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Towson Journal of Historical Studies, 2021 Edition

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Note From The Department Chair

It is a pleasure and a privilege to recognize the hard work and commitment of the many students and faculty who have contributed to the 2021 edition of the *Towson Journal of Historical Studies*. This year has presented unique challenges for our entire Towson community. The COVID-19 pandemic sent us all home to our computers and forced us to interact remotely but through it all Towson History faculty and students have continued the hard work of teaching and learning.

Since the first edition of the *Journal* appeared in the Spring of 1998 under the initiative and leadership of student-editor Ms. Shannon Stevens, the *Journal* has published some of the finest work in history by Towson University students. A student-directed publication, the *Journal* testifies to the energy, direction, and commitment of Towson University History students. This year's edition was admirably led by co-editors Al'lyienah Howell, Daniel Ashby, and Peyton Cleary. I am so grateful to this group of students who found the time in the midst of the stresses of the pandemic to do this important work.

Faculty have played a key role in assisting, advising, and mentoring the student editorial staff. Dr. Karl Larew provided critical support for the launch of the *Journal* and the continuing work and dedication of faculty advisors Dr. Oluwatoyin Oduntan and Dr. Ronn Pineo, have helped maintain a strong record of accomplishment for the *Towson Journal of Historical Studies*.

Working together, students and faculty, have realized an important achievement, one that reflects well upon the Department of History and Towson University. The articles in this volume are especially notable for their authors' efforts to uncover the experiences of marginalized communities. As our community and nation reckon with the legacies of white supremacy, gender discrimination, anti-immigration, and xenophobia, the work of historians like those featured here is even more vital.

Congratulations on the great success of your efforts!

Christian J. Koot
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Note From The Editors

We would like to begin by thanking each reader of the 18th edition of the *Towson Journal of Historical Studies.* Throughout the spring semester, the editorial board, authors, faculty reviewers, and faculty advisors conducted our work virtually due to the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic. As a result, we have elected to publish this edition digitally. We acknowledge the unique challenges of virtual work and wish to thank the students and faculty whose vital contributions to this edition were graciously provided amidst the personal and professional difficulties of this unprecedented time.

In the 18th edition, four talented scholars contribute to a body of historical work spanning several cultural contexts and time periods. This edition begins by discussing the roles of women in the United States surrounding two landmark cultural events: the emergence of the women nurses in the American Civil War, studied by Sydnie Trionfo, and the recognition of female importance to westward expansion in the Pioneer Era, studied by Sarah Young. In her analysis of racism and anti-Asian sentiment during WWII, Genevieve Lambert examines the internment of Japanese Americans and advances the pattern of this edition by highlighting marginalized voices in history. Finally, we join Catherine Bonomo to explore how the music of the Olodum and Tony Tornado shaped contemporary understandings of the Black consciousness movement and racial democracy in Brazil.

These fascinating articles represent the quality of academic research and writing completed by undergraduates at Towson University. We would like to thank the authors for their submissions, their patience during the publishing process, and their willingness to go above and beyond in refining their work for publication.

In addition, we greatly appreciate the work of our faculty advisors, Dr. Oluwatoyin Oduntan and Dr. Ronn Pineo. Thank you for providing your expertise throughout the publishing process. Finally, we would like to thank all the faculty reviewers who volunteered their time and energy to review submissions and provide detailed feedback. We are deeply appreciative of your contributions and willingness to support the journal.

We hope you enjoy the following collection of Feature Articles—it has been an honor to work with each of these talented authors and publish this edition of the journal.

Towson Journal of Historical Studies
Co-Editors
Al'lyienah Howell
Daniel Ashby
Peyton Cleary

Feature Articles

Civil War Nurses:
A New Era for Professional Women

Sydnie Trionfo

Introduction

Some of the most influential icons of American history have been strong, independent women. In 1861, we saw one woman paving the way for future generations to come. That woman was Mary Ann Bickerdyke of Illinois. Before the Civil War broke out, Bickerdyke practiced botanical medicine informally to support herself after the death of her husband. When the War started, she volunteered to aid in the transportation of medical supplies to the wounded soldiers in Cairo, Illinois. Bickerdyke made a bold statement upon entering battle: "I'll go to Cairo, and I'll clean things up there [she promised]. You don't need to worry about that, neither. Them generals and all ain't going to stop me. This is the Lord's work you're calling me to do."[1] Soon after she made her nursing debut, she became known as "Mother" Bickerdyke to the wounded troops she was caring for.[2] Once she arrived on the scene, she was appalled by the lack of sanitation in the makeshift hospitals. Noticing a lack of bathtubs, Bickerdyke rallied up a few hogshead barrels, sawed them in half, and personally gave a bath to every soldier too weak to protest.[3] General Sherman of the Union army commended Bickerdyke's actions, but not all men shared his sentiment. One officer, furious with Bickerdyke's methods, asked Sherman to intervene, but he stated that there was nothing he could do: "She ranks me," Sherman explained.[4] Building the reputation of a fearless matron, Bickerdyke paved the way for the future generations of women in the nursing field.

The assimilation of women into a primarily male dominated field during the Civil War sparked a drastic shift in ideology. To understand this ideological shift, it is necessary to explore questions such as: What did female gender expectations look like before the Civil War? How did nursing during the Civil War lead to the profession becoming an "acceptable" occupation for women? Were there differences between the pensions of the men and women that offered their services in

[1] Ann Douglas Wood, "The War Within a War: Women Nurses in the Union Army," *Civil War History* 18, no. 3 (September 1972): 209.
[2] Wood, "The War Within a War," 208-210.
[3] Jean Getman O'Brien, "Mrs. Mary Ann (Mother) Bickerdyke: The Brigadier Commanding Hospitals," *Civil War Times Illustrated* 1, no. 9 (January 1963) 21-22.
[4] Agatha Young, *The Women and the Crisis – Women of the North in the Civil War* (New York: McDowell, Obolensky, 1959), 66.

a time of need? These questions underscore the importance of studying a transformative era of personal growth, social advancement, and economic opportunity for women.

The number of women working outside of the home had been few and far between prior to the Civil War. This was especially the case in the nursing field. Without the efforts put forth by these courageous women, the medical field might look completely different than it does today. This massive shift in the type of work women were involved in was a drastic change in what was deemed appropriate for this period. Challenging the social norms of the mid 1800s, we begin to see a distinct shift in gender roles. Refusing to be confined by the stereotypical characteristics of the early American woman, these ladies' actions opened a new set of opportunities. This paper argues that the preexisting gender norms of the mid-19th century attributed to women allowed them to excel in the nursing profession as the way they cared for wounded soldiers of the Civil War mirrored their roles as mothers and wives in the domestic sphere, therefore allowing them to make the transition in this new role. From the mother hens of their family homes to the fearless caretakers of battlefield hospitals, Civil War nurses left a long-lasting impact on our modern-day perceptions of gender norms.

The Civil War laid the blueprint for women in the medical field that we have today. The conflict marked the shift from the strict gender roles of wife, mother, and homemaker to a broader definition of gender roles in the postwar period. Prior to the war, women were portrayed as unfit for the mental and physical strain of a profession in the medical field and were excluded from pharmaceutical networks.[5] When the war broke out and the military needed medical personnel, these women stepped up and onto the battlefield. As the need for care arose, numerous women offered aid to soldiers in whatever way they could. This meant working outside the home, disputing men in positions of authority, and challenging the social constructs of the time. This was the beginning of a new era for working women, but it was also an introduction to other issues such as sexism in the workplace, demonstrated by the lack of respect given to women nurses and the differences in pay and pension between men and women both during and after the war.

Mid-19th Century Female Gender Norms

Prior to the Civil War, women were viewed as modest, pure, delicate creatures who were inferior to men. Identified as physically frail and mentally incapable, women's occupations in 19th century America were limited to child bearer, homemaker, and other domestic roles that were unpaid and expected of women. This domestic work supplemented the woman's portion of household income. Margaret Walsh, an American historian, explains that "The cult of true womanhood whereby women's primary commitment was to the home and the family emerged in the industrializing era of the early nineteenth century."[6] In other words, women were only seen as "nurses" in the home during this time. It was almost a form of taboo for a woman to come into intimate contact with a man other than her husband or father.[7] One volunteer nurse, Sarah Palmer, described her actions as going against "a tide of popular opinion" that forbade women to

[5] Jane E. Schultz, "The Inhospitable Hospital: Gender and Professionalism in Civil War Medicine," *Journal of Women in Culture & Society* 6, no. 2 (Winter 1992): 366.
[6] Margaret Walsh, "Working Women In the United States," *Society for the Study of Labour History* 54, no. 1 (Spring 1989): 1.
[7] Cheryl A. Wells, "Battle Time: Gender, Modernity, and Confederate Hospitals," *Journal of Social* History 35, no. 2 (Winter 2001): 409.

provide medical care to any male unrelated to them.[8] In addition, for much of the 1800s, women were believed to be biologically different from men. The female nervous system was perceived as being "more irritable" than the male nervous system; prone to overstimulation leading to cerebral exhaustion.[9] In 1827, Dr. Marshall Hall argued that:

> The female Sex is far more sensitive and susceptible than the male, and extremely liable to those distressing affections, which, for want of some better terms, have been denominated nervous, and which consist chiefly in painful affections of the head, heart, side, and indeed of almost every part of the system.[10]

In other words, prior to the Civil War, women were viewed as the paltry gender; incapable of handling the same responsibilities as men. Women's lives were shaped by what Walsh terms "the cult of true womanhood," the intense and binding notion that the woman's place was in the home, inferior to her husband. The attributes of true womanhood can be divided into four primary virtues – purity, piety, submissiveness, and domesticity.[11] The most prized virtue for a woman was her domesticity; her true place was by the fireside as a daughter and sister and later as a wife and mother. Women were associated with mere household work, not with hands-on and action filled jobs like those in the medical field. Society viewed women working outside of the home as challenging the gender norms of the male breadwinner and the female homemaker. As a result, this phenomenon was incredibly frowned upon and discouraged. However, with the breakout of the Civil War, women were given the opportunity to prove the skeptics wrong.

Before the war began, the professional nursing practice was not open to women. Some women casually practiced certain forms of medicine outside of their homes, like Mary Ann Bikerdyke, but a heavy stigma followed these women.[12] Seen as incapable of offering valuable knowledge, most women were overlooked by the men in the medical field. For instance, Sarah Tooley stated in 1906 that "Fifty years ago the idea of educated women training as nurses was regarded with wonder and amazement, or at best treated as a sentimental fad."[13] Even though women cared for their families when they were sick or wounded, it was nearly impossible for nursing to be a public profession for them prior to the outbreak of war.[14] These inherent characteristics of domestic work contributed to the ability of the woman to transition into the professional nursing field during the Civil War.

An Entrance into the Nursing Field

In 1861, the Civil War began at Fort Sumter. The increased need for medical personnel to aid sick and wounded soldiers prompted President Lincoln to call for volunteers, a call that thousands of women answered. Women flocked by the thousands to fulfill the roles of sanitation

[8] Theresa R. McDevitt, "A Place for Women: Selective Annotated Bibliography on Civil War Women in Medical Services," *The Bulletin of Bibliography* 57, no. 1 (2000): 1.
[9] Charles Rosenberg and Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female Animal: Medical and Biological Views of Women and Her Roles in Nineteenth Century America" *The Journal of American History* 60, no. 2 (September 1973): 334.
[10] Marshall Hall, *Commentaries on some of the more important of the diseases of females* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green: 1827), 3.
[11] Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860." *American Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (1966): 152.
[12] Wood, "The War Within a War," 208.
[13] Sarah A. Tooley, *The History of Nursing in the British Empire* (London, Bousfield, 1906), 248.
[14] David Brody, "Review: The Job of Nursing: Work and Work Culture in a Women's Trade" *Reviews in American History* 12, no. 1 (March 1984): 116.

workers, caretakers, and other necessary roles. Within a short time, women from both Confederate and Union states began establishing hospitals and relief societies wherever they were needed.[15] Since nursing schools for women were nonexistent before the Civil War, the volunteers lacked pharmaceutical education and formal medical training. Nonetheless, their ability to care for the sick and wounded within the domestic sphere could not be doubted.[16] Drawing on their domestic experience, the women hurtled into their new positions and learned to adapt as necessary.

One illustrious woman, Dorothea Dix of the Union Army, was responsible for recruiting women to volunteer as nurses and play their part in the war efforts. Between herself and the government, the North retained the services of 3,200 women.[17] Dix was appointed by the government as Superintendent of Nurses despite her lack of formal medical training. Within this role, she established guidelines as to what types of women could apply for nursing positions. A fitting candidate would be a plain looking woman, over the age of thirty, dressed in black or brown with no bows, no jewelry, and no hoop skirts.[18] Women who joined under Dix received forty cents and one ration of food a day. With rules and regulations set into place, women from all walks of life were enlisted. This marked women's entry into the nursing profession, which finally started to be seen as an acceptable career choice for women.

Nurses in the Civil War held responsibilities in various fields of work. Many of their duties required them to employ skills they already possessed from working within their homes. In addition to offering medical assistance, Elizabeth D. Leonard describes the daily work of women nurses as:

> Dispensing of the extra and low diet [specially prepared foods for the most ill] to the patients; the charge of their clothing; watching with, and attending personally to the wants of those patients whose condition was most critical; writing for and reading to such of the sick or wounded as needed or desired these services, and attending to innumerable details for their cheer and comfort.[19]

Women also organized aid societies to make clothing and collect supplies, held bazaars, and put together benefits to raise more funding.[20] Women performed crucial work in almost every aspect of the Civil War.

