

University of Wisconsin Oshkosh
Oshkosh Scholar

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Preface

We are excited to launch this inaugural edition of *Oshkosh Scholar*, a journal of UW Oshkosh undergraduate student research. This publication gives us the opportunity to explore and celebrate the scholarly achievements of our undergraduate students and the faculty who mentor them in their research experiences.

This publication, and the work it exhibits, embody the University's official vision statement (<http://www.uwosh.edu/strategicplan/governingideas/vision.php>) which recognizes **“the centrality of the student-faculty relationship that is distinguished by active learning, ... and collaborative scholarship;” “teaching excellence that is characterized by diversity, discovery, engagement, innovation, dialogue and dissemination,”** as well as **“scholarly achievement that furthers new knowledge through diverse methods of inquiry....”**

Undergraduate research opportunities such as those reflected in this volume immeasurably enhance the University experience for our students. We are pleased to be able to showcase some of the finest examples of faculty-mentored research.

I want to extend my personal thanks to faculty adviser Gregory Kleinheinz and student editors Shaheda Govani and Jena Schafer for taking on the challenge of producing this first volume. Their energy and creativity are evident.

– Linda S. Freed
Director
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Happenings Between the Fox and Wisconsin: Historical Analysis of Portage, Wisconsin

August Perry, author

Dr. Stephanie de Montigny, Religious Studies/Anthropology, faculty adviser

Abstract:

This article explores the town of Portage, Wisconsin's Native American history and the significance of the town as a historical site. Located between the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, the town of Portage is home to many noteworthy events in Wisconsin's history. The site of the town also shares a history with many historically famous people. Portage is the site of Fort Winnebago and an Indian agency. These early people, constructions, and the construction's inhabitants, have shaped the town's history and the present people's historical consciousness.

In conclusion, the town of Portage does have a very unique and diverse history. Fueled by the fur trade, the site of the town was once the center of European, Native American, early American involvement. However, to this day, much of the town's historical identity is formed from the personal account of the Indian agent's wife, Juliette Kinzie. Her historic narrative, although interesting and inspiring, was misguided and created a mistakenly nostalgic historical identity.

Introduction

Portage, Wisconsin, situated between the Wisconsin and Fox rivers, is possibly one of the state's most overlooked but oldest historical sites. The geographical position of the town made it possible for it to become the location of many important historical events. The significance of the town's history is often ignored or misrepresented.

The distinct and diverse history of Portage, Wisconsin, has shaped the present town's identity and is a source of pride for its residents. This historical consciousness and pride is evident in the town's Chamber of Commerce Web site, which is meant as a guide and welcome display to visitors. The Web site boasts its historical sites for tourists and displays a "Charrette," or an idea book, which suggests, using historical references, to booster gateway entrances and recreational areas (Portage Area Chamber of Commerce: 2004). In fact, the representation of two men "portaging," or carrying their canoes, is an icon the town uses to represent itself.

Portage's history can be broken down into different points of pride for the town. The first point is the many historical figures that have come into its contact. These people include notable Native Americans, early explorers, and military personnel. Their historic interactions with the town are revered and used as promotional tools by Portage. Another point of pride is the town's connection to Fort Winnebago. Its history and remaining structures are used as tourist attractions. Portage is also home to an old Indian agency house. This place is a point of pride for the town in many ways. The historical significance of the agency house is used to attract visitors to the town. Also, the Indian agent's wife, Juliette Kinzie, wrote a book about her time spent in the area. This book was used in a campaign to restore the site and spark interest in its historical importance (Cronon 1-8). The book has also been used as a historical teaching tool to

gain understanding about the early days of the town. However, Kinzie's writings are her own personal views and are often misinforming and misleading. Even so, Portage's history is very substantial and still has a major effect on the town today. Much of this history revolves around its Native American connections.

Native People of the Portage

The early Native American inhabitants of the Portage area are a symbol of the town's diverse history and are used to complement its promotional qualities. This can be observed in the books *Portage: A Sesquicentennial History* by Michael J. Goc and *Early Days at the Fox-Wisconsin Portage* by Ina Curtis. These books were designed to celebrate the town's history. They focus on noteworthy Native Americans and even the Native American history before and leading up to European contact.

The region of southeastern Wisconsin up to La Crosse and to the northernmost areas of Illinois, were once considered to be in control of the Ho-Chunk Nation. The Chippewa, who were enemies with the Ho-Chunk, lived further to the north. Starting at the portage and moving northeast belonged to the Menominee. These bordering people were of Algonquin descent while the Ho-Chunk were of the Sioux (Curtis 15). In summer periods the Ho-Chunk stayed together in large villages. They supported themselves with agriculture: growing corn, beans, and squash until the winter months. At that point they would separate into smaller groups, consisting of extended families, and migrate to different hunting camps (Goc 17).

The eighteenth century meant a challenging time for the Ho-Chunk. The fur trade brought an infiltration of French and their Native American associates. It also brought an infiltration of diseases that, along with war involving neighboring Illinois tribes, worked to practically eradicate the Ho-Chunk. This was the origination of a tribal story about a single man who was left unharmed to repopulate the Ho-Chunk people. This devastation also brought cultural change (Goc 17).

The once self-sufficient people began to rely on the fur trade and its foreign authorities. They also gave up their culture for a hybrid society of Ho-Chunk and fur trader culture. Use of this practice was not unique amongst the Ho-Chunk but was prevalent among all of the Great Lakes tribes. The Ho-Chunk, however, did not prosper under their new ways. They were the subordinates in the fur trade industry. They exchanged their services for trade goods distributed to them by the fur companies. On many occurrences they were neglected and insufficiently paid. The fur trade brought many changes among the Ho-Chunk people, yet it did not affect the affinity they had for their lands. This became problematic as American forces took control of Wisconsin and miners began intruding on lands in southwest Wisconsin (Goc 15).

The forts located in Wisconsin changed occupiers from the French to the British, and after the War of 1812, control of the fort belonged to the Americans (Curtis 18). This brought American miners into the areas known as the "Lead Region" in the 1820s (Goc 17). Although the United States government recognized the Ho-Chunk's claim to the land, they permitted white settlers to occupy the area (Goc 17). Tensions arose as the Ho-Chunk resented the white settlers who had stolen their land, and they were also suspicious of any actions by soldiers occupying the forts (Curtis 18-19). This eventually led to the conflict with Red Bird.

Tempers flared among the Ho-Chunk after hearing rumors that two of their men had been killed by Chippewas as a result of interference by American soldiers

(Curtis 19). Although the two men later returned unharmed, the Ho-Chunk had already held a council and determined to kill two white settlers as retribution (Curtis 19). Three men, Red Bird, We Kaw, and Chichonsi, were sent to kill a French farmer, Registre Gagnier, residing on Ho-Chunk lands (Curtis 19; Goc 17). They killed both him, his farm hand, and also scalped the farmer's eleven-month-old daughter (Curtis 19). His daughter, however, miraculously survived and was given part of a silver dollar to replace the area of her skull lost in the attack (Curtis 20). The daughter, Marie Regis, lived a long life and was known for charging people to see her scars from the incident. After the attack, other Ho-Chunk began attacking boats along the Mississippi River. Fear and panic spread amongst the white settlers in the area. The government released several troops in response to the uprising. Eventually, Red Bird and We Kaw peacefully surrendered (Goc 17-18). The affair with Red Bird started many events in motion that would change the course of history for the Ho-Chunk. Indian Agent Kinzie had a strong impression of Red Bird saying that,

“he certainly was the best looking Indian in the Nation...of all the Indians I ever saw, he is, without exception, the most perfect in form...I never beheld a face that was so full of all the ennobling, and at the same time, the most winning expression...During my attempted analysis of this face, I could not but ask myself, can this man be a murderer? Is this the same man who shot, scalped, and cut the throat of Gagnier” (Goc 18)?

Red Bird's actions ignited the government's decision to assimilate the Ho-Chunks and to acquire their lands. However, the assimilation ceased and removal began when the conflict known as the Black Hawk War started (Goc 19-20).

Although Black Hawk never actually visited the Portage area during the conflict, his actions made a lasting impression on Portage's celebrated history. Many of the happenings of the Black Hawk War impacted Fort Winnebago, the Indian Agency, and their inhabitants. The Sauk leader also made quite the impression on the agent's wife, Juliette Kinzie, who was quoted as saying,

“It may seem wonderful that an enemy so few in number and so insignificant in resources could have created such a panic, and required so vast an amount of opposing force to subdue them” (Thayer 3).

Black Sparrow Hawk was not a chief of the Sauk/Fox people as many people might believe. He was, like his father and grandfather before him, a very important person in his village (Marshall J. and Marshall M. 9). An unusual transaction inspired the treaty of 1804, ceding all Sauk/Fox lands to the United States Government. The cessation of Sauk/Fox lands and the War of 1812 brought white settlers into the region (Marshall J. and Marshall M. 34-36). As the settlers felt more threatened by their Indian neighbors, requests for protection were sent to Washington (Marshall J. and Marshall M. 40). With President Jackson's Indian Removal Act, Native Americans were ordered to relocate west of the Mississippi River (Marshall J. and Marshall M. 42). Black Hawk refused to go peacefully. Instead of moving west, he traveled north to Wisconsin in hopes of inspiring the Potawatami and Ho-Chunk to stay and fight with him (Marshall J. and Marshall M. 50-59).

Although Black Hawk was able to recruit a small number of Ho-Chunk, it was not enough to continue the resistance. His retreat west of the Mississippi River was

accompanied with constant attacks by militia men and army troops (Goc 20). Black Hawk himself survived the attacks but he eventually surrendered and was imprisoned (Goc 20). However, he managed to make his presence felt at Fort Winnebago before doing so.

The majority of troops stationed at the portage left to pursue Black Hawk and his people. This left the fort utterly defenseless. Word spread of a growing band of Ho-Chunk who were sympathetic to Black Hawk and waiting to attack. Three thousand men were sent back only to discover no immediate danger to the fort. However, as the troops rested at the portage for the night, their horses were stampeded. This foul up was a setback that would prolong the Black Hawk War (Goc 20).

The end of the war meant even more trouble for the Ho-Chunk. The tribe as a whole was punished for the deeds of a few. They were required to give away their remaining lands. This was extremely dishonorable as many Ho-Chunk had fought on the American side. Also, the Ho-Chunk turned over any of their insurgent people (Goc 20). This action was ordered by Major General Winfield Scott, who wrote to the Winnebago Nation,

“I have heard with great regret, that many Winnebagos have been engaged in this lawless war against the Americans...For these causes, I demand that the Chief’s head men and principal Warriors of the Winnebago Nation, who are under the agencies of Prairie du Chien, Fort Winnebago, and Rock River, meet me in council...bring with them all Sacs, Foxes, Kicapooos and others of Black Hawk’s band” (Thayer 309-311).

A large number of Ho-Chunk still refused to leave their land. They were led by prominent members of the tribe known as Dandy and Yellow Thunder. Many efforts were made to persuade them to depart from their land. This spanned over a thirty year period starting in 1840. The Ho-Chunk who persevered were finally permitted to stay under the Indian Homestead Act of 1874 (Goc 21). The sad history and trials of the Ho-Chunk in the Portage area all began with the exploration of Jean Nicolet.

Explorers of the Portage

Portage, being the tract of land to traverse in order to cross from the Fox to the Wisconsin River, became an important checkpoint for early Europeans of Wisconsin. For the early explorers and fur traders, the water route that Portage now connects was an extreme necessity. Portage credits the famous explorers, Louis Jolliet and Jacques Marquette, as being the first Europeans to set foot at the portage. There is a sign in Portage today marking their journey onward to the Wisconsin River.

In 1673, an expedition led by Louis Jolliet and accompanied by a Jesuit missionary, named Father Jacques Marquette, departed to search for the Pacific Ocean, or at least a waterway to the great body of water (Curtis 8-9). Together, the two men traveled up the Fox River to the area that is now Portage (Curtis 8). There they made the now famous act of carrying their canoes across to the Wisconsin River and continued their journey on to the Arkansas River (Curtis 9). However, their time spent between the two rivers was the first of many future portages. Their explorations created opportunities for French fur traders to take advantage of the water route.

As the eighteenth century began, so did the time of fur trade domination in Wisconsin (Curtis 10). This period also brought a period of war (Goc 11-12). Control over the area first changed from French to British, however the British eventually lost control to America (Goc 11). This event was followed by a series of battles involving British and Indian forces allied against America (Goc 11-12). During and after these periods, the area of the portage was inhabited by several notable military figures.

Military Presence at the Portage

Another source of pride for Portage is the famous military officials who were once stationed at Fort Winnebago. One of the consequences of the Red Bird conflict was the construction of Fort Winnebago at the portage. Major David Twiggs led troops down from Green Bay to build and occupy the fort in 1828 (Goc 19). Twiggs later became a general during the Mexican and Civil Wars (Kleist 3). Jefferson Davis, who is said to have personally overseen the cutting of logs for the fort, once served there (Kleist 3). He also ordered the fort to be sold to private owners in 1854 (Kleist 3). Later he became President of the Confederate States. Many other men who served at Fort Winnebago continued to have prominent roles in the Civil War (Curtis 33-40). Fort Winnebago became a major part of Portage's history.

Fort Winnebago

Although the entire fort no longer remains today, the Surgeon's Quarters, which is the only remaining building of the fort, is listed on the National Register of Historic Places (Portage Area Chamber of Commerce: 2004). It is open to the public and is considered one of the area's main attractions (Portage Area Chamber of Commerce: 2004). The Surgeon's Quarters is maintained by the Daughters of the American Revolution and serves as a museum of the fort's historic days (Portage Area Chamber of Commerce: 2004).

Four thousand acres of land that had been bought from the Ho-Chunk (as a repercussion to the Red Bird conflict) was used to hold Fort Winnebago (Goc 29). The fort itself was built from natural resources in the surrounding area (Curtis 22). Around it were different buildings, such as: stables, shops, a commissary store, ice house, bath house, and living quarters (Curtis 23). A military road connected it to Fort Crawford in Prairie du Chien and Fort Howard in Green Bay (Kleist 40). The fort was only occupied by military personnel for seventeen years. Although the population shifted from a majority of Ho-Chunk to a majority of white settlers, yet the need for a military fort declined. In 1854, it was deserted of soldiers and sold to private owners (Curtis 23). The experience of life at the fort has been preserved through the book by the Indian agent's wife, Juliette Kinzie.

The Indian Agency

Another historical site in which Portage takes pride is the Indian Agency. As the Ho-Chunk's assimilation process into American culture began, the government issued an Indian Agency at the portage. They also hired a blacksmith and a farmer to teach them American ways of life (Goc 19). John and Juliette Kinzie moved to the Portage area while the fort was in construction (Curtis 28). Eventually the Indian Agency House was built for them to live and perform their duties (Curtis 29). John

Kinzie was chosen for the job because of the skills he acquired working with Indians in the fur trade. Juliette was said to be articulate, educated, and favored among the Ho-Chunk (Curtis 28). Throughout Juliette's book, the Ho-Chunk are said to have referred to them as "Father" and "Mother."

During the winter the Ho-Chunk kept their traditional practice of dividing into groups consisting of extended families in order to live at different camps. Much of their summers were now spent at the portage area collecting their land payments while dealing for winter supplies (Kinzie 59). Kinzie described the Ho-Chunk as intelligent dealers who were seldom cheated and often attempted to deceive Kinzie and the soldiers who distributed their payments (54-55, 59).

More and more Indians began leaving the area as they were pressured to sign treaties giving up their land. As the necessity for an Indian agent lessened, John Kinzie decided to relieve himself of his position. In the year 1833, Juliette left for Detroit as John traveled to Chicago to seek permanent residence (Curtis 31). Kinzie describes her departure as a truly sad day for their Ho-Chunk friends (1992: 262).

Captain Robert McCabe resigned from his post at Fort Winnebago to act as the new Indian agent (Curtis 31). After only a year of service, McCabe ended his term after suffering a stroke (Curtis 32). The following agents were whoever were currently in charge of the fort. It is said that the following fort commanders detested the job (Curtis 32). The Indian Agency House itself served many functions after the removal of the Ho-Chunk. It was once a tavern, trading post, hotel, and residential house; the house still stands as a revered historic site (Curtis 32-33). The Indian Agency House is considered a tool to help people learn about Portage's history. Much of this history is viewed in a glorified manner. The sad history of the Ho-Chunk is often omitted from the stories of Portage's past. Many people are misinformed about the events that led to the loss of Ho-Chunk culture and their removal from the land. The main cause for the misinformation comes from Juliette Kinzie and her book, *The Wau-Bun*. The book has already proved its influential powers with the restoration of the Agency House. Those who campaigned to save the building used the stories in the book to justify its importance and create fascination with the site (Cronon 1-8). Also, the book's influence is evident as many authors frequently cite it in their own works. Kinzie's memoirs are now being taken as historical facts, so it is true that first-hand witnesses are often the best sources. However, as a witness, Kinzie was misinformed or ignorant to what was occurring around her.

