

Recounting the Past?

A Student Journal of Historical Studies
at Illinois State University

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Thanks to Sally Heinzl and Andrew Hughes
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NOTE FROM THE EDITOR

Recounting the Past has a new look this year. Last year we modified the format to reflect the appearance of contemporary historical journals. This year we have incorporated images into the articles. While this volume is, we hope, both more attractive and readable, the new design has added a great deal of work to the production stage. Many people invested their time and effort in this volume. I would like to thank Illinois State University's Office of Marketing and Communications for their work, especially Cristy Scoggins for copy editing, Laura DiMascio for design, and Norma Fagerland for page layout.

PREFACE

These essays, based on primary source work and informed by contemporary historical methodologies, were selected to best represent the quality of graduate and undergraduate student work in the History Department at Illinois State University. While the journal never specified a theme in calling for qualified papers, we find, nonetheless, that a theme has emerged. The articles in this volume of Recounting the Past endeavor to define or at least describe the American Experience as it has been shaped by the fundamental building blocks of American society: race, capitalism, gender, and class. While each student had his or her own take on these issues, each has addressed his or her topic in a meaningful and sometimes provocative way.

In our first essay, Eduardo Garza employs various methodologies to examine the rise of international gangs. By revealing the hidden economic functions of laissez-faire capitalism, he shows the roots of the escalation of international gangs to be, not simply a function of societal breakdown, but rather the specific result of global economic changes combined with a flawed and xenophobic domestic policy. He achieves this in part through an original examination of the urban planning models employed first at the turn of the twentieth

eth century then completely rewritten after the 1965 Watts Riots and the notorious Fortunate City, which created containment zones where urban ills could be selectively cut off from the economic life of downtown.

Sally Heinzl's article uncovers the genesis of American individualism not in any political or religious philosophy, but in the capitalist drive to sell more goods to more people. Ironically, nineteenth-century values such as industry, savings, modesty, and thrift meant that the shift from an industrial culture to a consumer culture was perceived as a negative rather than a positive transition. Advertising helped to soften the transformation by appealing to new ways of perceiving the self as an individual at once distinct from and accepted by the crowd if only one purchased the right products. Heinzl uses contemporary advertisements from popular magazines to illustrate in both word and image the birth of the consumer culture.

Mary Fahy's article examines the significant roles played by race, class, and gender in the founding of Hull House in Chicago by Jane Addams and several similarly minded colleagues in 1889. Fahy characterizes the Hull House founders as women who pursued higher education during a period in which most women were destined to marry and become mothers rather than take jobs outside the home, but she uncovers the irony that these same independent women encouraged the lower-class residents at Hull House to conform to the middle-class ideal of a woman as wife and mother.

In a re-examination of the charges of racism leveled against Theodore Roosevelt, Clifton Davis finds a tempering effect in Roosevelt's philosophy of individual achievement. Using sources written late in Roosevelt's life, Davis presents a portrait of Theodore Roosevelt in which he did not condemn all non-white races outright, but believed that each race could improve itself through determination and hard work.

Jennifer Pluta employs a sophisticated understanding of racial conflict in examining the early history of the YWCA. Although the YWCA became a leader in forging integrated communities in the 1950s and 1960s, its earlier history was not as impressive. Pluta

shows that black women were often forced to create separate Colored Women's Christian Associations to provide services the white YWCA would not. In the three cities she examines, she reveals that integration was a slow and not always forward-moving process for the YWCA and black women themselves were largely responsible for making the YWCA racially integrated.

Stirling Crow examines the treatment of African-Americans in the period immediately following the Civil War at the hands of both the national and the state governments. Rather than helping the freedmen establish themselves as independent farmers (forty acres and a mule), Crow shows that the agency charged with protecting the freedmen's rights and welfare in the newly liberated south was in fact responsible for their virtual re-enslavement known as sharecropping. Fearing a complete economic collapse of the South, the Freedmen's Bureau forced the freedmen back to the plantations where their treatment was little different from when they were slaves, except that landowners had less obligation to guard the welfare of their workers than they had when those workers were property.

Maura Matuszak's essay offers an intellectual understanding of freed slaves in the same period. Rather than looking at the economic and political effects of emancipation, Matuszak examines African-Americans' concepts of freedom and how their various understandings of the term were molded and altered by specific circumstances during and after the Civil War. She is careful to note that there is no universal experience of freedom because circumstances differed widely not only among regions, but even within counties and on the most

personal level, among individuals. Despite the widespread discrimination

documented in the previous article, Matuszak finds that freedom remained an important idea for African-Americans that continued to shape their worldview and their self-concept for several generations.

April Schlaus's essay finishes up the volume by looking at another racial catastrophe in American history the imprisonment of Japanese-Americans during World War II. Schlaus's focus is less on the event itself than on the incident's recounting in U.S. history textbooks. She finds that most textbooks misrepresent Japanese internment when they bother to spend more than a few lines on it, usually as a part of the Civil Rights Movement rather than as part of World

Shadow Economies in the Age of Globalization:
A Case Study of Transnational Gang Networks in the
Americas

B eduardo d. garza C

The transnational expansion of the multiethnic, Los Angeles-based Mara Salvatrucha and 18th Street gangs to Canada, Mexico, and most countries in Central America is a result of the steady implementation of global neo-liberal economic policies emanating from the White House since the mid-1970s, which is effectively tied to issues of race in American society. In regards to race, emergence of transnational gang violence in North and Central America developed out of the unforeseen consequences of the xenophobic policy towards United States immigrants in the wake of the 9/11 terrorists attacks on America. Transnational gangs like resulted from the new epistemology of spatial apartheid in urban planning that arose from the ashes of the 1965 Watts rebellion. This planning was intended to prevent and contain future urban uprisings by the poor and ethnically marginalized in the cities America. The transnationality of Mara Salvatrucha and 18th Street however, cannot be understood unless their condition is framed as a function of the global economy and linked to issues of American racism.

Consequently, the historic organized chaos levied upon poor ethnic minorities of the legitimate world in the United States directly influenced the levels of sophistication under which the transnational gang nexus was forged in the world of shadows across the United States and outside its borders. This essay traces the origins of Mara Salvatrucha and 18th Street to the marginalization of urban Chicano youth, who created and participated in the street gangs of Los Angeles over several generations since the signing of the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. From this perspective, the essay addresses the socio-economic and socio-political factors influencing the development of a U.S.-styled Chicano street gang culture from a localized phenomenon to a Latino, cross-cultural, and, ultimately, transnational criminal network.

To understand the phenomenon of transnational gangs, we must first contextualize it as Robert W. Cox suggests by placing crises like this one within a context of global capitalism that differentiates between the overt and covert worlds. According to Cox,

The covert and overt worlds are symbiotically related. The overt world through the chaos it generates gives rise to the covert world; and the covert world in turn rests upon the overt world. The question here is whether the covert world's action sustains and perpetuates the chaos which lies at its origin, or whether the covert world can have a transformative impact.

A new kind of war has been unleashed upon the people of Central America again, spawned from the unforeseen consequences of U.S. foreign policy following the terrorist attacks on September 2001, and hemispheric immigration issues throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Today, the specter of transnational gangs haunts all political discourse regarding interstate security in the region surpassing the North American concern for Middle Eastern terrorism. The violence is negotiated between two highly organized and deadly transnational gangs, Mara Salvatrucha and 18th Street. Throughout Central America and southern Mexico, national police reports conclude that the average number of homicides attributable to gang violence since 9/11 ranges anywhere between twenty and fifty percent.

In El Salvador the number is as high as forty-five percent. This sparked outgoing President Francisco Flores to reinstitute the oligarchic oppressive laws of the civil war years (1954–1990). Human rights groups call these civil war-inspired laws unconstitutional because they violate fundamental rights such as free association, due process, and the requirement that the government produce evidence to back up criminal charges. In terms of security, these

1 Robert W. Cox and Michael G. Schechter, *The Political Economy of a Plural World: Critical Reflections on Power, Morals, and Globalization* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 125–126.

2 Margaret Swedish, "Region's Governments Sign Anti-Gang Pact,"

laws enable the police to arrest large numbers of youth associated with each other in marginal areas after a predetermined curfew, regardless of any involvement in criminal activity. Most youths arrested on the suspicion that they are gang members based on their personal attributes clothing, gestures, and tattoos that may express gang affiliation.

Running on a significantly tougher campaign platform against crime, right-wing candidate Tony Saca won the Salvadoran presidency in March 2004 promising a return to the Firm Hand paramilitary tactics of the civil war years that engaged most countries in the Central American region. I date this period starting with the 1954 CIA-sponsored overthrow of the Arbenz government in Guatemala to the Sandinista government's peaceful surrender of power following the 1990 elections in Nicaragua. In 2004, President Saca pledged to eradicate the transnational gang presence of Mara Salvatrucha and 18th Street once and for all from Salvadoran soil. Today, he is responsible for fostering the re-creation of military death squads. These death squads are sent out at night into the capital city of San Salvador with one objective: to execute any and all gang members found to be loitering on city streets at a predetermined, yet secret, curfew (it is only known to Salvadoran security agents).

During daylight hours a de-centered paramilitary wing of anti-gang police officers roam the streets of San Salvador arresting gang members found associating together without probable cause. Once arrested, district court judges sentence gang members to inordinately long prison terms for minor infractions. Judges base the length of their sentences on the size and location of a gang member's tattoo. Their misinformed logic is twofold. Most judges assume that the size of a gang member's tattoo signifies the level of barbarity with which he commits criminal acts. In the minds of most judges, the larger the tattoo, the greater the gang member's passion for criminal activity. Second, gang tattoos appearing on painful areas of the body like the chest and forehead somehow

America/Mexico Report (June 2004): 3, <http://www.rtfcam.org> (accessed November 13, 2005).

3 Ginger Thompson, "Gangs Without Borders, Fierce and Resilient, Confound the Law," *New York Times* (September 26, 2004): 1.

signal a deep commitment to gang life. Although this is not an ideal position for judges to take, it is indicative of the false realities that engender the official state policy of excessive judicial punishments coupled with extreme police pressures visited upon transnational gang members in Latin America.

Over the past year and a half, the *New York Times* has reported on serious human rights abuses committed against transnational gang members serving time in Salvadoran prisons. Penologists argue that the rapid convictions of transnational gang members are directly responsible for the meteoric rise in El Salvador's prison population. Consequently, an already suffocating general prison population has swelled beyond capacity. The reports that the established practice for controlling the exploding prison population in El Salvador requires prison guards to release gang members out to prison yards where they are doused with gasoline and burned alive. After the procedure is completed, wardens submit official state documents attributing inmate deaths to a violent prison riot, or a war between rival gang cliques.

Investigations are difficult to organize and information is lacking because the physical evidence is quickly destroyed. Such clandestine success for the liquidation of transnational gang members has prompted the formation of a Central American coalition dedicated to the eradication of the transnational gang problem in the region. On January 14, 2004, the presidents of Honduras, Guatemala, and Nicaragua (in conjunction with El Salvador) signed a treaty agreeing to cooperate in efforts to uproot Mara Salvatrucha and 18th Street from their lands. Today, governments across Central America have no tolerance for gang members. According to Margaret Swedish, The crackdown in Central America has apparently had the unintended but inevitable effect of dispersing the gangs to neighboring countries spilling over into Mexico where authorities have stated that Mara Salvatrucha's and 18th Street's presence was marginal up until two years ago in Mexico.

4 Swedish, Region's Governments Sign Anti-Gang Pact, 3.

5 Swedish, Region's Governments Sign Anti-Gang Pact, 3.

6 Swedish, Region's Governments Sign Anti-Gang Pact, 4.

National Migration Institute (INM) declares that factions of Mara Salvatrucha and 18th Street have appeared in eight Mexican states including the capital city making this a national security problem.⁷

The research indicates that very few social activists are working for the rehabilitation and protection of the rights of transnational gang members whom Central American and Mexican governments have defined as barbarous mercenaries. Seemingly, the only two groups working in favor of transnational gang members are an international brotherhood of Jesuit priests and a Los Angeles-based group of reformed Latino street gang members who call their organization Homies Unidos (Homies United). They are dedicated to the education, protection, and mobilization of the homies (colloquial for gang member) into society. Only now are human rights organizations beginning to uncover the atrocities committed against gang members in countries dedicated to eliminating Mara Salvatrucha and 18th Street.

For activists like Pascual Campos, a Jesuit priest working with gang members in the slums of Mexico City, the return to Firm Hand tactics in Central America and Mexico is cause for concern.

I hope the Mexican government will act wisely with respect to the gang question. Putting an emphasis on education, sports, and employment opportunities for young people the best antidote against the violence is working with the youngsters, rather than repressing them.

Others, like Emilio Goubaud, who runs a rehabilitation center for gang members in Guatemala, say that the governments participating in the anti-gang treaty are not looking at the causes of the problem and that the hard-line approach will only make the gangs more violent. Moreover, Goubaud reflects the growing fear amongst human rights activists in Central America and Mexico

7 Swedish, Region s Governments Sign Anti-Gang Pact, 2.

8 Swedish, Region s Governments Sign Anti-Gang Pact, 4.

9 Swedish, Region s Governments Sign Anti-Gang Pact, 4.

10 Swedish, Region s Governments Sign Anti-Gang Pact, 4.

11 Swedish, Region s Governments Sign Anti-Gang Pact, 2.

that a sustained eradication program against gang members will force Mara Salvatrucha and 18th Street to unite and become underground insurgents generating a war against the police.

Indeed, recent events reported by *Central America/Mexico Report* (a bi-monthly news journal published by the Religious Task Force on Central America and Mexico [RTFCAM]) indicate the possibility of such inter-gang mobilization. Since the anti-gang treaty was signed, national police forces across Central America and Mexico have reported a consistent array of public mutilations committed against security agents aimed at attracting the attention of the national government. In these mutilations, a blindfolded, decapitated head of a security agent with a tourniquet stuffed inside its mouth is spotted perched atop a lamppost that overlooks a busy commuter highway. Then the head's body appears along side a visible pedestrian pathway with its hands and feet bound together with a note attached to it. The note reads, "If you keep persecuting the gangs, people will keep dying."

Proper conceptualization of the transnational gang crisis requires that we understand the origins of Mara Salvatrucha and 18th Street from an ethno-anthropological perspective. Such a lens links the development of these transnational gangs with the historical development of Chicano street gangs in Los Angeles. This reference point will allow us to see why transnational gangs must be contextualized as a problem of global capitalism, represented in the following statement by a sixteen-year-old Grape Street Crip gang member: "Gangs are never going to die out. You all go to get us jobs." According to Al Valdez, gang specialist for the Orange County District Attorney's Office, the most common mistake made when contextualizing the formation of Chicano street gangs is misrepresenting their origins as a function of the late twentieth century's global economy. In Valdez's opinion we must retrace their origins to the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo

¹²Mike Davis, *City of Quartz* (New York: Vintage, 1990), 300.

¹³Al Valdez, "A History of California's Hispanic Gangs," National Alliance of Gang Investigators Associations, http://www.nagia.org/Hispanic_Gangs.htm (accessed November 13, 2005), 1.

¹⁴Valdez, "A History of California's Hispanic Gangs," 2.

resulting in the annexation of what we now call Nevada, California, Arizona, Utah, New Mexico, Texas, and Colorado to the United States from its war with Mexico. This treaty displaced an estimated 2,000 Mexican citizens, naturalizing them into a foreign nation that considered them to be subhuman workers.

According to Valdez, the California Gold Rush of 1849, which followed the treaty and subsequently birthed a rapidly expanding Los Angeles in the early 1900s, set the attitude, social, and economic conditions in Los Angeles that helped to shape and direct the actions of LA's street gangs. Valdez explains that as Los Angeles progressed, its naturalized Mexican citizens were strategically treated as second-class citizens by white Angelinos. Despite a social pecking order among varying classes of whites within society, even the poorest whites unanimously opposed integrating with Mexicans. As Valdez asserts, Mexican street gangs formed in part due to economic conditions, prejudice, and racism. Similar socio-economic parallels can be found when analyzing the formation of Irish and Italian street gangs after their immigration to New York City in the 1800s. These factors, Valdez declares, were present in Los Angeles, giving rise to LA's future Latino street gangs.

The initial development of street gangs was designed for the protection of Mexican-American Angelinos and their entrepreneurial endeavors within the formal and informal economy. The makings of their criminality arose in the early 1940s as a result of the monthlong Zoot Suit Riots in June 1943. History of California's Hispanic Gangs. Valdez depicts the Zoot Suit Riots as a series of racially motivated attacks stemming from white U.S. Navy servicemen on shore leave from World War II. Their violence was directed towards Mexican-American gang members exhibiting the pachuco look of the oversized zoot suit.

The violence of the Zoot Suit Riots was cultivated by the in-

15 Valdez, *A History of California's Hispanic Gangs*, 3.

16 Valdez, *A History of California's Hispanic Gangs*, 4-5.

17 Valdez, *A History of California's Hispanic Gangs*, 4-5.

18 Valdez, *A History of California's Hispanic Gangs*, 4.

19 Valdez, *A History of California's Hispanic Gangs*, 4.

20 Valdez, *A History of California's Hispanic Gangs*, 4.

21 *Ibid*, 3.

trination of white military leaders who depicted it as a wasteful and unpatriotic exhibition of fabric desperately needed for the war effort. The white sailors who initiated the riots succumbed to military-sponsored racially motivated indoctrinations. They were told pachucos avoided enlistment and were unpatriotically tied to their Mexican heritage. However, most Mexican-Americans willingly enlisted and those who were able-bodied witnessed frontline action. Many died in the service of their country.

Pachucos, whom the U.S. military deemed physically unfit to serve, regarded various reports of drunken white sailors raping and abusing Mexican-American women while on shore leave as the initiation of a race war. This brought rival gangs together in solidarity for a purposeful battle of protecting their women against the establishment and the military. A deeper level, gang solidarity was made possible because protecting Mexican-American communities against the violence of the riots appealed to positive Latino machista sensibilities.

Believing that this was a just cause, Valdez states that many Mexican-American youths found a certain solidarity in street gangs, even going so far as adopting the heroes of the Mexican revolution as their own. Communities were mobilized around Emiliano Zapata's call to arms: It is better to die on my feet than to live on my knees. Armed with their new galvanizing strategy, the young gang members began developing the gang concept of claiming and defending Mexican-American turf against the white sailors. After World War II and the loss of a common enemy, the unified coalition of street gangs began to fall apart. Old gang rivalries between Mexican-Americans living in different housing projects re-emerged. Clear lines of turf were claimed by rival gangs in accordance with their respective housing projects. These early frontiers evolved into some of the neighborhoods, or barrios, whose names are still familiar within the street gang culture and

²²Ibid, 3.

²³Ibid, 3.

²⁴Fred Hampton Jr., One Prisoner One Crossroad: A Journal of the New African Creed, no. 2 (January-March 2004),

whose modern turf wars can be traced back to those original housing projects.³³ This is a crucial time period for understanding the culture of Chicano gangs because the central issues of competition for jobs, women, and turf, which defined the existence and sustainable growth of Los Angeles's Chicano gangs, grew out of this postwar period.

Los Angeles's Chicano gangs had a different origin than their African-American counterparts. In this regard, Los Angeles's block street gangs formed from the void left after the CIA's clandestine destruction of the revolutionary Black Panther Party in the mid- to late 1960s.³⁴ Los Angeles's Chicano street gangs, on the other hand, developed over two centuries, which has produced several generations of Chicano gang members. For example, it is not uncommon to find entire families who are, or were, involved in their local street gangs. The New York Times reported that such generational spawning of Chicano gang members in marginal neighborhoods in Los Angeles has produced an estimated 700 different gang cliques and more than 110,000 gang members.³⁵ By the late 1980s this fact crowned Los Angeles with the dubious honor of being the gang capital of the world.

In a city where half of all murders are attributed to gang violence, the most powerful, deadly, well-known, and unique (due to their cross-cultural membership) street gang is the 18th Street. This gang took its name after a street just four blocks from where the members of the Clanton Street gang proliferated. By the early 1960s, the Clanton Street gang had enjoyed two generations worth of steady growth in its membership. On the street their respect was linked to the notorious successes of California's most powerful prison gangs, like the Mexican Mafia.

The Mexican Mafia became California's first prison gang in the early 1950s founded by members of the Maravilla street gang. Initially, the Maravilla leadership organized all Mexican-American gang members who were sentenced to San Quentin prison into one prison gang. This was done to protect *razón* (a colloquialism symbolizing Chicano ethnic pride) from racist prison staff and a

the time a demographically white majority prison population. Today, the Mexican Mafia operates throughout the entire U.S. penal system. The Clanton Street gang was connected to the Mexican Mafia, serving as a muscle on the streets. The Mafia's attempt to establish an underground narcotics trafficking organization.

By the early 1960s the Mexican Mafia developed a sophisticated network for moving marijuana and black-tar heroin from Mexican drug kingpins and cocaine from Colombian drug cartels into U.S. prisons. This network grew more sophisticated by the day. At the time, the network smuggled narcotics in their pure form behind prison walls through human narcotics mules (individuals who carry drugs on or within their bodies through checkpoints) and visiting inmates. After the narcotic was handed off, it would then be broken down into user material and packaged for distribution from inside prison walls. From this point, the illicit product would be transferred to the outside through a variety of economic channels that operated in the shadows. Once outside, narcotics were moved by any Chicano street gang willing to pay a tax to the Mexican Mafia, a tax collected by the Clanton Street gang.

This marked a significant change in the organizational nature of Los Angeles's Chicano gangs. Up until this point in their history, Chicano street gangs organized around the defense of their turf. Violations would amount to organized fistfights with the occasional use of weapons agreed upon in war councils prior to the designated gang rumble. In many respects, Chicano street gang members of the 1950s considered themselves to be the policemen of their neighborhoods. This sensibility developed from the cultural impact of the Zoot Suit Riots. It caused Chicano gang members to feel a sense of duty and sacred obligation to protect their turf.

The essence of inner-city drug use in America changed this by the mid-1960s, however. Powerful and affordable narcotics from Mexico were in high demand to counter the suffocating effects of

²⁵Thompson, *Gangs Without Borders*, 14.

²⁶Valdez, *A History of California's Hispanic Gangs*, 8.

poverty and violence in ghetto streets. Mexican black-tar heroin soon displaced traditional negative outlets like marijuana and alcohol. Consequently, the shift in drug use forever altered the organizational purpose of Chicano street gangs. They ceased to be the defenders of their sacred lands, and became instead the exploiters of their sacred lands, profiting from the sale of disease and pestilence to young and disenfranchised.

From Chicano gang leadership's point of view, this was purely a business decision; it was not personal. The leadership recognized that the economic system of the day had effectively excluded them and their gangs from obtaining real wealth and the ability to consume through legitimate means. As a result, their decision to set out the Chicano community for economic gain merely reflects the schizoid perversion of capitalist morality at work during their historical moment. In no way does this justify the decision of the Chicano gang leadership. The point is this: With the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the system of capitalism found the essential piece of government legislation necessary for sustaining its development into the new millennium. What has grown out of this monumental act is a great illusion. And that illusion says that the disciplining and hidden hand, of the market will wipe out non-competitive actors from the economic playing field with an aggressive brutality blind to race and class. Effectively, the illusion says that we all have equality of opportunity under a free-market system.

This illusion is disseminated to the masses by sophisticated marketing agents who reinforce the idea that, even if one is black or brown, one has the opportunity to compete for the accumulation of extreme wealth in a free-market system. The unfortunate reality hidden from view is that the misery of poverty and the crippling effects of racial oppression cause many to never see the promise of an American dream fulfilled and others to realize such a dream by any means necessary, legal or otherwise. The historical truth is that all great wealth

27 State of the Union: The Color of Freedom As Cities, of Fall 2004, Seasons Productions, 2004.

28 Al Valdez, California's Most Violent Export, National Alliance of Gang Investigation Associations, http://www.nagia.org/18th_street.htm (accessed November 13, 2005),

United States is the product of great crime.

