

Nº 32

June 2011

Cornerstone

An Undergraduate Historical Journal

Editors

Michael Cox

Lindsay Johnson

Sarah McCormick

Ulices Pina

Jeremiah Wishon

Department of History
University of California, Riverside

CONTENTS

Editors' Introduction	iii
Keep A-Inchin Along: Post-Civil War African American Migration to the American Midwest, Urban Centers, and Liberia	
<i>Liam Odien</i>	1
The Black Hills of Gold: Manifest Destiny and the Meaning of Land	
<i>Nicolette Rohr</i>	13
Winner of the 2011 Peter Schneider American History Award	
From Baker to Breadwinner: The Transformation of Working Women during WWII	
<i>Corynn Rubel</i>	23
Winner of the 2011 History Essay Award	
An Incidence of Practical Political Restraint: The John Robinson Scandal of 1766	
<i>Timmithy Young</i>	41

Editors' Introduction

Published annually since 1980, the *Cornerstone* journal for undergraduate research has provided students at the University of California, Riverside with the opportunity to present to the academic world their original work in historical scholarship. This year's submissions provided a strong representation of works centered on inquiries into American experiences ranging from the political culture of mid-18th century Virginia to black emigrationist activity in last quarter of the 19th century. Collectively, these works demonstrate the ability of the students to approach the diverse stories which make up our collective past through equally diverse sources such as published manuscripts, newspapers, oral histories, and even songs and wartime propaganda images. The editors of *Cornerstone* are pleased to present the four papers featured in this year's issue.

Liam Odien's research project, "Keep A-Inchin Along: Post-Civil War African American Migration to the American Midwest, Urban Centers, and Liberia," explores the motivations of African Americans in the post-Civil War era to migrate to the Midwest (particularly to Kansas), select urban centers, and to the West African colony of Liberia. These motivations, Odien argues, derived from the newfound agency and exploitation that African American communities experienced in the post-emancipation era. Odien skillfully highlights how these newly emancipated citizens strove to maximize their prospects for freedom and prosperity amidst a growing culture of violence and the emergence of Jim Crow in the American South.

"The Black Hills of Gold: Manifest Destiny and the Meaning of Land," by Nicolette Rohr, draws upon a diversity of sources, including journals from Custer's expedition and contemporary newspapers to explicate the motivations for white American settlement into the Black Hills region of South Dakota and Wyoming. Rohr's paper illustrates the tragedy in which profit-minded conceptions of Native American land as "unused," racially motivated Manifest Destiny, and reports of gold provided the catalysts for the "opening" of the Black Hills and the resulting subjugation of the Sioux people. The History Department recognized Rohr's research project as the recipient of the 2011 Peter Schneider Award for American History.

In her contribution, "From Baker to Breadwinner: the Transformation of Working Women during WWII," Corynn Rubel draws upon interviews with women who labored as factory workers during World War II. Her work demonstrates that women – including women of color - utilized newfound opportunities for wartime employment in manufacturing hubs such as Southern California to carve out a space for autonomy, consumption, and leisure in a previously male-dominated society. Far from returning to pre-war domestic life following 1945, these working women, Rubel shows, passed a "point of no return" and irrevocably challenged norms of feminine "frailty," perhaps setting the stage for the social transformations of the 1960s and 1970s. This work received additional recognition from the Department of History, which is pleased to recognize Rubel as the winner of the 2011 *Cornerstone* History Essay Award.

In his project, “An Incidence of Practical Political Restraint: The John Robinson Scandal of 1766,” Timmity Young explores the political discussions surrounding the revelation of corruption on the part of Virginia’s House of Burgesses Treasurer and Secretary, John Robinson. Noting the remarkable restraint and civility of this discourse, Young argues that Robinson’s scandal evoked little scorn and outrage relative to rival cases (such as that of Governor Francis Nicholson or Benedict Arnold) because highlighting Robinson’s indiscretions would have threatened the newly-won political stability of Virginia.

The *Cornerstone* journal’s editorial committee would like to thank these outstanding students, as well as all of the students who submitted excellent research papers for consideration that we were unable to publish. The selections featured in this journal represent the culmination of a long process of creative thought, enthusiastic research, adept writing, and careful revision. As editors, we believe that they serve as strong examples of the high standards of scholarship and historical inquiry for which our department stands. The editors would also like to thank professors Kendra Field and Georg Michels for their guidance, oversight, and hard work in assisting in the preparation for this year’s issue of *Cornerstone*. Additionally, the editors would like to thank both Wendy Mello and Christina Cuellar for their assistance, suggestions, and insight. Without the contributions of all of these individuals, this publication would not have been possible.

Cornerstone editorial committee:

Michael Cox

Lindsay Johnson

Sarah McCormick

Ulices Pina

Jeremiah Wishon

April 2011

Riverside, CA

Keep A-Inchin Along: Post-Civil War African-American Migration to the American Midwest, Urban Centers, and Liberia

By Liam Odien

During the nineteenth century the United States began to establish itself on the world stage and take on an identity distinct from the influence of European hegemony. From the beginning of the nineteenth century onward, the development of the United States was characterized by incessant expansion and migration, and by its rapidly expanding system of racial slavery. After, and in reaction to, emancipation in 1865, the institution of slavery exhibited dual roles—as a socio-racial caste system and a form of geographic expansion—that were replaced by the hardening of racial mores, increased racial animosity, and the codification of Jim Crow segregation. The post-bellum period between 1865 and 1900 was marked by significant black-emigrationist activity, as hundreds of thousands of freed African Americans sought to make new lives for themselves, free from the bonds of slavery. Their reasons for migrating were varied and overlapping: they migrated to escape the baggage of slavery, to escape the increasingly hostile world of the Jim Crow South, and to find more fertile land.

Most African American migrants, however, had somewhat more complex motivations than these—migration was generally not a forced diaspora, nor an entirely voluntary endeavor, but something in between. The destinations of migrants were similarly diverse, as migrants diffused throughout the United

States and even beyond its borders. There was a strong push, for instance, to immigrate to regions in West Africa, in order to establish a nation of liberated blacks, free from the racism of the United States. This paper explores the complexities of those forces, both real and imagined, that motivated so many African Americans to migrate, focusing in large part on their “exodus” to the American Midwest, and particularly Kansas, as well as their transplantation to select American urban centers and Liberia. This analysis is based largely on letters by, and interviews with, individuals who made journeys to the American Midwest and Africa, and on the recollections of Henry Adams, a popular emigration organizer, who testified before the U.S. Senate. African-American migration in the wake of the Civil War was not just a reaction to emancipation, but an expression of African American's newly acquired agency, both of which underscored the diverse motivations of migrants and their various choices of destinations. Essentially, it was not the migration itself that was singularly important to newly freed African Americans, so much as the migrant's ability to journey as they deemed best.

To understand postwar African-American migration, it is necessary first to appreciate the historical relationship between slaves and migration. The American system of slavery was based largely on coercion and the restriction of

enslaved people's movement; thus, it relied on the slaveholder's abilities to restrict the free will of their slaves, especially geographically. Voluntary and permissible migration by African Americans in the South prior to abolition was an uncommon occurrence, and a dangerous and heavily policed endeavor, even for emancipated African Americans. Forced migration was commonplace, as slaves were coerced to move as their owners saw fit; such movement ranged from small-scale migration as slaves were sold to nearby planters, to large-scale relocations between states and territories. After emancipation in 1865, however, movement between states began to represent something new, as thousands of ex-slaves tested the limits of their liberty and exercised their newfound agency by moving within, or out of, the South—symbolically breaking away from the region's historical importance as the center of the American slave system.

The so-called "exodus" from the South to the American Midwest, and Kansas in particular, stands out among the major postwar migration movements in terms of both size and grassroots interest. In 1860, the population of Kansas was a scant 107,206 people, only 560 of whom were free blacks, and two of whom were slaves. Kansas' African-American population skyrocketed in the years after emancipation and, by 1870, just over 17,000 African Americans, mostly newly freed slaves, lived in Kansas.¹ The initial influx of African Americans came as a result of several factors. The first was the Federal Homestead Act of 1862 that allowed for the nearly-free claim by any citizen of 160 acres of public land, mostly in the prairie states, to be worked for a period of five years before

ownership was granted to the homesteader. Furthermore, Kansas was the state in which John Brown had conducted much of his anti-slavery work in the 1850s, and a state which, through popular sovereignty, had ultimately rejected slavery after years of bitter violence. "John Brown," said ex-slave Charles Anderson, "was born for a purpose," to help whip up anti-slavery sentiment in the United States. "And that," he continued, "was the start of the Civil War."² Anderson's vision of Brown's significance as an abolitionist martyr in the eyes of many African Americans provides insight into his contested legacy in the wake of the Civil War. Brown and his violent commitment to anti-slavery activities in the 1850s might have been seen, in part, as a sort of catalyst for the coming Civil War and the eventual emancipation the war produced, so much so, that many freed blacks felt drawn to Kansas as a symbolic haven of black independence and opportunity, however real or imagined.

Tied in with the 1862 Homestead Act and the promises of Western expansion was a piece of would-be legislation that inspired a great many African Americans to migrate out of the American South. The Windom Resolution of 1879 sought to create a committee to investigate the possibility of "encouraging and promoting by all just and proper methods the partial migration of colored persons" to "such Territory or Territories of the United States as may be provided for their use and occupation."³ The resolution did not pass, but nevertheless caused wild rumors of free land and government assistance to spread throughout black communities. Together, these factors led many African Americans to believe that

Keep A-Inchin Along: Post-Civil War African-American Migration to the American Midwest, Urban Centers, and Liberia

the Midwest, and Kansas especially, was conspicuously close to heaven. Migrants imagined that Kansas was “flowing with milk and honey,” “a modern Canaan and the God-appointed home of the negro race,” where the federal government would provide the necessary implements to begin a new and prosperous life.⁴ Upon arrival in Kansas, however, many migrants found themselves suddenly disillusioned with the state. Rather than living in great excess, “the people lived pretty primitive[ly],” said Bill Simms, an immigrant from Missouri to Kansas. “We didn’t have kerosene. Our only lights were tallow candles... There were no sewers at that time.”⁵ A song written after the Civil War reflected a similar sentiment about Kansas: “All who want to roam in Kansas/All who want to roam, go and get yourself a home/ Be contented with your doom in Kansas.”⁶ Simms’ description of Kansas and the bleak vision rendered by the song demonstrate the divide between the espoused migrant perception of Kansas—an image which pulled thousands of migrants into the state—and what the region was actually like.

Advertisement of Kansas by emigration societies contributed heavily to Kansas’ Edenic image. Often, it was through these short-lived grassroots agencies that optimistic and persuasive rumors spread. In 1869, an emigration society in Tennessee was organized to push for migration to Kansas, Oklahoma, and the Indian Territories, where “schools and railroads were everywhere and... blacks could get land for \$1.25 an acre.” Some black newspapers encouraged similar migration.⁷ The expansion of railroads, along with settlers’ willingness to help others along led to affordable transportation into the Midwest. One

group of migrants went so far as to offer passage to Kansas for as little as five dollars.⁸ In any case, Kansas’ heavenly image, coupled with affordable transportation and widespread rumors of free land and sustenance caused the black population of Kansas to boom higher still, so that, by 1880, some 43,799 African Americans were living in Kansas.

While fanciful images of certain destinations were a major draw for migrants, there were also forces pushing them out of their home states in the South. The vast majority of black immigrants to Kansas came from states in which Jim Crow was rapidly taking the place of racial slavery as a means to segregate and disenfranchise African Americans. Between 1865 and 1870, thousands of migrants poured into Missouri and Kentucky; in the decades following the war, both states passed laws that prohibited interracial marriage, miscegenation, and integrated schools. Moreover, neither state passed any legislation prohibiting segregation until Kentucky barred school segregation in 1868.⁹ Between 1870 and 1880, Jim Crow legislation expanded tremendously, and as a result, the number of African Americans fleeing to Kansas exploded. During the tumultuous Reconstruction era, Missouri and Kentucky maintained their positions as the two largest contributors to the population boom.¹⁰ In Kentucky, anti-segregation legislation was repealed and laws were passed that made it illegal for any “colored school” to “be located within one mile of a white school, except in cities and towns, where it may not be within six hundred feet.” Missouri’s laws became still more rigid. When, in 1896, the Supreme Court upheld the notion of “separate but equal,” local Jim Crow

laws blossomed under federal protection¹¹.

Much of the migration from Border States, like Missouri and Kentucky, to the American Midwest almost certainly had to do with the simple fact that it was easier to make the westerly journey from Missouri than it was to make it from Alabama, let alone the far more geographically distant Texas. In spite of this, immigration from Texas and the Deep South boomed in the latter two decades of the century as a result of Jim Crow's hold over the South. Additionally, extralegal coercion occurred more often as Union troops pulled out of the South. A number of paramilitary organizations cropped up throughout the South. In 1866, the Ku Klux Klan began to take shape in Tennessee, in an attempt to enforce vigilante justice in the Republican-controlled state. Paramilitarism expanded throughout the South, and while the organizations were generally poorly organized and regionally based, the Ku Klux Klan was used as a blanket term by observers.¹² Violence abounded as African Americans were beaten, or worse, and black churches and schools were vandalized. Quite often, lynching was employed as an intimidating, extralegal response to allegations and criminal charges brought against African Americans, both real and fabricated. For instance, Sam Holt, a black man, was lynched in Georgia in 1899 after being charged with the murder of his white employer. After raiding the jail and pulling Holt out, a mob of 2,000 people set about his torture and immolation. A newspaper described the lynching:

Sam Holt... was burned at the stake in a public road.... Before the torch

was applied to the pyre, the Negro was deprived of his ears, fingers, and other portions of his body.... Before the body was cool, it was cut to pieces, the bones were crushed into small bits, and even the tree upon which the wretch met his fate were torn up and disposed of as souvenirs. The Negro's heart was cut in small pieces, as was also his liver. Those unable to obtain the ghastly relics directly paid more fortunate possessors extravagant sums for them. Small pieces of bone went for 25 cents and a bit of liver, crisply cooked, for 10 cents.¹³

Holt's lynching offers a graphic account of the sort of violence that befell thousands of African Americans in the decades after emancipation, and which prompted a great many participants of the Kansas exodus to leave their homes.

Klan activities extended beyond violence against African Americans in their attempts to enforce black submission; Klansmen attacked, killed, manipulated, and terrorized politicians and organizers, both white and black. They intimidated white merchants who sold to African Americans and white employers who hired them. Klan violence became an integral part of Southern Redemption, as Democrats sought to retake Southern politics in order to disenfranchise blacks once again. In short, "Black Codes," the Klan, and other paramilitary organizations made life extremely unpleasant for

Keep A-Inchin Along: Post-Civil War African-American Migration to the American Midwest, Urban Centers, and Liberia

African Americans in the South and, in this way, factored heavily into the motivations of African Americans to migrate *en masse* to friendlier regions.

Cities in the United States, which represented, perhaps, the peak of what Americans considered “civilization,” also saw a sudden increase in their black populations following the Civil War. Atlanta, Georgia stands out among other large cities for several reasons. The first is that black relocation to Atlanta meant migration within the South, not away from it. The second is the extraordinary volume of black men and women who made their way into the city. While the black population of the state of New York increased by 3,000 people between 1860 and 1870, over 8,000 poured into the city of Atlanta alone in the same period. Moreover, this change represented a tremendous jump in the proportion of blacks to whites in the city and, by 1870, blacks represented 46 percent of the population of Atlanta.¹⁴ As with virtually all black migration, the surge of freed men and women into Atlanta was caused in no small part by violence in the rural areas. In the city, individuals were fairly safe from the violence of the broader rural South. Additionally, the city offered employment opportunities unavailable in towns or farms, encouraging many blacks to set out to put their labor to use.