The Ho-Chunk faced extinction as the fur trade brought new diseases to Wisconsin. They struggled to preserve their cultural identity long before American policies of assimilation began. Kinzie did not understand that the Ho-Chunk were once a proud nation of people. They were dependent on her and her husband because of European and American contact. Although Kinzie displayed a sense of pity for the Indians, she also thought of them as being on the same level as children. This was evident as she and her husband instructed the Indians to call them "Mother" and "Father." However, this may have been a display of Kinzie's ignorance. The Ho-Chunk were most likely a matrilineal clan. Although there is little evidence of this, there have been documented occurrences that point to such a practice. For example, Kinzie recalls a story of a Ho-Chunk woman that married a Musquaquee man. She explains that as the custom of the tribes instructs, the husband goes and lives with the wife's family (Kinzie 186). Calling

the Indian agent “Father” would not be gesture of respect as the father figure is not one of authority in a matrilineal system.

Another display of Kinzie’s ignorance was her thoughts toward Ho-Chunk assimilation to American ways. She believed that all Ho-Chunk problems would be solved through assimilation. Kinzie recounts a story of a chief proudly wearing American clothes. She explains that an Indian’s first step toward civilization is wearing a white man’s decorated hat (Kinzie 55-56).

The Ho-Chunk also resisted American assimilation. John Kinzie once tried to persuade the Ho-Chunk people to send their children to a school in order to receive an American education (Kinzie 63-64). He explained that this would greatly improve the wealth of the tribe (Kinzie 64). Of course the Indians would only have to give a part of their annual payments to take part in this privilege. After the agent’s promotional speech, one of the chiefs explained to Kinzie that since God had not made them white men, they would not try to act as one (Kinzie 64). In reality, American policies and the processes of assimilation would never solve the Ho-Chunk’s problems. Rather, they were the cause in the first place.

Kinzie’s thoughts and actions recorded in her memoirs represent her sense of superiority over the Ho-Chunk. At the time, these thoughts may have been justified. The appropriation of Ho-Chunk lands had made them dependent on their new white neighbors. The Ho-Chunk culture had been eroding away since the days of the fur trade. Assimilation made them a people between two cultures. They would never completely incorporate all American ways of life, but they could never go back to their traditional ways either. Juliette Kinzie may have witnessed the indigenous people of the portage area, but she never encountered the true indigenous culture.

Conclusion

Located between the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, Portage, Wisconsin, was the center of many historical events in our state. Starting with early explorers, the area of the portage has always been an important site for the early people of Wisconsin. The fur trade made the area into a place of business where one could make money for oneself. To protect this business, Fort Winnebago was constructed. This protection was mainly intended for white settlers against the Native Americans; however, the fort eventually became a place of more importance to the Native Americans than it did for the white settlers. The Ho-Chunk Indians, or the Winnebago as they were then called, went to the fort to receive their land payments from the Indian agent. However, the fort, agency, and frontier way of life, ended in the area with the removal of the Ho-Chunk to the west of the Mississippi River.

The town of Portage has a compelling history, which it regards with extreme pride. It uses this history to distinguish itself from other communities. The town proudly displays its past with historic markers and decorations that depict past life in the area. Portage also uses its history to promote tourism and improve its image to visitors. Portage’s history is a source of pride, identity, and extreme importance to the community.

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Experiments in Bone Burning

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Abstract:

Most people, when building a fire, look for wood for their fuel source. However, wood was not available for some people in prehistory. Early arctic people of the Beringia area may have used bones as a primary fuel source. Looking at the environmental conditions of Alaska approximately 14,000 to 11,000 years ago, it could have been possible to burn bones as an alternate fuel source. Possible bone fires may have been performed at other locations around the globe, and these sites are compared to a site in central Alaska. Experiments were designed to test the feasibility of burning bones. The control for the experiment used bones that were not cooked in any way, while the variable test used boiled bones. The tests used bones from various hoofed mammals, dried grass, and pieces of lard.

Introduction

Fire is one of the greatest tools available to humans. Fire has numerous applications, which include lighting the dark, heating the cold, cooking food, and providing security from predators. Without fire, other technologies, such as ceramics and the smelting of ores, would not have been possible. There are more examples of primitive technologies, and even more examples of industrial technologies that depend on fire.

Fire is needed in all environments, from the desert to the tundra. These fires were typically built with wood. What if the environment provided little or even no wood to make fires? One possible alternative that would have been abundant was bones. Like wood, bones are organic matter that can be burned. However, could bones actually be used in place of wood as a fuel source? If possible, did the bones go through any type of cooking process, such as being boiled, before the bones were burned? Drs. Jeffery Behm and Barbara Crass have conducted bone burning experiments. Their most recent experiments were very successful and have helped to further prove that bones could have been burned for a fuel source.

For this project, three separate experiments were conducted. The first two were based off the experiments of Drs. Behm and Crass. The third experiment involved using a new element, the boiled bones. This experiment was done to see if boiled bones could have been used for building fires.

Beringia

The focus area for this experiment is in the arctic region of eastern Beringia. This section will look at the environment of this area during the time the New World was thought to be populated. Beringia is a term given to a low-lying area between Alaska and Siberia. This area, also known as the Bering Land Bridge, was last above sea level around 18,000 years ago (Fagan 2000). Beringia was a geographic separation between the Arctic Ocean and the Pacific Ocean. The most western border of Beringia reached just beyond the Lena River in Siberia, and the eastern border was just west of

the Mackenzie River in Canada (West 1996). The Bering Land Bridge began to close when the temperatures began to rise, which caused the sea levels to rise. This warming period occurred around 11,000 years ago, or at the end of the Pleistocene period and the beginning of the Holocene (Fagan 2000).

Because of this open landmass, animals were able to move between Siberia and Alaska. Some of the large mammal species that were found during this time period include: saber-toothed cats, mammoths, red deer/wapiti, steepe bison/large-horned bison, and musk-ox. According to Bjorn Kurtén, species that migrated from Siberia into Alaska included mammoth, musk-ox, caribou, moose, grizzly bear, and polar bear (West 1996). Other animal species found in Alaska include: horse, sheep, wolf, coyote, lion, camel, and mastodon. Of the herbivores found, most were predominantly grass eaters (Guthrie 1996).

If much of the animal population consisted of grass-eating herbivores, then it may be assumed that much of the plant population of the area consisted of grasses. Most research on flora remains is done through palynology: the study of pollen. Pollen studies for at least the eastern part of Beringia suggest that the area consisted of dwarf willow, birch (Colinvaux 1996), sedge, *Artemesia*, and grass (Anderson 1996).

Since much of the area lacked trees, humans had to find an alternative source of fuel to survive. They could have burned grass, but grass burns too quickly in order to have a long sustained fire. Only bones could have been used, but trying to burn only the bones would have been too difficult. Using both grass and bones would be a suitable mixture since both were abundant.

Archaeological Evidence of Bone Burning

Unfortunately, not a great deal of archaeological evidence for bone fires has been found in the Alaskan region. Only “possible” evidence has been discovered and most literature concerning the use of bones for fuel deals with the Old World. However, there is some evidence that suggests bone fires were used in Beringia.

Swan Point

One of the areas where possible bone burning was done is in the interior of Alaska, near Delta Junction. Swan Point (XBD-156) is a multi-component site, with the oldest period of human presence dating to around 14,000 years ago. The earliest evidence of human activity in the New World comes from Swan Point and the surrounding area. It is from the oldest levels that the evidence of bone fires comes from, and it comes in the form of small fragments of organic matter. It was not known where the fragments might have come from. Dr. Crass wanted to know where the fragments came from and brought up the theory of using bones for building fires. Working with Dr. Behm, experiments were done to test this theory. The tests showed that when bones are burned, the fat would melt and sometimes leave deposits of fat on the surface of the ground. The organic material at Swan Point may have been the remains of fat deposits that were left by burning bones.

Sibudu

Sibudu, a cave site found in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, that dates back to around 70,000 years ago, has shown a very high percentage of burned bone. Chester

Cain (2005) discussed the different possibilities for why the bones were burned at this site, all of which surround human behavior. These possibilities include: food preparation, disposal of part of a fresh bone into a fire, discarded bones that were burnt after a hearth was built over them, or used the bones as part of the fuel for the hearths. After Cain analyzed the bone remains and the environment of the time for this area, he believed that the bones were probably not used as fuel. Cain thought the fires were used as a way of disposing the bones, since there is much evidence suggesting that there were plenty of trees available to be used for fuel.

Pataud Rock Shelter

Another consideration of bones as fuel comes from France. The Pataud Rock Shelter, in the oldest strata, has multiple hearths filled with carbonized bone. There was very little wood charcoal present in these hearths. These observations led Théry-Parisot (2002) to suggest that the people who used this rock shelter, used bones as their fuel source. Calculations were done to see if wood was scarce near the shelter in order to determine if this was the reason why bones were burned. Unfortunately, Théry-Parisot's tests involved the use of wood. The arctic populations 11,000-15,000 would not have had wood available to them. Théry-Parisot also explains that the bone fires were probably only used for convection and radiation. Convection heat energy was used for: heating closed places, drying, and curing. Radiation heat energy was used for: heating closed places, heating a body, protection, cooking, drying, and light (Théry-Parisot 2002). Early arctic people may have needed bone fires for all of these reasons.

Even though both of the previous sites are not located in Beringia, it is important to note that the use of bones as a fuel source could possibly have taken place across the globe during different temporal stages depending on the availability of wood. Burning bone may not have been exclusive to one area; however, since it does not seem to be a highly used technique, it is hard to say whether or not the idea of burning bone for fuel spread from group to group, or if the use of it was an independent occurrence.

Bone Burning Experiments and Results

The next section of this discussion reviews a series of experiments to test whether or not bones could be used for a fuel source. Three experiments were run to test if bone fires were possible. The third test involved the use of boiled bones for the fuel source. Previous experiments done by Drs. Behm and Crass prove that bones can be used to build fires. For the first two experiments, it was predicted that the fires would be successful. Since boiled bones were never used, the prediction for the third test was that it would be unsuccessful. It was thought that it would be unsuccessful because the boiling process would affect the fat content of the bones. Each experiment was conducted differently from the previous. However, each experiment involved using the same basic materials: bones from some type of hoofed animal and grass. The three types of animals used for the research were White-Tail deer, North American elk, and beef cattle. The species of grasses used are unknown; however, both can be found locally in Wisconsin. Because the experiments were held outside, the weather conditions varied each day, and it is for this reason a brief description of the weather conditions are incorporated for each experiment.

Experiment One

The first experiment involved using bones from a White-Tail deer. Mostly long bones were used, and the bones varied between 17 cm to 30 cm in length. Also a scapula was used in the experiment. There were eleven bones used for this fire, and the total weight of all of the bones was 3.5 pounds. The grass used in this experiment was collected from Jefferson County. The cut and dried grass that was collected was braided into bundles. Cut up bits of lard were also used in this test. Fortunately, a lack of precipitation made it easier to try for a successful fire, but the high winds hindered it. The setup for this test was based off tests run by Drs. Behm and Crass (Crass 2005).

The fire was built inside of a metal fire pit that was filled with fine sand. A mound of braided grass was then placed on top of the sand, followed by the bones and lard. The bones were placed in a pyramid-like shape around the grass, and some of the lard chunks were placed among them. After several attempts at trying to light the fire, some of the grass started to burn. Grass was continually added to the fire in order to keep the grass burning so that the fire would become hot enough to start melting the fat from the bones. This was done for approximately 30 minutes. Eventually, the grass was left to burn itself out.

The flames from this fire were never very large, and little heat was emitted. The color of the flame was an intense orange. When compared to a wood fire, the flame was much brighter. No temperatures were recorded for this half of the test. The fire from the grass charred the bones, but the bones never actually started to burn.

Since the bones had not completely burned, the test was reset for a second try. The fire pit was cleaned and the setup for this trial of the experiment was the same as before. Again, due to windy conditions, the fire was hard to light. Finally, there was success at getting a small fire started. This time, some of the bones did crack, and the rest of the long bones were cracked by hand to allow the bone marrow to be exposed to the fire. The exposed bone marrow seemed to add more fuel to the fire. As with the first trial, the same intense orange colored flame was seen. This time, a sizzling noise could be heard coming from the fire as the bone marrow came into contact with the flames. Since a sizeable fire was burning, two temperature readings were taken. The first temperature taken was about 110° C. The second temperature, taken approximately 11 minutes after the first, varied between 135° C and 150° C. These were the only temperature readings taken for this part of the test because the fire quickly died. The total time taken to complete the entire experiment was approximately 2 hours and 30 minutes. This time included the amount of time it took to reset the fire for the second trial. All of the remains were taken out of the fire pit and were saved for later examination.

Experiment one was done to see if a bone fire could be started. Based off what happened in the experiment, it could be concluded that bone fires are not possible. Since this was the first experiment done for this research project, there were many factors that led to an unsuccessful burn. The grass used in this test never burned hot enough or even long enough to get the fat to melt. The bones that were used may not have been dry enough. Most of the fat on the outside of the bones had been cleaned away. The fire would have needed to get to a very high temperature using just the grass in order to crack the bones open. All of the fat that was needed was still inside the bone. The lard that was used in this test did not have the same effect as having fat still attached to the outside of the bone. Another factor in the unsuccessful burn was

the grass used. The grass was not as dry as it could have been. The wind on that day was also not helpful in getting a fire started. Some breeze would have been necessary to help get the fire started, but this wind was too strong. It is completely possible that if bone fires were made in the arctic, wind would have also been a factor. However, it is strongly believed that the people living in the arctic, 11,000 years ago, would have been much better at building bone fires if they did build these types of fires.

Experiment Two

The second experiment was again used to test the possibility of bone fires. However, different bones were used, and the fire was set up differently. Like the first test, wind was an issue, but there was again no precipitation. The bones used came from a White-Tail deer and from an elk. The bones from the White-Tail deer included: a complete rib cage (with vertebrae attached), long bones, and a small section of another rib cage containing five ribs. The bones that were used from the elk were two long bones and a scapula. Once again, grass from the Jefferson area was used; however, most of the grass used for the test was collected from the Green Bay region. The largest difference between the two types of grasses was the diameter of the grass stem. The diameter of the grass taken from the Green Bay region was significantly smaller than the grass taken from the area in which the tests were held. Drs. Behm and Crass used the Green Bay grass for their experiments and highly recommended using it for this experiment.

Sand was placed into the fire pit, and a greater amount was used. Instead of placing the grass directly on top of the sand, two rocks were used to make a small airshaft so that more oxygen could be let in underneath the fire. The idea for using the rocks came from a discussion with Dr. Crass at one of their recent experiments. Since the fires would often suffocate themselves, it was thought the rocks would allow even more oxygen flow. The grass braids, made with the grass from the Green Bay region, were then circled around the rocks. The complete rib cage was broken into smaller sections so that it could be placed around the grass more easily. A few of the deer leg bones were also added. No additional lard or fat was used for this fire.

Getting the fire started and keeping it burning was less difficult for this experiment. It took about 20 to 30 minutes to get an established fire started. Since the fire was very stable, the small rib cage section, the elk bones, and the remaining deer leg bones, were added to the fire. These were placed at the top of the fire, to ensure any melting fat would run down the entire length of the fire.

This fire continued to burn for about 30 minutes. Again, the very intense orange flame was observed (Figure 1). After this point, the wind picked up, which made it more difficult to keep the fire going. Since there are no natural windbreaks near the burning area, a wheelbarrow was used. It was placed on the southern part of the fire. The fire had to be reset, and the wheelbarrow did help with stopping most of the wind. After the fire was reset, it burned for another 20 minutes before completely dying out. Figure 2 shows the remains at the end of the fire. Like the first experiment, all of the remains were removed and saved. Samples were taken from the sand where the fat had accumulated.

As with the first test, the same color flame was observed. Since the fire was more stable, it was easier to get temperature readings. The first temperature was taken



Figure 1: Shows the flame from experiment two.



Figure 2: The bone remains from experiment two after the fire had died.

33 minutes after the start of the test, and was between 90° C and 100° C. The second reading, 20 minutes after the first, was at 320° C, and the third, 8 minutes after the second, was at 540° C. After the third temperature was taken, the fire had died and had to be reset. The fourth temperature reading was approximately 54 minutes after the third had been taken. This temperature was 480° C. The intensity of the heat was great enough to create calcined (decomposed carbon) bones. Even though there were some calcined bones, some of the bones did not burn.

The results from experiment two helped prove that bone fires could have been possibly sustained in the arctic. A stable fire was achieved for a substantial period of time. Even though it was a partial success, there were still many things that could be changed to make the experiment more successful. The bones were much drier for this test and many of them still had plenty of fat left on the outside. More bones could have been used to make a larger, more sustainable fire. The rocks in the middle of the fire helped to allow more oxygen flow, but they also acted as a barrier, since there was a small amount of materials used. When one side of the fire was started, it was very difficult to get the other side burning. Because of this barrier, all of the materials were never burning at the same time. Next time an experiment is done similar to this one, either more bones are needed, or smaller rocks. Again, the wind was a major issue when trying to get this fire started. There are some benefits to conducting these experiments inside. For one, the weather factor is eliminated, but the weather may have been something that early arctic people would have had to also deal with, so running the tests outside puts the tests into a more realistic setting.

Experiment Three

Experiment three was to test if boiled bones could be used as a fuel source. The setup for this experiment was basically the same as experiment two. There were some elements that did change. The bones that were used were beef cattle bones. They were all leg bones that had been cut into smaller segments. Two of the pieces were fragments of long bone shafts. All of these bones were then boiled. For this test, the grass that was used was from Jefferson County, and none was taken from the Green Bay area. The weather conditions had also changed from the previous two tests. Firstly, it was considerably cooler, approximately 30° F to 35° F, and secondly, there was light precipitation, with snow that was accumulated on the ground and in the test pit. The wind was not an issue for this experiment.

