

RECOUNTING THE PAST

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DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

Recounting the Past

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at Illinois State University

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Note from the Editor

The History Department is honored to recognize graduate and undergraduate student research through the journal, *Recounting the Past*, as well as the faculty who mentor these emerging scholars. Because each essay analyzes how societies construct, alter, and imagine identity, readers will find core connections to ideological movements driving individuals to discover or recreate their socioeconomic positions. The essays demonstrate the variety of action possible and the diverse interpretations made by historians regarding those actions. Thus, these students note how interpretation – whether in a museum exhibition, classroom, public arena or published work – persuade and often direct the contours of historical thinking.

Special thanks goes to several individuals for their work in the production stages: Linda Spencer, Administrative Aide in the History Department for her organizational expertise; and the hard working University Marketing and Communications team which smoothly kept this project moving through the maze of print protocols.

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**The Chicago Seven, Rule of Law vs. A Comedy of Errors:
A Tale of Role Reversal
By Jude Geiger**

By late October of 1969, the veteran court watchers, or "court buffs" at the Federal Building, had grown tired of the antics of the Chicago Eight trial. As Bob Greene explained in the *Chicago Sun Times*, "On Tuesday, the old men didn't even try to get into the courtroom.... Perhaps they have seen too many trials on too many autumn days in too many courtrooms, and getting into this one just isn't worth the trouble."¹ Despite the lack of interest among the "old men," the trial continued to intrigue the city of Chicago and the nation. The case concerned whether eight members of groups that protested at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago in 1968 were guilty of crossing state lines with the intent to incite a riot.² The jury found seven of the defendants innocent of violating the act, but found five guilty of individually planning to incite a riot. The last member's case ended with a mistrial. The judge ruled all eight were guilty of contempt for their behavior during court proceedings. Later, an appellate court reversed the convictions and, upon retrial of the contempt charges, a judge found three of the defendants and one of their attorneys guilty, but chose not to sentence them to any jail time.³

In 1968 the City of Chicago witnessed a series of confrontations between demonstrators opposed to the war in Vietnam and the Chicago Police Department. Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley claimed that terrorists and outside agitators disrupted the convention.⁴ In contrast, a study group headed by Daniel Walker found that "to read dispassionately the hundreds of statements describing at firsthand the events of Sunday and Monday nights [of the riots] is to be convinced of the presence of what can only be called a police riot."⁵ As a result, a trial determined the culpability of eight men who participated in protests at the convention. As historian Roger Biles explains, the trial served as a response to criticism of the Democratic machine. Daley ally Thomas Foran led the prosecution of Abbie Hoffman, Jerry Rubin, David Dellinger, Tom Hayden, Rennie Davis, Bobby Seale, John Froines, and Lee Weiner, who

¹ Bob Greene, "Trial of 8 Exciting at First, but Now Old Hat to the Old Ones," *Chicago Sun Times*, October 22, 1969.

² Roger Biles, *Richard J. Daley: Politics, Race, and the Governing of Chicago* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1995).

³ Jon Schultz, *The Chicago Conspiracy Trial* (New York: Da Capo, 1993).

⁴ Frank Kusch, *Battleground Chicago: The Police and the 1968 Democratic National Convention* (Westport: Praeger, 2004).

⁵ Daniel Walker, *Rights in Conflict: Chicago's 7 Brutal Days* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1968), ix.

composed the Chicago Eight.⁶ The decision to prosecute led to what Jay A. Miller, executive director of the Illinois Division of the American Civil Liberties Union, called “probably the most important political trial in the history of the United States.”⁷ After its conclusion, journalist J. Anthony Lukas remarked that the trial provided an important political battleground between the two sides’ ideological values.⁸

Theatre served as the most common description of this event; both members of the press and scholars employed this term. For example, the *Chicago Tribune* labeled it “high drama,”⁹ and the *New York Times* referred to the defendants as “actors.”¹⁰ Legal scholar Lawrence M. Friedman found that the trial classically exemplified the concept of “lexitainment,” for it provided a form of theatre where the various factions conveyed lessons through entertainment, as opposed to argument.¹¹ Likewise, literary historian Ronald P. Sokol determined that the courtroom for this trial served as a stage where the law was a mere prop.¹² Perhaps historian Jon Schultz best expressed this idea when he found that, if analyzed within its historical context, the trial of the Chicago Eight (later the Chicago Seven after Judge Julius Hoffman dismissed Seale from the trial) may best be defined as a morality play, a dramatic depiction of a battle between “good” and “bad,” where those who are “good” deserve to win.¹³ The theatrical nature of this trial appears beyond dispute, and Schultz has uncovered an excellent metaphor for the proceedings.

However, scholars have not fully analyzed how the ascribed morality of the actors in this play transmogrified over time. Two ideas battled in this drama, the “good” rule of law and the “bad” comedy of errors, and the press desired that the rule of law be upheld and the comedy defeated. At its beginning, the jesters seemed obvious, represented by individuals such as defendant Abbie Hoffman, who brought a birthday cake to the courtroom,¹⁴ and the well-organized and clean table of prosecutor Foran, whose arguments

⁶ Biles, *supra*.

⁷ James W. Singer, “Chicago 8 Go on Trial Today,” *Chicago Sun Times*, September 24, 1969.

⁸ J. Anthony Lukas, *The Barnyard Epithet and Other Obscenities: Notes on the Chicago Conspiracy Trial* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970).

⁹ Robert Davis, “The Chicago Seven Trial and the 1968 Democratic National Convention,” *Chicago Tribune*, September 24, 1969.

¹⁰ William E. Farrell, “Dismissal Asked by Chicago Seven,” *New York Times*, October 31, 1973.

¹¹ Lawrence M. Friedman, “Lexitainment: Legal Process as Theater,” *DePaul Law Review* 50 (2000), 539-58. Indeed, Friedman finds the trial to be “the most famous” example of “lexitainment.”

¹² Ronald P. Sokol, “The Political Trial: Courtroom as Stage, History as Critic,” *New Literary History* 2 (1971), 495-516.

¹³ Schultz, *supra*.

¹⁴ Marty Jezer, *Abbie Hoffman: American Rebel* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1993).

Judge Hoffman generally supported, epitomized the rule of law.¹⁵ However, during the second act that began at the close of arguments, the tables quite sharply turned, and by the time the trial ended, the press had crowned defense attorney William Kunstler hero of the court, after the new judge, Edward T. Gignoux, found almost all acts of contempt provoked by the original judge, Julius Hoffman,¹⁶ and an appellate court brutally criticized Foran.¹⁷ In order to uncover how the heroes and comedic villains in this drama reversed roles, this essay specifically focuses on the press, because not merely courtroom spectators, but also the American public, composed the audience for this drama. In order to understand this case, one must first recognize that the original background scenery, the 1968 protests, influenced the trial. Next, the narrative began to take shape during initial courtroom proceedings. Then, the jury briefly served as representatives of law and order, only for the press to replace them tentatively with Kunstler. During the appellate decisions and later the retrial, the defender of the clowns, Kunstler, came to signify the rule of law. Finally, variations in scenery, external historical factors that changed during this legal battle, encouraged the press to invert the cast of characters permanently. Ultimately, a strong desire existed among members of the press that the rule of law prevail and, in the end, Kunstler provided the last viable figure through which this idea could triumph, for he was the person who took the trial most seriously and behaved in the most decorous fashion.

Prologue: The Battle of Balbo and Before

Prior to exploring the trial, an overview of relevant historical events, especially the protests, provides the necessary context for understanding the setting where the courtroom drama unfolded. To begin, the conflict in Chicago did not occur in isolation. Indeed, the year 1968 was imbued with movements that demonstrated a spirit of revolution and radicalism. The people of Prague, Czechoslovakia, rebelled against the Communist dictatorship in that nation, only to be repressed by a military invasion on the part of the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies. Likewise, student protestors in Paris demonstrated against the regime of Charles de Gaulle and successfully caused his government to collapse. In the United States, prior movements in the 1960s were slowly progressing to their apotheosis. America had already given birth to a significant dissent movement that began with the initially peaceful civil rights protests for African Americans in the South. By this time, the call for change

¹⁵ Lukas, *supra*.

¹⁶ Dennis D. Fisher, "4 Convicted in Chicago 7 Contempt," *Chicago Sun Times*, December 5, 1973.

¹⁷ Betty Washington, "Conspiracy 7 Verdicts Upset: Conviction of 5 Here Set Aside," *Chicago Daily News*, November 21, 1972.

had become etched with violence, as demonstrated by race riots in the Los Angeles neighborhood of Watts. Furthermore, protest against the Vietnam War intensified when members of the National Guard shot and killed students peacefully protesting that war at Kent State in 1970. Assassination silenced leaders who attempted to bridge gaps and promote reform, most notably Bobby Kennedy and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.¹⁸ Even in America, the future seemed uncertain.

While to a modern reader, the idea of the overthrow of the American government may sound laughable, these threats appeared possible at the time. Indeed, one Chicago Seven juror¹⁹ said that, "Sometimes you had the incredible feeling that World War III might have started. And the marshals wouldn't tell you anything about it."²⁰ In response to this climate, a group of southern congressmen, led by Senator Strom Thurmond, passed an amendment to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that was designed to discourage and punish individuals who crossed state lines to incite riots.²¹ Both city leaders and residents believed that Chicago was vulnerable as well, and contemporary events supported this belief, for riots after the death of Dr. King had recently left portions of Chicago in ruins. During the riots, Mayor Daley condemned the police for their failure to take aggressive action against participants. Famously, he ordered them to shoot to kill arsonists and to maim those who were looting.²² Police officers did not forget this criticism when protests erupted again during the Democratic National Convention.

During the spring of 1968, the Yippies and MOBE organized two separate protests for convention week. Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin, who founded the Youth International Party (YIPPIE) specifically to demonstrate at the convention in Chicago, planned a cultural protest in Lincoln Park, known as the Festival of Life, which would mock mainstream culture. MOBE (Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam) leaders Rennie Davis, Tom Hayden, and David Dellinger envisioned a political protest against the war in Grant Park in order to prevent an automatic endorsement of pro-war President Lyndon Johnson.²³ Despite their different approaches, these groups met with each other in an

¹⁸ Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties: Years of Hope and Days of Rage* (Toronto: Bantam Books, 1987).

¹⁹ Shortly after the trial began, the court sequestered the jurors and forbade them from reading newspapers or watching television.

²⁰ Kay S. Richards, "Life Rugged on Locked-up '7' Jury," *Chicago Sun Times*, February 23, 1970.

²¹ Lukas, *supra*.

²² Gitlin, *supra*.

²³ Johnson remained a presidential candidate when the protesters first began to organize, and defeating his nomination served as the original inspiration for MOBE to rally in Chicago.

attempt to coordinate their activities.²⁴ They faced a significant challenge when City Hall denied them permits for their protests to last beyond 11:00 p.m., for members to sleep in Chicago parks, or for them to engage in marches. As Biles explains, “[T]he city’s various agencies threw up roadblocks whenever permits needed to be acquired or permission needed to be granted” in order to discourage dissent.²⁵

These factors led to a series of confrontations between the police and demonstrators during the week of the convention, which expanded to include members of the press. In addition to the tensions noted earlier, rumors circulated that the protestors intended to drug convention delegates’ food, defile their daughters, and taint the city’s water supply with LSD.²⁶ Cultural differences complemented these concerns. As Jerry Rubin, defendant and YIPPIE leader explained:

We were motherfucking bad. We were dirty, smelly, grimy, foul, loud, dope-crazed, hell-bent and leather-jacketed. We were a public display of filth and shabbiness, living in-the-flesh rejects of middle class standards.... We were the outlaw forces of Amerika displaying ourselves flagrantly on stage.²⁷

The first sign of conflict occurred when the Yippies nominated Pigasus, a pig, for president as part of a demonstration; this antagonized Daley and embarrassed the city by requiring police officers to “arrest” the pig and take it to the humane society. The event engendered anger among the authorities and mockery among the protestors.²⁸

Later in the week, police attempted to enforce the curfew in Lincoln Park, which led to a violent confrontation when officers chased protestors out of the park into the Old Town neighborhood and attacked anyone they encountered, protestor or not. Toward the end of the week, MOBE marched south on Michigan Avenue toward the convention center, leading to a violent battle with the police, known as the Battle of Balbo.²⁹ As participant Mark Lane observed,

²⁴ David Farber, *Chicago '68* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988). Farber questions whether members of YIPPIE took these meetings seriously and contends that they mainly attended in order to attract converts to their approach.

²⁵ Biles, 151.

²⁶ Biles, *supra*.

²⁷ Jerry Rubin, *Do It: Scenarios of the Revolution* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970), 169.

²⁸ Lukas, *supra*.

²⁹ Theodore H. White, *The Making of the President: 1968* (New York: Atheneum, 1969). The fighting occurred at the intersection of Balbo and Michigan.

the police either beat or arrested protestors, often both.³⁰ Journalists did not escape police brutality. For example, columnist Mike Royko reported that the police split *Chicago Daily News* reporter John Linstead's skull, and exclaimed,

The only time I've run to save my hide was Monday night. A group of Chicago police were after me. My crime was watching when they beat somebody who didn't seem to deserve it.³¹

Later, Senator Eugene McCarthy, a presidential candidate, spoke to those still in Grant Park and demonstrated his support.³² At the conclusion of the convention, police raided the Conrad Hilton Hotel, where McCarthy and his supporters were staying, and then beat and arrested members of the delegation.³³ The trial served as an "off Michigan" theatrical revival of these events.

Act One: The People v. the Radicals

Rubin and Hoffman led the YIPPIE party that culturally protested against the war, whereas Davis, Dellinger, and Hayden represented MOBE, the organization dedicated to more traditional, leftist political protest. Also accused was Bobby Seale, a leading member of the Black Panthers, whom the *Chicago Daily News* referred to as a "defendant by accident."³⁴ This served as a particularly apt label, for Seale only belatedly and briefly attended the protests substituting for Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver, who had recently fled the country and thus could not give his scheduled speech.³⁵ The grand jury indicted two other men, the relatively unknown John Froines and Lee Weiner. In addition to conspiracy to incite a riot, the grand jury charged the pair with attempting to ignite an incendiary device in the underground Grant Park parking garage.³⁶ Together, these men composed the Chicago Eight. In addition to the Chicago Eight, the cast included the attorneys and the presiding judge. Defense attorney Kunstler had earned a reputation as a veteran of the civil rights

³⁰ Mark Lane, *Chicago Eyewitness* (New York: Astor-Honor, 1968). Police attacked Lane's wife for photographing incidents of police brutality.

³¹ Mike Royko, "Cops Threaten Law and Order" in *One More Time: The Best of Mike Royko*, ed. Lois Wille (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 38.

³² John Schultz, *No One Was Killed - Documentation and Mediation: Convention Week, Chicago- August 1968* (Chicago: Big Table Publishing, 1969). Schultz was a participant in the protests and witnessed McCarthy's speech.

³³ Lewis Chester, Godfrey Hodgson, and Bruce Page, *An American Melodrama: The Presidential Campaign of 1968* (New York: Viking Press, 1969).

³⁴ Raymond R. Coffey, "Panthers' Bobby Seale - Defendant by Accident," *Chicago Daily News*, November 4, 1969.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Lukas, *supra*.

movement, having represented members of the Freedom Riders who protested segregation in the South and James Meredith, the first African American to enroll at the University of Mississippi.³⁷ Leonard Weinglass, a recent law school graduate, assisted Kunstler. Foran, who had gained notoriety for fighting the mob, represented the prosecution, and the more aggressive Richard Schultz assisted him. Judge Hoffman, whom the press referred to as a "hanging judge," presided over the trial but, as a Republican, he did not answer to Mayor Daley.³⁸ These legal practitioners formed a second cast of characters in the drama about to unfold.

At the start of the trial, neither side appeared a media darling. The defendants, especially Rubin, portrayed themselves as avowed filth mongers, and the prosecution represented a city whose officers had beaten journalists less than one year earlier. Yet at this stage, the actors conformed to distinct roles. The press interpreted Judge Hoffman's early errors, such as denying the defense the right to ask questions about juror bias, as acts of judicial discretion.³⁹ In contrast, the defendants appeared to journalists to be making frivolous requests that mocked the law. For example, they asked to delay the trial in order to continue their protests.⁴⁰ This division only increased when two jurors received anonymous notes threatening their lives that were rumored to have been written by Black Panthers.⁴¹ At this point, it seemed easier for journalists to define the prosecution and judge as heroes, for they appeared to play within the rules, while the defense seemed to mock and threaten the rule of law.

Any chance that Judge Hoffman would remain an obvious hero for long vanished because of his dialogues with Seale. Seale demanded that the judge permit him to serve as his own attorney, a constitutionally guaranteed right prior to trial. Unfortunately, his original attorney needed gallbladder surgery, and Kunstler temporarily represented Seale. Only later did Seale request to represent himself. This Judge Hoffman denied, based on principles of judicial discretion, leading to Seale staging a series of protests. Seale attempted to question witnesses, which Judge Hoffman prohibited, leading Seale to argue vehemently with the judge, shout obscenities, and denounce the court. The press grew intrigued when Judge Hoffman ordered Seale bound and gagged in response. The *Chicago Sun Times* reported, "Seale's wrists and legs were

³⁷ William M. Kunstler, *Deep in My Heart* (New York: William Morrow, 1966).

³⁸ Lukas, *supra*.

³⁹ Singer, *supra*.

⁴⁰ Robert Enstad and Robert Davis, "Judge Denies Recess for 'Chicago 8,'" *Chicago Tribune*, October 15, 1969.

⁴¹ James W. Singer and Max Sonderby, "Conspiracy Trial Juror, Target of Threat Replaced," *Chicago Sun Times*, October 2, 1969.

bound to a wooden chair by leather straps. His mouth was taped shut and a cloth gag was placed over the tape. Later in the day, the gag was reinforced by winding it around the top of his head." The judge restrained Seale for shouting obscenities, and Seale fought with the courtroom marshals.⁴² A member of the press noted that Seale spat at the judge and called him a "pig," a "racist," and a "fascist f---."⁴³ A drama played out between Judge Hoffman and Seale at this time, and neither appeared a hero. The press portrayed Judge Hoffman as a practitioner of plantation politics, binding Seale using a technique associated with slavery. Seale presented himself as dangerous Black Nationalist, one with a vulgar tongue. When Judge Hoffman dismissed Seale from the trial because he had grown weary of Seale's potentially prejudicial and almost always disruptive outbursts, the judge labeled him a "major threat to the continued existence of our democracy," while Foran merely described Seale as "a desperately poor risk."⁴⁴ Due to Judge Hoffman's combative behavior, Foran was able to present a cool and moderate façade, suggesting that he and the prosecution served as the true representatives of law and order, the true heroes.

This image continued during the trial, as the defense attempted to question the prosecution's witnesses. The government's evidence primarily consisted of the testimony of police officers and informants, and even some of these aided the defense. For example, the *New York Times* noted that prosecution witness Irwin Bock misidentified one of the defendants immediately after stating he had an extraordinary memory. Yet the article focused on the defendants' response - to laugh hysterically - and Judge Hoffman's reaction - to condemn their laughter vehemently.⁴⁵ On the same day this incident occurred, Jerry Rubin walked out of court, and the *Chicago Sun Times* emphasized how Rubin was nearly arrested for doing so and described the wig he wore. Rubin's antics received a large, three-row headline on page three; Bock's error did not appear until page fourteen, and the paper printed the headline in a much smaller, one-row font.⁴⁶ At this point in the case's history, the counterculture antics of the Chicago Seven worked against the defense. Serious problems existed in the prosecution's case, yet the press did not focus on these flaws. The behavior of the defendants responded to events at the recent trial of famous pediatrician Dr. Benjamin

⁴² James W. Singer, "Bound Seale and Marshals Clash," *Chicago Sun Times*, October 31, 1969.

⁴³ Raymond R. Coffey and James Kloss, "Panther Tries to Quiz Witness," *Chicago Daily News*, November 5, 1969.

⁴⁴ James Kloss and Raymond R. Coffey, "Bail Denied: Seale Back in Jail," *Chicago Daily News*, November 7, 1969.

⁴⁵ Tom Wicker, "In the Nation: On Trial in Chicago," *New York Times*, November 13, 1969.

⁴⁶ James W. Singer, "Rubin Walks Out of Court; Search Starts, He Surrenders," *Chicago Sun Times*, November 13, 1969.

Spock and his colleagues, who were convicted on frivolous charges for aiding and abetting draft resistance in spite of their serious and straight-laced defense.⁴⁷ Yet this analysis suggests that such countercultural practices worsened the image of the Chicago Seven and actually inhibited the transmission of their message to the people. The press relayed anecdotes of their antics, rather than evidence of their wrongful persecution.

The defense amplified this problem when it called its own witnesses, which included not only observers of police brutality, but also a parade of celebrities. For example, poet Allen Ginsberg, in addition to stating that he wanted the protests to be peaceful, read his poem, "Howl"⁴⁸ and chanted "Om."⁴⁹ In another story that broke that day, James M. Hunt, one of the Chicago Seven's witnesses, immediately lost his job after testifying on their behalf.⁵⁰ Ginsberg's chants drowned out this news. Furthermore, celebrities and witnesses of police brutality sometimes testified on the same day. As a result, witnesses who observed police misbehavior received significantly less press coverage than well known members of the counterculture. Musician Phil Ochs and actor Jon Voight testified on the same day as Sarah Diamant, a Cornell University graduate student who shot film footage of the "Battle of Balbo." Ochs and Voight declared that they thought the Yippies wanted to avoid violence, comments that provided little solid support. In contrast, Diamant presented evidence that police gassed demonstrators, beat a Catholic priest, and then clubbed and chased members of the crowd.⁵¹ Newspapers printed pictures of Voight and Ochs on the front page and only presented Diamant's evidence at the end of the story, several pages later. Defendant Tom Hayden told the media, "We will win, not by appeals or deals, but by taking the issues to the public."⁵² Yet one is forced to question what issues the defense took to the public. Were they the messages of popularity and having famous friends or the issue of wronged citizens brutally attacked by the police? Obviously, the defense presented both narratives at the trial, but the former message predominated, suggesting that the defendants were consubstantial with actors, not with those

⁴⁷ Jason Epstein, *The Great Conspiracy Trial: An Essay on Law, Liberty, and the Constitution* (New York: Random House, 1970). A higher court later reversed Spock's conviction after the Chicago Seven trial concluded.

⁴⁸ "Howl" focuses on the loss of the leaders of the Beat Generation and was written long before the protests in Chicago.

⁴⁹ James W. Singer, "Ginsberg's 'Om' Quiets a Chicago 7 Trial Dispute," *Chicago Sun Times*, December 13, 1969.

⁵⁰ "Conspiracy Seven Witness Loses Job," *Chicago Sun Times*, December 13, 1969.

⁵¹ Raymond R. Coffey and James Kloss, "Noted Witnesses in Wings: YIPPIE Life Style in '7' Spotlight," *Chicago Daily News*, December 11, 1969.

⁵² Raymond R. Coffey, "Conspiracy 7: Defense Strategy," *Chicago Daily News*, December 8, 1969.

whose rights had been brutally violated. As Foran continued his legalistic and formal questioning, the defendants problematically attempted to inspire a carnival of revolution. The story of the Chicago Seven was becoming a tale of proper prosecutors versus bearded poets singing Buddhist chants.

Judge Hoffman also played a role in weaving this tale. Perhaps most important, the judge refused to allow the defense to introduce serious evidence that documented their prior peaceful statements, whereas he permitted the prosecution to introduce earlier statements that suggested the defendants endorsed violence.⁵³ Judge Hoffman forbade the defense from calling former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark to testify,⁵⁴ something that, if he favored the defense, would have provided an example of a famous upholder of the law supporting their cause. Tellingly, Judge Hoffman prevented another witness, King's successor, the Reverend Ralph Abernathy, from testifying. Judge Hoffman originally denied the defense the right to call Abernathy as a witness. Then, at prosecutor Schultz's suggestion, the judge allowed them to call Abernathy but then denied the civil rights leader the right to testify when he arrived ten minutes late.⁵⁵ Likewise, Judge Hoffman forbade seventy of the questions defense attorney Kunstler wished to ask Mayor Daley when he was called as a witness, forcing Kunstler to abandon his examination.⁵⁶ As a result, testimony that could have offered relevant evidence resulted in what the *Chicago Sun Times* referred to as "a big let down."⁵⁷ In such a fashion, the judge battled constantly with the defense, allowing Foran and Schultz to remain proper heroes who represented the rule of law.

Furthermore, the defendants did little to define themselves as heroes fighting for social justice or victims of the actions of a police state who refused to obey the rule of law. Only two of the Chicago Seven took the witness stand, Abbie Hoffman and Rennie Davis, and while their approaches greatly differed, neither succeeded in presenting a message acceptable to the press or the public. Hoffman testified that he believed that pay toilets should be abolished and that he wanted to march to police stations on Mother's Day with pies.⁵⁸ Indeed, Hoffman's own testimony at one point seemed to describe the defense's debilitating trial strategy: "Society is going to wreck itself... All we had to do

⁵³ Lukas, *supra*.

⁵⁴ Raymond R. Coffey and James Kloss, "Clark Testimony Barred at '7' Trial," *Chicago Daily News*, January 29, 1970.

⁵⁵ Bob Greene, "Judge Closes Chicago 7's Defense: Reverses on Abernathy," *Chicago Sun Times*, February 3, 1970.

⁵⁶ Biles, *supra*.

⁵⁷ Tom Fitzpatrick, "Daley Day in Court Comes - and It's a Big Letdown," *Chicago Sun Times*, January 7, 1970.

⁵⁸ James W. Singer, "Abbie Tells of Debate on Chicago Plans," *Chicago Sun Times*, December 30, 1969.

is sit there and laugh because it would all come crumbling down.”⁵⁹ In contrast, Davis initially focused on the peaceful goals of the protestors and their desire to obtain legal permits. However, his attempt to introduce a theatrical prop, a bomb fragment from Vietnam, into the courtroom, as well as his theatrical denunciation of Judge Hoffman, obscured this evidence.⁶⁰ While some aspects of Davis’s testimony might have independently improved the defense’s image, the press buried it beneath coverage of the drama. At the end of argument, the prosecution appeared to exemplify the rule of law, but this situation prevailed primarily because of Judge Hoffman’s intemperance and comedic default on the part of the defense.

Act Two: A Search for New Heroes and Deviant Jesters

Immediately prior to sentencing, the prosecution appeared as likely heroes of the rule of law whereas the defendants and their attorneys represented the comedic villains, and many journalists supported this endorsement. For example, the *Florida Sun Sentinel* stated that the court should “treat the left-wingers for the bums and the seditionists they are.”⁶¹ Likewise, the *Chicago Tribune* reported that members of Congress initially praised Judge Hoffman and Foran.⁶² However, an alternate tale began to arise with the contempt sentences the defendants received. The *Chicago Sun Times* emphasized the large amount of time given by totaling the punishments and reporting that they amounted to seventy-seven months and five days⁶³ and later listed every single contempt charge, including “speaking out of turn,” “laughing,” and “criticizing the court.”⁶⁴ A *Sun Times* columnist took this a step further and opined that the trial of the Seven was political, sardonically stating that Judge Hoffman could learn from Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin, who “knew how to do things.”⁶⁵ During the course of the trial, members of the press were reluctant to attack the judge for fear he would exclude them from the courtroom and may not have desired to influence the result overtly.⁶⁶ Also, experts at this point began to challenge the trial directly, lending authority to media accusations. Legal experts emphasized

⁵⁹ M. W. Newman, “Abbie’s ‘Day’ In Court - A Week to Remember,” *Chicago Daily News*, January 3-4, 1970.

⁶⁰ James W. Singer, “1 of Chicago 7 Stresses Peaceful Plans,” *Chicago Sun Times*, January 24, 1970.

⁶¹ William A. Mulfen, “Jurists and ‘The Revolution,’” *Florida Sun Sentinel*, March 9, 1970.

⁶² William Kling, “Chicago 7 Trial Judge Given High Praise,” *Chicago Tribune*, February 17, 1970.

⁶³ James W. Singer and James Tuohy, “Contempt Terms for 7 and Lawyers,” *Chicago Sun Times*, February 15, 1970. This story contained a description of the “uproar” caused by the sentences and stated that the judge did not inform the jury about the contempt charges, further supporting the defense’s cause.

⁶⁴ James W. Singer, “Summary of Contempt Charges, Sentences,” *Chicago Sun Times*, February 16, 1970.

⁶⁵ Nicholas Von Hoffman, “After 20 Weeks, Facts Lose Their Meaning,” *Chicago Sun Times*, February 15, 1970.

⁶⁶ The judge often excluded courtroom watchers who appeared to support the defense. Judge Hoffman also reserved space for women he flirted with who worked at restaurants he frequented. Lukas, *supra*.

that the contempt sentences would not succeed and that an appellate court would almost certainly overturn them on appeal because the sentences were massive, leading the *Chicago Daily News* to describe this as a "ray of hope," suggesting that the tables were beginning to turn.⁶⁷

This transition grew even more apparent after Judge Hoffman sentenced defense attorneys Kunstler and Weinglass for contempt. Throughout the trial, the defendants mocked the legal system, making themselves unlikely upholders of the rule of law. However, their principal attorney (Kunstler) was willing to embody and perform the role of the defeated democrat, creating a more positive and heroic image. Kunstler played the perfect martyr for the press because he glorified, rather than mocked, the rule of law. Kunstler charged that Judge Hoffman represented the true unethical actor and wept rather than shook his fist. He portrayed himself as a player in the system, but one who was morally obligated to expose the judge for failing to obey the rules. After Judge Hoffman had issued his contempt sentence, the press described Kunstler as a man "paying the price of his beliefs," one who had a large number of "bright moments" defending civil rights advocates, and as an attorney whom the audience applauded.⁶⁸ Even columnist Bob Cromie, no friend of the Chicago Seven, raised an eyebrow when Kunstler was punished for contempt because he "accused the court of being wrong when it wasn't."⁶⁹ In its first paragraph describing the trial, the *Chicago Defender* stated that the sentences defense attorneys received for contempt were "startling" and tellingly ended the article with a quotation from defendant John Froines who proclaimed, "When history is written, it will be the men who sat at this (the defense) table... who will be the real heroes."⁷⁰ Kunstler began to become the hero of this tale.