Where migrants who migrated to the Midwest and Liberia went largely to farm on presumably open land, urban migrants sought to find wage-earning jobs. The rapidly expanding industrial sector offered a new realm of interracial opportunities for blacks from the more rural South, though they seldom rose above the lowest posts or wages. While African Americans in the cities were generally safer from the Klan and threat

of mob violence, the specter of racism could not be escaped. One white Atlantan man noted the “failure of negroes as superior artisans, and in all the handiwork that requires accuracy and care,” and insisted that “a negro might learn to work the engine... but I could never be sure that he would not go to sleep on the top of it.”¹⁵ Black women were employed heavily in the domestic sphere and worked mostly as nurses, maids, and laundresses¹⁶. The last of these professions led famously to an assertion of black workers’ and women’s rights in the form of the Atlanta Washerwoman’s Strike of 1881, the largest strike by blacks in Atlanta towards the end of the nineteenth century. While little information is available as to the material result of the strike (that is, how many employers actually raised wages), the strike stands out as evidence of what Douglass had suggested years before—that African Americans must flex the muscle of their collective labor and demonstrate how essential they were to the smooth functioning of the city’s infrastructure and financial operations. More generally, the strike demonstrated the desire by African Americans to better their lot in the face of opposition, a notion reflected not only by Atlantan settlers, but by those *en route* to Liberia and the Midwest as well.

There was some high profile dissent against the post-bellum black Exodus movement. The most conspicuous came from Fredrick Douglass, who addressed Kansan migration in a speech to the American Social Science Association on September 12, 1879. Douglass told the crowd that African Americans were in fact the controllers of the South: “This, then, is the high vantage ground of the negro; he

has labor, the South wants it, and must have it or perish... his labor can, if he will, make him free, comfortable, and independent.” Furthermore, Douglass insisted that the plight of African Americans in the South could be waited out. The transition of “an oppressed people from bondage to freedom is never smooth,” and time was necessary before the United States would be entirely rid of the devil of slavery; in the meantime “suffering and hardships will make the Anglo-African strong.”¹⁷ In spite of Douglass’ dissent, however, migrants kept on moving from the violent, oppressive South to what they believed to be the Promised Land. Furthermore, as Douglass spoke against the *Kansan Exodus*, some African Americans set their sights on a different destination, one which Douglass had similarly condemned decades prior: Liberia.

The Liberian emigration movement arose largely as a result of many of the same circumstances that triggered the black exodus out of the South upon emancipation. Whereas the *Kansan Exodus* was fairly spontaneous, African migration had a longer history. In an 1801 letter to James Monroe, Thomas Jefferson considered whether it would be feasible to procure “lands beyond the limits of the U.S. to form a receptacle for these [African American] people,” although Africa was seen as “a last & undoubted resort, if all others more desirable should fail us.”¹⁸ By 1817, the American Colonization Society was founded by white abolitionists whose concern was inspired not by equal rights, but rather out of a belief that “blacks were inferior beings and that the integrity of American civilization required racial homogeneity.” The ACS founded the colony of Liberia soon after

and helped some 10,000 blacks reach the settlement between 1820 and 1865.¹⁹ In the five years following the end of the Civil War, the number of people transported by the ACS surged and, between 1865 and 1869, 2,394 more African Americans made the journey to Liberia. After 1870, the number of emigrants sponsored by the ACS dropped off significantly, though a host of interested men and women continued to request pamphlets and information about Liberia.²⁰

While the ACS sunk into eventual obscurity, grassroots support for emigration to Liberia persisted. Much of this support came as other organizations and individuals began to advertise and organize trips to the shores of West Africa. In 1874, Henry Adams helped to found the Colonization Council and set out to foster support for African emigration. In 1880, Adams was questioned in front of a Congressional Committee on the “negro exodus from Southern states” about “the exodus of the colored people from the Southern to the Northern and Western states.” Prior to the foundation of the Colonization Council, Adams said, a committee was organized to “look into affairs and see the true condition of our race, to see whether if it was possible we could stay under a people who had held us under bondage.” When asked about conditions in the South, Adams reported that “people was still being whipped,” that “some of them was being cheated out of their crops,” and that rent was exorbitantly high in some areas. Furthermore, he said, there were areas in which blacks who voted Republican would be shot. These atrocities were committed in large part by “the old owners,” and resulted in the organization of the Colonization

Keep A-Inchin Along: Post-Civil War African-American Migration to the American Midwest, Urban Centers, and Liberia

Council. Adams' testimony is only one of dozens presented to Congress, but it illustrates a violent, oppressive culture that white Southerners, and much of the Democratic Party, systemically denied. Indeed, the Senate majority concluded that "the causes of discontent among those [black] people could not have arisen from any deprivation of their political rights or any hardship in their condition," and that "the closest scrutiny could detect no outrage or violence inflicted upon their political rights." It was as a result of the violence that so many denied that Adams founded the Colonization Council and began to advocate so strongly for an African exodus.²¹

The Colonization Council was not created simply to push for migration to Africa. Rather, Adams insisted that the council was organized in order to "appeal to the President... and to Congress to help us out of our distress," and to "ask them to set apart a territory in the United States" if order could not be enforced in the South. Only as a last resort would the members of the council "ask for an appropriation of money to ship us... to Liberia, in Africa," a place where Adams and others believed they could "live in peace and quiet."²² Exactly how many would-be migrants followed Adams is unclear; his own estimates ranged anywhere from 25,000 to nearly 100,000 followers. More likely, he represented about 10,000 individuals, as reflected in a petition that he presented to President Hayes in 1877. No matter the numbers, however, Adams and his Colonization Council demonstrate the urge of a large body of African Americans to escape the oppressive conditions of the South, and to find a home free from the violence of Southern Redemption.²³

As in the American Midwest, life in Liberia was not always bright. The journey from the United States to Liberia was extremely dangerous; in January of 1866 the *Repository* reported that two expeditions had been lost. For the first, a wealthy individual had chartered and outfitted two ships and set out for Liberia, but "had lost both his steamers" and was "nearly dead himself from cholera or dysentery." The second expedition was that of a British scientist who, having been blamed for an outbreak of smallpox amongst natives, found himself under attack and wounded.²⁴ Disease was rampant, the climate inhospitable, and the experience often traumatic. In a letter to the *Christian Recorder*, one man quoted an ex-surgeon with the U.S. Navy as saying: "you do not depict in sufficiently strong terms the ineffable horrors of that dreadful, deathly climate... I consider it a sheerest of cruelty for anyone to encourage a colored man to leave his home in this country with the idea of improving his condition by emigrating to Liberia."²⁵ Despite the danger, there remained great interest in the United States in emigration to Liberia, though relatively few ended up making the trip. Interest in Liberia was maintained at least in part because the region was portrayed by emigration agencies and some publications as being a sort of utopia, an ancestral homeland where African Americans could be both free and prosperous.

The vision of Liberia as a fertile homeland came about much as the same vision of Kansas and other Midwest havens had. Exaggerated reports of Liberia as "an entire continent to be developed," where farmers live in "increasing and stable wealth," were espoused by pro-emigration

newspapers, most notably the *African Repository*.²⁶ Testimonials about Liberia in the *Repository* were ubiquitously positive. One migrant described Liberia's climate as "delightful," and reported that "the most beautiful flowers are in full bloom here during the whole year."²⁷ Moreover, some Liberian migrants reported that living there was a "privilege," because in Liberia, as one migrant wrote, African American "manhood is at last sufficiently developed." Furthermore, Liberia was seen as a place to be civilized and Christianized. Indeed, many migrants were taken up with a zeal for "civilizing and missionary jobs," designed to spread "the benign influences of Christianity" across Liberia.²⁸ In this way, Liberia represented to some a blank slate; a place where blacks might be free of the baggage of slavery, and of the oppression that American "civilization" had rendered.

The migrations into the Midwest, Liberia, and urban centers were by no stretch of the imagination the only African-American migrations occurring at the end of the nineteenth century. On the contrary, African Americans spread to every corner of the United States, with especially large numbers moving to Oklahoma and San Francisco and to cities in Ohio. Rather than representing exhaustive studies of black resettlement, the three migrations discussed in this paper serve as examples of the varied destinations and disparate motivations of migrants. Indeed, some were motivated by curiosity alone, while others sought refuge from increasing violence against blacks throughout the South. It is perhaps unfitting, then, to transform emigrants simply into victims of "political trickery," into refugees from

violence, into a long-oppressed people looking to escape baggage, or into rugged men and women in search of their fortunes.²⁹ To do so does not accurately portray the fullness of migrants' humanity, nor acknowledge the complexity of their situations. Instead, we must consider that the impulse to make a new home in a distant land was one wrought with nuance and shades of gray. We must remember that to newly emancipated African Americans, it was not necessarily the ability to move that was important, but the ability to move where and how they pleased.

Bibliography

Cohen, William. "Table 6." *At Freedom's Edge: Black Mobility and the Southern White Quest for Racial Control, 1861-1915*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1991. 170.

"DEPARTURE FOR MONROVIA." *The African Repository (1850-1892)* 1 Jan. 1866: American Periodicals Series Online, ProQuest. Web. 10 Mar. 2011.

Douglass, Frederick, John W. Blassingame, and John R. McKivigan. "The Negro Exodus From the Gulf States: A Paper Read in Saratoga, New York, on 12 September, 1879." *The Frederick Douglass Papers*. Vol. 4. New Haven: Yale UP, 1991. 510-33.

"FORTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY, JANUARY 17 1865: OBITUARIES." *The African*

Keep A-Inchin Along: Post-Civil War African-American Migration to the American Midwest, Urban Centers, and Liberia

- Repository (1850-1892)* 1 Feb. 1865: American Periodicals Series Online, ProQuest. Web. 10 Mar. 2011.
- Mar. 2011.
- “Kentucky Jim Crow” *The History of Him Crow*. Web. 08 Mar. 2011.
- Ginzburg, Ralph. *100 Years of Lynchings*. Baltimore, MD: Black Classic, 1988.
- Lomax, Alan. "204. In Kansas." *The Folk Songs of North America: in the English Language*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1960. 395-96.
- Hahn, Steven. "The Education of Henry Adams." *A Nation under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South, from Slavery to the Great Migration*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap of Harvard UP, 2003. 334-35.
- “Missouri Jim Crow.” *The History of Jim Crow*. Web. 08 Mar. 2011.
- "NEGRO BURNED ALIVE IN FLORIDA; SECOND NEGRO THEN HANGED." *Springfield (Massachusetts) Weekly Republican* [Springfield, MA] 28 Apr. 1899.
- Hunter, Tera W. "Table 1." *To 'joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors after the Civil War*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1997. 241.
- Rawick, George P. "Interview With Charles H. Anderson." *Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Ohio, Virginia and Tennessee Narratives*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Pub., 1974.
- Hunter, Tera W. "Table 2." *To 'joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors after the Civil War*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1997. 242.
- Stetson, Geo R. "----- A LETTER FROM GERMANY. ----- LIBERIAN COLONIZATION AND AFRICA'S REGENERATION. -----." *The Christian Recorder* [Philidelphia, PA] 30 Nov. 1882. *Adcessable Archives*. Web. 10 Nov. 2011.
- Jefferson, Thomas. "Letter to James Monroe." Letter to James Monroe. 24 Nov. 1801. *From Revolution to Reconstruction: Presidents: Thomas Jefferson: Letters: African Colonization*. Department of Alfa-informatica, University of Groningen, Switzerland. Web.
- United States Census Bureau. "Population By States and Territories - 1790-1870." *Ninth U.S. Census, 1870*. 3-5.
- JNO MILLER McKEE. "ART. IV – WHAT WILL THE NEGRO DO WITH HIMSELF:..." *The Cumberland Presbyterian Quarterly Review (1881-1883)* 1 Jan. 1882: American Periodicals Series Online, ProQuest. Web. 11
- United States. Select Committee of the U.S. Senate to Investigate the Causes of The Removal of the Negroes From the Southern States to the Northern States. *Testimony of Henry Adams*. 46

Cong., 2nd sess. Cong. Rept. 693.
Vol. 8.

United States. U.S. Census Office.
*Compendium of the Eleventh
Census*. 1890.

United States. U.S. Census Office. *Tenth
Census*. Vol. 1. 1880.

United States. U.S. Census Office. *The
Statistics of the Population of the
United States*. 1872.

United States. U.S. Census Office. *The
Statistics of the Population of the
United States at the Tenth
Census*. 1880.

Notes

¹ United States Census Office, "Population By States and Territories - 1790-1870," *Ninth U.S. Census, 1870*, 3-5.

² George P. Rawick, ed, "Interview with Charles H. Anderson," *Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Ohio, Virginia and Tennessee Narratives*, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Pub, 1974) 3.

Mr. Anderson's interview took place in Ohio rather than Kansas, but his thoughts on John Brown offer insight into the legacy of the abolitionist.

³ *Congressional Record*, 45th Cong, 3rd Sess, 483, quoted in Cohen, William, "The Kansas Dream," *At Freedom's Edge: Black Mobility and the Southern White Quest for Racial Control, 1861-1915*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1991) 177.

⁴ Nell Painter, *Exodusters*, 195; Guernsey, "Negro Exodus," 375, quoted in Steven Hahn, "The Education of Henry Adams," *A Nation under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South, from Slavery to the Great Migration*, (Cambridge, MA: Belknap of Harvard UP, 2003) 334-35.

⁵ George P. Rawick, ed, "Interview with Bill Simms," *Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Ohio, Virginia and Tennessee Narratives*, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Pub, 1974) 11-12.

⁶ Alan Lomax, "204, In Kansas," *The Folk Songs of North America: in the English Language*, Garden City, (NY: Doubleday, 1960) 395-96.

The exact year the song was written is unknown, It was sung to Lomax by a G. Graham in San Jose, California, but was "said to have been written by [Henry Ward] Beecher, after Civil War, based on a popular song in 1844." See also a brief introduction to the song on page 390 of the same book.

⁷ William Cohen, "The Kansas Dream," *At Freedom's Edge: Black Mobility and the Southern White Quest for Racial Control, 1861-1915*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP 1991, 171-172.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 175.

⁹ "Missouri Jim Crow," *The History of Jim Crow*, Web, 08 Mar, 2011, <<http://www.jimcrowhistory.org/scripts/jimcrow/insidesouth.cgi?state=Missouri>>; "Kentucky Jim Crow," *The History of Jim Crow*, Web, 08 Mar, 2011.

<<http://www.jimcrowhistory.org/scripts/jimcrow/insidesouth.cgi?state=Kentucky>>.

¹⁰ United States, U.S. Census Office, *The Statistics of the Population of the United States, 1872*; *The Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census, 1880*; *Tenth Census*, Vol, 1, 1880; *Compendium of the Eleventh Census, 1890*; in Cohen, William, "Table 6," *At Freedom's Edge: Black Mobility and the Southern White Quest for Racial Control, 1861-1915*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1991) 170.

¹¹ "Missouri Jim Crow," *The History of Jim Crow*, Web, 08 Mar, 2011, <<http://www.jimcrowhistory.org/scripts/jimcrow/insidesouth.cgi?state=Missouri>>; "Kentucky Jim Crow," *The History of Jim Crow*, Web, 08 Mar, 2011,

<<http://www.jimcrowhistory.org/scripts/jimcrow/insidesouth.cgi?state=Kentucky>>.

¹² William Cohen, *At Freedom's Edge*, 266-267.

¹³ "NEGRO BURNED ALIVE IN FLORIDA; SECOND NEGRO THEN HANGED," *Springfield (Massachusetts) Weekly Republican* [Springfield, MA] 28 Apr, 1899. In Ralph Ginzburg, *100 Years of Lynchings*, (Baltimore, MD: Black Classic, 1988.) While the headline places the lynching in Florida, the body of the article places it in Georgia consistently, The reference to Florida is in all likelihood a mistake on the part of the newspaper.

¹⁴ United States, US, Census Office, *Ninth*

Keep A-Inchin Along: Post-Civil War African-American Migration to the American Midwest, Urban Centers, and Liberia

Census: Population, Vol 1, 1872, 102,; *Tenth Census: Population*, Vol 1, 1883, 417,; *Eleventh Census: Population*, Pt 1, 1895, 527, As Quoted In Hunter, Tera W, "Table 1," *To 'Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives And Labors After The Civil War*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1997 241.

