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CORNERSTONE

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Editors' Introduction

Cornerstone has been a publication of the Department of History at the University of California, Riverside, since 1980. An annual publication, it features the best research papers written by undergraduate students for classes within the Department of History as selected by an editorial committee consisting of faculty members and graduate students within the department. The committee also selects two pieces of scholarly work for annual prizes awarded for undergraduate research in history: the Cornerstone Essay Award, to the best essay in the collection, and the Peter Schneider Award, to the best essay focusing on American history. There is no limitation in terms of time periods or places; the journal instead places its emphasis on originality, the careful use of a broad range of evidence, and the ability to connect precise historical details to broader historical changes. Happily, we received a great number of papers this year that met our criteria. Four in particular stood out for inclusion in this year's *Cornerstone*: Britton Barnes' "A Generation in Revolt: Student Protest Movements of the 1960s," Meredith McMenemy's "Women, Art, and Bologna," Allison Scott's "Literature and Consciousness Raising Groups in the Feminist Movement," and Ju Yoo's "Crossing the Pacific: Early Korean Immigration to America."

This year's papers share several themes. First and foremost, they are examples of the exceptional scholarship that is produced at the undergraduate level at the University of California, Riverside. They also share several thematic elements. All concern themselves with the social history of groups and individuals who traditionally did not hold power in the societies in which they lived. You will find far fewer kings and generals in these pages than students, women, and immigrants. Yet all address topics that remain relevant in the politically-charged world of the twenty-first century; debate over student protest movements, women's social liberties, and the causes and consequences of immigration has never ceased. Indeed, the forthcoming essays testify to the continuing relevance of the discipline of history.

The first in our collection, Britton Barnes' "A Generation in Revolt: Student Protest Movements of the 1960s," is the winner of our annual Cornerstone Essay Award. This incredibly timely paper examines the social upheavals caused by student unrest across American university campuses in the 1960s just as we in the 2010s are witnessing student unrest on campuses throughout the nation, including UC Riverside. One of the great strengths of Barnes' paper is that it contextualizes these protests within the society and culture that produced them and also makes clear the differences between protests at various times and places within California. These protests had history behind them. They were the direct heirs of student protest movements, or student-assisted protest movements, from the 1930s and opposition to 'Red Scare' tactics in the 1950s. Nor were they protests for the sake of protests; instead, as Barnes demonstrates, they were the outward signs of a deep-seated sense of civic responsibility instilled in students by their

parents, who came of age during the Second World War. Rather than rebelling against civil society, these students were actively participating in it. Barnes focuses on students at the University of California, particularly the Berkeley and Los Angeles campuses, and situates them within broader movements across the nation while carefully distinguishing the unique circumstances that informed protests within California.

At first glance, it may seem jarring, then, that this same volume includes Meredith McMenemy's "Women, Art, and Bologna," a paper that examines the female patrons and artists of a relatively small Italian city in the Renaissance. McMenemy's paper nevertheless extends several of Barnes' themes. McMenemy is also focused on a group that has been traditionally marginalized in society but which demanded an avenue for expression. These women are firmly contextualized within Renaissance, Italian, and Bolognese societies and could not have participated in artistic society without the various intellectual, social, and religious developments that marked this period, particularly the institutional structure of the *università*. McMenemy's work moves from the general to the specific, beginning with the broader societal context but eventually focusing on three artists, Caterina dei Virgi, Elisabetta Sirani, and Lavinia Fontana. Nor does her analysis stop with these artists as artists; McMenemy quite impressively demonstrates how Caterina dei Virgi influenced Bolognese art *and* society. McMenemy pays particular attention to how these broader social contexts informed the lives of these artists, how specific events in their lives informed their art, as well as the artworks themselves. McMenemy's blending of interpretative modes in this way is particularly compelling.

Allison Scott carefully blends a different set of interpretive modes in our issue's Peter Schneider Award winner, "Literature and Consciousness Raising Groups in the Feminist Movement." This paper recalls both the tumult of the 1960s in Barnes' paper and the development of new avenues of expression for women in particularly male-dominated societies found in McMenemy's paper. Like Barnes and McMenemy, Scott does an excellent job contextualizing the development of women's social rights in the struggle for legal rights and in the historical circumstances of the Second World War. What Scott does so expertly is blend analysis of three very disparate kinds of literary sources: literature, as with Sylvia Plath, non-fiction, as with Helen Gurley Brown, and sociology, as with Betty Friedan. Scott expertly shows how all three of these works, so different in their execution and purpose, addressed a common set of challenges faced by American women in the early 1960s. Scott goes a step further to demonstrate how these three authors and their works were connected with later 'consciousness-raising meetings' held at feminist households in the late 1960s. This impressive piece of scholarship also remains relevant in our own times, as debates over women's rights – legal and social – have recently occupied a great deal of congressional and media attention.

It is a pleasure to complete this year's journal with Ju Yoo's "Crossing the Pacific: Early Korean Immigration to America," a paper that seamlessly encapsulates the methods and subjects at the center of this year's *Cornerstone*. Exploring the causes of Korean immigration to the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Yoo begins by contextualizing this movement in the economic changes occurring in Korea – economic destitution, government oppression, and natural disasters – and in the United States – particularly the refusal of Chinese and Japanese workers to continue working in plantations in Hawaii and California. Yoo provides several explanations for why workers emigrated from Korea to America, and for why this movement ultimately ended. The political changes brought by Japan's 1905 annexation of Korea and desire to keep control over the workforce therein led to Japanese prohibition of emigration, which was relaxed only for women intended as brides overseas. At the same time, the same harsh

conditions that troubled Chinese and Japanese plantation workers influenced Korean immigrants as well. This paper utilizes a wide variety of sources to capture the development of these important historical processes. Yoo's paper also remains relevant today, at a time when immigration to the United States remains a contentious question of global significance.

The editors of *Cornerstone* would first like to thank Professor Kendra Field for her guidance in organizing the editorial committee. We would also like to thank the staff of the Department of History, and in particular we would like to mention Prof. Thomas Cogswell, the chair of the department, Christina Cuellar, who works with these students as the undergraduate advisor in the department and who has been an integral part of the publication process, and Susan Komura, whose constant work as the department's administrative manager has been invaluable in keeping the department and its members organized despite the changes that have occurred over the last few years. We would especially like to thank Deisy Escobedo, our graduate adviser, who is taking another opportunity at the university after many years of hard work and diligence in the Department of History. We cannot do justice to her contributions to the department, and she will be sorely missed.

It has been a pleasure and honor to read these pieces of scholarship and to work alongside these four scholars. The university is privileged to have these individuals as part of its student body, and it is fitting that they now have, in this journal, a permanent marker of their academic achievement at the university. It is with great respect and appreciation that we give our thanks to Britton Barnes, Meredith McMenemy, Allison Scott, and Ju Yoo.

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A Generation in Revolt: Student Protest Movements of the 1960s

Britton Barnes

Throughout the last century, a long tradition of student protest has thrived in the United States. No student protest movement made a more profound and far-reaching imprint on American society than the student activism that occurred during the 1960s. When students in the sixties began to recognize that they were inheriting a discriminatory, hypocritical nation that failed to live up to the values it professed, they began to reject the attitudes of their elders and to play a more active role in the social movements of their time. Throughout the decade, American universities were the battleground for change. It was on campuses around the nation that students questioned, rejected, and demonstrated against their country's values and political direction. Many students questioned the relevance of their education and the university curriculum. Sensing that their life at the university was detached from the realities of life outside the university in the 1960s, a growing community of students felt a desire to advance liberal politics in the United States and become active members in participatory democracy.

Student activism during the 1960s did not begin in a vacuum. Historically, the university was a place that exposed students to new ideas. Students had the time and freedom to resist incongruities between their life inside the university and the world outside. University administrators, faculty,

and even parents understood resistance or protest to be a normal part of college life.

Politicians, however, had always feared that political factors should not compel the policies of a public university. Article IX, Section 9 of the California Constitution declared that the University of California was to be "entirely independent of all political or sectarian influence."¹ Despite this decree, an institution made up of intelligent, educated citizens could never be entirely free from political influence. During the 1930s, California students organized communist and socialist groups to lead protests and strikes. Students supported labor strikes in the San Francisco Bay Area in 1934 and four thousand students participated in a nationwide anti-war rally the following year.² When the children of these early student activists began to go to college in the late 1950s, they became the leaders of student social movements at California universities.

American universities underwent significant change in the middle of the twentieth century. Following World War II, universities received much more money from the federal government. In *Campus Wars*, historian Kenneth Heineman called American universities "Bastions of our defense," noting three reasons for the government's heightened commitment to higher education: the nuclear arms race, which created a need for new weapons and plans of counterinsurgency; the desire for

sustained prosperity, which created a need for more and better trained individuals; and the baby boom, which created an enlarged pool of potential students.³ The arms race and Cold War politics affected both foreign and domestic policy as many politicians became committed to defeating communism at home and abroad. In this climate, many politicians launched attacks on universities and faculty members considered to be activists or subversives. In 1949, California State Senator Jack Tenney introduced thirteen bills to uncover subversives, beginning a thirty-year battle with the university.⁴ Tenney initiated an amendment to the state constitution designed to “give the legislature power to insure loyalty of officers and employees of the University.”⁵ Twenty professors refused to sign a loyalty oath ordered by the Regents of the University of California and were terminated.⁶ Scare tactics, loyalty oaths, and fear constituted the fabric of the society in which college students in the 1960s had been brought up.

The government’s tactics and attempts to suppress its own citizens contributed to the generational divide many students felt and supported their growing distrust and resentment towards people of authority. The rhetoric of freedom that America was extolling during this period did not align with the witch hunts and black lists the government was undertaking. Many students criticized the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) and the government itself as irresponsible and destructive. Students who would become the earliest activists were from the urban middle class, including “red-diaper babies, the children of communists or socialists persecuted during the McCarthy era.”⁷ Jo Freeman, a student at the University of California, Berkeley during the 1960s noted “McCarthyism, the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), and the Cold

War dominated the childhood of all of us at Berkeley in the sixties. They generated an atmosphere of fear and repression which shaped our environment, but also promoted resistance.”⁸

It was within this climate of fear that an ad hoc committee was formed by students at Berkeley to picket a HUAC hearing in San Francisco during the spring of 1960. On the third day of picketing, police used fire hoses on protestors sitting outside the hearing room at City Hall. When the protestors began to sing “We Shall Not Be Moved” at the foot of the stairs, the police attacked them with billy clubs. Sixty-four people were arrested, including thirty-one students. What would have possibly become a forgotten skirmish became a mythic event when HUAC produced a film on the event with highly distorted commentary. The committee distributed it to schools, clubs, corporations, government employees, the military, the American Legion, the Daughters (and Sons) of the American Revolution, and other patriotic organizations.⁹ However, its intended impression did not frighten its viewers, but rather served to advertise radical activity, leading, as Freeman noted, “socially conscious high school and college students to be drawn to Berkeley like bees to honey.”¹⁰ In Boston, Harvard student Frank Bardacke viewed the film during a ROTC class and declared that it was *Operation Abolition* that actively recruited him to Berkeley.¹¹

The inspiration for students to participate in the HUAC sit-ins in San Francisco had largely come from African Americans’ use of nonviolent direct action to publicly challenge racism, injustice, and oppression. Watching the Greensboro sit-in in February 1960, students around the country witnessed “the pervasive poverty and violence that Southern blacks encountered daily.”¹² Two months later, at

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Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina, Ella Baker, a veteran civil rights organizer and official in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), encouraged the students who participated in the sit-in to create their own civil rights group. The leaders of that sit-in became the founders of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Although Martin Luther King, Jr. and others had hoped that SNCC would serve as the youth wing of the SCLC, “the students remained fiercely independent of King and SCLC, generating their own projects and strategies.”¹³ SNCC and its key leaders, Robert Moses, Stokely Carmichael, Diane Nash, and John Lewis, were committed to nonviolent protest. In the opening paragraph of their founding statement, SNCC leaders declared, “Nonviolence is the foundation of our purpose, the presupposition of our faith, and the manner of our action.”¹⁴

SNCC would be instrumental in creating a push for college students to become active participants in protest movements of their own. Nothing would have a greater impact on other student protest movements around America than the struggles of the civil rights movement. After witnessing the Woolworth’s lunch counter sit-in, students in college towns across the South began to launch their own sit-ins. Following the protests in the South, thousands of student activists joined and participated in SNCC protests and programs. Many students participated in the 1961 Freedom Rides co-sponsored by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) to end discrimination and segregation in the Deep South, and even more joined Freedom Summer in 1964 to register black voters in Mississippi where SNCC was the leader of a coalition of southern civil rights organizations. The actions of SNCC moved the black freedom struggle that had occurred the previous decade into a new phase.

Student civil rights protests of the 1960s “represented the younger, more militant, less patient post-*Brown* generation of civil rights activists who on occasion actively courted white violence in order to draw attention to their cause.”¹⁵ Although the sit-ins that SNCC mounted were not immediate victories, they were important moral victories. It was SNCC’s use of non-violent direct action that inspired student activists across the country to undertake similar protests for the causes in which they believed.

At Berkeley, the student protests that began in 1960 were caused by a discontent that had been “bubbling under the surface” for years and was touched off by the massive publicity that had spread from the Woolworth’s lunch counter sit-in. Besides the HUAC protest in San Francisco, students at Berkeley picketed Woolworth and Kress stores throughout the Bay Area in 1960 to support students protesting in the South. As students from Berkeley were beaten and arrested for their participation in non-violent direct action protests, graduate students lost fellowships and foreign students were deported. The students at Berkeley began to identify themselves and their plight with students sitting in and being arrested in the South. Jo Freeman explained that to students, “Southern cops and California cops did not seem very different in their response to dissent.”¹⁶

Students’ relationship to the struggle for racial equality became a vital aspect of student activism across the United States. Berkeley was not the only campus inspired by the youthful radicalism of SNCC. In 1960, students at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor held the first meeting of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). Like other movements of the time, the SDS had its roots in the previous decades. While SDS could trace origins to the 1930s League of Industrial Democracy and the socialists

and communists of the Old Left, the New Left groups held no ties to Soviet communism. SDS promoted a vision of American democracy reclaimed by the people. In the 1962 Port Huron Statement, largely written by SDS leader Tom Hayden, SDS formally declared its hope for a more democratic and egalitarian American society, stating, "As a social system we seek the establishment of a democracy of individual participation...that the individual share in those decisions determining the quality and direction of his life...that the economy itself is of such social importance that its major resources and means of production should be open to democratic participation and subject to democratic social regulation."¹⁷ In the call for direct democratic participation, the Port Huron Statement reflected the role of students in leading the call to "move actively and directly against racial injustices, the threat of war, violations of individual rights of conscience, and, less frequently, against economic manipulation...students are breaking the crust of apathy and overcoming the inner alienation that remain the defining characteristics of American life."¹⁸

SDS promoted an ideal that was shared throughout its college branches across the country. The members believed that people who were more directly and actively involved in public life "could force their elected officials to tend to the needs of all people, not just special interests."¹⁹ SDS modeled its activism on the civil rights movement. The members organized in urban areas and on college campuses to try to apply their principles of participatory democracy to create a more just society. In an effort to put SDS theories of participatory democracy into action, the Economic Research and Action Project (ERAP) of SDS was born in September 1963. SDS believed it was necessary for the civil rights movement to confront the issue of poverty

as a central factor in African American oppression. SDS was convinced that the ultimate problems of racism could largely be solved by the economic empowerment of African Americans. ERAP set up ten experimental organizing projects during the summer of 1964 in impoverished urban areas to create what ERAP hoped would become a decentralized utopia within an urban ghetto. Students across the country joined ERAP to affect change by organizing rent strikes, fighting police harassment, extracting concessions from welfare and school boards, and building coalitions to enter into electoral politics. As SDS and ERAP spread and the Port Huron Statement became an important student manifesto, the idea that students could and should take direct democratic participation into American life influenced how students participated in political activities both on and off the campus.