One of the most important organizations created at this time was the United States Sanitary Commission (USSC). On June 9, 1861, President Lincoln signed the order to create the USSC, a civilian relief operation that provided aid on the battlefield, administered supplies to locals in need, and offered medical guidance to the U.S. Army during the Civil War. The USSC was the

[15] Quincealea Ann Brunk, "Forgotten By Time: An Historical Analysis of the Unsung Lady Nurses of the Civil War" (PhD diss., The University of Texas, 1992), 3.
[16] McDevitt, "A Place for Women," 1.
[17] Brunk,"Forgotten By Time," 5.
[18] Wood, "The War Within a War," 202.
[19] Elizabeth D. Leonard, "Civil War Nursing: Rebecca Usher of Maine," *Civil War History* 41, no. 3 (September 1995): 194.
[20] Peggy Brase Seigel, "She Went to War: Indiana Women Nurses in the Civil War," *Indiana Magazine of History* 86, no. 1 (March 1990): 1.

first and only organization to receive official government sanctions.[21] The USSC also provided training for women nurses, something that women had been denied access to prior to the war. The USSC started this process by selecting one hundred women to be taught proper techniques by doctors and surgeons from New York City.[22] According to Bennett Smith, "the USSC was responsible for changing the structure of the Army Medical Corps…from a skeleton force based on seniority to an expanded department devoted to inspection and instruction, and staffed through merit appointments."[23] The formation of this institution created a network of women who were eager to learn and contribute to the field. For example, one woman of the USSC who received a position of leadership was Dorothea Dix of the Union Army.

Another remarkable woman of the Commission was Elizabeth Blackwell. On January 23, 1849, Blackwell was the first ever American woman to receive an M.D. degree. At first, she declined the opportunity to walk the stage with her class because she thought "it wouldn't be lady like."[24] After changing her mind, she made history by publicly accepting her degree with great honor.[25] Blackwell started her medical career in Europe since there were no formal nursing schools in the United States at the time. She received her medical degree and worked in European hospitals for a short time before returning to New York to open her own practice.[26] During the war, Blackwell helped to shape the USSC into the successful organization it became using the knowledge she had acquired. Blackwell's career demonstrated the extreme sacrifices, such as travelling abroad to receive training, women had to make if they hoped to enter the medical field prior to the Civil War. Although there was a need for more professionals in the nursing field even before the war, women were denied access based on early American gender norms that demanded they remain in the home.

Aside from making up a large part of aid organizations and commissions, women nurses were most often at the forefront of the action waiting for the sick and wounded. Harriet Whetten, a volunteer transport nurse of the USSC who was stationed on a battleship, recollected some of the men to be in "wretched condition… their wounds full of maggots, their clothes full of vermin and nearly starved."[27] The women of the Civil War endured not only physical strains, but also mental burdens due to the heinous sights of wartime injuries. However, since women were brought up tending to the sick and wounded within the home, their nurturing skillset and desire to care for patients allowed them to maintain their place in the hospital and get their jobs done without any faltering at the sight of the devastated, brutally mangled soldiers.

Following the proper steps to clean and dress the bodies of wounded soldiers was a new concept during the Civil War. In a letter to a friend, Mary Phinney described her encounter with a

[21] Judith Ann Geisberg, "'The Truest Patriots:' The United States Sanitary Commission and Women's Reform in Transition, 1861 – 1865" (PhD diss., Boston College, 1997), 2.
[22] Brunk, "Forgotten By Time," 83.
[23] Nina Bennett Smith, "The Women Who Went to the War: The Union Army Nurse in the Civil War" (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 1981), 38.
[24] John B. Blake, "Women and Medicine in Antebellum America," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 39, no. 2 (Summer 1976): 99.
[25] Blake, "Women in Antebellum America," 99.
[26] Geisberg, "The Truest Patriots," 65.
[27] Paul Hass, "A Volunteer Nurse in the Civil War: The Diary of Harriet Douglas Whetten," *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 48, no. 3 (Spring 1965): 211.

sixteen-year-old soldier, painting a picture of her difficulties dressing the poor boy's wounds. She demonstrated a sense of pity towards the boy while he told her how homesick was, writing:

> He was a boy only sixteen, so lousy and dirty you could not see his skin, and with long hair, as they all have, like a girl's. His home is just a little way from here, and his voice was like a child's; and yet when, in the early part of the fight, one of our men had been surprised, had surrendered, and had handed his revolver over to him, the boy shot him dead. It seemed impossible for me to dress his wounds; but his sufferings were so terrible that I forgot for the time how wicked he was. He told me he was sorry he had ever left his home. He wanted so to get well, and kept saying, "Good lady, can't I get a discharge from this hospital? I want to go home." Poor little fellow! his mother should have kept him there.[28]

Many Civil War soldiers were young boys. It was not uncommon to find a 12-year-old submerged in the gruesome sights of battle. The domestic skills of nurses like Mary Phinney allowed the women to take on a motherly role to the homesick young men. The women showed genuine sympathy towards the soldiers, taking many of the wounded into their care and nurturing them back to health like they would have done for a family member in the home. This allowed women to thrive in the nursing profession by drawing on their domestic experiences while also representing a shift in gender roles as women began to be employed outside of the home.

Male Misconceptions

In hospitals, male medical personnel often turned a cold shoulder towards women. While the soldiers were generally welcoming towards the women nurses, the male surgeons and other staff took issue with their presence and ostracized them.[29] The men in power demonstrated feelings of resentment, anger, and hatred towards the female nurses. For example, when Mary Phinney arrived at the Mansion House Hospital in Alexandria, Virginia, the head surgeon told her that he had no place for her in the hospital. Men like this still supported prewar gender ideals, believing that the true cult of womanhood required women to remain in the home. The head surgeon then refused to assign Phinney to a room. Another nurse at the same hospital told Phinney that the surgeon had said "he would make the house so hot for me I would not stay long."[30] In an effort to uphold prewar gender norms, some male surgeons and medical officials in the army took it upon themselves to implement strange hospital regulations to frustrate the nurses and drive them out of the profession.

These strong feelings towards women came from the misconceptions that they were too weak or too delicate to handle the duties assigned to them.[31] Belittling, targeting, and threatening nurses were just some of the tactics used by men to try to eliminate women from what they felt was a man's world. Resisting these tactics, the women never showed weakness to the men in power, proving to everyone that they were there to stay and that the nursing profession was an appropriate career for women. The hard work of the women nurses ultimately resulted in the gender dynamics of the field shifting to be more accepting of women.

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[28] James Phinney, ed., *Adventures of an Army Nurse in Two Wars* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1903).
[29] McDevitt, "A Place for Women," 3.
[30] Nina B. Smith, "Men and Authority: The Union Army Nurse And The Problem of Power," *Minerva Journal of Women and War* 6, no. 4 (1988): 5.
[31] McDevitt, "A Place for Women," 3.

The Work of Women Nurses

Many women who got involved in the nursing profession during the Civil War carried out everyday tasks that still needed to be addressed despite the outbreak of the war. Women nurses were responsible for running evening schools, editing newsletters written by their patients, arranging for song fests and prayer meetings, organizing entertainment, and often taking on the harrowing responsibility of notifying next of kin upon the unfortunate but all too often incident of death.[32] Women had to work diligently behind the scenes to ensure a safe and hospitable environment for those in their care. Although they often went without the recognition and appreciation they deserved, the women of the hospitals ensured a smooth workday and a warm setting for the wounded and the other medical staff members. Employing the skills they had developed from their roles as daughters, wives, and mothers such as cleaning, cooking, and other homemaking tasks, women excelled in caring for their patients.

When working during the war, commuting to and from a hospital every day was not an option. When a woman signed up for a position, they agreed to travel where they were needed and live a sort of nomadic lifestyle. When space ran low in the hospitals, the nurses often gave up their own beds to the wounded soldiers who needed a place to sleep. According to the diary of Elvira J. Powers, on the morning of November 17, 1864, every bed was full. The hospital had reached its maximum occupancy of fifty-nine men between the sick and the wounded. With the expected arrival of a few hundred patients that afternoon, the nurses opted to give up their beds and sleep in tents. Powers also noted how sick some of the soldiers were when they arrived, saying that a few of the men were so ill that they could not bear to sit up, forcing them to lay in bed.[33]

On a day-to-day basis, nurses kept a well-maintained routine, like one that a woman would be expected to implement at home. Cheryl Wells, an early American historian, wrote that at the Wayside hospital in Charleston, South Carolina, nurses were to have "the wards and patients…cleaned and arranged by 7 a.m. Meals were served at 7:30 a.m., 1 p.m., and 6 p.m. By 8:30 a.m., all wards were to be in readiness for visits by the surgeons."[34] Louisa May Alcott of the Union Army recounted some of her everyday rituals at the Union Hotel Hospital in Georgetown:

> Till noon I trot, trot, giving out rations, cutting up food for helpless "boys", washing faces, teaching my attendants how beds are made or floors are swept, dressing wounds, taking Dr. F.P.'s orders (Privately wishing all the time that he would be more gentle with my big babies), dusting tables, sewing bandages, keeping my tray tidy, rushing up and down after pillows, bed-linen, sponges, books, and directions, till it seems as if I would joyfully pay down all I possess for fifteen minutes' rest. At twelve the big bell rings, and up comes dinner. When dinner is over, some sleep, many read, and others want letters written.[35]

[32] Smith, "The Women Who Went to the War," 59.
[33] Elvira J. Powers, *Hospital Pencillings: Being a Diary While in Jeffersonville, Ind. and others at Nashville, Tennessee, as Matron and Visitor* (Boston: E. L. Mitchell, 1866).
[34] Wells, "Gender, Modernity, and Confederate Hospitals," 412.
[35] Smith, "The Women Who Went to the War," 57.

Most of the time, the tasks assigned to the nurses resembled tasks that would be customary in the household such as preparing meals, cutting up food for the soldiers too weak to do it themselves, cleaning, and sewing.

The motherly, nurturing behavior that was expected of women as part of pre-Civil War gender norms was mirrored in the way that women nurses administered care to their patients with warmth and kindness. For example, Alcott's decision to refer to some of the men as her "big babies" demonstrates the sense of familial bonds and strong attachments that formed between the nurses and their patients, similar to the bonds that developed within the home. When working in direct contact with soldiers for long periods of time, a personal relationship was bound to develop. After a long day of work, army nurse Amanda Stearns wrote that she "retired weary with the sight and sound of suffering and saddened with the thought of finding another empty bed in the morning," pleading, "May God have mercy on the poor sufferers!"[36] Women in the nursing profession during the war left trails of genuine compassion in their wake.

Civil War nurses were the first women to tend to the soldiers since they had left their homes for battle. Regardless of what the men needed, they lent their services and accommodated them as best as they could. The tradition of war nursing was formed under the impression that women were there to repair the damage the men inflicted upon one another. For example, Marie Poole once said that "Men go to war to kill other men; and you, you go to repair the damage they do. Men kill the body—and very often the soul when those they kill die in mortal sin—and you go to restore life, or at least to help to preserve it in those who survive by the care you take of them…"[37] Similarly, Margaret Mitchell, the narrator in Louisa May Alcott's novel *Gone with the Wind*, remarked that "War was men's business, not ladies."[38]

While it was necessary for women to join in and support the war efforts, the question of appropriateness was raised. A large part of the job was tending to the wounded bodies of men outside the women's family circle, a practice that was considered unthinkable at the time due to existing gender norms. During the Civil War, these types of gender norms rapidly changed. The importance of dressing blisters, washing the soldiers' bodies, and offering comfort to the sick and wounded far outweighed the idea that such activity was not proper for women and led to new understandings of what was appropriate for women to take part in, especially outside of the home.[39]

The Differences in Pay and Post-War Pensions

As the social norms of the late 19th century began to change, new problems were on the horizon for the women of the war. Women were sought after to work in the hospital setting not only because there was real work to be done, but also because they could be employed at a much cheaper rate than men.[40] While many nurses were only volunteers, some women received paid

[36] Amanda Akin Stearns, "Diary of Amanda Akin Stearns, November, 1863," in *The Lady Nurse of Ward E* (New York: Baker & Taylor, 1909), 71-72.
[37] Betty Ann McNeil, "Daughters of Charity: Courageous and Compassionate Civil War Nurses," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 31, no. 1 (Winter 2013): 54.
[38] Elizabeth Young, "A Wound of One's Own: Louisa May Alcott's Civil War Fiction," *American Quarterly* 48, no. 4 (September 1996): 439.
[39] Wells, "Gender, Modernity, and Confederate Hospitals," 412.
[40] Wood, "The War Within a War," 198.

positions. The average woman was paid as little as 6 dollars a month for their labor.[41] On the other hand, the standard salary for a male soldier was 13 dollars per month, nearly double the amount paid to women.[42] Although both women and men became ill or wounded due to their wartime services, women earned less than their male counterparts. Men in power justified differences in pay because they did not want women in their workplace, doing a "man's job," to earn the same amount that a man would. Despite the fact that women were called upon to show up, volunteer, and support the war effort, they were not fairly compensated for their work.

