

Empire of Ink: Using the Tattoo to Teach About the Rise of American Imperialism at the Turn of the Twentieth Century

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A CELEBRITY enlisted in the United States Navy (USN) at the Great Lakes Recruiting Station in Chicago, Illinois in August of 1918. His name was Edward Joseph Spousta. Spousta famously made a living in the traveling circus, where he worked as a tattooed entertainer. Spousta was bitten by the war bug. After hearing the United States entered the Great War on the side of Britain, Spousta, according to the journalist he hired to chronicle his day at the recruiting station as part of an elaborate publicity stunt, “became enthusiastic and had two British lions, one on each arm, tattooed.” In addition to a tattoo of the famous painting *The Spirit of '76* (**Figure 1**), Spousta wore tattoos of the Statue of Liberty, an American flag, the Star-Spangled Banner flag, an American Indian’s head, several bald eagles, Japanese geisha, artillery pieces, rifles, and bullets. He even planned on getting a “picture of each of the presidents of the United States tattooed on his back” after the war ended, starting with George Washington and ending with Woodrow Wilson.¹

Spousta’s tattoos are a prime example of how the tattoo² melded with American imperialism at the turn of the twentieth century. His tattoos represented an iconography of empire, or a common repertoire



Figure 1: Edward Joseph Spousta, known as the “Liberty Tattooed Man,” was famous for his tattooed reproduction of Archibald Willard’s *The Spirit of ’76* (1875), which he had on his stomach. Willard created different versions of the painting, including *Yankee Doodle 1776* (1876), pictured above. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, <<https://www.loc.gov/item/2004673466/>>.

of symbols and images shaped by the nationalistic, patriarchal, and Orientalist impulses that drove American imperialism in the late 1800s and early 1900s. They depicted a convincing version of the nation’s manifest destiny and spread a distinctively western ideology. This ideology helped rationalize American expansion into Asia; before that, it helped rationalize American expansion into the western frontier.

And yet, the history of the tattoo and its intersection with the rise of American imperialism at the turn of the twentieth century probably never sees the light of day in a high school history classroom. A number of reasons may explain why. For one, the tattoo is *still* scorned in many places and households. Moreover, school districts throughout the U.S. continue to disdain tattoos, requiring educators to wear clothing that obfuscates otherwise visible ink. Worse yet, there exists only one collection exclusively containing tattoo artifacts and resources.³ Although makeshift tattoo museums have sprung up inside of tattoo parlors all over the U.S., the materials and resources housed in those repositories belong to private collectors and are thus restricted to the private domain.⁴ Another reason may be because the history of the tattoo is a fringe subject of scholastic analysis. Only one academic compendium has been published that contains some material pertaining to the history of the tattoo in the United States.⁵ While insightful contributions by the American tattoo artist Don Ed Hardy provide a backdrop to the popular history of the tattoo in the U.S., only a handful of peer-reviewed academic articles on the history of the American tattoo have been published.⁶ None of them explore the relationship between the tattoo and American imperialism at the turn of the twentieth century.

Even given this bleak scholastic reality, the tattoo is packed with instructional potential. Using the tattoo for instructional purposes is beneficial for high school students of history for several reasons. To begin, studying a tattoo is a lot like studying a painting; that is, a student can look at it for an extended period of time. In the process, students may learn a lot about a certain time in American history. The tattoo may also be studied from the point of view of the tattoo artist or in terms of its meaning as a symbol. Another advantage is that young people, especially teenagers, find the tattoo more fascinating than ever before.⁷ This offers a more provocative approach to instruction than traditional materials do. While style and approach will depend on the teacher, the tattoo might be useful for interactive timelines. More artistically inclined students may even draw their own tattoos. For students whose strong suit is not reading, the tattoo provides an alternative way of gaining insights on a particular topic that may be hard to ascertain from written sources. The tattoo can also be compared and contrasted with other images. Even more, it can be used to evaluate concepts and build conclusions when writing essays.

In what follows, I offer a case study on the history of the tattoo in the United States and the rise of American imperialism at the turn of the twentieth century. A case study approach is important because it does two things at the same time. On the one hand, it models how high school history teachers can use the tattoo to teach about the rise of American imperialism. On the other hand, it illustrates my primary argument: American imperialism fueled the tattoo and, in turn, the tattoo fueled American imperialism.

In order to convey my argument in a way that is insightful for educators and historians alike, I organized my essay into two sections. Since there is no history of the tattoo in the U.S. and the rise of American imperialism at the turn of the twentieth century, the first section of my essay considers the dialectic between the tattoo and American imperialism as the latter unfolded throughout the late 1800s and early 1900s. To best illustrate how high school history teachers can use tattoos in their units on the rise of American imperialism, the second section of my essay is a sample lesson plan that uses tattoos from the turn of the twentieth century to highlight an aspect of American imperialism that is discussed in the first section. In particular, students use Japanese geisha tattoos from the early twentieth century as interpretive scopes through which to examine Orientalism and patriarchy. Using these sources, students will see how Orientalism and patriarchy steered American imperialism in the Philippines during the Philippine-American War.

I. American Tattoos and the Rise of American Imperialism, 1850-1910

The tattoo did not make landfall in the U.S. until the 1850s, after Martin Hildebrandt opened the country's first ever brick-and-mortar tattoo parlor in New York City.⁸ Up until then, the tattoo was confined to American sailors and seamen, who tattooed themselves when at sea.⁹ P. T. Barnum, the famous nineteenth-century showman and co-founder of Barnum & Bailey Circus, made the tattoo even more concrete on land after he hired tattooed entertainers for Barnum's American Museum in the 1860s.¹⁰ A big hit, Barnum employed tattooed entertainers for his traveling circus in the 1870s and 1880s.¹¹ By the 1890s, tattooed entertainers were in such high demand, many of them were self-employed.

Laypeople popularized the tattoo on land as well. Of these laypeople, the majority were upper-class white Americans. The tattoo first gained notoriety in English high society after Captain James Cook returned to England from his second voyage to the south Pacific island of Tahiti in 1774 with a tattooed Tahitian named Omai.¹² Upper-class white Americans with ties to England adopted the trend a little more than a century later, where it was accelerated by the increasing visibility of tattooed entertainers. These individuals were tattooed in private and on parts of their bodies easily concealed by clothing. The tattoo was seen in some of their social circles as a sign of worldliness, as it had been in England.¹³ Americans who had the means to travel to Africa, for example, were tattooed with a lion to commemorate their journey.

But most Americans looked down on people with tattoos, owing much to the northern Italian anthropologist Cesare Lombroso's book, *Criminal Man* (1876). In *Criminal Man*, Lombroso described people who had a tattoo as "instinctively criminal."¹⁴ Compound this with Lombroso's second argument, that the tattoo was the most "characteristic trait of primitive man," and Lombroso's analysis was easily seen as a rationale for classism.¹⁵ When the Manhattan aristocrat Ward McAllister called a well-to-do member of one of his social clubs no better than "an illiterate seaman" for having a tattoo in 1896, he was echoing sentiments common in American society for years.¹⁶

Given such sentiments, tattoo artists moved around a lot. Facing limited economic opportunities, they went where the work went. Tattoo artists followed the traveling circus circuit and tattooed patrons from town to town, working alongside the circus attractions. Railroads not only opened up new opportunities for the traveling circus, but also helped to spread the tattoo industry across the United States. A mobile network of craftspeople and apprenticeship glued the tattoo industry together. After the electric tattoo machine was patented by Samuel O'Reilly in 1891, the tattoo industry became more stationary.¹⁷ Within just one decade, there were a dozen brick-and-mortar tattoo parlors in places like Brooklyn's Coney Island or along the Bowery in lower Manhattan.¹⁸ Not before long, the clientele of the tattoo artists expanded as well, including college students pushing the boundaries of their freedom and women of all ages using the tattoo as a form of permanent makeup.¹⁹



Figure 2: Charles Wagner and Lewis Alberts modified or copied dozens of colorful and patriotic advertisements in their artwork. On left: T. C. Williams Co., Golden Eagle poster, Richmond, Virginia, c. 1899, Tobacco Collection, John W. Hartman Center for Sales, Advertising, and Marketing History. Courtesy of the David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University. On right: Lewis Alberts, tattoo flash sheet, c. 1900, reproduced in Don Ed Hardy, *“Lew the Jew” Alberts: Early 20th Century Tattoo Drawings* (San Francisco, CA: Hardy Marks Publications, 2015). Used with permission from Hardy Marks Publishing.

The electric tattoo machine made the tattoo more legible, increasing the number of designs available to consumers. Using an electric tattoo machine, a tattoo artist could reproduce almost any illustration they wanted. By and large, tattoo artists reproduced illustrations already part of the popular imagination and the new consumer culture. The illustrations, which included nationalistic, patriarchal, and Orientalist themes, usually came from commercial literature or directly from commodities. Stiff competition among retailers forced ad agencies to create elaborate illustrations, store displays, and eye-catching containers to promote retail interests.²⁰ Instead of solely advertising the practical value of a product, some

ad agencies emphasized themes about the primacy of the U.S. that Americans already knew and believed, using colonial iconography to stir consumption. The timing was intentional, as the Spanish-American War was in full swing. Images of bald eagles and of American flags, to use just a few examples, were used to sell commodities and give buyers the impression that purchasing things was a civic duty. Thanks to stock tattoo sheet manufacturers, tattoo sheets were soon dominated by these illustrations (**Figure 2**).²¹ By the First World War, they were the chief tattoos of the tattoo industry.

Albert Kurzman, who was professionally known as Lewis “Lew the Jew” Alberts, was the world’s first stock tattoo sheet manufacturer.²² Born in New York City on December 13, 1880, Alberts eventually worked alongside Charles “Charlie” Wagner. Like Alberts, Wagner is considered one of the founding fathers of the tattoo in the United States. Wagner was born in Prešov, Slovakia in 1875. Wagner’s family migrated to New York City in the 1880s. Living in squalor, the young Wagner was easily lured into the tattoo world by Samuel O’Reilly, who promised the young Wagner that tattooing was a lucrative and easy way to earn a living. Eventually, Wagner worked as O’Reilly’s apprentice. O’Reilly taught Wagner how to tattoo, although the circumstances of what led them to begin working together in the first place remains unclear. Of moderate standing, Alberts was a high school graduate and accomplished wallpaper designer before he became a tattoo artist. Alberts learned how to tattoo from a war buddy he served with in the United States Army during the Philippine-American War. Tattooing together in a shop once owned by O’Reilly at 11 Chatham Square, Alberts partnered with Wagner sometime in the early 1900s (**Figure 3**). Alberts and Wagner sold Alberts’ stock tattoo sheets to other American tattoo artists using a catalog in the mail.

The artwork in the stock tattoo sheets standardized the look and style of the tattoo.²³ In many respects, the very identity of the nation was tied to Alberts’ tattoo designs, as he copied or modified popular icons central to American empire in his artwork. His tattoos perpetuated a satisfying image of the United States as a premier global power. The tattoo artists who purchased Alberts’ stock tattoo sheets reproduced this image of the U.S. over and over again, where they were seen by tens of thousands of Americans at boardwalks, circuses, and world’s fairs.



Figure 3: This photograph shows the Bronx El train zipping across the Bowery on the Third Avenue Elevated Line through Chatham Square. Although it is hard to see in the picture, a small tattoo shop, owned and operated by Charles Wagner and Lewis Alberts, was located just below the train tracks and across the street on the left of the horse-drawn wagon in the middle of the photograph. Photograph by Detroit Publishing Co., c. 1900, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, <<https://www.loc.gov/item/2016808153/>>.