On campuses in the 1960s, students believed that the academic curriculum offered in higher education was irrelevant to their lives. Under the practice of *in loco parentis* (in lieu of parents), universities acted with the assumption that college students were still children in need of adult supervision. College administrators instituted rules and regulations to control almost every aspect of student life in order to "protect" its students. Dorm rules and curfews were common, and students frequently tried to protest them. Jo Freeman explained that it was while living under the rules and restrictions of the university that she grew her hair long, began to defy the rules, and constantly broke the curfew of her dorm. Other "protections" students faced were the lack of choices in their curriculum and limited involvement in the operation of the university.

The university was a massive bureaucratic machine where students were allowed no participation in decision making.

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At Berkeley, SLATE – which chose its name because it organized to run a slate of candidates to try to affect change at the university – and its leadership, including founder Mike Miller, advocated for student control of student government. At Berkeley, student government was merely a faculty government disguised as a student run government. SLATE was a group that was “on the cutting edge of a new student activism emerging on campuses all over the country,” as Freeman wrote, “like leaves of grass pushing their way through the asphalt.”²⁰

In 1962 SLATE initiated a “Free Speech at Cal” campaign to essentially bring the outside world inside the campus and to end a ban on controversial speakers on campus. The speaker ban was formalized in the 1930s to justify the criteria that the university used to screen prospective speakers. Students at Berkeley in the 1960s felt that the university’s policies in choosing speakers were erratic. Malcolm X was banned in 1961 because he was a religious leader, however Billy Graham and Bishop James Pike were allowed to speak on campus. Although the Regents formally ended the ban in 1964, largely in response to student protests, free speech and the free expression of ideas would develop as a major rallying point for students during the sixties. Once the ban was lifted, Malcolm X, writer James Baldwin, and CORE founder James Farmer all spoke at Berkeley.

Civil rights was a major issue for students both on and off the campus at Berkeley. When the vice president of the junior class was asked not to escort a girl competing for homecoming queen because he was black, the issue of civil rights arrived on campus in full force. The more important issues, however, existed off campus, including employment and housing discrimination in the surrounding cities. In 1963 the Berkeley city council issued an

ordinance prohibiting discrimination on the basis of race in real estate and rentals. This decision led to an uproar from local citizens, and within three weeks, white citizens of Berkeley gathered ten thousand signatures to overturn the ordinance. The students of Berkeley were shocked at the coalition of citizens that had united to overturn the ordinance and started a campaign to maintain the law.

Jo Freeman joined the campaign against the measure to overturn the fair housing ordinance and through her work with the University Young Democrats (UYD) she canvassed the streets and described gaining an enlightening perspective when neighbors would tell her “I’m all for civil rights, but not next door.” Freeman was shocked by her naïveté when the measure was passed. She wrote that what she learned from the experience was that “what was right, and what the people wanted were not always the same.”²¹

Protests against employment discrimination in the Bay Area had its beginning when the Berkeley Ad Hoc Committee to End Discrimination closed down Mel’s Drive-In after they learned that black children could eat there but could not work there. In response, Campus CORE held a meeting on campus and organized a shop-in for several days at Lucky’s Supermarkets, where shoppers left filled carts at the check out stands. The protest was a success, as San Francisco mayor John Shelley was forced to negotiate a deal that Lucky’s would hire sixty African Americans. Campus CORE also organized picket lines at the Sheraton Palace Hotel in San Francisco, and the auto dealers of Auto-Row in Oakland to protest their discriminatory hiring practices. Students from Berkeley were major participants and many were arrested during the campaigns, which did not go unnoticed by news agencies, politicians, the general public, and

the administration of Berkeley. At Cal, race and civil rights issues were on the front page of *The Daily Californian* three of five days each week in the 1963 fall semester.

In October of 1964, in a seemingly direct response to student involvement in civil disobedience, the Regents of the University of California restricted all political activity on its campuses stating that off-campus student organizations could no longer “set up tables, put up posters, [or] distribute literature to support or advocate off-campus political or social action.”²² A group of representatives from eighteen student groups calling themselves the United Front met with the Dean of Students to voice their protest of the change, but the University had no desire to allow student political groups to operate on campus in any capacity during this time of political controversy. Student organizations defied the University and set up tables anyway. The administration suspended several students who were manning the tables at Bancroft and Telegraph, the political bazaar at Berkeley, and indefinitely suspended more after a rally on the steps of Sproul Hall, which housed the Berkeley administration. In reaction to former student Jack Weinberg being arrested for breaking the restriction on handing out political leaflets, thousands of students surrounded the police car with Weinberg inside. When Mario Savio climbed onto the police car to speak to students, the Free Speech Movement (FSM) was born. Savio, a philosophy major at Berkeley, spoke out against the “multiversity,” and passionately called for students to unite and actively protest the university as “an impersonal education factory, funded by government and military research, which made students little more than cogs in a massive machine.”²³ The FSM launched a major campaign for nonviolent direct action by occupying Sproul Hall. The sit-in in

December culminated in the largest mass arrest in California history. The actions of the FSM and the oration by Savio “helped to make the Berkeley student rebellion a memorable event, one that inspired campus activists across the country and the globe in the 1960s.”²⁴ When the FSM won the right of political speech and activity on campus, many college students understood the political potential they had. Not only had the FSM inspired students, it inspired its opponents to unleash a backlash against student activism. The other accomplishment of the FSM, although unseen at first, was that it “signaled the end of a major epoch in American higher education defined by the phrase *in loco parentis*...Universities stopped serving as the surrogate parents of college students in terms of behavior. When that happened, all kinds of things happened in terms of mores and lifestyles.”²⁵

During 1964 and 1965, the FSM produced four newsletters to educate students about the objectives of the movement. These documents reveal that the FSM did not believe the university provided rational reasons for banning political activity on the campus, and often changed its reasons when pressured for answers. The first *FSM Newsletter* offered a history of the actions by the university to attempt to dismantle the political bazaar at Bancroft and Telegraph streets. In the newsletter, the FSM noted that the administration stated that the property belonged to Berkeley, and “card tables would no longer be permitted because they disrupted traffic.”²⁶ However, when pressed by the eighteen groups who made up the FSM and filed a complaint, they were told that tables would be permitted, but only to hand out “informative and not persuasive literature.”²⁷ It became apparent to the FSM that the real reason for the ban was not a traffic problem, but the political activity itself.

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In their second newsletter, the FSM explained why they believed the university removed all political activity from campus. In an article titled "Could it be True?" the FSM reported that Bill Miller, a writer for the FSM, "testified that Chancellor Edward Strong said himself that the new regulations were introduced in response to a complaint by the *Oakland Tribune*. The *Tribune* objected to the organization on University property of a picket against its alleged racial policies."²⁸ It was the belief of the FSM that the Berkeley students who picketed and boycotted the *Oakland Tribune* would cause a backlash that would force the university's hand to curb student activism.

In a letter to *The Daily Californian*, the student newspaper at Berkeley, dated September 22, 1964, University Young Democrats President Jerry Fishkin noted that the university's action of removing tables from Bancroft and Telegraph were based on two false premises. The first was that the tables blocked traffic flow. Fishkin argued that the tables were behind existing concrete posts, and that the tables did not impede traffic any more than the posts themselves. More importantly, he argued that the university's stand that political action was against university policy was simply not true. Fishkin explained that the university itself allowed the political action it wanted while simultaneously suppressing others. Fishkin noted that in 1962, "the Associated Students of the University of California (ASUC) was allowed to work for Proposition 1A and against Proposition 24." He went on to say that in 1964, "propaganda supporting Proposition 2 went out with the mail on family day." He pointed out that "Surely this is political action supporting or opposing specific issues on the ballot."²⁹

In an editorial on the same day, *The Daily Californian* argued that the section of the California Constitution the university was using as its reason to keep political

activity off of campus was being misinterpreted. The editorial explained that Article IX, § 9's meaning "seems to be directed to preserve non-partisan appointment of the Regents, president, chancellors and other university administrators...Students and student groups which advocate a stand on a partisan or sectarian issue do so under the auspices of their own groups, not of the University."³⁰ The ban was the center of news during the fall of 1964. There was some mention of the university ban at Bancroft and Telegraph in the student newspaper everyday during the fall semester. The ASUC senate had voted to request the regents to re-establish the area as a bastion of free speech and advocacy that students believed made their society a viable one, and was central to the entire educational process.

Not everyone was in agreement with the FSM or its methods of protest. The articles appearing in *The Daily Californian* during the fall semester of 1964 highlighted the fissures present in many groups. There were splinters within the general student population, the faculty at Berkeley, as well as within the general public. When students captured a police car in front of Sproul Hall, an opposition force from the fraternities on campus and the residence halls moved in to confront the protesters, and the demonstrators were forced to appeal to the police to maintain law and order. Although no violence occurred, these acts demonstrated that student support for the FSM had fractured. Similarly, not every political group supported the methods that the FSM took in protesting the ban on political activity. Groups including the Young Republicans, the University Society of Individualists, and Cal Students for Goldwater announced their disapproval of the occupation of Sproul Hall by the FSM. The groups stated, "We are opposed to

trespassing and lawlessness as means of protest.”³¹

Although not every student enthusiastically supported the FSM, the campaign for free speech was garnering support at other colleges. In December of 1964, UCLA elected representatives for its own group, UCLA-FSM. In addition to developing chapters at the other UC campuses, Mario Savio spoke to students at campus rallies including one at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Although support for the FSM was gaining among students, it would take a sit-in at Sproul Hall and Governor Pat Brown’s order for the highway patrol to arrest eight hundred students to unite the faculty. Regardless of what the faculty thought of the FSM, an invasion by the police of their ivory tower was sacrilege, and a general strike of the campus begun. In a letter to the editor in *The Daily Californian* the day following the arrests, anthropology professor Dell H. Hymes announced his resignation. Hymes cited as a motivating factor “the arbitrary abuses of power, and of the rights of faculty and students by [UC President] Clark Kerr and [Berkeley Chancellor] Edward Strong.”³²

Although not a unanimous decision, the majority of faculty at Berkeley supported the FSM. In a letter written on December 7, 1964, at the height of the general strike at Berkeley, nine political science professors commended students who ignored the strike and continued to attend classes. In their letter, the professors also railed against the protestors and demanded “students must recognize that the derogation of due process and the disruption of normal administration in the name of Freedom or Free Speech is demagoguery, not democracy.”³³

Although there were dissenters in both student and faculty groups, the FSM turned its hopes toward the majority of faculty that supported them to submit a

proposal to the Academic Senate and create a favorable solution to the crisis at Berkeley. Administrators had long subjected the faculty to abuses such as loyalty oaths, funding cuts, and discipline and dismissal of activists. The faculty at Berkeley also wanted the return of student discipline to be decided by the Academic Senate and not the administration. The faculty understood that there had been an increase in the desire to discipline faculty and student activists by the regents. In *Campus Wars*, Kenneth Heineman argued,

...the drive to discipline activist faculty, as well as students in part emanated from the universities’ board of trustees. In general, university trustees occupied executive positions in major corporations...Twenty percent of all American university trustees in 1968 were on the boards of directors of leading corporations and eighty percent favored the expulsion or suspension of student activists.³⁴

As much as students and faculty splintered over the free speech protesters and their methods, the public was splintered as well. Berkeley was perceived to be the epicenter for political turmoil. Newspapers declared it the “western center for communism,” and politicians along with the general public were shocked at the scenes they witnessed from the campus.³⁵ However, this was not the case for people who were on the front lines of other protest movements around the country. CORE leader James Farmer spoke at Bancroft and Telegraph on December 15, 1964. He explained that the FSM was an important movement that impacted the very

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core of the civil rights movement. He predicted “if the battle for free speech and advocacy is lost, it will provide anti-civil rights leaders all over the country with a tool to turn off the faucet on the mainstay of the civil rights movement.”³⁶ Along with Farmer, the ACLU urged the Regents to accept the proposals of the Academic Senate and restore the students’ fundamental rights, and James Baldwin spoke at a fundraiser in San Francisco to benefit the FSM and its legal defense fund.

The eventual success of the FSM launched student protests nationally for a variety of issues as students picketed on their respective campuses. The battle that had been waged at Bancroft and Telegraph, on the top of a police car and within Sproul Hall, created a lasting impact on student’s rights. Not only did students discover that they possessed the same rights on campus that they had off, they also discovered the power they possessed to effect change. As the anti-war demonstrations illustrated, not every student protest would be successful, but students would continue to rally against actions they saw as violations of freedom and civil rights. Students all over the United States were engaged as active participants in campaigns that challenged conventional wisdom and questioned the meaning of liberty and equality. Students in the 1960s were the children of parents who had fought in World War II. These parents taught their children that personal sacrifice for a larger social good was their duty. Many college students in the 1960s had been raised hearing “America was great because America was good.” They were people who had been brought up with a Cold War rhetoric that “extolled ideals of freedom, justice, and equality.”³⁷ Once these children reached college, however, they were awakened from the American Dream only to discover the nightmare of reality. They witnessed a civil rights movement that was

met with violence in the South, resistance in the North, and which revealed a different truth about America. Jo Freeman noted, “It was in this growing gap between rhetoric and reality that the radicalism of the sixties was born.”³⁸ It was the students of the 1960s who expressed dissatisfaction with the status quo, criticized their leaders, and who, through their agency and activism, shaped history.

Notes

¹ Jo Freeman, *At Berkeley in the Sixties: The Education of an Activist, 1961-1965* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 11.

² Jo Freeman, *At Berkeley in the Sixties*, 12.

³ Kenneth J. Heineman, *Campus Wars: The Peace Movement at American State Universities in the Vietnam Era* (New York: New York University Press, 1993), 19.

⁴ Jo Freeman, *At Berkeley in the Sixties*, 13.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁷ Rusty Monhollon, "Student Activism," in *Speaking Out: Activism and Protest in the 1960s and 1970s*, ed. Heather Ann Thompson (Boston: Prentice Hall, 2010), 210.