The Chicago Seven and their attorneys also received some direct elite assistance, and the cast of counsel was modified at this time. Immediately after Judge Hoffman sentenced Kunstler and Weinglass, prominent members of the bar from across the nation took up their cause and offered assistance. A group of seven attorneys formed a special counsel to ask the Court of Appeals to release all of the defendants on bond, and members of this group continued to assist with later legal action. While Morton Stavis, one of Kunstler's associates, led the group, the press focused attention on the outside attorneys who assisted with the case. Thomas P. Sullivan, a corporate litigator at Jenner and Block, one

⁶⁷ Raymond R. Coffey, "Experts See Ray of Hope for Contempt Appeals," *Chicago Daily News*, February 16, 1970.

⁶⁸ Tom Fitzpatrick, "Little Pay, Then Jail: The Price of Kunstler's Beliefs," *Chicago Sun Times*, February 16, 1970.

⁶⁹ Bob Cromie, "Contempt, Yes, but..." *Chicago Tribune*, February 18, 1970.

⁷⁰ "Hit Lawyer for Contempt: Kunstler Gets Prison Term," *Chicago Daily Defender*, February 16, 1970.

of Chicago's oldest and most prestigious law firms, participated in the appeal, as did five prominent law school professors - Anthony Amsterdam from Stanford University, Allan Dershowitz from Harvard University, Arthur Kinoy from Rutgers University, Herbert Reid from Howard University, and Michael Tigar from UCLA.⁷¹ Not only did experts across the country denounce Judge Hoffman's decision, but some of the most well known attorneys in the nation now worked to overturn it. Throughout the appeals process, newspapers returned to these highly regarded figures, especially Sullivan, for updates and insights into the proceedings. For example, the *Chicago Sun Times* noted that bond for the Chicago Seven was posted not by the Yippies, Black Panthers, or any other radical group, but by Sullivan.⁷² Likewise, when the U. S. Supreme Court issued a ruling in another case that appeared favorable to the defense, the press confirmed this with Sullivan.⁷³ The press now associated the Chicago Seven, and even more so, William Kunstler, not only with the likes of Allen Ginsburg and Phil Ochs, but with respected members of the bar, further increasing Kunstler's likelihood of serving as a representative of the rule of law. Some prominent attorneys with the best legal credentials supported his cause.

Yet after the jury reached its decision, this veteran attorney faced some competition, which would delay his solidification as hero of the rule of law until appellate verdicts and a retrial occurred. The jury found Weiner and Froines innocent of all charges and determined that the other five were innocent of conspiracy, but guilty of individually inciting violence.⁷⁴ In this morality play, the jury was poised to become the newest hero, due to press reluctance to endorse Kunstler, a man still associated with the jesters of the trial, and the failure of other parties to conform to that role. Indeed, the *Chicago Sun Times* initially opined that the decision to accept neither side's arguments "reaffirms the validity of the jury system."⁷⁵ Likewise, the *Chicago Daily News* argued that the decision demonstrated that America "goes right on working" and that "a system that places its faith in the fundamental decency, wisdom, and dedication of ordinary Americans in the jury box has not misplaced that trust."⁷⁶

With this sentiment, the curtain may have fallen, if not for one member of the jury, Kay S. Richards, and the *Chicago Sun Times*'s decision to permit her to

⁷¹ M. W. Newman, "Kunstler 4-yr Term Heaviest," *Chicago Sun Times*, February 16, 1970.

⁷² Hugh Hough and Sam Washington, "'Chicago 7' Win Freedom on Bond," *Chicago Sun Times*, March 1, 1970.

⁷³ "Supreme Court Ruling Heartens Chicago 7 Lawyers," *Chicago Sun Times*, January 21, 1971.

⁷⁴ James Kloss and M. W. Newman, "Jury Clears Lee Weiner, John Froines," *Chicago Daily News*, February 18, 1970.

⁷⁵ "The Chicago 7 Verdicts," *Chicago Sun Times*, February 19, 1970.

⁷⁶ "The 'Conspiracy' Verdict," *Chicago Daily News*, February 19, 1970.

publish a series of articles, commentary other newspapers subsequently reported.⁷⁷ In her confessional columns, Richards discredited the jury. For example, she stated that she did not think she could have found Bobby Seale guilty even if she believed him to be so,⁷⁸ meaning that Richards should not ethically or legally have served on the jury when Seale was a party to the case. Likewise, she paradoxically stated that the jury questioned the testimony of Chicago Seven members when "some of them were being the most persuasive."⁷⁹ Even more damning, she proclaimed that the jury did not understand the indictment and could not remember the evidence and that no member believed the jury's decision was correct except for her.⁸⁰ Apparently missing the irony in her own statement, she proclaimed, "Chicago works. And in many ways, this was very much a Chicago verdict."⁸¹ After Richards finished her yarn, the jury was portrayed at best as greatly confused and unable to remember, let alone interpret, the evidence. At worst, members found men innocent they believed were guilty and imprisoned men they believed were innocent, hardly heroic behavior and certainly not a strong example of the rule of law in action.

At this time, an effort existed to rehabilitate the prosecution and the judge, but this came to naught. Vice President Spiro T. Agnew attempted to make heroes out of the judge and prosecution, whom he commended for punishing "anarchists and social misfits"⁸² These comments were challenged by protests across the nation in favor of the Chicago Seven from Seattle, Washington, to Washington, D.C.,⁸³ and by other elites, such as New York City Mayor John Lindsay⁸⁴ and Illinois Democratic candidate for the U.S. Senate, Adlai E. Stevenson, III.⁸⁵ Furthermore, the later behavior of the prosecutor and judge only served to discredit them. At the trial's conclusion, Hoffman and Foran began an immediate attack on the press, making it unlikely that they would be

⁷⁷ See, for example, "Juror Tells Bargaining on Verdict," *Chicago Daily News*, February 19, 1970.

⁷⁸ Kay S. Richards, "'7' Juror Tells 'Ifs' in Bobby Seale Incident," *Chicago Sun Times*, February 24, 1970.

⁷⁹ Kay S. Richards, "Obscenity's Role in '7' Verdict is Told by Juror," *Chicago Sun Times*, February 25, 1970.

⁸⁰ Kay S. Richards, "'7' Juror Tells of Her Struggle to Win Verdict by Compromise," *Chicago Sun Times*, February 27, 1970.

⁸¹ Kay S. Richards, "Some Tears and Second Thoughts: Verdict in, '7' Juror Examines Court System, Finds it Works," *Chicago Sun Times*, February 28, 1970. Even more strange, she stated that Jerry Rubin and Abbie Hoffman "changed her life" and inspired her new desire to join the counterculture. In her words, "It represented the dawning of the age of Aquarius for Kay S. Richards from Escanaba, Mich."

Kay S. Richards, "'7' Juror Finds Her Own Kind of Heaven," *Chicago Sun Times*, March 1, 1970.

⁸² "Agnew Denounces Chicago 7 as Misfits," *Chicago Tribune*, February 21, 1970.

⁸³ "Verdict on the Chicago Seven: From Court to Country," *Time* 95 (March 2, 1970), 8-11.

⁸⁴ "Lindsay Terms Trial of '7' a Tawdry Parody," *Chicago Tribune*, February 18, 1970.

⁸⁵ George Tagge, "Riot 7 Trial was 'A Mess,' Adlai Asserts: Hits Stand of Smith as 'Political,'" *Chicago Tribune*, March 12, 1970.

crowned heroes. Hoffman criticized the press for lacking the intelligence necessary to understand the trial and stated that it was not worthy of media coverage.⁸⁶ Worse, Foran spoke to an audience that included *Chicago Sun Times* reporters and claimed one of their colleagues covered the trial so incompetently that he did not deserve to be called a journalist.⁸⁷ Foran publicly stated that he personally saw police attack demonstrators at Michigan and Balbo, something that, if true, strongly suggested he violated his ethical duty and engaged in prosecutorial misconduct by calling witnesses he knew would provide false testimony.⁸⁸ Foran engaged in gauche behavior by referring to the defense as members of the “freaking fag revolution” and then explained that “we don’t mean anything when we call people niggers,” language that was quite questionable, if not already viewed as unacceptable, by 1970.⁸⁹ At the apparent conclusion of this drama, the press searched for a hero and could find one only in the tears of the demoralized democrat, William Kunstler.

Act Three: The People v. The Reactionaries

In later court actions, the press came to define Kunstler as a man fighting for democracy and attempting to preserve the rule of law against a comedic, corrupt judge and prosecution. This most resoundingly occurred when the appellate court set aside the riot convictions of the Chicago Seven and the prosecution decided not to pursue a retrial. The appellate court judges, the highest in the land except for those on the U. S. Supreme Court, strongly criticized both Foran and Hoffman, stating that the judge’s attitude was “grounds alone” for a retrial and that the prosecutor’s behavior “fell below the standards applicable to a representative of the United States.”⁹⁰ The decision of this elite, three-judge panel made the prosecution and the judge far less likely heroes. After this event, the *Los Angeles Times* referred to the trial as a “dreary drama” that resulted from “a dubious prosecution under a dubious law.”⁹¹ Significantly less coverage was given to the appellate proceedings and, as a result, the press did not convert the judges into heroes.

The court of appeals voided the convictions, which permitted a retrial, but the government chose not to retry the riot portion of the case.⁹² Instead, it

⁸⁶ Ed Kandlik, “Judge Critical of News Coverage of ‘7’ Trial,” *Chicago Daily News*, February 19, 1970.

⁸⁷ Tom Fitzpatrick, “Foran Sums Up: Hits ‘7,’ Lawyers and the Media,” *Chicago Sun Times*, February 27, 1970.

⁸⁸ Henry DeZutter, “Kunstler Reply: ‘New Trial,’” *Chicago Daily News*, February 27, 1970.

⁸⁹ “‘Fags and Mouthpieces’: Foran Blasts 7, Lawyers,” *The Chicago Daily News*, February 27, 1970.

⁹⁰ Betty Washington, “Conspiracy 7 Verdicts Upset: Convictions of 5 Here Set Aside,” *Chicago Daily News*, November 21, 1972.

⁹¹ “Loser in the Chicago Seven Case,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 23, 1972.

⁹² Furthermore, the government did not retry Bobby Seale for contempt. The court would have required the prosecutor’s office to reveal transcripts of electronic surveillance to the defense, and Thompson was

retried the contempt convictions that the court threw out for being excessive without the independent approval of a jury. By this time, Foran had long since retired and James R. Thompson handled the government's case; he chose to pursue the Chicago Seven in order to "vindicate" the system.⁹³ Thompson requested that a judge from outside of Illinois travel to the state to decide the case,⁹⁴ and Edward T. Gignoux of Portland, Maine, served as the judge.⁹⁵ The government reduced the maximum sentence each individual would receive to 177 days in order to avoid the possibility of a jury trial.⁹⁶ Thompson was correct to be timid, for Gignoux found that Judge Hoffman made at least 150 prejudicial remarks to the jury, an accusation the press repeated.⁹⁷ The *Chicago Tribune* noted that Gignoux "scoffed" at some of the contempt charges and questioned whether the defense's actions materially obstructed the trial, the legal requirement for contempt.⁹⁸ While Thompson certainly possessed political ambitions,⁹⁹ this trial did not transform him into a media hero, and this was not only due to Gignoux. One paper devoted an article to explain why Thompson would even want to retry the Chicago Seven,¹⁰⁰ and Thompson's decision shocked columnist Bob Greene so much that he quipped,

Who was messing up Thompson's professional life by being so stubborn and inflexible as to insist that all the old wounds be reopened, that the defendant's and their attorneys be tried on the 4-year old contempt charges? Well, the answer to that question... is James R. Thompson.¹⁰¹

The press saw Thompson as one who made a poor decision, not a champion of the rule of law.

Judge Gignoux found Kunstler, Hoffman, Dellinger, and Rubin guilty of contempt. At this point, Kunstler solidified his role as the martyr-hero, a man

unwilling to do so. "Chicago '7' Trial: U.S. Aides Move to Get Seale Off Hook," *Chicago Defender*, September 28, 1972.

⁹³ Dennis D. Fisher, "2 of 7 Freed in Contempt Trial," *Chicago Sun Times*, November 4, 1973.

⁹⁴ "Outside Judge to Get Retrial of 'Chicago 7,'" *Chicago Tribune*, July 11, 1972.

⁹⁵ "Judge Refuses to Drop Chicago Contempt Case," *Washington Post*, March 27, 1973.

⁹⁶ Robert Davis, "U.S. Sets Contempt Sentence Limit of 177 Days on Chicago 7," *Chicago Tribune*, November 18, 1972.

⁹⁷ Robert Davis, "Court Cites Hoffman's Prejudicial Statements," *Chicago Tribune*, November 22, 1972.

⁹⁸ Robert Enstad, "Chicago 7 Judge Scoffs at Some Contempt Charges," *Chicago Tribune*, November 1, 1973.

⁹⁹ He would later serve as governor of Illinois.

¹⁰⁰ Robert Enstad, "I Had to Talk U.S. into New Chicago 7 Trial: Thompson," *Chicago Tribune*, November 15, 1973.

¹⁰¹ Bob Greene, "Prosecutor Provides a Twist: Biggest Surprise in New Chicago 7 Trial," *Chicago Sun Times*, March 15, 1973.

persecuted for providing legitimate counsel as required by the rule of law. As the retrial began, he attacked the prosecution for undemocratically refusing to take the case to a jury,¹⁰² and throughout emphasized his respect for the court and even for Judge Hoffman. Ultimately, Kunstler cast himself as the defender of liberty. For example, while requesting that his sentence be mitigated, he stated, "I may not be the greatest lawyer... but I am the most privileged. I am being punished for what I believe in," and connected himself to Alexander Hamilton, John Adams, and Clarence Darrow, while employing what newspaper columnist Tom Fitzpatrick described as "an actor's voice" and intonation that was "just right."¹⁰³ Kunstler, who recognized that the ideographs connected to the cast of characters, and thus his role, had been reversed, provided the lasting moral lesson for this drama. He stated, "The real villains have finally been exposed and they are not us - they are the government."¹⁰⁴ Gignoux found Kunstler technically guilty of contempt but elected not to sentence him to jail. The attorney should have expected to lose his license to practice law because of this. However, the press had defined Kunstler as a champion of the rule of law and democracy. The New York Bar, where Kunstler was licensed, invoked a special rule that required disbarment not occur upon initial conviction for contempt, if at all. Kunstler maintained his license, and the bar never applied the special rule to any other attorney.¹⁰⁵ This should not be surprising, for the defender of the rule of law cannot lose his license to practice because of his heroism.

Curtain Call: Additional Factors Explaining this Drama

Before the actors take their final bows, there are other changes that occurred outside of the press coverage of the case that help explain this role reversal. First, one must be aware that in appellate court proceedings, clients do not testify before the judges; only their attorneys, and in this case, their attorneys' attorneys, may speak. The structure of appellate court procedure forced the defense to omit its prior mockery. Some of the initial jesters infrequently attended the retrial; Abbie Hoffman did not appear, for example, even when Gignoux announced his verdict.¹⁰⁶ Because of this, no new antics occurred that might have detracted from Kunstler's heroic pose. Even more significant, the

¹⁰² William E. Farrell, "Contempt Trial Opens Quietly for Chicago 7 and 2 Lawyers," *New York Times*, October 30, 1973.

¹⁰³ Tom Fitzpatrick, "'7' Defense Counsel Defends Himself," *Chicago Sun Times*, December 3, 1973.

¹⁰⁴ David Gilbert and Robert Davis, "React to Ruling: 2 from Defense Call Government Chicago Villain," *Chicago Tribune*, November 22, 1973.

¹⁰⁵ David J. Langum, *William M. Kunstler: The Most Hated Lawyer in America* (New York: New York University Press, 1999).

¹⁰⁶ Tom Fitzpatrick, "Abbie Would Have Appreciated Finale," *Chicago Sun Times*, December 7, 1973.

persecuted for providing legitimate counsel as required by the rule of law. As the retrial began, he attacked the prosecution for undemocratically refusing to take the case to a jury,¹⁰² and throughout emphasized his respect for the court and even for Judge Hoffman. Ultimately, Kunstler cast himself as the defender of liberty. For example, while requesting that his sentence be mitigated, he stated, "I may not be the greatest lawyer... but I am the most privileged. I am being punished for what I believe in," and connected himself to Alexander Hamilton, John Adams, and Clarence Darrow, while employing what newspaper columnist Tom Fitzpatrick described as "an actor's voice" and intonation that was "just right."¹⁰³ Kunstler, who recognized that the ideographs connected to the cast of characters, and thus his role, had been reversed, provided the lasting moral lesson for this drama. He stated, "The real villains have finally been exposed and they are not us - they are the government."¹⁰⁴ Gignoux found Kunstler technically guilty of contempt but elected not to sentence him to jail. The attorney should have expected to lose his license to practice law because of this. However, the press had defined Kunstler as a champion of the rule of law and democracy. The New York Bar, where Kunstler was licensed, invoked a special rule that required disbarment not occur upon initial conviction for contempt, if at all. Kunstler maintained his license, and the bar never applied the special rule to any other attorney.¹⁰⁵ This should not be surprising, for the defender of the rule of law cannot lose his license to practice because of his heroism.

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¹⁰⁴ David Gilbert and Robert Davis, "React to Ruling: 2 from Defense Call Government Chicago Villain," *Chicago Tribune*, November 22, 1973.

¹⁰⁵ David J. Langum, *William M. Kunstler: The Most Hated Lawyer in America* (New York: New York University Press, 1999).

¹⁰⁶ Tom Fitzpatrick, "Abbie Would Have Appreciated Finale," *Chicago Sun Times*, December 7, 1973.

one-time court jesters were changing their tune, as was the nation. There no longer existed a fear among the American people that the likes of Hoffman and Dellinger, as supported by their attorneys and the legal system, would overthrow the government of the United States. By 1972, Jerry Rubin had progressed to distributing pamphlets explaining how he “discovered his body,” rather than demanding rebellion.¹⁰⁷ Abbie Hoffman was entering his “rebel without a cause” period,¹⁰⁸ and most other defendants received press coverage for their shorter hair styles rather than their revolutionary fervor. A *Chicago Tribune* editorial even described the Chicago Seven as “a bunch of has-beens, transitory symbols of a fleeting era which most Americans... would just as soon forget.”¹⁰⁹ The Chicago Seven no longer made sense if cast by the press as comedic villains, but they also had become so blasé that the press could not portray them as heroes, reserving that role for Kunstler.

In a broader context, one must remember that the initial trial was driven by a desire to vindicate Mayor Richard J. Daley. Yet the mayor was, in Biles’s words, “on the decline.”¹¹⁰ Daley was dealing with accusations of corruption from the prosecutor’s office, and Thompson led the charge.¹¹¹ The final act of this courtroom drama focused on the battle between the rule of law versus ridiculous error, and, if anything, Daley likely would have preferred to witness a loss for political rival Thompson at the hands of those who were no longer protesting against his friends or mayoralty. On a national level, America had grown tired of the Vietnam War and was becoming quite suspicious of President Richard Nixon and his cohorts because of what would become known as the Watergate scandal.¹¹² As the *Chicago Tribune* noted, members of the media were starting to resemble “the paranoid radicals of the 1960s” in their speculation that Nixon might attempt a coup in order to preserve his reign.¹¹³ In this historical context, men such as Kunstler appeared as heroes, challenging corrupt governmental authority, rather than as radical troublemakers.

In 1978 members of the Chicago Seven gathered for another rally in Lincoln Park. This time, the rally was peaceful and notably small. Bobby Seale, the main speaker, wore a sports shirt and brown slacks, as opposed to the psychedelic wardrobe of the early 1970s, and the only possible illegalities the

¹⁰⁷ Michael Kirkorn, “Chicago 7 Return: Changes in Country Outdistance Radicals,” *Chicago Tribune*, November 3, 1973.

¹⁰⁸ Jezer, 242.

¹⁰⁹ “The Decline of the Chicago 7,” *Chicago Tribune*, November 23, 1973.

¹¹⁰ Biles, 186.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² Kim McQuaid, *The Anxious Years: America in the Vietnam-Watergate Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1989).

¹¹³ Kirkorn, *supra*.

Chicago Tribune noted were some marijuana joints and the hope that Abbie Hoffman, who was hiding to avoid charges related to cocaine distribution, might be disguised somewhere in the crowd.¹¹⁴ This atmosphere helps explain why the narrative of Kunstler as heroic defender of the law and Foran and Hoffman as comedians of error remains. It became clear that the revolution would not be realized, and this was confirmed in the largely reactionary times that followed. This was perhaps the greatest joke of the trial - that so many thought the Yippies and MOBE presented such risk to society that if they were not imprisoned, by any means necessary, America and the rule of law might crumble. Ultimately, this trial served as a morality play, but one where the meaning of each set of characters was modified over time. The story began as a good court and prosecutor battling comedic, bad defendants and their attorneys. However, due to a series of missteps on the part of the presumed heroes, Kunstler's willingness to play the martyred disciple of the law, and a changed context, Kunstler became the champion of the rule of law and the government an example of law and error. Perhaps the entire sordid affair of 1968 could have been avoided, if government officials had only echoed the thoughts of a policeman at the 1978 rally, who remarked, "They aren't doing any harm, so I say let them have fun."¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ Michael McCabe, "Party Outshines Politics at Yippie Rally," *Chicago Tribune*, August 27, 1978.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

Japanese Poetry

By Anthony Padula

In Japan, poetry is not simply an individual's artistic endeavor as it is in western culture. Instead, poetry is a deeply communal, emotional, religious, and cultural expression. Japanese poetry grants the ability for someone to communicate a significantly complex feeling through a direct emotional vision - a vision created in the guise of a seemingly simple poem. Throughout the nation's history, poetry has played a prevalent role in Japanese religious, artistic, and cultural expression. Poetry's profound role in Japanese culture can be seen through some of Japan's most celebrated literature, such as the *Kojiki*, *The Tale of Genji*, *The Confessions of Lady Nijo*, and *The River Ki*. These famous works span five eras in Japan's History: the Nara era, the Heian era, the Kamakura era, the Meiji era, and the early modern era known as the Showa era.

Just as Japan has rapidly developed since its creation in 200 A.D., Japanese poetry has also developed. Throughout the five eras mentioned, both poetry's active role in Japanese culture and also poetry's evolution can be visibly seen. Throughout the centuries, Japanese poetry has evolved into numerous genres, genres like *tanka*, *renga*, and of course, the world-renowned *haiku*. Japan's first recorded poetry can be seen in the beautiful writings of the *Kojiki*, predominantly through intricate song and poignant prose.

The *Kojiki* is perhaps Japan's first major work of literature. It was written in the early Nara era of 712 A.D. The Nara era spans the seventh and eighth centuries and was named after the first fixed capital city of Nara. A new period called the Kyoto era began shortly after when Japan's capital was moved from Nara to Kyoto at the end of the eighth century. In the Nara period, the Japanese population did not utilize Japan's modern day writing system. Instead, the *Kojiki* was written in an archaic Japanese language, a language that has not been in use for centuries. Japanese scribes predominantly used three different types of writing, all of which relied heavily upon an ancient Chinese model. The predominant type of writing used in ancient Japanese works was actually called *kambun*, commonly known as Chinese writing. The renowned scholar, linguist, and translator Donald Philippi (a translator of *Kojiki*) wrote, "By far the majority of the extant early Japanese works are written in almost pure *kambun* style."¹ The very important preface of *Kojiki*, which highlighted an overview of the critical parts of the text, was actually written in the *kambun* style. The second,

¹ *Kojiki*, Translated by Donald L. Philippi (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1969), 27.

less common type of writing within ancient Japanese literature was, as Philippi describes, "Chinese ideographs used phonetically, completely divorced from their lexical mean, to represent Japanese sounds... in this system, each Japanese syllable was assigned one or more Chinese ideographs whose sound approximated the Japanese word."² This category of using phonetic Chinese characters can be found in parts of *Kojiki*, in areas of the *Manyoshu*, and in verse or song in other documents. This category has actually been called manyogana because it is known for its use in the *Manyoshu*, an ancient text that contained vast amounts of poetry.³ The third style of ancient Japanese writing is "Chinese ideographs used in a modified or hybrid kambun style and read in pure Japanese... words were written phonetically or ideographically in their Chinese equivalents but were read in Japanese."⁴ This third style is a mix between the first two styles; it is Chinese writing, both phonetically and ideographically.

Although the *Kojiki* was compiled in 712 A.D. by Opo No Yasumaro, it is likely that the epic historical and mythological tale was created many years before. The *Kojiki* was probably created years before 712 A.D., through the medium of oral recitations and live performances at the imperial court in Nara. Philippi emphasized this belief when he wrote, "Judging from the rapidity with which he completed his work we may assume that he had a single anecdotal source document which had been composed at some previous time from a plurality of sources, oral and written traditions current in the imperial family, in various noble families, and among the common people."⁵ The deep poetic ceremonial tradition that is present within the *Kojiki* was not created by the writer Yasumaro. In actuality, the style of the *Kojiki* was just a written interpretation of the common traditional beliefs and practices of the nobles at Nara's Imperial Court, most notably Japan's strong oral tradition.

An important part of ancient Japan's cultural history is its rich oral tradition. This spoken tradition was closely tied to poetry's beginnings in Japan. In *Ritual Poetry and the Politics of Death in Early Japan*, Gary Ebersole wrote that "all poetry was orally performed, either sung or recited, giving it an immediacy that a written text does not have. Poems were performances or acts, not artifacts. Thus, it is no accident that the word for a Japanese poem (*uta*) is the same as that for song (*uta*)."⁶ Ebersole explained that the majority of early Japanese poetry was originally done through oral

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid, 11.

⁶ Gary L. Ebersole, *Ritual Poetry and the Politics of Death in Early Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 17.

performances, either by shamans working in rural communities or by the noble class at court. The oral recitations and performances of the *Kojiki* connected the story with a deeper social and cultural practice. This social and cultural practice in return makes the *Kojiki* more than just a mere collection of legends and poems to the people at court, but an important religious story that culturally tied the Japanese people to the Imperial Family. This belief is shared by Ebersole, who explains: "Many of the poems (*uta*) and narrative tales preserved in these written texts must be understood as having originally been oral performative pieces, either sung or recited. Such poetry and narrative were publicly performed, giving them a collective status that written texts did not have."⁷ The collective status that is mentioned here grants the ability for the *Kojiki* to connect on a deeper level with the Japanese people than would a mere fictional story that was not orally performed.

In English, *Kojiki* literally means the "Record of Ancient Things" and is considered to be Japan's first recorded history. In reality, the *Kojiki* is more akin to Ancient Greek mythology than any historical account. The creation of the *Kojiki* is not just an ancient history, but the imperial court's religious (Shinto) story that portrays the Imperial Family's ancestral ties to the gods. Not only did the religious historical text prop up the Imperial throne granting them the right to rule, but it also strengthened the current class structure, system, and imperial ideals. Ebersole goes into further detail when he wrote, "The myths are textually employed to legitimate certain clan genealogies, hereditary roles, titles, land holdings, complex economic arrangements, and rituals."⁸ Down to its core, the *Kojiki* was a cultural interpretation of ancient Japan, as seen through the eyes of the upper class. The forum that Opo No Yasumaro chose was the forum that was ceremonially most common used at court - *uta*, literally translated as poetry.

The *Kojiki* has been described as both an artistic and historical interpretation of Japan's past, yet the text is filled with legends, anecdotes, myths, and song. Truthfully, the *Kojiki* is a pseudo-history of Japan's ancient past. The *Kojiki* is better defined as a religious folk history. The beautiful prose of the *Kojiki* is more akin to *epic of Gilgamesh* than a historical account of a nation. A passage in the *Kojiki* that illustrates this mythological tone is found in the preface: "Truly after the hanging up of the mirror and the spitting of the jewels, the hundred kings followed in succession; after the chewing of the sword and the slaughtering of the serpent the myriad deities flourished."⁹ This passage demonstrates the dynamic nature of the ancient history of Japan, a history based

⁷ Ibid, 8.

⁸ Ibid, 11.

⁹ *Kojiki*, 38.

more on folk tales than actual events. These folk tales were created to fashion meaning out of everyday events, events described through poetic descriptions of extraordinary mythological tales. It allowed the people of Japan to connect religiously to the natural events occurring around them. The passage in the preface refers to the contest between Susa-no-wo (the Storm God) and Amaterasu-omo-no-mi-kami (the Sun Goddess), a passage that leads to the conception of numerous other deities. The primary purpose of the creation of these numerous deities was to create a genealogical line connecting Amaterasu directly to the ruling imperial family of the Yamato clan.

When the *Kojiki* was created in the eighth century, the Imperial Family ruled over Japan strictly through Shinto's religious hold upon the country. The Imperial Family's birthright to rule Japan was based upon their descendants from the Sun Goddess Amaterasu, the top deity of the Shinto religion who ruled over all other clans throughout Japan. Without Shinto, the Imperial Family held no authority over Japan. The imperial family had to create Shinto and their direct descendants from Amaterasu to back their claim of power and authority over the Japanese people. Without Shinto, the Imperial Family held no right to rule. The importance of Shinto also explains the importance of oral recitation of folk religion at court. These oral recitations kept the ancient belief in Shinto alive. The strong religious importance of the recited folk culture to the power of the imperial family grew into the need at court for the creation of the *Kojiki*.

The prose and poetry of the *Kojiki* also established reasons for the natural order of the world. One such instance of this is through a short fable of the origins of how an island was created: "Thereupon, the two deities, stood on the Heavenly floating bridge and, lowering the jeweled spear, stirred with it. They stirred the brine with a churning sound; and when they lifted up {the spear} again, the brine dripping down from the tip of the spear piled up and became an island. This was the island Onogoro."¹⁰ This tale is more akin to the Greek mythology story about Helios, who carried the sun across the sky on his golden chariot, than a historical account. Just as the Greek myth about the god Helios explained how the sun made his daily journey across the sky, the myth in *Kojiki* explained the natural world around them, such as the creation of the island Onogoro.