By the early 1980s the gatekeepers of wealth and privilege in the United States had established the necessary civil, social, and security institutions to enforce an unwritten law that requires people of color to amass wealth in a legal manner. In other words, people of color are disciplined by institutions into believing that any and all accumulation of wealth must uplift their communities in the process. In the documentary film *A Crisis of Faith* Reverend Calvin O. Butts bluntly summarizes this point: In this country, the bootlegger's son becomes president, while the drug dealer and his son go to prison. Consequently, this non-codified law prevents blacks and Latinos from the possibility of establishing true economic freedom the kind that buys real political and social power in this country.

As Los Angeles's Chicano gang leadership began establishing its economic empire through the sale of narcotics, Los Angeles's Chicano barrios were introduced to the first wave of undocumented Central American migrants. They flocked to what is known today as the Rampart section of Los Angeles, which was known as the Clanton Street gang's turf. For the reasons of protection and economic necessity discussed earlier, the children of the neighborhood's non-illegal immigrants wanted to join the gang.

According to Valdez, The membership of the Clanton Street gang was limited to those youth who were American citizens from a pure Mexican heritage. This strict code for entry into the Chicano gang world was established by the Mexican Mafia. Although the youthful immigrants were denied membership, many collaborated with each other, forming parallel juvenile gangs that participated in criminal violence. Most landed in juvenile detention centers where they were exposed to the highly sophisticated, organized prison violence of the Mexican Mafia. Faced with enemies both inside and outside prison walls, these new undocu

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29 Valdez, California's Most Violent Export, 1.

30 Valdez, California's Most Violent Export, 2.

mented immigrant inmates formed the 18th Street gang for protection.

Choosing their name in honor of the street where they associated with each other, 18th Street gang members galvanizing membership was not limited to Central American nationality. It crossed racial lines reaching out to marginalized whites, Asians and blacks in the interest of stimulating mass membership. These efforts have led 18th Street to enjoy a current membership of 30,000. Its membership base spans thirty different gang subsets throughout California.

The gang expanded across the United States through a mass recruitment plan by mobile California members during the 1990s. These members brought 18th Street to mixed-race urban neighborhoods in Alaska, Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Nevada, Arizona, Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, Nebraska, Iowa, Illinois, Georgia, and on Native American lands. ³¹ Research indicates that a world war of sorts among Los Angeles street gangs erupted at the dawn of the 1980s as the nature of the drug trade changed yet again. We can understand this war as long as we understand that cocaine symbolized the turbo-capitalism of the decade. The explosion of crack in urban sectors coupled with a lucrative cocaine market established throughout the United States launched most shadowy street organizations into competition for the right to control the sale and distribution of crack-cocaine. Soon after, Los Angeles's street gangs of all races began warring in the streets in the prisons to secure exclusive access to this power.

It appears that 18th Street won the war in the streets to control the sale of crack-cocaine and narcotics sales throughout the United States. According to Valdez, National and international drug trafficking seems to be 18th Street's main criminal activity. Intelligence indicates that 18th Street has established ties with Mexican and Columbian drug cartels, impacting the Southwest border states in particular.³² They also won the war in the prisons. The research

31 Valdez, California's Most Violent Export, 2.

32 Valdez, California's Most Violent Export, 2.

suggests that 18th Street consolidated its power by forming an alliance with the Mexican Mafia, achieved by incorporating all Latino inmates into the prison gang regardless of nationality.

Control over the U.S. prison system resulted in 18th Street extending the Mexican Mafia's vision of tax collecting to include not only Chicano street gangs selling their narcotics on the street but legitimate businesses as well. Effectively, 18th Street taxes illegal and legal activities conducted within its claimed territory. Valdez notes, "The potential taxpayers include street thugs, pimp, prostitutes, independent drug dealers, and rival gangs (regardless of race) as well as the legitimate businesses that exist in the neighborhood."³¹ With traditional gang concepts of solidarity and protection for one's own people lost in a modern era defined by the struggle for extreme wealth, 18th Street's tax collection methods are purely extortionist. They threaten to kill anyone who does not pay the tax.

Increasingly, 18th Street's network in the United States is growing into a highly sophisticated organized crime syndicate of concealed members. It has expanded its enterprise into the lucrative transnational arms trafficking market and participates in non-violent criminal activities. These activities include creating fraudulent Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) identification cards, immigration papers, credit cards, bus passes, and even food stamps.³² The organized criminal success of 18th Street was not won easily, however.

In the 1970s and 1980s the second wave of Central American immigration descended upon the peripheral zones of Los Angeles. Here, youthful migrants formed a street gang, *Mara Salvatrucha*, named in honor of Central America's reference to roving gangs of youths known as *maras*. Between 1970 and 1990 *Mara Salvatrucha* membership consisted mainly of young Salvadoran nationals who were members of the San Salvador street gang *La Mara Salvatrucha*. This era of U.S. Latino immigration was unique in that

³³ Yolanda Molina, "Poor Neighbors Fall Prey to US Gang Culture," *The Guardian News papers* (May 26, 2003), <http://www.ngrguardiannews.com> (accessed November 13, 2005), 1.

³⁴ Molina, "Poor Neighbors Fall Prey to US Gang Culture," 1-2.

the migrants were mainly composed of youth fleeing the violence of U.S.-backed counter-revolutions in Central America.

Most of these youths were juvenile delinquents and youthful members of left-wing revolutionary organizations like the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front. Lacking access to quality education and connections in the United States, the young men quickly banded together and formed Mara Salvatrucha throughout California to serve as a network for employment, social, and economic support as well as for protection against the violently criminal 18th Street gang. According to Valdez, Mara Salvatrucha formed originally for self-protection, but quickly developed a reputation for being organized and extremely violent. Transfer into violent activities was natural, due in part to the experience brought to the network by former Central American revolutionaries. Valdez reports that by the early 1990s Mara Salvatrucha entered into competition with 18th Street in a battle for the right to own a piece of the lucrative international drug trade.

The result of such intense competition sparked the expansion of Mara Salvatrucha across the United States and throughout the borders of Canada and Mexico. However, the research is unclear as to the connections between Mara Salvatrucha and 18th Street. We do not know to what extent they are working with each other. What we do know is that 18th Street solidified its position of supremacy over the distribution and sale of narcotics in the United States at the dawn of the new millennium. Where does Mara Salvatrucha fit into 18th Street's global network of illicit activities? Have they merged on the international level to form an alliance designed to pursue greater profits from the illicit sale of contraband products?

The research is lacking in this regard. This might be due to the nature of 18th Street's business. We only know so much of an organization that operates in the shadows. But it is clear that

35 Cox and Schechter, *The Political Economy of a Plural World*

36 Cox and Schechter, *The Political Economy of a Plural World*

37 Cox and Schechter, *The Political Economy of a Plural World*

38 Jean-Marc Coicaud, *Legitimacy and Politics: A Contribution to the Study of Political Right and Political Responsibility* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002),

9/11 deportations of undocumented immigrants resulting from the federal government's domestic security response to the attacks on the World Trade Center plays a pivotal role in understanding the transnational expansion of 18th Street and Mara Salvatrucha. In the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, all illegal immigrants arrested and found to be engaging in criminal activities in the United States were immediately deported to their countries of origin. Many undocumented U.S.-Latino street gang members were deported in this process.

Lacking connections in their native lands, members of Mara Salvatrucha and 18th Street brought with them the knowledge they gained from U.S. streets to form international sets (colloquial branches) of their former gangs. The deported easily found the necessary foot-soldiers to establish their sets. They simply incorporated an already significantly marginalized youth population in Mexico and Central America into a U.S.-style gang culture. Valdez's work involving the history of Los Angeles's Latino gangs suggests that Mara Salvatrucha is involved at the highest levels of the transnational gang network. The gang's exact positioning in the network is unclear. However, he does provide unique insight into the global nature of Mara Salvatrucha:

It is unlike traditional US street gangs. It maintains active ties with [Mara Salvatrucha] members and factions in El Salvador. It is truly an international gang that operates like a business coordinating with its factions over the internet.

The exceptional growth of a transnational gang movement is indicative of what Cox identifies as criminal elements that operate in the grey zone that fills the space between the established order and the counter-society that is clef²⁶ ~~in~~ ^{the} tower words, what we see in the middle is a covert world that operates in the shadow of the overt, or legitimate, world.

218.

³⁹Mike Davis, Steven Hiatt, Marie Kennedy, Susan Ruddick, and Michael Sprinker, eds. *Fire in the Hearth: The Radical Politics of Place* (London: ~~Andersson~~, 1990), 283.

enough capital to aggressively consume like the rich. In other words, gangs are spawned from the polarization of socioeconomic classes that defines the systemic capitalist structure of the overt world.

However, the transnational gang problem is not merely a socioeconomic issue. It is a direct result of the political disenfranchisement caused by political elites who have neglected to create and establish connections with an economic subclass of marginalized youths to bring them back into society's fold. Also, it is a secondary result of the unforeseen consequences of anti-immigration policies that extradited convicts in the wake of the U.S. government's overreaction to 9/11. In my mind there exists a grave disconnect between political leaders and their constituents at the local level of government. In terms of creating a community and establishing the right to rule over this community, Jean-Marc Coicaud states that feelings of belonging to a community and attitudes of loyalty on the part of the ruled towards the rulers depends upon the capacity of the latter to gauge the ways in which society is evolving.³⁸

From this perspective, the political elites of our time have failed to analyze and predict the evolution of Los Angeles's multi-cultural gangs into a transnational gang movement of marginalized youth. In effect, they lack the vision of understanding to see that marginalized youth organize around a central premise to feel functional and relevant in a system that has segregated and excluded them from the overt world of the global capitalist economy. Going a step further, Mike Davis places direct blame on the elite Latino politicians of Los Angeles. He argues that since the 1970s Latino leaders have aligned themselves politically to the neo-liberal economic interests of the Republican Party. Over time this confused association has led them to ignore the interests of their community. Davis writes,

41 David Held, *Political Theory and the Modern State: Essays on State, Power, and Democracy* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), 175.

42 Davis, *City of Quartz* 223.

43 Davis, *City of Quartz* 177.

44 Mike Davis, *Ecology of Fear: Los Angeles and the Imagination of Disaster*

In Los Angeles, politicians have remained captives of an international cartel whose wealth is based on the exploitation of low-wage workers. Ironically, Chicanos had initially elected leaders willing to challenge this same establishment. But the community and even many conservative and liberal Chicanos have lost confidence in a Chicano political establishment that allows itself to remain politically fragmented and structurally incapable of pursuing a populist agenda in defense of its constituency.

The research suggests that the exclusionary socio-economic ecology of Los Angeles gave birth to the transnational gang movement. On a deeper level, does the transnational gang problem highlight the contradictions of the global neo-liberal order?

At issue is the neo-liberal doctrine that the collective good of all individuals, can be properly realized in most cases by people acting in competitive isolation and pursuing their economic objectives with minimal state interference. The only way to pursue such economic goals, argue the neo-liberals, is to sustain a free-market system that allows individuals to compete for profits on a liberal global scale. Can the disadvantaged truly compete in this system? When we analyze the rhetoric of neo-liberalism at the level of micro-economics we encounter a distinct contradiction. The contradiction is highlighted by modern forces such as urban planning models that exclude specific classes of individuals from competing for profits on a global scale. The following passage by Davis expounds on my analysis of the current urban terrain of U.S. society:

Hollywood's pop apocalypses and pulp science fiction have been more realistic and politically perceptive in representing the hegemonic polarizations of the Reagan era. Images of carceral inner cities (Escape from New York, Running Man), high?

tech police death squads (Blade Runner), sentient buildings (Die Hard), urban Bantustans (They Live!), Vietnam-like street wars (Lois), and so on only extrapolate from actually existing trends.

This kind of exclusion is effectively tied to race and space.

According to David Held, If neo-liberals were to take this seriously, they would discover that massive numbers of individuals are restricted systematically for want of a complex mix of resources and opportunities from participating economic life. What this amounts to is social and economic apartheid on a mass scale. It is clear to most students of poverty that neo-liberal do not take this issue seriously. They cannot see that they have transformed the state into a relaxed system of governance for a few economic elites while simultaneously creating a segregated network of oppression against the marginal and middle-class majority. Consequently, it becomes clear that the emergence of transnational gang violence is supported by the organized chaos of the neo-liberal order.

The more the system oppresses, the more the covert world responds with organized violence to defend itself and its interests. The oppression that led to the unforeseen emergence of transnational gangs has its origin in the reactionary revolutionary change in U.S. urban theory regarding the construction of global cities. According to Davis, the global cities of the twentieth century were constructed around the 1920s urban planning model popularized by University of Chicago sociologist Ernest W. Burgess (Figure 1). Burgess's model segregated cities into distinct ecological zones based upon income, land value, class, and race. Burgess's model is considered by academics to be the most famous diagram in the social sciences.

Burgess's dartboard diagram (Figure 1) clearly denotes a steady progression outward of wealthier socio-economic concentric circles.

45 Davis Ecology of Fear 63.

46 Davis Ecology of Fear 63

47 Davis Ecology of Fear 63.

48 Davis City of Quartz 231.

lar zones the further suburbanization distances itself from the ical core of the city. We can see that twentieth-century global demarcated an inner-city dwelling for its poor. However, Davis reports that this model of urban planning was abandoned first by the global city of Los Angeles after the 1965 Watts rebellion and subsequently abandoned by other global cities in the interest of physical and economic security. On this matter, Davis recounts that after the Watts rebellion, elite members from Los Angeles's business community fearfully expected a black urban uprising in downtown Los Angeles during the summer of 1965. With the aid of the Los Angeles Police Department, they quickly mobilized a secret committee of twenty-five land developers and security agents to discuss the implementation of technologies and devise strategies that could efficiently contain future urban rebellions.

After the meeting, Los Angeles's top land developers persuaded City Hall to forgo its summer revitalization project of downtown's decaying financial district and concentrate its efforts in transplanting the district's transnational banks and supranational corporations to a new financial district overlooking the old district in an area known as Bunker Hill. This idea was sold to City Hall on the promise that developers would fashion corporate offices with state-of-the-art, riot-proof quarantine apparatuses. These included bulletproof steel doors that roll off from sealed vents to cover entrances and windows at the flick of a switch, instant freezing escalators, buildings full of electronically secured entrances and exits, and surveillance systems housed within and outside buildings. The model for this urban restructuring of global cities became known in urban-planning circles as Fortress LA. It succeeded in securing the renaissance of Los Angeles's financial district by cultivating an ecology of fear that racially segregated the new core and its land values behind a rampart of retrograde palisades, concrete pillars, and freeway walls.

The evidence of the Fortress LA model shows a preference for protecting Los Angeles's core financial district against the sur-

49 Davis, *Ecology of Fear*, 365.

50 Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Capitalist World Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 744.

rounding urban squalor. Figure 2 denotes a contained core, semi-periphery, and periphery. From this point of view the aforementioned serves to highlight the increasing interconnectivity between global cities and the advanced global capitalist system they serve. We see this connectivity reflected in what Davis has identified as the modern inner city. There exists a core containment field of the world, subhuman immigrants and domestic racially segregated others marginalized from the economic and social benefits enjoyed by the rest of the system's homogenous cohabiters. The system was purposefully designed in this fashion to protect and secure the image and functionality of downtown global financial districts. In this way, modern global cities reflect the construction of the global system identified by Immanuel Wallerstein, but with a new twist.

Wallerstein's world systems theory suggests that at the dawn of the 1980s the modern global capitalist system demanded a distinct positioning of core, semi-peripheral, and peripheral states to sustain the integrity of the system. From this vantage point, all state level conflict within the system is understood as maintaining a position of dominance, or gaining a better position within the system. I would argue that today, in the same manner as core states operate as the central determining agents of the global capitalist system, so, too, do the urban financial districts of the global economy act as the epicenters of economic activity for the city itself and the global system as a whole. The twist in the modern urban schematic is reflected in the development of highly sophisticated containment zones of residency that produce separate marginal landscapes that are worlds apart. This strategy has been enforced through the rise in the politics of fear over a dehumanized marginal other locally and globally. Consider, for instance, this statement by a 1990 article in *Urban Land* magazine entitled "Creating a Dense, Compact, Multifunctional Core Area"

51 Saskia Sassen, *The Global City* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 288.

52 Sassen, *The Global City*, 288.

53 Sassen, *The Global City*, 288.

54 Saskia Sassen, *Cities in a World Economy* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press, 1994), 120.

A downtown can be designed and developed to make visitors feel that it or a significant portion of it is attractive and the type of place that respectable people like themselves tend to frequent. The activities offered in this core area will determine what type of people will be strolling its sidewalks. Locating offices and housing for middle and upper income residents in or near the core area can assure a high percentage of respectable law abiding pedestrians.

In my mind, such deliberate propagandizing of Fortress LA throughout the 1990s has led to the creation of global inner cities that represent core states in the global system by embodying the policing strategies of Narcotics Enforcement Zones, Prostitution Abatement Zones, and Homeless Containment Zones. Furthermore, these policing strategies have been implemented to protect the residencies and work environments of sentinel managers from a subclass of marginalized citizens. This underclass services the material needs of the sentinel manager class through the informality of work. Further analysis over the structure of Fortress LA lights the embodiment of the global system's semi-peripheral structure with the establishment of a clearly demarcated Blue Collar Suburban Zone.

I have conceptualized the relationship with Wallerstein's model in the following manner: blue-collar-zoned people are like the people inhabiting global semi-peripheral states. Some might reach the economic stratosphere and become core members through the force of intense will, determination, and sheer luck. However, the reality is that the majority will toil in this middle-class position for the rest of their lives.

Such service highlights the organic ends of a system that Wallerstein postulates requires specific social divisions of labor for the maintenance of systemic equilibrium. From this end, the structure of the Gated Affluent Suburban Zone clearly separates

Ushering in a New Era:
Modernity, Consumer Culture, and the Role of Advertisers

B sally heinzel C

Advertisements have become a ubiquitous staple of American culture. We are bombarded by their images, sounds, and texts at every turn. Their saturating presence cuts through all class, gender, and racial lines. Whether we are amused by them or annoyed, the messages they transmit are ripe with insights about our culture. As industrialization begot mass production at the turn of the twentieth century, business leaders utilized a burgeoning advertising industry to market the appeal of a consumer-oriented society. Their task was not small. Antithetical to the ideology of mass consumption, with its emphasis on the accumulation of goods, immediate gratification, and indulgency, were the ascetic values of Victorianism. Changing traditional values was necessary in order to create a society that was desirous of purchasing products on a large scale.

To achieve such an end, advertisements had to address not the traditional concept of character but instead exploit a growing interest with personality. Stressing self-expression and self-fulfillment, advertisements exhorted consumers to find themselves through the use of a given product. One was encouraged to shop around for a personality and individuality was something to be constructed through the purchase of consumer goods. If Americans at the turn of the century felt like they were losing control over their lives, the sphere of consumption offered the mirage of choice. Freedom increasingly meant the ability of a consumer to choose among products.

While some advertisements beseeched their recipients to be unique, another message was concurrently being delivered: conform! If Americans no longer formed their identities via internal referents then they sought external cues for selfhood. Advertisements assuaged anxiety by presenting products that would help

one avoid social faux pas. Consumer goods became instruments to gaining acceptance and becoming part of a lifestyle. One's peers became tutors in consumption patterns.

These two seemingly incongruous tendencies one toward individualism, one toward conformity remain present in today's advertisements. Central to a culture are its contradictions, dialectics, or oppositions. In exploring the tensions produced by upholding conflicting ideals, one can often exhume the core values of a culture. Since America's founding, individualism and conformity have been at odds. Yet these concepts, as diametrically opposed they seem, actually work together within the ideology of consumption.

The examination of advertisements can aid in cultural studies. Advertisements have crept into virtually every facet of our lives, ingesting their messages visually and audibly. We may take note of some of the more comedic ones or be irritated at their interjection into our activities, but we rarely give them any substantial consideration. We expect the presence of advertisements and seem unperturbed with them dotting our physical landscape. (For example, since 2002 more than 100 police departments nationally have agreed to have advertisements painted on their computers. Companies are even using the human body as a canvas for advertisements by paying individuals to walk around in public with temporary tattoos on their foreheads.)

Even if we concede the fact that advertisements have become ubiquitous staples of our society, can they tell us anything significant about our world? Or do they operate in a realm that has little impact and importance outside of themselves? Sanford Dornbusch and Lauren Hickman certainly agree with the latter assertion. For

1 Benjamin Fleury-Steiner and Kristian Wiles, "The Use of Commercial Advertisements on Public Police Cars in the United States," *Postmodern Culture and Society* 13, no. 4 (2003): 447.

2 Nicole Gull, "Logos that Turn Heads," *Postmodern Culture and Society* (December 2003): 30.

3 Sanford Dornbusch and Lauren Hickman, "Other-Directedness in Consumer Goods Advertising: A Test of Riesman's Historical Schema," *Social Forces*, no. 2 (October–May 1959–1960): 102.

4 Matthew Soar, "Encoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising Production," *Mass Communication & Society* no. 4 (2000): 419.

lowing their analysis of advertisements that appear in the *Home Journal* over a six-decade period, they stress in their discussion that the field of consumer-goods advertising is far removed from the central core of American values, and our findings should not be generalized beyond this consumption area. Critics have taken a middle-of-the-road approach, conceding that advertisements constitute an important part of our cultural fabric but present a rarefied, heavily mediated, and often distorted view of the world.⁴ Michael Schudson similarly argues that advertisements are ripe for analysis but urges critics not to mistake symbol for substance when examining the social, cultural, political, and economic forces associated with them.⁵ Matthew McAllister, in an article written for *Popular Communication*, argues that commercial culture is not the same thing as popular culture. However, he admits that the distinction between the two is becoming more blurred as examples of the popular without the commercial are growing more rare and the commercial routinely achieves the popularity of the popular.

If a one-to-one relationship does not exist between the world that advertisements depict and the world that we live in, they nonetheless draw heavily from and contribute to American culture. The paper proceeds with the assumption that advertisements compose a body of text that can be used to generalize about the large society. They speak volumes about the individuals and society at which they are directed. According to Gillian Dyer, advertisers play a major role in shaping society's values, habits and direction. While individual ads may tell us what to buy, commercial culture tells us what to desire. Like McAllister, Daniel Boorstin believes

5 Michael Schudson, *Advertising: The Uneasy Persuasion: Its Dubious Impact on American Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1984), 242.

6 Matthew McAllister, "Is Commercial Culture Popular Culture?: A Question for Popular Communication Scholars," *Popular Communication*, no. 1 (2003): 48.

7 Gillian Dyer, *Advertising as Communication* (London: Methuen, 1982), 183.

8 Stuart Ewen, *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1976), 108-109.

9 Daniel Boorstin, *Democracy and Its Discontents: Reflections on Everyday America* (New York: Random House, 1974), 41.

10 Boorstin, *Democracy and Its Discontents*, 39.

that advertising has already become our popular culture. ¹¹ Even more recently, even asserts that advertising has become the rhetoric of democracy.¹⁰ Advertisements must not be dismissed as being a base manifestation of materialism and therefore excluded from rigorous study and analysis. Their saturating presence cuts across all class, gender, and racial lines. If Ed Ayres is even remotely correct in his assertion that advertising is now arguably the most pervasive and multifarious form of communication from which the modern public gets its beliefs about what makes life healthy, satisfying, and sustainable in the long run, then we must take the effects of advertisements seriously.