For this experiment, the bones needed to be boiled. All of the bones were placed into the pot, and then the pot was filled with water until the bones were completely covered. The water was then heated until it was boiling. While the bones were being heated, the fat from the bones began to separate from the bone. After the bones were boiled, the fat was skimmed off the top and placed into a bowl, and the bones were placed into a different container to let the water drip off.

Before the test could be set up, snow had to be removed from the fire pit. No additional sand was added. Unlike the first two tests, the sand platform for this test was frozen and packed together. Once again, the two rocks were used to create the airshaft. Braided grass bundles were wrapped around the rocks, and the bones were placed on top of the grass (Figure 3).

The fire for this test was difficult to start and maintain. There was no success in getting the grass to burn. The grass would burn for a short time, and then die out. There was a brief moment when the fire burned strongly for at least a minute before it died. Several attempts were made to relight the fire, but it would not relight.

Experiment three was the least successful of all of the burns. In terms of what the flames did look like, the color was exactly the same as the last two tests. Since this fire was done at night, the color of the flame could be seen more noticeably. After the fire had died, the bones were collected. The next day, a second attempt was made.



Figure 3: Setup of experiment three prior to the fire being set.

There was a steady drizzle all morning, and nothing stayed dry for long. Only small, short flames were seen. Most of the bones had not burned. The fat that was still intact after the boiling process did not melt from the fire. Everything had become too wet to get a fire started.

Experiment three posed the most questions. The major question was how long the bones should be boiled. If the bones boil long enough, all the meat and fat will cook off the bones, and if the bones are cracked, the marrow may also be lost. After the boiling is over, all that may be left are bare, hollow bones. Many grass and fat scraps would have been needed to get these bones to burn. If the bones are just brought to a boil with the heat being reduced right after, like in experiment three, much of the fat remains intact with the bones, though some fat will be lost. Another question that this brings up is how should the bones be left to dry and for how long should they dry before they can be burned? The bones should be as dry as possible before an attempt to burn them since any water will hinder the fire.

Conclusions

The main question concerning bone burning, in general, is how it was done. Using dry bones and grass as the initial fuel seems to work the best in getting a good fire started. Fresh bones can then be added once the fire has enough energy. Still, how the bones were dried in the arctic 11,000 years ago is not known. One possibility is that the bones could have been left in a cache to dry. However, there is the likelihood that the group may never return to the spot in order to retrieve the bones, or the bones may be scavenged by other animals and lost. Another possibility is that the group could have taken the bones with them until they were properly dried. This could be a very dangerous scenario since they would then smell like something that a predator would eat. Boiled bones may have also worked, but some type of fire had to be established in order to boil the water. Previously boiled bones could have been used to set up the fire,

but this brings back the questions from the third test. There are more cooking processes that a bone can go through other than being boiled, but those processes also need to be tested and will generate even more questions that will need to be answered.

Until definite archaeological evidence is provided, tests will help in trying to answer all of these questions. Unfortunately, most archaeological analysis is based on the stuff that was left behind, and bones are organic matter that will decompose over time and be lost. Burnt bone, which preserves well, is mostly found with wood charcoal remains in a hearth setting. For the few sites that have possible evidence, little analysis has been done. However, through archaeological experimentation, the processes that went into making bone fires may be discovered. In order to get the best possible understanding of how bone fires may have been used, bone fires need to be made, and then allowed to go through taphonomic stages in order to be compared to remains found at archaeological sites. Experimentation is the most promising way to understand what early arctic people may have done for fuel since many of the stories that they left behind have now vanished, and it is impossible to go back in time to see how they truly lived.

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Beyond the Status-Quo: Cultivating Peace in Post-Genocide Countries

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Abstract:

This paper asserts that constructively remembering past atrocities is central to the formation of a lasting, multi-faceted peace in post-genocide societies. The Rwandan case-study first illustrates the dynamics of a society affected by genocide, as well as critically analyzes the integrity of its peace. Secondly, the role of collective memory in reconciliation is discussed at length, including the dangers of implying “forgive and forget” principles within a reconstruction context. The final portion of the paper suggests three applications with which to apply the needs of collective memory in reconciliation: 1.) validating track II diplomacy; 2.) supporting the processes of truth commissions; and 3.) shaping reconstruction for reconciliation. In order to work toward a lasting peace, it is essential that Rwanda—as well as other post-genocide societies—remember the past in a way which leads to restoration.

Introduction

The Rwandan genocide of 1994 was one of the most concentrated genocides of the 20th century. More than a decade later, Rwanda has been applauded for its progress in reconstructing a post-conflict society. However, the amnesic attitudes of the current government in Rwanda concerning the not-so-distant past undermines a durable peace for the country, and also risks citizens’ basic freedoms. The future of Rwanda—as well as other post-conflict societies—rests not in its ability to forgive and forget, but rather to remember and restore.

In order to understand the restoration process, this paper uses collective memory as a means to critically analyze the Rwandan situation, challenging a status-quo standard of peace after genocide. First, the story of Rwanda is invaluable in illustrating both the wearisome dynamics of genocide, as well as the dangers of imposed-forgetting of past atrocities. Thereafter, the role of collective memory in conflict will be explored at length. After establishing the relationship between collective memory and reconciliation, three practical applications are offered which proceed with the goal of multi-faceted restoration on all levels of society. These applications include: implementing “Track II diplomacy,” truth commissions vs. criminal tribunals, and reconstruction as reconciliation.

Rwanda: “A Legacy of Ethnic Resentment”

When the first visual images of Rwandan killings were broadcast on Western news programs, the unfolding genocide was portrayed as a spontaneous outbreak of violence. Unfortunately, the dynamics of ethnic conflicts were never reducible to terms of spontaneity. Suffice it to say, that the genocide was hardly impulsive—it was a meticulously planned expression of an ethnic rage.

Hostility between Rwanda’s two dominant ethnic tribes, the Hutus and the Tutsis, has its roots in colonial times. According to Bruce D. Jones, colonialists used

the Tutsi tribe to consolidate imperial presence through patrimonial authority, enabling the minority Tutsis to become a dominant elite (2001, 19). This dynamic of legalized discrimination created what *The Economist* terms “a legacy of ethnic resentment” (“The Road Out of Hell”).

In 1990, the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), comprised of exiled Tutsis, invaded Rwanda and unsuccessfully attempted to overthrow the Hutu government, renewing aggression between the two tribes. The Arusha Peace Accord (1993) promised to incorporate representatives of both tribes in the government. The sitting president, Habariyama, seemed to undermine the agreement by introducing anti-Tutsi elements into his government (Staub and Pearlman 2001, 210).

A systematically-planned genocide was already in mobilization stages before Habariyama’s plane was shot down in April 1994: according to *The Economist*, “[the Hutus] recruited and indoctrinated thousands of militiamen, and imported enough machetes to give one to every third adult Hutu male” (“The Road Out of Hell”). What followed Habariyama’s assassination was a highly condensed genocide: statistics estimate that between 800,000 and 1 million people were killed within three months, not to mention the displacement of nearly 4 million refugees. Essentially, it was not mere numbers that differentiated Rwanda as the “greatest humanitarian crisis of this generation” (Jones 2001, 1), but instead the sheer concentration and personal nature of violence. As Ervin Staub and Laurie Anne Pearlmann ascertained while coordinating “*Healing, Forgiveness and Reconciliation in Rwanda*,” there are three unique characteristics of the Rwandan genocide:

1. A very large number of people were killed in a very short time.
2. A great deal of the killing was person to person, rather than impersonal... Machetes, which require close contact between perpetrator and victim, were often used.
3. While military and paramilitary groups... perpetrated much of the killing, substantial killing was also perpetrated by a segment of the population. People were killed by neighbors, even relatives (2001, 211).

Rwanda’s genocide changed the country forever, not only in terms of its population distribution, but also the very fabric of progress and development.

More than a decade has passed since the Rwandan genocide, and the Rwandan Patriotic Front is now in control of the government. *The Economist* reports that incomes are nearly that of pre-genocide levels, many Tutsi refugees have returned, and re-education camps have attempted to teach ex-soldiers how to become “good patriotic citizens” (“The Road Out of Hell”). To those familiar with the Rwandan story, the success of the RPF regime seems miraculous—perhaps suspiciously so.

There is a catch, namely, that the RPF rules its country more strictly than any other government in Africa. According to *The Economist*, there is neither freedom of the press nor freedom of association, for fear of further genocide. Additionally concerning is the enforced lack of political opposition to the current regime, creating conditions of a “thinly-disguised autocracy.” Those with political views differing from those in the government may be threatened, and fearing that diverse opinions will lead to a second genocide. The ruling government even goes so far as to pressure Hutus and Tutsis to address one another as “brothers,” providing few outlets for the silent tension that still exists between the groups. *The Economist* concludes, “given the instability in

the region, and the unresolved frustrations stopped up within the Rwandan hearts, there could be a resumption of violence, and that could take an ethnic turn” (“The Road Out of Hell”). Disdain for the government runs silently, but extensively.

After a harrowing story like Rwanda, notions of peace placate a fragmented country. Although monuments and other initiatives have been pursued by NGO actors, some of the current regime’s attitudes seem less like a durable peace, and more like new hostilities masked behind a façade of tranquility. There is a grave danger when forgetting is imposed upon the people. Forgetting may be less arduous than remembering; however, it is a risk that Rwanda and other post-genocide countries must question seriously. Rwanda’s future rests not in its ability to forgive and forget, but rather to remember and restore—undoubtedly the more difficult task. The key to restoration lies in collective memory. What is collective memory, and how is it connected to restoration in a developing country recovering from genocide?

Collective Memory and Reconciliation

Studies indicate even when state-level peace accords have been signed, more than 50 percent of international initiatives and negotiations have dissolved (Botcharova 2001, 279). Especially troubling are politicized acts of mass-violence committed even at the grass-roots level of society: the prevalence of suicide bombers in the Israel/ Palestine conflict, the exacerbated fighting in Serbia, and of course the intense slaughter of ethnic Tutsis in Rwanda.

It is at this point when the notion of collective memory offers much insight to the developing discipline of conflict resolution. Collective memory suggests that as an individual’s actions are controlled by dominant and recessive memories, a group’s decisions are guided by similarly accumulated memories. Although this is only a generalization of collective memory, there are varied views concerning the relationship between individual and collective memory. In *Genocide and the Politics of Memory*, Herbert Hirsch broadly summarizes the concept and process of collective memory:

Generations pass on their memories, making them part of the historical record, by using language to transmit their particular version of events to the next generation through the process of socialization (1995, 3).

Collective memory—in its broadest sense—recognizes there is a transitive relationship between group and individual memory, and socialization can transfuse past memories into those of future generations.

Including the collective memory concept in discussions of genocide and restoration of democracy greatly illustrates the contextual dynamics facing war-torn countries. Olick points out conflict affects national- and global- memory long after a peace treaty is signed, as demonstrated by the Holocaust: “the trauma of Auschwitz will not disappear with the death of the last survivor... Auschwitz remains a trauma for the narratives of modernity and morality, among others” (1999 345). One effect of conflict on memory mentioned here is trauma, the lifespan of which surpasses the actual conflict. *Oxford English Dictionary* describes trauma as an injury caused by a shock which is “repressed and remains unhealed,” resulting in “behavioral disorder” (2005). Elements of suppression and confused behavior are present in this definition. What does this sort of trauma look like on a societal or national scale?

When groups are faced with a traumatic threat, which remains unresolved or suppressed, what eventually occurs is a “breakdown in the free flow of information” between groups, as well as the “deconstruction of relations” and identities (Hicks 2001, 141). This detachment of groups can affect all sectors of society, including economic and political institutions. The effects of trauma can remain hidden for long periods of time until a trigger event occurs, and the trauma will manifest itself in ways such as aggression or victimization. Trauma is the disease affecting a nation; expressed violence is merely a symptom of a much deeper problem. Although there have been several such events in Rwanda’s history, the trigger for the genocide in Rwanda occurred when president Habariyama was assassinated. The Hutus had already been preparing to execute mass murders of Tutsis, and used the event to initiate the genocide (“The Road Out of Hell”).

On a similar note, the politics of collective memory are crucial to understanding conflicts in the developing world, especially ethnic conflicts. Memory is not independent of the timeless struggle for control; memory is itself a political means: “everything that exists, no matter what its origin, is periodically reinterpreted by those in power in terms of fresh intentions” (Nietzsche 1956). Just as collective memories can be deeply affected by traumas, elites can manipulate collective memory itself by exploiting trigger-events to suit their own purposes. The Belgians and the Germans both capitalized on Rwandan memory by creating hostilities between the Hutus and Tutsis that were never prominent before (Jones 1995, 19).

Along with creating false memories of threat, states can also “improve, sanitize, gentrify, idealize or sanctify the past; or... discredit, defame, denigrate or even to blot out portions of it” (Hirsch 26). States may choose to ignore or suppress traumas, perhaps attempting to hasten reconstruction or democratization, as in the case of present-day Rwanda. Whatever the case, it must be noted the unintentional suppression of trauma also leads to the same dangerous breakdown mentioned by Hicks.

Clearly understanding collective memory lends insight into the realm of conflicts and peace, but is there any instructive significance to such a lengthy discussion? Recognizing the substantial effects of collective memory should influence the direction of conflict resolution and peace-building. Hicks, and others, point to the word “reconciliation” as explored by David Crocker in “Reckoning with Past Wrongs: A Normative Framework.” Crocker uses the word “reconciliation” to differentiate multi-leveled restoration from mere nonviolent coexistence of opposing parties. A realistic stage of reconciliation is reached when former enemies may continue to disagree, but continue to freely exchange information concerning the past and present, as well as to unite on common goals, such as reconstruction. Whereas this goal is difficult, but realistic, Crocker expounds on an even higher standard for peace, namely reconciliation as, “forgiveness, mercy, a shared comprehensive vision, mutual healing, and harmony” (Crocker 1999). Though this standard is more difficult to defend, Crocker claims that robust reconciliation will help safeguard societies from renewed violence.

Crocker’s standard of reconciliation is admittedly idealistic; however, using it as a vision toward which to assemble comprehensive goals could contribute much to the reconstruction of war-torn countries, including Rwanda. The imperative changes from merely treating symptoms, such as violent outbreaks, to treating the underlying disease, namely trauma. Using the term “reconciliation” in cases of genocide, as

opposed to conflict-resolution or peace-building, also places necessary emphasis on the need to literally reconcile two traumatized groups to one another. It is vital for this process to reach even the individual level—for the individuals, not the officials, must learn to live cooperatively. In the subsequent sections, three concepts are offered that practically apply the notion of reconciliation in transforming collective memories, contributing to a lasting peace and reconstruction.

Validating Track II Diplomacy

Reconciliation requires simultaneous peace-building initiatives at multiple levels of society. This can be especially crucial in the case of ethnic conflicts, because much of the fighting is committed not by governmental officials but rather ordinary citizens, as demonstrated in Rwanda. Therefore, Track I, or top-level, diplomacy is relevant, but alone insufficient in reconciling opposing ethnicities to one another after a genocide. Instead, what is needed: an intentional development of Track II and Track III diplomacy.

These terms were originally coined by James Montville, who differentiated traditional diplomatic initiatives from “unofficial, informal interaction between members of adversarial groups with goals of: developing strategies, influencing public opinions and organizing resources in ways that might help resolve the conflict” (Chigas 2003). As traditional diplomacy aims at negotiations between high-ranking officials, track II diplomacy focuses on progress between citizens in positions of influence. Track II activities can embody short-term or long-term programs, such as riot control, rebuilding clinics, dispensing school lessons on ethnic tolerance, and conflict mediation, according to Botcharova. Another technique involves joint-facilitated workshops, which unite community representatives of opposing groups and target both “relational transformation as well as societal integration” (2001, 285).

Some, including Diana Chigas, have even distinguished a third avenue of diplomacy termed Track III, which works with villagers and localities to rebuild trust and social cohesion from the bottom up (2003, *Beyond Intractability*). The purpose of Track II and Track III is not to replace traditional diplomacy but rather to create space and freedom for politicians to “take risks for peace” (Botcharova 2001, 284).

Unfortunately, the international community has failed to support Track II and III strategies as a vital force for peace (2001, 284). These diplomatic avenues are essential in order for conflict-resolution to reach all levels of post-genocide society, thus creating an environment conducive to the various levels of reconciliation mentioned by Crocker.

Supporting the Purposes of Truth Commissions

While a country and its memory heal from the aftermath of genocide, there is a very real tension between the need to remember and forget—there is actually a time for both. Acknowledging that there are limits in remembering, survivors of conflict—both victim and perpetrator—often express a deep necessity for transparency, honesty, and justice regarding past atrocities (Staub and Pearlman 217).

Two common methods used internationally to restore truth include truth commissions and international criminal tribunals. Both avenues provide spaces within the rule of law wherein justice can be attained. While there are strengths and limitations of

both approaches, the use of truth commissions is in many ways a more effective means of determining and expressing truth after an ethnic conflict. Criminal tribunals embody trials with the aim of prosecuting human rights violations, while truth commissions undertake the task of providing a full account of the conflict through a process of sifting and drafting that is absent during a tribunal (Minow 61).

