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MAKING HISTORY: HOW BERKELEY FORGETS AND REMEMBERS ITS PAST

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“If not here before, not here now.”
(Robert Spott, Yurok saying)

“All naming must be consistent with the University’s role as a public trust.”
(UC Berkeley Division of Academic Planning)¹

“[T]his college, where we are now sitting, what lies beneath...?”
(Virginia Woolf, 1928).²

INTRODUCTION

This report investigates how Berkeley communicates its origins story and historical narrative through its memorials, plaques, naming of sites, and other markers of the past. It is based on a year-long project of archival and field research carried out by a team of law school students and faculty. A primary focus is on the aggrandizement of men and women who participated in or benefited from the genocide, displacement, and impoverishment of Native peoples, and the accumulation of their ancestors as “fetishes of conquest.” For California, as Philip Deloria reminds us, the “violent plunder of Native land and its conversion into vast American wealth” was one of “two foundational sins” (the other of course being slavery) that “established the rules of the game for empire, expansion, and a distinct species of white supremacy.”³ For the University of California, whose initial funding relied, in the words of a campus committee, on “capital derived from appropriation and genocide” and whose location in Berkeley was built on top of land that had been

¹ “Principles for Naming,” <https://vpap.berkeley.edu/space-planning/policies-and-guidelines/principles-naming>).

² Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One’s Own*, c. 1928, London: Penguin Books, 2004, 22.

³ Philip Deloria, “Defiance,” *The New Yorker*, November 2, 2020, 76-80.

preserved and nourished since time immemorial by Native settlements, this officially unacknowledged history is constitutive.⁴

Making History is organized as follows: In Part I, we summarize our analytical findings and make recommendations for future action. Part II summarizes our methodology and sources of images and includes bios of the research team and acknowledgments.

I.

A Suitable Past



Figure 1. Sather Tower, commonly known as the Campanile, overlooking the campus and the San Francisco Bay.

The University’s “recollective architecture” is a repository of history, meaning, and aspiration.⁵

Long before you get to the Berkeley campus, you can see – even from San Francisco on a clear day – the university’s “trustworthy landmark,” the Campanile. It is “a symbol of the university’s lofty vision and enduring contribution to California and the world,” said UC President Benjamin Ide Wheeler at the tower’s cornerstone-laying

ceremony on March 18, 1914.⁶ Like many of the university’s original buildings, its Beaux-Arts design evokes European provenance. If you’ve visited Italy, you might recognize a resemblance to the Campanile di San Marco in Venice.

⁴ Andrew Garrett et al., *Native American Collections in Archives, Libraries and Museums at the University of California, Berkeley*, UC Berkeley Working Group Report, March 2019, 37; Robert Lee and Tristan Ahtone, “Land-Grab Universities,” *High Country News*, April 2020, 32-45; Joseph A. Myers Center for Research on Native American Issues and Native American Student Development “The University of California Land Grab: A Legacy of Profit from Indigenous Land,” on-line conference, September 25 and October 23, 2020, published by, UC Berkeley, 2021, <https://cejce.berkeley.edu/centers/native-american-student-development/uc-land-grab>; Margaret A. Nash, “Entangled Pasts: Land-Grant Colleges and American Indian Dispossession,” *History of Education Quarterly* 59, 4, November 2019, 437-467.

⁵ Charles Griswold’s term “recollective architecture” is cited in Edward T. Linenthal, *Preserving Memory: The Struggle to Create America’s Holocaust Museum*, New York: Viking, 1995, 72.

⁶ “Campanile,” <https://campanile.berkeley.edu/>. See, also, “Sather Tower” (aka The Campanile), https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sather_Tower.



Figure 2. Bust of Athena over the main entrance to the Doe Memorial Library.

Another prominent building on campus, the Doe Memorial Library, completed in 1911, suggests a “neo-classical temple of higher learning.” A statue of Athena, Greek goddess of wisdom, at the library’s entrance represents “Berkeley’s aspiration to become the Athens of the West.”⁷



Figure 3. South Hall, UC Berkeley campus.

The oldest surviving building on campus, South Hall (1873), with its ornate ironwork, mansard roof, and gargoyles, reflects the influence of Napoleon III’s Second Empire style (1852-1871).



Figure 4. Entrance hall of the Hearst Memorial Mining Building.

Perhaps the University’s most splendid building, the Hearst Memorial Mining Building, completed in 1907, combines the Beaux-Arts tradition with Spanish mission architecture. The entrance hall was modelled on France’s Bibliothèque National.

⁷ Pacific Coast Architecture Data Base (PCAD), “University of California, Berkeley, Charles Franklin Doe Memorial Library,” <http://pcad.lib.washington.edu/building/1694/>.

The campus’ “historic esplanade” – variously identified in university press releases as “a sacred landscape space” and “campus shrine” – is named after a French term for the space in front of a fortification.⁸ As we shall see, the Berkeley campus is saturated with military references, from the 1870s “Indian Wars” to 9/11.



Figure 5. Campanile Esplanade with John Mitchell Fountain and 9/11 Memorial Benches in the foreground.

If you enter the campus on the west-side and look behind Arnaldo Pomodoro’s bronze of a fractured globe, you will find what appears to be an ancient plaque, mottled by age. In fact, it’s less than fifty years old. The Don Pedro Fages Expedition Historical Marker was installed by the California chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution in 1978. It commemorates the place where a military expedition “under the auspices of the Empire of Spain” camped on Strawberry Creek in 1772 and sighted what later became known as the San Francisco Bay and Golden Gate.⁹



Figure 6. Don Pedro Fages Expedition Historical Marker near the west entrance to UC Berkeley.

The Faculty Club, constructed in the heart of the campus in 1901, is one of the university’s showplaces – an “architectural gem of Craftsman design” that reflects

⁸ Gretchen Kell, “A Splendid Esplanade: Major Overhaul for Campanile’s Grounds,” *Berkeley News*, September 2, 2014, <https://news.berkeley.edu/2014/09/02/a-splendid-esplanade-major-overhaul-beneath-campanile/>.

⁹ Andrew Ruppenstein, “Don Pedro Fages Expedition,” *The Historical Marker Database*, <https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=42034>.

“a special northern California aesthetic.”¹⁰ Its design signals a link to late 19th century, quintessentially European artistry that suggests the masculine clubbiness of a British university.



Figure 7. Dining room of The Faculty Club at UC Berkeley.

On the east-side boundary of the campus is Founders’ Rock where, as the story goes, a group of trustees from the College of California met in April 1860 to survey land that would become a “Seat of Learning” known as the University of California. “There is not another college site in America, if indeed anywhere in the world,” editorialized the *Pacific*. “It is the spot above all others we have yet seen or heard of where a man may look in the face of the nineteenth century and realize the glories that are coming on.”¹¹ The rock was inscribed and dedicated by the graduating class of 1896. It was here



Figure 8. Founders Rock at the corner of Hearst Avenue and Gayley Road on the campus.

too that trustee Frederick Billings, inspired by a poem written by Bishop George Berkeley, an eighteenth century Irish philosopher, proposed calling the new town *Berkeley* where “There shall be sung another golden age, / The rise of empire and of arts.”¹²

¹⁰ “The Faculty Club,” <https://www.berkeleyfacultyclub.com/club/history>. The club’s original design was created by Bernard Maybeck and implemented by John Galen Howard. It was included in the National Register of Historic Places in 1982.

¹¹ Quoted in William Warren Ferrier, *Ninety Years of Education in California, 1846-1936*, Berkeley: Sather Gate Book Store, 1937, 182.

¹² George Berkeley, “On the Prospect of Planting Arts and Learning in America,” 1728, <https://www.bartleby.com/270/13/15.html>.

These important symbolic landmarks of Berkeley's origins story are rooted in an idealized European past of Italy, Greece, Spain, England, France, and Ireland, while its actual Mexican history and much longer Native histories are reduced to spectral traces.