Using advertisements to extrapolate about larger social issues means hacking through the jungle of signs and symbols. Semiotics can provide a powerful analytic tool for unpacking the messages contained within advertisements. According to Dyer, being aware of the structure of signs in ads, the way meanings are exchanged, the way the signifier and signified work, the way they structure themselves into the ad and call upon us to create meaning allows us to comprehend the way ideology works and ties advertising to the existing conditions of society. Judith Williamson also stresses the importance of understanding how the ideas that are embedded in advertisements exist not in a vacuum but in their transference. She describes the circle in which ads give meaning to us as we concurrently give meaning to ads: As an advertisement speaks to us, we simultaneously create that speech and are created by it as its co-authors.¹³ We are active receivers of advertisements but only because they have summoned us to that role.

While semiotics can aid in deciphering advertisements, its limitations become evident when trying to assess the social and cultural effects of advertisements over time. By dogmatically refusing

¹¹Ed Ayres, What Happens to Civilization When Its Main Source of Knowledge is Ads? *World Watch* 17, no. 2 (March/April 2004): 3.

¹²Dyer, *Advertising as Communication* 87.

¹³Judith Williamson, *Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising* (London: Marion Boyars, 1978), 41.

¹⁴Soar, *Encoding Advertisements*, 420.

¹⁵Neil Postman, *Conscientious Objections: Stirring up Trouble about Language*,

to take into consideration the role of authorship in the creation of ads, semiotics gives no credible way to explain, for example, how the strategies and content of advertising messages have developed over the last century. Therefore, some researchers have turned away from a purely semiotics-driven analysis of advertisements. For example, in *Social Communication and Advertising*, Geiss, Kline, and Jhally combine semiotics with content analysis, achieving a middle range between qualitative and quantitative analyses. Their study identified four basic formats that exemplified the broad changes in advertising throughout the twentieth century. Roland Marchand, in *Advertising the American Dream*, organizes his analysis of 1920s and 1930s advertisements by classification of prominent themes, such as parables and visual clichés. Similarly, Neil Postman considers the narrative structure of television advertisements. Comparing their messages to religious parables, he notes how many advertisements put forward a concept of sin, intimations of the way to redemption, and a vision of Heaven. The purpose of mentioning these studies here is to illustrate alternative methods of analyzing advertisements that are not wholly dependent upon semiotics. A process that utilizes content analysis is better suited for the discussion that follows.

A final point about the social aspect of symbols is worth mentioning in regard to the theme of this paper. Schudson observes that where buying replaced making, then looking replaced doing as a key social action, reading signs replaced following orders as a crucial modern skill. In his analysis, to navigate through our current society, one has to be fairly literate in evaluating the production of symbols we confront daily. However, Jacques Ellul alleges that since the beginning of the twentieth century symbols have become increasingly sterilized. Where humans once engaged in symbolic activity to mediate between self and society, the usurping

Technology, and Education (New York: Knopf, 1988), 67.

16 Schudson, *Advertising, the Uneasy Persuasion*.

17 Jacques Ellul, *Symbolic Function, Technology and Society*, *Journal of Social and Biological Structure*, no. 1 (January 1978): 214.

18 Ellul, *Symbolic Function*, 217.

of symbols by the specialists of mass media has rendered our symbolic universe bankrupt. Ellul writes that when a symbol no longer corresponds to the immediate situation or no longer has a current practical utility, one rejects it to search for something new, abandoning the fruitful traditional attitude which depended by and reinterpreting symbols.¹⁷ Thus, where Schudson may be correct that proficiency in reading signs is a crucial modern skill that skill is increasingly confined to the world of decoding advertisements. According to Ellul, humans no longer create their own symbols because so many are offered through the mass media. Even consumption is less about the consumption of material objects than a consumption of symbols. Similarly, Dyer suggests that we don't use a product for what it is; we identify with the result. A product can make us like the signifier in ⁹ the ad. In this perspective, the signs that constitute our consumer culture gain a utilitarian ethos they provide us with a ready-made set of symbols that serve the ends of a market economy while at the same time undermining our ability to generate meaningful symbols that could help us navigate through that world.

This trend, where cultural symbols became sterilized and were replaced by mass media-generated ersatz ones, can be traced to the opening decades of the 1900s. As America entered the twentieth century, it was becoming an industrial giant. Technology such as the gasoline-powered combustion engine and the effective harnessing of electric power helped to spur economic growth. An extensive railroad and telegraph system facilitated the movement of goods and communication across the country. Corporations changed the dynamics of the work world by implementing scientific management of employees and efficient, machine-driven pro-

19 Dyer, *Advertising as Communication* 87.

20 John Murrin et al. *Liberty, Equality, Power: A History of the American People*, ed. (Belmont: Wadsworth, 2004), 507.

21 Murrin et al. *Liberty, Equality, Power*.

22 Murrin et al. *Liberty, Equality, Power*.

23 William Leiss, Stephen Kline, and Susan Chalke. *Communication in Advertising: Persons, Products & Images of Well-Being* (London: Routledge, 1997), 53.

24 Robert Wiebe. *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), 2.

25 Richard Hofstadter. *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York: Random

duction of goods. By 1910, America had become the leading industrial power in the world. The rise of urbanization in the late nineteenth century, due in part to the influx of European immigrants, created a large market for goods. As techniques developed to manufacture goods at high speed, the demands of the domestic market matched the ability of corporations to supply consumer products to the rising population. During the first two decades of the twentieth century, the characteristics of American big business came to be defined by the corporations that were able to integrate mass production and mass distribution.

By the 1920s, more goods were being produced and at higher levels than ever before. During the 1800s, economic growth hinged upon the manufacture of capital goods, such as railroad tracks and machines for factory use. By the dawn of the twentieth century, however, economic development centered around the explosion of consumer goods, such as refrigerators, vacuums, cars, and washing machines.²² The general prosperity of the 1920s produced increased leisure time and discretionary income.²³ Together, these conditions helped to produce the necessary components for the birth of a consumer culture.

Additionally, important social changes fostered an atmosphere that was ripe for consumerism. Nineteenth-century Victorian values were gradually shed as modernism staked its claim in the American psyche. Small-town life in America, what Robert Wiebe refers to as island communities, was largely homogenous, Protestant, and stable. The Protestant work ethic stressed frugality, hard work, and individual responsibility. Richard Hofstadter observes that economic success was directly related to personal character.²⁵ Individual self-making reflected one's morality. According to Richard Stivers, so close was the identification of economic success with moral virtue that the two became as one.

House, 1955), 10.

²⁶Richard Stivers, *The Culture of Cynicism: American Morality in Decline* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1994), 22.

²⁷Ewen, *Captains of Consciousness*, 58.

²⁸Leiss et al., *Social Communication in Advertising*, 149.

The values of self-sufficiency, communitarianism, localized popular culture, thrift and subjective social bonds withered away with the loss of small-town autonomy, the growth of industry, large-scale capitalism, urbanization, and the embrace of consumerism et al. explain the effect on older patterns of life:

The unity and continuity of daily life in village settlements could not be sustained amid increasing urbanization, especially when workplace, domicile, and commerce were separated. Linked intimately with craft labour, the old ways of life could not stamp their accumulated meanings on the anonymous products that were beginning to pour off the assembly lines. And the highly restrictive codes of personal behaviour shaped by the closed worlds of religious values and distinct ethnic communities could not survive the more subtle blows of industrialism: the cultural relativism resulting from the quick amalgamation of so many different groups; the erosion of the economic function of the extended family; and the dawning of a new type of leisure time highly individualized in nature and no longer bound to the traditional collective forms of popular entertainment or domestic routine.

Small-town America could not withstand the onslaught of the new economic and social order.

For those emerging from relatively isolated, contained communities, modernity threatened to obliterate individual control. It presented the indignities of scale that modernity engendered. The anonymity of city living threatened to make the individual

29 Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), xxi.

30 Wiebe, *The Search for Order*, 11.

31 Ewen, *Captains of Consciousness*, 9.

32 Warren Susman, *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth*

another body in a faceless crowd. According to Wiebe, people groped for some personal connection with that broader environment, some way of mediating between their everyday life and its impersonal setting. Modern life displaced older social cues that dictated how one behaved. Awash in the quick-paced, depersonalized modern world, people could no longer rely upon their reputation as a social marker. The individualism which had been at the heart of liberal bourgeois thought throughout the preceding century and a half, writes Ewen, had turned rancid, had become the core of uncertainty.

In this context, character was no longer sufficient as a means of self-identification and as a way of presenting the self to society. The culture of character, which valued hard work, self-restraint, thrift, and economic success embodied fixed standards for what constituted moral worth. However, consumerism emphasized not self-restraint but self-fulfillment. Early in the twentieth century personality emerged as an important individual quality. Differentiating oneself from the anonymous crowd became important, along with creating a personality that would make one likeable. Warren Susman, noting the contradiction inherent in the culture of personality, states how one was to be unique, be distinctive, follow one's own feelings, make oneself stand out from the crowd, and at the same time appeal by fascination, magnetism, attractiveness to it? One's peers, providing indicators of how to fit into society became important players in helping individuals construct their personalities, as exemplified in David Riesman's portrayal of the other-directed social type.

Success was no longer measured against the Puritan-inspired conception of hard work and morality. Individual self-making was thwarted by the rise of job specialization, bureaucracy, and the growth of labor unions. As character became less important than

Century (New York: Pantheon, 1984), 280.

33 David Riesman *The Lonely Crowd* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), 149.

34 Stivers *The Culture of Cynicism*, 30.

35 Francesco Nicosia and Robert Mayer, *Toward a Sociology of Consumption*,
nal of

Consumer Research 3 (September 1976): 72.

36 Leiss et al. *Social Communication in Advertising*, 17.

Figure 3

Building Men As Well As Motors

The Ford Motor Company believes that the best way to get the most out of your car is to use it as a means of building a better man.

The time you spend every day in your car is a time you can spend in a better way. You can spend it in a way that will build a better man. You can spend it in a way that will build a better man. You can spend it in a way that will build a better man.

The time you spend every day in your car is a time you can spend in a better way. You can spend it in a way that will build a better man. You can spend it in a way that will build a better man. You can spend it in a way that will build a better man.

The time you spend every day in your car is a time you can spend in a better way. You can spend it in a way that will build a better man. You can spend it in a way that will build a better man. You can spend it in a way that will build a better man.

Ford Motor Company

Figure 4

THE WIDENED VISION

... to open to you a new world of vision. To open to you a new world of vision. To open to you a new world of vision. To open to you a new world of vision. To open to you a new world of vision.

... to open to you a new world of vision. To open to you a new world of vision. To open to you a new world of vision. To open to you a new world of vision. To open to you a new world of vision.

N. W. AYER & SON

Figure 5

Exide

No Charge for Overtime

It's the only battery that gives you the most for your money. It's the only battery that gives you the most for your money. It's the only battery that gives you the most for your money.

It's the only battery that gives you the most for your money. It's the only battery that gives you the most for your money. It's the only battery that gives you the most for your money.

THE LONG-LIFE BATTERY FOR YOUR CAR

to generate nostalgic sentiments. Rather, the intent was to reassure Americans that their society still retained the qualities gestured by village America. Figures 3, 4, and 5 all exhibit a form of continuity with traditional life. These ads demonstrate the

Figure 6



Figure 7



importance of conventional gender roles and family life, the est afforded to rugged individualism, and the veneration of small towns.

Another technique that advertisers employed in order to help adapt individuals to modernity was to act as surrogate confidant in navigating people through the new social order. The growing concern over personality heightened the desire to be well-liked accepted. The rapid tempo of the age, writes Marchand, invites decisions based on anonymous judgments and quick impressions. One was never sure what minor and superficial considerations one's casual acquaintances might take into account. Advertisers

38 Schudson, Advertising, The Uneasy Persuasion, 167.

39 Ewen, Captains of Consciousness, 32.

40 Ewen, Captains of Consciousness, 32.

informed people about the products that would mold them into savvy, sophisticated, and unoffending individuals. Leiss et al. observe that in the consumer society, marketing and advertising assumed the role once played by cultural traditions and became the privileged forum for the transmission of such social cues. Advertisers thus cultivated lifestyles that were in line with a consumer culture. Figures 6 and 7 exemplify the urgency with which readers were told how to avoid critical judgments and assimilate into the progressive period.

A final method used by advertisers involved capitalizing on the changing definition of success. In the consumer society, success became defined as salary. The higher one's income, the better suited one was to purchase goods that would reflect one's social standing. In a developed market economy, state Leiss et al., a specific forms of wealth can be represented by a single standard money.⁴⁸ The mass market facilitated a more democratic opportunity for individuals from all social strata to emulate a high standing. Advertisers had their products reflect refinement, elegance, and modernity in order to associate the goods with middle- and upper-class sensibilities. Just as one could now purchase a personality, one could also buy the appearance of success. Figures 8, 9, and 10 illustrate this link between consumption and wealth.

Advertisers were remarkably attuned to the shift from Victorian-era America to modernity. They gauged the needs that arose from this shift as well as promoting some of their own (complete, of course, with ready-made solutions). By promoting the allure of modernity while simultaneously acting as a buffer against people's anxieties about it, advertisers closely mirrored historical reality. The reality of a cultural dilemma⁴⁹ examining the advertisements of the 1920s and 1930s provides insight into the concerns, apprehensions, desires, and values of that era. Advertisers could not simply disregard the attitudes and beliefs of their audiences. The economic, industrial, and technological factors were in place for

41 Ewen, *Captains of Consciousness* 32.

42 Ewen, *Captains of Consciousness* 25.

43 Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream* 12.

Figure 8



Figure 9



Figure 10



consumerism to take root. Advertisers had the task of planting the seeds of a consumer lifestyle in the hearts and minds of Americans. However, advertisers were not forcing people in a direction that they were stubbornly refusing to go. The growing supply of easily purchased consumables increased comfort, reduced drudgery, and brought satisfaction. Advertisers did not have to deceive people about the pleasures offered by a consumer culture. Murrin et al. state that by enhancing one's appearance and personality with the help of goods to be found in the marketplace, one would have a better chance of achieving success and happiness. American con

44 Marshall McLuhan, *The Mechanical Bride* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967), 21.

45 Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream*, 160.

46 Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream*, 109.

Hull House: The Origin of Women's Reform
and the Creation of a Women's Public Sphere

B. Mary Fahy, C.

In an article ~~from~~ ⁱⁿ ~~Commons~~ in 1898, reformer Jane Addams described the significance of education for young women. She wrote,

It has always been difficult for the family to regard the daughter otherwise than a family possession.

She was fitted to grace the fireside and to add luster to that social circle which her parents selected [for] her. This family assumption was notably broken into, however, when the daughter was sent to college. Her individuality was then recognized quite apart from family or society claims, and she received the sort of training which for many years has been deemed successful for highly developing a man's individuality and freeing his powers for independent action. The college woman submits her mind to the latter for four years, only to find, after her return from college, that the family claim is exclusively and strenuously asserted, and that her attempts to fulfill the other are resented. She is told to be devoted to her family, inspiring and responsive to her social circle, and to give the rest of her time to further self-improvement and enjoyment. She expects to do this, and responds to these claims to the best of her ability ~~even~~ ^{heroically} sometimes. But where is the larger life of which she has dreamed so long? Her life is full of contradictions.

The first generation of college-educated women often found

¹ Jane Addams, "The College Woman and the Family," ~~Commons~~ 29 (September 1898), 1-7.

themselves at a fork in the road once they reached graduation. They were often stuck between the traditional role of women in the domestic sphere and the possibility of entering the public sphere in the male-dominated world. These women could marry, become mothers, and take care of their families, or they could take their chances and face criticism by entering jobs that had previously been filled by men. Many women chose to enter domestic life after college. And a young mother often said to herself, When my children are grown, then I shall give my time and ability to these outside things, which I really ought² to. The women who steered away from the domestic sphere and attempted to enter the public sphere often found themselves in shock when they realized it was not as easy as they thought. Many chose careers in elementary school teaching. Others took their chances dealing with the criticism and prejudices held against them by entering the male-dominated workforce. Many women were denied admission to prestigious law schools and medical schools. This left college-educated women to create their own public sphere the settlement house. And in this sphere women became a powerful and influential force.

Much scholarship has been done on women's reforms and women's issues. Women's reform in the United States took place nationwide, originating in key areas such as the East Coast and the Midwest. Women reformers sought change on various issues such as child labor, immigration, public health, sanitation, city beautification, and women's rights. These reformers wanted to spread their values and morality from the domestic sphere into the public sphere. Much of women's reform stemmed from the settlement house movement especially Hull House, located in the stockyard slums of Chicago. Hull House, one of the most prolific settlement houses, was established in 1889 and is still open today. Numerous books and scholarly works have been dedicated to Jane Addams and the various aspects of women's reform that came out of Hull House, including city beautification, labor, health, education, and social work.

² Addams, *The College Woman*, 5.

³ Robyn Muncy, *Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform: 1890-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 5.

Much research conducted on women's reform focuses on the social workers themselves or the reform groups they formed. More scholarship could concentrate on reasons these women engaged in certain reforms rather than simply noting their accomplishments. This paper will discuss the social workers of Hull House notably on Jane Addams and the other key reformers of the time along with the working-class sphere of women's reform, especially issues regarding immigrants, children, and minorities. I will look at how these women bettered the lives of many, including college-educated women like themselves.

The changing role of women experienced its first shift from the domestic sphere to the public sphere during the Civil War, with women coming together for the war effort. During this era, women working for army relief studied government policy, learned the issues at the heart of the war, and ultimately found themselves in a new position. After the Civil War, women began to seek a greater role in society. By the 1880s the reform climate in Chicago was flourishing with campaigns set for the protection of women workers, as well as the health and safety of children. The establishment of organizations like the Illinois Woman's Alliance also led the way in the reform movement for women in trade unions, secular and church clubs, and social science organizations. The thriving reform movement made Chicago a suitable location for women reformers to settle.

Hull House began as an idea between Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr, two women reformers who wanted to participate in the settlement house movement. The Hull House charter states the

4 Mary A. Livermore, "Cooperative Womanhood in the State," *American Review* 153, no. 418 (September 1891), 283-295.

5 Livermore, "Cooperative Womanhood."

6 University of Illinois at Chicago Experience http://tiger.uic.edu/html/bin/cgiwrap/bin/urbanexp/main.cgi?file=new/subsub_index.ptt&chap=1 (accessed November 1, 2005).

7 Addams, *Twenty Years* 112.

8 Julia C. Lathrop, "What the Settlement Work Standards Conference of Charities and Correction Proceedings," *Isabel C. Barrows* (Boston & London, 1896), 107, UIC Archives (accessed March 28, 2006).

9 Lathrop, *Settlement Work*, 108.

10 Lathrop, *Settlement Work*, 109.

main goal of the settlement: To provide a center for a higher ci and social life; to institute and maintain educational and philanthropic enterprises, and to investigate and improve the conditions in the industrial districts of Chicago. The settlement house movement took place in large, crowded cities where small groups would set up homes to help improve the conditions of the neighborhood.⁸ These settlements began by providing kindergartens, clubs, and other classes for children who were not yet old enough for public schools; as cities expanded, the settlements grew to t on the needs of the cities. Based on the finances available and the amount of support received from the community, settlements could grow to be quite a force in improving the conditions of ove crowded cities. Settlement work varied from house to house. Some provided classes and activities for young men and women to raise morale in the community, while others worked with city officials improve the conditions of the tenements, fighting for better sanitation, clean streets, pure water, and building parks and better schools.¹⁰

Ellen Gates Starr also found Chicago to be a prime location because she had connections to social elites through her aunt, Eliza Allen Starr. Not only did Eliza introduce Starr and Addams a group of social elites that could later provide financial support the development of Hull House, but she also taught art classes there.¹¹ The fact that Eliza took time to teach classes at Hull House demonstrated her motivation to help financially support a program she believed in. Funding was crucial in order for Hull House to benefit the community; the people attending the house could not afford to keep it running. Constant fund-raising was necessary for

11 Eliza Allen Starr: Career of the Well-Known Pioneer Art Teacher of Chicago, Chicago Evening Post (July 5, 1890), 3, UIC Archives (accessed November 2, 2005).

12 A Great Thoroughfare: Taking a Trip of Fourteen Miles Along a Single Chicago Street, Chicago Tribune (February 24, 1889).

13 Miss Culver's Fortune, Chicago Tribune (February 21, 1889), 1.

14 Peggy Glowacki, Helen Culver, Women Building Chicago 1790-1990: A Biographical Dictionary, ed. Rima Lunin Schultz and Adele Hast (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2001), 202-205, UIC Archives (accessed November 7, 2005).

15 The Nature of Residency: Chronology of Hull House Residents, UIC Archives

members of Chicago's urban immigrant community to benefit from Hull House. The urban landscape, full of tenement houses and non-English speaking people along Halsted Street, was a perfect location for social reformers like Addams and Starr. One settle-¹² reason that contributed to Hull House's Halsted Street location was the death of millionaire Charles J. Hull and his inheritance, left to his cousin Miss Helen Culver who decided to use the wealth for the good of the public. Culver sublet a portion of the Hull building to Addams and Starr in September 1889; by the following spring, the whole building became part of the settlement named after Charles Hull¹⁴ Hull House was on its way to serving the public.

Key Hull House reformers included co-founders Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr, Florence Kelley, and Julia Lathrop. Residents lived at Hull House for a six-month probation period and continued living there for as little as six months to a year, or for life as a lifetime. Co-founders Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr introduced these residents to the women's sector of the public sphere; as a result, numerous residents served both the house and the community. Some, such as Julia Lathrop and Florence Kelley, participated in government agencies; others were active in women's organizations.

Jane Addams, the more well-known of the two Hull House founders, was born in 1860 to the wealthiest family in Cedarville, Illinois. Understanding her background gives insight into why she chose a career in social reform. She attended college at Rockford Female Seminary, where she met Ellen Gates Starr. While in college, Addams wrote, "She [the college woman] wishes not to be a man, not like a man, but she claims the same right to independent thought and action."⁷ Addams felt that women should have the same independence and opportunities as men, and she sought to

(accessed December 7, 2005).

¹⁶Muncy, *Creating a Female Dominion*.

¹⁷Muncy, *Creating a Female Dominion*.

¹⁸Muncy, *Creating a Female Dominion*.

¹⁹Muncy, *Creating a Female Dominion*.

²⁰Muncy, *Creating a Female Dominion*.

gain that independence while still taking part in the women's sector of servicing the world. Ellen Gates Starr, born in 1859 in Illinois, was the daughter of a farmer and small businessman. She attended Rockford Female Seminary for one year before having to help her family through a financial crisis, which took her into the field of education to become a schoolteacher.

Neither Addams nor Starr was successful in entering professions dominated by men. Addams was unable to attend medical school due to family obligations and illness, while Starr was barred from taking the Harvard Entrance Exam in Chicago because she was a woman (women could only take the exam in Cambridge, New York, and Cincinnati). Not being able to enter the male-dominated fields of medicine and law brought Starr and Addams closer together. After a European trip during which the two visited the first settlement house in the world, Toynbee Hall, they experienced its effects on the living conditions of the working class, and were inspired to bring the same opportunities of Toynbee Hall to Chicago. This decision proved to be a way for Addams and Starr to play a large role in public life while still sticking to the accepted roles for women.

In addition to Starr and Addams, Florence Kelley played a substantial role in the development of Hull House. She is the one most responsible for transforming Hull House from an organization based around philanthropy to a force for social

21 Muncy, *Creating a Female Dominion* 30.

22 Muncy, *Creating a Female Dominion* 25.

23 Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Florence Kelley and the Women's Building Chicago 1790-1990: A Biographical Dictionary*. Rima Lunin Schultz and Adele Hast (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2001), 463, UIC Archives (accessed November 26, 2005).

