Figure 11. Statistics of individual areas and the sum of entire.

Determination of the Type of Flooding

For the third aspect of the study, I created a digital elevation model to generate the *sub-watersheds* (a smaller basin within a larger drainage area where all of the surface water drains to a central point of the larger watershed) and stream networks of the selected Fond du Lac area to determine whether the flooding was due to the expansion of the rivers and lakes waters or to inadequate storm drainage in that area. This assessment assumes that flooding caused by the river will stay in the river's sub-watershed and its vicinity and that flooding caused by the lake will stay in the lake's sub-watershed and its vicinity.

After generating the sub-watershed of the entire Fond du Lac area, I selected only the sub-watersheds that are within the selected sample area to create a new layer. Overlaying the sample area's stream network layer onto the sub-watershed layer allows us to visually determine where

the streams and watershed of each flooded area is connected to the river (fig. 12). The areas that

contained flooding and that are not in a watershed related to a river or lake are likely to be

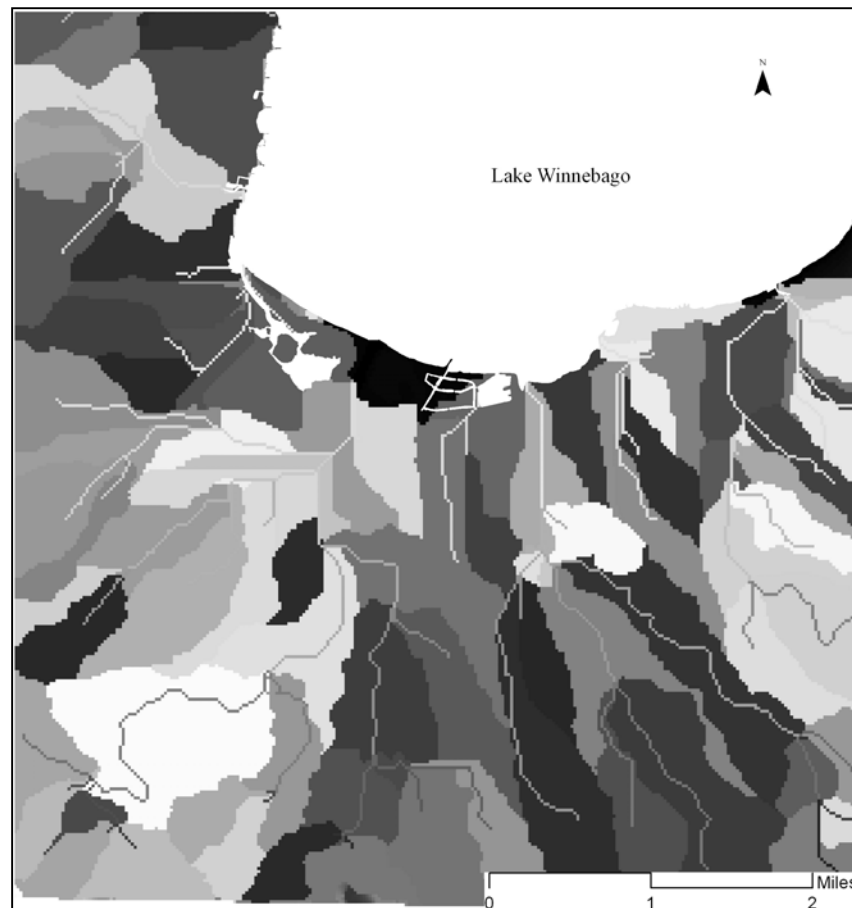caused from an inadequate storm drain system.

Figure 12. Sub-watershed and stream network of Fond du Lac.

Conclusion/Future Methodology

The outcome thus far has shown that the number and distribution of photographs, as well

as their obliqueness or aerial view, contributes greatly to the successful and accurate completion

of this project as well as similar future projects. It also shows that the use of GIS allows for a

reasonable estimate of locations that should be accounted for by FEMA. I have therefore

concluded that the original approach involving georeferencing, rectification, and delineation of a flooded area based solely on aerial photos (no ground photos) is feasible (fig. 3) provided there sufficient adjacent photos. This technique is being further refined by a forthcoming study by Dr. Coulibaly and me, which will allow us to assess the efficacy of the current process as a measure of the amount of interpolated area with respect to the actual flooding mapped from aerial photographs. However, for the purpose of this study, it was necessary to supplement the aerial photos with ground photos.

Notes

1. Ordinary Kriging: A kriging[2] method in which the weights of the values sum to unity. It uses an average of a subset of neighboring pairs of points to produce a particular interpolation point. It is the most commonly used kriging method.
2. Kriging: A geostatistical interpolation technique in which the surrounding measured values are weighted to derive a predicted value for an unmeasured location.

Bibliography

California Institute of Technology. "Arcmap, About Georeferencing." http://www.gps.caltech.edu/gislab/howto/docs/about_georef_ArcGIS_9_1_help_files.pdf (accessed January 9, 2010).

California State University Fullerton. "Spatial Overlays." http://geography.fullerton.edu/481/Proj4.htm (accessed January 9, 2010).

Chan, Ngai. "Increasing Flood Risk in Malaysia: Causes and Solutions." *Disaster Prevention and Management* 6, no. 2 (1997): 72-86.

Chang, Kang-Tsung. *Introduction to Geography Information Systems.* 5th ed. New York: McGraw Hill, 2009.

Dzurik, Andrew. *Water Resources Planning.* 3rd ed. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003.

Engelhardt, Jim. "FEMA Lets Flood Mapping Contract." *Geospatial Solutions* 14, no. 5 (2004): 17.

Gruntfest, Eve and John Handmer. *Dealing with Flash Floods: Contemporary Issues and Future Possibilities.* Dordrecht, Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2001.

Krohe, James Jr. "Staying Dry." *Planning* 75, no. 6 (2009): 10-15.

Mansor, Shariah, Lawal Billa, Iwan Setiawan, and Fisal Jabar, eds. "Spatial Technology for Natural Risk Management." *Disaster Prevention and Management* 13, no. 5 (2004): 364-373.

MicroImages, Inc. "Learning Geospatial Analysis: Rectifying Images." http://www.microimages.com/documentation/Tutorials/rectify.pdf (accessed January 9, 2010).

Mitchell, James. "Megacities and Natural Disasters: A Comparative Analysis*." *GeoJournal* 49, no. 2 (1999): 137-142.

NC Division of Emergency Management: Hazard Mitigation Section. "Flooding." NC Division of Emergency Management. http://www.dem.dcc.state.nc.us/Mitigation/flood.htm (accessed January 9, 2010; site now discontinued).

Osti, Tanaka and Toshikazu Tokioka, eds. "Flood Hazard Mapping in Developing Countries: Problems and Prospects." *Disaster Prevention and Management* 17, no. 1 (2008): 104-113.

Quarles, Meyer and Bart Standley, eds. "After the Flood." *Civil Engineering* 72, no.7 (2002): 66-71.

Veremis, Lindsay. "Flood Zone Map Changing in Fond du Lac." *Fox 11 WLUK-TV Online*. http://www.fox11online.com/dpp/news/local_wluk_fonddulac_flood_zone_map_changing_in_fond_du_lac_200908172113_rev1 (accessed January 9, 2010).

Whitney, Mark. "Flood data-quick." *Planning* 63, no. 7 (1997): 9-10.

Oshkosh Scholar Submission – Volume VI – 2011

Clerical Conceptions of Magic and the Stereotype of the Female Witch

Matthew Alexander Moebius, author

Dr. Kimberly Rivers, History, faculty adviser

Matthew Alexander Moebius graduated from UW Oshkosh in May 2011 with a degree in history. His interest in medieval Europe as a primary field of study emerged from a longstanding interest in European folklore and mythology, and was developed under the guidance of Dr. Kimberly Rivers. His research focus in the field of medieval magic and occultism began to take shape during his work for the European History Seminar in spring 2011.

Dr. Kimberly Rivers is an associate professor and the department chair of history at UW Oshkosh. She received her Ph.D. from the University of Toronto in 1995, and her research interests are in late-medieval intellectual history, and memory and mnemonics in late-medieval preaching and religious devotion.

Abstract

Working from the foundation laid by leading historians of medieval witchcraft — most notably Richard Kieckhefer, Norman Cohn, Michael Bailey, and Hans Peter Broedel — this study examines the conceptual development of a predominantly feminine witchcraft stereotype as understood within the perceptions of the educated clerical elite. The theories of these historians, each approaching the study of witchcraft in different ways and addressing mostly separate aspects of the phenomenon, are reconciled with one another and tied together in hitherto unarticulated ways to form a single, cohesive narrative of the emergence of the idea of the exclusively female witch. The gradual evolution of clerical conceptions of magic shifted in the later Middle Ages from a masculine conception to a more gender-neutral one, opening the door to feminization. The construction of the witches' sabbat, influenced by largely feminine pagan mythological motifs, pushed the idea in the direction of a female conception. Finally, influential writings dominated by aggressively misogynistic ideology finalized the association between women and witchcraft.

In the last four decades, the historical work done on late medieval witchcraft has been extensive. This scholarship has found the general topic of witchcraft to be one of immeasurable complexity, and therefore, the general approach of historians of medieval witchcraft has been to narrow their individual studies. Historians Richard Kieckhefer and Norman Cohn have done foundational work on the conceptual development of witchcraft. Kieckhefer's early work produced detailed analyses of trial records, including inquisitorial interrogations and witness testimonies, with the ultimate goal of uncovering how witchcraft was perceived by the common populace. Cohn's study of the relationship between witchcraft mythology and ideas associated with earlier heretical groups is still heavily relied upon by current witchcraft historians. Much excellent work has also been done by recent historians, notably Michael D. Bailey and Hans Peter Broedel. Bailey's work has emphasized the role of the evolution of general conceptions of magic throughout the Middle Ages in contributing to the creation of a defined system of witchcraft mythology in the fifteenth century. Broedel's primary focus has been on the influential 1487 anti-witchcraft treatise *Malleus Maleficarum*, and on the various elements that make up the construction of witchcraft represented therein.

One of the specific aspects of witchcraft that has seen considerable attention in recent years is its relationship to gender. Both Bailey and Broedel have made admirable contributions to uncovering the historical development of a feminine witch concept. Bailey's theories of the feminization of the witchcraft concept tie in with his larger ideas on the evolution of clerical conceptions of magic. Broedel has discussed at length the influence of feminine mythological motifs taken from pagan traditions. Each present compelling ideas, but in each case the specificity of the scope of their arguments has limited the overall effectiveness of their

conclusions. This study builds on the foundations laid by these historians' theories. It will draw not only on these recent studies of witchcraft and gender, but also on the general scholarship of witchcraft mythology. Combined with clues from the primary sources, the threads of these historical arguments will be woven together into a more cumulative view of the gender associations of medieval witchcraft.

Before attempting this task, certain distinctions must be made clear. When dealing with the history of witchcraft the researcher is constantly confronted with the problem of separating perception from reality. The history of actual events as they occur in tangible space is sometimes entirely distinct from the history of the conception of those events. This study is concerned primarily with the conceptual history of witchcraft and gender as it developed within the consciousness of the educated clerical elite. The nature of the larger subject of witchcraft makes the additional separation of learned and popular conceptions necessary.

The concept of witchcraft as understood by clerical authorities evolved differently than the popular ideas of malevolent magic and sorcery and was made up of entirely different components. As such, the ways in which popular and learned concepts were connected with gender-related themes throughout the course of their respective developments were equally different. The learned conception of witchcraft had developed by the end of the fifteenth century into a mythology that predominantly favored the stereotype of the female witch. This feminization of witchcraft occurred as a result of the combined influences of the following: (1) significant changes in the clerical conceptions of magic prior to, and leading into, the fifteenth century; (2) the construction of the witches' sabbat from anti-heretical stereotypes and feminine mythological motifs; and (3) clerical misogynist attitudes. The resulting conflation of feminine

associations was emphasized in — and reinforced by — the *Malleus Maleficarum*, assuring the ultimate feminization of learned witchcraft mythology.

Clerical conceptions of magic in the late Middle Ages cannot be fully understood without delving into older theological doctrine. The learned authorities of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries drew their understanding of magic from sources dating as far back as late antiquity. Most significantly, St. Augustine of Hippo's writing on the subject in the early fifth century established foundational theological doctrine regarding the magical arts. The classical magic of Augustine's time was thought to be performed through the assistance of spiritual intermediaries. As no human being was capable of producing any supernatural or preternatural effect on his own, assistance was thought to have been sought from a more capable entity. Practitioners often claimed that these intermediaries were merely benign spirits either of the elements or of the dead, or possibly even angels.[1] Augustine, however, concluded that they could be nothing other than demonic in nature. If any sorcerer or magician believed otherwise, he was the victim of demonic deception. In 425 Augustine wrote in *City of God*:

> Who does not see that all these things are fictions of deceiving demons, unless he be a wretched slave of theirs, and an alien from the grace of the true Liberator? … Rather let us abominate and avoid the deceit of such wicked spirits, and listen to sound doctrine. As to those who perform these filthy cleansings by sacrilegious rites, and see in their initiated state … certain wonderfully lovely appearances of angels or gods, this is what the apostle refers to when he speaks of "Satan transforming himself into an angel of light." For these are the delusive appearances of that spirit who longs to entangle wretched souls in the deceptive worship of many and false gods and to turn them aside from the true worship of the true God…[2].

Furthermore, in *De Doctrina Christiana*, he elaborated on the subject by drawing a comparison between this demonic pact and the worship of idols:

> Something instituted by humans is superstitious if it concerns the making and worshipping of idols, or the worshipping of the created order or part of it as if it were God, or if it involves certain kinds of consultations or contracts about

meaning arranged and ratified with demons, such as the enterprises involved in the art of magic, which poets tend to mention rather than to teach.[3]

Since such practices involved supplication and sacrifice to entities that could be nothing other than demons, participation in them was tantamount to idolatry and apostasy.[4]

> So all the specialists in this kind of futile and harmful superstition, and the contracts, as it were, of an untrustworthy and treacherous partnership established by this disastrous alliance of men and devils, must be totally rejected and avoided by the Christian. "It is not," to quote the apostle, "because an idol is something, but because whatever they sacrifice they sacrifice it to devils and not to God that I do not want you to become the associates of demons." … So in all these teachings we must fear and avoid this alliance with demons, whose whole aim, in concert with their leader, the devil, is to cut off and obstruct our return to God.[5]

Augustine's stance on magic remained powerfully influential on the official Church position even at the outbreak of the witch-hunting fervor a thousand years later.

The next document of significant import came roughly around the turn of the tenth century. This text, known as the canon *Episcopi*, first appeared in its earliest known version in a canonical collection compiled sometime around 906. The text opens with a condemnation of *maleficium*, or harmful magic,[6] and an urgent warning to bishops and their clergy to push for an eradication of its practice wherever it might be encountered.[7] Of more ultimate significance, however, is its commentary on a more specific concern:

> It is not to be omitted that some wicked women, who have given themselves back to Satan and been seduced by the illusions and phantasms of demons, believe and profess that, in the hours of night, they ride upon certain beasts with Diana, the goddess of pagans, and an innumerable multitude of women, and in the silence of the night traverse great spaces of earth, and obey her commands as of their lady, and are summoned to her service on certain nights. But if they alone perished in their faithlessness, without drawing many other people with them into the destruction of infidelity. For an innumerable multitude, deceived by false opinion, believe this to be true, and so believing, wander from the right faith and return to the error of pagans when they think that there is anything of divinity or power except the one God.[8]

The condemnation made in this passage is not of magical practice in general, but of a specific set of pagan traditions. The nocturnal procession of Diana to which it refers represents a conflation

of various pagan traditions of both classical and Germanic origin.[9] Significantly, it focuses its condemnation on belief rather than direct participation.[10] Although the *Episcopi* itself addresses these pagan traditions as separate from general practice of magic, that separation was to deteriorate over time and the two ideas eventually became conflated. Thus the *Episcopi*'s pronouncement of the falsehood of the pagan nocturnal procession in time came to apply to all magical practices. Roughly a century later, the legal scholar Burchard of Worms composed his *Decretum*, which included a repetition of the *Episcopi*'s condemnation of belief in the processions of Diana. When he addressed enchantment and sorcery, he condemned not only practice, but belief in such arts.[11] Additionally, with the merging of the ideas of *maleficium* and the nocturnal processions of Diana, the learned conception of magic also saw one of its earliest significant influxes of specifically feminine imagery. Although the clerical conceptions of magic largely remained either gender-neutral or of masculine leanings for some time, the Diana mythology would eventually contribute to the feminization of the witchcraft mythology. This influence will be further discussed later.

The *Decretum* of Burchard and other similar texts indicate that the concern of clerical authorities during the eleventh century was focused more on demonic delusion and false belief than on any real threat of actual magical practice. Participation in superstitious ceremonies or rites was considered infidelity to the Church and to God, and belief in the efficacy of such rites saw even more focused condemnation than direct participation.[12] One of Burchard's admonitions reads, "Have you ever believed or participated in this perfidy, that enchanters and those who say that they can let loose tempests or to change the minds of men? If you have believed or participated in this, you shall do penance for one year on the appointed fast days."[13] Punishments of this nature — varying degrees of penance — are typical throughout Burchard's text, and are

indicative of a fairly dismissive level of concern compared to the witch burnings of the fifteenth century.

This relatively dismissive attitude toward magic persisted until the twelfth century, when European intellectuals discovered (or rediscovered) hosts of classical, Hebrew, and Arabic texts on the occult arts.[14] The magical practices described in these texts were highly learned, authoritative, and sometimes even explicitly demonic. The contents were typically instructive as well as descriptive, and the branches of magical learning they included were usually astrology, alchemy, various forms of divination, and necromancy. As such, medieval scholars were, for the first time since antiquity, provided with an avenue of esoteric study that — unlike common pagan folk traditions — presented magic in the form of a scholarly pursuit. Western Europe suddenly saw a rise in interest, as well as actual practice, of these varieties of "learned magic." This caught the attention of clerical authorities, and they began taking the threat of actual demonic magic more seriously. Of special concern was the newly widespread interest in necromancy.[15]

This diabolical practice was one of the most highly complex, ritualized, and formalistic forms of magic most clerics would likely have encountered. It was never explicitly described in terms of gender, but there were several factors that led to its informal designation as a decidedly masculine field. Its mastery was entirely reliant on the study of complicated texts, and thus was restricted to the highly educated. The level of education required, the mastery of language, and the excessive amount of disciplined study would have made it difficult for most clerics to envision female necromancers.[16] In fact, those same requirements led to the educated male clerics themselves making up the majority of practicing necromancers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[17] In spite of this, Bailey has argued that the understanding and concerns of clerical authorities over necromantic sorcery in this period were essential to the later

development of the learned concept of witchcraft in the fifteenth century, including its eventual

association with women.[18]

The urgent sense of concern felt by clerical authorities about this pervasive demonic

practice and the dangers it posed reawakened condemnation of magic in general. As the eyes of

the Church were opened to the threat of these demonic rituals, they turned also to the common

maleficium that had been so marginalized since the time of the canon *Episcopi*. Authorities

began to move away from the notion that magic was nothing but a devilish illusion. They flocked

back to the teachings of Augustine: magic was real, and it was *always* demonic. This view was

given weighty support by prominent theologians like St. Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth

century. St. Thomas wrote:

> ...if we take a miracle in the strict sense, the demons cannot work miracles, nor
> can any creature, but God alone: since in the strict sense a miracle is something
> done outside the order of the entire created nature, under which order every power
> of a creature is contained. But sometimes miracle may be taken in a wide sense,
> for whatever exceeds the human power and experience. And thus demons can
> work miracles, that is, things which rouse man's astonishment, by reason of their
> being beyond his power and outside his sphere of knowledge. … It is to be noted,
> however, that although these works of demons which appear marvellous to us are
> not real miracles, they are sometimes nevertheless something real. Thus the
> magicians of Pharaoh by the demons' power produced real serpents and frogs.[19]

It was in this light that theologians began to view popular magic and common folk

traditions. These traditions, whether actually containing any elements of harmful magic or not,

were increasingly placed by learned authorities under the umbrella of *maleficium*. If all magic

was demonic in nature, then even the softly spoken incantations of the village healer who treated

sick patients with ritually gathered herbs could be easily perceived as dangerous sorcery. Once

this was established, however, authorities faced another problem of understanding. The

archetypical necromancer was, by necessity, a scholar. He invoked demons and compelled them

to perform his will, but he achieved this only through intense study and the performance of

complex formulaic rituals. How, then, could one explain the common village *maleficus* mastering control of similar demonic forces through practices that were absurdly simplistic by comparison? How could the uneducated weather-magician raise a devastating hailstorm, killing cattle and destroying crops, with none of the labors of the learned sorcerer? Where did he learn his art if not from secret occult texts? In pursuit of a solution to this problem, clerics and theological writers spent generations inventing a mythology that would fit their worldview. This mythology was not developed through a singular conscious effort, but through a slow process of altering and absorbing different ideas, and influenced by established theological doctrine, pagan mythology, and stereotypes associated with heretical sects. The finished product was to become the definitive central element of the concept of witchcraft: the witches' sabbat.[20]

The sabbat, a supposedly secret nocturnal gathering of witches where diabolical rituals were thought to be performed, provided a solution for the discrepancy in the modes of operation between necromancy and witchcraft. The functionality of the sabbat, in a way, came through exaggerating one element of the idea of necromantic sorcery to accommodate for the loss of another. When necromancers summoned demons, they were viewed by theological authorities as submitting to a pact with the summoned demon, and, by association, with the devil. This demonic pact might be implicit rather than explicit, as the necromancer might be (and often was) operating under the assumption that it was he who held the dominant position and that the demon was submitting to him. Nevertheless, whether that sorcerer knew it or not, he had been drawn into a contractual relationship with the devil. The witches' sabbat took this concept even further. For religious authorities, the central aspect of witchcraft became the complete and explicit submission of the witch to the devil. The sabbat was the secret assembly at which this ritual submission would be made. In exchange for submission (which often included certain ghastly

costs[21]), the devil would grant the witch immediate knowledge of demonic magic and the power to wield it. In this way authorities could understand how villages and countrysides could be found to contain innumerable uneducated wielders of diabolical *maleficium*. As this separation of witchcraft from educated ritual and formulae allowed for the emergence of a new figure in the common witch, the restriction of magic to the masculine gender was also lifted. In this way, the creation of the sabbat opened the door for the feminization of magic.[22]

After this door was opened, witchcraft quickly made the jump from the previous ideas of masculine magic to being a gender-neutral field. The mythology of the sabbat itself contained several elements that, when taken together, had perhaps the largest influence on the gendering of the official concept of witchcraft. This mythology was developed over a considerable period of time, and went through several varying interpretations as it absorbed influences from various sources. The final picture of the demonic assembly in its most elaborate form has been most clearly and concisely described by Broedel, who has broken the sabbat mythology into six parts:

> (1) On the appointed night, the sectaries assembled at a remote or concealed site, often flying or riding demonic animals; (2) once there, they summoned the devil in one of his many forms, and worshiped him in disgusting or humiliating ways, most characteristically by the obscene kiss; (3) at the devil's command, they renounced Christ in graphic fashion, trampling on or otherwise abusing the host; (4) they slaughtered infants or children, who were brought along for this purpose, and put their flesh to some foul and often magical use; (5) they indulged in a high-spirited revel, eating, drinking, and dancing, until the evening's festivities were concluded with an orgy (6), in which they violated as many sexual conventions as the fertile imagination of the narrator could devise.[23]

Each of these elements could appear in the sabbat mythology independently or in various combinations. They all came together in concert in the most well-defined and elaborate descriptions. This final picture of the sabbat became solidified in clerical conceptions by the middle of the fifteenth century, but each of the various individual elements began their influences in earlier stages. Each can be claimed to have contributed in its own way to the

gendering of the concept of witchcraft. As will be shown, not every element advanced a specifically female conception, but those that did proved to combine more effectively with conscious outside influences that would later intervene in favor of a predominantly feminine witchcraft mythology.

The majority of Broedel's six elements can be traced directly to the influence of clerical conceptions associated with certain heretical sects of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. The second half of the twelfth century saw outbreaks of heresy in various parts of Europe, which drew considerable attention from the Church. Of these heretical groups, the most significant in their influence on the development of witchcraft were the Waldensians. When clerical authorities began persecution of the Waldensians, they encouraged the spread of outlandish accusations of frightening misconduct. The resulting stereotypes that became associated with this heretical group included their participation in secret nocturnal meetings, worship of the devil, and incestuous orgies.[24] These accusations were taken seriously by popes, and Gregory IX's 1233 papal bull *Vox in Rama* named the charges against the heretics and ordered their condemnation. Many of the practices alleged by Gregory perfectly fit the model that would later be applied to the witches' sabbat:

> …a black cat[25] about the size of an average dog, descends backwards, with its tail erect. First the novice, next the master, then each one of the order who are worthy and perfect, kiss the cat on its hindquarters; the imperfect, who do not estimate themselves worthy, receive grace from the master. … When this has been done, they put out the candles, and turn to the practice of the most disgusting lechery, making no distinction between those who are strangers and those who are kin. Moreover, if by chance those of the male sex exceed the number of women, surrendering to their ignominious passions, burning mutually in their desires, men engage in depravity with men. Similarly, women change their natural function, which is against nature, making this itself worthy of blame among themselves. … They even receive the body of the Lord every year at Easter from the hand of a priest, and carrying it in their mouths to their homes, they throw it into the latrine in contempt of the savior.[26]

These accusations were so effective that it became standard procedure to apply them to groups that were perceived as threatening to the Church.[27] Similar accusations employed against another heretical sect in the fourteenth century, the Fraticelli, included all of the elements of the Waldensian accusations with the addition of ritual cannibalistic infanticide.[28]

It should come as no surprise then that these same anti-heretical stereotypes were applied with equal vigor to the frightening new sect of *malefici* that was emerging in the consciousness of the clerical authorities in the fourteenth century.[29] By the early fifteenth century, these stereotypes had become thoroughly embedded in the mythology of witchcraft. This was accomplished with the aid of several pieces of extremely influential writing on the witchcraft sects, mostly from the 1430s. The most significant of these was, without a doubt, the *Formicarius* of 1438 by the Dominican theologian Johannes Nider. The *Formicarius*, along with other contemporary pieces like the *Errores Gazariorum* (of anonymous authorship) and the treatise of the lay magistrate Claude Tholosan, described in detail the demonic sabbat which had by now thoroughly absorbed the anti-heretical stereotypes.[30] These texts were also the first available for wide circulation among clerical and inquisitorial authorities, and so fueled the spread of witch-hunting fervor that was just beginning to take off.[31]

Since the heretical practices described in these stereotypes were freely associated with both genders, the witchcraft mythology that developed in the regions where these influences were strongest remained gender-neutral for a considerable time. Of all of the texts described above, only Nider's gives preference to the idea of the female witch, and even he doesn't make any insistence of exclusivity. In all of the texts, both genders participate freely (Nider merely claiming that women were perhaps more frequent participants than men).[32] Areas in which anti-heretical stereotypes played an especially important role in the development of the sabbat

(Switzerland for example) initially saw significantly more men brought to trial than women. Other cultural contexts saw entirely different paths of development. There were regions where influences of popular magic traditions and pagan mythologies contributed just as strongly to the creation of the sabbat mythology as the anti-heretical stereotypes.[33] The often predominantly feminine imagery associated with these popular traditions and mythological influences contributed significantly to the eventual creation of the idea of the female witch. In the end, these regionally variant ideas would converge into a more uniform mythology, carrying that feminine emphasis to the level of a universal stereotype.

Perhaps the most significant of these feminine mythological influences was that of Diana and her nocturnal processions. Popular belief in the legends of Diana, who supposedly led a raucous procession of women through the night, were based on a combination of similarly themed beliefs that came together to form an amalgam roughly centered around the nocturnal activities of women and female spirits.[34] The conflation of ideas that occurred in the texts following the condemnation in the canon *Episcopi* created a direct association between this piece of pagan mythology and the idea of *maleficium*. As *maleficium* became synonymous with diabolical witchcraft, it naturally followed that these associated pagan motifs would be drawn into the cumulative concept of witchcraft. The manner of its inclusion in the official witchcraft mythology was the idea of night flight. Witches were thought to rise from their beds at night and fly (a marvel achieved through any of a number of sinister magical operations) in devilish processions to the secret location of the sabbat.

Even before its absorption into the witchcraft mythology, the legends of Diana had become associated with other similar traditions of nocturnal female spirits. The ghostly female monsters known as *lamiae* or *strigae* came down from antique pagan tradition, and had, by the

beginning of the fifteenth century, already become indistinguishable from the myths of Diana and her *bonae res* to most clerics.[35] The *lamiae* were spirits, usually taking the forms of old hag-like women, who stole into houses at night to kill children. For learned clerics who had already characterized Diana's *bonae res* as demons, the ideas were similar enough to cause confusion, and learned commentators eventually created from them a single construct drawn from elements of both traditions.[36] It was this cumulative construct that was absorbed into the witchcraft mythology in the early fifteenth century. The treatises on witchcraft from the 1430s demonstrate the conflation. The secular magistrate Claude Tholosan writes: "…Further, they imagine in dreams that they travel bodily at night, most often on Thursdays and Sundays, in the company of the devil, in order to suffocate children and strike them with sickness. They then extract the fat of the dead children and devour it and go to a certain place where they hold the synagogue of the region."[37] Here the reader can see the influence of Diana legends as the witch ventures forth at night in a procession led by the devil. The witch then enters the homes of others and murders children in their sleep, as did the *lamiae*. Each serves a purpose in the greater sabbat mythology: the slaying of children is used to obtain material remains to be used in the satanic rituals, and the nocturnal procession serves as a means to facilitate those deaths and as transport to the sabbat itself. Furthermore, the inclusion of the child-slaying elements of the *lamiae* myths creates a point of compatibility with the infanticide stories of the anti-heretical stereotypes. In this way the pagan mythological influences were able to combine with the anti-heretical stereotypes in a mutually reinforcing way, which also allowed the predominately feminine imagery associated with the former to begin superseding the gender-neutrality of the latter.

Finally, perhaps the most obvious factor influencing the ultimate feminization of the official witchcraft stereotype was the prevalence of clerical misogyny. Misogynistic tendencies

in the clerical elite had a substantial role in creating the idea of the exclusively female witch. It is important, however, to understand that they were allowed to have this role largely because they were able to act on the foundation of feminizing influences already in place. Clerical misogyny had always existed, but only in the mid-fifteenth century was it able to exercise itself in the creation of the female witch-stereotype. This was possible only because of the coming together of all of the factors described above. Among the most important figures to take advantage of the opportunity was Johannes Nider.