As of November 2021, there are no plaques, statues, or memorials in the university's public space that credit the Indigenous People who lived for thousands of years on and around Strawberry Creek long before Don Pedro Fages hoisted Spain's flag. Or that mark how the University of California, founded in 1868, came to life in an era of ferocious nationalism, conquest, ethnic cleansing, and genocide. California's "golden age" replicated every aspect of violent nation-making that occurred worldwide in the nineteenth century: "a crack and chatter of bone against metal / the true sound of history, this metal striking bone."¹³

A university such as Berkeley that aspires to a global reputation requires more than stately buildings, distinguished faculty, and professional landscaping. One of the "world's top universities" and a "leading public university" also crafts a narrative about itself that imagines a heroic, shared, and cohesive identity,¹⁴ as suggested by the following synthesis promoted on the university's website: "From a group of academic pioneers in 1868 to the Free Speech Movement in 1964, Berkeley is a place where the brightest minds from across the globe come together to explore, ask questions and improve the world."¹⁵ The University's "milestones and discoveries" go from "earthquake science" in 1887 to "treating global malaria" in 2013.¹⁶

¹³ Jim Harrison, "The Brand New Statue of Liberty," in Jim Harrison, *The Essential Poems*, edited by Joseph Bednarik, Port Townsend, WA: Copper Canyon Press, 2019, 118. Thanks to Peter Nabokov for bringing this poem to our attention. On the violence of nation-making, see Thomas Bender, *A Nation Among Nations: America's Place in World History*, New York: Hill and Wang, 2006.

¹⁴ Here we draw upon an analytical framework developed in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983; E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990; Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso, 1991; Homi K. Bhabha, ed., *Nation and Narration*, London: Routledge, 1990.

¹⁵ <https://www.berkeley.edu/>; See, also, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/University_of_California,_Berkeley.

¹⁶ <https://www.berkeley.edu/about/history-discoveries>.

These themes – the university as an agent of civilization bringing rationality to the wilderness, the university as a herald of modernity, and the university as social reformer – are central to Berkeley’s brand as reflected in its slogans, choice of architecture, and memorials to “a suitable historical past.”¹⁷ The biblically inspired catchphrase *fiat lux* (let there be light) – a regional expression of manifest destiny – has endured for over a century, from its inscription on an arch that greets students at Sather Gate, to its use as a sign-off in the Chancellor’s messaging today.



Figure 9. Fiat Lux inscription at the top of the Sather Gate archway.

Rigorous Forgetting and Selective Remembering



Figure 10. John Mitchell Fountain in the Campanile Esplanade. Inscription reads, “John Mitchell was armorer from 1895 to 1904.”

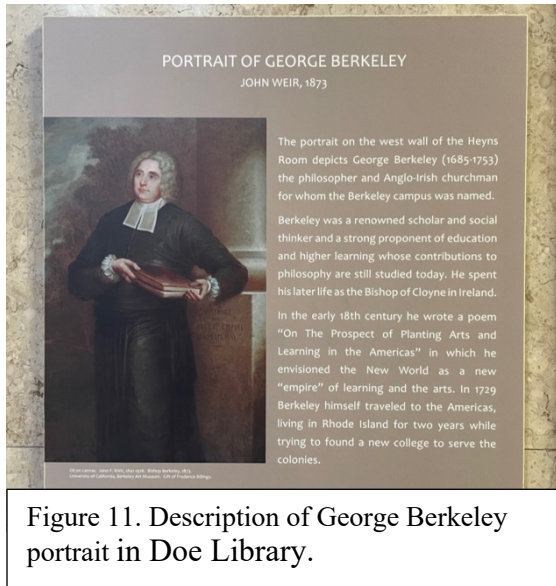
Berkeley’s memorial culture exemplifies wishful remembrance, systematic amnesia, and quarter-truths.

The making of an institution’s historical narrative typically involves active forgetting as well as selective remembering.¹⁸ For example, a wall text in South Hall informs us that the building once housed the University Herbarium in the 1890s, but there is no mention of the Museum of Ethnology, opened in 1873, that displayed skeletons and skulls. A 2014 University press release draws attention to a granite drinking fountain erected in 1905 near the Campanile in a prime location to honor John Mitchell, an 1874 Congressional Medal of Honor recipient, but does not include information about why he received the award: “Gallantry in engagement with Indians” during the Red River War, 1874-1875, that drove Tribes out of their homelands in Texas.¹⁹

¹⁷ Eric Hobsbawm, “Introduction: Inventing Traditions,” in Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, 1.

¹⁸ Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1; Bhabha, 310.

¹⁹ John Mitchell, Congressional Medal of Honor Society, <https://www.cmohs.org/recipients/john-mitchell> (last visited Dec. 14, 2020); U. S. Army, Indian War Campaigns, <https://www.army.mil/medalofhonor/citations3.html>; Kell, “A Splendid Esplanade.”



Similarly, a text accompanying a portrait in the Doe Library of Bishop George Berkeley (1685-1753), after whom the city is named, describes him as a “renowned scholar and social thinker,” but skips over the fact that his social thinking endorsed slavery and kidnapping “savages as are under ten years of age before evil habits have taken a deep root.”²⁰

The university’s indebtedness to Native history is mostly erased or degraded in its public culture. A tribute to the “visionary” Phoebe Apperson Hearst in the

Bancroft Library emphasizes her feminism at the expense of her racism. The wall text lauds her “philanthropic and academic spirit that forged Berkeley into the leading research university that it is today,” but omits from “the excavated objects brought to Berkeley as a result of Mrs. Hearst’s patronage” the hundreds of Indigenous human remains that were plundered from graves in several countries by expeditions that she funded.²¹ As for the present, the campus landscape fails to remind us that the “East Bay remains a place that Indigenous People and their relations reoccupy.”²²

These omissions happen so regularly that they constitute planned obliviousness rather than carelessness.

It takes a persistent search to find the occasional visual reminder of the Indigenous presence on the Berkeley campus, other than in the anthropology museum. The courtyard in Dwinelle Hall is named, without explanation, *Ishi Court*, after the Yahi survivor of massacres, bounty hunts, and starvation, whom the University housed and displayed in San Francisco in the tradition of human zoos from 1911 to 1916. We are not told anything about Ishi’s identity nor about how the University reflects on its own responsibility for displaying him as “the

²⁰ George Berkeley, *A Proposal for the Better Supplying of Churches in Our Foreign Plantations: And for Converting the Savage Americans to Christianity, by a College to Be Erected in the Summer Islands, Otherwise Called the Isles of Bermuda*, London: Printed by H. Woodfall, 1724.

²¹ Visited October 25, 2021.

²² Damon B. Akins and William J. Bauer Jr., *We Are The Land: A History of Native California*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2021, 305.

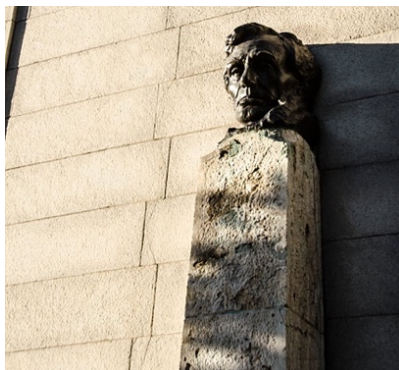
most uncivilized man in the world” and, after his death, sending his brain to the Smithsonian.²³ Is the courtyard an honor or an apology or a somber reminder? A gesture of remembrance for what?



Figure 12. Painting of a Native woman by Perham Nahl in the Faculty Club.

A painting of a generic Native woman hangs in the corner of a dining room in the Faculty Club. The painting is one of four in the room, done by well-known artist and faculty member Perham Nahl around 1917. The theme is food preparation prior to and after the founding of the University. According to in-house histories of the Faculty Club, it “represents an Indian squaw grinding corn in a stone mortar.” The portrait evokes an “aboriginal Indian [who] probably” lived on the “the banks of Strawberry Creek,” which used to flow copiously from the Berkeley hills to the Bay, and “have for centuries been the gathering-place and eating-place of local inhabitants.”²⁴ The painting and texts abstract the Indigenous woman from history, making her anonymous and Tribeless, a relic of a *disappearing race*, while the artist communicates romanticized backwardness by depicting her semi-naked.

Berkeley’s official timeline of milestones includes “linguistic survey of native languages (1952),” but omits the predatory plundering of thousands of Native gravesites that the university and department of anthropology enthusiastically authorized.²⁵



President Lincoln’s role in financing Berkeley as a land grant college through the Morrill Act is honored in a sculpture, while the Indigenous peoples whose stolen lands made the university’s founding possible are symbolically vanished.

Figure 13. Bust of President Abraham Lincoln near the base of the Campanile’s south façade.