For a variety of reasons, truth commissions are ideal in addressing the role of collective memory after genocide, especially in a developing country. Audrey Chapman clarifies that reconciliation requires acknowledgement and grieving past atrocities, but in a way that will propel the country toward a renewed political culture and shared future (258). Due to the vast amounts of criminals involved in ethnic conflicts, prosecuting all criminals in a tribunal would affect a major segment of national population and could undermine the process of reconciliation and reconstruction (258). When combined with principles of Track II diplomacy, truth commissions have the propensity to validate individual experiences (Staub and Pearlman 2001, 217), including “forgotten victims in forgotten places” overlooked by tribunals (Minow 1998, 60). More importantly, effective truth commissions play an instrumental role in rewriting “the history of what happened” (Minow 1998, 60). After extensive information gathering, truth commissions provide written reports that provide holistic accounts of violence from both victims and perpetrators (Minow 1998, 60). The fact that these reports are written is significant, because it allows the report to remain the same for future generations—thus providing a certain amount of insurance against the future exploitation of memory by elites. Unfortunately truth commissions often lack the time and resources to produce reports that adequately serve that purpose, which is crucial, Minow argues, to increase the effectiveness of truth commissions (1998, 61).

Truth commissions may be pivotal instruments in reconciliation, not only addressing the needs of collective memory, but also protecting national memory against the possibility of future manipulation. The final suggestion for reconciliation applications bears in mind the financial constraints of both Track II diplomacy initiatives and truth commissions in the unique context of development.

Shaping Reconstruction for Reconciliation

Thus far this paper has addressed the implementation of peace as a means toward attaining reconstruction. While peace is foundational in cultivating a stable and extensive restoration of democracy, the argument can be made that just as reconciliation aids reconstruction, so reconstruction can also fuel reconciliation.

One essential step in reconciliation is for both parties to move beyond mere nonviolent coexistence. It is vital to unite former adversaries in a common purpose, cultivating cooperation for a mutually desired cause outside of the resolution process itself. The reconstruction process often meets such criteria, and presents both parties with the vital need to engage one another. Staub and Pearlman visualize forms that reconstruction takes on the road to reconciliation:

Governments, organizations... and community groups can all promote such deep engagements. These can involve shared ceremonies and memorials, as discussed above, or building new institutions of society. It can involve joint projects in any realm, from agriculture to business enterprise, to building new houses (2001, 225).

The applications mentioned by Staub and Pearlman are projects initiated at the micro-level of society—just as genocide often occurs on personal terms, so projects must also be implemented at more intimate levels. Projects whose aim is to protect and provide for children are especially useful, since children's needs are often a universal interest among groups (2001, 225).

Perhaps the biggest argument in favor of using reconstruction as a means to reconciliation consists of fundamental economics. Exclusive projects that target peace-building efforts cost considerable amounts of domestic incomes and foreign aid—money that will thus be unavailable for funding infrastructure or institutional reform (Crocker). This is extremely significant, since most genocide-affected countries often lack sufficient resources even without the strains of conflict.

Along the same lines, organizations share natural responsibility in promoting reconstruction activities in healing countries. Organizations such as United States Agency for International Development (USAID), as well as other development agencies, can act as third-parties by offering incentives for both parties to join in development projects shaped to meet the unique goals of reconciliation (Staub and Pearlman 225).

Conclusion

The ancient Greek word for truth is *alētheia*, which is literally translated as “the unforgotten.” The opposite of truth is not inaccuracy, but rather the forgotten (Booker 2001, 781). In order to restore truth after genocide—without which the basic foundations of a judicial system and sociopolitical culture would be lacking—it is necessary to create space for remembering. Validating Track II diplomacy, strengthening truth commissions, and shaping reconstruction for reconciliation are three significant avenues to work toward Crocker's view of reconciliation as mutual healing. The uniquely intimate, vicious nature of genocide creates a trauma in the collective memories for generations, carrying the propensity to sabotage reconciliation and also reconstruction. In order to ensure a lasting peace, the international community must recognize the significance of collective memory and initiate multi-faceted approaches that reconcile opposing groups on all levels of society.

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Chadian Oil: Avoiding the Resource Curse

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Abstract:

All too often the benefits of natural resources are not realized by the portions of the population most in need. As has been seen time and time again, revenues from resources such as oil are mismanaged, or worse embezzled, by governments either unable or unwilling to dedicate the funds to issues such as poverty, health care, and education. As Chad begins to exploit the oil resources it has become a “model” for how revenues should be managed, due to a groundbreaking agreement between the government, oil companies, and the World Bank. This model is in jeopardy of failing, however, as the government of Chad is attempting to amend crucial legislation regarding oil revenues and their uses.

Introduction

According to an article in *The Economist* on September 17, 2005, Norway was once again named by the United Nations as the best country in the world in which to live. The article goes on to describe the low unemployment, high wages, and free education that Norwegians are able to enjoy. The author declares that this “enviable lifestyle is largely bankrolled by North Sea oil (*Economist* 9/17/05, 51).” Unfortunately Norway seems to be the exception to the rule when it comes to managing its oil revenues in a way that truly benefits its citizens. In country after country, from Nigeria, Angola, and the Sudan to Saudi Arabia and Iraq for example, there have been clear disparities between national oil revenues and spending on social programs. In these countries, irresponsible spending and corruption have proven a failure by governments to provide for their citizens. The recent exploitation of oil in Chad represents a new opportunity for the international community to ensure that natural resource revenues are managed effectively.

Oil, like other resources, should be a source of revenue and opportunity for countries. However, as has been hinted, these opportunities are often not realized. This is thought to be caused by what is known as the “resource curse.” According to Ian Gary, “The ‘paradox of plenty’ or ‘resource curse’ are phrases academics use to describe the tragic gap between the promise of petroleum and the perversity of its performance (Gary 6/05, 36).” Gary goes on to claim that “...the dramatic development failures by most oil-dependent countries reveal that petrodollars have not helped developing countries reduce poverty. In many cases, they have actually exacerbated it (Gary, 36).” The term “resource curse” is misleading, as it seems to spell doom for those who are, or are in the process of, exploiting valuable natural resources. Another example of a resource that can often (though unnecessarily) lead to problems rather than solutions is that of diamonds. Diamonds are a valuable resource, and the revenues that come from them could be used to help solve issues of poverty, education, and health care in poor countries. However, time after time, it has been shown that diamonds can lead to more problems than they are worth, hence the term “conflict diamonds.”

In the book *Natural Resources and Violent Conflict: Options and Actions*, published in 2003 by the World Bank, Michael Ross describes the natural resource curse, and “how wealth can make you poor (Bannon 2003, 17).” Ross is quick to point out that natural resources are never the only source of a conflict. He states that “any given conflict is brought about by a complex set of events; often poverty, ethnic or religious grievances, and unstable governments also play major roles (Bannon, 19).” He also claims that resources do not make conflict inevitable and for every resource conflict, there are two or three countries that have avoided one. Because unstable governments can play an inadvertently important role in resource conflicts, Ross feels “better policies may help to reduce the likelihood that resources will generate conflict and to direct resource wealth instead to education, health, and poverty reduction (Bannon, 19).”

Echoing Gary, Ross cites a growth in poverty as one of the two economic circumstances that can result from resource dependence. The other circumstance is a reduction of economic growth, as resource dependent economies grow slower than others. Ross finds a correlation between poverty and resource dependence because of what he claims is “an unusually poor job of providing education and health care for their citizens (Bannon, 20).” For example, Ross finds a “strong correlation between greater independence on oil and mineral exports and higher child mortality rates: for each increase in mineral dependence of five points, the mortality rate for children under the age of five rose 12.7 per 1,000; for each five point increase in oil dependence, the under-five mortality rose 3.8 per 1,000 (Bannon, 20).” Corruption is also a very damaging reality in these countries that lack strong oversight capacity. For example, according to Thilo Thielke, in the article “The Race for Resources: Gangsters and Africa’s Black Gold Rush” in *DER SPIEGEL* magazine, “In the past three decades alone, fossil fuel has allegedly brought more than \$280 billion dollars into Nigeria. Most of this has disappeared into the pockets of corrupt politicians (Thielke 12/7/05).”

Resources like oil and diamonds are not inherently a “curse.” In fact, as has been shown in Norway, oil can provide great opportunities for a country. When oil was discovered in Chad, it was seen by the international community as an opportunity to bring one of the poorest nations in the world out of the depths of despair. When oil production began in late 2003, Chad was ranked 165th out of 175 countries on the United Nations Development Programme’s Human Development Index (Paulus 10/13/03). However, in order for Chad to truly realize the potential of the projected \$80 million dollar annual oil revenues, it must come to grips with both its past, and what it needs to do for the future (Paulus 10/13/03). Good governance and corporate social responsibility need to play prominent roles in this development project.

In order to understand Chad’s current economic, social, and political predicaments, it is necessary to know a little about its history. First of all, Chad is a large, landlocked, state in northern Africa. It is mostly desert, with some fertile areas in the extreme southern part of the country. Its population of 9.5 million is 51% Muslim (mostly in the north) and 35% Christian (mostly in the south), and it speaks mostly French and Arabic (U.S. State Dept. 10/05). Chad gained official French colonial status in 1920, and as a colony, it suffered the fate of most African countries. The French colonial policies caused “regional disparities, stagnation, and decline in food productivity; impoverishment from taxation and forced labor; and a decline in social cohesion and communalism (Azevedo 1998, 31).”

Chad gained independence on April 11, 1960. Five years later a civil war broke out between the Muslims of the north and east, against the southern-based government. This conflict continued for almost 40 years in various forms and alliances (State Dept. 10/05). For those 40 years spending by the government was focused on military expenditures, instead of on social services. For example, in 1986, Chadian military expenditure was between 5 and 10 percent of the GNP; however health and education only constituted 2 percent (Azevedo, 82). This civil war was devastating not only socially, but economically as well. The war “also caused considerable economic decline in investment, disappearance of industries, disruption of international trade, massive corruption, and looting of the national treasury (Azevedo, 82).”

By 2003 relative stability had been regained by the government and work had been done on rebuilding the economy. However, foreign aid remained the backbone of Chad’s economy, as the country was unable to provide for itself (Azevedo, 82). So one need only envision a country that is mostly desert, inhabited by subsistence farmers, torn by four decades of civil war, which has a government riddled with corruption and abuse. This is Chad.

Oil exploitation in this unstable country began in the southern Doba region in June of 2000, and continued as a result of an ExxonMobil based consortium, which, along with the World Bank, has invested \$3.7 billion dollars into the project (Paulus 10/13/03). The discovery of oil in Chad was no accident. According to Gary, “with declining production in Europe and North America and dwindling opportunities for foreign investment elsewhere, multinational oil companies have begun a ‘new scramble for Africa.’” Gary claims that by the end of the decade, over \$50 billion will be spent on developing African oilfields, with production levels at seven million barrels a day by 2010 (Gary, 36). As mentioned before, the problem is that most of these African countries are unable to deal with the large revenues that come from the sale of black gold. Mismanagement and corruption run rampant, causing most of the money to be filtered into coffers that do not meet the needs of the people.

Because Chad is landlocked, it was necessary for the country and the oil consortium to develop a way to get the oil out of the country. For this, a 1,070 kilometer pipeline was built through neighboring Cameroon to the Gulf of Guinea (Bannon, 344). Funding for this pipeline was provided by the World Bank in 2000 (Oxfam 11/17/05). The World Bank, anxious to not repeat the mistakes of past projects, attached many strings to the funding for this project.

The first requirement was for Chad to set up a framework to show how the revenues of the oil would be spent. This requirement was realized in Law 001 on Petroleum Revenue Management, adopted by the Chadian government. The law reserves 80 percent of oil revenue for spending on health, social services, education, and rural development (Brannon, 346).

Among other provisions, this framework requires that the majority of royalties and dividends from oil production be earmarked and spent on poverty reduction through “priority sectors” such as health, education, and infrastructure, and that 10% of proceeds from oil sales were to be set aside in a fund for future generations in the post-oil era – an account that now contains more than \$27 million (Brannon, 346).

This framework was considered a “model” for how oil revenues could be used to meet the needs of vulnerable population sectors within a country. An independent oversight body of five external experts is to report on the process of the project and its implementation. The body is to meet twice a year, and make its findings publicly available.

However, in October 2005 the Chadian government announced that it was going to amend the law to better serve what it saw as more pressing needs. John Bray saw this move coming by 2003, when he wrote in his piece, *Attracting Reputable Companies to Risky Environments: Petroleum and Mining Companies*:

The Chad-Cameroon negotiations illustrate the strong position that companies and external lenders typically enjoy at the outset of a major project. There was no doubt that Chad needed the revenues that the project would bring, and the government was willing to accept tough conditions, including requirements for international oversight that arguably impinge on the country’s sovereignty. However, there is a risk that the politics of the “obsolescing bargain” will come into place as the project proceeds. Once the external participants have built the pipeline and other infrastructure, and therefore sunk their costs into fixed assets, the balance of power will shift in favor of the government (Brannon, 345).

The main priority for the Chadian government, rather than poverty, was security. This became clear already in November 2000, when the Chad government used part of a \$25 million oil contract bonus to purchase \$4.5 million in weapons. Some feel that a formal amendment to the law represents a great breach of trust, and a step in the wrong direction. According to a press release from Oxfam on November 17, 2005:

The planned amendment seeks to: A) increase from 15% to 30% the amount of revenues deposited into general government coffers, bypassing the joint government-civil society revenue oversight committee; B) eliminate the Future Generations Fund (FGF) and use the money accumulated for immediate expenditures; C) redefine “priority sector” expenditures to include spending on security (Oxfam 11/17/05).

Security is indeed a very important priority for the Chadian government. Social and political unrest within its own borders, as well as conflicts in neighboring African states, all affect Chad negatively. One major concern is the crisis in the Darfur region of the Sudan, which has led to thousands of refugees in Chad. Incursions by Libya in the past are also disconcerting.

However, it is very troubling that the promised spending would be siphoned away from the extreme poverty in Chad, and used to build military and security strength instead. The World Bank is also concerned by this development and released a press statement on October 25, 2005. The World Bank acknowledged that “the Government of Chad faces recurring financial problems, but [it] is concerned that addressing grave weaknesses in public financial management which the government itself has acknowledged is essential to ensuring that the poverty reduction goals of the oil revenue management program are protected (World Bank, 10/25/05).”

The funds that were provided for the development project (the most expensive in Sub-Saharan Africa’s history) were delivered under pretenses that the revenues from

the oil would be spent responsibly. Unfortunately, there is little that the World Bank, or any other entity, can do to force Chad to uphold its end of the bargain, but the oil companies are also responsible for ensuring they implement the project in a way that benefits the population and environment in Chad. This is the concept of corporate social responsibility, or CSR. If the companies are making massive profits from the exploitation of Chadian oil, it is their responsibility as well to ensure that the population of Chad is repaid in kind. The consortium of oil companies that is working in Chad is led by ExxonMobil. The company feels that it has been sensitive to the needs of the Chadian population. Miles Shaw, the public affairs adviser in Chad, states “There has been the most preparation of any oil project in Africa. We know that for a fact (Kotch 9/05).” He goes on to explain that over 6,000 village-level meetings were held in order to get the feedback of the local population, and that there were over 14,000 land owners in Chad and Cameroon who had to be negotiated with and compensated individually for the project (Kotch 9/05). Many non-governmental organizations (NGOs) remain skeptical, stating that the oil project will have a negative effect on the region’s environment and population.

This project represents an important opportunity for Exxon Mobil and the other companies to prove to the world that they can indeed work toward fostering development in their projects instead of conflict. The consortium is also in a unique position, as it alone has the power to influence the government’s decision making and policy setting processes. Instead of making contracts with the Chadian government in secret, the consortium could be using the leverage that it possesses to push forward reforms and stress adherence to the revenue management framework.

It is in the self-interest of the consortium to support these measures, as poverty and disenfranchisement are major reasons for conflict in a resource dependent country. As displayed in Nigeria, the effects of conflict in a country or region that is producing oil can be devastating to that industry. According to the annual report of Royal Dutch Shell, which pumps one million barrels of oil a day in Nigeria,

An average of 50,000 barrels a day were stolen in 2004, at a loss of almost \$1 billion. In the same period a dozen workers were killed, between 50 and 70 kidnapped, and a total of 314 criminal incidents reported. Pumping had to be halted 176 times (Thielke 12/7/05).

Instead of letting Chad use part of a consortium bonus on weapons, the consortium should be emphasizing the importance to the government of spending on poverty, health care, and education. Not only can this be used as an example in which they were socially responsible, the high costs of conflict on the industry also make this type of spending good business-sense.

For the first time in its existence, Chad is in the position to be a “model” in something. After 40 years of civil war, and enduring extreme poverty, ethnic tensions, and corruption, Chad is in the position to become a wealthy country. Spending the oil revenues in a responsible way will not only promote growth, education, and prosperity in the country, but it will also help to avoid internal conflicts and attract further foreign aid. Lenders took a big risk in this project, and if it appears to them that their goals will not be realized they will be even less likely to invest in the future. It is extremely vital that Chad stick to its original promises and policies by not amending the Revenue Management Framework law.