Differences in pay show that the services of women nurses were often disregarded and thought to be smaller contributions than those of men. Just as "the cult of true womanhood" dictated that a woman's place was in the home where she received no recognition or monetary benefits for her work, women nurses were similarly snubbed despite their contributions to society. Pre-Civil War gender norms relegated the American woman to the domestic sphere where her work was seen as a moral obligation instead of a worthy career. When women entered the medical field during the war, many men still maintained the notion that women's work was beneath that of men. As a result, even though pre-war gender norms allowed women to excel in the nursing field and did shift in some areas, such as the ability of women to work outside of the home and engage with men outside of their family circle, their influence remained strong in areas such as compensation.

Large gaps in pay were not the only differences experienced between the men and women of the Civil War. After the war ended, the pensions granted to men versus women varied significantly. The original pension law was put in place in 1862 while the war was still ongoing. It covered disabilities or deaths specifically traceable to the soldiers' military services.[43] In 1890, 25 years after the war ended, the Dependent Pension Act was passed. This allowed for any woman that had been widowed from losing her husband in battle, or any other soldiers' dependents, to file for their pensions. This was an improvement to the pension system, but it was still miles away from women being able to receive their own payout for the countless hours they devoted to their work. By the 1890s, the government was spending 41.5 percent of its income on 966,012 Civil War pensioners. Pension bureau officials did not foresee offering aid to anyone else in the future, excluding women nurses from the pension system and denying them proper compensation for their contributions. Women nurses had to prove that they too deserved a pension.[44]

In 1892, 27 years after the Civil War ended, the Army Nurses' Pension Act went into effect. Nearly one in seven women hospital attendants applied for pensions after Congress enacted this legislation. The government made a pension of a maximum of 12 dollars available to nurses that served at least six months and who were not already collecting a pension as a widow.[45] Pensions for men varied in value, but they were still considerably higher than the pensions granted to a woman. For example, some men received pensions upwards of 24 dollars a month depending on their age and the length of service they provided.[46] Phillip William Stanhope received a letter

[41] Jane E. Schultz, "Race Gender and Bureaucracy: Civil War Nurses and the Pension Bureau," *Journal of Women's History* 6, no. 2 (Summer 1994): 45.
[42] Herman Belz, "Law Politics, and Race in the Struggle for Equal Pay During the Civil War," *Civil War History* 22, no. 3 (September 1976): 199.
[43] Russel L. Johnson, "'Great Injustice:' Social Status and the Distribution of Military Pensions after the Civil War," *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 10, no. 2 (April 2011): 141.
[44] Schultz, "Race Gender and Bureaucracy," 45.
[45] Ibid, 48.
[46] Johnson, "Great Injustice," 142.

from the Pension Office letting him know that he had been granted a pension of twenty dollars a month with a deduction of ten dollars in the first month to pay the attorney that handled his claim.[47]

In some cases, it was hard for even the men to receive their pensions. In a letter from May 1862, Mary Ann Webster recalled a soldier asking her if she thinks he will receive a pension when he gets better if he loses an arm or a leg.[48] Payment was not only based on how long someone spent serving, but it was also based on whether you were injured and if the government felt like you deserved to be paid for your duties after the war had ended. Another man, Charles William Bardeen, applied for a pension but was denied due to the conditions under which he had been discharged. In a letter directly from the Pension Bureau, he was told that "Having been enrolled for the unexpired term of the regiment which was less than two years and discharged for cause other than wounds received in battle, no bounty is due, and as you were discharged at place of enrollment, not entitled to travel allowances."[49]

Basing pension amounts on gender implied that certain demographics were not worth as much as others. The Pension Bureau implemented corrupt and sexist policies as the war ended. Regardless of whether someone was a man or a woman, a nurse or a doctor, a soldier or a volunteer, everyone that contributed to the war effort in the medical field should have been equally recognized and compensated. Paying women less demonstrated the low monetary value placed on female labor and stripped women of the respect they deserved. While the Civil War led to the nursing profession becoming an "acceptable" occupation for women, the labor of women was still viewed as less important than that of men, demonstrating that although gender norms shifted during the war, they did not change completely.

Conclusion

During the Civil War, women had to prove themselves and make it known that they were forces to be reckoned with. Women nurses opened doors for future generations and shifted the gender norms associated with the field. Women such as Mary Ann Bickerdyke conquered the challenges they faced and led us to where we stand today. With her innovative ideas and outspoken attitude, Bickerdyke was one of the most influential women of the war. Forcefully bathing every soldier that was too weak to protest, caring for grown men like they were her own children, and eventually taking on the nickname "Mother," Bickerdyke put her own personal touch on the field.[50]

Women of the Civil War hold a special place in early American history. They laid the foundation of the nursing field we have today, led in making it socially acceptable for women to work outside the home, and established a new set of ideas about the female gender and the types of work that they were "allowed" to perform. In a time where women were confined to very limited domestic roles, the sudden changes brought about by the war were a shock to the everyday system. Before the Civil War, women remained in the home with their children in accordance

[47] J. H. Baker, "Letter from J. H. Baker to Philip William Stanhope, January 6, 1875," in *Official Papers, Letters and Notes, Relating to the War Record of P. W. Stanhope, Major and Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, U.S. Army* (Privately Published, 1879).
[48] Mary Ann Webster Loughborough, "Letter from Mary Ann Webster Loughborough, May 1, 1862," in *My Cave Life in Vicksburg. With Letters of Trial and Travel* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1864).
[49] Charles William Bardeen, "Memoir of Charles William Bardeen" in *A Little Fifer's War Diary* (1910).
[50] O'Brien, "The Brigadier Commanding Hospitals," 21-22.

with gender norms. Society expected women to cook, clean, and take care of the private sphere without any monetary compensation while the man of the house went out into the working world and acted as the main provider for the family. When war broke out and men were called into battle, they could no longer serve as providers or bring in an income and support their wives and children. The women left behind knew that they had a new set of tasks to complete.

By examining the efforts put forth by the nurses of the Civil War, one can see the slow but steady shift in gender roles. Women answered the call in a time of need and shared the ranks with seasoned men in the medical field who often refused to welcome them. Subjected to crude comments, illicit behaviors, unfair treatment, and overall gender discrimination, Civil War nurses faced many hardships. They had to complete the jobs assigned to them while proving to their male counterparts that they also deserved respect. Performing duties that they had been expected to complete in the home for decades, women nurses cared for the wounded and made a gruesome process slightly more comfortable for the soldiers they were tending to. Refusing to retreat from hospitals, the frontlines, the USSC, and wherever else they were needed, women nurses stood their ground and proved to society that they belonged in the nursing profession.

Without brave souls like Mary Ann Bickerdyke, Elizabeth Blackwell, Louisa May Alcott, and so many other women, things would be much different today. What was once a “man’s job” is now dominated by women. Civil War nurses advanced women out of the domestic sphere and into the working world. Overcoming the challenges thrown their way, the nurses of the Civil War laid the foundation for future generations to come. With an undying will to persevere, conquer, and succeed, women nurses embraced the doubt that everyone showed them and went above and beyond to prove that this is where they belonged.

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Silenced Voices: The Oregon Trail's Toll on the Women of Pioneer-era America

Sarah Young

"You have died of dysentery." Accompanying this phrase, squeals of anger and protest ring throughout a room, igniting rage in video game players everywhere. With those words, someone playing the iconic video game *Oregon Trail* has lost. Their time is up, their progress is finished, and chances are they will start a new game within the next twenty-four hours in an effort to win it all. The objective of the game is simple: survive the animated trail, and the player wins. *Oregon Trail* is set in mid-19th century pioneer-age America and drops the player into the "oppressive horror of attempting to fight their way across the Oregon Trail on a steady diet of squirrel meat with only an axe, some rope and frequent bouts of dysentery."[1] As the player travels along the trail, they pause "in their manifest destiny only long enough to etch grandma's epitaph on a makeshift tombstone on the side of the trail."[2]

Sound fun? For hundreds of thousands of people, the game is a ton of fun—but it is based off of something real. The hardships and suffering that men, women, and children faced while traveling across the continent in search of new lives are traumatic and true. While the *Oregon Trail's* virtual world can be a ton of fun, its basis laid the foundation for a plethora of Americans to travel to a strange and new land. Often recounted through the harrowing stories of American male pioneers, the trail exemplified the traditional roles of the family as they traveled to the west coast. The world knows how men handled the pressures of traveling to a new land…but what about women?

Women's roles on the Oregon Trail included much more than the stipulation to "hitch up your oxen, find some water barrels and get ready for some westward expansion."[3] Women maintained a safe, healthy, and warm household—all inside of a bumpy wagon. The Oregon Trail changed the lives of many women, but their voices are often silenced in favor of a male-oriented retelling of the past. In other words, women's voices are frequently lost in the void unless actively sought after. In detailed accounts, women discussed the constant battles they faced while on the Oregon Trail and the other overland trails. With just one choice—the man's decision to move west with their families—women became leaders in their familial communities and aided in successful journeys. Female travelers like Tabitha Brown often thought about the family they left behind.

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[1] Melissa Locker, "You Can Now Play *Oregon Trail* Online for Free," *Time*, January 6, 2015, https://time.com/3656635/play-oregon-trail-ms-dos-games-free/.
[2] Locker, "You Can Now Play."
[3] Ibid.

They imagined their relatives and friends saying, "I should like to see that Oregon Pioneer; I wonder if she is anything like what she used to be."[4]

The Importance of Women's Voices

One can ask many questions when studying the plights of women on the Oregon Trail. How were the lives of women uprooted and drastically changed during the era of the Oregon Trail? Why did women agree to move westward if it was not their idea or decision? Why and how did women emerge as leaders throughout the Pioneer Age in America? Understanding how women have been represented throughout American history and how their voices have often been ignored sheds light on the struggles that women faced every day on the Oregon Trail and in pioneer-era America.

The Oregon Trail was difficult for the plethora of western pioneer men traveling along the treacherous terrain, but it was just as trying for women. Women made traveling on the Oregon Trail possible, and it is important to share their stories of struggle, survival, and success. They were the silent voices alongside their husbands and fathers, removed from their homes without much say due to society's expectations that they would be an obedient housewife and mother. Unearthing women's stories on the overland trails provides a deeper perspective into the chaotic doubt of journeying across the continent. Studying women's stories during this time enables us to learn more about the structure of American families during this era, the power imbalance between husbands and wives, and the overall importance of women to the success of the journey. While men are often portrayed as the heroes of the Pioneer Age of America, their stories overshadow those of the heroines—the women who held down the fort and remained supportive and strong for their husbands, families, personal futures, and the expansion of America.

Women in American pioneer history are often disregarded by historians and the masses alike. Focusing on the Oregon Trail, historians of the late 19th century and modern times often relegate women's voices to the domestic sphere, causing their stories to be "kept silenced and hidden from official discourses."[5] This has occurred in part because reconstructions of the past have "mostly tended to account for male experiences that included geopolitical decisions, partaking in battle or any other form of active involvement."[6] In the 21st century, historians and the general public seek to expand the historiography of major eras in America in an effort to include the narratives of women and other minorities such as Black people, the LGBTQ+ community, Indigenous populations, and many more, to build a more complete picture of American history. This includes making women's stories a major feature of the overall Oregon Trail narrative.

On the trail, women experienced just as many hardships as their male companions, but "their contributions to the settlement of these new regions, unfortunately, continue to be largely overlooked."[7] History teacher Brenda K. Jackson-Abernathy wrote that many textbooks "persist

[4] Kenneth L. Holmes, *Covered Wagon Women: Diaries and Letters from the Western Trails, 1840-1890* (Glendale, California: A.H. Clark Co., 1983-1991), Print, 58.
[5] Marisol Morales-Ladrón, "Mary Morrissy's 'The Rising of Bella Casey,' or How Women Have Been Written Out of History," *Nordic Irish Studies* 15, no. 1 (2016): 27-39, 27.
[6] Morales-Ladrón, "Mary Morrissy's," 27.
[7] Brenda K. Jackson-Abernathy, "Methods in Teaching Region and Diversity in U.S. Western Women's History," *The History Teacher* 46, no. 2 (2013): 222.

in telling the traditional 'great men and great deeds' western history with women relegated to the background," and even though more materials are becoming available for women's stories, they still do not compare to the endless accounts of men.[8] If women's stories are integrated into the narratives of history, historiography will continue to expand and bring about "reinterpretations of events and phenomena in U.S. history," including the era of the Oregon Trail.[9] The history of the American west is incomplete without including the narratives of women.[10] However, searching for women's narratives proves to be a difficult task, as sacrifices made by women are often overlooked and seen as lesser than those of her husband or father.

Oftentimes, the decision to move west was not the woman's idea. Since societal norms designated women to the domestic or private sphere under the control of men, they were forced to leave everything behind in their husband's or father's pursuit of the great unknown.[11] As white, male, western settlers traveled to a perceived land of opportunity, the women in their lives were forced to adapt in order to survive. By framing the historical context of the Oregon Trail through the perspectives of women and analyzing their primary source narratives, this paper argues that one can better understand pioneer women's sacrifices, American family structure during the Pioneer Age, and the importance of women as emerging leaders throughout the journey when the contributions of women are brought into focus. While men are often seen as the figureheads of the Oregon Trail movement, women were the silent and strong backbones of the journey, and their perspectives are crucial to understanding the overland journeys of the time. If not for the support of women and their constant sacrifices on the Oregon Trail, the American development of the west coast may have never evolved past a dream.