¹⁵ JNO MILLER Mckee, "ART, IV,--WHAT WILL THE NEGRO DO WITH HIMSELF :I," *The Cumberland Presbyterian Quarterly Review (1881-1883)* 1 Jan, 1882: American Periodicals Series Online, ProQuest, Web, 11 Mar, 2011, The author's real name may be JON McKee, but the database lists him as JNO.

¹⁶ Tera W. Hunter, "Table 2," *To 'joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors after the Civil War*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1997 242).

¹⁷ Fredrick Douglass, John W, Blassingame, and John R, McKivigan, "The Negro Exodus From the Gulf States: A Paper Read in Saratoga, New York, on 12 September, 1879," *The Frederick Douglass Papers*, Vol, 4, (New Haven: Yale UP, 1991 510-33.

¹⁸ Thomas Jefferson, "Letter to James Monroe," Letter to James Monroe, 24 Nov, 1801, *From Revolution to Reconstruction: Presidents: Thomas Jefferson: Letters: African*

Colonization, Department of Alfa-informatica, University of Groningen, Switzerland, Web.

¹⁹ William Cohen, "The African Dream," *At Freedom's Edge*, 139.

²⁰ *Liberia Bulletin*, 1900, 28, As quoted in William Cohen, *At Freedom's Edge*, 148.

²¹ United States, Select Committee of the U,S, Senate to Investigate the Causes of The Removal of the Negroes From the Southern States to the Northern States, *Testimony of Henry Adams*, 46 Cong, 2nd sess, Cong, Rept, 693, Vol, 8.

²² Ibid.

²³ William Cohen, "The African Dream," *At Freedom's Edge*, 167.

²⁴ Departure For Monrovia," *The African Repository*.

²⁵ Stetson, Geo R, "----- A Letter From Germany, ----- Liberian Colonization And Africa's Regeneration, -----," *The Christian Recorder* [Philidelphia, Pa] 30 Nov, 1882, *Adcessable Archives*, Web, 10 Nov, 2011.

It should be noted that the contributor and the man he quotes are both, so far as the author can tell, white, It is possible then that their accounts are exaggerated, Even when taken with

a hefty grain of salt, however, the account demonstrates clearly that to some, anyway, Liberia was not so welcoming.

²⁶ "Forty-Eighth Annual Report Of The American Colonization Society, January 17, 1865 :Obituaries," *The African Repository (1850-1892)* 1 Feb, 1865: American Periodicals Series Online, ProQuest, Web, 10 Mar, 2011.

²⁷ "DEPARTURE FOR MONRONIA," *The African Repository (1850-1892)* 1 Jan, 1866: American Periodicals Series Online, Proquest, Web, 10 Mar, 2011.

²⁸ "Forty-Eighth Annual Report Of The American Colonization Society, January 17, 1865 :Obituaries," *The African Repository*.

²⁹ Fredrick Douglass, John W, Blassingame, and John R, McKivigan, "The Negro Exodus From the Gulf States: A Paper Read in Saratoga, New York, on 12 September, 1879," *The Frederick Douglass Papers*, Vol, 4, (New Haven: Yale UP, 1991 510-33.

Winner of the 2011 Peter Schneider American History Award

The Black Hills of Gold: Manifest Destiny and the Meaning of Land

By Nicolette Rohr

The Black Hills region of present-day South Dakota and Wyoming rises four thousand miles from the Great Plains and over seven thousand miles above sea level to the highest point between the Rockies and the Alps. One of the world's oldest mountain ranges, the pine-covered hills, grassy meadows, and granite peaks of the Black Hills stretch over one hundred miles long and sixty miles wide—an oasis on the Plains.¹ For generations of Lakota Sioux, the Black Hills held sacred meaning and sat at the center of their spiritual world.² While the region remained largely untouched by American expansion for much of the nineteenth century, the 1874 Black Hills Expedition led by General George Armstrong Custer confirmed rumors of gold in the Black Hills, sparking rapid encroachment into the region by white Americans and a new period of American conflict with the Sioux. Using newspaper reports, government documents, secondary histories, and personal journals from Custer's Expedition, this essay analyzes the economic motivations, racial ideology, and competing ideas of land use which informed American settlement of the Black Hills and conflict with the Sioux. Charged with a belief in racial and cultural superiority, language of divine right and ordination, and underlying economic motivations, these developments exemplify the ideology of

manifest destiny in the nineteenth century.

As the United States expanded and industrialized in the nineteenth century, the Black Hills remained largely untouched by white Americans. Pioneers and prospectors traversed the continent to reach California and other western territories, or even to visit newly-established Yellowstone National Park, and the railroad extended from coast to coast. But deep within Sioux territory, the Black Hills remained unscathed by the onslaught of American expansion. The Sioux represented a fierce and formidable opponent to the United States. As Stephen E. Ambrose asserts, "the Plains Indians set up the most effective barrier the Europeans met in their drive to settle the continent."³ As the Sioux encountered the growing nation, they achieved considerable success in defending their sovereignty and sacred land. For the Lakota, the land they called *Paha Sapa* held central meaning. Lakota writer Joseph M. Marshall III writes that to the Lakota, the Black Hills was "the heart of all things."⁴ Lakota rituals such as the Sun Dance and the vision quest were performed in the Hills, and the unique region provided practical and spiritual refuge.⁵ While some scholars have suggested that the Lakota exaggerated the sacredness of the Black Hills in an attempt to regain lost land, the

prominence of the Black Hills in Lakota mythology and ritual culture counters these claims.⁶ As historian Jeffrey Ostler writes, “For several interconnected reasons—economic, religious, and political—the Plains Sioux looked upon the Black Hills as the center of their land, indeed, as the very heart of the earth.”⁷ To many Lakota, maintaining control of the region was critical to their sovereignty and spiritual life.

In 1856, the Sioux agreed to permit travel along the Platte and White Rivers, but they “insisted on keeping the Black Hills to themselves.”⁸ The next year, an Army mapping party “skirted” the Black Hills to avoid conflict with the Sioux. However, the expedition’s geologist, Dr. Ferdinand V. Hayden, examined stones and minerals washed down from the Black Hills in the mouth of French Creek and published a report suggesting the likelihood of gold in the region.⁹ This early report, combined with prevalent “gold fever,” developed white interest in the Black Hills. However, exploration was limited by the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 which reserved the Black Hills as part of a large Sioux reservation, “set apart for the absolute and undisturbed use and occupation of the Indians.”¹⁰ In enforcing the treaty, the United States Army was responsible for protecting territorial boundaries. As Ostler explains, “Until 1874, the army tried to deter prospectors from pursuing persistent rumors of Black Hills gold.”¹¹ During the period of President Grant’s Peace Policy, the army sought to avoid violent military conflict with the Sioux.

American opinions and United States policy shifted as rumors of Black Hills gold spread and economic considerations increased, particularly in

the context of the economic Panic of 1873. As Ostler writes, “Suddenly, opening the Black Hills became a national priority.”¹² Rumors and suspicions of gold in the Black Hills sparked many imaginations with dreams of wealth and opportunity and developed a new project in American expansion. As Ostler comments, “many Americans were certain the god of manifest destiny had placed [gold]” in the Black Hills, and that “a host of benefits,” from solving the economic crisis to alleviating social unrest through new opportunities for unemployed workers, would surely follow.¹³ The possibility of the Black Hills was framed in the language of manifest destiny, with rhetoric of divine right and ordination. As rhetoric soared, so did calls on the federal government to open the Black Hills, and the Grant administration’s Peace Policy waned. As Ostler recognizes, flagging national support for the peace policy and support for opening the Hills can be linked to “broader national trends” of conservatism and class conflict, visible in the nation’s impatience with Reconstruction and perceptions of “labor agitators, angry farmers, nonsubmissive blacks, and militant Indians” as threats to the nation.¹⁴ It became an American imperative to conquer the region and to develop its potential, relieving it from “barbarism.”

In the context of these national trends, Lieutenant General Philip Henry Sheridan asked the Grant administration to authorize a military expedition to the Black Hills, and in 1874, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel George Armstrong Custer, ten companies of the Seventh Cavalry departed Fort Abraham Lincoln and headed toward the Black Hills.¹⁵¹⁶ In

Black Hills of Gold: Manifest Destiny and the Meaning of Land

addition to the Cavalry, the Expedition included two infantry companies, scouts, interpreters, scientists, two professional miners and newspaper correspondents who provided colorful reports to an interested public.¹⁷ While the formal purpose of the Expedition was reconnaissance, it was, according to Thom Hatch, “a poorly kept secret,” that Custer was “interested in verifying claims of valuable mineral deposits—gold in particular—within the Black Hills.”¹⁸ Personal diaries and reports from the Custer Expedition reflect the men’s mesmerized reactions to the beauty of the Black Hills. As William E. Curtis wrote in the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, “every man in the expedition stood silently to enjoy and admire.”¹⁹ Samuel J. Barrows, writing for *The New York Tribune* stated, “The greed for gold was forgotten. We ceased to look for the nuggets which would make us suddenly rich. Beauty for the time seemed the only wealth.”²⁰ Nevertheless, the pursuit of wealth in the Black Hills grew rapidly and powerfully.

When Custer’s expedition discovered gold in French Creek in July of 1874, their discovery confirmed rumors and sparked a frenzy of gold fever. Private expeditions began to set out for the Hills and, despite the stipulations of the Fort Laramie Treaty, gold-seekers entered the region rapidly. By January of 1876, there were approximately four thousand “illegal occupants” in the Black Hills.²¹ While some Americans called on President Grant to respect the Treaty, many others, including western leaders and business interests, pressed the federal government to open the Black Hills.²² The *Chicago Inter-Ocean* concurred; “That there is lots of gold here we are positive ... with the pressure which certainly must be brought to bear on

Congress, the whole country must soon be opened up to settlers.”²³ Once the presence of gold in the region was confirmed, American access to the Black Hills was framed as a right and an imperative.

Competing ideas of land use had long colored American discourse on the inferiority of indigenous people and been used to justify American conquest and expansion. Many white Americans viewed Native American land as “unused” or “vacant” land. In *Manifest Destiny: American Expansion and the Empire of Right*, Anders Stephanson notes “the connection between possession and productivity,” describing the prevalent argument in American history that Native American land was unused land because it was not cultivated according to Euro-American custom.²⁴ The Black Hills, with untapped reserves of wealth, were viewed, aside from their beauty and rarity, in terms of economic potential. James Calhoun, Custer’s brother-in-law and a member of the Seventh Cavalry, wrote in his diary, “I think that it is a great pity that this rich country should remain in a wild state, uncultivated and uninhabited by civilized men.”²⁵ His words speak to prevalent American views of land, as well as views of native people as uncivilized and inferior. The *Bismarck Tribune* reflected similar ideology: “Why not occupy the Black Hills? It is now well-known that though the Black Hills country belongs to the Indians it is not occupied by them, and is seldom visited by them.”²⁶ The article continues to explain that “because of their superstition it has been held as a sacred spot to them” and to assert that the Indians “will neither occupy [the Black Hills] themselves or allow others to occupy it.” The *Tribune* recognized the sacredness of the Black Hills to the

Lakota, but it rejected their claim to the land and the legitimacy of sacred meaning as a value for land. Colonel Richard Irving Dodge wrote in his journal, “The country is most lovely, & I don’t blame the Indians for wishing to hold on to it.”²⁷ Custer agreed; “If I were an Indian, I often think that I would greatly prefer to cast my lot among those...who adhered to the free open plains, rather than submit to the confined limits of a reservation...”²⁸ But while Dodge and Custer may have understood the Indian’s attachment to the land, they did not respect their claim. Dodge wrote, “In ten years the Black Hills will be the home of a numerous & thriving population, & all the Administrations & Interior Departments cant stop it. It is not an Indian Country.”²⁹ Dodge’s assertion stemmed from his belief that the Indians did not “use” the land.

Calls to open the Black Hills and criticisms of Indian title were infused with racial ideology and notions of Native American inferiority. James Calhoun, again writing of the Black Hills, proclaimed, “Civilization will ere long reign supreme and throw heathen barbarism into oblivion.”³⁰ Calhoun’s words illustrate commonly held beliefs among Americans: Native Americans were inferior and “uncivilized,” Native American land was wasted land, and “civilization” was destined to triumph over “savagery.” An article in the *Bismarck Tribune* stated, “Through the untiring energy of Gen. G.A. Custer, a Paradise hitherto unknown, rich in numerous minerals, has been made known to the world, and now all that remains to be done, is for Congress to open this beautiful land for settlement, and protect those who go there, from its present worthless inhabitants—the

Indians.”³¹ The *Tribune* glorified Custer, called on the federal government to open up the Black Hills for settlement, and, plainly, deemed the Indians “worthless.” The *Chicago Inter-Ocean* granted some measure of recognition to the Native Americans but framed the possibility of obtaining the Black Hills as an American obligation: “We owe the Indians justice and fair play, but we owe it to civilization that such a garden of mineral wealth be brought into occupation and use.”³² Civilization was aligned with American, and the Lakota “use” for the land was rejected. Demands to open the region for mining and settlement signify the underlying perception of federal Indian policy as a means for the United States to achieve its own ends regardless of means or consequences. Once gold was discovered, many Americans saw it as their unquestionable right and their unstoppable destiny to seek wealth in the Black Hills. As the *Bismarck Tribune* asserted, “the miner looks forward to the Black Hills, a region of fabulous wealth ... [T]he time has come when the entire army could not much longer keep the country from being over-run by the invincible white man—by the hardy pioneer.”³³ The pioneer, the American, the white man was glorified as an invincible force.

Facing mounting pressure to open the Hills, and a stream of miners already entering Sioux territory, the Grant administration attempted to buy the Black Hills. As Stephanson writes of the United States’ monetary offers for Indian land, “purchase would ... become the preferred and morally correct American way of expansion.”³⁴ In June of 1875, Grant commissioned Iowa Senator William B. Allison to offer the Lakota \$6,000,000 for the sale of the

Black Hills of Gold: Manifest Destiny and the Meaning of Land

Black Hills, or \$100,000 per year to lease it. They declined.³⁵ The government's offer demonstrated the chasm in understanding of land between many Americans and many Native Americans. While the Lakota refused sale and insisted on maintaining their land, Grant faced a dilemma. As Ostler notes, "Politically, it would be next to impossible to stop hundreds of citizens from pursuing their God-given right to search for wealth."³⁶ Many Americans appeared unable to fathom the existence of gold on the North American continent, on "unused" Indian land, to which they were prevented access. A prevalent sense of entitlement trumped concerns for treaties. Responding to popular sentiment and political pressure, Grant prepared for military engagement. As Ostler comments, "Forced to choose between expansion and honor, Grant, not unlike many of his predecessors, sacrificed the latter."³⁷ The Sioux were ordered to report to the reservations; those who did not return were labeled "hostile."³⁸ The Great Sioux War had begun.

To the Lakota, gold was a "misfortune." As Marshall writes, "The Black Hills in the hands of the whites was the culmination of one of the worst Lakota fears."³⁹ Not only did gold miners threaten Lakota land and sovereignty, they obstructed the Lakota way of life and further diminished the buffalo, "monarch of the Plains," *tatanka* to the Sioux. White hunters slaughtered buffalo for fur, not meat, or any of the myriad uses the Lakota had developed for the animal. The carcasses of bison lay scattered across the Plains. The Sioux were faced with a threat to their sacred land and sovereignty, but their response to the American assault on the Black Hills reflected internal division from the outset. As Marshall

writes, "The consensus was that something must be done. But the Lakota were too scattered—too scattered over the land and too scattered when it came to the issue of the whites."⁴⁰ Many already resided on the federal agencies, and some Lakota acted more conciliatory towards the United States. To some, the threat to the Black Hills was a rallying cry for Sioux resistance. Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull led the "wild" Lakota, dedicated to defending the Black Hills and resisting American hegemony.⁴¹ As Marshall writes of Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull, "no matter what the agency Lakota did, the Black Hills and Lakota lands were not for sale."⁴² Demonstrating the significance of the Black Hills, the Lakota Little Big Man said "I will kill the first chief who speaks for selling the Black Hills," and chanted "Black Hills is my land and I love it/And whoever interferes/will hear this gun" with his fellow warriors as they rode to meet a Senate commission.⁴³

The "wild" Lakota appeared as a violent enemy to many Americans, further cementing an image of the Sioux as brutal, war-like, and defiant. An 1876 Senate report stated that the Sioux had "long been known as the most brave and warlike savages of this continent" and repeatedly referred to the non-agency Sioux as "wild" and "hostile."⁴⁴ However, as Ostler argues, the outrageous crimes of the militant Sioux mostly concentrated on "their refusal to bow to the dictates of the manifest destiny of a superior people"⁴⁵ They rejected the preeminence of the United States and heightened calls to "whip them into subjection," as U.S. Indian Inspector E.C. Watkins wrote in a report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs put it.⁴⁶ General William Tecumseh Sherman, in a letter to President Grant, wrote, "We must act with vindictive

earnestness against the Sioux, even to their extermination, men, women, and children. Nothing less will ever reach the root of the case.”⁴⁷ The discovery of gold, demand for settlement, and refusal of the Sioux to submit had changed the character of American-Sioux relations.