The boardwalk was the epicenter of the tattoo industry at the turn of the twentieth century.²⁴ Many brick-and-mortar tattoo parlors were located on them. In fact, Americans were probably familiar with tattoos because they saw them on the tattoo sheets displayed in the storefront of a tattoo parlor located on a boardwalk. The storefront was a central part of a tattoo artist's business (**Figure 4**). Like more traditional business owners, tattoo artists used the storefront to promote their product. Tattoo artists decorated storefronts similar to art galleries, showcasing dozens of tattoos on tattoo sheets. Inside, the tattoo parlors were bedecked with

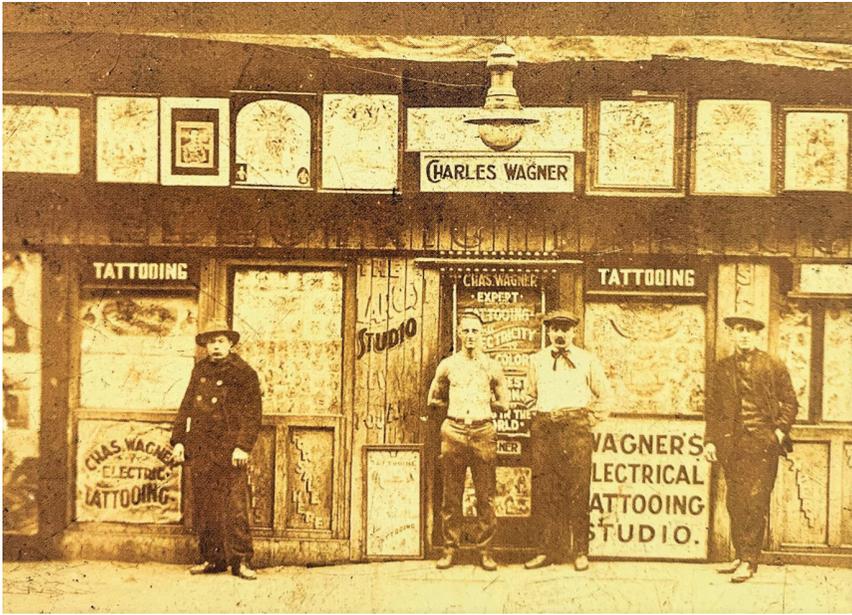


Figure 4: One of Charles Wagner’s tattoo parlors, circa 1920. Wagner is the man with the mustache, and Lewis Alberts is on the far right. Notice the tattoo sheets decorating the storefront. Photograph by unknown, c. 1920, reproduced in Michael McCabe, *New York City Tattoo: The Oral History of an Urban Art* (San Francisco, CA: Hardy Marks Publication, 2013), 17. Used with permission from Hardy Marks Publishing.

“exotic” or “odd” settings, usually festoons from military service abroad or work in the traveling circus, and even more tattoo sheets. Some tattoo parlors saw more foot traffic than others, especially those located on boardwalks where many industries operated simultaneously. Coney Island was one such boardwalk. Thousands of Americans examined the tattoo sheets in the storefronts of the tattoo parlors at Coney Island. These Americans internalized the nationalistic, patriarchal, and Orientalist messages that came from them, reinforcing ideas about the American empire they already believed. Some of these Americans were more influential than others, and likely worked in education, business, or politics.

Tattooed entertainers were popular on America’s boardwalks. “Tattooed Ladies” and “Illustrated Men” were premier tattooed entertainers who performed on boardwalks, and a number, including



Figure 5: Billed as the “World’s Most Handsomely Tattooed Man,” Jack Tyron was a popular tattooed entertainer in the United States in the early 1900s. Cabinet card, c. 1905, reproduced in Don Ed Hardy, *“Lew the Jew” Alberts: Early 20th Century Tattoo Drawings* (San Francisco, CA: Hardy Marks Publications, 2015). Used with permission from Hardy Marks Publishing.

“Painless” Jack Tyron, were tattooed by Lewis Alberts and Charles Wagner (**Figure 5**).²⁵ Tyron’s tattoos not only astonished and captivated audiences, but highlighted American hegemony. Tyron wore tattoos of a battleship, American flag, bald eagle, and Columbia’s shield on his stomach and chest, angels on his back, and even more American flags, battleships, and bald eagles on his arms. He wore on his legs a Statue of Liberty, “exotic” animals,

dragons, and other metaphors of imperial progress as spectacle, hiding the disturbing realities of world conquest behind a veil of petty bourgeois fantasy and exhibition. Examined against the backdrop of American life at the beginning of the twentieth century, Tyron's tattoos were landmarks of the new imperial world order.

Imperialism and U.S. Battleship Tattoos

Of Tyron's tattoos, few symbolized the new imperial world order more than the battleship, as the battleship ushered in an era of unprecedented expansion for the United States. Driven by arguments found in USN Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan's book, *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660-1783* (1890), USN officers persuaded Congress to finance the construction of modern steel battleships. Even more, they encouraged the acquisition of overseas islands to be used as fueling depots and military installations. By 1900, the U.S. acquired Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Hawaii. The U.S. also boasted the fifth-largest navy in the world, having nine battleships in its fleet. Had it not been for these battleships, American expansion would not have been possible. Battleships protected passenger ships carrying Christian-American missionaries to convert "heathens" to Christianity in conquered theaters of war, monitored maritime trade routes, and maintained the imperial status quo by decimating opposing armies from a safe distance.

A tattoo of a battleship was more frequent at the turn of the twentieth century than it was in previous years. Before the early 1900s, a large tattoo of a battleship opened up a sailor to a multitude of hazards, including deadly infection. Using wooden stencils for tracing, crafting homemade inks, and applying a needle to puncture ink by hand into the dermis layer of the skin, tattooing was dangerous before the invention of the electric tattoo machine.²⁶ Even a small tattoo required several sessions, as severe swelling and bleeding from continuous puncture was so excessive, it prevented successive tattooing. A large tattoo of a battleship likely required up to ten sittings over the course of many months if done by hand. This left an open wound on the body for an extended period of time that unnecessarily prolonged exposure. But after the electric tattoo machine was invented, more sailors



Figure 6: This 1899 tattoo of a battleship was drawn by C. H. Fellowes, a turn-of-the-twentieth-century American tattoo artist. Meant to instill an intense feeling of patriotism in the wearer, this tattoo commemorated service in the United States Navy. C. H. Fellowes, United States battleship tattoo design, 1899. Courtesy of the Mystic Seaport Museum, Mystic, Connecticut, <<https://www.mysticseaport.org/>>.

chose designs of a battleship than had in the past. Not only did the tattoo require less sessions to be completed, but the precision of a motorized needle meant less bleeding and bruising as well.

Sailors chose tattoos that combined American flags with battleships to illustrate their patriotism (**Figure 6**). Due to size, a sailor typically had a battleship tattoo placed on either his stomach or chest, both of which are painful areas to be tattooed on. After the USS *Maine* sank in 1898, some sailors got a tattoo of the war cry from the Spanish-



Figure 7: “Remember the *Maine*” was a battle cry said by sailors and soldiers during the Spanish-American War as they avenged the deaths of their comrades who died on the USS *Maine* when it sank off the coast of Cuba in 1898. C. H. Fellowes, Remember the *Maine* tattoo design, 1898. Courtesy of the Mystic Seaport Museum, Mystic, Connecticut, <<https://www.mysticseaport.org/>>.

American War: “Remember the *Maine*” (Figure 7). Other sailors chose to illustrate their patriotism by commemorating the battles they fought in, wearing a battleship tattoo like a service ribbon. For example, a tattoo that showed a battleship engaging with a Spanish cruiser in the Battle of Manila Bay was popular with sailors who fought against Spain’s navy in that battle.

A battleship tattoo synthesized the early twentieth-century relationship between manhood and nationalism into one symbol of colonial expression. American sailors may have turned to a battleship tattoo to increase their masculinity in the same way influential Americans turned to an actual battleship to increase the

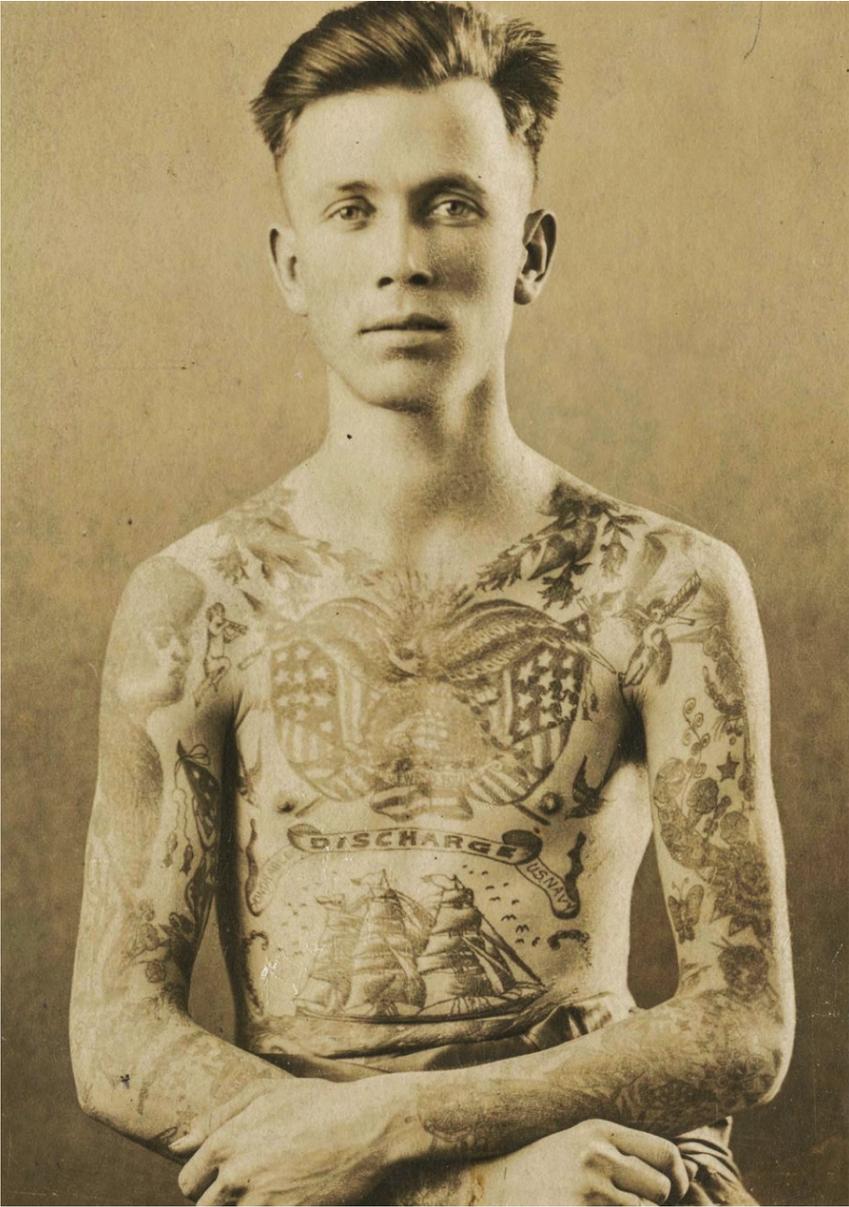


Figure 8: From Detroit, Michigan, Hughie Bowen was a United States Navy veteran and tattoo artist. Notice the tattoo of a navy ship on his stomach beneath a ribbon that indicates he was honorably discharged. Cabinet card, c. 1919. Courtesy of Nicholas York.