A New Era of Westward Expansion

Following the American Revolutionary War, the young government wanted to continue gaining land for its white settlers. The American victory led to citizens "streaming into the borderlands joined by land spectators and the 'founding fathers' back east to take the land," and removing any obstacles (or groups of people) that stood in their way.[12] Thomas Jefferson's famous Louisiana Purchase of 1803 paved the way for Americans to claim all of the North American continent as their own. Following this purchase, Jefferson commissioned Meriwether Lewis and William Clark to take part in the Lewis and Clark expedition from 1804 to 1806. The goal of the expedition was to explore the land west of the Mississippi River that was gained through the Louisiana Purchase, and eventually deem the area suitable for white American settlement. After Lewis and Clark returned unharmed and full of new information regarding the continent, the government started to make plans to travel west and take the land for their own citizens.[13] With this foundation laid, the idea of western settlement took hold throughout the eastern states.

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[8] Jackson-Abernathy, "Methods in Teaching," 217.
[9] Terri L. Snyder, "Refiguring Women in Early American History," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 69, no. 3 (2012): 421-50, 422; Natsuki Aruga, "Can We Have a Total American History? A Comment on the Achievements of Women's and Gender History," *The Journal of American History* 99, no. 3 (2012): 820.
[10] Jackson-Abernathy, "Methods in Teaching," 215-216.
[11] Linda K. Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," *The Journal of American History* 75, no. 1 (1988): 10-11.
[12] Walter L. Hixson, *American Settler Colonialism: A History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 62.
[13] Hixson, *American Settler Colonialism,* 63.

At this time, the American government began to perpetuate the idea of "Manifest Destiny" as an excuse for westward expansion, land acquiring, and forcibly removing Native Americans from their territories. Manifest Destiny was the belief that the United States was destined, because of God's divine power, to continue to spread its territory throughout North America. In addition to promoting white settlement, Americans also wanted to find valuable resources such as gold. Men were seen as the leaders and "the gold awaited discovery by men, for women were not permitted to play that role."[14] Men uprooted the lives of their families in the hopes of finding gold and becoming wealthy off of the land and mines. The California Gold Rush began in 1848 when James. M. Marshall discovered flakes of gold in California. By 1849, nearly 300,000 Americans traveled westward to indulge in these riches. Many of them used the overland trails, such as the California Trail and the Gila River Trail. This mass movement and was the era's biggest increase of American settlers in the west within a few short years.[15]

Due to Manifest Destiny, "visions of a powerful, modernizing continental empire" led to the forcible removal of Native Americans led by the policies of Andrew Jackson.[16] Jackson signed the Indian Removal Act in 1830 which forcibly removed 45,000 Native Americans from their ancestral lands and relocated them to the west of the Mississippi River in order to make room for white American settlers.[17] In this "landmark act, Americans openly debated and then legislated a national campaign of ethnic cleansing."[18] Jackson's presidency marked a major period of westward expansion, with the completion of the Oregon Trail occurring during the last two years of his second term.

A Trail to a Land of Pioneer Opportunity

As citizens travelled westward past the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River, "the population of the American West soared from about 1 million in 1815 to 15 million by 1860."[19] American settlers were encourage by the Homestead Act of 1862, which granted 160 acres of land for people moving west and gave "everyone" the same fair chance at making a better life.[20] The thought of a lot of land for a small amount of money enticed hundreds of thousands of people and made the great risks seem worth it. This desire to move west created a need for set paths that travelers could follow, such as the Oregon Trail. The trail, which was finalized in 1836, began in Independence, Missouri, and ended in Oregon City. It crossed through Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Wyoming, Idaho, Washington, and finally, Oregon. It is arguably the most iconic of the "overland trails" and many American settlers made new lives for themselves because of it or perished as a direct result of traveling on the path.[21]

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[14] Faragher, *Women and Men on the Overland Trail,* 111.
[15] T. C. Elliott, "The Earliest Travelers on the Oregon Trail," *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* 13, no. 1 (1912): 71-84, 84.
[16] Hixson, *American Settler Colonialism,* 113.
[17] William R. Nester, *The Age of Jackson and the Art of American Power, 1815-1848* (Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, 2013), 149.
[18] Hixson, *American Settler Colonialism,* 63.
[19] Ibid, 113.
[20] Lucile Shenk Mumper, "The Oregon Trail," *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society (1943-1961)* 28, no. 1 (1950): 24.
[21] Mumper, "The Oregon Trail," 26.

Women in 19th Century America

In the early 19th century, society viewed women as their husband's or father's property. Women lacked basic rights such as voting, which they would not achieve for nearly seventy more years. According to Jack Faragher, society at this time, "composed of men and women, was run by the men; women were allowed no formal roles."[22] Women were expected to follow their male figures' orders, no matter what they might be. Women and men at this time were seen as inherently different beings by nature, born into their respective roles, and divided into "separate spheres" in society.[23] Separate spheres referred to the positions that both men and women held in society due to their gender and perceived biological strengths and weaknesses.[24] The roles were determined by birth, and there was no way to exist within both spheres.

Men resided within the "public sphere" of paid work, law, commerce, and politics, which was seen as a forbidden to women. Women were resigned to exist only within the private, domestic, and personal sphere. Their duties were to raise children, support their families, cook meals, and keep their households tidy. Due to gender norms, "cultural sanctions separating the spheres of masculine and feminine were so effective that women rarely tested them."[25] Women maintained the social status of the household and often supported their husbands in decision making, even though the men always had the final say. It was required that women create a warm home for their husbands and families and take care of the children while the men worked outside of the home.

Women took these responsibilities on the road during the Oregon Trail era. They were still in charge of cooking, cleaning, and raising and educating children, but now had to do it while traveling 15-20 miles a day during a six-month journey, and oftentimes even longer.[26] They had to keep the family together, as it was "the most critical social unit for men and women alike…without marriages there could be no homesteads, no family to cook and sew for, no family to raise a house for," and journeying on the Oregon Trail would have been pointless.[27] While men were in charge of the journey, raising livestock, and protecting their families, women were in charge of everything else imaginable. They were integral to the family structure and helped their children and husbands survive. The travels would have been impossible without the support of women.

The Dangers of the Journey

The treacherous journey offered natural hazards, blockades, freezing temperatures, starvation, injury, and death. Many mishaps, accidents, diseases, and drownings occurred on the Oregon Trail which forever affected the lives of settlers. Over twenty thousand people perished because of these unfortunate circumstances. Many people got dysentery, cholera, and other horrible diseases which spread rapidly because of the close contact between hundreds of people at a

[22] John Mack Faragher, *Women and Men on the Overland Trail* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), Print**,** 111.
[23] Kerber, "Separate Spheres," 10-11.
[24] Ibid, 11.
[25] Faragher, *Women and Men on the Overland Trail,* 110.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid, 180.

time.[28] There were many accidents in which wagons overturned and severely injured entire families, horses, and other livestock. Drownings also occurred on a regular basis. When crossing rivers, people were sometimes caught in the rapid currents and freezing cold water. Many of them sank and perished in the strong, icy rivers. In a letter to her family back east after her family's successful arrival to California in December of 1849, traveler Louisiana Strentzel wrote of the struggles of life on the Oregon Trail. She said that "we have made our way through a wilderness of eighteen hundred miles; underwent many hardships and privations; passed through many dangers and difficulties; crossed garden and desert; landed safely in California and are enjoying best health at present."[29] Strentzel's proclamation conveys that the journey was dangerous and difficult, and the threat to survival was imminent every single day of their travels. Many families on the east coast were left wondering if their loved ones were to ever be heard from again.

Not every Oregon Trail journey had a happy ending like Strentzel's story. One of the most infamous, tragic accounts of the Oregon Trail is that of the 1846-1847 Donner Party. This group of people got lost during the wintertime and were trapped in the Sierra Nevada Mountains without enough provisions and shelter from the biting cold. Many people suffered from frostbite and froze to death. A lot of people also died due to disease and immense starvation.[30] Notorious for the drastic measures that had to be taken, it is a common rumor that members of the Donner Party resorted to consuming the flesh of human corpses.[31] The story has been sensationalized since the late 1840s, and the "image of average U.S. citizens pushed to the extreme, making the choice of whether to eat human flesh or starve, has always found a place within the national imagination."[32] They were forced to kill their pets and livestock in order to eat, and those who were rumored to have resorted to cannibalism did so only to survive. Though infamous for the tragic outcome, the Donner Party was reminiscent of some of the peak hardships that settlers faced on the trails.[33]

Forced to Move West

While some women were content with the prospect of moving west, many were homesick and wrote home in desperation of their old lives. Regarding the decision-making process, women were "denied the chance to participate in the decision to move, essentially because of the patriarchal bias of marital decision making" and failed to "accept as their own their husbands' reasons for undertaking the move."[34] In other words, women had no choice but to move west due to societal expectations. Women were expected to immediately adapt to their new surroundings to keep the family unit intact, even if they did not want to participate in the journey in the first

[28] Ibid, 33.
[29] Holmes, *Covered Wagon Women,* 230.
[30] Ibid, 65.
[31] Carey R. Voeller, "'A Man Is a Fool Who Prefers Poor California Beef to Human Flesh:' (Re) Definitions of Masculinity in Nineteenth-Century US Donner Party Literature," *Western American Literature* 44, no. 3 (2009): 201.
[32] Voeller, "A Man Is a Fool," 201.
[33] Mary Lee and Sidney Nolan, "Along the Oregon Trail," *Pioneer America* 7, no. 1 (1975): 30.
[34] Faragher, *Women and Men on the Overland Trail,* 171.

place. In secret, women often wrote of their concerns, with Lucy Rutledge Cook lamenting in private, "Oh, how I wish we never had started for the Golden Land."[35]

As women traveled along the trails, their hopes were often low. In one account, Louisiana Strentzel wrote that "the latest news from the mines, is, that gold is found in 27 pound lumps, but I expect such pieces are few and far between."[36] Women like Strentzel knew that they might be moving their entire livelihoods for nothing, and that opportunities for wealth or comfort might be scarce. However, "women reluctantly agreed to the emigration because they were dependent upon their families for society and companionship and upon their husbands for livelihood and support" in line with gender norms.[37] In addition, Faragher notes that their "husbands and families were crucial to women's identities; the options for women left behind were lonely ones at best and could be socially and psychologically disastrous."[38] Thus, women were socially forced to move west by the sides of their husbands who sought out their own opportunities and followed their own goals.

Family Life and Women's Narratives

Women were still in charge of the daily tasks of cooking, cleaning, and raising and educating children, but now had to do it while traveling many miles a day for months at a time. Families resided in horrid and unstable living conditions as they were constantly moving and never sedentary. They had to deal with disease, accidents, death of their loved ones, and immense suffering, without the company of their family from back home. Women often felt isolated because they were surrounded by men. They were lucky if they had one other woman to confide in, and they could not make long-lasting friendships due to the nature of life on the trail. In a heartbreaking letter, Agnes Stewart wrote to her dear friend, Martha, and confided that there was "one thing I do know; I miss you more than I can find words to express."[39] On the trail, women lacked the support of their old lives and missed the regularity and normalcy of life on America's east coast. Despite these hardships, women had to keep going. Because survival and finishing the journey successfully were of the utmost importance, they could not be held back by grief and pain.

Even when families experienced death and hardship on the trail, women wrote sparingly about it in their diaries. They dearly missed their friends but often wrote only about menial daily tasks and the weather. Most women wrote entries between 1852-1853, and then the number of accounts decreased throughout the rest of the decade and were only recorded a few times yearly for the rest of the 19th century.[40] If any emotion was expressed in these entries, it was for life-changing issues that resulted in extreme sentiment. As suggested by Carey Voeller, "the daily hardships of journeying (which would distract the writer) and, more important, the lack of ritual, materials, and domestic space may explain why women's diaries and letters say so little about

[35] Ibid.
[36] Holmes, *Covered Wagon Women*, 262.
[37] Faragher, *Women and Men on the Overland Trail*, 172.
[38] Ibid, 172.
[39] Ibid, 143.
[40] Holmes, *Covered Wagon Women*, 25.

loss and grief on the Trail."[41] Women often described emotionally trying situations with brief, concise phrases that packed a punch. In her diary, traveler Elizabeth Dixon Smith wrote often of the weather and the struggles her family faced without conveying much emotion. On a particularly difficult day, Smith wrote in her diary that "'I have not told half we suffered. I am inadiquate [sic] to the task.'"[42] The limited details and the omissions of daily grief pushed the narratives forward and demonstrated the strength of women pioneers even in times of terrible hardship and struggle.[43]

Women also cared for the sick and those in childbirth. During these times, "women took charge, and men took directions…women played the active roles, men the passive."[44] Women actively cared for each other and went out of their way to support their communities—part of their only remaining connection to society. Throughout their travels on the trails, men often had complete control over women and the relationships they created with other travelers. They were expected to keep their families intact on the journey and only focus on that social aspect. Any other friendships or social interactions were limited because of the instability of their location and situation. Usual things that might make women happy (like friendships) were sacrificed in an effort to stay focused on the task at hand.