That Opo No Yasumare chose poetry and poetic prose for one of the most important written documents in Japan's history directly demonstrates poetry's immense importance in Japanese society, and the use of poetry throughout *Kojiki* shows the dominance poetry held in cultural, religious, and artistic

¹⁰ Ibid, 49.

expression in Japan's society. The importance of poetry in Japan's culture does not fade with time and can be seen four centuries later in the *Tale of Genji*.

The origins of *The Tale of Genji* are shrouded in mystery. Little is known about the time in which the book was written or about the author of the book.¹¹ There is even a controversy if the last chapter of the book actually ends. Alan Priest describes the vague ending in his summary of the Tale of Genji, concluding that out "of fifty-four chapters of episodes... Only the chapter title exists for episode XLI – the death of Genji, Apparently it was never written."¹² Even without a definite last chapter, the *Tale of Genji* has been translated into numerous languages and is considered to be classic literature. Although little is certain about the novel, the historical community agrees that a majority of the book was written by a court lady named Murasaki Shikibu. It might seem odd that in the male-dominated society of Japan, their most famous pieces of literature were written by a female. Yet, in the Heian era, Japanese women were highly revered and respected as writers. Unlike early western culture, where famous female writers took up male pen names to get their material published, writing was an accepted gender role for women. During the Heian era, it was thought that the best writers were females. There have even been numerous historical accounts of Japanese male authors during the Heian and Kamakura era creating female pen names in order to get their books to sell better. The author Chieko Irie Mulhern wrote that the famous quote by Nathaniel Hawthorne – "My country is now wholly given over to a damned mob of scribbling women" – might have applied better to Japanese women writers in the Heian era than in his own America era. Japanologists might be tempted to attribute this uncourtly utterance to a learned nobleman of Heian Japan embittered by the outpouring of vernacular narratives from women's writing brushes that were eclipsing male endeavors to emulate Chinese classics.¹³ Mulhern's quote clearly illustrates that fictional writing was surprisingly dominated by the female gender in the Heian era of Japan's History.

The historical community also agrees that the *Tale of Genji* was written in a diary sometime during the early eleventh century. The eleventh century falls within the latter part of the Heian era (794-1192). In the four centuries between the writing of the *Kojiki* and the *Tale of Genji*, parameters were created that better defined Japanese poetry. In the *Kojiki*, there was a very liberal

¹¹ Murasaki Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji*, Translated by Edward G. Seidensticker (New York: Random House, 1976), v.

¹² Alan Priest, "The Tale of Genji," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 15 (Summer 1956), 1-8. Found on Jstor.

¹³ Chieko Irie Mulhern, "Japanese Harlequin Romances as Transcultural Woman's Fiction," *Journal of Asian Studies* 48 (February 1989), 50. Found on Jstor.

interpretation of poetry. Poetry was defined as “uta,” which was used for poetic prose, poetry, and song. By the eleventh century, poetry had evolved into a complex concept. During the four centuries, parameters were created that defined general rules to Japanese poetry and its use in Japan’s society. The most noteworthy rule that governed Japanese poetry in the Heian era was the requirement for the poem to be thirty-one syllables long. Although Japanese poetry had a length requirement, there were not specific rules governing a rhyming scheme. As Richard Bowring notes, “In simple terms a Japanese poem is a statement thirty-one syllables long. With no rhyme and no word stress.”¹⁴ Ancient Japanese poetry was very different than Western poetry.

In the *Tale of Genji*, the most common form of poetry was Tanka. Tanka had the rhythm scale of an alternating current of 5/7 or 7/5 syllables and the form that we find in the *Genji*. So-called “short poems” are made up of five measures. Japanese poetry consists of many thoughts flowing across a single line. Richard Bowring, author of a guide to *The Tale of Genji*, said it best when he wrote, “What the western reader must realize is that there is no clear concept of more than one line of poetry here.”¹⁵ Bowring further explained the simple freedom of Japanese poetry when he explained: “In general Japanese poetry is made up of... essentially a single line... it will be seen that as there is no concept of more than one line there can be no paratactic technique, no rhyme and little if any conscious parallelism. What we are given instead is a complex of wordplay, inversion, and linked images that create a whole series of complications along one line.”¹⁶ In many English translations, the translators incorrectly forced a single-lined tanka poem into a five-lined sonnet. This is because the translators assimilated Japanese poetry to look like the quintessential Shakespearean sonnet. Translators mistakenly forced Japanese poetry into a scheme that Western culture is accustomed to reading. Through this misinterpretation, they have warped the true, simple, and free character of a Japanese poem. The free nature of Japanese poetry, its purpose specifically to convey complex emotional images floating across a mere sentence, creates a personal painted picture of ambiguity. The poem’s interpretation changes dramatically with the reader’s own personal experiences. Yet the simple nature and meaning of the poem always stays the same. Although many English translators have slightly warped the purpose of a Japanese poem by pushing western Shakespearean influences upon it, the exquisite essence of Japanese

¹⁴ Richard Bowring, *Murasaki Shikibu: The Tale of Genji* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 63.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 64.

poetry remains. One can still be involved with the religious, emotional responses of these unique poems.

Although the tanka does not have rules governing its rhyming scheme or meter, the intense, simple nature of the poem relies heavily upon an immense knowledge of vocabulary and a sophisticated ability at wordplay. Mastering poetry in this era was not an easy feat. To be considered highly-educated and cultured, Japanese citizens needed to have a mastery over the use of Japanese poetry. Throughout the *Tale of Genji*, Genji is considered to be brilliant partly because of his amazing ability with the Japanese vernacular and tanka. The author of *Japanese Linked Poetry*, Earl Miner, wrote that Genji's "genius often reveals itself in matters akin to linked verse."¹⁷ Poetry was used at all levels in society. In particular, poetry played a predominant role in courting. The form of tanka most prevalent in *The Tale of Genji* was a form of poetry called renga. Renga literally means "linked poem." Although a typical renga was "a hundred-stanza (250 lines) composed by perhaps three poets," the linked tanka in the *Tale of Genji* was much shorter.¹⁸

Throughout a *Tale of Genji*, renga plays a predominant role. There are over seven hundred poems in the novel. The frequent use of poetry within the fictional Japanese society in *Tale of Genji* accurately portrays its importance within the everyday lives of Japanese people who lived during the Heian era. Poetry was a cultural art form that held numerous uses in Japanese society. These uses can be seen throughout Japanese literature. For instance, there are themes in the *Tale of Genji* that guide the use of tanka. Specifically, in the *Tale of Genji*, two themes are predominantly used more than any other - love and nature. The themes of love and nature hold very personal and religious (Shintoist) connotations to the Japanese people. In Shinto, emotions like love and nature are controlled by hundreds of kami that also help direct people's fate and destiny. This religious belief is ingrained throughout Japan's ancestry and dramatically comes out in its poetry. Bowring displayed the connection between tanka poetry in the *Tale of Genji* and love best when he wrote, "The functions of poetry in the Genji are many and varied, but there is one aspect that is constant: the link with love and sexual attraction."¹⁹ One wonderful example of the connection between the two themes, nature and love, in Japanese poetry occurs in the beginning of the *Tale of Genji*. In the very beginning of the tale, the emperor (Genji's father) speaks of his immense love for a "lady not of the first

¹⁷ Earl Miner, *Japanese Linked Poetry* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 7.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁹ Bowring, *Murasaki Shikibu*, 66.

rank whom the emperor loved more than any others."²⁰ Throughout the love affair between the emperor and Genji's mother, a woman not of noble birth, the emperor exchanges a vow of love through the poetry genre of tanka. Later, at the woman's funeral, the emperor recites the tanka poem, a poem saying that they would love "in the sky, as birds that share a wing, on earth, as trees that share a branch."²¹ This tanka poem, like a majority of the poems in the *Tale of Genji*, contains the dominating themes of love and nature. The emperor's poem utilized nature to create the perfect image of two people's souls living as one.

Linked poetry (renga) such as tanka began with one person sending another a two-lined poem that elicited a response and would continue until the participants deemed the issue settled. Renga was particularly used when expressing personal emotion a person wanted to share with someone. This emotional expression would elicit a similar response and was used frequently during an intricate courting process. Genji uses linked poetry during a courting experience with one of his first loves. Genji writes, "Because of one chance meeting by the wayside, the flower now opens in the evening dew, And how does it look to you."²² The beginning of this renga holds true to the themes of love and nature. The renga shares deep emotional love through the themes of nature, complex ideas that hover upon a single line. Through these ideas, the poem conveys one pure vision of emotion. The response to the poem is equally as poetic: "The face seemed quite to shine in the evening dew, but I was dazzled by the evening light."²³ Poetry during the Heian era had a great impact upon society and the everyday lives of the Japanese public. During the Nara and Heian eras, the seed of the great ancient poetry tradition was planted. This seed would grow into a strong poetic, religious, and cultural heritage inherited by the Japanese people.

Poetry's strong cultural heritage in Japan can also be seen growing throughout the Kamakura era (1192-1336). This strong cultural growth in the Kamakura era can be seen in *The Confessions of Lady Nijo*, translated by Karen Brazell, which was written during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries of Japan's history. *The Confessions of Lady Nijo* is an autobiography of Lady Nijo's life. This autobiography covers both Nijo's life as a court lady (concubine) to the former emperor, and her years as a Buddhist nun traveling on a pilgrimage across Japan. Nijo's autobiography follows thirty-six years of her life, beginning when she was fourteen, from 1271 to 1307.

²⁰ Shikibu, *The Tale of Genji*, 1.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 16.

²² *Ibid.*, 74.

²³ *Ibid.*

Curiously, there are many parallels between the *Tale of Genji's* first chapter and *The Confessions of Lady Nijo*. The *Tale of Genji* begins with an emperor, much akin to Gofukakusa, who falls in love with a low court lady not of noble birth and strangely similar to Nijo. The *Tale* shortly glances over the hardships this lowly court lady goes through as a love of the emperor. These hardships stem from the fact that the court lady was born into a class deemed unfit to serve the emperor's needs as a concubine. It was taboo for the emperor to love anyone of less than noble birth. In the highly stratified society of the Kamakura era, it would not do to have a lower class concubine having a love affair with the emperor. The pairing of the emperor and a non-noble was viewed as a coupling that poisoned the sanctity of the emperor. The short section in the beginning of the *Tale of Genji* perfectly parallels the first half of *The Confessions of Lady Nijo*, a tale of a lower class lady's (Nijo) love affair with the emperor Gofukakusa, and the hardships at court that occurred. Undoubtedly, *The Tale of Genji* had a huge influence upon Lady Nijo and her autobiography.

Poetry in *The Confessions of Lady Nijo* shares many parallels with the *Tale of Genji*. For one, renga still dominated Japan's cultural courting tradition. In addition, mastery of poetry was still a sign of higher education. Nijo is known for her talents in both poetry and her musical talents with the Koto (similar to the lute). Both the Koto and Japanese poetry were part of Japanese's classical education. To have a mastery over them was equivalent to obtaining a higher education. During the Kamakura era, poetry was still viewed as a high art form, and its use in society had developed into a superior communicating language. Through using renga, the Japanese were able to communicate complex ideas rooted in multi-faceted themes such as love, nature, and religion. Yet these religious themes differed greatly from the past.

The religious connotations in *The Tale of Genji* differed from *The Confessions of Lady Nijo* because of a major assimilation of Buddhism and Shintoism prevalent in Japan during the Kamakura era. Although Buddhism was already introduced into Japan during the Heian era, sects such as the Pure Land sect and Zen sect were introduced after the *Tale of Genji* was written. These sects brought ideas that had a profound role in changing Japanese beliefs about the afterworld. The Buddhist influence on Japan's culture can be seen through poetry in multiple areas of the book. One poignant area where Buddhism's influence in Japan is visible is when Nijo's father (Masatada) sent the emperor Gofukakusa his father's ancient sword along with this renga, "Master and man, our ties span three worlds they say, Departing I commit the

future to your hands.”²⁴ Gofukakusa replies, “The next time we shall meet beyond this world of sorrow under the brightening sky of that long-awaited dawn.”²⁵ The entry of Buddhism into Japan brought with it intricate ideas about life in the afterworld, ideas that coexisted alongside Shinto. This amalgamation of religions is seen through poetry in *The Confessions of Lady Nijo*. The Japanese belief and interest in past and future lives, along with the fleetingness of their current life, is present in Japan during this era because of the introduction of Buddhism. Buddhism’s influence in Japan can also be seen when Ariake, the prince-priest and half-brother to Gofukakusa, wrote his last letter to his former lover, Lady Nijo. The letter was delivered when Ariake had passed away. In the letter, the prince-priest Ariake wrote the poem, “Now I’m afloat, now sinking, if the streams of the afterworld had shoals where we might meet, I would hold my body in to see you.”²⁶ Poetry played such a significant role in Japan’s culture that it succeeded in showing the profound role that new Buddhism sects such as Pure Land had during the Kamakura era. Seven hundred years later, Japan’s ancient heritages and culture would be put in jeopardy as modernization swept across the country. This sweeping modernization is displayed throughout the novel *The River Ki*.

The River Ki by Sawako Ariyoshi was written during the late modern era. Although the novel was written during the modern period, the book begins in the Meiji era and follows a family line that lived through the Meiji era into Japan’s early modern era (Showa era). The Meiji era runs from 1868 to 1912 and spans the forty-five year reign of the Meiji emperor. During this period, Japan laid the foundation for the mighty task of modernization.

Japan began modernizing for many reasons, including rewriting the unequal treaties forced upon Japan, to protect Japan from foreign influence, and to insure Japan’s place as one of the world’s most powerful countries. Although *The River Ki* hardly focuses upon poetry’s influence during the two eras, it does focus on Japan’s cultural heritage. Throughout the novel, Japan’s cultural heritage is portrayed in many ways, including old folk tales and beliefs, religious practices, tea ceremonies, and the practice of the ancient musical instrument, the Koto. Although poetry is hardly mentioned, it is part of this rich ancient heritage. The purpose of *The River Ki* was to portray the clash of modern practices with Japan’s ancient cultural practices and to reveal an ongoing synthesis of modernism and Japan’s culturally rich past. This clash and

²⁴ *The Confessions of Lady Nijo*, Translated by Karen Brazell (Stanford: Stanford University Press 1973), 23.

²⁵ *Ibid*, 24.

²⁶ *Ibid*, 151.

synthesis occurs throughout numerous generations until finally Japan's ancient heritage and modern ways are enmeshed into one. This synthesis has created modern Japan's multi-faceted society, a society that combines both a neo-Japan and an ancient Japan.

The River Ki follows five generations of a Japanese family. The book begins following the great grandmother Toyono, her granddaughter Hana, Hana's daughter, Fumio, and Fumio's daughter, Hanako. These four people represent Japan's hundred year struggle with assimilating modernization and Japan's ancient heritage. Both Toyono and Hana resemble Japan's ancient way; they believe in Japan's ancient ways of folk religion and folk tales. This can be seen through numerous passages in *The River Ki*. One such passage is when Toyono began debating with her son, Nobutaka, about why Hana should not be married on the wrong side of the great river. Toyono's evidence to why she should not marry was based from the *brother to sister* poem in *Manyoshu*. Toyono argues that "it was wrong in the first place to have the bride come from Myo-ji to Kudoyama. You're familiar with the Brother-Sister poem in The Collection of the Myriad leaves, aren't you? Brother Mountain is located in Kasedanoshō and Sister Mountain on the opposite bank. In other words, the bride should come from our side of the River Ki. The Juinoi family met with great misfortune because they went against tradition. Nothing will go wrong if the bride crosses from the Sister Mountain shore to the Brother Mountain shore."²⁷ Throughout the Meiji era, poetry played the profound role of dictating religious and cultural folk lore. Toyono, the wise grandmother of Hana, looked at poetry as part of Japan's ancient traditional way, a way that must be followed. In contrast to Toyono, Fumio represents modernization. Fumio fully embraces western culture, including radical ideas on women's rights and, at first, refuses all of Japan's ancient tradition. This includes Japan's ancient folk lore, the Koto, and a traditional wedding ceremony. In contrast to Fumio, who originally rejects Japan's ancient background, Hanako represents Japan's assimilation of modernism and Japan's ancient cultural heritage. She is the great granddaughter who inherits Japan's ancient traditional ways from Hana and modernizing spirit from her mother Fumio. Although poetry was not specifically mentioned, it still plays a significant role in Japan's rich ancient heritage. Throughout Japan's rebirth as a modern nation, the search for who they are as a people has helped the Japanese reclaim and honor their ancestors through poetry.

Poetry has always been present in Japanese literature, from the early eighth century to modern times. Japanese poetry's importance began with Japan's

²⁷ Sawako Ariyoshi, *The River Ki*, Translated by Mildred Tahara (New York: Kodansha International), 15.

ancient folk religion. This folk religion was developed and kept alive through a long-standing oral tradition. Over the years, poetry developed into Japan's ancient cultural and religious heritage and an important part of Japanese society. This development can be seen through prominent literature such as the *Kojiki*, *The Tale of Genji*, *The Confessions of Lady Nijo*, and *The River Ki*. These famous works span five different eras in Japan's history: the Nara era, the Heian era, the Kamakura era, the Meiji era, and the Showa era. Throughout Japan's rich past, poetry has developed beyond just an art form; it has developed into a separate form of communication, a communication that conveys complex ideas and emotions on such an intricate level that it is as if you have entered into the mind and life of the poet.

**Cultural Nationalism: Colonial Williamsburg and the
Tangled Web of Authenticity
By Deanna Wiist**

The summer of 2010 was a sultry one in Williamsburg, Virginia. During a string of July days well above 100°, tourists kept cool any way they could. Some tourists in the Historic Area dipped in and out of dozens of restored or reconstructed buildings, seeking air conditioning. Others stayed in the Visitor's Center near the gift shops. Fewer, braver souls watched Revolutionary City programs in the stifling heat near the Magazine and the Raleigh Tavern. The visitors had traveled various distances to experience Virginia's restored, authentic eighteenth century capital. What the tourists, hundreds of thousands each year, experience was the vision of W. A. R. Goodwin and John D. Rockefeller, Jr. - a curious mixture of preservation, reproduction, nostalgia, and storytelling.¹ Colonial Williamsburg today is a fine example of an institution created out of a deliberate desire to strengthen cultural nationalism in the United States, though neither Goodwin nor Rockefeller would have articulated it quite that way. A large and complex institution, Colonial Williamsburg is a microcosm of larger forces at work in American society.

In his book, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture*, Michael Kammen explores memory, tradition, and myth chronologically from the founding of the United States to roughly 1990. Kammen defines the concepts early in his book, carefully noting that they are often used interchangeably. Intertwined with complicated concepts like tradition and myth are concepts like truth, history, and authenticity. Kammen writes, "Myth turned out to be more attractive than truth."² While this is true in the United States where the mythologizing began early, there have been those who have sought to reveal truth and discredit myth. What emerged was a strange dichotomy - an American society that simultaneously cherished myth and valued truth and seemed to have no problem reconciling the two. "Cherished myth" and "valued truth" are the forces at work within the concept of authenticity.

The word "authentic" has a number of meanings; it can mean genuine, made or done in the traditional manner, and accurate or reliable. Any of these meanings would seem to make "authentic" synonymous with "true" or "truth."

¹ Attendance at Colonial Williamsburg reached a 47-year low in 2009 - 660,000 - due to the recession. Numbers had increased to roughly 780,000 in 2007 and 2008. Peak attendance was in the mid-1980s, when yearly attendance peaked at over 1,000,000.

<http://www.vagazette.com/articles/2010/02/18/news/doc4b75e052bc6a0872609611.txt>.

² Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Vintage, 1993), 26.

That can be the case, but the concept of authenticity in the United States is just as much about the mythical and the mystical that is transmitted to succeeding generations as it is about truth. Colonial Williamsburg represents the dual meaning of "authentic" in America; it represents the myth that is aspiration and the truth of the accurately reconstructed past. The factual or truthful aspect of authenticity is best represented in Colonial Williamsburg's restored and reconstructed buildings and reproduction furnishings. The mythical, mystical aspect of authenticity is evident in the interpretation and storytelling that occurs daily in the Historic Area. Within the context of Colonial Williamsburg, both have proven to be powerful, profitable, and valuable. The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, which operates Colonial Williamsburg, struggles to understand these forces even as it is part of them. The complexity of authenticity and the relationship of authenticity to cultural nationalism are significant because the end result is consumed by the American public and helps define how the American public views itself and its nation. In the end, though, there are questions. Is the cultural nationalism gained worth the sacrifice and cost, including the loss of some historical reality in the erasure of competing eras? In order to understand the dynamics of myth and truth operating within the framework of authenticity, it is necessary to understand the history of Williamsburg, the trends in the marketing of an authentic folk for the sake of cultural nationalism in the early twentieth century, the details and nature of the Restoration, and the mission of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

Williamsburg was the eighteenth century colonial capital of Virginia, a thriving town in the rural landscape of Virginia during the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries, and it accurately reflected the historic settlement pattern and the people who settled the Chesapeake. Williamsburg was representative of English settlement in Virginia, particularly in the Tidewater. The connection to England would prove to be critical, even in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s. Nearby Jamestown, established in 1607, was originally the heart of the colony. After the initial settlement of Jamestown, the English presence in the colony grew slowly during the remainder of the seventeenth century. In 1685 the population of all groups in Virginia, white, black, and native, was approximately 43,600. By contrast, the population of all groups in Virginia reached 466,200 by 1775.³ Life in Jamestown, however, was a constant challenge, and in 1698 the State House at Jamestown burned. The following year, the colonial capital was moved inland to Williamsburg, which

³ Peter Wallenstein, *Cradle of America: Four Centuries of Virginia History* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2007), 38.

had been established by the General Assembly as Middle Plantation in 1632-1633.⁴ Williamsburg remained the colonial capital until Thomas Jefferson moved the capital further up the James River to Richmond in 1780, near the end of the American Revolution.⁵ The movement of the capital, like the connection to England, resurfaces in any traditional history of Williamsburg.

At the dawn of the eighteenth century, Williamsburg was essentially a tiny crossroads in the Virginia wilderness. In May 1702, Francis Louis Michel visited the new town of Williamsburg and wrote to prospective settlers in Europe:

It is, moreover, because of the convenient place or situation, and also because of the many springs which are there, a large place, where a city is intended and staked out to be built. There are at present, besides the Church, Colledge, and State House, together with the residence of the Bishop, some stores and houses and gentlemen, and also eight ordinaries or inns, together with the magazine. More dwellings will be built year after year. This place lies between the James and the York rivers, six miles from Jamestown and ten miles from Yorktown.⁶

From this simple beginning, Williamsburg grew in size and importance. As it grew, it followed a typical Tidewater pattern.⁷ This pattern is important for understanding the story that is told (or not told) in Colonial Williamsburg since the Restoration. In the eighteenth century, Williamsburg's population was divided nearly equally between white and black; the white population was primarily English. Slave labor was common, and slaves were traded in Williamsburg's markets. Williamsburg's white population was primarily associated with the Church of England, with small numbers of other Christian denominations present. The two significant institutions in Williamsburg before and after the revolutionary era were Bruton Parish Church, established in 1674, and the College of William and Mary, chartered in 1693. Williamsburg was the political hub of Virginia; however, it never became an economic hub except on a local scale. In 1773 a young Boston lawyer named Josiah Quincy traveled to Williamsburg on a trip south. On April 9, he observed, "I arrived this morning at about ten o'clock at Williamsburg, the capital of Virginia. It is a place of no

⁴ Philip Kopper, *Colonial Williamsburg* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001), 25.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Jane Carson, *We Were There: Descriptions of Williamsburg, 1699-1859* (Williamsburg: Williamsburg Foundation, 1965), 2.

⁷ David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), section on the Chesapeake.

trade, and its importance depends altogether on its being the seat of government, and the place of the college.”⁸ It served as a local marketplace, but in the plantation economy of the Tidewater, the docks that existed on most of the large plantations and connected them with the trade networks of the Atlantic were of greater significance than a small market town - even if it was the capital of a colonial backwater.

Josiah Quincy’s observations reveal that he had certain expectations about how society should function based on his own life experiences in Boston, Massachusetts, and that he was disconcerted when he discovered that Virginia functioned differently. In his journal entry dated April 12, 1773, Quincy noted this, writing “I find that the Council of this province, hitherto have been, and now are (one instance excepted) generally appointed from among the most opulent persons and landed men of the province...” and “an aristocratical spirit and principle are very prevalent in the laws and policy of this colony...”⁹ In his book, *Albion’s Seed: Four British Folkways in America*, David Hackett Fischer argued that the regional differences that Quincy noticed and recorded in his journal were the result of initial settlement in Massachusetts and the Chesapeake by very different groups of Englishmen with very different folkways.¹⁰ The power structure that Quincy noted reflected the importance of land and agriculture in the Chesapeake, specifically an economy based on the production of tobacco. The same emphasis on land and agriculture was found among the people in the South and West of England - the very people who populated Virginia. The lack of large commercial centers and the presence of large plantation homes reflected the same settlement pattern of the people in the south and west of England, as did their dedication to the Church of England and the hierarchical structure of their society.¹¹ This was different from Quincy’s home province of Massachusetts. Society in Massachusetts was much less hierarchical, much less centered on the Church of England, and much more centered on small towns and villages than in Virginia. The society of Quincy was that of a different group of Englishmen - those from the East of England - who were the primary settlers of Massachusetts.¹² By the early twentieth century, in the years after World War I, Massachusetts and Virginia were engaged in a battle to determine which state was the Cradle of America.

⁸ Carson, *We Were There*, 27.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 28-29.

¹⁰ Fischer, *Albion’s Seed*, 6.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 236.

¹² *Ibid.*, 31.

By the 1770s, Williamsburg was the center of political life and revolutionary activity in Virginia. These were the events that would later lead to the restoration of eighteenth century Williamsburg beginning in the 1920s. During the 1770s, the bulk of the key political activities took place in and around the Governor's Palace (the home of the Crown's representative in Virginia), the Capitol (the place where Virginia's elected officials met), and the various taverns and coffeehouses in town (notably the Raleigh Tavern). In these places, Virginians rejected the rule of the British Crown, mobilized the people of Virginia, and helped establish the infant republic. During the Revolutionary War itself, the town experienced a great deal of activity, including the use of many of the town's public buildings as hospitals for the soldiers.¹³ The less than one hundred years that Williamsburg served as the colonial capital and, especially, the fifteen or so years of the revolutionary era when Williamsburg served as a hub of political activity, was an isolated period in the history of the town. In September 1781, Dr. James Thatcher visited Williamsburg. In his journal, he wrote, "Marched from the landing place through the city of Williamsburg. This is the capital of Virginia, but in other respects is of little importance. It is situated on a level piece of land, at an equal distance between two small rivers, one of which falls into York, the other into James River. The city is one mile and a quarter in length, and contains about two hundred and fifty houses."¹⁴ When the colonial capital was moved to Richmond, Williamsburg once again became a virtual backwater.¹⁵ At that point, Virginia was in a period of transition; increasingly, the center of activity in Virginia was shifting westward from the Tidewater to the Piedmont.

In the nineteenth century, Williamsburg became a quiet, virtually forgotten town as the activity, especially the political activity, shifted westward to the Piedmont. Virginia struggled in the late nineteenth century to overcome the devastation of the Civil War, which included the burning of Richmond. In Williamsburg, even the College of William and Mary experienced difficulty in the years during and after the Civil War. The entire student body of the College of William and Mary left the college to serve in the war - all but one of the students fought for the Confederacy. In 1881 the College closed its doors because of a lack of funds. The Charter was kept alive each year because the President of the College rang the bell at the start of each academic term. The College did not reopen for students until 1888. During those years,

¹³ Carson, *We Were There*, 50.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 66.

¹⁵ Kopper, *Colonial Williamsburg*, 28.

Williamsburg was known primarily as the location of the Public Hospital.¹⁶ It would not be until after the turn of the twentieth century that Williamsburg would become significant again to the outside world and, when it did, as the result of the efforts of two very different men who shared a common vision and a common belief that Williamsburg embodied values that were important to national identity - the Reverend Doctor W. A. R. Goodwin and John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

The story of Williamsburg in the early twentieth century requires an understanding of cultural nationalism and the forces that create it. Building on the work of Benedict Anderson in *Imagined Communities*, Jane S. Becker describes the complexity of this phenomenon as it appeared in the 1920s, 1930s, and early 1940s in her 1998 book, *Selling Tradition: Appalachia and the Creation of an American Folk, 1930-1940*. Becker's focus is the people of the Southern Appalachians and how they were created into an American folk. They had a specific commodity (handicrafts) that proved valuable in the open market and could be sold to serve practical household purposes and transmit values simultaneously. Though the people of the Southern Appalachians were her focus, she recognizes that other examples of the phenomenon existed during the same period. According to Becker,

the years during and immediately after the war [World War I] saw the inceptions of institutions and cultural definitions that expressed a homogeneous vision of ideal community, in vivid contrast to the actual growing diversity of American society... The institutions that emerged from this wave of cultural nationalism - Colonial Williamsburg (1926), the American Wing of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1928), and Henry Ford's Greenfield Village (1929) - presented objects from the American past as cornerstones of an American culture.¹⁷

Becker's argument regarding Southern Appalachia is carefully structured and documented. She argues that the people of Southern Appalachia and their culture were specifically chosen because of their perceived purity and connection to their Anglo-Saxon ancestors, the preindustrial, agrarian way of life, and the values that were associated with these attributes. In her book, she specifically leaves Colonial Williamsburg, the American Wing of the

¹⁶ Ibid, 114-19.

¹⁷ Jane S. Becker, *Selling Tradition: Appalachia and the Construction of an American Folk* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 5.

Metropolitan Museum of Art, and Greenfield Village to the scholarship of others. Colonial Williamsburg is an example of the phenomenon that Becker describes, although significant differences exist regarding the creation of Colonial Williamsburg as an institution. In a sense, Colonial Williamsburg is an attempt to bring back to life the arguably most important folk in America's history in the name of national identity - a folk from a rural, preindustrial America. The founders were a folk so critical to national identity that, in Becker's argument, they essentially become synonymous with the very concept of folk.¹⁸ Unfortunately, the creation of a folk as a part of cultural nationalism leads to the jumbling or loss of the complexity and soul of a people. The prominent people of Williamsburg in the eighteenth century become somewhat indistinguishable from the people of the Southern Appalachians in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, even though they came from different cultural traditions. If the phenomenon is examined in one place, but across time, different problems emerge. For example, the nineteenth century "folk" of Williamsburg disappear completely along with the demolition of their architecture. The creation of a "folk" and an idealized, manufactured past can be helpful in creating national unity, but also has its disadvantages for the groups identified as the "folk," for those not identified as the "folk," and for the American public in general.