As mentioned earlier, Nider's *Formicarius* did not insist that witches were exclusively women. However, Nider does make abundantly clear his opinion that women were more suited for the evils of witchcraft. The *Formicarius* first breaches the subject of women and witchcraft with a discussion of Joan of Arc, who had been burned in France just a few years prior. He uses Joan's case as a stepping stone to approaching the larger issue of the inherent female susceptibility to sin. His argument was, in short, that women were cursed with physical, mental, and spiritual weakness, and that these weaknesses made them more vulnerable to the temptations of the devil. To support this argument he drew on standard biblical, patristic, and scholastic sources. The credibility of these sources was largely responsible for the influential status of the work as a whole, and it also led later writers to draw inspiration from his anti-woman perspective.[38] The *Formicarius* was not the only influential text of Nider's that had something to say on the matter. His *Praeceptorium* laid out what would become the three canonical reasons for women's inclination toward superstitious practices. First, women were more credulous than men — a weakness that was, in Nider's opinion, mercilessly exploited by the devil. Second, they were of more impressionable natures, which naturally made them more sensitive to influence. Third, they had "slippery tongues," and for this reason they were more likely to spread what they

had learned of magical arts to their fellow women. He also notes that because of their physical and emotional weaknesses, they were more likely to seek revenge through occult means. This point is of special significance because it directly links women's alleged natural tendency toward superstition with *maleficium*. This informs on why Nider thought women were more prone to witchcraft. If women were naturally inclined toward superstition, it logically follows that they would be naturally inclined toward *maleficium*, and as such toward witchcraft.[39]

The connection between superstition and *maleficium* had been longstanding. Although today the word *superstition* carries implications of usually mundane eccentricity, this was not so in the late Middle Ages. Superstitious beliefs or practices were commonly listed alongside performance of harmful sorcery in medieval condemnations. The inquisitor Nicholas Eymeric, writing in 1376, called it "a vice opposed to the Christian religion or Christian worship," and declared it heretical behavior in a Christian.[40] The theology faculty of the University of Paris listed superstition alongside *maleficium* and the demonic pact in their public condemnation of all magic in 1398.[41] In light of this, it is significant to note that Nider's commentary did not initiate the association between women and superstition. Early medieval penitentials consistently singled out women as guilty of superstitious practices. With superstition being so directly associated with *maleficium*, it was no wonder that theorists like Nider found ways to use those traditions to inform their conceptions of witchcraft.[42]

As previously mentioned, the misogynistic principles of Nider and his *Formicarius* were greatly influential to later writers on witchcraft. The most significant of these writers to draw inspiration from Nider's work was also the first whose treatment of witchcraft would grow to outshine the *Formicarius* in widespread authoritative influence. This writer was Dominican inquisitor Heinrich Institoris, and his text was the notorious *Malleus Maleficarum*.[43] Written in

1487, Institoris's extensive text — the title of which translates to "The Hammer of Witches" —

was designed as an in-depth inquisitorial manual. It covers topics ranging from identifying

witches and methods for hunting and trying them, to the mechanical operation of their demonic

magic and the variety of forms that magic could take. As an example of clerical misogyny the

Malleus reigns supreme. Institoris rants at length on the weakness, sinfulness, and perfidy of

women, devoting an entire chapter to the subject. Much like Nider, Institoris supports his

position by assembling a formidable catalogue of ancient and contemporary authorities to testify

to feminine weakness:[44]

> Now the wickedness of women is spoken of in *Ecclesiasticus* xxv: There is no
> head above the head of a serpent: and there is no wrath above the wrath of a
> woman. I had rather dwell with a lion and a dragon than to keep house with a
> wicked woman. And among much which in that place precedes and follows about
> a wicked women, he concludes: All wickedness is but little to the wickedness of a
> woman. Wherefore *S. John* Chrysostom says on the text, It is not good to marry
> (*S. Matthew* xix): What else is woman but a foe to friendship, an unescapable
> punishment, a necessary evil, a natural temptation, a desirable calamity, a
> domestic danger, a delectable detriment, an evil of nature, painted with fair
> colours![45]

He sets out what amounts to a more elaborate description of Nider's main arguments against

women. Institoris, like Nider, describes women as "feebler both in mind and body," and for this

reason "it is not surprising that they should come more under the spell of witchcraft."[46] Such

views were no doubt common for the time, but were nowhere else so aggressively linked with

witchcraft.[47] Institoris argued that all witchcraft could be traced to the same root as all

characteristically female sin: carnal lust. After his laundry-list of complaints about the female

character, he clearly states his answer to the question of why witches are necessarily women:

"…the natural reason is that she is more carnal than a man, as is clear from her many carnal

abominations."[48] And furthermore, "To conclude. All witchcraft comes from carnal lust, which is

women insatiable."[49]

The primary innovation of the *Malleus* was this insistence that harmful magic belonged almost exclusively to women. Male magicians exist in Institoris's text, but they are pointedly marginalized. Broedel suggests that perhaps the simplest explanation for this insistence (beyond the obvious misogyny, which, though clearly a powerful force in Institoris's worldview, seems insufficient on its own) is to accept that it derives from his own experience as a witch-hunter.[50] It would not be unreasonable to suppose that a majority — even a large majority — of accused witches in a given area could have been women. Institoris makes precisely this claim in the *Malleus*: "As for the first question, why a greater number of witches is found in the fragile feminine sex than among men; it is indeed a fact that it were idle to contradict, since it is accredited by actual experience, apart from the verbal testimony of credible witnesses."[51] Whatever the reasoning of its author, the *Malleus* proved to be incredibly successful. Acting on the foundations of its predecessors, and on the plethora of conditions which had paved the way for the idea of an exclusively female witchcraft mythology, the "Hammer of Witches" served as the final link in the chain of influences. Its widespread acceptance as the preeminent authoritative treatise on witchcraft assured the feminization of the clerical conception of witchcraft.

By the time the *Malleus* reached widespread readership, the stereotype of the female witch was becoming well established. The development of this stereotype over the course of the preceding centuries had been long and complex, and was now reaching its fruition. Conceptions of magic, once having favored the idea of masculine practitioners, had shifted to a feminized concept. The establishment of the witches' sabbat as the definitive central element of the clerical concept of witchcraft was perhaps the strongest force in pushing the stereotype across the gender boundary. Its construction from a combination of anti-heretical stereotypes and feminine

mythological motifs created powerful imagery that could easily be interpreted as strongly accusatory towards women. Misogynist authorities like Johannes Nider and Heinrich Institoris responded in the predictable way, seizing their opportunity to promote the feminized stereotype and the persecution of women as witches.

In the second half of the fifteenth century, the rate of witchcraft trials increased greatly, often doubling figures from the first half.[52] As Europe made the transition from the Middle Ages to the early modern period, the witch-hunting craze persisted, and convicted witches were burned well into the eighteenth century. An estimated 40,000 people were executed as witches between 1450 and 1750.[53] Varying figures have been proposed for the exact percentages of male versus female convictions. It is clear that the vast majority of those executed for witchcraft were women, probably between 65 to 80 percent.[54] Direct responsibility for this cannot reasonably be placed on any one group or sector of society. Although complicated social and economic factors within rural village populations likely had the most direct influence on the nature of the accusations themselves, the clerical conceptions of witchcraft must also have greatly exacerbated the overall tendency to associate witches with women. After all, as Kieckhefer has pointed out, local Parish priests could easily serve as modes of transmission for such biases between the classes.[55] And in the end it was the clerical authorities who carried out the trials and made the convictions. As has been noted by Bailey, if clerical conceptions of magic had not developed into a pointedly feminized stereotype, it seems unlikely that the witchcraft craze would have occurred in the way that it did.[56] The ultimate irony, of course, lies in that very shift of conception. In earlier periods, clerical authorities were concerned primarily with masculine necromantic sorcery, the practice of which historical evidence has proven to have actually taken place.[57] Persecution of these male practitioners was never pursued with the same fervor that was

applied to the hunting of witches after the shift of clerical concerns. Witchcraft though, unlike necromancy, was an imaginary construct, and all evidence points toward the non-existence of any real satanic witch cult.[58] As the witch-craze broke out across Europe and the learned elite developed their feminized concept of magic, thousands of women were burned for a crime that in all likelihood never existed.

Notes

1. Various forms of divination were among the most common magical practices in the classical Greek and Roman traditions. There were countless varieties of divinatory practices, most of which were elemental. Astrological divination and astral magic drew not only upon observation of material conditions in the heavens, but also on invocation of the elemental spirits who were thought to dwell there. The spirits of the dead were similarly employed for purposes of divination in classical necromancy. See Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 125-33, 152; Isidore of Seville, "Etymologies, Book VIII, Chapter 9," in *Wichcraft in Europe, 400-1700: A Documentary History*, ed. Alan Charles Kors and Edward Peters (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 51.
2. Augustine, "Demonic Power in Early Christianity," in *The Witchcraft Sourcebook*, ed. Brian P. Levack (New York and London: Routledge, 2004), 28-29.
3. Augustine, "On Christian Teaching, Book II (395-98, 426)," in *Witchcraft in Europe, 400-1700: A Documentary History*, ed. Alan Charles Kors and Edward Peters (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 44.
4. Hans Peter Broedel, *The Malleus Maleficarum and the Construction of Witchcraft* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2003), 123.
5. Augustine, "On Christian Teaching," 46.
6. Understanding of this terminology is essential to the entire issue of medieval magic. The primary meaning of *maleficium* had once been "evil deed," but as early as the time of Tacitus it had been used to refer to sorcery and malign magic. In the texts and treatises of the later Middle Ages, *maleficium* usually referred to harmful sorcery or its effects, or, less commonly, it was used to denote a material object in which malign magical force resided. A *maleficus*, thus, was generally a person who knowingly produced *maleficium*. The key thing to understand is that these notions were broad and ill-defined. There was no one homogenous category of specific practices that uniformly qualified; rather, *maleficium* was an amalgamation of harmful conditions that could be linked with some event, individual, or motivation that was perceived as malicious. See Broedel, 131-33, 173.
7. Regino of Prum, "A Warning to Bishops, the Canon Episcopi (ca. 906)," in *Witchcraft in Europe, 400-1700: A Documentary History*, ed. Alan Charles Kors and Edward Peters (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 61-62.
8. Ibid., 62.
9. Jeffrey Burton Russel, "Witchcraft, European," in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. Joseph Strayer, 12 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1989), 660. More will be said on the specific nature of these traditions and their ultimate relevance to witchcraft mythology.
10. Here the *Episcopi* shows itself to be part of the *interpretatio Christiana*, the effort to combat pagan survivals by translating elements of pagan traditions into Christian theological terms, which would then be condemned within the Christian theological framework. The *Episcopi* labels the pagan goddess Diana and her ethereal attendants as demons and condemns those who would follow or even believe in their existence as devil-worshippers. See Richard Kieckhefer, *European Witch Trials: Their Foundations in Popular and Learned Culture, 1300-1500* (Berkely and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976), 39.

11. Burchard of Worms, "The Correcter, sive Medicus (ca. 1008-1012)," in *Witchcraft in Europe, 400-1700: A Documentary History*, ed. Alan Charles Kors and Edward Peters (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 64-67.
12. Michael D. Bailey, "The Feminization of Magic and the Emerging Idea of the Female Witch in the Late Middle Ages," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 19 (2002): 124-25.
13. Burchard of Worms, "The Corrector," 64.
14. Bailey, 125; The rise of scholasticism at this same time seems to have encouraged an increase in translation and absorption of Arabic texts in areas like Sicily and Spain, where European scholars were in close contact with the Islamic world. Such classical, Hebrew, and even Asian occult and magical texts had already been translated into Arabic and maintained by Islamic scholars for hundreds of years. See Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, 117-19.
15. On the original meaning of the term, Isidore of Seville said, "Necromancers are they by whose incantations the dead appear to revive and prophesy and answer questions. *Nekros* in Greek means dead, while *manteia* means divination." See Isidore of Seville, "Etymologies," 52. However, by the Middle Ages the meaning had substantially changed. Medieval theological writers assumed, in the tradition of Augustine, that the spirits of the dead could not really be conjured, and that the necromancers summoned demons who pretended to be spirits of the dead. As such, the term *necromancy* came, in the late medieval period, to refer to the explicit and intentional conjuring of demons. See Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, 152.
16. Bailey, 125-26.
17. Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, 152-75.
18. Bailey, 125.
19. Thomas Aquinas, "From the Summa theologiae: The Demons Tempt Man," in *Witchcraft in Europe, 400-1700: A Documentary History*, ed. Alan Charles Kors and Edward Peters (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 101.
20. Bailey, 126-28.
21. Frightening sacrifices were demanded from the witch by the devil to secure the pact. Animal sacrifices might be made, or the witch might be forced to promise one of his or her own limbs (to be collected after death). More disturbing still were the descriptions of witches offering up the bodies and souls of their firstborn children for ritual sacrifice, the remains being subsequently used to create magical powders and unguents. See Michael D. Bailey, "The Medieval Concept of the Witches' Sabbath," *Exemplaria* 8, no. 2 (1996): 429, 430; Claude Tholosan, "Ut magorum et maleficiorum errores (1436-37)," in *Witchcraft in Europe, 400-1700: A Documentary History*, ed. Alan Charles Kors and Edward Peters (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 164.
22. Bailey, "The Feminization of Magic," 127-28.
23. Broedel, 124.
24. In reality the Waldensians, like many religious subgroups of the Middle Ages, started simply as a community whose members chose to live in voluntary poverty in emulation of the life of Christ. The Waldensians remained, doctrinally, quite close to Catholic dogma, but rejected the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church. Some of the outlandish accusations may have been inspired by a corruption of actual Waldensian practice. To hide from would-be persecutors, Waldensians did hold their meetings in secret, and the accusations of orgies in

the dark may be corrupt exaggerations of their actual practice of ending these secret meetings with communal prayer in total darkness. See Norman Cohn, "The Demonization of Mediaeval Heretics," in *The Witchcraft Reader*, ed. Darren Oldridge (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 36-39, 42.

25. This black cat is meant to be the devil, or at least a demon representing the devil. The image of the devil appearing in animal-form becomes common within these clichés, both in their application to heretics and to witches. The black cat is the most common animal-form amongst these depictions.

26. Gregory IX, "Vox in Rama (1233)," in *Witchcraft in Europe, 400-1700: A Documentary History*, ed. Alan Charles Kors and Edward Peters (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 116.

27. Cohn argues that the roots of these types of accusations can be traced back considerably further, even to the time of early Christianity. He claims that similar defamation was used in a more rudimentary way by the Romans against early Christians. He also notes, however, that it would be misleading to portray all clerical and inquisitorial authorities who participated in persecutions based on these accusations as aware of their fictional nature. If the application of these stereotypes was a conscious act of slander, it was perpetrated by a select few. Most clerics and inquisitors (and even the popes) thoroughly believed in the reality of the accusations and in the justice of the persecutions. Cohn, 37, 47, 49.

28. Ibid., 43-45.

29. The conception of witchcraft not simply as scattered occurrences but as a defined sect was a natural and essential result of the sabbat mythology itself. The nature of the demonic assemblies implied a conscious collective, and this classification allowed for easier application of anti-heretical stereotypes. Once witchcraft became a sect, it could be classified as a heretical sect.

30. See Johannes Nider, "The Formicarius (1435-38)," in *Witchcraft in Europe, 400-1700: A Documentary History*, ed. Alan Charles Kors and Edward Peters (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 155-59; "Errores Gazariorum (1437)," in *Witchcraft in Europe, 400-1700: A Documentary History*, ed. Alan Charles Kors and Edward Peters (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 159-62; Tholosan, 162-66.

31. For an in-depth analysis of the chronology of witch persecutions, see Kieckhefer, *European Witch Trials*, 10-26.

32. Bailey, "Concept of the Witches' Sabbath," 432-33, 439.

33. Martine Ostorero, "The Concept of the Witches' Sabbath in the Alpine Region (1430-1440): Text and Context," in *Witchcraft Mythologies and Persecutions*, ed. Gabor Klaniczay and Eva Pocs (Budapest and New York: Ceu Press, 2008), 21-22, 27.

34. The name Diana suggests a Roman origin, although much of the tradition itself seems more similar to the "Wild Hunt" of Germanic legend. Its nature as an amalgam of various traditions is evidenced by the existence of various names used in different regions, Diana merely being the most popular amongst clerical authorities. The leading goddess was also known as Hilda, Berta, Perchta, or any of several others. This goddess would ride through the night on various beasts, attended by fairy-like female spirits, and would call to sleeping women who would rise from their beds and come out to join the procession. These companies of women were often referred to as *bonae res,* because the original myths claimed

the women brought good luck upon those who left gifts for them. See Broedel, 103; Russell, 660.

35. Broedel, 107.
36. Ibid., 104-07.
37. Tholosan, 165.
38. Bailey, "The Feminization of Magic," 122.
39. Broedel, 171.
40. Nicolau Eymeric, "The Directorium Inquisitorum (1376)," in *Witchcraft in Europe, 400-1700: A Documentary History*, ed. Alan Charles Kors and Edward Peters (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 125.
41. "The Theology Faculty of the University of Paris Condemns Sorcery (1398)," in *Witchcraft in Europe, 400-1700: A Documentary History*, ed. Alan Charles Kors and Edward Peters (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001),131.
42. Broedel, 170-71.
43. The text is formally credited to Heinrich Institoris (also known as Heinrich Kramer, Institoris being the Latinized version) and his colleague James Sprenger, and the work was to some extent a collaboration of the two. Broedel (whose historical work focuses heavily on the *Malleus*) has claimed that it seems probable that Sprenger's overall contribution was minimal. See Hans Peter Broedel, "To Preserve the Manly Form from so Vile a Crime: Ecclesiastical Anti-Sodomitic Rhetoric and the Gendering of Witchcraft in the Malleus Maleficarum," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 19 (2002): 144.
44. Broedel, "The Construction of Witchcraft," 176.
45. Heinrich Kramer and James Sprenger, *Malleus Maleficarum*, translated by Montague Summers (La Vergne, TN: Digireads.com Publishing, 2009), 51.
46. Ibid., 52.
47. Broedel, "The Construction of Witchcraft," 176.
48. Kramer, 53.
49. Ibid., 56.
50. Broedel, "The Construction of Witchcraft," 175.
51. Kramer, 50.
52. See Kieckhefer, *European Witch Trials*, 11.
53. The estimated numbers of witchcraft executions have fluctuated a great deal throughout the course of historical work on witchcraft, even in the last few decades. It was once thought that as many as nine million people had been executed. More recent scholarship has shown that even the more conservative figures of 100,000–200,000 have been notably exaggerated. See Russel, 658; Brian P. Levack, "Witchcraft," in *Encyclopedia of the Renaissance*, ed. Paul F. Grendler, 6 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1999), 314; James Sharpe, *Witchcraft in Early Modern England* (London: Pearson Education, 2001), 6.
54. Russel, 664; Levack, 314.
55. Kieckhefer, *European Witch Trials*, 4.
56. Bailey, "The Feminization of Magic," 128.
57. See Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, 156.
58. See Cohn, 48-51.

Bibliography

Aquinas, Thomas. "From the Summa theologiae: The Demons Tempt Man." In *Witchcraft in Europe, 400-1700: A Documentary History*, edited by Alan Charles Kors and Edward Peters, 96-103. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.

Augustine. "Demonic Power in Early Christianity." In *The Witchcraft Sourcebook*, edited by Brian P. Levack, 27-29. New York: Routledge, 2004.

-----. "On Christian Teaching, Book II (395-98, 426)." In *Witchcraft in Europe, 400-1700: A Documentary History*, edited by Alan Charles Kors and Edward Peters, 43-47. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.

Bailey, Michael D. "The Feminization of Magic and the Emerging Idea of the Female Witch in the Late Middle Ages." *Essays in Medieval Studies* 19 (2002): 120-34.

-----. "The Medieval Concept of the Witches' Sabbath." *Exemplaria* 8, no. 2 (1996): 419-39.

Broedel, Hans Peter. *The Malleus Maleficarum and the Construction of Witchcraft*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003.

-----. "To Preserve the Manly Form from so Vile a Crime: Ecclesiastical Anti-Sodomitic Rhetoric and the Gendering of Witchcraft in the Malleus Maleficarum." *Essays in Medieval Studies* 19 (2002): 135-48.

Burchard of Worms. "The Corrector, sive Medicus (ca. 1008-1012)." In *Witchcraft in Europe, 400-1700: A Documentary History*, edited by Alan Charles Kors and Edward Peters, 63-67. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.

Cohn, Norman. "The Demonization of Mediaeval Heretics." In *The Witchcraft Reader*, edited by Darren Oldridge, 36-52. London: Routledge, 2002.

"Errores Gazariorum (1437)." In *Witchcraft in Europe, 400-1700: A Documentary History*, edited by Alan Charles Kors and Edward Peters, 159-62. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.

Eymeric, Nicolau. "The Directorium inquisitorum (1376)." In *Witchcraft in Europe, 400-1700: A Documentary History*, edited by Alan Charles Kors and Edward Peters, 120-27. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.

Gregory IX. "Vox in Rama (1233)." In *Witchcraft in Europe, 400-1700: A Documentary History*, edited by Alan Charles Kors and Edward Peters, 114-16. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.

Isidore of Seville. "Etymologies, Book VIII, Chapter 9." In *Witchcraft in Europe, 400-1700: A Documentary History*, edited by Alan Charles Kors and Edward Peters, 50-54. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.

Kieckhefer, Richard. *European Witch Trials: Their Foundations in Popular and Learned Culture, 1300-1500*. Berkely and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976.

-----. *Magic in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Kramer, Heinrich and James Sprenger. *Malleus Maleficarum*. Translated by Montague Summers. La Vergne, TN: Digireads.com Publishing, 2009.

Levack, Brian P. "Witchcraft." In *Encyclopedia of the Renaissance*, edited by Paul F. Grendler, 6: 312-15. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1999.

Nider, Johannes. "The Formicarius (1435-38)." In *Witchcraft in Europe, 400-1700: A Documentary History*, edited by Alan Charles Kors and Edward Peters, 155-59. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.

Ostorero, Martine. "The Concept of the Witches' Sabbath in the Alpine Region (1430-1440): Text and Context." In *Witchcraft Mythologies and Persecutions*, edited by Gabor Klaniczay and Eva Pocs, 15-34. Budapest: Ceu Press, 2008.

Regino of Prum. "A Warning to Bishops, the Canon Episcopi (ca. 906)." In *Witchcraft in Europe, 400-1700: A Documentary History*, edited by Alan Charles Kors and Edward Peters, 60-63. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.

Russel, Jeffrey Burton. "Witchcraft, European." In *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, edited by Joseph Strayer, 12: 658-65. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1989.

"The Theology Faculty of the University of Paris Condemns Sorcery (1398)." In *Witchcraft in Europe, 400-1700: A Documentary History*, edited by Alan Charles Kors and Edward Peters, 127-32. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.

Sharpe, James. *Witchcraft in Early Modern England*. London: Pearson Education, 2001.

Tholosan, Claude. "Ut magorum et maleficiorum errores (1436-37)." In *Witchcraft in Europe, 400-1700: A Documentary History*, edited by Alan Charles Kors and Edward Peters, 162-66. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.

Wisconsin's Fair Employment Practices Division

Kelli Nugent, author
Dr. Stephen Kercher, History, faculty adviser

Kelli Nugent is a recent graduate. She majored in history and minored in Spanish. She hopes to attend law school in the near future.

Dr. Stephen Kercher is an associate professor of history. He has been teaching twentieth century U.S. history at UW Oshkosh since 2000. His current research focuses on black student protest at Wisconsin colleges and universities in the 1960s.

Abstract

This historical essay explores the role of Wisconsin's Fair Employment Practices Division in promoting civil rights. Its greatest weakness came from the need for people to file complaints before action could be taken. The FEPD used many tactics to succeed in its mission of equality despite criticism. This new area of research focuses on the FEPD during the 1950s and 1960s and explores changes during that time that are part of the law today.

Ruth Harris was an African American beautician job hunting in Madison, Wisconsin, in 1964. She called Edward's Beauty Salon to reply to a help wanted ad the business posted. On the phone she felt the need to explain she was African American. She was not called back by the salon but tried repeatedly to get a hold of the manager. Frustrated, in need of a job, and suspicious of discrimination, she went to the Fair Employment Practices Division (FEPD) to lodge a complaint against Edward's Beauty Salon. Harris was quoted as saying, "I believe I have

not been given opportunity for this job because I am Negro."[1] The FEPD found it curious she was having so much trouble reaching the manager at a time when the business was hiring and agreed to investigate her case.

Harris's story is one of the many that demonstrated the way of life for African Americans who sought employment in the North. The civil rights story revolved around Jim Crow in the South, Martin Luther King Jr., sit-ins, Black Power, and race riots. But the story of civil rights in North is just beginning to be explored and employment is an important aspect of that story. World War I and II created jobs in America, especially in the northern industrial cities. African Americans from the South migrated to such cities and sought employment, better lives, and the American Dream. However, when African Americans left the South they also found discrimination in the North. It was not as blatant, in fact it was frequently subtle, but it was there. Harris knew it was there, as did many others.

In 1941, well-known African American A. Philip Randolph threatened to lead a huge march on Washington. The march was for equal opportunity in the workplace, a reaction to the discrimination encountered in employment by African Americans. It came at a time when President Roosevelt could not afford the "risk of a massive display of internal dissent on the eve of war."[2] The President gave in to Randolph's demands and issued Executive Order 8802 which, among other things, established a Committee on Fair Employment Practices to ensure defense contractors did not discriminate. The Fair Employment Practices Committee established by the President was the precursor to Wisconsin's own FEPD.

In 1945 following the example of the federal government, other progressive states and cities, and in response to black activists such as A. Philip Randolph, Wisconsin's FEPD was

established.[3] It was a branch of the larger state Industrial Commission (IC), which it kept informed of important cases and overall progress and with whom it worked to reduce discrimination. Its primary purpose was to conduct investigations into complaints of discrimination when they were reported. Passed in 1945, the Fair Employment Practices Act (Sec. 111.31-111.37 Wis. Statutes) made it unlawful and subject to penalty to discriminate because of age, race, creed, color, sex, national origin, and ancestry.[4] The fact that this law relied on individuals to file complaints of discrimination constrained it somewhat, but the FEPD was aware of this limitation and sought to stop discrimination despite it. The FEPD held hearings to investigate what employers were doing on their end to reduce discrimination. They also reached out to the people of the state through speeches and mailings to inform them of the Fair Employment Practices law. Through these various tactics the Wisconsin FEPD surpassed the limitations inherent in its design and in its growth caused changes that affect people today.

According to the Wisconsin Equal Opportunity Division Case Files, between 1945 and 1970, 207 race-related complaints were filed: 120 by men, 47 by women, and 10 by companies and law firms. The majority of these cases were filed during the 1960s. An examination of the files shows that complaints came from workers employed by a variety of companies. Throughout the state complaints were lodged against employers one may expect to find, such as industrial factories like American Motors Company and Harley Davidson, but also against the Wisconsin Telephone Company, a beauty salon (as seen with Harris), and even the Wisconsin State University System. By conducting investigations into discrimination complaints, personnel of the FEPD attempted to record detailed statements from all parties—employee (or complainant), witnesses, and employer (or respondent)—obtain copies of any relevant documents, and compare and verify the facts of the case to determine if there was enough evidence to warrant a

declaration of probable cause.[5] Cases brought to the FEPD were often dismissed which caused repeated criticism and revealed the complicated nature of prosecuting employers for discrimination. Even though there was criticism of the Wisconsin FEPD, the case files reflect that it was utilized and there were cases that brought justice to the complainants.

The case of *Alis Poston vs. Allis Chalmers* in 1966 presented a situation that reflected the good that could come as a result of the Division's intervention. On December 4, 1966, Alis Poston filed a complaint of discrimination against the farm equipment company Allis Chalmers, where he had worked from July 25 to September 21, 1966. Poston had been the only black employee on a temporary third shift Allis Chalmers operated that year. According to his foreman, he did good work. After a time, Poston was moved to second shift. Poston felt the foreman on that shift gave him an especially hard time. In the end, he was fired before his probationary period concluded. Poston noted on the "Statement of Employment Complaint" form: "I feel my Foreman was discriminating against me."[6]

Michael McEnery was the FEPD field representative assigned to Poston's case. He sent a form letter to Allis Chalmers notifying the company of Poston's complaint and that an investigator would be in contact. McEnery visited Allis Chalmers to investigate the complaint of discrimination, interviewing the foremen and coworkers. On his report, McEnery noted, "In one respect the respondent company have stated they would support the Equal Opportunity effort in employment by affording to minority group employee[s] every opportunity. On one hand it is fine for a company to issue such a policy statement, but unless such policy is implemented by all personnel, including foremen and supervisors, it would lead one to believe it is a hollow and useless statement and smacks of hypocrisy."[7] McEnery's opinion of this case is clear from his comment. However, because the evidence against the foreman was weak, the case was dismissed

on December 19, 1966. Poston was notified by letter of the decision and was told that to change the determination of the case he would have to submit additional facts or clarify his statements.

On December 22, 1966, Poston went to the FEPD to offer clarification of his statements. In McEnery's report the foreman said Poston frequently waited around or was away from his job post. Poston explained that he had to occasionally look for the tools he needed. He stated he spent time waiting because he ran out of work or would go to the bathroom, but he did this no more than anyone else. Because Poston clarified his charge of discrimination, probable cause was found and resulted in a plan to schedule a date for a conference with Allis Chalmers. The last additional fact Poston added was his statement, "I was and still am very much interested in working for the Allis Chalmers Manufacturing Company."[8] Allis Chalmers was informed of the new evidence, per procedure, and before a conference could even be scheduled, Poston was given his job back. On a "Consent to Withdraw Complaint" form dated January 9, 1967, Poston wrote on the bottom, "I would like to thank everyone who helped made [sic] it possible for me to get my job back."[9]

If Poston's case illustrated some of the more positive effects of the Wisconsin FEPD, then the case of *James Marshall vs. Ace Foods* in 1963 reflects the more disheartening realities and limitations of it. John E. Means, in his article "Fair Employment Practices Legislation and Enforcement in the United States," notes that one frequently voiced criticism of "fair employment practices legislation is the length of time it takes for agencies to process complaints."[10] The case of *James Marshall vs. Ace Foods* is an unfortunate example of this. Marshall made his initial complaint to the Fair Employment Practices Division in July 1963. He had worked under Ace Foods in the Food Services department at Stevens Point State College for nine months under supervision with the understanding that after the probationary period he

would take over as supervisor and receive an increase in pay. At the end of the nine months, Marshall was told his supervisor would remain in charge and that he would not be receiving the raise. The company claimed this was due to his performance, though they did not provide Marshall with any reviews that indicated poor work, but Marshall claimed his failed promotion was due to his race.[11]

An FEPD employee conducted an investigation into the facts regarding Marshall's complaint, but in August 1963, the director of the FEPD, Virginia Huebner, dismissed the case, citing lack of probable cause. Upon receiving the decision, Marshall petitioned for a hearing. The hearings were held in October and November 1963. The agent who conducted those hearings dismissed the case in March 1964. In March and April, Marshall filed objections and an extension. In July 1964, oral arguments were presented to the IC. It was not until December 31, 1964, that the IC issued a majority decision that reversed Huebner's finding.[12]

In February 1965 the respondent, Ace Foods, filed a petition. An attempt at conciliation made by the director of the FEPD later in July resulted in the two parties being "unable to reach accord." The IC ordered a complete transcript of testimony. They reviewed it until April 1966 when they issued a majority decision of no probable cause, set aside the decision from December 1964, and dismissed the case. However, Marshall's case did not end there; the Circuit Court of Dane County in February 1967 ordered the IC to "reconsider facts" and "clarify the record" due to so many cases being dismissed because of weak evidence. In November 1967 evidence and testimony were reentered, and in October 1969 the case was again dismissed.[13]

Marshall's case displays a downside of the FEPD's ability to prosecute discrimination and to do so in a timely manner. In his April 1966 dissenting opinion, IC commissioner Carl E.