“masculinity” of the United States. American sailors likely got a battleship tattoo to show off their manly patriotism, as a battleship tattoo located on a sensitive part of the body like the chest or the stomach (**Figure 8**) was a ruler that measured how much pain a sailor was willing to go through for his country. Simultaneously, leading Americans persuaded American politicians to commission battleships to extend American influence abroad, coming to encapsulate the concept of “masculinity” itself. Captain Mahan, for example, championed “manly resolve” over “weakly sentiment” in U.S. foreign policy, insisting that battleships be used to stake America’s claim to land overseas.²⁷ These battleships, built with state-of-the-art technology, protected by thick steel plates, armed with massive artillery cannons, and capable of being dispatched to any part of the world, forcefully proclaimed America’s “manliness.” That is, as Edward Said maintained in *Orientalism* (1978), if places of conquest were understood from the Westerners’ perspective by way of their “femininity,” then the battleship demonstrated the generative power of American masculinity.²⁸ The “manliness” of the U.S. depended on the battleship. As a tattoo, the battleship was tied to and dependent on the manliness of the American sailors who served on them.

Imperialism and Japanese Geisha Tattoos

An Orientalist and patriarchal tattoo of an Asian woman was another design popular with American sailors in the late 1800s and early 1900s, as sailors wore them as a mile marker of their service. Sailors bound for service in the Pacific Ocean, for example, got a Japanese geisha tattoo. An exclamation point on a sailor’s heterosexuality, a Japanese geisha tattoo was the byproduct of an early twentieth-century navy edict prohibiting sailors from wearing a tattoo of a nude woman. Up until then, if a sailor had a tattoo of a woman, it was usually of a nude woman standing in a sultry way. Sailors took the edict seriously, as having a tattoo of a nude woman could lead to a dishonorable discharge. Within weeks, tattoo parlors were brimming with sailors. Tattoo artists made the best of the new edict by adding hula skirts, yukata, leis, and other “exotic” costumes to the otherwise “banned” tattoo of a nude woman. Whether they knew it or not, tattoo artists incorporated into their designs cultural and racial elements attributed to Asian

women by anthropologists from the early twentieth century who built replicas of the “Orient” for public consumption at lecture halls and world’s fairs.²⁹ The result, as Edward Said noted in a separate but related context, was that the “Orient” was “‘Orientalized.’”³⁰ A tattoo of a nude woman exhibited no definitive racial or cultural characteristics apart from the person who had the tattoo. But a tattoo of a woman “covered up” by a yukata, kimono, or lei presented stereotypical versions of “Oriental” women as more “ethnographical” and “conquerable” than a tattoo of a nude woman on the flesh of a white sailor. “Conquerable,” in this sense, bears upon Austrian psychoanalyst Otto Rank’s allusion between war and sexual conquest, whereby a “man lays siege to” or rapes a woman’s body similar to the way they “take over” a city or fortress.³¹ A 1950 study for the Kinsey Institute, for example, concluded that a pervasive “feeling of manliness” washed over American sailors after being tattooed with an Orientalist and patriarchal design like an “Oriental” woman for the first time. This led, the study concluded, to sailors going on leave to “get a piece of ass.”³² When viewed from this perspective, an Orientalist and patriarchal Japanese geisha tattoo doubled as a trophy of sexual conquest while simultaneously recording a sailor’s forays into Asia.

In her great article, “Teaching Geisha in History, Fiction, and Fantasy,” Jan Bardsley asserted that “geisha are famous the world over as emblems of Japanese culture at its most erotic and exotic.”³³ And while it is true that, according to Bardsley, “orientalist fantasy in the Euro-American West arises [from] the many fanciful images of geisha in the 19th and 20th century evident in plays, novels, and visual culture created outside Japan,” Bardsley’s point is made without considering the tattoo and the rise of American imperialism.³⁴ In 1908, while serving aboard USS *Independence*, USN Surgeon Ammen Farenholt observed that 33% of the 3,572 American sailors with a tattoo who served on the USS *Independence* since 1900 had a tattoo of a woman.³⁵ Of this 33% (or 1,178 sailors), it is likely that dozens had a Japanese geisha tattoo, as the USS *Independence* was stationed in Asia. Depicted with an elongated body and voluptuous physical features that combined the appearance of the early twentieth-century “Gibson Girl” with “erotic” east Asian imagery, a Japanese geisha tattoo helped American sailors to reimagine the “Orient” as a conceptual landscape for sexual fantasy and contemplation



Figure 9: Drawn by Charles Wagner around 1900, these tattoos of Japanese geisha were typical for their time. Charles Wagner, tattoo flash sheet, c. 1900, reproduced in Cliff White, *Flash from the Bowery: Classic American Tattoos, 1900-1950* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer, 2011).

(**Figure 9**). Philip Van Buskirk, a literate American sailor who was educated at Georgetown University, noted in his journal in the 1890s that individual, joint, and group masturbation was so rampant on board the navy ship he served, it led some USN officers to make masturbation punishable.³⁶ At sea for days, weeks, and months on end, the sailors from Farenholt’s study may have turned to a tattoo of a Japanese geisha as a source of sexual subject matter. As tattoo artist Bert Grimm recalled of his early days tattooing American sailors: “They wanted something [a tattoo] to turn them on.”³⁷ Permanently inscribed on the surface of the skin, and almost always performing sexual gestures, Japanese geisha had no choice but to be a “turn on.”

The sexually stimulating Japanese geisha tattoo can be compared to imagery published in *The Art Amateur* (1879-1903), an American popular arts magazine from the turn of the twentieth century. The magazine dealt with an array of topics in interior design, including furniture, embroidery, floral settings, rugs, curtains, and cutlery. The

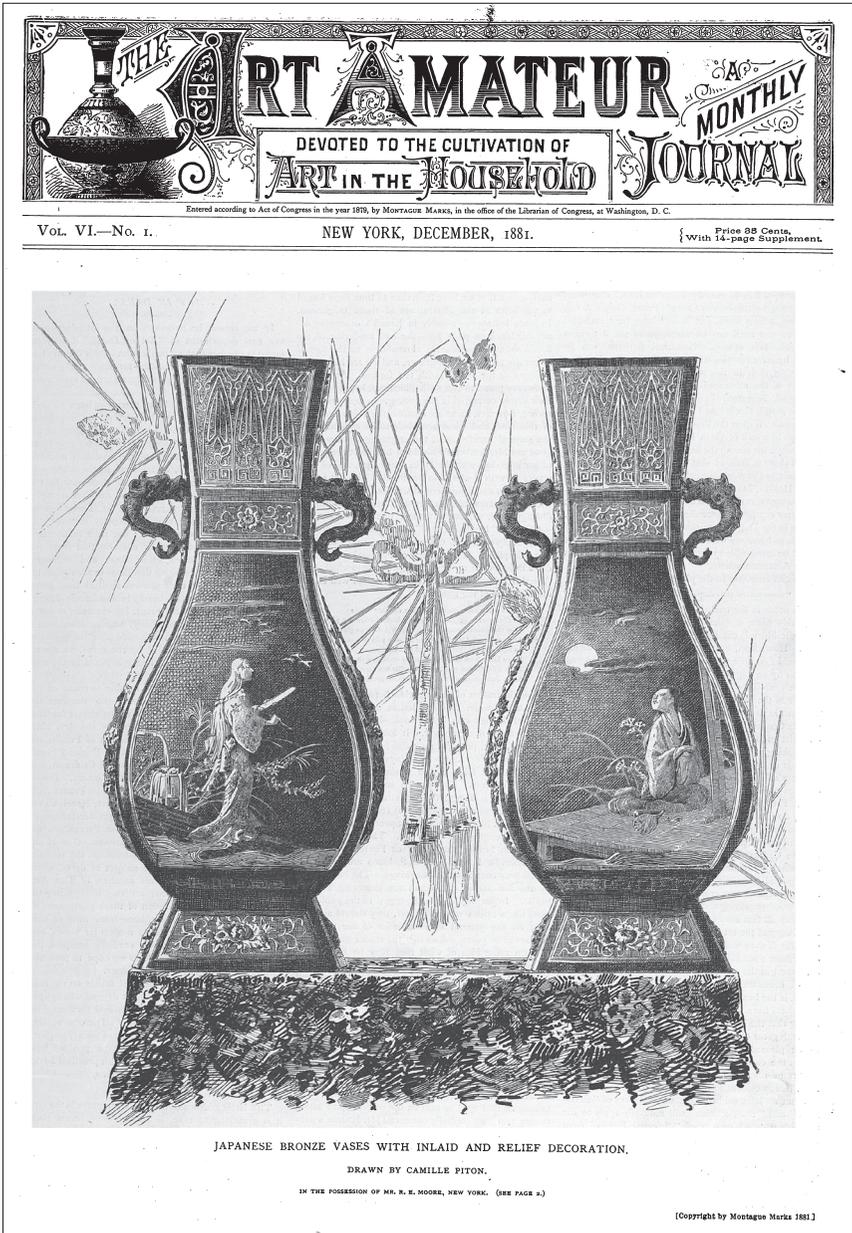


Figure 10: Cover page from *The Art Amateur* 6, no. 1 (December 1881). Caption reads: “Japanese Bronze Vases with Inlaid and Relief Decoration.” Open access via the Open JSTOR Collection, <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/25627522>>.

mouthpiece of America's "Japan Craze" in interior design in the 1880s, *Art Amateur's* cover page for its December 1881 issue featured illustrations of Japanese ornamental vases with Japanese geisha on them (**Figure 10**). These illustrations mediated the stereotype of Asian women as naturally promiscuous through an eroticized depiction of Japanese geisha. While one could interpret the Japanese geisha on the vase on the left as salaciously holding a phallic object that penetrates the surrounding darkness, *Art Amateur's* editor specifically wrote in admiration of the vase on the right, "The air of the love-sick maiden bathing in the moonlight is really delicious."³⁸ The imagery highlights the early twentieth-century perception of the "Orient" as exotic, similarly illustrating an overt conjuring of sexuality that was as equally applied to Japanese geisha as it was to Filipina civilians during the Philippine-American War. American soldiers, for instance, referred to Filipina civilians as "little brown sex machines powered by rice."³⁹

Attitudes like this that were supported by turn-of-the-twentieth-century eroticized iterations of Japanese geisha "rationalized" the sexual conquest of Filipina women and "justified" the territorial conquest of the Philippines at the same time, as some American soldiers raped Filipina civilians in the towns they took over.⁴⁰ An investigation by the Lodge Committee, a federal committee organized in 1902 to investigate alleged war crimes committed by American soldiers in the Philippines during the Philippine-American War, found twelve American soldiers guilty of rape and four others guilty of attempted rape.⁴¹ One American officer testified to the committee that occupying American soldiers prowled among the local Filipina population in search of an adequate woman to rape. If a woman did not comply, a male relative could pay a penalty as a consequence. The American officer put it this way: "a rumor circulated through the town that if a scout presented himself at a house and the woman of his choice did not accede to his wishes the husband, father, or male member of the family would be imprisoned, deported, or shot."⁴² A Filipina civilian was viewed as so inferior to Americans that some American soldiers resorted to rape just to kill the "incessant boredom" of occupation.⁴³ These soldiers, according to Sam Louie, "sexually denigrated them [Filipina women] in a way they would never have treated their spouses or other women back home."⁴⁴ In other words, the Filipina civilian was an "Other" that power and dominance was exercised over, thus maintaining the colonial status quo.