⁸ Jo Freeman, *At Berkeley in the Sixties*, 26.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 41.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Berkeley in the Sixties*, dir. Mark Kitchell, prod. Mark Kitchell, by Stephen Lighthill and Veronica Selver (United States: Tara Releasing, 1990), DVD.

¹² Monhollon, *Student Activism*, 210.

¹³ "Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)," King Institute Home, accessed March 5, 2012, http://mlk-kpp01.stanford.edu/index.php/encyclopedia/encyclopedia/enc_student_nonviolent_coordinating_committee_sncc/.

¹⁴ David R. Farber and Beth L. Bailey, *The Columbia Guide to America in the 1960s*, 16.

¹⁵ Jane Dailey, "African American Activism in the South," in *Speaking Out: Activism and Protest in the 1960s and 1970s*, ed. Heather Ann Thompson (Boston: Prentice Hall, 2012), 29.

¹⁶ Jo Freeman, *At Berkeley in the Sixties*, 42.

¹⁷ David R. Farber and Beth L. Bailey, *The Columbia Guide to America in the 1960s*, 31.

¹⁸ Tom Hayden, "The Port Huron Statement," in *"Takin' It to the Streets": A Sixties Reader*, ed.

Alexander Bloom and Wini Breines (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 56.

¹⁹ David R. Farber and Beth L. Bailey, *The Columbia Guide to America in the 1960s*, 91.

²⁰ Jo Freeman, *At Berkeley in the Sixties*, 20.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 72.

²² *Ibid.*, 145.

²³ Monhollon, *Student Activism*, " 211.

²⁴ Robert Cohen and Reginald E. Zelnik, "The Many Meanings of the FSM: In Lieu of an Introduction," introduction to *The Free Speech Movement: Reflections on Berkeley in the 1960s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 1.

²⁵ Jo Freeman, *At Berkeley in the Sixties*, 281.

²⁶ "What Happened Day by Day," *FSM Newsletter*, October 8, 1964, 4.

²⁷ "What Happened Day by Day," *FSM Newsletter*, October 8, 1964, 4.

²⁸ "Could It Be True?," *FSM Newsletter II* (October 22, 1964): 1.

²⁹ Jerry Fishkin, "Letters to the Icebox," editorial, *The Daily Californian* (Berkeley), September 22, 1964.

³⁰ *The Daily Californian* (Berkeley). "The Long, Long Line." September 22, 1964.

³¹ Jim Branson, "Williams Refuses Demands; 700 Sleep in Sproul Hall," *The Daily Californian* (Berkeley), October 1, 1964.

³² Dell H. Hymes, "Editorial," editorial, *The Daily Californian* (Berkeley), October 2, 1964.

³³ Charles Aiken et al., "Return to Classes," editorial, *The Daily Californian* (Berkeley), December 7, 1964.

³⁴ Kenneth J. Heineman, *Campus Wars*, 21.

³⁵ *Berkeley Daily Gazette* (Berkeley), "UC Assailed as Western Capital of Communism," August 8, 1963, Evening ed.

³⁶ Konstantin Berlandt, "CORE Leader Supports FSM," *The Daily Californian* (Berkeley), December 16, 1964.

³⁷ Jo Freeman, *At Berkeley in the Sixties*, 285.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

Women, Art, and Bologna

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The European Renaissance has classically been understood to be a time of heightened production of literature and art, alongside a deeper appreciation of philosophy, religion, and science. All of these unique developments were able to thrive against a backdrop of humanistic theories. Historians have often debated the specific time during which the Renaissance took place, and at what point it peaked and evolved into the age of Enlightenment. A rough estimation that is generally accepted to be an accurate time frame of the Renaissance is from about the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, with its height during the fifteenth century in Europe. This time period is popularly associated with the production of great Italian masterpieces (by Da Vinci, Michelangelo, etc.), which often epitomize the visual aspects for which the Western Renaissance is known.

Yet within this standard academic understanding of the visual representation of the Renaissance lies an element of hegemonic and patriarchal omission. To be more specific, there is a distinct disregard for female artistic contributions to this movement, which is still popularly idealized by the phrase “Renaissance man.” Yet, as history reveals, there was in fact a notable amount of female participation in all fields of study during the Renaissance, especially within the art world. Coined by Whitney Chadwick, the “other Renaissance” in the cities of Italy witnessed a cascade of artistic recognition, fame, and achievement by many female artists. The reason she

describes this event as the “other Renaissance” is because it occurred mostly during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, rather than the fifteenth.¹ She describes that, with the exception of a few women, “...all were part of the intellectual and artistic flowering that took place in Bologna, a city geographically displaced from the centers of early Renaissance culture.”²

The small city of Bologna sparks historical questions as to how and why it enabled so many artistic achievements by women in an age where patriarchal supremacy was alive in all aspects of European life. My research will consist of an institutional analysis of the characteristics about Bologna that made this alternative Renaissance possible and so unique, while also incorporating a dissection of the actual art that was produced by these women. I will also be exploring how this phenomenon of acceptance and inclusion affected their work. Caterina dei Vigri’s life, popularity, and influence will be essential to answering these questions. Her physical and spiritual commitment to the Catholic Church and even her own artwork reveal her intense passions and pathos that is evident in her works. In essence, St. Catherine became a model for women in Italy and created a mode of flourishing humanistic thought and emotion. This discussion will also reveal how Vigri and Bolognese artists stylistically illuminate the element of emotion within art and writings, which subsequently, makes the art so defiant of expectations, rare, and special compared to other art of the era that distinctly lacks this creativity.

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Bologna, Italy.

In the realm of the arts, as the Renaissance was plateauing and the Baroque era was emerging in most areas of Europe, a completely unique development was taking place in northern Italy. Historically, Italy is recognized as the hub and origin of the Renaissance. Specifically Florence, Italy, which is about seventy-five miles from Bologna, is seen as the birthplace of the Renaissance. Interestingly enough, even after its height, Italy continued to provide means of prosperity and creativity to the arts. Some of the broader reasons as to why this particular place held so much influence onto the artistic culture of the time were because of the families providing patronage, location in the world, and Italian culture.

A primary example of patronage was the famous Medici family that was heavily involved in art and politics throughout the Renaissance because of their ancestry and wealth. The family line was also educated and promoted humanism. Cosimo de Medici was known for his substantial patronage of the arts, the commissioning of the construction of fantastic cathedrals, and filling the churches with beautiful works created by local artists. His and his family's obvious interest and support for education and the arts is reflected in Renaissance Italian Culture and seems to have set a standard of importance for art during this time in history. The Medici are an example of how power and influence throughout the Renaissance affected the culture as a whole.

Another element of Italy's notable force of creativity is its geography. Italy was not only physically connected to the Western world of Europe, but also had exposure to other cultures and religions around the Mediterranean Sea. This characteristic caused greater worldly influence on the people of Italy because of the flourishing international trade that Italy

had no choice but to engage in. Because of these circumstances, Italy was exposed to and affected by the surrounding societies long before Northern European countries were.

Furthermore, because Italy was thriving within their market type of economy, feudalism became less prominent, which allowed Italy to surpass the other areas of Europe who still depended on agriculture as their primary source of wealth. This aspect of Northern Italy provides a basis of understanding why Italians were more liberal through their humanistic influence, had free exposure to other cultures through trade compared to other Western societies of the time.

In addition to all of these characteristics, there was also a fundamental, societal shift in Northern Italy.

Attitudes toward women also changed in the North from medieval misogyny, which had been inspired largely by a celibate priesthood, to a more positive view of women's role in society as the Reformation gradually established a religion that allowed priests to marry...Perhaps it is less surprising therefore that few women in Flanders [Belgium] should have become good painters than in Italy, where the Catholic church remained a strong force supporting patriarchal ideology in which women were strictly subordinate to men.³

All of these features factor into why Italy as a whole began to harbor liberal thinking and more enlightened approaches to art and

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artistic values, and became less obliged to normative ideals concerning the composition of an accomplished society. All of these factors would lay the path for more radical qualities within the arts and allow a medium for free expression by Bolognese women.

Institutional contexts of the Università.

The most unique characteristics of Bologna and other Italian cities were the humanistic theories regarding education surfacing in Italy during the fifteenth century. Many writers and educators created doctrines, literature, and treatises discussing education and subjects to be studied. One famous treatise within the handful of literary works regarding the education of women was Leonardo Bruni's treatise *De studiis et litteris*. Scholars debate the exact year of publication (estimated to be between 1400 and 1429) but as argued by Virginia Cox, "[*De studiis et litteris*] have long been recognized as one of the most important literary statements of the educational ideals of Italian humanism... *De studiis et litteris* presents itself explicitly as a customized guide to the studies appropriate for a high-born and intellectually gifted woman..."⁴ Bruni gives his own interpretation as to why women should be educated (within certain guidelines of course) but readily supports women studying theology, history, and philosophy. This was just one humanistic document that discusses the importance and support of education for Italian women. Documents and literary works such as these enable historians to contextualize why certain areas experienced certain circumstances throughout history, and the obvious support for education in Italy during this time is an important contributing factor explaining the high artistic achievements by Bolognese women.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Italy, educational institutions

were socially valued and respected just beneath the institution of the Church, which was held in the highest regard. More specifically, the University of Bologna still remains one of the most renowned artistic institutions worldwide. This lasting prestige makes an understandable connection between art and education. A unique history and artistic heritage can be traced as early as the thirteenth century with illuminated manuscripts.

Founded in 1088, the University of Bologna is the oldest European university that is still in existence today. The university was regarded as a critical hub of intellectual culture as it attracted people from throughout the Christian world. During this time, the university was respected as Italy's most famous center for legal and liberal studies. Curiously, the university was known to be the "student's university" because the students were able to choose the teachers and religious staff.

As far back as the Middle Ages, the university also provided opportunity for female scholars, unlike any other European university of the era, to study and participate in intellectual endeavors. Although the university's direct line of documentation is shallow concerning this subject, it is known that publishing houses that developed around the same time at the University of Bologna stimulated the rise of a class of miniaturists. Chadwick specifies that the university, "...during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries...in addition to women lay miniaturists, included a Carmelite nun, Sister Allegra, and another woman identified only as 'Domina Donella miniatrix', later given the name Diana Scultori by art historians and mentioned by Vasari in the 1568 edition of his *Lives*..."⁵ From this documentation, it also suggests that to current knowledge, she was the only female engraver to sign her own work with her real name during the sixteenth century. The city

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of Bologna proved to be an ideal place that created an unusually supportive structure for women with talent and intellect.

Research in other areas of study at the university can also help historians understand this link between female education and female prosperity in Bologna. Scientific study within the university provided means for a significant amount of female scientists to graduate and earn careers during the eighteenth century. Indeed, “Intellectually gifted women from the upper classes and sometimes even from the less economically advantaged classes had access to a level of education [at the University of Bologna] not seen in most Western nations until the 20th century.”⁶ This special development suggests that artistry was not the only area of education in which the university proved to be a core influence on the appearance of women in educated society.

Caterina dei Vigri.

Looking deeper beyond the boundaries of Italy and education, there are more specific and unique elements as to why in particular the city of Bologna provided an even more influential basis for not only artists as a group, but specifically female artists. What has become an interesting connection in this puzzle is the role of the most prevalent and important aspect of Italian culture, the Roman Catholic Church. The initial connection between the Church and aspiring female artists seems farfetched, as the Church supported the a type of hegemonic masculinity above all femininity. This meant that in Italian societies, like all other Catholic societies, men were superior to women in many regards. Yet what makes this scenario vastly different is the coming of the Reformation, as discussed earlier, and exactly who held prestige within the Church of Bologna.

During the 1400s, it was estimated that there were more female artists in Bologna than male artists, and since crafts like painting and printing were under the control of guilds until the seventeenth century, this most likely stimulated their participation in these trades: “Since the guilds of which artists were part, operated under the protection of the saints and therefore sanctioned by the church – the largest patron of the arts at that time, having a female saint who also painted – Caterina dei Vigri or St. Catherine of Bologna – created new opportunities for women painters.”⁷ St. Catherine of Bologna, canonized in 1712, was astonishingly influential in the support system of female artists during and after her lifetime, as well as the culture of Bologna itself. She was the founder of Corpus Domini, which was the Bolognese extension of the Cult of Poor Clares Convent. This artistic cult was so highly regarded that Pope Clement VII sanctioned the group in 1524. This produced a widespread respect for Bolognese women that were educated and skilled within the city. Also, papal approval created a welcoming environment for women to obtain commissions outside of the ecclesiastical institution. This enormous and revered religious connection really enabled the success of women thereafter.

Reflecting back on the life of Caterina dei Vigri, she was elected abbess in 1456, and remained in that position until her death in March of 1463. As a child and young person from an aristocratic family, Caterina was educated under humanistic guidelines. Her father was employed at the court of Niccolo d'Este in Ferrara where she lived as well and served as a personal assistant to Niccolo's daughter, Margarita. Scholars have agreed that there is no significant evidence of her religious vocation prior to Margarita's wedding in the late 1420s. She achieved mastery in Latin,

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writing, music, painting, and illumination. In her later years, Caterina, while residing in the Court of Ferrara, was known to have visions and make predictions. However, she was widely known for having visions from God and Satan throughout her adult life, alongside the ability to perform miracles (discussed in great lengths in *Treatise*.) These intense religious abilities she held most likely contributed to her intense amount of pathos expressed in almost everything she set her mind to. She would almost always verbalize these experiences with her Sisters, and they would miraculously be confirmed by outsiders. One example of this is a story explaining one of her visions on July 24, 1446. Caterina was praying and kneeling in the chapel at around three in the afternoon when she suddenly came to her feet and yelled for one of her Sisters. She said she saw the soul of the Bishop of Ferrara (Giovanni da Tosignano) ascending into heaven. The nuns noted the time of the accusation, and later that day news was received in the court of his death, and the time he passed corresponded within the hour of when Caterina reported her vision. This is just one example of the numerous visions Caterina reportedly experienced.

The convent of Corpus Domini in Ferrara had become fashionable. Ladies of high rank from distant parts were clamoring for admission and waiting disconsolately for vacancies; till at length it occurred to certain leading citizens of Bologna and Cremona that the 'venerable monastero' might be induced to colonize, and that the plantation of Poor Clares might be established in their midst.⁸

As described by Ragg, this convent became popular and many women desired entry from other cities, and colonization of the cult was exactly what happened in the city of Bologna. Originally, Caterina dei Vigri had no interest in Bologna because she had grown and lived in Ferrara her entire life. Yet, what ultimately made her decision to relocate was an epiphany she experienced while she was sick and bedridden. The nuns reported that she was so physically weak that they were unsure of her survival; the only things she did do constantly were meditate and pray. Vigri claimed in one of her dreams she saw two exquisite seats waiting to be filled. She asked to whom they were for, and the reply she heard was that they were for two honorable Sisters, the more reputable one being for Caterina da Bologna. Still not convinced because Caterina was a very common name for the time, and she was known to be very modest with her accomplishments, "Caterina was unanimously chosen as the leader of the colonizing nuns and Abbess of the Bolognese house."⁹ At this point, Vigri realized the meaning of her vision.