Lauri tried to clarify the situation, "Discrimination sometimes takes an elusive and subtle form and to define intent to discriminate is a difficult thing. Students of patterns of discrimination know that this type of treatment is one of the subtle forms of discrimination that Negroes in our country face constantly in their employment." Lauri also commented on the amount of time the case spanned saying, "It is unfortunate that the Commission itself has consumed the time it has in a settlement in this case."[14] Lauri's dissenting opinion reflects the limitations the FEPD faced and the disappointments blacks had to endure.

James Marshall's drive to keep his case alive was one of the factors in why the case carried on for so long. As John E. Means notes in his article, "The procedure of public hearing is rarely used."[15] The Equal Opportunity Case Files reflect this statement. James Marshall was one of the few complainants who continued to file objections after dismissals and had the determination to challenge the system's decision. His perseverance resulted in the important dissenting opinion, which highlighted the particular difficulty that arises in prosecuting discrimination. Where the other commissioners sided with the employer, IC commissioner Lauri's dissension tried to bring out the reason why cases were so often dismissed from lack of evidence. Although Marshall lost his case, his desire for justice kept the case alive for six years. As a result, important revelations came out of it that helped the FEPD learn the limits of its power.[16]

Clearly, the cases of Marshall and Poston reflect the promise and shortcomings of the FEPD. Marshall's was a drawn-out affair, lasting from July 1963 to October 1969—an unfortunately long time as noted by IC commissioner Carl E. Lauri. Poston's case, however, ran only from December 4, 1966, to January 9, 1967. Another one of the important aspects of Poston's case was that it was accomplished in large part because the FEPD leaned on Allis

Chalmers. The impending conference was perhaps unattractive enough to motivate the company to rehire Poston. Unfortunately, there is no way to discern from the case file if Poston's job reinstatement was motivated by a genuine desire by the company to address the discrimination or an avoidance tactic to save money and prevent the publicity a hearing with the FEPD may have caused. Case files reveal that the FEPD often succeeded using "conference, conciliation, [and/or] persuasion" in reaching an outcome for those cases that were not dismissed.[17]

Both Marshall and Poston's cases brought up common criticisms the FEPD encountered. The FEPD had to receive complaints to take action against discrimination. This procedure was often criticized. Dale L. Hiestand argues that "programs which await complaints from individuals are ineffective."[18] The reason that these cases occurred at all was only because James Marshall and Alis Poston made formal complaints of discrimination. Marshall's case, although dismissed, highlighted the type of discrimination blacks often faced; it was a gray area and hard to prosecute. Poston's case ended positively, but brought up the problem of companies' resistance to measures the FEPD was willing to take against job discrimination. The FEPD was flawed because it waited for complaints and had difficulty prosecuting discrimination. Since its establishment, the FEPD was learning its limitations and boundaries. Regardless of flaws, Poston and Marshall show that the FEPD was used.

The Wisconsin FEPD made an effort to address these problems and criticisms as early as 1957. On June 27 of that year, a meeting of the Janesville-Beloit Educational Committee on Fair Employment Practice was held at Midway Restaurant outside of Janesville. Those in attendance included Virginia Huebner, director of the FEPD; Ben Loomis, an administrative assistant of the FEPD; Arnold Haug, a representative of the Wisconsin State Employment Service of the Beloit area; and representatives from various area companies including Fairbanks-Morse, Beloit Iron

Works, Parker Pen Company, Chevrolet Motor Company, and Geilman Engineering and Manufacturing. The meeting addressed questions and concerns voiced by the companies in attendance regarding blacks in employment.[19]

Administrative assistant Ben Loomis kept notes at the meeting. One item he reported was that "the Fairbanks-Morse Company has moved colored employees that were predominantly employed in the foundry into other areas."[20] The fact that blacks had been predominantly employed in the foundry at Fairbanks-Morse was evidence of the limited mobility for blacks in labor. Ben Gordon, an African American who had been employed at Fairbanks-Morse in 1938, spoke of this issue in the Janesville-Beloit Oral History Project. He described how blacks were limited to certain jobs due to a "gentlemen's agreement" among the businesses of Beloit. The agreement involved businesses limiting job opportunities for blacks so that the only ones that would be available were the jobs at the foundries. According to Gordon, foundry jobs were not only unsafe, but "dangerous, noisy, and dirty" with the reality that "every once in a while someone was killed."[21] The expansion of job positions at the factories of Fairbanks-Morse represented an important opportunity for its black employees and no longer limited them to foundry work.

Other information reported by Loomis at the meeting included items from the representatives from Fairbanks-Morse and Waldo Luchsinger of the Parker Pen Company. The concern from Fairbanks-Morse regarded a black male who had been moved to a different department where he inspected work done by women. They feared there would be a slowdown of production because the black worker would be so distracted by the women that the output of work would be reduced. Waldo Luchsinger's concern was the dilemma a contractor faced when an African American joined his crew and, as a result, the white workers quit. Is the contractor

supposed to take a risk by hiring an African American, or just play it safe and not hire one at all? Concerns such as these displayed the racism embedded in the minds of some whites.[22]

Finally, perhaps verifying and confirming one of the biggest concerns of the FEPD was a note by Loomis of a question posed by W.E. Loofbors of the Geilman Engineering and Manufacturing Company. Loofbors was reported to have asked, "Isn't this integration thing being pushed too fast? Shouldn't it develop naturally?"[23] This question illustrates the conscious and purposeful resistance of businesses to offering opportunities to blacks; the idea that, given time, things would work themselves out, and that forcing the issue of civil rights down the throat of business was not in business' best interest. But it *was* in the interest of the Wisconsin FEPD. The meeting of the Janesville-Beloit Educational Committee on Fair Employment Practice was a revealing experience for all who attended. For the businesses, it was a foreshadowing of the hearings they would be called to attend and their increased role as instruments of change, willing or unwilling, in breaking down discrimination in Wisconsin. For the FEPD it was a small-scale, but important, fact finding event to prepare them for hearings that would follow later in the 1960s.

After their 1957 meeting in Janesville, the FEPD had some idea of where employers were coming from, but they could not ignore the number of complaints that were dismissed for lack of evidence. Beginning in the 1960s, more complaints of discrimination were reported. In 1963 the FEPD decided to call hearings to investigate companies and what actions they were taking to reduce discrimination against blacks. The difficulty the FEPD had in prosecuting discrimination led them to take more direct action by holding hearings first aimed at retail employers and then industrial companies. The FEPD was aware of its own limitations and, motivated by continuing criticism, sought to help minorities by taking the initiative. In its effort to stop discrimination in

the workplace the FEPD pushed its boundaries. Instead of waiting for complaints to arrive, it called hearings to determine if companies did their own part under the law.

The 1963 hearings were held jointly by the FEPD and the Industrial Commission. Early on, press reports focused mainly on IC chairman Matthias Schimenz. In an interview regarding the hearings Schimenz stated, "I have a feeling that there are firms that are afraid to take the initial step of hiring Negroes. We have come to the realization that the time has come when we cannot ask employers. We have to do a little more."[24] On July 11, 1963, the *Milwaukee Journal* reported that after "an apparent failure of its efforts at persuasion and encouragement" the IC was calling 18 Milwaukee area retail employers to a hearing. The *Journal* noted that the FEPD and IC requested that employers called to testify provide answers to the following: "Number of Negroes employed, rate of Negro application for employment, apprenticeship and training programs, promotion procedures, number of job vacancies…recruitment procedures and referral agencies used, basic job qualifications sought, racial characteristics of work force, rate of turnover, [and] company policy on hiring."[25] Apparently, the FEPD and IC had taken off the kid gloves and wanted companies to hand over information on what they were doing to lessen discrimination.

The companies at the hearings, in addition to providing the above information, also heard recommendations for hiring blacks. Robert Stargel, an African American consultant for Kroger Food stores in Cincinnati, Ohio, was called on by the IC to advise companies. Stargel suggested that companies work with "the Milwaukee Urban League, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Congress of Racial Equality, and the Negro American Labor Council in seeking Negro employees."[26] IC chair Schimenz told the companies at the hearing that "there is room for improvement in their hiring practices." Companies were also

informed they would be asked for follow-up reports and that another check would be made early

the following year on their progress. By committing itself to check up later on Wisconsin

companies, the FEPD seemed poised to force companies to produce results. The new effort by

the FEPD to fight discrimination was certainly different than waiting for discrimination

complaints to arrive at the offices.[27]

Despite the effort of the FEPD and IC to root out discrimination by holding hearings in

1963, members of the state's African American community organizations remained critical to the

new FEPD tactics. The Milwaukee chapter of the Negro American Labor Council, for example,

claimed the IC was taking too much of a "soft approach" on employers in the Milwaukee area.

The Council suggested that an investigation of industries rather than retail employers (the

primary focus of the 1963 hearings) would give a better reflection of the discrimination blacks

faced in employment. The FEPD was receptive to these complaints and announced its intentions

to hold hearings with 13 Kenosha industries.[28]

However, another black community organization, the Beloit Christian Leadership

Conference (BCLC), had even less confidence. The BCLC took employment matters into its own

hands and worked with "officials of the F.W. Woolworth Company and J.C. Penney Company

stores and the Salomone Food Market (a locally owned supermarket)" to negotiate a hiring

pact.[29] In addition to the hiring pact the Conference used direct action. It declared it would

boycott and picket "businesses that refused to give Negroes first class citizenship." [30] The

Conference leader, the Reverend U.S. Pride, opined that the agencies running the hearings did

not adequately reflect the needs of the black population. This was not an uncommon theme for

the civil rights movement in the North. Some African American community organizations felt

government agencies moved too slowly and conservatively. The FEPD and its African American critics had the same goal but traveled different roads in achieving it.

Despite the criticism of African American community leaders such as Pride, the FEPD continued to investigate discrimination through public hearings. Taking a cue from the Negro American Labor Council, the FEPD held hearings with 13 Kenosha industries. These hearings led to a greater understanding of hiring problems. The FEPD compiled a list of recommendations for all employers to utilize in the hiring process. The list suggests that companies state: "Persons of all races are eligible, to seek the advice and aid of the Milwaukee Urban League, advertising should include the slogan 'An Equal Opportunity Employer,' the adoption of a written policy on merit employment and promotion to be communicated at all levels of organization, and that the policy should emphasize that all jobs are available on a nondiscriminatory basis." [31] In the closing days of the hearings the FEPD made the observation that the "status quo will remain in perpetuity if organizations, when engaged in hiring, fail to reach out" to the minority population.[32] Now the abbreviated EOE for Equal Opportunity Employer is commonplace in job advertisements. It was through the efforts of the FEPD years ago that such is the case today.

With the closing of the hearings towards the end of 1963, it was not long before the FEPD called on employers for a progress report. In November 1963 American Motors Company was the only employer of the major Kenosha industries to have black employees.[33] By April 1964, four more industrial companies had blacks on their payrolls. The follow-up also showed an increase of black employees in retail, specifically in Milwaukee, helped along by the need for workers during the busy Christmas shopping season.[34] The FEPD was encouraged by the improvement of the companies it checked up on and planned a meeting to inform the community of the progress.

In an effort to reach out to the black community with its findings, "hasten the process" of administering the Fair Employment Practices law, and receive feedback, the FEPD held a rights study in April 1964. Eighteen organizations, mainly based in Milwaukee, were invited to attend. Some of those included in the study were the Negro American Labor Council, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Milwaukee Urban League, and the Catholic Interracial Council.[35] The meeting gave groups the opportunity to comment on the recent work by the FEPD. There was no transcript of the event, so comments reported in the local newspapers appear to contain mostly those that may have been construed as controversial. One criticism of the study came from Lloyd Barbee, a prominent leader of Wisconsin's branch of the NAACP and an attorney who defended complainants routinely. Barbee commented that, "In human rights Wisconsin is overrated and overrates itself." He went on to say that, "No Negro is really free to live where he wants to, work where he wants to, based on ability, or send his children to school where he wants to."[36]

Another complaint reported at the study came from Leslie Johnson, chairman of the local CORE chapter. Johnson "praised the commission for a new aggressiveness in holding hearings on Negro employment," but criticized the director of the FEPD, Virginia Huebner, for the "ease with which employers have wriggled out of discrimination charges." The complaints reflected the frustration with the number of cases dismissed due to lack of evidence. The CORE chairman went on to say that "negroes who have filed complaints have been disillusioned" by this situation and that "the Fair Employment Division cannot function if it does not have the trust of Negroes."[37] As noted earlier, the dismissal of cases was a problem the FEPD was aware of, one that led to the exercising of power through the holding of hearings. Whether or not that

information was discussed at this meeting to assuage the concerns of CORE and the NAACP is unknown.

The rights study in April 1964 was an effort by the FEPD to reach out directly to minority groups. Keeping in touch with groups enabled it to be aware of the opinions of the people they most represented and sought to help. The fact that the FEPD took into account those criticisms was clear by the hearings held and in the new directions in which these hearings led them. The hearings were a new tool in the fight against discrimination, but keeping in touch with local groups went back to the early days of the FEPD. While the hearings of 1963 and 1964 were widely publicized, the lesser known interactions of the FEPD with community groups were also extremely important in carrying the message of equal opportunity in employment.

The first priority of the Wisconsin FEPD remained the investigation into complaints of discrimination. However, as noted by Arthur M. Ross and Herbert Hill in their book, *Employment, Race, and Poverty*, "Rapid and widespread compliance is not likely to result if the government relies for enforcement almost exclusively on…individual complaints."[38] Waiting for complaints could only do so much; it was up to the FEPD employees to fill the gaps. Agents traveled to visit community groups, clubs, conferences, and schools. From 1957 to 1964 especially, there was a steady influx of invitations for members of the FEPD to speak. Such events were usually attended by the Division Director Virginia Huebner or administrative assistant Ben Loomis. They lectured on various topics and tailored their speeches to the appropriate group. Huebner spoke to a labor legislation class at Marquette University in 1958. Her speech covered the legal details of the law and the Division's role in carrying it out. The speech they received would have been very different from one given to the NAACP, for example. A speech at the NAACP included information on the amount of complaints that came

in to the FEPD, encouragement to report discrimination complaints, and the importance of letting others know about help that could be provided.[39]

Giving speeches to clubs and schools was a way for the FEPD to spread the word on the Fair Employment Practice law. An examination of the different groups personnel visited shows a wide variety of people who received their message. Some of the groups visited in 1957 included a human relations class from the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, the Underwood Memorial Baptist Church, and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. Presentations made by the FEPD in 1958 included those made to the Women's Court and Civic Conference of Milwaukee County, Marquette University, and the NAACP. In 1959, the FEPD made its case at a conference on human relations education, delivered its message to the Northeast Wisconsin Industrial Association, and even spoke to a group of students from Stevens Point who were on a field trip to the Milwaukee Urban League.[40]

From 1960 to 1964 the FEPD was particularly busy. Visits to schools and businesses were especially popular and included Mercy High School, Roosevelt Junior High School, and Marquette University, all in the Milwaukee area. Business groups visited included the Associated Industries of Oshkosh, the American Society for Public Administration, the Office Supervisors Club of Milwaukee, and the Wisconsin State Employment Service. The FEPD also targeted organizations such as the YMCA, the Catholic Interracial Council of Milwaukee, the NAACP, and the Beloit Community Council on Human Rights. The variety of the groups is important to note. It was not just African American clubs and schools receiving the message; whites were hearing it too. The FEPD frequently received thank-you letters from the clubs and schools at which they spoke. The letters, many commenting on how informative and interesting the material was, often closed by mentioning hopes of having the FEPD back again. The visits FEPD

personnel made may not have been controversial or highly publicized events, but they reached many people in various parts of the state and helped spread the importance of the need to end discrimination in employment.[41]

Another way the Wisconsin Fair Employment Practices Division reached out to inform the community of the law was through the mail. FEPD case files contain dozens of letters to employers who had run "help wanted" ads in Wisconsin newspapers. Workers clipped ads that asked respondents to "include a photo" with their reply. Many times the address for the ad was only a post office box number the company used for job responses when hiring. Without always knowing the exact name of the business, FEPD personnel notified employers that they did not agree with applicants sending a photograph.[42]

In form letters, Division Director Virginia Huebner explained to employers why they were receiving the notice and requested a promise from the company (via a response letter) that the practice would be discontinued. She also included a copy of Wisconsin's Fair Employment Practice law. One letter from Huebner to P.O. Box 528 on September 19, 1961, stated, "In view of the fact that a photograph is a potentially discriminatory item, many Fair Employment Practices agencies in the country have ruled that it is unlawful to require the presentation of such item. While the Commission has not yet promulgated any rules in this connection, we have nevertheless deemed the practice contrary to the intents and purposes of the Act we administer."[43] Employers did not always return a response and a reminder letter was sent out. In asking for a response the FEPD held employers accountable for their conduct.

Some cases in which employers asked for a photo were understandable—a salesman job, for example, where appearance may have mattered more—but other jobs such as positions at the

Wisconsin Telephone Company, or as a certified public accountant were inexcusable. One response letter Virginia Huebner received was from Gaile M. Parent & Associates, Certified Public Accountants dated September 20, 1961. Parent explained, "I was aware, of course, of the non-discrimination requirements in employment, but in my innocence it had not occurred to me that a request for [a] photograph might be so construed. In my innocence, I am also a contributor to C.O. R. E. [sic] for fighting discrimination."[44] Parent apparently felt the need to mention that he supported the civil rights group CORE in order to assure the FEPD he was not the type of person who would discriminate.

Other response letters to Huebner were far more sarcastic. President of the W.H. Kraz Company, Harry J. Voelker, wrote in the closing of a letter, "It seems to the writer that your frowning on the request for photos is stretching the interpretation of the Act." [45] Huebner responded to Voelker explaining, "Experience reveals that the request for a photograph has prompted many problems which we wish to obviate."[46] After this particular letter Huebner included that short explanation in her future form letters. The amount of "help wanted" ads in the files reflect the commonality with which employers asked for a photograph. Voelker's sarcasm is perhaps more understandable in that light, but the FEPD was commendable in its knowledge of what other states were doing and its desire to prevent companies from refusing to hire a qualified person based on the skin color of that person in a photograph. Again the FEPD was on the forefront of employment changes that are commonplace today.

When the FEPD addressed discriminatory want ads in newspapers and spoke to clubs and schools, they went above and beyond their required duties. In reaching out to communities, the FEPD helped people become informed of the resources available to them. They wrote to employers to remind them of how the Fair Employment Practices law could be applied in wider

scopes. By not simply waiting for complaints to come in and instead taking FEPD issues to the people, FEPD personnel displayed a genuine desire to prevent discrimination.

Harris, whose story opened this essay, ended up having a successful experience with her case. The FEPD immediately called Edward's Beauty Salon and informed the manager to cease interviewing anyone for the job opening until the case was fully investigated. The FEPD defined some terms of conciliation which included the opportunity for Harris to display her beautician skills on a mannequin with an employee from the Board of Health's Cosmetology Division present. With some help from the FEPD, Harris was given a fair chance at an employment opening.

Her story, along with Poston's, Marshall's, and countless others, demonstrated the effort Wisconsin's FEPD made in the fight against discrimination. That is not to say that discrimination does not happen in employment today, but businesses are accountable for upholding the law and that began in earnest when the FEPD held hearings and made equal treatment a priority. An African American does not have to feel the need today to explain they are black when applying for a job. Nor does anyone have to submit a photograph to be eligible. Things taken for granted today had to be established in the past; Wisconsin's FEPD was a government body that helped to make that possible. It is a new area of research that provides insights into the employment aspect of the Civil Rights Movement and how changes years ago can affect people today.

The Wisconsin Fair Employment Practices Division was a government agency that succeeded regardless of the limitations inherent in its structure. The FEPD required complaints from individuals in order to investigate cases of discrimination, the largest flaw of its design. However, instead of possibly remaining an ineffective governmental tool, personnel brought the

FEPD to the people of Wisconsin. When the FEPD did not receive what it thought was a sufficient amount of complaints, it decided to take the initiative and hold hearings with employers. When they were not receiving complaints to investigate, they reached out to the community to inform them of the law. If the FEPD received criticism, it did not deny accusations, but rather learned how such criticism could improve its function. Wisconsin's Fair Employment Practices Division succeeded because it was willing to move beyond its limitations, learn from the community, and exercise power in new ways.

Notes

[1] Wisconsin Equal Rights Division, "Ruth Harris vs. Edward's Beauty Salon, 1964," Case Files, 1945-1993, University of Wisconsin Oshkosh Archives [hereafter UWOA], Series 1744, Box 12.

[2] Thomas J. Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the North* (United States of America: Random House, 2009), 57.

[3] Jacqueline Jones, *American Work: Four Centuries of Black and White Labor* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1998), 354.

[4] John Stoneberg and Karen Baumann, "Wisconsin Equal Rights Division: Case Files, Employer Files, General Correspondence and Subject File, and Hearing Files, 1945-1993," in Wisconsin Historical Society Archival Resources in Wisconsin: Descriptive Finding Aids, 1999, http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/wiarchives.uw-whs-ser01744.

[5] Wisconsin Equal Rights Division, "Memo: How to Conduct an Investigation, February 10, 1955," General Correspondence and Subject File, 1945-, UWOA, Series 1746, Box 11, Folder 4.

[6] Wisconsin Equal Rights Division, "*Alis Poston vs. Allis Chalmers, 1966*," Case Files, 1945-1993, UWOA, Series 1744, Box 16.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid.

[10] John E. Means, "Fair Employment Practices Legislation and Enforcement in the United States," in *Negroes and Jobs: A Book of Readings*, Louis A. Ferman, Joyce L. Kornbush and J.A. Miller, eds. (Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 1968), 475.

[11] Wisconsin Equal Rights Division, "*James Marshall vs. Ace Foods, 1963*," Case Files, 1945-1993, UWOA, Series 1744, Box 16.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Carl E. Lauri, "Dissenting Opinion," Wisconsin Equal Rights Division Case Files, 1945-1993, UWOA, Series 1744, Box 16.

[15] John E. Means, "Fair Employment Practices Legislation and Enforcement in the United States," in *Negroes and Jobs: A Book of Readings*, Louis A. Ferman, Joyce L. Kornbush and J.A. Miller, eds. (Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 1968), 471.

[16] Wisconsin Equal Rights Division, "*James Marshall vs. Ace Foods, 1963*," Case Files, 1945-1993, UWOA, Series 1744, Box 16.

[17] John E. Means, "Fair Employment Practices Legislation and Enforcement in the United States," in *Negroes and Jobs: A Book of Readings*, Louis A. Ferman, Joyce L. Kornbush and J.A. Miller, eds. (Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 1968), 471.

[18] Dale L. Hiestand, *Discrimination in Employment: An Appraisal of the Research* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1970), 45.

[19] Wisconsin Equal Rights Division, "Janesville-Beloit Educational Committee on Fair Employment Practice, 1957," General Correspondence and Subject File, 1945-, UWOA, Series 1746, Box 11, Folder 7.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Oral history interview with Ben Gordon, conducted by Clem Imhoff, 13 October 1976, Beloit Oral History Project, Tape 24, Side 2.

[22] Wisconsin Equal Rights Division, "Janesville-Beloit Educational Committee on Fair Employment Practice, 1957," General Correspondence and Subject File, 1945-, UWOA, Series 1746, Box 11, Folder 7.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Matthias Schimenz in, "Industrial Unit Sets Hearings on Racial Bar," *The LaCrosse Leader-Tribune*, 20 July 1963, "Hearings-Clippings," folder, Wisconsin Equal Rights Division, UWOA, Series 1747, Box 5, Folder 6.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Robert Stargel in, "Chart 'Followup' on Negro Hiring," *Milwaukee Sentinal*, 3 August 1963, "Hearings-Clippings," folder, Wisconsin Equal Rights Division, UWOA, Series 1747, Box 5, Folder 6.

[27] Industrial Commission in, "Hiring Bias Hearings Set," *Milwaukee Journal*, 11 July 1963, "Hearings-Clippings," folder, Wisconsin Equal Rights Division, UWOA, Series 1747, Box 5, Folder 6.

[28] Negro American Labor Council in, "Negro Council Says State Soft on Job Approach," *Milwaukee Sentinal*, 15 August 1963, "Hearings-Clippings," folder, Wisconsin Equal Rights Division, UWOA, Series 1747, Box 5, Folder 6.

[29] Oliver Gibson and U.S. Pride in, "Negro Hiring Pact Made," *Milwaukee Journal*, 25 July 1963, "Hearings-Clippings," folder, Wisconsin Equal Rights Division, UWOA, Series 1747, Box 5, Folder 6.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Industrial Commission in, "Let Negro Know, State Advises," *Wisconsin State Journal*, 13 December 1963, "Hearings-Clippings," folder, Wisconsin Equal Rights Division, UWOA, Series 1747, Box 5, Folder 6.

[32] Ibid.

[33] "Toward Racial Understanding," *The Kenosha News*, 19 August 1964, "Hearings-Clippings," folder, Wisconsin Equal Rights Division, UWOA, Series 1747, Box 5, Folder 8.

[34] "More Negroes Hired in City Since Hearing," *Milwaukee Journal*, 6 March 1964, "Hearings-Clippings," folder, Wisconsin Equal Rights Division, UWOA, Series 1747, Box 5, Folder 7.

[35] From a letter by Matthias Schimenz in, "State Unit Sets Up Rights Study," *Milwaukee Sentinal*, 16 April 1964, "Hearings-Clippings," folder, Wisconsin Equal Rights Division, UWOA, Series 1747, Box 5, Folder 8.

[36] Lloyd Barbee in, "State Called Smug About Civil Rights," *Milwaukee Journal,* 16 April 1964, "Hearings-Clippings," folder, Wisconsin Equal Rights Division, UWOA, Series 1747, Box 5, Folder 8.

[37] Leslie Johnson in, "Division Director Criticized," *Milwaukee Sentinal*, 17 April 1964, "Hearings-Clippings," folder, Wisconsin Equal Rights Division, UWOA, Series 1747, Box 5, Folder 8.

[38] Arthur M. Ross and Herbert Hill, eds., *Employment, Race, and Poverty* (United States of America: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1967), 514.

[39] Wisconsin Equal Rights Division, "Correspondence," General Correspondence and Subject File, UWOA, Series 1746, Box 20, Folder 1.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Wisconsin Equal Rights Division, "Discriminatory Ads, 1961-62," UWOA, Series 1746, Box 9, Folder 3.

[43] Virginia Huebner to P.O. Box 528, 19 September 1961, Wisconsin Equal Rights Division, "Discriminatory Advertising, 1961-62," UWOA, Series 1746, Box 9, Folder 3.

[44] Gaile M. Parent & Associates to Virginia Huebner, 20 September 1961, Wisconsin Equal Rights Division, "Discriminatory Advertising, 1961-62," UWOA, Series 1746, Box 9, Folder 3.

[45] Harry J. Voelker to Virginia Huebner, 12 September 1961, Wisconsin Equal Rights Division, "Discriminatory Advertising, 1961-62," UWOA, Series 1746, Box 9, Folder 3.

[46] Virginia Huebner to Harry J. Voelker, 19 September 1961, Wisconsin Equal Rights Division, "Discriminatory Advertising, 1961-61," UWOA, Series 1746, Box, 9, Folder 3.

Bibliography

Ferman, Louis A., Joyce L. Kornbush, and J.A. Miller, eds. *Negroes and Jobs: A Book of Readings.* Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1968.

Gordon, Ben. Oral history interview conducted by Clem Imhoff, October 13, 1976. Beloit Oral History Project. Tape 24, Side 2.

Hiestand, Dale L. *Discrimination in Employment: An Appraisal of the Research.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1970.

Jones, Jacqueline. *American Work: Four Centuries of Black and White Labor.* New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1998.

Ross, Arthur M., and Herbert Hill, eds. *Employment, Race, and Poverty.* United States of America: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1967.

Stoneberg, John, and Karen Baumann. "Wisconsin Equal Rights Division: Case Files, Employer Files, General Correspondence and Subject File, and Hearing Files, 1945-1993." In Wisconsin Historical Society Archival Resources in Wisconsin: Descriptive Finding Aids, 1999. [http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/wiarchives.uw-whs-ser01744].

Sugrue, Thomas J. *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the North.* United States of America: Random House, 2009.

Wisconsin Equal Rights Division. "Discriminatory Ads, 1961-62." University of Wisconsin Oshkosh Archives. Series 1746. Box 9. Folder 7.

-----. "General Correspondence and Subject File, 1945-." University of Wisconsin Oshkosh Archives. Series 1746. Box 11, 20. Folder 1, 4, 7.

-----. "Hearings-Clippings." University of Wisconsin Oshkosh Archives. Series 1747. Box 5. Folder 6, 7, 8.

-----. "Case Files, 1945-1993." Series 1744. Box 12, 16.

Oshkosh Scholar Submission – Volume VI – 2011

Theology, Psychology, and Politics: The Holy Trinity in Morrison's *Beloved*

Nicole Selenka, author

Dr. Roberta S. Maguire, English and University Honors Program, faculty adviser

Nicole Selenka graduates in fall 2011 with double majors in English and Secondary Education English, and a minor in English as a Second Language.