Figure 11: Tintype portrait of Olive Oatman, 1857. Digital image uploaded to Wikipedia Commons by user “Scewing” on 11 November 2017, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Olive_Oatman,_1857.png>. Modified from the original digitized image at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, <<https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/2014668>>.

Imperialism and American Indian Tattoos

Before the Filipina civilian, the American Indian was an “Other” that power and dominance was exercised over. Tattooed entertainers played a role. Throughout the late nineteenth century, tattooed entertainers invented elaborate stories of abduction and forced tattooing at the hands of merciless American Indians. The tattooed entertainer Nora Hildebrandt, Martin Hildebrandt’s wife, was said to be tattooed under threat of death by Sitting Bull, even though she was tattooed by her husband.⁴⁵ Irene Woodward, another famous tattooed entertainer from the turn of the twentieth century, told her first audiences she was tattooed by rampaging Sioux Indians when, in fact, she was tattooed by Charles Wagner.⁴⁶ These stories were based on the real-life abduction of Olive Oatman, a white woman who was abducted by Yavapai Indians after they killed her family in the Arizona territory in 1851. Oatman was later traded to the Mohave people, who had a strong tradition of tattooing that spanned thousands of years. Eventually, Oatman’s chin was tattooed as a kind of tribal rite of passage (**Figure 11**). After living with the Mohave people for four years, Oatman was released back into white society by Mohave elders, who feared harsh reprisal from the U.S. Calvary.⁴⁷ But Oatman’s abduction was rare. Very few Americans from the nineteenth century were ever abducted by American Indians. Still, Oatman’s story made Hildebrandt’s and Woodward’s performance biographies believable because they reflected what Americans already believed: American Indians were savages.

This belief came from captivity narratives, or popular works of fiction that captured the horrors of white women kidnapped by American Indians.⁴⁸ Captivity narratives were popular throughout the nineteenth century, as the genre went through a significant revival amid the waning years of the western frontier. Without a western frontier to define their national character, Americans turned to these stories to alleviate the guilt of conquest. According to historian Richard Slotkin, captivity narratives were part of the myth Americans made about the western frontier to show that the violent conquest of the west was just.⁴⁹ The American Indians in these captivity narratives were evil. Killing them, in other words, was the “right” thing to do. Indeed, wrote literary historian Molly Varley, “captivity narratives...[offered] justification of U.S. expansion and the subjugation of ‘savage’ Indians.”⁵⁰

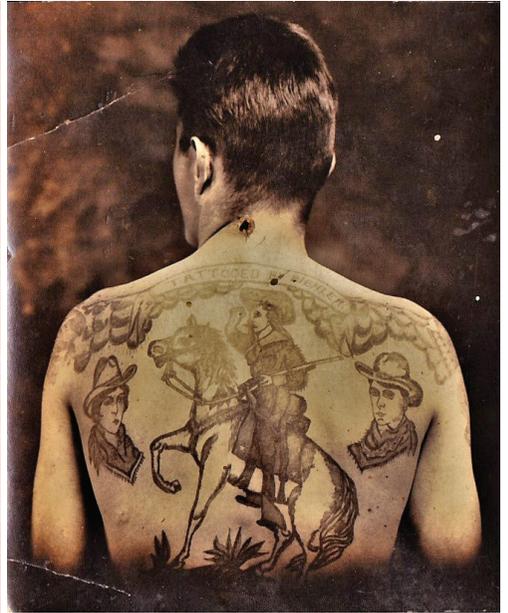
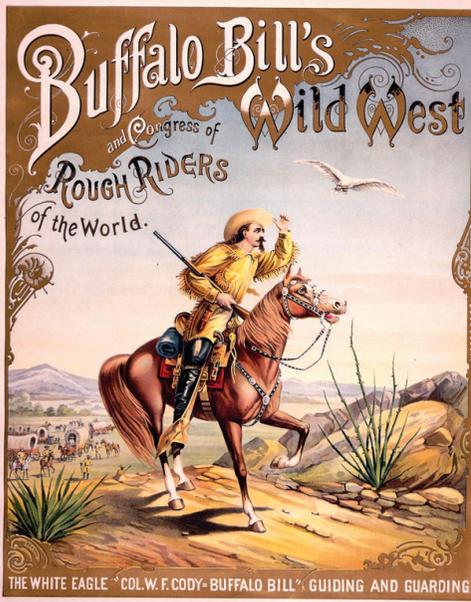


Figure 12: On left: A. Hoen & Co., “The White Eagle ‘Col. W. F. Cody - Buffalo Bill’ Guiding and Guarding,” Baltimore, MD, 1893. Courtesy of the Buffalo Bill Museum, Buffalo Bill Center of the West, Cody, Wyoming. On right: Photograph by unknown, c. 1895. Courtesy of the Tattoo Archive, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

The guilt of conquest was further processed by tattoo artists who worked alongside William “Buffalo Bill” Cody in his Wild West Show. William Cody employed tattoo artists as early as 1896. Complete with real Sioux people and live action fight scenes between cowboys and Indians, the show portrayed whites as the “good guys” and American Indians as the “bad guys.” Tattoo artists replicated designs that celebrated the “winning of the west” from the perspective of the “good guys,” dramatizing the romance of conquest and reimagining what actually happened. Copying fictionalized graphic reproductions circulated by painters used to promote Cody’s Wild West, tattoo artists depicted Cody as a hero and doubled down on already popular frontier motifs. In one elaborate back tattoo from the 1890s, Cody is holding a Winchester rifle and sitting on top of a muscular steed horse (**Figure 12**). Looking for American Indians to kill, he alone bears the burden of progress. He must conquer an unfamiliar environment and surmount American

Indian attacks. Surrounded by a vast and open nothingness, but equipped with modern tools of navigation and war, Cody is the bringer of civilization. This depiction of heroic individualism helped Americans to understand how the western frontier was “won.” Omitting gore and blood, the tattoo, like in the poster it came from, distanced the viewer from the violent aspects of manifest destiny and made the legacy of conquest more palatable.

Cody’s Wild West remained popular throughout the 1890s, even as the American Indian was no longer a crisis to white civilization. By then, another crisis emerged: the frontier closed. Without the frontier, worried the leading historian of the day Frederick Jackson Turner, Americans would lose what made them “exceptional.” Among the ingredients that made Americans “exceptional,” he argued, were the complex interactions with American Indians that white settlers had when conquering the western frontier. When ethnically European colonists conquered the lands west of the Mississippi River, they picked up certain skills from American Indians they encountered along the way, breaking down Old World social distinctions and customs in the process. The “wilderness,” wrote Turner, “masters the colonist...it puts him in the log cabin of the Cherokee and Iroquois.”⁵¹ Turner’s white middle-class readership interpreted this as a clarion call. Many pondered how a new generation of white middle-class Americans would ever emulate the traits of what made their forefathers truly “American.” These concerned citizens formed patriotic social clubs to train young people from the white middle class to do some of the same things friendly American Indians taught the pioneers when they were “settling” the western frontier. The Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts of America, as historian Benjamin René Jordan explained, championed American Indian codes of existence and modeled tribal mores.⁵²

Not before long, the popular perception of the American Indian changed. Once considered as “savage” through and through, the American Indian was portrayed by tattoo artists as a purveyor of American virtue. The dignified gaze of a noble American Indian often donned turn-of-the-twentieth-century commodities, especially items like smoking tobacco or coffee, which could be traced to American Indian culture. Tattoo artists copied these images and reproduced them on the bodies of their clientele. Tattoo portraits of American Indians instilled in the wearer a deep connection to the

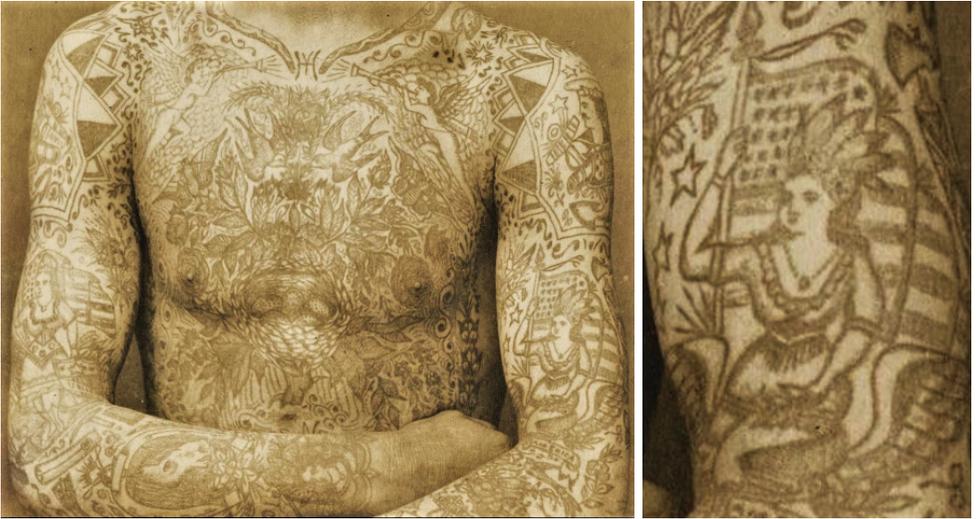


Figure 13: Unidentified tattooed entertainer. Notice the American Indian woman to the right on the man's bicep. She is holding an American flag. Cabinet card, c. 1900. Courtesy of Nicholas York.

U.S., as they were linked to an iconography that helped to generate a national identity emotionally connected to the “winning” of the western frontier (**Figure 13**).

On an anthropological level, a tattoo of an American Indian illustrated what anthropological specialist James Clifford called “salvage ethnography.” According to Clifford, salvage ethnography is the anthropological methodology of recording the values and practices of a culture before it becomes extinct, rather than preventing its extinction. “The modern anthropologist,” Clifford asserted, “lamenting the passing of human diversity, collects and values its survivals.”⁵³ In the process, Clifford maintained, “The other is lost, in disintegrating time and space, but saved in the text.”⁵⁴ That is, relics or symbols of a culture threatened with extinction are “preserved” for public appreciation and consumption, but never actually “restored.” This made domination, as cultural anthropologist Renato Rosaldo put it in his analysis on the popular memory of American Indians, “appear innocent and pure.”⁵⁵ A tattoo of an American Indian thus functioned to illustrate a “simpler” time in America’s past when a “lesser” society of people dominated the land, and thereby sentimentalized the extinction of America’s indigenous populations by a “superior” and more “complex” one.