Women Leaders on the Trail

The Oregon Trail required women to emerge as leaders and protect their families. Without notice, some women had to take on traditionally male roles in leading their parties when men unexpectedly died or were injured. On August 26, 1853, Obadiah Hines drowned along with his horse in the Snake River after attempting to cross.[45] The tragic situation was witnessed by his brother Harvey and had a significant impact on the entire family, especially his daughter Celinda Hines. Hines described the insurmountable pain that her entire family felt when he drowned and exemplified the close bonds that the families created as they ventured across the perilous trails. Hines wrote in her diary that "I will not attempt to describe our distress and sorrow for our great Bereavement," and that she knows her father loved her and watches over her.[46] She also described her father's wariness of crossing the river at that specific time and place, conveying the constant risks pioneers took on their journeys. She says "it seems that Pa had a presentiment that something was to happen as he had often spoken of his dread of crossing at this crossing. Wolves howled."[47] After her father died, Hines had to take on even more responsibility in her family and keep everyone together. She supported her family even while she was also suffering, as women often had to do in order to adapt on the trail. Through this traumatic experience of losing her father, Hines had to become even more of a leader and show immense strength during such a tragic time.

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[41] Carey R. Voeller, "'I Have Not Told Half We Suffered:' Overland Trail Women's Narratives and the Genre of Suppressed Textual Mourning," *Legacy* 23, no. 2 (2006): 151.
[42] Voeller, "I Have Not Told," 153.
[43] Ibid, 151.
[44] Faragher, *Women and Men on the Overland Trail,* 139.
[45] Celinda Elvira Hines, *Seven Months to Oregon: 1853 Diaries, Letters and Reminiscent Accounts,* ed. Harold J. Peters (Tooele, Utah: Patrice Press, 2008), Print, 243.
[46] Hines, *Seven Months,* 243.
[47] Ibid.

Similarly, when Elizabeth Dixon Smith's husband died, she briefly described her pain and sorrow, saying:

> Rain all day this day my Dear husband my last remaining friend died…Feb 2 to day we buried my earthly companion, now I know what none but widows know that is how comfortless is that of a widow's life…especily [sic] when left in a strange land without money or friends and the care of seven children—cloudy.[48]

In this very moment, Smith became the sole leader and provider for her family. Though it was most likely not her initial decision to move, she had to embrace the struggles and face them head-on, against all odds. Smith became the only caregiver for her seven children and assumed the role of both mother and father.

Tamsen E. Donner, the wife of George Donner, also described her experiences as a member of the Donner Party in letters. At the beginning of their journey, Donner described their pleasant travels in a letter to her friend and said that everything was going smoothly. Donner said that she was completely willing to go with her husband on the journey even though she did not have much of a choice, and that she had "no doubt it will be an advantage to our children and to us."[49] While her husband was dying in the mountains, Donner assumed the role of the main caregiver. She had to make major decisions in a leadership position until she later froze to death in the mountains alongside her husband.

In her account of her journey across the continent, Tabitha Brown describes a time in which she had to become a leader and care for her sickly father-in-law, Captain Brown, alone and without anyone in sight. After Captain Brown complained of a horrible headache and stomach pain, he became delirious and fell off of his horse. Tabitha was able to get him to walk a few yards until he gave out again, and she "with much difficulty, got him once more raised on his horse."[50] After reaching a resting spot, Tabitha cared for Captain Brown all by herself on a night she thought he was going to die. She wrote that "his senses were gone; I covered him as well as I could with blankets, and then seated myself upon my feet behind him, expecting he would be a corpse by morning."[51] Tabitha described her situation as "worse than alone; in a strange wilderness; without food, without fire; cold and shivering; wolves fighting and howling all around me; darkness of the night forbade the stars to shine upon me; solitary—all was solitary as death."[52] Tabitha Brown trusted in her faith to save her and remained strong, displaying immense leadership in caring for someone who was dying all alone in a strange land. She awoke the next morning to find that Captain Brown had recovered and she had saved his life.

Since women were typically viewed as "constitutionally fearful and cautious," they actively tried to overcome this representation.[53] Margaret Hecox wrote that she used to be quite timid and frightened by bugs, but that she could not "stand idly by…when danger threatened and my

[48] Voeller, "I Have Not Told Half We Suffered," 153.
[49] Holmes, *Covered Wagon Women,* 69.
[50] Ibid, 54.
[51] Ibid, 55.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Faragher, *Women and Men on the Overland Trail,* 90.

services needed…I knew that if I couldn't shoot straight I could at least sound the alarm."[54] Women's strength was often perceived as masculine since men believed that femininity required dependence, timidity, and emotionally unstable characteristics. In actuality, when women displayed strength, independence, and courage, they were stepping up as leaders to protect and guide their families to safety.

Upon arriving to their destinations in the west, the living conditions were squalid and disappointing. The makeshift homes were often dilapidated and constantly maimed by the intense western elements. Mary Ballou called her home a "muddy Place" and said that she could "hear the Hogs in my kitchen turning the Pots and kettles upside down."[55] The lack of stability in Ballou's new house made her homesick and she cried all the time. In a letter, Ballou said that "no one but my maker knows my feelings," as she felt abandoned by her present situation.[56] In a letter written by Louisiana Strentzel to her family, she wrote that she "cannot advise any family to come the overland route, but if they should let them prepare well for the journey."[57] She also wrote that the new land had not yet proven itself "to be everything that it had been represented to be or that we anticipated, or even Eden itself."[58] These accounts demonstrate that the journey west was extremely difficult and women often had to suffer the consequences.

Conclusion

Despite the lack of recognition, women were invaluable to the journeys across America's newly acquired territories. Defying all odds, women stepped into leadership roles that society at the time could never imagine women possessing. Women supported their husbands and fathers while their homes and security were ripped away from them and managed to make life livable while on the Oregon Trail. Though society is improving, women's stories are still overlooked in favor of the male perspective all too often. Without the narratives of women, the history of our country is incomplete and does not consider the experience of every American.[59] One is left to ponder—why is it so difficult to name and identify the achievements of prominent women throughout the Jacksonian Era and the Pioneer Age? Does American society constantly overlook the achievements and struggles of women, in favor of the male perspective?

Women suffered, survived, and transformed on the Oregon Trail, and their accounts are integral to reconstructing the full history of American frontier journeys. Women's independence on the trails paved the way for women's responsibility and leadership in the future because they were required to show immense strength. As explained by Emerson Hough: "There was the great romance of America—the woman in the sunbonnet; and not, after all, the hero with the rifle across his saddle horn. Who has written her story? Who has painted her picture?"[60] Women were at the true heart of America's pioneer age, and they told their own stories and painted their own pictures for the people of the future to hear and see forever.

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[54] Ibid, 91.
[55] Mary B. Ballou, "'I Hear the Hogs in My Kitchen:' A Woman's View of the Gold Rush," in *Let Them Speak For Themselves: Women in the American West, 1849–1900*, ed. Christiane Fischer (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1977), 42.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Holmes, *Covered Wagon Women*, 266.
[58] Ibid, 265.
[59] Aruga, "Can We Have a Total American History?" 820.
[60] Holmes, *Covered Wagon Women*, 11.

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The Internment and Relocation of Japanese Americans During WWII

Genevieve Lambert

On December 7th, 1941, the Japanese bombed the U.S. military base at Pearl Harbor. This event prompted America to enter World War II on the side of the Allied powers just over two years after the war began in Europe with Nazi Germany's attack on Poland in September of 1939. The attack on Pearl Harbor marked the beginning of relocation for Japanese Americans to internment camps created by the War Relocation Authority (WRA). There were ten internment camps, usually in remote locations many miles inland, that were situated throughout America in states like California, Arizona, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, and Arkansas.

[1] The purpose of the camps was to contain all generations of Japanese immigrants, also referred to as Nikkei, who were viewed as a threat to national security. After the attack on Pearl Harbor, many Americans felt anger towards the Japanese government and Japanese Americans paid the price, becoming the subjects on which white America unleashed anger and hatred. The only crime they had committed was being of Japanese ancestry – a product of their birth that they had no control over. Negative media coverage encouraged fear of Japanese people and overwhelmed American government and society. This fear was unjustly focused on Nikkei and caused the relocation movement that quickly swept over America.

Japanese internment camps raise many questions about levels of national paranoia that were present in America during the war. In the 1940s, the United States government defended their decision of placing some of their own citizens in internment camps. They argued that by doing so, they were neutralizing a potential threat and ensuring the safety of the American people.[2] In reality, only the safety of white Americans was prioritized while Nikkei were labeled as the threat and therefore denied protection. Government officials acted in a state of fear and paranoia that was heavily influenced by systematic and societal racism as well as prejudices that existed towards non-white people. This paper argues that the creation of the WRA internment camps was a manifestation of racism and anti-Japanese sentiment in the United States that had existed prior to WWII but was used as a tool by the American government during the war to justify the imprisonment of 120,000 of their own citizens.[3]

[1] William Wyckoff and William Cronon, "Japanese Internment Camps," in How to Read the American West: A Field Guide, ed. William Wyckoff (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014), 195.
[2] John Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), 80.
[3] Holly B. Turner, *Japanese American Internment Camps: Effect upon Wartime and Post-War Male and Female Gender Roles within Family and Community* (Towson University, 2014), 12-29.

Before the Attack on Pearl Harbor

The story of Asian-Americans is woven into the fabric of America. Relations between Japan and the U.S. began when Commodore Perry's "black ships" first landed on the Japanese shores in 1853.[4] The 1880s saw the first ships sail from Japan to the United States, prior to the arrival of Jewish, Polish, Hungarian or Italian immigrants.[5] Groups of Japanese migrants were a hopeful assembly of workers who took the lead in transforming western America from farmland and desert into plains of industry.[6] Like European immigrants, the Japanese saw America as a place of economic opportunity and freedom where they could escape from the extreme poverty that they faced in their home country.[7] As Japanese immigration to America began, Chinese immigration stopped in 1882 when President Chester Arthur signed the Chinese Exclusion Act.[8] This was the first American immigration law that discriminated against a group of people based on race.[9] The Chinese Exclusion Act created a window of opportunity for low-paid agricultural jobs that had once been filled by Chinese immigrants and many Japanese immigrants hoped to fill this void.[10] Immigration from Japan to America was geographically concentrated in areas of the American west.[11] Japanese integration into American society was not immediate but rather occurred over generations. A study conducted with data from the Japanese American Research Project (JARP) and the U.S. Census Bureau demonstrates the ways in which Japanese immigrants integrated into American society through mastery of the English language as well as educational and occupational mobility.[12] Many immigrants became farmers, business owners, homeowners and students who would raise children in America for generations to come.

Tensions between Americans of European descent and Japanese immigrants began to intensify after larger numbers of Japanese immigrants started to arrive during the early twentieth century.[13] Many of these immigrants began to work as farmers on the pacific coast and American workers viewed them as competition. In the period from the 1910s to the 1920s, states such as California, with higher Japanese populations, began passing land laws that intended to make land ownership much more difficult for Japanese people.[14] These laws demonstrate that racist sentiment towards Asian Americans, Nikkei in particular, was present in America before World War II began. In September of 1940 Japan signed the Tripartite Pact, marking an official agreement between Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and Imperial Japan to support one another during the war. Japan's involvement with the Axis powers escalated anti-Japanese American

[4] Sadao Asada, *Culture Shock and Japanese-American Relations: Historical Essays* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2007), ix.
[5] Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian-Americans* (New York: Penguin Books, 1990), xii.
[6] Masakazu Iwata, "The Japanese Immigrants in California Agriculture," *Agricultural History* 36, no. 1 (1962): 25.
[7] Linda Osborne, *This Land Is Our Land: A History of American Immigration* (New York: Abrams Books for Young Readers, 2016), n.p.
[8] Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, xiii.
[9] Turner, *Japanese American Internment Camps*, 13.
[10] Osborne, *This Land Is Our Land*, n.p.
[11] Eric Woodrum, "An Assessment of Japanese American Assimilation, Pluralism, and Subordination," *American Journal of Sociology* 87, no. 1 (1981): 158.
[12] Woodrum, "An Assessment," 168.
[13] Osborne, *This Land Is Our Land*, n.p.
[14] Turner, *Japanese American Internment Camps*, 12-29.

sentiment while simultaneously creating feelings of distrust towards Nikkei.[15] In a presidential speech on May 27th, 1941, American President Franklin Delano Roosevelt declared the United States to be in a state of emergency.[16] Roosevelt verbalized the concerns he had for the security of the country, leading many government officials and civilians to fear the Axis powers and their goal of world domination. This fear was acted upon by discriminating against those with any possible association to Axis powers, such as Nikkei.

On November 5th of the same year, military officers Admiral Harold Stark and General George Marshall agreed in a letter to President Roosevelt that war should be avoided with Japan until "Japan attacks or directly threatens territories whose security to the United States is of great importance."[17] Just over a month later on December 7th, 1941, Imperial Japan bombed Pearl Harbor, an American territory that held a prominent military base in the Pacific Ocean. On December 8th, the day after the attack, Congress responded with a declaration of war against Japan.[18] On the same day, President Roosevelt delivered a speech in which he told the people what had happened at Pearl Harbor, saying, "the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan."[19] Roosevelt's speech urged Americans to unite against the empire of Japan, which enforced an 'us against them' ideology and heightened anti-Asian sentiment. Three days after this declaration, the Axis powers responded with their own declaration of war against America. However, America was not alone; they joined with the Allied powers of Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union. America was now involved in a massive global war.