The Great Sioux War reached a fateful point at the Battle of Little Bighorn. The United States suffered a significant defeat, including the death of Custer. Following Little Bighorn, the United States heightened its campaign against the Lakota.⁴⁸ Though the United States—government, army, and an interested public—was reeling in shock as the militant camp sang and celebrated *Pehin Hanska kasota kin*, the destruction of “Long Hair” (Custer), the Lakota recognized that Little Bighorn was not the end.⁴⁹ Generals Terry and Cook returned to the fighting field with reinforcements—called “Custer avengers”—in August.⁵⁰ The humiliation of loss charged the Army’s mission with anger and resentment.

As the United States heightened its military campaign against the Sioux, the government continued its usurpation of Sioux land and sovereignty through legal—and illegal—means. As Ostler explains, “Although the United States had so far failed miserably to achieve its goal of subjugating the militants, it was making much better progress with its other war aim: gaining fictive legal title to the Black Hills.”⁵¹ The United States capitalized on internal conflict among the Sioux. As Marshall comments, “the whites didn’t understand, or simply ignored the fact, that there were different opinions among the Lakota.”⁵² On September 7, 1876, a government commission led by George W. Manypenny met with the Oglala leaders

at the Red Cloud agency to explain that the federal government had decreed that the Sioux must yield their land west of the 103rd meridian, including the Black Hills, as well as lands in northeastern Wyoming and southeastern Montana. If they refused, their rations would be cut off, and the government would take the Black Hills anyway.⁵³ While the Fort Laramie Treaty required three-fourths of all adult men to authorize changes, only ten percent signed the 1876 agreement.⁵⁴ The boundary line was moved east of the Black Hills. The Lakota lost their sacred land.⁵⁵

Rejecting the legitimacy of the agreement, Crazy Horse and his followers continued to resist American power. After a harsh winter of military conflict and a dwindling buffalo population, they surrendered on May 7, 1877.⁵⁶ Crazy Horse was killed by a soldier while resisting arrest on the agency on September 5 of the same year.⁵⁷ For Plains Sioux communities, as Ostler writes, “The taking of the Black Hills, the end of armed resistance, the decimation of the buffalo, confinement to a reservation, and the death of Crazy Horse all marked the loss of autonomy and self-determination.”⁵⁸ Since then, the Lakota Sioux have also encountered further reduction of their reservation land, the injustice of the Dawes Allotment era, the Wounded Knee massacre, and widespread poverty. In the 1980 case *United States v. Sioux Nation Indians* the Supreme Court awarded the Sioux payment based on the 1876 value of the Black Hills plus a century of interest, but the Sioux refused the money, “arguing that the remedy for unlawfully taking land is the return of the land.”⁵⁹ Efforts to reclaim a portion of the Black Hills continue.

Black Hills of Gold: Manifest Destiny and the Meaning of Land

Today, visitors to the Black Hills explore Deadwood, the famous mining town of the northern Hills, and buy Black Hills gold jewelry. Custer, South Dakota, celebrates Gold Discovery Days every July, and summer tourists see a man dressed as Custer walk down Mount Rushmore Road in the center of town. Throughout the Hills, Sheridan Lake, Reno Gulch, and Harney Peak honor a history of white conquest. As the “Mount Rushmore State,” with the iconic monument located in the Black Hills, South Dakota celebrates white American heritage. But less than twenty miles away, the unfinished Crazy Horse monument will one day bare the words of the Lakota warrior, a reminder of the sacred claim of the Lakota: “My lands are where my dead lie buried.”

Bibliography

- Ambrose, Stephen E. *Crazy Horse and Custer: The Parallel Lives of Two American Warriors*. New York: Anchor Books, 1975.
- Barrows, Samuel J. *New York Tribune*. In *Exploring with Custer: The 1874 Black Hills Expedition*, Ernest Grafe and Paul Horsted. Custer: Golden Valley Press, 2002.
- Curtis, William E.. *Chicago Inter-Ocean*. In *Exploring with Custer: The 1874 Black Hills Expedition*, Ernest Grafe and Paul Horsted. Custer: Golden Valley Press, 2002.
- Frost, Lawrence A., ed. *With Custer in '74: James Calhoun's Diary of the Black Hills Expedition*. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1979. In *Exploring with*
- In the 1870s, Americans looked upon the Black Hills with gold fever, and it became the “manifest destiny” of an expanding nation to “civilize” the region, without regard for treaties or the claims of the “savage” Sioux. American conquest and settlement of the Black Hills reflects common themes of nineteenth century United States history— federal Indian policy informed by territorial expansion and economic motivations, prevalent beliefs in Native American racial and cultural inferiority, competing ideas of land use and the meaning of land, and the ideology of American entitlement and manifest destiny.
- Custer: The 1874 Black Hills Expedition*, Ernest Grafe and Paul Horsted. Custer: Golden Valley Press, 2002.
- Grafe, Ernest and Paul Horsted. *Exploring with Custer: The 1874 Black Hills Expedition*. Custer: Golden Valley Press, 2002.
- Harring, Sidney L. “Indian Law, Sovereignty, and State Law: Native People and the Law.” In *A Companion to American Indian History*, edited by Philip J. Deloria and Neal Salisbury. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002.
- Hatch, Thom. *The Custer Companion: A Comprehensive Guide to the Life of George Armstrong Custer and the Plains Indian Wars*. Mechanicsburg: Stackpole Books, 2002.

Nicolette Rohr

- Kime, Wayne R., ed. *The Black Hills Journals of Colonel Richard Irving Dodge*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996.
- Knappen, Nathan H. *Bismarck Tribune*. In *Exploring with Custer: The 1874 Black Hills Expedition*, Ernest Grafe and Paul Horsted. Custer: Golden Valley Press, 2002.
- Marshall, Joseph M. III. *The Journey of Crazy Horse: A Lakota History*. New York: Penguin Books, 2004.
- . *The Day the World Ended at Little Bighorn: A Lakota History*. New York: Viking, 2007.
- “Message from the President of the United States, transmitting, in compliance with a Senate resolution of July 7, 1876, Information in relation to the hostile demonstrations of the Sioux Indians, and the disaster to the forces under General Custer.” July 13, 1876, U.S. Congress, Serial Set Vol. No. 1664, Session Vol. No. 1, S. Exec. Doc. 81, U.S. Congressional Serial Set, Archive of Americana.
- Ostler, Jeffrey. *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism from Lewis and Clark to Wounded Knee*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- . *The Lakotas and the Black Hills: The Struggle for Sacred Ground*. New York: Viking, 2010.
- Parker, Watson. *Gold in the Black Hills*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966.
- Sandoz, Mari. *Crazy Horse: The Strange Man of the Oglalas*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004.
- Stephanson, Anders. *Manifest Destiny: American Expansion and the Empire of Right*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1995.
- “Treaty of Fort Laramie.” <http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=42&page=transcript>. Accessed 13 February 2011.
- Ward, Geoffrey C. *The West*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1996.

Notes

¹ Stephen E. Ambrose, *Crazy Horse and Custer: The Parallel Lives of Two American Warriors* (New York: Anchor Books, 1974), 37.

² Jeffrey Ostler, *The Lakotas and the Black Hills: The Struggle for Sacred Ground* (New York: Viking, 2010), 2.

³ Ambrose, 8.

⁴ Joseph M. Marshall, *The Journey of Crazy Horse: A Lakota History* (New York: Penguin, 2004), 3.

⁵ Marshall, 201.

⁶ Jeffrey Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism from Lewis and Clark to Wounded Knee* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 58.

⁷ Ostler, *The Plains Sioux*, 59.

⁸ Ernest Grafe and Paul Horsted, *Exploring with Custer: The 1874 Black Hills Expedition* (Custer: Golden Valley Press, 2002), 2.

⁹ Grafe and Horsted, 2.

Black Hills of Gold: Manifest Destiny and the Meaning of Land

- ¹⁰ "Treaty of Fort Laramie," <http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=42&page=transcript>
- ¹¹ Ostler, *The Plains Sioux*, 59.
- ¹² *Ibid.*, 59.
- ¹³ *Ibid.*, 59.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 60.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 60.
- ¹⁶ Joseph M. Marshall III, *The Day the World Ended at Little Bighorn: A Lakota History* (New York: Viking, 2007), 125.
- ¹⁷ Thom Hatch, *The Custer Companion: A Comprehensive Guide to the Life of George Armstrong Custer and the Plains Indian Wars* (Mechanicsburg: Stackpole Books, 2002), 141.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 141-142.
- ¹⁹ William E. Curtis, *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, in *Exploring with Custer: The 1874 Black Hills Expedition*, Ernest Grafe and Paul Horsted (Custer: Golden Valley Press, 2002), 36.
- ²⁰ Samuel J. Barrows, *New York Tribune*, in *Exploring with Custer: The 1874 Black Hills Expedition*, Ernest Grafe and Paul Horsted (Custer: Golden Valley Press, 2002), 37.
- ²¹ Watson Parker, *Gold in the Black Hills* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), 71.
- ²² Ostler, *The Plains Sioux*, 61.
- ²³ Curtis, *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, 157.
- ²⁴ Anders Stephanson, *Manifest Destiny: American Expansion and the Empire of Right* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995), 25.
- ²⁵ Lawrence A. Frost, ed. With Custer in '74: James Calhoun's Diary of the Black Hills Expedition. (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1979), in Grafe and Horsted, 18.
- ²⁶ Nathan H Knappen, *Bismarck Tribune*, in *Exploring with Custer: The 1874 Black Hills Expedition*, Ernest Grafe and Paul Horsted (Custer: Golden Valley Press, 2002), 94.
- ²⁷ Wayne R. Kime, ed. *The Black Hills Journals of Colonel Richard Irving Dodge* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 50.
- ²⁸ George Armstrong Custer, quoted in Geoffrey C. Ward *The West* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1996), 293.
- ²⁹ Kime, ed., *The Black Hills Journals of Colonel Richard Irving Dodge*, 83.
- ³⁰ Lawrence A. Frost, ed. With Custer in '74: James Calhoun's Diary of the Black Hills Expedition. (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1979), in Grafe and Horsted, 18.
- ³¹ Knappen, *Bismarck Tribune*, 157.
- ³² *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, quoted in Ward, 295.
- ³³ *Bismarck Tribune*, quoted in Ward, 292.

- ³⁴ Stephanson, 23.
- ³⁵ Ostler, *The Plains Sioux*, 61.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, 61.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, 61.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, 62
- ³⁹ Marshall, *The Journey of Crazy Horse*, 198.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 178.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 178.
- ⁴² *Ibid.*, 208.
- ⁴³ Little Big Man, quoted in Ward, 295.
- ⁴⁴ "Message from the President of the United States..." July 13, 1876, U.S. Congress, Serial Set Vol. No. 1664, Session Vol. No. 1, S. Exec. Doc. 81, U.S. Congressional Serial Set, Archive of Americana.
- ⁴⁵ Ostler, *The Plains Sioux*, 62.
- ⁴⁶ "Message from the President of the United States..."
- ⁴⁷ William Tecumseh Sherman, quoted in Ward, 235.
- ⁴⁸ Marshall, *The Journey of Crazy Horse*, 276.
- ⁴⁹ Ostler, *The Plains Sioux*, 64.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 64.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 66.
- ⁵² Marshall, *The Journey of Crazy Horse*, 206.
- ⁵³ Ostler, *The Plains Sioux*, 66.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 66.
- ⁵⁵ Marshall, *The Day the World Ended at Little Bighorn*, 126.
- ⁵⁶ Ostler, *The Plains Sioux*, 83.
- ⁵⁷ Mari Sandoz, *Crazy Horse: The Strange Man of the Oglalas* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 416.
- ⁵⁸ Ostler, *The Plains Sioux*, 109.
- ⁵⁹ Sidney L. Harring, "Indian Law, Sovereignty, and State Law: Native People and the Law," in *A Companion to American Indian History*, edited by Philip J. Deloria and Neal Salisbury (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 452.

Winner of the 2011 History Essay Award

From Baker to Breadwinner: The Transformation of Working Women during WWII

By Corynn Rubel

With America's defense mobilization and entry into World War II, all aspects of work and society were altered, none more prominently than the roles traditionally occupied by women. Defying traditional middle-class notions of the proper place of women in the home, wartime women entered the work force, especially industrial labor, in larger numbers than ever before. Not only did they hold down the home front while the men were fighting overseas, but they began to experience newfound independence and economic opportunities. The new phenomenon of the working, self-sufficient woman often began when many women migrated from small, rural towns to hubs of defense production, such as the cities of Southern California. The social and cultural changes wrought by war were irreversible as women who had been liberated by their wartime work often continued to assert their independence and build upon skills acquired and leisure-time activities enjoyed. This paper explores why women's labor during World War II became a catalyst for social change in which women's autonomy and role in the workplace was irrevocably altered by the planting of workplace seeds during wartime for women's liberation thereafter. The paper relies in part upon women's accounts from the period, gathered

through interviews held at Valencia Commons Retirement Community during the Spring 2010 in Rancho Cucamonga, California.¹

In the late 1930s Letha Boman, a resident of the small town of Minneapolis, Minnesota, had ambitions of nursing, teaching or helping with a family farm. She was not an anomaly: few women in small rural towns seemed to have plans for careers in management or leadership positions, but this arrangement would soon change. However, at that time, with the economy in shambles from the depression, any work, let alone a career or even an advanced degree, remained an unfulfilled dream.² Despite President Roosevelt's attempts to stimulate the economy and employment opportunities, including the passage of laws such as the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 (FLSA), which prohibited child labor and required employers in industry to adopt a forty-cent hourly minimum wage, jobs were scarce.³ Janet Lane was a teenager on a farm in rural New York during the late 1930s. As the war approached, the Lane family moved to California for employment opportunities. She notes that women were still expected to operate a household if they were married and were only allowed to have a part-time job if they were married. Despite equal pay advancements for male industry

workers, many people held the view that women were incapable of technical, mechanical or industrial labor. Lane points out that married women were, without question, expected to assist their husbands on the farms. When the Great Depression claimed the family farm, her family, like many others, was forced to move. They joined migrants headed west to California, hoping there they would achieve economic survival.⁴

For years prior to the bombing of Pearl Harbor and entry into World War II in December 7, 1941, America had experienced new economic prosperities of arms manufacturing sales to Western European countries to aid in their battles against Hitler's Third Reich. During this time, FDR fought off rumors that he had violated the Neutrality Act by agreeing to sell arms to France.⁵ In 1938 he claimed that the French were negotiating and willing to pay cash to the United States in order to purchase American military aircraft. FDR further pointed out to his senatorial advisors that arms manufacture and sales were good for American business and workers, boosting the cause of democracy and public morale. The massive manufacturing of military arms was also pulling America out of the Depression. He also clearly laid out the notion that it was just a matter of time before all Americans, including women, would soon be engaged in the war efforts with Europe. In January 1939, FDR asked Congress for \$300 million for aircraft construction. Approval of the request ultimately generated a storm of American manufactured weaponry, putting into action FDR's extravagant plans to expand the American aircraft industry into action.⁶

