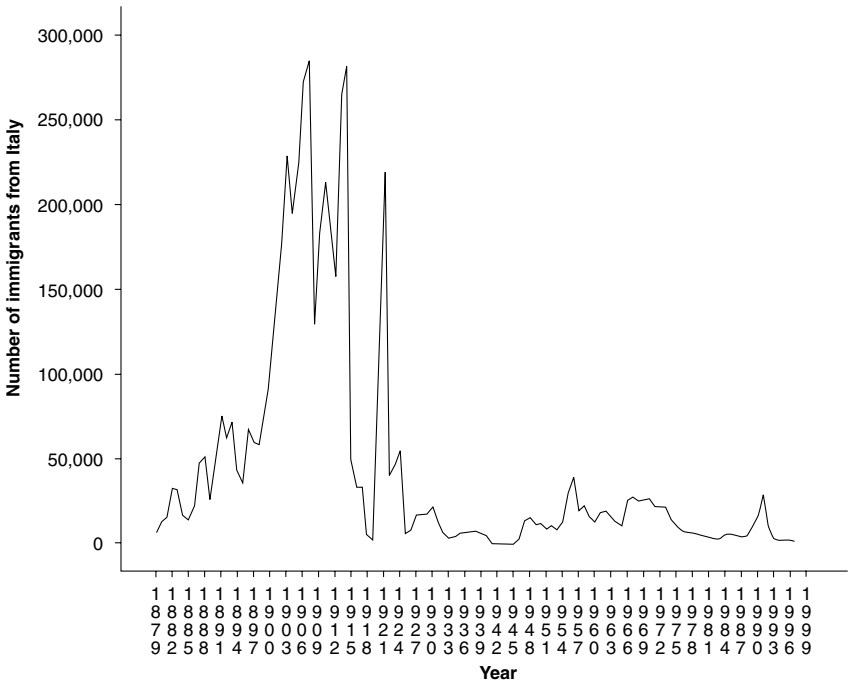
Figure 6.1   Italian immigration, 1879–1999

Source: Carter et al. 2006.