Once she moved with the convent to Bologna, her reputation as a painter became widespread: "The cult, enormous and ideally suited to the pietistic temper of Counter-Reformation Italy, flourished through the seventeenth century along with her reputation as a painter."¹⁰ In addition to her canonization, during her lifetime she was also named "...as the patron saint of the Bolognese artists' academy, making Bologna the only Italian city with its own female saint associated with the art of painting."¹¹ It was extremely special and rare to have a woman with such education and talents enter the religious ward of Italian society. This circumstance was essential to the production of artwork in Bologna, and would even affect the ways women were

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viewed not only within Bolognese society, but also in the Catholic Church.

Often, women who decided to enter convents were women who wanted to live a religious life had no other options. Unmarriageable women, or older women with unholy pasts were also common participants. Yet, Vigri's involvement within the convent most likely made her art more visible. Caterina dei Vigri's friend and Sister Illuminata Bembo revealed her observations: "[Caterina] loved to paint the Divine Word as a babe in swaddling bands, and for many monasteries in Ferrara and for books she painted him thus in miniature."¹² As the first recorded female artist in the city, her endeavors became limitless. St. Catherine also had influence on the spectrum of female writers in Bologna. She wrote many works, but her best-known work, *Le Sette Armi spirituali*, is understood to have been made as a type of guide for the newcomers in her order. Typical of the spiritual practices of the era, it used narration and dialogue to convey the seven spiritual weapons, used literally, for resisting Satan, explaining the benefits and why it was necessary.

Near the end of the book, Saint Catherine recalls that when she was beset by terrible doubts concerning the divine presence in the Eucharist, she was blessed with a visitation from Christ who personally clarified transubstantiation for her. From that moment the saint not only craved the spiritual nourishment of communion, but she also made the Incarnation the centerpiece of her writing and painting.¹³

As described, Saint Catherine's paintings became reflective of her writings. Putting this accomplishment into context is helpful, as it is important to realize that most women were illiterate during the fifteenth century. Her accomplishments were truly extraordinary for this time and culture in history. Vigri alludes to an intense amount of emotion within this work and all of her written works, which is especially rare because she was a woman of God. Because Caterina was extremely spiritual and the epitome of a righteous Italian woman, her presence in the Church was not only idolized by many Bolognese women, but her artistic interests were most likely heightened and admired because of her prestige: "According to Suor Illuminata, the saint paused to pray Christ's name with arms outstretched like the Crucified whenever she wrote and painted, and she often wept so copiously over his sufferings that the work had to be taken from her to prevent its ruin."¹⁴ The significant evidence of her spiritual, artistic, and written works exemplifies her powerful connection to Christ. Proven documentation of her intense pathos spreading into her art and literary pieces is made clearly by this description of her artistic process. Because of Caterina dei Vigri's numerous talents and accomplishments in many areas of humanism, she shared and illuminated alike characteristics of the infamous "Renaissance man." Caterina dei Vigri died on March 9, 1463, during Lent, because of severe illness. She was "buried without a coffin," and "her body was exhumed eighteen days later because of cures attributed to her and also because of the sweet scent coming from her grave. Her body was found to be incorrupt and remains so today in the Church of the Poor Clare convent in Bologna."¹⁵ Interestingly enough, her body is actually on display in an upright, standing position behind glass to this day.

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Evidence has also been gathered as to how exactly her influence affected the female painters and writers of Bologna. “The number of known Bolognese women writers increased dramatically after Vigri’s death in 1463, tripling from 10 during the Quattrocento to thirty during the Cinquecento, and dwindling slightly to twenty during the Seicento.”¹⁶ In later years, there was evidence found that secular female poetry existed in Bologna as well. All of this contributes to the conclusion that Saint Catherine as a religious figure, writer, and painter contributed to surfacing of females within the creative arts in Bologna. Yet, to make these statements more concrete, a reflection of her actual art would be very valuable.

The *Madonna “Del Pomo”* by St. Caterina dei Vigri depicts the Virgin with child in a classical respect, with basic composition that takes up a majority of the canvas. The colors are very rich, but few, and take a dominance over the actual drawing, which was common for Venetian painters. Her work is often criticized for being naive for the era, or compared to the works of her male counterparts, as the facial expressions are very bland and the perspective being dimensionless. Yet, even within the simplicity of the painting, it is far from being the work of a novice. She uses iconography such as stars, a piece of fruit, and a halo encompassing the Virgin and child to signify the promotion of Christianity. Also, the child appears to be pulling on the garments of the Virgin, straying far from wanting to allude to perfection within the scene. Although stylistically it is extremely Medieval with hints of Renaissance tropes, Saint Catherine also presents a twist on the ecclesiastical scene for her viewers. This is just one of the very few pieces of art that survived and is still viewable today.

In addition to evidence of her own art and education, depictions of Caterina dei Vigri by male and female artists have been documented, although not presently visible.

Although no extant written sources confirm the interest of later Bolognese women painters in their Quattrocento predecessor, at least two Seicento women depicted Vigri in paintings...Among the numerous lost works by Bolognese women painters cited by early writers, two were paintings depicting Vigri. Elisabetta Sirani’s sister Anna Maria painted a canvas ‘for Malta...with the Beata Caterina Vigri of Bologna.’¹⁷

So, the influence of Catherine of Bologna can be observed directly through other female artists admiration and depiction of her. The provided documentation verifies the outstanding significance that Caterina dei Vigri had on women throughout the city of Bologna, and in turn, was a primary reason why so many female artists emerged in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries following her influence. The lives and artwork of two famous women affected by Vigri will be discussed and analyzed to determine how the emotive style exhilarated by St. Catherine are shared tropes between the female artists to evolve out of Bologna.

Elisabetta Sirani

Born in Bologna, Elisabetta Sirani is considered one of the most famous and talented female painters to come out of Bologna, Italy during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. During her life, (1638-1655) she produced around 170 to

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200 pieces of art even though she was so short-lived. Sirani came from an artistic background, as her father Giovanni Andrea Sirani was also a renowned painter and great influence on Elisabetta. He was a pupil of Guido Reni, who was extremely popular during his lifetime, and also attended the School of Bologna, a painting school. Giovanni noticed his daughter's talent at a young age, and taught her his personal craft. Sirani never had professional instruction, as all of her talents were self-taught or learned from her father. Once her father began to age and developed arthritis, he was unable to paint or run the family workshop, so Elisabetta stepped in to navigate her family through this hardship. A woman being the head of a painting workshop was extremely rare, and even more extraordinary was the fact that during her final years she was actually instructing her younger sisters as well as a group of about a dozen female painters. The fact that she died at twenty-seven was considered young at this time too, and there were many unanswered questions about her death and the physical problems that led to her demise. Many historians believe the stress of her being completely financially responsible for her family's well-being for such a long time had a large effect on her early demise.

Reflecting upon one of Elisabetta Sirani's piece entitled, *Timoclea*, one can begin to see how talented she was compared to other artists, male or female, but also how the themes of her work reflect onto other common traits present in other women's works of the age such as Caterina dei Vigri. Historical artwork was commonplace for the era, as the educated aristocratic patrons desired them. As one looks further into the actual art created by Bolognese women, certain historical features will become of subject of interest for the viewer to interpret. This particular scene is an interpretation from one of Plutarch's works entitled *Life of*

Alexander. Sirani depicts this scene with Baroque features of drama within the exquisite movements, lighting, and rich colors. Her knowledge of composition and painting a representative human body is also pronounced.

Beyond her technical talent, she depicts a strong, aggressive woman taking power over a man's body. This was extremely liberal compared to other works of the era. The facial expressions of Timoclea exude emotions of anger and aggression towards the soldier being forced down into the well. This controversial piece proclaims classic feminist undertones as it demonstrates a form of pathos not commonly accepted from women—anger. This piece is extremely reminiscent of St. Catherine's testaments of resisting the devil within her written works—characterized by dysfunction and aggression. It is obvious what the tone is of this painting and what particular emotions Sirani is trying to capture in her heroine. Giving a concise comparison to another male artist depicting the exact same tale, one can observe Domenico Zampieri's interpretation of Timoclea. His painting was done about forty years prior to Sirani's piece, but stylistically looks very Renaissance in its technique. There is no dramatization of movement, nor emotion or color. Notably, he depicts Timoclea as shameful and un-feminine. This is evident because all of the children in the painting are at the arms of men, deeming her unworthy of mothering; he insinuates that she has done something wrong in this historical account and should be ashamed.

This trait is important to contextualize, since if it were not for feminine insights, history can be and obviously has been portrayed through masculine filters. Also, without knowing the title as a reference, one would not assume both artists are depicting the same story by Plutarch. Yet, even if they had chosen the

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same scene, it can be safely assured that Sirani and Zampieri would still exude a very different tone. Sirani chose to paint the scene in which a Thracian soldier recently raped Timoclea during Alexander's Balkan campaign of 335 BC. After raping her, the soldier asked Timoclea for all of her money. She agreed, telling him she keeps it all inside the well in her garden. Luring him to the money, she then pushes him into the well and successfully stones him to death. Sirani beautifully captures this scene with all of its emotions of revenge and anger. Zampieri on the other hand, captures the moment in which fellow soldiers learn of what has happened, and escort her to Alexander to determine her fate. It becomes obvious to the viewer when comparing these two works that one is definitely more skillful than the other, and also one piece radiates much more emotion within this historical stage.

Lavinia Fontana

“This excellent Painter, to say the truth, in every way prevails above the condition of her sex.” - A patron on Lavinia Fontana, 1588.

Compared to Sirani, Lavinia Fontana entered into the world of art due to a variety of factors in her life. Almost identical to most successful female artists, Fontana's father Prospero Fontana was a painter as well that studied at the School of Bologna. She took after her father's style, which was quite naturally reminiscent of Giorgio Vasari, as he was her primary teacher when she began painting in the 1570s. Fontana's family also came from cosmopolitan origins, so she was exposed to art her entire life through other famous artists, churches, and palaces.

Her career in art compared to other female counterparts before her was also considered somewhat normal and successful, which remained a rare circumstance until the late 1700s. Collections of Lavinia Fontana remains to be one the largest body of saved work before the 1700s produced by a woman. She was known for making all types of styles of paintings, including historical and religious, but above all she was considered a master of portraiture, leaving behind many of herself. Fontana was extremely well-respected in higher realms of society and the art world. She even competed for a public commission against other male artists and won. She was respected and worked within the same value system of male artists around her, as she worked with large-scale mediums and conducted not only private, but public commissions - she would paint in public where people could watch. “It is also true,” though, “that she had to wait until she was almost forty before patrons trusted her with public altarpieces (the Spanish apparently broke the ice by commissioning a *Holy Family* for the Escorial in 1589 for which Pacheco says she was paid the astronomical sum of one thousand ducats.)”¹⁸

In her private life, she married a student of her father, who was also a painter, Paolo Zappi. Together they reared eleven children, but sadly, only three outlived Livinia. While Fontana was busy with commissions, Zappi would take care of the children and the household, and was even known for painting smaller elements of her works such as decorative features and images in the background. Livinia died in 1614 at the age of 64 in Rome, Italy. A historian that wrote about Fontana about ten years after her death noted that she had been extremely depressed close to her demise because of the passing of one of her artistically talented daughters that died in her teens. Like Sirani, she was most likely

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overworked from supporting her family since she got married to Zappi in 1577.

One of Lavinia Fontana's most famous pieces of art is *Holy Family with Saints Margaret and Francis*. Fontana uses oil paint in this image, which clearly comes through with her intense use of earth-toned colors. Even not observing the image with a naked eye, one can tell that this piece is almost glowing. She frames the centerpiece with the baby Jesus, the Virgin, Margaret to the left, and Saint Francis up above. Also evident of a female interpretation, all of the women and child are colored with much lighter colors to create focus, as opposed to the male saints behind them exuding much darker pigments. Lavinia used oil paints in this work, and unlike frescoes, the colors are much richer, have a long-lasting life, and take a very long time to dry. *Holy Family* in this scenario depicts focus to not only to the infant and the Virgin, but also to Saint Margaret. Saint Margaret is the patron saint of childbirth and almost always represented with a dragon, which can be observed in Fontana's interpretation in the lower left corner. All of the women in this painting have expressive faces and emotive gestures, as opposed to the males in the background.

This feature is reminiscent of St. Catherine of Bologna in that Catherine always focused the females in her artwork too, representing a significant stylistic similarity between the two. The saints' features are soft; blending well with the texture of the garments they are wearing. Representative of the other feminine motifs indicated by other female artists, Fontana remains true to her womanly perspective and includes her own take on this religious picture.

Also titled *Holy Family*, painter Francesco Giovanni Gessi depicts the family with Saint Margaret and the infant Saint John the Baptist. He also used oil paint as the medium of his image, and it was painted

around the same time as Fontana's work. The image has a more variety of colors compared to Fontana, but the people appear to be very unrealistic, almost cartoon like. Although neither artist really mastered the skill of achieving three-dimensionality, Gessi's *Holy Family* looks extremely flat without any trace of pathos eluding from his characters. Between the two of these artworks, Fontana's work displays much more artistic skill and emotion within this ecclesiastical illustration than her male counterpart.

In Italy during the Renaissance a revolutionary change occurred in artists' images of themselves in relation to society. They struggled to give the status and rewards of intellectual profession to what had hitherto been classified and rewarded as a craft. This change should have made it even more difficult for women to become artists.¹⁹

The "other Renaissance" that took place in Northern Italy during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was a time of significant artistic achievement and female progression within a heavily sexist and hegemonic society. Bologna, Italy proved to be a small exception to this general claim, as it harbored a range of twenty to thirty-five esteemed female artists. This fact is monumental in the face of feminist history, as well as the history of women's social progression and relevance. As discussed throughout this discourse, there were a variety of contributing factors that made this abundance of female artists possible. Most notably were the support of education and the University of Bologna and the life of Saint Catherine of Bologna. Catherine's

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recognition as the only female patron saint in Italy, and the creation of her many written and artistic works facilitated the progression of a women-inclusive art sphere. Within my institutional and stylistic analysis lies an element of emotional framework that Caterina created and consequently affected other Bolognese women with similar aspirations. A humanistic backdrop in Italy during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries perpetuated this blossoming phenomenon within the emergence of Baroque tastes in the realm of art. Truly comparable to the “Renaissance men” in Italy, the Renaissance women of Bologna surely made their mark not only on history and the progression of art, but also on the advancement of social equality.

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 269-70.

¹⁵ "St. Catherine of Bologna - Saints & Angels." *Catholic Online*. Web. 08 Dec. 2011. <http://www.catholic.org/saints/saint.php?saint_id=111>.