Cultural nationalism is a complex phenomenon and in her book, like Michael Kammen in *Mystic Chords of Memory*, Jane S. Becker argues that definitions of "tradition" and "folk" are very important. In the introduction of *Selling Tradition*, Becker defines tradition as "the past, of course, but also...the way in which the past is transmitted; it refers to the passing down of knowledge from generation to generation and implies value and veneration."¹⁹ In terms of Becker's thesis, then, "tradition" refers to the way something was done by the people of Southern Appalachia in the past, such as quilting by hand, and it also refers to the way that knowledge about quilting is passed from one generation to the next. Becker defines "folk" as those people who appear to enact tradition in their daily lives. What is critical for Becker is that both of these concepts are "ideologically constructed categories shaped by social, gender, and racial relations and by political and economic considerations."²⁰ Therefore, what is identified as "tradition" or who is defined as "folk" reveals much about the people who identify what is traditional and who is folk in American society. Becker's argument is that the people of Southern Appalachia were identified as a folk by a

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.

combination of individuals and groups, including the federal government, benevolent and settlement workers, educators, and the marketplace. Once the people of Southern Appalachia were identified as a folk, their traditions were venerated and their products, especially their handicrafts, became valuable in the marketplace and were sold to middle-class Americans all over the United States. Middle-class Americans were either unaware specific values or ideals were being marketed to them or they did not particularly care because the handicrafts of Southern Appalachia proved to be both popular and profitable.

According to Becker, the people of Southern Appalachia were deliberately chosen as a folk for specific reasons. The reasons related to the Appalachian people themselves, but they also related to the individuals who were interested in identifying the Southern Appalachians as a folk. Many of the individuals responsible for identifying the Appalachian people, especially reformers and benevolent workers, "were ambivalent about the rapid change and looked back longingly to an imagined past."²¹ In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these individuals were unhappy with the direction of American society in the new industrial age; they felt that Americans were losing touch with their past and the values they deemed important. The rapid industrialization and urbanization of the United States altered American society, creating a larger, more mobile middle-class, teaming cities, and increased leisure time. Many of these same individuals were also afraid of the increasing diversity of America in the wake of explosive immigration beginning in the latter half of the nineteenth century and continuing into the first quarter of the twentieth century.²² The demographics of the United States were changing, and fear of change and fear of diversity were motivating factors in the creation of an Appalachian "folk." In the face of these changes, reformers and benevolent workers looked backward to a time when they believed life was simpler, purer, and rural. The people of Southern Appalachia represented this life. Workers, reformers, authors, and artists of the time believed that the people of Appalachia were an untainted, isolated remnant of Elizabethan England - a purer version of the American population that existed in the 1920s and the 1930s. This was deemed evident particularly in their language, music, and agricultural way of life. Appalachian people were manufactured into a folk to serve as a reminder to the rest of American society of what was valuable and what was disappearing quickly in modern American society.²³ Appalachian people were placed at the top of the folk hierarchy in America. Their culture became iconic.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 3.

²² *Ibid.*, 4.

²³ *Ibid.*, 19, 25, 61.

Becker contends that the federal government, benevolent and settlement workers, educators and artisans, and, through the marketplace, middle-class Americans were responsible for the creation of an Appalachian folk in the 1920s, 1930s, and early 1940s; however, each of the groups had different goals. The federal government's goal was somewhat different than the goals of the other groups. Through various programs, especially New Deal programs like the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Works Progress Administration, it aided the goals of the other groups. The federal government's primary goal was economic. It sought to transform the region economically by attempting to create a sustainable handicrafts industry under strict federal control. The federal government viewed this as part of a larger strategy to help improve living standards in the region through a variety of agencies. According to Becker, "The government pursued its own agenda for the region through the TVA, the Department of Labor, the Farm Security Administration, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, the Works Progress Administration, and the Department of Agriculture."²⁴ The government was interested in putting more people to work, with higher wages and more labor protections, so that fewer people would be living in poverty.²⁵ The cultural nationalism that was the preeminent goal for the other groups defining Appalachia was secondary for the government, but the government was aware of the cultural goals of the other groups and agencies that were working in Appalachia.

Because cultural nationalism was the preeminent goal of the benevolent and settlement workers and the educators and artisans who worked in Appalachia throughout the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, economic considerations were secondary and often brought them into conflict with the government. The benevolent and settlement workers were the descendants of the progressives of the late nineteenth century. These workers were often middle-class, educated women who had worked in reform movements in other parts of the United States, frequently in northern cities. These women moved to Appalachia and brought their middle-class values and sensibilities with them.²⁶ The goals of these women (and men) were to preserve the "pure" Anglo-Saxon culture that they believed existed in the region and, secondarily, to help the people of Appalachia - particularly the women - improve their economic conditions. According to Becker, it is critical to understand the paradox at the heart of these goals. She writes:

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 91.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 93, 118.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 56-57.

The region presented, in the reformers' eyes, a picture of social and economic troubles in need of relief. But these same reformers also viewed Appalachia as the repository for the noble remnants of an Anglo-Saxon, pioneer American culture that now needed the assistance of a civilized, modern world. Their part in modernizing the mountaineers was to instill middle-class values and standards of living.²⁷

They also felt that sanitizing of the culture would be helpful to the people of Appalachia themselves. The benevolent and settlement workers and the educators and the artisans from outside of Appalachia spent time creating schools where traditional handicrafts could be taught and organizing cooperatives through which the handicrafts could be created and sold. Eventually, a powerful organization, the Southern Highland Handicraft Guild, emerged and became a dominant force in the region. Its goals were those of the reformers - preservation of the culture of the region and economic improvement. Because of thinkers like Allen Eaton, the Southern Highland Handicraft Guild believed that "Southern mountain crafts could make an important contribution to the 'preservation' of rural life..."²⁸ Furthermore, the Southern Highland Handicraft Guild believed, according to Becker, that the handicrafts could reconnect the rest of middle-class America with its rural heritage. Eventually, the Guild controlled much of the design, production, and regulation of handicrafts in the Southern Appalachians. While educating mountain producers in traditional techniques, the Guild encouraged them to use designs and colors that were more appealing to a middle-class consumer. Northern experts carefully studied these designs and colors. The reformers who controlled the Guild blended the traditional they found valuable with the modern they knew would appeal to consumers. The Guild believed the blending was essential because the consumer had to first purchase the craft in order to be reconnected with the value or ideal that was represented by the craft. The result was an artificially manufactured Appalachian culture that was sold as authentic to the American people who bought into it so thoroughly that the real complexity and identity of the Southern Appalachian people was lost. The Guild also strictly regulated the quality of the handicrafts, emphasizing crafts made entirely by hand in what they believed was the leisure time of the mountain producers.²⁹

One of the strengths of Becker's book is her presentation of the mountain producers' attitudes toward their craftwork. Becker clearly demonstrates that the reality of the working lives of the mountain producers was very different from the perceptions of the benevolent and settlement workers. This might be

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 59.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 83.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 91-92.

inevitable given the different moments in chronological time. The Southern Highland Handicraft Guild idealistically believed that the people (mostly women) who were producing the handicrafts were doing so in their leisure time during, after, or between their regular chores. As Becker points out, this concept of leisure time reveals a middle-class conception of time ways.³⁰ The Guild marketed and sold the handicrafts in this guise; the bedspreads, quilts, or chairs were produced by craftsmen and craftswomen using traditional methods in their leisure time when they were taking a break from the agricultural work that reflected the true heritage of America. Using data compiled from the Department of Labor's Women's Bureau, Becker demonstrates that the reality for the mountain producers was very different from the ideal picture the Guild believed and promoted. The Department of Labor's Women's Bureau interviewed hundreds of mountain producers in 1933 and 1934 in an effort to understand the true nature of their working conditions and whether or not their rights as laborers were being violated. Before she uses the data, however, Becker puts it into context and explains the government's own motives, particularly the motives of the Women's Bureau, which were economically-based and closely tied into the enforcement of recent labor laws.³¹ According to Becker, the Women's Bureau discovered that the mountain producers were not producing handicrafts as a leisure activity during their free time. They were spending most of their days, often 8-14 hours a day, producing their handicrafts; they were also producing their handicrafts for economic reasons. They were using the income to support their families. Most of the mountain producers were women between the ages of 30 and 50, and many of them were reliant on the income from the handicrafts to pay for the basic necessities of life. It was not their only source of income, but it was a significant source.³²

In addition to the production of handicrafts, most mountain families were engaged in agriculture. In many cases, particularly in the production of bedspreads and chairs, production involved entire families. The long hours were only part of the story. Becker points out that the producers found the work tedious and difficult, sometimes deadly.³³ In her account, she relates stories of actual craftspeople. Becker relates the story of Mrs. Kaneaster of Apison, Tennessee, for example. Mrs. Kaneaster shared that one local doctor attributed the death of another local woman to sitting in a cramped position that clogged her intestines.³⁴ Clearly, those in control of the Appalachian handicrafts industry and the mountain producers had differing views on the reality of handicraft production; however, the attitudes of those higher up in the handicraft

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 187.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 127-28.

³² *Ibid.*, 130-31.

³³ *Ibid.*, 149.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 150.

hierarchy were also insulting. They valued the idea of the isolated Appalachian Anglo-Saxon more than the actual, living Anglo-Saxon individual. In the chapter, "Mountain Craft Producers," Becker writes, "Certain of their own aesthetic sense and their knowledge of fashion and the market, and confident in their ways of conducting business, craft leaders often treated mountain producers in a condescending and paternalistic manner."³⁵ Becker demonstrates that the mountain producers viewed the production of handicrafts differently from those who were in control of the industry. The differing viewpoints and the different agendas highlight the degree to which the people of the Southern Appalachians were being controlled and manipulated, with and without their cooperation. The Women's Bureau and other government agencies maintained that they were looking after the best interests of the mountain producers, and the Guild maintained it was helping them preserve their valuable culture.³⁶ In the middle of this debate, the people of the Southern Appalachians became generic and invisible.³⁷ In the same way, some of the ordinary folk of Williamsburg became generic and invisible as a result of the Restoration.

In the final chapter of her book, *Selling Tradition*, Becker proposes her conclusions as she discusses the marketing of the handicrafts created by the mountain producers. In this segment of her book, she also examines the important role that the final group - the American middle-class - played in the creation of the Appalachian people as a folk. Handicrafts were sold to the public through a variety of means, including museum exhibits, cooperative gift shops, magazine advertising, mail-order catalogs, and prominent department stores. The crafts were promoted as a means to be connected to a vague, but noble, mountain, rural past.³⁸ The marketing of the values connected to America's past buried within the handicrafts proved to be successful. There was a revival of "traditional" décor in American middle-class homes throughout the 1930s and 1940s. The American public did not care that the past being sold was largely invented.³⁹ In this final segment, Becker concludes that the marketing of the culture and values of a folk requires that that the people and their culture become generic and invisible. All Americans can adopt the culture.⁴⁰ Becker also concludes that American seem to require the tension between tradition and modernity. American consumers enjoy the notion that they have a traditional bedspread produced by mountain folk representing solid American values, but they want it to be in the colors that match the rest of their décor in a contemporary design. Finally, Becker

³⁵ Ibid., 162.

³⁶ Ibid., 172.

³⁷ Ibid., 177.

³⁸ Ibid., 196-98.

³⁹ Ibid., 199.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 228.

identifies the important role of the consumer culture in the perpetuation of the myth. The middle-class consumer does not care that others are manufacturing a tradition and selling to them as authentic.⁴¹

The very same phenomenon exists with the sale of merchandise, including home furnishings and décor, under the Colonial Williamsburg label. Becker concludes her book by questioning the logic of Americans challenging the Chinese manufacturing of American heritage quilts because it represented a loss of a traditional American craft, a critical component of culture, when they did not question the manufacturing of the same heritage. Finally, in *Selling Tradition*, Becker points out that the identification of the folk is harmful to both the folk who are identified and the folk who are not. However, one of the weaknesses of Becker's analysis is that she never discusses the harmful effects on groups that are not identified. One of the ways that being identified as a folk is harmful is that the folk identified become invisible and the complexity of their culture is lost.

During the 1920s and 1930s, while reformers and benevolent workers were manufacturing a past and creating a folk in the Southern Appalachians, a similar and related process was unfolding in Virginia. Becker's identification of Colonial Williamsburg as an example of cultural nationalism demonstrates her argument that *colonial* became synonymous with *folk*. The creation of Colonial Williamsburg was initially the brainchild of two men, W. A. R. Goodwin, the visionary, and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., the industrial giant and philanthropist. Goodwin and Rockefeller chose Williamsburg because of its significance as Virginia's eighteenth century colonial capital. However, there were a complex set of factors underlying the decisions of both men to launch a massive restoration of Williamsburg's eighteenth century past, including Goodwin's discontent with the rapid industrialization of America and its effects on American society, Rockefeller's belief in the importance of patriotism, and competition between Massachusetts and Virginia for recognition as the Cradle of America.

Virginia-born, the Reverend Doctor W. A. R. Goodwin first arrived in Williamsburg as the rector of Bruton Parish Church in 1903; however, he did not actively begin to promote the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg until 1924. His activities between 1903 and 1907 were focused on the restoration of the Bruton Parish Church for the tercentennial of the founding of Jamestown. Following the restoration of Bruton Parish Church, he left Williamsburg to accept a call at another church in New York. Goodwin returned to Williamsburg in 1923.⁴² In 1907 he expressed his own vision in his book *Bruton Parish Restored and Its Historic Environment*: 'The spirit of the days of

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Kopper, *Colonial Williamsburg*, 28-29.

long ago haunts and hallows the ancient city and the homes of its honored dead; a spirit stirs the memory and fires the imagination; a spirit that will, we trust, illumine the judgment of those who have entered upon this rich inheritance of the past and lead them to guard these ancient landmarks and resist the spirit of ruthless innovation which threatens to rob the city of its unique distinction and its charms."⁴³ The vision that he expressed in those sentiments stayed with him in the years that he was away from Williamsburg. When he returned to the city, he began to seek a partner who could help him restore Williamsburg to what he viewed as its former glory. First, he approached the Henry Ford family.⁴⁴ As Goodwin said in a letter to William Ford, "My thought is that Mr. Ford might be enthusiastically interested in purchasing the town and turning it over to a Colonial holding corporation...It would do more to teach history to the American traveling public than anything that could be done by any man."⁴⁵ Henry Ford, however, declined and Goodwin turned to other options - notably John D. Rockefeller, Jr.⁴⁶

Goodwin's attempts to woo Henry Ford reveal the complicated nature of the relationship between historic preservationists and industrialists in the early twentieth century. To achieve his dream to restore Williamsburg to its eighteenth century glory, Goodwin needed the capital that a Ford, a Vanderbilt, a Morgan, or a Rockefeller could provide; however, Goodwin himself blamed modern life, particularly Ford's automobile, for the state Williamsburg was in during the 1920s. Ford's automobile was the symbol of modern progress, the very force that was destroying the remnants of eighteenth century Williamsburg. He was not shy about sharing this view with others, even Ford. The tension that was present in Goodwin - his need for the money created by an industrial society and his desire to preserve the past - was not unusual for the time. It was similar to the tension that Becker argues is present in those who create an Appalachian America. In *Preservation Comes of Age: From Williamsburg to the National Trust, 1926-1949*, Charles Homser, Jr., writes, "When Dr. Goodwin proposed the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg in 1926, he appeared to be out of touch with the antihistorical currents of his own times. Prosperity and the loss of idealism in World War I had led many people to doubt the usefulness of studying the past with any sense of reverence...Only during the depression did preservation sentiment move along with the goals of the great mass of the American people."⁴⁷ Warren I. Sussman, a cultural historian, writes, "First, there

⁴³ Charles B. Homser, Jr., *Preservation Comes of Age: From Williamsburg to the National Trust, 1926-1949* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981), 12.

⁴⁴ Dennis Montgomery, *A Link among the Days: The Life and Times of the Reverend Doctor W. A. R. Goodwin, the Father of Colonial Williamsburg* (Petersburg, Virginia: Dietz Press, 1998), 133.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 141.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 138.

⁴⁷ Homser, *Preservation Comes of Age*, 3.

was the discovery of the idea of culture and its wide-scale application to a critical tool that could shape a critical idea, especially as it was directed repeatedly against the failures and meaninglessness of an urban-industrial civilization...A search for the real America could become a new kind of nationalism; the idea of an American Way could reinforce conformity. Both the intellectual and political leaders of the nation sought to evoke a usable American past."⁴⁸

Though Goodwin failed to convince Henry Ford to support his restoration of Williamsburg, he was successful at convincing John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Goodwin first shared his vision of a restored Williamsburg as early as 1924. Rockefeller was a cautious and thorough man who took time to convince. According to Homser, Rockefeller himself said, "Goodwin's patience and the appeal of Williamsburg's romantic past won the day."⁴⁹ Moreover, Homser writes, "Rockefeller found that the opportunity to restore an entire town and keep it free from 'inharmonious surroundings' was 'irresistible.'"⁵⁰ Rockefeller proposed restoring the entire town and made Goodwin his agent in Virginia, initially swearing Goodwin to secrecy. Once the two men began buying property in Williamsburg, however, they drew the attention of the residents. Over a year later, in 1928, Goodwin was able to reveal that Rockefeller was his partner. Most of the community supported the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg, but support was not unanimous. There were a few residents who opposed the restoration for various reasons; the most prominent example was Judge Frank Armistead, who came to dislike Rockefeller personally. From that point, Colonial Williamsburg evolved into its present incarnation. Rockefeller and Goodwin formed Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., and the Williamsburg Holding Company, which was renamed Williamsburg Restoration, Inc., in 1934. In 1970 Williamsburg Restoration, Inc., and Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., merged into the nonprofit Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. In 1984 a subsidiary was created to operate hotels and restaurants for profit.⁵¹ From the very beginning of the restoration, visitors from Virginia and the rest of the country were interested in the activities taking place at Williamsburg, revealing an appetite in middle-class America for the connection to the past that Williamsburg offered.

In Colonial Williamsburg-speak, the heart of the Restoration begun in 1927 is called "the Historic Area." It encompasses hundreds of acres and hundreds of restored and reconstructed structures. The focal point of the Historic Area is along the Duke of Gloucester Street, which runs for nearly a mile from the Capitol to the Wren Building on the campus of the College of William and Mary. The Duke of Gloucester Street was the center of eighteenth century life

⁴⁸ Ibid., 4.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 19.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Kopper, *Colonial Williamsburg*, 31.

in Williamsburg. It is in the buildings on or near the Duke of Gloucester Street that the truthful aspects of authenticity are best represented. The mythical aspect is evident in the interpretation that occurs daily in the Historic Area. But before interpretation and storytelling could begin on a grand scale, the designated Historic Area on the Duke of Gloucester Street needed to be recreated. The transformation of the Historic Area ultimately meant destruction as well as creation. In total, the Restoration resulted in the demolition and removal of approximately 720 existing structures, most of them dating from 1790 or later.⁵² In order to reconstruct the colonial capital, it was deemed necessary to remove nearly all traces of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Once the undesirable buildings were removed, restoration and reconstruction of eighteenth century structures could begin.

From the beginning of the Restoration, there was concern about authenticity. Goodwin remembered Rockefeller's commitment to authenticity in a statement recorded in the summer of 1930 and transcribed in the *Colonial Williamsburg Journal* (Winter 2000-2001). Goodwin said, "Mr. Rockefeller was extremely anxious that the work should be done in accordance with historic verity. To this end research work was organized and research workers were sent to England and to France to study the records in the British foreign record office, in the libraries in the universities of England, and in the military offices and historic libraries of France. As a result of this work, information indispensable to the Restoration was secured."⁵³ The architectural accomplishments of Colonial Williamsburg are seen in the restoration and reconstruction of three buildings: the Peyton Randolph House, Chowning's Tavern, and the Governor's Palace. In Colonial Williamsburg, "restoration" refers to work done to restore a largely eighteenth century structure to its original glory. There are eighty-eight original buildings in the Colonial Williamsburg's Historic Area today.⁵⁴ The term "reconstruction" refers to the building or rebuilding of structures that were no longer in existence or were substantially decayed or altered from their original forms. Many of these buildings were rebuilt on foundations that were excavated by archaeologists.⁵⁵ The Peyton Randolph House is a good example of a restoration, while both Chowning's Tavern and the Governor's Palace are good examples of reconstructions.⁵⁶ When examining photographs, it is possible to see the work needed to transform these structures. Both restorations and reconstructions take considerable amounts of research by various specialists, including archaeologists.

⁵² Edwards Park, "My Dream and My Hope," History of the Restoration, Colonial Williamsburg Web Site, <http://www.history.org/Foundation/general/introhis.cfm>.

⁵³ W. A. R. Goodwin, "The Far-Visioned Generosity of Mr. Rockefeller," *Colonial Williamsburg Journal* (Winter 2000-2001), http://www.history.org/foundation/journal/winter00_01/vision.cfm.

⁵⁴ Park, "My Dream and My Hope."

⁵⁵ "Then and Now," Colonial Williamsburg Website, <http://www.history.org/foundation/thenandnow/index.cfm>.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

The Randolph family was one of the wealthiest in the colony. Peyton Randolph was the Speaker of the Virginia House of Burgesses at the start of the American Revolution.⁵⁷ Substantial parts of the Randolph House remained before the Restoration. The restoration of the Peyton Randolph House was begun in 1938 and completed in 1940; however, a second restoration was completed in 1967-1968. Though substantial work was completed on the structure, it is possible to see the outlines of the eighteenth century home in the pre-restoration photographs. From the front, the most substantial difference is the nineteenth century addition of a porch. In 1997 the reconstruction of the outbuildings was begun.⁵⁸

Chowning's Tavern was a complete reconstruction. The building that stood on the Chowning's site when Rockefeller and Goodwin purchased the property was a Hotel Annex that had been built in 1859 and had been used by Union troops during the Civil War. The building was demolished in 1939.⁵⁹ Chowning's was reconstructed and reopened in 1941.

The reconstruction of the Governor's Palace (1930-1934) was an example of a reconstruction of a building that required a significant amount of research and a little bit of luck. The Governor's Palace was the seat of British government in Virginia until the American Revolution. The building was completed in 1722 and burned to the ground in December 1781. The advance buildings were torn down by Union troops in 1862.⁶⁰ Therefore, unlike the Peyton Randolph House and Chowning's Tavern, the Palace needed to be rebuilt. Hours of research resulted in the location of five major sources that proved essential in the reconstruction of the Palace and its grounds, including "The Frenchman's Map" of Williamsburg in 1782, which outlined the Governor's Palace, and the Bodleian Plate, which is an engraved copperplate containing the only known architectural drawings of the major buildings of eighteenth century Williamsburg, and Thomas Jefferson's 1779 drawings, which detailed the floor plan of the Palace. The massive investment in historical architecture in the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg bore fruit. Not only did colonial Williamsburg re-emerge from dilapidated buildings of the 1920s and 1930s, but also the methods of restoration and reconstruction used in Williamsburg helped lay the foundation for the field of historical architecture in the United States. The Governor's Palace continues to be re-evaluated as new architectural evidence comes to light.⁶¹ The architecture achieved authenticity.

Once the physical reconstruction was underway, interpretation of the buildings could begin. As the Historic Area grew, so did the scale of the storytelling. A full-

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Park, "My Dream and My Hope."

⁶¹ Ibid.

blown story of national identity emerged within fifteen years - the second type of authenticity. Goodwin frequently used the word "shrine" when talking about his plans for Williamsburg. In a short film segment entitled, "The Partnership: Colonial Williamsburg's Benefactor," Goodwin uses the word "shrine" when describing the vision he had of the Restoration of Williamsburg. He notes, "An opportunity to create here a shrine that would bear witness to the faith and the devotion and the sacrifice of the nation-builders."⁶² This usage has powerful, religious overtones; these are significant when discussing the Revolutionary era and its associations with the notion of a civic religion. It was obvious that Goodwin viewed Williamsburg in that manner, and he was able to convince Rockefeller of the same idea. Before he had convinced Rockefeller to participate in the Restoration, Goodwin had used the word "shrine" in a letter to Henry Ford. The choice of the word "shrine" reflects the primary goals of both men.

The primary goals of W. A. R. Goodwin and John D. Rockefeller, Jr. were evident from the very beginning of the Restoration, which began in earnest in 1928. Restoration of Colonial Williamsburg began as an architectural project with specific nationalistic goals. By World War II, the Restoration had expanded to include the lives of the people as well as their dwellings. Significant evidence of the Restoration's mission survives in the form of video footage and film. Three significant film productions from the 1930s, 1940s, and the 1950s survive as well. The earliest surviving video footage is the Harvard Footage from 1930 entitled, "The City of Williamsburg," only two years into the Restoration. This silent, black and white film footage shows the historic area of Williamsburg, as it was very early in the Restoration process, providing valuable images of the houses and other buildings before they were restored to their colonial forms. The film also shows maps of the historic area, centered on the Duke of Gloucester Street, and includes text describing the importance of Williamsburg in the national life of the United States. The second archival film is "Colonial Williamsburg," which was produced in 1942. This color film shows the progress of the Restoration a generation after it began. The film demonstrates the expansion of Colonial Williamsburg's mission and activities by World War II. In addition, "Colonial Williamsburg" is clear evidence of cultural nationalism at work. The third film, "Williamsburg Restored," was produced in 1951. This film is a more comprehensive examination of the Restoration, including a step-by-step look at the process of architectural restoration, combined with skilled marketing that targeted ordinary American tourists. To a greater or lesser degree, each of these films shows the emerging complexity of authenticity in Colonial Williamsburg.

⁶² W. A. R. Goodwin, "The Partnership: Colonial Williamsburg's Benefactor," Colonial Williamsburg Website, <http://www.history.org/Media/movies/ThePartnership.mov>.

On the surface, the Harvard Footage showcased in "The City of Williamsburg" in 1930 serves two purposes. The Footage serves as a permanent record of the historic area prior to any significant restoration and also attempts to justify the need for restoration (or further restoration). The basic structure of the film is simple. Images with text are interspersed with maps of the historic area and images of buildings that existed in the historic area at the beginning of the Restoration. Occasionally, video footage is included within the film depicting moving cars and people. For example, at the beginning of the film, historical information is relayed to the viewer. The viewer learns that the Duke of Gloucester Street - the main street of the Historic Area - is named after the eldest son of Queen Anne. These early textual images relaying historical information are followed by simple maps of the Historic Area, one showing the location of the old Capitol Building, another showing the location of the College of William and Mary relative to the rest of the Historic Area. Most of the film is filled with images of individual buildings in various states of dilapidation. A specific example is the Colonial Penitentiary, known today as the Gaol. The images serve as both a record of the Colonial Penitentiary before it was restored and also can be used to make a case to the public that the buildings needed to be restored. Another example would be the Peyton Randolph House, which is showcased during the midpoint of the film. The film shows the Peyton Randolph House prior to the Restoration. Clearly, the Randolph House had changed considerably since the eighteenth century, and the layers of more recent architectural history needed to be stripped away. From this standpoint, the Harvard Footage served Rockefeller and Goodwin well in documenting the considerable task undertaken by Rockefeller and Goodwin and also serving as an early marketing tool for the infant Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., and the Williamsburg Holding Company.

Beyond the obvious, "The City of Williamsburg" also served another purpose - that of cultural nationalism. In Becker's book, cultural nationalism includes "tradition" and refers to the past, the way in which the past is transmitted, and "refers to the passing down of knowledge from generation to generation and implies value and veneration."⁶³ In the Harvard Footage, where text is scarce, the producers manage to invoke tradition and nostalgia. An image of a decayed smokehouse is accompanied by the statement, "where hams were smoked in old Virginia."⁶⁴ The choice of vocabulary in statements like these is deliberate. The reference to "old Virginia" evokes Virginia's past. From a twenty-first century perspective, "old Virginia" has negative, racial overtones, as well as positive colonial overtones. However, for Virginians and most others in

⁶³ Becker, *Selling Tradition*, 1.

⁶⁴ "The City of Williamsburg - Harvard Footage," Colonial Williamsburg, 1930 & 1976, *Early Stories of the Restoration Series*, DVD, Williamsburg, Virginia, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 2008.

1930, the phrase generally refers to the "glory days" of the colonial and antebellum eras. The glorification of Virginia, especially of the colonial period, glorifies the early history of the United States and instantly links citizens to the associated founding ideals. It is a unifying or centripetal force. The focus on the colonial also conveniently bypasses the more controversial, messy periods of the Civil War and Reconstruction. In this particular case, the notion of cultural nationalism operates at various levels - local, state, and national. Williamsburg resurrects its role in the national narrative of identity. Virginia gains the opportunity to tout its role and gain an advantage over Massachusetts in the quest for pre-eminence in the American creation story. The United States gets the opportunity to highlight its revolutionary credentials and use them to promote identity at home and American ideals abroad. During the Great Depression, this type of tradition and nostalgia was particularly comforting.

Twelve years and the bombing of Pearl Harbor later, Colonial Williamsburg released a second film produced by the March of Time.⁶⁵ The film provides the audience with a progress report on the Restoration while also selling Colonial Williamsburg as an outpost of freedom and liberty during the depths of World War II. The film skillfully uses video footage of soldiers and sailors interwoven with patriotic images from the 1942 version of Colonial Williamsburg to market itself as a tourist destination for both recreation and education. There is certainly an agenda - foreign and domestic. The foreign agenda in the film is fairly obvious: demonstrate alignment and solidarity with our allies, notably Great Britain. Early in the film, the narrator makes specific references to America's "English inheritance" and "polite 'English' traditions and graceful manners."⁶⁶ These references highlight the historic relationship between the United States and the United Kingdom; they are complemented by images of the Union Jack flying over the restored buildings of the Historic Area. The emphasis on the English heritage is directed as much to Americans in 1942 as it is to the colonists who lived in Williamsburg during the 1770s. The fact that America had recently entered World War II was not coincidental. After highlighting the connections between the United States and Britain, the film continues in the pattern established in the Harvard footage, giving a brief history of Williamsburg. The familiar dates are provided, including 1780, the year the capital moved inland to Richmond.