Roberta S. Maguire, professor of English and director of the University Honors Program, earned her Ph.D. from the University of Maryland, College Park. At UW Oshkosh since 1997, Dr. Maguire teaches courses on African American literature and culture, and her research focuses on African American modernism and jazz.

Abstract

This essay dissects the previously unstudied allusion to the Catholic Holy Trinity in Toni Morrison's *Beloved* and explains how her purpose in using this allusion, like the Trinity itself, is threefold. Excerpts from the novel reveal how Morrison uses the Trinity to develop her three main characters and their relationships to each other, deepening *Beloved*'s already dense plot. Textual evidence for Morrison's exploration of the reality, fear, and enormity of the enslaved experience is also presented, and how Morrison unites these specific psychologically damaging experiences into a singular commentary on post-Civil War African American consciousness through her trinity of characters is demonstrated. Further, the political climate of the 1980s is investigated and the assertion that Morrison uses her allusion to the Trinity to comment on the

tacit reversion of civil rights at the hands of the neglectful Reagan administration and Rehnquist Court is made. These three interdependent aspects of Morrison's Trinity allusion are also used to illuminate *Beloved*'s hauntingly obscure closing message.

Introduction

In her 1987 Pulitzer Prize-winning novel *Beloved*, Toni Morrison takes up a remarkably diverse set of historical and cultural ideas and quilts them together into an affective narrative. Based on the historic tragedy of Margret Garner's infanticidal response[1] to the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act, Morrison's story follows Sethe, a mother and escaped slave who murders her young daughter in a fit of mercy, madness, and love when the family's capture and return to the plantation at Sweet Home seems imminent. Sethe and her surviving daughter, Denver, are haunted not only psychologically by the lingering reality of slavery as an institution but physically by the baby's ghost itself. When a strange young woman named Beloved sweeps into their lives, these two haunting realities collide to create a multileveled, unique experience in historical fiction.

The novel follows Sethe, a free woman in post-Civil War Ohio, who fights to suppress the horrific memories of her enslaved life on the Sweet Home plantation in Kentucky and battles with the guilt of having killed her first-born daughter, whose violent ghost still haunts the family's new home at 124 Bluestone Road. Denver, traumatized by the baby ghost and is a product of the anxious environment her mother's fear has fostered, becomes introspective and friendless, save for her mother and the baby ghost. Both women live in complacent isolation at 124 Bluestone Road until an old friend of Sethe's from Sweet Home, a former slave named Paul D., arrives. Sethe and Paul D. attempt to kindle a romantic relationship, but the baby ghost seethes with anger at the intrusion and Paul D. is forced to exorcise it from the house. He

succeeds, but just as a hope for future happiness in familial love emerges for the three characters, a young woman appears on their doorstep. Sleepy, sickly, soaked with water, and able only to recollect her name, Beloved changes the course of Sethe, Denver, and Paul D.'s lives immediately. The baby ghost incarnate and so much more, she challenges Paul D. and Denver to delve into their respective pasts while ultimately forcing Sethe to confront her own.

Beloved is ornate, dense, and, like all of Toni Morrison's fiction, it is as undeniably beautiful as it is socially and politically conscious. This essay will demonstrate how Morrison, through her allusion to the Catholic Holy Trinity, unites three separate psychological remnants of slavery into one cohesive commentary on African American consciousness, and explore how she uses this Trinitarian understanding to address the revision of civil rights implied by a negligent Reagan administration and Rehnquist Court in the 1980s. The Trinitarian reading of *Beloved*, as an intellectually rewarding complement to studying the novel with the traditional postmodern trinity of race, class, and gender in mind, will also illuminate her evocative closing message that "this is not a story to pass on."[2]

Acknowledgements to Previous Research

Critical essays that speak to Toni Morrison's use of Christianity, specifically biblical references, in her novels are numerous. Entire volumes of scholarship are dedicated to how these allusions function within Morrison's fiction, and academics continue to study why she chooses to infuse her novels with Christian themes, imagery, and messages so consistently. In dealing exclusively with *Beloved*, however, this scholarship narrows. Morrison draws upon the vastness of the Western literary tradition and the richness of African culture to an extraordinary extent in this novel, and consequently the study of her tendency toward Christian allusions has seemingly fallen by the academic wayside in lieu of *Beloved*'s more politically profitable aesthetics.

Fortunately, several scholars do maintain that this post-modern slave narrative can and should be read with a critical eye for Christian allusions. The most notable research done with *Beloved* in this vein delves into how Morrison reworks scripture throughout the novel, modeling the trials and triumphs of her characters on the teachings and Passion of Jesus Christ. Research suggests that one of the narrative's most pivotal moments incorporates biblical subtexts. The day before Sethe murders her "crawling already?" baby, Baby Suggs accepts two buckets of donated blackberries and intending to only make a couple of pies for her growing family, she inadvertently initiates a feast for the town's entire black community.[3] This banquet, created from nearly nothing, is as reminiscent of Jesus feeding the multitude from five loaves and two fish as it is symbolic of the Last Supper, the sumptuous Passover meal Jesus took part in the night before his brutal death.[4] The community's delight in Baby Suggs' generous feast soon turns to disgust in its frivolous excess, and it is this envious reaction to the meal that sets the mechanism for "crawling already?" baby's death and Sethe's ostracism in motion. The community, resentful of Baby Suggs for hosting the celebration "that put Christmas to shame,"[5] failed to give a warning cry when a slave catching posse, the "four horsemen"[6] bearing Sethe's apocalypse, came into town. Biblical subtext can also be inferred from the reverberations of "crawling already?" baby's murder. Sethe acts as Cain did after murdering Abel by refusing to acknowledge the human implications of killing her child, and as a result she is unwilling and unable to properly mourn her child.[7]

Morrison also weaves the Gospel into Sethe's anguished journey to freedom in Ohio. In Morrison's retelling of Jesus' Good Samaritan parable,[8] Sethe, starving and in labor, collapses in the woods to die when Amy Denver, a white indentured servant making her own bid for freedom, happens upon her. Ignoring race-based societal demarcations, Amy Denver not only

nurses Sethe back to travelling condition but helps deliver the baby, her namesake, as well.[9] In this same vignette, Amy discovers Sethe's whip-torn back, a weeping wound she likens to a chokecherry tree, and this symbol of debasement hardens into the tree-shaped scar Sethe will bear upon her back for of the sins of slavery[10] just as Christ bore a literal tree upon his back for the collective sins of the world.[11]

Scholars frequently touch upon Baby Suggs' preaching in their essays as well, searching for Morrison's meaning in the spiritual ministry Sethe's mother-in-law performs, "unchurched",[12] for the newly freed black community in Ohio. Whether or not Morrison's intentions in designating a woman a preacher were iconoclastic,[13] Baby Suggs' message of a human love untainted by the hatred and scorn of a white slaveholding society and her assertion that "the only grace they could have was the grace that they could imagine"[14] is undeniably Christian.[15] Morrison also references Jesus' public life and his mission as a healer in Baby Suggs; through her ministry, which gives a people who had never owned an object in their life, least of all their selves, the "spiritual space to claim the Self, which is the God-Sprit that links them to their human selves and to one another" she becomes like Christ, a healer of the masses.[16]

However, for all of the research into the biblical allusions Morrison includes in *Beloved*, only one brief mention[17] is made of the hermeneutics concerning the powerful ties between Sethe, Denver, and Beloved that drive the novel's plot. Therefore, this essay seeks to fully expose the aesthetics of the Holy Trinity alive in Morrison's *Beloved* and illustrate how even a basic understanding of this theological concept can greatly enhance readers' understanding of Morrison's characters' complex relationships. Moreover, because Morrison declares her authorial sensibility at once "highly political *and* passionately aesthetic,"[18] this essay will also demonstrate how the author uses her allusion to the Holy Trinity to comment on African

American consciousness and subsequently suggest that she uses this commentary to address the political climate of the 1980s, the era in which *Beloved* was written.

Theology, Toni Morrison, and African American Tradition

Denominational conceptions of the Trinity differ, and there are several ways this symbol can be portrayed in fiction depending on which religious doctrine the author identifies with. Perhaps previous research has skirted Morrison's allusion to the Trinity due to the ambiguous nature of this dogmatic principle and the idea that Morrison's legitimate association with a specific strain of religious faith must be established in order to discuss her use of the Holy Trinity in *Beloved*. In a 2004 interview with New York University's Antonio Monda, Morrison explains how her connection to Roman Catholicism started in early childhood. She received a Catholic education, and in these formative years she was "fascinated by the rituals of Catholicism."[19] Therefore, her understanding of the Bible and the Holy Trinity must be as firmly rooted in Catholicism as she once was. Though she left the Church after a crisis of faith in the wake of Vatican II,[20] Morrison's thorough comprehension of the complex concept of the Holy Trinity, particularly the Catholic concept of it, is palpable as she taps into this threefold unity to build an equally intricate relationship between her characters Sethe, Denver, and Beloved.

The Catholic Trinity is a literal representation of God in three persons; no subordination of its individual parts is implied, and it is not simply the metaphorical application of a tri-fold symbol. According to the *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, "the three divine Persons are only one God because each of them equally possesses the fullness of the one and indivisible divine nature."[21] This is the conception of the Holy Trinity that Morrison uses in her novel: she applies the richness of her characters over the framework of these three expressions of God that are all equally, at once, and always one God. A basic understanding of this illogical mystery of faith is

necessary to fully appreciate the way in which Morrison references it, and theologian Fr. Leonard Feeney provides a concise explanation with water as his example: liquid water, mineral ice, and water vapor are all at once water. They are never anything but formula H_2O, and their separate forms are but varied expressions of an identical substance, just as the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are separate selves natural to one entity.[22] Morrison takes this concept and applies to it Sethe, Denver, and Beloved to it with deliberate dexterity, and through this allusion she creates characters that are innately intertwined.

This is not to say that Morrison takes the Catholic Holy Trinity and inserts it point-blank into her novel with little or no adjustment; her penchant for wedding established literary symbols to African American culture does not allow such a concise explanation. Her simple adoption of the Trinity, in itself, is an ode to the African American tradition. Just as early African American slaves embraced the Christianity offered to them and found room within it to make it their own,[23] Morrison finds room within the Trinity to make this Christian icon hers. When this allusion to tri-fold unity climaxes, near the end of section two, in the chapter[24] that begins "I am Beloved and she is mine," where all three characters' consciousnesses are completely interwoven, Morrison's prose takes on such a halting, staccato beat that readers can actually *feel* her reference to African tribal drums: [25]

Beloved

You are my sister

You are my daughter

You are my face; you are me

I have found you again; you have come back to me

You are my Beloved

You are mine[26]

Moreover, her decision to transform the established patrilineal structure of this relationship into an equally potent matrilineal arrangement also signals a direct reference to African culture,[27] as Africa has "been home to some of the world's only matriarchal societies."[28]

The Aesthetics of Morrison's Beloved Trinity

Within this trinity, Sethe, the matriarch, is the Creator; her ownership of the world she made possible for her children by fleeing Sweet Home and escaping to Ohio is unquestioned, particularly when she explains the "miracle" of it to Paul D: "I birthed them and I got em out and it wasn't no accident. I did that…me using my own head."[29] Furthermore, when she attempts to put her emotions during this exodus into words, Sethe uses phrases that establish her as a source of creation and divine love for her children: "But it was more than that. It was a kind of selfishness I never knew nothing about. It felt good. Good and right. I was big, Paul D, and deep and wide and when I stretched out my arms all my children could get in between."[30] With Mother as Creator, Morrison then slides Beloved, the reincarnation of Sethe's sacrificial child, into this feminine trinity as the Daughter.

Sethe forfeits her child, an infant known only as the "crawling already?"[31] baby, for the salvation of the world she has created for her children; when she sees her master coming through the gate to reclaim her family, his property, she executes her first-born daughter to save them all. "My plan was to take us all to the other side where my own ma'am is,"[32] she confesses, but she did not have to destroy her remaining children because Beloved's blood sacrifice was all that was needed. In slitting her infant daughter's throat to save the innocent child from a life of dehumanization, Sethe so horrified the family's would-be captors that they left her and her surviving children to the authorities, certain that the same "mishandling" that spurred their flight

from Sweet Home had caused them to revert to what their former master termed "the cannibal life they preferred."[33] Morrison then references another Catholic tradition, the Eucharist,[34] to cement Beloved as a Christ figure when Denver "swallowed her [crawling already? baby's] blood right along with her mother's milk."[35]

Denver, as the Holy Spirit, "proceeds"[36] from the Mother and the Daughter, as she is utterly dependent on both to define her. In terms of the Holy Trinity, this article of faith is difficult to define; even the *Catechism* is vague, stating only that "The Father generates the Son; the Son is generated by the Father; the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son."[37] The two imperative concepts here are that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son equally, and that a double procession is required for the Trinity to function.[38] Ironically, in this case the novel actually clarifies the allusion. When Sethe kills the "crawling already?" baby, she generates a baby ghost who, ever present, defines Denver's existence as much as her flesh and blood mother does. Therefore, Denver progresses, or "proceeds" twice, both hereditarily from Sethe and experientially from Beloved, who is the "crawling already?" baby ghost incarnate.

Sethe and Beloved also hold equal sway over Denver's heart and mind; Denver explains early on that her two older brothers' terrified exodus from the possessed house, the death of her revered grandmother Baby Suggs, and the fact that no one in the black community dared set foot on even the porch of their house at 124 Bluestone Road after Sethe deliberately murdered the "crawling already?" baby are insignificant episodes "as long as her mother did not look away,"[39] a sentiment that speaks to the power of their relationship in the face of Denver's adolescent loneliness. Denver's connection to Beloved is equally intense; unlike her mother, she recognizes her ghostly sister reincarnate in Beloved immediately. Their relationship, born of Denver's fervent desire to care for Beloved when she arrives on their doorstep nearly incapacitated from

the weight of the living world and amplified by her commitment to protect her if Sethe's murderous tendencies resurface, evolves into something truly spiritual.

An immortal phantom in an earthly body, Beloved is capable of acting beyond her human faculties: she can lift furniture with one hand, insinuate herself into the hearts and minds of the living to incite discomfort or fear, and she can appear from nothing.[40] Denver, as a human girl, obviously cannot logically behave this way, but when Beloved, in a fit of happiness, dances around the room one afternoon and urges her sister to join her, Morrison grants the ethereal qualities ordinarily reserved for Beloved to Denver, who "grew ice-cold as she rose from the bed. She knew she was twice Beloved's size but she floated up, cold and light as a snowflake."[41] Levitating from the bed to join her sister in a divine dance, Denver succumbs to a "dizziness, or feeling light and icy at once"[42] while bouncing round the room and collapses into laughter with her long-lost sister. This melding, the physical dance that allows Denver to momentarily take on Beloved's spectral nature, is accentuated by a conversation they begin that is nothing if not otherworldly— a storytelling session that expressively unites Denver and Beloved to Sethe in one mind.

In the pages that follow, Morrison solidifies her allusion to the Trinity, the deep-seated interconnectivity that defies logic. As Denver begins to recount the story of her birth to Beloved, "the monologue became, in fact, a duet" and the two girls become one, the quilt they are lying on begins "smelling like grass and feeling like hands," and the quiet room drops out from around them.[43] Suddenly, out of a mere *desire* to verbally recreate something "only Sethe knew because she alone had the mind for it"[44] they *actually* create it; together as one, they become intermingled with Sethe's consciousness, and readers are privy to the thorough, direct account of Denver's birth as told, impossibly, by two characters who simply could not relate this episode in such

cinematic detail. By flowing naturally from the reality of Denver and Beloved's storytelling into

the eight-page, firsthand reality of Sethe's labor and delivery, Morrison fortifies her allusion to

the Trinity with the complex relationship these three characters share. Sethe, Denver, and

Beloved are at once three separate entities, united intrinsically with each other as one collective

mind. When each character's particular, historical symbolism in Morrison's trinity is accounted

for, these multileveled experiences coalesce and American slavery emerges as their horrific

common denominator. The three are so expertly intertwined that the totality of their

interrelationship creates not only excellent fiction, but an insightful psychological statement:

though free in body and conscious thought, the African American mind remains unconsciously

tied to and irrevocably damaged by the American institution of race-based slavery.

The Threefold Psychology of Slavery

Throughout *Beloved*, all three characters come to represent three distinct vestiges of

slavery that plagued the newly freed African American mind. Like the components of the Holy

Trinity combined define one God, the reality, the fear, and the enormity of the enslaved

experience are distinct in their respective incarnations yet correspond harmoniously as a singular,

indivisible presence in post-Civil War African American consciousness. Sethe, as the

aforementioned allusion to God the Father, is by her very nature omnipresent, caught in an

eternal "now." Though she spends the majority of her freedom working hard to "remember as

close to nothing as was safe"[45] about her life in bondage, she lives in constant fear that the sound

of a twig snapping or some other common occurrence will send her into a raw reverie where

"suddenly there was Sweet Home rolling, rolling, rolling out before her eyes."[46] Though freed

legally, Sethe still lives life enslaved by her memory; for her, as for the Creator, past, present,

and future meld into eternity and therefore time fails to heal the wounds inflicted upon her at

Sweet Home. Sethe's character becomes Morrison's symbol for the brutal reality of slavery; inundated with painful, repressed memories, she never ceases to perceive enslavement as an imminent threat. As a result, Sethe's drive to protect her family from dehumanization never diminishes. Even in her private musings about her blossoming romantic relationship with Paul D., a happy occurrence that might offer her hope for the future and an escape from the past, she resolutely declares that "As for Denver, the job Sethe had of keeping her from the past that was still waiting for her was all that mattered."[47]

Consequently, Denver, who had never known the pain and trial of slavery directly, is also imprisoned by this same unspeakable past her mother eludes daily. Like the Holy Spirit's function within the Trinity is to evidence the existence of God the Father and Christ the Son, [48] Denver's character is bound to bear witness to the reality of Sethe and Beloved. She is a product of the environment they create and she must proceed from them. However, Sethe's aversion to talking about the painful memories she is composed of, Beloved's mute presence as the belligerent baby ghost, and the ephemeral nature of the dialogue Beloved is able to maintain as a human leaves Denver at a disadvantage. Knowing not to press her mother for information she is unwilling to share, Denver remains concerned with Sethe's memories only as far back as her own birth and consciously cuts herself off from understanding the obscure and frightening history that silenced her mother.[49] Unable to gather enough details about Sethe or Beloved to function as she should within the Trinity allusion, Denver stagnates. Powerless even to leave her house, she becomes paralyzed by the "out there where there were places in which things so bad had happened that when you went near them it would happen again" mindset her mother's fear and Beloved's presence has fostered.[50] A testament to the only sentiments she knows and tormented by the terrifying residue of slavery that sticks to the periphery of her free-born life,

Denver's character becomes a symbol for abject avoidance of the past and haunting, distilled fear.

Beloved *is* this haunting; she is the embodiment of the enslaved experience.[51] Just as the inconceivable power of God became man in Jesus Christ, the psychologically crippling immensity of slavery becomes human in Beloved. Aside from quite literally haunting the women of 124 Bluestone Road, she gathers in the collective soul of the "Sixty Million and more" to whom this book is dedicated. Through time-bending stream-of-consciousness, Morrison's prose develops a wide range of experiences in Beloved, from the little girl crouching in the hold of a ship on the Middle Passage to the ill-treated little girl serving a lecherous man's food.[52] These perpetual voices Beloved contains are all enslaved, all aching to be heard, and when Beloved manifests herself as a reality in Sethe and Denver's life, they are all too much to handle. These three consciousnesses —the lingering reality of American slavery, the fearful avoidance of this reality, and the gravity of enslavement as a whole— make up the collective consciousness of the post-Civil War African American community. Morrison's allusion to the Trinity is upheld here, though in a decidedly godless manifestation, as all three mindsets are again equal, inseparable components of the African American experience in the 1870s.

The Hazard of Trinitarian Discord

The perfect balance of these three components is as intrinsic to the well-being of the African American community as the synchronization of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are to the composition of God. If Sethe were to reign alone, in terms of her psychological symbolism, the African American community would give under the crushing weight of a life enslaved and face destruction by capitulation. If Denver and her psychology ruled, African Americans would

live in fear of the free world and a listless demise brought on by the inability to succeed in freedom would follow. If Beloved's psychology were allowed supremacy, the immensity of slavery as an institution would overwhelm free life and the African American mind would be dominated and defined by enslavement. No one component of either trinity can be allowed to overpower the others.

Morrison understands this Trinitarian equilibrium, as evidenced by Sethe, Denver, and Beloved's sweet and harmonious relationship at the novel's outset. Upon discovering that Beloved is her "crawling already?" baby come back to life, Sethe sets out to give her all of the childhood experiences, attention, and familial love she could have ever wanted. But Sethe's eagerness to please her daughter soon borders on insanity: preoccupied with placating Beloved, Sethe loses her job and does not seek another. [53] Sethe throws herself into her family with newfound, fanatic ferocity. She spends their meager life savings on fancy food and dress and as their stores begin to dwindle, Beloved's demands for attention grow stronger. What begins as a guilt-ridden mother's second chance to prove her love for her daughter turns into an upheaval of the family structure, and Denver observes the gravity of this imbalance with remarkable clarity: "Now it was obvious that her mother could die and leave them both….Whatever was happening, it only worked with three —not two."[54]

Morrison destroys her trinity with imbalance, and the Catholic Trinity would be similarly destroyed if the unique relationship between the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit were misunderstood. The degradation of Morrison's trinity is marked by Sethe's motion to "cut Denver out completely"[55] from their fervent mother-daughter bonding and the confusion of both Sethe's and Beloved's roles in the relationship. Beloved adopts Sethe's mannerisms, speech patterns, and dress until "it was difficult for Denver to tell who was who,"[56] and their roles

completely reverse when commands from Beloved eventually garner only apologies and groveling from Sethe. The damage this division and disparity within the Trinity would do to the Catholic conception of God is unthinkable, as doctrine clearly states the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are as inseparable in their one substance as they are in their purpose: "the Trinity has one operation, sole and the same."[57] But the real devastation to Morrison's trinity occurs when "the mood changed and the arguments began."[58] The delicate, mystical tri-fold relationship the three held, which previously allowed them a short-lived respite from a savage past, is upset when Sethe allows a domineering Beloved to relegate her to servitude, and history repeats itself. In terms of the Holy Trinity, this power struggle is inconceivable, but Morrison uses this implication to exaggerate the severity of Sethe's situation: by distorting the balanced power intrinsic to the three-as-one structure, by obliterating the absolute harmony that *composes* God, God could, in effect, *cease to exist*.

The petrifying past Sethe has held at bay comes barreling down on her, both literally when she becomes a slave to Beloved's whims and figuratively when Beloved's aforementioned symbolic meaning is considered. On the literal level, Sethe is relieved that with Beloved she does not need to directly confront her past, as the "crawling already?" baby ghost knows all there is to tell,[59] but her obsession with and subsequent bowing to Beloved as Morrison's metaphoric embodiment of the enslaved experience allows Sethe to be swept away into her memories, memories that begin to erode her. Emboldened by her mother's plight, Denver overcomes the fear instilled in her and sets out for help, but Sethe steadily wanes as Beloved waxes into a pregnant glory, feeding on unspoken misery. Sethe's physical collapse is imminent until the previously aloof black community, witnessing Denver's desperation and heeding gossip of the "grown-up evil sitting at the table with a grudge" [60] at 124 Bluestone Road, unites to banish

Beloved with prayer.[61] This "amplified trinity" of 30 faithful women[62] checks Beloved's power and in doing so, sets Morrison's trinity aright.

With this drama modeled on the hypothetical collapse of the Holy Trinity, Morrison outlines the repercussions of allowing the searing memories of slavery as a whole to cauterize the budding hope for future happiness in those who survived its terror. Though Morrison wrote this tragedy and trinity of characters with an eye for the past, she also did so with an ear to the present; the closing statement that "this was not a story to pass on," and her urging to acknowledge history with prudence lest it repeat itself, was as important to the African American community in the late 1980s as it was in the 1870s.

Morrison's Exorcism of 1980s Politics

In the 1980s, the Reagan administration and the Rehnquist Court are the embodiment of African America's most deeply rooted anxieties, a new Beloved; they are a powerful, political, and legally potent force for the reversion of civil rights. According to Robert L. Carter, U.S. District Court judge and civil rights advocate, the 1980s marked the most drastic adjustment in America's approach toward race relations since *Brown v. Board of Education* in the 1950s.[63] But contrary to *Brown*, this alteration in attitude was to the detriment of the African American community. The steady thrum of progress that had sustained the Civil Rights movement through desegregation, bussing, and affirmative action was fading; both the federal court system and the American public seemed destined to revert to their pre-Civil Rights racial bias. The "overt manifestations" of racism were gone, but the sentiment remained, evidenced by the persistent *de facto* segregation of cities across the country and combined with a rise in hate crimes among adolescent Americans, racial tension punctuated the decade.[64] Of New York City in the late

1980s, Carter said, "I feel as vulnerable and exposed to physical danger because of the color of my skin as I felt in rural Mississippi…. or Georgia in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s."[65]

Even as it seemed Civil Rights would meet its end by being systematically dismantled from the bottom up, it was also on the verge of being picked apart from the top down. The conservative Reagan administration did not seem to believe that government intervention was the proper tool for the advancement of minority populations.[66] This mind-set limited the courts' role in maintaining the hard-won legal gains that four decades of Civil Rights activism produced, and because most African American scholars, lawyers, and judges considered further racial reform impossible by any means but "through law," they perceived this lack of government concern as a death-blow to racial equality.[67] This decade of renewed racial tension and languishing government support for civil rights is the climate that produced *Beloved*, and when Morrison's trinity of characters and the separate traces of slavery they each symbolize are viewed in light of 1980s politics, her message that "this is not a story to pass on" reverberates with sobering effects.

The heaviness of this statement is evidenced by Morrison's trinity and the way in which her characters' respective symbolic implications for African American identity, their types, remain the same in the 1980s despite years of litigation. As in the 1870s, Sethe is still a newly freed woman. She fights to forget hardships of growing up black in America, but having been raised within the humiliation of segregation, the bitter sting of *de jure* discrimination still haunts her daily life. She seals her mind in the present, and while thinking of the steady march toward racial equality, of the victories won, and of the new life she has made possible for her children, she keeps the past at a distance. Then a news story, some random act of racial violence, sends her falling, falling, falling back into the open, waiting arms of Jim Crow. The historical chapters pertaining to the fight for civil rights in the 1950s and 1960s remain integral parts of modern

African American identity, and while succeeding generations are effectively removed from them, as Denver was removed from slavery, they still exact presence in African American thought in the 1980s.

A 1980s Beloved, ever the specter of slavery, has taken on many new victims' voices since the 1870s, but she still signifies the breadth of the African American experience in this new trinity. She haunts 1980s African American consciousness as she did the women's house at 124 Bluestone Road: as a sad, ever-present companion with an inclination to make her presence known when she feels she's being forgotten. In the novel, Beloved materializes then Paul D. exorcises her as "crawling already?" baby ghost from 124 Bluestone Road, and it is when this new Beloved is evicted from the community's thought in the 1970s, when the Civil Rights movement finally yielded a "semblance of racial justice,"[68] that she manifests herself and becomes a problem by the 1980s for the contemporary equivalents of Sethe and Denver.

When the past comes back to destroy a contemporary Sethe and her hope for any further racial reform, Morrison's Trinitarian narrative becomes a warning. If 1980s African America follows Sethe's lead and her symbolic psychological meaning, if they give in to the weight of mounting public and courtroom pressure, if they fail to protect their advances at this crucial post-Civil Rights movement moment, then they will be forced to relinquish those rights and become slaves anew under retrograde politics. With civil rights deteriorating in front of their eyes, the new generation must, as Denver did in the novel, go out into the world and seek help. The young need to advocate, as their parents and grandparents did, for the rights they have now and look boldly into the past, regardless of its horrors, to appreciate how they got them. Finally, the only way to exorcise the past is to collect as a community and, in the verbal recognition of this blatant evil, force it back to the periphery of consciousness where it belongs. With her simple closing

phrase, "this is not a story to pass on," Morrison both encourages and cautions readers; she urges them to explore, but staunchly resist, the pull of the past. None of the dehumanizing chapters of the African American experience are aspects to "pass on" or ignore because they are too horrific to investigate, but historical terrors should never be allowed to "pass on," or become so psychologically ever-present that they exert power over present generations.

Morrison's skill in employing the Trinity allusion to illustrate the multifaceted anguish of a newly freed community in the wake of slavery's terrors amplifies not only the experience of African Americans in the 1870s, but the modern African American experience during the semi-recent setback to racial equality in the 1980s as well. African American identity, via her allusion to the Trinity, emerges as a complex and powerful combination of harsh recurring memories, a sorrowful distant past, and struggles to forget what ought to never truly be forgotten. Her allusion also intensifies the duality and import of *Beloved*'s closing message, in that all of these individual aspects, as coequal, coeternal, and copowerful, deserve study and understanding. But, as Morrison points out, a balance must exist among them for the continual success of the African American community.

Notes

1. Margret Garner, wife and mother of four, escaped from slavery with her family by fleeing to Southern Ohio in 1865. When the family's former owner arrived to reclaim his "property," Margret was unable to bear the thought of her children living their lives in bondage. Feeling death was preferable to a life enslaved, she murdered her young daughter with a butcher knife. She attempted to kill her remaining children as well, but did not succeed. Carmen Gillespie, *Critical Companion to Toni Morrison: A Literary Reference to Her Life and Work* (New York: Facts on File, 2008), 19.
2. Toni Morrison, *Beloved* (New York: Knopf, 2004), 315.
3. Ibid., 158.
4. Susan Corey, "Toward the Limits of Mystery: The Grotesque in Toni Morrison's *Beloved.*" In *The Aesthetics of Toni Morrison: Speaking the Unspeakable*, Marc C. Connor (Jackson: The University Press of Mississippi, 2000), 41.
5. Morrison, 171.
6. Ibid., 172.
7. Carolyn M. Jones, "*Sula* and *Beloved*: Images of Cain in the Novels of Toni Morrison." In *Understanding Toni Morrison's Beloved and Sula*, Solomon O. Iyasere and Marla W. Iyasere (Troy, New York: Whitston Publishing Company, 2000), 343.
8. Carolyn A. Mitchell, "I Love to Tell the Story: Biblical Revisions in *Beloved.*" In *Understanding Toni Morrison's Beloved and Sula*, Solomon O. Iyasere and Marla W. Iyasere (Troy, New York: Whitston Publishing Company, 2000), 173-87.
9. Ibid., 174.
10. Ibid., 176.
11. Nancy Berkowitz Bate, "Toni Morrison's *Beloved*: Psalm and Sacrament." In *Toni Morrison and the Bible: Contested Intertextualities*, Shirley A. Stave (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2006), 27.
12. Morrison, 103.
13. Emily Griesinger, "Why Baby Suggs, Holy, Quit Preaching the Word: Redemption and Holiness in Toni Morrison's Beloved," Christianity and Literature 50, no. 4 (2001).
14. Morrison, 104.
15. Bärbel Höttges, *Faith Matters: Religion, Ethnicity, and Survival in Louise Erdrich's and Toni Morrison's Fiction* (Heidelberg, Germany: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2007), 85.
16. Mitchell, 182.
17. Betty Jane Powell, "Will the Parts Hold?: The Journey Toward a Coherent Self in *Beloved.*" In *Understanding Toni Morrison's Beloved and Sula*, Solomon O. Iyasere and Marla W. Iyasere (Troy, New York: Whitston Publishing Company, 2000), 150-51.
18. Toni Morrison, *Sula* (New York: Random House, 1974), forward.
19. Antonio Monda, *Do You Believe?: Conversations on God and Religion* (New York: Vintage Books, 2007), 117-18.
20. Ibid.
21. United States Conference of Catholic Bishops. *Compendium: Catechism of the Catholic Church.* (Washington, D.C.: USCCB Publishing, 2006), 20.