24 Muncy, *Creating a Female Dominion* 25.

25 Kish Sklar, *Florence Kelley*, 467.

26 Florence Kelley and Alzina P. Stevens, *Wage-Earning Children: A Presentation of Nationalities and Wages in a Congested District of Chicago, Together with Comments and Essays on Problems Growing Out of the Social Conditions* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1895), 49-76, UIC Archives (accessed November 7, 2005).

27 Florence Kelley, *The Working Class: National Conference of Charities and Correction*

reform²¹ Kelley was also one of the first residents to turn to the government for financial support. She graduated from Cornell University in 1881, where she studied history and the social sciences, and attended graduate school at the University of Zurich, the only European university to grant degrees to women, a mother of three and in a rocky marriage, came to Illinois because of the relatively lenient divorce laws; after hearing about Hull House she decided to rebuild her life. Shortly after arriving in Chicago, Kelley resumed studying law and completed her law degree at Northwestern University. Much of the work that Kelley contributed to social reform through the house concerned the working child. She surveyed the slums of Chicago and compared the number of children working in 1880 to the number of children working in 1890; she noted the dangers of working children and analyzed the effects of the Child Labor Laws on working children and their education. Kelley also wrote on the many ways to deal with the problem of the working child. She felt that the two main solutions to such a problem were to prohibit children from working or to use legislature to limit child labor, putting an end to extreme cases of abusing children. Kelley worked with governmental organizations including the Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics and the U.S. Department of Labor.

One famous advocate for Hull House was also a resident. Julia Lathrop was born in Rockford, Illinois, in 1859; like Addams and Starr, she also attended Rockford Female Seminary, following in her mother's footsteps. After one year she transferred to Vassar College²⁸ Lathrop played a key role in Hull House entering the social sciences. After college, Lathrop returned home to her family and worked as her father's secretary. She read law in his office and identified with the Republican Party; however, none of this led to a career.²⁹ In 1890, Lathrop became a member of Hull House. She flourished in serving the community because she projected a sense

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Proceedings ed. Isabel C. Barrows (Boston & London: 1896), 161–165, UIC Archives (accessed November 7, 2005).

²⁸ Robyn Muncy, Julia Clifford Lathrop in *Women Building Chicago 1790–1990: A Biographical Dictionary*, ed. Rima Lunin Schultz and Adele Hast (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2001), 490, UIC Archives (accessed November 7, 2005).

of empathy that made her not only a source of authority, but made her very approachable. Lathrop never married, but enjoyed living in a community of peers.

In 1893, Julia Lathrop was appointed by Governor John P. Altgeld to the Illinois State Board of Charities. During this period, Lathrop inspected all of the 102 public institutions in Illinois. This was just the beginning of government appointments to come her way. Lathrop became involved in numerous organizations, such as the chartering of the Chicago Schools of Civics and Philanthropy and the founding of the Chicago Juvenile Court System; she was appointed as chief of the Children's Bureau, and was even asked to serve the League of Nations. Her involvement in Hull House and multiple women's organizations resulted in public recognition, leading to appointment to high governmental positions, and opened the door for women in the public sector.

Women such as Addams, Starr, Kelley, and Lathrop went into settlement houses and the field of social reform because there was nowhere else for them to go. These social reformers graduated from colleges that were primarily restricted to women. The fact that they attended college was a huge step for women. Females who attended college were upper-middle-class and white; they were predominately the only women who could afford such an opportunity. A college degree should have opened the door to the professional world; however, a woman entering this world proved to be challenging as men had always dominated. Women who entered male-dominated careers such as law, ministry, medicine, and the social and physical sciences encountered obvious discrimination in terms of education, hiring, promotion, and salary. Additionally, there was a lack of female mentors available in these male-dominated professions.

Blatant discrimination forced most college-educated women to

ber 28, 2005).

29 Muncy, Julia Lathrop, 491.

30 Muncy, Julia Lathrop, 491.

31 Muncy, Julia Lathrop, 492.

32 Muncy, Julia Lathrop, 492-498.

33 Muncy, Creating a Female Dominion, iii.

enter professions dominated by women, as nurses, teachers, and librarians. In female-dominated professions, women had numerous mentors available to help them develop their careers. The fact that college-educated women could not enter male-dominated professions led women to turn to careers in social reform. Not only were these women seeking to clean up neighborhoods and fight to improve the working class, but they sought to improve themselves and their role in society. These women wanted the working class to be more like the middle class, and middle-class women to have the same opportunities and experiences as men. Through the settlement house movement, women were able to enter the public sphere.

Various people benefited from settlements such as Hull House. Settlements varied in their areas of concern: one may have offered evening classes that catered to the needs of the men and women of the community; another may have focused on the social needs of the community in order to relieve the many problems of the tenements; and another may have emphasized public policy and politics in order to improve tenement life by fighting for better sanitation, clean streets, public education, pure water, and public parks.³⁵ In Chicago, Hull House sought to meet the needs of the European immigrant community. Beginning as a small settlement that catered to the needs of children, then mothers, the house developed into a full settlement benefiting many groups in the community.

By 1899 there were forty-seven evening classes meeting at the

34 Muncy, *Creating a Female Dominion*, xiii.

35 Lathrop, *Settlement Work*, 108.

36 Alzina Parsons Stevens, *Life in a Social Settlement: Hull House, Chicago*, *Culture*, no. 1 (March 1899): 42-51, UIC Archives (accessed November 22, 2005).

37 Anita Edgar Jones, *Mexican Colonies in Chicago*, *The Social Service Review*, no. 4 (December 1928), 579, UIC Archives (accessed November 23, 2005).

38 Edgar Jones, *Mexican Colonies*, 585.

39 *Festival of Mexican Culture brochure* (June 1937), Adena Miller Rich Papers, AMR neg. 1, Special Collections, The University Library, The University of Illinois Chicago, UIC Archives (accessed November 23, 2005).

40 Mildred Richards, *Report of Miss Mildred Richards of Attendance Records of Mexican Groups Meeting at Hull House Since October 1936*, (January 12, 1937), Adena Miller Rich Papers, folder 11, Special Collections, The University Library, The University of Illinois at Chicago, UIC Archives (accessed November 23, 2005).

house weekly, twenty-five evening clubs for adults, seventeen afternoon clubs for children, the Hull House Music School, a choir society for adults, a children's chorus, a children's sewing school, a training school for kindergartners, and a trades union for young women.³⁶ Hull House became an educational source for Chicago residents ranging from small children to adults. Hull House took other aspects of reform, including fighting for labor legislation, helping the poor, and changing the role of women. The residents of Hull House never turned away a person in need.

The house also benefited a number of Mexican immigrants. During World War I, the number of Mexican immigrants who entered the Chicago area increased for a variety of reasons. Some worked their way to the north in sections, finding odd jobs along the way; others came to be with friends or relatives; some were brought here directly by the industrial organizations that wanted to hire them; and others were just trying to see the country.³⁷ The largest and poorest of the Mexican colonies in Chicago was located near Hull House; one-fourth of the Mexican population resided in this area.³⁸ Several of these Mexican immigrants benefited from the services of Hull House, keeping their culture alive through poetry classes and participating in programs designed to celebrate the Mexican culture.³⁹ There is also evidence that these immigrants showed interest in the house's offerings by attending meetings on topics including politics, art, and theater. They also benefited from the house's recreational offerings by participating in athletics and dances.⁴⁰

Hull House also supported the black migrants that came to Chicago; however, they were unable to help blacks to the extent that they helped other recent immigrant groups. Addams and other

41 The Religious World, [excerpt] (December 21, 1899), UIC Archives (accessed November 23, 2005).

42 Colored Women's Cause, Los Angeles Express (May 6, 1902), Jane Addams Papers, clippings file, reel 55-0671, Special Collections, The University Library, University of Illinois at Chicago, UIC Archives (accessed November 23, 2005).

43 Laura S. Abrams, Guardians of Virtue: The Social Reformers and the Girl Problem, 1890-1920, Social Review (September 2000): 437.

44 Muncy, Creating a Female Dominion.

leading reformers spoke out about the harsh treatment of blacks and fought to prevent lynching. In one magazine, Addams was condemned for eating lunch with twelve leading black clubwomen on a trip to Tennessee. Hull House did not directly provide services to black families, but the women of the house did try to improve the status of blacks. They especially used their influence with the National Federation of Clubs (NFC) to allow colored clubs into membership with the NFC. While that action did not pass, Addams was able to gain some support for black women among female members of the NFC, and raise awareness on equal rights for all.

The protection of children was another issue the women of Hull House were actively working to improve. Issues regarding child labor, education, and the girl problem under-age female prostitution were key areas of the reform efforts the settlement house took part in. Social reformers believed in the basic vulnerability of all children, yet they believed in comparison to boys, young women were more susceptible and weak psychologically and physically. The child reform efforts came out of the house on many different levels. Addams believed it was society's responsibility to provide for the children who did not live in adequate houses and situations (more specifically, the children living in big cities in tenement housing). Other reformers also agreed with Addams, in 1905, Florence Kelley said, "The noblest duty of the Republic is so cherishing all its children that they may become self-governing citizens."⁴⁴ Kelley, along with many other reformers, felt that change needed to start with the treatment of children.

In a 1912 speech, Addams commented on the playgrounds built for city children: "Self-expression is being encouraged in public schools and children are growing up in Hull House clubs bettering their lives." This speech highlights the effects of public schooling and participation in Hull House clubs on the immigrant

⁴⁵Jane Addams, "The Child at the Point of Greatest Pressure," National Conference Charities and Correction Proceedings (1912), 26-30, in JAMC, reel 47-0279-0283, Special Collections, The University Library, University of Illinois at Chicago.

⁴⁶Molly Ladd-Taylor, Hull House Goes to Washington: Women and the Children's Bureau, Gender, Class, Race, and Reform in the Progressive Era (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1991), 110-126.

child, both of which served as a way for poor, urban children to better their social and economical positions. Reformers believed that if these children were not able to benefit from social programming associated with Hull House and women reform efforts, they would most likely grow up to be in the exact same situation as their parents living under the poor immigrant conditions of the urban community. The reformers felt that some kind of intervention or awareness was needed to better the immigrant lifestyle.

The U.S. Children's Bureau, founded in 1912, was the first governmental agency run almost entirely by women. This agency allowed for women to be involved in government and politics even before they were given the right to vote. One of the main women behind the formation of the Children's Bureau was Florence Kelly, who saw through residing at Hull House that poor women needed child-rearing information and health care for their families.⁴⁷ The first woman appointed as head of a federal agency, Julia Lathrop, was appointed to lead the Children's Bureau. This demonstrates that women who graduated college and became involved in the social reform networks of settlement houses became the first women to get involved in politics and reform on a national level, an accomplishment that could not have been realized with a college education alone.

The Children's Bureau's main objective was to look into all aspects of children's lives in the United States, including infant mortality, maternal morality, juvenile delinquency, child labor, mothers' pensions. As such, it offered the most up-to-date advice on pregnancy and caring for children through government pamphlets and brochures.⁴⁸ Through the bureau, motherhood became professionalized. It was no longer assumed that mothers possessed an instinctive ability to care for children now, women

47 Ladd-Taylor, Hull House Goes to Washington, 111.

48 Muncy, Julia Lathrop, 464.

49 Muncy, Julia Lathrop, 465.

50 Abrams, Guardians of Virtue, 437.

51 Abrams, Guardians of Virtue, 437.

52 Abrams, Guardians of Virtue, 438.

53 Jane Addams, A New Conscience and an Ancient ~~Chil~~ Chicago: University of Illinois

could learn from experts from the fields of nutrition, medicine, child development, and home economics. Women, who also ran the U.S. Children's Bureau and fought to build awareness on motherly issues, sought to help other women who were not as fortunate. The women reformers of Hull House and the Children's Bureau aimed to help the girl at risk.

It is interesting to note that the reformers of Hull House promoted a lifestyle that they did not exactly follow. When it came to the girl problem, the social reformers of Hull House believed economic independence among young women was related to uncontrolled sexuality and corruption. They felt that working-class girls aged twelve to eighteen had more independence than middle-class girls and were therefore subject to greater risks associated with independence and need for income. Although women reformers enjoyed more independence than any other group of women, they were educated and thus not subject to the same risks as working-class girls. As stated by scholar Laura S. Abrams in *Social Service Review*, the Chicago reformers of Hull House challenged the normative gender expectations in that they did not marry or have children, yet they enforced these expectations by supporting the punishment of working-class girls' waywardness from the accepted female codes of conduct. It is interesting that these reformers were independent and did not live the typical womanly life, yet these women took on the greater role of teaching and upholding these values on young immigrant women as if social reformers were mothers to the community, not to their own children.

Once society shifted to industrialism and an urban way of life, women became vulnerable to temptations of urban vices, such as premarital sex and consumption of alcohol. The problem was not just young women becoming more sexually promiscuous, but that they were being trafficked into a slave trade, where they had no choice but to join in the sexual exploitation of prostitution. This social evil of sexual commerce, which was believed to occur in every major city, allowed for the chastity of women to be bought

Theodore Roosevelt: Racist?

B clifton davis C

The description of Theodore Roosevelt as an overt racist is a charge that has been accepted in contemporary scholarship. Truly a man that defined an age, President Theodore Roosevelt lived in a period that saw the height of discussion concerning matters of race, as turn-of-the-twentieth-century America experienced the great European immigrant migration that occurred between the end of the Civil War and the civil rights movement of the 1960s. To dismiss Roosevelt as merely another product of a period of accepted racism distorts our understanding of his character both as a president and a man. A more comprehensive inspection reveals that Roosevelt was not the devoted racist that many people believe him to be, but a forward-thinking individualist who defied many of the popular racist attitudes that pervaded the discussion of race in the beginning of the twentieth century.

Often depicted as a white supremacist and a jingoist, Roosevelt and his positions regarding immigration, racial equality, and nationalism are considered racist by many modern historians. For example, in the book *Theodore Roosevelt and the Idea of Race*, the historian Thomas Dyer portrays Roosevelt as a race fanatic, hopelessly committed to racial theorizing and the superiority of the white race. He surmises that Roosevelt had broadly construed the idea of race to embrace a bevy of assumptions, concepts, and formal theories which permeated virtually every aspect of his thought.¹ This reasoning allows no room for change or significant deviation in Roosevelt's mind. Dyer depicts Roosevelt as a man who irrevocably possessed a racial determinist dogma. Another historian, Gary Gerstle, expounds the concept of Roosevelt's racialization in which white racism subverted attempts to promote racial equality.² Attributing this concept to Roosevelt leads one to

1 Thomas Dyer, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Idea of Race* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana University Press, 1980), 168.

2 Gary Gerstle, *American Crucible* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), 14.

assume that racial thought pervaded his perspective and his actions. Gerstle uses a detailed account of the historic charge the Rough Riders in Cuba to encapsulate Roosevelt's motivations which involved racial and savage warfare that excluded blacks. Observing that [t]he nation to which he wanted give birth had to be a white nation, Gerstle describes a passionate racial thinker who symbolized the feelings of a nation through such deeds as his mythic ride up San Juan Hill. These are, however, other factors that have been underappreciated and should be accounted for, such as Roosevelt's cultural context and the unique qualities of his personality. Focusing primarily on such sensational events like the charge of the Rough Riders merely propagates the image of Roosevelt as an unalterable devotee of racism instead of a person whose ideas evolved over time. Dyer and Gerstle downplay the implications of many of the factors that shaped Roosevelt's perspective on race as well as the fulfillment of these dynamics throughout his life. By modern standards, many of Roosevelt's opinions on race would certainly qualify as racist, but to dismiss the entirety of his biography and policies towards this complex issue based on present-day standards would be to forfeit a more accurate and enlightened understanding of one of the most distinctive characters in American history.

An examination of Roosevelt's lifelong pursuit of knowledge and the diversity of his academic and worldly interests reveals the inquisitive nature of a man who had little tolerance for narrow-mindedness. Reflecting on his 1880 graduation from Harvard, Roosevelt spoke about the merits of his formal education, but recognized the need to learn more in order to become really fit to do my part in the work that lay ahead for the generation of Americans to which I belonged. Roosevelt's devotion to a developed and well-rounded education was a goal that would influence his entire life.

The kind of practical education that interested Roosevelt con-

3 Gerstle, *American Crucible* 16.

4 Gerstle, *American Crucible* 17.

5 Theodore Roosevelt, *Theodore Roosevelt: An Autobiography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1992), 26.

sisted of firsthand experiences. As governor of New York, Roosevelt took many opportunities to personally inspect the conditions in the infamously poor immigrant neighborhoods. Accompanied by the famous muckraker Jacob Riis, he would go suddenly down to New York City without warning anyone and [traverse] the tenement house quarters, visiting various sweatshops picked at random. Roosevelt's inspections contributed significantly to his understanding of the particular ethnic demographics that lived in these neighborhoods. As the class disparity in America grew and most upper-class whites endeavored to distance themselves from the immigrant problem, Roosevelt had no qualms about visiting these areas himself and forming his own conclusions. While most upper-class whites readily observed the particular moral failings of certain ethnicities, Roosevelt said, "I do not believe that the differences are due to permanent race characteristics. In every race there are some naturally vicious individuals and some weak individuals." He may have had his own opinions about which races showed more or less potential than others, but his willingness to learn from observation and recognize the incongruence of reality and public opinion reveals a greater concern for the ethnic populations of America.

Some historians have criticized Roosevelt's personal experiences with particular ethnicities, arguing that his perception was distorted and that his opinions became increasingly generalized. Dyer writes that despite his personal encounters with Indians, the red man became more and more an abstraction. Roosevelt's own experiences disprove this. Following his time as president, he made a trip to the southwestern United States and observed the lives of local Navajo and Hopi tribes, during which he developed admiration for the culture of the Indians, remarking on the advancement of their way of life and his interest in preserving aspects of their culture. The knowledge Roosevelt gained from his firsthand experiences with American Indians exposes the growth of

6 Roosevelt, *Autobiography* 289.

7 Roosevelt, *Autobiography* 198.

8 Dyer, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Idea of Race*.

9 Max J. Skidmore, *Theodore Roosevelt on Race and Gender of American*

his understanding of Native Americans not as abstractions, but as a people worthy of admiration and treatment as equals. Reflecting on his experiences with various Native American tribes later in life, Roosevelt wrote,

Altogether, the predominant impression made by the sight of the ordinary life not the strange heathen ceremonies was that of a reasonably advanced, and still advancing, semi-civilization; not savagery at all. There is big room for improvement, but so there is among whites; and while the improvement should be along the lines of gradual assimilation to the life of the best whites, it should unquestionably be so shaped as to preserve and develop the very element of native culture possessed by these Indians which I have already said, if thus preserved and developed, may in the end become an important contribution to American cultural life. Many well-informed and well-meaning men are apt to protest against the effort to keep and develop what is best in the Indian's own historic life as incompatible with making him an American citizen, and speak of those of opposite views as wishing to preserve the Indians only as national bric-a-brac. This is not so. We believe in fitting him for citizenship as rapidly as possible. But where he cannot be pushed ahead rapidly we believe in making progress slowly, and in all cases where it is possible we hope to keep for him and for us what was best in his old culture.

While many people are willing to observe Roosevelt's endorsement of unstoppable westward expansion as blatant racism, respectful considerations like those that appeared later in his

Culture(1998): 11.

10 Theodore Roosevelt, *A Book Lover's Holiday in the (Scribner's Sons, 1916),* 52-53.

11 Gerstle, *American Crucible* 43.

and his travels indicate a willingness to accept change and adopt new perspectives. His suggestion that certain characteristics of Native American culture could improve aspects of American life is a statement that is indicative of Roosevelt's realistic view of race. Far from the careless rejection of other ethnic cultures, he preferred to obtain a more sincere understanding of social groups that included recognizing benefits of racial mixing, not absolute genetic purity.

Statements such as "No aspect of national order mattered more to [Roosevelt] than race" and "If for Karl Marx history was the history of class conflict, for Roosevelt history was the history of race conflict" typify the popular discussion of Roosevelt's racial prejudice. It is a common misconception that Roosevelt was obsessed with the idea of race. To a certain extent, this may be true when one considers the constant presence of statements concerning race throughout his speeches and written works, and the fact that he held more conferences on race at the White House than any other president. The early years of the twentieth century became the pinnacle of the discussion of racial theorizing in the United States, and so it seems apparent that a president that was as in tune with the American population as Roosevelt would give the issue of race a particular amount of concern. Still, Roosevelt's concern for the subject of race has been described as an obsession by historians. Dyer, for instance, decided that "for Theodore Roosevelt, race remained prime, the indivisible factor of human existence." This conclusion implies that there is no other concept that dominated the thinking of Roosevelt more than that of race. If this were the case, then the charges of racism would seem much more justified. It would also attribute a decidedly hollow mind to an intellectual who prized individuality so greatly.

It is, in fact, that same rugged individualism that is so often cited of Roosevelt's character that defies the definition of an obsessed racist. He believed that "socially and industrially pret

¹²Gerstle, *American Crucible* 17.

¹³Skidmore, "On Race and Gender," 13.

¹⁴Dyer, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Idea of Race*.

¹⁵Roosevelt, *Autobiography* 26.

much the whole duty of the man lay in making the best of himself, but that it [is] no part of his business to join with others trying to make things better for the many by curbing the development of individualism in a few. His intense admiration for the individual was a constant force that served to moderate his racial rhetoric. Indeed, it is much more tenable to say that individualism was his obsession, and that the pervasiveness of race-oriented thought in the white-dominated America in which he resided was a less significant influence.

In his many speeches addressing the condition of African Americans in the United States, Roosevelt displayed his aspirations for racial equality by extending his particular brand of individualism to his black audience. Addressing the students and faculty of the Tuskegee Institute in 1905, Roosevelt said, "You are honor-bound to join hands in favor of law and order and to war against all crime, and especially against all crime by men of your own race. For the heaviest wrong done by a criminal is the wrong to his own race."¹⁶ It is easy to see how someone could read this passage with a degree of disdain for what could be perceived as his scolding of black people. In doing so, the great impact of Roosevelt's hearty beliefs in personal responsibility and integrity on his outlook is ignored. While it may be true that racial stereotypes affected his speech as well, it is apparent that there is a higher degree of conviction than mere prejudice behind his words. In a speech to an audience of African Americans, he said

Hitherto I have spoken chiefly of the obligations existing on the part of the white man. Now remember on the other hand that no help can permanently avail you save as you yourselves develop capacity for self-help. The colored people have many difficulties to pass through, but these difficulties will

¹⁶Theodore Roosevelt, *The Education of the Negro* (Theodore Roosevelt: An American Mind (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), 338.

¹⁷Roosevelt, *The Education of the Negro*, *American Mind* 338.

be surmounted if only the policy of reason and common sense is pursued. You have made real and great progress the destiny of the race is chiefly in its own hands it is the southern people themselves who must and can solve the problems that exist in the South; of course what help the people of the rest of the Union can give them must and will be gladly and cheerfully given. The hope of advancement for the colored man in the South lies in his steady, common sense effort to improve his moral and material condition, and to work in harmony with the white man in upbuilding the Commonwealth. The future of the South now depends upon the people of both races living up to the spirit and letter of the laws of their several States and working out the destinies of both races, not as races, but as law-abiding American citizens

As a man who believed in a powerful and influential central government, Roosevelt's entrustment of duties and obligations to the people of the South and blacks in particular was not merely a result of his indecision or reluctance to act. His assertion that government had done its part was not indicative of his ignorance of the African American condition, but rather of his individual belief that real change occurred within the racial groups with which he often concerned himself. Roosevelt's dreams of unity and solidarity among the American people took precedence over his racial thinking. He talked at length about the responsibilities of whites well, but he was determined to focus on emphasizing the necessity of self-improvement, which was the most sincere kind of advice anyone could receive from such a fiercely individualistic personality as Roosevelt. Insisting on attention to individualism and personal responsibility was Roosevelt's way of accepting blacks as equals by expecting the same level of societal contribution to

industry, the same standard of education, and adherence to the same laws. This symbolic extension of brotherhood can be witnessed in other policies that he endorsed, such as his encouragement of independent property ownership and the integration of black schools.