The film then skips forward in time to the period of Goodwin and Rockefeller - the beginning of the Restoration. Because the Restoration had been ongoing since the late 1920s, the 1942 production spends considerable time showing the reconstruction process. Nearly 200 buildings had been

⁶⁵ "Colonial Williamsburg," 1942, *Early Stories of the Restoration Archive Series*, DVD, Produced by the March of Time, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 2008.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

reconstructed.⁶⁷ In this segment of the film, the emphasis is on the quality of the workmanship in the reconstruction of the buildings. This was something of particular value to Rockefeller - he valued accuracy and authenticity in both the Reconstruction and the reproductions that were sold in the shops associated with Colonial Williamsburg. The narrator refers to "standards of perfection" for "two centuries."⁶⁸ Again, this emphasizes the connection between the colonists of the eighteenth century and the Americans of the twentieth century. After detailing the reconstruction process, the film switches focus again - this time to tourism. The memories that form the narrative of Colonial Williamsburg cannot be transmitted unless average Americans visit. The 1942 film shows tourists arriving by train and bus. Plenty of soldiers and sailors are evident on the streets of the Historic Area and the adjacent shopping area (known as Merchant's Square today).⁶⁹ Like the emphasis on English heritage, the presence of sailors and soldiers in wartime is deliberate. In addition to highlighting our alliance with Britain, it also taps into the patriotism that is a feature of modern American life. The film is being used, like the national anthem, as a centripetal force. Colonial Williamsburg is the agent of cultural nationalism in this particular case, seeking to link Americans of the 1940s to their colonial ancestors. Colonial Williamsburg, however, is also using cultural nationalism as a marketing tool. This, as Becker argues, is also an American tradition. The narrator says, "Everyday Colonial Williamsburg is visited by hundreds of men from America's Armed Forces. Men who may find here a sense of the traditions and principles for which they will one day be fighting...a sense of continuity with their country's great past."⁷⁰ The American soldier is both used as a marketing tool and serves as a target of the marketing. In the film, Colonial Williamsburg specifically mentions that special lodging is available for soldiers, sailors, and their families. While sailors and soldiers would visit Williamsburg from all parts of the country, the targeting of this market makes sense given Williamsburg's proximity to Newport News, Hampton, and Norfolk - important naval bases.

As the film concludes, the narrator returns to the concept of heritage. In this context, heritage is closely identified with "American liberty." The narrator says, "More than a city of restored buildings, Colonial Williamsburg is a community representing a restored civilization."⁷¹ The use of the word "civilization" is not accidental; this is not a casual use of the word in a time when Britain, the United States, and their allies were engaged in a civilizational clash with Nazi Germany and its allies. The word "civilization" is also used after the link between the United States and Britain is clearly established. The

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

film returns to images and references to the Armed Forces - a message that the Armed Forces are the protectors of American liberty and heritage. Then the film flashes to an image of the Bruton Parish Church.⁷² This is an opportunity for the filmmakers to evoke religion, specifically traditional Protestant Christianity. This is part of the national narrative and, in Virginia, another link to Britain. The final moments of the film finish with a statement of reminder. The narrator says, "[This is a] reminder for all Americans that the qualities that made America great were founded on the combination of colonial enterprise and the sturdy character of the English-speaking people."⁷³ This is an indicator of the complex weaving of ideas and themes in the film used to promote Colonial Williamsburg a generation after the beginning of the Restoration. The multiple themes of the message include authenticity, cultural nationalism, modern capitalism, and consumerism.

Nearly a decade after the 1942 production, Colonial Williamsburg produced another film, entitled "Williamsburg Restored." The fact that Colonial Williamsburg produced films at fairly regular intervals once the Restoration began shows how savvy Williamsburg was in its understanding and use of the modern media; Colonial Williamsburg understood the crucial role the media played in the execution of its mission - "that the future may learn from the past."⁷⁴ The media were necessary for telling the story Williamsburg desired to tell. "Williamsburg Restored" was produced in 1951, early in the Cold War, a time of growing prosperity at home and increasing suspicion and tension abroad. While there are similarities between "Williamsburg Restored" and the earlier films, including the prominent placement of Bruton Parish Church and W. A. R. Goodwin, the emphasis in this film is different. It certainly reflects the time in which it was created. In the early part of the film, faith and democracy take center stage, presumably deliberate choices in a time when a representative democracy with a Judeo-Christian tradition was in confrontation and competition with a communist country that discouraged the practice of religion. Bruton Parish Church is the first building featured in the film, and the narrator mentions that faith is important to the daily lives of the people.⁷⁵ After the introduction, the action of the film shifts to 1774 during "Publick Times." The second building that is featured in the film is the Raleigh Tavern, the site of some of the earliest revolutionary activity in Virginia.⁷⁶ The next building in the film is the Capitol where the film shows a crowd gathered for debate and discussion (an important democratic tradition). In the crowd, only one man

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Goodwin, "The Far-Visioned Generosity of Mr. Rockefeller."

⁷⁵ "Williamsburg Restored," 1951, *Early Stories of the Restoration Archive Series*, DVD, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 2008.

⁷⁶ "Then and Now."

voices any support for King George III. The focus on revolutionary activity and dissent from Britain in the 1951 film is markedly different from the 1942 film in which English connections are emphasized and dissent from Britain is never mentioned. Obviously, the world was a very different place in 1951 than it had been during the depths of World War II. The film highlights Virginia's role as a leader in the call for independence in 1776. Once the film finishes trumpeting Virginia's role in the events leading to the start of the Revolutionary War, the film returns the viewer to the twentieth century, specifically the 1920s. The film completely skips over nineteenth century Williamsburg.⁷⁷

As far as the Restoration is concerned, there was little of consequence that occurred between the Revolution and the arrival of W. A. R. Goodwin. The neglect of the nineteenth century serves two purposes. First, it allows Colonial Williamsburg to tell a very specific story, one that focuses on the glories of the Revolution. Second, to some degree, the elimination of the nineteenth century from Williamsburg's American narrative helps to justify the purchase of the property in an around the Historic Area. The twentieth century portion of the film tells the familiar story of Goodwin and Rockefeller and the beginning of the Restoration. Like the other films, "Williamsburg Restored" uses photographs to show the work of the Restoration. Rockefeller recognized that a significant number of original buildings still remained in Williamsburg during the 1920s - even if they were hidden under nineteenth century renovations and additions. It was during these initial visits that Rockefeller decided that "tradition must be preserved".⁷⁸ The tradition that Rockefeller wanted to preserve was the same tradition that Goodwin, Henry Ford at Greenfield Village, and many others sought to preserve in the first part of the century. As Becker indicates, the people of the colonial era had become synonymous with America folk. It was at this moment that Rockefeller uttered the words that would ultimately become Colonial Williamsburg's mission: "Faith needs roots in stone and mortar that the future may learn from the past."⁷⁹ The demolition of the first buildings begins in 1928.⁸⁰ A key difference, however, between this film and the others is the demonstration of the actual physical restoration work from the measuring and framing to the keeping of the historical and architectural records of each structure. Colonial Williamsburg uses a one-minute time elapse of the Brush-Everard House to demonstrate the entire restorative process.⁸¹ "Williamsburg Restored" also describes the work of researchers in significant detail, focusing on the Governor's Palace.

⁷⁷ "Williamsburg Restored."

⁷⁸ Goodwin, "The Far-Visioned Generosity of Mr. Rockefeller."

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ "Williamsburg Restored."

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

The final part of the 1951 film appeals to the modern tourist of the early 1950s. In this portion of the film, every possible tactic is used to attract tourists to Colonial Williamsburg: modern hotels, reception center, exhibition buildings, shops, a feeling of closeness to America's founders, democracy, and freedom. Cultural nationalism is fully on display. The narrator says, "And he remembers that in today's world too this freedom must be cherished and protected for to lose it would be to lose liberty itself."⁸² The statement is accompanied by particularly stirring music. The previous segment of the film focuses on the eighteenth century shops and crafts, specifically the printer with an emphasis on the freedom of speech.⁸³ The contrast between the freedom of speech in America and the lack of freedom of speech in the Soviet Union during the Cold War is obvious. The film returns to the Declaration of Independence as it was originally published in Williamsburg's *Virginia Gazette*.⁸⁴ White and black families are both shown visiting Williamsburg. At the very end, the narrator leaves the viewer with another thought that deliberately contrasts America (Virginia) with the Soviet Union, saying: "A spirit from which a philosophy of government and life was born, a spirit that lives now in a new time of crisis binding together the peoples of the free world today."⁸⁵ The statement is accompanied with images of the American flag - a perfect blending of Williamsburg's eighteenth century story of America and the political narrative being told in America in the early 1950s.

John D. Rockefeller, Jr., selected Colonial Williamsburg's motto - "That the future may learn from the past." Both Rockefeller and Goodwin believed that the mission of Colonial Williamsburg was to educate Americans with a patriotic message. They developed this mission (and the motto) once the Restoration began to progress. Initially, Goodwin was interested in restoring a few prominent buildings in Williamsburg, including the Raleigh Tavern. However, once Rockefeller committed to the project, he committed wholeheartedly and expressed his desire to Goodwin to purchase and restore the entire town. At first, the Restoration was primarily an architectural challenge, but as the buildings were completed and public interest grew, Rockefeller recognized that accommodating guests was going to be necessary and the project was going to be much larger, much more complex, and much more expensive than initially expected. Colin G. Campbell, the Chairman, President, and CEO of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation in 2001, described the evolving and expanding mission of Colonial Williamsburg in a speech honoring the 75th anniversary of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. As Campbell explained:

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

The next great challenge was to breathe life into the place. The careful and accurate restoration and reconstruction of the eighteenth-century capital would not suffice on its own... We understood that to be real and authentic, our efforts would have to be comprehensive. We would have to touch on every aspect of social life in the community: what people ate, what they wore, how they worshiped, furnished their homes and entertained themselves, how they governed themselves - and surely, how they made their living. And, over time, we also realized that to remain constant - to be true to the eighteenth-century residents of Williamsburg - we would have to constantly reconsider all our assumptions."⁸⁶

The Colonial Williamsburg Restoration provided an opportunity to remind Americans of the values and ideals of the founding generation. Furthermore, Rockefeller believed that history might have to be reinterpreted repeatedly as appropriate and relevant to the current situation in the United States. According to Becker, "America's vision of her folk became entwined with her vision of her distant past - *folk* became synonymous with *colonial*, and the impetus for the collecting and restoration efforts that we associate with the colonial revival also encouraged the collecting of folk arts and crafts and music, not to mention the enshrinement of the preindustrial artisan."⁸⁷ In the minds of ordinary Americans, the colonial era was idealized; people who seemed to represent the colonial era or the values and ideals of the colonial era, like the people of Southern Appalachia, were idealized and became equated with the largely rural society of that era. The middle-class public was not terribly concerned with whether the past that they were being offered was authentic or manufactured. Not until the upheaval of the 1960s and the early 1970s did Colonial Williamsburg itself and some in the public begin to question the story being told at Williamsburg. By the 1990s, Colonial Williamsburg was attempting to address some of the concerns, attempting to portray a more authentic picture of the past.⁸⁸

While the scope of Colonial Williamsburg's activities has changed dramatically over the years, the essential message remains the same - educating Americans with a patriotic message. The current theme is "Becoming Americans," a message that was crafted with the help of experts in a variety of disciplines.⁸⁹ Campbell understood the underlying connection between the

⁸⁶ Colin G. Campbell, *Colonial Williamsburg: Seventy-five Years of Historic Preservation and Education* (New York: The Newcomen Society of the United States, 2001), 13.

⁸⁷ Becker, *Selling Tradition*, 4.

⁸⁸ Campbell, *Colonial Williamsburg*, 23.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

mission of Colonial Williamsburg and national identity. In his 2001 speech, he echoed Becker's own words on a diverse nation seeking unity: "We are a country where everyone has an immigrant for an ancestor - save those of Native American descent. But diversity does not always lend itself to a strong national identity...More unfortunate perhaps, there has been a seeming decline in the need for a strong national identity. We have sometimes focused more on what singles us out rather than on what binds us together. Now, things have changed. Since the events of September 11, we have, with considerable urgency, sought to rediscover what it means to be an American. More and more, people ask what ideas, concepts, attitudes, thoughts, and, yes, even dreams do we share as a people?"⁹⁰ The concepts, attitudes, and dreams are often those of the founders or those embodied by the agrarian folk of a mythical American past.

Colonial Williamsburg is an example of a living history museum that taps into the people of the colonial era as a folk, has a specific mission to educate the public about the folk and the values they represent, and markets consumer products that evoke the folk and their traditions to the American consumer. Colonial Williamsburg is an example of cultural nationalism as defined by Jane S. Becker. The dichotomy of myth and truth (or fact) and the complicated duality of authenticity were evident from the beginning of the restoration. In the very early years of the restoration, from 1927 to the mid-1930s, the focus was almost solely on the purchase of property and the painstaking restoration and reconstruction of buildings - historical architecture. Authenticity in America has also become entwined with the consumer-oriented culture of Americana that is described in Jane Becker's book, *Selling Tradition: Appalachia and the Construction of an American Folk (1930-1940)*. The Historic Area today is a collection of beautifully restored and reconstructed buildings, traditional museums, interpreters, gift shops, restaurants and taverns, and entertainment - all of which is designed to tell a very specific story about the origins of the United States from Virginia's perspective. While the story has undergone changes in recent years, it remains a tale of democracy and liberty mixed with an entrepreneurial spirit. The myth has proven to be a valuable one, arguably of more importance to most than the painstaking adherence to technical details of architectural reconstruction. Questions remain about cultural nationalism, including the creation of a folk. Is the creation of folk justifiable and necessary? Questions remain about what happens to the group that becomes the folk; does it hurt or help to have the romanticized vision inflicted upon a group? Questions remain about the groups that do not become American folk; are they any less American?

⁹⁰ Ibid, 20.

**In the Eye of the Beholder:
Themes of Respectability and Racial Uplift within the
Black Cosmetic Industry, 1905-1925
By Izabel Mecinski**

The American identity is a fragmented one. In a nation composed of other nations, it seems each individual person possesses a unique sense of self, resulting from his or her background, upbringing, and life experiences. The creation of identity is unique in the experience of African Americans, particularly women, as black women greatly outnumbered black men in slavery and in freedom.¹ A displaced people, forced into - yet unwelcome in - the Americas, black women were often valued for more than just their laboring capabilities. Their prized reproductive capacity and perceived exotic sexuality provided these women with a distinctive experience. Given their broken, yet unique and essential history in the Americas, concerns governing body image were prevalent. One's image is often an indicator to others of class status, wealth, gender, education level, and cultural identity. This is especially important to African Americans, who in the post-bellum age were easy targets for unfair racial criticisms. Especially important was the idea of the proper hair and skin, which distinguishes blacks from whites and is an easily identifiable marker of difference. Black hair and skin were often seen as "other" and rarely, if ever, the dominant model of traditional female beauty.

The following research incorporates these themes of identity-through-beauty within the African American culture, specifically with regards to racial uplift. Beginning in the antebellum era and continuing on through the twentieth century, the African American cosmetics industry has historically been one of only a handful of profitable arenas by which blacks could gain a measure of success. However, this success is based in an industry that values the alteration and enhancement of the self in order to conform to a larger group, rendering an inherent contradiction. The larger group, consisting of traditional white America, held very specific beauty standards corresponding to their hair and skin, which was very different than that of blacks.

Cosmetic advertisements by black companies from 1905 to 1925 urged women to use their appearances in an effort to improve the fortunes of blacks

¹ Jane E. Dabel, *A Respectable Woman: The Public Roles of African American Women in 19th Century New York* (New York: New York University Press, 2008), 41.

collectively and individually.² Beauty as a social construction, however, is traditionally created by the group in power, and so the beauty that blacks strove to achieve was similar to that of whites. This incongruity was not unnoticed by members of the black community, and cosmetic companies received criticisms for this inconsistency. However, beginning in the early twentieth century, cosmetics companies were not only operated by black entrepreneurs but by white ones as well. These two groups used different advertising strategies to market their products to blacks. White companies seemingly did not understand the inherent difference in the features of a black vs. white individual and thus promoted their products using different claims than black-owned companies. This paper will additionally examine the disparities in advertising between these two groups.

The following research will examine this contradiction inherent in the black beauty business through the use of black newspapers - a trusted source of news to the black community. By the turn of the twentieth century, most black newspapers were owned, published, edited, and controlled by African Americans and served as a voice to speak to and for America's black population. African American newspapers served as a guide to everyday life for the black community, containing articles and advice on several topics, including politics, sports, society news, church news, graduation and marriage announcements, news on "racial progress," race-friendly jobs, union organizing, food recipes, and recipes for home-made cleaning solutions. Therefore, the use of newspapers allows me to attain an accurate display of black society. I will focus mainly on newspapers printed and distributed in big cities, such as the *Chicago Defender*, the *Pittsburgh Courier*, the *Crisis*, and the *Chicago Broad Ax*. Additionally, I will examine *The Half-Century Magazine*, "A Colored Monthly For The Business Man And The Home Maker," selling "General Race News, Classy Fiction, Business, Fashion, and Fun" to the African American of 1916-1925.³

By the turn of the twentieth century, many African Americans were beginning to move to big cities, and their population within these cities was increasing each year. As historian Gwendolyn Robinson states, "Between 1910 and 1930, the black population of the north central states grew from 544,000 to 1.3 million, and in the northeast, from 842,000 to 1.6 million - in each instance

² Susanna Walker, *Style & Status: Selling Beauty to African American Women, 1920-1975* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2007), 9.

³ *The Half-Century Magazine*, January 1919.

doubling within the span of a single generation."⁴ With cities as areas of high concentration for black populations, using black newspapers will be beneficial to my study. Owing to their wide popularity and value, low literacy rates, and the socioeconomic standing of blacks, one paper was often passed around to numerous members of a community. The circulation data presented for such newspapers is higher than presented in several instances, but difficult to calculate exactly. In any case, a black newspaper's readership reached a wide variety of people, and its articles and advertisements were looked at by many people. The use of newspapers proves valuable for these stated reasons.

Within the newspapers, advertisements and articles will be examined. The articles within black newspapers are useful because they reflect the attitudes of the black community. In many instances, these articles gave advice to others about various aspects of their lives, such as upkeep of the home, job opportunities, social events, and, of course, the maintenance of one's image. Cosmetics advertisements add to these messages, outwardly promoting the products to use in order to appear a certain way to others, resulting in the promise of several positive outcomes. Newspapers were attuned to the issues black women faced within the community, which was rare in an era where most women were not represented equally or viewed as having as important a place as men within their communities. Many black newspapers contained articles, if not whole pages, dedicated to the news, fashions, and doings of women in the first years of the twentieth century. Through the use of advertising and articles, I hope to answer the following questions: How did the notion of respectability tie into black society? How did black society take this notion and apply it to physical appearances? How were black women told to appear in society and by whom? Did these messages differ, depending on their source? The examination of these questions will help explain how concepts of beauty among black women led to the formation of certain beauty standards having to do with white notions of respectability.

Respectability

In order to discuss how notions of respectability fit into the politics of African American beauty, I will first trace how this paradigm took hold of the American consciousness. This term claims its origins in white, middle-class reform movements of the late 1800s. Victorian women began to see trends

⁴ Gwendolyn Robinson, "Class, Race, and Gender: A Transcultural, Theoretical, and Sociohistorical Analysis of Cosmetic Institutions and Practices to 1920," PhD Dissertation, University of Illinois at Chicago, 1984, 403.

appearing in the world around them, especially regarding lower-class women. This was an era when the United States was rapidly industrializing, which disordered the social system of the time by creating jobs within cities and an avenue in which women could work outside of the home. With mechanization and urbanization, the nation attained new economic growth and the creation of a new working class. The American working class did not provide its employers enough cheap labor, and as such, migrants from foreign countries were solicited to work in harsh conditions for low wages. This was in direct contrast with the Victorian social structure of the time, which maintained that women were to stay within the private sphere and fulfill duties to their home, family, and husband. This was a perfectly reasonable division of labor and activity in an agricultural society but became increasingly impossible within a growing industrial nation where many women's support of the family constituted work outside of the home. As a result, middle-class protesters created reform societies intended to "clean up" overcrowded and poverty-stricken areas.⁵ Of course, the irony in this is that the reformer left her family sphere to pursue an activism that involved bringing other women back into it without realizing the hypocrisy involved in this deed.

Once reform societies became a popular way for women to be active within their communities, societies were created with several different causes in mind, such as religious reform, temperance, and settlement houses/community building. Despite the varied missions of these groups, there was always one thread they held in common - they all truly believed their causes would bring about positive change within their societies. An example of such a group that needed change within its political and social systems was that of African Americans. There were several reform groups that worked to improve black lives; some, like the National League for the Protection of Colored Women, were led by whites, whereas others like the Women's Convention (an auxiliary of the National Baptist Convention) were outlets created by and for black women.

⁵ This analysis of the women's reform movement of the late 1800s stems from my previous readings about the topic. It is my own synthesis of the various factors that have shaped the women's reform movement, with industrialization and the need for labor as new issues that needed to be addressed within these movements. Of course, not all movements were based in community and labor reform, but these are the movements most relevant to the topic at hand. Some sources on this topic are: Paul A. Cimbala and Randall M. Miller, eds., *Against the Tide: Women Reformers in American Society* (Westport: Praeger, 1997); Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); Leigh Ann Wheeler, *Against Obscenity: Reform and the Politics of Womanhood in America, 1873-1935* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004); and Susan K. Cahn, *Sexual Reckonings: Southern Girls in a Troubling Age* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 123-24.

Whatever the group, their goal was always the same - to improve the condition of blacks within the community. After all, African American women were often portrayed as promiscuous and dangerous, which corresponded with their comparatively greater numbers in prostitution and crime.⁶ Many white Americans disregarded the correlation between this fact and its association with gender and race discrimination, and instead, many reform groups focused on racial uplift through the notion of respectability. They claimed that in order for African Americans to be accepted within their society, they needed to prove to the general population that they were worthy of respect by behaving in the proper manner and maintaining good homes, families, and lives. Some, like the National Urban League, urged "recent migrants to pay more attention to their appearance and hygiene in order to land jobs and earn respectability."⁷ Others emphasized values such as thrift and piety to attain a level of respect within the community. Whatever the vehicle, the achievement of respectability was viewed by black families as a tool to gain social mobility within their communities.⁸

Many blacks believed that the whites who usually fueled de facto segregation and discrimination would have an honest change of heart once they were exposed to the good works and proper image of the New Negro. Thus, themes of racial uplift began to manifest themselves through the black press, an instrument read regularly by various African Americans. An article discussing the opportunities available to blacks in cities entreated its community to "strive for that higher plane to which your individuality especially fits you and to which you will eventually arrive by a due observance of the laws of your community, the rights of your neighbors, and that perseverance and strength of character that is certain of its reward."⁹ Instructions such as these could also fit into Booker T. Washington's mantra of accommodationism, and indeed, instructions for racial uplift often modeled elite white behavior. Such themes were evident through articles that told African Americans how to raise their children, how to dress, and how to keep their homes neat and tidy. These directions were created with the goal of making blacks as inconspicuous as possible within white society. Articles telling blacks how to behave were so common that one would think they did not know how to go about a daily routine. Indeed, many blacks propagating this ideal held a notion that lower-class blacks needed to be

⁶ Tiffany M. Gill, *Beauty Shop Politics: African American Women's Activism in the Beauty Industry* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 34.

⁷ Walker, *Style and Status*, 54.

⁸ Victoria W. Wolcott, *Remaking Respectability: African American Women in Interwar Detroit* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 7.

⁹ "Opportunity," *Chicago Defender*, June 10, 1911.

socialized and assimilated into the modern society in which they did not quite fit with the rest of the community.

In addition to articles with titles such as, "Art of Smiling Important," "Girls Who Are Considerate," and "In Any Society It Is Well To Do As The Rest Do," which discussed behavior, mannerisms, and the maintenance of family and home, the black newspapers also linked outward appearance with success in the economic sphere. Cosmetics, beauty, and appearance provided African Americans an interesting method with which to pursue respectability. This was so because only a few decades prior to the turn of the twentieth century, the use of cosmetics to attain beauty was not deemed respectable. In fact, its use by women raised questions of their morality - a woman's outer appearance was meant to reflect her inner character. Therefore, the use of cosmetics to hide certain features was treated with suspicion.¹⁰

Conflict: Respectability vs. Beauty

Nonetheless, the beauty industry had historically been one of a few trades in which African Americans had been successful, and so it follows that they would promote racial uplift through their economic success in the industry. As one historian noted, "Beauty culture was one business in which African Americans, especially women, had gained considerable success by the 1920s, and it had brought employment and money into black communities."¹¹ Thus, the industry was seen as a successful enterprise that provided positive outcomes to its consumer. Newspaper articles promoting beauty, however, were not as prominent as articles promoting other modes of achieving respectability. One article in particular recommended good works in the community and a proper home life while condemning the attainment of success through good looks. The article states that "the American Negro Woman... can not hope to command a place in the world's history by dressing fine ... appearing well before strangers, wearing fine jewelry - not at all."¹² Such an article negates the idea that respectability was attainable solely through appearance. However, printed on the same page as this article is a quarter-page advertisement for "The Original Poro Hair Grower," sold by Annie Turnbo-Malone, one of the most successful black businesswomen of the time.

The presence of a beauty ad next to an article denouncing appearances as a gateway to opportunity is a monumental contradiction. Of course, the conclusion can be reached that the newspaper needed advertisers in order to help

¹⁰ Kathy Peiss, *Hope in a Jar: The Making of America's Beauty Culture* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 1998), 22-26.

¹¹ Walker, *Style and Status*, 14

¹² "The American Negro Woman," *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 1, 1911.

it survive, which was the reason for the inclusion of such an ad, but the editor could have just as easily placed an advertisement there promoting another product. Many editors were, in fact, selective of the products they advertised within their pages, as exemplified by a statement in *Half-Century Magazine*: "The Following Classes of 'Ads' Will Not Be Accepted by THE HALF-CENTURY MAGAZINE: Clairvoyants, Fortune-Tellers... Buffet Flats, or Pictures ridiculing Colored People."¹³ The beauty ad presented next to the article on the negro woman, then, spoke to a certain controversy on whether the promotion of hair products was in fact an act of ridicule to the black community.

There exists, however, an inherent contradiction in promoting racial uplift through the use of beauty. The concept of beauty in itself is a changing one and thus rarely attainable by any but the most privileged of classes. Indeed, it is this wealthy and powerful class that usually defines what is beautiful within a particular social context, setting the standard for the group as a whole.¹⁴ Lois Banner elaborates on this concept when she states that "of all the elements of women's separate culture, the pursuit of beauty has been the most divisive and, ultimately, the most oppressive."¹⁵ She further goes on to label women's attainment of beauty a myth, with the beauty ideal changing constantly over time.

Because many blacks advocated a message of self-help and racial uplift at this time, it seems ironic that they additionally promoted a higher quality of life through the achievement of a mythical ideal of beauty. The definition of the word "cosmetics" by the U.S. Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of 1938 highlights the fact that cosmetics were "applied to the human body or any part thereof for cleansing, beautifying, promoting attractiveness, or altering the appearance."¹⁶ In other words, cosmetics are intended to make individuals appear different than they actually are; this is the basis upon which they operate. It is the manipulation of one's appearance in order to conform to a larger group that has created a fundamentally unattainable social construct. Products such as face powder, hair straighteners, and lip balms are applied to change one's appearance into something more desirable by the society at large.

Accompanying this notion is the beauty standard and political climate of the early twentieth century. Blacks were easily identifiable within society because of their distinctive skin color and hair texture, which made them easy targets for discrimination within many venues of white commerce. According to historian

¹³ "The Following Classes of 'Ads Will Not Be Accepted," *Half-Century Magazine*, January 1919.

¹⁴ Robinson, "Class, Race, and Gender," 23.

¹⁵ Lois Banner, *American Beauty* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1983), 14.

¹⁶ Robinson, "Class, Race, and Gender," 4.

Cheryl D. Hicks, "Many black women's appearance, particularly their skin color, and physicality seemed threatening in white people's minds because it connected them to masculinity and crime rather than feminine respectability."¹⁷ As a result, blacks literally had no choice but to change their appearance to fit in with the white race, which was not discriminated against when it came to the workplace, grocery store, or any other area that whites likewise frequented. A poignant example would be that of the emerging entertainment industry, in which female entertainers were quickly becoming models of sexuality and beauty to be followed by the rest of society. Though the same was true for the African American community, noted Susannah Walker, "undoubtedly the all-black revues of the 1920s favored chorus girls with light skin and European features."¹⁸

Blacks conformed to white ideals of beauty not only because it provided them with acceptance within white society, but also because the fact that blacks could spend time on their appearances showed the freedom and choice that their ancestors did not have. As Gwendolyn Robinson states, hair straightening was not something practiced by blacks in order simply to emulate white appearances. Instead, "the problems associated with hair grooming became symbolic of, and were indeed factors of the badge of servitude, whereas well-groomed hair reflected an attention to cosmetic detail only permitted by the enjoyment of a free and independent status."¹⁹ Only a generation before, blacks were not allowed to tend to their appearances for fear of being labeled "uppity," and as such, the application of cosmetics symbolized a luxury to African American women.

These beauty ideals practiced by many African Americans within elite society are evident when looking through black periodicals. In a page-sized photograph, *The Crisis* portrays a gathering of black men and women entitled, "The Social Life of Colored America." The photograph shows a crowd of well-dressed and well-groomed African American women in a ballroom gathered for the Midwinter Assembly. Significant about the photograph is the fact that many of the women have straightened hair in an up-done coiffeur, and most have a lighter shade of dark skin.²⁰ Within the women's pages of the black press were articles featuring the fashion trends of the day, and many times within these black newspapers, white models demonstrated these clothing fashions.²¹ Even

¹⁷ Cheryl D. Hicks, *Talk with You Like a Woman: African American Women, Justice, and Reform in New York, 1890-1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 127.

¹⁸ Walker, *Style and Status*, 71.

¹⁹ Robinson, "Class, Race, and Gender," 84.

²⁰ "Social Life of Colored America," *The Crisis*, February 1912.