Because investors like the World Bank lose any sort of leverage after the infrastructure of a project is completed, it is also important that the oil companies that make up the consortium live up to their responsibilities as well. This paper has demonstrated that promoting responsible management of oil revenues is in the interest of the consortium for multiple reasons. First, it is an opportunity to show themselves to the international community as responsible stakeholders in the development process, and second it is good business-sense as well. Prevention of conflicts in Chad will prove to be less expensive in the long run for the oil consortium. The consortium should pressure the Chadian government into fulfilling its responsibility to the Chadian people, but the consortium should also live up to its own responsibilities as well.

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N. Y. Attorney General Eliot Spitzer and His Effect on the Insurance Industry: An Event Study

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Abstract:

On October 14, 2004, New York Attorney General Eliot Spitzer shook the entire insurance industry by filing a civil lawsuit against a group of insurance companies regarding their alleged price-fixing and bid-rigging. By using event study methodology, this study determines quantitatively the effects of Spitzer's announcement on a sample set of insurance companies as measured by their stock prices. If the announcement has a significant effect on the stock prices in the sample set, a specific dollar amount can be calculated as the cost of using these questionable practices in business. Results of this study show that there is a clear negative relationship between Spitzer's announcement and the stock prices in the insurance industry. We can conclude that unethical behavior caused by a conflict of interest is costly for firms in the insurance industry, and that those firms specifically charged by Spitzer in a civil suit or singled out to be subpoenaed have significantly larger losses than the industry as a whole.

Introduction

Many unexpected events and announcements occur in the United States each year that have a profound effect on certain companies, sectors, or industries and their worth. When these announcements break in the news, the full extent of the effects on the company or industry involved is often undetermined. Without concrete data derived by statistical analysis, companies cannot efficiently measure the effects of their announcements (both positive and negative) on their own company, to other similar companies, or to their entire sector.

Recently, there has been scrutiny placed on a dual commission system used to compensate some brokers in the insurance industry. According to a 2004 article in the *Wall Street Journal* by Francis (2004c), customers looking to purchase insurance will contact a broker, who then solicits bids from various insurance companies based on the type and amount of insurance that is needed. The broker then relays these bids to the customer, who chooses one and pays the broker for the insurance and a commission fee for his labor. The broker keeps the fee and passes on the payment to the insurance company whose bid was accepted. The primary practice in question is that of the collection of commissions by brokers from the insurance companies themselves. These are called "contingent commissions," which are paid to brokers only when they have sold one of the company's insurance policies. With contingent commissions in place, this creates a conflict of interest for brokers to recommend insurance only from the companies paying contingent commissions. Brokers may go so far as to manifest "bid-rigging," or solicit "...artificially high fake bids, from other insurers to give the appearance of real bidding" (Francis, 2004c). On October 14, 2004, New York Attorney General Eliot Spitzer put a damper on the entire insurance industry by announcing pending lawsuits against insurance companies for these described practices.

This project researches and analyzes the effects on companies named in an announcement made by New York Attorney General Eliot Spitzer on October 14, 2004, that he was filing a civil lawsuit against many insurance companies for price-fixing and bid-rigging. In particular, Spitzer accused Marsh & McLennan Companies (MMC) of having insurance brokers make false bids to customers to simulate competition, while actually guiding the customer to accept bids from insurance companies that would pay the highest contingent commission to the broker. This would create a conflict of interest. The lawsuit specifically named MMC, but has implications of more lawsuits across the entire insurance industry. By using event study methodology, this study will determine whether or not this announcement significantly impacted the stock prices of insurance companies.

According to Seiler (2000), "Event studies have been the primary methodology used to assess the effect that the occurrence of an event has on the returns of a firm's common stock price since the seminal works of Ball and Brown (1968) and Fama, Fisher, Jensen, and Roll (1969)." Thus, this research methodology has become a principal tool in the business research world. The purpose of this project is to quantify the direct financial impact of Spitzer's on MMC and other insurance companies named for the same offenses. We also test a sample of insurance companies to determine the effects on the insurance industry as a whole. This is important information not only to the companies being implicated, but also to shareholders who are affected by the gains and losses in the prices of the common stock shares that they own. Managers should be able to use this information to determine if internal practices should be changed and shareholders can use this information to make investment decisions. If the effects turn out to be large scale, these quantified effects may be crucial to how members of the general public understand their respective insurance companies' abilities to uphold their insurance policy contracts.

Since the event study methodology was first introduced in 1968 and 1969, computers and databases have eased the workload of gathering data, making event studies much more prominent in the academic world. The event study is often used in the economic, financial, and accounting fields of study because it quantitatively analyzes the financial impact on a firm from an informational event. Event studies are able to distinguish if an event has a positive or negative effect on a firm's stock price, therefore confirming underlying implications. Even a one or two percent change in stock prices can mean millions of dollars gained or lost by investors as a result of a single announcement or event. Because event studies are commonly used and have a very specific and set methodology, they are trusted and accepted in the financial field.

Event studies are often used to determine the potential negative effects on a firm or firms due to poor management decisions or unethical behavior. Earlier event studies have examined the effects of unethical behavior, but none so far have completed a quantitative analysis for Spitzer's lawsuit announcement on October 14, 2005. Although results proving the negative effects of these events are expected, event studies can more specifically quantify the extent of the negative effect in dollars. Gunthorpe (1997) analyzed the impact of unethical behavior by sixty-nine publicly traded corporations and found that announcements of unethical behavior resulted in large negative stock returns for the firms performing the unethical conduct (i.e. securities fraud, filing false test results, or false advertising, for example). Gunthorpe concludes that firms are

penalized by investors for unethical conduct, across various industries. This suggests that economically it is in a company's best interest to act only under ethical standards and for business ethics to be promoted in both education and the workplace. Because of the unethical nature of the allegations against the insurance industry, Gunthorpe's findings may preface some of the results of this study.

Sample Data

The final sample set consists of forty-one publicly traded corporations in the insurance industry. In order to test across all types of insurance companies, the sample includes firms from four categories of insurance companies: (i) accident and health, (ii) life, (iii) miscellaneous, and (iv) property and casualty. All firms in the sample set must fit the following criteria:

1. The firm must be publicly traded on the New York Stock Exchange, the American Stock Exchange, or the Nasdaq stock market.
2. The firm must have daily stock returns available for the eleven-day time period of study, obtained from *Yahoo*.
3. The firm cannot have any other major media announcements in the eleven-day time period of study that may contaminate the results of this study, as determined by the *Wall Street Journal Index*.

Any firm that did not meet the above criteria was removed from the sample set. A list of the firms in the sample set is shown in the Appendix, Table 1.

Methodology

In this analysis, event study methodology is used in order to measure the financial effects of Spitzer's lawsuit announcement on publicly traded insurance companies. Stock prices are used as the indicator of financial impact, and we assume that the stock market is efficient and reflects all available information immediately and accurately as the firm's value in the stock price. Therefore, any positive or negative impact on an insurance company due to Spitzer's October 14, 2004, announcement should produce an immediate change in stock price.

The day of the announcement, October 14, 2004, is defined as day zero ($t=0$), the day following the announcement is defined as day plus one ($t=1$), and each subsequent trading day through day plus five ($t=5$) is also defined. We also number the days leading up to the announcement, where the trading day prior to the announcement is day negative one ($t=-1$) and continue to number each previous trading day through day negative five ($t=-5$). This completes our eleven-day window necessary to show the effects of Spitzer's announcement.

Next, the predicted return for each day in the eleven-day window is calculated. The predicted return is measured in this study by using the return on the S&P 500 Index. This index is a commonly used benchmark of the U.S. stock market because it is a market value weighted index of the 500 largest American corporations and represents roughly 75% of the entire U.S. market.

The daily excess return is then calculated for every firm over each day in the eleven-day window. The daily excess return signifies the stock return for each day that

is directly a result from Spitzer's lawsuit announcement. Excess return is defined as:

$$ER_{it} = R_{it} - R_{mt}$$

ER_{it} is the daily excess return of a stock (i) on day t, R_{it} is the return of stock i on day t, and R_{mt} is the return of the S&P 500 Index (e.g. the stock market) on day t.

All of the daily excess returns are then averaged to create the average excess return for the entire sample set. Because the stock returns are combined here and averaged, any individual outliers will be somewhat neutralized. This average excess return shows the effects of Spitzer's announcement for each of the eleven days and is defined as:

$$AER_t = (\sum ER_{it}) / N$$

AER_t is the average excess return for day t, N is the number of companies in the sample size, and ER_{it} is the daily excess return of stock i on day t.

Finally, the cumulative average excess return (CAER) is calculated to incorporate all of the effects of Spitzer's announcement that may affect stock prices for a few days after the event. For the period of day negative one to day plus five, CAER is defined as:

$$CAER_{-1,5} = \sum AER_t$$

$CAER_{-1,5}$ is the cumulative average excess return for the period of day negative one to day plus five (-1 to 5), and AER_t is the average excess return for day t. The $CAER_{-1,5}$ can then be multiplied by mean (or median) firm's market capitalization to determine the mean dollar impact of the event.¹

Statistical Analysis

If the market views Spitzer's announcement as negative news, then the insurance companies in the sample set should experience a $CAER_{-1,5}$ value that is significantly less than zero. The t-test is used as the statistical test of significance and is defined as:

$$t = (N)^{0.5} [CAER_{-1,5} / \delta_t]$$

where $CAER_{-1,5}$ is the cumulative average excess return, δ_t is the standard deviation of the cumulative excess returns over the interval, and N is equal to the number of companies in the sample set. The percentage of negative cumulative excess returns for a group of insurance firms should also be different than the expected 50%. The binomial t-statistic used here is defined as:

$$\tau_t = (p - 0.5) / (0.25/N)^{0.5}$$

where N is the number of companies in the sample set, and p is the proportion of negative cumulative daily excess returns.

Results

In this section, the entire sample set (N=40) of insurance companies is considered to determine the effects on the entire insurance industry. It is also essential to examine whether a certain section of the industry was more affected by the event, and so four categories of insurance companies are formed: accident and health, life, miscellaneous, and property and casualty. Each of these categories is tested independently to look for trends. The insurance companies (regardless of category) that were named

¹ Market capitalization = stock price * outstanding shares.

Market capitalization represents the collective value of a company and/or its stock.

specifically by Spitzer are also tested to determine if this group experienced different excess returns. All CAERs and percent negative cumulative excess returns are also summarized in Table 2 in the Appendix.

Entire Insurance Industry

The entire sample set of insurance companies (N=40) is tested as a group. If the financial marketplace views Spitzer's announcement of civil lawsuit as negative news for the firm and will therefore affect the value of the firm and expected future earnings, the percent of negative cumulative excess returns for time period $t=-1,5$ are expected to be larger than 50%. If the market views it as a positive announcement causing the increase in value for the firms, the percent negative cumulative excess returns for time period $t=-1,5$ are expected to be less than 50%. The data shows that 85% of the sample firms experienced a negative cumulative excess return, and the entire sample of insurance companies had a CAER of almost -8%. With an average market capitalization of \$26 billion for the entire sample set, Spitzer's announcement caused an average loss of over \$2 billion and a median loss of almost \$1.5 billion for the total industry from day minus one to day five. Both the CAER and percent positive results are significant at the one percent level.

Accident and Health Insurance Companies

Since the various types of insurance companies may have different practices from other categories of insurance companies, the complete sample set is divided into four categories to determine if the type of insurance company makes an impact on the level of returns for each company. These four categories include: (i) accident and health, (ii) life, (iii) miscellaneous, and (iv) property and casualty insurance companies.

Accident and health insurance companies presented 92% negative cumulative excess returns, which is significant at the five percent level, and a CAER of - 8%, which is significant at the one percent level. The average market capitalization for the accident and health sample set is \$21 billion, and the median value is \$12 billion. This resulted in an average loss of \$1.7 billion per company, and a median loss of almost \$1 billion.

Life Insurance Companies

For life insurance companies, 75% showed negative cumulative excess returns, with a CAER of -2%. Although these values are not significant at any level, the average and median losses per company were \$900 million with average and median market capitalizations of \$40 billion and \$39 billion, respectively. Also, none of the companies specifically named by Spitzer in his October 14, 2004, announcement were listed in the life insurance category.

Miscellaneous Insurance Companies

In the miscellaneous insurance group, 90% of companies had negative cumulative excess returns, and the CAER for the group is almost -15%. Both values tested are significant at the five percent level. This group has an average market capitalization of \$4.5 billion, but a median value of only \$2 billion. The average and median losses per company are \$700 million and \$300 million, respectively. This category included Marsh and McLennan Companies (MMC), which was the company of primary focus of Spitzer's announcement and civil suit.

Property and Casualty Insurance Companies

Of the property and casualty insurance companies, 80% showed negative cumulative excess returns, and the group experienced a CAER of nearly -5%. Both the percent negative and CAER are significant at the ten percent level. The average loss per company was \$2 billion and the median loss was \$1.3 billion for a sample set with average and median market capitalizations of \$44 billion and \$28 billion, respectively.

Spitzer-Named Companies

On day zero, six insurance companies in the total sample set were either charged with a civil suit for improper fees and bid-rigging or were issued subpoenas for possible future litigation for like offenses by Spitzer. From this select group of firms, 100% showed negative cumulative excess returns, which is significant at the ten percent level. They also had a CAER of -22%, which is significant at the five percent level. The average market capitalization is \$42 billion, and the median market capitalization is \$18 billion. On average, firms in this group had a loss of \$9.3 billion, and the median loss was \$4 billion. These average and median losses are considerably larger than those from other categories, while the differences in market capitalizations are less extreme.

Conclusions

This study explores and analyzes the effects on the insurance industry and specific companies named in an announcement made by New York Attorney General Eliot Spitzer on October 14, 2004, that he was filing a civil lawsuit against many insurance companies for price-fixing and bid-rigging. Event study methodology is employed here to find the average excess returns of these companies and quantify the effects of the announcement on the firms' stock price.

The effects of this announcement show a clear negative relationship with the stock prices of insurance firms overall, and in all four categories as well. We conclude that unethical behavior that causes a conflict of interest for insurance companies is costly for firms in the insurance industry. We also conclude that those firms specifically charged by New York Attorney General Eliot Spitzer in a civil suit or singled out to be subpoenaed have significantly larger losses than the industry as a whole.

These results provide valuable information to managers in the insurance industry because they provide decision-makers specific dollar amount losses in the billions for some insurance companies. Managers can use this information to reevaluate current insurance commission practices and their potentially unethical nature by comparing the benefits to the significantly high costs.

Appendix

Table 1: Sample Set of Insurance Companies

Company Name	Ticker	Category
ACE LTD*	ACE	Property/Casualty
AEGON ADR	AEG	Life
AETNA INC	AET	Accident and Health
AFLAC INC	AFL	Accident and Health
ALLIANZ AKTIENGESELL	AZ	Property/Casualty
ALLSTATE CORP	ALL	Property/Casualty
AMERICAN INTL GROUP*	AIG	Property/Casualty
AON CORP*	AOC	Miscellaneous
ASSURANT INC	AIZ	Accident and Health
AXA ADS	AXA	Life
BALDWIN LYONS	BWINB	Miscellaneous
BROWN & BROWN INC	BRO	Miscellaneous
CHUBB CORP, THE	CB	Property/Casualty
CIGNA CORP	CI	Accident and Health
COVENTRY HEALTH CARE	CVH	Accident and Health
CREDIT SUISSE GROUP	CSR	Life
EVEREST RE GROUP	RE	Accident and Health
GALLAGHER ARTHUR J	AJG	Miscellaneous
HARTFORD FINANCIAL SERVICES*	HIG	Property/Casualty
HILB ROGAL HOBBS	HRH	Miscellaneous
HUB INTL LTD	HBG	Miscellaneous
HUMANA INC	HUM	Accident and Health
ING GROUP	ING	Life
LOEWS CORP	LTR	Property/Casualty
MANULIFE FINANCIAL CORP	MFC	Life
MARSH MCLENNAN CO*	MMC	Miscellaneous
METLIFE INC	MET	Life
MILLEA HLD ADR	MLEA	Property/Casualty
NATIONAL FINANCIAL PARTNERS	NFP	Miscellaneous
PRINCIPAL FINANCIAL GROUP	PFG	Accident and Health
PROGRESSIVE CORP	PGR	Property/Casualty
PRUDENTIAL FINANCIAL INC	PRU	Life
ST PAUL TRAVELERS CO	STA	Property/Casualty
SUN LIFE FINANCIAL INC	SLF	Life
TORCHMARK CORP	TMK	Accident and Health
UNITED HEALTH GROUP	UNH	Accident and Health
UNUMPROVIDENT CORP	UNM	Accident and Health
USI HOLDINGS CORP	USIH	Miscellaneous
WELLPOINT INC	WLP	Accident and Health
WILLIS GROUP HOLDING*	WSH	Miscellaneous

*Denotes companies specifically charged in a civil complaint or received subpoenas for possible future litigation, on day $t=0$.