Figure 6.2   Italian immigration, 1888–1915
Source: Carter et al. 2006.
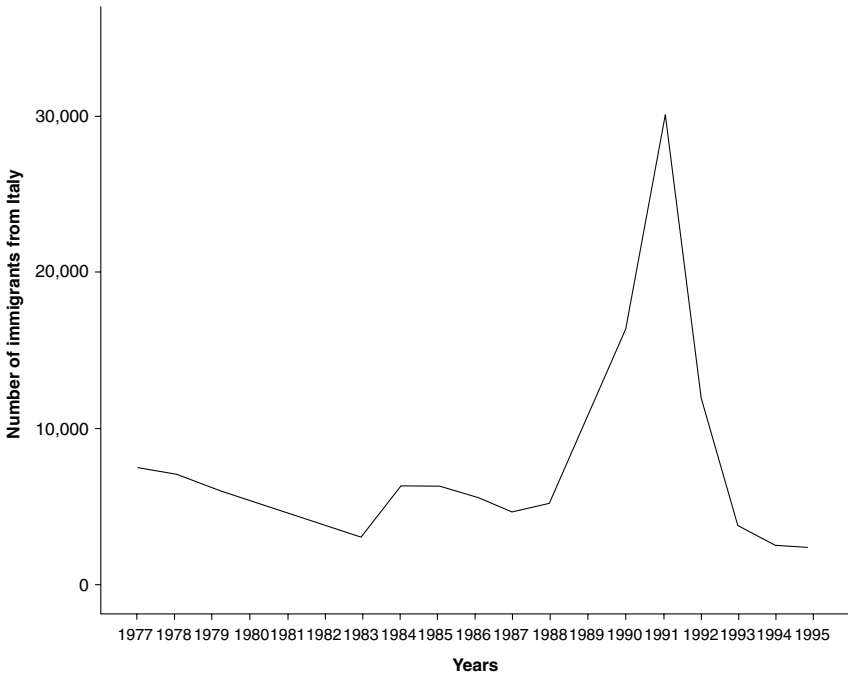
Figure 6.3   Immigrants from Italy, 1977–1995
Source: Carter et al. 2006.
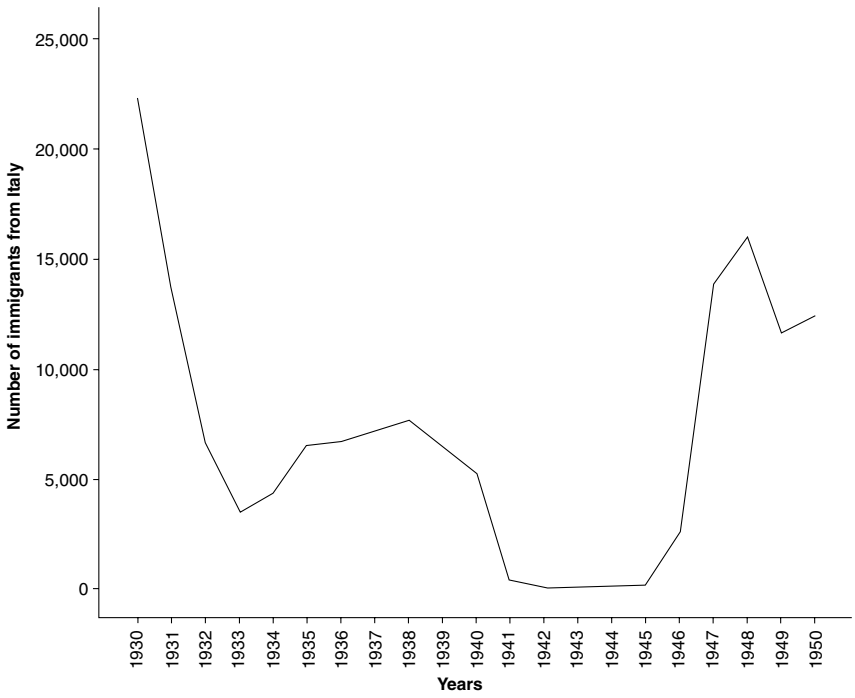
Figure 6.4   Italian immigration, 1930–1950
Source: Carter et al. 2006.
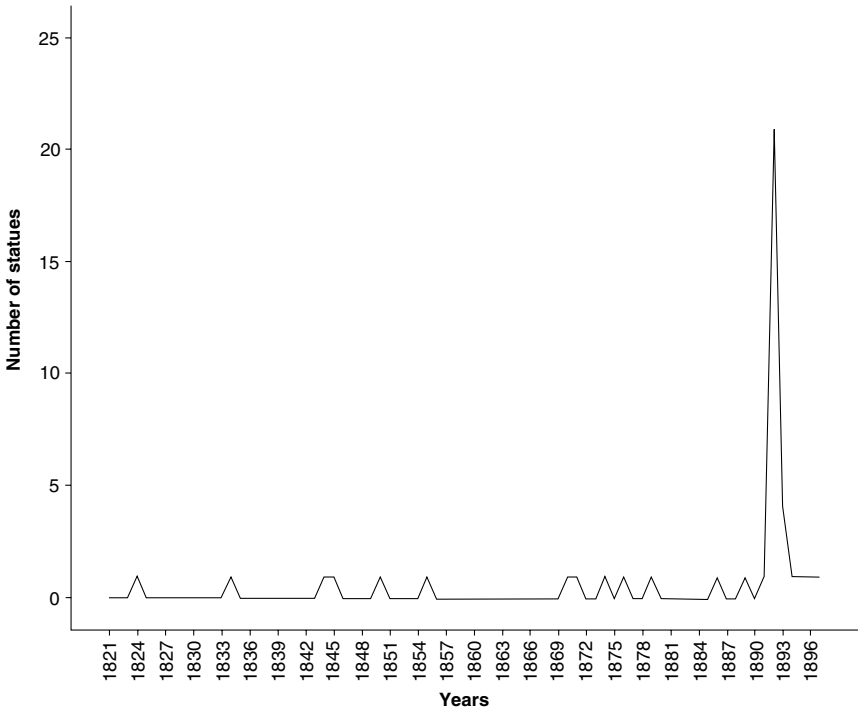
Figure 6.5   Number of Columbus statues dedicated in the United States by year, 1820–1897
Source: Data from Smithsonian Art Inventory.
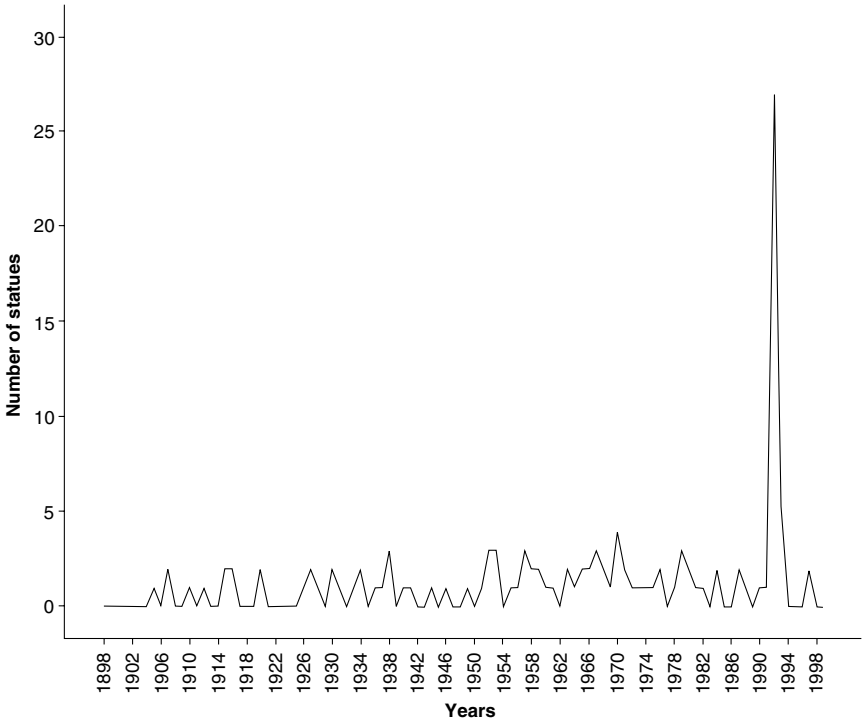
Figure 6.6   Number of Columbus statues dedicated in the United States by year, 1898–1998