The Creation of WRA Internment Camps

The attack on Pearl Harbor marked the commencement of America's attempt to neutralize groups who they believed to be a threat to United States national security. This threat was thought to be Japanese Americans, their own people, many of whom – two-thirds to be exact – were legalized and natural-born citizens.[20] Exactly one month after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, President Roosevelt delivered a State of the Union speech in which he spoke about the ongoing war in Europe and Asia.[21] Roosevelt suggested that the goal of Axis powers was to conquer and control the United States. This statement increased the fears of the American people especially towards those descended from Axis countries such as Germany, Italy and Japan. These fears led to hysteria and tensions among racial groups. Racism was prevalently displayed towards Japanese people on the premise that their Asian features stood out from Europeans. This display of racism was owed to the fact that "in the United States, the Japanese were more hated than the Germans before as well as after Pearl Harbor;" in other words, there was no Japanese counterpart to the "good German," the idea that not all German people were inherently a threat.[22]

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[15] Dower, *War Without Mercy*, 5.
[16] Franklin D. Roosevelt, "A State of Emergency Exists" (Speech, May 27, 1941).
[17] Asada, *Culture Shock and Japanese-American Relations*, 166.
[18] Stephanie Reitzig, "'By the Code of Humanity': Ralph Carr Takes a Stand for Japanese-American Rights in World War II," *The History Teacher* 51, no. 1 (2017): 106.
[19] Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Message to the Congress" (Speech, December 8, 1941), Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum.
[20] Stacey Camp, "Landscapes of Japanese American Internment," *Historical Archaeology* 50, no. 1 (2016): 171.
[21] Franklin D. Roosevelt, "State of the Union Address" (Speech, January 6, 1942) Vital Speeches of the Day.
[22] Dower, *War Without Mercy*, 8.

When America entered the war, the news media frequently circulated anti-Japanese sentiments.[23] In 1944, Hollywood released a dramatic war film, *The Purple Heart*, which dealt explicitly with the torture of American prisoners by the Japanese.[24] The film was a sensation and supported the hatred for Japanese people that was already so relevant in America. One newspaper from Baltimore, Maryland, reviewed the film shortly after its release, stating: "if it is possible for Americans to feel greater hatred and loathing for the Japanese than they do at present, *The Purple Heart*…will achieve that end."[25]

However, not all portrayals of Japanese Americans in the news were negative. For example, the *Saturday Evening Post* printed a newspaper article on September 9th, 1944, about Japanese Hawaiians that had remained loyal to America.[26] The article mentioned how immigrants from Japan had integrated into and adapted to American culture and demonstrated how attempts were made, although not often, to make people realize that Japanese Americans were not harmful to society. The author argued that the reputation of Japanese Americans was "confused" and needed to be rethought.[27] A 1945 training film shown to American soldiers before embarking to Japan portrayed a similar sentiment. The film argued that Japanese people were no different from Americans; rather, they had been taught to do "bad things" that anyone, including Americans, are capable of doing.[28] However, the argument that Nikkei were not "born with a dangerous idea" was thought of as being too sympathetic to the Japanese and some attempted to have the film suppressed.[29]

Within 48 hours of the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor, the government began to quietly round up Japanese Americans living on the west coast.[30] Many U.S. army officers had grown anxious that Japan's next target would have been America's Pacific coastline.[31] General John DeWitt, the west coast defense commander, was one of the military officers who expected an invasion of the west coast by the Japanese. This anxiety encouraged local governments to begin the process of forcefully moving Nikkei from western states and into the WRA internment camps.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation had the role of arresting immigrants and descendants of allied nations; however, they arrested a disproportionate number of Japanese people compared to how many of them were living in the United States.[32] The Nikkei who had been interned in this way were also paroled and watched more closely than the Germans or Italians.[33] In January of 1942, only a month after the attack, an American naval intelligence officer gave a warning that

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[23] Irish, *Reactions of Caucasian Residents to Japanese-American Neighbors*, 12.
[24] Dower, *War Without Mercy*, 50.
[25] "The Purple Heart," *The Sun (1837-1995)*, April 22, 1944, 8.
[26] George Horne, "Are the Japs Hopeless?" *Saturday Evening Post*, September 9, 1944. MasterFILE Premier.
[27] Ibid.
[28] U.S. Army, "Our Job In Japan," filmed 1945, video, 17:16, https://archive.org/details/OurJobInJapan1945.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Reitzig, "By the Code of Humanity," 107.
[31] Greg Robinson, *By Order of the President* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 3.
[32] Brian M. Hayashi, *Democratizing the Enemy: The Japanese American Internment* (Princeton University Press, 2008), 77.
[33] Ibid.

the only reason Japanese Americans were being perceived as a threat was "because of the physical characteristics of the people."[34] In other words, German Americans weren't treated the same as Japanese Americans, yet both Germany and Japan were on the same side of the war. The factor of race is what influenced the different treatment of Japanese people in America. Those of German descent had physical characteristics that were accepted in America, being that they were fair skinned with fair features such as light eyes and hair colors. Their physical differences were not distinct and were considered 'normal' in America. However, people of Japanese ancestry were more clearly identifiable due to their distinct physical differences when compared to an Anglo-Saxon white person. Demonstrating this mindset, General DeWitt once said: "A Jap's a Jap. They are a dangerous element, whether loyal or not."[35] This goes to show that Nikkei were deemed as a threat not because of their questionable loyalty to America, or even to Japan for that matter, but solely on the premise of their race.

The American government seemed to agree with DeWitt and in February of 1942 President Franklin Roosevelt approved Executive Order 9066.[36] This order "authorized the evacuation of all persons deemed a threat to national security from the West Coast to relocation centers further inland."[37] The American government's removal of Japanese Americans inland was rooted in a couple of hopes. First, it was thought that if the Japanese were moved inland, it would lessen the threat of an attack on the west coast. Another hope was that by forcing Nikkei to live in camps with one another, the U.S. military, through constant supervision, would have a better grip on making sure that the potential threat posed by the Japanese was neutralized.

Just one month after Executive Order 9066 was introduced, the War Relocation Authority (WRA), was established and given the task of relocating Japanese Americans from the west coast and into the internment camps further inland.[38] Due to these relocation efforts, Japanese people were forced to sell or abandon their properties, resulting in a loss of their homes, businesses, and belongings.[39] They became completely homeless. Their unalienable rights were disregarded due to the paranoia of what their race and nationality might mean for national security.

In order to imprison Nikkei and forcefully move them to WRA internment camps, no solid evidence had to be presented and no trials needed to be held.[40] They were immediately deemed guilty due to their heritage and nationality. The fear and paranoia of white Americans, which was rooted in racist ideologies, was enough for any person of Japanese heritage to be locked up, even if they had never even stepped foot in Japan. White government officials were convinced of the fact that Japanese immigrants, as well as people of Japanese descent who had been born in the United States, were aliens in America.[41] Daizaburo Yui argues that the 1942 exclusion policy

[34] T. A. Frail, "The Injustice of Japanese-American Internment Camps Resonates Strongly to This Day," *The Smithsonian Magazine*, January/February 2017.
[35] Reitzig, "By the Code of Humanity," 106.
[36] Franklin D. Roosevelt, *Executive Order 9066* (Executive Order, February 21, 1942).
[37] Ibid.
[38] Richard Drinnon, *Keeper of the Concentration Camps: Dillon S. Myer and American Racism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 4.
[39] Wyckoff, "Japanese Internment Camps," 194.
[40] Hayashi, *Democratizing the Enemy*, 1.
[41] Drinnon, *Keeper of the Concentration Camps*, 29.

was based on politics alongside long-rooted racism.[42] According to Yui, the removal of the Japanese from the west coast had been a long-term goal of Anti-Asian groups and Pearl Harbor provided an excuse for this goal to be accomplished.[43]

The WRA internment camps inevitably became communities where families attempted to continue with the routines of everyday life.[44] Daily life in the camps consisted of work for adults and school for children. Photos taken of the camps at the time by government officials displayed scenes of personal care, work, socialization, studying, social events, and games. These photographs were taken as a publicity stunt and only managed to portray a tinted reality of what life in the internment camps was like. For example, spaces in camps were so cramped that internees received little to no personal space or privacy. Meals were served cafeteria-style where family members tended to eat separately, weakening family ties. Living in these camps took away many freedoms, including privacy and the ability to eat meals with your family.[45] As such, it is no surprise that those intended to be interned did not always go willingly. A young Japanese American man by the name of Fred Korematsu was one of them.

Korematsu was a young man at the time Pearl Harbor was attacked. In order to evade being relocated, he underwent minor plastic surgery and changed his name and his identity. Eventually his secret identity was found out and his case was brought to the Supreme Court in a landmark case that challenged the constitutionality of the internment camps.[46] On December 18th, 1944, the Court decided that the camps were constitutional and Korematsu, a man of Japanese ancestry who had failed to report to the camps, would be held accountable for not doing so. The Court's reasoning was that the internment camps had been developed out of military necessity. A difference between the Japanese and European Axis powers presented to the Court was that "Orientals are different from Italians and Germans in that you can never tell what an Oriental is thinking yet, it is possible to tell what a European is thinking."[47] Agreeing with this statement during the trial, Federal Judge William Denman said, "they all look alike."[48] The judge used this racist belief to support his ruling against Korematsu.

Post-War Resettlement

In the same month that the Supreme Court declared the legality of the internment camps, President Roosevelt suspended Executive Order 9066, two years after it was enacted.[49] The WRA was given the task of handling resettlement and the agency began the six-month process of releasing internees and shutting down the camps.[50] Japanese Americans faced many legal battles during and after the war in which they attempted to dispute the grounds of their internment. To

[42] Daizaburo Yui, "From Exclusion to Integration: Asian Americans' Experiences in World War II," *Hitotsubashi Journal of Social Studies* 24, no. 2 (1992): 66.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Japanese American Relocation Digital Archive (JARDA), "Everyday Life," last modified 2011, https://calisphere.org/exhibitions/66/jarda-everyday-life/.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Toyosaburo Korematsu v. United States, 323 U.S. 214 (1944).
[47] Drinnon, *Keeper of the Concentration Camps*, 32.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Franklin D. Roosevelt, Executive Order 9066.
[50] Hayashi, *Democratizing the Enemy*, 189.

defend the creation of WRA internment camps, the American federal government argued on the grounds that they had been acting in a state of paranoia and fear that Nikkei threatened the country's national security. This argument fails to mention how the fear and paranoia felt towards Nikkei was fueled by racist anti-Asian, more specifically anti-Japanese, sentiment that had already existed in America.

Opposition to internment camps extended among white liberals, religious publications and organizations, and African American activists. Reverend Emery Andrews, a Baptist minister and former missionary to Japan, was among those who believed internment to be "a violation of citizenship rights – as one of the blackest blots on American history."[51] In addition, several government officials openly opposed the creation of the camps. For example, Ralph Carr, the governor of Colorado during WWII, opposed putting Japanese Americans into internment camps.[52] Governor Carr publicly denounced the morality of WRA camps and opposed the racial prejudice against Nikkei during WWII, calling for Americans to understand Japanese Americans rather than fear them.[53] The open opposition voiced by such people is indicative of an ability to see past racial prejudices and see Nikkei as people posing no threat to American national security. However, most U.S. government officials could not see past the circulating racist sentiment.

The ruler of the Empire of Japan, Emperor Hirohito, announced the surrender of Imperial Japan in August of 1945; the war was finally coming to an end.[54] The surrender came after the U.S. Air Force dropped not one, but two atomic bombs on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan on August 6th and 9th of 1945, respectively.[55] In the beginning of September, the Japanese officially signed the agreement of surrender.[56] By March 1946, all of the internment camps in America had officially been closed and all internees had been released.[57] The Japanese Americans who had been interned began to be given back their freedoms so that they could continue their lives in the country that had just imprisoned them with a lack of justifiable reasoning. Citizens and longtime residents had lost so much over their time interned and adjusting back into society and normal life was not an easy task. The camps had closed, but the societal racism that had created the camps was very much still in existence.

The resettling process for the Japanese Americans was not easy and it was not until 1952, six years after the closure of internment camps, that people who were born in Japan could become naturalized citizens. In the period of time closely following the end of the war, the American Congress continued to refer to this period as a period of "wartime hysteria."[58] In 1972, President

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[51] Robert Shaffer, "Opposition to Internment: Defending Japanese American Rights during World War II," *The Historian* 61, no. 3 (1999): 597.
[52] Reitzig, "By the Code of Humanity," 105.
[53] Ibid, 107.
[54] Arthur Krock, "Yielding Unqualified, Truman Says: President Announcing Surrender of Japan, Japan Surrenders and the War Ends. President Addresses Crowd Plan on the Emperor," *The New York Times*, Aug 15, 1945.
[55] Ibid.
[56] The New York Times Associated Press, "War Comes To End: Bringing A Formal End To Hostilities Between Japan And The Allies" *The New York Times*, September 2, 1945.
[57] Hayashi, *Democratizing the Enemy*, 1.
[58] Robinson, *By Order of the President*, 251.

Gerald R. Ford officially rescinded Executive Order 9066 on the premise that the order had been created due to WWII tensions and that since hostilities had ceased, the order no longer had any purpose.[59] Multiple public apologies have been offered to Nikkei survivors on behalf of the American government. For example, in 1988 President Ronald Reagan signed the Civil Liberties Act, apologizing to the Japanese American internees and offering $20,000 to survivors of the camps.[60] In 1990, President George H.W. Bush issued a formal apology to approximately 60,000 survivors of the Japanese American internment.[61] In his apology, President Bush stated that the American government's actions towards the Japanese people in America during WWII were actions of injustice.[62] Multiple American presidents felt the need to make reparations for how Nikkei were treated by the American government during WWII. Today, the United States can admit that the creation of the Japanese internment camps was a horrible atrocity that never should have happened.