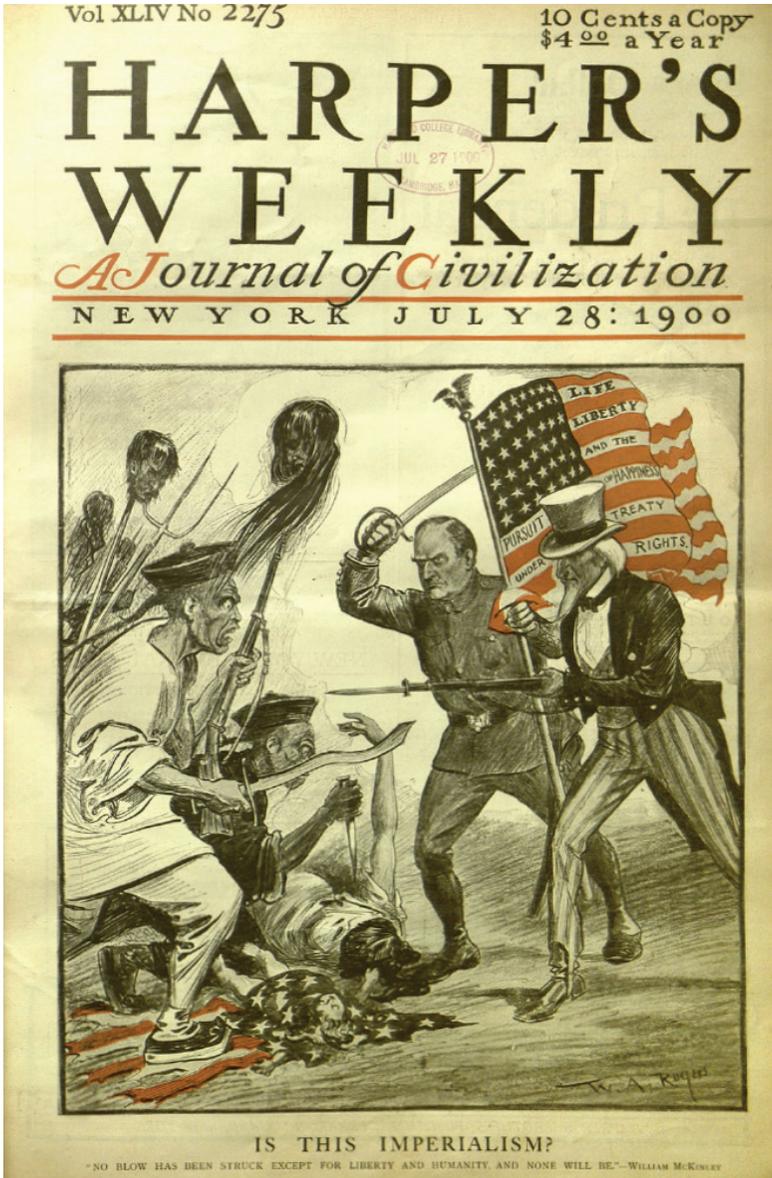


Figure 14: Charles Wagner likely used political cartoons of his day and age as a template for his anti-Chinese tattoos. This cartoon promoted America's involvement in the Boxer Rebellion and depicted Chinese men as violent barbarians bent on destroying the United States. W.A. Rogers, "Is This Imperialism?" Cover page from *Harper's Weekly*, July 28, 1900. Courtesy of Widener Library, Harvard University.



Figure 15: Charles Wagner, tattoo flash sheet, c. 1900, reproduced in Cliff White, *Flash from the Bowery: Classic American Tattoos, 1900-1950* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer, 2011).

Imperialism and Chinese Caricature Tattoos

Many of the same tropes used against American Indians to justify the colonization of the western frontier were used against the Chinese in some designs of American tattoo artists to justify America's participation in the Boxer Rebellion. Based on anti-Chinese political cartoons from the turn of the twentieth century (**Figure 14**), the tattoo of a "Chinaman"⁵⁶ promoted expansion and extolled a colonial agenda. Charles Wagner drew tattoos of Chinese men with knives brutally plunged into their severed heads, using caricature to avenge the deaths of Christian-American missionaries slaughtered by the Boxers in China (**Figure 15**). The visual depiction of decapitation may have likely reminded white middle-class Americans of the



Figure 16: Charles Wagner, tattoo flash sheet, c. 1900, reproduced in Cliff White, *Flash from the Bowery: Classic American Tattoos, 1900-1950* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer, 2011).

stories of American Indian scalping they grew up reading or hearing.⁵⁷ An eye for an eye, they may have thought, made sense in Asia, as *that* was where violent things happened. Even more, they may have surmised, conquering a “barbaric” people was the first step in civilizing them, just as it was on the western frontier.

Wagner continued to draw anti-Chinese tattoos even after the Boxer Rebellion ended. A tattoo of a Chinese dragon was a central design in Wagner’s repertoire in the years following the conflict. Chinese dragon tattoos were in high demand with American sailors, who wore them to symbolize their service in Asia. They were also popular with tattooed entertainers, since they covered a lot of surface area on the body. Dating back thousands of years, the dragon in ancient Chinese society represented rain and was worshipped in

times of drought. The dragon also sometimes clutched a white pearl that symbolized thunder. An otherwise noble and peaceful mystical creature, the dragon took on a more sinister appearance in Wagner's renderings, where it was depicted with larger than life claws and menacing teeth. In one tattoo, a Chinese dragon and American bald eagle fight one another in a battle between East and West, where the bald eagle represents the United States and the Chinese dragon represents China (**Figure 16**). Needless to say, the American eagle is triumphing over the Chinese dragon. Taken together with magical koi fish, tigers, tortoises, butterflies, and other "exotic" animals from the "Orient," Wagner's tattoo of a Chinese dragon painted a picture of China as an alien and dangerous land without an organized system of rule. China was portrayed as an uncontrollable beast in need of being tamed, much like the country was in "need" of the civilizing influence of the United States.

"Containing" the Imperial World in Tattoos

Most Asians, Chinese or not, rejected America's civilizing influences. By 1905, tensions between China and the U.S., for example, were at a boiling point. Merchants halted trade and Chinese consumers boycotted American goods.⁵⁸ Meanwhile, native Hawaiians repudiated the terms of Hawaii's tentative annexation. An upsurge in Hawaiian nationalism resulted in a petition, signed by thousands of native Hawaiians, rejecting annexation.⁵⁹ When the U.S. government rejected the terms of the petition, even though Congress was persuaded against annexation at first, Queen Liliuokalani, by then dethroned, refused to attend the annexation ceremony in Honolulu in 1898. It was an embarrassing moment for the United States. A series of anti-American protests soon followed and political instability beset Hawaii for the next few years. Anti-American sentiment had taken root in the Philippines as well, but with bloodshed. Several armed skirmishes took place between American soldiers and Filipino insurgents for years after the U.S. officially declared the Philippine-American War over, culminating in the Moro Massacre of 1906.⁶⁰

Amid the chaos, white middle-class Americans needed reassurance that imperialism was still the correct system for the United States. These people treated their anxieties by attending public lectures or reading literature that promoted the empire. In a similar vein,



Figure 17: A tattoo of a hula girl was one of the most popular tattoos with American sailors. Charles Wagner, tattoo flash sheet, c. 1910, reproduced in Cliff White, *Flash from the Bowery: Classic American Tattoos, 1900-1950* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer, 2011). *Note: Image has been modified for classroom use.*

the tattoo may have eased their fears of a rupture in the colonial boundary. That is, the tattoo maintained empire through the creation of imagined representations of a “contained” colonial world. A tattoo of a hula girl with a palm tree made Hawaii look like a peaceful and prosperous place, or the byproduct of the careful coordination of the U.S. military and government (**Figure 17**). On the same hand, a



Figure 18: Portraits of a noble American Indian chief were popular tattoo designs in the early to mid-1900s. C. H. Fellowes, American Indian chief tattoo, 1898. Courtesy of the Mystic Seaport Museum, Mystic, Connecticut, <<https://www.mysticseaport.org/>>.

tattoo of a dead “Chinaman” justified war and gave Americans the impression that everything was under control in the Asian sphere of their empire. Finally, a tattoo of a noble American Indian made it seem as if America’s first peoples were pacified, even though eight armed conflicts took place between federal troops and American Indians from 1901 to 1923 (**Figure 18**).⁶¹

By the end of the war in the Philippines, a tattoo subculture was well established in the United States. Anthropologist A. T. Sinclair estimated in his 1909 study that close to 90% of all American sailors had at least one tattoo.⁶² But the increasing popularity of the tattoo, according to Sinclair, was not restricted to military men alone. Men and women from all over the U.S. had a tattoo, leading Sinclair to conclude that “in America the practice of [tattooing] appears to be on the rise.”⁶³ This was probably an exaggeration, as many Americans still despised the tattoo, seeing it as something most closely associated with degenerates, sailors, American Indians, and criminals. Even so, Sinclair’s observation should not be taken lightly. If anything, it goes to show that the tattoo exerted an influence on American life, constituting a real system of values. For as much as they may have disdained them, Americans absorbed, or at least agreed with, the central premise behind many of the tattoos: imperialism was a “good” thing.

II. Sample Lesson Plan

Introduction

In this section of my paper, I provide a step-by-step sample lesson plan showing how I use the tattoo to teach about the rise of American imperialism at the turn of the twentieth century. In particular, students see how Orientalism and patriarchy fueled American expansion into the Philippines through the analysis of different primary and secondary sources, including a Japanese geisha tattoo from the early 1900s. Ultimately, students will come to understand that a Japanese geisha tattoo⁶⁴ was part of a system of other patriarchal and Orientalist tropes that helped American soldiers to “rationalize” acts of sexual violence against Filipina civilians during the Philippine-American War and “justify” the territorial conquest of the Philippines.⁶⁵

The sample lesson plan has several components. To begin, the sample lesson plan is designed for a sixty-minute class period. In addition, I encourage teachers to group their students based on strengths and weaknesses, as the diversity of the sources used allows for an emphasis on multiple literacies. In all, students will review two Japanese geisha tattoos, in conjunction with *Art Amateur's* December 1881 cover page, a YouTube video clip of "Real Life Geishas" from National Geographic, Sunny Woan's 2016 article "White Sexual Imperialism," Gabriella Marcelino's 1899 testimony on the conduct and behavior of Corporal George Danphoffer, Aldiana Dionisia's 1899 testimony on the conduct and behavior of William E. Scarborough, and Japanese woodblock prints from the 1800s of a Japanese geisha. These primary and secondary sources will assist students in identifying the connection between Orientalism, patriarchy, the tattoo, and the rise of American imperialism in the Philippines during the Philippine-American War. Students will examine these sources through the scope of four classroom activities, fleshed out in the sections to follow. In the process, students will build key critical literacy skills such as synthesizing texts across multiple disciplinary contexts as well as assimilating complex ideologies.

Differentiation

From the onset, it is important to consider how I approach Orientalism and patriarchy from a differentiation perspective. Learning about Orientalism and patriarchy is hard enough for anyone, let alone teenagers. But with a little encouragement, adequate scaffolding techniques, and the right pre-reading materials, my students find the lesson plan very rewarding.⁶⁶ Defining "Orientalism" and "patriarchy" in a way that is digestible for students who are in high school is my first step. I define "Orientalism" as when a western culture creates hurtful stereotypes about an eastern culture in order to justify the domination of the eastern culture. I define "patriarchy" as a system of society or government in which men have power and women do not. I post these definitions on a whiteboard in my classroom, where they are displayed throughout the duration of my lesson plan. Beneath the definitions, I provide examples of what a western culture is and what an eastern culture

is. I also provide some examples of patriarchy, such as the gender pay gap. Since I discuss stereotypes with my students earlier in the year, I do not include a definition of it on the whiteboard for this lesson plan. Even so, some teachers may want to.

I differentiate in other ways as well. For a homework assignment the night before I implement the following sample lesson plan, students read a modified version of “Feminism 101: What is Orientalism?” from UCLA’s feminist newsmagazine *FEM*, an insightful publication that features articles on topics related to feminism. The resource introduces key concepts and exposes students to ideas and concepts presented in the sample lesson plan, particularly the concept of Orientalism from Edward Said’s point of view and how it relates to patriarchy. **Appendix A** includes the modified version of “Feminism 101: What is Orientalism?” and **Appendix B** contains questions students should answer after reading the source.

Activity I

Teachers should introduce the sample lesson plan to their students the next day by telling them they will be analyzing a Japanese geisha tattoo from the turn of the twentieth century, along with several other secondary and primary sources, in order to understand how Orientalism and patriarchy “rationalized” acts of sexual violence against Filipina women by American soldiers during the Philippine-American War. Moreover, teachers should make it clear to their students that Americans “justified” the territorial conquest of the Philippines as well, perpetuating certain Orientalist and patriarchal stereotypes about Asian women, of which Japanese geisha were central. Some of those Americans, teachers should go on, were American tattoo artists.