Source: Data from Smithsonian Art Inventory.
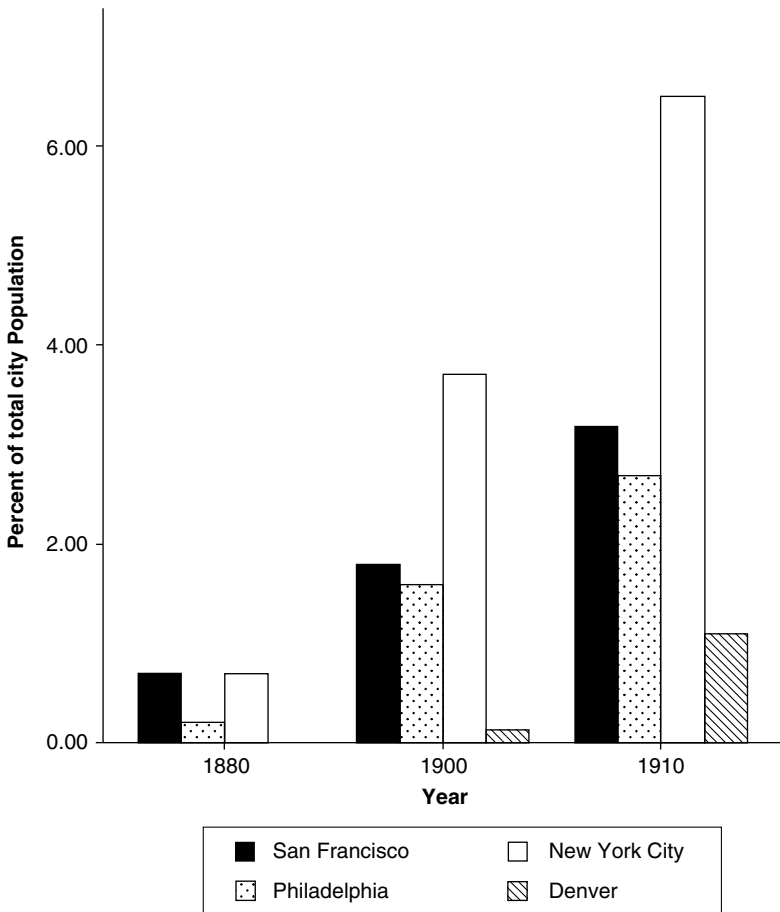
Figure 6.7   Italy birthplace, selected cities, 1880–1910
Source: Ruggles et al. 2004.
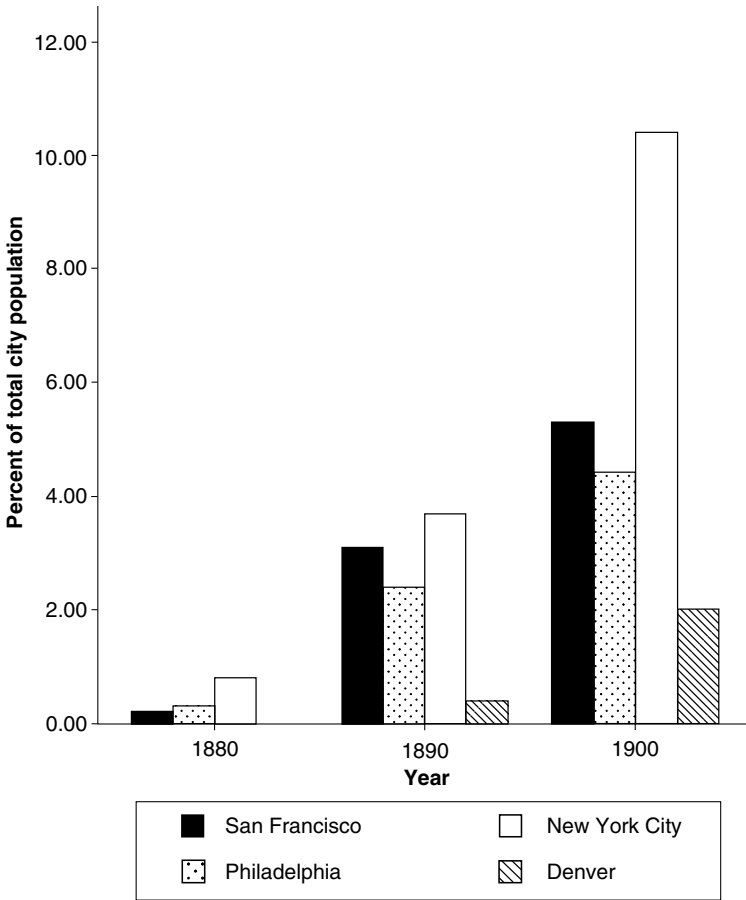
Figure 6.8   Italy mother's birthplace, selected cities, 1880–1910
Source: Ruggles et al. 2004.
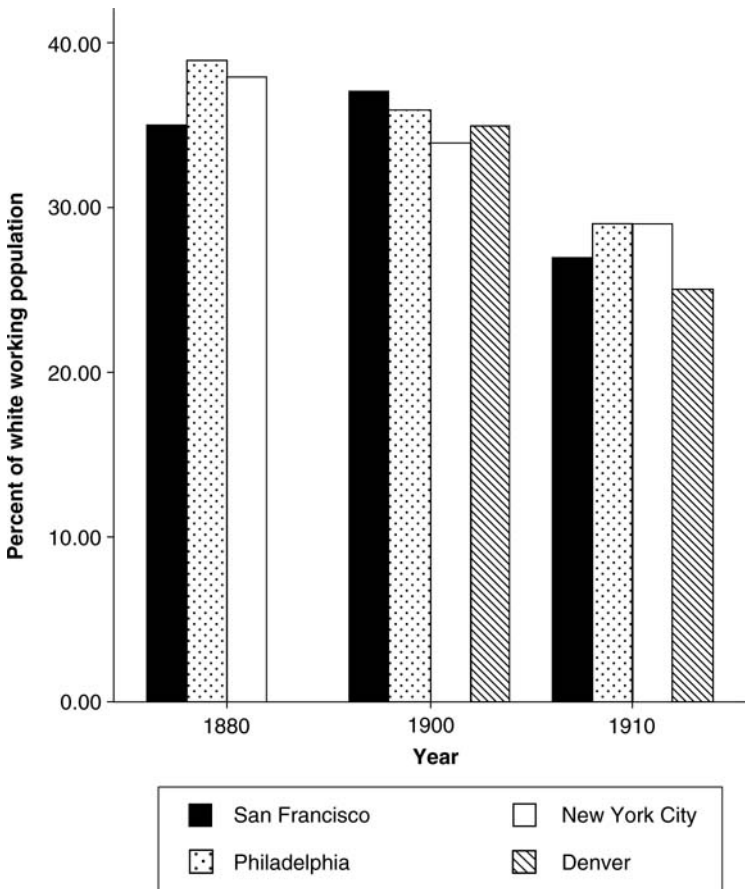
Figure 6.9   Full employment, last 12 months, whites, selected cities, 1880–1910
Source: Ruggles et al. 2004.
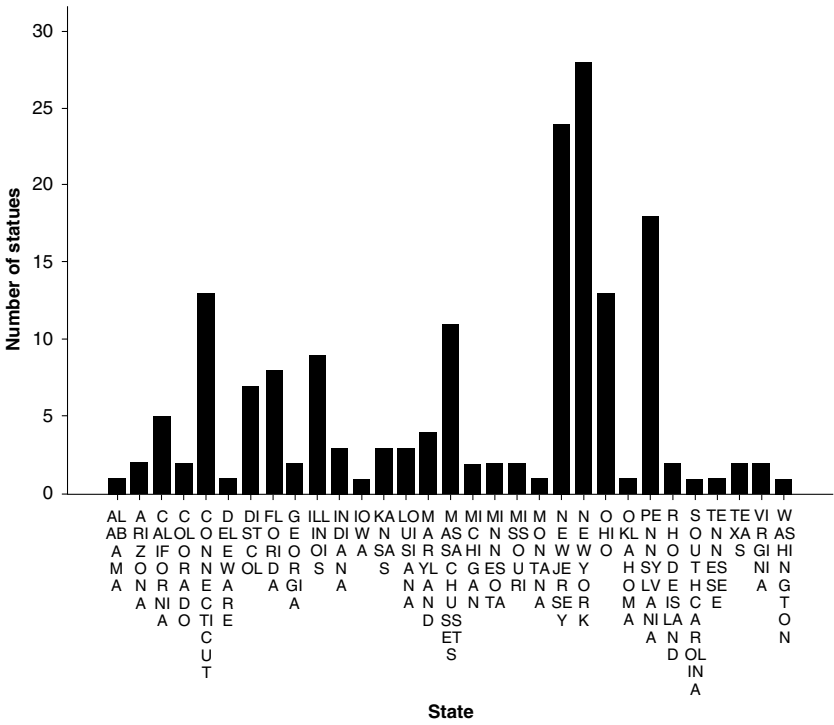
Figure 6.10　Number of Columbus statues dedicated in the United States by state