As 1941 drew nearer, many families across America, out of economic

necessity, relocated to all centers of defense production, especially Southern California, for the flourishing employment opportunities that did not exist in most rural towns elsewhere. Indeed, approximately 20% of the American population relocated during the War struggles. Many, like Lane and Boman, traveled to the West Coast with their family, toward the factories that made weapons of war. Half of the American shipbuilding and airplane manufacturing activity took place on the West Coast. As historian Allan Winkler noted, "During the war years, the federal government invested almost \$40 billion in factories, military bases and other installations, and spent a total of \$70 billion in the Southwest, Mountain West, and Far West. California attracted 2 million new inhabitants, with the population of the Los Angeles area alone growing by 440,000."⁷ Relocation gave people a public function to create clubs and women's organizations that had not existed a few years prior. A new sense of common community was born. Women began to join clubs and develop friendships with other women that extended into leisure time of shopping and movie attendance. Men, women, and children in Los Angeles raised enough war bond money to purchase five ships for the United States Navy. Churches and Jewish temples in Los Angeles converted their basements to military dormitories.⁸ Boman relocated to Southern California after receiving news of the war manufacturing effort through the spread of war advertising in her small town of Minneapolis. Advertising posters were used with the intention of drawing young women, primarily unmarried, to higher paying factory jobs in California for the build-up of arms.⁹ Women who were drawn

From Baker to Breadwinner: the Transformation of Working Women during WWII

into the relocation mode for employment saw amazing opportunities that had previously been reserved only for men. In addition, many relocated women had been working on family farms doing unacknowledged tasks with little opportunity for economic betterment. The promise of higher wages along with a promise for a strong economic future could hardly be passed up.¹⁰

According to Winkler, by the time the attack on Pearl Harbor revealed American isolationism to be something of the past, women had already been relishing in their newfound employment for some time during the build up to war. Once America officially entered the war in 1941, women working for the war efforts in Southern California's factories openly expressed their patriotism and sense of duty against the tyranny of foreign nations while working for a cause. Many women missed no time from work at the factories in nearly two years at the beginning of the war. Women flooded by the thousands to the Southern Californian factory plants. There was a new sense of collective purpose that included women. The overall mood improved and women experienced a sense of well-being that had not been present just a few years prior. Many women saw the European struggle not merely as ideological, but also compatible with the structure of their own lives. A strong sense for relief from women was experienced.¹¹ Women began to believe again in their American country. However, as the news of the attack on Pearl Harbor was heard, once again, America was jolted. Americans experienced sheer astonishment and most knew exactly what they were doing when they heard the news. At the same time the long-standing tensions had led

to an unavoidable war.¹² Doris King notes that small towns, such as hers in Richmond, California, were turned upside down with the news of Pearl Harbor. She states, "I was working for the telephone company and on duty when the news of Pearl Harbor came through the lines. Every line was lit up. Everyone knew this was it. We were going to war." A period of waiting was over. Soon enough, Mrs. King joined the quick surge of employment toward factory work for the war effort.¹³

Calling All Women: Rosie the Riveter Appears

For the first time, the stigma of full-time working married women began to diminish. Elaine Tyler May points out that during the 1940s married women workers were the fastest growing group in the American workforce. Industrial demand for women to enter the work force superseded any potential discrimination or stigma that had existed prior to the war.¹⁴ Contrary to May's claim that unequal pay and sexual harassment ran rampant against female war industry workers in Southern California, some claim to have had extremely uplifting experiences from work within various Southern California factories. King recalls, in a somewhat nostalgic sense, during 1942, while working for American Standard Company (converted to a bomb making factory) she received better pay and working conditions than she previously had while working for the telephone company the previous year. King recalls, a bit reminiscently, how her prior work experience was also positive. She requested and was granted the graveyard shift without question. King was married and was expected by her

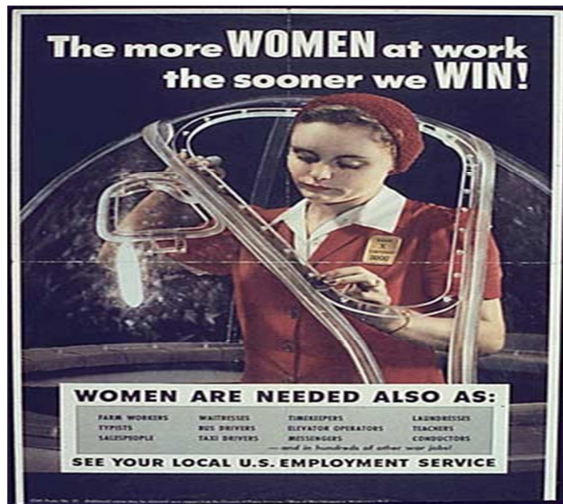
employer to figure out a way to care for her young child during the day. Her parents cared for her child at night, because outside childcare was not the norm for the time. King states “So few young men were left at home after Pearl Harbor that all women needed to work and we, even the married ones, were accepted.”¹⁵ There was no doubt in the minds of the women I interviewed that the war industry was providing them with opportunities that had not previously been allowed.

Women came close to being drafted at the outbreak of the war. Instead, the War Board used advertisement skillfully and enticed women toward war effort work by appealing to their sense of duty to the nation.¹⁶ Women’s strength along with retaining of their femininity is exemplified by the War Board ad, as seen in Figure 1.¹⁷ The advertisement served to praise its women workers by defining a sense of purpose and priority for them. According to Melosh, although the advertisements promoting the war effort mostly portrayed white middle class women, large diversified groups of women war workers participated. Most of the women that were portrayed in advertisements were white women from the dominant controlling class within the cities. Among the groups that did participate in war efforts were: African Americans, Latinos, single and married women, students, and housewives. Most of these women were invisible to the *Rosie* propaganda.¹⁸ The newly constructed image of *Rosie the Riveter* and the advertisement that gave rise to her as a powerful wartime personae carried mixed messages for working women. The image disrupts traditional gender roles across class lines, bringing forth tensions among men and women

in a male-dominated workplace.¹⁹ Although women were drawn to the factories in Southern California for war employment, many experienced a sense of abandonment of their traditional feminine gender roles as housewives. Wartime efforts were expressed in advertisements as obligations to defend the status quo of the nuclear family while stimulating the need for work ethic in order to win the war and return to a peaceful home. The posters reveal women with make-up and in uniforms, or wielding heavy equipment yet still with coiffed hair or full make-up, as if to suggest that such work would not make them any less feminine. The War Board recognized the role dilemma for women as well as a concern that women should be told that the war effort employment was a temporary situation. It was expected that once the war was over, women could and should return to the home. Clearly, American culture was not yet ready to acknowledge women’s employment equality.

From Baker to Breadwinner: the Transformation of Working Women during WWII

Figure 1: World War II Posters



Soldiers Without Guns (top)

The More Women at Work the Sooner We Win (bottom)²⁰

Boman remembers how women gained work experience both on the assembly lines at the plants as well as in office secretarial jobs. Despite little experience, she was given a job in the office as a replacement part technician for the nacelles on the B-24 airplane. This position required her to inspect the airplanes for broken or malfunctioning parts and order new ones. She gained experience in both aeronautic technology as well as office administration. Boman states, “Without the war these positions would never have been given to women. It was unheard of for a woman to be in such an important decision-making process, while working side by side with men. Almost as if equals.”²¹ Women, such as Boman, held office positions as typist or file clerk which entailed making decisions as well as reporting to male superiors and managers. Boman experienced an occasional sexist remark from her male superiors, however, describes being mostly respected and acknowledged for her work product.²² Despite some positive expressions of equality, contradictions continued to exist. According to Weatherford, broad public support of women industrial workers existed, but opposition remained. It was noted that, “Women have a special dignity...and a special duty that of being the heart of the home. Let us realize that God made women to be mothers [...]”²³ Women were definitely making their employment mark, just not in permanent ink.

Women received some encouragement for their work efforts. Through local columns such as Tom Treanor of the *Los Angeles Times*, words of encouragement were given to women. He states, “In another plant the

women proved so much better in several lines previously considered a masculine preserve that I was asked not to quote the findings.”²⁴ The notion of being both a man’s and a woman’s world was not yet completely accepted despite the evident accomplishments boasted by some media outlets. Historian Penny Colman reveals that, “Throughout the war years most women who took war jobs entered an alien world, a world that had always been male-only. But for the duration of World War II it was women’s work, and women of all ages, races, shapes, sizes, education, and backgrounds became pioneers in the American workplace.”²⁵ Men did not always accept this. However, Lane reflects back on the workplace competition gender discrimination that her mother experienced with men during the long hours that her mother worked at Vega Aircraft. Despite gaining daily experience in the inner workings of the plant and working 8-10 hour shifts and 6 days a week, some discrimination did occur. The pay of 75 cents per hour, “Very good for a woman at that time,” kept women working, remarks Lane.²⁶ In spite of some discrimination, a quest for knowledge motivated many women workers. For this quest and dedication, some women were praised at work by their supervisors, but Lane’s mother did experience some discrimination with favoritism toward her male counterparts, even with her newly gained capabilities. She recollects one such incident when her mother applied for a supervisory position for which she was well qualified, after working for Vega Aircraft for some time, however, the position was not given to her. Instead, it was given to a less qualified male worker.²⁷

In the face of being treated fairly well, women did not receive equal pay or promotions.²⁸ Despite public support and War Labor Board rulings in favor of equality in wage disputes, industry employers evaded the principle and set-up “women’s jobs.”²⁹ At the same time, Boman recalls the exhilaration that many women, despite gender inequalities, experienced on the job. She notes that she earned less than men, but was gaining experience. Boman states, “All along women believed they were just as capable as male workers, once we had access to the jobs.”³⁰ Still, men continued to be skeptical about the women workers. Treanor, in his *Los Angeles Times* column Home Front, wrote in August 1942 that “Much as I hate to admit it, the women are showing some small promise in their volunteer work. As time wears on and they have more opportunity to learn to do things as men do them, they may possibly assume a real value. That remains to be seen.”³¹ Coleman notes that women seized the moment, taking every chance to learn and reveal their capabilities. Women realized the opportunities to be liberated from social, political and cultural constraints imposed on them due to their gender. A new sense of expectation of economic independence from earning a good wage was born. With these expectations in mind, women were determined to succeed in whatever employment they were assigned, from typist to Riveter.³² With the notion that women were needed in the workforce and capable of doing the work, a foundation for postwar women’s movements was built.

Breakthrough for Women of Color

From Baker to Breadwinner: the Transformation of Working Women during WWII

Mexican-American women flooded the war industry, capturing their slice of opportunity that had not been previously allowed to them. Throughout America, especially in the Southern California, Mexican American women discovered and flourished in the newfound employment opportunities and freedoms that other woman workers were also experiencing. Prior to 1941, no Mexican American was employed in the Los Angeles shipyards.³³ However, by 1944, 17,000 Mexican Americans, many of whom were women, worked there. They also worked in aircraft factories in Long Beach and headed other major war production throughout America, making headlines of their striking gains.³⁴ The notion of “Rosita the Riveter” was birthed. Mexican American women were given new opportunities for higher wage work that had not been allowed to them prior to the war. Wartime work greatly affected the level of Mexican American employment in the United States. The number of Mexican American women holding clerical and sales positions rose from 10.1% in 1930 to 23.9% in 1950, giving them a new sense of autonomy and independence while taking on the responsibilities of work and a family.³⁵

In anticipation of the transition into war work between 1939 and 1942, the Department of Labor’s Office of Education established many vocational schools to provide rural arrivals with training for preparation of jobs in plumbing, airplane mechanics and welding. This training gave Mexican American women the opportunity to explore new fields of employment outside of agricultural. The shift in employment then became a catalyst for change in the agricultural hiring. The war caused acute farm labor shortage. As a result, the United States sought

workers from Mexico to fill the vacant agriculture positions. Mexican citizens were brought across the border into California to work in agriculture. An agreement called the Bracero Program, in 1942, provided workers with food, shelter, transportation and medical care encouraged several hundred thousand workers to enter the United States. The Bracero Program, although all male contractual agreement between the United States and Mexico was intended to fill the agricultural labor shortage, enabled Mexican workers and their families move toward their goals of equal rights and benefits of full citizenship. As worker Manuel De La Raza declared in 1942, “This war...is doing in one generation...It has shown those ‘across the tracks’ that we all share the same problems. It has shown them what the Mexican Americans will do what responsibility he will take and what leadership qualities he will demonstrate. After this struggle, the status of the Mexican Americans will be different.”³⁶ The floodgates opened for future generations of Mexican American women workers to push for acceptance and equalities within the workforce.

Division of Labor, or Not?

Other women of color during the period of 1940-1950 were given new wartime work opportunities. 1.5 million African Americans left the South for the Midwest and West Coast. They came from Texas, Arkansas, and Oklahoma for defense jobs and to escape Jim Crow Laws. They expected less discrimination, however, the prejudice continued in the West.³⁷ Novelist Chester Himes, in his novel *If He Hollers Let Him Go* which is based on African American sentiments experienced in wartime Los Angeles,

remarks that the realities of the segregated South were in many ways the same as those in the West. He states “In any incident that might come up a white person can use his colour on me and turn it into a catastrophe and I won’t have protection, any out, nothing I can do about it but die.”³⁸ Racial control of African Americans in the West was much more rampant than the migrants had expected. Companies such as American Standard went from manufacturing plastics to building bombs. King, while on the assembly line working on the spot face machine placing casings into machines, worked side by side with African American women with little question. Within the plant there were minimal racial tensions that she could see, toward the desperately needed women workers of the assembly line. Black and white women worked side by side without incident. However, she noted that racial tensions seemed to run high between primarily African Americans and white men working on the railroad in her town of Richmond. King notes, “The city [Richmond] previously did not have black neighborhoods, but did thereafter. Even with the railroad racial tensions, they [African Americans] had opportunities in California that they did not have in the South.”³⁹ The hope for economic and social freedom without racial tensions hardly met the expectations of the migrant African Americans during this period.

While other women workers made gains during the war employment, African Americans, Latinos and Native American women faced continued struggles. They were labeled as outsiders. Despite the Bracero Program, they initially were not given defense jobs, but later participated in war

efforts. The seeds for civil rights were inevitably planted. The hypocrisy of the United States was prevalent as the women of color fought united democracy on the assembly line, making bombs while experiencing the exclusion of freedoms at home. Winkler notes that, “In 1940, only 240 of the 100,000 workers in the aircraft industry were black, most of them janitors. And the United States Employment Service continued to accept employers’ requests for ‘white only,’ thus perpetuating existing discriminatory patterns.”⁴⁰ African-American women fought fiercely for better positions during the war. Historian Ron Takaki points out that in 1941 only 10 out of 33,000 workers, men and women at Douglas Aircraft were African American.⁴¹ The NAACP and the Urban League pressed the legislature for improvements for all African Americans, but made little gains at this time. However, as a result of visible protests, President Roosevelt signed executive order 8802.⁴² The order prohibited discrimination in employment in the war industry based on race, creed, color or national origin.⁴³ Following the law, some notable gains were revealed. African American workers such as Maya Angelou became the first African American woman streetcar conductor in San Francisco through her efforts at lobbying the personnel office until she got the job requested. However, Angelou did not receive equality for all African Americans. Despite some gains by African American workers, most African American women in the war industry were given the dirtiest and most dangerous positions in the plant.⁴⁴ Even so, with the employment gains from African American women in the war effort and the notable existence of

From Baker to Breadwinner: the Transformation of Working Women during WWII

discrimination, groundwork for future the Civil Rights Movement was laid.