¹⁶ Broude & Garrard, p. 82.

¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 81; 93-94.

¹⁸ Harris & Nochlin, p. 111.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 21.

Notes

¹ Chadwick, Whitney. *Women, Art, and Society*. (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007.) p. 87.

² Ibid.

³ Harris, Ann Sutherland and Nochlin, Linda. *Women Artists, 1550-1950*. (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1976.) p. 26.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 47-48.

⁵ Ibid., p. 90.

⁶ Cieślak-Golonka, A. M. and Morten, B. M. "The Women Scientists of Bologna: Eighteenth-century Bologna provided a rare liberal environment in which brilliant women could flourish." *American Scientist* 88.1 (2011), p. 68.

⁷ Sweet, Christine M. "Female Artists in Bologna." *BellaOnline - The Voice of Women: Renaissance Site*. Deborah Watson-Novacek, 2011. 26 Nov. 2011. <http://www.bellaonline.com/articles/art62796.asp>

⁸ Ragg, Laura Maria Roberts, *The Women Artists of Bologna*, (London: Methuen & Co., 1907.) p. 103.

⁹ Ibid., p.106.

¹⁰ Chadwick 88

¹¹ Broude, Norma, and Mary D. Garrard. *Reclaiming Female Agency: Feminist Art History after Postmodernism*. (Berkeley: University of California, 2005.) p. 81.

¹² Chadwick, p. 88.

¹³ Wood, J. M. Breaking the Silence: The Poor Clares and the Visual Arts in Fifteenth-Century Italy. *Renaissance Quarterly*, 48(2), 1995, p. 273.



Lavinia Fontana, *Holy Family with Saints Margaret and Francis* (1578)

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Francesco Giovanni Gessi, *The Holy Family, with Saint Margaret and the Infant Saint John the Baptist* (1615)



Elisabetta Sirani, *Timoclea* (1659)

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Domenichino Zampieri, *Timoclea Captive Brought before Alexander* (1615)

Peter Schneider Award

Literature and Consciousness Raising Groups in the Feminist Movement

Allison Scott

“The problem lay buried, unspoken, for many years in the minds of American women. It was a strange stirring, a sense of dissatisfaction, a yearning that women suffered in the middle of the twentieth century...each suburban wife struggled with it alone. As she made the beds, shopped for groceries, matched slipcover material, ate peanut butter sandwiches with her children, chauffeured Cub Scouts and Brownies, lay beside her husband at night—she was afraid to ask even of herself the silent question—‘Is this all?’”¹

The opening paragraph of Betty Friedan’s *The Feminine Mystique*, published in 1963, highlights the growing dissatisfaction experienced by women sequestered inside their homes in the middle of the twentieth century. Examining the lives of white, middle-class American housewives in the 1950s and 1960s, Friedan not only details why many housewives were unhappy staying at home and taking care of their families, she also explores why, after the 1940s, women stopped pursuing a meaningful role outside of the home. Fiction and non-fiction works by female

writers in the early 1960s were a way for these authors to articulate their frustration and loss of identity in the post-World War II era. The first chapter of *The Feminine Mystique*, titled “The Problem that Has No Name,” shows that a woman could only begin to understand her unhappiness once she stated what was wrong.

Even though Friedan’s book is non-fiction, other books such as Sylvia Plath’s *The Bell Jar* and Helen Gurley Brown’s *Sex and the Single Girl* were similar to *The Feminine Mystique* because each author discussed loss of individual identity and the pressure many women felt to conform to prescribed gender roles. Consciousness-raising meetings were an important feature of the feminist movement because understanding their loss of identity galvanized women and changed their perspective on the world. These meetings, in which groups of women shared their experiences to deepen their understanding of women’s subjugation, emerged as a primary focus of the feminist movement because many women lost their identity when they married and felt pressured to conform to the feminine mystique. Friedan, Brown and Plath did not advocate for legal or structural changes; rather, they suggested that women needed to develop their own identity. All published in the early 1960s, *The Feminine Mystique*, *The Bell Jar*, and *Sex and the Single Girl* inspired the feminist movement later in the decade because these books

exposed social inequalities and shared stories of women who lost their identity, which in turn encouraged many women to break free from prescribed gender roles.

Friedan and other female authors questioned the patriarchal view of women, which provoked readers to reconsider their preordained roles as wives and mothers. "Women would see the reality of their lives," historian Ruth Rosen has argued, "only when they grasped that their problems were not theirs alone...but the result of deep cultural, social, and economic forces and assumptions."² One way for women to "see the reality," was to share stories of their lives, which helped them understand that many felt the same dissatisfaction. Consciousness-raising meetings were an opportunity for women unfamiliar with politics to participate in and understand the feminist movement, and ultimately realize that their lifestyle was the result of culturally accepted practices.³ Women understood that they shared the same problems and this was not due to inadequacies on their part. Similar to women in consciousness-raising meetings, Friedan, Plath, and Brown shared their stories because they helped women realize that they were not alone while simultaneously galvanizing them to make changes.⁴

At the start of the twentieth century, the feminist movement focused on passing legislation that would allow women to vote and therefore greatly expand their role in public life. Passed in 1920, the Nineteenth Amendment expanded women's rights and changed both men and women's lives.⁵ According to Stephanie Coontz in *A Strange Stirring*, women's fight for suffrage overturned "many restrictive conventions," and "stirred an excitement about female achievements and capabilities that had largely receded by the 1950s."⁶ Although there was no unified fight for equality after the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment,

Coontz points to changes in courtship, fashion, and work.⁷ After the fight for equality fragmented in the 1920s and 1930s, the Great Depression and eventually World War II distracted activists from working towards the equality of women.⁸

During World War II many women worked in jobs previously reserved for men, but this led to narrower gender roles of the 1950s. When veterans returned home, women were terminated from their jobs as society tried to reaffirm that women were the caretakers and men the providers for their families.⁹ As Coontz notes, postwar America encouraged strict adherence to the feminine mystique because experts thought "wives had a duty to rebuild their husbands' self-esteem."¹⁰ Experts encouraged women to defer to their husbands because working women, many of whom had successfully provided for their families while their husbands were away at war, were seen as a threat to male authority in the home. Working as a freelance journalist during the fifties, Friedan experienced bias against career women who found fulfillment and independence outside of the home.¹¹ The narrowly-defined gender roles that arose after the War pitted the selfish career woman against the praiseworthy housewife.¹² Paradoxically, although the dichotomous image of women was a prominent feature of the fifties, the prosperity of the decade actually led to an increase in the number of women working in order to afford new consumer products.¹³

More women working meant more women experiencing discrimination in employment and pay. Female students and female activists began to challenge their subordinate position. The student movement and the Civil Rights movement contributed to young women's awareness of the gross inequalities that existed in the United States. Many women fighting for equality for African-Americans found

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themselves subordinated to their male peers and questioned why “various authorities (usually men) had the right to control her life and sexuality.”¹⁴ Simone de Beauvoir’s *The Second Sex*, published in the United States in 1953, followed by Friedan’s book ten years later, questioned women’s subordination and raised the consciousness of their readers.¹⁵

The year before *The Feminine Mystique* challenged patriarchal views of women, Brown’s *Sex and the Single Girl* appeared, which was based upon her own experience of being a successful single woman for many years. Brown married “for the first time at thirty-seven,” and as the first sentence of the book states, “I got the man I wanted. It *could* be construed as something of a miracle considering how old *I* was and how eligible *he* was.”¹⁶ The first paragraph of her book demonstrates the pressure women felt to get married at a young age as well as Brown’s determination to defy prescribed gender roles. Brown, an editor for *Cosmopolitan* magazine, encouraged women in *Sex and the Single Girl* to find their individual identity before marrying and advised women how to navigate and enjoy life in a male-dominated world. Brown discovered her own identity and independence because she waited to marry and had a successful career, which made her a non-traditional woman.

While it is clear that Brown did not conform to gender roles by her decision to delay marriage, she also challenged women’s roles in other ways. Brown candidly told her readers “I am not beautiful, or even pretty. I once had the world’s worst case of acne. I am not bosomy or brilliant.”¹⁷ Although Brown appeared to deride her looks, she had a healthy self-esteem because she still went on dates, had a successful career, and a good social life. The beginning of her book asserted that it was acceptable not to conform to societal

pressure to be physically attractive. Brown’s honest description indicates that a woman did not have to fit standardized beauty norms to be happy. From Brown’s description it is apparent that she had an individual identity, and recognized why women felt pressured to be beautiful.

Another aspect of the feminine mystique was to be submissive and obedient towards men, but Brown also refused to act this way. She declares, “I’m an introvert and I am sometimes mean and cranky,” yet she expected her husband to accept her imperfections because she did not “think that it’s a miracle that I married my husband.”¹⁸ Despite the pressure to conform to gender roles, Brown developed her own identity before getting married and knew that she did not have to be conventional in order to find happiness and love. Acknowledging her perceived imperfections was a consciousness-raising moment because Brown rejected the way women were supposed to behave. From her many years as a single, working woman she forged her own identity, and that identity existed outside of being a wife or mother.

Most of *Sex and the Single Girl* discusses ways to have fun, look good on a budget, and find dates, but Brown also acknowledged her personal fears that she “would die alone in my spinster’s bed.”¹⁹ Despite them, she “could never bring [her] self to marry just to get married,”²⁰ because she knew if she married to ensure that she was not alone then she would lose her identity. Instead, Brown argued for women to wait to get married, and told them “how to stay single—in superlative style.”²¹ *Sex and the Single Girl* promoted staying single because for Brown staying single for such a long time allowed her to develop her own identity and find happiness.

Brown argued for women to delay marriage because she understood that many married women lost their identity and were

unsatisfied. Identifying the intellectual dissatisfaction that Friedan would describe in *The Feminine Mystique*, Brown contends that the single woman was happier because, “she has the freedom to furnish her mind...she need never break her fingernails or her spirit waxing a playroom or cleaning out the garage.”²² Married women were exhausted from physical labor and therefore did not have time or energy for intellectual pursuits. Although her point is similar to Friedan’s, Brown’s tone is lighter. She advised single girls to quickly complete their housework in order to go out on dates, enjoy their lives and have time and energy to pursue their own interests.²³ Brown understood that things like housework were draining for women and that was one reason married women were unhappy and did not have an identity outside of their husband and children.

On top of Brown’s aversion to housecleaning, she showed that having a career was a way to earn respect. Brown noted that married women looked down upon single career women, but having a position that was not secretarial work earned respect because “a single woman is known by what she does rather than by whom she belongs to.”²⁴ As an unmarried woman, Brown found a sense of self in her career rather than in marriage. Brown’s statement showed that, although she started as a secretary, she found respect when she worked her way up to positions not commonly held by women. From her own awareness of how society viewed women, she argued that when women had better jobs, or embraced being single, they did not lose their identity.

Still, Brown acknowledges the inequalities that existed in the workplace. One of the most distinctive moments in Brown’s book occurs when she discusses working for Beverly Hills talent agencies which “treated secretaries like three-toed

sloths to be kept sequestered from the public.”²⁵ As did many women during the fifties and sixties, Brown faced job discrimination. She and Friedan both encountered job discrimination, which motivated them to develop an individual identity. Brown, however, did not argue for workplace equality; rather, she offered tips for single women on how to navigate the difficult workplace.

Brown had a successful career because she learned how to navigate the male-dominated workplace and her strategy was to exit when faced with a truly hopeless situation. At one agency, Brown writes, she and the other women “had to use the back stairs while clients and executives were free to scamper up the elegant, antique-lined front stairway.”²⁶ Brown did not demand that her employer change, but found a different job because “it seems to me I was asked to leave.”²⁷ She argued in favor of leaving that job because she was able to find better career prospects with a boss that did not isolate women and this led to her successful career and a fulfilling social life.²⁸ Brown developed a strategy for working within the system by advising women to work for places that supported working women and provided the most benefits to women looking to develop a career. Brown did not accept social norms forced upon her and felt that an employer that did not allow women to use the front entrance was not the place for her.

Brown discussed her decisions to leave unwelcoming jobs, her fears of dying alone and her imperfections because she was examining her personal decisions and, in the book, encouraged women to do the same. Brown saw that many women gave in to the pressure to marry young and not have a career, and argued that women ought to review their decisions. When Brown worked as a secretary she looked around her office and knew that, “85 per cent are never

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going to be career women.” But she went on to ask, “why aren’t they?”²⁹ She challenged women to consider why they should become housewives and asked readers to understand what had motivated their decisions. She knew from her own example that some women were able to achieve successful careers despite job discrimination, and sensed that many women chose not to have a career because of societal expectations. Brown asked her single readers “wouldn’t it be better to stop driving...to stop fretting...to start recognizing what you have now?”³⁰ She prompted self-analysis by encouraging women to question not only their personal choices but also how society thought of women.

Questioning the role of women in America was the purpose of consciousness-raising meetings and Brown integrates her own moments of awareness while challenging her readers to consider their own decisions. Even though Brown was married when she wrote *Sex and the Single Girl*, she ends the book with her realization that married women “are the ones to be pitied. They, in my opinion, are the unfulfilled ones,” because many of them, in her view, had not spent time developing an identity. Single women were happier because many married women did not “have to reach, stretch, learn, grow.”³¹ Brown forged her identity by staying single for many years and, from that time, she understood that women were often pressured to get married, have children and stay at home. The purpose of consciousness-raising was to encourage personal growth by helping others realize that their unhappiness was not a personal failing, but a lack or loss of identity that often came with marriage. *Sex and the Single Girl* is not a manual to help young women get married, but a guide on how to navigate the male-dominated world.

The Bell Jar by Plath is different from *Sex and the Single Girl* because the book focused on a young woman struggling with bouts of depression, uncertain of what she wants, and exploring her identity. Plath began writing *The Bell Jar* in 1961 after the birth of her first child and prior to her split from husband Ted Hughes in 1962. She committed suicide before the publication of *The Bell Jar* in 1963. *The Bell Jar* is a semi-autobiographical novel because the plot and the characters represent people and experiences from Plath’s life. Plath started Smith College in 1950 as an English major and worked for *Mademoiselle* in New York in the summer of 1953. Upon her return to Massachusetts, she received treatment for depression, attempted suicide and recovered in a sanatorium. Plath graduated from Smith College in 1955 and afterwards attended Newnham College at Cambridge University, where she met and married Hughes.³²

Since *The Bell Jar* is semi-autobiographical, identity issues that the protagonist, Esther Greenwood, experiences can be deemed similar to those Plath herself endured as she struggled to find her own identity in the fifties. The novel begins with Esther living in New York for a month and working for a magazine. Esther recognized that she should be happy for the opportunity to intern at a New York magazine, but she “felt very still and very empty.”³³ Throughout the book Esther feels lost and confused over whether she wants to marry and have children or pursue a graduate degree and possible career. When Esther thinks about her future, she imagines herself sitting on the branch of a fig tree, “starving to death, just because I couldn’t make up my mind which of the figs I would choose.”³⁴ Esther does not know what she wants and feels uncertain of her ability to pursue a career.