Source: Data from Smithsonian Art Inventory.
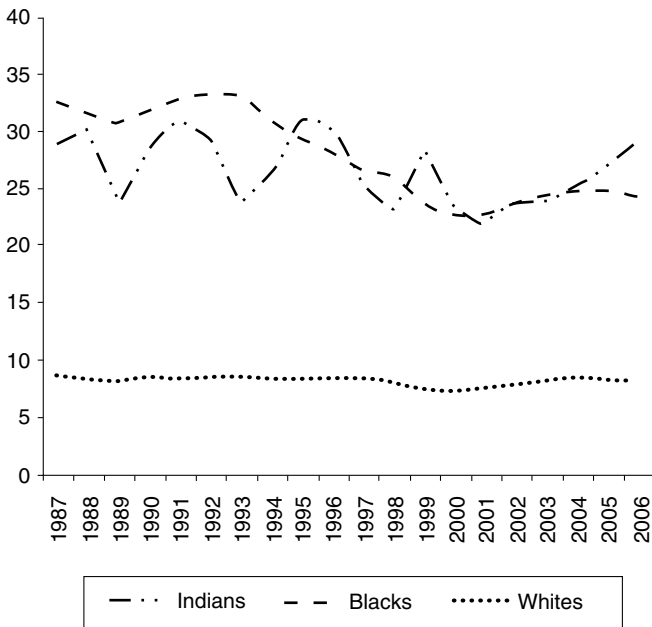
Figure 7.1   Individual poverty rates, by race, 1987–2006
Source: Carter et al. 2006.
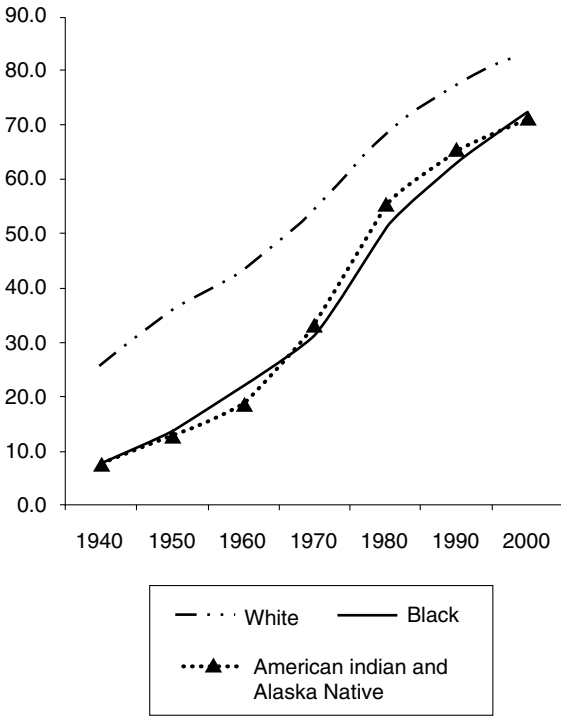
Figure 7.2   High school graduation rates, by race, 1940–2000
Source: Carter et al. 2006.
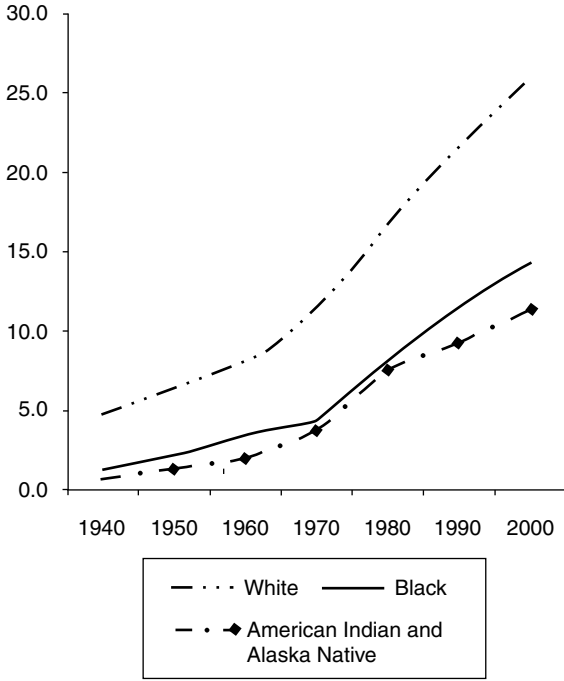
Figure 7.3   College graduation rates, by race, 1940–2000
Source: Carter et al. 2006.
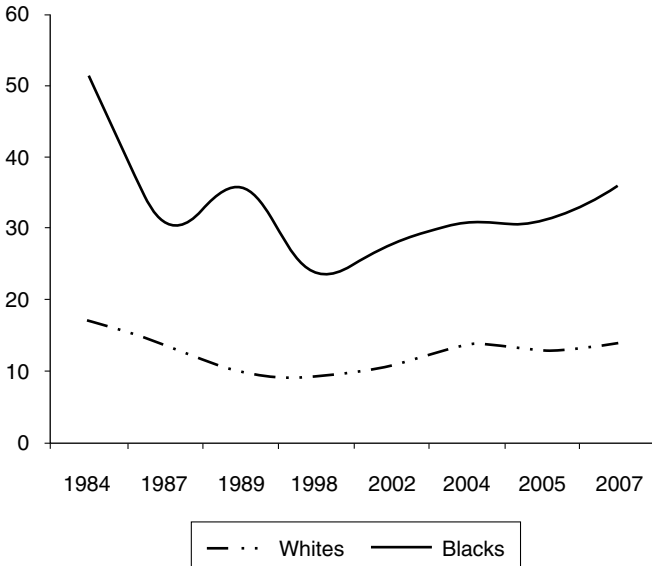
Figure 7.4   Public opinion, not enough money for family food, by race, 1984–2007
Source: Figure drawn from data from http://brain.gallup.com, Inventory number 1687.
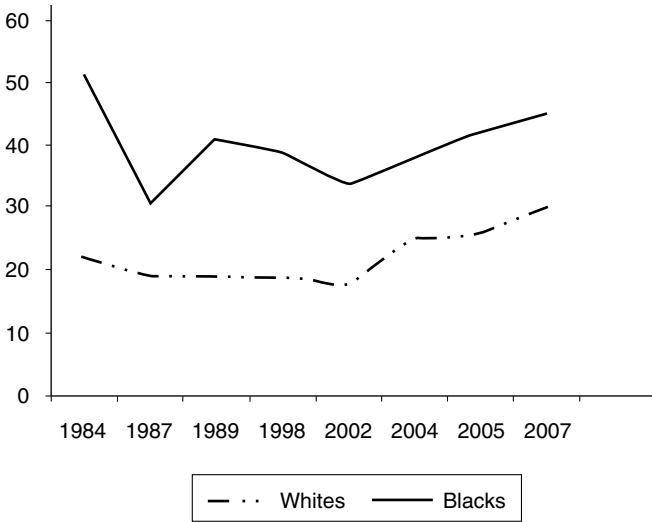
Figure 7.5   Public opinion, not enough money for family medicine, by race, 1984–2007