22. Father Leonard Feeney, M.I.C.M.,"The Blessed Trinity Explained to Thomas Butler." *The Slaves of the Immaculate Heart of Mary:* par. 5, http://catholicism.org/feeney-trinity.html.

23. Yusef Komunyakaa, "Sorrow Songs and the Flying Away: Religious Influence on Black Poetry." *Cross Currents* 571, (June 2007), 281.

24. Though it has three distinct sections, *Beloved* is not divided into titled or numbered chapters. This "chapter" begins on page 248, near the end of section two.

25. Jeremiah A. Wright, "Words from the Pulpit: Faith in a Foreign Land." *Cross Currents* 57, no. 2 (2007): 238.

26. Morrison, *Beloved*, 248-51.

27. Therese E. Higgins, *Religosity, Cosmology, and Folklore: The African Influence in the Novels of Toni Morrison* (New York: Taylor & Francis Books, 2001), 35.

28. Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, "Africa's Women have Led in the Past, and Will Lead in the Future." *New African* 500 (Nov. 2010): 78.

29. Morrison, *Beloved*, 188.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid., 110.

32. Ibid., 234.

33. Ibid., 175.

34. Berkowitz Bate, 54.

35. Morrison, 237.

36. The Nicene Creed, a profession of faith for Catholic Christians, states: "I believe in the Holy Spirit, the Lord the Giver of Life, Who *proceeds* from the Father and the Son. With the Father and the Son He is worshiped and glorified."

37. USCCB, *Catechism*, 20.

38. Kevin Knight, ed. *The Summa Theologica of St. Thomas Aquinas*. 2008. Question 36, http://www.newadvent.org/summa/1036.htm.

39. Morrison, *Beloved*, 20.

40. Ibid., 69, 147, 144.

41. Ibid., 89.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid., 93-94.

44. Ibid.

45. Ibid., 12.

46. Ibid., 13.

47. Ibid., 54.

48. USCCB, *Catechism*, 42-3.

49. Morrison, 76, 71.

50. Ibid., 280.

51. Therese E. Higgins, 34.

52. Morrison, 243-47.

53. Ibid., 276.

54. Ibid., 279-80.

55. Betty Jane Powell, 151.

Bibliography

Bell, Derrick. "Remembrances of Racism Past: Getting Beyond the Civil Rights Decline." In *Race in America: The Struggle for Equality*, Herbert Hill and James E. Jones, 73-82. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1993.

Berkowitz Bate, Nancy. "Toni Morrison's *Beloved*: Psalm and Sacrament." In *Toni Morrison and the Bible: Contested Intertextualities*, Shirley A. Stave, 26-63. New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2006.

Carter, Robert L. "Thirty-Five Years Later: New Perspectives on Brown." In *Race in America: The Struggle for Equality*, Herbert Hill and James E. Jones, 83-94. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1993.

Corey, Susan. "Toward the Limits of Mystery: The Grotesque in Toni Morrison's *Beloved.*" In *The Aesthetics of Toni Morrison: Speaking the* Unspeakable, Marc C. Connor, 31-48. Jackson: The University Press of Mississippi, 2000.

Feeney, Fr. Leonard. "The Blessed Trinity Explained to Thomas Butler." The Slaves of the Immaculate Heart of Mary. http://catholicism.org/feeney-trinity.html.

Gillespie, Carmen. *Critical Companion to Toni Morrison: A Literary Reference to Her Life and Work.* New York, Facts on File Inc., 2008.

Griesinger, Emily. "Why Baby Suggs, Holy, Quit Preaching the Word: Redemption and Holiness in Toni Morrison's Beloved." *Christianity and Literature* 50, no. 4 (2001): 689-702.

Higgins, Therese E. *Religosity, Cosmology, and Folklore: The African Influence in the Novels of Toni Morrison*. New York: Taylor & Francis Books Inc., 2001.

Höttges, Bärbel. *Faith Matters: Religion, Ethnicity, and Survival in Louise Erdrich's and Toni Morrison's Fiction*. Heidelberg, Germany: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2007.

Johnson-Sirleaf, Ellen. "Africa's Women have Led in the Past, and Will Lead in the Future." *New African* 500 (Nov. 2010): 78-79.

Jones, Carolyn M. "*Sula* and *Beloved*: Images of Cain in the Novels of Toni Morrison." In *Understanding Toni Morrison's Beloved and Sula*, Solomon O. Iyasere and Marla W. Iyasere, 338-55. Troy, New York: Whitston Publishing Company, 2000.

Knight, Kevin, ed. *The Summa Theologica of St. Thomas Aquinas*. 2008. http://www.newadvent.org/summa/1036.htm.

Komunyakaa, Yusef. "Sorrow Songs and the Flying Away: Religious Influence on Black Poetry." *Cross Currents* 571 (June 2007): 281-89.

Mitchell, Carolyn A. "I Love to Tell the Story: Biblical Revisions in *Beloved*." In *Understanding Toni Morrison's Beloved and Sula*, Solomon O. Iyasere and Marla W. Iyasere, 173-89. Troy, New York: Whitston Publishing Company, 2000.

Monda, Antonio. *Do You Believe: Conversations on God and Religion*. New York: Vintage Books, 2007.

Morrison, Toni. *Beloved*. New York: Alfred P. Knopf, 2004.

--- *Sula*. New York: Random House, 1974.

Powell, Betty Jane. "Will the Parts Hold?: The Journey Toward a Coherent Self in *Beloved*." In *Understanding Toni Morrison's Beloved and Sula*, Solomon O. Iyasere and Marla W. Iyasere, 143-153. Troy, New York: Whitston Publishing Company, 2000.

United States Conference of Catholic Bishops. *Compendium: Catechism of the Catholic Church*. Washington, D.C.: USCCB Publishing, 2006.

Wright, Jeremiah A. "Words from the Pulpit: Faith in a Foreign Land." *Cross Currents* 57.2 (2007): 237-51.

Communication Accommodation in Mixed Gender Dyads

Rebecca Stupka, author
Dr. Erin Winterrowd, Psychology, faculty adviser

Rebecca Stupka graduated cum laude from UW Oshkosh in May 2011, receiving a B.S. in psychology with a minor in philosophy. This research was done in partial fulfillment of the University Honors Program requirements. In the future, Rebecca plans to attend graduate school for school psychology.

Dr. Erin Winterrowd is an assistant professor in the Department of Psychology. She received her Ph.D. from Colorado State University and began teaching at UW Oshkosh in 2010. Her research interests center around the psychology of gender and psychology of women with particular emphasis on gendered meanings in suicidality and experiences of underrepresented groups in STEM (science, technology, engineering, and math) fields.

Abstract

Men and women speak differently. That is, there are observable patterns of gender differences in communication. To reconcile differences and facilitate communication it is necessary to use accommodation, the process of adjusting patterns toward or away from a conversational partner. Past research on accommodation has been limited to laboratory settings, in which conversational topics are assigned or suggested and participants are put in an unfamiliar situation with unfamiliar conversational partners. This study extends research on gender accommodation by using unobtrusive observation of male-female dyads in conversation within the public domain. Consistent with the literature, I hypothesized that women would exhibit more convergent accommodation behaviors than men overall; that in conversations in which the topic is stereotypically feminine, men would exhibit more convergent accommodation behaviors than women; and that in high-stress conversations both partners would exhibit divergent accommodation behaviors. Results indicate strong support for the first hypothesis, but do not show support for the second and third hypotheses. Furthermore, the results indicate some

deviation from past laboratory research within the factors affecting accommodation and in stereotypical conversational indicators in use during this study.

Introduction

What is the difference between responding to an interruption by saying, "I'm not finished yet" and "Can I finish"? That difference in fact is quite valuable from a research perspective. The phrase "I'm not finished yet" is more likely uttered by a man; it shows concern with independence, it is direct, and it is goal-oriented. On the other hand, the phrase "Can I finish" is more likely uttered by a woman; it shows concern with interdependence (social approval), it is indirect, and it is emotion-oriented. Though these responses are similar, they represent some of the small fundamental differences in communication patterns moderated by gender differences. In a world in which men and women are constantly interacting socially and professionally, it is important to consider how they communicate with one another. As a psychology student this area of study is particularly interesting to me. It seems obvious that men and women converse differently, which represents an important area of investigation for researchers. Research that examines speech differences attempts to define speech in terms the other gender might understand in order to better facilitate relationships between men and women. From my understanding gender is defined as a social construction. Gendered language, for the purposes of this study, would therefore be explained as learned behaviors supported by society's conceptions of gender. The effectiveness of communication between men and women is influenced by the gendered patterns of speech they follow. The research done on these gendered patterns is often difficult because gender differences tend to disappear in mixed gender dyads (male-female pairs). This issue can be addressed via research on the process of accommodation, which may be the cause of the decrease in gender differences.

Accommodation

According to Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT), accommodation is the process by which people, regardless of gender, adjust their patterns of communication to accomplish social goals.[1] CAT suggests that people accommodate in a convergent manner (or toward one another) when they are concerned with social approval and in a divergent manner (or away from one another) when they are concerned with boundaries.[2] Convergent accommodation may be as simple as adopting the accent of a conversational partner, while divergent accommodation could be enunciating speech to avoid that conversational partner's accent. Furthermore, CAT describes accommodation in terms of symmetry in addition to direction; partners may accommodate equally or, as in most cases, unequally.[3] A 2002 study of 42 men and 42 women in a laboratory setting found that women tended to accommodate more than men, and that generally people accommodated more to male speech than to female speech. The study further suggested that women were more attentive and sensitive to accommodation than men; it also showed that, when listening to speech, women noticed and reacted to accommodation patterns more than men.[4] However, this study lacked conversational reality, as it was done via repeating individual words from a list. In addition, a 2005 study found that women were more likely to accommodate to men phonologically, or in terms of vocal sounds (e.g., pitch). This study also indicated that Northern women may be more advanced in the Northern Cities Chain Shift (or a shift of vowel sounds originating in Northern Cities) due to accommodation, which accounts for a slight difference in the speech of women and men from the same region.[5] Another accommodation variation to consider may be the phenomenon of "mutual hyperconvergence," which is a form of overaccomodation, or convergence on the part of both male and female conversational partners.[6]

Factors Affecting Accommodation

Much of the research on accommodation additionally cites several factors that could affect accommodation processes between genders. The setting of the conversation is an important factor that could affect accommodation. As stated above, much of the past research has been conducted in a laboratory. Studying conversations in more natural settings could result in different patterns of accommodation. Aside from setting, other factors identified in past research as influencing communication between men and women include: status (a lower status individual will accommodate more to a higher status individual); security in the individual's societal role; relationship with the conversational partner (shorter relationships exhibit higher gender differences); and perceptions of the self, partner, and the situation.[7] Most research dealing with status indicates that women accommodate more than men in conversation because they are perceived as having a lower status.[8] Specific factors studied in this research are listed in table 1. A 2003 study with children addressed the issue of perception in conversation. This study supported the idea that accommodation behavior in boys was mediated by their strong beliefs about gender roles. Specifically, boys with strong beliefs about gender roles tended to accommodate less.[9] Research done suggested that the gender of a conversant influences the conversation more than the gender of the conversational partner; one's own gender perceptions more strongly influence what one is hearing, thereby influencing their response.[10] Furthermore, research on gender salience has suggested that stronger salience of one's own gender influences use of stereotypical masculine and feminine language characteristics as the situation or setting allows it.[11] In a 1988 study on conversational accommodation and male dominance roles, conversational patterns were observed via interruption rates. The study showed that women converged more than men in general (interrupted less and allowed interruption more), but

accommodation varied over different factors such as utterance length, short and long pauses, back-channels (verbal or nonverbal communication facilitators used by the listener), and laughter.[12] Another factor of accommodation includes regional dialect (or accent), which may even differ between genders of similar regions as described by Clopper and colleagues (2005).[13] To better understand the process of accommodation, one must examine the gendered patterns males and females tend to follow.

Masculine and Feminine Language

The gendered patterns of speech can be examined via features of language identified as either masculine or feminine. Features of language identified as feminine include intensive adverbs (e.g., *all*, *some*, *very*, etc.), emotion words, questions, hedges, longer sentences, minimal responses (e.g., *uh-huh*, *hmmm*, etc.), and qualifiers, while features of language identified as masculine include self-reference, directive or imperative statements, terms of quantity (e.g., *one*, *a dozen*, etc.), and judgment adjectives (e.g., *weird*, *unpleasant*, etc.).[14] In terms of self-reference, experiments show that men not only use the pronoun 'I' more frequently but with shorter speech intervals between uses.[15] Masculine language is often described as direct, succinct, and instrumental, while feminine language is described as indirect, elaborative, and affective.[16] Women are also identified as having clearer speech and larger shifts in pitch within their speech.[17] Furthermore, men are said to use conversation as a means to negotiate or achieve, using "task-oriented language," while women are said to use conversation as a means to intimacy, using "emotion-oriented language." [18] In a 2008 study that utilized text samples and transcripts of conversations (though the gender of partners were not given) it was discovered that women used more psychological and social processes in language while men used more object properties and impersonal language.[19] These general descriptions place a firm divide between

masculine and feminine communication, which makes one wonder how members of the opposite gender could tolerate speaking to one another. However, we know that women and men do manage to communicate somehow and sometimes very well. The question is: how do they do this? The answer appears to be accommodation. Further study of this process is necessary to better understand it.

Hypotheses

Based on past research, the following hypotheses were formed.[20] These hypotheses focus on how accommodation processes perform in male-female conversational pairs as a function of gender. The first hypothesis was intended to address, and possibly confirm, the conclusions of past research regarding general accommodation. The second and third hypotheses were intended to address specific factors affecting accommodation. The second hypothesis proposed in response to suggestions that conversations between male-male and female-female partners can in part be identified due to topic of conversation. A feminine topic could indicate that the female was the dominant conversational partner and may suggest convergent accommodation by the male partner. The third hypothesis tests the mood of conversation. The experience of emotional discomfort or stress may cause participants to become more entrenched in their opinions and thus more entrenched in their own gendered patterns of speech.

> H1. Women will exhibit more convergent accommodation behaviors and men will exhibit minimal accommodation.
>
> H2. In conversations with stereotypically feminine conversation topics (relationships, emotions, and feminine strengths), men will exhibit some convergent accommodation behaviors.

H3. In high-stress conversations, both partners will exhibit divergent accommodation

behaviors.

Method

An important factor of this research is the method of data collection. The majority of the

research completed on conversational accommodation has taken place in a lab setting in which

the participants are unknown to each other, in a foreign situation, and/or in a situation in which

conversational topics are assigned or suggested by the researcher.[21] The use of naturalistic

observation is the key to offsetting the limitations of laboratory research. By studying

accommodation patterns in a natural setting one can improve ecological validity, or

generalizability to the real world. This study is a qualitative, or descriptive, research study.

Unobtrusive observation techniques were used to collect data via observing participants without

their knowledge and without interfering in the natural course of events.

Participants

This study consisted of a sample, chosen via convenience (no participant recruitment), of

26 participants (13 dyads), in which 13 participants were perceived as male and 13 participants

were perceived as female. The participants were selected based on the factors of proximity,

volume, and talkativeness (quantity of speech); participants who were not close enough to hear,

not loud enough to hear, and not communicative enough to warrant recording were not observed.

No demographic information was verified by the participants themselves (a limitation of

naturalistic observation) and is merely based on the researcher's observations. Participants were

not aware of their participation in the study. Participants perceived ages varied between 18 and

65 years ($M = 28.0$). Based on their conversations and nonverbal cues, couples were described as

having the relationship of friends ($N = 7$), dating ($N = 4$), or married ($N = 2$).

Procedure

After the Institutional Review Board approval was received on February 17, 2011, this study was executed as follows. Using the record sheet designed based on previous research, observations were recorded via pen and paper to allow the research to be done in as inconspicuous a method as possible. Recording of participants was completed using a self-designed record sheet based on information from past research and addressed: age, relationship, conversational mood, topics of conversation, location of conversation, time and length of conversation, incidence of feminine and masculine conversational indicators, and illustrative statements. The operational definitions of the recorded characteristics can be found in tables 1 and 2. Because the characteristics of masculine and feminine language were chosen based on past research they may unintentionally be promoting past stereotypes. While this method may be sufficient for the purposes of this study, a reevaluation of stereotypical language characteristics is recommended for future research. The word *perceived* was used in the record sheet in an attempt to show that none of the information was verified by the participants themselves (a limitation of naturalistic observation) and was merely an interpretation by the researcher.

Locations were restricted to Oshkosh, Wisconsin, and De Pere, Wisconsin (cities in northeastern Wisconsin approximately 60 miles apart and both with high college student populations). Research was done in a variety of public locations categorized as dining ($n = 6$), sporting event ($n = 2$), or coffeehouse ($n = 5$) as described in table 1. Specific locations were chosen based on the likelihood that male-female dyads would congregate.

Results

Accommodation was calculated using the incidence of the conversational indicators. Individual accommodation was determined via the adherence (divergent accommodation) to or

deviation (convergent accommodation) from gender stereotypical indicators. The incidence of an equal amount of masculine and feminine indicators (or slightly gender-adherent use of indicators) showed a lack of accommodation behaviors. Total accommodation was examined via a comparison of the total speech behaviors of the conversational partners in each conversation. The incidence of accommodation is shown in table 4.

Recorded conversations were mostly taken from a dining or coffeehouse location (84.6%) and recorded during the morning (38.5%) or afternoon (53.8%). It appeared that conversations that occurred in a more home-like atmosphere (e.g., university dining hall) were more relaxed and open. The time of day appeared to have no direct influence on accommodation processes. Length of conversation did not influence differences in conversational behavior.

The age of individual participants influenced the data in two distinct ways. In general, as age increased there was more adherence to gender stereotypes in the use of conversational indicators. In addition, a difference of age between partners in the same conversation accounted for more incidences of major accommodation when female partners were more youthful than their male counterparts. However, the small number of couples with this age difference might contest the significance of this result.

In general friendship couples showed less accommodation than dating couples; unfortunately the small number of married couples yielded no reliable conclusions from these results (see table 3). Results from this study (also shown in table 3) reveal that the majority of conversations were of a relaxed mood and had neutral topics (equal distribution of specific and variable conversations).

Conversational indicators (both feminine and masculine) were recorded for both the male and female participant; quantities of these indicators were compared in table 3.

As can be seen in table 3, male participants did not deviate from the conversational norms suggested by past research (i.e., men did not use more feminine language than women). Also of interest is the high incidence of questions used by both male and female participants. As seen in table 3, however, female participants deviate from the conversational norms suggested by past research in the use of masculine language. Women in this study made more interruptions than men; moreover, it appeared that younger women made notably more interruptions than older women. In addition the use of self-reference by both men and women was similar.

Hypothesis 1

Women will exhibit more convergent accommodation behaviors and men will exhibit minimal accommodation.

Results showed strong support for the first hypothesis. According to the results listed in table 4, convergent accommodation attributed to the female partner in conversation occurred in 9 of the 13 couples studied. In addition, equal convergence occurred in 2 of the 13 couples, which is convergent behavior by women, although this finding does not indicate minimal accommodation by men because their behavior is equally convergent. Only 1 of the 13 couples contradicted this hypothesis, in which the man exhibited convergent accommodation.

Hypothesis 2

In conversations with stereotypically feminine conversation topics (relationships, emotions, and feminine strengths), men will exhibit some convergent accommodation behaviors.

Results showed little support for the second hypothesis. Only 1 of the 13 couples used feminine conversational topics. In this conversation the woman exhibited minor convergent accommodation. In addition, in the 4 of 13 couples that used masculine conversational topics women also exhibited minor convergent accommodation. As shown by the results, the majority

of conversations used neutral conversational topics (table 3). Lack of relevant conversations, due to the small sample overall, prevented any meaningful conclusions in this case.

Hypothesis 3

In high-stress conversations, both partners will exhibit divergent accommodation behaviors.

Results, or lack thereof, made the evaluation of the third hypothesis impossible (no valuable conclusions could be reached). Only 1 of the 13 couples exhibited an intense emotional mood (or high-stress conversation). In direct contrast to hypothesis 3, the woman exhibited major convergent accommodation in this conversation. Again, lack of relevant conversations, due to the small sample overall, prevented any meaningful conclusions in this case.

Discussion

Accommodation

Consistent with past research, women accommodated convergently toward male partners in the majority of situations within this study. This confirms much of the past laboratory research within the natural setting.[22] In this study, men most often exhibited zero accommodation, while women exhibited minor convergence in most situations. As suggested by past research, this result may be caused by women's lower societal status (women, in general, are still considered to be socially inferior to men); a natural desire in women to facilitate communication;[23] or the fact that women are more attentive and thus more reactive toward accommodation patterns.[24]

Factors Affecting Accommodation

The factors examined in this study included location, length and time of conversation, age, relationship between partners, conversational mood, and topic as listed in tables 3 and 5. While location did not immediately appear to influence accommodation behaviors, it did seem to influence conversational behavior in general. Within the more home-like setting of a university

dining hall, participants seemed more likely to communicate openly. This phenomena would likely account for the single intense mood conversation occurring in such a setting.

Age was used in this study to examine two factors. First, age could be considered as a means of measuring status. Unfortunately, there were no pairs in which a male participant was younger than his female counterpart. However, in the two pairs in which a female participant was younger than her male counterpart, the woman was shown to exhibit convergent accommodation behaviors. This appears to be consistent with research suggesting that status influences accommodation behaviors.[25] Second, age can be examined from a more general perspective in terms of differences between different age groups. Past research has suggested that sex-role definitions and social order influence gender differences in conversations.[26] Overall, it appeared that as age increased, adherence to gender stereotypes in language use increased. This could be attributed to a change in social expectations; women are no longer expected to be as submissive to male partners as they once were.[27] In a recent study using Internet blogs, gender differences in language use had significantly decreased.[28] It has been suggested that women are more likely to be encouraged to use certain facets of stereotypically masculine language, specifically self-reference and interruptions. Research by Hannah et. al. (1999) suggested that women are more concerned with social approval and effective communication than adhering to social norms.[29] This causes uncertainty about categorizing these features of language as masculine or feminine. On the other hand, it appears men may be encouraged to use stereotypically feminine language to a lesser extent than women are encouraged to use stereotypically masculine language. However, it has been noted that emotion-oriented language and task-oriented language usage by men and women may be a manner of preference rather than a socialized process.[30] Research has found that women use emotion-oriented language because it

is more useful to achieve their social goals, whereas for men, task-oriented language is more useful to achieve their social goals.[31]

As far as the relationship between partners, it seemed evident that more accommodation occurred between partners with stronger relationships. In comparing relationships between friends and dating couples, dating couples showed more accommodation than friendship pairs. As stated earlier, there were not enough married couples in this sample to make a significant comparison. It could be expected that more accommodation occurs in married couples because the success of a conversation is more important in longer relationships. Misunderstandings could potentially damage the relationship in which both partners have invested time and effort. This gives incentive to use accommodation to modify conversational behaviors.

Mood and topic were the final two factors of accommodation studied here. In addressing the question of mood, the one conversation in which there was an intense mood showed major accommodation by the aggrieved partner (in this case a woman). This suggests that the threatened or angry partner may accommodate more, perhaps in an attempt to create understanding in the other partner. This is in line with research done by Hannah et. al. (1999) that suggests style of speech (facilitative, willing to communicate, or nonfacilitative, unwilling to communicate) is a better predictor of accommodation behavior than gender alone.[32] Unfortunately, there was only one conversation in which this could be examined.

However, the topics of conversation offered an interesting result. In either the stereotypically masculine topics or stereotypically feminine topics, women exhibited minor accommodation. It appears, based on these results, that topics of conversation have little influence over accommodation behaviors, contrary to the suggestions of past research.[33] This finding could be attributed to differing operational definitions of masculine and feminine topics

or the small sample size. However, this finding may also indicate a failure of laboratory research to successfully recreate natural conversation topics (and natural settings) resulting in unintentional bias in past research.

Masculine and Feminine Language

In the realm of feminine language, participants in this study adhered to gender stereotypes. Within the area of emotion-oriented language, a 2008 study suggested that men and women may differ in the type and use of emotion rather than in the frequency alone. Men were found to use more negative emotions, whereas women were found to use more positive emotions.[34] In research done on Internet blogs, it was shown that men used more emotion references or emoticons in mixed-gender newsgroups, showing evidence of accommodation.[35] In the current study, however, men appeared to use significantly less emotion-oriented language; the specific use of this language was indeterminable based on the descriptive results. Because hedges and qualifiers were so similar in their definitions, they were combined in the analysis of the results. Qualifiers were more likely single words, which were more difficult to parse from conversations. This factor may account for the small number of hedges and qualifiers. Finally, questions accounted for the largest number of feminine conversational indicators for both male and female participants. In retrospect, questions may be divided into types more likely to be used by either men or women. It appears that men's questions are used in order to gain specific information, consistent with literature suggesting that men are more task-oriented.[36] On the other hand, women appear to use questions to facilitate conversation in general. These questions are often defined as "tag questions" (e.g., *isn't it?*, *don't you?*, *really?*, etc.) and are thought to express uncertainty and are used as a means of being polite.[37] This is consistent with research

stating that women are more concerned about producing intimacy and gaining social approval in conversation.[38]

As far as masculine language, participants did not completely adhere to gender stereotypes. In the area of task-oriented language, there was strict adherence; thus, this appeared to be the top indictor for masculine language. This finding corresponds with past research on the topic.[39] However, this study found that women used interruptions more than men. This is contrary to previous findings by Helgeson (2009) that may suggest a shift in social or conversational norms.[40] In addition, the use of self-reference is shown as similar in both male and female participants. Again, this may suggest a shift in social or conversational norms and a necessity for future research to re-evaluate stereotypical conversational patterns. Finally, within direct or imperative statements there may be a great deal of overlap into task-oriented language. A command that directs the conversational partner toward a specific goal would fall into both categories (e.g., "Give me your fork, I want to taste your dessert"). Thus, the difference in quantity of usage in direct or imperative statements between male and female participants is similar to the difference in quantity of usage in task-oriented language.

Overall, the conversational indicators examined suggested masculine indicators were used more frequently than feminine indicators. This may be attributed in part to changing conversational norms, but is more likely attributed to the high rate of female accommodation.

Conclusion

In conclusion, women, in general, exhibit more convergent accommodation behaviors in relation to male conversational counterparts. However, topic of conversation did not seem to affect accommodation behaviors and conversational mood affected accommodation behavior in direct contrast to expectation. Overall, men and women appeared to adhere to gender stereotypes,

with the minor exception in the area of self-reference. Furthermore, as age of partners increased, adherence to stereotypes appeared to increase as well. In a comparison of the relationships between partners, friends appeared to accommodate less than dating couples; unfortunately, the number of married couples was too small to draw any meaningful conclusions. In a comparison of couples (two couples in which the man appeared slightly older than the woman) with differing ages, again, the sample may be too small to draw any meaningful conclusions, but may indicate greater accommodation by the younger partner (in this case both women). In addition, conversational setting appeared to influence conversational behavior rather than directly affecting accommodation behaviors; more home-like or relaxed settings resulted in more relaxed and honest conversations. Length and time of conversation had more influence on the collection of data than on the object of study itself.

Limitations

The limitations of this study are mainly focused in the method of data collection. Because of the sheer number of points of interest being recorded (in order to gain a better picture of the conversation as a whole) and method of collection (pen and paper) human error is likely. Information may have been misheard, misrecorded, or miscoded. In the future this could be avoided via use of a recording device and subsequent coding. In addition, the small sample size limits generalizability of this study. Furthermore, the sample came from two college communities in a small area of northeast Wisconsin, further limiting generalizability of this study. Larger and more varied samples would avoid these limitations.

This study was further limited by the use of category labels used in prior research. While these labels may be sufficient to describe masculine and feminine behavior in this case, they are

severely lacking in accuracy. The description of masculine and feminine language must be reevaluated to avoid further promotion of inaccurate stereotypes in research.

Implications for Future Research

This study has implications for future research. Research of this kind (naturalistic observation) is necessary to confirm or disconfirm laboratory results in experiments of a similar nature as well as to confirm results of the current study. A focus on nonverbal as well as verbal indicators in conversation may be valuable for future research. Laboratory research, specifically, may want to increase focus on many of the items this research has brought to light (e.g., topics of conversation, relationships, and changing social norms). Research of this kind may attempt to include a variety of relationships between partners (friends, dating, married); use specific task-oriented or emotion-oriented goals to direct conversations in a masculine or feminine manner; and/or enhance feelings of animosity or attraction prior to conversations in order to artificially create high- and low-stress conversations. In addition it is important for future research to consider the accuracy of masculine and feminine characteristics of language as currently described. It could be more valuable to consider the circumstances and type of person likely to use these features of language rather than depend on gender as the sole organizing characteristic.

Overall, a more intense and thorough study of accommodation processes and influencing factors is necessary to reach definitive results. It remains a point of interest to study the way men and women communicate. Further research may offer greater understanding and thus lead to enhanced communication between members of the opposite gender. The subtle differences between "I'm not finished" and "Can I finish" offer an important insight into these communicative differences and the fundamental differences between men and women.