²¹ "Flowers in Profusion Adorn the Season's Millinery Models," *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 27, 1912; "For Slender Women," *The Broad Ax*, February 26, 1915.

within advertisements for black beauty products, white illustrations or photographs were used. The conclusion was clear - acceptability meant ridding oneself of natural hair and skin-tone.²² Although the ability to spend time on their appearances was a valued and previously-withheld opportunity that signified a new beginning to African American females, many of the products created for blacks mimicked white features such as a lighter skin tone and straight hair. The presence of such ads signifies the success African Americans have had within the industry and the failure they experienced in other restrictive facets of their lives.

Criticisms

Advertising for black beauty products was very common in the black press - more so than almost any other product. However, the contradictions intrinsic to the connection between beauty and racial uplift did not go unnoticed, and critics of the black beauty business were numerous. In one instance, Madam C. J. Walker, often hailed as the first black millionairess, attended the thirteenth annual meeting of the National Negro Business League, organized and led by the prominent Booker T. Washington. For three days, he denied her the chance to speak. On the last day, Walker rose to her feet and outlined her vision of a female-led beauty industry. Indeed, Booker T. Washington was hesitant to accept the beauty industry as an uplifting cause. This could stem from his belief that the black beauty industry created a white beauty standard for blacks.²³ In a similar case, seeking to legitimize her business, Walker began to appeal to black colleges to place her beauty course in their curricula. It took four years of persuading Washington to accept such a course at the Tuskegee Institute.²⁴ Washington was hesitant for several reasons. Though he may have believed Walker to be promoting a white beauty standard, it was additionally uncommon for women to represent the black beauty industry in the early decades of the twentieth century. Where once, middle-class black men discussed and constructed physical identities of women and men, "this began to change in the early decades of the twentieth century, as more women, in their writings and

²² Noliwe Rooks, *Hair Raising: Beauty Culture, and African American Women* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1996), 33.

²³ When looked at more closely, this represents only part of his unwillingness to represent Madam Walker, as there was another black cosmetics manufacturer present by the name of Anthony Overton. Washington, without hesitation, gave Overton a chance to speak at the convention, which leads some scholars to believe that Washington was simply resistant to allowing women into the business world. The early twentieth century represents an age when blacks were just beginning to gain economic freedom within financial enterprises, and men were the first to establish their place within these businesses. In a male-dominated industry, women's entrepreneurial efforts and accomplishments were often marginalized.

²⁴ Gill, *Beauty Shop Politics*, 23-27.

speeches, began to address issues of representation, beauty, and the cultural production of images."²⁵

Washington was not the only critic of the black beauty business. Many black leaders agreed that the black beauty industry promoted a white ideal that was detrimental to black self-acceptance. Nannie H. Burroughs of the National Association for Colored Women was quoted as saying, "What does this wholesale bleaching of faces and straightening of hair indicate? It simply means that women who practice it wish that they had white faces and straight hair."²⁶ Similarly, an editorial in *Half-Century Magazine* sarcastically addresses the "degrading practices" observed by members of the black press with the statement, "Wonder ointments they advertise! The black can be made white as if by magic! Such gross impositions upon the race have been tolerated for too long."²⁷ In another issue, the magazine condemns the tens of advertisements found in a single issue of an unnamed black newspaper, stating that "thousands of white women have their hair straightened because it is quite impossible to 'do up' any but the straightest of hair in some of the most approved styles. Colored women have their hair straightened for the same reason"²⁸ The editor, when speaking of the "most approved styles," is, of course, speaking of the styles that have been put in vogue by the white elites of America. Thus, black business entrepreneurs were stuck in a business that, though providing them with increasing profit and capital, put them in the awkward position of having to defend their products as uplifting to the race.

Legitimization

And defend they did. When considering their defense of the industry, however, it is important to differentiate between white- and black-owned businesses. Certainly, once whites saw that the black beauty industry was a profitable one, they began to create their own concoctions to be sold as national brands. White-owned companies became so successful by the 1920s and 1930s that, to advertising and marketing guru Claude Barnett, they "represented a threat to venerable black business institutions."²⁹ White-owned cosmetics industries became competitors to black businesses that had represented the black beauty industry for decades. Black newspapers, caught between supporting black businesses and keeping their publications afloat, contained a relatively equal number of advertisements for white- and black- owned cosmetics companies.

²⁵ Rooks, *Hair Raising*, 40.

²⁶ Dorothy Sterling, *We Are Your Sisters: Black Women in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1984), 429.

²⁷ "The Negro Needs to Clean House," *Half-Century Magazine*, January 1919.

²⁸ "Betrayers of the Race," *Half-Century Magazine*, February 1920.

²⁹ Walker, *Style and Status*, 21.

When analyzing white-owned beauty advertisements, it is easy to see why the black beauty industry received so much criticism from its leaders involved in a racial uplift agenda. These companies were attuned to the fact that black public representation was a major indicator of treatment in society and capitalized on the belief of black women's desire to appear racially white. These companies played on existing white notions that portrayed "black women as naturally ugly and inferior," creating a negative depiction of African American women.³⁰ This, of course, created conflict within the beauty business, in which the public - not discriminating between black- and white- owned companies - associated black cosmetics with an insecure and unconfident image.

Criticisms from race leaders were warranted, as white-owned companies frequently used concepts of facial whitening and hair straightening while likening these fashions to a white beauty ideal. Though black beauty companies advertised similar products, they did so in a more tactful and positive manner. In an advertisement for "Bleacho," the Superior Drug Sales Company promises that the product will allow blacks to "Be more popular - Earn more money." This ad, through linking appearance with opportunity, likened the product with economic success. However, black skin is also regarded as "an obstacle to your {the black reader's} success," and the ad beseeches its black customer not to "envy light complexioned people." Along with a promise to lighten black skin is attached an illustration of two women - on the left is a dark-skinned woman and on the right, a smiling, paper-white woman. The dark-skinned woman to the left, though not necessarily unhappy, is not smiling either and is instead looking over to the white woman, apparently in "envy" of her white skin.³¹

In a similar ad, manufacturers of Hartona Face Wash state that while the product will "turn the skin of a black person five or six shades lighter, {it} will turn the skin of a mulatto person perfectly white."³² The company further states that it is a black woman's duty to look as beautiful as possible. With this statement, the company links beauty with whiteness. The Hartona Company, along with other white-owned cosmetics companies, used negative language to describe the condition of black hair and skin. In an ad commanding blacks to straighten their hair, Ford's Hair Pomade claims that it "makes stubborn, harsh, kinky or curly-hair straight, soft and glossy"³³ A year later, an ad for the same product contains an illustration of a white-skinned girl to sell the advertisement,

³⁰ Gill, *Beauty Shop Politics*, 18.

³¹ "Bleacho," *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 31, 1924.

³² "Hartona Preparations for the Hair," *The Broad Ax*, February 2, 1901.

³³ "Straighten Your Hair," *Chicago Defender*, 1909.

clearly promoting a white standard of beauty.³⁴ Another ad asks its readers, "Why be Dark and Swarthy?" The alternative it gives is the use of French's Celebrated Face Bleach, which neutralizes "all poisonous and disease bearing accumulations." Along with the promise to prevent "eruptive" conditions, the language within this advertisement advances the notion of African Americans as dirty, when in reality, a large part of African American culture was obsessed with hygiene.³⁵ With words like kinky, knotty, stubborn, and swarthy, other white-owned companies encouraged and furthered an ugly, "uncivilized" image of African Americans.

African Americans were well aware that the way in which a person is presented can have a large impact on how he or she is perceived. This is a rule that has been in place for centuries. Capitalizing on this rule, African American advertisers promoted success through beauty. Because African Americans had traditionally gained success through the cosmetics industry, this made sense to African American entrepreneurs, who gained freedom from a life of back-breaking domestic labor and discrimination through this business.

Instead of using the negative language and stereotypes of white-owned companies, black-owned companies portrayed a more positive image of their community and identified benefits achievable through the usage of their products and affiliation with their companies. They created opportunities for blacks not only to beautify themselves, but to achieve advanced degrees as "beauty culturists" through the creation of beauty schools. Many successful entrepreneurs also donated money to causes and organizations dedicated to racial uplift, such as women's clubs, black colleges, community centers, and the Y.M.C.A. In a sense, these black entrepreneurs saw the beauty business as a way to gain economic freedom and, through it, to help the race to become more accepted within society. This industry truly afforded industry leaders a measure of political standing in their race. As Tiffany M. Gill observed, "Beauticians were so politically active because they were among the most economically autonomous members of the black community in the twentieth century."³⁶

Annie Minerva Turnbo was one of these women. Known more popularly as Annie Malone, she began a business making and selling her "Wonderful Hair Grower" after years of wanting to "be a beauty doctor."³⁷ She began marketing this product in 1900 and was starting to gain a measure of success by 1902, when she moved to St. Louis, a city that was quickly becoming a black

³⁴ "Ford's Hair Pomade," *Chicago Defender*, April 30, 1910.

³⁵ "Why Be Dark and Swarthy?" *Chicago Defender*, November 5, 1910.

³⁶ Gill, *Beauty Shop Politics*, 2.

³⁷ Robinson, "Class, Race, and Gender," 348.

metropolis. She began to advertise in the black press and in 1906 designated PORO as her company name, derived from the first two letters of her married name (Pope), and the first two letters of her sister's name (Roberts).³⁸ With a steadily budding enterprise, Malone employed several women as door-to-door beauty agents, showing possible consumers the positive effects of her product.³⁹

Sarah Breedlove was one of these agents. Though she was the sixth child in her family, she was the first sibling born into freedom (on December 23, 1867). Her life was symbolic of the feeling of hope and freedom that followed the end of the institution of slavery.⁴⁰ She grew up relatively quickly even by late nineteenth century standards, becoming a wife at fourteen, a mother at seventeen, and a widow at twenty. A single mother at a very young age, Breedlove began to work for Malone in 1905. When she noticed her own hair thinning and falling out, she began to pray for an answer, and as she states:

He answered my prayer...For one night I had a dream, and in that dream a big black man appeared to me and told me what to mix for my hair. Some of the remedy was from Africa, but I sent for it, mixed it, put it on my scalp and in a few weeks my hair was coming in faster than it had ever fallen out. I made up my mind that I would begin to sell it.⁴¹

Walker likewise began to market her product as the "Wonderful Hair Grower", and received accusations of capitalizing on Malone's product from the PORO Company. As an example, a PORO ad from 1911 states, "Imitation is the sincerest flattery; and the fact that so many people in St. Louis and throughout the country think it worth while to imitate 'PORO' HAIR GROWER is the best proof of the merits of 'Poro'."⁴² Here, Malone's company is attacking Walker and several other black cosmetics companies as thieves who stole her hair-growing recipe.

Malone and Walker were two of the most successful beauty capitalists of their time, and though they started as friendly acquaintances, quickly became fierce competitors. They used several techniques to gain acceptance of their companies into black communities. Many of these strategies involved themes of

³⁸ Interestingly, the Poro is also the name of an African masked secret society, which exercised religious, executive and judicial authority. Whether or not Malone intended reference to this society is unclear, but it provides an interesting link to African culture and the presentation of the self.

³⁹ Robinson, "Class, Race, and Gender," 348-51.

⁴⁰ A'Lelia Bundles, *On Her Own Ground: The Life and Times of Madam C. J. Walker* (New York: Scribner, 2001), 25.

⁴¹ Quoted in Bundles, *On Her Own Ground*, 60.

⁴² "The Original Poro Hair Grower," *The Pittsburgh Courier*, April 1, 1911.

racial uplift, such as charity, thrift, and education. Walker in particular used her "rags to riches" story to inspire blacks to be as successful as she was. The inclusion of her "creation myth" - with her product as divinely inspired - only added to her image as a pious and hard working woman.⁴³ During a meeting of the National Negro Business League, Walker directly confronted her critics: "Now my object in life is not simply to make money for myself or to spend it on myself in dressing or running around in an automobile. But I love to use a part of what I make in trying to help others."⁴⁴ She followed through with this statement by handing out scholarships to black students, by ardently supporting the NAACP and the National Association of Colored women, and by donating money to churches, the YMCA, and other charitable organizations.⁴⁵

Malone similarly used her profits for racial uplift. Her business invoked the politics of respectability in an ad that stated, "Service {as} The Keynote of this Great Business Institution." Much of Malone's spending was focused on the creation of beauty schools in which black women were educated with the intent of becoming beauticians themselves. The opportunity for black women to go to school was slim and rarely socially acceptable before the twentieth century, and as such, Malone's and Walker's schools provided women with a measure of success that was previously unknown to them. The schools presented black women with the "ideals of personal neatness, beauty, pride, self-respect, and physical and mental cleanliness."⁴⁶ Advertisements like this associate the goals of the women's reform movement with the emerging black beauty industry and hint at the notion that virtues such as neatness, self-respect, and cleanliness were necessary among the black community.

Both Malone's and Walker's ads promoted their schools as aggressively as they promoted their products. In other words, they viewed their beauty schools as useful tools to promote their beauty line. An ad promoting the PORO College in St. Louis provides the reader with nine pictures of the "modern four-story building," as well as a seven- paragraph description in order to give the

⁴³ Walker and other businesswomen regularly referenced religion when discussing their products as a way of legitimizing them to the upper-class reform movement. Within the black community, church involvement was often synonymous with community involvement, and Walker often used her creation story as a means to show others that success was attainable through piety and involvement in the community. An ad by another black entrepreneur, Mme. Perkins, quotes the bible by stating: "If a woman have long hair, it is a glory to her." Thus, religion was a significant aspect in legitimizing the attainment of beauty, which would have otherwise deemed as a frivolous expense. (Quote from "Mme. T. D. Perkins," *Chicago Defender*, June 17, 1911.)

⁴⁴ Quoted in Bundles, *On Her Own Ground*, 136.

⁴⁵ Robinson, "Class, Race, and Gender," 392, 394, 398.

⁴⁶ "Service - The Keynote of this Great Business Institution," *The Pittsburgh Courier*, August 30, 1924.

prospective student and beauty agent a sense of what to expect in such a college. The advertisement ends with the statement:

The girls are given free access to the sewing room, office, and kitchen that they may economize their spare moments either by sewing, using the typewriter, or by learning to prepare economic wholesome meals, all of which are essential to an enterprising young woman of this age.⁴⁷

The Poro company illustrates the sense of respectability instilled in its students by showing the reader that not only will they become educated as a beautician, but students will also become familiar with respectable arts with in a traditional woman should have some experience.

In a sense, the establishment of beauty schools was doubly positive to black cosmetic entrepreneurs. Not only did these women's beauty schools promote the idea of racial advancement to the black community, but the graduates could furthermore promote the cosmetic line after they had earned their degree. One ad specifically promoted a PORO school graduate by the name of Miss Juanita Toliver. The ad provides a photo of Ms. Toliver in her "true likeness," with her hair significantly longer than it was two years ago. It further promoted Ms. Toliver's success by stating, "All those who have lived in St. Louis, MO., know the merits of Mrs. Pope's great discovery, and will readily call on Ms. Toliver. Look for her big ad. next week."⁴⁸ Thus, black business entrepreneurs not only promoted their own business lines, but encouraged their graduates to follow in their footsteps in order to illustrate a successful business venture to the black community. In a similar ad, Anthony Overton's cosmetic company claimed that "most of our agents make more money in three hours than they can make elsewhere in a while day. You can earn money as fast as you wish."⁴⁹ In such a manner, black-owned businesses promoted success not just through physical features with the use of their products, but through hard work, which was an important tenet of respectability.

The discourse used in black beauty ads was significantly different than that of the white-owned companies discussed earlier. African American advertisers used a more positive language to promote their products, and their ads did not suggest a relationship between black beauty and inferiority. Instead, African American ads focused on the benefits their products would bring to the

⁴⁷ "Mrs. A. M. Pope Turnbo PORO College 3100 Pine," *The Pittsburgh Courier*, September 20, 1912.

⁴⁸ "Miss Juanita Toliver - Graduate of Pope's College," *The Chicago Defender*, March 1910.

⁴⁹ "Do You Need Money? If So, This Is Your Chance," *The Half-Century Magazine*, July-August 1923.

community without the use of words such as “kinky,” “ugly,” or “dark.” Whereas white-owned companies tended to focus on the stereotypical image of African Americans within society, black-owned companies focused on the transformation after using the product and the success it would bring to black women.⁵⁰ In one such advertisement, the “Madam C. J. Walker Mfg. Co., Inc.” presents its “Wonderful Hair Preparations” as “World Renowned” and claims benefits such as changing the hair for the better, killing disease, and overall scalp health. By the time Walker was in her fifties, she had traveled the globe, selling her product wherever she went. She used testimonies from several regions such as Cuba, Africa, and the West Indies as testimony for this ad to show its universality and effectiveness.⁵¹

In addition to their use of a positive discourse, which cited success within the black community, African American advertisers used a “scientific discourse” to legitimize their statements concerning cosmetic usage. The promotion of their beauty schools undoubtedly added credibility to their statements. Moreover, the language within their advertisements uncovered the black community’s concern with scalp health, which black beauty companies linked with their products and began to market them as cures for unhealthy skin and hair. A Walker ad asks its clients, “Have you dandruff? Is your hair falling out? Have you eczema?” and advertises Walker’s products as the cure for these health problems. Walker’s preparations “will not only relieve these conditions and encourage a soft, healthy growth,” but the use of them would also link the customer to Mrs. Walker, “who is regarded as an expert in the treatment of scalp diseases.” Walker summarizes the ad in a single statement, “Your Hair Will Not Be Beautiful Unless It Is Healthy.”⁵² With each word capitalized and the statement underlined, the link between beauty products and health was strongly emphasized by Walker and by several black beauty entrepreneurs. These companies presented beauty culture as a medical science, and spoke of the art accordingly, with phrases such as “scientifically taught,”⁵³ “scientific scalp specialist,”⁵⁴ “purest ingredients,” and “scientifically compounded.”⁵⁵ Claims of a scientifically tested and healthful product legitimized the black cosmetic industry at a time when critics denounced the industry as following a white beauty standard. Who, after all, could argue against good health?

⁵⁰ Rooks, *Hair Raising*, 40-48.

⁵¹ “What Women Write About Madam C. J. Walker’s Wonderful Hair Preparations,” *The Pittsburgh Courier*, January 17, 1925.

⁵² “Your Hair Will Not Be Beautiful Unless It Is Healthy,” *The Crisis*, February 1912, 174.

⁵³ “The Kelsey School of Beauty Culture and Hair Dressing,” *The Crisis*, February 1912, 173.

⁵⁴ “Mme. T. D. Perkins, Scientific Scalp Specialist,” *The Chicago Defender*, June 17, 1911.

⁵⁵ “Another Great PORO Achievement,” *The Pittsburgh Courier*, July 12, 1924.

For the most part, black-owned beauty companies resisted references to hair straightening or skin whitening, but this was standard practice in white-owned advertisements. Although black businesswomen like Walker utilized similar tools as white-owned companies, they used very different language and opposed the use of white terminology, instead using words like pullers or hot combs (for straighteners), cold cream (instead of skin bleach), and hair manipulation (instead of overt change as in a wig, weave, or press). In fact, the Walker and Poro companies did not advertise skin whitening and hair straightening until the 1940s, two decades after Walker's death.⁵⁶ Walker in particular was vehement in defending her industry as devoted to a black beauty standard instead of a commonly-perceived white ideal. She said:

Right here, let me correct the erroneous impression held by some that I claim to straighten the hair. I want the great masses of my people to take a greater pride in their personal appearance and to give their hair proper attention...I dare say that in the next ten years it will be a rare thing to see a kinky head of hair and it will not be straight either.⁵⁷

She resented the criticisms she so frequently received referencing the purpose of her hair products as straightening tools and sought to correct the public through the use of the above statement in a newspaper article. Here, Walker once again references the politics of respectability and self-help in the promotion of her beauty business. The Overton Company likewise sold so-called "High-Brown" tinted facial powders specifically designed for its black clients, and not until the 1920s did it begin to sell a face bleacher called Ro-Zol. When advertising the bleacher, Overton states that "Ro-Zol does not bleach by destroying the pigmentation or natural coloring agents of the skin." Though he mentions the term "bleach" several times, he discusses positive benefits such as "removing facial blemishes" and "marks caused by collars or furs" without overtly discussing its whitening properties.⁵⁸

Conclusion

The black cosmetic industry became a successful business to a variety of urban and rural blacks and was able to do so through its successful use of themes of respectability. Stemming from the reform movement, respectability used tenets such as cleanliness, employment, accommodationism, and hygiene

⁵⁶ Gill, *Beauty Shop Politics*, 24-25.

⁵⁷ Quoted in Bundles, *On Her Own Ground*, 65.

⁵⁸ "A Morning Compliment - Ro-Zol's Achievement," *The Half-Century Magazine*, January-February 1925.

to uplift African Americans to more powerful and dignified positions within society. The cosmetics industry presented African Americans with an interesting dilemma, however, as the very nature of beauty products is to follow a social standard set by those in power, which in this case was set predominantly by white, middle-class society. Within a general U.S. representation, African American women were marginalized and therefore easily subjected to white notions of beauty in order to become accepted within the divisive racial and class structures. This conflict was publicized by a segment of the black population, which believed that black cosmetics manufacturers actively conformed to this white beauty ideal by selling skin and hair products that perpetuated this stereotype. In a sense, they were correct. However, a closer examination reveals that white-owned cosmetics companies promoted a white beauty standard much more frequently than did black-owned companies. They additionally promoted a negative image of African American beauty, whereas black-owned companies promoted and provided a positive image of success. Their use of respectability is illustrated through the various ads they issued in black newspapers, which presented religious language, a heightened concern with medical and scientific cleanliness, and the creation of jobs and education opportunities for otherwise unemployable black women. The black beauty industry was enormously helpful to the African American community, and without it, stories of African American success in the early twentieth century might not be so prominent.

Cotton Knights:
Jousting and Honor among the Nineteenth Century Southern Elite
By Jamie Fox

Knights, jousting, chivalry, and fair ladies are generally associated with medieval Europe and fairy tales, not with the southern United States. Yet between the mid- nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, jousting was a popular sport among the southern elite, especially after the Civil War. Jousting appealed to these men and women because it was associated with chivalry. Chivalry's concepts of protection of and deference toward women, courtly manners, and courage were valued by the southern gentry. These values were a part of the defining characteristics of honor and gentility, the foundation of southern elite society. Jousting was a ritual of the southern elite that embodied their ideals of honor and gentility, became a way for them to live out these ideals, and provided a means to preserve these ideals in the instability of post-Civil War Reconstruction.

Not much scholarly work has been written about jousting within the United States, but much has been written on the related topic of honor. The most important part of a southern man's identity in the nineteenth century was his honor. Any threat to a man's honor had to be quashed or he risked losing his status as an honorable man and possibly falling out of elite society. His disgrace also harmed his family's honor and reputation.¹ Little attention, however, has been paid to jousting as it relates to honor. The only scholarly work available that goes in depth into the topic of jousting is Kelley Seay's article, "Jousting and the Evolution of Southernness in Maryland," which examines the role of jousting in creating and preserving a southern identity and southern traditions.

¹ Bertram Wyatt-Brown has researched and written extensively on this topic. His book, *Southern Honor*, documents the origins of honor and how one's honor was determined. Wyatt-Brown suggests that due to the importance of honor in their English ethnic and cultural background, southern society was from the beginning ingrained with the ideals of honor. Honor permeated all of southern life and society. It had a place in everything from the way to raise children properly to how justice was handed out. As time went on, southerners re-shaped their conception of honor. Kenneth S. Greenberg's book, *Honor and Slavery*, examined how southern society operated under the influence of honor: how men acted, why, and what they perceived their roles to be in certain situations. He argues that elite southerners were most concerned with appearing to be honorable to their peers. To maintain this appearance they would sacrifice friendship, personal beliefs, and sometimes family ties. Since many of the themes associated with jousting, such as gentility and ideals of gender, are also main components of honor it is easy to see why jousting became widely popular in the south and why southerners identified with the concepts associated with the sport. Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 23-61; Kenneth S. Greenberg, *Honor & Slavery: Lies, Duels, Noses, Masks, Dressing as a Woman, Gifts, Strangers, Humanitarianism, Death, Slave Rebellions, the Proslavery Argument, Baseball, Hunting, and Gambling in the Old South* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), xi-xiii, 7.

Seay argues that jousting was a way of identifying one's self as southern and one's state as southern. This was especially important for border states that had not always identified with southern states but joined the confederacy during the Civil War. Jousting was also a means for members of the elite to show how well they matched up to the southern ideal.² The biggest determining factor as to whether a man fit the ideal was his perceived honor.

In order to understand the southern version of jousting, it is beneficial to look at the history of jousting before it was adopted by the South. Geoffery Sire de Preuilli, a Frenchman who died in 1066, is credited with the creation of the rules for jousting. These same rules were also used in English and German jousts. Jousting was adopted by England around 1135 during the reign of King Stephen.³ King Henry II subsequently banned jousting because he feared a large gathering of knights would be a threat to his hold on the crown, but the ban was lifted by King Richard I, who only required jousts to pay an amusement tax.⁴

Before entering a tournament, a man often had to take some sort of oath where he swore that he was a gentleman. In 1292 a code of honor for jousting called the Statute of Arms for Tournaments was enacted. This statute made all competing knights gentlemen and required competitors to abide by the rules of chivalry and fair play.⁵ Competitors could be disqualified for usury, for having broken their word, or for an unsuitable alliance or marriage. If a competitor slandered a lady, he would not only be disqualified but also beaten until he cried for mercy.⁶

Women played a large role in tournaments, which were held partially for their entertainment. Before a tournament began, the ladies and the judges reviewed the competitors. If a lady thought a knight was not worthy to compete, she would touch the knight's banner to show that she had an argument for the knight's disqualification. If the knight was guilty of the lady's accusation, he would be disqualified.⁷ An exemplary lady was chosen and deemed, "La Reine de la Beauté et des Amours," or the queen of love and beauty. She gave prizes

² Kelley Seay, "Jousting and the Evolution of Southernness in Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 99 (Spring 2004), 52.

³ Robert L Loeffelbein, *Knight Life: Jousting in the United States* (Lexington Park: Golden Owl Publishers, 1977), 14; Cornelius Stevenson, "The Tournament and the Joust," in the *Proceedings of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia for the Years 1902-1903*, ed. Webster King Wetherill (Philadelphia: The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, 1904), 145.

⁴ Loeffelbein, *Knight Life*, 18.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 14-17.

⁶ Stevenson, "The Tournament and the Joust," 148.

⁷ *Ibid.*

and speeches praising the knights' efforts during the ball that customarily took place after a tournament.⁸

There were four types of jousting: the tourney proper or melee, where men fought each other on foot; two men riding against each other trying to hit the other with their lances; riding at a quintain (or dummy knight);⁹ and riding at rings where contestants would try to collect the rings on their lances as they rode past them. The last two were used for training future knights and were not used in tournaments until much later.¹⁰ The initial purpose of a joust was to be a military exercise for young nobles, who could afford the horse and armor. The weapons that were used included lances, swords, and maces.¹¹

The popularity of jousting and the pageantry associated with it grew over time. The most popular type of jousting was man-to-man jousting, which was a very dangerous undertaking. Serious injury or death was not an unlikely prospect and was part of the reason for this form's decline. In sixteenth century England, the first Earl of Montague was killed in a joust. In another joust, the son of Sir William Montague tragically killed his own father in a joust.¹² Due to the sport's high level of violence, both the Catholic Church, and later the Church of England, took a negative view of jousting as an entertainment, especially before the codes of honor were put into use. In 1179 the Pope declared that anyone who entered a tournament or joust would be excommunicated and that those who died as a result of jousting would be denied a Christian burial.¹³ Later, the Church of England similarly forbade Christian burial to anyone killed in a joust.¹⁴

The mortal danger of jousting contributed to its decline in popularity in Europe. In France, the death of King Henry II due to injuries from a joust in 1559 did much to curtail the practice among the elite. The modernization of warfare in the sixteenth century through the importation of guns and gunpowder made knights and the need for jousting obsolete.¹⁵ Tournaments were still held, but much less frequently, and they emphasized the pageantry rather than the military aspect of jousting. When they were held, it was usually only for state

⁸ *Ibid.*, 149-150.

⁹ A quintain was a wooden representation of a knight on a horse. The quintain had a counterweight system so that the live knight had to hit the quintain just right or else the dummy would spin around and hit the rider with the club or mace as the knight rode past.

¹⁰ Loeffelbein, *Knight Life*, 24-27.

¹¹ Stevenson, "The Tournament and the Joust," 145-46.

¹² Loeffelbein, *Knight Life*, 19.

¹³ Stevenson, "The Tournament and the Joust," 146.

¹⁴ Loeffelbein, *Knight Life*, 14.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 19.

occasions or to commemorate a special day.¹⁶ Because of its lack of popularity in Europe, jousting was not initially widely practiced with great enthusiasm in North America. There are, however, some accounts of jousts in the thirteen colonies, the earliest of which occurred around 1680 at Old Hallows Church in Maryland. Men jousted against a quintain rather than man-to-man. There are also accounts of men riding at rings.¹⁷

Initially, American tournaments were held simply for entertainment and sport rather than for their connection to the values of European nobility. Tournaments were sporadic at best, and the level of grandness, pageantry, and popularity did not compare to the earlier European tournaments - that is, until a man from Maryland found fascination in the old European pastime. William Gillmore was touring Europe in 1839 when he was invited to the Earl of Eglinton's estate in England for a tournament. Aristocrats came from England, France, and Germany to joust. Due to rain, the event was not a great success, but it was enough to kindle an interest in Gillmore, who mulled over his experience on his way back to the United States.¹⁸ Back in Maryland, he resolved to hold his own tournament at the Vineyard, his estate in Baltimore. Hanson Hiss describes the event in a later article: "[P]reparations were made on a very elaborate scale, and no expense was spared . . . Every great family in Maryland and Virginia was present."¹⁹ Contestants came from these families to ride against a quintain, trying to knock the wooden knight off of its horse.²⁰

Although tournaments did not suddenly skyrocket in popularity, this event introduced jousting as an entertainment to the southern elite as a legitimate form of entertainment. Jousts started occurring with greater frequency, more luxury, and more pageantry. Tournaments took place mostly in the border states and farther south at places such as resorts and spas.²¹ The sport's popularity was especially noted among the border states.²² Around 1850, riding at rings became the dominant form of jousting in America.²³

¹⁶ Ibid, 18.