Source: Figure drawn from data from http://brain.gallup.com, Inventory number 1687.
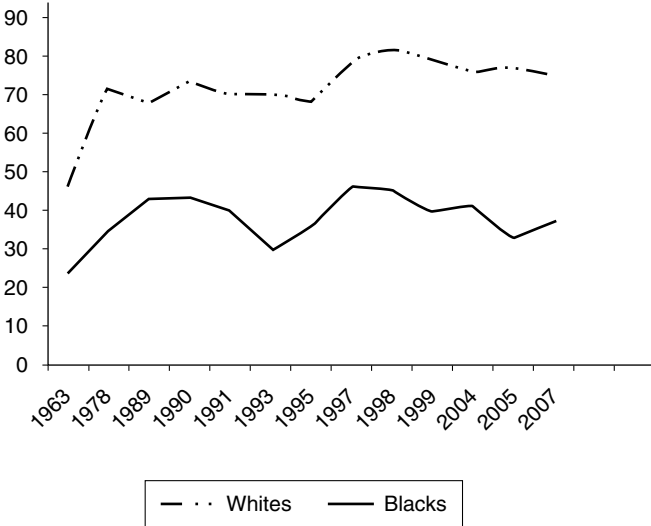
Figure 7.6   Public opinion, blacks have equal opportunity in employment, by race, 1963–2007
Source: Figure drawn from data from http://brain.gallup.com, Inventory number 1687.
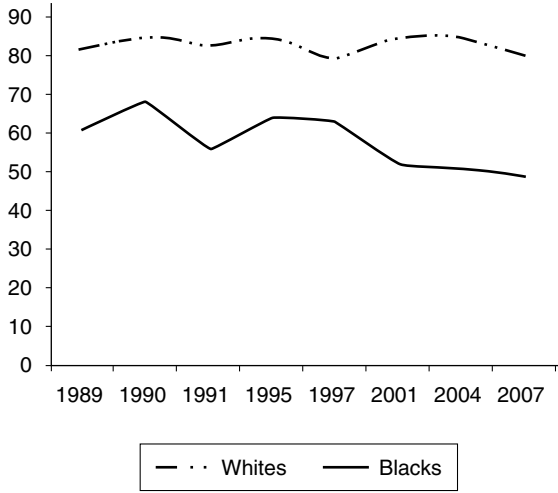
Figure 7.7   Public opinion, blacks have equal opporutnity in education, by race, 1989–2007
Source: Figure drawn from data from http://brain.gallup.com, Inventory number 1687.
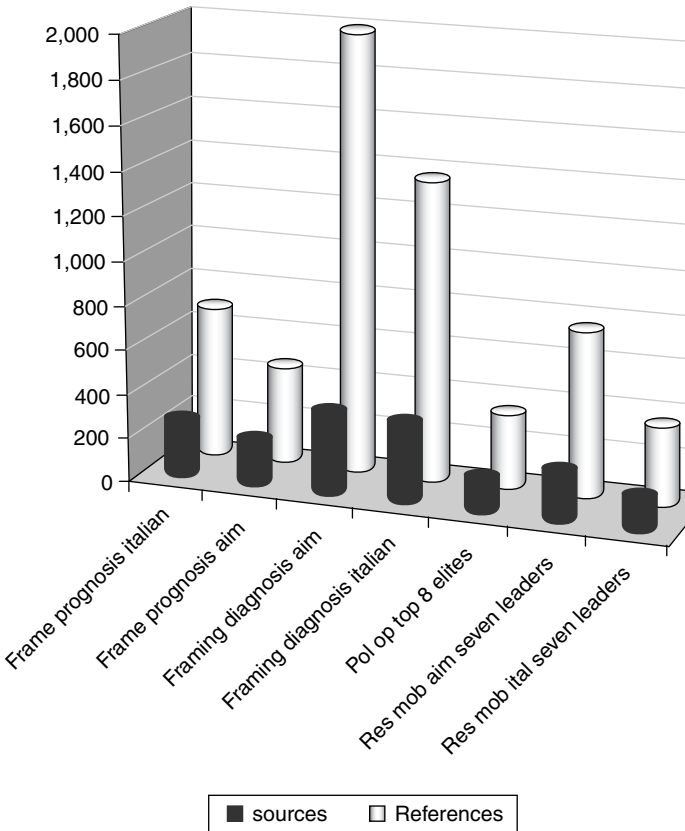
Figure 7.8   Political process in Denver media, 1988–2004
Source: Analysis based on searches of several databases covering Denver media.
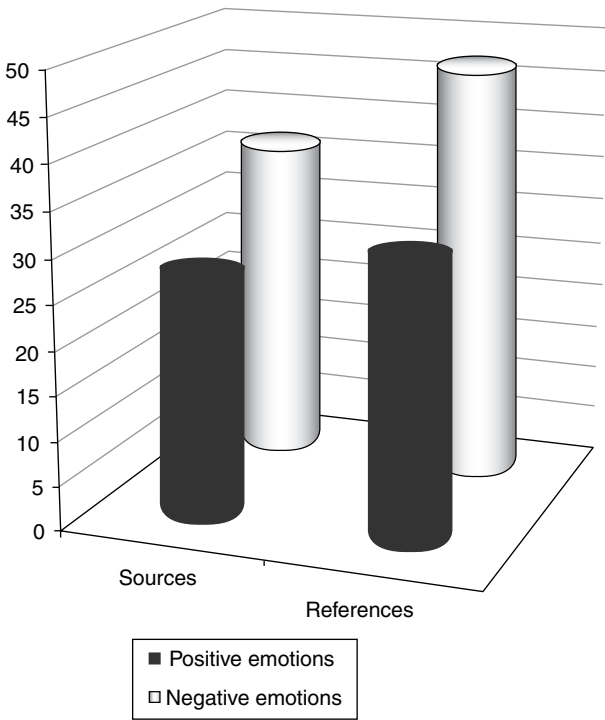
Figure 7.9   Emotions near AIM leaders, Denver media, 1988–2005