Notes

1. Namy, Nygaard, & Sauerteig, "Gender Differences in Vocal Accommodation: The Role of Perception."
2. Robertson & Murachver, "Children's Speech Accommodation to Gendered Language Styles."
3. Bilous & Krauss, "Dominance and Accommodation in the Conversational Behaviours of Same- and Mixed-Gender Dyads."
4. Namy, Nygaard, & Sauerteig, "Gender Differences in Vocal Accommodation: The Role of Perception."
5. Clopper, Conrey, & Pisoni, "Effects of Talker Gender on Dialect Categorization."
6. Bilous & Krauss, "Dominance and Accommodation in the Conversational Behaviours of Same- and Mixed-Gender Dyads."
7. Galliano, *Gender: Crossing Boundaries.*
8. Ibid.
9. Robertson & Murachver, "Children's Speech Accommodation to Gendered Language Styles."
10. Hannah & Murachver, "Gender and Conversational Style as Predictors of Conversational Behavior."
11. Palomares, "Explaining Gender-Based Language Use: Effects of Gender Identity Salience on References to Emotion and Tentative Language in Intra- and Intergroup Context."
12. Bilous & Krauss, "Dominance and Accommodation in the Conversational Behaviours of Same- and Mixed-Gender Dyads."
13. Clopper, Conrey, & Pisoni, "Effects of Talker Gender on Dialect Categorization."
14. Helgeson, *Psychology of Gender*.
15. Cohen, "Gender Differences in Speech Temporal Patterns Detected Using Lagged Co-occurrence Text-analysis of Personal Narratives."
16. Helgeson, *Psychology of Gender*.
17. Clopper, Conrey, & Pisoni, "Effects of Talker Gender on Dialect Categorization."
18. Galliano, *Gender: Crossing Boundaries.*
19. Newman, Groom, Handelman, Pennebaker, "Gender Differences in Language Use: An Analysis of 14,000 Text Samples."
20. Galliano, *Gender: Crossing Boundaries*; Helgeson, *Psychology of Gender*; Nygaard, & Sauerteig, "Gender Differences in Vocal Accommodation: The Role of Perception"; & Palomares, "Explaining Gender-Based Language Use: Effects of Gender Identity Salience on References to Emotion and Tentative Language in Intra- and Intergroup Context."
21. Bilous & Krauss, "Dominance and Accommodation in the Conversational Behaviours of Same- and Mixed-Gender Dyads"; Clopper, Conrey, & Pisoni, "Effects of Talker Gender on Dialect Categorization"; Cohen, "Gender Differences in Speech Temporal Patterns Detected Using Lagged Co-occurrence Text-analysis of Personal Narratives"; Hannah & Murachver, "Gender and Conversational Style as Predictors of Conversational Behavior"; Huffaker & Calvert, "Gender, Identity, and Language Use in Teenage Blogs"; Namy, Nygaard, & Sauerteig, "Gender Differences in Vocal Accommodation: The Role of Perception"; Newman, Groom, Handelman, Pennebaker, "Gender Differences in Language Use: An Analysis of 14,000 Text Samples"; Palomares, "Explaining Gender-Based Language Use: Effects of Gender Identity Salience on References to Emotion and Tentative Language in

Intra- and Intergroup Context"; & Robertson & Murachver, "Children's Speech Accommodation to Gendered Language Styles."

22. Bilous & Krauss, "Dominance and Accommodation in the Conversational Behaviours of Same- and Mixed-Gender Dyads"; Galliano, *Gender: Crossing Boundaries*; & Namy, Nygaard, & Sauerteig, "Gender Differences in Vocal Accommodation: The Role of Perception."

23. Galliano, *Gender: Crossing Boundaries*.

24. Namy, Nygaard, & Sauerteig, "Gender Differences in Vocal Accommodation: The Role of Perception."

25. Galliano, *Gender: Crossing Boundaries*.

26. Hannah & Murachver, "Gender and Conversational Style as Predictors of Conversational Behavior."

27. Ibid.

28. Huffaker & Calvert, "Gender, Identity, and Language Use in Teenage Blogs."

29. Hannah & Murachver, "Gender and Conversational Style as Predictors of Conversational Behavior."

30. Deborah Tannen, *You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation*.

31. Galliano, *Gender: Crossing Boundaries*; Palomares, "Explaining Gender-Based Language Use: Effects of Gender Identity Salience on References to Emotion and Tentative Language in Intra- and Intergroup Context"; & Deborah Tannen, *You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation*.

32. Hannah & Murachver, "Gender and Conversational Style as Predictors of Conversational Behavior."

33. Galliano, *Gender: Crossing Boundaries*.

34. Newman, Groom, Handelman, Pennebaker, "Gender Differences in Language Use: An Analysis of 14,000 Text Samples."

35. Huffaker & Calvert, "Gender, Identity, and Language Use in Teenage Blogs."

36. Helgeson, *Psychology of Gender*. & Deborah Tannen, *You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation*.

37. Hannah & Murachver, "Gender and Conversational Style as Predictors of Conversational Behavior."

38. Helgeson, *Psychology of Gender*; Robertson & Murachver, "Children's Speech Accommodation to Gendered Language Styles"; & Deborah Tannen, *You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation*.

39. Galliano, *Gender: Crossing Boundaries*; Helgeson, *Psychology of Gender*; & Deborah Tannen, *You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation*.

40. Helgeson, *Psychology of Gender*.

Bibliography

Bilous, Frances R., and Robert M. Krauss. "Dominance and Accommodation in the
  Conversational Behaviours of Same- and Mixed-Gender Dyads." *Language &
  Communication* 8 (1988): 183-94.

Clopper, Cynthia G., Brianna Conrey, and David B. Pisoni. "Effects of Talker Gender on Dialect
  Categorization." *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 24 (2005): 182-206.
  Accessed November 15, 2010 SAGE, JLS*Sagepub*. doi: 10.1177/0261927x05275741

Cohen, Shuki J. "Gender Differences in Speech Temporal Patterns Detected Using Lagged Co-
  occurrence Text-analysis of Personal Narratives." *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research*
  38, no. 2 (2009): 111-27. Accessed January 21, 2011 *PsycINFO*, EBSCO*host*. doi:
  10.1007/x10936-008-9088-9

Galliano, Grace. "Gender as Social Performance." In *Gender: Crossing Boundaries*, 147-53.
  Kentucky: Wadsworth Publishing, 2002.

Hannah, Annette, and Tamar Murachver. "Gender and Conversational Style as Predictors of
  Conversational Behavior." *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 18 (1999): 153-
  74. Accessed November 9, 2010 SAGE, JLS*Sagepub*. doi:
  10.1177/0261927x99018002002

Helgeson, Vicki S. "Communication." In *Psychology of Gender*, 3rd ed., 235-83. New Jersey:
  Prentice Hall, 2009.

Huffaker, David A., and Sandra L. Calvert. "Gender, Identity, and Language Use in Teenage
  Blogs." *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 10 (2005): 1. Retrieved from
  http://jcmc.indiana.edu/vol10/issue2/huffaker.html.

Lips, Hilary. "Social Interaction Process Theories." In *Sex and Gender*, 6th ed., 94-8. New York:
  McGraw-Hill, 2007.

Namy, Laura L., Lynne C. Nygaard, and Denise Sauerteig. "Gender Differences in Vocal

 Accommodation: The Role of Perception." *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*

 21 (2002): 422-32. Accessed November 5, 2010. SAGE, JLS*Sagepub*. doi:

 10.1177/026192702237958

Newman, Matthew L., Carla J. Groom, Lori D. Handelman, and James W. Pennebaker. "Gender

 Differences in Language Use: An Analysis of 14,000 Text Samples." *Discourse*

 Processes 45 (2008): 211-36. Accessed January 21, 2011. *PsycINFO*, EBSCO*host*. doi:

 10.1080/01638530802073712

Palomares, Nicholas A. "Explaining Gender-Based Language Use: Effects of Gender Identity

 Salience on References to Emotion and Tentative Language in Intra- and Intergroup

 Contexts." *Human Communication Research* 34, no. 2 (2008): 263-86. Accessed January

 21, 2011. *PsycINFO*, EBSCO*host*. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2958.2008.00321.x

Rickabaugh, Cheryl A. "Chapter 4: Gender and Language." In *Sex and Gender Student Projects*

 and Exercises, 4th ed., 69-96. New York: McGraw-Hill Companies, 1997.

Robertson, Kirsten, and Tamar Murachver. "Children's Speech Accommodation to Gendered

 Language Styles." *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 22 (2003): 321-33.

 Accessed November 10, 2010. SAGE, JLS*Sagepub*. doi: 10.1177/0261927x03255304

Tannen, Deborah. *You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation*. New York:

 William Morrow and Company, 1990.

Appendix

Table 1. Conversational variable codes

Item	Code Type	Definition
Conversational Mood	Intense	Conversations in which either one or both participants are exhibiting outward signs of emotional discomfort.
	Relaxed	Conversations in which neither participant is exhibiting outward signs of emotional discomfort or excitement elicited by the topic.
	Focused	Conversations in which either one or both participants are exhibiting outward signs of emotional excitement as elicited by the topic of conversation.
Topic of Conversation	Neutral	Topics that are neither stereotypically masculine nor stereotypically feminine. Additionally an equal distribution of stereotypically feminine and masculine topics throughout the conversation.
	Masculine	Topics that are considered stereotypically masculine (i.e., sports) or neutral topics geared toward the male party (i.e., the man's work or living situation).
	Feminine	Topics that are considered stereotypically feminine (i.e., childcare) or neutral topics geared toward the female party (i.e., the woman's work or living situation)
	Variable	Several topics occurring in succession throughout the conversation (three or more topics).
	Specific	Few topics occurring in succession throughout the conversation (one or two topics).
Location of Conversation	Dining	Locations in which the primary function is the service and consumption of food.
	Coffeehouse	Locations in which the primary function is the service and consumption of coffee products and related beverages as well as social interaction.
	Sporting Event	Locations in which the primary function is the viewing of and participation in a sport (defined as an organized activity resulting in physical exertion).
Time of Conversation	Morning	Conversations occurring after 5:00 a.m. and prior to 11:59 a.m.
	Afternoon	Conversations occurring after 12:00 p.m. and prior to 4:59 p.m.
	Evening	Conversations occurring after 5:00 p.m. and prior to 10:59 p.m.
	Late Evening	Conversations occurring after 11:00 p.m. and prior to 4:59 a.m.

22

Table 2. Masculine and feminine language codes

Item	Code Type	Definition	Examples
Feminine Conversational Indicators	Emotion-Oriented Language	Statements that direct toward an emotional goal or offer emotional support	"I'm not saying *it's* sensitive, *I'm* sensitive."
	Hedges	Words used to lessen the impact of certain language (such as euphemisms)	"I wish I could have done that differently."
	Qualifiers	"Weak Hedges" or words used to adjust absolute or certain phrases (such as: mostly, sometimes, and maybe)	"Eat this. it's pretty good." "He's probably the guy in blue."
	Questions	Statements made to elicit a reply from the conversational partner	"Has that happened to you?"
Masculine Conversational Indicators	Task-Oriented Language	Statements that implicitly or explicitly direct the conversational partner toward a goal	"Today is clearing a path and that's the main goal."
	Interruptions	Speaking before the conversational partner has finished speaking	N/A
	Direct or Imperative Statements	Statements made as directions, commands, or rigid advice	"Stop looking at me like that's weird."
	Self-Reference	Statements beginning or containing a strong "I" or "me" statement	"*I'm* not complaining about your stuff."

Table 3. Conversational indicators crosstab

Item	Code Type	Feminine Indicators						Masculine Indicators							
		Emotion		Hedges and Qualifiers		Questions		Task		Interruptions		Direct or Imperative		Self-Reference	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Relationship	Friends	11	28	5	13	20	28	45	21	11	7	18	8	40	41
	Dating	10	8	8	3	14	13	15	7	3	12	17	8	20	7
	Married	2	5	0	1	3	3	8	4	0	0	1	0	3	3
Age I	Young Adult (18-25)	19	28	9	14	33	32	45	20	10	17	28	12	55	45
	Adult (26-45)	2	6	2	3	3	8	9	8	0	0	3	1	5	5
	Older Adult (46-65)	2	5	0	0	1	5	12	4	4	2	5	3	3	1
Age II	Older Male	5	5	0	3	7	6	8	4	2	0	3	1	8	15
	Older Female	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Partners the same	18	34	11	14	30	39	57	28	12	19	33	15	55	36
Mood	Relaxed	12	26	6	14	26	28	40	20	6	6	13	5	37	41
	Focused	2	6	2	2	1	10	15	8	4	2	7	4	5	3
	Intense	9	7	3	1	10	7	11	4	4	11	16	7	19	7
Topic	Neutral-Variable	12	17	5	8	19	18	24	11	9	13	22	10	42	32
	Neutral-Specific	3	3	3	3	8	7	9	4	0	1	3	1	3	0
	Masculine-Variable	4	8	0	0	3	7	17	7	4	2	5	3	5	1
	Masculine-Specific	2	4	2	2	3	9	7	5	1	0	3	1	5	6
	Feminine-Variable	2	7	1	4	4	6	9	5	0	3	3	1	8	9
	Feminine-Specific	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Location	Dining	13	18	8	8	22	25	30	13	5	16	24	11	42	25
	Coffeehouse	8	16	1	8	13	13	28	12	9	3	10	4	17	21
	Sporting Event	2	4	2	2	2	7	0	7	0	0	2	1	4	5
Time	Morning	12	17	4	2	15	19	26	12	0	10	22	10	26	12
	Afternoon	11	21	5	13	22	21	37	16	6	8	12	5	35	37
	Evening	0	1	2	2	0	5	3	4	0	0	2	1	2	2
	Late Evening	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL		23	39	11	17	37	45	66	32	14	19	36	16	63	51
		62		28		82		98		33		52		114	

Table 4. Incidence of individual and total accommodation

Category	Division	Frequency
Individual Accommodation	Zero Accommodation	12
	Minor Convergence	12
	Major Convergence	2
	Minor Divergence	0
	Major Divergence	0
Total Accommodation	Zero Accommodation	1
	Equal Convergence	2
	Unequal Female Convergence	9
	Unequal Male Convergence	1
	Equal Divergence	0
	Unequal Female Divergence	0
	Unequal Male Divergence	0

The Pursuit of True Freedom: School Desegregation in Racine, Wisconsin

Chris Tempas, author
Dr. Stephen Kercher, History, faculty adviser

Chris Tempas graduated from UW Oshkosh in May 2011 with a degree in history. His research began as a paper in a seminar on civil rights in Wisconsin during the fall semester of his senior year.

Dr. Stephen Kercher is an associate professor of history. He has been teaching twentieth century U.S. history at UW Oshkosh since 2000. His current research focuses on black student protest at Wisconsin colleges and universities in the 1960s.

Abstract

Throughout its existence, the United States had been inundated by racial conflict. Following the 1954 Supreme Court ruling on *Brown v. the Board of Education of Topeka,* school segregation became one of the most controversial racial issues in our country. In the North, where de facto segregation ruled supreme, integrating public schools proved to be an especially arduous task. Racine, Wisconsin, was a typical Northern city in many regards. However, due to outstanding community support and extraordinary leadership, particularly from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and its president Julian Thomas, the Racine Unified School District triumphed over segregation. Because of its successful implementation of school desegregation, Racine became a model for racial accord for the rest of the country.

"Glory, glory, hallelujah!" was the cheer that echoed throughout the streets of Racine, Wisconsin, on a cold spring day in 1854, when more than 100 Racine men, in response to a "Revere-like summons" issued by crusading newspaper editor Sherman Booth, defied the

injustice of racial prejudice and secured freedom for a fellow man. The man, Joshua Glover, was a runaway slave who had escaped from his master's custody in St. Louis two years earlier. Glover was living in Racine and working at a local sawmill in 1854 when he was tracked down by agents of his owner, captured, and arrested under the Fugitive Slave Act. Taken aback by his unjust incarceration, a mob more than 100 Racine anti-slavery activists led by Booth took the next steamer to Milwaukee, where Glover was being held. The crowd of angry Racine residents broke down the jailhouse door and freed Glover, allowing him to escape to Canada and reclaim what they believed to be his "indefensible right" to freedom.[1] This event spread anti-slavery sentiment across the state, leading the Wisconsin Supreme Court to shock the nation by making Wisconsin the first state to declare the Fugitive Slave Laws unconstitutional. During the tumultuous decade that preceded the Civil War, Glover's emancipation inspired abolitionists across the nation to view Racine as a model for racial accord.[2]

During the middle of the next century, another period of turmoil enveloped the United States. In a country torn apart by racial issues, few generated more controversy than school segregation. Yet, just as the Racine community had bonded together to liberate Joshua Glover from his unjust imprisonment, it again proved exemplary in its successful liberation of African Americans from the injustice of segregated schools. In 1975, after a decade-long struggle to desegregate its schools, America would once more look to Racine as a "model for the nation."[3]

One hundred years after Joshua Glover earned nationwide celebrity, the United States Supreme Court ruled, in *Brown v. the Board of Education of Topeka*, that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." This landmark ruling was intended to end the practice of segregated education in the United States. Yet in the years that followed, segregation was still in full bloom in many cities outside of the South.[4]

Prior to the 1954 *Brown* ruling, Southern-style school segregation was fairly simple—African Americans went to "colored" schools, whites went to white schools. Although far from easy, this made the desegregation of schools in the South a more straightforward undertaking. However, in most Northern communities, geography, not skin color, was the primary cause of racial segregation. Because racial segregation was fundamentally intertwined with residential segregation, desegregating schools in the North would prove to be a much more complex and arduous task. Despite supporting school desegregation in principle—a 1963 poll discovered that 75 percent approved of the *Brown* decision[5]—Northern whites opposed it in practice, arguing against the disruption of what they believed to be "the natural order of things." According to historian Thomas Sugrue, "the debate over race and education in the North came to hinge on" one major notion, "the neighborhood school."[6]

In 1962, *Time* magazine called the neighborhood school "a concept as American as apple pie,"[7] but to most African Americans it was not nearly as appetizing. Even in the absence of officially separate schools, Northern whites used their freedom in the housing market to produce public schools that were nearly as segregated as those in the South. And these same Northern whites who professed their approval of desegregation fiercely defended the separateness of neighborhood schools. But schools attended predominantly by African American children were not equal to schools attended predominantly by white children. "Separate" really did not mean "equal." Francis Keppel, U.S. Commissioner of Education, addressed this point in a 1964 speech: "Whether it exists by law or custom, by edict or by tradition, by patterns of employment or patterns of housing, segregation hurts our children, Negro and white alike. And nowhere is this damage more devastating than in education."[8]

In Racine, like in other parts of the country, damage was being done. At the time of the *Brown* decision, racial segregation was relatively new to Racine County. It had always been a diverse area; Danish, Polish, German, and Czech immigrants made Racine a "melting pot" of sorts. Yet as late as 1940, this "melting pot" was distinctively white. The 1940 U.S. Census reported that only 432 out of the total 67,195 residents of Racine were "black"—less than 1 percent of the population. As in many Northern cities however, the onset of World War II created a demand for African American workers in Racine. By 1960, Racine County's African American population had grown tenfold, becoming a significant segment in the community. And like in other Northern cities, the impact of this rapid minority population growth was amplified as a result of housing patterns and the compression of minority populations into concentrated neighborhoods. While newer schools in the suburbs were populated almost exclusively by white children, the minority student population was disproportionately concentrated in older, run-down, inner-city schools. According to the Racine Unified School District, by 1963, 73 percent of black pupils lived in an inner-city area that represented about four square miles out the 100 square mile district.[9]

Even though de facto segregation persisted in the North, it was coming under scrutiny as a destructive mechanism for African Americans, especially in schools. In the early 1960s, as the centennial anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation approached, many African Americans saw de facto segregation as the primary culprit for the substantial gap in affluence, status, and power between themselves and whites.[10] Nowhere was this gap more prevalent than in the public schools of cities in the North. Many, like Reverend Charles H. Smith, member of the Board of Directors for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), were quick to point out the connection between unequal educational opportunities and inferior

economic progress. As Smith saw it, de facto segregation not only denied African American children from receiving equal educational opportunities, but prevented them from attaining "the real freedom to which [blacks] have a right."[11]

Throughout the 1960s, as this "real freedom" still eluded many in Racine, the NAACP was widely considered what the *Racine Journal-Times* in 1970 would call "the major, if not the only, spokesman for the cause of equality for minority citizens" in the area. Although the local NAACP's success hinged on much more than just one person, no individual was more important to achieving racial equality in Racine than Julian Thomas.[12]

A 1952 graduate (and Hall of Fame inductee) of Racine's Washington Park High School, Thomas was hired as a factory worker at J.I. Case Company. At J.I. Case, Thomas worked hard and quickly rose to become an executive—no small feat for a black man at the time. He was elected president of the Racine NAACP in 1964 and would remain in that position for the next 22 years. Thomas served as president of the Wisconsin NAACP and as chairman of the seven-state region of the NAACP. He was also involved in numerous organizations, boards, and committees in the Racine community.[13]

Thomas's considerable public influence was inspired by his ability to inspire trust and respect among all races. His steadfast and logical leadership would prove to be the cornerstone upon which racial integration in Racine was built. But in the mid-1960s, his goal of achieving racial integration was not shared by most citizens of Racine, white or black. Thomas realized that before Racine could overcome desegregation, he had to substantially augment awareness and interest in racial issues. In describing Thomas's struggle, Keith Mack, an administrator at Lakeside School in Racine, drew on a quote from Dante: "The hottest places in hell are reserved for those who in time of moral crisis maintain their neutrality."[14] Mack sensed that Thomas saw

a moral crisis at the heart of de facto segregation of Racine schools. Thomas resolved to move people from every segment of Racine's diverse community away from the position of neutrality to take a stand with him.

Thomas was not the only activist who attempted to awaken Racine's African American community to the challenges of desegregation. At the 1965 Racine NAACP annual banquet, Edwin C. Berry, executive director of the Chicago Urban League, challenged Racine African Americans to accept the "responsibility to become involved…to see that your children get an education." Without education, he said, a black child "can't make it in the modern world." Like Thomas, Berry knew that active involvement was the only way to escape what he called "the cultural castration" that had befallen the American Negro. "We aren't going to lick this thing by hiding," he said.[15]

In the Jim Crow South, many whites employed blatant racism in order to keep African Americans in hiding. Although racism was tame in Racine compared to other parts of the country, some overt racism still persisted, particularly in the public school system. This came as a shock to many, including NAACP Education Director June Shagaloff. Since 1950, Shagaloff played a critical role in fighting school segregation throughout the United States. While she had witnessed a great deal of racism throughout her career as a civil rights activist, prior to her visit to Racine, Shagaloff said she "had always believed that racial prejudice was less in a northern state like Wisconsin." But Shagaloff was appalled when she saw the Confederate flag flying high over Racine's William Horlick High School in April 1965. After seeing the flag, which she said symbolized "a history of slavery, bigotry, and prejudice" used at a public high school, she was no longer surprised at Racine's "unwillingness to recognize de facto segregation in its school system."[16]

Thomas felt that school segregation in Racine was not as much the result of racism but of apathy. Like many Northern whites, most white citizens of Racine were simply indifferent to the plight of the American Negro. According to Scott Johnson, a Racine student in the 1960s, segregation was simply "not acknowledged" by whites. Moreover, some Racine residents even put an optimistic spin on segregation, citing the "advantage" of neighborhood schools.[17] Johnson's recollection of white sentiment in Racine was echoed by experts like June Shagaloff. The "fact that too many people in Racine feel there is no problem," she declared, was the major reason for the racial problems in the Racine Unified School District.[18] Even the school district itself declared racial segregation to be merely a "function of living patterns…not the result of any policies of the Board of Education." But to Thomas and his allies, it *was* the Board's policies—or rather its lack of policies—that produced racial segregation in Racine's schools. [19]

In October 1964, the Racine Unified School Board published "A Proposed Statement of Position," its first open admission that the district did indeed have a problem. The board committed to "studying the problems of educating disadvantaged youth" in order to "develop programs to overcome the handicaps environment may have placed" on these children.[20] While some considered this an important step toward equal educational opportunities for minorities in Racine, many were not satisfied with what they viewed as "token progress." Thomas was fearful that the school board underestimated the potential volatility of the situation. Unless immediate action was taken, Thomas declared, "There's going to be another Birmingham right here in Racine." [21] He was referring to the widely publicized racial confrontations in Birmingham, Alabama, in the summer of 1963 that produced such rampant mayhem that the federal government was forced to intervene. Neither the school board, Thomas, nor anyone else in Racine wanted a situation like the one in Birmingham.

To avoid this type of racial conflict in Racine, the district needed to make meaningful progress toward solving the problem of desegregation. In 1966, it received a valuable, albeit inadvertent, introduction to racial integration. The closing of Franklin Junior High School and the subsequent opening of Gifford Junior High School required the district to redraw its junior high boundaries. At the start of the 1966–67 school year, Franklin Junior High's former students, almost half of whom were black, found themselves dispersed among four junior high schools [22] (see table 1).

The following year, the Racine Unified School District was again in flux. The closing of another inner-city junior high school and the opening of J.I. Case High School sent the district back to the drawing board. Again, new boundaries resulted in a more equal distribution of African American students. Although racial integration was not necessarily the purpose of the realignment of district boundaries, the dispersion of minorities that followed the opening of new schools in Racine presented the school district with an example to follow in the years to come. [23]

As the heat of school integration movement intensified in the North, Racine, a city previously icily indifferent to de facto segregation, began to thaw. In 1966, the Racine Unified School Board produced its "Report of the Special Committee on the Educational Opportunities of the Minority Group Children," articulating 13 principles that would guide the "search for improvement of educational opportunities for minority group children." Two years later, the board stepped up this search, making their stance against unequal educational opportunities official by adopting a policy to "take specific action to erase undesirable cultural, ethnic, and racial imbalances." [24] The passing of this resolution made all plans within the district contingent on the reduction of racial imbalance. Thomas of course supported this resolution, but dryly suggested it was a "little late in coming." According to him, "it should have been done five years

ago."[25] Despite the extended wait, many in Racine were excited about the significant progress toward racial equality made by the school board.

Perhaps the biggest step taken on the path to desegregation in Racine came on the heels of the 1969 Howell School controversy. As whites all over the North staunchly defended their neighborhood schools, this Racine neighborhood school offered many African Americans a prime example of de facto segregation at its worst. Located at one of the city's busiest intersections, Howell School had a minority student population of more than 75 percent. Throughout the 1960s, the school's terrible condition had repeatedly garnered complaints from administrators, teachers, and parents. The building's condition was so poor that there was a widespread concern that strong winds would cause the roof to collapse. In fact, Howell was the only school in the district that was required to have "high wind" drills in addition to fire drills. Several times, the Racine Unified School District had promised families in the Howell area, via bond referenda, a solution to the dismal situation. Each time, however, these families were disappointed by the district's failure to act. [26]

In the absence of any action by the district, the Racine NAACP decided that it had to take charge. In November 1969, following a formal inspection, the NAACP Education Committee declared Howell "blatantly unsafe" and an "absolute disgrace" to the city of Racine and to the Racine Unified School District.[27] Claiming that the inaction of the board had relegated Howell's students "to a sub-human level," the committee rendered the school district "guilty, not only of child neglect, but of hypocrisy as well." The findings of the Education Committee left the NAACP with no other choice but to demand the immediate closing of Howell School." [28]

After a prolonged deadlock on the issue, the Racine Unified School Board finally succumbed to the pressure and intimidation of the NAACP and passed a resolution to

permanently close Howell School as of January 10, 1970. As with the school closings in 1966 and 1967, the closing of Howell contributed to the further dispersal of African American students among predominantly white schools. [29] Moreover, the closing of Howell confirmed the powerful impact of the NAACP and its young president, Julian Thomas. Although Thomas was already a revered leader prior to the Howell dispute, his successful leadership in this difficult and potentially volatile situation inspired unanimous confidence from the African American community. Equally significant, Thomas won the respect of members of the white community. Most people in Racine, black and white, had proved to be tentative in coping with racial difficulties. In Thomas, Racine recognized a leader who would provide the assertiveness needed to overcome these racial difficulties and direct others to do the same.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the realignment of district boundaries, dispersion of minority students, and racial enlightenment of the school board served to whet the appetite of those hungry for integration. According to Thomas, the NAACP "began to think in terms of... what centers could be utilized within the inner city where white kids would be brought in and minority children out."[30] If busing was necessary, as most thought it was, then "it should include busing of students both ways," Thomas proclaimed. This concept sent shock waves through Racine's white, middle-class suburbia. Most of these parents had no problem with reducing "racial imbalances" and even with the busing of inner-city students to what the district referred to as "outer schools." The idea of having their children bused to inner-city schools, however, seemed inconceivable. [31]

In 1972, the Racine Unified School Board began discussions regarding plans to desegregate schools in the district. Their hastily drawn plans included the busing of suburban children to inner-city schools. As in many Northern cities, two-way busing inspired bitter protest

from many white parents in Racine. Even though almost half of all public school students rode the bus to school by 1970, opponents of busing championed neighborhood schools, defending the time-honored tradition of children walking or riding their bicycles to school. Across the North, the frenzy of the white electorate led many elected officials to jump aboard the anti-busing bandwagon. In 1972, Racine was no different.[32] The white outcry against busing compelled the school board to dismiss the desegregation proposals altogether. According to Racine Superintendent C. Richard Nelson, the failure of the first attempt at desegregation forced the district to seriously reevaluate its approach. Although he said the plan was misunderstood, Nelson admitted that the district made some critical mistakes in its initial attempt to establish a strategy for desegregation, and realized that it needed to take a better "method of approach" in carrying out the order to desegregate. [33]

Thomas and the NAACP, however, were not in the mood to be patient while the district worried about stepping on the toes of white parents. Almost 20 years since the *Brown* decision, many in Racine felt that the only way to achieve school desegregation in Racine was through legal action. In 1972, Thomas and the Racine NAACP, fed up with token progress and empty promises, laid plans to take court action against the Racine Unified School District. "The only thing that would prevent us from filing suit," Thomas said, "is for the schools [in Racine] to be desegregated."[34] Despite his strong desire for immediate action, Thomas recognized that the big picture of desegregation extended beyond Racine. In the eyes of the NAACP, Racine was an important, yet small battlefield in the larger war against school segregation. In 1973, Thomas informed the district of the NAACP's intention not to pursue a lawsuit in Racine until the Supreme Court had ruled on the pending Detroit and Denver desegregation suits,[35] citing "the great similarity between these school districts and ours."[36] Thomas and the NAACP continued to

cooperate with Nelson and the district to pursue, in the words of the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction (DPI), "the legal right to a nonsegregated education...for all students."[37]

Fittingly, later that year it was the Wisconsin DPI that drove the Unified School District to put the decisive nail in the coffin of school segregation in Racine. In June 1973, the DPI sent out state guidelines for desegregation to all school districts. These guidelines insisted on racial balance "within ten percentage points of the proportion of all ethnic groups in their district." William Colby, director of the DPI's Equal Educational Opportunities division, was hopeful that this would compel racially imbalanced districts to integrate. However, as he later explained, the state guidelines "were only recommendations and did not have very much force."[38] Yet combined with the external pressure from the NAACP and the Racine community, these guidelines finally pressed the district into a momentous decision that led the city to be viewed as a "model for the nation." [39]

In a September 1973 meeting, school board president Gilbert Berthelsen motioned for a resolution that adopted the guidelines set by the DPI. The motion, scheduled for a vote in October, sparked intense debate in Racine. In many ways, the controversy surrounding the "Berthelsen motion," as it became known, echoed the wide-ranging debates across the North in regards to public school desegregation. Some, like Thomas, were elated at the prospect of ultimately realizing school desegregation and emphatically called for the passage of the motion. Thomas urged the school board to adopt the motion and "correct this damnable situation in our District."[40] However, Thomas's efforts to persuade some, especially board member Lowell McNeill, were futile. In fact, McNeill was one of the motion's most fervent public opponents, even rejecting the idea that the district had segregated schools. [41] Furthermore, he argued, the widespread busing that would accompany a desegregation plan would mean a "complete end" to

the advantage of neighborhood schools. [42] This point of view resonated in almost every Northern city and gained significant support among whites in Racine.