In another speech, Roosevelt sends a similar message, once again warning blacks about the role of the Negro criminal because of the very fact that the white man and white woman who hear of him inevitably symbolize him as the race. Roosevelt was very familiar with the nature of racial stereotypes and these illustrations of his aspiration for racial equality provide valuable insight into his thoughts and the degree of their development. Roosevelt confronts these racial stereotypes and understands their implications. The insight of which Roosevelt was capable is a quality that is uncharacteristic of prejudicial racism. If an obsession can be observed in Roosevelt's constant musings on the issue of race, it must also be observed that this obsession is certainly not limited to plain racist dogmatism. His genuine concern for the improvement of the condition of blacks in his beloved country prompted serious contemplation, and his defiant nature inspired instead certain abhorrence towards racism that is observable in the urgency of his speech.

The virtues of self-reliance and cooperation had always been cornerstones of Roosevelt's worldview. Once again reflecting on education at Harvard, Roosevelt divulges his ideal of individualism that he projects towards all of humanity.

Individual virtues [and] the necessity of character [are] the chief factor[s] in any man's success a teaching in which I now believe as sincerely as ever, for all the laws that the wit of man can devise will never make a man a worthy citizen

19 Skidmore, *On Race and Gender*, 13.

20 Roosevelt, *The Roosevelt Policy*, 36.

21 Roosevelt, *Autobiography* 25.

22 Gerstle, *American Crucible* 52-53.

23 Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, Theodore Roosevelt: An American Mind (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), 42.

unless he has within himself the right stuff, unless he has self-reliance, energy, courage, the power of insisting on his own rights, and the sympathy that makes him regardful of the rights of others. All this individual morality I was taught by the books I read at home and the books I studied at Harvard. But there was almost no teaching of the need for collective action, and of the fact that in addition to, not as substitute for, individual responsibility, there is a collective responsibility

Roosevelt's strategy for the whole American nation consisted of this particular mix of individualism and interdependence in which people strived to simultaneously improve themselves and strengthen their relationship with American society. With this approach to the governance of a nation, it is only natural that he would advocate self-betterment and encourage integration. A staunch supporter of the melting pot perception of America, his ideas were largely inclusive, rather than exclusive; he saw the populations of other races living in America as having equal roles in shaping the future of the nation. In 1913, while referring to the plight of a group of immigrant women garment workers in New York City, Roosevelt called them mothers of our American citizenship for the next generation.²² Roosevelt makes it very clear that he welcomed the citizenship of these people and was in fact depending on them to provide for the future of the country.

Much of Roosevelt's historical writing from his pre-political

Racial Divisions in the YWCA

B jennifer pluta C

In 1970, the Young Women's Christian Association's (YWCA) mission statement emphasized its social goals and ideas with the Imperative: To thrust our collective power to eliminate racism wherever it exists and by any means necessary. However, from the time of the YWCA's formation, it would take several generations for African Americans to become a part of this goal. While some historians and white members try to ignore this division that lasted for almost a century, the accounts from black organizations make clear the reality of racial conflict. The issue of racial segregation at the YWCA was very important to African American women; they strived for inclusion so they could work alongside white women and have access to the same resources.

Around 1900, during the early years of the YWCA, African Americans did not have recognized membership. Black women and children could not be a part of the national YWCA, despite its efforts toward integration and a shared social mission. The date of African American recognition in the YWCA varies depending on the location and region. In Baltimore, there were affiliation agreements as early as 1920. In Portland, Oregon, attempts at integration were not successful until the 1940s. Once African Americans gained membership, the YWCA did help them socially. This is important because class and race divisions are still apparent in our society today something that people do not readily admit. Our society may be able to learn something by looking at the way organizations have handled these divisions in the past.

In looking at integration and the racism that went along with it, several aspects must be addressed in order to understand it. How long did it take for the YWCA to recognize African Americans and what kinds of activism led to this recognition? How did African Americans help themselves when white organizations were not

1 Adrienne Lash Jones, *Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia* Darlene Clark Hine (Brooklyn, New York: Carlson, 1993), 1299–1303, <http://womhist.binghamton.edu/bywca/jones.htm>

willing to help them? What role did African Americans play in the YWCA after their initial recognition? Did the YWCA go against the norms of society with regard to class and race? Why were certain chapters formed at certain times? The answers to these questions will help to form a wider picture and it will put the events into timeframe and context.

The answers to these questions and the integration of blacks into the YWCA are not uniform across the United States. For these reasons, I have focused on only a few branches (Baltimore, Chicago, and Portland) in different locations that had distinctly different reasons for their formation. I have also stressed the importance of the women themselves. Through my research, I have found that African American reformers formed their ideas because of something powerful in their lives. This could be family, the realization of discrimination and segregation, or a specific event. Whatever the reason for their involvement, these women were extremely influential in the formation of the branches and how these branches helped young women and girls.

Much has been written about the Young Women's Christian Association through its formation and development. Most advocates study the organization as one that helps disadvantaged women overcome social problems. This literature also discusses the role of African Americans during the developing years and what they did to help themselves when they were not accepted in the white YWCAs.² Sometimes, the issue of race is not even mentioned in these histories until about 1945 when race relations became a primary focus. Yet some of this literature contains a naive point of view that claims African Americans and whites were working

(accessed October 7, 2005), 1 of 5.

2 Mary Sims, *The YWCA: An Unfolding Purpose* (New York: Women's Press, 1950). Sims claims that white and black women have worked side by side toward a common social goal since the formation of the YWCA. On the other hand, Adrienne Jones recognizes the differences between the white and black organizations, but seems to be reluctant to admit that they had different experiences. See Adrienne Lash Jones, *Struggle Among Saints: African American Women and the YWCA, 1870-1920*, in *Men and Women Adrift: The YMCA and the YWCA in the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997). Nina Baym and Margaret Spratt (New York: New York University Press, 1997). Joanne Meyerowitz briefly mentions African Americans, but does not give them very much credit for what they accomplished themselves. See Joanne Meyerowitz,

together from the beginning.

First, it is important to understand the goals and mindset of women of the YWCA at the time when segregation and white and black associations were defining their roles in the community. Mary Sims, a member of the YWCA, described the organization and some of its major elements in 1949. Women and girls could be members of the YWCA, but they also had responsibilities. There was a board of directors, committees, professional staff, and advisors. Because of all these responsibilities, everyone had to help to get the work done.

Every YWCA offered different activities because they existed in a variety

of places. No matter what activities were offered, they contained a Christian

message. Evangelical Christianity and its orthodox theology and emphasis on personal morality and individual salvation dominated the majority of religious bodies. In the beginning of its national organization, the YWCA was a part of this evangelical, conservative religious life. The Christian purpose served as a motivator for action. The YWCA also developed social work techniques. The social work program depended on the needs of the women and girls involved. The organization also held the ideals of democracy and respect for the contribution of each individual. These elements can be seen in the early activism of African American women as they sought to gain recognition in the national YWCA.

Black women first became involved in the YWCA in 1893 with the formation of a branch for African American women and girls :

Women Adrift: Independent Wage Earners in Chicago, 1890-1930 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988).

3 Margaret Hiller, *Toward Better Race Relations* (New York: The Woman's Press, 1949).

4 Grace H. Wilson, *The Religious and Educational Philosophy of the Young Women's Christian Association* (New York City: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933), 15.

5 Mary Sims, *The YWCA An Unfolding Purpose* xii-xiii.

6 This began with Spelman College in 1884 and was followed by schools such as Wilberforce University, the AME Church's school in Ohio, and Talladega College and Tuskegee

Dayton, Ohio. During the following years, other branches formed in cities such as Philadelphia, Washington, Baltimore, Brooklyn, and New York. Women in black colleges also became involved from the 1880s.⁵ Juliette Derricotte was one woman who was an active student at Talladega College in Alabama. She grew up in Athens, Georgia, and became aware of racial divisions at an early age. This led to a strong determination to fight discrimination. When she attended Talladega College, she was the president of the campus YWCA. After graduating, she continued to be involved in the YWCA. She enrolled in the national YWCA training school in New York City, and became the secretary of the national student council of the YWCA. She worked with student groups around the country and had an organizational structure that made the council an interracial fellowship.

These women created their organizations and conducted their activities independent of white YWCAs. By 1912, six black YWCAs were branches of white YWCAs. Another six remained independent and did not comply with attempts to combine white and black branches.⁸ To help understand how black women advocated for recognition, this paper will give an analysis of the development of the Philadelphia, Baltimore, Portland, and Chicago branches and the circumstances surrounding their development.

In Philadelphia, blacks were working toward social uplift for themselves and looking for ways to better society. As early as 1870, black women in Philadelphia represented the Colored Young Women's Christian Association (CYWCA) at the national convention of Women's Christian Associations. The Colored Women's Association, a predecessor of the YWCA, struggled until about 1900 with two residences. The association sent representatives to participate in the 1875 International Convention of the Women's Christian Association. However, the group was unable to gain support from the Philadelphia association. The residences of the association l

Institute in Alabama. See Judith Weisenfeld, *American Women and Christian Activism: New York's Black, 1845-1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 34.

7 Jean Cazort, Derricotte, Juliette (1897-1984), *Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia* ed. Darlene Clark Hine (Brooklyn, New York: Carlson, 1993), 332,

closed because of a lack of funds, but they continued to work with children and older women. The women of the association served other women through their community service efforts. This included providing material aid and interdenominational, evangelical social service.

For the next several decades, black women moved in large numbers to cities and similar organizations were founded to help them. The organizations were founded and operated by black women because their race prevented them from participating in white organizations. There were racial divisions and these new organizations were not accepted into the national movement of women's associations that later formed the International Board of Women's and Young Women's Christian Associations.

Activist Lugenia Burns Hope was very much aware of the racial divisions and discrimination within the YWCA. Hope was known for her community building and race and gender activism. Her interracial work was illustrated by the creation of African American YWCA branches in the South. Hope, along with over 300,000 black Southern women, challenged the racist policies of the YWCA. She worked for years to eliminate discriminatory practices and her determination often led to charges of inflexibility. But she did not relent; she continued the struggle until the direction of black YWCAs in the South was controlled by the national office in New York.

Evidence of early black activism can be seen in the Baltimore branch of the Colored Young Women's Christian Association (CYWCA). This branch was founded in 1896, but was not technically a member of the national YWCA because the national organization did not accept black members. However, it still performed the same services for women. These services included an emphasis on recreation and housing opportunities for women moving to

<http://womhist.binghamton.edu/bywca/jones.htm> (accessed October 7, 2005).

8 Weisenfeld, *African American Women and Christian Activism*, 4.

9 Lash Jones, *Struggle Among Saints*, 162-163.

10 Lash Jones, *Young Women's Christian Association*, 1 of 5.

11 Jacqueline A. Rouse, *Hope, Lugenia Burns (1871-1947) Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia*, Darlene Clark Hine (Brooklyn, New York: Carlson, 1993), 573, <http://womhist.binghamton.edu/bywca/jones.htm> (accessed October 7, 2005).

urban areas. Their constitution shows the same goals as white YWCAs, but race forced them to remain separate. According to their constitution of 1896, the objective of the black association was to help the young women in our community to a better and truer womanhood; to encourage them to make the most of themselves in mind, body and soul; to teach them to find the sweetness of life and its compensations even under the most adverse and discouraging circumstances. To bring about these conditions we offer them a Christian home.¹³ This goal was clearly along the same lines as the national white YWCA.

Ida Rebecca Cummings was a member of the Baltimore CYWCA. In 1904, Cummings, her mother, and other members established the Colored Empty Stocking and Fresh Air Circle. They provided Christmas stockings to children who otherwise would not receive any gifts. This group also paid the expenses for city children to stay at the home of a rural family for the summer. The purpose of this was to expose the children to a healthier and cleaner environment. Cummings was the president of the group for most of its existence. Under her leadership, the group bought a farm and built a camp for children.¹⁴ These are a few examples of how the social ideas of black women were similar to those of white women.

The Baltimore branch and other branches of the CYWCA were fiscally independent of the white organization and they did not depend on them for their leadership. This was for a couple of reasons. First of all, the white women did not want to take responsibility for the fiscal problems of the struggling black associations. This was a time when racial segregation was prominent. The white women did not want to sit beside black women at the national meetings. To whites, this would be embarrassing and they were not willing to do it.

Because the black branches were not part of the national

12 Constitution of the Colored Young Women's Christian Association, 1896, unprocessed collection of YWCA of Greater Baltimore, 128 West Franklin Street, <http://womhist.binghamton.edu/bywca/doc19.htm> (accessed October 7, 2005).

13 Constitution of the Colored Young Women's Christian Association, 1896.

14 Donna Hollie, Cummings, Ida Rebecca (1867-1958) *Lackawanna Women in America:*

organization, they did not receive any funds or financial help from the national YWCA. Most of the contributions came from the women who were involved and women in the community, but these women were not able to support the program by themselves. For this reason, the activities and programs were not of the same quality as white programs.

Black women had their own way of electing their leaders to run their branches. In Articles III and IV of their constitution, they outlined the presiding offices and their duties. There was a board of managers, which consisted of twenty-four women. From these people, the members elected a president, six vice-presidents, a treasurer, a secretary, and an assistant secretary. These offices had the usual duties associated with them. For example, the president presided at the meetings and the treasurer held the money and authorized expenditures. The structured leadership and the detail of the offices show that the women were determined to run their organization, even if that meant they had to do it without the help of the national association. This arrangement was not satisfactory because they did not have the financial support of the larger organization; as a result, their services were of low quality. In addition, the smaller black groups did not have professional leadership. Although they elected officials to lead them, many times they were not educated professionals.

After early struggles, some of the branches managed to become a part of the national organization around 1920. M. Murphy, president of the Baltimore branch of the CYWCA, wrote a letter to the Baltimore YWCA in 1912. In this letter, Murphy suggested that the two organizations should be working side by side. It was thought of all present that our work would have a much broader scope if we might be admitted as a part of the Central Association.

An Historical Encyclopedia. Darlene Clark Hine (Brooklyn, New York: Carlson, 1993), 291-292,
<http://womhist.binghamton.edu/bywca/jones.htm> (accessed October 7, 2005).

15 Lash Jones, *Young Women's Christian Association*, 2 of 5.

16 Constitution of the Colored Young Women's Christian Association, 1896.

17 Lash Jones, *Young Women's Christian Association*, 1299-1303.

18 Colored Young Women's Christian Association Board Members to Board of Man

work. We, therefore, earnestly ask to become a branch of that body if your board be willing to accept us ¹⁸as such.

Eight years later that desire became a reality. An affiliation agreement was set up between the CYWCA and the YWCA of Baltimore. This agreement stated that the Colored Young Women's Christian Association of Baltimore City is hereby made a branch of the Young Women's Christian Association of Baltimore City, with representation on the Metropolitan Board through the Chairman of an affiliating committee, to be organized as hereinafter set out. This agreement was set up so that blacks would still be active in the organization.

The leadership for the now integrated Baltimore YWCA was split between whites and blacks. Five of the ten members on the affiliating committee were black. There was still a committee of management of the colored branch and this was always composed of black women. This committee also elected a black woman to serve as their treasurer and as an assistant to the treasurer of YWCA of Baltimore City. From this evidence, it seems as though segregation was still prominent even after the supposed integration of the separate organizations. But this could also be seen as a way to ensure that black women did not get overrun by whites. By setting standards for leadership, both interests would be represented.

The 1920 agreement also stated that all property owned by the Baltimore YWCA was to be used for black women and girls, protecting the property of the CYWCA if the branches became segregated again. In that case, the property owned by the CYWCA would be returned to them, along with any additional property that was acquired. From this statement, it seems as though the rights and interests of black women were being taken into consideration.

Members of the Baltimore Y.W.C.A., 14 February 1912, unprocessed collection of YWCA of Greater Baltimore, 128 West Franklin Street, 1883-1902, <http://womanhist.binghamton.edu/bywca/doc22.htm> (accessed October 7, 2005).

¹⁹ Affiliation Agreement between CYWCA and YWCA, 24 February 1920, unprocessed collection of YWCA of Greater Baltimore, 128 West Franklin Street, <http://womanhist.binghamton.edu/bywca/doc27b.htm> (accessed October 10, 2005).

Women in Chicago faced similar problems of discrimination and segregation. Private institutions run for women, such as the Women s Model Lodging House, the YWCA, and the Chicago Women s Shelter apparently refused shelter for African American women. Unfortunately, these kinds of discriminatory practices flowed throughout the city and touched all black residents. Migrants arriving from Southern states caused heightened racial tensions and soon Chicago would experience the worst racial riot in its history. Some female advocates spoke out against the riot but with little political power their protests were overshadowed by male authorities who believed that the city should be more strictly segregated²²

In 1877, the Chicago YWCA voted to exclude African Americans from their services. This led to black women forming their own boarding homes, but they were underfunded because they did not have access to the national organization. It is interesting to note that the Chicago branch not only excluded blacks, but they also discouraged immigrants, Jews, and Catholics. These groups also formed their own boarding houses²³

Black women in Portland, Oregon, were in a similar situation to women in Chicago. But there were different circumstances that led to the formation of a black YWCA in Portland. The Portland branch was not established until about 1920 because of segregation and job discrimination. As early as 1906, blacks voted, served as jurors, and went to the same schools as whites. After World War I, there was industrial change and Jim Crow segregation took place in the city. This made discrimination a reality for blacks in this area and it caused them to form an association. This led to the building of a YWCA, known as the Williams Avenue YWCA

In 1940, the black population was still relatively small in

20 Affiliation Agreement between CYWCA and YWCA, 24 February 1920.

21 Affiliation Agreement between CYWCA and YWCA, 24 February 1920.

22 Maureen A. Flanagan, *Seeing with Their Hearts: Chicago Women and the Vision of the Good City, 1871-1930* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 167.

23 Joanne Meyerowitz, *Women Adrift: Independent Wage Earners in Chicago, 1880-1930* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), 46-47.

24 Rose Murdock, *The Persistence of Black Women at the Williams Avenue YWCA,*

land. During World War II, however, blacks migrated out of the South and into the defense factories. This movement caused Portland's black population to increase tenfold from 2,000 to 20,000. Portland was not open to the changing population trends, and housing segregation and discrimination in unions became common. African American women found that their industrial jobs were also the most dangerous jobs that the factory had to offer. They faced much harsher conditions than white workers. The Williams Avenue YWCA played an important role in the women's lives during the war period. The organization provided social and spiritual support for black women and the community.

During the war, the Williams Avenue YWCA rented their facility to the United Service Organization as a recreation center. The functions of the YWCA were transferred to the southwest section of Portland.⁶ Some black members were afraid of what would happen if total assimilation with whites occurred. They may have thought that black women's organizations would be left behind in order to favor those of whites. Some of the leaders in the Williams Avenue YWCA spoke about these fears.

Many African Americans were attracted to Portland because of the opportunity for work in the shipyards. This work was hard and most of it was done by blacks. Because of this obvious segregation, the national YWCA may have seen the opportunity to establish an interracial program in Portland. However, unlike the black women in Baltimore, blacks in Portland were not readily willing to work alongside whites. Many in the black community felt that this would cause the elimination of black institutions and shift services to downtown where blacks were not welcome. Many also resented the loss of the Williams Avenue YWCA.

Because of these concerns, black women realized they had to educate the wider community about their lives and their needs. They helped other people in Portland to understand their backgrounds, reasons for migration, their culture, and their accom-

plishments. The YWCA also set up programs to help women on the outskirts of Portland. They had meetings at the houses of black women to tell other women about the YWCA and volunteering. These were the first attempts at integration of the YWCA in Portland. According to the women involved, it was successful despite the early reluctance by some black members. But the black women played an important role in this integration because of their desire to educate others about themselves. This was central because it allowed a better understanding of the culture and it fostered communication between women of different races. This activism and attempts for integration began to take shape during World War I.

During World War I, many black women in the YWCA were advocating for integration or, at the very least, recognition by the national branch. The federal government indirectly stimulated the involvement of black women by mobilizing seven national organizations, one of which was the YWCA. This is illustrated by the development of integration in the Baltimore branch. It became integrated around 1920 (World War I could have been a factor in when this occurred). This was not seen in Portland because the population ratios and the desires and needs of the African American community were different.

In 1917, the national board of the YWCA established the War Work Council to protect the health and morals of American women especially in the communities around army and navy training camps. Under the leadership of Eva Bowles, black female leaders and volunteers came together to meet the needs of the African American female community.

The women established hostess houses in training camps. These served to provide information for female relatives and friends of black soldiers, a pleasant atmosphere for soldiers and visitors, and a supervised environment to ease the adjustment to

26 Murdock, *The Persistence of Black Women at the Williams Avenue YWCA*, 191.

27 Murdock, *The Persistence of Black Women at the Williams Avenue YWCA*, 192.

28 Murdock, *The Persistence of Black Women at the Williams Avenue YWCA*, 192.

29 These organizations were part of the War Work Campaign. The National War Work Council of the Young Men's Christian Association, the War Camp Community Service, and the Salvation Army also utilized the skills of black women. See Dorothy Salem, *World War I, Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia*

military life. During this time, the YWCA also met the needs of black women drawn to urban areas looking for employment through an industrial department. The YWCA also provided girls with appropriate opportunities for recreation, housing, health, social morality, and skills.

Because of the services, participation during World War I grew rapidly. In 1917, black women had one national secretary, sixteen local centers, and nine paid workers. By 1918, the staff consisted of twelve national workers, three field supervisors, and sixty-two paid workers managing the work in forty-two centers, many of which later became branches of the YWCA.

Although the programs and philosophies of the YWCA War Work Council did not differ much from those of the women's clubs, the characteristics of the leadership did differ. The clubs and women's committees of the state councils of defense had married, middle-aged women as their leaders. The YWCA national staff and war workers were younger, single women, prepared by higher education similar to the leadership in the settlement house movement.³¹ This goes back to the idea that many black advocates began their work early in their lives. These young women still had the goal of being nationally recognized by the YWCA.

From the beginning, African American founders, members, and participants in the YWCA worked to be recognized and represented in the decision-making process of the organization. As early as 1915, black and white women met to try and resolve racial relations between the central association and colored branches in Southern cities. They also demanded black representation on regional field committees. After World War I, black women greatly increased their numbers as members in the organization. These women began to demand more control of the work in their own

Darlene Clark Hine (Brooklyn, New York: Carlson, 1993), 1288, <http://womhist.binghamton.edu/bywca/jones.htm> (accessed October 7, 2005).

30 Salem, World War I, 1288.

31 Salem, World War I, 1289.

32 This occurred in areas where colored branches and white associations existed prior to the agreement in 1907 that formed one integrated national board. See Lash Jones,

branches, to insist that their committee chairs become members of the local central committees, and they pressed for representation on the national board. In response to protests by black members, the national board resolved to hold national conventions only in cities that would assure accommodations to all members in attendance. Even though black women were critical of the slow rate of progress toward integration, the biracial policies of the organization were considered quite advanced for the³ time.