African Americans also experienced racial tensions from the established white people of Los Angeles. Old neighborhoods did not want the Southern migrants to move into their areas. Although Southern California flourished with new job opportunities, it was not urbanized enough to handle the increased population, as the Golden State gained over three million new residents. Housing shortages were a serious problem, especially for women of color.⁴⁵ Overcrowding and fear of job competition fed the frenzy of discrimination against the newcomers. They had difficulty finding housing and were forced to set up camps wherever they could find.⁴⁶ Himes points out that African Americans created communities and struggled to believe in a country that would not accept them. He states, "But I was going to take it if they put it on me. If I had to fight and die for the country I'd fight and die for it. I'd even go so far as to believe it was my country too."⁴⁷ Newspapers documented African Americans as living in slum-like conditions. Racial conflicts over jobs and housing led to riots. During 1943 there were 247 incidents in 43 cities. In order to keep war production going and stimulate the economy, African American women were given jobs alongside white workers. Many white workers resented the economic gains of African Americans. They didn't want to work alongside them and wanted to keep them in check by preventing them from working or living with the white people. Black organizations did much to counter this intolerance.⁴⁸ Historian Sherna Berger Gluck remarks how the dilemma of black integration was handled:

The goal of the wartime black organizations went beyond the short-range objective of opening up jobs. The National Council of Negro Women, for example, mobilized a 'Hold Your Job Campaign.' They hoped to ensure that the inroads made during the war years were not lost. The council offered its services to employers and workers alike in an effort to integrate women workers into these new jobs. A series of wartime employment clinics were set up, primarily in the Washington, D.C., area. The inclusion of charm clinics and classes on behavior and attitude indicates that the black woman was being trained how to fit in and be accepted, how to be white, as it were.⁴⁹

Despite attempts at "fitting in," many African American women workers handled White resistance with a "stand your ground" challenge back to the white, dominant group. Gluck quotes war industry, factory worker from Los Angeles, Fanny Christina Hill's story:

I was talking to a white person about the situation and he said, Next time you get ready to move in a white neighborhood, I'll tell you what you do. The first thing you do when you pull up there in the truck, you jump out with

your guns. You hold them up high in the air. He says, If you don't have any, borrow some or rent 'em, shotgun and you go in there with it first. They going to be peeping out the window, don't you worry about it. They going to see you. But if they see those guns going in first, they won't ever bother you.⁵⁰

Similar to African American workers, Native American women war industry workers experienced discrimination and division of labor jobs at the arms factories. E. Begeman had just graduated from high school when she took a job at Lockheed Aircraft Factory in Burbank. She made P38 Bombers during the early years of the war. Although she is only part Native American, physically she is representative of the group. Prior to her employment at the plant she notes that she was fairly well integrated in her school and small community of Monrovia, California. Begeman recalled some negative memories of her employment at the factory. She was relegated to 12-hour shifts and to perform some dirty cleanup jobs due to lack of experience, and had few breaks for meals or smoking. Some women were given special privileges for their birthdays or family events. They were allowed to work in the office and run errands. Some were ignored, but did not complain. Begeman states that, "We were doing our American duty. We saw pictures of young men dead and floating in the surf inside of enemy lines. So, you didn't worry about fair or unfair treatment."⁵¹ Like other women, Native American women took riveter jobs at the

aircraft factories, but some received less pay than the white women received for the same work. It was claimed that women were paid according to their knowledge and qualifications. Despite anti-discriminatory employment laws equality was not always enforced. Women of color were not segregated at the industry plants, but were socially discriminated against.⁵² Begeman further recalls experiencing incidents where she was not allowed to enter a bar near the plant. She was told that no Indians were allowed. The bar was for white workers only.⁵³ This discrimination infuriated Native American workers, later having implications when Native Americans would lobby the Legislature for social equalities.⁵⁴

Newfound Freedoms of Expression

During the war years of 1942 through 1945, women working in the war industry (young, old, of color, married and non-married) began to experience autonomy, many for the first time. Freedoms were expressed through leisure activities such as entertainment and consumerism. For the first time since the Great Depression, women had a few extra nickels in their pocket. Women were frequently told to buy war bonds, reminding them that money earned is money saved for after the war. There was a sense that the women jobs were temporary, so it was important to save while they could.⁵⁵ After the war, the money was used to buy houses and luxuries that had been unavailable during the and before the war. Some saved money to buy a house for when their husbands or boyfriends returned from war, such as King, while others

From Baker to Breadwinner: the Transformation of Working Women during WWII

spent heavily during the war on leisure activities.⁵⁶

Prior to the war efforts, most women were expected to be escorted out on the town by a male counterpart or other authority figure, recalls Boman, "It would be unheard of to go out at night alone, let alone dancing. That all changed during the war years. After work, every evening, in the airplane factory we went out dancing. Sometimes we went alone or with the girls. Nobody questioned us. It was expected that we could take care of ourselves, and we did."⁵⁷ She also reflects upon the notion that most of her earnings went toward entertainment. Eating out every evening, sometimes alone, became a new ritual that gave women a newfound sense of independence and self-sufficiency. Women could afford to buy their own meals, entertainment and goods. Most lived alone in rented, furnished apartments and paid their own rent.⁵⁸ Although patriotism was a factor for women working in the war effort economic incentives were convincing for many housewives. For many women, working gave them a new sense of financial latitude. Women were making more money than they ever could have before the war and the made the decisions on how to spend it. Autonomy was greatly reinforced through economic choice and freedom.⁵⁹

Lane reflects upon her time going to the movies each week and having the ability, for the first time, to buy appliances for the family home. Life in the consumer city was a great experience, recalls Lane, "We had money for movies, dinner out and bought furniture and a 1930 Model A Ford. It was a different walking city than it had been previously. Women took the

trolley shopping to see the new big department stores."⁶⁰ Despite rationing of gas, food, and personal products, many women opened charge accounts at Bullock's in order to purchase personal "feminine" products such as silk stockings. The shortage of gas directed women to walking to nearby entertainment within the city. Women walked to the movies, dinner and music halls where they danced unaccompanied. Prior to the war, women were expected to be accompanied by a male chaperone. However, with most of the young men at war, women could enjoy leisure time alone or in groups of women friends. The stigma of the feminine fragility was beginning to fade.⁶¹

Women factory workers utilized their newfound freedoms and sense of accomplishment at war effort support in positive ways. Leisure time exposed many women to music and entertainment never before experienced. Women were excited to work for the cause and get paid for it. This sentiment spilled over into their workplace environment. Music, from Big Band to Blues, became central to women's sense of survival from the exhaustive physical work they carried out in the factories. The workers often played music and most sang along. This kept the mood light and reminded the women of their new life of art appreciation and entertainment. In addition, women continued the music appreciation by attending dance clubs and music halls after work. Many women within the factories came from small towns and had been previously socially isolated. They moved to the unfamiliar cities within Southern California and were exposed to workplace multi-cultures where a sense of neighborhood was

established. Multiethnic friendships among women were enjoyed at work and during leisure activities at music halls where multitudes of music were heard. Harmonized collective singing and uplifting songs bonded women toward a common goal and strengthened their newfound autonomy by giving the common independence and confidence.⁶² Boman recalls songs of inspiration toward the war efforts as well as lyrics praising working women, “We loved feeling important and knew they (society) could never take that away from us.”⁶³ Songs expressing the ideal single woman war worker portrayed as *Rosie the Riveter* revealed a strong, loyal, efficient, patriotic, compliant and pretty woman who happily does her work:

*While other girls attend a favorite
cocktail bar,
Sipping dry martinis, munching caviar;
There’s a girl who’s really putting them
to shame-
Rosie is her name.
All day long, whether rain or shine,
She’s part of the assembly line,
She’s making history working for
victory,
Rosie, Rosie, Rosie, Rosie, Rosie, Rosie
the Riveter.*⁶⁴

Songs such as *Rosie the Riveter*, which portrayed hard, working women with a sense of patriotism, encouraged women to work with satisfaction. However, the economic incentives, benefits of learning new skills, contributing to the public good, and proving themselves in jobs once thought of as only men’s work kept women’s morale strong, remarks Boman and King.⁶⁵

Point of No Return

Throughout the time during World War II, more and more women entered the workforce for the war effort. As greater numbers of women flourished in the workforce, attitudes of a prewar image of women as housewives and mothers, incapable of work outside the home, lessened. This cultural change manifested through leisure activities, temporarily acknowledged women’s independence. However, strong fidelity to the traditional patriarchal system lingered. There was still a great fear that women would take over the employment realm of society and give them power over men. In addition, many women and men with traditional views felt women’s place was in the home and their greatest asset was their ability to take care of their children and homes.⁶⁶ Although women took advantage of new employment opportunities, many held a strong commitment to marriage and traditional values. For example, between 1940 and 1943 there were 1,118,000 more marriages than prior years. Popular culture also reinforced the notion of women as a temporary worker, but more a wife and mother.⁶⁷ Fear that women would not return to the home was noted through local newspapers. For example, Treanor, in his column from the *Los Angeles Times* on January 28, 1942, notes that “Less than a year ago when I was touring the defense factories in the East, the employment of women on a large scale was looked at generally as: A necessary evil in the relatively distant future, a problem that should be faced and now it looks as though women are almost going to take the factories over.”⁶⁸ With this worry in mind, there was always a caveat to the newfound jobs for women: there were

From Baker to Breadwinner: the Transformation of Working Women during WWII

constant reminders from male superiors to women that their work was temporary. With nearly 50 percent of all adult women employed in war production in the United States during the height of the war years of 1943-1944, fear that these women would dominant the old status quo was great. These large numbers included, for the first time, married women who had been full-time housewives and mothers prior to the war.⁶⁹

By late 1944 the WMC (War Manpower Commission) stopped efforts to recruit women workers. In turn, new propaganda was spread encouraging women that their patriotic duty was to return to the home, care for their husbands and family. Portrayal of women riveters disappeared from magazines and newspapers. As exemplified in Figure 2, the new advertisements portraying nurturing women as motherly, at home and growing their own food, replaced images of *Rosie the Riveter*.⁷⁰ Although these advertisements were initially intended for food rationing, they were utilized to reveal the feminine nature of working in the home.⁷¹ Boman points out that, women entered the war effort out of necessity, but ultimately discovered newfound freedoms away from the traditional motherly role. Many women had no intention of leaving the workforce after the war, despite being encouraged to do so, “I wasn’t about to go backwards after progressing so far,” reflects Boman.⁷² Many men, who feared the competition that women now posed, encouraged the push for women to exit the workforce. However, women had become independent and self-sufficient. They no longer felt that they had to rely on a man for economic security.⁷³

Figure 2: World War II images



*Grow Your Own Food*⁷⁴

Women had established work ethics and responsibility. King recalls her sense of pride, “Working gave me a sense of independence during tough times. I didn’t have to go to college to receive a sense of accomplishment. You were graded on your ability. Women never really returned to being a housewife.”⁷⁵ Women had learned job techniques that would stay with them and broaden their experience for future employment. Although many women left the workforce as a result of being laid off as the war wended down in 1945, there were still many more who remained in the workforce - more than had ever been before the war began. They were just not at the same pay scale or work capacity as they had previously experienced.⁷⁶

World War II caused considerable shifts in employment for women. As Claudia D. Gouldin notes, the annual rate of women working from 1940 to 1944 is identical to the rate from 1944 to 1950. Working women persisted in their work efforts contrary to previous data that indicated women left the work force once the war ended. Women accumulated work experience and training that enabled them to compete (somewhat) in the open labor market following the war. Although many women were forced out of the high-paying jobs such as aircraft and machinery, once the men returned home from the war, they sought alternative employment. It was expected that women worked in the aircraft and machinery jobs only out of necessity during the wartime years and once the war was over they would return to the domestic duties that were expected of women. A new rise in clerical position for women opened up new opportunities, which were not fully in existence prior to the war. Women could now, without question, apply for secretarial and typist positions. This change greatly expanded an arena for office positions available to women following the war. Prior to the war men held these office positions.⁷⁷

By 1945, jobs were still available for women, but were lower paying, lower status jobs offering little chance for advancement.⁷⁸ Realizing this problem, Boman recalls finding her niche. She had gained great experience in the office and took that knowledge immediately to another employer in Los Angeles. "The pay wasn't as good, but I had solid employment with self-confidence," recalls Boman, "But, I ultimately became an office manager and controller. Without my wartime job experience, I

am sure I wouldn't have had the inclination to seek a non-traditional career outside of teaching."⁷⁹ Despite Boman's positive outlook on her experience, realities that existed for most women, at the end of the war, were monetarily bleak. Much of the wartime economic opportunity was not retained, because of the rendering labor market at the end of the war. Considering these competitive struggles, the 47 percent of women who did not return to their home, remained in the cities and took the available "feminine" jobs that were. By 1950, 55 percent of all the new women entrants to the workforce had not worked in the wartime efforts, leading to the realization of a snowball effect for future generations as earlier generations of working women laid the groundwork for future women workers. Fields such as clerical, mechanical, medicine and scientific research were offered to women during wartime. Following the war women took advantage, despite competition from men, of the continued opportunities that had previously revealed women could do the work in the fields previously held only by men.⁸⁰ Despite the continued struggle for equality in the fields where women flourished during the war, women continued to persevere in the workplace.

The multi-layered phenomenon of World War II's impact on women's employment through the war and thereafter can be seen by the women, married and unmarried, who partook in the war efforts not only for patriotic reason but also for economic necessity. The more than half of the new women who entered the workforce following the war were there as early as 1940. The war effort greatly increased women's employment and became a snowball

From Baker to Breadwinner: the Transformation of Working Women during WWII

effect, encouraging even larger numbers of women workers to enter the workplace. The significance of job training and the opening of new fields for younger working women generated new opportunities for women that had not been available prior to the war. Although a large number of married women chose to return to the home following the war or were replaced by returning veterans, more than half remained working in the newer fields that had been opened-up for women. The expansive social affect that World War II employment had on women greatly influenced women's newfound

autonomy and urged them to push toward future employment. Therefore, WWII offered women some or at least the confidence to strive toward independence. The foundation was laid and the seed was planted for future feminism to take hold. One might even go as far to say that women may have always yearned for autonomy, but may have lacked the confidence to fight the social structure that pressed them back. Women gained strength from their ability to succeed at work and discovered that their autonomy could be achieved without the loss of "mothering" roles.

Notes

¹ Subjects personally interviewed and conducted at Valencia Commons Retirement Community of Rancho Cucamonga in which Letha Joan Boman (author's mother), Doris King and Janet Lane (friends of Letha Joan Boman) reside. E. Begeman (author's aunt) was also personally interviewed via telephone.
² Letha Joan Boman. Personal Interview, 1 May 2010.
³ David M. Kennedy, *Freedom From Fear* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 344.
⁴ Janet Lane, Personal Interview, 15 April 2010.
⁵ <http://www.wikipedia.org/Neutrality Act of 1937>. The Neutrality Acts were laws that were passed by the US Congress during the 1930s in response to the growing turmoil in Europe and Asia that eventually led to WWII. The US sought to ensure that the US would not again, following WWI, become entangled in foreign conflicts, (accessed 22 May 2010).
⁶ Kennedy, *Freedom From Fear*, 421-429.
⁷ Allan M. Winkler, *Home Front U.S.A.: America during World War II* (Wheeling, Illinois: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1986), 48.
⁸ Roger W. Lotchin, "California Cities and the Hurricane of Change: World War II in the San Francisco, Los Angeles, and San Diego Metropolitan Areas," in *The Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 63, No. 3 (August 1994),

<http://www.jstor.org...>, (accessed 5 April 2010), 396.

⁹ Boman.

¹⁰ Winkler, *Home Front U.S.A.: America during World War II*, 32.

¹¹ Winkler, *Home Front U.S.A.: America during World War II*, 29-31.

¹² Winkler, *Home Front U.S.A.: America during World War II*, 29.

¹³ Doris King, Personal Interview, 15 April 2010.

¹⁴ Elaine Tyler May in "Rosie the Riveter Gets Married" from *The War in American Culture: Society & Consciousness During WWI.I* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

¹⁵ King.

¹⁶ Doris Weatherford, *American Women and World War II* (New York: Facts On File, Inc., 1990), 20.

¹⁷

www.history1900s.about.com/library/photos/bl_ywwiip207.html (accessed 4-29-10).

¹⁸ Barbara Melosh, *Gender and American History Since 1890* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), 186.

¹⁹ Melosh, *Gender and American History Since 1890*, 185.

²⁰

www.history1900s.about.com/library/photos/bl_ywwiip207.html (accessed 4-29-10)

²¹ Boman

²² Boman

²³ Weatherford, *American Women and World War II*, 123.