¹⁷ Ibid, 22. One such ring joust supposedly started an annual jousting meet at Mt. Solon in 1821. Two gentlemen asked the same young woman to marry them and the young woman could not decide whom to choose. Her uncle proposed that they should ride at rings to demonstrate their gentlemanly skills and that his niece should choose the best man.

¹⁸ The Tournament of Eglinton was the last tournament in Great Britain. Not only were tournaments expensive to put on, but no one was motivated to hold one. People just did not feel as connected with the chivalric past any more. Seay, "Jousting and the Evolution of Southernness in Maryland," 55.

¹⁹ Hanson Hiss, "The Knights of the Lance in the South," *Outing Magazine* 30 (October-November, 1897), 342.

²⁰ Ibid, 341-342; Seay, "Jousting and the Evolution of Southernness in Maryland," 55.

²¹ Loeffelbein, *Knight Life*, 29.

²² "A Tournament on the Potomac," *Harper's Weekly* 9 (October 7, 1865), 636;

"A Modern Tournament." *Harper's Weekly* 13 (December 4, 1869), 775.

²³ Hiss, "The Knights of the Lance in the South," 343.

During the Civil War, jousting almost vanished but, surprisingly, the sport reached the peak of its popularity after the war. In fact the biggest tournament ever held in Virginian history took place in 1866. In the time of horse-drawn carriages, one year after the South had been thoroughly defeated on the battlefield, ten thousand people were estimated to have traveled from across the South to the town of Front Royal, Virginia to see the tournament.²⁴ The sport remained popular through the late nineteenth century. But why did this sport take root in the South in the first place?

When jousting first gained widespread popularity in the late 1840s and early 1850s, the South was covered with large plantations worked by black slave labor and run by wealthy white men. Farming, especially large scale plantation farming, was very profitable, allowing their owners a high standard of living. There were few cities, the largest of which could hardly compare with the largest of the northern cities like New York City. Whereas large northern cities were industrializing and employing the floods of immigrant laborers that were arriving, most southern manufactured goods were made locally on a small scale by a man, his family, and maybe a few apprentices or slaves. Few immigrants were coming to the South because there was greater opportunity for them in the North. Southerners thought of themselves as agriculturalists, and their economy was based on the cash crops they produced. Profits were used to buy anything they needed and then reinvested into agriculture.²⁵

Honor is the key to understanding the southern way of life during this time and to understanding why jousting appealed to southerners. Honor permeated all of southern life and society. It had a place in everything from the way to raise children properly to how justice was handed out. In his book, *Southern Honor*, Bertram Wyatt-Brown suggests that the South's concept of honor was inherited from the English, Scottish, and Welsh, who brought their form of honor with them to the United States. English honor was made up of a combination of courage, the early Indo-European idea that a person's physical appearance was a manifestation of how honorable they were, humanistic learning, and Christianity. The last two concepts are combined in what Wyatt-Brown calls "Stoic-Christian" values, a combination of classical and Christian learning. "Stoic-Christian" values changed over time into the concept of gentility that was adopted by the southern elite.²⁶

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ James M. McPherson, "The Distinctiveness of the Old South" in *Problems in American Civilization: The Coming of the American Civil War*, ed. Michael Perman (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1992), 196.

²⁶ Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor*, 25-35.

Kenneth S. Greenberg's book, *Honor and Slavery*, examined how southern society operated under the influence of honor. By looking at the language men used, Greenberg explains how men acted, why they acted the way they did, and what they perceived their roles to be in certain situations. He argues that elite southerners were most concerned with appearing to be honorable to their peers.²⁷ To maintain this appearance, they would sacrifice friendships, personal beliefs, and sometimes family ties. Because many of the themes associated with jousting, such as gentility and ideals of gender, are also main components of honor, it is easy to see why jousting became widely popular in the South and why southerners identified with the concepts associated with the sport.

Greenberg explains that in the South, a person's status as being honorable was dependent upon everyone else accepting that person's claim to being honorable. When the person appeared honorable to the public through his physical appearance and social comportment, he was accepted as honorable.²⁸ A man's physical appearance was important because it was considered an outward manifestation of inner honor and worth. An honorable man was supposed to look masculine and act manly. Accusations, overt or hidden, of lying or cowardice were a stain on a man's honor and his reputation in society. His continued acceptance in society was in doubt if he could not disprove his accuser and show himself to be worthy of honor. In some cases, a matter of honor might lead to a duel. The community would protect its own reputation in southern society by disassociating itself from a dishonorable man.²⁹

Wyatt-Brown argues that honor was a part of every southerner's life, but a man could only be considered genteel if he was not only honorable, but also of high moral character and of high social status. In order to be a part of the southern gentry, a man first and foremost had to be sociable. If a man could not hold an interesting conversation by southern standards, he was not worth knowing. Lack of sociability also meant that he would not make valuable connections among other members of the planter class.³⁰ The second requirement to be considered a member of the gentry was knowledge of the Greek and Roman classics and Shakespeare's works. Literature written by Sir Walter Scott was also popular. Knowledge of these works did not have to be extensive, as southerners thought that too much education spoiled natural masculinity. Men just needed to be able to refer to, and occasionally quote, these works in conversation. Wyatt-Brown points out that most of the works

²⁷ Greenberg, *Honor & Slavery*, xi-xiii, 7.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 7.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 8-9.

³⁰ Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor*, 88-90.

studied by southerners reinforced the values of honor and virtue, which may have had an impact on the longevity of southern honor.³¹

The last component of gentility was piety, although it was not nearly as important as the other two components. It only became a part of gentility after the Second Great Awakening when being somewhat religious was considered part of being refined. Southerners as a rule were not overly religious to northern eyes. South Carolina planter James Henry Hammond compared northern and southern piety in 1845 saying:

The piety of the South is unobtrusive. We think it proves but little, though it is a confident thing for a man to claim that he stands higher in the estimation of his Creator, and is less a sinner than his neighbor. If vociferation is to carry the question of religion, the North, and probably the Scotch, has it.³²

Some southerners thought that northerners had gotten away from its puritan heritage of strict morals and religious observance as they had modernized. They argued that the South was now more religious and moral than the North because traditional pre-modern values remained strong in the South.³³

The infrastructure of honor in southern society was reinforced by slavery. Hierarchy was built into both honor and slavery. There had to be a group of people who were dishonorable in order for honor to be a significant designation. Slavery made the hierarchy of honor acceptable to all white southerners because no matter what one's position in life was, it was always better than being a slave. Even lower class whites would support the hierarchy of honor because they were more honorable than slaves. If the hierarchy caused by slavery were to be removed, small farmers would not be any higher up than a black field worker, which the white farmers could not have accepted. If slavery was totally removed, not only would the southern economic system collapse but the social hierarchy would collapse as well. Slavery became the basis for the hierarchy of honor when the institution came to the South. Honor and black slavery became entangled to the point where one could not exist without the other, in the minds of southerners.³⁴

³¹ Ibid, 93-95.

³² "James Henry Hammond Claims Southern Superiority, 1845" in *Major Problems in the Civil War and Reconstruction*, ed. Michael Perman, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998), 7.

³³ Jan C. Dawson, "The Puritan and the Cavalier: The South's Perception of Contrasting Traditions," *Journal of Southern History* 44 (November 1978), 599-600.

³⁴ Edward L. Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice: Crime and Punishment in the 19th Century American South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 26-27.

Southern planters and their economic system were coming under fire from northern abolitionists, who accused southerners of being closed-minded, unintelligent, lazy, and cruel. Northerner Frederick Law Olmstead gave his views on southerners and slavery in 1854:

The Southerner, however, is greatly wanting in hospitality of mind, closing his doors to all opinions and schemes to which he has been bred a stranger . . . He has a large but unexpansive mind. . . . The South endeavors to close its eyes to every evil the removal of which will require self-denial, labor, and skill. If, however, an evil is too glaring to be passed by unnoticed, it is immediately declared to be constitutional, or providential, and its removal is declared to be either treasonable or impious – usually both; and, what is worse, it is improper, impolite, ungentlemanly, unmanlike.³⁵

Open accusations of being somehow “ungentlemanly” or “unmanlike” were grounds for a duel in the South. Southern honor was being wrongfully besmirched in the eyes of southerners, and measures needed to be taken to rectify the dishonor brought on by the accusation of the abolitionists.

Southerners defended slavery and their society with gusto. They claimed that due to racial and biological differences, blacks were child-like, irresponsible, and unfit to govern themselves.³⁶ In their view, southern whites were doing blacks a service by organizing them and giving them productive labor. Defenders of slavery were also quick to point out that blacks and lower class whites in the South enjoyed a higher standard of living than lower class whites in the North and Europe and that southern society was more stable with the lack of union strikes, poverty, and crime that were everyday trials for citizens of northern cities. Southerner George Fitzhugh noted the benefits that southern society reaped from slavery:

At the slaveholding South all is peace, quiet, plenty and contentment. We have no mobs, no trade unions, no armed resistance to the law, but little jealousy of the rich by the poor. We have few in our jails and fewer in our poor houses. . . . We are wholly exempt from the torrent of pauperism, crime,

³⁵ “Frederick Law Olmsted Observes Southern Lassitude, 1854” in *Major Problems in the Civil War and Reconstruction*, 3-4.

³⁶ George M. Fredrickson, “White Supremacy and the American Sectional Conflict” in *Problems in American Civilization: The Coming of the American Civil War*, 230.

agrarianism, and infidelity which Europe is pouring from her jails and alms houses on the already crowded North.³⁷

Another southerner, James Henry Hammond said, "The only thing that can create a mob (as you might call it) here, is the appearance of an abolitionist . . ."³⁸

In essence, the southerners viewed themselves as living in a pre-modern society, whereas northerners were focused on modernizing. The plantation system of farming gave rise to powerful landowners who resembled medieval lords running their manors.³⁹ Plantations would not have been possible without slave labor. Having slaves enabled the southern elite to recreate feudalism in a modern time. At the top of the feudal hierarchy in the position of lords were the planters who owned the slaves; next came the white slave drivers, who acted as vassals by helping the planter run his estate; and then came the slaves, who were in the position of serfs with no freedom and very few rights. Other whites could be seen as peasants or free farmers who aspired to become planters or lords.

Tournaments, a relic of the feudal system, fit right into this picture of the South. The fact that jousting was steeped in European history and tradition was appealing to southerners. Southerners knew their society was different from the society of northerners and Europeans, but they wanted southern society to be considered superior to northern and equal to European society. Southerners enjoyed their way of life and saw themselves as honorable, but because of how honor was confirmed, they needed validation from the outside world. Southerners did many things to emulate the Europeans, especially the English, in hopes of receiving that validation. The elite tried to dress like the English gentry, adopting their accent, choice of words, and topics of conversation, and to follow English rules of etiquette. Houses were designed to look like English houses and filled with English-style furniture and portraits. Even though southerners put a lot of effort into appearing English, the country across the Atlantic still ridiculed the South.⁴⁰ Much of the ridicule was due to the South's apparently backward economy based on agriculture and slavery, but southerners refused to let go of their peculiar institution.

It was partially because of slavery that southerners wanted so badly to be seen as the equals of the North and Europe. To be anything less than an equal was to be made into a slave, a being who could never have honor in the eyes of

³⁷ "George Fitzhugh Praises Southern Society, 1854," *Major Problems in the Civil War and Reconstruction*, 8.

³⁸ "James Henry Hammond Claims Southern Superiority," 7.

³⁹ Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Eugene D. Genovese, "The Southern Slaveholders against a Modern World" in *Problems in American Civilization: The Coming of the American Civil War*, 132.

⁴⁰ Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor*, 88.

southerners.⁴¹ Members of the southern elite had spent their lives dominating and despising slaves. They could not stand being put on the same level as them. Tournaments were a way for southern men to validate that they were indeed the social equals of Europe and superior to northern society. By carrying on the old European entertainment, they were showing that they possessed the same qualities Europeans valued in their gentry, making the southern gentry the equals of the European gentry. Because Europe considered the North its equal, this also put the North and South on equal footing.

Although jousting became popular in the South after its 1840 debut, it did not become popular in the North. This was largely due to the differences in the definition of gentility and differences in ways of life. At this time, the North was moving away from agriculture to industrialization while the South was still largely agrarian. Northern and southern gentility emphasized the same qualities of sociability, learning, and piety, but placed different emphasis on each characteristic. To southerners, the most important trait was sociability, followed by learning and piety. Northerners, however, thought that southerners were overly open to conversation and focused too much on things that were not of great importance. Whereas a southerner could talk all day about the local gossip, a northerner would be more interested in politics and religion, weighty subjects that southerners thought less suitable for everyday conversation.⁴² Both southerners and northerners studied the classics, but for southerners it was simply enough to know and refer to the most well known stories and quotes. Northerners valued a fuller education and intellectual conversation. To southerners, learning and new ideas were a threat to the established social order. If a man were valued for his education instead of his breeding, sociability, appearance, and wealth, planters might no longer be at the top of the social hierarchy where they were determined to stay.⁴³ Northerners and southerners were also both concerned with piety, but they had different standards for what it meant to be pious. For some southerners, it was enough to thank God for his blessings and think about one's own mortality. For northerners, this would not be nearly enough to be considered pious. It was important to keep the soul pure by living a wholesome Christian life and praying for forgiveness of sins. Forgiveness of sins, the guilt of sinning, and the unworthiness of mankind figured much more prominently in northern religion than in southern religion.⁴⁴ Because the North did not have the same concept of gentility, the same social

⁴¹ Greenberg, *Honor & Slavery*, 62-64.

⁴² Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor*, 90.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 92-97.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 100-05.

values, or the same economic framework as the South, jousting did not become popular in the North.

Southerners took up jousting because they saw the same values of honor and gentility in the mythic chivalry and pageantry that were associated with tournaments. Many fraternal orders of the time were also associated with chivalry or encouraged members to have chivalric qualities. Some of these orders even called themselves knights, such as the Knights Templar, a branch of York Rite Masonry.⁴⁵ Chivalry was one of the main appeals of jousting because it valued the same qualities in a man that southerners valued in men in their society. The other appeal was that jousting was considered a “manly pastime,” an opportunity for a man to demonstrate his masculinity and his breeding through his good horsemanship, which was considered a hallmark of a man of high social status.⁴⁶ When entering a tournament, a man would choose his own name, which often included names from the area he was from (for instance the Knight of Charleston or Knight of Kemp’s Wood). If a local boy won, his town’s reputation would increase, and the victory might raise other people’s opinions of the town. He would be considered a local celebrity. The same possibility also applied to his family’s reputation. If a male member of a family won, it was because he was an honorable man, which was due to the fact that he had been raised the right way by an honorable family. Many jousters used old family names and crests, not only connecting themselves with their families but also to their European past.⁴⁷

Chivalry and southern elite society both emphasized deference to women. Jousting was seen as a more humane sport and a better alternative to English fox hunts because it produced the same “bold riders” that fox hunts were supposed to produce but without the bloodshed. Southerners considered this to be due to the influence of women, who played a large role in chivalry.⁴⁸ Women in southern society were supposed to be a bastion of morality, femininity, and humanity. Their role was to use their influence to keep men from becoming violent brutes while instilling in them values of honorable masculinity. Women could not participate in hunting because it was considered a man’s sport, too rough and bloody for the weaker sex. However, women were the foundation of chivalry, which was inextricably linked to jousting. Chivalrous knights of the Middle Ages were supposed to protect the helpless and innocent, namely women, children, the poor, and the elderly. They learned respect, deference to

⁴⁵ Interview with Jeff Fox, Normal, Illinois, May 6, 2008.

⁴⁶ Hiss, “The Knights of the Lance in the South,” 339.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 340.

⁴⁸ “A Tournament on the Potomac,” 636.

women, and courtly manners from ladies in a lord's household when they were pages. This was the beginning of the formation of a chivalrous knight.⁴⁹ Without a woman's influence at a young age, a knight would simply be a fighter without any connection to chivalry. In the South, women participated in jousting by raising virtuous contestants, supporting worthy competitors, and rewarding those who exemplified the ideals of honor and chivalry.

Jousts were a way for men to act out their patriarchal role as protectors of women. This same concept - protection of women - was a main tenet of chivalry. In 1840 *The Knickerbocker* published an article describing the evolution of chivalry: "[T]he very purpose of chivalry, which was the vindication of weakness and innocence, naturally bore a very special reference to woman. For, however potent in her influence over those alive to her charms, against brute violence she had no defence."⁵⁰ The winner of a modern tournament would crown his own queen of love and beauty as had been done in tournaments of the Middle Ages. He was jousting for her. He wanted her to think more highly of him, both because he had proven his skills as a rider and as a protector, and because he singled her out as his ideal of what a southern woman should be.⁵¹

Chivalry was also linked to Christianity and the knights of the Crusades. Knights and chivalry had been endorsed by the Catholic Church during the Crusades. The knights of the Crusades were seen by some to be the final product in the development of chivalry.⁵² Southerners saw that they could emulate the fabled crusaders by practicing a modified version of the battles crusaders fought: jousting. This connection between chivalry and piety, an important aspect of gentility, possibly helped to recommend jousting as an entertainment to the more religious members of society. Even though a large majority of southerners were Protestant, they could still relate to the Catholic's attempt to take back the holy sites in Israel because both the Protestant and Catholic faiths are a part of Christianity and have an interwoven history.

The southern elite molded jousting to fit their requirements. For example, they did not resurrect the man-to-man form of jousting that had originally been used in European tournaments. Instead, they favored riding at rings, in part because there were ladies present and it would not be right for them to see someone get hurt. Also, no one had the right military gear for man-to-man jousting (swords, armor, maces, and so forth.) Lastly, jousting man-to-man

⁴⁹ "Chivalry and the Crusades," *The Knickerbocker*, January 1840, 1.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ "A Modern Tournament," 775.

⁵² "Chivalry and the Crusades," 1.

would wreak havoc on southern society, which was built on honor and patriarchal family structure. If a man was killed or maimed by his opponent in a joust, that man's male family members and friends would feel duty bound to avenge their family member's or friend's death. This would probably lead to a duel where there was a good chance someone else would be killed, and then his family would want to avenge his death and the cycle would spiral out of control. By having men ride at rings instead of at each other, southerners eliminated the possibility of blood feuds between families.

The southern elite also created rules for jousting so that only they could participate. In order to be allowed to joust, a man had to prove he was a gentleman. In this, jousting was like dueling: a man would only compete against those he considered his equals.⁵³ This was also a throwback to the rules of jousting in the Middle Ages where a man had to prove he was a gentleman before he could compete. Being allowed to compete in a southern tournament was a way of verifying one's social position in the elite. In fact, part of jousting was competing for a spot in the southern elite. The importance of jousting was not based upon the actual sport but rather upon proving one's status.⁵⁴ The elite also put financial constraints on competitors in order to keep lower classes out of the competition. Often jousters had to pay entrance fees. Jousters also had to own their own horse and pay for its and their own food and lodging. This relegated most of the middle class and all of the lower class to the audience.⁵⁵

Tournaments also provided a way for single men and women to meet and get to know each other in a socially acceptable way. The number of people who belonged to the planter class was small, and they were spread across the South so finding and falling in love with someone from the planter elite was difficult.⁵⁶ Besides being a part of the elite, there was a litany of characteristics that the ideal woman or man had to have. For a woman to be considered a good candidate for marriage, she had to have some money that she could bring into the marriage.⁵⁷ The ideal southern woman was submissive, loving, domestic, modest, morally pure, and innocent, and had no or very little education; she was reserved toward strangers, but warm and affectionate toward men who played a large role in her life.⁵⁸ Women were supposed to accept their fate, whatever that may be, with grace. They were supposed

⁵³ Greenberg, *Honor & Slavery*, 13.

⁵⁴ Kelley Seay also argues this point in the article, "Jousting and the Evolution of Southernness in Maryland."

⁵⁵ Seay, "Jousting and the Evolution of Southernness in Maryland," 58.

⁵⁶ Steven M. Stowe, *Intimacy and Power in the Old South: Ritual in the Lives of the Planters* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 84.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 80.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 84; Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor*, 234.

to be fragile and beautiful on the outside but have an inner strength that could withstand almost anything.⁵⁹ Although the ideal southern woman had little power, in reality she could destroy a man's reputation - and thus his honor - by complaining publicly about his lack of financial means, his inability to lead his family, or even his performance in the bedroom.⁶⁰

Because planter families wanted to maintain wealth and power, they encouraged their children to marry within their class, sometimes even endorsing cousin-to-cousin marriages. Planter life was concentrated around the plantation, but events like church socials, balls, holiday parties, going to spas, trips to cities during the "gay season," and academy social events provided a chance to socialize with other members of their class.⁶¹ Tournament balls were also one of these events. However, even if a man or woman met someone they might be interested in at one of these events, behavioral mores restricted how well people of the opposite sex got to know one another. From a young age, men were taught to show deference to women, and women were taught not to trust men they did not know. Women had to guard their actions more than men because any question about their moral purity could damage their reputation, their family's reputation, and their chances of getting married.⁶²

The formality of social interactions prevented couples from really getting to know one another, if they followed the society's rules. At one tournament ball, Alansa Rounds Sterrett both followed social mores and exploited them so she could be alone with a possible beau. As she remembered:

Early in the evening Rob Ruff (2nd lieutenant of the Churchville Cavalry) asked if I would join him in the next set. When I thanked him, saying "I never dance," he replied, "Well, Miss Rounds, I cannot doubt your word, but still I am convinced that anyone who can sing and play like you could certainly dance." I noticed, however, that the gallant and handsome lieutenant had no difficulty in securing a partner. My noble Prince Charming was a most graceful dancer, but that night he declined to take the floor, declaring he would prefer a promenade with me in the hall or on the long piazza among the Chinese lanterns and where we could hear the music and chat uninterrupted,

⁵⁹ Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor*, 234.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 52.

⁶¹ Stowe, *Intimacy and Power in the Old South*, 84.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 83.

and I verily believe we were the happiest couple at that
Tournament Ball!⁶³

Sterrett was appearing to be modest in declining to dance with the lieutenant, but she might have been playing coy in hopes that he would ask her to walk with him later alone.

The new fashion of marrying for romantic reasons was starting to gain popularity in the South, challenging the old traditions of courtship and marriage. Traditionally men had to ask girls' fathers for permission to court them and for permission to marry. Family disapproval could end a courtship or an engagement. If a father found out that his daughter was having a secret correspondence with a man, he could force his daughter to end the correspondence by making her return the beau's letters and by blocking any future letters. The couple could try to get around the father by communicating through friends or family members if they desired to carry on the relationship in secret, but their marriage would never be socially acceptable without the father's approval.

Friends and family in favor of a marriage could also help a couple in other ways. Communication between friends helped to break down the formality of public social interaction. Close friends could talk frankly about who liked whom and introduce people who might make a good match, both romantically and economically.⁶⁴ Knowing that feelings were mutual from some friendly advice could encourage a man to ask to court a lady or give a lady reassurance that the man she is courting likes her.

Even though romance was beginning to become of greater importance, couples who wanted to get married but did not have the girl's father's permission often faced severe consequences if they decided to elope. Elopement was seen as an affront to society because it bucked social mores and disregarded the power of the patriarch. According to historian Steven Stowe, to elope was seen as almost as bad as becoming pregnant before marriage.⁶⁵ If a girl eloped, the family would lose friendships and connections with other families of the same class, along with their good reputation. The couple would be social pariahs. No one would want to befriend them for fear their reputation would be brought down because of the association. Even family members would disown the offending parties in an attempt to save face.⁶⁶ A father who had disapproved

⁶³ Alansa Rounds Sterrett, "September, October, November, and December 1860," diary entry, found online at <http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/etcbin/tocceralley?id=AD9001&data=/texts/english/civilwar/diaries&tag=public&part=1&division=div2>.

⁶⁴ Stowe, *Intimacy and Power in the Old South*, 97.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 100.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 101.

of the marriage could deny his son an inheritance, money, and position that often allowed the son to establish himself. A father could deny his daughter a dowry, an inheritance, or any future financial help. Because elopement was a challenge to a father's power, he might see his daughter's elopement as a threat to his honor and call his son-in-law out in a duel. In Staunton, Virginia, Robert Miller took revenge on James Bracewell, his recently hired employee, for marrying his daughter without permission. According to the local newspaper:

While holding this situation, Bracewell had an opportunity to make love to Margaret, Miller's daughter. It was soon understood that Miller was opposed to Margaret's marrying her suitor, but the two seemed no less determined on that account, and on Saturday week, consummated their purpose accordingly. Miller, shortly after meeting Bracewell on the street, asked him if it was true he had married his daughter.- Bracewell replied, yes, whereupon Miller produced a knife with which he inflicted a stab in the left side of his son-in-law's back. Bracewell lingered until Monday last, when he expired.⁶⁷

The Civil War changed the face of the South for southerners and the cultural significance of jousting. The aftermath of the Civil War brought the emancipation of slaves and, in the mind of some southerners, the enslavement of the South through northern military occupation. Plantation owners who had fled returned to find their homes and crops destroyed and their former slaves gone or unwilling to take orders. Supporters of the Confederacy found that they could not vote unless they took an oath that they had never supported the Confederacy. Everything seemed as though it was in a constant state of change for the worse.

One of the only things that provided stability to southerners was the tradition of honor, which had found expression in jousting. It was at this point that jousting stopped being an expression of the South's desire to be accepted by Europeans and became a means of doing homage to the traditional southern elite way of life. Jousting was still connected to the medieval European past, but it was no longer as important as its connection to the South's past.⁶⁸ This was evidenced by some changes in jousting. The sport was used by charity organizations to raise money for Confederate veterans homes, widows and orphans of the war, and victims of diseases like yellow fever. The attendance of Confederate veterans, symbols of southerners' fight to keep their way of life, at

⁶⁷ "Fatal Runaway Match," *The Vindicator*, April 30, 1859.

⁶⁸ This is similar to Kelley Seay's argument in "Jousting and the Evolution of Southernness in Maryland." Seay argues that jousting was a means for Marylanders to re-affirm their southern identity in the unstable postwar period. (p. 60)

tournaments contributed to the sentimental feelings attached to jousting and made tournaments more prestigious. New names of knights started to appear, such as Knight of the Lost Cause, Knight in Grey, Knight of the Sunny South, and Knight of the South.⁶⁹ It was during this time of transition in the South that jousting reached the height of its popularity. Reconstruction was a time of instability. Tournaments and other traditional southern pastimes provided stability and reassurance for southerners.

It is interesting to note that blacks held their own tournaments after the Civil War in the 1870s when jousting was at the height of its popularity among whites.⁷⁰ White southerners probably allowed black jousts because they could not be mistaken for southern elites. Whites saw blacks as mimicking white society. Blacks were never allowed to compete in white tournaments until the mid-twentieth century, but by that time few blacks were competing. The short-lived popularity of jousting among blacks may have been due to racial backlash. Groups like the Ku Klux Klan targeted any black person they thought was trying to leave the place in society whites had reserved for them as laborers. As time went on, black tournaments may have been seen as a threat or an insult by whites who saw jousting as a white entertainment.⁷¹

The popularity of tournaments and chivalry among whites may have actually contributed to the development of the Reconstruction-era Ku Klux Klan. This version of the Klan consisted of white Civil War veterans and others who wanted to prevent any change to the southern way of life. The vigilantes of the KKK thought that they were protecting white society and white women. Protection of women was a main tenet of chivalry, and southerners saw knights as protectors of society. Often Reconstruction-era KKK members would ride horses to their destinations and used their height and size when mounted to intimidate their victims. Horsemanship and horses played a central role in jousting. Even the style of dress was similar between jousters and the Reconstruction-era KKK members. The jousters in the center of a *Harper's Weekly* drawing of that era could almost be a group of KKK members riding out. If their outfits were lengthened and their helmets were replaced by the pointed hats for which the KKK was known, they would look almost exactly like the photos of the KKK members. The 1920's resurgence of the KKK was influenced by the movie, *Birth of a Nation*, but the style of dress of the KKK member depicted is still similar to that of the knights getting ready to joust.

⁶⁹ Seay, "Jousting and the Evolution of Southernness in Maryland," 61.

⁷⁰ Loeffelbein, *Knight Life*, 33.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 33-34.

The decline of jousting came with the modernization of the South. There were still jousts in the early 1900s, but they did not have the same connection to antebellum southern elite culture. After Reconstruction, the center of southern life switched from the plantation to the towns that were popping up across the South, usually in conjunction with railroads and mills.⁷² Before the Civil War, the South had been sheltered from outside influences by its relative lack of transportation. Now railroads opened the South up to the rest of the world.⁷³

By the 1880s, plantations were disappearing across the South. The price of cotton, which had risen after the Civil War, was now declining and becoming unstable. More large landowners were renting out or selling their property and moving into town, which provided better education opportunities and offered a better social life. Many of the former plantation owners would take their profits from selling their land and reinvest them in town by buying or building mills, stores, or factories. Towns were also a center for the white population. There were more blacks than whites living in the countryside at that time, supposedly making white southerners living in the country uncomfortable.⁷⁴

As the older generation of planters was dying out, the younger generation was not taking its place. The younger generations were abandoning the plantation and the South for new opportunities in the West and elsewhere, leaving no one to take the place of their planter parents.⁷⁵ The younger generations of southerners were also more inclined to industrialization and modernization than the older generation, which thought that those changes eroded traditional southern values. The southerners who had fought in the Civil War were shocked that their sons and daughters did not care as much about the Civil War as they did.⁷⁶ The values of the antebellum planter elite were not passed on to the younger generation. The ideals of chivalry that had been associated with jousting and honor were seen as old-fashioned and out of place in the New South.

As the South grew in prosperity in the early 1900s, pre-Civil War culture and traditions gave way to a New South that was becoming more and more like the North, both economically and socially. The appeal of jousting had been that it was a sport for honorable gentlemen, part of the competition being that a man had to prove he was a gentleman. In the New South, honor did not matter as much. Men from all classes could now participate in tournaments, making

⁷² Edward L. Ayers, *Southern Crossing: A History of the American South, 1877-1906* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 5.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 18, 36-37.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 15, 19-20.

jousting a sport of everyone, not exclusively the sport of the planters.⁷⁷ It also became acceptable for women to compete in tournaments. If a woman won, she crowned "the Prince of Manly Beauty and Strength," and the runners-up chose the "gentlemen in waiting."⁷⁸ This would have been emasculating for southern men before the Civil War.