Source: Analysis based on searches of several databases covering Denver media.

Table 2.1 Patriotic frames in presidential proclamations and newspapers

Theme	Number of years referenced by president (appearances across proclamations)	Total number of references by president (appearances within proclamations)	Total number of references in Washington Post	Total number of references in New York Times	Total number of references in Denver Post
War	40	129	9748	8318	2426
Identity	53	380	4361	4008	911
Progress	46	401	0	0	4022
Obedience	42	215	3970	3464	1031

Note: Numbers represent number of appearances of each theme or its synonym in either presidential proclamations (n=53, 1930–2007) or appearance of each theme within articles that contain the words "Christopher Columbus" or "Columbus Day." The Washington and New York database included all articles from 1983 to 2007, the Denver database included all articles from 1989 to 2005.

Table 2.2 Split political elites, United States, 1884–1892[1]

Year	House	Senate	Presidency
1884	Democrat	Republican	Republican
1885	Democrat	Republican	Democrat
1886	Democrat	Republican	Democrat
1887	Democrat	Republican	Democrat
1888	Democrat	Republican	Democrat
1889	Republican, Democrat	Republican	Republican
1890	Republican	Republican	Republican
1891	Republican, Democrat	Republican	Republican
1892	Democrat	Republican	Republican

Table 2.3 U.S. population, 1882–1892 (in thousands)[2]

Year	Number
1882	52,893
1883	54,435
1884	55,826
1885	57,128
1886	58,258
1887	59,357
1888	60,614
1889	61,893
1890	63,056
1891	64,432
1892	65,920

Table 2.4 U.S. population growth, 1882–1892 (in thousands)[3]

Year	Number
1882	1,542
1883	1,391
1884	1,302
1885	1,130
1886	1,098
1887	1,257
1888	1,279
1889	1,162
1890	1,377
1891	1,488
1892	1,550

Table 2.5 Net immigration, 1882–1892[4]

Year	Number
1882	752,000
1883	579,000
1884	474,000
1885	284,000
1886	250,000
1887	416,000
1888	438,000
1889	315,000
1890	328,000
1891	426,000
1892	480,000

Table 2.6 MA residents: Birthplace and mothers birthplace, 1880[5]

State or country	Birthplace	Mothers birthplace
	(% and number of cases)	
Connecticut	0.4	0.7
	1,591	2,389
Maine	5.6	7.3
	20,065	26,338
Massachusetts	51.4	19.2
	184,371	68,833
New Hampshire	3.3	5.3
	11,877	19,058
New York	1.7	1.5
	6,080	5,478
Pennsylvania	0.5	0.5
	1,897	1,893
Rhode Island	0.6	0.6
	1,999	2,199
Vermont	1.1	1.2
	3,789	4,292
Canada	7.5	9
	27,057	32,454
England	2.5	4.3
	9,077	15,362
Scotland	0.8	2
	2,693	7,082
Ireland	18.8	39.2
	67,419	140,669
Italy	0.3	0.5
	995	1,788
Germany	2.3	5.2
	8,287	18,668

Table 2.7   Split political elites, United States, 1984–1992[6]

Year	House	Senate	Presidency
1984	Democrat	Republican	Republican
1985	Democrat	Republican	Republican
1986	Democrat	Republican	Republican
1987	Democrat	Democrat	Republican
1988	Democrat	Democrat	Republican
1989	Democrat	Democrat	Republican
1990	Democrat	Democrat	Republican
1991	Democrat	Democrat	Republican
1992	Democrat	Democrat	Republican

Table 2.8   Literacy in Boston, 1880[7]

	Frequency Distribution		
		Race	
	White	**Black/Negro**	**Chinese**
N/A	19.0	0	0
	67,540	0	0
No, illiterate (cannot read or write)	4.9	7.2	0
	17,450	200	0
Cannot write, can read	1.0	0	0
	3,493	0	0
Yes, literate (reads and writes)	75.1	92.8	100.0
	267,391	2,593	100
Column Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
	355,874	2,793	100

Note: Cells contain column percent and number of cases.

Table 4.1 San Francisco segregation, 2000[8]

Dissimilarity index	Percent
White	–
Black	65.6
American Indian	43.2
Asian	52.0
Native Hawaiian	68.0
Hispanic	55.2

Table 4.2 1992 All People's Network Conference DQ University, March 1991

1 Declare and reaffirm October 12, 1992 as International Day of Solidarity with Indigenous Peoples.

2 Advocate for treaty rights and non-treaty indigenous Nations.

3 Encourage legislation that liberalizes border crossing. We do not recognize borders.

4 Join in support of no energy or material consumption on October 13, 1992.

5 Call on the United Nations to sponsor a conference on 1992-–1993 activities for indigenous peoples.

6 Communicate to the Pope our indigenous point of view regarding the 500 year commemoration.

7 Coordinate common dates in which indigenous peoples can join together in a common effort, for example, quarterly at season changes (similar to Earth Day).

8 Call to the churches to apologize and support an indigenous perspective of 1992.

9 Call on the European Common Market to not invest in Latin American countries where governments are violating human rights.

10 Demand the restriction of landing of the three ships, the Nina, the Pinta, and the Santa Maria.

Source: 500 Years of Resistance; 1992 International Directory and Resource Guide. Oakland: South and Meso-American Indian Information Center (SAIIC), p. 11.