Other groups demonstrated their resistance to school desegregation in a more extreme manner. One group in particular, the National Socialist White People's Party, caused quite a stir in Racine. Wearing swastika armbands, members loudly denounced racial mixing and distributed literature supporting white self-determination. Although the presence of the National Socialists received considerable media attention, few whites in Racine shared their radicalism. [43]

It was not just white citizens who opposed the Berthelsen motion. Many African Americans, including school board member Reverend Lawrence Hunt, felt that the implementation of a desegregation plan would do more harm than good for minority students. Contending the proposal for a quota system would mean "resegregation" for black students, Hunt insisted upon the value of schools with a heavy concentration of minorities as a way to avoid "segregation ... from their own culture." He alleged that many of the district's educational inequalities stemmed not from the physical distribution of minority students, but from the shortage of minority teachers and lack of emphasis on minority curriculum. [44]

The most overwhelming objection from the African American community to the proposed desegregation plan surrounded busing. Maintaining that the burden of desegregation would fall squarely on the shoulders of minority students, many questioned whether the benefits of school desegregation outweighed the extensive busing that accompanied it. This stance was publicly supported by a few large community organizations, including the Racine Urban Ministry and the Racine Clergy Association. [45] To supporters of the Berthelsen motion, winning over this segment of dissenters was imperative to making desegregation work in Racine. As the

school board vote approached, Berthelsen implored these dissenters to look past the flaws of the initial proposal, stressing that "segregation or desegregation...is the only issue before us."[46]

On October 8, 1973, the Racine Unified School Board accepted Berthelsen's motion by narrowly passing the resolution requiring that "no school within the Unified School District shall have a minority population in excess of an amount 10 percent above the percentage of minority students in the District." The school board resolved to implement this resolution by the start of the 1975 school year.[47] Following the passage of this resolution, some feared the widespread dissent, protest, and violence that developed in other Northern cities attempting to integrate. However, as Colby recognized, there were "far more wholesome attitudes in Racine."[48] Not only did citizens want to avoid any sort of demonstrative violence, the majority was determined to circumvent the political football that had plagued other cities. Instead of forcing an ugly desegregation lawsuit, the community developed a sense of pride in the voluntary nature of desegregation in Racine. This respectful and virtuous reaction of Racine citizens to the school board's decision played a crucial role in the city's exemplary implementation of school integration.

By 1974, even though most of Racine had accepted the concept of school integration, the city was still sharply divided on the structure, size, and scope of a potential desegregation plan. The October 1973 resolution created a citizen's advisory committee to develop four plans for the desegregation process. "Minimum busing" was among the criteria the committee established for the development of the four plans to be presented to the school board in July 1974.[49] Yet busing, as it had been before the resolution, would continue to be a focus of debate in Racine. Amazingly, in spite of the committee's intentions, all four plans drew flak from the public in regards to busing.[50]

As the school board vote drew near, Thomas and the NAACP took what he called "a stand not to take a stand," deciding to not publicly endorse any one of the four plans. Although he had conveyed some of his likes and dislikes of the four plans to the school board, Thomas said he did not want to give the board "an excuse not to do anything."[51] His decision to refrain from speaking out against the Redistribution Plan prior to the school board vote attracted some criticism from the black community. Pegged by the *Racine Star-Times* as the "one-way busing" plan, the Redistribution Plan had incurred a great deal of public opposition from the African American community because it "placed the burden of busing on minority students." However, Thomas and the NAACP recognized it was the only plan with a chance of gaining school board approval. As difficult as it was to remain silent, Thomas realized strong protest against the Redistribution Plan would only result in the postponement of school integration. [52]

On August 12, 1974, the Racine Unified School Board voted to adopt the Redistribution Plan, which called for the busing of minority children away from the inner city, even ending regular classes at some inner-city schools. According to Reverend Eugene Boutilier, "most knowledgeable members of the [black] community were not in favor of this plan." However, as Thomas understood, the possibility of further delaying school desegregation in Racine was far worse than the problems associated with the plan. Thomas and the NAACP were not the only ones to sacrifice short-term objectives in order to achieve the greater, long-term goal of school integration in Racine. Board member Reverend Howard Stanton favored the Cluster Plan, which offered parents a choice, within their geographic "cluster," of the type of school their child would attend. Yet, despite his misgivings, Stanton voted for the Redistribution Plan, admitting that "the cluster plan [had] no chance of passing."[53] Even Superintendent Nelson had contended

that the Redistribution Plan, as "the most acceptable plan to the white community," was the only plan with the possibility of being approved by the school board. [54]

While it was no surprise to Thomas that the board selected the plan least upsetting to white parents, he was not prepared to surrender. Instead, Thomas began his quest to remedy the "one-way busing plan." As presented to the school board, the Redistribution Plan involved the least amount of student busing of the four plans. But as many opponents of the plan had maintained, it put "the burden of desegregation" on black students. The plan called for the reassignment of more than 50 percent of Racine's minority students, compared to only 3 percent of white students. Although he would not seek a reversal of the board's decision, Thomas demanded a meeting with school officials to share the NAACP's concerns about this "unfair" and "unacceptable" plan. [55]

Those who knew Thomas had often heard him recite his favorite quote: "No man is too big to be small and the real test comes when a small man thinks big." In Thomas's case, thinking big about school desegregation in Racine led to a "real test" of his mettle as a leader. Faced with a plan that caused many in the black community to question the merit of school desegregation, it was up to him to salvage the vision of "true freedom" he had for Racine. [56]

Pursuing a spirit of cooperation, a determined Thomas worked with Superintendent Nelson and other school officials to find a middle ground that appeased some of the concerns of African Americans in Racine. On January 4, 1975, a revised Redistribution Plan was presented to the board. In this presentation, the committee admitted that the original plan had "placed the burden of busing on the minorities." The revised plan had, to an extent, eased this burden by reducing the difference in the numbers of children moving in versus moving out of the inner city. The revised plan also alleviated concern about the closing of three inner-city schools. Instead,

these schools would become magnet schools, used for optional programs like fine arts. These magnet schools would also further reduce the difference in students being bused in versus bused out.[57] Finally, the revised plan also addressed class size, another grievance of many African Americans, by reducing the student-to-staff ratio to 24.9-to-1. [58]

The revised Redistribution Plan, despite significant improvements, still left many black parents unsatisfied. Stressing the long-term potential of integration, Thomas worked tirelessly to convince African American parents to go along with the plan. "[It] does not meet all of our criteria, but it's not far off," he proclaimed. "It's a workable plan." [59] Parents eventually accepted the plan, as they came to understand that the benefits of desegregation far outweighed its shortcomings. It was Thomas's effort to promote compromise and unify support in the black community, despite his own trepidations about the desegregation plan, which laid the foundation for the success of school integration in Racine.

September 2, 1975, the first day of school in the newly desegregated Racine Unified School District, brought a quiet unease to Racine, perhaps a calm before the storm. As students prepared for new schools and teachers prepared for new students, no one knew what to expect. Superintendent Nelson, however, was optimistic about the coming school year. As the head of the district, he had the primary responsibility of carrying out the order to desegregate. Armed with an unwavering belief in the value of school integration, Nelson publicly and privately won over doubters throughout the district. Desegregation was important, he proclaimed, not only because the laws indicated segregated schools were illegal, but because of its social and academic payoff. Nelson also firmly believed that integration would procure economic benefits, reversing white flight from Racine. Like Thomas, he understood that desegregation could encompass more than just a school district. And like Thomas, he knew the value of community

action in achieving such lofty goals. Despite first-day jitters from some in the community, Nelson's optimistic predictions prevailed. After all of the clamor leading up to September 2, he could not have been more elated in publicly announcing that "the first day under the desegregation plan was quieter than a usual opening day." [60]

Racine became celebrated across the country for its successful school desegregation, earning the type of praise that would have made Racine's earliest liberator, Sherman Booth, and his men proud. *The New York Times* called the school integration program in Racine "a model for the nation."[61] Applauding the "mature manner in which this most difficult of community problems was approached," *The Milwaukee Sentinel* suggested Racine serve as "a standard for other metropolitan areas to follow."[62] Residents of Racine echoed these sentiments. "Things have gone very smoothly," said one teacher of the desegregation effort. In a 1976 survey, 90 percent of teachers and more than 80 percent of parents "believed desegregation was working successfully."[63] Perhaps the best indicator of the success of desegregation was the approval of children like Terry Price, an African American fifth-grader bused from the inner city. Of his new school, Terry cheerfully professed, "I just like it here better."[64]

Yet the triumph of desegregation did more for Racine than just give children like Terry a better school. Although many originally saw desegregation as solely a way of equalizing educational benefits between blacks and whites, the effects of desegregation resonated to a much larger degree, advancing interracial and intercultural relations in every facet of the community. Like Thomas, others in Racine used desegregation to think big, incorporating it into the broader role of promoting a racially harmonious society.

Activists and scholars across the nation were eager to determine the source of Racine's success. Some of the relative ease of desegregation in Racine could be credited to its voluntary

nature. Because it was "not forced suddenly down the throats of citizens," Superintendent Nelson maintained school desegregation in Racine did not inspire animosity as it did in other Northern cities. On the contrary, he said residents "were determined not to become another Boston," referring to the racial discord that disrupted Boston schools. [65] After the plan was adopted, it was accepted by the community, even by those who had opposed it. Without a doubt, the city's unified stance toward desegregation was instrumental to its success.

Another aspect attributed to the smooth implementation of desegregation was its relative gradualism. According to Nelson, time was a "key factor," enabling the community and staff to "get used to the idea, read about it, and follow its planning process." The two years granted to the district following the Berthelsen motion in 1973 was meant not to delay integration, but to permit the district to develop a plan "carefully, gradually, and with citizen input and cooperation." These two years, Nelson said, also allowed for "a flurry of activity" aimed at "minimizing the culture shock" of integration.[66] Many teachers, administrators, bus drivers, and secretaries were unfamiliar with the unique cultural aspects of Racine African Americans. To breed a greater degree of familiarity, district personnel were required to attended seminars, workshops, and human relations training in preparation for the coming school year. During the summer, the district also planned activities—picnics, basketball camps, Milwaukee Brewers baseball games, swim parties—to give children an opportunity to mingle with their new classmates.[67]

The two years following the Berthelsen motion also provided the district, the NAACP, and others time to build community support for the desegregation plan. The community, Nelson claimed, was the real reason desegregation in Racine was so successful. To illustrate this, he pointed to an August 1974 full-page advertisement in the *Racine Journal-Times*, just prior to the

board's vote on the selection of one of the four proposed desegregation plans. The advertisement, which included more than 230 signatures, endorsed the unequivocal desegregation of Racine schools. This visible sign of community support, Nelson said, was crucial to the successful implementation of desegregation. He called the community's commitment in spite of differences "the most essential resource of all" in the desegregation process.[68]

Within the community, perhaps no one was more committed than Thomas. He spread his passion for "real freedom" throughout Racine, countering years of apathy and indifference. Tom White, former president of the Wisconsin NAACP, said of Thomas: "During crisis times, Julian [was] called upon for experience, not only by blacks but also by the total community." [69] Superintendent Nelson and other school officials, though sometimes at odds with Thomas, recognized and appreciated his strong, supportive leadership in the process of desegregation. They realized that without the positive force of Thomas and the NAACP, the racial accord established through school integration could never have been achieved in Racine. African Americans, on the other hand, were grateful for Thomas's great mental courage as he led them into the battle for "real freedom." To resolve the crisis of school segregation, Racine depended on Thomas, a leader who had the respect of the entire community.

In a 1979 speech, Thomas's esteemed colleague Superintendent Nelson described desegregation as "a very small down payment on an investment whose dividends are good education, citizenship, justice, and the welfare of the entire community."[70] At the time, very few cities in the North were willing to make this payment. Yet Racine, Wisconsin, because of its outstanding community support and extraordinary leadership, bought into desegregation, and once again became a "model for the nation."[71]

Notes

1. "Fugitive Slave in Milwaukee – Excitement of the Citizens – The Jail Broken – The Fugitive Rescued, and the   Military Ordered Out," *The New York Times*, March 17, 1854.
2. "Glover, Joshua," Dictionary of Wisconsin History, Wisconsin Historical Society, http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/.
3. Paul Delaney, "School Integration Gaining in Racine, Wis.; Program Viewed as Model for the Nation," *The New York Times*, October 22, 1975, p. 28.
4. Vernon Jordan, "Desegregation Slow," *Racine Journal-Times*, May 12, 1974.
5. Thomas J. Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the North* (New York: Random House, 2008), p. 465.
6. Sugrue, pp.184-85.
7. "Education: Should all Northern Schools be Integrated?" *Time*, September 7, 1962.
8. "Proposals for Action Presented to The Board of Education and Administration of the Unified School District Number One of Racine County by the NAACP," National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (hereafter NAACP), Racine Branch: Records, 1954 – 1984, Wisconsin Historical Society (hereafter WHS), Box 16, Folder 7.
9. "The Elimination of Racial Imbalance: A Presentation and Discussion of Four Plans," July 8, 1974, NAACP, Racine Branch: Records, 1954–1984, WHS, Box 16, Folder 5.
10. Sugrue, p. 257.
11. Jane Pomeday, "Learn System, Blacks Urged," *Racine Journal-Times*, 1973.
12. Robert Sheldon, "Needs, Protests, Demonstrations: Signs of 'Civil Rights Revolution,'" *Racine Journal-Times,* January 11, 1970, p. 1D.
13. "We Salute…Julian Thomas," *Racine Journal-Times,* June 15, 1977.
14. Ibid.
15. "Berry Calls Denial of Human Rights 'Cultural Castration,'" *The Racine Labor*, October 1, 1965.
16. "National NAACP Leader 'Shocked' by Horlick Band's Rebel Flag," *Racine Journal-Times,* April 4, 1965, p. 4A.
17. Scott Johnson, Personal Interview, December 6, 2010.
18. "National NAACP Leader 'Shocked' by Horlick Band's Rebel Flag."
19. "A Proposed Statement of Position," October, 1964. NAACP, Racine Branch: Records, 1954–1984, WHS, Box 16, Folder 4.
20. Ibid.
21. "Needs, Protests, Demonstrations."
22. "Desegregation Plan for Unified School District No. 1 of Racine County," NAACP, Racine Branch: Records, 1954–1984, WHS, Box 16, Folder 4.
23. Ibid.
24. "Report of the Special Committee on the Educational Opportunities of Minority Group Children," May, 1966, NAACP, Racine Branch: Records, 1954–1984, WHS, Box 16, Folder 4; "Desegregation – Racine Perspective," 1979, Racine Unified School District No. 1 (Wis.): Superintendent's Files, 1923–1985, WHS, Box 6, Folder 1, pg. 6.
25. "Unified Acts to Widen Help for Disadvantaged," *Racine Journal-Times,* January 7, 1969.
26. Howell School Visit; November 25, 1969, NAACP, Racine Branch: Records, 1954–1984, WHS, Box 16, Folder 6.

27. "Statement Presented by the NAACP Education Committee to the December 6, 1969 Membership Meeting of the Racine Branch NAACP," NAACP, Racine Branch: Records, 1954–1984, WHS, Box 16, Folder 6.

28. "NAACP Asks Closing of Howell School Now," *Racine Journal-Times*, December 8, 1969, p. 5A.

29. Emmert Dose. "Committee Can't Decide Fate of Howell School," *Racine Journal-Times*, December 13, 1969, p. 3.

30. A Staff Report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. "School Desegregation in Racine, Wisconsin." June, 1977, p. 2.

31. "NAACP Backs School Bond; Calls Busing a Last Resort," *Racine Journal-Times*, ND, 1969.

32. Sugrue, pp. 480–84.

33. Julianne Corty and Robert A. Frahm, "Unified desegregation? Ho hum," *Racine Journal-Times*, June 21, 1976, p. 4A.

34. "NAACP to Pursue Court Action," *Racine Journal-Times*, 1972.

35. *Milliken v. Bradley*, 418 U.S. 717 (1974); *Keyes v. Denver School District,* No. 1, 413 U.S. 189 (1973).

36. Staff Report, p. 3.

37. "Position Paper on Equal Educational Opportunity," Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, 1972, NAACP, Racine Branch: Records, 1954–1984, WHS, Box 16, Folder 7.

38. Staff Report, p. 4.

39. "School Integration Gaining in Racine, Wis."

40. Letter to Lowell McNeill, October 8, 1973. NAACP, Racine Branch: Records, 1954–1984, WHS, Box 16, Folder 3.

41. "'Busing out' plan approved by School Board," *Racine Journal-Times*, August 13, 1974.

42. "Unified OK's Minority Quota," *Racine Journal-Times*, October 9, 1973.

43. Geeta Sharma. "One-way busing seen as segregated schools solution?" *Racine Star-Times*, August 10, 1974, p. 1A.

44. "Unified OK's Minority Quota."

45. "'Busing out' plan approved by School Board."

46. "Unified OK's Minority Quota."

47. Staff Report, p. 4.

48. "School Integration Gaining."

49. "The Elimination of Racial Imbalance."

50. Geeta Sharma,"For Unified, No choice of desegregation," *Racine Star-Times*, July 27, 1974, p. 1A.

51. "NAACP supports Unified," *Racine Star-Times*, August 8, 1974.

52. "One-way busing seen as segregated schools solution?"

53. Monroe Walker, "School Board approves redistribution plan," *Racine Journal-Times*, August 9, 1974, p. 1A.

54. Staff Report, p. 7.

55. "The Elimination of Racial Imbalance"; "NAACP criticizes 1-way busing plan," *Racine Star-Times,* August 23, 1974; Linda Winkleman, "NAACP task force, Unified officials to meet," *Racine Journal-Times*, September 9, 1974, p. 3A.

56. "We Salute…Julian Thomas."
57. "The Plan to Eliminate Racial Imbalance in the Elementary Schools, January 13, 1975. NAACP, Racine Branch: Records, 1954–1984, WHS, Box 16, Folder 5.
58. "Proposed Desegregation Plan – Fact Sheet," January 1975. Racine Unified School District No. 1 (Wis.): Superintendent's Files, 1923–1985, WHS, Box 6, Folder 1.
59. Staff Report, pp. 9–10.
60. Julianne Corty, "Unified chief optimistic about desegregation," *Racine Journal-Times*, July 20, 1975, p. 1A.
61. "School Integration Gaining."
62. Joseph A. Huddleston, "Integration Called Success in Racine." *Milwaukee Sentinel*, February 2, 1976, p. 10.
63. Staff Report, pp. 14–16.
64. "No one knew what to expect," *Racine Journal-Times,* 1976.
65. "Unified desegregation? Ho hum."
66. "Unified chief optimistic about desegregation."
67. "Desegregation – A Racine Perspective," p. 8.
68. Ibid, pp. 12, 23.
69. "We Salute…Julian Thomas."
70. "Desegregation – A Racine Perspective," p. 12.
71. "School Integration Gaining in Racine, Wis."

Bibliography

"A Proposed Statement of Position." October 1964. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Racine Branch: Records, 1954–1984. Box 16, Folder 4.

A Staff Report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. "School Desegregation in Racine, Wisconsin." June, 1977.

"Berry Calls Denial of Human Rights 'Cultural Castration.'" *The Racine Labor*, October 1, 1965.

Corty, Julianne and Robert A. Frahm. "Unified Desegregation? Ho Hum." *Racine Journal-Times*, June 21, 1976.

Corty, Julianne. "Unified Chief Optimistic About Desegregation." *Racine Journal-Times*, July

    20, 1975.

Delaney, Paul. "School Integration Gaining in Racine, Wis.; Program Viewed as Model for the

    Nation." *New York Times*, October 22, 1975.

"Desegregation–Racine Perspective," 1979. Racine Unified School District No. 1 (Wis.):

    Superintendent's Files, 1923–1985. Box 6, Folder 1.

"Desegregation Plan for Unified School District No. 1 of Racine County." National Association

    for the Advancement of Colored People. Racine Branch: Records, 1954–1984. Box 16,

    Folder 4.

Dose, Emmert. "Committee Can't Decide Fate of Howell School." *Racine Journal-Times*,

    December 13, 1969.

"Education: Should all Northern Schools be Integrated?" *Time*, September 7, 1962.

Frahm, Robert A. "'Busing Out' Plan Approved by School Board." *Racine Journal-Times*,

    August 13, 1974.

"Fugitive Slave in Milwaukee–Excitement of the Citizens–The Jail Broken–The Fugitive

    Rescued, and the Military Ordered Out." *New York Times*, March 17, 1854.

Howell School Visit; November 25, 1969. National Association for the Advancement of Colored

    People. Racine Branch: Records, 1954–1984. Box 16, Folder 6.

Huddleston, Joseph A. "Integration Called Success in Racine." *Milwaukee Sentinel*, February 2,

    1976.

Johnson, Scott. Personal Interview, December 6, 2010.

Jordan, Vernon. "Desegregation Slow." *Racine Journal-Times*, May 12, 1974.

Letter to Lowell McNeill, October 8, 1973. National Association for the Advancement of

      Colored People. Racine Branch: Records, 1954–1984. Box 16, Folder 3.

"NAACP Asks Closing of Howell School Now." *Racine Journal-Times*, December 8, 1969.

"NAACP Backs School Bond; Calls Busing a Last Resort." *Racine Journal-Times*, n.d., 1969.

"NAACP Criticizes 1-way Busing Plan." *Racine Star-Times,* August 23, 1974.

"NAACP Supports Unified." *Racine Star-Times*, August 8, 1974.

"NAACP to Pursue Court Action." *Racine Journal-Times*, n.d., 1972.

"National NAACP Leader 'Shocked' by Horlick Band's Rebel Flag." *Racine Journal-Times,*

      April 4, 1965.

"No One Knew What to Expect." *Racine Journal-Times,* n.d., 1976.

Orr, Cleveland. "NAACP Head Interprets Local Branch's Goal." *Shoreline Leader*, n.d., 1968.

Pomeday, Jane. "Learn System, Blacks Urged." *Racine Journal-Times*, n.d., 1973.

"Position Paper on Equal Educational Opportunity." Wisconsin Department of Public

      Instruction, 1972. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Racine

      Branch: Records, 1954–1984. Box 16, Folder 7.

"Proposals for Action Presented to the Board of Education and Administration of the Unified

      School District Number One of Racine County by the NAACP." National Association for

      the Advancement of Colored People. Racine Branch: Records, 1954–1984. Box 16,

      Folder 7.

"Proposed Desegregation Plan–Fact Sheet. January 1975. Racine Unified School District No. 1

      (Wis.): Superintendent's Files, 1923–1985. Box 6, Folder 1.

"Report of the Special Committee on the Educational Opportunities of Minority Group

      Children." May 1966. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

      Racine Branch: Records, 1954–1984. Box 16, Folder 4.

"Says Racine's 'Apathy' Keeps Minority Down." *The Racine Labor,* August 16, 1968.

Sheldon, Robert. "Needs, Protests, Demonstrations: Signs of 'Civil Rights Revolution.'" *Racine*

      Journal-Times, January 11, 1970.

"Schools Desegregate Peacefully at Racine." *The Milwaukee Journal*, September 2, 1975.

Sharma, Geeta. "For Unified, No Choice of Desegregation." *Racine Star-Times*, July 27, 1974.

Sharma, Geeta."One-way Busing Seen as Segregated Schools Solution?" *Racine Star-Times*,

      August 10, 1974.

"Statement Presented by the NAACP Education Committee to the December 6, 1969

      Membership Meeting of the Racine Branch NAACP." National Association for the

      Advancement of Colored People. Racine Branch: Records, 195 –1984. Box 16, Folder 6.

Sugrue, Thomas J. *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the North.*

      New York: Random House, 2008.

"The Elimination of Racial Imbalance: A Presentation and Discussion of Four Plans." July 8,

      1974. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Racine Branch:

      Records, 1954–1984. Box 16, Folder 5.

The Plan to Eliminate Racial Imbalance in the Elementary Schools." January 13, 1975. National

      Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Racine Branch: Records, 1954–

      1984. Box 16, Folder 5.

"Unified Acts to Widen Help for Disadvantaged." *Racine Journal-Times,* January 7, 1969.

"Unified OK's Minority Quota." *Racine Journal-Times*, October 9, 1973.

Walker, Monroe. "School Board Approves Redistribution Plan." *Racine Journal-Times*, August

9, 1974.

"We Salute…Julian Thomas." *Racine Journal-Times,* June 15, 1977.

Winkleman, Linda. "NAACP Task Force, Unified Officials to Meet." *Racine Journal-Times*,

September 9, 1974.

Wisconsin Historical Society. *Dictionary of Wisconsin History*, s.v. "Glover, Joshua," accessed

November 2, 2010, http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/

Appendix

Table 1. African American student distribution

1965–66		1966–67	
Franklin	48.7*	Gifford	13.8
McKinley	6.9	McKinley	13.7
Mitchell	8.4	Mitchell	13.4
Washington	14.9	Washington	17.4
* African American students as percentage of total student population at given school			

Source: "Desegregation Plan for Unified School District No. 1 of Racine County." National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Racine Branch: Records, 1954 –1984. Box 16, Folder 4.

Figure 1. Julian Thomas

Photo courtesy of Oak Hill Museum Archives.
Source: http://www.racinehistory.com/timeline2.htm

Oshkosh Scholar Submission – Volume VI – 2011

A Movement Without a Face: Anonymity and the Push for Women's Rights in 1800s America

Sara Willkomm, author
Dr. Gabriel Loiacono, History, faculty adviser

Sara Willkomm graduated from UW Oshkosh with the distinction of cum laude in May 2011 with a B.A. in history. Her research regarding women's rights was conducted as part of her senior thesis. Sara returned to school at UW-Milwaukee in fall 2011 to pursue a degree in economics.

Dr. Gabriel Loiacono is an assistant professor of history. He received his Ph.D. from Brandeis University in 2008. His research focuses on the Early American Republic and paupers.

Abstract

Despite the plethora of research compiled regarding the beginning of the women's rights movement in America in the mid-1800s, only a small number of historians have looked beyond the convention held in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. Although this convention brought the women's movement into the limelight for the first time, strides were being made in the decades prior. This study sheds light on the 20 years prior to the convention and the legal and social advances that had been made in regards to women's rights within marriage and society as a whole. Using newspapers and letters from the time, as well as secondary historical sources, my research details the hard work of lone liberators prior to the movement gaining a face in 1848.

"The rights of men, and the rights of women….May the former never be infringed, nor the latter curtailed."[1] This toast, spoken by men in the years following the Revolution, reveals an air of optimism regarding gender equality. With hearts full of new-found nationalism and relief over victory in the Revolution, Americans of both genders were willing to cooperate with one another in the hopes of bettering the nation. However, after the dust had settled and normalcy resumed, the optimism that had once brought men and women together and inspired toasts throughout the country was now fleeting. Women began the decade with the hopes of advancing their status, having participated informally in the Revolution. Men, having just set in stone the new rules for the country, were eager to take their places in government and have women run the home front. While men struggled for normalcy and a sense of equilibrium, some women hoped to take advantage of the temporary chaos and break the ties that had bound them for so long. It was in the early 1800s, in the midst of the nation's fresh start, that the women's rights movement in America gained its steam. Using anonymously written newspaper articles, group meeting synopses, court hearings, and secondary sources, this research focuses on the 20 years prior to Seneca Falls and provides a glimpse of a movement gaining steam in these decades.

The turn of the nineteenth century ushered in a new age of industrialization and a new sense of independence for women. Industrialization brought women from their sphere of the home into the gritty factory scene. While employment had the potential to liberate women from traditional gender roles, coverture laws of the time prevented the income from going into the pocketbook of its rightful owners. Under coverture laws, women and men became one when they married and all assets and legal power went to the husband. As the century progressed, the coverture laws began to ease. The 1830s saw the passage of the first Married Women's Property Law, the pioneer issue of *Liberator,* and the foundation of the Female Anti-Slavery Society. The following decade began with women being barred from the Anti-Slavery Convention in London but ended with the women's rights convention in Seneca

Falls, New York, which many consider the beginning of the women's rights movement in America.

The conference in Seneca Falls often is deemed the beginning of the women's rights movement in America. *Women's Rights Emerges from the Anti-Slavery Movement in 1830-1870* has a chapter titled, "An Independent Women's Rights Movement is Born, 1840-1858." This book, like many others, puts all of the force behind the movement into the context of the 1840s. The difference between the 1848 convention and the decades prior lies in the organization of its participants. While the women who gathered in Seneca Falls had formed a semi-cohesive movement, women prior to this convention were acting in relatively local spheres, rather than on a national or international level. This is not to say that they did not empathize with the other women in similar situations; pre-Seneca Falls activists were simply lacking vocal leaders such as Lucretia Mott and the Grimke sisters, who would be seen in later decades. Despite their lack of national organization, pre-women's movement activists still fought for the cause and made substantial gains. Newspapers from the time show the change in public opinion regarding women's participation in the social sphere, from defiance of coverture to women-only organizations to collaborative efforts in the fight against slavery and for temperance. Prior to Seneca Falls, local court cases and anonymously written newspaper articles show support from average Americans, starting a grass roots movement supporting greater rights for women.