**Table 2: Cumulative Average Excess Returns (CAER) and
Percent Positive of Cumulative Excess Returns**

	CAER (percent)	Percent Negative
All Insurance Companies (N = 40)	-7.80 ***	85.00 ***
Insurance Companies by Category		
<i>Accident and Health (N = 12)</i>	-8.17 ***	91.67 **
<i>Life (N = 8)</i>	-2.21	75.00
<i>Miscellaneous (N = 10)</i>	-14.82 **	90.00 **
<i>Property and Casualty (N = 10)</i>	-4.81 *	80.00 *
Companies Named by Spitzer	-22.00 **	100.00 *

***, **, * Significant at the one, five, and ten percent significance levels, respectively.
All significance levels are for two-tailed t-tests.

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Dollarization and Macroeconomic Stability in Latin America

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Abstract:

This paper examines if dollarization has had a positive impact on the macroeconomic stability of Latin American countries. Dollarization refers to either the official or unofficial replacement of local currencies with the U.S. dollar. Currently four Latin American countries are officially dollarized and the rest experience varying levels of unofficial dollarization. Data from the World Bank World Development Indicators for 21 Latin American countries from 1960 to 2003 are analyzed. To test the claim that dollarization improves macroeconomic stability, we construct a new measure of dollarization. Statistical analysis shows that increased dollarization is positively associated with economic growth. Dollarization has a stronger impact on inflation. Data suggests that dollarization significantly reduces inflation. This research has serious implications for the Free Trade of the Americas Association (FTAA) and suggests economic and development gains would come with a single currency union for the Western Hemisphere.

Introduction

In 2000, Ecuador disbanded its national currency and declared the United States dollar legal tender. While this is one of the more dramatic examples, most Latin American countries have come to use the U.S. dollar for at least some monetary transactions. “Dollarization” refers to the replacement of local currencies with the U.S. dollar in both local and international monetary transactions. Full or official dollarization occurs when a country completely gives up its national currency and instead adopts the U.S. dollar as its official unit of currency. Partial or unofficial dollarization occurs when countries allow the use of foreign currency deposits in domestic banks (Reinhart, Rogoff, Savastano 2003) and individuals use the foreign currency to make local transactions and/or allocate their financial assets (Quispe-Agnoli 2002).

While new, the study of dollarization is increasingly important as many countries have or are considering moving toward being officially dollarized economies. Panama has been officially dollarized since 1904, whereas Ecuador, El Salvador and Guatemala have only recently become fully dollarized—Ecuador in 2000, and El Salvador and Guatemala in 2001. Bolivia, Uruguay, Nicaragua and Peru are unofficially dollarized countries (Quispe-Agnoli 2002). Dollarizing the economy helps attract foreign investment and lowers interest rates (Campbell 2003). Dollarization also makes trade easier, especially for the small countries in Central America, for whom the United States is a major trading partner (Economist, 2001). Many economists believe it is the only way to achieve economic stability in Latin American countries.

Empirical studies on this matter have not been numerous, but most tend to measure dollarization with the ratio of foreign currency deposits to broad money (M3). For this paper, we adopt this measure of dollarization. Numerous macroeconomic indicators from 21 different Latin American countries for the years 1960 and 2002 are used to determine the impact of dollarization on the economies. Multivariate

econometric analysis indicates that dollarization has brought greater economic stability (low inflation rates) and economic progress (economic growth) to Latin America. The results are important for policy questions such as: whether the phenomenon of dollarization is expected to have a long-run positive impact on the Ecuadorian economy, or whether the U.S. and Latin American countries should consider a single currency union, similar to that of the European Union.

Literature Review

After two years of extreme monetary crisis, the president of Ecuador, Jamil Mahuad, announced on January 9th of 2000, a change from the local currency, the sucre, to the U.S. dollar. The sucre had lost more than 70% of its dollar value in the last twelve months, interest rates skyrocketed, and unemployment and poverty increased rapidly. The economy was on the verge of suffering hyperinflation and a hyper-recession. Following the example of Panama, where dollarization has had a positive effect, Ecuador decided to adopt the U.S. dollar as its national currency (Berg, Borensztein, Mauro 2003). Dollarization is generally believed to lead to more stable exchange and interest rates, as well as lower transaction costs for international corporations doing business in Latin America. This encourages international investment and promotes economic growth and development. There are also many disadvantages to dollarization which include the loss of monetary policy and the decline of national identity (Katz 2000, Jameson 2003). Many Latin American countries have considered dollarizing. Current candidates are: Argentina, Peru, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, Venezuela, and Guatemala. What stops these countries from dollarizing is that this strategy is very high-risk and requires an open, highly competitive economy that will commit to rigorous fiscal policies (O'Brien 2001). Moron and Winkelried (2005), for example, find that inflation targeting policies are compromised in highly dollarized economies.

Dollarization is a relatively new phenomenon, a product of looser capital flows and growth of electronic banking. Countries that continue to use their national currency find that more and more transactions are conducted in dollars (Jameson 2003, O'Brien 2001). To date, there have been only a handful of studies that examine whether increased dollarization is linked to greater financial stability and economic growth, despite the practical policy importance of the question. Readers are referred to Jameson (2003) for a brief survey of the literature.

The definition of dollarization varies among different authors, but most define it generally as the use of an "advanced" nation's currency as a legal tender; however, measuring dollarization proves difficult. Edwards and Magendzo (2001) focus on analyzing whether dollarized economies have had lower inflation rates, higher and faster Gross Domestic Product growth rates, and less macroeconomic instability, as measured by how volatile GDP growth rates are. They use data from various dollarized, independent countries and non-independent territories (which include territories, colonies or regions within a national entity) that were dollarized at some point between the years 1970 and 1998. By comparing the mean and median values of inflation, per capita GDP growth, and volatility of growth of dollarized nations (both groups included) to the mean and median values of non-dollarized nations (the control group), Edwards and Magendzo found that inflation in dollarized countries was statistically

significantly lower than inflation in non-dollarized countries, while per capita GDP growth was significantly lower. They found mixed results for growth volatility.

Since many dollarized economies are very small and extremely open, while non-dollarized economies are much larger and not as open, their first comparison could have generated biased results. For this reason, Edwards and Magendzo (2003) correct for bias using a matching estimators technique. Edwards and Magendzo use three different methods to achieve the comparisons for the matching estimators technique: (1) propensity score, (2) simple-average nearest neighbor estimator, and (3) local linear regressions. Using these three methods for the matching estimators technique, Edwards and Magendzo found slightly different results from their raw comparisons. They found that inflation rate is significantly lower in dollarized countries compared to non-dollarized countries. They also found that dollarized economies have a significantly lower per capita GDP growth rate than non-dollarized economies, but they found no statistical significance in the difference of the velocity of growth between dollarized and non-dollarized countries.

Compared to these previous studies that focused on dollarized countries (Edwards and Magendzo 2001 and 2003, Minda 2005, Moron and Winkelried 2005), this study uses an expanded data set that includes all Latin American countries, including countries that are officially dollarized and highly dollarized, as well as those with limited dollarization. This approach offers a broader opportunity to assess the macroeconomic impacts of a range of dollarization practices.

The Data

To assess the impact of dollarization, we constructed a panel data set of macroeconomic variables for 21 Latin American countries for the years 1960 to 2003. Data was collected from World Bank's World Development Indicators (www.worldbank.org/data/), which in turn gets its data from various sources, such as the International Monetary Fund, International Financial Statistics, OECD National Accounts data files, Government Finance Statistics Yearbook, and Global Development Finance. We included data on Gross Domestic Product (GDP), inflation, exchange rates, interest rates, unemployment, wages, trade deficits, direct and indirect foreign investment, financing from international monetary organizations, and economic growth. The definitions of these variables used in the analysis can be seen in Table 1.

The data in the World Bank Web site also included the monetary measures of M1 and M2. M1 is the currency outside banks, traveler's checks, and demand deposits other than those of the central bank; it is the most liquid forms of money. M2 is the currency outside banks, demand deposits other than the central bank, and the time, savings, and foreign currency deposits of resident sectors other than the central government; M2 is M1 plus quasi money. A more broad measure of money is M3, which includes currency deposits of the central bank, plus transferable deposits and electronic currency, plus time and savings deposits, foreign currency transferable deposits, certificates of deposit, and securities repurchase agreements, plus traveler's checks, foreign currency time deposits, commercial paper, and shares of mutual funds or market funds held by residents. The World Bank data set did not include this measure; therefore, we created a measure of quasi-liquid liabilities as a percentage of GDP plus M1 to obtain M3.

We also had to construct a measure of *dollarization*. Our approach is based on the methodology of previous studies (Edwards and Magendzo 2001, Moron and Winkelreid, 2005). However, it differs in two respects: (1) it is based on different data, and (2) we use a slightly different method for determining the amount of foreign currency in circulation. While we cannot determine the actual amount of foreign currency in circulation, we rely on a calculation of quasi money—time, saving, and foreign currency deposits by resident sectors other than the central bank. Dollarization is then defined as quasi money as a percentage of M3.

Table 1. Description of the Variables

CPI	Consumer Index Price, based on 1995 (1995 = 100). Reflects the changes in the cost to the average consumer of acquiring a fixed basket of goods and services.
Net Trade (millions)	Equal to total exports minus total imports
GDP growth	Gross domestic product growth, the one-year rate of growth in real gross domestic product.
Real Interest Rates	The lending interest rate adjusted for inflation as measured by the GDP deflator.
Unemployment (% of total labor force)	The share of the labor force that is without work but available for and seeking employment.
Wages (% of total expenditure)	All payments in cash to employees in return for services rendered, before deduction of withholding taxes and employee contributions to social security and pension funds.
Inflation (consumer price, annual %)	Measured by the consumer price index, reflects the annual percentage change in the cost to the average consumer of acquiring a fixed basket of goods and services.
Financing from Abroad (% of GDP)	Refers to the means by which a government provides financial resources to cover a budget deficit or allocates financial resources arising from a budget surplus. It includes all government liabilities or claims on others held by government and changes in government holdings of cash and deposits.
Foreign Direct Investment, net inflows (% of GDP)	Sum of equity capital, reinvestment of earnings, other long-term capital, and short-term capital.
Money, M1 (billions current LCU)	The most liquid forms of money; it consists of currency in the hands of the public, travelers checks, demand deposits and the deposits against which checks can be written.
Money & Quasi Money (% of GDP)	Money and quasi money is frequently called M2. Here, measured as a percentage of the gross domestic product.
Quasi Money (billions current LCU)	Time, savings, and foreign currency deposits of resident sectors other than the central government.
Money & Quasi Money Growth (annual %)	The change in the money supply is measured as the difference in end-of-year totals relative to the level of M2 in the preceding year.
Quasi Liquid Liabilities (% of GDP)	The sum of currency and deposits in the central bank (M0), plus time and savings deposits, foreign currency transferable deposits, certificates of deposit, and securities repurchase agreements, plus travelers checks, foreign currency time deposits, commercial paper, and shares of mutual funds or market funds held by residents. They equal the M3 money supply less transferable deposits and electric currency (M1).
Net Income from abroad (current US\$) (billions)	Includes the net labor income, which covers compensation of employees paid to nonresident workers; and net property and entrepreneurial income, which covers investment income from the ownership of foreign financial claims and nonfinancial property income.

Summary statistics for the key variables of the model are provided in Table 2. Latin American countries average GDP growth of 3.65% annually with high variability; inflation, as a measure of CPI, also demonstrates high variability. Of particular interest is the measure of dollarization. For all Latin American countries and across all years, the mean value of dollarization is 1% (SD = 0.002). While this may seem low, it is important to remember that this is a very specific monetary measure (quasi money divided by M3) and is not a simple percentage of transactions.

Table 2. Summary Statistics*

Variable	Mean (Standard Deviation)
Inflation (CPI)	120.87 (769.66)
GDP Growth	3.65 (4.53)
Real Interest Rate	14.00 (49.06)
Unemployment (% of Total Labor Force)	8.19 (4.13)
Wages (% Total Expenditure)	27.79 (10.87)
Financing from Abroad (% GDP)	1.20 (2.11)
Foreign Direct Investment (% of GDP)	1.74 (3.24)
M1 (Billions of LCU)	3.39 (1.70)
Quasi Money (Billions of LCU)	5.94 (2.93)
Net Income from Abroad (Billions of US \$)	1.27 (2.98)
Dollarization	0.01 (0.002)

* Summary statistics for variables used to construct other variables are not reported – e.g. Money and Quasi Money Growth, Quasi Liquid Liabilities. Numbers in parenthesis are standard deviations.

Theory and Model

A standard linear regression model is employed, with clustering. Clustering is necessary for data where each observation belongs to a well-identified cluster (in this case, countries). Thus, the regression clusters each country’s data, and examines it over time. This is necessary because outcomes within a cluster are likely to be highly correlated, which would introduce bias, if not controlled (Wooldridge 2004). We estimate two basic relationships, one explaining GDP growth (Equation 1) and one explaining inflation (Equation 2).

$$GDP\ Growth = \beta_0 + \beta_1dollarization_{it} + \beta_2Macroeconomic_{it} + \beta_3Country_{it} + \epsilon_{it} \quad (1)$$

$$Inflation = \beta_0 + \beta_1dollarization_{it} + \beta_2Macroeconomic_{it} + \beta_3Country_{it} + \epsilon_{it} \quad (2)$$

The first equation states that GDP growth depends on a vector of macroeconomic variables for each country *i* at time *t*, a vector of country specific variables for each country *i* at time *t*, and the extent of dollarization in country *i* at time *t*. Inflation is explained with a similar equation. The error term is indicated as ϵ_{it} and varies both across countries and across time. Coefficients to be estimated are indicated as β .

Results and Analysis

Numerous specifications were attempted, and only the best regressions are reported in this paper. Additional specifications and results are available from the author by request. Due to the nature of the time-series data, we felt it was important to account for the fact that economic performance in any given year often depends on the macroeconomic performance and policies of past years; thus, several lagged terms are included. In addition, for comparison, we include both the standard Ordinary Least Squares estimated regression, as well as the General Least Squares regression, with the correction for clustering. The results for the GDP growth regression are reported in Table 3.

Table 3. Dependent Variable is GDP Growth

Explanatory Variables	Ordinary Least Squares	General Least Squares
GDP growth lagged one year	0.2877 (0.000)	0.1911 (0.000)
Country Dummy (Nicaragua)	-1.6387 (0.117)	-2.0559 (0.077)
Dollarization lagged one year	78.444 (0.373)	74.350 (0.435)
Net Trade	-1.99 E -10 (0.000)	-2.10 E -10 (0.000)
Inflation	-0.0009 (0.000)	-0.0009 (0.000)
Openness Index (Based on Foreign Direct Investment and Amount of Free Trade)	0.7365 (0.131)	0.8567 (0.109)
Constant	1.8642 (0.022)	2.2324 (0.011)

* Numbers in parenthesis are p-values.

The most important positive indicator of GDP growth is past economic growth. On average, a 1% GDP growth rate in the previous year accounts for an additional 0.29% of growth in the current year. As expected, both inflation and net trade (exports – imports) have a negative effect on economic growth. Inflation constrains consumer buying, an important component of GDP growth. When exports exceed imports also indicates low levels of consumer buying. These results are consistent with the findings of other studies. Neither dollarization nor the lagged value of dollarization (the value of dollarization in the previous year) have a significant impact on economic growth in either specification. Dummy variables for different countries were explored. Only the dummy variable for Nicaragua was statistically significant in the GDP growth regression, perhaps indicating the negative effect that 20 years of civil war had on the nation.

In contrast, dollarization does have a big impact on inflation, as shown in Table 4. Both dollarization and dollarization lagged are statistically significantly related to inflation rates, with higher levels of dollarization being associated with much lower levels of inflation. To properly interpret the impact of dollarization, we need to look at the combined effect of dollarization in the current and previous period. This combined effect suggests that it is the increase in dollarization from the previous to the current period that does the most to decrease inflation. Simply having dollarization in the past will not continue to reduce inflation alone. Controlling inflation, in turn, has important benefits for macroeconomic stability and economic growth.

Table 4. Dependent Variable is Inflation

Variables	Ordinary Least Squares	General Least Squares
GDP growth	-3.9828 (0.344)	-5.4146 (0.264)
GDP growth lag	-4.1547 (0.304)	-7.0777 (0.136)
Real Interest Rate	-5.5098 (0.000)	-6.1288 (0.000)
M2 growth	1.1878 (0.000)	1.1702 (0.000)
Dollarization	-76,655.56 (0.049)	-115,349.8 (0.011)
Dollarization lag	58,882.24 (0.032)	123,986 (0.007)
Inflation lag	-0.3029 (0.092)	-0.0536 (0.006)
Constant	9.3808 (0.937)	36.0204 (0.873)

*Numbers in parenthesis are p-values.

The remaining results of Table 4 are consistent with economic monetary theory. M2 growth (money supply growth) is correlated with higher rates of inflation and the real interest rate is correlated with lower inflation rates. Both heteroskedacity and auto-correlation are tested for in the model, but with no necessary corrections. No country dummy variables passed specification tests for the inflation regression.

Conclusion

Dollarization is the term used for the replacement of a local currency with the U.S. dollar for local and international monetary transactions. Many economists believe that dollarization is one way to create macroeconomic stability for developing countries. After conducting statistical analysis using the macroeconomic variables obtained from the World Bank Development Indicators, we can see that dollarization is positively associated with GDP growth, which we used as a measure of economic progress. When looking at the impact of dollarization on inflation, we find that more dollarization decreases inflation. This relationship is highly statistically significant and very important for policy reasons, as many Latin American countries have experienced periods of hyper-inflation.