It is at this point in the beginning of my lesson plan where I tell my students that in order to understand how Japanese geisha tattoos from the turn of the twentieth century were part of a system of other Orientalist and patriarchal tropes that “justified” American expansion into the Philippines, we must first know a little bit about real Japanese geisha. After I explain to my students that Japan was never colonized by the U.S., but Orientalist and patriarchal stereotypes about Japanese geisha were nevertheless applied to

Filipina women, I show my students the video clip “Real Life Geishas” from National Geographic. Two and a half minutes long, the video clip can be accessed on YouTube. The video clip touches on several topics important to the lesson plan, such as Japanese geisha history, appearance, lifestyle, and misconceptions. Students answer questions (provided in **Appendix C**) from the video clip while watching it. Students typically finish the video clip and answer the questions within the first five minutes of class.

Subsequently, I open the floor for a five-minute discussion. In addition to going over the questions from the worksheet, I ask my students how Japanese geisha might be perceived by Americans who were unfamiliar with such customs, how stereotypes are born and perpetuated, how cultural views determine what people think about people they have never met before, and how some stereotypes of Asian women as sexually promiscuous may have made American intervention in the Philippines at the turn of the twentieth century “justified” in the minds of Americans. This discussion will inevitably unfold differently based on each class. Nevertheless, it is an important way to set the stage for the second activity in the sample lesson plan, which involves a cross-examination of several turn-of-the-twentieth-century visual iterations of Japanese geisha. The purpose of this activity is to unearth the roots of the eroticization of Filipina women used to “rationalize” acts of sexual violence against Filipina civilians by American soldiers during the Philippine-American War.

Activity II

Appendix D contains a number of artifacts, including tattoos of Japanese geisha from the turn of the twentieth century, *Art Amateur*’s December 1881 cover page, and a Japanese woodblock print from the 1800s. After distributing these materials, I ask students to compare and contrast each source to one another, as well as to think about how much they either support or oppose the depiction of Japanese geisha as described in the video clip from National Geographic’s “Real Life Geishas.” Students use an artifact analysis worksheet (contained in **Appendix E**) to describe the artifacts and determine which sources are the most accurate and the least accurate, which are based on a sexualized western stereotype

of Japanese geisha, and how a person with no prior knowledge of Asian culture and history would perceive a woman of Asian descent after seeing Japanese geisha tattoos from the turn of the twentieth century. Students are given ten minutes to complete the artifact analysis worksheet in their groups.

After that, I hold a five-minute conversation with my students where we consider how the stereotype of Japanese geisha as overly sexual was used to define *all* Asian women at the turn of the twentieth century, but, most notably, Filipina women. Students lead this discussion by answering the questions from the artifact analysis worksheet aloud. This conversation is a bridge into the third activity in the sample lesson plan, where students cement the connection between patriarchy, Orientalism, the tattoo, and the rise of American imperialism in the Philippines during the Philippine-American War.

Activity III

To start Activity III, I tell my students we are going to think about how American soldiers stationed in the Philippines during the Philippine-American War used sexual violence as a tool to maintain colonial domination. I explain to my students that most American soldiers never met a Filipina woman in real life before. They had, in other words, only the familiar stereotypes of Asian women to shape their interactions with them. This created, I go on, a system of Orientalism and patriarchy that “rationalized” acts of sexual violence against Filipina civilians during the Philippine-American War and “justified” the territorial conquest of the Philippines.

I then tell my students we will be looking into this system of Orientalism and patriarchy by reading three documents. The first document, I explain to my students, is titled “White Sexual Imperialism” and written by Sunny Woan, a modern scholar who has written on the connection between Orientalism, patriarchy, and American imperialism at turn of the twentieth century. This document is meant to provide students with a historical background of Orientalism and patriarchy in Asia, including how those two systems unfolded in the Philippines during the Philippine-American War (a modified version of Woan’s article is in **Appendix F** and a worksheet with questions organized from low-level knowledge and

comprehension to high-level synthesis and evaluation to accompany Woan's article is in **Appendix G**). The second and third documents are separate testimonies from American courts-martial delivered by two Filipina victims of sexual violence perpetrated by American soldiers in 1899. The women from these documents are named Gabriella Marcelino and Aldiana Dionisia. Their testimonies are crucial, as they show students that American imperialism and a system of Orientalism and patriarchy that "rationalized" acts of sexual violence against Filipina women during the Philippine-American War went hand in hand (both documents are in modified form in **Appendix H** and a worksheet with questions organized chronologically from low-level knowledge and comprehension to high-level synthesis and evaluation to accompany the testimonies is in **Appendix I**).

After I explain to my students that Gabriella Marcelino and Aldiana Dionisia were Filipina women who testified in American court-martial that they were sexually assaulted by American soldiers stationed in the Philippines during the Philippine-American War, I distribute Sunny Woan's "White Sexual Imperialism" article and Marcelino's and Dionisia's 1899 testimonies to be read one after the other. When students are done reading, they work together to answer the questions in the document analysis worksheets (provided in **Appendix G** and **Appendix I**). This component of the sample lesson plan usually takes twenty-five minutes to complete. After students finish answering the questions, we have a ten-minute discussion regarding their findings.

Activity IV

In closing, students use the information they gathered throughout the lesson plan to answer the following short-answer question: How was a tattoo of a Japanese geisha from the turn of the twentieth century part of a system of other Orientalist and patriarchal tropes that helped American soldiers to "rationalize" acts of sexual violence against Filipina civilians during the Philippine-American War and "justify" the territorial conquest of the Philippines? Students should have at least five minutes to answer this question in their groups (the worksheet with the short-answer question is in **Appendix J**).

III. Conclusion

This article found that the tattoo paralleled the nationalism, patriarchy, and Orientalism of American imperialism in the late 1800s and into the early 1900s. The tattoo muted, but also exalted, the brutal realities of conquest, exercising significant power over American Indians and Asian women and men. Still, very few, if any, high school history teachers explore this aspect of America's past with their students. This is a mistake. The tattoo illuminated American life at the turn of the twentieth century, revealing some of the ideological values of the time period. This makes the tattoo a crucial primary source for any high school history unit on the rise of American imperialism. It also makes it a meaningful topic of analysis for professional historians.

Notes

For Mom, Dad, Steve, Jay, Daisy, Misbah, and FJP.

1. Frank L. Lyons, “With Liberty-Tattooed Man in Navy, Patriotism is at Least ‘Skin Deep,’” *Great Lakes Bulletin*, August 8, 1918.

2. “The tattoo” in this paper centers on those designed by American tattoo artists at the turn of the twentieth century.

3. This does not mean that collections do not contain tattoo artifacts, just that *only* one is exclusively dedicated to tattoo artifacts. That collection, The Alan Govenar and Kaleta Doolin Tattoo Collection, is in the South Street Seaport Museum in New York City. But this collection is one of a kind. The Henry Ford Museum’s digital collection is indicative of most, if not all, databases; that is, it houses some artifacts amid a plethora of unrelated ones. One such artifact, a photographer’s shot of Charles Wagner taken from inside Wagner’s Black Eye Barbershop and Tattoo Studio in 1910, was not easy to find. As a matter of fact, educators and historians will have to familiarize themselves with key terms central to the history of the tattoo in the United States before conducting research. Without a comprehensive body of artifacts all located in one place, researching certain things about the history of the tattoo in the United States can sometimes feel like looking for a needle inside of a haystack. That being said, the McCaddon Collection of the Barnum & Bailey Circus at Princeton University’s Firestone Library contains photographs of tattooed entertainers who worked in the Barnum & Bailey Circus in the late nineteenth century. The Sheldon Jackson Collection of Indian Photographs, also at Princeton University’s Firestone Library, houses a rare photograph of a Mandan Indian chief with a tattoo from 1879. The Print and Photographs Division at the Library of Congress has tattoo artifacts as well, including a lithograph by R. W. Rogers of Samuel O’Reilly tattooing a client in 1889. The Artifacts, Images & Ships Plans Collection at the Mystic Seaport Museum in Mystic, Connecticut is the most comprehensive (available online at <<https://www.mysticseaport.org/>>). The collection contains over eighty tattoo designs drawn by C. H. Fellowes, a turn-of-the-twentieth-century tattoo artist and USN sailor from New England.

4. The Tattoo Archive in Winston-Salem, North Carolina is one such makeshift museum. The Tattoo Archive is a collection of tattoo history and artifacts, such as electric tattoo machines, letters between artists, pictures, newspaper clippings, original tattoo designs and drawings, receipts, industrial patents, and clientele lists, owned and operated by American tattoo artist Chuck Eldridge. Another makeshift museum is inside of Daredevil Tattoo in New York City’s Lower East Side. Owned and operated by the shop’s co-owner Brad Fink, the museum is a one-stop-shop for all things related to New York tattoo history. Fink’s collection houses hundreds of original tattoos and drawings from the likes of Samuel O’Reilly, Charles Wagner, and Lewis Alberts. Like The Tattoo Archive, it also contains letters between artists, newspaper clippings, and purchase receipts.

5. Jane Caplan, ed., *Written On the Body: The Tattoo in European and American History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).

6. For newer influential studies that broadly catalog the trajectory of history of the tattoo in the United States, see Kathy Maguire, *The Collection: A Book of Vintage Tattoo Stencils and Flash of August "Cap" Coleman* (Nanuet, IL: Modern Tattoo Ltd., 2013); Carol Clerk, *Vintage Tattoos: The Book of Old-School Skin Art* (New York: Universe, 2009); Jerry Swallow, *Traditional American Tattoo Design: Where It Came from and Its Evolution* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer Publishing, 2008); Spider Webb, *The Great Book of Tattoo* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer Publishing, 2002); Michael McCabe, *New York City Tattoo: The Oral History of an Urban Art* (San Francisco, CA: Hardy Marks Publications, 2013); Margo DeMello, *Bodies of Inscription: A Cultural History of the Modern Tattoo Community* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000); Alan Govenar, *American Tattoo: As Ancient as Time, As Modern as Tomorrow* (San Francisco, CA: Chronicle Books, 1996). For a thorough assessment of tattoo culture throughout time, including a short section on the history of the tattoo in the United States, see Steve Gilbert, *The Tattoo History Source Book* (New York: Juno Books, 2000). For studies on the history of American tattooed women, see Amelia Klem Osterud, *The Tattooed Lady: A History*, second ed. (Lanham, MD: Taylor Trade Publishing, 2014); Anni Irish, "The Tattooed Lady: A Social and Sexual History" (M.A. thesis, Simmons College, 2012); Beverly Yuen Thompson, *Covered in Ink: Tattoos, Women and the Politics of the Body* (New York: New York University Press, 2015). For illuminating studies on the tattoo and seafaring in the early United States, see Ira Dye, "The Tattoos of Early American Seafarers, 1796-1818," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 133, no. 4 (December 1989): 520-554; Simon P. Newton, *Embodied History: The Lives of the Poor in Early Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003).

7. Meredith Newman, "Report: More Young People Have a Tattoo than Ever Before and it Needs to be Discussed," *The News Journal*, September 22, 2017.

8. This is not to suggest that tattooing did not already exist in North America before the Revolutionary War. American Indians practiced the art of tattooing for thousands of years before the European colonization of the New World. For more information on American Indian tattooing practices, see Aaron Deter-Wolf and Carol Diaz-Granados, eds., *Drawing with Great Needles: Ancient Tattoo Traditions of North America* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2013).