²³ Tony Platt, *Grave Matters: The Controversy over Excavating California’s Buried Indigenous Past*, Berkeley, CA, 2021, 40-41, 73-75, 164-165.

²⁴ Edmond O’Neill, *An Account of the Birth and Growth of the Faculty Club of the University of California*, Berkeley: The Faculty Club, 1933, 1; James Gilbert Paltridge, *A History of the Faculty Club at Berkeley*, Berkeley: The Faculty Club, 1990, 3.

²⁵ <https://www.berkeley.edu/about/history-discoveries>.

The Botanical Garden, with its impressive collection of native plants, begins its timeline in 1890, ignoring the Native communities who lived on its land for many previous generations and whose “sophisticated and complex harvesting and



Figure 14. UC Berkeley Botanical Garden.

management practices ... achieved an intimacy with nature unmatched by the modern-day wilderness guide, trained field botanist, or applied ecologist.”²⁶

Given how the university is rooted in land appropriated from Tribes, these particular failures of memory are the most egregious, but they are not the only ones.

The southside entrance to the university leads to the most visited site on the Berkeley campus, Sproul Plaza, where countless generations of activists have assembled in protest, listened to political speeches, and staffed information tables. The Plaza is associated with the Free Speech Movement (FSM) that in 1964-1965 mobilized thousands of supporters to end Berkeley’s long-time ban on political speech. It was here that Mario Savio urged us to grind the university machine to a halt by putting our “bodies upon the gears and upon the wheels, upon the levers, upon all the apparatus.”²⁷



Figure 15. Free Speech Memorial located in Sproul Plaza.

In 1989, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the FSM, the University reluctantly installed a memorial in the center of the plaza: a six-inch deep circle of soil framed by a granite circle on which is inscribed: “This soil and the air space above it shall not be a part of any nation and shall not be subject to any entity’s jurisdiction.” Most people walk over this memorial without seeing it. Those who do stop to look might be puzzled because there is no rationale, no historical context, no provenance. The university apparently

²⁶ <https://botanicalgarden.berkeley.edu/the-garden>; M. Kat Anderson, *Tending The Wild: Native American Knowledge and the Management of California’s Natural Resources*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005, 1.

²⁷ http://www.savio.org/speeches_and_interviews.html.



Figure 16. Free Speech Movement Café in Moffitt Library.

agreed to its installation only if there was no mention of the Free Speech Movement.²⁸ Thus, it fails the most basic requirement of a memorial: remembrance of an historical event. It would take until 2000 before the university agreed to an appropriate commemoration – the Free Speech Movement Café in Moffitt Library where you can eat, drink, and learn about the struggle – when philanthropist and FSM sympathizer Steve Silberstein made it a condition of a large donation.²⁹



Figure 17. Mario Savio Steps. “The most beautiful thing in the world is freedom of speech – Diogenes of Sinope (4th c. BC).”

Berkeley eventually acknowledged Mario Savio’s leadership in the FSM by naming the Sproul Steps after him and installing a bronze plaque on the steps in his honor in 1997.³⁰ There is no information about Savio on the plaque that includes a quote from a Greek philosopher about the importance of free speech, despite Savio’s many memorable comments on the topic. The University expelled Savio for his role in the FSM.



Figure 18. Ludwig’s Fountain and plaque located in Sproul Plaza.

Meanwhile, a few yards from the FSM’s cryptic inscription in Sproul Plaza is one of the university’s best known memorials: Ludwig’s Fountain. Here a visible, explanatory plaque, authorized by “Act of the Board of Regents” and dedicated in 1988, honors “Ludwig Von Schwarenborg Campus Canine.”

A dog gets the respectful treatment that a movement for freedom of political speech is denied.

²⁸ The memorial was designed by Mark Brest van Kempen, the winner of a competition organized by the Berkeley Art Project. “The Invisible Monument to Free Speech,” podcast, April 15, 2011, <https://99percentinvisible.org/episode/episode-22-the-invisible-monument-to-free-speech/>.

²⁹ Telephone interview with Steve Silberstein, July 9, 2021.

³⁰ <https://www.sfgate.com/news/article/SYMBOLIC-STEPS-UC-Berkeley-names-legendary-2819919.php>.

Glorifying Militarism, Minimizing Social Justice

A recent survey of close to half a million public monuments throughout the United States found that the commemorative landscape is dominated by powerful white men; that war and conquest are the most typical subject matter; and that the tragedies of war, the victims of conquest, anti-war activism, and social justice leaders are rarely commemorated.³¹ In this respect, Berkeley follows the norm.

Berkeley has had a well-known reputation for anti-war activism since the 1960s, but in its early decades pro-war activism ruled. The 1862 Morrill Land Grant Act, on which Berkeley relied economically, made “training in military tactics” a condition of funding. “The military feature of the University is important and beneficial in many respects,” reported the Regents in 1873. “It promotes good order and decorum in the daily routine ... and contributes largely towards the cultivation of a proper esprit de corps.” State law required that “students be organized for military instruction and discipline.” Military service was compulsory, with students organized into a battalion of four companies. The military science curriculum included “field fortifications,” “principles of strategy,” and “theories of artillery fire.”³² The campus armory was housed in North Hall, supervised by the gallant John Mitchell who “thrilled students with tales of Indian battles.”³³

During World War I, in the wake of political and physical attacks on German Americans throughout the country, the Regents ordered the University to fire any “disloyal faculty member,” an edict with which it scrupulously complied. At least three faculty members were “dismissed” for actions “inimical to the United States,” and students in the German department were required to sign a loyalty oath. The Regents also imposed a pro-war Advisory Committee of Deans on President Wheeler who a few years earlier had advocated U. S. neutrality, saying “it seems terrible to go to war with a nation which does not want to go to war with us...”³⁴

³¹ Monument Lab, *National Monument Audit*, The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, 2021.

³² *Biennial Report of the Regents of the University of California, 1872-1873*, Berkeley: University of California, 1873, 21; *Biennial Report of the Regents of the University of California, 1877-1879*, Berkeley: University of California, August 1879, 25. See, also, Verne A. Stadtman, *The University of California, 1868-1968*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1970, 155.

³³ *Loafers Guide to the U.C. Berkeley Campus*, *University of California Berkeley Facilities*, 26, https://facilities.berkeley.edu/sites/default/files/loafers_guide_to_the_u.c._berkeley_campus_pt._1.pdf (last visited Dec. 14, 2020).

³⁴ Stadtman, *The University of California*, 193-196.

It wasn't until 1962, after decades of student organizing going back to the 1930s, that mandatory military training was ended.³⁵

Wars and military ventures figure prominently in Berkeley's memorial landscape.

The Don Pedro Fages Expedition plaque, erected by the California State Society Daughters of the American Revolution, marks the site on campus where a Spanish military expedition supposedly camped in 1772. At a high point in multicultural education and efforts to diversify origins stories, the University and DAR chose in 1978 to emphasize the Empire of Spain in Berkeley's provenance.³⁶

The Civil War is unevenly remembered on campus. In 1933, the Daughters of Union



Figure 19. Plaque at the base of the Grand Army of the Republic Tree.

Veterans of the Civil War planted a tree, marked by a small plaque, in memory of the Grand Army of the Republic vets who fought the Confederacy. By contrast, the University elevated the reputation of the Le Conte brothers, former owners of enslaved Africans and arms manufacturers for the Confederacy, by appointing physicist John Le Conte as president (1875-1881) and Joseph Le Conte the first professor of geology, and later naming a building in their honor. A Regent promised the Le Contes that their support for the

Confederacy, during and after the war, would not count against them at Berkeley. And it didn't.³⁷ They remained staunch opponents of Reconstruction and advocates of white supremacy. "The Negro race is still in childhood; it has not yet learned to walk alone in the paths of civilization," said Joseph Le Conte in an 1892 lecture. "In the South to-day wherever the whites predominate, so that the policy of the community is determined by them alone, the Negroes are industrious, thrifty, commencing to acquire property, and, in fact, improving in every way."³⁸

³⁵ Bonnie Azab Powell, "The Histories of Berkeley and the U. S. Military have Long Been Allied," *Campus News*, October 11, 2002, https://www.berkeley.edu/news/media/releases/2002/10/11_rotc_history.html.