Plath, who was married and had a child when she wrote *The Bell Jar*, did not

portray marriage in a positive way. Throughout the novel, Esther imagines marrying the men she dates and what marrying her boyfriend, Buddy Willard, would be like. In these visions, she comes to view marriage as an endless round of cooking and cleaning, while her husband “came home after a lively, fascinating day.”³⁵ By the end of her day, she would fall “into bed, utterly exhausted,” which “seemed a dreary and wasted life for a girl with fifteen years of straight A’s, but I knew that’s what marriage was like.”³⁶ Echoing some of the same concerns about married life expressed by Brown and Friedan, Esther’s negative perception of marriage focuses on the physical chores of being a wife with no intellectual pursuits.

Going to school was problematic for Esther because she felt that she had to choose between getting married and having her own identity. The character’s thoughts are similar to those expressed by Friedan when discussing her decision to discontinue pursuing a graduate degree in order to marry, which led to her own identity issues. Marriage is problematic for Esther because she sees how men treat their girlfriends well before marriage. But “secretly,” Esther suspects, once they were married a husband wanted his wife “to flatten out underneath his feet like Mrs. Willard’s kitchen mat.”³⁷ Besides thinking that being a housewife would be a waste after all her years of education, Esther saw that women were subordinate to their husbands and did not have independence or a secure sense of self that single women had. Plath’s marriage did not end well and because *The Bell Jar* is modeled on Plath’s experiences, Esther’s feelings towards marriage more than likely stem from Plath’s loss of identity.

Esther understood the contradictory nature of working hard at school just to become a housewife. In a revealing section that also highlights society’s disparagement

of single women, Esther notes that before she started dating Buddy, she had to answer the phone for the seniors in her dorm. But once she was in a relationship, the other females who lived in her dorm treated her better.³⁸ She noticed that, “the seniors on my floor started speaking to me and...nobody made any more nasty loud remarks outside my door about people wasting their golden college days with their noses stuck in a book.”³⁹ Although Esther liked the better treatment, she knew that her peers did not value her for herself, but only for her relationship with Buddy. Esther has many reservations about marriage because she wants to have her own identity and find fulfillment in herself. Her relationship with Buddy makes her realize that women were not valued for their accomplishments and also how sexuality can lead to independence.

When in New York, Esther recalls when her opinion of Buddy changed because he admitted to having sex with a waitress. Sensing a double standard, she decided “to ditch Buddy Willard for once and for all” because “he didn’t have the honest guts to admit it...and face up to it as part of his character.”⁴⁰ Esther decides to have sex, but not with Buddy, because she wants to have as much experience as he does.⁴¹ When Buddy tells her about the waitress she loses her equal position in the relationship and Esther does not like appearing inferior to him. From this scene in the book, Esther realizes that Buddy is a hypocrite and that her position in their relationship is subordinate to him because of his sexual experience and his hiding his character flaw. This moment changed Esther’s opinion of her boyfriend while at the same time opening her eyes to the inequality in relationships between men and women.

After discovering that Buddy was a hypocrite, Esther realized that she did not want to marry Buddy or any man and that

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having sex would make her independent. Becoming upset with Buddy over his affair with a waitress made Esther realize that her “virginity [weighed] like a millstone around [her] neck,” and having sex would lift that weight.⁴² Esther thinks how Buddy’s marriage proposal, “would have bowled [her] over at any time in [the] five- or six-year period of adoring Buddy Willard from a distance,”⁴³ but she has changed and rejects his offer and decides that she does not want to marry any man. Her desire for independence leads her to reject Buddy’s marriage proposal and to find her own identity.

Although Esther wanted to have premarital sex, she knew that an unwanted pregnancy could lead to an unwanted marriage. In another stirring image that reveals the link between sexuality and independence, Esther seeks birth control and recalls thinking that when she “climbed up on the examination table... ‘I am climbing to freedom, freedom from fear, freedom from marrying the wrong person, like Buddy Willard, just because of sex...I was my own woman.’”⁴⁴ Securing birth control was important for Esther because she forged her own identity and did not want to lose it by becoming pregnant and forced into marriage. The vivid imagery of Esther climbing onto the table shows her desperation to retain her independence and overcome her fear of losing her identity. Esther understood that women did not have the same freedom that men did, but her experiences helped her know how to retain her independence.

The Bell Jar is about Esther’s raised consciousness and her struggle for identity and independence. After becoming independent by getting birth control and having sex, Esther recovers from her depression. In order to leave the sanatorium where she was being treated, Esther has an interview with the doctors. While waiting,

she thinks that there should “be a ritual for being born twice,”⁴⁵ because she is now a different person. Esther is “born twice,” because she is reborn into the new identity that she forged from her experiences and has now determined what she wants in life. From her relationship with Buddy to her internship in New York, Esther struggled to find her own identity, gain independence and become happy. One can only infer Plath’s feelings from *The Bell Jar* and the book’s effect on women in the sixties, but like Brown’s and Friedan’s books, it showed the many issues women faced when trying to retain their identity.

As a college-educated wife, mother, and freelance journalist, Friedan understood the frustration women felt in the 1950s and 1960s. In *The Feminine Mystique* she intertwines the experience of women in the 1950s and 1960s with her own life. Sharing her story and the story of women was similar to consciousness-raising. Friedan attended Smith College where she received a degree in Psychology in 1942 and went on to University of California, Berkeley to do graduate work, but turned down the opportunity to work on a doctorate in psychology to marry and have children. According to Friedan, “I married, had children, lived according to the feminine mystique as a suburban housewife.”⁴⁶ Even though Friedan was a wife and mother, she worked as a freelance journalist and, like Brown, faced job discrimination.⁴⁷

Overcoming the mystique was not the same for Friedan as other housewives because she saw firsthand how magazines, advertisers and men reinforced the housewife image. When Friedan wrote an article on a female artist she had to discuss, “her cooking and...falling in love with her husband, and painting a crib for her baby,”⁴⁸ which ignored the artist’s work and talent. According to Friedan, her male editors thought that female readers were not

interested in what the artist did and, therefore, she was directed “to leave out the hours she spent painting pictures, her serious work—and the way she felt about it.”⁴⁹ As a journalist, Friedan understood how society contributed to the creation of the feminine mystique because male editors encouraged her to focus on a woman’s role as a wife and mother, not her intellectual or professional accomplishments. Working helped Friedan recognize that women had an identity crisis and this motivated her to share her experience with other women.

Having been told to write articles that focused on women’s roles as housewives and not their individual talents, Friedan wanted to help women understand the source of their frustration. Friedan came to understand that she herself “helped create” the feminine mystique because she worked as a journalist for many years and had to write articles that ignored women’s identity.⁵⁰ Through her work as a journalist, Friedan realized that many of the unhappy housewives that she talked to were unhappy because they did not have their own identity. Her interviews with housewives, as well as her own personal loss of identity, galvanized Friedan to “no longer deny my own knowledge of [conformity’s] terrible implications.”⁵¹ Becoming aware that she experienced identity issues and that many women shared this problem, she was motivated to expose the unhappiness that women felt.

Although much of *The Feminine Mystique* focused on Friedan’s research and interviews with women, she also discussed her own struggle with the feminine mystique as a wife and mother. When she received a graduate fellowship and her future “came to a frightening dead end...I felt a strange uneasiness; there was a question that I did not want to think about.”⁵² Friedan was conflicted over receiving the fellowship because she felt pressured to conform to

prescribed gender roles, and thought that pursuing a graduate degree automatically meant choosing to be married or single. Friedan shared her story because she had eventually developed her own identity and knew that many other housewives needed to do the same.

Friedan’s writing contributed to the rise of consciousness-raising meetings in the feminist movement because she revealed that women struggled with identity issues. As she recalled her decision to leave school, she realized she could not explain “[w]hy I gave up this career.”⁵³ Until Friedan questioned her decision to leave graduate school and marry, she “could sense no purpose in my life...find no peace,”⁵⁴ because she had lost part of her identity. Friedan recovered her identity when she “finally faced it and worked out my own answer,”⁵⁵ because the problems that she discussed were not structural but personal. By sharing her experience of leaving school, she showed other women that the unhappiness they felt was not from inadequacies on their part, but due to loss of identity.

The Feminine Mystique became linked to the feminist movement because Friedan’s examination of her personal decisions and her realization that she had an identity crisis were the basis of consciousness-raising meetings. As Kathie Sarachild notes, during the 1968 women’s liberation meeting that started consciousness-raising in the feminist movement, women asked “who and what has an interest in maintaining the oppression in our lives.”⁵⁶ At consciousness-raising meetings, women contemplated their decisions and, as had Friedan, came to realize that their unhappiness was due to loss of identity. Losing part of her identity to the feminine mystique, Friedan started to contribute to the “pool of knowledge,”⁵⁷ that the women in the New York liberation

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meeting wanted to expand in order to regain their identities. These parallels between the message in Friedan's book and the start of consciousness-raising demonstrate that this form of action took place before its formal introduction into the feminist movement in 1968.

Informal consciousness-raising in the feminist movement was already occurring in writing and throughout the country, because as women started to talk about the problem they realized that they were not alone. *The Feminine Mystique* raised a woman's consciousness because Friedan shared her own, as well as other women's, moments of realization. At the end of the first chapter, Friedan writes of having overheard "a mother of four having coffee with four other mothers in a suburban development...say in a tone of quiet desperation, 'the problem.' And the others knew...suddenly they realized they all shared the same problem."⁵⁸ Women needed to talk about their frustrations. When they talked about the problem, women forged a shared bond of understanding.

Friedan wrote *The Feminine Mystique* after she had had many consciousness-raising moments; therefore, she tells her account from a different perspective than other women who were trying to find satisfaction in being a housewife. Sarachild thought she understood the inequalities women faced, but when she heard a woman "describe all the false ways women have to act...all because men didn't find our real selves... 'attractive,'" she realized there was far more to understand.⁵⁹ Although women faced inequalities legally and politically, discussing how women felt inadequate was important for understanding the various ways women could empower themselves. Friedan and Sarachild both had consciousness-raising moments that inspired them to seek out others. The feminist movement needed to break down cultural

barriers to achieve equality for women, but it was equally important for women to understand that "the problem" was not their fault and that others felt the same way.

After 1968, consciousness-raising meetings became a key component of the feminist movement. In order to help women understand that private life was also political, Kathie Sarachild started consciousness raising meetings in 1968, to study "the situation of women, not just take random action."⁶⁰ In "Consciousness-Raising: A Radical Weapon," Sarachild recalls the rise of consciousness-raising in the feminist movement and responds to those who criticize this form of action because "naming what's really going on is necessary but insufficient for making changes."⁶¹ Consciousness-raising became a part of the feminist movement because women like Sarachild believed that analyzing their situation would mobilize women to take action. These meetings mobilized a mass of women because there were no requirements other than one's own personal experience.

Consciousness-raising made the personal into the political because the topics discussed related to women's daily lives. In the meetings, participants discussed "the problems facing women which most concerned us," and naturally, Sarachild assumed, those problems "would also interest other women."⁶² Discussing why women felt inadequate to contribute to society as individuals and not as caregivers was a big deal because, as Sarachild proclaimed, "daring to speak about our own feelings and experiences would be very powerful."⁶³ The consciousness-raising meetings broke down the isolation women felt and by sharing their experiences and realizing that they were not alone. The narrow gender roles assigned to women kept them inside their homes as caregivers to their husband and children, and this explains

how consciousness-raising turned personal things like housework into politics.

In 1969, Pat Mainardi wrote "The Politics of Housework," which demonstrated the problem women faced at home. The feminist movement went beyond legal barriers to challenge the abysmal view of women that society held. When trying to get her partner to help with the housework, Mainardi encountered difficulties and realized "that we women have been brainwashed more than even we can imagine."⁶⁴ Mainardi's consciousness-raising moment came when she realized that, despite her partner's appearance of being progressive, he was still closed off to simple things like housework. After presenting a logical argument for why they should both do housework, Mainardi realized that television commercials and society conditioned women to follow their gender roles and concluded that men resisted chores because they "have no such conditioning."⁶⁵ These moments are not political in nature, but when women tried to break free of the feminine mystique, they realized that the little things women do inside the home are part of their oppression.

Through consciousness-raising meetings women wrote about what they learned, which was that the seemingly personal aspects of their lives were, in fact, political. According to Sarachild, "the writing which was formulating basic theory for the women's liberation movement"⁶⁶ was an important and necessary result of consciousness-raising meetings. By analyzing their lives, women realized their oppression and consequently wrote about the different perspective they now had. Writings that resulted from consciousness-raising meetings often included the author's moments of realization, and tried to help women have the same awakening. Although consciousness-raising meetings were a way for women to come together and understand

that they were not alone, a formal gathering of women was not necessary to raise women's awareness.

Sarachild discusses the start of consciousness-raising meetings in the feminist movement and, from her description, the purpose of these meetings was to expand women's awareness of the inequalities that existed and motivate women to end them. Although writing was one form of consciousness-raising, Sarachild affirms that, "there has been no one method...what really counts...are not methods, but results." Besides trying to motivate women into action, consciousness-raising meetings expanded "the common pool of knowledge...it was to get closer to the truth."⁶⁷ Sarachild and Mainardi in their articles admit to having moments when they realized that, despite what they already knew about their oppression, there was still more to learn. Expanding the knowledge of women in the movement allowed women who were not political to participate in the movement and for women to understand that they all share similar problems. The result of the consciousness-raising meetings was to motivate women to fight for equality, but as the work of Brown, Plath, and Friedan in the early sixties demonstrates, the act of consciousness-raising occurred in different formats. .

To outsiders, consciousness-raising appeared as a form of therapy for women who were unsatisfied with their lives. According to participant Barbara Susan, "consciousness raising is not a form of encounter group or psychotherapy."⁶⁸ Susan also went to therapy and notes that "it had been very effective in therapy calling me different from my sisters, trying to make me believe that I could find an individual solution without changing the external political conditions."⁶⁹ The problem with therapy was that it often made women feel as though "the problem" was theirs alone.

Literature and Consciousness Raising Groups in the Feminist Movement

But, as Susan points out, to change their position, women needed to work together to fight cultural restrictions. Consciousness-raising helped women realize their inferior position in society and from this take action to correct these inequalities.

Sex and the Single Girl, *The Bell Jar*, and *The Feminine Mystique* laid the foundation for consciousness-raising in the feminist movement because these books educated women to the inequalities that existed and empowered them to create change. The point of consciousness-raising was to expose cultural barriers. The multitude of forms that consciousness-raising took was vital for the movement because, as Rosen notes, “conventional wisdom held that housewives didn’t care about feminism.”⁷⁰ But housewives *did* care because *Ms.* magazine received several letters, “from housewives who were beginning to view their lives through different eyes.”⁷¹ Women who could not attend consciousness-raising meetings could read stories and realize “the problem that has no name” was one they could work together to solve.