Table 4.3 University hosts for IPD, 1996–2006[9]

	State in top 10 of all states – # of Indians in state	State exceeds national average in Indian population (1.5 %)	Elite University (top 50 in United States)
University of California, Berkeley	X	X	X
CSU-Sacramento	X	X	
Pennsylvania			X
Michigan	X		X
Michigan State	X		
University of Minnesota		X	
Yale			X
Columbia	X		X
Stanford Southern Illinois University	X	X	X
Brigham Young University		X	
Salt Lake City College		X	
Washington state	X	X	
Montana		X	
Princeton			X
University of New Mexico	X	X	
University of California, Los Angeles	X	X	X
Eastern Michigan	X		
Penn State			X
Kansas		X	
Idaho		X	
Western Michigan	X		

Table 4.4   Correlations: Campus IPD and top 50 schools

		Number of top 50 public schools	Number of top 50 public/private schools
Raw IPD event	Pearson Correlation	.530(**)	.488(**)

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
N=51 states, including D.C.

Source: original analysis; data from reports in CollegeNewswire and from 2007 school rankings by U.S. News and World Report.

Table 4.5   Correlations: IPD and Indian segregation

		Top 10 high Indian segregation cities in state	Bottom 10 Indian segregation cities in state
Raw IPD event	Pearson Correlation	.173	.360(**)

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
N=51 states, including D.C.

Source: original analysis; IPD data from reports in CollegeNewswire and population from U.S. Census Bureau.

Table 4.6   Correlations: IPD and Indian population

		Indian population in state, 1990	Indian population in state, 2000
Raw IPD event	Pearson Correlation	.348(*)	.369(**)

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
N =51 states, including D.C.

Source: original analysis; data from reports in CollegeNewswire and from U.S. Census Bureau.

Table 4.7   Correlations: IPD and Indian relative population

		Indian population as pct of total population in state	Indian population, pct native only	Difference in "Indian only" 1990–2000
Raw IPD event	Pearson Correlation	−.040	−.041	−.006

Note: N=51 states, including D.C.
Source: Original analysis; data from reports in CollegeNewswire and from U.S. Census Bureau.

Table 4.8 Correlations: IPD and poverty

		Total poverty	Native poverty
Raw IPD event	Pearson Correlation	.507(**)	.187

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
N=51 states, including D.C.

Source: Original analysis; data from reports in CollegeNewswire and from U.S. Census Bureau.

Table 4.9 Correlations: IPD and income

		White income	Native income
Raw IPD event	Pearson Correlation	.013	.021

Note: N=51 states, including D.C.

Source: Original analysis; data from reports in CollegeNewswire and from U.S. Census Bureau.

Table 4.10 Correlations: IPD and income inequality

		Native income as pct of white income	Native-White Income Inequality
Raw IPD event	Pearson Correlation	−.024	.004

Note: N=51 states, including D.C.

Source: original analysis; data from reports in CollegeNewswire and from U.S. Census Bureau.

Table 7.1 Correlations: Bloody statue and population, segregation, and state Indian population[10]

		1 pct Indian population in state	Top 10 high segregation cities in state	Bottom 10 segregation cities in state	Indian population top 10 cities in state	Indian population top 10 state	Indian population state above average national native population
Bloody statue events in state	Pearson Correlation	−.176	.086	.141	.004	.005	.006
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.218	.547	.324	.978	.973	.965

Note: N=51 states, including D.C.

Table 7.2   Correlations: Bloody statue and relative state Indian population

		Total state population 1990	Indian population in state, 1990	Indian population as pct of total population	Total state population, 2000	Indian population, pct native only	Indian population, Indian or Indian combined
Bloody statue events in state	Pearson Correlation	.396(**)	.055	−.173	.368(**)	−.166	.176
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.004	.704	.224	.008	.245	.218

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
N=51 states, including D.C.
(ibid).

Table 7.3   Correlations: Bloody statue and changes in state Indian population

		Bi racial natives as pct of total indian pop	Difference in "indian only" 1990-2000	Difference dual indian 2000-single indian 1990	2000 dual indian as pct of 1990 single indian
Bloody statue events in state	Pearson Correlation	.160	.067	-.096	.212
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.262	.643	.502	.136
	N	51	50	51	51

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
(ibid).

Table 7.4   Correlations: Bloody statue and age/race of state population

		Median age in state	Median age in state, native only	Native population in state, native only	Native population in state, native or bi native
Bloody statue events in state	Pearson Correlation	.050	.196	.024	−.051
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.727	.167	.865	.772
	N	51	51	51	35

(ibid).

Table 7.5   Correlations: Bloody statue and IPD, monuments

		IPD event in state	Columbus monument
Bloody statue events in state	Pearson Correlation	.149	.424(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.297	.002

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
N=51 states, including D.C.
(ibid).

Table 7.6   Correlations: Bloody statue and education

		High School graduation rate in state	Population in state with bachelors degree	Population in state with graduate or professional degree
Bloody statue events in state	Pearson Correlation	.369(**)	.384(**)	.440(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.008	.005	.001

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
N=51 states, including D.C.
(ibid).

Table 7.7   Correlations: Bloody statue and state poverty

		100% below poverty	100% to 150% below poverty	150% and above poverty
Bloody statue events in state	Pearson Correlation	.286(*)	.276(*)	.370(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.042	.050	.008

*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
N=51 states, including D.C.
 (ibid).

Table 7.8   Correlations: Bloody statue and poverty for selected groups

		Total poverty	Below poverty (male)	Below poverty (female)	Native poverty	Native Poverty (male)	Native poverty (female)
Bloody statue events in state	Pearson Correlation	.351(*)	.284(*)	.287(*)	.006	−.125	−.136
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.012	.044	.041	.977	.518	.483
	N	51	51	51	29	29	29

*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
(ibid).

Table 7.9   Correlations: Bloody statue and income, income inequality

		White income	Native income	Population income	Pct native income	Native white income
Bloody statue events in state	Pearson Correlation	.374(**)	.373(**)	.394(**)	.173	.099
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.007	.007	.004	.224	.491

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
N=51 states, including D.C.
(ibid).