³⁶ The Historical Marker Data Base, "Don Pedro Fages Expedition," <https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=42034>.

³⁷ Stadtman, *The University of California*, 51.

³⁸ Le Conte, Joseph, *The Race Problem in the South, Lecture and discussion before Brooklyn Ethical Association*, May 1892, New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1892, pp. 360-361.

In response to a student-led initiative, the University un-named the Le Conte building in November 2020,³⁹ but a plaque and oak tree, first planted to honor the Le Conte brothers in 1898, still stand.



Figure 20. UC Berkeley employee using plywood to cover the words “Le Conte Hall” inscribed at the entrance of the building now named Physics South.

The John Mitchell fountain, erected on the Esplanade in 1905 with funds provided by University cadets, glorifies the campus armorer for his role in military campaigns against Tribes in South Dakota and Texas. There are no comparable monuments on campus to California Tribes who were victims of mass slaughter and displacement, or to those who resisted and survived genocide.

Throughout the 20th century, the University built solemn memorials to students, alumni, faculty, and staff who died and served in war:



A bench, erected by the class of 1920 to commemorate the “heroism of the sons of this University who died in the Great War.”

Figure 21. The bench is located at the Campanile’s entrance.



The mammoth Memorial Stadium (1923), a World War I “memorial to the honored dead” that drew a crowd of 73,000 to its first football game.⁴⁰

Figure 22. The California Memorial Stadium.

³⁹ Berkeley News, “Chancellor Christ on the Unnaming of LeConte and Barrows Halls,” November 18, 2020, <https://news.berkeley.edu/2020/11/18/chancellor-christ-on-the-unnaming-of-leconte-and-barrows-halls/>.

⁴⁰ When Memorial Stadium was reopened after its renovation in 2012, it switched from being a memorial to only WWI into “all Californians who have lost their lives in war.” <https://web.archive.org/web/20120818044235/http://www.calbears.com/sports/m-footbl/spec-rel/081712aah.html>.



A circular bench, built in the 1980s with funds from students in Naval ROTC, “in memory of our classmates who gave their lives for their country in World War II.”

Figure 23. Naval ROTC Bench north of Haas Pavilion.



“Memorial glade” (1997), a 50th anniversary memorial to the students who served in World War II.

Figure 24. Memorial Glade and circular plaque in the foreground.



A plaque (2001), erected by ROTC students, “in memory of the classmates who gave their lives in the service of their country in the Korean War, 1950-1953.”

Figure 25. Korean War Memorial north of Zellerbach Hall.



Four benches, funded by the class of 2002 and placed on the Esplanade to “Remember 9.11.01.”

Figure 26. Four benches on the Campanile Esplanade.

There is no public recognition of Berkeley’s long tradition of anti-war activism from the early 20th century through the war in Vietnam. Berkeley replicates a national trend in which “violence is the most dominant subject of

commemoration,” while the personal, social, and environmental costs of warfare are ignored; and the victims of domestic massacres are rarely acknowledged.⁴¹ In the case of the University of California, not at all.

There are glimmers of the peace movement on campus.

In 1969, the celebrated artist Alexander Calder gave as a gift to the University Art



Figure 27. “The Hawk for Peace” sculpture by Alexander Calder.

Museum a full-size stabile of painted steel. Originally titled “Hawk” by Calder to suggest its bird-like image, the museum staff worried that it might be associated with pro-war sentiment and changed its title to “The Hawk for Peace.” This was quite consistent with the artist’s politics. He had publicly opposed the Cold War, signed anti-war petitions, and supported the McGovern campaign for the presidency.⁴² When the Berkeley Art Museum and Pacific

Film Archive (BAMPFA) moved to a new location, the anti-war sculpture was disappeared into storage where it remains today, out of sight and significance.⁴³

Similarly, four of the disturbing paintings of the U. S. military torturing Iraqi



prisoners at Abu Ghraib, donated to the University by artist Fernando Botero, are only seen by those who can navigate to an out-of-the-way corridor in the law school’s maze-of-a-building. The paintings are on loan from BAMPFA where the other twenty-eight images are stored, not displayed.⁴⁴

Figure 28. “Abu Ghraib 57” by Fernando Botero hangs in the hallway on the second floor of the Law Building.

⁴¹ *National Monument Audit*, 21-22.

⁴² Alan J. Taylor, “Unstable Motives: Propaganda, Politics and the Late Work of Alexander Calder,” *American Art* 26, 1, 2012, 25-47.

⁴³ E-mail from Stephanie Reeves, BAMPFA Associate Registrar for Exhibitions, June 29, 2021.

⁴⁴ E-mail from Charles Cannon, Associate Dean, Law School, UC Berkeley, October 25, 2021.

When the University does acknowledge social justice issues in its landscape, it does so reluctantly and often in response to an initiative by students and activists:



Figure 29. Martin Luther King Jr. Student Union, Sproul Plaza.

The name of the student union was changed to honor Martin Luther King at the urging of Ethnic Studies students in 1985.



Figure 30. Cesar Chavez Student Center, Lower Sproul Plaza.

Students also led the campaign to commemorate Cesar Chavez at the Student Center; and friends of the Free Speech Movement successfully lobbied for the oddly un-named tribute on Sproul Plaza in 1991, while a philanthropist made the Free Speech Movement Café a condition of his donation in 2000.



Figure 31. AIDS Courtyard in Doe Library.

The AIDS Memorial Courtyard in the Doe Library that doubles as a “Quiet Study” area is a half-hearted gesture: there are no names to remember, no personal stories, and no information about why it took the federal government so long to prevent thousands of unnecessary deaths.

For the most part, amnesia reigns.

Arriving on campus through its main entrance, you are greeted by a lovely grove of cherry trees, installed in 2013 by the Japanese American Alumni Association, that “stands as a legacy to the graduates of Japanese ancestry in recognition of their contribution to our society and as a tribute to the educational excellence of the University of California.”⁴⁵



Figure 32. Plaque and grove of cherry trees at the west entrance of the UC Berkeley

Absent are public tributes to the five hundred Japanese American students expelled by the University of California during World War II in compliance with President Franklin Roosevelt’s Executive Order 9066. In 2009, the University, by way of apology, offered these former students the opportunity to receive their degrees.⁴⁶

A recent exhibition in the Bancroft Library on “the incarceration of Japanese Americans” emphasizes that “notable Berkeleyans joined efforts against the federal injustices being inflicted against their fellow citizens,” but does not bring to life the students and families whose lives changed for dread in an instant nor explores the University’s complicity in federal government policies that forced families to abandon their homes and jobs and be imprisoned without trials for crimes they did not commit.⁴⁷ Yoshiko Uchida, a Berkeley student, remembers being given notice by



Figure 33. Japanese Americans boarding buses in 1942 under guard in Berkeley at the corner of Channing Way and Dana Street before being sent to internment camps.

Western Defense Command to “clear out in ten days a house we’ve lived in for fifteen years.” Together with her mother and sister, they “packed frantically and

⁴⁵ “Japanese cherry trees commemorate UC alumni,” *Berkeley News*, April 9, 2013, <https://news.berkeley.edu/2013/04/09/cherry-tree-grove/>.

⁴⁶ Kathleen Maclay, “Honorary degrees for students affected by World War II internment order,” University of California Berkeley press release, September 8, 2009.

⁴⁷ “Uprooted: The Incarceration of Japanese Americans,” The Bancroft Library Gallery, October 2021 to June 2022, visited October 25, 2021.

sold recklessly.” Another Nisei student wrote to the *Daily Californian*: “In the hard days ahead, we shall try to re-create the spirit which has made us so reluctant to leave now, and our wish to those who remain is that they maintain here the democratic ideals that have operated in the past. We hope to come back and find them here.”⁴⁸ A definitive, authoritative account of the “one of the world’s great academic institutions,” completed in 1970, chose to erase memory of this shame from “the first complete narrative history of the University to be published since 1930.”⁴⁹

Nor does Berkeley anywhere prod the institution’s conscience with prompts about Berkeley’s significant role in the development of weapons of mass destruction that



Figure 34. Aerial view of the Lawrence Berkeley National Laboratory located in the hills on the UC Berkeley Campus.

contributed to the mass murder of at least 200,000 civilians in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. Walking unaware through the campus you would never learn that the University of California has administered two national laboratories involved in nuclear weapons production since their creation.⁵⁰ “From its beginnings at the University,” noted the chair of the military science department in 1968, “instruction in military science

has spanned advancements in military tactics from musketry and horse-mounted cavalry to nuclear weapons and counter-insurgency.”⁵¹

Privatizing a Public University

What is most striking on a visit to the campus is the University’s reverence of the powerfully monied.