While largely consistent with previous findings, our analysis, by including all Latin American countries for 1960 to 2003, is more robust and has broader policy implications. The study of the benefits and costs of dollarization are important for individual countries considering full dollarization, as well as for those interested in promoting economic and development in Latin America. Our results, however, also suggest potential gains from a single currency union in the Western Hemisphere.

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The Cost of Freedom

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Abstract:

Freedom came to enslaved African Americans at a high cost. The struggle of African Americans' fight for freedom started before the Civil War and trudged on. Slaves would experience limited freedoms, more prejudices, and farther hardships. Freedom with its limited advantages, proved to be a victory for the generations of those enslaved. Once attained, many former slaves were unsure of what to do with their newly acquired free status. The struggle to attain freedom came with hardships and setbacks, but freedom triumphed.

Introduction

“Long is the way, And hard, that out of hell leads up to light.”

-John Milton, English poet

“...this Day I can Adress you thank god as a free man I had a little truble in giting away But as the lord led the Children of Isrel to the land of Canon So he led me to a land Whare freedom Will rain in spite of earth and hell”

-John Brown, Former Slave (Robinson, 138)

The cost of freedom cannot be summed up nor calculated by any of today's standards. To understand freedom, one must step back into the thousands of lives lost by those who could not taste the sweet air of freedom. A freedom denied generations of enslaved African Americans, who, once discovered their freedom, found freedom to be limited, but cherished. The road leading to freedom began when the first African slaves arrived in North America in the early 1600's with the settlement of Jamestown, Virginia. Two hundred years later, the Civil War proved to be one of the most pivotal fights for freedom and the abolishing of slavery known. Slavery and Southern society changed dramatically with the beginning of the war. Because of the Civil War, primarily fought in Virginia, a dramatic shift in plantation life caused slaves to feel a sense of urgency for freedom. A freedom denied them several hundred years after thousands of deaths by fatigue, malnutrition, and abuse.

The antebellum South, with its elite plantation society, functioned primarily on a slave economy. Respected historical scholar William A. Link writes, “Slavery infused the commonwealth's social and political institutions, constitutional system, and methods of agriculture, commerce and industry” (Link, 29). Link's statement illustrates how engrained slavery transmitted into all aspects of Southern society. Slavery revealed itself in every aspect of the day-to-day lives of most Southerners. Virginia, like many of the other Southern states, morphed into a slavery society. Ira Berlin, a renowned historian, writes, “...slavery stood at the center of economic production, and the master-slave relationship provided a model for all social relations: husband and wife, parent and child, employer and employee, teacher and student.” (Berlin, 8) Berlin's statement further illustrates the overarching theme of slavery throughout soci-

ety. All aspects of society revolved around the idea of enslavement. Dominance became expected in all relationships and all who lived in the South held a strategic place in society, below the white men.

In Virginia alone, during the antebellum period, the population of the South soared. Over a million whites, sixty-thousand free blacks, and nearly half a million slaves called Virginia home in 1860 (Jordan, 8). According to these numbers, for every two free white people, there worked one enslaved person. Prior to the Civil War, the number of white individuals massively outweighed that of the enslaved African population. However, once the war commenced, many of the men left to fight in the war. Because of this, there arose greater opportunity for the enslaved population to gain the upper hand once the men watching over them went to fight the war.

Prior to the Civil War, the white male population on plantations served as the police force throughout the South. Slave patrols convened to watch for runaway slaves and enforce the curfews and ordinances established by the white male population. After 1861, much of the male population enlisted to fight in the current war. With the absence of the white masters, slaves found more opportunities to escape the bondage of slavery and run to freedom.

However, not in all cases did opportunity of freedom arise. Plantation owners kept their slaves busy so incidences of runaway slaves would not multiply. Virginia ex-slave William I. Johnson, Jr. attests to the rigors of plantation life by citing, "We were worked hard. They kept us busy" (Jordan, 27). William Johnson's quote illustrates the police action instituted on plantations following the beginning of the Civil War. A police action kept slaves working long hours to ensure that attempts at freedom would not be made because slave insurrection came to be feared by most of the Southern population. Ervin L. Jordan, Jr., author of *Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia*, writes, "The everyday lives of slaves in wartime Virginia at first seemed unchanged. They labored on, hopeful yet alert, while their masters anxiously watched for any changes in their demeanor" (Jordan, 27). Jordan states that early on, slaveholders kept a close watch on their slaves because insurrection seemed eminent by the slaves. Jordan's quote also illustrates that slaves understood the meaning of the war. Having the war so close to home gave the slaves a sense of hope and jubilation, although life on the plantation deteriorated rapidly. The sense of freedom felt closer every day the war waged on.

Within the first nine months of war, changes revealed themselves in the winter months on the plantations. As the war progressed, clothing and shoes became more of a sacred commodity. Conditions deteriorated exponentially; slaves could be seen nearly naked working in the fields. Most slaves went without the basic necessities of clothes and shoes. The health of the slaves often suffered as a result of malnutrition. Frostbite became extremely common in terms of occurrence because shoes were not provided to the slaves. Slaves could commonly be seen with mangled, scared and disfigured feet and lower extremities because protection was not provided them. Because of this, frostbite took its toll. Along with the scarcity of clothes came the scarcity of food and medicine as well. In their narratives, slaves frequently recall being hungry and weary of rest (Jordan, 28-30).

As the war raged on, slaves relied more heavily on their spirituality to shepherd them and superannuate on. Slaves sang spiritual songs as a means of fostering

religious and devotional unity and guidance. A popular song of Caroline County slaves reads:

Bending knees a-aching
 Body racked with pain
 I wished I was a child of God
 I'd get home by and by (Allen, 31)

In this song, slaves sang about the backbreaking work they endured. In the final two lines of this stanza, slaves wish to be taken away by God so they will be rid of the burden of slavery. To them, death seemed like a reward and a resting because death alleviated the worldly burden of slavery. Death of any kind appealed more to slaves than a life without freedom. Austin Steward, a Virginia slave, remembered working days beginning at sun up, eating a piece of bread, working until noon, receiving another meager meal, then working until darkness (Jordan, 33). Mister Steward's account proved to be common throughout Virginia plantation society and the South. Slaves had the most basic of necessities denied them, and looked to death as their only comfort because freedom appeared utterly unattainable.

Plantations served several purposes throughout the war. Jordan writes, "Plantations were a combination of labor camps, radical indoctrination barracks, and Christianization bureaus" (Jordan, 33). This quote illustrates the versatility adopted by nineteenth century plantations. They not only served to house labor forces, but also served to indoctrinate slave society. By indoctrinating slave society, the status quo remained intact. When slaves began to question the status quo, insurrections and unrest would break out causing a shift in the balance of plantation power. White southerners feared what would become of their society once the slaves seized their liberty. The winds of change began to blow through the South as the North began to gain the upper hand as well as the accumulation of volunteers.

Many slaves seized the opportunity to gain their liberty by seeking refuge with the nearby Union army encampments. As the Union army grew closer, especially in Virginia, more slaves attempted to flee to the Union army for safety and guidance. Overseers developed six cardinal rules for plantations to quell runaway slaves during the war. Slaves had more of their rights infringed because plantation owners feared the instability that would ensue once their working class gained more freedoms. The rules set up by plantation owners included things such as: no leaving on personal business without a pass, no selling anything without a pass, fighting is forbidden, slaves must report to their overseers the activities of those encountered, no insulting language to one another, and everyone working on the plantation answered to the overseer and should be dressed in their finest come Sunday (Jordan, 36). Overseers set up rules such as these to further control the actions of the slaves. Because of this, they felt the heavy hand of slavery come down upon them once again. The only answer came in the form of drastic actions toward freedom.

Still, the number of runaway slaves began to soar. Armstead Robinson, a slavery scholar, asserts that since the beginning of the war, large numbers of runaway slaves sought refuge in the Union army camps. "Determined to claim the[ir] freedom," runaway slaves "believed the Union armies [had] brought them" (Robinson, 138). Slaves such as John Brown sought the Union army because the Northern encampments were seen as a gateway to a long desired freedom. In a letter to his wife, Brown writes:

My Dear Wife it is with grate joy I take to let you know Whare I am i am in Safety in the 14th Regiment of Brooklyn this Day I can Adress you thank god as a free man I had a little truble in giting away But as the lord led the Children of Isrel to the land of Canon So he led me to a land Whare freedom Will rain in spite of earth and hell Dear you must make your Self content i am free from al the Slavers Lash...(Berlin, 29-37).

Brown explains to his wife how he attained his freedom and the rapture he felt once he did. The amount of joy and celebration cannot be measured, only felt by those who read the words of those who gained their much desired freedom. The hell of slavery had been escaped and the vision of freedom could now be touched.

While the main focus on the plantation began to shift in the early years of the war, slaves played a pivotal role in the overthrow and escape from slavery. Once slaves began running to the North, the undermining of the Confederacy began. Union army officials encouraged slave rebellions and promised the Confederate army that the Union army would aid slave insurrections (Berlin, 141). These slave insurrections would again throw off the balance of power on plantations. When the balance of power began to shift, slaves gained the upper hand and freedom became more attainable. Once this happened, slaves ran away to fight for the Union army.

African American enlistment played a pivotal role in the Civil War. At first, former slaves dug ditches and acted as cooks and spies for the Union army. Black Union soldiers would go between enemy lines carrying messages and clarifying the location of the Rebel army. African Americans could travel easily between enemy lines because the Confederates believed that the African Americans belonged to someone else. Former slaves also learned a few tricks of bribery to ensure their safety and freedom. As a general rule, black spies would keep chewing tobacco on their person to offer it to a suspicious Confederate. Confederate soldiers, once pacified with chewing tobacco, cared less about the states of the African Americans and cared more for the luxury of chewing tobacco. African American soldiers took full advantage of the deprivation of the Confederate army. African Americans, however, remained suspicious of all whites because they felt that any moment they would be returned back into the shackles of slavery. Former slaves felt that trust could never fully be given to any whites. For hundreds of years, the wrong comment at the wrong time would bring the wrath of the lash (Berlin, 143).

Once enlisted in the Union army, slaves still felt racial discrimination based on their skin color. Along with receiving jobs, such as cooking and manual labor, similar to slavery, former slaves felt the harsh reality once again. Freedom did not guarantee joy, jubilation, and peace. Instead, freedom proved to be more uncertain than enslavement. African Americans did not expect to be treated as they had in enslavement. Beatings, whippings, and abuse still could be seen on the backs of slaves. Instead of a master inflicting their cruelty, it came from their liberators. The Union army would beat the former slaves as a form of punishment and discrimination. Racial prejudices found themselves in the nicknames and terms used to refer to the African Americans because not all of those fighting for the Union believed in the emancipation of African Americans (Jordan, 142). Because not all agreed with the idea that African Americans should be granted their freedom, freedom was limited by the Northern army.

Slaves in the Southern states found some solace when then President Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation. Ira Berlin writes, in *Free at Last*, “The promise of freedom announced by the Emancipation Proclamation was a beacon that reached deep into the Confederacy. Outposts controlled by Union forces, like Fort Monroe in southeastern Virginia, drew fugitive slaves from hundreds of miles away” (Berlin, 147). The Emancipation Proclamation, issued by President Lincoln to free slaves in the rebellious states, recognized that the enslaved persons could fight for the Union army. Captain Charles Wilder recruited slaves in the Fort Monroe army to bolster the Union army numbers while in Virginia. Once informed of the opportunities the Union Army had to offer, fugitive slaves from miles around came to fight for the cause of freedom. When questioned, Captain Wilder said that more than 10,000 new recruits had come under his control (Berlin, 107). New recruits of this sort could be seen whenever the Union army marched into Southern territory. Massive numbers of former slaves would seek refuge in the arms of the Union army to protect them from the perils and atrocities of hundreds of years of oppression. Once word got out that the Union army was within a few miles, slaves could be seen running to seek the shelter of their liberators.

Although the Union army possessed prejudices, this phenomenon could be found throughout the United States. Although many Americas did not agree with slavery or owned slaves, the vast majority of people living during this period felt slavery offered a caste system for the United States (Jordan, 152-154). With this caste system came what many felt striated the working population giving a hierarchy for the lower classes. In giving a hierarchy for the lower classes, social status became easily identifiable. Slavery allowed a social security for those who felt the need for a caste system. Slaves and free blacks rested on the bottom of the social hierarchy, followed by poor whites who aspired to be one of the plantation elite, then middle class whites, followed by slave owning or rich elites. Many of the aspirations held by the poor whites cemented the disjointed system of class. Many of the poor whites aspired to or envied the life of the plantation owning upper crust of the South. These aspirations explain why the Confederacy had such high enlistment rates. Poor Southern whites felt that fighting and winning the war seemed to be the only method of class security. As long as the African American class remained on the bottom of the social scale, one’s place in society remained clear at all times.

Slaves did not have to run away in all cases. Several slave accounts speak of abandonment. Many slave holders abandoned their slaves in order to find refuge for themselves from enemy camps. A Union soldier traveling through New Orleans accounts that the families vacated the premises and left the slaves to fend for themselves. The same soldier also recalls the miserable condition and starvation that befell the slaves left to fend for themselves. The soldier recounts the horrid condition in which the slave quarters appeared upon his arrival. The soldier writes, “The condition of the Negro cabins, no floors, no chimneys, built of pickets without regard to Comfort or Convenience, and their venerable appearance Confirms the Stories of cruelty related by the old Negroes...”(Berlin, 111). Union soldiers such as this one could not believe the sights they saw upon their arrival to the Southern plantations. Conditions such as these appeared all over the Southern countryside. Real-life horror stories told by Negroes cemented themselves once the Union soldiers saw for themselves the truth behind the agony.

As the end of the war drew closer, the refuted freedom of the enslaved population could no longer be denied. In a last-ditch effort to save the Confederacy, the Rebel army began offering freedom to the families of slaves who enlisted with the Rebel army. The Confederate army forced other African Americans to fight for the Rebel army. Near the end of the war, enlistments in the Confederacy began to drop off dramatically. The South could not support the man power needed to defeat the Union army. African Americans, even if free or emancipated, risked being forced into the Confederate army. Forcing African Americans to fight proved to be another form of slavery instituted by the South. The Confederacy would not set free the class they depended on the most (Jordan, 397). The South felt that it could not change their ways of enslavement because they depended so heavily upon it.

Back on the plantations, not all slaves knew that freedom drew closer. As the defeated Confederacy returned from four years of war, many of the enslaved population remained clueless to their newly liberated status. Some Southern masters had no intention of obeying the terms of surrender given on April 9, 1865, in Appomattox, Virginia. Slave holders felt it beneath them to free their slaves and refused to adhere to the conditions of surrender. Slavery existed no longer. However, because of the chaos of Reconstruction, the fate of the South remained uncertain. Many slaveholders across Virginia, as well as the rest of the South, refused to give up their racial hierarchy and labor force. Slave holders did not inform their slaves of their freedom. Many kept their slaves ignorant before the war, and the same remained true following the end of the war. Plantations could not let go of the social and working class system they used for generations. Slavery appeared to be the only way of life. Therefore, enslavement must continue. Slaves did not know of freedom for months or years in some cases (Berlin, 209) (Jordan, Audio recording). Former slaves account that they remember overhearing of their emancipation from other slaves. Oftentimes, slaves would overhear their masters speaking to one another about emancipation and that is how freedom became known. Once one slave knew, word spread throughout the plantation. Former slaves rejoiced upon their newfound freedom. However, few knew what to do with their newly liberated status.

The news of freedom caused slaves to rejoice with happiness, jubilation, and relief. Problems arose once slaves understood what freedom meant. As a general trend, they did not know where to turn once freedom became known to them. Some slaves stayed on the plantation and worked as sharecroppers, while others went out on their own. Sharecropping turned out to be another form of slavery. Former slaves relied solely on their former owners for survival. The institution of sharecropping required them to work their former master's land and pay him with the crop yield from that harvest season. However, sharecropping kept the African American population at the lowest level of social standing. While white land owners remained in control over the actions of the lower class, a new form of social slavery developed from sharecropping. Many slaves remember having the same problems they endured during the pangs of slavery. In the system of sharecropping, sharecroppers would grow a crop on someone else's land and pay them back out of the following season's harvest. Sharecropping tied African Americans to the land and enslavement masked itself in this newly titled system of sharecropping. Other former slaves expected the Union army to take care of them once liberated (Berlin, 209) (Jordan, Audio recording).

Upon striking out on their own, former slaves found it difficult to make their own way. Slaves found it hard to accept that the Union army would not take care of their needs as their slave master had done. Oftentimes, ex-slaves looked for someone to clothe and feed them, or for the army to provide a means for them to survive. Lack of support severely disappointed the former slaves. Most former slaves also could not tolerate the conditions left by the Union army. In attempt to help the freed slaves, some members of the Union army received dispatches to erect housing in some areas of Virginia as a means for homes for the former slaves. The freedmen commented on the status of these dwellings and often found these establishments mean, cold, and twig-like in structure. These structures offered little or no protection from the elements, and left its inhabitants vulnerable to the harsh climate changes of the Chesapeake region. Former slaves found their living conditions to be the same or worse than those during their enslavement. Conditions scarcely improved for the former slaves to the Confederacy, however freedom triumphed (Berlin, 209) (Jordan, Audio recording).