The definition of competition was also changing. A competitor had to win something; he had to have an opponent to beat. Jousters won nothing except the right to name the queen of love and beauty, and they did not joust directly against anyone. In the late 1890s, crowning the queen of love and beauty was done away with or done by those who did not come in first place. Instead, winners won a trophy or bridle.⁷⁹

Modernization ended jousting as it existed before the Civil War. It no longer held the same appeal because social values had changed. Jousting never died out completely but rather has been changed to fit into new cultures as they developed. Tournaments are still held today but are appreciated for their entertainment value rather than for their connection to the antebellum southern elite. Part of the reason the sport has survived to the present day is because people have seen part of themselves, or something that they want to be, in the sport and then adapted jousting to fit their needs. Jousting almost died out as a military exercise, was brought back to life because of the chivalric ideals associated with it, changed into an exclusive southern institution, survived the changes of Reconstruction, and, in a modest way, carries on today as an entertaining sport for all ages, genders, and races.

⁷⁷ Seay, "Jousting and the Evolution of Southernness in Maryland," 71.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 76-77.

**The Prince Edward County
Educational Crisis
By Ann Coughlan**

This year I was fortunate enough to be placed in an integrated institution, well credited and recognized... It was hard to adjust to the stricter (sic) teachers but they were very helpful and understanding. If it were not for the younger children being out of school, this closing would have been the best thing to happen to us. It gave us a chance to see what the world is really like. For example, who would have thought... that I would dance with girls of the opposite race.¹

The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) was made up of both male and female activists, but female activism particularly played a vital role in one school desegregation project, the Prince Edwards County Schools in Virginia. Jean Fairfax, an influential and powerful African-American female activist, led the AFSC's Southern Civil Rights Program. The program was created to help implement equal education for all students. Her work within the AFSC helped progress school desegregation in many areas but specifically the schools located in Prince Edwards County, Virginia, and brought recognition of federal civil rights laws pertaining to equal education to the forefront. From 1959 to 1963, the AFSC implemented three programs: Student Placement, Parents Club, and the Free School to help ease racial integration in Prince Edwards County.

Throughout the Civil Rights Movement, both black and white women played an extremely important role in securing change. Although those female activists were as willing as their male counterparts to jeopardize their security, their achievements and bravery have been repeatedly overlooked both by the public and by their fellow male activists. Scholars have analyzed female recognition within the Civil Rights Movement and have found very little public awareness of the role that women played. Lynne Olson discussed the famous March on Washington, a major milestone in the Civil Rights Movement, and how there was no acknowledgment of the work accomplished by female activists. Olson emphasized how women and their vital contributions to the Civil Rights Movement were pushed to the background, while male activists basked in praise from the public due to the movement's successes. Historians have shown that, even though their work was going unrecognized, the women of

¹ Jean Fairfax, "Opening Closed Doors: Narrative of the American Friends Service Committee's Work in Prince Edward County Virginia," www.afsc.com, 17. The quotation is from Ralph Smith, who was enrolled in the AFSC's Student Placement Program and graduated from high school during the crisis.

the Civil Rights Movement continued to work toward their goals. Scholars have noted that women activists involved in this movement placed a great deal of emphasis on the desegregation of schools as well as educating the youth. While their efforts were in many ways overlooked throughout history, the legacies of their achievements shine through today.²

I will begin by focusing on the AFSC and discuss the roots of the organization, explaining how and why the organization was formed. Following the background of the AFSC, I will start exploring different projects created by the AFSC and the people who helped implement those programs. Specifically, I will focus my attention on the activist work of Jean Fairfax and her involvement with the Price Edward County school crisis, placing an emphasis on how the AFSC (with the assistance of Fairfax) helped to desegregate the public schools located in Price Edward County, Virginia.

The AFSC formed in 1917 and has roots stemming back to the eighteenth century Quakers. Their constant assistance to people in need has helped many people survive trauma from the economic depressions and the racist policies enacted in the Reconstruction Era. During World War I, the AFSC strayed from most groups and helped provide spiritual support to refugee children and people in need of assistance during the war, instead of helping the war efforts. The AFSC has always placed a great deal of effort toward civil rights, especially when dealing with education. Throughout the 1950's and 1960's, it proved to be a driving force behind the fight for equal education within the United States and helped create organizations throughout many southern states in order to enforce school desegregation.

While the AFSC exemplified the good that could be done overseas, it soon moved its efforts back to the United States and focused on domestic issues of injustice.³ The domestic issues such as racial injustice and the inequality of the educational system in the United States helped bring the AFSC's efforts back to the United States. This type of ideology that the AFSC adopted was exemplified through its work in assisting minorities to gain equal rights within the country, especially placing an emphasis on education.

According to AFSC reports, "The AFSC helps work with people to organize community action to obtain better schools, better housing, and better working conditions."⁴ Through their commitment to the fight for equal

² Lynne Olson, *Freedom's Daughters: The Unsung Heroines of the Civil Rights Movement from 1830 to 1970* (New York: Scribner, 2001), 13-14; Joan Martin Burke, *Civil Rights: A Current Guide to the People, Organizations, and Events*, 2nd ed. (New York: Bowker, 1974), 71; and James C. Harvey, *Black Civil Rights during the Johnson Administration* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1973), 167-75.

³ American Friends Service Committee, "The Birth!" <http://www.afsc.org/ht/d/sp/i/16061/pid/16061>.

⁴ American Friends Service Committee, "AFSC History," <http://www.afsc.org/ht/d/sp/i/351/pid/351>.

education rights, the AFSC found it vital to involve both men and women in the efforts to create educational equality for all. By not only allowing men and women to work together and allowing people of both genders and all races to play a role within their organization, the group gained a sense of unity and illustrated to the country how important and effective equality and integration could be. The AFSC used the integration within its own organization to help create public pressure to convince other highly sexist and segregated groups to follow in its footsteps and integrate by hiring both women and people of different races.⁵

While the AFSC evolved and gained the ideology of equality, it was not always so diverse. According to historian Susan Lynn, "In the 1940's and 1950's the AFSC was a male-dominated organization: the chairman of the board of directors, the executive secretary of the National Office, and all the executive secretaries of the Regional Offices, with one exception were all male."⁶ But the AFSC shifted gears after the end of World War II, and women began obtaining noteworthy positions within the organization. The balance of power between the sexes exemplified to other groups and the nation how important female activist and leaders were to the success of organizations.

One specific example of a woman working within the AFSC was Jean Fairfax. Her work within the AFSC exemplifies both the effectiveness of female leadership and how racial barriers to an executive position within a well-known organization began to break down. Fairfax is most commonly recognized for her work within the AFSC to help desegregate the schools in Prince Edwards County, Virginia. While Fairfax played a significant role in the Prince Edwards County AFSC project, she was no stranger to the organization. Fairfax traveled overseas with the AFSC beginning in 1946 and returned to the United States towards the end of 1948. Upon her arrival in the United States, Fairfax continued her work with the AFSC. She traveled along the east coast and through New England to help recruit college students for the organization, raising youth awareness of the controversial and injustices that the country faced during that time.⁷ This work helped to spread the AFSC message.

Being a young African-American activist during this time truly showed the courage that Jean Fairfax displayed. Through her travels with the AFSC and recruitment experience, Fairfax evolved as a female activist and slowly climbed

⁵ Susan Lynn, "Gender and Progressive Politics: A Bridge to Social Activism of the 1960s" in *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960*, ed. Joanne Meyerowitz (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 103.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 115.

⁷ Jean Fairfax interviewed by Dallas A. Blanchard, October 15, 1983, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/sohp/F-0013/F0013.html>.

the power ladder within the organization. In 1957 she was eventually appointed Director for the Southern Civil Rights Program. The Southern Civil Rights Program soon became the program under the AFSC that played a major role in assisting with the Prince Edwards County, Virginia school desegregation.

Allowing an African-American woman to take charge of an important organization illustrates the vitality of activism in this era. The AFSC showed the country how men and women could work together and help implement change. The AFSC felt that by placing women in positions of power within the organization, the country and other organizations would witness that women are just as capable as men to produce change. Lynn explains, "The task at hand was creating social change, and men and women within the organization assumed that both sexes could contribute to the goal."⁸ Irene Osborne, a white woman, and Alma Scurlock, a black woman, were hired by the AFSC in 1951. They were hired as members of an experimental project that was rooted in Washington, D.C, and their involvement with the AFSC, led to the creation of a joint committee on education. The education committee consisted of agencies and people who were in support of school integration. Osborne and Scurlock were influential in bringing the topic of integration to the public.⁹ Prior to their work with the AFSC, the word integration was seen as improper and was rarely, if ever, used in some quarters. Osborne and Scurlock were examples of female activists who banded together to work towards a common goal of equality. As Lynn states, "Yet Irene Osborne and Alma Scurlock exemplify an alternative path to fulfillment selected by many middle-class women who joined the quest for social justice and a new world order based on peace and international cooperation."¹⁰ Many of the liberal ideals of the AFSC come from its Quaker background, which emphasized peace and social activism. The activism and leadership of women like Jean Fairfax, Irene Osborne, and Alma Scurlock are direct reflections of the Quaker ideals and traditions. Women were encouraged to move up in power within the AFSC, and their work was extremely vital to the success of many AFSC programs.

These successes became nationally recognized when the AFSC became involved in the Prince Edwards County School desegregation conflict. Following the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, the U.S. Supreme Court ruling to integrate public school systems, southern white residents began to resist. Many school districts throughout the South took matters into their own hands by making the integration process for African-American students almost

⁸ Lynn, "Gender and Progressive Politics," 116.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 104.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

impossible. Prior to the Prince Edward County school desegregation crisis, the AFSC was involved with the 1957 integration of Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, where white officials disobeyed federal orders to desegregate the public school systems. White governmental officials in Little Rock showed complete disregard for the *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court's ruling. The AFSC took action and organized with local African-American families to assist with non-violent integration of the schools. The integration process in Central High turned into an extremely volatile situation, and the prior experiences of AFSC members and organizers there proved critical in implementing a system to help with future desegregation crisis situations.¹¹

In the fall of 1959, the Prince Edward County Board of Supervisors followed in the footsteps of Little Rock's governmental officials and closed all public schools within the county. This decision was made in order to halt the implementation of the Supreme Court's decision to desegregate the public schools, deliberately violating federal court orders.¹² The severity of this particular situation caused the AFSC to take a stand and seek to bring the communities affected by the school closing together to help implement change. When planning the ways in which the organization was to create change in Prince Edward County, the AFSC leadership decided to create a separate group and leader to focus exclusively on this particular situation.

The AFSC turned to Jean Fairfax for her strong sense of leadership and passion for creating equality, especially when dealing with education. Female activists in general placed a great deal of emphasis on education, and choosing not only a woman but an African-American to run the organization to create change in Prince Edwards County, Virginia illustrates that the AFSC looked beyond racial and gender barriers in order to find the best candidate possible to obtain the results that were needed.

The situation in Prince Edwards County, Virginia was extremely volatile. AFSC reports indicate that "in 1959, Virginia officials defied court orders to desegregate Prince Edward County schools and chose instead to abandon public education."¹³ The school closing was done in response to federal laws forcing all public institutions to desegregate, and the white population within Prince Edward County created separate private white schools for their children. Due to the creation of the new private schools, almost seventeen

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² American Friends Service Committee, "Special Collection on AFSC Work in the Prince Edward County Virginia School Closing Issue," <http://webarchive.afsc.org/archives/princeedward/intro.htm>.

¹³ American Friends Service Committee, "Opening Closed Doors: Narrative of the American Friends Service Committee's Work in Prince Edward County Virginia," 1.

hundred African-American students were left without a school system. The AFSC took this horrific and unjust situation and began searching for alternative educational resources for the young students who were left without any educational options.

Prior to the school closings, the AFSC had implemented the Southern Civil Rights Program. This program was formed to promote civil rights generally, but its main focus was school desegregation. The AFSC's Southern Civil Rights Program, which was run by Jean Fairfax, found that the most effective method of creating change would be by creating community-based programs that would help draw in community leaders. By making the situation known not only to the community but also to the nation, change was likelier to occur.

The Southern Civil Rights Program began to meet with other civil rights groups whose main focus was education. Jean Fairfax represented the AFSC at these meetings and helped implement a plan to deal with the Prince Edward County crisis. Their goal was not only to generate a plan to help resolve the crisis in Virginia, but to also help prevent a future crisis from occurring. Many of these meetings were kept a secret, and the confidential information and planning that went on within these meetings were off the record.¹⁴ It was clearly a southern issue, but Virginia was taking an especially hard line by using its "massive resistance laws of 1956 which authorized the governor to close any school ordered by the courts to desegregate."¹⁵ The principal problem facing the AFSC and Jean Fairfax was to place these seventeen hundred African-American students into alternative schools. Many of the students were high school seniors and were in jeopardy of not graduating due to the closure of their schools. The black students in Prince Edward County, Virginia were left with no options. The AFSC's Southern Civil Rights program was exhausting every option possible but still struggling to solve the crisis.

One of the major breakthroughs for the Southern Civil Rights Program was the creation and implementation of the Emergency Student Placement Project. In order to execute the project, it was vital for all members of the Southern Civil Rights program to consider all possible violent backlashes. It was extremely common for supporters of desegregation to suffer from brutal attacks at the hands of members of segregationist groups such as the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Council.¹⁶ These groups set out to make sure that the federal laws would not be carried out and that the public school systems would remain segregated. The AFSC was not the first organization to face violence due to

¹⁴ Ibid, 2.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Fairfax, "American Friends Service Committee," 2.

desegregation efforts. Throughout the Civil Rights era, many people were injured - and in some instances killed - when participating in efforts to help desegregate the south. While the African-American residents of the South were not strangers to racial violence, it was imperative for the AFSC to regain the spirits of the communities in Prince Edward County. Many of the Prince Edward County residents had lost hope, accepting what they believed was the inevitable future for the educational system in their state.

While white residents in Prince Edwards County were able to raise funds for their children to attend private schools, the less economically stable African-American population in that county did not have the same resources, and in turn were unable to obtain alternative forms of education. Due to the lack of financial stability among the seventeen hundred students who were out of school, there was a dispute between human relations workers as to what should be done. Many people felt that the seniors who intended to graduate from high school should be given financial support and be allowed to graduate on time.

The AFSC also participated in the Southern Interagency Conference (SIC), which brought advocates for educational equality together to come up with a resolution. Jean Fairfax remembered that "at meetings early in 1960, SIC recommended criteria and framework for collaborative efforts within which resources could be coordinated to meet the needs of the children affected by the crisis."¹⁷ The AFSC found that involving both community members and non-community members in the fight for desegregation would help to build awareness of the unjust practices being implemented in Virginia and raise the spirits of the activists as well as the people personally suffering from the discrimination.

The SIC, along with the AFSC, agreed that more women needed to be involved because extra attention needed to be given to the special needs of children. The AFSC felt that women would play an important role in knowing what kinds of special attention the children needed and would bring more insight to their efforts. By showing how important females were to the Prince Edward County school closings, it shows that women activists were a powerful force behind school desegregation.

Over the course of the first year in Prince Edward County school closures, the AFSC's Southern Civil Rights Program relocated students to churches and boarding schools in order for the students to continue their education. Fairfax reported that, "During the first year of closed schools, the emphasis was clearly on the need to strengthen the academic skills and sustain the morale of black

¹⁷ Ibid, 3.

children who remained in the County, while finding ways to relocate as many as possible.”¹⁸ While none of the placements made were permanent, Fairfax and the Southern Civil Rights Program hoped to create alternative methods of education for the children until the crisis was over.

The Prince Edward County Student Placement Project faced a daunting task because, in order for students to be placed in alternative schools, the program needed to raise money and find host families, as well as find and select school districts willing to take in minority students. The placement of students with host families was a tremendously difficult task. The AFSC recognized the complexity of finding suitable families and placing students in those homes. In order to implement the Student Placement project quickly, the AFSC hired and trained social workers to meet professional standards. The trained social workers played a vital role in finding and certifying host families for a large number of students to live with in a small amount of time. Fairfax described the counselors and social workers as “enthusiastic, competent, caring members of the team... sponsoring committees valued and depended up on the social worker for their professional expertise, but retained responsibility for the placements.”¹⁹

The AFSC’s Student Placement Program social workers were women of all different racial and ethnic backgrounds. Female social workers hired by the AFSC were both black and white and came from different socio-economic classes. By hiring social workers from diverse backgrounds, the AFSC felt that the social workers would be more prepared to deal with the different types of conflicts that might erupt in the Student Placement Project. According to Fairfax in her AFSC report, “insomuch as tensions between host families and our students often became a major problem, social workers were key to the resolution of matters that surfaced during home visits.”²⁰

The AFSC believed that social workers who had faced the racial injustices of the United States first-hand would be better equipped to help counsel the African-American students enrolled in the project. Hiring a diverse group of female social workers brought many advantages to the Student Placement Program, but the AFSC quickly found that due to the socio-economic variances between the social workers, tension began to occur when dealing with class recognition among the African-American students who were enrolled in the Student Placement Program. Fairfax observed, “This was an era when associations of black social workers and sociologists were challenging

¹⁸ Ibid, 4.

¹⁹ Ibid, 24.

²⁰ Ibid.

nationally the interracial placement of black children and our local sponsoring committees became involved in vigorous debates on this issue as they were trying to make plans on very short notice."²¹

Many problems began to stem from organizing such a large project in a small amount of time. Fairfax took this challenge as an opportunity to help create a stronger and more diverse program, noting: "Deliberations by staff and committees about the recommendations from SIC reflected our commitment that the evolving AFSC Prince Edward Program should implement wider goals than academic remediation."²²

Through the local and national efforts made by the AFSC, the problems concerning public education in Virginia were finally becoming known. While these types of unjust practices came as a shock to many, it was clear that Virginia officials were not concerned about the decisions they had made for Prince Edward County; the AFSC was aware that the fight to desegregate the Prince Edward County public school system was far from over.²³ The AFSC began overseeing programs already in operation that helped relocate students to other districts. According to AFSC reports, "Fairfax wrote to directors of five regional AFSC offices directors, asking their help in placing about 50 junior and senior high school students. Regional offices were asked to find communities and to organize local sponsoring committees that would recruit host families, select schools, involve counselors, provide cultural experiences and raise money."²⁴

Placing students in outside communities and school systems was an imposing challenge for the AFSC, but imperative because of limited education resources. The AFSC decided not to recruit students for the AFSC Student Placement Project, and instead local leaders provided information about the program and allowed interested students and their parents to decide whether to enroll in the placement program. According to AFSC records, "Within a few weeks, 47 students, grades 7-12, had been placed in ten communities, plus Scattergood School and Moorestown Friends School."²⁵ The majority of the students enrolled in the Student Placement Project were African-American, but the AFSC did not discourage poor white students from enrolling as well. The Student Placement Program was originally viewed as temporary relief until the Prince Edward County public schools were reopened.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid, 7.

²³ Ibid, 10.

²⁴ American Friends Service Committee, "Opening Closed Doors," 7.

²⁵ Ibid.

As an observer for the AFSC, Juanita Morisey's main task was to observe the children who had been relocated to different school districts. Fairfax noted: "The purpose of her visits was to observe the children in their new communities, homes, and schools, to reassure all parties of AFSC's continuing interest in them, to give all involved a change to discuss any problems that had emerged, and to determine whether and children needed special services."²⁶ The work that was assigned to the female activists such as Juanita Morisey was critical to the future and success of the AFSC, along with all the programs they had already put in place.

Through Morisey's observations, it was clear that problems between the relocated children and their host families did occur. Along with those types of issues, it was difficult for many students to adjust to new school environments and new interracial situations with other students. Depending on the location that the student was placed in, students had different experiences. Some communities tended to be more welcoming than others to the students. Although some negative experiences did occur during the relocation process, Fairfax stated, "AFSC regional offices as well as the communities felt they participated in an important learning experience."²⁷ The conflicts between students and host families were another area in which the AFSC utilized the interracial social workers. The trained AFSC social workers were brought in to help mediate and solve any disputes that would arise between the two parties. Their work was imperative to the success of the AFSC's Student Placement Program.²⁸

As the African-American residents of Prince Edward County were faced with a second year without a resolution in the school desegregation crisis, more parents began to recognize the reality of the situation and enrolled their students in the Student Placement Program. The Student Placement Program developed and expanded quickly and, in response to the number of students in need of assistance, the Placement Project appointed Helen Baker as the director in residence of the Prince Edward County Program.²⁹ Baker created a number of improvements in the program. As more children were enrolled and placed in schools away from home, Baker recognized the strain it had on the families of the students and created a Parents Club to help unite the parents of students who were enrolled in the placement program.

²⁶ Fairfax, "American Friends Service Committee," 10.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 11.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 24.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 12.

The creation of the Parents Club allowed the African-American families in Prince Edward County to come together and discuss the experiences, both positive and negative, that their children were facing. It provided a support group for the families and created a sense of community. The AFSC found that "one note-worthy by-product of these gatherings was the opportunity to discuss cultural differences between natural and host parents in child-rearing and appropriate behavior that had surfaced in reports from host communities' practices."³⁰ These gatherings allowed the students who were placed in different schools to discuss their experiences and share the cultural differences they encountered. By considering all of the personal accounts from students who were enrolled in the Student Placement Program, the AFSC was able to evaluate how the placement program was progressing and figure out what areas of the program need to be improved.

Helen Baker proved to be an extremely important addition to the Student Placement Program. Her methods and ideas proved to be worthwhile for the time period, and employing another female activist once again proved to the public that women could lead. The Student Placement Program became a source of hope for many of the Prince Edward County residents, but the news that the desegregation crisis remained unresolved heading into a third year brought the spirits of many residents down. The only place the residents and students had to turn to was the AFSC's Student Placement Program. Jean Fairfax and Helen Baker worked hard to place more students into alternative school systems, and in many cases students who had already been placed had to relocate to a new area.

As the desegregation crisis entered a third year, the AFSC recognized that in order to reopen the schools in Prince Edward County, it would have to devise a new plan to implement change and promote biracial living. The task of promoting integration was one of the hardest tasks the AFSC had to face. The AFSC recognized that "the white community was not monolithic. Rigid segregationists believed that the Supreme Court's 1954 decision was not the law of the land."³¹ Members of the Prince Edward County School Board were in no position to solve the education crisis in their communities. The white community members showed no sympathy for the situation that the Prince Edward County School Board forced upon the African-American residents and had every intention of keeping the school systems segregated indefinitely. Fairfax stated, "In my report or May 16, 1962 to the Community Relations

³⁰ American Friends Service Committee, "Opening Closed Doors," 13.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 10.

Executive Committee, I described the sober reality: the prospects for reopening public school were slim; AFSC would probably be faced with the urgent need to find new placements and new funds to cover the heavy cost of administering the program and subsidizing the children and the host communities."³²

While the AFSC had taken the desegregation crisis of Prince Edward County, Virginia to local and state levels, the AFSC found it vital to involve the national government in the matter. The AFSC was never going to establish any compliance with the local white officials and residents of Prince Edward County and needed to find an alternative route. AFSC representatives began to meet with different federal agencies to discuss the abandonment of public education.³³ The continuation of school closings placed an immense financial burden on the AFSC, and the organization struggled to raise money for the program. Different funding solutions were explored by the AFSC and its members, but unfortunately none of the proposed plans were adequately suited to fund the Student Placement Project.

Jean Fairfax personally met with five different federal commissions, including the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the U.S. Department of Justice, the U.S. Department of Agriculture, and the President's Committee on Juvenile Justice and Youth Crime.³⁴ Meeting with each governmental commission showed the serious nature of the Prince Edward County crisis and ensured consideration of the crisis at the federal level. Jean Fairfax was at the forefront of all of the meetings and was the spokeswoman for the AFSC. Not only did the meetings send a message to the public that equality needed to be obtained in the education system, but also that female activists could be powerful figures in implementing social change.

With the consistent efforts of Fairfax and the AFSC, the federal government began to produce some results for the AFSC beginning in 1963.³⁵ Along with gaining the support of the federal government, the AFSC began working with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) to develop a Free School for the African-American students in Prince Edward County. This was the first time that efforts to help desegregate schools in Prince Edward County were beginning to develop on a national level. In other words, "for the first time, representatives from all of the agencies that were or should have been involved in the County came together

³² Fairfax, "American Friends Service Committee," 17.

³³ American Friends Service Committee, "Opening Closed Doors," 13.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 15.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

for briefing, got acquainted with black and white locals and explored collaboration with them, including plans for the Free School to open in the fall."³⁶ With increased involvement by the federal government, more national attention was brought the AFSC and the Student Placement Programs' efforts to obtain justice in Prince Edward County, and more national groups and social activists joined their campaign.

Along with all of the national attention came more violent backlash from the white community members, however. NAACP members experienced violent attacks, even resulting in the murder of Medgar Evers, a field secretary for the NAACP. It was a critical time for the AFSC and the NAACP to show that they were not going to restrain their efforts due to the violence that was being committed against them. Shortly after the assassination of Medgar Evers, the AFSC received some aid when an attorney from New York was assigned to help with the Prince Edward school desegregation crisis. The attorney identified the Free School as the solution for the AFSC. While writing the proposal for the Free School seemed like an excellent resolution, once again the AFSC was faced with a financial problem and needed to begin searching for a way to fund the new school.³⁷ Along with funding the school, Fairfax went to work finding teachers and administrators to run the Free School. Fairfax was aware of how hard it would be for the AFSC to fill the positions in such a small amount of time.

The Free School opened on September 16, 1963, and was run by a board of trustees selected by the Governor of Virginia. Interracial faculty taught both African-American and white students enrolled in the school.³⁸ While the Free School was seemingly a step in the right direction toward the main goal of desegregation, the AFSC was fearful that community members, as well as federal commissions, would see the school as a complete resolution to the Prince Edward County crisis. Fairfax wanted to make it known that the opening of the Free School was a stepping stone and that ultimately all the public schools in Prince Edward County should reopen and be integrated.

The AFSC found a solution to the immediate educational crisis in Prince Edward County, Virginia, but it was not until March 1964 that the U.S. Supreme Court heard the Prince Edward case and the fight for a permanent solution was in view. After a two-month-long hearing, the Supreme Court finally rendered its decision in May 1964 and ordered the reopening of all public schools in Prince Edward County. Although this ruling was a great victory for Jean

³⁶ Ibid, 16.

³⁷ Ibid, 17.

³⁸ Ibid, 18.

Fairfax, the AFSC, and the African-American residents of Prince Edward County, Virginia, their work was not yet over.³⁹ While the U.S. Supreme Court ordered the reopening of public schools in Prince Edward County, no ruling was given in response to the constitutionality of public educational grants, and that issue was left unresolved.

Although Jean Fairfax and the AFSC were unable to achieve all the rulings they hoped for, finally in September 1964 Prince Edward County public schools reopened. With the reopening of the public schools, fifteen hundred students were enrolled, including eight whites.⁴⁰ While many whites remained in their privately-funded segregated schools, the AFSC saw the outcome as a success. Its efforts helped gain national attention to the social injustice that was being perpetrated in Prince Edward County, Virginia. The AFSC helped develop organizations to bring aid to people and areas in need, which has always been the overall goal of the AFSC since its creation. The organization concluded: "[The] AFSC was in Prince Edward County to embolden people who felt powerless - who were unable to act, even though they felt a deep moral concern to end the crisis over the closed school. AFSC was not there to take over leadership, but to develop and strengthen the capacity for change and to facilitate the coming together of local citizens, black and white, in a precedent-setting effort to lead the community in new directions."⁴¹

Jean Fairfax played a crucial role in the Prince Edward County Crisis and proved to be an extremely successful female activist. Fighting for what she believed helped Fairfax to establish many successful programs that ultimately provided assistance to the African-American students who were being hurt by the closing of public schools in Prince Edward County. Female activists played a critical role in both the AFSC and the Civil Rights Movement as a whole. The AFSC and female activists worked together to form three pivotal organizations to implement change in the educational system in the United States. Jean Fairfax, along with numerous other female activists and the assistance of the AFSC, created alternative outlets for learning and education for the African-American students who had been left with no educational opportunities when the public schools suddenly shut down.

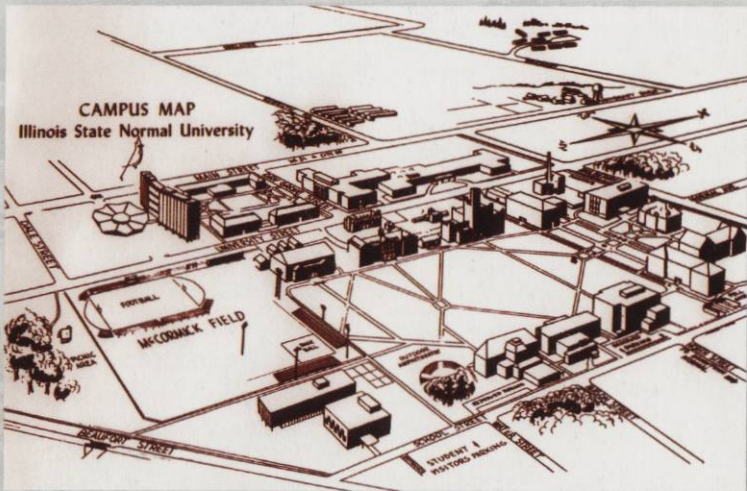
The Prince Edward County, Virginia, public school crisis caused a great deal of political and racial tension throughout the state. The work of female activists associated with the AFSC in the Prince Edward County school crisis exemplified the vital role female activists played in creating positive change.

³⁹ Ibid, 21.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 23.

⁴¹ Ibid, 26.

Jean Fairfax and other female activists banded together to help place African-American students in replacement schools and ultimately were the fighting force behind the creation of the Free School. The AFSC, Fairfax, and other female activists, through hard work, dedication, and determination, helped to improve the world we live in today. Without the courage of female activists such as Jean Fairfax, Juanita Morisey, and Helen Baker, the educational system in Prince Edward County would have suffered from educational inequality for many more years.



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