“We must look to men of wealth,” President Daniel Coit Gilman said in his 1872 inaugural address, “to provide the richer and more complete endowments which will place our University by the side of her older sisters at the East. The rich

⁴⁸ Yoshiko Uchida, *Desert Exile: The Uprooting of a Japanese-American Family*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1982, 3-4, 42-43, 58-62.

⁴⁹ Stadtman, *The University of California*, flyleaf blurb.

⁵⁰ International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons, *Mass Destruction: American Universities in the U. S. Nuclear Weapons Complex*, ICAN, November 2019.

⁵¹ Verne A. Stadtman, editor, *The Centennial Record of the University of California, 1868-1968, 1967* https://oac.cdlib.org/view?docId=hb4v19n9zb&brand=oac4&doc.view=entire_text.

Californians, who have made this wilderness rejoice and blossom like a rose, who have built these banks and warehouses, these railroads and steamships – the men who by their enterprise have made a University desirable and possible, and who now need it for their children – must make it actual by their munificence.”⁵²

Men of wealth and a handful of women of extraordinary wealth obliged. The land on which the Berkeley campus was built benefited from the holdings of its predecessor, the private College of California; Phoebe Hearst’s donation of \$200,000 financed the University’s architectural plan that garnered attention in Europe; Regent Edward Tomkins donated land to be sold to endow a professorship of Oriental languages in honor of Louis Agassiz; James Lick funded the installation of what was then the world’s most powerful telescope; Hugh Toland bankrolled what would become the University’s school of medicine; banker Michael Reese endowed library acquisitions; and Jane Sather funded the landmark Sather Gate and Campanile in honor of her husband, banker Pedro Sather.⁵³

The influential role of philanthropic capital in the shaping of *private* universities of course was widespread and routine by the time that the University of California was founded, but the new university claimed to be exclusively *public*. It would be more accurate, however, to describe Berkeley in its early decades as a *public-private* partnership or as a *private-public* partnership. By 1940, more than half of the University’s land and buildings had been funded by non-government sources. “A tradition of generous private support,” observed an official university publication in 1967, “has made possible the steady climb to eminence.”⁵⁴

The Regents of the University of California, Berkeley’s governing body, originally consisted of eight members appointed by the Governor, six members representing state political leadership, and another eight members appointed by the Regents. It was a cozy, in-bred group.⁵⁵ Following the 1879 Constitutional Convention, the Regents now enjoyed “the privileges of virtually an independent arm of state government.”⁵⁶

⁵² Quoted in Stadtman, *The University of California*, 108.

⁵³ Stadtman, *The University of California*, 86, 107-109, 118; “Sather Tower,” https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sather_Tower; <https://campanile.berkeley.edu/>.

⁵⁴ Stadtman, “Early Benefactors, *The Centennial Record*.”

⁵⁵ This analysis of the UC Regents draws upon research done by Amy Reavis and Nora Wallace, the subject of a forthcoming report.

⁵⁶ John Aubrey Douglass, “Creating a Fourth Branch of State Government: The University of California and the Constitutional Convention of 1879,” *History of Education Quarterly* 32, 1, Spring 1992, 72.

During the University's first thirty years, beginning in 1868, the Regents represented the state's dominant agricultural, ranching, mining, and financial interests. Regents Charles Reed (California Quicksilver Mining Company), Samuel Butterworth (New Almaden Quicksilver Mining Company), Pierre Barlow Cornwall (Black Diamond Coal Mining Company), and Robert Waterman (Stonewall Jackson Mine) owned and ran mines. New Almaden produced over \$70 million worth of mercury that was an essential ingredient in gold mining, making it one of the world's most profitable mines.⁵⁷

Regents Frederick Ferdinand Low, Isaac Friedlander, and Joseph Mora Moss were involved in shipping and global trade. Isaias Hellman was president of Wells Fargo, Leland Stanford president of Central Pacific Railroad, and Samuel Merritt owned the California State Telegraph Company. Frederick Billings was a major investor in the Northern Pacific Railroad.

Some regents benefitted personally from the University's lands dealings, investments, and educational priorities. Isaac Friedlander, known as the "Grain King," accumulated 196,000 acres of Morrill Act land and joined the Board of Regents in 1868. Benjamin Redding, the former mayor of Sacramento and California Secretary of State, was a land agent for the Central Pacific Railroad when he purchased 160 acres from the Regents in 1877. In 1880, he was appointed to the Board of Regents. Phoebe Hearst funded the construction of the Hearst Mining Building, completed in 1907, at the time that the family business was significantly involved in global mining operations.⁵⁸

More importantly, as a body the regents promoted and guarded the collective interests of the state's capitalist development. Many were politically active capitalists, moving fluidly between their economic and political roles – real estate and city hall, mining and the state legislature, banking and the U. S. Senate, finance and global diplomacy. John Franklin Swift, who later was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to Japan, worked with the U. S. Attorney General to defend the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1888. Senator James Duval Phelan made a name for himself in the "Keep California White" movement and supported Woodrow Wilson's restriction on Japanese immigration.

⁵⁷ Robin W. Winks, *Frederick Billings: A Life*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991, 99.

⁵⁸ These examples are from a report being prepared by Amy Reavis and Nora Wallace.

In the University's first two decades, Phoebe Hearst was the most prominent and wide-ranging funder of projects. She is honored today in memorials, at public events,



Figure 35. Phoebe A. Hearst (1842-1919).

and on websites as Berkeley's founding mother, "great educator," and "matriarch of access and excellence."⁵⁹ It was to archaeology and anthropology that she devoted her special attention and hands-on involvement.

The commemoration of Phoebe Hearst is a case study in selective forgetting and remembering.

When Berkeley established its anthropology program and museum in 1901, it had to play catch-up if it wanted to be competitive with the rivals it aspired to emulate – the Smithsonian, Harvard's Peabody Museum, the American Museum of Natural History, Chicago's Field Museum, and European museums stocked with artifacts collected by naval expeditions and bought

from international traders. To be successful at this level, the University needed the funds of a patron of culture, somebody with big pockets and an outsize ego, somebody like George Heye, who accumulated eight hundred thousand Native artifacts, enough to fill his own museum in New York, somebody who imagined himself to be making and not just collecting history.⁶⁰ For wealthy collectors and middle-class hobbyists, archaeology was a man's game.⁶¹

In Phoebe Apperson Hearst (1842-1919), Berkeley found its woman. Without her patronage, there would have been no anthropology museum, no archaeological

⁵⁹ See, for example, <https://hearstmuseum.berkeley.edu/about/>; <https://rac.berkeley.edu/phoebe/background.html>; <https://www.berkeleydailyplanet.com/issue/2011-04-20/article/37716>.

⁶⁰ Mary Jane Lenz, "George Gustav Heye," in Duane Blue Spruce, ed, *Spirit of a Native Place: Building the National Museum of the American Indian*, Washington, D. C.: National Geographic Society and National Museum of the American Indian, 2004, 87-115.

⁶¹ Curtis M. Hinsley, Jr., "Digging for Identity: Reflections on the Cultural Background of Collecting," in Devon A. Mihesuah, ed., *Repatriation Reader: Who Owns American Indian Remains?* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000, 45.

collection of national significance, maybe no anthropology department, certainly no University of California as we know it.⁶²

Four years before the University created a department of anthropology, it appointed Phoebe Hearst the first female Regent in acknowledgement of her funding of Berkeley's architectural design and infrastructure. In 1900, President Benjamin Ide Wheeler elevated her to acting president in his temporary absence. Hearst was serious about anthropology. It was much more than a vanity project or philanthropic specialty. She had, by her own account, "no technical knowledge of archaeology, having only the enthusiasm acquired through general reading and visits to the world's greatest museums," but she was sufficiently informed that the American Archaeological Association made her honorary president in 1899.⁶³

Phoebe Hearst created the material foundations of the anthropology department before there was faculty, staff, and students. Determined to make Berkeley a player on the global as well as national stage, she paid George Reisner \$10,000 per year for five years to direct an archaeological expedition in Egypt and financed German archaeologist Max Uhle to do research in Peru and Mexico. With seemingly unlimited funds from Hearst in 1900, Philip Jones, a doctor and amateur archaeologist, went on a buying spree, piling up crates of artifacts and ancestors' remains for the University's anthropology department, scheduled to open the following year.⁶⁴

Most donors to the University made contributions to the Regents with a request that they be used in a particular way. Hearst directly financed anthropology during its first decade. It was not so much a private-public partnership as a personal fiefdom.