Other historians have tackled the issue of exactly when the women's rights movement in America started. Rosemarie Zagarri, author of "The Rights of Man and Woman in Post-Revolutionary America," believes that the movement started much earlier, "in the wake of the American Revolution and…after the publication of Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*"[2] in 1792. The success of Wollstonecraft's book translated into "discussions of women's rights long before there was an organized movement to mobilize their sentiments."[3] The publication of *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* introduced new terminology, such as "women's rights," that the American public could now use to discuss women. Although Wollstonecraft's book finally gave the American public the proper terminology, coverture laws were still too deeply embedded in American culture to spark the creation

of a full-fledged movement. Zagarri points out that women even had the right to vote in New Jersey up through 1807 but "women apparently voiced no public protests"[4] when their voting abilities were stripped from them in that state. It wasn't until decades later, when the yoke of coverture began to slip, that American women finally reached the point of no return, when popular opinion began to sway in their favor and women's public speaking was met with slightly less indignation.

The nineteenth century started out, like the century before, with laws of coverture, including property and income rights that made women subordinate to their husbands. Under coverture, women could not own property, participate in the legal realm such as contracts, or sue or be sued. *Feme soles*, or single females, still retained the same property rights as men, but in most cases lacked the voting, jury, and military rights men had. If these single women married, they became *feme coverts*, or "covered women," and their rights passed to their husbands, who now held all of the legal rights for the family. Due to social stratification at the time, coverture laws only applied to middle class white women. Lower class women frequently entered into marriages that were not concerned with "his and hers" property, as there was not enough property to go around. Women in these marriages frequently were employed, either as domestic workers or factories, out of necessity, not out of a sense of female-entitlement. In the case of married middle class women, court cases such as *Cole v. Van Riper* stated, "It is simply impossible that a woman should be able to control and enjoy her property as if she were sole, without practically leaving her at liberty to annul the marriage."[5] Men within the government worried that if women were given the liberty of property rights and the ability to take possession of their own income, they would ruin the institution of marriage and chaos would erupt. According to Hendrik Hartog, "…to recognize a wife's capacity to represent herself was to imagine the end of marriage."[6] Without economic dependence on their husbands, what incentive would women have to stay?

Participation in the employment sector was met with similar uneasiness. Again, men feared that if women were working in factories or as domestic servants, their work within the domestic sphere

would suffer and this would reflect badly upon their husbands. Representing a common view of the day, one man noted, "the two sexes are constructed and intended for different purposes. Man may enter a woman's and a woman man's, but 'revolting of the soul would attend this violence to nature; this abuse of physical and intellectual energy; while the beauty of social order would be defaced and the fountains of earth's felicity broken up.'"[7] Some saw the separate spheres as a religious notion, others as a social responsibility, and finally, some saw the women's sphere as a physical necessity. *The Southern Literary Messenger*, a Virginia-based periodical, stated in 1835 that women could never be physicians, lawyers, or statesmen because "to succeed at all, she would be obliged to desert the station and defeat the ends for which nature intended her."[8] This argument synthesizes all basic arguments in favor of separate spheres: if women are not in the home, not only are they neglecting their motherly duties, they will also be physically incapable of doing much else. The separate spheres mentality was the status quo for gender roles, and the defiance of it when women entered the labor force made many uneasy. *Godey's Lady's Book*, one of the most widely circulated magazines for women at the time, popularized the term "Cult of Domesticity" to refer to this widely held belief.[9]

Within the notion of separate spheres, women and men were expected to have certain characteristics representative of their genders. Just as working outside the home and receiving a higher education were deemed "manly," emotions, sentiments, and actions also had a gender. Men were materialistic, aggressive, vulgar, hard, and rational.[10] Women, on the other hand, were supposed to be moral and stable and provide a place of serenity for their husbands, so men could have a temporary break from the insanity of the cruel, dirty, and busy masculine world. As for aspirations in life, "Men have a thousand objectives in life—the professions, glory, ambition, the arts, authorship, advancement, and money getting..."[11] Women's aspirations consisted of providing a warm home full of leisure for their husbands and families. If she "succeed not in the one sole hope of her hazardous career, she is utterly lost to all the purposes of exertion of happiness, the past has been all thrown away, and the future presents nothing but cheerless desolation."[12] This outlook of doom and gloom was the result of

an ingrained notion of separate spheres that dictated a lifestyle of servitude for women and pressure to succeed as mothers and wives. With the separate spheres mentality so pervasive in society, women felt as though their only hope to succeed was in their career as mothers. If they should fail, not only would society stigmatize them as failures, but their inability would carry on with them into the desolate future.

According to the *Independent Statesman*, love carried similar standards based on gender. "Love is only a luxury to men, but it may be termed a necessity to women, both by the constitution of society and the decrees of nature, for she has endowed them with superior susceptibility and overflowing affections, which, if they be not provided with a vent, perpetually corrode and gnaw at the heart. And what are her feelings and chances in this fearful lottery? A constant sense of degradation, in being compelled to make her whole life a game, a maneuver, a speculation; while she is haunted with the fear and shame of ultimate failure."[13] For men, love was optional. Since they had incomes but few expenditures while single, a wife was not a necessity. Women, on the other hand, earned little to no income, forcing them to be dependent on a male breadwinner. This, plus the societal expectation of marriage at a young age, forced women into marriage with the weight of the world on their shoulders. The author of this article, though his or her gender is unknown, has much to say regarding societal expectations for women versus men. Despite a lack of outward disapproval, woven into each sentence is a warning. Verbs such as "corrode" and "gnaw" foretell consequences for women if they did not properly maintain their households or sufficiently provide comforting homes for their husbands.

In the 1820s, men were still the sole authority regarding property rights. Although many felt that the nineteenth century was an "age of innovation; in which all the received notions of justice and government are to be supplanted," a bill was being introduced in Georgia in 1827 that would "enable the husband, under any circumstances, to dispose of his real estate without consent of his wife, as far as regards the right of dower or thirds."[14] Dowers, or morning gifts, traditionally could not be touched by the husband, as they were intended to provide for the wife should she outlive the husband. Since the laws of coverture gave all property and possessions the woman had prior to marriage to the husband,

dowers were "intended as a kind of equivalent for those vested rights which the husband received in virtue of his marriage. Indeed, without the right of dower, the wife will be left without the least guaranty against the profligacy of the husband…."[15] Although a lack of property rights for women was customary in this time period, this Georgian law hoped to take away further rights, including her security in widowhood and her right to one-third of her husband's real estate. Even though this law had nothing to do with the women of Maryland, the author of the article in the *Baltimore Chronicle*, the original source, felt that the law was a "contagion [that] may be wafted within our borders, and we shall be obliged to use a curative, instead of a preventative."[16] Sympathetic reporters worried that the new anti-property rights act would spread like a virus and would need to be dealt with as such.

Other states "were accepting the idea that a woman should be given the legal ability to support herself, particularly if her husband were a debtor."[17] These supportive states and their decision in the 1820s began the slow movement toward liberation. Although some states' ideologies reflected past notions of gender divisions and separate spheres, public opinion was beginning to show sympathy for women in loveless marriages that left them prey to reckless husbands. Several court cases ruled in favor of women having separate spheres, provided it did not throw off the power balance or threaten the unity of marriage. In New York, the court case of *Kenny v. Udall and Kenny* ruled that due to the "dishonest behavior of her husband," Mrs. Kenny's property should be placed in a separate estate so as to protect her.[18] Regulations on wills and inheritance of property were slowly becoming more lax and allowing inheritance for women or with the help of appointed trustees. Courts began to rule in favor of women who were forced into unfortunate circumstances by debt-prone husbands, and then were left with little money. Women's loss of property due to coverture made courts feel sympathetic to women and more apt to grant them settlements.

This new tide of sympathy left women with more control over property and less susceptibility to the whims of a drunken husband. Lending a helping hand to women's property rights was the temperance movement which gained steam alongside the new waves of religious fervor in the early

1800s. Both men and women were involved in the temperance movement and though they joined for different reasons, both helped to boost the movement and bring attention to the rampant alcoholism that was both morally and monetarily draining families. Thanks to the efforts of the temperance movement, alcohol consumption was reduced from five gallons annually per capita in 1830 to less than two gallons just ten years later.[19]

While American courts were dealing with the ownership of properties within marriage, the House of Commons in Great Britain was discussing the legality of women signing political petitions. *The Commercial Advertiser*, a newspaper based in New York, reported the story, followed by its own interpretation of the Speakers' actions. The Speaker of the House ruled that he saw no reason or law that would prevent women from signing petitions for the House. The *Advertiser* then added in brackets, "[It may be remembered that during the recess the Speaker married.]"[20] The author of this article clearly thought that the Speaker's recent marriage had left him susceptible to the whims of a woman, thereby altering his judgment in favor of women's rights. At the time this article was published, Britain was in the process of passing the Representation of the People Act. This act, which finally passed in 1832, stated blatantly that voting rights would go to males, making it legally binding that only men could have suffrage. This terminology ignited the fire that started the women's rights movement in Britain and gave hope to women in America just beginning to assemble.

Although women in the 1820s were slowly being allowed to keep money and possessions after the deaths of their husbands or in light of unfortunate circumstances, little changed regarding their own possessions during marriage until the next decade. In an article published in the *Norfolk Advertiser*, a Massachusetts-based newspaper, the author of an article titled "The Rights of Woman" questions why women are paid so little and why so few men help to resolve their predicament. "The world is a scene of violence, where every man scrambles for his share of plunder; but weak woman is constrained by her physical inferiority to stand apart and gaze hopelessly, with little to sustain her or her little ones, but the stray fragments that may fall in her way."[21] The article focuses on the toil of women and the double

standard that existed between male and female workers. "The widow may toil with superior assiduity and receive less than the tithes of the wages of man—and who strives for her? Is her labor less useful or necessary. [sic] By no means. Are her orphans any more readdy [sic] or cheaply sustained than the children of the labourer [sic]? Of course they are not. Yet she is allowed to toil unnecessarily, and receives a pittance which, if quadrupled, would be spurned by a male labourer [sic] with spurn?"[22] The article asserts that while women's work is equally important and comparable to men's, women are still only paid a fraction of a man's wage. She is then expected to provide for the whole family with her low stipend from her husband and the pittance she earns, all while putting on a façade that the pittance is sufficient.

The author then questions why there is such a dichotomous nature between labor, representation, and gender. "But who, we ask again, who strikes for the lone widow? Who compassionates her wrongs and asserts her rights? Perhaps it may be asserted that women have no rights. Men are entitled to high wages, but women should not expect it! Men must not labor more than ten hours, but women may toil day and night! Might makes right, and the woman, being weak and unable to demand her fair share of the advantages that result from labor, must consent to be as she has been, the drudge and slave of those who prate about her beauty and their chivalry."[23] This article says two important things regarding the view of women at the time. First, it shows that people are seriously acknowledging all of the work that women do. The author clearly believes that women's work is of value and should receive adequate compensation. His or her argument is this: how can a woman sustain herself and her family if she is paid only a mere pittance and forced to rely on her husband who enjoys all freedoms and earns a sustainable wage? Secondly, the article makes it clear that sexism remains. Although the author believes that women are capable of doing work and running a household, he or she does not hesitate to repeatedly refer to women as weak. Within the article, the author uses "weak," "lone," and "in need of defending" to describe women. Rather than asserting the strengths of women, the article focuses on how men are needed to step in and help women to initiate their own fight for

rights. This article is both forward-thinking and stuck in sexism of the past. The reprinting of this article by other newspapers shows that the notion of weak women resonated throughout the United States.

The pre-women's rights movement had been evolving for a decade, but was missing a vocal, unwavering spokesperson. In 1831, William Lloyd Garrison, the outspoken abolitionist, formed his influential newspaper *Liberator*. During this time, abolitionist groups, some open to both men and women, began springing up throughout the country. Garrison encouraged women to become involved in both his movement and the women's rights movement. His belief in the involvement of women in both political movements shows that the spark had been ignited regarding women's participation.

Much like Garrison's intertwining of abolitionism and women's rights, during the nineteenth century social change groups would often become enmeshed with one another. The same women who were fighting for increased property rights also often fought for the abolition of slavery and the prohibition of alcohol. Many women, fed up with scrounging for money for food while their husbands spent late nights at the local bar, retaliated in a variety of ways, often with violence toward their husbands or through joining the temperance movement. Many social organizations gave women a voice that had previously been silenced. Unfortunately, while Garrison believed in the cohesiveness of these groups because "he appreciated the substantial impact that women's experiences, beliefs and work could have on public opinion, political issues, and the rehabilitation of nineteenth-century American culture," many disagreed.[24] The *New York Spectator* recounted the minutes of a New England Anti-Slavery Society meeting in which the participation of women was being discussed. Miss Kelley, one of the female attendees, argued that "the creator has as much right to put a soul into a female frame as into a male frame, and that the abolitionists should take the yoke off the heads of females, before they break the chain from the negro's heel."[25] Although Kelley participated in both the abolition and women's rights movements, she prioritized the rights of females. At the end of the article, the author predicts another split within the abolitionist movement, this time between those for and against the participation

and rights of women.

One year later, in 1839, the participation of women within the Society was still being debated. The argument by the opposition this time was that "they [women] neither enrolled their names as members, nor did they sign the Declaration of Sentiments; that such a claim had never been made or recognized in the society before; that for women to take as active part in such an assembly was contrary to the generally received roles of propriety...."[26] Members of the Society who supported the participation of women used the Constitution of the Society as evidence. According to their Constitution, the only requirements for membership were that the person "consent to the principles of the Constitution, ...contribute[s] to the funds of the society and is not a slaveholder."[27] The supporters of women's participation argued that because women fit all of the qualifications, they should be able to vote within the Society. But even many forward-thinking abolitionists did not see the wealth of information and experience that women could bring to the table.

Although some groups allowed women, many men still felt that women were too emotional to participate in politics. At the time, women's voices in public extended only so far as speaking to other women or slaves, whom men considered to be at an equal or lower level than to the women themselves. Abby Kelley, the abolitionist and feminist mentioned previously, toured with Frederick Douglass, an African American who shared her anti-slavery and pro-women's rights attitudes. Kelley took advantage of the rare opportunity to speak in public and kept the issue of women's rights out of her speeches so as not to anger her audience. The Grimke sisters also spoke in public regarding the anti-slavery movement. While Kelley and Douglass spoke solely of the abolitionist movement while on tour, the Grimkes combined their views and encountered problems. The Grimkes held the audience's attention, but when the notion of equality for women was addressed, abolitionists in the audience grew restless and discontented. As Angelina Grimke said in a letter to Theodore Weld, a fellow abolitionist and her future husband,

You seem greatly alarmed at the idea of our advocating the *rights of woman*...These letters have not been the means of *arousing* the public attention to the subject of Womans rights, it was the Pastoral Letter which did the mischief. The ministers seemed panic struck at once and commenced a most violent attack upon us...*This letter* then roused the attention of the whole country to enquire what *right* we have to open our mouths for the dumb; the people were continually told "it is a *shame* for a *woman* to speak in the churches." Paul suffered not a *woman* to *teach* but commanded *her* to be in silence.[28]

Clergy were outraged by Grimke's entrance into the public sphere. Her unwavering speech angered the clergy and abolitionists who thought that women should push for abolition but keep their feminist sentiments within the confines of feminist groups or, ideally, to themselves. Grimke grew angry toward the middle of her letter. Unlike Kelley, who was allowed to speak, Grimke had encountered men who told her that women were out of their sphere even when "we circulate petitions; out of our 'appropriate sphere' when we speak to women only; and out of them when we *sing* in the churches. Silence is *our* province, submission *our* duty."[29] Grimke argued in the post-script of her letter that "We never mention women's rights in our *lectures* except so far as is necessary to urge them to meet their responsibilities. We speak of their *responsibilities* and leave *them* to *infer* their *rights*."[30] The Grimkes' goal was to encourage women to acknowledge their lack of social rights and that the fight was their responsibility.

In the later half of the 1830s, while Garrison was publishing his newspaper and the Grimkes were sparking fury amongst fellow abolitionists, property rights laws began to make their way through the legal system. The first Married Women's Property Act was passed in Mississippi in 1839. This pioneer act reflected previous concerns regarding women's property being taken away because of their husbands' debts. The Married Women's Property Act protected women from having their property seized by creditors and gave them access to income gained from the property. This act was in the same vein as previous court cases, such as those in New York and Virginia, which had ruled in favor of dependent women. Despite these advances, the act still left men in charge of buying, selling, and managing any property, leaving much unchanged. The act protected women without granting them any rights that would detract from the rights of their husbands or other males.

The same year as the passage of the Mississippi Act, *The North American* copied an article from

The Bangor Whig. In the same spirit as the Married Women's Property Act, the staff at *The Bangor Whig* "advocate[d]...the propriety of extending to women the privilege of making proposals in preliminary matter pertaining to matrimonial engagements."[31] While many of the Property Acts focused on women retaining property after marriage, the staff at *The Bangor Whig* was advocating rights for women prior to engaging in marriage. These rights would allow women to have more participation in marital arrangements, and women would have greater say in dowry, morning gifts, and life after the marriage had been initiated. When combined with the new rights gained in various property laws, women would have the opportunity to be more vocal and secure through every stage of marriage, from engagement to widowhood.

Mississippi's Act stood alone until 1848 when New York followed suit. Even though the Act did not pass until 1848, articles as early as 1837 anxiously discussed its introduction. News regarding the introduction of the Act was published in many newspapers, including *The Philanthropist, Newport Mercury, The Cleveland Messenger,* and *The Patriot and Democrat.*[32] According to *The Patriot and Democrat*, the New York Property Act would work "for the promotion and preservation of the rights and property of married women!"[33] The first section of the act would give "...all estate, real and personal, belonging to a woman at the time of her marriage, who shall be married after the date of this law, and all the estate which she may afterwards acquire by inheritance, gift, bequest, or devise, shall continue vested in her after marriage; nor shall such estate, or the rents or process of it insure to the husband during the life of the wife, without her consent."[34] The proposed version of the New York Married Women's Property Act went above and beyond the act in Mississippi. The Married Women's Property Act from Mississippi was mainly focused on slaveholding, a vital part of Southern economy, whereas the proposed act from New York allotted additional freedoms to women. Not only were they allowed to retain all property from before the marriage, which normally would belong to the husband under coverture laws, they were also allowed to keep any property they acquired after the marriage.

The major difference between the Mississippi Act and the first section of the New York Act was

that in the proposed Act from New York men were not allowed to tamper with a woman's portion of the estate without her consent. The Mississippi Act still granted males full control over buying and selling rights of the property. According to the second section, the husband was "entitled to so much of his wife's property, at her death, as by the laws of the state the widow is now entitled to at the time of his demise—in other words, he shall have dower."[35] As seen in the previous Georgia law, dowers were originally to protect women in widowhood and insure their economic stability. The proposed New York Act would have enacted semi-equality regarding the loss of a spouse. Unlike the law in Georgia, this Act did not attempt to take the dower away from women. The final section of the proposed Act "prohibits married women from making conveyance to their husbands of any real or personal estate, except the income thereof, without the permission of the Chancellor."[36] This section prohibited women from handing their property over to their husbands, most likely to protect women from unfair deals or debtors.

While many of the newspapers simply reported the sections of the Property Act that had been introduced, *The Philanthropist* took a more opinionated stance on the issue. Reprinted from *The Cleveland Messenger*, the article used religion to support the advancement of women's rights, similar to Abby Kelley's argument. "Though christianity [sic] has done much for the female sex, and restored them many lost rights and privileges, still it is a humiliating fact that in christian [sic] lands, woman has far less freedom than justice and humanity demands."[37] The author of "Rights of Women" was clearly distressed that so little had changed for women even in civilized nations. According to the unnamed author, the new Act "commends itself to the common sense of and conscience of every enlightened citizen who will examine it."[38] The author understands that men and women supposedly become one flesh when they are married, but does not believe that this should "not in any such sense as to destroy the personal identity of each…."[39] The author of "Rights of Women" believed that laws should ensure the protection of all women's property and that the division of responsibilities by sex needed to end. It was the hope of *The Cleveland Messenger* that "such a law…will soon be enacted in every state in the

Union, and in every nation on Earth."[40] Although this was a lofty goal, the tide had been gradually turning towards women's legal emancipation over the past decade, making these attitudes popular and their aims plausible.

Amidst the buzz of the newly proposed New York Property Act, a future forerunner in the fight for women's rights in America was gaining momentum. Lucretia Mott, a Hicksite Quaker born in Masschusetts, began her political participation as a part of the abolition movement. After being denied entrance into other anti-slavery societies due to gender, Mott founded the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society. Mott became friends with William Lloyd Garrison in the early 1830s, as Garrison was gaining fame for his organizations and newspaper. Their friendship would propel her to the forefront of the movement and make both of their names synonymous with radical change. Years later, Mott would challenge the sexism of abolitionist societies. After facing rejection and disappointment, Mott and others felt it was time for women to have their own convention, separate from the drama of the abolitionist movement.

In May 1837, Mott, along with 200 other women, helped organize the first female anti-slavery convention in New York. This so-called National Petticoat Convention was the topic of conversation in numerous newspapers. In an article published two months after the event, *The Commercial Advertiser* applauded the efforts of the women involved. The *Advertiser* was also impressed with the spread of women's rights movements across the globe. "Europe is getting on right ground upon the subject. England has changed her gouty old king for a queen. Portugal has done the same; and Spain would follow the example, were it not for that obstinate old rusty-fusty, Don Carlos."[41] In 1837, Queen Victoria was crowned and so began the Victorian Era in British history, marking female rule across the Atlantic. *The Commercial Advertiser* supported the efforts abroad and was happy to see this change in attitude being reflected in the United States.

It was in the late 1830s that women like Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton began to make their presence known throughout the United States. Not surprisingly, many men opposed their

participation within the public sphere and their activity within the movements. Unfortunately for the men, who opposed the participation, Mott, Stanton, and Kelley refused to be silenced by sexism. The 1840s ushered in a new decade that would see even greater gains in the domain of women's rights. New York finally passed its Married Women's Property Act, and in 1848 a conference was held in Seneca Falls, New York, that gathered hundreds of women and their supporters to bring suffrage and equality for women to be "laid before the public."[42] Seneca Falls resulted in the culmination of efforts known as the Declaration of Sentiments, a woman-centered version of the Declaration of Independence devised by Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Naturally, the convention was met with a "torrent of sarcasm and ridicule from the press and pulpit."[43] Seneca Falls, for the first time in the history of the movement, added the cohesiveness of a large group to the push for liberation. The group now had a solid following with one goal. Prior conventions had to deal with rifts between members and leaders as well as opposition between temperance, abolitionism, and women's rights. Starting in 1840, the movement gained the momentum it needed thanks to vocal leaders that it had been lacking. The widespread recognition that was gained at Seneca Falls led many to believe that the women's rights movement in America began in 1848.

Rosemarie Zagarri, in her book *Revolutionary Backlash: Women and Politics in the Early American Republic*, states that, "The period between the American Revolution and the Seneca Falls Convention of 1848 appears to be nothing more than a frustrating hiatus in the development of women's rights."[44] Although Zagarri too agrees that women were actively seeking rights prior to 1848, she argues that women's ability to participate in the public sphere ended in the 1820s. The Revolution did open doors for women, allowing them to informally participate in the political scene; however, this foothold was lost shortly thereafter, as was seen in New Jersey. It was not until decades later, in the 20 years prior to the convention, that women began a larger push for a movement. These women, though nameless and unassembled, fought for the passage of laws and the lifting of coverture. The women of the late eighteenth century, those mentioned in Zagarri's article, were still too deeply embedded in a

society not ready for women's equality. According to Nancy F. Cott, author of *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835*, the coverture system gave women one domain that they could feel proud of, the home, and as a result some sense of power. The quality of their work within the home could boost their esteem and lead to some comfort within the constraints of coverture.[45] Thirty years later, however, coverture laws had begun to ease and women found it less difficult to shake off the chains that bound them and finally became vocal in their quest for equal rights.

When the 1800s started, women were not present in the workplace or the political sphere, marriage transferred a woman's possessions from her father to husband, and property rights for women were almost non-existent. From the turn of the century until the convention in Seneca Falls, women made remarkable gains in almost every category. Mississippi women saw the passage of a property act almost a decade before any state in the North granted women such rights. Court cases in New York and Virginia granted women protection from debt-prone husbands, allowing them more financial security. Of course, in the latter half of the 1830s famous abolitionists and women's rights proponents like William Lloyd Garrison and Lucretia Mott came on the scene. However, without the help of nameless womens' earlier fights for legal and social equality, the forward-thinking attitudes of people like Garrison and Mott would never have propelled the movement in the way that it did. The convention in Seneca Falls would not have been plausible if it weren't for the social gains that resulted in the collectivity of the movement.

Over the first half of the nineteenth century, the movement grew as the yoke of separate spheres was slowly removed from women's necks. This decay of the separate spheres mentality allowed women to come out of hiding and profess their desire for independence and enabled future proponents to come out and speak in favor of the movement, creating the propulsion that made Seneca Falls possible. The turning tide of public opinion, as vocalized through local newspapers, created an atmosphere welcoming enough to draw women out into the open and the issue to the headlines. The loosening of social restraints allowed women to leave the private domain and make their way into the

political sphere, one organization at a time. This new freedom fostered the collectivity of men and

women that resulted in Seneca Falls which, in the end, was the catalyst the movement needed to

succeed.

Notes
1. Rosemarie Zagarri, "The Rights of Man and Woman in Post-Revolutionary America," *William and Mary Quarterly* 55 (1998): 203.
2. Ibid., 203.
3. Ibid., 210.
4. Ibid., 206.
5. BZ Khan, "Married Women's Property Laws and Female Commercial Activity: Evidence from United States Patent Records 1790–1895," *Journal of Economic History* 56 (1996): 360.
6. Hendrik Hartog, *Man and wife in America: a history,* (USA: President and Fellows of Harvard College, 2000), 118.
7. Cynthia Kinnard, *Antifeminism in American Thought: An Annotated Bibliography* (Massachusetts: GK Hall, 1986), 5.
8. Cynthia Kinnard, *Antifeminism in American Thought: An Annotated Bibliography,* 5.
9. Catherine Lavender, "True Womanhood and the Cult of Domesticity," teaching slides for History/Women's Studies, accessed August 3, 2011, http://www.library.csi.cuny.edu/dept/history/lavender/286/08.pdf.
10. Ibid.
11. "From the New Monthly Magazine [Illegible] of Women—Chances of Female Happiness" *Independent Statesman,* January 2, 1823, 4.
12. Ibid., 4.
13. Ibid., 4.
14. "Female Rights," *Hallowell Gazette*, January 17, 1827, 1.
15. Ibid., 1.
16. Ibid., 1.
17. Marylynn Salmon, *Women and the Law of Property in Early America* (Chapel Hill: University of Northern Carolina Press, 1986), 91.
18. Ibid., 91.
19. "American Alcohol Consumption," accessed August 3, 2011, http://dui.com/dui-library/studies/research/colonial-america.
20. "Rights of Women," *Commercial Advertiser*, April 25, 1829, 2.
21. "The Rights of Woman," *Norfolk Advertiser*, December 17, 1836, 1.
22. Ibid., 1.
23. Ibid., 1.
24. James Baker Stewart. *William Lloyd Garrison at Two Hundred* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 45.
25. "Rights of Women," *Spectator*, June 14, 1838, 3.
26. "The Woman Question," *Liberator*, May 31, 1839, 87.
27. Ibid., 87.
28. Angelina Grimke, Letter to Theodore Weld in J.G. Whittier, August 20, 1837.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid.
31. "Rights of Women," *The Bangor Whig*, in *The North American*, December 5, 1839, 2.

32. Quoted in *The Philanthropist, Newport Mercury, The Cleveland Messenger,* and *The Patriot and Democrat*, 1837.
33. "Rights of Married Women," *The Patriot and Democrat*, April 8, 1837, 2.
34. "Rights of Women," *Newport Mercury*, March 25, 1837, 2.
35. Ibid., 2.
36. Ibid., 2.
37. "Rights of Women," *The Philanthropist*, June 30, 1837, 4.
38. Ibid., 4.
39. Ibid., 4.
40. Ibid., 4.
41. "Rights of Women," *New York Commercial Advertiser*, July 28, 1837, 2.
42. "The Seneca Falls Convention," accessed August 3, 2011, http://www.npg.si.edu/col/seneca/senfalls1.htm.
43. Ibid.
44. Rosemarie Zagarri, *Revolutionary Backlash: Women and Politics in the Early American Republic* (USA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 3.
45. Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780–1835* (Yale University: Yale University Press, 1997), 205.

Bibliography

"American Alcohol Consumption." eLaw Software, Ltd. (2007). http://www.dui.com/dui-library/studies/research/colonial-america (accessed August 3, 2011).

Lavender, Catherine. True Womanhood and the Cult of Domesticity. (2009). www.library.csi.cuny.edu/dept/history/lavender/386/truewoman.html (accessed August 3, 2011).

"Female Rights." *Hallowell Gazette.* January 17, 1827.

"From the New Monthly Magazine [Illegible] of Women—Chances of Female Happiness." *Independent Statesman.* January 2, 1823.

Grimke, Angelina. Letter to Theodore Weld and J.G. Whittier, August 20, 1837.

Khan, B.Z. "Married Women's Property Laws and Female Commercial Activity: Evidence from United States Patent Records, 1790-1895." *Journal of Economic History* 56 (1996): 356–88.

Kinnard, Cynthia. *Antifeminism in American Thought: An Annotated Bibliography*. Massachusetts: G.K. Hall, 1986.

"Rights of Married Women." *Patriot and Democrat*. April 8, 1837.

"Rights of Women." *Commercial Advertiser*. April 25, 1829.

"Rights of Women." *Newport Mercury*. March 25, 1837.

"Rights of Women." *New York Commercial Advertiser*. July 28, 1837.

"Rights of Women." *New York Spectator*. June 14, 1838.

"Rights of Women." *The Bangor Whig* in *The North American*. December 5, 1839.

"Rights of Women." *The Philanthropist*. June 30, 1837.

Salmon, Marylynn. *Women and the Law of Property in Early America.* Chapel Hill: University of Northern Carolina Press, 1986.

Smithsonian National Portrait Gallery. *The Seneca Falls Convention.* http://www.npg.si.edu/col/seneca/senfalls1.htm (accessed August 3, 2011).

Sklar, Kathryn Kish. *Women's Rights Emerges within the Antislavery Movement, 1830–1870*: *A Brief History with Documents*. Bedford/St. Martin's: Binghampton University, 2000.

Stewart, James Brewer. *William Lloyd Garrison at Two Hundred: History, Legacy, and Memory.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986.

"The Rights of Woman." *Norfolk Advertiser*. December 17, 1836.

"The Woman Question." *Liberator*. May 31, 1839.

Zagarri, Rosemarie. "The Rights of Man and Woman in Post-Revolutionary America." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 55 (1998): 203–11.