²⁴ Tom Treanor, *Los Angeles Times* "The Homefront" (1923-Current File); Jan 28, 1942; ProQuest Historical Newspapers *Los Angeles Times* (1881-1986), A.

²⁵ Penny Colman, *Rosie The Riveter: Women Working on the Home Front in World War II* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1995), 82.

²⁶ Lane.

²⁷ Lane.

²⁸ Lane.

²⁹ Weatherford, *American Women and World War II*, 123.

³⁰ Boman.

³¹ Treanor, "Home Front" *Los Angeles Times*, 4 August 1942.

³² Colman, *Rosie The Riveter: Women Working on the Home Front in World War II*, 82-85.

³³ Winkler, *Home Front U.S.A.: America during World War II*, 73-75.

³⁴ Winkler, *Home Front U.S.A.: America during World War II*, 75.

³⁵ Cordelia Candelaria, Peter J. Garcia, Arturo J. Aldama, *Encyclopedia of Latino Popular Culture* (Greenwood Publishing Group, New York: 2004), 706-707.

³⁶ Winkler, *Home Front U.S.A.: America during World War II*, 75.

³⁷ Ron Takaki, *Double Victory: A Multicultural History of America in WWII* (New York: Back Bay, 2001), 39.

³⁸ Himes, *If He Hollers Let Him Go*, 168.

³⁹ King

⁴⁰ Winkler, *Home Front U.S.A.: America during World War II*, 64.

⁴¹ Takaki, *Double Victory: A Multicultural History of America in WWII*, 39.

⁴² en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Executive_Order_8802, Executive Order 8802 (also known as the Fair Employment Act) was signed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on June 25, 1941 to prohibit racial or gender employment discrimination (accessed May 22, 2010).

⁴³ Takaki, *Double Victory: A Multicultural History of America in WWII*, 41.

⁴⁴ Winkler, *Home Front U.S.A.: America during World War II*, 70.

⁴⁵ Roger W. Lotchin, "California Cities and the Hurricane of Change: World War II in the San Francisco, Los Angeles, and San Diego Metropolitan Areas," in *The Pacific Historical Review*, 403.

⁴⁶ Chester Himes, *If He Hollers Let Him Go* (Philadelphia: Da Capo Press, 2002), 168.

⁴⁷ Himes, *If He Hollers Let Him Go*, 123.

⁴⁸ Sherna Berger Gluck, *Rosie The Riveter Revisited: Women, The War and Social Change* (New York and Scarborough, Ontario: Meridian, 1987), 34-36.

⁴⁹ Gluck, *Rosie The Riveter Revisited: Women, The War and Social Change*, 36.

⁵⁰ Gluck, *Rosie The Riveter Revisited: Women, The War and Social Change*, 45.

⁵¹ E. Begeman, Personal Interview, 22 May 2010.

⁵² Takaki, *Double Victory: A Multicultural History of America in WWII*, 62.

⁵³ Begeman.

⁵⁴ Begeman.

⁵⁵ King.

⁵⁶ King.

⁵⁷ Boman.

⁵⁸ Boman.

⁵⁹ Emily Yellin, *Our Mothers' War* (New York: Free Press, 2004), 46-47.

⁶⁰ Lane.

⁶¹ Terrenc H. Witkowski and Ellen M. Hogan, "Home Front Consumers: An Oral History of California Women During World War II," in *Labour/Le Travail*, Vol. 44 (Fall, 1999), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25148986?seq=homefront...>, (accessed 5 April 2010), 158.

⁶² Marek Korczynski et al, "We Sang Ourselves Through That War: Women, Music and Factory Work in World War Two," in *Labour History Review*, Vol. 70, No. 2 (August 2005), <http://www.jstor.org...>, (accessed 5 April 2010), 187.

⁶³ Boman.

⁶⁴ Yellin, *Our Mothers' War*, 43.

⁶⁵ Boman.

⁶⁶ Yellin, *Our Mothers' War*, 54-58.

⁶⁷ Winkler, *Home Front U.S.A.: America during World War II*, 62.

⁶⁸ Treanor, "Home Front" *Los Angeles Times* (28 January 1942).

⁶⁹ Yellin, *Our Mothers' War*, 47.

⁷⁰ www.history1900s.about.com/library/photos/bl_ywwiip207.html (accessed 4-29-10).

⁷¹ Colman, *Rosie The Riveter: Women Working on the Home Front in World War II*, 97.

⁷² Boman.

⁷³ Boman.

⁷⁴ www.google.com/immagine/ww2posters (accessed 5-20-10)

⁷⁵ King.

⁷⁶ Colman, *Rosie The Riveter: Women Working on the Home Front in World War II*, 98-101.

From Baker to Breadwinner: the Transformation of Working Women during WWII

⁷⁷ Claudia D. Goldin, "The Role of World War II in the Rise of Women's Employment," in *The American Economic Review*, Vol. 81, Issue 4 (September 1991), <http://www.jstor.org>..., (accessed 5 April 2010), 741-747.

⁷⁸ Penny Summerfield, "They Didn't Want Women Back in That Job!: The Second World War and the Construction of Gendered Work Histories," in *Labour History Review*, Vol. 63, No. 1 (Spring 1998), 83-88.

⁷⁹ Boman.

⁸⁰ Summerfield 83-88.

An Incidence of Practical Political Restraint: The John Robinson Scandal of 1766

By Timmthy M. Young

Few men in the history of Virginia were as important as John Robinson. The revelation of his corruption in 1766 incited a year-long debate on the proper separation of powers in government. Even more startling is that his reputation survived the debate largely unscathed. None could have suspected that when John Robinson, Jr., was born on February 3, 1705 in Middlesex County that his life and death would so fundamentally affect the development of Virginia.¹ Unfortunately, little is known about him before he was elected to the House of Burgesses as representative for King and Queen County in 1728, when he was just twenty-three years old. Following the death of Sir John Randolph in 1737, Robinson was elected Speaker of the House of Burgesses. The following year, Robinson was also confirmed as the Treasurer of the House. Those two offices had been united by tradition in Virginia because the office of Speaker carried no salary, but the person occupying the office of Treasurer was paid a small percentage of all funds that passed through the office.² Robinson would continue to hold both offices simultaneously until his death on May 11th 1766.

A few months after his death, it was discovered that Speaker Robinson had, in fact, been deliberately mismanaging some of the paper treasury notes moving through the treasury

office. Robinson was supposed to burn all notes that were returned to the treasury after they had been redeemed and collected. Instead, Robinson had returned many of those notes to circulation via loans to his friends and colleagues among Virginia's political, social, and economic elite who had fallen on hard times. The amount Robinson illegally loaned totaled more than £100,000, the equivalent of about 15,831,325 U.S. dollars in 2010.³

Robinson's illegal activities became public knowledge a few months after his death. In June 1766, Robert Carter Nicholas, the new Treasurer of the House, sent an essay to the publishers of the *Virginia Gazette* arguing that the offices of Speaker of the House and Treasurer of the House ought not be held simultaneously by the same person. In the course of his argument, Nicholas revealed Robinson's mismanagement to the public as an example of the potential dangers that could arise out of united offices. His argument can be interpreted as a response to a single question: Since Robinson, a man of the upmost quality, ability and reputation could so abuse the power of join offices, what horrors might occur if a less virtuous man were ever to occupy the same position? After a lengthy public debate, the House of Burgesses eventually agreed with Nicholas that united offices placed far too much power, and faith in one man.⁴

For the remainder of the colonial period, the two offices would be held by different people.

Considering the enormous quantity of funds illegally loaned and the resulting changes to Virginia's constitutional traditions, it is remarkable how restrained the public discussion of Robinson's character and reputation remained despite his apparent corruption. Nicholas' language, which shall be closely analyzed below, is of the most delicate and respectful kind. Nicholas was careful to avoid making Robinson's misdeeds seem to be the central point of his essay. In fact, Nicholas did not reveal the shocking findings of his investigation into the state of the treasury until he had first spent more than four full-page columns making other points. If a public figure of such importance were involved in a scandal of that magnitude today condemnations and character attacks would likely appear on the front pages of major newspapers across the country.

It may be argued that attacks on Robinson's reputation would have simply been considered unacceptable according to the social norms governing the 18th century British colonial gentry; however, that does not appear to be the case. Several examples exist of prominent colonial gentlemen who were openly attacked, mocked or vilified by their peers. For example, Governor Francis Nicholson was thoroughly vilified in Virginia in the first decade of the eighteenth century because the colonists believed his character was not of the kind required to effectively lead the colony.⁵ He was referred to as "one of the 'vipers,' as 'the proudest man I

ever saw,' whose most common demeanor was 'to hector and Domineer.'"⁶ In Nicholson's case, character and reputation were not just the cause of the attacks but also became the key element of colonial attempts to have him removed from office. His detractors did not stop at objecting to his actions as governor, but actually exaggerated them to the point of slander to make their argument more persuasive.⁷ Obviously, the details and circumstances of the Nicholson example are substantively different from those of John Robinson, but it does clearly show that the colonists were not socially prohibited from targeting a gentleman's reputation to achieve specific political ends. The reason Robinson's case was handled so differently must lie elsewhere. It may be suggested that perhaps the key difference between Francis Nicholson's case and John Robinson's is that Robinson occupied a position of respect earned from within the colonial structure while Nicholson was an outsider sent to govern by the King.

While this would at first glance appear to be a compelling argument, it too cannot be the reason Robinson was spared harsh criticism. We need look no farther than the American Revolution for a well-known example in the person of Benedict Arnold to see that the Colonial gentry were perfectly able to ridicule and scorn one of their own. Unlike Francis Nicholson, Benedict Arnold was a colonial native, born to a wealthy, established colonial family.⁸ Before his famous change of loyalties in 1780 Benedict Arnold had been a much loved hero. After Arnold defected to the British cause his character was attacked

An Incidence of Practical Political Restraint: The John Robinson Scandal of 1766

as strongly as once it had been praised. The *Massachusetts Spy*, for example, published an article that said Arnold must “wander about like Cain, a forlorn vagabond, bearing in his bosom the curse of heaven and his injured country, as a vulture continually tearing his bowels, or a worm that never dies gnawing his heart.”⁹ Arnold is here condemned to the harsh fate of mythical and biblical traitors. The article concludes with a poem, the last four lines of which read: “Recorded Arnold’s Name shall stand, / While Freedom’s Blessings crown our Land; / And odious for the blackest Crimes, / Arnold shall stink to latest Times.”¹⁰ In these passages Arnold is condemned unequivocally as a traitor. Unlike the earlier case of John Robinson, no attempts were made to preserve or respect the formerly impressive reputation of Benedict Arnold.

Again it must be noted that Arnold’s situation was very different from John Robinson’s. First, Arnold was still alive while his character was being discussed while John Robinson was not. It must be acknowledged that people tend to be more respectful of the recently deceased than of the living or the long dead. Second, the times in which each of the two men betrayed the confidence placed in them were very different. John Robinson’s illegal loans were discovered in a period of relative peace and prosperity. Arnold, on the other hand, betrayed his country in a time of war, when the fate of the fledgling nation was uncertain. This difference helps to account for the lasting quality of Benedict’s infamy, and Robinson’s fading to relative obscurity.

Nevertheless the example does display that, under the right circumstances, the Colonial gentry could and did attack the reputation of important, American born colonists that rose to power from within local colonial power structures.

Since there are examples like Francis Nicholson and Benedict Arnold to show that it was within acceptable social norms for the colonial gentry to harshly criticize and attack their peers and leaders, it must be concluded that there was a reason Robinson’s indiscretions were handled so delicately. This essay will argue that John Robinson was not attacked or vilified harshly because his contemporaries were sensitive to the fact that doing so might very well have damaged the political stability of Virginia; a stability that had only been achieved in the few decades before Robinson’s death. In short, shying away from a direct character assault was a practical political decision, pragmatic in the truest sense of the word. This assertion has three parts and evidence for each will be presented in turn. First, evidence will be presented that Virginia’s political stability was a relatively recent development and that John Robinson played an important role in establishing and maintaining it. Second, and perhaps most importantly, it will be shown that the language and rhetoric employed by those involved in the public debate following Robinson’s death was carefully crafted to preserve the late Speaker’s reputation. Third, this essay will explain the ways in which Virginia’s political stability was threatened by the various forces at play in the Robinson scandal and explain how the published reactions

to it were attempting to minimize the amount of damage those forces caused. Proving these assertions will depend on a close analysis of two long essays written by Robert Carter Nicholas, and an article written by “The Honest Buckskin,” that were published in the *Virginia Gazette* in 1766.¹¹

For the first hundred years of its existence Virginia was politically turbulent. Turn-over rates in locally elected offices were very high, which prevented the accumulation of traditions and political apprenticeships.¹² The populace and the Governor rarely agreed on political or economic matters, leading to quick turnover rates in that office.¹³ Economically, the Colony was prone to wild shifts in fortune. The price of crops could change radically from year to year. Unpredictable weather could ruin whole years’ worth of income. The colony only became stable and prosperous in the first quarter of the 18th century. Two factors seem to have been critical to the rise in Virginia’s fortunes. First, there was a string of Governors, beginning with Alexander Spotswood who realized that more could be accomplished by working with the Burgesses than by opposing them.¹⁴ Second, Virginia had grown large enough, in size, population, and had accumulated enough wealth to allow for the emergence of a powerful native gentry.¹⁵

The development of political stability in Virginia coincides with the rise in power of the Virginia House of Burgesses, roughly 1720-1740.¹⁶ The House of Burgesses was first established in 1619, only twelve years after the colony was permanently settled, but didn’t begin to realize its political

potential for nearly 80 years. By the 1660’s Virginia’s legislature had developed a bicameral structure.¹⁷ The House of Burgesses was the ‘lower’ of the two houses and was filled with locally elected representatives while the ‘upper’ house was the Colonial Council whose members were appointed by British metropolitan authorities. It is important to remember that the ascendancy of the House of Burgesses, was not usually guided by a premeditated plan to achieve any specific long term goals; rather, the powers of the Burgesses naturally developed as they dealt with practical issues.¹⁸ Through the slow accumulation of rights, responsibilities and traditions the Burgesses developed into a powerful governing body that was largely independent from British control, especially during the speakerships of Sir John Randolph and John Robinson.¹⁹

The rise of a new generation of native-born politicians in the 18th century was key to the development of Virginia’s political stability.²⁰ That new generation of politicians, raised and educated in the colonies, was able to increase and defend Virginia’s political stability through their own ability and effort. ²¹ The best and brightest of this new generation of leaders were Sir John Randolph and his protégé and successor, John Robinson, who both served as joint Speaker-Treasurers. In the development of a powerful Virginian legislature, there was not a single man more important than John Robinson²² When Edmund Randolph, the grandson of Sir John Randolph, wrote his *History of Virginia*, he summed up the characteristics that made Robinson such

An Incidence of Practical Political Restraint: The John Robinson Scandal of 1766

an important figure in the political development of Virginia:

When [Robinson] presided, the decorum of the house outshone that of the British House of Commons, ... When he propounded a question, his comprehension and perspicuity²³ brought it equally to the most humble and the most polished understanding. To committees he nominated the members best qualified. He stated to the house the contents of every bill and showed himself to be a perfect master of the subject. When he pronounced the rules of order, he convinced the reluctant. When on the floor of a committee of the whole house, he opened the debate, he submitted resolutions and enforced them with simplicity and might. In the limited sphere of colonial politics, he was a column.²⁴

Randolph makes it clear that John Robinson was known in his own time as a man of character, whose insight, fairness and wisdom were admired as an example to be imitated. He was the captain of Virginia's metaphorical ship; he set its course, and guided it though dangerous shoals and turbulent waters with a steady and

confident hand. Robinson was the most important member of a new and relatively small body of wealthy, influential Virginians whose personalities, choices and preferences made Virginia strong.²⁵ They were able to accomplish more in this regard than those who preceded them because Robinson's was the first full generation of Virginians blessed with the correct combination of factors to make their ascension possible. However, as the example of Benedict Arnold shows, reputation alone is not enough to secure the kind of treatment that Robinson's reputation enjoyed after his illegal activities were uncovered.