Hearst approved and paid the annual budget for salaries, administration, and special requests, such as building a warehouse to store her collection. She funded Max Uhle's excavation of Bay Area shell mounds and graves and other local

⁶² Gray Brechin, *Imperial San Francisco: Urban Power, Earthly Ruin*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999, chapter 7.

⁶³ Alexandra M. Nickliss, *Phoebe Apperson Hearst: A Life of Power and Politics*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2018, 253, 257, 258.

⁶⁴ Nickliss, 262-263; University of California Berkeley, Bancroft Library, Records of the Regents of the University of California, 1868-1933, Box 33, Anthropology, 1901-1904. Hereafter cited as UC Regents Records.

archaeological projects.⁶⁵ In 1906, for example, she budgeted \$21,255.36 for “research, publications, and instruction of the Department of Anthropology.”⁶⁶ In the department’s first director, Frederic Putnam, she cultivated a fawning subordinate who would fulfill her vision. “I should have nothing to do with the establishment of a museum that did not meet with the approval of Mrs. Hearst,” wrote Putnam, “for I should consider it disloyal to her when she has given the start to the whole matter.”⁶⁷

“Hearst assumed,” according to her biographer, “that her official position, work, and major gifts to the University of California entitled her to have control over the department and museum.” When Alfred Kroeber became de facto chair of the department, she paid his salary and “set his budget.”⁶⁸ At one point, she lobbied to get Kroeber fired when his plans to professionalize the department interfered with her goal of creating a grand museum that, in the words of Putnam, would display the story of Progress from “beginning in geological time, through savagery and barbarism to the periods of [Man’s] civilization.”⁶⁹

Considering the collections Hearst donated to the University and her funding of the department’s routine operations and infrastructure, it was conservatively estimated in 1908 that Phoebe Hearst’s value to the University’s anthropology program alone was worth \$500,000 (about \$17 million in today’s value).⁷⁰

By the second decade of the 20th century, with Hearst’s vision of a grandiose museum on the Berkeley campus unrealized, she gave up the direct funding and administration of Anthropology. But, by then, she had normalized a significant role for private investors in shaping the priorities and functioning of one of the country’s leading public universities.

⁶⁵ *First Quarterly Report of the Department of Anthropology of the University of California, November 30, 1901, UC Regents Records, CU-23, Box 2, 1*; Max Uhle, “Original Copy of the First Emeryville Paper, CA-Ala-309, 1902,” Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, UC Berkeley, Archaeological Archives #20.

⁶⁶ *The Report of the Secretary to the Board of Regents of the University of California for Year Ending June 30, 1906*, Sacramento: W. W. Shannon, 1907, 18.

⁶⁷ Nickliss, 274.

⁶⁸ Nickliss, 273, 280.

⁶⁹ Nickliss, 277-283; F. W. Putnam, “Department of Anthropology,” in *Biennial Report of the President of the University on behalf of the Regents to His Excellency the Governor of the State, 1906-1908*, Berkeley: The University Press, October 1908, 91.

⁷⁰ “Mrs. Hearst’s Donation for the Department of Anthropology extracted from the President’s Report,” 1908, UC Regents Records, Box 55, #36, Anthropology.

Today, the campus is filled with buildings named after Phoebe Hearst’s successors – a who’s who of brand-name donors representing industries, tech companies, investment firms, and financial institutions throughout the Pacific Rim: Peter Giannini, Isadore Zellerbach, Bechtel, Richard Blum, Kevin and Connie Chou, Richard and Rhoda Goldman, Walter Haas, Sr., Li Ka-Shing, Sehat Sutardja and Weili Dai, Tan Kah Kee, and Hank C. C. Tang, to name a few.⁷¹ In the Engineering building’s majestic vestibule, dedicated to George Hearst, \$5 million-plus corporate donors get a special mention.

Walls that greet you on your way into Doe Library are etched with the names of \$1 million-plus donors. An empty wall waits for the names of Berkeley graduates who have taken a pledge to “incorporate philanthropy into [their] growth mindset” and join “UC Berkeley’s entrepreneur ecosystem.”⁷²



Figure 36. “These Walls Honor” plaque outside Doe Library. Inscription reads: “These walls honor the vision, leadership, and commitment of the University of California’s leading benefactors since its founding in 1868.”

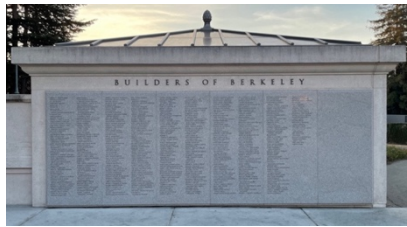


Figure 37. “Builders of Berkeley” wall with donor names outside Doe Library.



Figure 38. “Builders of Berkeley” walls outside Doe Library. One wall is filled with donor names and the other wall is empty and waiting for new donor names to be added.

⁷¹ For a full list of named buildings, see <https://dac.berkeley.edu/navigating-cal/campus-buildings>.

⁷² “Berkeley’s Founders’ Pledge,” <https://founderspledge.berkeley.edu/>.

The University's long-time dependency on and aggrandizement of wealthy

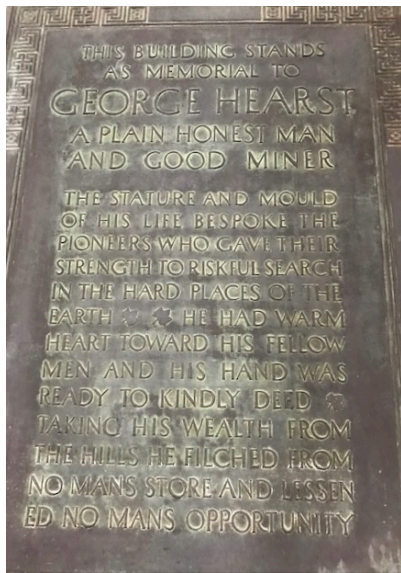


Figure 39. Plaque commemorating George Hearst in the Hearst Memorial Mining Building.

benefactors is problematic in two important ways. First, in return for accepting large sums of money, it agrees in effect to serve as a public relations firm promoting one-dimensional, relentlessly positive representations of donors, not looking for or acknowledging anything that might tarnish reputational value, even when everybody knows better. Maybe it's understandable how the University in 1907 enshrined George Hearst in a plaque that described him as "a plain honest man and good miner ... Taking his wealth from the hills he filched from no man's store and lessened no man's opportunity." But there is no justification for continuing to display this monument to greed and racism in 2021 by whitewashing a man who made his fortune filching tons of gold in the Black Hills from Sioux homelands and forcing Indigenous Andean peasants into debt bondage in Peru's copper mines.

Secondly, by making wealthy donors synonymous with the "builders of Berkeley" and giving them pride of place in the commemorative landscape, other builders are marginalized or disappeared: the Native tribes and settlements whose lands financed Berkeley's rapid rise to prominence; the workforce who literally built and maintain the campus; and the activists who forced the university's white, old boys' club to diversify the curriculum, student body, and faculty.