9. Ira Dye, "The Tattoos of Early American Seafarers, 1796-1818," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 133, no. 4 (December 1989): 520-554.

10. For more information on P. T. Barnum, see Philip B. Kunhardt Jr., Phillip B. Kunhardt III, and Peter W. Kunhardt, *P. T. Barnum: America's Greatest Showman* (New York: Knopf, 1995).

11. Captain George Costentenus ruled the tattoo entertainment industry in the 1870s. Earning \$100 a day working for P. T. Barnum, Costentenus, whose stage name was "The Greek Albanian," had over 350 tattoos. Costentenus claimed to have been kidnapped by Burmese tribespeople and tattooed excessively as a form of torture. Costentenus really was in Burma, where he participated in a French expedition in 1867. If Costentenus's story was true will never be known. What is true is that hundreds of tattooed entertainers followed in Costentenus's footsteps, hoping to earn as much money as he did. For a portrait of Captain

George Costentenus, see "P. T. Barnum," *The Rock Island Argus* (Illinois), September 4, 1877.

12. Omai was immensely popular in England, where he was exhibited in 1775 and 1776. When exhibited, Omai wore a robe that left only his tattooed arms and legs exposed to curious onlookers. Eventually, Omai even met King George III and Queen Charlotte, who took him to the theater. This sparked a tattoo craze within many aristocratic social circles throughout English high society at the time. Omai returned to Tahiti in 1778, where he died two years later. For more information on Omai, see Richard Connaughton, *Omai: The Prince Who Never Was* (London, United Kingdom: Timewell Press, 2005).

13. Clinton Sanders, *Customizing the Body: The Art and Culture of Tattooing* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1989), 20-21.

14. Cesare Lombroso, *Criminal Man*, ed. and trans. Mary Gibson and Nicole Hahn Rafter (1876; Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 92.

15. Lombroso, *Criminal Man*, 121.

16. Albert Parry, *Tattoo: Secrets of a Strange Art* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1933), 102.

17. Even though Samuel O'Reilly's electric tattoo machine was the first of its kind, his invention was really an adaptation of Thomas Edison's autographic printing pen. O'Reilly was inspired to build his electric tattoo machine after watching a demonstration of Edison's electric pen.

18. Some "tattoo parlors" were actually no more than a workbench in the corner of a barber's shop. Tattoo artists frequently rented space inside of a barber's shop because a barber in those days was a jack-of-all-trades who tended to a number of things other than cutting hair. Indeed, turn-of-the-twentieth-century Americans patronized a barber's shop for all sorts of reasons: to receive stitches for deep cuts, to get lice removed from their hair, to get bones set back into place, and to get decayed teeth removed. Having a tattoo artist on site meant patrons could get a tattoo to permanently cover up otherwise visible scars from bruising or from surgery. Tattoo artists also used makeup to temporarily conceal black eyes and other abrasions that customers came to them with after having fought someone in the street.

19. "A Tattooing 'Artist,'" *New-York Tribune*, October 26, 1902, 25.

20. John Whiteclay Chambers, *The Tyranny of Change: America in the Progressive Era, 1890-1920* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2006), 114.

21. A tattoo sheet is a canvas that has various tattoo designs on it to display to customers.

22. Don Ed Hardy, "*Lew the Jew*" *Alberts: Early 20th Century Tattoo Drawings* (San Francisco, CA: Hardy Marks Publications, 2015), 4.

23. Hardy, "*Lew the Jew*" *Alberts*, 5.

24. Michael McCabe, *New York City Tattoo: The Oral History of an Urban Art* (San Francisco, CA: Hardy Marks Publications, 2013), 19-20.

25. More than men, "Tattooed Ladies" dominated the tattoo entertainment industry at the turn of the twentieth century. Of these women, few were as beloved as Maud Wagner. Born Maud Stevens, Wagner (who bore no relation to Charles

Wagner) started her performing career as a contortionist and acrobat in circuses and world's fairs. Sensing more mobility in tattoo entertainment than in acrobatics, Wagner was tattooed in 1904. In all, Wagner had over 100 tattoos. For more information on Maud Wagner, see Amelia Klem Osterud, *The Tattooed Lady: A History*, second ed. (Lanham, MD: Taylor Trade Publishing, 2014), 25-26.

26. "Homemade inks" is putting it mildly. Sailors resorted to any available material that would last in the skin, sometimes even mixing urine with gunpowder to create "ink."

27. Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (Hartford, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 9.

28. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1978), 206.

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45. Margot Mifflin, *Bodies of Subversion: A Secret History of Women*, third ed. (New York: Powerhouse Books, 1997), 12.
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56. The term "Chinaman" is used here to denote racist caricatures of Chinese men that often appeared in turn-of-the-twentieth-century American political cartoons. Complete with buck teeth, long queues, and ghoulish facial features, Wagner's "Chinaman" caricatures were typical for their day and age.
57. This idea was inspired by David Brody's great interpretation of political cartoons in his book, *Visualizing American Empire: Orientalism and Imperialism in the Philippines*, 67.
58. James Bradley, *The Imperial Cruise: A Secret History of Empire and War* (Boston, MA: Back Bay Books, 2010), 7-8.
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60. The Moro Massacre of 1906 was the most horrific incident of violence committed by American soldiers against Filipino civilians after the Philippine-American War was officially declared "over" in 1902. In all, a company of American soldiers killed close to 1,000 unarmed Moro men, women, and children hiding from them in a volcano's crater. For more on the Moro Massacre of 1906,

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61. This fact comes from a patchwork of sources. For more information on the American Indian Wars that occurred in the early twentieth century, see Tom Holm, *The Great Confusion in Indian Affairs: Native Americans and Whites in the Progressive Era* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2005); Russell Thornton, *American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History since 1492* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990).

62. A. T. Sinclair, "Tattooing of the North American Indians," *American Anthropologist* 11, no. 3 (July-September 1909): 362-400.

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64. As shown in Figure 9, the Japanese geisha tattoo used in this sample lesson plan was drawn by Charles Wagner sometime in early 1900s.

65. The topic of sexual violence should be approached with extreme mindfulness by educators. For some students, this topic can trigger past traumas. For other students, it can be generally uncomfortable to talk about. It is critical, therefore, that educators are sensitive to the needs of their students in this regard.

66. I teach in a high school that is reflective of many other high schools throughout the United States. In other words, I have students who are from all walks of life and who learn in many different ways.

Appendix A

“Feminism 101: What is Orientalism?”

Source: Taryn Slattery, *FEM Magazine*, 2019 (modified for student use).



Design by Emma Lehman

Initially coined by Edward Said, the term “Orientalism” refers to the West’s construction of stereotypes that regard Eastern people and cultures as backwards, exotic, and passive. The role of “the Occident” is assigned to the West, specifically the U.S. and Europe, while Asia, the Middle East, and North Africa are cast as the **elusive**, strange, “Orient.” Under this umbrella, the West regards the East as an **inferior** entity as a justification for imperialism.

Imperialism has been a primary force in shaping Orientalism, which is underscored by the desire to **subjugate** conquered peoples. The narrative of the East as foreign and inferior and, therefore, awaiting correction has enabled Western nations to forcibly occupy other countries, oppress their people, and **extract** resources.

However, it should be noted that Orientalism is not a **one-dimensional** concept, nor is it solely theoretical in practice. It has and continues to operate in a number of ways, each of them harmful in their own respect. Institutions such as the mass media and the U.S. government are guilty of subsisting on Orientalist stereotypes that pander to society’s generalized constructions of the East and advance their own agendas.

For example, Asian women have been bound to **exoticized** depictions as mysterious, sensual, and erotic beings. Several Orientalist and patriarchal motifs that **romanticize** “Eastern” women may come to mind: snake charmers, veiled women, Japanese geisha, and belly dancers are all common archetypes depicted in 19th- and 20th-century art. The **hypersexualization** of Asian women, who have and continue to be objectified as submissive, sexual objects in the mass media, can also be attributed to these stereotypes. Orientalist sentiment has denied women from Eastern cultures of their agency and their right to a valid existence. It has also opened the East up to imperialism, since Orientalism depicts the East as weak.

In his essay “Culture and Imperialism,” Said urges us to **denounce** imperialism: “...this also means not trying to rule others, not trying to classify them or put them in hierarchies, above all, not constantly reiterating how ‘our’ country or culture is number one.” Western nations have a monumental lesson to learn from this, along with unpacking their historical tendency of assuming that other civilizations are “backwards” and therefore receptive to subjugation.

Cultures that are unfamiliar to us should not be regarded as monoliths. Orientalist language encourages dehumanization. It is polarizing and enables institutions like imperialism and patriarchy to continue operating as belligerent machines of oppression.

Vocabulary List

elusive – something that is difficult to find or achieve

inferior – lower in rank, status, or quality

subjugate – to control or dominate someone

extract – to take something by force

one-dimensional – to lack complexity

exoticized – to make someone or something exotic

romanticized – to make something more appealing or attractive than it really is

hypersexualization – to make someone or something extremely sexual

denounce – to declare something wrong or evil

Appendix B

Questions for “Feminism 101: What is Orientalism?”

Directions: After you have read the article, answer the questions in two or more sentences.	
Questions:	Answers:
What is “Orientalism” and what part of the world makes up the “Orient”? Use a direct quote from the article to support your answer.	
How, according to Slattery, does the West justify its imperialism? What role does Orientalism play in that justification?	
How has Orientalism stereotyped Asian women? Use a direct quote to support your answer.	
Use the Internet to define the word “patriarchy.” How, according to Slattery, does patriarchy relate to Orientalism?	
How may have turn-of-the-twentieth-century Americans seen Asian women? What role, if any, do you think this may have played in how American soldiers acted around the Asian women they encountered during the Philippine-American War?	

Appendix C

Questions for “Real Life Geishas”

Do-Now: Watch National Geographic’s “Real Life Geishas” video clip. (Link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y3Tr_yDdwRQ)	
Directions: Answer the questions while watching the video clip. Answer the questions in more than two sentences each.	
Questions:	Answers:
What is a Japanese geisha? Where did the profession come from?	
What does the word “geisha” mean? What does it <i>not</i> mean?	
What is the western perception of a Japanese geisha?	
What does a Japanese geisha really do?	

Appendix D

Artifact Analysis: Geisha Imagery



Artifact 1: A tattoo of a Japanese geisha, by Charles Wagner, c. 1900.



Artifact 2: A tattoo of a Japanese geisha, by Charles Wagner, c. 1900.



Artifact 3: Depiction of a Japanese geisha in *The Art Amateur*, 1881.



Artifact 4: Japanese woodblock print of a Japanese geisha, 1848-1852.

Appendix E

Artifact Analysis Worksheet

Directions: After you have looked at the artifacts, answer the questions in more than two sentences each.	
Questions:	Answers:
Describe what you see in the artifact in two or more sentences. Be sure to name what each artifact is.	Artifact 1: Artifact 2: Artifact 3: Artifact 4:
Think back to the do-now video clip. Which artifact depicts the most accurate representation of a Japanese geisha? Why?	
Which of these artifacts is based on a western stereotype of a Japanese geisha as very “sexual”? How do you know?	
If a turn-of-the-twentieth-century tattoo of a Japanese geisha was a person’s only depiction of an Asian woman, what kinds of things might they think about all Asian women in general?	