The early solution to integration was to affiliate the black associations with the national board, but in a separate category, independent of the white associations. This arrangement was not satisfactory.

Young Women's Christian Association, 1-5.

33 Lash Jones, Young Women's Christian Association, 3 of 5.

34 Lash Jones, Young Women's Christian Association, 2 of 5.

35 Hiller, ed., *How to Achieve Better Race Relations*, 106-107.

The Vacuum of Slavery: Federal Government and the Policy of Labor Controls after the Civil War

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After the Civil War, 4 million Americans experienced something profound: their freedom. Emancipation brought new opportunities, new hopes, and new dreams to ex-slaves. Emancipation, however, also brought new problems. The U.S. federal government created agencies such as the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, otherwise known as the Freedmen's Bureau, to help freedmen in their transition from slavery to liberty. At first glance the U.S. government appeared to be the freedmen's ally by creating such agencies. Likewise, the government's plan for Reconstruction seemed to protect the ex-slaves from their prior masters. Further analysis, however, of the federal government's policy and actions toward the freedmen reveals a different interpretation. Thousands of individuals in the South, both white and black, experienced incredible poverty after the Civil War. The federal government sought to jumpstart the economy to improve conditions, but this required the cooperation of Southern landowners. As a result the government created restrictive policies based on race that hindered blacks. Instead of following through on its promise of freedom, the U.S. government played a large role in forcing the freedmen into positions that resembled their prior status as slaves. This paper explores the reasons the government pushed former slaves back into servitude; the various labor controls that legislators and landowners used to suppress blacks; conflicting government policies that forced freedmen off land the government had given them; the failed government initiatives to improve the freedmen's plight; and the missed opportunities for improving the former slaves' conditions. Unfortunately, the prevailing individuals and powers within the U.S. government favored the Southern planters, and the freedmen were pushed back onto their former plantations.

Various reasons existed behind the government's policy toward

the ex-slaves, especially concerning the need for action in response to the South's dire economic situation after the war. Southerners had lost their cotton market in Europe because the war required them to grow food crops for their troops. This shift in the South's agriculture forced Europe to find other sources for cotton in India, Latin America, and Egypt. Consequently, the United States never regained its domination of the cotton market in Europe. Secondly, the Civil War ravaged the domestic market within the South. The Union troops destroyed transportation routes, Southern financial institutions collapsed, and agriculture declined to the point where many questioned whether or not the South could be rebuilt. Third, Southerners suffered tremendous financial losses as a result of the war. Slaves held a monetary value as property, and once emancipation took effect, the South lost roughly 1.5 billion dollars. In 1865, this dwarfed the federal budget of 70 million dollars. These economic losses rippled throughout the South, forcing plantations into bankruptcy and creating economic ruin for planters. Confederate farmers returning from the war discovered that the economy had drastically changed. Hugh Davis, the son of a planter, remarked on these changes in his journal:

Farewell Old Farm Book. To record the future work of free Negroes beside your content would disgrace the past. The work and profits of the best labor system ever established have been written on these pages the past was brilliant but the future is dismal, gloomy

Hugh Davis left his farm, but he did not leave the South. Like Davis, most former slaves and whites of humble circumstance did

1 David B. Danborn, *Born in the Country: A History of Rural America* (Cambridge: John Hopkins University Press, 1995), 114.

2 Danborn, *Born in the Country*, 116.

3 Leon F. Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 179.

4 Litwack, *Been in the Storm*, 143.

5 Ira Berlin, *Generations of Captivity: A History of African American Slaves* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard Press University, 2003), 262.

not migrate to the North in order to escape the ruined economy. Instead, they remained in the South because relocating meant leaving their families, and the North, to them, was a foreign and strange place. Moving to a nearby city was also not an option. Most people in rural areas had no connections with industry, little opportunity for work existed outside of agricultural labor, and regions engaged in manufacturing shunned those who came from poor educational backgrounds. After the war, the overall demographic of the South had little chance to change.

Even before the war ended, the federal government realized that an institution should be established to help the former slaves make the transition from servitude to freedom. By March of 1864 the government created the Freedmen s Bureau, but the upcoming agricultural season of 1865 posed a problem. Freedmen did not want to work for their former masters, yet the Southern economy s restoration and stability revolved around agricultural labor. In spring of 1865, the military realized that the freedmen s condition was desperate and required immediate measures. In response to this, President Abraham Lincoln decided that it was time for the freedmen to start digging their subsistence out of the ground. The government hoped that cotton production in the South would stimulate the economy, increase revenue for the national treasury and help the former slaves in their conversion to free labor. Unfortunately, this policy encouraged the Freedmen s Bureau to promote labor controls in order to fill the labor vacuum left by abolition of slavery. To provide stability and order to a defeated culture and region, the Freedmen s Bureau and the U.S. Army s primary interest concerning freedmen was their return to agricultural labor. In response, the Black Codes and state legislatures that f

6 Danbon, *Born in the Country* 30.

7 Daniel A. Novak, *The Wheel of Servitude: Black Forced Labor after Slavery* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1978), 9.

8 Ira Berlin, *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867* 3, *The Wartime Genesis of Free Labor: The Lower South* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 107.

9 Freedom, 35.

10 Novak, *Wheel of Servitude* 46.

11 Novak, *Wheel of Servitude* 8.

lowed validated the federal government's stance toward the freedmen.¹¹

To encourage the freedmen's return to the plantation, the government sponsored various types of labor controls. One of the most effective methods of manipulation was the labor contract. During the war, federal authorities introduced the labor contract to ensure that planters would treat the freedmen fairly. The labor contract was viewed as a device that would help the freedmen's transition from slavery; however, Union army officers and Freedmen's Bureau agents came to depend upon the labor contract as an expedient way to get blacks back into the field.¹² General Oliver Howard, head of the Freedmen's Bureau, viewed the contract as a solution to problems between the ex-slave and his former master.¹³ After all, contracts, by definition, were agreements between two free people; therefore, many politicians believed that the contract would help guide the freedmen in society and aid the economy. As a result, Howard ordered his agents to ensure that freedmen signed contracts on the Southern farms. It should be noted that Howard wanted the planters to recognize the new status of the freedmen and pay them a wage, but complications arose.¹⁴ The South, demonstrated by the Black Codes, resisted the status of freedmen, and Howard refused to establish a policy on fixed minimum wage he felt that the localities varied too greatly for a uniform income.¹⁵ Regardless, the federal government supported the use of labor contracts, and in 1866, Congress issued an order to make freedmen sign labor contracts immediately or be arrested as vagrants.¹⁶ Following this decree, the Freedmen's Bureau commanded the colored people of Mississippi to find work or be apprehended.¹⁷ Shortly afterwards, the Mississippi legislature followed the government's lead and began writing their

¹²Litwack, *Been in the Storm*, 108.

¹³Novak, *Wheel of Servitude*, 40.

¹⁴Novak, *Wheel of Servitude*, 40.

¹⁵Novak, *Wheel of Servitude*, 10-11.

¹⁶Novak, *Wheel of Servitude*, 41.

¹⁷Novak, *Wheel of Servitude*, 41.

¹⁸Litwack, *Been in the Storm*, 108.

¹⁹Novak, *Wheel of Servitude*, 45.

own laws concerning labor contracts. Even though an army commander nullified many of Georgia's Black Codes based on discrimination by race, the Freedmen's Bureau still issued an order demanding that all unemployed freedmen sign contracts in three days or the chain gang [would] be [their] inevitable fate. The federal government saw the labor contracts as a tool to stimulate the economy, and the freedmen, as a whole, found themselves forced back into agricultural labor.

Conditions of labor contracts reflected the planters' need for control over the freedmen. Critics compared the contracts to Russian serfdom, and the government's enforcement of contracts decreased the freedmen's ability to bargain for better conditions. William Stiles, a planter in Georgia, felt that the freedmen should work as they had obligated themselves to do that is, to work in the same manner as they always had done before emancipation. This need for control revealed itself through contracts that allowed the employer to enter the freedmen's cabin at any time; barred freedmen from possessing deadly weapons; required the freedmen to request the planter's permission to leave the plantation; fined freedmen for absenteeism or breakdowns in behavior; and permitted corporal punishment of freedmen for contract violations. To ensure compliance with contracts, planters preferred to pay the laborer their earnings on a monthly or quarterly basis and hold them in rest until the end of the growing season. By withholding earnings, the planter gained additional power over the freedmen. Ebenezer Brown, a former slave from Mississippi, stated:

Marse Bill rashuned out de food ter de slaves, but he writ it down in a book an made de slave pay him fur it at de end uf de year. He promised ter

20 Litwack, *Been in the Storm*, 37.

21 Litwack, *Been in the Storm*, 409.

22 Litwack, *Been in the Storm*, 410.

23 Federal Writers' Project, *American Slave Narratives* (New York: Andronicus Publishing, 1969), 6: 251-252.

24 Litwack, *Been in the Storm*, 412.

25 Eric Foner, *Nothing But Freedom: Emancipation and Its Legacy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983), 49.

pay de slaves fur dier work, but when de end uf de year cum, de slaves owed him so much dar wus nuffin or mi ty lil l cumin.²³ter em

Along with keeping freedmen s wages, planters also took advantage of the freedmen s lack of education. For example, the confusing and muddled language of one contract granted laborers one-third of seven-twelfths of the ~~three~~ ^{three} contracts, originally sponsored by the federal government, soon became tools for Southern planters to regain authority and control over the freedmen.

Labor contract laws varied from state to state. Mississippi South Carolina forbade the rental of land in rural areas. Additionally blacks had to show written evidence of employment for the coming year.²⁵ Texas labor contracts prohibited visitors, covered the laborer s entire family, and instituted fines that could be imposed at the employer s discretion.²⁶ Even after federal authorities repealed the Black Codes, Southern laws still hindered black autonomy. For example, Floridian labor contract laws may not have specifically applied to blacks, but the laws certainly applied to industries in which black people worked, such as agriculture and lumbering.²⁷ Later, during Reconstruction, South Carolina labor contracts stated that both parties could be punished for breach of contract. However, the number of former slaves breaking their contracts may have been small all of the recorded cases listed by planters as a defendant. Either that, or the severe poverty of the freedmen provided an economic deterrent for the planters to take them to court. Regardless, the punishment of laborers for breach of contract was greater than the punishment for planters. While planters could receive fines under \$500, the laborer could face imprisonment.²⁸ Aside from unequal treatment, resistance to the

26 Novak, Wheel of Servitude 4.

27 Novak, Wheel of Servitude 6.

28 Novak, Wheel of Servitude 80.

29 Litwack Been in the Storm 67.

30 Litwack Been in the Storm 80.

freedmen's new status became apparent within certain state laws. As seen in the Black Codes of South Carolina, lawmakers defined the parties within labor contracts as masters and servants. By initiating the labor contract, the Southern states followed the government's lead and passed laws that pushed the freedmen back onto the farms.

Along with labor contracts and endorsement of labor controls, the government initiated and supported laws that deemed certain people as vagrants to ensure plantation work. If an individual could not pay for his or her vagrancy fine, then a planter would pay the fine for him or her. Those deemed vagrants, in turn, had to work for the planter in order to pay off their debt. Since many freedmen were unwilling to go back to the plantation, widespread unemployment increased in the post-war South, which became associated with vagrancy and laziness. Henceforth, General Howard of the Freedmen's Bureau stated that federal government was not to

let any man lie idle, without property, doing mischief. A vagrant law is right in principle. I can not ask the civil officers to leave you idle, to beg or steal. If they find any of you without business and means of living, they will do right if they treat you as bad persons and take away your misused liberty.

According to Howard, the Union promised them nothing, except their freedom, and freedom means work. To encourage the flow of freedmen back to the plantations, federal authorities ceased issuing food rations. With no source of food, the planters became the freedmen's only source of subsistence. The planters, of course, required that the freedmen sign a labor contract. However, if the freedmen still refused to sign, the federal authorities ap

31 Litwack, *Been in the Storm* 80.

32 Litwack, *Been in the Storm* 15.

33 Novak, *Wheel of Servitude* 2.

34 Litwack, *Been in the Storm* 21.

35 Novak, *Wheel of Servitude*.

36 Novak, *Wheel of Servitude* 5.

37 Novak, *Wheel of Servitude*.

hended them as vagrants and hired them.³⁸ The Freedmen s Bureau played an active role in the practice of using vagrancy I despite its official stance of opposing discriminatory statutes. For example, when the U.S. Army formally nullified the South Carolina Black Codes, army commanders still ordered their officers to create regulations for the hiring out of vagrants for labor purposes. Vagrancy laws varied from place to place and enforcement was often unscrupulous. Idle whites were considered unemployed while idle blacks were categorized as lazy, indolent, and vagrants.³⁴ Idleness was not the only indication of vagrancy. In some regions, a head tax was placed on all blacks between the ages of 18 and 60. Failure to pay the head tax was evidence of vagrancy.³⁵ Aside from the struggle to avoid vagrancy, freedmen hired out to repay their vagrancy fines often became victim to the planters, who set the values for food, clothing, and shelter, and automatically subtracted those costs from the freedman s wages. As a result, vagrants sometimes spent a year or more paying off their debt, and the courts that handled the hiring out of vagrants became, in a sense, employment agencies.³⁶

Following the government s lead, the Southern states enacted vagrancy laws that provided effective labor controls. Many of the laws concerning vagrancy at the state level mirrored one another. Most Southern states, like Mississippi, created vagrancy statutes that include people who ran away from their plantations, misspent their earnings, used lewd speech, neglected their work, acted idle, or behaved insubordinately. Since Mississippi s laws did not discriminate by race, whites could also be fined with vagrancy. The law, however, allowed for people to avoid fines by taking a pauper s oath. Authorities usually allowed the whites to take the oath while denying blacks the opportunity.³⁷ Other states used similar methods and engaged in unfair practices that benefited whites at the

38 Novak, Wheel of Servitude.

39 Novak, Wheel of Servitude.

40 Novak, Wheel of Servitude.

41 Litwack, Been in the Storm.

42 Litwack, Been in the Storm.

43 Novak, Wheel of Servitude.

freedmen's expense. Louisiana's laws contained a provision that those who could convince a judge of their moral character would have their fines forgiven. This stipulation was nothing more than a mere safety valve for whites.³⁸ Likewise, Georgia provided an escape clause in their laws by allowing a judge to forgive vagrant behavior. Blacks, of course, had a difficult time convincing white judges.³⁹ States such as South Carolina placed a poll tax on all black males and unmarried females. Accordingly, the freedmen were deemed vagrants if they failed to pay.⁴⁰ Additionally, Georgia reduced certain criminal actions from felonies to misdemeanors so that the planter's pool of candidates who could be hired out increased and expanded.⁴¹ Some areas did not even bother with hiring vagrants to planters. San Antonio, Texas, and Montgomery, Alabama, made vagrants work on the streets to pay for their room and board at the jail in addition to their vagrant fine.⁴² After the South consistently abused vagrancy laws, the Reconstruction legislation in 1870 slightly improved the freedmen's situation by narrowing the scope of vagrancy statutes and nullifying the hiring out of vagrants who could not pay their fine. Regardless, as seen from the examples above, the state governments and planters had used the vagrancy laws and hiring-out practices to their advantage in order to control the freedmen's labor.

Another way that the government controlled the ex-slaves was by restricting access to hunting, fishing, and other activities that gave freedmen subsistence. By decreasing their outlets for independence, the federal authorities forced the freedmen to get their subsistence on plantations. At the end of the war, many freedmen found work in occupations such as fishing and lumbering. Short-handed planters began to complain and federal authorities began an enforcement of contracts in order to control the floating Negro

⁴⁴ Freedom, 317.

⁴⁵ Freedom, 317.

⁴⁶ Freedom, 318-319.

⁴⁷ Freedom, 72.

⁴⁸ Danbon, *Born in the Country* 21.

⁴⁹ Foner, *Nothing but Freedom* 66.

population⁴⁴ One federal authority stated,

As one great means to this end, I would make it as difficult as possible for them to get to the centers of populations. Young women particularly flock back and forth by scores constantly to seek some new excitement. So far as possible they should be compelled to steady labor. Hence I would allow no peddling around camps whatsoever. Fishing I would discourage as much as possible unless a man made a livelihood out of it

Based on this recommendation, the Commander of the South released a general order:

to prevent the possibility of said boats and dugouts from being used, for the purpose of carrying deserters or smuggling good to the enemy, it is hereby ordered: That all ~~boats~~ shall be immediately taken charge of and guarded. The practice of allowing Negro women to wander about must be discontinued at once. All Negro women, in future found wandering in this manner, will be immediately arrested, and compelled to work at some steady employment on the Plantations⁴⁶

By using the war as an excuse, federal authorities hindered freedmen's autonomy in order to force them back to their former masters. The government frowned upon other means of work that did not involve agricultural labor. For example, in the Mississippi Valley, federal authorities reduced food rations to the freedmen's lumberyards as a way to push them back to the planters.

⁵⁰ Foner, *Nothing but Freedom* 57.

⁵¹ Foner, *Nothing but Freedom* 59–60.

⁵² Danbon, *Born in the Country* 21.

⁵³ Foner, *Nothing but Freedom* 63–64.

⁵⁴ Foner, *Nothing but Freedom* 57.

⁵⁵ Litwack, *Been in the Storm* 100.

⁵⁶ *Freedom*, 338.

Following the federal government's lead, the Southern states began to pass legislation that prohibited common practices for those who lived in rural areas. Local ordinances introduced trespassing laws, and statutes began to prohibit fishing and hunting on private property.⁴⁸ The Black Codes severely decreased black independence by making the right to carry firearms outside the plantation illegal for freedmen. Even if a Southern state allowed firearms, freedmen usually had to pay taxes on guns and dogs that they owned. Additionally, some states defined hunting and fishing as vagrancy.⁴⁹ Once the federal government allowed restrictions on these rural areas, state laws merely mirrored the policy established in Washington, D.C.

Laws at the state level, like the federal restrictions placed on subsistence farming, also provided a unique tool to remove autonomy from blacks. Criminal law in the South changed to increase penalties for petty thefts. During slavery, blacks had taken what they needed to survive. After emancipation, however, procuring livestock for food became stealing.⁵⁰ Theft of cattle or swine became grand larcenies punishable by five years in prison.⁵¹ Blacks who owned livestock suffered because of changes in the law. States created fencing statutes and herd laws requiring that livestock owners confine animals that had previously been allowed to roam without restriction.⁵² Freedmen depended upon open ranges so that their livestock could freely graze; starting with Reconstruction, however, fencing laws began to constrict their animals to fenced areas. In 1872, Georgia passed laws allowing people to decide on whether fencing laws should exist at the county level. Alabama and Mississippi followed the same pattern, and by the mid-1880s, fencing statutes that restricted the right to pasture

⁵⁷ Freedom, 339.

⁵⁸ Freedom, 339.

⁵⁹ Gao Chunchang, *African American History and Culture* (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000), 98–99.

⁶⁰ Chunchang, *African American History*, 98–99.

⁶¹ Foner, *Nothing but Freedom* 82.

⁶² Chunchang, *African American History*, 101.

⁶³ Foner, *Nothing but Freedom* 82.

⁶⁴ Chunchang, *African American History*, 102.

dealt a severe blow to freedmen who owned livestock but did not own any land⁵³ Southern whites assumed that blacks deserved nothing, yet the freedmen felt entitled to some form of property to make a living. During slavery, planters had given them gardens to grow their own crops, but after emancipation the right to subsistence no longer held a place in the new Southern economy. ~~54~~ Freedmen depended upon their environment for resources and subsistence, yet the federal government allowed Southern states to create laws that restricted their self-sufficiency.

Apart from labor controls that inhibited the freedmen's independence, conflicting government policies were also responsible for making thousands of freedmen homeless. After razing and burning Georgia on his march to the sea during the war, General William Tecumseh Sherman realized that the abandoned plantations along the South Carolina coast could provide an area of settlement for the thousands of freedmen that had followed his army.⁵⁵ On January 15, 1865, Sherman issued Special Field Order 15 that stated,

The islands from Charleston and the country bordering the St. Johns River, Florida are reserved and set apart for the settlement of the Negroes now made free by the acts of war and the proclamation of the President of the United States⁵⁶

This field order allowed respectable negroes to claim no more than 40 acres of tillable ground for their families. Freedmen only held a possessory title in writing, which meant they did not own the acres. They could, however, work the land and claim the fruits of their labor. ~~57~~ The order did not specify how long the freedmen could stay, but the federal government and the army seemed committed to further land distribution. ~~58~~ Under the supervision of General Rufus Saxton, 40,000 blacks settled down and

⁶⁵Litwack, *Been in the Storm*, 107.

⁶⁶Litwack, *Been in the Storm*, 82.

⁶⁷Chunchang, *African American History*, 92.

⁶⁸Danbon, *Born in the Country*, 19.

⁶⁹Danbon, *Born in the Country*, 19.

began to work the area surrounding the South Carolina Sea Islands.⁷⁰ The freedmen's access to land was short-lived. By September 1865, President Andrew Johnson had reversed the Freedmen's Bureau's policy, pardoned the majority of the large planters and authorized the return of their lands accordance with Johnson's administration, General Oliver Howard of the Freedmen's Bureau issued Circular Order 15, which informed the 40,000 freedmen that the lands they inhabited would be restored to the pardoned planters. The freedmen rejected their initial orders to move from the land they had farmed over the summer. In October, Howard paid a private visit to the Sea Islands to confirm the freedmen's fears of having to leave the land. Accounts of his visit indicate that his announcement created such dismay that he barely finished his speech.⁷¹ Restoration of the land to the ex-Confederates was a bitter process.⁷² General Saxton doubted the legality of Circular Order 15, planters began to complain when the freedmen kept occupying the Sea Islands, and President Johnson removed Saxton from his post in early 1866.⁷³ Within a year of the war's end, the planter class had essentially recovered their⁷⁴ property. Along with destroying freedmen's hopes for the acquisition of land, the federal government forced thousands of blacks back into working for others once again.

Government programs that failed were another factor that contributed to the freedmen's plight. In all fairness, various powers the U.S. government tried, in many ways, to ease their burden. A number of freedmen benefited from particular government programs and the efforts of certain political groups like the Radical Republicans. The Freedmen's Bureau provided food rations, offered medical care, reunited families, sponsored education, relocated workers, and corrected numerous abuses.⁷⁵ Likewise, the

70 Novak, *Wheel of Servitude* 1.

71 Foner, *Nothing but Freedom* 16.

72 *Freedom*, 27-28.

73 Litwack, *Been in the Storm* 66.

74 Litwack, *Been in the Storm* 98.

75 Novak, *Wheel of Servitude* 1.

76 Foner, *Nothing but Freedom* 43.

Reconstruction legislatures recognized citizenship under the Fourteenth Amendment, extended suffrage to black males in the Fifteenth Amendment, and provided military protection for blacks under the Reconstruction Act of 1867. Numerous noble initiatives, however, fell victim to circumstance. The Southern Homestead Act of 1866 made over 40 million acres available to the ex-slaves, but most blacks were so poor that they could not afford to buy even a small amount of land. White hostility and inferior tactics added to the failure of the act, and in the long-run, speculators, lumber companies, and plantation owners acquired the mass of land that politicians originally set aside for the freedmen. Thaddeus Stevens and his league of Radical Republicans wanted to punish the Confederates by confiscating Southern estates and dividing the land amongst the ex-slaves. Their vision, however, violated sacrosanct property rights for most representatives in Congress.⁶⁹ Even suggestions for a fixed minimum wage received rejection. As stated previously, General Oliver Howard, head of Freedmen's Bureau, refused to adopt a policy toward wages because he felt that regional circumstances varied so greatly that set earnings would be intrinsically unfair.⁷⁰ The federal government faced the daunting task of rebuilding the United States, and unfortunately, the circumstances of the time period limited many of the gallant efforts to promote black opportunity and equality.