Excusing Racism and White Supremacy

It's good news that the University has agreed to remove Alfred Kroeber's name from the anthropology building. After all, he presided over a department that acquired thousands of Indigenous human remains and put Berkeley's leading proponent of archaeological eugenics, Edward Gifford, in charge of public education. Let's not forget, however, that it was funding from the Hearst fortune, the whole-hearted support of the Regents, and Phoebe Hearst's direct involvement in the day-to-day operations of the department and its expeditions that enabled Berkeley to accumulate "one of the largest collections of human remains in the world."⁷³

⁷³ Edward M. Luby, Special Assistant to the UC Berkeley Vice Chancellor for Research and Director, NAGPRA Unit, "Administrative Update on Compliance with the Native American

George Hearst grew up in Missouri in a slave-owning family and remained a resolute pro-South Democrat and opponent of Reconstruction and African American voting rights throughout his political career in the California State Assembly and the U. S. Senate. He made a large chunk of his wealth in mining. The Homestake Mine in South Dakota generated 2.7 million tons of gold and caused longstanding environmental damage to Indigenous lands, rivers, and the watershed. “I will hurt a good many people,” Hearst confided in his partner in 1878.⁷⁴ In Peru, the Cerro de Pasco Copper Company employed 5,000 mostly Indigenous workers working under slave-like conditions that resulted in a high mortality and accident rate, as well as permeating the landscape with toxic tailings responsible for widespread lead poisoning of generations of children.⁷⁵

Despite this well-documented history, the University continues to honor the Hearst family in its landscape and publications. *Hearst* is ubiquitous on and near campus, from the magnificent to the mundane.



Figure 40. Plaque at the entrance to the William Randolph Hearst Greek Theatre, an 8,500-seat amphitheater on the campus.

Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA): January 1, 1999, through December 31, 2000,” UC Berkeley, July 2000, 1.

⁷⁴ Quoted in Brechin, *Imperial San Francisco*, 351, footnote 11.

⁷⁵ Ferdinand Lundberg, *Imperialist Hearst: A Social Biography*, New York: Random House, 1936; Bill Harlan, *Homestake Hangs Up Pick for Last Time*, Rapid City Journal, December 14, 2001), https://rapidcityjournal.com/homestake-hangs-up-pick-for-last-time/article_593815fa-7473-5e5d-aaf2-7597d1034b28.html; Alexandra New Holy, “The Heart of Everything That Is: Paha Sapa, Treaties, and Lakota Identity,” *Oklahoma City University Law Review* 23, 1998, 1998, 349-350; Dora Mayer, Asociación Pro-Indígena, *The Conduct of the Cerro de Pasco Mining Company*, Lima, Peru: El Progreso 1913, 6.



Figure 41. Entrance to the Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology inside the Anthropology and Art Practice Building, formerly named Kroeber Hall.



Figure 42. Entrance to the Hearst Memorial Mining building on the campus.



Figure 43. Hearst Memorial Gymnasium on the campus.



Figure 44. Intersection of Hearst Avenue and Le Conte Avenue, Berkeley.

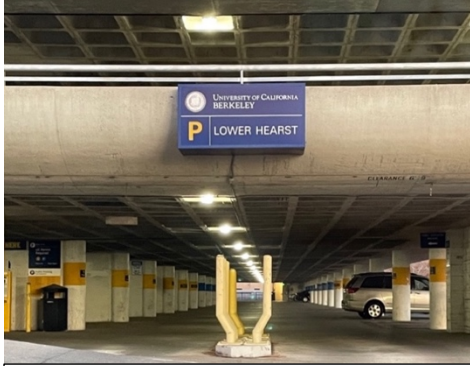


Figure 45. Lower Hearst Parking Structure on Hearst Ave.



Figure 46. Upper Hearst Parking Structure on Hearst Ave.



Figure 47. Hearst Field Annex.



Figure 48. Hearst Tennis Courts.

This obliviousness to the racial ideologies of donors and honorees is widespread: From the naming of the city and university after Bishop George Berkeley, an apologist for slavery who advocated “converting the heathen” through recruiting Native children, by force if necessary.⁷⁶ To naming Berkeley’s distinguished Bancroft Library after a self-taught historian who wrote that the northern California Indian was “not such a bad specimen of a savage, as savages go, but filthiness and greed are not enviable qualities, and he has a full share of both.”⁷⁷ To purchasing and erecting a bust of Abraham Lincoln in 1909, not in solidarity with the Emancipation Proclamation, but as a “reminder of Lincoln’s role” in signing the

⁷⁶ Tom Jones, *George Berkeley: A Philosophical Life*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2021, pp. 26, 239; George Berkeley, *A Proposal for the Better Supplying of Churches in Our Foreign Plantations: And for Converting the Savage Americans to Christianity, by a College to Be Erected in the Summer Islands, Otherwise Called the Isles of Bermuda*. London: Printed by H. Woodfall, 1724.

⁷⁷ Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Wild Tribes*, vol. 1 of *The Native Race*, San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Co., 1883, 301.

Morrill Land Grant Act that dispossessed Tribes of their homelands;⁷⁸ and then compounding the amnesia at an anniversary ceremony in 2012, when U.C. President Mark Yudof praised the legislation for transforming the United States “from a divided, underdeveloped nation into one that is vigorously diverse, competitive and advanced.”⁷⁹ Moreover, it apparently didn’t matter that John Gutzon de la Mothe Borglum, the sculptor who created the Lincoln bust, had close ties with the Ku Klux Klan and Confederate organizations.⁸⁰ Berkeley prefers to enshrine the Morrill land grab as an example of the democratization of higher education.⁸¹ As a recent report understates, “Native Californians are notably absent from the narrative.”⁸²

The slogan *Fiat Lux* that is repetitively embedded in Berkeley’s iconography for over a century symbolizes how the University imagines itself like the God of Genesis: Confronting an “earth without form, a void” and bringing light to the darkness. The sense of a university being built on pristine, unpeopled land (*terra nullius*) was central to its origins story. As Max Oelschlaeger has noted, advocates of modernization treated the landscape as “a stockpile of resources, lifeless matter-in-motion, a standing reserve for human appropriation.”⁸³ This worldview resonates in a semi-official account of the university’s founding: “its gentle slopes, spectacular views, rushing streams and venerable oaks were always described with reverence. Its very possession was an achievement of respectable order.”⁸⁴

Testimony to the staying power of *fiat lux* is former Senator and Republican pundit Rick Santorum’s recent claim to Young America’s Foundation that “there isn’t much Native American culture in American Culture.... We birthed a nation from nothing — I mean, there was nothing here.”⁸⁵

Fiat Obscurum might be a more suitable slogan for the University.

⁷⁸ Harvey Helfand, “Walking Central Campus’ Classical Core.” *University of California, Berkeley: An Architectural Tour*, Princeton Architectural Press, 2002, 53.

⁷⁹ Mark Yudof, “Morrill Act Speech,” 30 April 2012, https://video.ucdavis.edu/media/Morrill+ActA+SpeakerA+Mark+Yudof/0_fr3q7zjx/25823302.

⁸⁰ Wikipedia, “Gutzon Borglum,” https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gutzon_Borglum.

⁸¹ Nash, “Entangled Pasts.”

⁸² “The University of California Land Grab,” 15.

⁸³ Max Oelschlaeger, *The Idea of Wilderness: From Prehistory to the Age of Ecology*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991, 24. See, also, M. Kat Anderson, *Tending the Wild: Native American Knowledge and the Management of California’s Natural Resources*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.

⁸⁴ Stadtman, *The University of California*, 20.

⁸⁵ Jesus Jiménez, “CNN Drops Rick Santorum After Dismissive Comments about Native Americans,” *New York Times*, May 22, 2021.

The University appointed as its third president (1876-1881) John Le Conte and his brother Joseph as professor of geology, both unreconstructed racists from a slave-owning family in Georgia and owners of a weapons factory during the Civil War. There was only a slim hope, Joseph Le Conte argued in 1892 in his capacity as president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, for civilizing the “plastic, docile, imitative Negro.” As for the American Indian, “extermination is unavoidable.”⁸⁶

In 1906, the fledgling University of California Press published a research report by the Smithsonian’s Ales Hrdlicka, the country’s leading authority on essentialist, biological, and racially determined differences between Native and European Americans.⁸⁷



Figure 49. “Berkeley Scholars in the Philippines” display at Doe Library.

In 1919, the University appointed as its ninth president David Prescott Barrows, whose experience as General Superintendent of Education in the occupied Philippines left him convinced that Filipinos had an “intrinsic inability for self-governance” and that “the white, or European race, is above all others the great historical race.”⁸⁸ In October 2021, in celebration of Filipino Heritage Month, the Doe Library mindlessly exhibited copies of Barrows’ book *History of The Philippines* and a typed manuscript of his memoirs as an example of the University’s exemplary faculty.