Table 7.10 Top 10 states, population growth rankings, 1990–2000[11]

Rank	State	Percent growth
1.	Nevada	66.27
2.	Arizona	39.98
3.	Colorado	30.56
4.	Utah	29.62
5.	Idaho	28.53
6.	Georgia	26.37
7.	Florida	23.53
8.	Texas	22.76
9.	North Carolina	21.43
10.	Washington	21.11

Table 7.11 Denver segregation, 1990[12]

	Dissimilarity index with whites
White	–
Black	66.2
American Indian	41.6
Asian	37.7
Hispanic	51.8

Table 7.12 Denver population, by race, 1980–2000[13]

	1980 Number	Percent	1990 Number	Percent	2000 Number	Percent
Total Population	1,428,836	100.00	1,622,980	100.00	2,109,282	100.00
Total Hispanics	163,394	11.44	211,005	13.00	397,236	18.83
White	1,156,558	80.94	1,272,389	78.40	1,484,343	70.37
Black	74,875	5.24	92,296	5.69	112,289	5.32
American Indian and Eskimo	8,266	0.58	9,631	0.59	11,824	0.56
Asian	18,289	1.28	35,296	2.17	61,797	2.93
Hawaiian and Pacific Islander	–	–	–	–	1,772	0.08
Other	7,454	0.52	2,363	0.15	2,663	0.13
Two or more races	–	–	–	–	37,358	1.77

Table 7.13 College degree population, 2000, ranked by state[14]

Rank	State	Percent of population aged 25 and over with a college or professional degree
1.	District of Columbia	41.83
2.	Massachusetts	40.40
3.	Colorado	39.67

Table 7.14 U.S. ranking of Colorado metros by percent of population 25 and over with a college or professional degree[15]

Rank	Metro	Number of people aged 25 and over with a college or professional degree	Total population aged 25 and over	Percent of population aged 25 and over with a college or professional degree
1.	Boulder–Longmont, CO	108,138	186,126	58.10
31.	Colorado Springs, CO	131,926	320,420	41.17
36.	Denver, CO	562,812	1,378,147	40.84

Table 7.15   Colorado, top 5 reported American Indian or Alaskan tribes by frequency[16]

Native American or Alaskan Tribe	Number reported	Percent of tribes reported	Percent of total state population
1. Navajo	4,784	17.11	0.11
2. Cherokee	4,103	14.67	0.10
3. Sioux	3,018	10.79	0.07
4. Ute	2,648	9.47	0.06
5. Latin American Indians	2,370	8.48	0.06

Table 7.16   Arizona, top 5 reported American Indian or Alaskan tribes by frequency[17]

Native American or Alaskan Tribe	Number reported	Percent of tribes reported	Percent of total population
1. Navajo	125,881	58.49	2.45
2. Apache	23,404	10.87	0.46
3. Tohono O'Odham	15,393	7.15	0.30
4. Pueblo	10,233	4.75	0.20
5. Yaqui	10,065	4.68	0.20

Table 7.17   Oklahoma, top 5 reported American Indian or Alaskan tribes by frequency[18]

Native American or Alaskan tribe	Number reported	Percent of tribes reported	Percent of total population
1. Cherokee	97,317	41.20	2.82
2. Choctaw	43,620	18.47	1.26
3. Creek	22,533	9.54	0.65
4. All other native American tribes	20,244	8.57	0.59
5. Chickasaw	12,610	5.34	0.37

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107. Ibid.
108. Ibid.

APPENDIX A

1. Glaser and Strauss 1967.
2. Burawoy 2003.

APPENDIX B

1. Table constructed with data from *Historical Statistics of the United States, Earliest Times to the Present: Millennial Edition*, edited by Susan B. Carter, Scott Sigmund Gartner, Michael R. Haines, Alan L. Olmstead, Richard Sutch, and Gavin Wright. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
2. Table drawn with data from *Historical Statistics of the United States, Earliest Times to the Present: Millennial Edition*, edited by Susan B. Carter, Scott Sigmund Gartner, Michael R. Haines, Alan L. Olmstead, Richard Sutch, and Gavin Wright. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
3. Table drawn with data from *Historical Statistics of the United States, Earliest Times to the Present: Millennial Edition*, edited by Susan B. Carter, Scott Sigmund Gartner, Michael R. Haines, Alan L. Olmstead, Richard Sutch, and Gavin Wright. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
4. Data refer to Net Immigration Of Aliens (Kuznets And Rubin measurement). Table is drawn with data originating from *Historical Statistics of the United States, Earliest Times to the Present: Millennial Edition*, edited by Susan B. Carter, Scott Sigmund

Gartner, Michael R. Haines, Alan L. Olmstead, Richard Sutch, and Gavin Wright. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

5. Table includes only the most significant Birthplaces; 1880 Census; Table drawn with Census Data, provided by Steven Ruggles, Matthew Sobek, Trent Alexander, Catherine A. Fitch, Ronald Goeken, Patricia Kelly Hall, Miriam King, and Chad Ronnander. *Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 3.0* [Machine-readable database]. Minneapolis, MN: Minnesota Population Center [producer and distributor], 2004.

6. Table drawn with Census Data, provided by Steven Ruggles, Matthew Sobek, Trent Alexander, Catherine A. Fitch, Ronald Goeken, Patricia Kelly Hall, Miriam King, and Chad Ronnander. *Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 3.0* [Machine-readable database]. Minneapolis, MN: Minnesota Population Center [producer and distributor], 2004.

7. Figure drawn with data from *Historical Statistics of the United States, Earliest Times to the Present: Millennial Edition*, edited by Susan B. Carter, Scott Sigmund Gartner, Michael R. Haines, Alan L. Olmstead, Richard Sutch, and Gavin Wright. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

8. Table drawn with Census Data, provided by Steven Ruggles, Matthew Sobek, Trent Alexander, Catherine A. Fitch, Ronald Goeken, Patricia Kelly Hall, Miriam King, and Chad Ronnander. *Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 3.0* [Machine-readable database]. Minneapolis, MN: Minnesota Population Center [producer and distributor], 2004.

9. Population census data from http://www.census.gov/prod/2002pubs/c2kbr01–15. pdf The American Indian and Alaska Native Population: 2000 http://www.usnews. com/usnews/edu/college/rankings/brief/natudoc/tier1/t1natudoc_brief.php

10. Table is based on data from: The Historical Statistics of the United States Millennial Edition, edited by Susan B. Carter, Scott Sigmund Gartner, Michael R. Haines, Alan L. Olmstead, Richard Sutch, Gavin Wright.

11. Census Data, provided by www.CensusScope.org. Social Science Data Analysis Network, University of Michigan. www.ssdan.net

12. Ibid.
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Index