Along with government programs that failed, missed opportunities by government leaders also hindered the ex-slaves. Forcing the freedmen back into agricultural labor seemed, to many politicians, to be the easiest political and economic solution that would solve the problems that plagued the South. Those who held political power in government, in their haste, never truly considered or entertained other proposals. Years earlier, England had tried to set up an apprenticeship system for the emancipated men in the West Indies. Due to the lack of involvement from the upper levels of British government, the local Caribbean planters passed laws that reinforced labor controls, thereby making the system a complete failure.⁷¹ When U.S. politicians introduced ideas of apprenticeship for the freedmen, policymakers pointed to the failures in the Caribbean and discarded thoughts of such an arrangement. Political

Conceptions of Freedom: The Reciprocal Relationship
 between Southern Slaves Ideas of Freedom and the
 Reality of
 Emancipation During and Immediately Following the
 Civil War

B maura matuszak C

The concept of freedom has been a dominant feature of American political discourse and civic culture since the beginning of colonial period; in fact, this concept was a defining element in American identity even before the establishment of an independent nation. Freedom was a vital ideal in the intellectual fight to create a sovereign American nation separate from Great Britain. Before the Civil War, this ideal, so necessary to an American identity, nearly always existed simultaneously with chattel bondage. From a modern perspective, this seems a cruel and ironic juxtaposition; however, these seemingly contradictory ideas intertwined and fundamentally shaped the reality and ideal of freedom. The most obvious historical point of this irony is the American Revolutionary War.

Our modern conception of freedom seems at odds with the idea of fighting a war of independence while keeping one-fifth of the population enslaved. However, this modern conception of freedom is different than the conception held among the republicans whose ideals culminated in the Revolutionary War. Edmund S. Morgan uses Thomas Jefferson's conception to illustrate the generally held definition: freedom at that time was fundamentally tied to individual independence. This definition of freedom is not at odds with slavery; it reaffirms it, allowing for the continued existence of slavery after the Revolutionary War. This interplay of slavery and freedom shaped these very notions over the course of American

1 Eric Foner, *The Meaning of Freedom in the Age of Emancipation*, *Journal of American History* 81, no. 2 (September 1994): 437.

2 Edmund S. Morgan, *Slavery and Freedom: The American Paradox*, *Journal of American History* 59, no. 1 (June 1972): 7.

history through the Civil War era.

Another turning point in the paradox of slavery and freedom is evident with the Civil War. Here, another perspective is especially important to consider: the views and conceptions of freedom of slaves themselves. By looking at the conceptions of freedom among slaves during and immediately after the Civil War in the South, an air of cautious hope makes itself known. These conceptions and the hope that sprang from them changed when emancipation became a reality. This reality, in turn, shaped the former slaves' notions of freedom and what they expected from it. The idea of freedom, and how an ex-slave responded to it, was different among different slaves; just as there was not a universal experience of slavery, there was not a universal experience of freedom.

First of all, the Civil War itself made a profound impression on slaves' conceptions of freedom. Slaves' knowledge of the war was sometimes gathered from overhearing whites' conversations. Although whites refused to believe that their simple black slaves could understand the implications of the war, they became conscious of their slaves' eager desire for knowledge and guarded their speech. Fortunately, the slaves proved to be resourceful in their quest for wartime information; the white owners were not slaves' only source of information.

Slaves had a reliable and trusty institution to aid in their quest for news: the grapevine. This grapevine telegraph kept slaves constantly aware of the military situation. The grapevine was used along with secret meetings amongst small groups of slaves. These small meetings had been used throughout the course of slavery for various reasons; now, they were used to spread news about the military positions and the possibility of emancipation.

3 Leon F. Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 21.

4 Litwack, *Storm So Long* 26.

5 Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution 1863-1877* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 3.

6 Litwack, *Storm So Long* 26.

7 Litwack, *Storm So Long* 27.

8 Litwack, *Storm So Long* 27.

9 Litwack, *Storm So Long* 108.

flow of new information allowed the slaves to appraise the war, form their own conceptions of it, and understand what it meant for their own situation and future. The slaves understood that it was war for their liberation; they knew that a Union victory spelled end of the Confederacy and the institution of slavery. The new possibilities sparked by these realizations, especially the possibility of freedom, created strong emotions among the slaves. The slaves experienced increasing difficulty in keeping these emotions in check as the war wore on. Slaves also experienced a tension between the loyalty to their locale (many saw themselves as Southerners) and their fervent hope for freedom. This tradeoff between the security of the old system and the possibility of freedom is an interesting dynamic in the formation of slaves' conceptions of freedom and what exactly that entailed.

The military experience of slaves in the Union and Confederate armies impacted the slaves' conceptions of freedom. In both cases, black enlistment was not initially favored in either the North or South; any proposal to enlist slaves as soldiers was bound to provoke strong opposition. Essentially, whites on both sides did not trust slaves enough to enlist and arm them. However, as the war progressed and a quick victory no longer seemed possible on either side, both the Union and Confederate armies considered black enlistment as an option. From there, the experience on each side was different.

When the Union army began to allow blacks not only to enlist but also to actually see combat, their military experience took on new meaning. They were crucial actors aiding in the demolishing of slavery. The fact that they were liberating enslaved brothers, sisters, mothers, fathers, aunts, uncles, grandparents, cousins, friends, and neighbors gave these Union soldiers an almost bottomless sense of pride and high expectations of the future. After the Emancipation Proclamation, many slaves left their plantations

10 Litwack, *Storm So Long* 43.

11 Litwack, *Storm So Long* 101.

12 George P. Rawick, *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1972-1979), 6.2: 10.

13 Foner, *Reconstruction* 9.

to join the Union army. As Mrs. Mary Crane recalls, When President Lincoln issued his proclamation, freeing the negroes, I remember my father and most all of the other younger slave men left the farms to join the Union army.¹² These slaves were fighting to ensure that the freedom they and their families were tasting would not be taken away from them in the future.

Although black soldiers were hardly considered equal to their white counterparts, the war and their military experience also afforded opportunities of other kinds. Ambitious blacks viewed these experiences as a way to advancement and respectability; from the army came many black leaders of the Reconstruction era.¹³ Among the Union troops, blacks' experiences of this war of liberation shaped their conceptions of freedom and gave them a sense of hope for a vastly improved future.

In the Confederate army, blacks' experience was, not surprisingly, different. Although it was implied that these soldiers serving the Confederate cause would be freed after the war, black Confederate soldiers would have been fighting to ensure that slavery as an institution would continue into the foreseeable future. This, of course, would have shattered their hopes for the future and their idea of freedom; they would not have the opportunity to find the same kinds of people the Union soldiers gained such pride in unshackling. The Confederate-enlisted blacks simply would not fight with the same conviction and purpose as the black Union soldiers.

These wartime experiences and military experiences shaped many slaves' conceptions of freedom and their expectations; the realization that freedom was a tangible possibility, not a fable, had a poignant and definite effect on slaves' conceptions of freedom and their hopes for the future. Even before the Emancipation Proclamation, many slaves (sometimes freed by Union troops)

14 Litwack, *Storm So Long* 44.

15 Foner, *Reconstruction* 4.

16 Foner, *Reconstruction* 4.

17 George P. Rawick, *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography* (Hamden, CT: Greenwood Press, 1972-1979), 6.1: 427.

acted on these conceptions and hopes. Slaves, upon learning of the realistic possibility of their freedom, sometimes stopped working and demanded wages from their masters to continue work.¹⁵ Another anecdotal instance illustrates the fruition of a long held hope. A Virginia coachman, informed by soldiers in 1862 that he was free, went straight to his master's chamber, dressed himself in his best clothes, put on his best watch and chain and insolently informed him [his master] that he might for the future drive his own coach.¹⁶ This point also illustrates another: the importance of Union troops as emancipators.

Before and after the Emancipation Proclamation was adopted on January 1, 1863, Union soldiers came to symbolize freedom for many black slaves in the South. With the arrival of Union troops, slaves realized that freedom was no longer simply a possibility, was reality. Callie Williams, an Alabama slave too young herself the time to remember this event, recalls her mother's memory of the arrival of Union troops. When de Surrender come, she [her mother] say dat a whole regiment of soldiers rode up to de house yellin to de niggers dat dey was free. Den de soldiers took de m out of de smokehouse and got all de lasses [molasses] and meal and give it to all de niggers. Slaves had very vivid memories of when freedom was a distinct possibility. How old is I? Law chile don't know. My mammy say I was fifteen year old time of de surrender. I members dat mighty well recalls Siney Boneer many discussions of freedom throughout slavery, the coming of Union soldiers was infused with religious language and significance. George Strickland, with an interesting view of Abraham Lincoln, recollects, Hit was de plans of God to free us niggers an Abraham Lincoln's Reverend W.B. Allen also has a religious take on the arrival of freedom: I not only wanted to be free but I

18 Rawick, *The American Slave* 6.1: 40-41.

19 Rawick, *The American Slave* 6.1: 362.

20 George P. Rawick, *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography* (Newport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1972-1979), 3.1: 20.

21 Litwack, *Storm So Long* 119.

22 Litwack, *Storm So Long* 120.

23 Litwack, *Storm So Long* 124-125.

wanted all the Negroes freed! I then told them that God was using the Yankees to scourge the slaveholders, just as He had, centuries before, used heathens and outcasts to chastise His Chosen people the Children of Israel. This time for many slaves was also a time for joy and celebration. Aunt Hannah Jones remembers fondly, I don't know nothing about Mr. Lincoln because he freed us slaves, and when we heard that we was free all de niggers marched to Prairieville and had a celebration.

Although the arrival of Union troops sparked joy and hope, that hope was soon tempered by another emotion: uncertainty. Slaves, in general, remained cautious because they did not know what kind of treatment to expect; throughout the war, Confederate whites had tried to instill a fear of Union soldiers in their slaves and painted Union soldiers as monsters. Slaves were generally skeptical of this, as with anything else their masters told them, but were still cautious around soldiers. At times, this caution was well deserved. Although these soldiers were liberators, many of them expressed the racism that so pervaded this period. Slaves often encountered the same prejudice and harsh treatment at the hands of the Union soldiers as they had all too often seen at the plantation. On top of these circumstances, slaves were uncertain what would happen after the soldiers left. These factors of uncertainty were the first of many new problems former slaves came to experience; the reality of freedom proved to be different than many slaves' conceptions of freedom.

Slavery as an institution did not endure one final, definite mortal wound; it died slowly and laboriously throughout the South as the war wore on. Freedom came in different ways to different parts of the South. In large areas, slavery had disintegrated long before Lee's surrender, but elsewhere, far from the presence of

24 Foner, *Reconstruction* 77.

25 Litwack & Storm So Long 145.

26 Litwack & Storm So Long 175.

27 Litwack & Storm So Long 176.

28 Litwack & Storm So Long 181.

29 George P. Rawick, *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1972-1979), 8.3: 990.

30 Litwack & Storm So Long 184.

federal troops, blacks did not learn of its irrevocable end until spring of 1863.³¹ This not only added to the mounting uncertainty in the lives of the slaves and newly freed slaves but also contributed to the fact that most slaves could not identify a precise moment at which they could consider themselves free. With this uncertainty, some slaves sought revenge on symbols of bondage: the Big House, the cotton gin, the overseer, the general, slaves thought their freedom rested on the presence of Union soldiers.³² Quick withdrawal of troops, as was often the case, instilled fear among slaves that the whites would again seize power and thwart their newly gained freedom. Constant change in the military situation and doubt about the validity of the Emancipation Proclamation disillusioned many slaves.³³ These factors also contributed to the sense of the generally unpredictable and fickle nature of freedom, further exacerbating the differences between the conception and reality of freedom and tempering the hope slaves once so joyfully experienced.

Although slavery came to an end at different times throughout the South, emancipation was inevitable with the Confederate surrender. The same networks that had been used to spread the news of the war were also used to spread news of freedom to areas untouched by a direct Union troop presence, and in the more remote areas, untouched by these networks and soldiers themselves, the news was much delayed. Evie Herrin, a Mississippi slave, recalls, "I don't know just when freedom came. Some of the folks didn't hear about it for nearly a year, but they were the ones what lived a ways back from town."³⁴ This problem was most pronounced in Texas where the news was only acknowledged two months after the Confederate surrender at Appomattox, years after the Emancipation Proclamation; slaves had gone on with their usual routines and labor because Texas was almost completely untouched by the

31 Litwack, *Storm So Long* 183.

32 Litwack, *Storm So Long* 183.

33 Litwack, *Storm So Long* 183.

34 Rawick, *The American Slave* 6.1: 40-41.

35 Litwack, *Storm So Long* 212.

war.³⁰

Where word of mouth was viewed as invalid, federal officials took charge. They impressed the idea on both slaves and, more importantly, masters, that emancipation was the law of the land. The Freedmen's Bureau, an agency created to ease ex-slaves' transition from bondage to freedom, was charged with publicizing and enforcing the abolition of slavery.³¹ Unfortunately, for many slaves, freedom only came when a government official forced the planter to acknowledge the reality of slavery. For numerous slaves, in fact, freedom came only when the government man made his rounds of the plantations and forced the planters to acknowledge emancipation.³² This unpleasant experience of a reluctant master often tainted the experience of freedom right from its very beginning.

This first taste of freedom also imprinted strong and emotional memories in the minds of many ex-slaves; this experience of freedom as reality along with the memories of freedom as a realistic possibility make up many of the expressions of freedom in the

Slave Narratives. Oftentimes, the masters themselves told slaves they no longer belonged to him or her and that they were free. As stated before, Siney Bonner remembers this first taste of freedom

I members dat mighty well. Massa John call all de niggers on de plantation round him at de big house and he say to em Now, you all jes as free as I is. I ain't your ma's. ³⁴When masters told their slaves they were free, reactions he provoked gave rise to the legendary stories of a Day of Jubilo, in which crowds of ecstatically happy blacks shouted, sang, and danced their way into freedom.³⁵ The slaves no longer felt the need to conceal their emotions in front of whites as they had long been forced to do under bondage.

36 Rawick, *The American Slave* 6.1: 85.

37 Litwack, *Storm So Long* 222-223.

38 Litwack, *Storm So Long* 219.

39 Litwack, *Storm So Long* 220.

40 Foner, *Reconstruction* 78.

41 Litwack, *Storm So Long* 226.

42 Foner, *Reconstruction* 79.

43 Litwack, *Storm So Long* 227.

Although blacks generally reacted at first with immense enthusiasm, there still existed a sense of confusion, uncertainty, and realization that freedom would not be simple or easy. The reality emancipation brought with it many possibilities for the future but also many unanswered questions. These questions and possibilities were not always easy to absorb; blacks often realized the hardships they would face. Aunt Tildy Collins illustrates these questions: When de surrender comes, Ole Marster he tole all de nigger dey was free now, an some was glad an some was sorry an welst dey might be sorry, iffen dey knowed what a hard time dey goner had knockin roun de worl by deysel⁴⁴ Slaves had always talked of freedom throughout their bondage; talk of the things they wanted to do with their freedom when it was a reality continued. However, actually acting on these feelings and ideas was hard; old fears and insecurities melded into their identities by the experience of slavery and provoked by their uncertain situation made acting on these ideas and conceptions of freedom difficult.

Just as there was no universal experience of slavery, there was no universal experience of freedom; it was, in idea and reality, different for different people. One point, however, must be stressed: the slaves were not helpless. Despite the debilitating effects of dependency and the confusion which persisted over the precise nature of their new status, the freedmen were neither helpless, easily manipulated, nor frightened into passivity. Slaves had to assess their standing and define what freedom meant for them; freedom could ultimately be defined only in the day-to-day lives and experiences of the people themselves.⁴⁵

Although freedom could only be defined by an ex-slave's specific situation, there are some similarities that many ex-slaves experienced. They saw freedom as an opportunity. It meant, to

44 Rawick, *The American Slave* 3.1: 336.

45 Litwack, *Storm So Long* 227.

46 Foner, *Reconstruction* 78.

47 Foner, *Reconstruction* 78.

48 Foner, *Reconstruction* 78.

49 Litwack, *Storm So Long* 224.

50 Foner, *Meaning of Freedom*, 452.

many ex-slaves, the end of involuntary family disruption and an opportunity to educate their children. They understood that the property and goods that they acquired by their own labor was theirs to keep forever. This is a correlate to another similar idea that ex-slaves had become their own masters was common among former slaves.⁴¹ They now fully controlled their labor and their lives. Former slaves also did many things that had been denied under slavery: held mass meetings without white supervision; bought dogs, guns and liquor; refused to yield the sidewalk and dressed as they pleased.⁴² Slaves also tested the limits of their new freedom. They could now define their own pace of work, debate over wages and conditions, refuse punishment, or violate racial etiquette if they wanted.⁴³ A very important factor of freedom was the independence to move around without direct white supervision. The Niggers certainly did a lot of travelin' for freedom, says Aunt Cassie [Hutchinson]. For the first time in their existence, they could travel go where they pleased without having to procure passes from their white folks, and they exercised the privilege to the limit.⁴⁴ All of these new opportunities gave freedmen a new sense of what was possible; this in turn encouraged an independence and confidence that had been unimaginable under slavery.⁴⁵

Freedom gave blacks an opportunity to reform their community and completely control it themselves without white approval or supervision. In general, they consolidated many aspects that had existed under slavery. These include stabilizing family life and gaining control of institutions such as churches, schools, and benevolent societies.⁴⁶ A new creation of this community was the black political organization; this had not been a possibility under slavery.⁴⁷ These changes and developments formed the base for the

51 Litwack Storm So Long 310.

52 Litwack Storm So Long 310.

53 Litwack Storm So Long 334.

54 Litwack Storm So Long 335.

55 Litwack Storm So Long 335.

56 Litwack Storm So Long 256.

57 Litwack Storm So Long 259.

modern black community. It reflects both the experience of slavery and the experience of emancipation and freedom. The interplay of these aspects of blacks' lives in establishing their own community and identity illustrate very well the ever-changing relationship between their conceptions of freedom and the reality of freedom.

Although blacks sought to remake their lives with the cast of freedom, many slaves realized that their freedom did not mean full (or even partial) equality. They knew that to be free was not to necessarily enjoy the liberty of the dominant race. In fact, even if the reality was different than the hopeful aspirations and expectations of freedom many blacks held during slave times. This consideration fueled a desire for true freedom. To former slaves, true freedom meant more than the absence of coercion. This desire for true freedom, along with debates about the definition of freedom between both Northern and Southern political elites, characterized the climate of the Reconstruction era.

Despite the failure to realize true freedom at this time, former slaves flat-out refused to jeopardize their newfound freedom and sought ways to expand their realization of this tempered ideal. Many freedmen moved around to seek long-lost family members often sold away during slavery. Although ex-slaves did move around, there were no mass migrations that are usually associated with the end of slavery; most moved within their counties or states.⁵¹ One factor outside of family that often precipitated a move was the quest for increased freedom. Oftentimes former slaves would move to cities where freedom was freer; some ex-slaves did not move at all but remained on the plantation until their master died.⁵²

Many slaves, by moving and by other factors, would do nothing to risk their new freedom. A letter from Jourdon Anderson, an ex-slave, to his former master illustrates this desire to protect

58 Litwack Storm So Long 261.

59 Litwack Storm So Long 262.

60 Litwack Storm So Long 282.

61 Litwack Storm So Long 284.

62 Litwack Storm So Long 286.

63 Litwack Storm So Long 264-265.

freedom. In the letter Anderson demands back wages for himself and his wife for the time they spent laboring for him; if the man sent these wages back to the Andersons, it would show Jourdon that his former master would keep future promises and that it was worthwhile for his family to move back to the plantation. Jourdon was also unwilling to risk his daughters' opportunities for education by moving.⁵⁴ This letter illustrates not only an unwillingness to compromise their freedom, but also the confidence that freedom and opportunity had conferred on this particular ex-slave. Litwack goes further and generalizes this example to many ex-slaves, stating that former slaves evinced the same spirit and the same determination [as Anderson] to work under conditions that would in no way compromise their newly won freedom.

Ex-slaves refused to jeopardize their new freedom; they upheld their conceptions of freedom and sought to fulfill them, even though many obstacles have thus far complicated this pursuit. Many restrictions imposed by whites further complicated freed men's lives and contributed to their increasingly downtrodden conceptions of freedom. In general, former slaves were aware of the disapproving nature of whites and were careful not to unnecessarily provoke them. However, many whites saw any activity that a black was doing as purposefully insubordinate. From this perspective on freedmen, whites in the South were determined to maintain power and dominance in the face of the collapse of society as they knew it; whites thought that this could be the one aspect of the old ways that they could perpetuate.

Whites were determined to maintain a color line. The intermingling of races, especially and most infamously in travel, was only tolerated when the superiority of whites was clearly understood. Segregation most definitely existed in this society at the time immediately following the Civil War. However, it did not pervade society to the degree and extent that it would later in the nineteenth

An Analysis of High School History Textbooks Using Japanese Internment

B April schlau C

Textbooks are one of the main media through which our society educates its children. Reports estimate that textbooks serve the basis for 75 to 90 percent of overall classroom instruction. The daunting implication is that textbook authors and publishers have a lot more power over what our children are learning than most parents and educators would like to admit. What, then, are our children learning in school? In particular, what are our history textbooks teaching our students? What messages are they sending to our youth and our minority students? Through close examination of eight textbooks, I have found that they are overall inadequate in the way that they present our history to impressionable adolescents. The messages that textbooks send are often contradictory and confusing.

In this paper, I will show how eight high school American history textbooks, published between 1969 to 2003, present and cover the issue of the Japanese internment during World War II. The different publication dates will allow me to determine to what extent the time period influenced the writers and publishers. Additionally, I will discuss some of the problems associated with the textbook adoption process and how it can be changed so that the textbooks used in our classrooms are more inclusive and accurate.

After conducting their own study of six United States history textbooks, Nathan Glazer and Reed Ueda, *Ethnic Groups in History Textbooks*, assert that not only do history textbook authors universally condemn the internment of the Japanese, but that they also do not make any effort to absolve the American people or government of blame. Glazer and Ueda also question whether or

1 Marcy Stein, Carol Stuen, Douglas Carnin, and Roger M. Long, *Textbook Evaluation and Adoption Practices*, *Reading and Writing Quarterly* (2001): 6.

2 Nathan Glazer and Reed Ueda, *Ethnic Groups in History Textbooks*, United States:

not textbook authors and publishers exaggerate when they attempt to respond to the aftermath of the civil rights movement and the public's demand for minorities to be included in textbooks.² Based on the texts that I have analyzed, however, I will show that not all textbook authors condemn the internment and that most of them do, in fact, make an effort to try to absolve American people of blame by omitting certain important historical events and making statements that mislead readers. My study will also chart a growing awareness of American Japanese internment as an integral part of high school education.

James Loewen, author of *Lies My Teacher Told Me*, also examined history textbooks to determine what messages they were sending to their readers. Simply stated, Loewen argues that something has gone very wrong in the way students are learning history. Furthermore, Loewen asserts that "Indeed, history is the only field in which the more courses students take, the stupider they become."⁴ Loewen is convinced that history has been horribly taught; he makes this assumption after, as a college history professor, seeing what little his freshman college students actually knew about history. Loewen also observed that much of the history that students do know is actually untrue or simply inaccurate. My book seeks to uncover a few of the many inaccuracies of history textbooks while still acknowledging that teachers, museums, and media are just as guilty of reporting inaccurate history, which contributes to several reasons that our youth appear to be uneducated about the subject.