In 1922, Herbert Bolton, then Berkeley’s leading historian, co-authored a textbook for children that praised Spain’s deadly Mission system for teaching “wild Indians the Christian faith and how to do useful things in the white man’s way.”⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Joseph Le Conte, *The Race Problem in the South*, Lecture and discussion before Brooklyn Ethical Association, May 1892, New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1892, 360-361.

⁸⁷ Ales Hrdlicka, “Contribution to the Physical Anthropology of California: Based on Collections in the Department of Anthropology of the University of California and in the U. S. National Museum,” *American Archaeology and Ethnology* 4, 2, June 1906, 51-52, 54.

⁸⁸ <https://chancellor.berkeley.edu/task-forces/building-name-review-committee/building-name-review-barrows-hall>; <https://prabook.com/web/david.barrows/3765274>; Kenton J. Clymer, “Humanitarian Imperialism: David Prescott Barrows and the White Man's Burden in the Philippines,” *Pacific Historical Review*, 45, 4, 1976, 495-517.

⁸⁹ Herbert E. Bolton and Ephraim D. Adams, *California Story*, Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1922, 80.

In 1924, the President's office funded, and the University of California Press published an extensive *Bibliography of Eugenics*, compiled by Berkeley's leading eugenicist, zoologist Samuel J. Holmes. A few years later, the Press also published Holmes' racist screed, *The Negro's Struggle for Survival*, in which the author commended the Ku Klux Klan for promoting the health and welfare of Negroes in the South, no irony intended. Holmes represented the University at the Third International Congress of Eugenics, held in New York in 1932,⁹⁰ in recognition of his lobbying for a quota on Mexican immigrants ("the least assimilable of foreign stocks"), advocating financial incentives for white female students and faculty wives to procreate, and helping to make California the country's leader in forced sterilization.⁹¹ You can hear strong echoes of Holmes' reactionary angst in *Great Replacement Theory* that today is a foundational tenet of rightwing ideology.

In 1926, the University of California press published Edward Gifford's research findings that promoted essentialist quackery about how "the living aborigines of California fall into two main groups, one low-faced, the other high-faced."⁹² The University later promoted him to full professor and named a room in his honor after his death in 1959.

The eugenics impulse at Berkeley persisted into the 1960s, as illustrated by the work of educational psychologist Arthur Jensen, whose work was central to neo-conservative ideas about the fixed, genetic nature of intelligence and boosted the popularity of Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray's argument in *The Bell Curve* that "it is time for America once again to try living with inequality, as life is lived."⁹³

The logic of eugenics that was embedded in the ideas of the Le Conte brothers, David Barrows, Herbert Bolton, Samuel Holmes, Edward Gifford, and Arthur Jensen has had devastating consequences for millions of people: poor women, disproportionately Latina, Native, and African American who were forcibly

⁹⁰ Samuel J. Holmes, *The Negro's Struggle for Survival: A Study in Human Ecology*. Berkeley: UC Press, 1937, 220. *A Decade of Progress in Eugenics: Scientific Papers of the Third International Congress of Eugenics*, Baltimore: The Williams and Wilkins Company, 1934.

⁹¹ Alexandra Minna Stern, *Eugenic Nation: Faults and Frontiers of Better Breeding in Modern America*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005, 89-90.

⁹² Edward W. Gifford, *California Anthropometry*, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology 22, 2, 1926, 224.

⁹³ "Arthur Robert Jensen Memorial Site," <https://arthurjensen.net/>; Richard J. Herrnstein and Charles Murray, *The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life*, New York: The Free Press, 1994, 551.

sterilized; Mexican immigrants who were restricted from entering the United States on racial grounds; families of color who were tracked into segregated housing and substandard education; people with physical and intellectual disabilities who were denied a right to full lives; and Native People who were represented in popular literature and educational texts as biologically destined to extinction.

Berkeley's commemorative landscape, with its fabricated origins story and fetishization of power, created a cultural atmosphere that nourished faculty who promoted a scientific rationale for racist ideologies until they became taken-for-granted truths. During its formative decades, the University was a bastion of uncritical race theory. This was not the work of fringe academics but of the University's most esteemed intellectuals.

Doing Justice to the Past

As I recently walked through the Berkeley campus – past buildings, statues, and plaques that celebrate an American president who authorized the appropriation of Native lands to finance the University of California; that dignify entrepreneurs who built their fortunes from the plunder of war and conquest; and that enshrine academics who polished their careers by making white supremacy respectable – I was reminded of Yurok Judge Abby Abinanti's admonition that “the hardest mistakes to correct are those that are ingrained.”⁹⁴

There are some signs of neglect in the maintenance of war-related memorials and of ambivalence about uncritical adulation of founding fathers.



A bench erected by Naval ROTC to honor classmates killed during WW II is trumped by graffiti reading *ALL COPS ARE BASTARDS*.

Figure 50. “All Cops Are Bastards” graffiti on the Naval ROTC Bench.

⁹⁴ Judge Abby Abinanti, “A Letter to Justice O’Connor,” *UCLA Indigenous Peoples’ Journal of Law, Culture, & Resistance* 1, 2004, 1, 18.



No doubt in response to student complaints about the name of Berkeley's most prestigious library, a bust of Hubert Bancroft has been removed from its pedestal and moved to a shelf in the reference center where it is partly obscured by a life-size photograph of an African American student athlete.⁹⁵

Figure 51. Hubert Bancroft bust behind a life-size photograph of a UC Berkeley student athlete in the Bancroft Library.

We welcome the University's recent response to four student-led initiatives to remove from buildings the names of faculty associated with racist practices and ideas.⁹⁶ But a case-by-case approach to un-naming does not begin to address issues that are foundational and longstanding. The past bleeds into the present. What is needed is a system-wide reckoning with a long history of scrupulous amnesia. This is not something that be easily solved only by banishing names or attribution to renegade academics. To become an anti-racist campus, as Berkeley now proposes to do,⁹⁷ requires understanding how and why the University of California for so long hosted and emboldened pro-racist initiatives and taking action to do justice to the past. We have an opportunity now, in the words of Michael Yellow Bird, for "truth-telling and the revision of settler history."⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Ginger Lewis, UC Berkeley track team, 1976, visited October 2021.

⁹⁶ John Boalt, advocate of Chinese exclusion; John and Joseph LeConte, owners of slaves and supporters of the Confederacy; David Prescott Barrows, an advocate of white supremacy in the Philippines; and Alfred Kroeber, who presided over an anthropology department that amassed thousands of Native human remains and funerary artifacts. See <https://chancellor.berkeley.edu/task-forces/building-name-review-committee>.

⁹⁷ "Berkeley Diversity," <https://diversity.berkeley.edu/>.

⁹⁸ "Foreword" to Kishan Lara-Cooper and Walter J. Lara Sr., *Ka'm-t'em: A Journey Toward Healing*, Pechanga, CA: Great Oak Press, 2019, xiii.



Figure 52. UC Berkeley students protesting exhibit of David Prescott Barrow’s book in the “Berkeley Scholars in the Philippines” display in Doe Library. October 28, 2021.

II

Methodology

The research for this report was done in 2020-21 by a collaborative team. It involved on-site ethnography of the University’s memorial landscape, research in university archives and records, and secondary sources relating to Berkeley’s history. Drafts of the report were discussed during a research seminar on Federal Indian Law and by the research team. Tony Platt supervised the project and wrote the final report. Victoria Sun compiled the images.

About the Authors and Research Team

“Making History” is a project of the Berkeley Truth and Justice Project that is carrying out research on the University’s racial origins, with a focus on its

relationship with California Tribes and involvement in accumulation of Native human remains and items of tangible and intangible cultural heritage.

Our thanks to Seth Davis, UC Berkeley Professor of Law, and Nazune Menka, UC Berkeley Tribal Cultural Resources Policy Fellow, for advice and feedback; to Kathryn Neal, Associate University Archivist, and Susan McElrath, Head of Bancroft Public Services, for guiding us through university archives; and to Cecilia O’Leary for editorial and production support.

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Victoria Sun is currently in her final year at Berkeley Law. She grew up in the Bay Area and attended UCLA for her bachelor's degree. After law school, she plans to work as a deportation defense attorney in the Bay Area.

Nora Wallace graduated from Berkeley Law in 2021. During her time at Berkeley Law, she took the Federal Indian Law Writing seminar and continued to conduct research into Berkeley's land-grant history during her final semester. She is beginning her career in public criminal defense on the East Coast.

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