As important to the state of things as Robinson had been, he was, nevertheless, mortal. After his death in May of 1766, Robert Carter Nicholas uncovered disturbing discrepancies in Robinson's treasury books during a review of the colony's financial situation. Nicholas had been appointed temporary treasurer by Lieutenant Governor Francis Fauquier until the House could appoint a permanent treasurer at the beginning of the next year's assembly. Then, in the June 27, 1766 edition of the *Virginia Gazette*, Nicholas published an essay calling for the permanent separation of the offices of Speakers and Treasurer. His careful style, respectful language and the way he tarried in getting to the scandalous portion of his argument all indicate foreknowledge of how potentially damaging an unrestrained attack on Robinson may have been - both for himself and for the colony.

The essay begins with Nicholas' justifications and reasons for publishing

the piece. He expresses his belief that the press should always be used to communicate important questions and ideas to the public. He continues by explaining that he is not motivated by a personal political ambition, but by a desire to solve what he sees as a potentially serious flaw in the constitutional structure of Virginia's government. The way Nicholas uses language throughout his essay is such that his words often have meanings which must be understood from their implications.

I do not think [the press] can be more beneficially employed than in communicating to the public the sentiments of individuals upon subjects of real importance, especially if they are discussed with that truth and candor, which ought ever to be the distinguishing characteristic of a gentleman, carefully divesting himself of every, even the smallest ingredient of that party heat and acrimony, which is too often the foundation and support of political controversies.²⁶

In this way he characterizes his essay as dealing with a subject of 'real importance,' which should be brought to the public's attention through publication. He describes his work as one of truth and candor, and himself as a gentleman who is not motivated by

political partisanship. A close reading of the passage makes it clear that it is intended as the beginning of a defensive strategy. Indeed, Nicholas goes on at some length in this cagey manner, attempting to convince his readers that his writing is motivated only by the highest, and most virtuous of considerations, insuring the welfare of the colony. The fact that Nicholas felt the need to preemptively defend his proposal to separate the offices of Speaker and Treasurer in such an extensive manner is evidence in itself that he was aware of the possible damage that may have been done if the subject were presented in a more aggressive manner.

One of the reasons Nicholas gives for publishing his essay was also one of reasons he had to be careful about the manner in which he expressed his argument. Nicholas knew that many people in Virginia were worried about colony's paper money system.²⁷ Nicholas acknowledges that the rumors regarding inconsistencies in the treasury were among his motivations for becoming Treasurer. Unfortunately, the rumors proved to be worse than imagined. At the time the essay was published Nicholas estimated that Robinson had subverted "no more than eighty or ninety thousand pounds."²⁸ The full extent of Robinson's loans would not be completely known to the public for many more months, though it is conceivable that Nicholas knew the amount would be higher. Nicholas' delicacy with regard to the colonies paper money was, in part, a recognition that paper money is always based on faith in the government that issues it. Even money based on gold requires faith

An Incidence of Practical Political Restraint: The John Robinson Scandal of 1766

since one must actually believe that the note will be honored when returned to the government. The mere rumor of any discrepancy between the value of notes issued and the actual precious metal reserves of the state may undermine public faith in the soundness of the currency, resulting in devaluation and consequent inflation.

Nicholas only risks publishing the details of Robinson's misdeeds in this instance because he seeks to abolish "a probable foundation for many other mischiefs equally pernicious that may arise out of the continued unity of the two offices."²⁹ Nicholas publishes his essay in full knowledge that a delicate balance must be maintained, too far one way and he risks destroying faith in Virginia's paper money system, too far the other and he will fail to prove his point, leaving the door open for future abuses of similar kinds. Abuses that, as he points out, would be disastrous if a less honorable and virtuous man were to hold those offices. In either case, a failure to handle the situation properly may have exposed the colony to dangerous economic damage. Nicholas is aware that the revelation of corruption at the highest levels of the colonial legislature might itself cause harm to Virginia, but believes that the potential damage of leaving the door open to future abuses would be far more damaging to Virginia in the long run.

At one point in the essay Nicholas quotes the Roman author Horace in the Latin: "*Si quid novisti rectius istis, Candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum.*"³⁰ Which translates: "If you know anything better than these maxims, frankly impart them to me; if

not, then use these like me."³¹ With these words he seeks to make it clear that he is presenting what he thinks is best for Virginia and that he would be open to the compelling arguments of others. Nevertheless, it appears that some people believed that Nicholas was wrong for having published his essay at all. In his August 1st 1766 response to Nicholas, 'An Honest Buckskin' writes that "I see so little in your alarm upon your discoveries in the Treasury that I cannot but wish Horace had been as much regarded in one instance as he has been in another: He would have informed you that the *paucae maculae*³² of the late Treasurer should have lain for a while encurtained, as it where, behind his *plura nitentia*, his many brilliant virtues."³³ 'An Honest Buckskin' chastises Nicholas for not following another of Horace's maxims that instructs people to ignore minor faults in things that contain many positive virtues. At no point in his response to Nicholas does 'An Honest Buckskin' mention loans or misappropriated treasury notes appearing at all, instead he voices concern over a very different kind of damage Virginia could sustain as a result of the scandal. The argument contained within his condemnation of Nicholas is that exposing John Robinson as a corrupt man was a potential source of damage to the colony, because it undermined the colonial gentry's credibility.

In his second long essay, published on September 5, 1766, Robert Carter Nicholas felt the need to defend himself against insinuations that his intent was to defame the late John Robinson. While Nicholas is specifically

responding to an essay that is no longer extant, the nature of his response is still of use in understanding why the Robinson scandal was handled the way it was. Nicholas' second essay places particular emphasis on responding to a suggestion that Robinson had embezzled the funds. Nicholas denied that the money was taken for personal gain and claimed it was not lost to the state; he reassured the public that he fully expected all the loans to be collected and paid back to the treasury as the affairs of Robinson's estate were settled.³⁴ This claim is particularly interesting since many of Robinson's largest debtors were known to be in dire financial straits. In fact it was so difficult to collect all of the money owed to Robinson that the executor of his estate, Edmund Pendleton spent the better part of a decade collecting it all.³⁵

Nicholas was again being sensitive to the fact that more was at stake than appeared to be. The nature of debts in colonial Virginia required that debtors repay them in full whenever called to do so. Obviously, when Robinson's debtors were ordered to make payment, they in turn called for others to pay debts owed to them, and those called for the debts owed to them etc.³⁶ Understandably, Nicholas would want to limit the cascade of bankruptcies that would follow if too many debts were demanded to be paid all at once in a depressed economy, where paper money was actively being destroyed by order of British authorities.³⁷ Nicholas published his essays because he wanted to prevent further corruption without causing a public panic that would have destroyed the colony's fragile economic base, an

economic base to which the Colonial gentry owed its existence. Since Virginia did not have a long history of economic and political stability it is feasible that the sudden economic collapse of a large number its citizens might have plunged the colony back in the turbulence of the previous century. It was in order to prevent that kind of collapse that John Robinson's illicit activities were downplayed and almost nothing was said negatively of his person or character.³⁸

Unfortunately, the historical archives of the *Virginia Gazette* are incomplete, and at least one missing edition of the *Gazette*, published by William Rind in September of 1766, contained an essay concerning John Robinson's misappropriation of treasury notes. Obviously, the exact text of this missing essay is unknown. The responses published the following months in Purdie and Dixon's *Gazette* do give historians some idea of the missing essay's content. But, it is important to remember that academic interpretations of historical events can only be as accurate and complete as the surviving evidence allows. As such, if further documents, such as the missing essay, are rediscovered, the argument presented in this essay would need to be revised to reflect the content of the new evidence.

Available evidence has lead historians to develop a narrative of colonial political development that details the growth of successful, stable, and politically powerful colonies, including Virginia, by the middle of the 18th century. In Virginia, John Robinson, Jr., was the most important architect of political stability. His

An Incidence of Practical Political Restraint: The John Robinson Scandal of 1766

leadership and character helped create and shape the institutions and persons that would help lead the thirteen tiny American colonies in their historic revolution against the mightiest empire of their time. All those involved in discussing Robinson's questionable deeds as Treasurer were careful to ensure that even though his questionable activities caused economic damage to Virginia, his reputation remained intact. To do otherwise might have undermined not only the particular cultural, political and economic wellbeing of the colony of Virginia, but may have also threatened the status and credibility of that class of men who later become leaders of the American Revolution and of the new nation of the United States of America.

Bibliography

- Bailyn, Bernard. *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* Enlarged Edition. London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992.
- Beeman, Richard R. *The Varieties of Political Experience in Eighteenth Century America*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.
- Breen, T.H., ed. *Shaping Southern Society: The Colonial Experience*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1976.
- Crow, Jeffrey J., and Larry E. Tise, eds. *The Southern Experience in the American Revolution*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978.
- Ernst, Joseph Albert. "The Robinson Scandal Redivivus: Money, Debts, and Politics in Revolutionary Virginia." *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 77, no. 2 (April 1969): 146-173. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4247470> (accessed January 20, 2011).
- Greene, Jack P. "The Attempt to Separate the Offices of Speaker and Treasurer in Virginia, 1758-1766." *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 71, no. 1 (January 1963): 11-18. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4246913> (accessed January 21, 2011).
- Imperatives, Behaviors, and Identities: Essays in Early Cultural History*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992.
- Negotiated Authorities: Essays in Colonial Political and Constitutional History*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994.
- Hardwick, Kevin R. "Narratives of Villainy and Virtue: Governor Francis Nicholson and the Character of the Good Ruler in Early Virginia." *The Journal of Southern History* 72, no. 1 (February 2006): 41-74.

Timmithy Young

- Haskell, Alexander B. "Deference, Defiance, and the Language of Office in Seventeenth-Century Virginia." Unpublished Manuscript. University of California, Riverside, 2011.
- Holton, Woody. *Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves, and the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia*. London: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.
- Isaac, Rhys. *The Transformation of Virginia: 1740-1790*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982.
- Kukla, Jon. *Speakers and Clerks of the Virginia House of Burgesses 1643-1776*. Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1981.
- Martin, James Kirby. *Benedict Arnold Revolutionary Hero: An American Warrior Reconsidered*. New York: New York University Press, 1997.
- Mays, David John. *Edmund Pendleton 1721-1803: A Biography*. Harvard: Cambridge University Press, 1952.
- The Letters and Papers of Edmund Pendleton*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1967.
- Randolph, Edmund. *History of Virginia*. Edited by Jack P. Greene. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1970.
- Squire, Peveril. "The Evolution of American Colonial Assemblies as Legislative Organizations." *Congress & the Presidency* 32, no. 2 (Autumn 2005): 109-131.
- Stone, Jon R. *The Routledge Dictionary of Latin Quotations: The Illiterati's Guide to Latin Maxims, Mottoes, Proverbs, and Sayings*. New York: Routledge, 2005.
- Vickers, Daniel, ed. *A Companion to Colonial America*. Malden, Ma: Blackwell Publishing, 2003.
- Wilson, Barry K. *Benedict Arnold: A Traitor in Our Midst*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001.
- Wood, Gordon S. *The American Revolution; A History*. New York: The Modern Library, 2003.

Notes:

¹ All biographical information can be found in concise form in: Jon Kukla, *Speakers and Clerks of the Virginia House of Burgesses 1643-1776* (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1981), 123-128.

² Jack P. Green, "The Attempt to Separate the Offices of Speaker and Treasurer in Virginia, 1758-1766," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* Vol. 71, No. 1, Part One (January, 1963): 11, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4246913> (accessed January 21, 2011).

An Incidence of Practical Political Restraint: The John Robinson Scandal of 1766

³ Detailed lists of the loans can be found in: David John Mays, *Edmund Pendleton 1721-1803: A Biography*, (Harvard: Cambridge University Press, 1952).

Dr. Eric Nye's Currency Conversion can be found at:

<http://uwacadweb.uwyo.edu/numimage/currency.htm> (accessed April 2011).

⁴ Greene, "Attempt to Separate," 17.

⁵ Kevin R. Hardwick, "Narratives of Villainy and Virtue: Governor Francis Nicholson and the Character of the Good Ruler in Early Virginia" in *The Journal of Southern History* Vol. 72, No. 1 (February 2006): 41.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 40-41.

⁸ Two sources were helpful in gaining a general understanding of Benedict Arnold and the circumstances of his life: Barry K. Wilson, *Benedict Arnold a Traitor in our Midst* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University, 2001). and James Kirby Martin, *Benedict Arnold Revolutionary Hero: An American Warrior Reconsidered* (New York: NYU press, 1997).

⁹ *Massachusetts Spy*, vol. 10 issue 494 (October 26, 1780), 2.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ There were in fact three different *Virginia Gazettes*, Issues are thus identified by the names of the publisher(s) and the date of publication. Digital scans of all of the issues used in this essay are maintained by the Rockefeller Library and can be found online at:

<http://research.history.org/DigitalLibrary/BrowseVG.cfm>

¹² Peveril Squire "The Evolution of American Colonial Assemblies as Legislative Organizations," in *Congress & the Presidency* Vol. 32, No. 2 (Autumn 2005): 111 and Jack P. Greene "Legislative Turnover" in *Negotiated Authorities: Essays in Colonial Political and Constitutional History* (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1994), 215-237.

¹³ Jack P. Greene "Growth of Political Stability," in *Negotiated Authorities: Essays in Colonial Political and Constitutional History* (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1994), 139.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 139.

¹⁵ Rhys Isaac *The Transformation of Virginia: 1740-1790* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1982), 137.

¹⁶ Greene, *Negotiated Authorities*, 138, 163-184.

¹⁷ Greene "Growth of Political Stability," 115-118.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Jack P. Greene, "The Role of the Lower Houses of Assembly in Eighteenth-Century Politics" in *Negotiated Authorities: Essays in Colonial Political and Constitutional History* (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1994), 168.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 168, 172.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 171.

²² Greene, "Attempt to Separate," 11.

²³ "Perspicuity: clearness of statement or exposition; lucidity." OED online version November 2010.

<http://www.oed.com:80/Entry/141538> (accessed March 17, 2011)

²⁴ Edmund Randolph, *History of Virginia* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1970), 173-174.

²⁵ Greene "'Virtus et Libertas': Political Culture, Social Change, and the Origins of the American Revolution, 1763-1766" in *The Southern Experience in the American Revolution*, ed. Jeffrey J Crow and Larry E. Tise (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978), 58-60.

²⁶ Robert Carter Nicholas, "To the Printer" *The Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon: June 27, 1766), 1

<http://research.history.org/DigitalLibrary/VirginiaGazette/VGIssueThumbs.cfm?IssueIDNo=66.PD.19> (accessed January 18, 2011).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 2.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Quintus Horatius Flaccus, "Horace" *Epistle* I.6.67. Quoted By Robert Carter Nicholas "to the Printer" in Purdie and Dixon's *Virginia Gazette*, June 27, 1766, 3.

³¹ Jon R. Stone *The Routledge Dictionary of Latin Quotations: The Illiterati's Guide to Latin Maxims, Mottoes, Proverbs, and Sayings* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 111.

³² "Few Faults" Translated using Dr. Lynn Nelson's Latin Dictionary and Grammar Aid at <http://archives.nd.edu/latgramm.htm>

³³ ‘An Honest Buckskin,’ “To Mr. Ro. C. Nicholas,” in Purdie and Dixon’s *Virginia Gazette*, August 1, 1766, 2.

³⁴ Robert Carter Nicholas, “To the Printer” *The Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon: September 5, 1766), 1.

³⁵ For detailed information on the debts owed to Robinson and their collection see David John Mays *Edmund Pendleton 1721-1803: A Biography*. Harvard: Cambridge University Press, 1952.

³⁶ Woody Holton *Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves, and the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia* (London: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 80.

³⁷ Joseph Albert Ernst, “The Robinson Scandal Redivivus: Money, Debts, and Politics in Revolutionary Virginia” in *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* Vol. 77, No. 2 (April 1969): 156
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4247470> (accessed January 20, 2011).

³⁸ For further information on potential economic effects of the Robinson Scandal see Ernst “The Robinson Scandal Redivivus” and Holton *Forced Founders*.