Conclusion

During the war, those who supported the internment camps did so due to paranoia, claiming that Nikkei threatened the war effort and American national security. In actuality, their support for the camps was the result of anti-Asian sentiment in the forms of racism and discrimination that had been present in America for nearly a century. Japanese internment camps were a form of institutionalized racism and the racism of white Americans created mass hysteria and fear which in turn enforced the decision for the camps to be created. Analyzing the progression of anti-Asian and anti-Japanese sentiment as it existed in America demonstrates the role racism played in the development of internment camps. Additionally, these camps were not created by any legitimate concern for national security; this apparent concern was merely an excuse to ensure the oppression of Nikkei.

[59] Gerald Ford, "Proclamation 2714" (December 31, 1946).
[60] Ronald Reagan, "The Civil Liberties Act of 1988" (August 10, 1988).
[61] George Bush, "Letter from George Bush, President of the United States," CSU Dominguez Hills Department of Archives and Special Collections, last modified October 1990, https://calisphere.org/item/5649ef1a162c2072ea3742c67be28594/.
[62] Ibid.

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Brazilian Musicians and Their Ideologies on Black Consciousness

Catherine Bonomo

While the Black Consciousness Movement spread throughout South Africa and the United States during the 1950s and 1960s, Afro-Brazilians struggled with the concept of Blackness. The Black Consciousness Movement expressed a desire to redefine what it meant to be Black.[1] In other words, it was a new philosophy that encouraged Black people to recreate their racial image. Unfortunately, the Brazilian ideology of racial democracy, which taught that color represented class and not race, hindered the movement from having a serious impact on Brazilian society.[2] Since the racial majority of Brazil was Black, the white minority viewed the concept of race as a threat. Therefore, they created the concept of racial democracy, which replaced the importance of race with economic status and allowed those in power to deny the influences of racism in Brazilian society. This concept became imperative to racist power structures in Brazil.

According to the concept of racial democracy, a person was considered white if they were wealthy. Conversely, the color black represented abject poverty. This generally accepted form of economic stratification only furthered discrimination towards individuals of color because of their association with economic poverty. Because it nominally decreased the importance of racial differences in society, racial democracy was viewed as a positive concept and a way for Brazilians to live in harmony even though racism still existed. Due to the importance of this concept in Brazilian society, discussions of racial discrimination were seen as divisive and taboo. Hoping to avoid this social dilemma, some Afro-Brazilians decided to conceal their resolve against racial discrimination and participate in the Brazilian Black consciousness movement through music.

Cities like Salvador, São Paulo, and Rio de Janeiro became havens for Afro-Brazilian communities to redefine their national image during the Black consciousness movement. These cities had different population demographics and their regional histories helped shape the way that their music artists observed life. As a result, the concept of Blackness developed differently for artists in each city. The Olodum music group, founded in Salvador, viewed Blackness as a proud connection to ancient African societies. Their song, "Pharaoh Divinity of Egypt," spoke about the splendor and beauty found in Egypt and the freedom that Black people craved to experience in Brazil. On the other hand, artists like Tony Tornado believed the Black community

[1] Keisha-Khan Perry, "What Is the Black Consciousness Movement in Brazil?," Choices Program (Brown University, January 7, 2016), https://www.choices.edu/video/black-consciousness-movement-brazil/.
[2] Niani (Dee Brown), "BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS VS. RACISM IN BRAZIL." *The Black Scholar* 11, no. 3 (1980): 59-70.

should use racial democracy to their benefit. In his song, "I'm Black," Tony illuminated the contradictions caused by racial democracy. While observing these contradictions, he discovered a loophole that could benefit Afro-Brazilians. Tony Tornado was a native of São Paulo but left "at the age of 11 to try life in Rio de Janeiro," which affected his view of equality.[3] Eventually, he moved to the United States and discovered new conceptualizations of what it meant to be Black, altering his mindset of what "blackness" meant and how Afro-Brazilians should strive to achieve that vision.

Through Olodum and Tony Tornado's musical contributions, Brazil's black consciousness movement began in the 1970s. Yet, all the while, elites resisted their actions. By acknowledging race as a factor for discrimination, white people and some fellow Black people labeled them as radical. According to a famous Cuban activist of the time, Stokely Carmichael, "If we had said 'Negro power' nobody would get scared. Everybody would support it. If we said [the] power of colored people, everybody would be for that, but it is the word 'black' that bothers people."[4] Like others engaged in the movement, the Olodum and Tony Tornado did not cave into pressure, but instead strove for change. Although both musicians ultimately pursued the same goal of eliminating racial discrimination, their concepts of Black consciousness differed greatly.

While other scholars have observed how jazz and soul music affected Afro-Brazilians' concept of Blackness, this article specifically focuses on the music of the Olodum and Tony Tornado, two of the most culturally significant artists of the time. Christopher Dunn and Bryan McCann have both explored the impact of music on Brazilians, especially within the Black community, demonstrating the significance of music in Afro-Brazilians' adaptation of Black consciousness movement concepts.[5] However, existing scholarship does not explore other key components that shaped Brazilians musicians' ideas on Blackness and Black consciousness such as regional ties or economic influences.

This article analyzes lyrics written by the Olodum and Tony Tornado to understand how regional differences and economic challenges faced by Afro-Brazilians shaped these artists' understandings of Black consciousness and how these understandings were reflected in their songs. The lyrical excerpts from popular Olodum and Tony Tornado songs discussed in this article demonstrate how the themes of the Black consciousness movement manifested in music. Through close analysis of these lyrics, this article illuminates the ways in which the Olodum sought to generate solidarity through emphasizing a shared African heritage, while Tony Tornado re-imagined concepts of racial democracy to promote pro-Black sentiment while minimizing violence, demonstrating how both artists uniquely combated racial discrimination through their music.

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[3] Manoel Cirilo, "Vitrola: O Relançamento De BR-3, Clássico Histórico De Tony Tornado," Alataj, June 25, 2019, http://alataj.com.br/vitrola/tony-tornado.

[4] Ann-Marie Nicholson, "Música Soul: The Soundtrack of the Black Power Movement in Brazil," The New York Public Library, last modified June 3, 2013, https://www.nypl.org/blog/2013/06/03/música-soul-soundtrack-black-power-movement-brasil.

[5] Christopher Dunn, *Contracultura: Alternative Arts and Social Transformation in Authoritarian Brazil* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2016), 10; Bryan McCann, *Hello, Hello Brazil: Popular Music in the Making of Modern Brazil* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 237.

Differences in Regional History

During the rise of the Black consciousness movement, Brazil struggled with conflicting ideologies about race and its influence on each province. As a result, Olodum and Tony's music reflected their province's culture and ideological interpretation of race. Their views on Blackness and how fellow Afro-Brazillians should reimagine their national identities were impacted greatly by the regions in which they lived. For the group Olodum, this influence was tied to their hometown of Salvador. Known as the "Black Rome," Salvador had one of the largest populations of African descent in the county.[6] During the slave trade, "an estimated 3.65 million enslaved Africans were imported to Brazil; the majority of these were brought to Brazil's first capital, Salvador da Bahia."[7] This allowed residents to develop strong ties to their African culture via their ancestry. In their song, "Pharaoh Divinity of Egypt," the Olodum emphasized Africa as the birthplace of life:

Gods, infinite divinity of the universe
Predominant mythological scheme
The emphasis of the original spirit, Shu
Will form a cosmic egg in Eden[8]

Utilizing Egyptian mythology, the Olodum connected the concept of "blackness" to the creation of civilization. As told by Ancient Egyptian legend, Shu's name conveys "He Who Rises Up."[9] As the idol of wind, it was through this power that "he separates the earth and sky," which created "the life they [the Egyptians] saw all around them."[10] When the Olodum referenced the god Shu, they declared that Afro-Brazilians were destined to rise above the racial discrimination endemic to Salvador despite its majority Black population.

Much of this discrimination was expressed through racial democracy, a common ideology throughout Brazil. Even though this concept proclaimed equality of race, it only benefited the white elites of the country, forcing the Afro-Brazilian community to abandon their ethnicity and conform to oppressive societal norms. Keeping this in mind, the Olodum exclaimed in defiance:

Awake to Egyptian culture in Brazil
Instead of braided hair
We will see Tutankhamen's turbans
And in their heads, they are filled with freedom

[6] Catherine Osborn and Philip Reeves, "'I Know How Far I Can Go:' Black Entrepreneurs Overcome Challenges In Brazil." NPR, July 13, 2018, https://www.npr.org/2018/07/13/627651246/i-know-how-far-i-can-go-black-entrepreneurs-overcome-challenges-in-brazil
[7] "Afro-Brazilians," Minority Rights Group International, accessed April 10, 2020, https://minorityrights.org/minorities/afro-brazilians/?utm_campaign=shareaholic&utm_medium=printfriendly&utm_source=tool
[8] "Faraó Divindade Do Egito," Letras, accessed April 9, 2020, https://www.letras.mus.br/olodum/86952/
[9] "Egyptian Gods: Shu," Egyptian Gods and Goddesses RSS, accessed May 2, 2020, http://egyptian-gods.org/egyptian-gods-shu/
[10] Ibid.

The black people ask for equality
Leaving aside the separations[11]

As told by the Olodum, Afro-Brazilians were not truly liberated from slavery and the line "Instead of braided hair" represented a stereotype of racial classification.[12] Those who had braided, cornrow, hair represented the African race. At the same time, by referencing "Tutankhamen's turbans," the Olodum were portraying an image of slavery, or bondage. All the while, Afro-Brazilians secretly dreamed of a liberation without "separations."[13]

As Salvador possessed a majority Black population, the region was labeled as backwards and uncivilized by other provinces such as São Paulo, the birthplace of Tony Tornado. After moving to Rio de Janeiro at the age of 11, Tony eventually traveled to the United States where he studied soul music and became immersed in America's ethnic diversity.[14] By the time Tony moved back to Brazil, São Paulo had become a mecca for political resistance. One activist group, the Movimento Negro Unificado, became the most popular Black movement inside São Paulo.[15] The military government focused more on suppressing São Paulo residents, known as Paulistas, than any other area in the country as a result. In a 1970 *New York Times* article, author Joseph Novitski exposed the growing tensions, describing various Paulistas searching for family members who were abducted by the military government.[16] However, these acts of hostility only inspired more Paulistas to fight against the government, ultimately having a profound influence on Tony's concepts of Black consciousness. In his song "Se Jesus Fosse Um Homem de Cor (Deus Negro)," Tony focuses on unity:

Glory, glory, hallelujah
Glory, glory, peace and love
Gloria, glory, hallelujah
My Christ has no color[17]

Tony explicitly connects Catholicism to the racial movement, stating that "Christ has no color," reinstating the Christian belief that all people were created equal.[18] As told in Genesis 1:27, "God created mankind in his own image, in the image of God he created them; male and female he created them."[19] These lyrics resonated among Black and non-colored Brazilians alike given the nation's majority Christian demographic. Furthermore, this was a subtle way to denounce the use of colored classifications to discriminate against Black people enforced through racial

[11] "Faraó Divindade Do Egito."
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Howard Cabiao, "Movimento Negro Unificado (1978-)," Blackpast, April 21, 2011, https://www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/movimento-negro-unificado-founded-1978/.
[16] Joseph Novitski. "Brazil's Military Government Tightens Control," *The New York Times*, February 9, 1970. https://www.nytimes.com/1970/02/09/archives/brazils-military-government-tightens-control-domination-since-64.html.
[17] Tony Tornado, "Se Jesus Fosse Um Homem De Cor (Deus Negro)," Letras, accessed April 9, 2020, https://www.letras.mus.br/tony-tornado/se-jesus-fosse-um-homem-de-cor-deus-negro/.
[18] Ibid.
[19] "Genesis 1:27 NIV," *BibleGateway*, accessed April 9, 2020, https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Genesis+1:27&version=NIV.

democracy. This concept of "peace and love" pushed the belief that everyone should pursue peaceful and nonviolent cohabitation.[20]

These lyrics represented the impact that São Paulo resistance movements and their resulting ideologies had on Tony. São Paulo was a prosperous and diverse province. During the Eugenics Era, São Paulo experienced a major increase of immigrants, and "between 1872 and 1972, 57 percent of the roughly 5.4 million newcomers to Brazil would settle in just one city: São Paulo."[21] As a result of its diverse population, the ideology of racial democracy became the foundation for Paulistas. To incorporate new ideas of racial equality, Tony appropriated racial democracy ideology into his music. In this way, he was able to promote Black consciousness while keeping within popular ideological concepts of racial democracy.