What is unfortunate about the teaching of history is that many students find the subject boring. While some students simply may not be interested in learning about history, others may actually love it if it were taught differently. American history is filled with fascinating, exciting, and liberating narratives, yet many of these narratives are not found in a typical American history textbook. As a society, we seem to be so fixated on making sure that our students

Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1983), 55.

3 James Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong* (United States: Simon & Schuster, 1995), 6.

4 Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me*, 2.

know the concrete facts of history that we seem to take the life of the past. Teachers typically do not explain how the past has affected and can affect their students; many more students may be interested in history if they knew what an important role it played in their lives. As Loewen states, "Understanding our past is central to our ability to understand ourselves and the world around us."

In addition to being taught how to make present-day connections to the past, students should also be taught to constantly question what they are reading, including the material they are reading in their textbooks. The study of history should facilitate critical thinking and historical analysis that will allow students to better understand different issues presented in their textbooks and also in their daily lives. The ability to critically think and question are important skills today, especially due to the significant influence mass media has on our youth.

When faced with information about events that are foreign or new to them, adolescents will typically ask the question, "Why?" Most students need to see value or meaning in history in order to take an interest in it. For that reason, teachers need to take special considerations to explain why it is important to learn about particular events or facets of history. Students reading about the Japanese internment will want to know how and why this happened. If these students only look at their history textbooks for the answers, they will get very limited and one-sided information. Most of the textbooks that I examined simply explained that the reason the government allowed the internment of the Japanese was due to concern over the security and safety of the United States. Most texts also refer to the bombing of Pearl Harbor as the main reason for the internment. While this is partially true, there is more to the story than just a reaction to Pearl Harbor and not one of the textbooks discussed the Munson Report.

The Munson Report was drawn up by Curtis Munson, who was asked by the State Department to gather intelligence material on the Japanese living in America to determine whether they were a

⁵ Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me*, 3.

⁶ Wendy Ng, *Japanese American Internment During World War II in Connecticut*.

threat to the United States government. This is an important fact of the story because the writing and researching for this report Curtis Munson started in the fall of 1941, well before the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7th of that year. This shows that even before the attack on Pearl Harbor, the United States government was already suspicious of the Japanese living in America. Munson's investigation concluded not only that the Japanese were not a threat but also that the majority of the Japanese were loyal to the United States and supported the government. Many of the Japanese willingly enlisted in the military to prove their loyalty to the United States. Not explaining this information in history textbooks gives a one-sided view that attempts to justify the internment of the Japanese and play off our human desire to feel secure and safe in our country. What student, especially in today's society, would not understand that desire? Not placing any mention of the Munson Report in history textbooks also attempts to hide an important element as to why Japanese internment occurred: racism and an anti-Japanese sentiment that existed from the early part of the twentieth century.

There is no doubt that an event such as Pearl Harbor would trigger an immense reaction of patriotism from the American people, but in this case the feeling of patriotism was directly linked to feelings of fear and hatred toward the Japanese living in America. Another issue addressed by only one textbook that many students may question is why the Japanese and not Germans and Italians were considered to be disloyal and suspect. The textbook *American Adventures*, published in 1979, addressed this issue in the following way:

Life in the camps caused many Japanese-Americans to ask some searching questions. Why had this happened to them? After all, German and Italian Americans had not been victims of mass imprisonment. Were the Japanese more danger

ous? If so, why have not most Japanese Americans who lived in Hawaii been put into camps

Obviously, the United States was not at war with Japan alone but also with Germany and Italy. Why were these groups not targeted as the Japanese were? While the Germans and Italians living in America were considered suspect and experienced discrimination and hostility, they were not singled out for the same treatment that the Japanese were. The most obvious reason for this was that the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, not the Germans or Italians. Yet the Japanese living in Hawaii near Pearl Harbor were typically not part of the mandatory relocation. The more concrete reason for this singling-out behavior stems back to the beginning of the twentieth century and the immigration of the Japanese to America. Along with this immigration came an anti-Japanese movement in which racism and hostility towards Asian immigrants became wide spread.

Before one can understand what life was like for the Japanese in the United States during the 1940s, one must understand the three groups of Japanese American immigrants that existed in American society during the time of their internment. These three groups were referred to in Japanese as the Issei, Nisei, and Sansei. Translated, these words mean first, second, and third generation. These three divisions map out the movement of the Japanese into American society and play a large role in how society saw the Japanese, although only two textbooks make any reference to important distinctions between the different generations.

The whole concept of the impact of Asian immigration prior to the war is not something that appears in the majority of the textbooks despite the fact that it is an important component to understanding the anti-Asian sentiment that took place in the United States for many years. Furthermore, while some textbooks make reference to the Nisei (native-born Americans whose ancestors came from Japan) only, they falsely claim that the Nisei were the only group placed in the internment camps or affected by the forced move to the camps. *Rise of the American Nation*, published in

(New York: Scholastic, 1979), 541.

8 Lewis Paul Todd and Merle Curtis, *Rise of the American Nation: 1865 to the Present*

1977, the authors Lewis Paul Todd and Merle Curti close their discussion of the internment by stating the following:

After the war, Americans regretted their unjustified action against the Nisei. In 1945 the Nisei were permitted to leave the detention camps and settle wherever they wished. In 1948, Congress passed an act to help the Nisei recover their losses

Without knowing or having any reason to think differently, the students reading this textbook may think that it was only native born Japanese who were forced into camps. This is a misunderstanding that could be avoided if only the writers and publishers of this particular textbook would have done a little more research. The authors had been more specific about their word usage. However, it is important to note that this particular textbook was published in 1977, an issue that I will later discuss.

The majority of the Japanese in the United States before the immigration to America between 1885 and 1924. The implementation of the Immigration Act of 1924 effectively halted immigration of the Japanese from that point forward. The first generation of the Japanese, Issei, are often known as the pioneer generation because they were the first generation that had to adapt to American life. After seeing the discrimination that Americans practiced toward the Chinese, Issei Japanese decided to assimilate into American culture in order to fit in with society and not be viewed as outcasts or intruders. Unfortunately, many Asian immigrants faced this pressure to assimilate due to the hardships and cruelty that they experienced if they did not become Americanized. They assimilated through their dress, education of their children, and participation in American activities, which often led to the abandonment and rejection of their own traditions. To further distinguish themselves from the Chinese, the Issei constructed Japanese American communities where they would have their own churches, stores, doctors, and businesses. While this is not as

(Orlando:

Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers, 1977), 323.

ilation, the Japanese who lived in these communities were trying to stay true to their heritage while still making themselves seem separate from the Chinese to avoid the discrimination against that particular ethnic group. The occupations of Issei varied but most were known for being successful in agriculture. Even though there was a land restriction the Japanese could not own land they were still able to successfully grow items such as strawberries, fruit and cut flowers that allowed them to be competitive with white farmers⁹

The second generation, or the Nisei, was a generation that grew up in two separate worlds: Japanese and American. Citizenship was an issue for this group because, until 1916, anyone born to a Japanese father was considered a Japanese citizen. After 1916, anyone born in the United States was considered a citizen of the United States. Japan allowed overseas Japanese to have dual citizenship as long as they were registered as soon as they were born. The issue of dual citizenship would become a problem for Japanese Americans during World War II; possessing Japanese citizenship while it was at war with the United States was considered disloyal. Some of the Nisei were sent back to Japan to receive their education there; these individuals belonged to an additional group called Kibei. Both the Kibei and the Nisei had a difficult time finding employment due to widespread discrimination and were often conflicted about their role in American society¹⁰

The third and smallest group of Japanese Americans found in the internment camps but who were not considered immigrants were the third generation, or Sansei. Most Sansei, however, were not even born during the time of the internment but were born during the post-war baby boom. When the camps closed in 1946, Japanese Americans were encouraged to settle throughout the United States, which lessened the number of Japanese communities that the Issei had previously constructed. Perhaps the idea of living together would have made them stick out more to a society that was still not very accepting of them, despite not having any reason to question their loyalty. For this reason, many Sansei children

⁹ Ng, Japanese American Internment During World War II

¹⁰ Ng, Japanese American Internment During World War II

grew up in communities that did not have many Japanese and they felt great pressure from their parents to assimilate into American culture. For most of the Sansei who were not born during the time of internment, many were unaware of what their parents and grandparents had gone through it was not something that was talked about. But the civil rights movement in the 1960s brought about an awareness of the racial injustices of the past and many Sansei began to ask questions about the internment of their parents¹¹

As previously discussed, the attack on Pearl Harbor was not the start of anti-Japanese sentiment in America or even anti-Asian sentiment. Racial discrimination against the Chinese and the Japanese had been present since their arrival. Unfortunately, the bombing of Pearl Harbor triggered this long-lingering discrimination and racism into action. Before 1941, Japanese Americans were stereotypically labeled as part of the yellow peril. Being associated with the yellow peril falsely linked Japanese Americans to the idea that all Asians wanted to invade and conquer America. This, of course, was unfounded but did not stop people from perceiving Asians in America differently. Politically, the Japanese were not supported and were denied citizenship which stopped them from owning their own land. There was also segregation in housing and education. Since the Japanese could not own land, they had difficulty finding, or even leasing, housing. Japanese children were initially sent to Oriental School with Chinese children until they were eventually allowed to go to school with white children in the beginning of the twentieth century. Many white farmers were upset with having to compete with Japanese farmers in the marketplace; they were often viewed as threatening to the white farmer's ability to be successful. On top of political, social, and emotional attacks, the Japanese also encountered physical attacks

11Ng, Japanese American Internment During World War II

12Ng, Japanese American Internment During World War II

during the early twentieth century. It was not uncommon to hear of vandalism to Japanese businesses or homes at the beginning of the twentieth century¹²

None of this is mentioned in American history textbooks. However, the plight of African Americans to gain equality is often found in textbooks. Why would publishers discuss one group, but not another even if their situations were often considered very similar? One reason may be because the pressure to involve Japanese Americans in textbooks was not as high as the pressure to include African Americans. The same can be said about many other minority groups in America. Native Americans, for example, only find their story in history textbooks at the beginning with the European colonization of America; even these textbooks distort the reality of how the colonists actually treated the Native Americans. Another possible reason for the omission of the Japanese struggle for acceptance is because few people may care to learn about a group of individuals who make up such a small percentage of our population. The sad fact is that textbook publishing companies are in the business to make money and may be more concerned with placing events and people in a textbook that will be liked and bought by school districts than publishing a textbook that holistically describes the struggles of different American minority groups.

The most shocking of all the textbooks examined was the story of a Free People¹³ which was published in 1969. It took quite awhile to find where the authors attempted to address the Japanese internment. The topic was eventually found under the heading of civil liberties toward the end of the World War II chapter. In all, this textbook is a classic example of how poorly textbooks were written and edited prior to the late 1980s. Not until then was the quality of history textbooks debated. The story of a Free People summarizes the internment of the Japanese in this way:

That this forced relocation was unnecessary was revealed by the loyalty of Japanese-Americans in

¹³Henry W. Bragdon and Samuel P. McCutchen, *History of a Free People* (London: MacMillan Company, 1969), 683.

Hawaii during the war, as well as by the fine fighting record of the Japanese-American troops

It is quite an understatement to write that the internment was unnecessary because the Japanese proved to be loyal in Hawaii and because they were good troops. That statement gives the wrong impression to students about what the Japanese really experienced during the relocation. Even placing the relocation quotes demonstrates that the authors or editors did not seem to fully grasp what actually happened to the Japanese and that they wrote about the event without ever really acknowledging any fault by the United States. The students who used this textbook did not have one of the most atrocious events in American history adequately and truthfully explained to them in their text. This does not mean that the teachers using this textbook neglected to supplement the information in the text with more accurate and detailed analysis of what occurred, but obviously such additional information must have been supplied from other sources.

While the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II is shameful on our part and may be difficult to admit that our infallible nation did something immoral, it is still important to our understanding of history. Minimizing what happened to the Japanese Americans only makes one believe that it was not important enough to have any real impact on history. However, the textbook's publication date needs to be taken into account when analyzing its context and understand why Japanese internment was presented in that way. The year of this publication 1969 was during the same period of time that the civil rights movement took place. When the civil rights movement is taught, it is usually associated with African Americans. While it is true that African Americans played a central role in the movement, other minority groups also contributed, including Japanese Americans.

To a high school student taking a history class in the late and early 1970s, the issue of Japanese internment either did not come to their attention because they skimmed over one sentence

14 Joyce Appleby, Alan Brinkley, and James M. McPherson, *American Journey* (New York: The McGraw Hill Company, 2000), 699.

15 Gerald Danzer, J. Jorge Klor de Alva, Larry S. Krieger, Louis E. Wilson, and Nan

or they may have thought that it was not important due to the lack of detail in the text. Too often, this idea that if something does not make it into a textbook then it must not be important is accepted by many high school students, even today. This idea should put more pressure on textbook writers and publishers because they have the power to determine what is important for our youth to learn.

In addition to omitting or minimizing the internment, one textbook simply overlooked the event altogether. The 2000 edition of *American Journey* only discussed the Japanese internment as an afterthought in the civil rights movement section. This was a fascinating discovery due to the recent publication date of the textbook. In this section, the authors wrote,

It [civil rights movement] urged, for instance, that immigration quotas be abolished and that the West Coast Japanese-Americans who were deprived of freedom and property at the opening of World War II be repaid for their losses

Merely writing one sentence about the internment does not do it the justice it deserves. Students reading this could either have missed the sentence completely or were simply confused as to what the text is referring to the internment is never mentioned at all in reference to World War II. The words internment or relocation camps are not even used.

Of all the textbooks studied, the most impressive in terms of the coverage of internment camps was the 2003 edition of *The Americas: Reconstruction to the 21st Century*, published by McDougal Littell. It is not by coincidence that the worst coverage of Japanese internment is found in the earliest edition textbook while the best is found in the latest. This shows that some textbooks are making strides at getting better in terms of what they cover and

Woloch, *The Americas: Reconstruction to the 21st Century*: McDougal Littell, 2003), 593.

16 Danzer et al. *The Americas* 594-597.

17 Peck et al. *American Adventures: New Edition* 10.

18 Ira Peck, Steven Jantzen, and Daniel A. Reisman. *American Adventures: People Making History* (New York: Scholastic, 1979), 630-631.

how they cover it. The 2003 edition of *The Americas: Reconstruction to the 21st Century* spent two pages explaining the internment in a thorough manner that acknowledged the mistake the United States had made by interning the Japanese instead of trying to come up with excuses for it. This text contained a map of the United States showing the geographical location of all the camps, which is something that no other text provided. Most of the other texts simply stated that the camps were placed on the West Coast and completely ignored the fact that many camps were as far east as Arkansas. This text was also the only book studied that made any reference to the Japanese resistance through the United States court system and to Executive Order 9066. Even more impressive was an entire section of the chapter devoted to Decisions of the Supreme Court, which mapped out the origins, ruling, and legal reasoning behind the case *Korematsu v. United States*. This is an important case to study when looking at whether or not the actions of the United States toward the Japanese following Pearl Harbor were constitutional.

In *Korematsu v. United States*, *Korematsu* argued that Executive Order 9066 was unconstitutional because it was based on race. *Korematsu* did not initially win his case (eventually the decision was overturned in 1984) but it was a monumental decision that the text compares to the decisions *Dred Scott* and *Plessy v. Ferguson* when referring to court-sanctioned racial segregation. These types of comparisons are important to include in history textbooks because they draw on students' previous knowledge, allowing them to make connections throughout history. Furthermore, the textbook challenges the students in a section titled Critical Thinking in which the students are asked to develop their own hypotheses and draw connections from what they are learning to their own lives. Addressing some of the court case decisions that came out of the internment helps students to understand that not all Japanese Americans went to the camps willingly like the 1979 edition of *American Adventure* insinuates when it states, Yet, in almost every instance, the Japanese accepted the move peacefully. Some simply said that It cannot be helped.

Two textbooks that I analyzed were different editions of the same book. The two publication years were 1979 and 1991. There was a considerable difference in the way that the two editions handled the same topic. Surprisingly, the 1979 edition seems to devote more space to the topic even though some of the information is slightly inaccurate. The 1991 edition contains a small paragraph about the relocation centers but compensates for this by including a two-page critical-thinking exercise in which students are able to read about two Japanese Americans and their experiences in the camps.¹⁸ Giving students the chance to read these firsthand accounts of life within the camps allows students to get a better idea of what daily life was like for the Japanese. These two textbooks provided a concrete example of how history textbooks are evolving, although there is still room for improvement.

In *Exploring American History*, published in 1981, the authors make the following statement about the internment camps: They [Japanese Americans] were treated almost like prisoners and kept behind barbed-wired fences. It is the word almost that seems to be bothersome here how can people who were forced from their homes and belongings, placed behind barbed wire, told that they could not leave, and stripped of their freedom be referred to as anything but prisoners? Just a simple word can hold so many implications in the minds of high school students. Still, it is not only *Exploring American History* that there seems to be a problem with the type of language used when referring to the Japanese internment. In the textbook of the American National Archives published in 1977, the authors make the following troublesome statement:

As a result, most Japanese-Americans were forced to leave their homes and were taken to detention camps in other states, where they remained as virtual prisoners until the end of the war.

These statements imply that the Japanese were not really prisoners yet they were not allowed to leave. This is contradictory and confusing. Why did the authors feel the need to use the words

¹⁸Melvin Schwartz and John R. O'Connor, *Exploring American History* (New York: Globe Book, 1981), 499.

almost and virtual in those statements? Perhaps they meant nothing of it, or perhaps they were trying to lessen the impact situation that does not show America in the best light. This id promoting patriotism is seen constantly in every American histo book examined. The false understanding is that telling students things that America did wrong would cause them to lose their patriotic feeling for their country. When students later discover they were lied to about various historical events as they get on and continue their education, chances are they lose more faith in their country, as well as in their education. However, it is possible to talk about events such as the Japanese internment that do not take away students pride in their country. One way would be admitting that our country made a mistake but then taking the time to explain how and why an event such as the Japanese internment happened. This situation could be an opportunity to explain to students about the idea of avoiding present-mindedness when trying to understand history and the importance of understanding certain events in the context in which they occurred. Without this knowledge at the beginning of a history class, no real understanding of historical events will occur and the class will simply turn into recitation of facts without any historical analysis.

One of the most important teaching strategies that most new history teachers are encouraged to use entails having the students work with primary sources. When students work with primary sources, they are learning about events firsthand rather than relying on someone else's interpretation of an event. This allows students to analyze the documents themselves and make their own conclusions. Having students formulate their own interpretations is one area where many history textbooks have not yet explored since the standard layout of textbooks is typically not interactive. Not one of the texts studied included a copy of Executive Order 9066 in the discussions of the Japanese internment. This is the most revealing primary source document about the United States decision to

20 Todd and Curt Rise of the American Nation 564.

21 Sam Dillon, Schools Cut Back Subjects to Push Reading ~~and Math~~, Times, March 26, 2006.

22 Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston and James D. Houston Farewell to Manzanar New York:

intern the Japanese. While it is understandable that including such documents for every major historical event would certainly make United States history textbooks longer, most texts do not take the time to even mention the document and its significance to the implementation of the camps. This is an excellent example of the necessity for teachers to supplement their textbooks with other materials. Having students read the actual document can help to enhance the students' understanding of the event and may even get them more interested in learning more about it.

Another issue with textbooks is length. For the most part, the textbooks included in this study had a page range of 800 to 900, not including the indices, glossaries, or maps that some publishers incorporated. This means that from 1969 until 2003, textbooks stayed the same size while trying to include thirty-four more years of history. The result is that textbook editors and writers had to cut down or leave out various events in history in order to accommodate more current information. One remedy that some textbook companies are implementing is splitting United States history textbooks into two volumes. The first volume typically covers Exploration to the Civil War, while the second picks up at Reconstruction and continues on to the most current events (for the text's publication date). This can only work if school districts make room for United States history classes in their curriculum. However, it seems that society is going in the opposite direction. According to an article published in *New York Times* called "Schools Cut Back Subjects to Push Reading and Math," many schools are cutting the length of all classes except reading or math due to the need to increase test scores for the No Child Left Behind requirements.

Still, there are significant benefits to having two separate United States history classes teachers would have more time to cover more events in further detail, which allows students to have a more comprehensive understanding of their country. This understanding will bring about better educated and informed citizens who will eventually grow up to be the generation that will lead our

Dell Laurel Leaf, 1973).

23 Gilbert Sewall and Stapley W. Emberling, *A New Generation of History Textbooks*, Society (1998): 78.

country. This can also alleviate many of the criticisms that historians have against textbooks because the editors and writers will have more space to devote to covering events that may have not been included in a one-volume edition. The one textbook in this study that was a part of a two-volume set was the 2003 edition of *The Americas: Reconstruction to the 21st Century*, which was the textbook that contained the best overall coverage of Japanese internment.

While there is definite need of improvement in textbooks, nothing can supplement a good teacher. The responsibility of educating our youth cannot only be on the shoulders of textbook writers and publishers but also needs to also be on teachers. There is a great need for our higher education programs to provide exceptional educational training for teachers. Teachers need to be trained to recognize ways in which to further enhance textbooks through outside materials. Teachers can still provide their students with a respectable understanding of the Japanese internment, even if the textbooks that they are provided with prove to be inadequate. Ways to do this involve the teachers researching on their own or simply relying on previous knowledge to find other materials that can be presented to the students. For example, using a book such as *Farewell to Manzanar* is an excellent way for the students to read about a personal account of the *Farewell to Manzanar* is a book written by a woman who was interned as a child and tells of her experience looking back as an adult.

Other ways to supplement a poor textbook on the topic of the Japanese internment is to show a documentary, create an activity that allows students to examine court cases or other primary source documents, or even allow the students to analyze photographs and art that came from the camps. While these are just a few examples, there are countless other possibilities. Teachers should realize that they are not always limited to teach what the textbooks cover; there are many possibilities for supplementing inadequate textbook. Of course, not all teachers have as much freedom as others due to curriculum constraints, standards, and school board sentiment.

Publishing textbooks is simply a money-making business venture for most publication companies. Gilbert Sewall and Stapley Emberling, writers of *A New Generation of History Textbooks*, call publishing companies media giants where textbooks are just one of many products. Furthermore, textbooks are not an inexpensive product. The typical high school history textbook costs at least \$45.²³ While this is not an issue for larger school districts that have more money, it proves to be a huge disadvantage for schools that do not have a lot of money. Since research has shown that textbooks have substantially become more accurate since the 1990s, schools in areas that cannot afford to constantly replace their editions are automatically at a disadvantage. Ironically, the schools that typically have funding issues are those found in inner cities where there is a larger concentration of minorities. Many of the improvements with history textbooks deal with the inclusion of minority histories into American history; the minority students should be reaping the benefits of the new changes, but they are not due to the financial situations of their schools. Additionally, while textbook companies do seek to align themselves with certain state standards, their main motivation is to get a sale. Textbook companies are not in business to be concerned about what our students are reading or even if the material is true. For this reason, school districts and states cannot place their trust in the textbook publishers but should invest their time, money, and energy into their textbook adoption processes.

An essential component to understanding why textbooks are the way that they are is strongly connected to how textbooks are evaluated and adopted. The adoption of textbooks is mostly dictated through the state and local school districts. There are only twenty-two states that have their textbook adoption policies at the state level, while the other twenty-eight states allow the individual school district to select their own books. Of all of the state-level adoption states, Texas, Florida, and California are the largest, making up over 25 percent of the total amount spent on textbooks and instructional materials in the United States significant because many publishers tend to cater to those states. Publishers make sure that they coincide their new publications to the known