Although women had won many legal rights before WWII, they stopped actively pursuing social rights afterwards. Brown, Plath, and Friedan wrote about the inferior position of women because they were not happy with the female dilemma and their work, whether in fiction or not, became a form of early consciousness-raising for readers. By each author expressing her dissatisfaction with social barriers and the unrealistic expectations for women, they made their audience realize they were not alone. By focusing on the importance of identity and redefining prescribed gender roles that oppressed women, these authors helped shape the feminist movement as it evolved through the 1960s. After years of wondering “is this all?,” women found truth and strength in

listening to other women’s stories of personal struggle and created a movement out of these shared moments.

Notes

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² Ruth Rosen, *The World Split Open: How the Modern Women’s Movement Changed America* (New York: Viking, 2000),197.

³ Kathie Sarachild, “Consciousness-Raising: A Radical Weapon,” in *Feminist Revolution: Redstockings of the Women’s Liberation Movement* (New York: Random House, 1978),144-149.

⁴ Rosen, 196-201.

⁵ Stephanie Coontz, *A Strange Stirring: The Feminine Mystique and American Women at the Dawn of the 1960s* (New York: Basic Books, 2011), 39-47.

⁶ Coontz, 39.

⁷ Coontz, 41.

⁸ Coontz, 46-47.

⁹ Coontz, 47-49.

¹⁰ Coontz, 49.

¹¹ Friedan, 40-46.

¹² Friedan, 40-46.

¹³ David Farber, *The Age of Great Dreams: America in the 1960s* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1994), 244.

¹⁴ Farber, 243-251.

¹⁵ Rosen, 57.

¹⁶ Helen Gurley Brown, *Sex and the Single Girl* (New York: Bernard Geis Associates, 1962), 3.

¹⁷ Brown,3.

¹⁸ Brown, 3.

¹⁹ Brown, 4.

²⁰ Brown, 4.

²¹ Brown, 11.

²² Brown, 6-7.

²³ Brown, 6-7.

²⁴ Brown, 89.

²⁵ Brown, 15.

²⁶ Brown, 15.

²⁷ Brown, 15.

²⁸ Brown, 15-16.

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³⁰ Brown, 5.

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³²Linda Wagner-Martin, *The Bell Jar: A Novel of the Fifties* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1992), xi-xxi.

³³ Sylvia Plath, *The Bell Jar* (New York: Bantam Books, 1981), 2.

³⁴ Plath, 63.

³⁵ Plath, 68.

- ³⁶ Plath, 68.
³⁷ Plath, 69.
³⁸ Plath, 49.
³⁹ Plath, 49.
⁴⁰ Plath, 58.
⁴¹ Plath, 63.
⁴² Plath, 186.
⁴³ Plath, 75.
⁴⁴ Plath, 182.
⁴⁵ Plath, 199.
⁴⁶ Friedan, 70.
⁴⁷ Rosen, 4-5.
⁴⁸ Friedan, 53.
⁴⁹ Friedan, 53.
⁵⁰ Friedan, 66.
⁵¹ Friedan, 66.
⁵² Friedan, 69.
⁵³ Friedan, 70.
⁵⁴ Friedan, 70.
⁵⁵ Friedan, 70.
⁵⁶ Sarachild, 145.
⁵⁷ Sarachild, 148.
⁵⁸ Friedan, 19.
⁵⁹ Sarachild, 144.
⁶⁰ Sarachild, 144.
⁶¹ Sarachild, 148.
⁶² Sarachild, 147.
⁶³ Sarachild, 147.
⁶⁴ Pat Mainardi, "The Politics of Housework," in *Takin' it to the Streets* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 418.
⁶⁵ Mainardi, 418.
⁶⁶ Sarachild, 148.
⁶⁷ Sarachild, 147-148.
⁶⁸ Barbara Susan, "About my Consciousness Raising," *Takin' it to the Streets* (New York :Oxford University Press, 2011), 415.
⁶⁹ Susan, 416.
⁷⁰ Rosen, 212.
⁷¹ Rosen, 212.

Crossing the Pacific: Early Korean Immigration to America

Ju Yoo

Hawaii is a tropical paradise in America, the land of gold and dreams. The weather is suitable for just about everyone and everybody will enjoy the warmer climate. There are schools on every island and English will be taught for free. The monthly salary will be \$15 for sixty-hour work week, with Sunday off. Employment opportunities are excellent all year long for farmers who are physically healthy and adequately behaved. Housing, fuel, water, and health care will be paid by the employer. Both unmarried emigrants and those with families are welcome. “The country is open, go forward!”¹ These were the images, eye-catching phrases, and enticing slogans that the western recruiters used in various propagandist posters and newspapers to attract Korean immigrant laborers in the early 1900s.

Korea, often referred to as the “Hermit Kingdom,” located in a remote region of the Pacific, was the last nation in the Northeast Asia to open its doors to the west. Korea repeatedly rejected Western overtures to negotiate, and successfully remained isolated from the Western world until the mid-nineteenth century. However, with growing foreign influences, Korea agreed to sign the Korean-American Treaty of 1882, also known as the Treaty of Amity and Commerce, which established diplomatic ties between Korea and the United States. The Senate ratified this treaty, and one of the provisions permitted subjects of Korea to reside and rent premises, purchase land, and construct residences or warehouses in all parts of the United States.²

Due to this provision, as well as bad conditions such as political, economical, and social turmoil in Korea and good prospects in Hawaii, the first wave of Korean immigrants migrated to the United States. However, adjusting to a new environment did not prove to be easy for the new immigrants. As a result, Korean immigrants developed and integrated flexible microsocial networks to adapt to their new environment and shape emigration.

At the turn of the twentieth century, the people of Korea suffered political, economic, and social turmoil. The Sino-Japanese War and Russo-Japanese War placed Korea under repressive Japanese military dictatorship, “which violated the integrity of the country and restricted their political and economic lives.”³ For example, when the Japanese empire set up various restrictive laws, such as in 1905 when the country prohibited Koreans to immigrate to other countries, the Korean government had to comply with Japanese laws. Korean officials from all levels of the government were corrupt. They taxed heavily and participated in extortion and graft.⁴ Because of the heavy taxes, people had difficulty supporting for their families and they lived with great debt. The government lacked financial responsibility and pushed the country deeper into debt despite high taxes. Furthermore, a series of droughts and floods during the early twentieth century brought famine to many parts of Korea causing distress and hunger to the population.⁵ These destructive natural disasters had a great effect on Korea’s agriculture and economy,

because Korea was a feudal state that heavily depended on their agriculture and most of their working population engaged in farming. Various wars and rebellions in the 1890s made many Koreans homeless and forced them to leave their farms to find work in the cities or seaports.⁶ However, many citizens found few or no job opportunities in the cities. As a result, the growing foreign influence and domestic failures caught the attention of various Koreans and government officials to look favorably to the subject of emigration.

As many Koreans lacked basic necessities of life, faced government oppression, and suffered from high taxes and natural disasters during Korea's dark era in the late nineteenth century, emigrating became one of the solutions to escape this painful ordeal. With these horrible conditions in Korea, "the exodus of Korean peasants and laborers was an expected phenomenon."⁷ Thousands of Koreans started to immigrate to neighboring countries, such as Manchuria, Russia, China, and Japan. For Koreans who wanted to leave the country to escape the harsh conditions of Korea, the ratification of the Korean-American Treaty of 1882 signaled a rare opportunity for a new land.⁸ Starting as early as 1885, a small number of Korean students, political exiles, and ginseng merchants began arriving on American shores. Most of these students and political exiles, including Ahn Chang Ho and Syngman Rhee, later influential leaders of Korea, came to America seeking asylum. In Korea, they had demanded government reforms.⁹ Even though Koreans could come to America in the 1880s, only few people with special connections made the arduous and expensive journey across the Pacific. In 1903, a less than fifty Koreans lived in the United States.¹⁰ However, with the bloom of Hawaii's economy and their need of laborers,

the small number of Korean immigrants in America increased drastically.

Just as the South proclaimed "Cotton was King" during the Civil War era, sugarcane quickly became the king crop of Hawaii in the early nineteenth century. White settlers, especially Presbyterian ministers, stole Hawaiian water resources and land to exploit the sugar industry. With sugar as their primary crop, the "large-scale, labor-intensive plantations" transformed and dominated the Hawaiian economy.¹¹ However, as time passed, the decline in the Native Hawaiians population combined with an increased demand for sugar produced a great labor shortage.¹² As the world's demand for sugar increased, so did the need for production and supply of sugar. In 1876, the sugar production in Hawaii averaged about 25 million pounds a year. By 1903, that number exponentially grew to 840 million pounds.¹³ The high demands for labor and the shortage of labor brought Hawaiian planters together to form the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society to investigate outside sources of labor, promote plantation interest, and send agents to different countries to recruit workers.¹⁴ As a result, this search for labor made Hawaiian farms a natural target for immigrants and the Koreans' desire for emigration made Koreans in labor and immigration to Hawaii a mutual endeavor.

Years before Hawaiian planters recruited Koreans to move to the islands to work in the sugarcane, Hawaiian businessmen sought cheap labor in China. In 1865, the first immigrant laborers arrived in Hawaii from China, and most of the Asian immigrants came to Hawaii under the contract-labor system with the plantation owners. By the time the United States annexed Hawaii 1898, a total of nearly 50,000 Chinese had immigrated to the island.¹⁵ All immigrant workers had to

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remain in Hawaii and work at the plantation for which they had contracted. Because the plantation association was a powerful group in Hawaii, they passed a law that put immigrant workers in jail if they failed to fulfill their contracts.¹⁶ Many contracted workers wanted to leave the plantation because the labor, heat, housing, and sickness was so horrible for workers in the cane fields. Plantation work was highly routinized and regimented. For the workers, the early morning started with rude screams and annoying whistle blown by company policemen. If a worker did not wake up, “a policeman would kick the door of [their] room and chase [them] out of bed.”¹⁷ In the sugar fields, work was extremely tedious and involved backbreaking work. Many had to plow, hoe weeds, and strip dead leaves for multiple hours at a time without any break under the hot scorching sun. In the humid environ of it, workers most often could not feel a breath of cool wind in the stagnant heated air as sugarcane stalks were twice the height of most workers.¹⁸ The dangerous working conditions made injury almost inevitable. During the hot harvest season, workers had to wear heavy clothing that covered their face and hand to protect themselves against the sharp saw blade like edges of the sugarcane leaves and the infested cane fields of wasps and yellow jackets.¹⁹ Even with heavy equipment, workers often found themselves covered in blood from the painful cuts during harvest. Plantation workers felt like they had been “kicked and beaten all over” their bodies on a daily basis.²⁰ Furthermore, they had painful backaches as they were not even permitted to stand up straight and ease their shoulders and back at work. Chinese workers also found danger in the tenement houses in the towns and plantation labor camps provided by the plantation owners because they were unsanitary. Diseases like

diphtheria, leprosy, cholera, and other fatal diseases were present in many of the housing and “outbreaks of these diseases brought shipping and commerce to a halt for days and weeks at a time”.²¹ As a result, when Chinese workers’ employment-contracts expired, many Chinese workers left the plantation because of the harsh conditions and went to go find work in the cities. Furthermore, as Hawaii became a territory of the United States, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 affected Hawaii and Chinese immigrants. The act prevented further Chinese immigrant to come to Hawaii.²² With the depletion of Chinese laborers in the Hawaiian plantations, growers needed a new source of labor.

During the 1880s, Hawaiian plantation owners turned to Japan to find another source of cheap labor to offset the shortage of Chinese workers. This became a trend for Hawaiian growers during the nineteenth and twentieth century as growers continually turned to disparate and poor populations in Asia seeking work, including Koreans. But in the 1880s, Hawaiian growers sought laborers in Japan, and this opened a roadway for thousands of Japanese to immigrate to Hawaii. They became the majority of labor workers on the plantations and the largest minority group working in Hawaii, constituting approximately 75% of the plantation workers.²³ When the United States annexed Hawaii, the laws and regulations applied to the main land applied to the islands of Hawaii. Like the Chinese laborers before them, Japanese workers soon began to criticize the bad conditions of the plantations and often came together for a strike. With the new laws, the Asian workers could no longer be forced to sign the work contracts and strikes became legal. Japanese immigrants had new rights to protest against the employers and break their contracts. Some workers started to ignore their

contracts and leave the plantations, while others conducted strikes and became more “militant in their demands for better treatment.”²⁴ The Japanese workers demanded higher wages and better working condition.²⁵ Once again, the sugar industry searched for an answer to their labor shortage and labor problems in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Looking for a cheap source of labor, the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association turned their eyes to the Koreans to fill the shortage of labor and to counterbalance the trouble causing unions.²⁶

With the promise of recruiting new immigrants within the confines of the American law and lobbying at the Capitol, the sugar plantation labor committee received approval from Washington to employ Korean immigrants as their workers. To start their recruitment, in 1902, Hawaiian sugar companies asked Horace Allen, an influential American ambassador in Korea, to help gather Korean workers.²⁷ Allen had first arrived in Korea in 1884 as “a medical missionary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Mission.”²⁸ His skill in medicine saved an injured Korean minister’s life during his stay, and he earned entry into the highest councils of the Korean government. He became a close friend of the Korean King, Kojong, and soon became one of his trusted advisors.²⁹ Being in this powerful and influential position in Korea, Allen was able to bring up the topic of emigration to Hawaii. He told King Kojong that “emigration to Hawaii would relieve some of the burden on the government of feeding the starving people and hinted that the emigrants might be able to send money back to their families in Korea”.³⁰ Also, to elevate the king and the country’s pride, Allen mentioned the outcome of the Chinese Exclusion Act in America, and the King liked the idea of being able to send Koreans

to a place where the Chinese were not allowed to go. In 1902, Allen persuaded the King and obtained his permission to recruit Koreans on the behalf of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association to bring Korean immigrant workers to Hawaii.

After winning the approval of the King, Allen asked his friend, David Deshler, who owned a steamboat service from Korea to Japan, to take Korean workers to Hawaii. With the help of the Korean government, Deshler quickly set up immigration and recruitment offices in big cities and port cities such as Pusan, Inchon, Chinnampo, and Wonsan to recruit prospective workers.³¹ Deshler’s agents advertised emigration to Hawaii on posters and major newspapers in many big Korean cities. According to Deshler, he advertised “for the purposes of education, observation and engagement in commerce, industry and agriculture.”³² Catchy phrases and slogans printed in newspapers and posters as well as the promise of employment and wages excited many Korean people. While, many Koreans were hesitant to sign up to leave the country, the hope of making enough money to return to Korea and enjoying a comfortable life sounded very pleasing. Because Deshler knew that Korean immigrants could not afford a trip to Hawaii, he even set up a specialized bank to loan money for Korean travelers.³³ Deshler had a lot to gain financially from the recruitment business. Sugar growers offered Deshler \$55 for every Korean worker he recruited, and he enjoyed a virtual monopoly in the recruiting business. The Korean king gave Deshler permission to recruit Korean workers, and he had the chance to make more money by transporting Korean workers to Japan via his ships.³⁴ With the opportunity to earn a fortune, Deshler set up many recruitment centers throughout Korea

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and worked diligently to recruit Korean workers.