Appendix F

Document A: “White Sexual Imperialism”

Source: Posted by “A & M” on Medium.com, May 27, 2016 (excerpted and edited for student use). Adapted from Sunny Woan, “White Sexual Imperialism: A Theory of Asian Feminist Jurisprudence,” *Washington and Lee Journal of Civil Rights and Social Justice* 14, no. 2 (2008).

Introduction

In a Western culture steeped in anti-Asian racism, discrimination, and stereotypes, Asian women are reduced to damaging stereotypes. They are described as “small,” “weak,” “**submissive**,” “**erotically alluring**,” “exotic,” “**hypersexual**,” and “indulgent.” These descriptions are found in media and pornography, but originate from an Anglo, or white Western point of view.

These stereotypes are pushed as a narrative that originates from imperialism, which created offshoots known as Orientalism and Sexism. Essentially, these “-isms” are Western nations seeking to dominate and colonize Asia. Let us further examine imperialism, orientalism, and sexism and how these **phenomena** have affected Asian women.

Imperialism, Orientalism, & Sexism

Asian women, as a result of orientalism, are viewed through a lens that reduces them to purely sexual bodies. Essentially, Asian women are *not* human to white men, but are simple objects. Asian women express seemingly “unlimited” sensuality, their intelligence and humanity irrelevant, and, above all, are *willing* participants in their **subjugation**.

It can be said that the sexual conquest of Asia’s women is related directly to the conquest of Asia itself. More evidence of this can be found in an oft-heard narrative in the West known as the “White Man’s burden,” where the object was to dominate and destroy Asia for the “Good of civilization.” Again, this **hearkens** to the orientalist justification for American imperialism.

In 1899, Rudyard Kipling dubbed the West’s imperialist campaign in the East as the “White Man’s burden.” He coined the term in a poem written to rouse Americans to colonize and rule the Philippines.

One former U.S. President took this message to heart. Theodore Roosevelt wrote and lectured widely on taking up Kipling's "White Man's burden." He called imperialism a "manly" duty that American men must take up. To him, civilized men had a "manly duty to 'destroy and uplift' lesser, primitive men," namely Asians, "for their own good and the good of civilization."

[Roosevelt's message] illustrates what Asia represents to white men: The frame of which Asia is viewed through is nothing but a series of conquests. White men are **entitled** to the land and the people within, wherein the obstacles (Asian men) are destroyed and the prizes (Asian women) are claimed and raped. Reality confirms this theory: During the Philippines revolt against the Spanish in the 1800s, Americans viewed the opportunity and arrived, promising to help. William McKinley, who was the president at the time, announced and gave his word that the U.S. "had no design of aggrandizement and no ambition of conquest" of the Philippines. But it was too late as the U.S. had no intention of honoring their words, and American efforts to colonize the Philippines resulted in the killing of up to 800,000-1,600,000 Filipinos. Naturally, while war raged on, U.S. soldiers also engaged in sexual conquest. Local women were referred to by these men as: "little brown sex machines powered by rice."

Surrounding the use of local women for sex was the emergence of sex industries that sprung, offering men "a girl for the price of a burger." These wars [in Asia] solidified the misconception that "Asian women were easy and hypersexual."

Vocabulary List

submissive – to conform to authority

erotically alluring – appealing because it is erotic

hypersexual – to make someone or something extremely sexual

phenomena – something that is observed to have existed or happened

subjugation – to control or dominate someone

hearken – to recall something

entitled – when someone thinks they deserve something that they do not

Appendix G

Questions for Document A: “White Sexual Imperialism”

Directions: After you read Document A, answer the following questions in more than two sentences each.	
Questions:	Answers:
Name the three “-isms” discussed by the author of this document. Outline what each one of them means.	
Explain where the author claims that Orientalism and sexism come from. Does this claim support or challenge what you read about imperialism in your homework reading from last night? Why or why not?	
How, according to the author, are Asian women described in western culture? What role, if any, do you think Japanese geisha tattoos may have played in this description? Which word in the second sentence of the document describing Asian women best applies to a description of turn-of-the-twentieth-century tattoos of Japanese geisha? Why?	
Compare and contrast the turn-of-the-twentieth-century western perception of Asian women with the turn-of-the-twentieth-century tattoos of Japanese geisha. Do the two go hand in hand? Why or why not?	
What did the United States eventually do in the Philippines and how did some American soldiers behave? Do you believe that some of the stereotypes about Asian women that came from the turn-of-the-twentieth-century Japanese geisha tattoos or from <i>The Art Amateur</i> ’s 1881 depiction “rationalized” the way they behaved? Why or why not?	

Appendix H

**Document B: Gabriella Marcelino's Testimony on the
Conduct and Behavior of Corporal George Danphoffer, 1899**

Source: *Danphoffer vs. United States*. Charge and specification preferred against Corporal George Danphoffer. 24 July 1899. RG 153 E13525. USNA, College Park, MD. 1899.

Abstract: *On July 25th, 1899, three drunken American soldiers broke into homes in Calle Cervantes, Manila, looting valuables. At the residence of Leon Leonarda, the soldiers raped Gabriella Marcelino in front of her family. Marcelino testified before the court.*

Marcelino: Three American soldiers entered my house and approached me. I was intending to get up, but they forbade me to do so. They pushed me back, threatening me with pistols, they then raped me. Besides that, they were biting me in the face. After the first one had finished raping me, the other one approached me also, preventing me from getting up and raped me. Afterwards they opened my trunk and after throwing the clothes, they went out.

- Q. What, if anything, did the third soldier do?
 A. He took my mother-in-law into the mosquito netting and raped her.
 Q. State whether or not the two soldiers succeeded in actually having sexual intercourse with you.
 A. Yes, they succeeded in having sexual intercourse.
 Q. Was this done against your will or consent?
 A. They did that without my will, and I consented only because I was afraid.
 Q. What caused you to give your consent?
 A. They forbade me to resist by threatening me with their pistols.
 Q. Can you recognize the soldiers that raped you that night?
 A. I cannot recognize them.
 Q. Why not?
 A. I cannot recognize them because on that occasion I had my eyes closed by fear. [...]
 Q. If you had your eyes closed because you were afraid, how could you see the man that went into the mosquito netting?
 A. At the first moment I had my eyes open, but when the two men began to point at me with their pistols I closed my eyes.

**Document C: Aldiana Dionisia’s Testimony on the
Conduct and Behavior of William E. Scarborough, 1899**

Source: *Scarborough vs. United States*. Charge and specification preferred against Private Scarborough. 21 April 1899. RG 153 E13526. USNA, College Park, MD. 1899.

Abstract: *On April 21st, 1899, Aldiana Dionisia and her cousin Alonzo de la Cruz were in her home on the island of Novotas. After a short firefight between U.S. soldiers and Filipino insurgents, U.S. Private William E. Scarborough forcefully entered the home of Dionisia. After he kicked Alonzo out, he raped Aldiana Dionisia. In court, Aldiana testified about what happened that day.*

- Q. Did you see soldiers [right after you heard the shooting]?
- A. Yes. I saw two, one of whom assaulted me.
- Q. Where did this assault take place?
- A. In the house. [...]
- Q. What did the man say, who assaulted you?
- A. He said, “Pickaninny mucho, mucho, Americano.” [...]
- Q. Was anyone else in the house?
- A. My cousin was in the house and the soldier threatened to shoot him if he didn’t leave the house.
- Q. Did your cousin leave before the soldier committed the assault?
- A. My cousin jumped out at the window before the man committed the rape.
- Q. How long was the soldier in the house?
- A. Nearly half an hour.
- Q. Was he drunk or sober?
- A. He was drunk.
- Q. Where did he go when he left the house?
- A. I don’t know; for when he left, I ran and hid myself in the bay. [...]
- Q. Did you see the soldier, who committed the assault, after you ran from the house?
- A. The man who committed the assault turned to the left when he left the house and called to his companion, and I ran into the water. [...]
- Q. Did one or both of the soldiers come into your house?
- A. The one who assaulted me came in by himself and after he left the other went in.
- Q. How do you know the second man entered? You said you ran out of the house as soon as the assault was committed.
- A. The man who raped me went down and motioned to the other to come up, and while he was doing that I ran out of the house toward the bay and got into it. [...]

- Q. Were you taken back into the house after the assault or was it when the men first came that they dragged you?
- A. I was sitting in my house with my cousin when the soldiers came along and presented their rifles at my cousin and myself. I ran toward the staircase when I met the soldiers, and one of them took my hands and dragged me into the house. The other soldier followed behind me. This soldier left before the assault.
- Q. Did the soldier rape you more than once? If so, state how many times.
- A. Only once, one soldier. [...]
- Q. Is the accused the man who did it [raped you]?
- A. That is the man, I believe, but he is whiter, paler than he was that day.

Appendix I

**Questions for Documents B and C:
Gabriella Marcelino and Aldiana Dionisia Testimonies**

Directions: After you read Documents B and C, answer the following questions in more than two sentences each.	
Questions:	Answers:
Describe what happened in each account according to Marcelino and Dionisia.	
Compare and contrast Documents B and C. How did the American soldiers act similarly between the two accounts? How did they act differently, if at all?	
What questions would you ask the Filipina victims if you were a lawyer presiding over the case? Why would you ask these questions in particular?	
What evidence is there to suggest the American soldiers who raped the Filipina women thought of Filipina women as less than human? Please provide a direct quote to support your answer. Why would the American soldiers think of the Filipina women as less than human, if they did at all? What role do you think Orientalist and patriarchal images like that of Japanese geisha tattoos from the turn of the twentieth century played in that thought process?	
The American soldiers from Dionisia’s testimony called her a “Pickaninny” before they raped her. Use responsible Internet sources to define the word “Pickaninny.” Why do you think the American soldiers chose to call her this? Was this an example of Orientalism or racism? Why or why not?	

Appendix J

Exit Ticket: Short-Answer Question

Directions: Using the documents you examined as evidence, answer the following question in more than two sentences.	
Question:	Answer:
How were Japanese geisha tattoos from the turn of the twentieth century part of a system of other Orientalist and patriarchal tropes that helped American soldiers to “rationalize” acts of sexual violence against Filipina civilians during the Philippine-American War and “justify” the territorial conquest of the Philippines?	

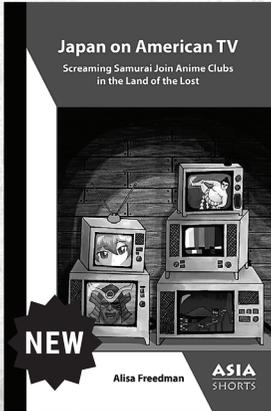
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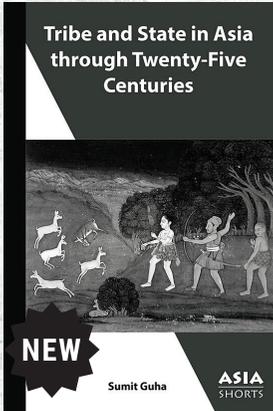
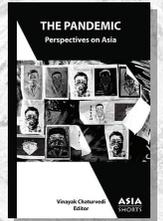
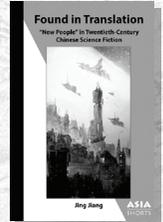
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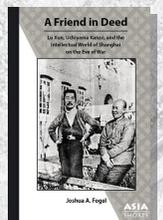
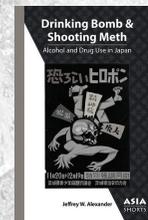
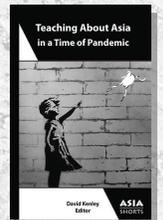
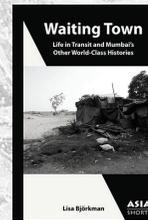
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