Economic Influences

Another major factor of formational significance to the ideologies of the Olodum and Tony Tornado were the economic dilemmas faced by many Afro-Brazilians of this era. According to the international organization Minority Rights Group, Afro-Brazilians suffered unemployment at a much higher rate than white people and Black people who were employed earned less than half of what their white counterparts earned.[22] In addition, there were countless instances where well-educated Black Brazilians were denied positions because white Brazilians applied for them. Moreover, when Afro-Brazilians eventually found work, their positions were often unstable. As a result, the unemployment ratio between Black people and white people was extremely disproportionate. Even though this racial discrimination affected most of Brazil, areas like Salvador without a similarly diverse ethnic population did not experience the same dramatic racial discrepancies. In other words, because Salvador possessed a majority Black population, jobs were easier to obtain and keep, and therefore the Olodum did not observe unemployment as an issue of great importance. According to their song, "Canto Ao Pescador:"

My raft will go out to sea
I'll work
well[23]

These lyrics, especially the phrase "I'll work," demonstrated the job security that Salvadorians experienced.[24] Moreover, because Salvador is a port city, this section of Brazil offered Afro-Brazilians the chance to trade with other countries—an opportunity very few Afro-Brazilians in other areas were offered. In this way, Black Salvadorans were more socially and economically mobile in contrast to Afro-Brazilians elsewhere. For example, Tony's song "I'm Black" describes this discrepancy by examining Afro-Brazilian unemployment in São Paulo:

[20] Tornado, "Se Jesus."
[21] Shari Wejsa and Jeffrey Lesser, "Migration in Brazil: The Making of a Multicultural Society," Migration Policy Institute, October 23, 2019, https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/migration-brazil-making-multicultural-society
[22] "Afro-Brazilians."
[23] "Canto Ao Pescador - Olodum," Letras, accessed May 5, 2020, https://www.letras.mus.br/olodum/424346/
[24] Ibid.

I don't know why you are so proud
You always (you always)
despise me (despise me)
I know I'm black but no one will laugh at me
See if you understand (see if you understand)
See if you help (see if it helps)
My character is not in my color[25]

Tony's statement, "My character is not my color," spoke to the frustration that so many Paulistas felt given their mass unemployment brought upon by their ethnicity.[26] Therefore, by stating this, Tony exposed racial discrimination in São Paulo employment practices.

Although the rate of unemployment depended highly on geographic location, wage inequality among races was common throughout Brazil. Ultimately, this was a direct consequence of racial democracy. In a 1978 *New York Times article*, journalist David Vidal commented that "four generations after abolition, the vast majority of Brazilian blacks remain at the very bottom of the economic and social pyramid."[27] When the Olodum emphasized, "My raft," they exposed the dire financial straits many Afro-Brazilians faced.[28] Even though Salvador offered more jobs to Afro-Brazilians, their income was well below white Salvadorans and other white Brazilians. In another song, "Olodum Protest," they exclaim:

The nation declares
Pelourinho against prostitution[29]

Pelourinho, a district of Salvador, was "characterized by its fidelity to the 16th-century plan, the density of its monuments and the homogeneity of its construction."[30] As a result, this historic district promoted the settlement of rich Brazilians. However, once the rich moved away to São Paulo, Pelourinho "was officially designated the city's red-light district."[31] Consequently, prostitution became another way for families to receive income, demonstrating the financial degradation of the Afro-Brazilians. Similarly, recalling Tony's song "I'm Black," the fact that "no one will laugh at" his color signified that Brazilians' were afraid that race would become a major conflict.[32] Meanwhile, Black Paulistas were considered lower class and, as such, were given lower wages. "Why are you so proud," exposed this contradiction in Brazil.[33] Even though Brazilians proclaimed racial democracy and harmony, their actions in the workplace

[25] Tony Tornado, "Sou Negro," Letras, accessed April 9, 2020, https://www.letras.mus.br/tony-tornado/sou-negro/
[26] Ibid.
[27] David Vidal, "Many Blacks Shut Out of Brazil's Racial 'Paradise'," The New York Times, June 5, 1978, https://www.nytimes.com/1978/06/05/archives/new-jersey-pages-many-blacks-shut-out-of-brazils-racial-paradise.html
[28] "Canto Ao Pescador - Olodum."
[29] "Protesto Olodum - Olodum," Letras, accessed April 9, 2020, www.letras.mus.br/olodum/424391/
[30] "Historic Centre of Salvador De Bahia," UNESCO World Heritage Centre, accessed May 6, 2020, https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/309/
[31] James Brooke, "Salvador Journal; In Brazil, a City Has Its Own Harlem Renaissance," The New York Times, September 11, 1993, https://www.nytimes.com/1993/09/11/world/salvador-journal-in-brazil-a-city-has-its-own-harlem-renaissance.html
[32] Tony Tornado, "Sou Negro."
[33] Ibid.

demonstrated hypocrisy. While white Brazilians lived inside cities like Rio de Janeiro, Afro-Brazilians were forced to live in favelas surrounding the cities.

This contradiction was especially prevalent during a 1930s rape case, otherwise known as a Deflowering Case. The grandmother of the victim exclaimed that she did not approve of her granddaughter's lover because he "was of mixed [mestiça] color and lacked a steady job."[34] Later in her testimony she "omitted the reference to Lupércio's color, emphasizing only that he 'did not have [a professional] position.'"[35] In other words, the lack of money was a stereotype of Afro-Brazilians. When Tony exclaimed in song, "See if you understand," he was urging his listeners to understand the plight the Afro-Brazilian community was experiencing.[36] The lack of financial equality meant that members of the community were impaired from participating in society. Furthermore, because poverty was considered a Black trait, Afro-Brazilians believed this stigma was a national effort to shame their race. "See if you help (see if it helps)," emphasized the seriousness of the situation.[37]

Since "blackness" was deemed economically negative, the nation seemed to be condemning and forcing Afro-Brazilians to remain financially unstable. As a result, Tony blatantly questioned whether white people would truly help his race. In addition, the chorus, "(see if it helps)," shifted the question toward Afro-Brazilians, asking the community to reexamine their social positions.[38] Moreover, he desired Afro-Brazilians to discern for themselves the steps needed to change their financial dilemmas. In an interview published in *The New York Times,* Professor Hasenbalg observed, "In a certain sense, Brazil created the best of all possible worlds…While it maintains a structure of white privilege and subordination of the colored population, it keeps race from becoming a principle of collective identity and political action. The myth of racial democracy in practice sustains just the opposite."[39]

Olodum and Tony Tornado's Views on Black Consciousness

After analyzing the previous lyrics, the Olodum and Tony Tornado clearly shared similar beliefs on Black equality, believing that all Afro-Brazilians should be afforded equal rights and opportunities under the law. According to the Olodum's insignia, the group expressed the importance of connecting Africa with Black Brazilians: "green represents the equatorial forests of Africa; red the blood of the blacks; yellow the gold of Africa and black the pride of the black race, while white represents world peace."[40] These symbolic colors expressed the Olodum and Tony's shared dream that all Afro-Brazilians would be treated with equality. In addition, the Olodum's symbol expressed the hope that all Africans would unite around a shared ethnicity.

[34] Nancy P. Appelbaum, Anne S. Macpherson, and Karin Alejandra Rosemblatt, Race and Nation in Modern Latin America (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 175.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Tony Tornado, "Sou Negro."
[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Vidal, "Many Blacks Shut Out."
[40] Ruy José Braga Duarte, "Olodum Da Bahia, a History of Cultural Inclusion," Field Actions Science Reports Special Edition 3 (2011), https://journals.openedition.org/factsreports/1352

Although the artists' believed in uniting and mobilizing Afro-Brazilians against inequality, their views on how it should be accomplished were quite different. The ways they uniquely observed the Black consciousness movement in Brazil, or the way that Black people redefined their national identity, was expressed in their lyrics. The Olodum utilized various African regions to express their desire for Afro-Brazilians to connect and cling to their ethnic heritage. The group's song "Our People" depicted the Black consciousness mvement as the movement that would connect the world:

I will join the Olodum
That is of Joy
It is called a volcano
The crash echoed
The four corners of the world
In less than a minute
In seconds...
Our people are those who bless
It is the ones who dance the most
The gringos tuned in the revelry
The gods matching
Every charm, every dance
Rataplam of the drums
Gratify...[41]

According to these lyrics, the group stressed their desire to form a national image of African descendants, the ones who created Brazilian culture. The first phrase, "I will join the Olodum" referenced the "word that originated in the Yorubá language, and in the religious ritual of Candomblé means 'God of Gods' or 'Greatest God'–Olodumaré. It represents more of a Universe-creating God than an orixá."[42] In this way, the Olodum was not only referencing their group, but also an African religion. Furthermore, this African deity symbolized the start of a new creation "That is of Joy."[43] The Black consciousness movement was eroding the system of racial segregation, which was demonstrated in the line, "It is called a volcano."[44]

By incorporating traditional African-Brazilian customs, the Olodum essentially formed an explosion of new ideas about race. The formation and acceptance of Samba into Brazilian culture was originally connected to African descendants. As a result, when Olodum remarked on "the ones who dance the most," they were speaking to how Samba and other African dances had been incorporated into Brazilian culture.[45] As said by the Olodum, "The gringos tuned in the revelry" and "[e]very charm, every dance," illustrating the power and appeal of the African culture and people.[46] In addition, this kind of expression harked back to the Brazilian stereotype of Black or

[41] "Nossa Gente - Olodum." Letras, accessed May 7, 2020, https://www.letras.mus.br/olodum/228358/
[42] Duarte, "Olodum Da Bahia."
[43] "Nossa Gente - Olodum."
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid.

mestiza women as alluring. However, instead of focusing on Black women, the Olodum believed that it was the African culture as a whole that enticed white Brazilians.

As their lyrics demonstrate, the Olodum believed that for Black consciousness to work, Afro-Brazilians had to abolish all preconceptions of their race. This would allow Black people to create a new national image and abolish racial inequalities. Yet, for this to occur, all Afro-Brazilians had to join together. In other words, instead of each region supporting their own concept of Black consciousness, Afro-Brazilians had to form a single plan of action. The Olodum desired for Afro-Brazilians to glean from Africa's past in order to determine what Blackness truly meant. Their romanticization of Ancient Egypt and other African nations promoted their ideas of returning to the past. Furthermore, by appropriating the past, the Olodum formed a cultural image for all Afro-Brazilians to aspire to. Moreover, this was a way for them to encourage the Afro-Brazilian community to take pride in their race. This was a type of propaganda meant to reimagine a theoretical collective Black history. Instead of being the people who were once slaves, the Olodum desired Afro-Brazilian people to remember their prestige and importance in history as part of a larger Black community. Subsequently, by changing the concept of the past, the Olodum would have, theoretically, reconstructed the Afro-Brazilian national image.

Conversely to the Olodum, Tony Tornado's conceptualization of Black Consciousness was to avoid revolutionary ideas. In other words, because he was surrounded by devastating conflict in São Paulo, he did not want to cause more bloodshed. In his song "Daddy, That Wasn't the World You Told," Tony examined the conflicts taking place in São Paulo:

I open the newspaper, I see guerrillas
the blood leaves, there, on your trail
I see protests, occupation
I see misery and betrayal
I predict the death of joy
the night will win the day[47]

São Paulo had been stricken with conflict due to the military regime attacking potential revolutionaries, with peaceful Afro-Brazilian protesters caught in the crossfire.[48] This resulted in kidnappings and executions throughout São Paulo.[49] The lines "I open the newspaper, I see guerrillas" and "I see protests" highlight the commonality of these events throughout São Paulo.[50] Throughout this song, Tony emphasized the chaotic atmosphere he was experiencing. The doom and uncertainty many Black Paulistas felt was evident in these lyrics. Tony continued:

My father said to me one day
See: that is your father Noel
the world is full, full of goodness

[47] Tony Tornado, "Papai, Não Foi Esse o Mundo Que Você Falou - Tony Tornado," Letras, accessed May 7, 2020, https://www.letras.mus.br/tony-tornado/1777041/
[48] Novitski, "Brazil's Military Government Tightens Control."
[49] Ibid.
[50] Tony Tornado, "Papai."

no longer exists, there is falsehood
What sucks has already died
but none of this happened
And that is why today,
our world is like this
I am suffering with joy
because my father lied to me
But
Everything you want is possible[51]

The father in this song represented the military regime's deceptive proclamations and racial democracy. The line "See: that is your father Noel…the world is full, full of goodness…no longer exists, there is falsehood," exposed the lies the regime told. In addition, the contradiction of racial democracy was observed in the lines, "I am suffering with joy…because my father lied to me." This idea of Black people "suffering with joy" depicted the struggle of fighting against racial democracy. According to Tony, fighting to erode the system would only lead to ostracization and bloodshed. This belief ultimately influenced his idea about using the system in such a way that would work on behalf of Afro-Brazilians. His idea, outlined in the phrase, "Everything you want is possible," derived from the assumption that racial democracy could be used to promote Black consciousness. In other words, by using this ideology, Afro-Brazilians could move up in society and redefine their cultural image. In this way, Tony believed that bloodshed could be prevented, and Afro-Brazilians could achieve racial equality.

Conclusion

After observing the regional differences and the economic challenges experienced by Afro-Brazilians, the impact of these factors on the Olodum and Tony Tornado's concepts of Black consciousness is evident. The differences in population demographics affected Afro-Brazilians' ability to obtain work. Meanwhile, regional history heavily influenced residents' outlook on race. Since Afro-Brazilian people played a central role in Salvador's history, the Olodum connected to African culture and furthered their desire to incorporate their culture into Brazil. On the other hand, São Paulo's history gravitated toward white Brazilians and many Afro-Brazilian Paulistas experienced poverty. This led Tony Tornado to struggle with connecting to African culture as he was never taught its importance in a manner akin to the Olodum in Salvador. Instead, Tony strove to unify the Afro-Brazilian community through a re-imagining of racial democracy. Ultimately, political upheaval throughout Brazil affected how Afro-Brazilians were able to actively change their national image. As a result, artists like the Olodum and Tony were forced to create music that would not be easily censured by the military regime. This promoted creativity and innovation that allowed them to examine their regions closely while avoiding censure. It was through these artists that Afro-Brazilians were able to understand what Blackness meant and the different ways they were able to fight for equality.

[51] Ibid.

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