In 1902, Deshler began to recruit and he asked Christian churches in Korea for help recruit hesitant Korean workers. Many Protestant “Korean church leaders were employed by Deshler’s company as interpreters and office staff.”³⁵ Various Christian missionary centers from the United States soon found themselves encouraging their poor fellow Korean Christians to go to Hawaii to seek a better way of life. For example, Reverend George Heber Jones of the Methodist Church in port city Incheon explained the advantageous conditions of Hawaii and told his Korean parishioners about their opportunity to spread Christianity to others in the Hawaiian Islands.³⁶ Out of the 121 people that Deshler gathered for the first group, Rev. Jones recruited more than fifty Christian men and women, and twenty workers in Incheon harbor to go to Hawaii.³⁷ By offering hope of a better life to the poor, hungry, economically deprived families, and a chance to spread Christianity for Korean Christians, the first group prepared to set foot in the Pacific frontier of America.

The first mass emigration of Koreans to America began on December 22, 1902, when a group of 121 Korean emigrants boarded the *Genkai Maru* at Incheon harbor and set sail for the promise land of Hawaii.³⁸ With emotions running high and tear streamed eyes, some Korean migrants looked at their home country for the last time as they departed while some declared *Kaeguk chinch wi!*, the country is open, go forward.³⁹ No matter how the immigrants felt about leaving their country, most aspired to come back to Korea after their work in Hawaii. Since Korea did not have an official medical center recognized by the Western world, the new Korean immigrants had to stop in Japan for a physical examination. In

Japan, many Koreans received their necessary vaccinations before arriving in Hawaii. After the examinations and screenings, 20 people in the group were disqualified and the remaining 101 Korean immigrants sailed for Hawaii on the merchant ship, *S. S. Gaelic*.⁴⁰ This group of 55 men, 21 women, 13 children, and 12 infants arrived at Honolulu, Hawaii, on January 13, 1903 and became the frontier in the new lands as immigrant workers.⁴¹ To the recruiters and plantation owners, it seemed like the process of recruiting new immigrant laborers was going to go smoothly. After several days rest on the main island of Honolulu, the Korean immigrants were dispatched to a sugar plantation in Mokolia, Oahu.

After the first group of Koreans left Korea, it became much easier for Deshler to recruit more emigrants. Taking advantage of the ongoing national crises in Korea, recruiters enlisted many immigrants to meet the labor needs of the plantations.⁴² The various opportunities and attractions to come to the United States drew a diverse group of working individuals in Korea. Korean emigrants included “farmers, political refugees, common laborers in port cities, ex-soldiers of the Korean Army, government clerks, students, policemen, miners, household servants, and even Buddhist monks.”⁴³ In 1903, a total of 1,133 immigrants arrived on 16 ships. The following year, 3,434 Koreans were recruited by various agents and set sail on 33 ships, and in 1905, 2,659 came to Hawaii on 16 ships. By 1905, “a total of 7,226 immigrants, containing 6,048 men, 637 women, and 541 children,” had come to Hawaii by 65 different ships to achieve their golden dream in America.⁴⁴

Even though many immigrants crossed the Pacific to find a better life, conditions in Hawaii proved difficult.

Living conditions in the plantations were “characterized by racial and ethnic segregation, hard work, low wages, and minimal contact with other groups.”⁴⁵ Just like the Chinese and the Japanese plantation workers, Korean workers had to engage in arduous physical labor, as their job opportunities were limited to occupations such as a farm laborer, tenant farmer, cook, janitor, or launderer. Engaged in physical work such as digging water reservoirs, weeding, cutting and hauling sugar canes, many got their hands blistered, and the sharp blade like cane leaves scratched and tore faces and arms.⁴⁶ The morale of the Korean workers was low as some “plantation owners treated Korean workers no better than cows or horses, as animals rather than as human being.”⁴⁷ In one plantation, every worker was called by number, never by name. Korean workers were both physically and psychologically challenged by the strenuous work. Working in a harsh environment, many men physically and mentally broke down and could do nothing but “weep like children” in the fields.⁴⁸ The tall sugar cane fields were endless and during harvest seasons, workers had to work seven days a week.⁴⁹ Recalling the long hours that one Korean worker spent cutting the canes in the plantation, she was thankful that the canes were much taller than her as she thought she would have fainted if she saw how far the fields stretched and saw how much work was ahead.⁵⁰ These laborers had to work 10 hours a day in the scorching sun with only a half hour lunch break. Furthermore, there were no chances for promotion.⁵¹ Because of the low wages of 60 or 70 cents per day and the high expense of living, many could not even save up enough money to afford the boat passage back to Korea.⁵² In addition, since many poor Korean immigrants had taken out large amounts of loans from foreign institutions,

such as Deshler’s bank to make their journey across the Pacific, very little of their hard-earned money remained after repaying their loans. Many were exhausted working in the scorching heat of the sugarcane fields, and many workers had nothing to look forward to at the end of the day as they just came to an empty shack with kerosene lamps.

One of the greatest concerns came from the “extreme imbalance in the gender ratio of the Korean population in Hawaii.”⁵³ With the ratio of 10 males to 1 female, and “nearly 80 percent of the nearly seven thousand immigrants who entered Hawaii were bachelors,” trouble was lingering in the air.⁵⁴ During the first decade of the 1900s, only a very small population of the Koreans in Hawaii had ordinary family lives. The others, “deprived of home environments, suffered [a toll from] emotional, psychological, and physiological, and other frustrations.”⁵⁵ Thus, not having a warm family or wife to come back to after a long hard day’s work, these lonesome bachelors turned to drinking, opium-eating, gambling, fighting, and they “committed an offense against public decency violating social customs and manners.”⁵⁶ Since many workers were getting older and the communal order was being distorted by their disorderly behavior, finding a solution to this social issue was both the community and individuals’ concern. Therefore, many communities realized that more Korean women were needed in order to build a healthy Korean community and increase individual happiness. The plantation owners encouraged the arrangement of picture brides as a means to settle down the men and make them stable sugarcane workers.⁵⁷ In response, the picture-bride system was adopted, a concept borrowed from the Japanese and Chinese immigrant workers, with the encouragement of the Hawaiian

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government and plantations and it opened up an opportunity for a new group of immigrants to come to the United States.⁵⁸

Starting the picture bride system meant bringing women from Korea in order to build a family life for some men working in the field. The program also began a new generation of Korean Americans in Hawaii. Recruiters and agents were again set up in Korea, but this time to find potential brides for the lonely bachelors in Hawaii. Called the “sajin sinboo,” the picture bride originated as designated match-makers paired bride and groom by solely using photography and family recommendations of possible candidates. An opportunity to immigrate to America became favorable for many girls in their teen years because they wanted to escape from their strict roles and restrictions set up by the traditional Korean feudalistic society.⁵⁹ These agents mostly roamed around the South Provincial district of Korea, where people were not well-off socially and economically.⁶⁰ They especially focused on young girls who ranged from 15 to 25 years old. To bring and gather much attention of the town and the girls, these match-makers gave a large sum of \$50 to each girl who agreed to go to Hawaii.⁶¹ Since many young girls liked the idea of freedom in America and dreamed of visiting a foreign land, many were already interested in learning more about this opportunity. In addition, the escape of economic hardship and the promise of financial support for the family by some grooms lured many girls to become part of the picture-bride phenomenon. “Like their future husbands who preceded them, most of the picture brides were attracted by the wealth they believed awaited them in Hawaii.”⁶² Most brides having only heard of prosperity and wealth in the Hawaiian Islands, envisioned Hawaii as a dreamland. For the adventurous educated women who wanted to become

something more than a house-wife, Hawaii represented a chance for independency and a better life.

Some flaws emerged when pairing brides and grooms. Since match-makers paired brides and grooms using only photographs and family recommendations of possible candidates, there was a lot of room for miscommunication and fraudulence.⁶³ Frequently, the recruiters and the prospective grooms were not “altogether truthful with the prospective bride since they believed that no woman would come if she were told the whole story about the man or conditions in Hawaii.”⁶⁴ Since most grooms in Hawaii were in their 30s and 40s, the grooms sent photos that were taken many years prior in order to make themselves look more appealing to the young girls.⁶⁵ Others sent retouched photos, some borrowed expensive clothes from their neighbors to make themselves look rich, or some grooms sent a picture of a different man completely. As a result, when picture-brides made their journey across the Pacific, there were many young brides who were surprised and very disappointed when they met their groom.⁶⁶ A total of 951 courageous picture brides staked everything and made their journey between 1910 and 1924 to come to the United States and find their dream.⁶⁷ Many picture brides’ life of new beginning was far from the vision of paradise they had expected.

With the new flow of Korean immigrants to Hawaii, the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association had achieved their goals to offset the labor shortage and replace problematic workers. Many sugar plantation managers praised Korean workers, because they were reliable and well accustomed to field-work. They were greatly desired by many farm owners.⁶⁸ Even though the Koreans population was small in compared to the Japanese, the Japanese laborers soon

began to notice the Korean immigrants as new foreign competitors that would take away their jobs and other opportunities. As a result, the Japanese laborers petitioned their government to stop Korean emigration.⁶⁹

In 1905, Japan forced Korea to become their protectorate and forcefully took charge of all of Korea's domestic and foreign affairs. With the series of treaty agreements that the Japanese empire imposed on Korea, the Korean government no longer could make any international treaties or make emigration policy without Japan's approval.⁷⁰ Only regulations and laws that favored Japan's interest were passed. Many Japanese officials wanted to end Korean immigration as they feared Korean laborers in foreign countries competed against and conflicted with the Japanese emigrants. Japan did not want to inspect Korean immigrants in their hospitals in their process of immigrating to a foreign country anymore as some carried disease and brought annoyances to their hospital.⁷¹ In April, 1905, under vast amount of pressure from Japan, the Korean government prohibited all immigration out of the country. As Korean immigration had to be administered by the Japanese government, Koreans could no longer travel freely. With this prohibition, the ambitious program that started to bring Korean workers to the cane fields came to a halt and there was a vast decline in Korean immigrants to the United States.⁷²

With the prohibition of Korean immigration, Koreans protested as many wanted to leave the country due to the Japanese oppression. David Deshler also protested against these policies and threatened to file a lawsuit against the Korean government in order to lift the immigration prohibition law.⁷³ Anti-Japanese sentiments and activities grew among many Korean communities in Korea,

Hawaii, and the United States. This development was a major concern to the Japanese, and to alleviate these tensions, Japanese granted exit permits to young Korean women to go abroad as picture-brides.⁷⁴ However, many Koreans were tired of the Japanese oppression and spoke against them in Korea and the United States. To avoid persecution, many "political conscious" students fled the country before it was too late.⁷⁵ The Japanese empire was planned to annex Korea as their state. Large numbers of students came to the United States through Manchuria, Shanghai, and Europe. Even though these students came into the states without a passport or student visas, United States was sympathetic to the students and permitted them to reside in the country.⁷⁶ Due to the immigration prohibition, Korean immigration faced an obstacle, as workers could no longer immigrate to the United States after 1905. Even though there was a steady number of college students and picture brides that still immigrated to the United States, the smooth flow of Korean immigration lost its momentum and did not pick up until the early 1950s.

Like the Chinese and Japanese workers before them, many Korean immigrants who came to Hawaii intended to stay for a short time to make some money and return home.⁷⁷ However, as Japan forcefully took over Korea and annexed Korea in 1910, many Koreans decided to stay in Hawaii until their country was liberated and independent. For the Korean workers who remained in Hawaii, most of them were determined to get a different job and did not want to work for the sugar industry. In 1902, when first group of Korean workers arrived at the Hawaiian Islands, they stayed on the plantations because they had no other choice. However, as Koreans became more familiar with

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American ways and customs, most Koreans decided to leave the harsh working and living conditions of the sugar plantations.⁷⁸ Despite the best efforts of the Christian missionaries and the sugar planters, it was impossible to keep Koreans on the plantation. With the Korean population “peaking at 5000 in 1905, about one-quarter of the Koreans left the plantations every year thereafter.”⁷⁹ Many Korean immigrants went to major Hawaiian cities such as Honolulu, to find better jobs. However, many of those whom went to the cities ended up setting up their own businesses because many Asian workers faced racism and job discrimination in Hawaii.⁸⁰ In starting their independent businesses such as tailoring, laundering, repairing shoes, and owning grocers, Koreans copied the earlier pattern of the Chinese and Japanese workers after they left the plantations.⁸¹ A popular option for Koreans who wanted to leave the sugar plantation but remain working in the agriculture field went to the pineapple industry on the island of Oahu.⁸² The pineapple industry was favorable because they offered higher wages, did not have rigid discipline, and were located closer to the cities. Other Koreans who left the plantations went to traveled to the West Coast of the mainland because job opportunities for Asian workers “were better and more varied on the mainland.”⁸³ Between 1904 and 1907, about one thousand Koreans went to California, Oregon, and Washington to find jobs in the agriculture, mining, and railroad business.⁸⁴ Realizing that status “depended on income gained through hard work rather than on the traditional determinants in Korea such as birth and family connections,” many Koreans left the sugar plantations to extend the economical frontier of the American society.⁸⁵ Due to the Korean immigration prohibition laws of 1905, there was no fresh

wave of Korean immigrants to replace the dwindling Chinese and Japanese workers and the decreasing Korean population in the sugar plantations. The prohibition of Korean immigrants in 1905 marked the end of the wave of Korean immigrants to the United States and Hawaii. As a result, there was a long pause of Korean immigration for the next five decades.⁸⁶ For those fortunate Korean workers who made enough money at the plantations, they left Hawaii for the mainland for better opportunities or returned home to Korea.

The harsh economic, political, and social conditions of Korea turned many of its citizens’ attention to the subject of emigration. The bloom of Hawaii’s economy and their desperate need for sugar plantation workers provided Koreans with an opportunity to go to a foreign land to try to make a better living. Thousands of Korean men and women made their journey across the Pacific to come to Hawaii and other parts of the United States during the turn of the twentieth century in hopes to make enough money to enjoy a better life. As Korean immigrants left everything familiar behind and tried to adapt to the new American society, trying to achieve their dream of a better life came with a big cost. Sweat, blood, and tears were shed as the Korean workers performed arduous work in the Hawaiian sugar plantations. Despite the horrible conditions and the various obstacles that the first Korean immigrants confronted, they managed to assimilate into the American land and culture. Their perseverance, sacrifice, and dedication led to the vast diaspora of the Korean people in the United States, and they laid a strong foundation for all other Korean immigrants to follow.

Notes

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