Slavery in the South, as well as Virginia, witnessed some of the roughest conditions and obstacles to freedom. Virginia slaves and all Southern slaves alike had to use the war to their advantage in order to achieve freedom. Slaves sought out the refuge of the Union army to protect them and save them from the terrors of an institution of abuse. The war proved to be a trying process that broke apart families, moved loved ones, and displaced thousands. But nothing proved as harsh as the debacles of slavery. Once freedom was won, many former slaves did not know what should be done. Many slaves relied on former masters to help them make a way for themselves. However, sharecropping proved more harmful than helpful. Generations of slaves had been denied the simple freedoms most of us today take for granted. Thousands of slaves dreamed only of the freedoms denied. After two hundred years of bitter oppression, slaves and abolitionists insighted enough uproar to cause a dramatic shift in the status quo of Southern plantation life. Freedom for African Americans came a high price. Generations endured the slaver's lash, beatings, sexual and emotional abuse, and years of enslavement in the hopes that the future progeny could enjoy the brighter, pristine light of freedom. The true cost of freedom cannot be summed up, nor comprehended by those of us living today. Only the thousands whose stories live on to give us a glimpse into their lives of hellish enslavement so that future generations may understand the centuries of struggle and appreciate the taste of freedom's sweet air.

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Autonomy in Abuse: Glimpses of Freedom in New Orleans

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Abstract:

This paper examines unusual opportunities for autonomy found by women of African descent in New Orleans, from the time the city was acquired by the United States until the Civil War. The city's unique history partially explains the availability of such options. The rest is revealed through an examination of individual women who actively claimed personal freedoms. The independence they grasped is illustrated in a variety of contexts: from slave women suing for manumission to prostitutes seeking monetary self-sufficiency. Every woman who sought independence also exposed herself to inherent risks. The hazards and benefits found within white society were greater than those found in the African American community. Whatever avenue the women chose to pursue, they tested and explored the limits of the society they inhabited in a search for forms of independence.

Commence! We Speak through tears.

Commence, S'il vous plait, Madame, call the great drum!

-Sybil Kein, "To the Widow Paris"¹

Introduction

From the time of American acquisition until after the Civil War, New Orleans offered opportunities for women of African American descent elusive in other Southern cities. Such women often found pathways to cultural, economic, and personal freedoms that did not exist in neighboring regions. The uniqueness of their experiences can be partially attributed to the city's unusual history, which propagated moral permissiveness and peculiar customs. The women themselves account for the final factor. They did not passively gain autonomy, but rather actively sought freedoms by exploring and testing the limits of the society they inhabited. Some gained a limited amount of autonomy without venturing into the world of the white master class. Though this route was safer, ultimately it afforded narrowed prospects. Within white society, African women found broader avenues with freedoms, but moving in white society carried added risks of violence and abuse. Freedom flowered in a strange manner in New Orleans while women of African descent found a way to "Speak through tears."

Numerous historians such as Ira Berlin and Roger A. Fischer have documented and argued for the uniqueness of New Orleans' society during this time period. Other authors including Daniel E. Walker provide stirring information concerning the abuse women of African descent faced within the city. Historians agree that women seldom remained passive in the face of abuse and discrimination. Even so, women's active search for independence within the context of the barriers they faced remains relatively unexplored.

¹ Martha Ward, *Voodoo Queen: The Spirited Lives of Marie Laveau* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2004), 154.

Historical and Legal Precedents

Opportunities afforded women of African descent can be traced to historical antecedents set in place while the city lay under French jurisdiction. Berlin points to many of the oddities occurring in French New Orleans. While similar communities were working to strengthen gaps between the races in support of the slave institution, those of African descent in New Orleans mixed freely with Europeans and Native Americans.² During a period when other colonies worked to bring elements of European culture into the New World, French inhabitants of New Orleans embraced indigenous culture. Instead of adding an element of Europeanization, French women immigrating to the colony “went native, working barefooted and bare breasted in the fields.”³ Not only did the colonists reject European culture, they had little reverence for European religion. Missionaries venturing to the colony expressed concern over the “unraveling” civilization.⁴ A society comprised in significant part of Native Americans, African natives, civil servants, and criminals could scarcely be expected to evolve in any other manner.⁵

Spain took the colony from France in 1763. Rule by Spain further confused the lines between races as the French legal *Code Noir*, which made manumission almost impossible, became void. Under the Spanish many slaves bought their way into freedom. Berlin asserts, “the free black population of New Orleans...tripled during the first decade of Spanish rule.”⁶ African Americans in New Orleans could not be assumed slaves, as they might in other places. Further, liaisons between individuals of differing races resulted in a population that recognizably bore the characteristics of multiple races. Attempting to impose racial classifications in New Orleans became in some instances impossible.

The United States acquired the unruly colony, and along with it the city of New Orleans in 1803, upon completion of the Louisiana Purchase. Not unexpectedly slavery in the colony and inside New Orleans itself lacked many of the harsh realities present elsewhere. Those commenting on the institution of slavery in New Orleans after American acquisition reveal its leniency. Benjamin Henry Boneval Latrobe, a visitor to New Orleans during the early 1800s, observed, “the Americans treat and feed and clothe their slaves well.”⁷ He elaborates on this statement writing, “recreation is certainly not forbidden, neither walking, nor dancing, nor music, nor any other act that gives innocent pleasure.”⁸ Latrobe’s insights on slavery in the city portray a nearly pleasant kind of enslavement. Though still lacking basic freedoms he judges the slaves of New Orleans to be well provided for, to the extent that they participate in leisure activities. In agreement with Latrobe’s observations is Joseph G. Tregle Jr., who in his article, “Early New Orleans Society: a Reappraisal,” claims, “Slaves were seemingly

2 Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998), 79.

3 *Ibid.*, 80.

4 *Ibid.*, 80.

5 *Ibid.*, 79.

6 *Ibid.*, 333.

7 Benjamin Henry Boneval Latrobe, *Impressions Respecting New Orleans: Diary and Sketches 1818-1820* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), 47.

8 *Ibid.*, 47.

masters of their own time in a great number of instances.”⁹ Fischer extends Tregle’s assertion further with the statement: “Control over the Negro population was, in short, virtually nonexistent in New Orleans.”¹⁰ Through these authors’ voices, slavery in New Orleans surfaces as an inept institution that was hardly capable of controlling those subject to its implications. Though such descriptions do display an element of truth, their views concerning the status of slaves are somewhat exaggerated. Slaves were not free and those with African blood were not afforded the same privileges as the ruling class.

Strict laws constrained the actions of individuals of African American descent in New Orleans. The Civil Code of Louisiana, fully installed by 1825, provides an example. The code clearly states, “The slave is entirely subject to the will of his master.”¹¹ Measures prohibiting slaves from holding public office, serving as witnesses in trials, or marrying without the consent of their owners, also appear in the code.¹² This document does not portray Louisiana as a place where slaves held large quantities of freedom. Legal language consistently supports masters’ rights over their slaves.

Independence Outside “White” Society

While the Civil Code remained an accessible tool for slave owners wishing to punish or control their human chattel, its implementation did not destroy cultural prerogatives set in place earlier by the French and Spanish. Locations like Congo Square and the shores of Lake Pontchartrain, where voodoo rituals were held, thrived as outlets for African culture and expression. Their legitimacy received little questioning and provided paths for women of African descent to participate in activities expressing their autonomy outside the structure of white society.

Congo Square found a foothold through the cities’ irreverence for the Sabbath. H. Brad Fearon, a visitor to New Orleans in the early 19th Century, noted with some surprise, “markets, shops, theatres, circus, gambling houses, and public ballrooms” were all open on a day of the week reserved for church and rest in other parts of the country.¹³ French New Orleans’ absence of appreciation for European religion affected the city long after it fell under the ownership of the United States. Slaves participated regularly in Sunday activities. Latrobe notes they were assured release from their duties on Sundays, with exceptions for sugar boiling season and times when the river rose dangerously high.¹⁴ In such instances, slaves received reimbursement for their Sunday labors illustrating their right to a day for themselves.¹⁵ The enslaved population readily took advantage of their day by pursuing activities perpetuating their cultural heritage, economic base, and allowing for captured moments of leisure. Congo Square offered avenues for all three options.

9 Joseph G. Tregle, “Early New Orleans: A Reappraisal,” *The Journal of Southern History* 18, no. 1 (1952): 33.

10 Roger A. Fischer, “Racial Segregation in Ante Bellum New Orleans,” *The American Historical Review* 74, no.3 (1969): 930.

11 Civil Code of Louisiana: 1824. In *The African American Odyssey*, Vol. 2, to 1877, edited by Hine, Darlene Clark, William C. Hine, and Stanley Harold [CD ROM 6-1] (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2005), 2.

12 *Ibid.*, 2.

13 Henry Bradshaw Fearon, “Open on Sunday,” in *The World from Jackson Square: A New Orleans Reader*, ed. Etolia S. Basso (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Company, 1948), 92.

14 Latrobe, 47.

15 *Ibid.*, 47.

The Square, known as the main gathering spot, held between 500 and 600 individuals on Sundays.¹⁶ Historian Gary A. Donaldson writes the Square was a place to, “renew old loves, and to gather new friendships; to talk over affairs of the past week, and to lay new plans for enjoyment in the coming ones.”¹⁷ Besides being a general meeting place, the Square perpetuated African culture. Inside, “reunions of African nations that the Diaspora and the Atlantic slave had dismembered” occurred.¹⁸ Over time the Square garnered a negative reputation from the white populace. John A. Paxton, in the city directory he compiled, reports, “[Congo Square] is very noted on account of its being a place where Congo and other Negroes dance, carouse, and debauch on the Sabbath.”¹⁹ Congo Square continued on despite white complaints. Women participated in the Square’s events alongside males, and Latrobe provided lengthy descriptions of participants singing and dancing.²⁰ Women also used Congo Square to provide for themselves economically. Donaldson describes “the old negresses with their spruce beer and pralines of peanuts, coconuts, and popcorn” who “did a thriving trade.”²¹ While Congo Square offered opportunities for autonomy, those opportunities remained limited. The Square only opened once a week and no woman would grow rich by selling peanuts.

Outside Congo Square, New Orleans on Sundays offered a broader range of activities for those of African descent. Slaves and free blacks took advantage of the entertainments afforded by a broad range of establishments. Among other activities they “hired carriages, went to balls and carousals,” according to Tregle.²² Even on holiday, reminders of racial discrimination persisted. Theatres and exhibitions were segregated in 1816.²³ Segregation provided a reminder of racial inequalities. Others, generally women, took advantage of Sundays to sell a variety of foodstuffs like vegetables and fowls, in various marketplaces. White residents came to depend on the markets run by black women, creating a favorable interdependence.²⁴

African American women also found ways to benefit from trading activities carried on throughout the week. Shopkeepers, in accordance with a tradition leftover from French New Orleans, frequently sent black women out from their establishments to peddle wares door to door.²⁵ Women used their jobs peddling goods to sell items at exaggerated prices and in the process pocketed the excess money for themselves. Claiming ignorance of mathematics provided the necessary explanation for unaccounted monetary discrepancies.²⁶ More ambitious free women of African descent formed their own businesses. Tregle suggests many women of color maintained, “modest shops or presided over oyster, gumbo, and coffee stalls.”²⁷ Though these

16 Ibid., 49.

17 Gary A. Donaldson, “A Window on Slave Culture: Dances at Congo Square in New Orleans, 1880-1869,” *The Journal of Negro History* 69, no. 2 (1984), 66.

18 Ward, 6.

19 Donaldson, 66.

20 Latrobe, 50.

21 Donaldson, 67.

22 Tregle, 33.

23 Fischer, 931.

24 Latrobe, 47.

25 Ibid., 101.

26 Ibid., 101.

27 Tregle, 34.

economic outlets were not as lucrative as others, they offered a form of legitimate employment and independence.

Others found more unique modes of sustenance. Marie Laveau and her daughter, the second Marie Laveau, worked independently as conjurers.²⁸ The two mixed voodoo with Catholicism resulting in a religion unique to the city. Owing to their conjurations and mystical status: the two maintained the respect of most white persons who feared their magical abilities. It was said of the first Laveau, “She knows how to make a man fall in love with you, keep him faithful to you, bring him home when he strays or fix things so he leaves town forever.”²⁹ The Laveaus successfully blended the culture of voodoo with their own economic aspirations, and in so doing gained a large amount of autonomy for themselves.

While some women of African American descent were able to find autonomy at Congo Square (through participation in the marketplace), or by using their creativity, many more resorted to extracting freedoms through their interactions within white society. More advantageous possibilities appeared in white society. Such possibilities were always coupled with accompanying risks. Market women, though not expecting great riches or manumission from their endeavors, were exempt from some of the worries plaguing their more ambitious counterparts.

Relations Between White Men and Slave Women

The experiences found by women of African American descent within white society can be partially attributed to the need for domestics, a field dominated by women in the city. This brought a unique demographic composition to the city. More African American women than African American men lived in New Orleans. In 1830 there were 9,651 slave women of African descent in the city, and only 6,988 males of corresponding status.³⁰ Statistics showing percentages pertaining to the white population for the same period reveal the opposite in regard to ratios between the sexes. In 1830, 12,600 white males and only 8,681 white females called New Orleans home.³¹ Tregle describes the white males inside the city: “perhaps half of the city’s men were bachelors living in rooming houses or husbands whose wives were still in the North.”³² The intermixing of unattached white males with slave women of African descent inevitably emerged. An absence of protection from male, African, family members only served to encourage activity between the two groups. In many ways the mixing of women of African descent with white men opened opportunities for freedom, yet abuse and violence also occurred within the dynamics of such relationships.

Lacking protection from close family members and without ready access to recourse against those committing assaults, many women were left with no choice but to succumb to advances. Buried behind the cruelties of forced liaisons, lay the potential for the advancement of personal interests. If circumstances worked in their favor, relations with white men might lead to economic advancement and

28 Ward, xvi.

29 *Ibid.*, 39.

30 University of Virginia, “Historical Census Browser,” in “Geospatial and Statistical Data Center,” [<http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/php/county.php>] 18 November 2005.

31 *Ibid.*

32 Tregle, 34.

emancipation. Always overshadowing positives was the potential for abuse, and more specifically, sexual abuse.

Louisa Picquet's story details an example of this sort of relationship. Picquet faced her sale on the New Orleans slave market at the young age of fourteen.³³ Mr. Williams, a gentleman who earlier separated from his wife, bought her.³⁴ Williams found in Picquet someone he intended to "end his days" with.³⁵ Stated otherwise, Williams relished the idea of being able to buy a woman who could perform all the duties of a wife and in addition remain subject to him as a slave. Unlike his wife, Picquet could not leave.

Although she had been taught earlier in life that "It was adultery to stay with any one without bein' married", Picquet bore four children with Williams.³⁶ She does not seem proud of her relationship with Williams and instead answered queries about her relationship with, "and I thought, now I shall be committen' adultery, and there's no chance for me...I had this trouble with him and my soul the whole time."³⁷ When asked if she ever mentioned her qualms about their relation with Williams, Picquet responded with:

Yes, sir: I told him often. Then he would dam' at it. He said he had all that to answer for himself. If I was only then I could get religion-that needn't hinder me from gettin' religion. But I knew better than that. I thought it was of no prayin', and livin' in sin.³⁸

Though she never directly mentions sexual coercion it can be implied from her answer. In the end, Picquet's trials with Williams led to her emancipation. While on his deathbed Williams told Picquet, "that if I would promise him that I would go New York he would leave me and the children free."³⁹ Picquet cherished her new status as a free woman. Soon after her emancipation, she went to church for the "first time...in six years."⁴⁰ Picquet actively claimed freedom after Williams died. Her children benefited to even larger extent as they were exempt from the slave status Picquet held for most of her adult life.

Though numbing, Picquet's biography is not singular. Just as she never directly states her probable sexual abuse by Williams, she provides little description of the market where Williams first bought her. Walker provides this description of the slave trade in New Orleans in relation to women:

At the beginning of the public sales, the slave women were paraded out onto the stage. Their dresses were removed to the waist, exposing their half-naked bodies to potential purchasers and passing voyeurs.⁴¹

33 Hiram Mattison, "Louisa Picquet, the Octoroon: or inside Views of Southern Domestic Living." In "Documenting the American South," [<http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/picquet.html>] 4 October 2005, 16.

34 *Ibid.*, 18.

35 *Ibid.*, 18.

36 *Ibid.*, 19-20.

37 *Ibid.*, 20.

38 *Ibid.*, 22.

39 *Ibid.*, 22.

40 *Ibid.*, 24.

41 Daniel E. Walker, *No More, no more: slavery and cultural resistance in Havana and New Orleans*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 78.

This description was written about slave women for sale on the regular market. The treatment of those sold as “fancy girls” was substantially worse. The “fancy trade” dealt in the commodity of “fancy girls,” who were slave women sold on the market, not as domestics or field hands, but for the purpose of providing sexual services. Generally the “girls were physically attractive, fair-to-almost-white-skinned, young females,” according to Walker.⁴² Slave owners typically spent over double what they might on a healthy male slave to purchase the girls.⁴³ Their high monetary value did nothing to shelter the girls from the abuses of the slave market. Walker alleges the examination received from potential buyers could include, “groping and placing fingers and hands in selected orifices.”⁴⁴ Picquet never directly states whether she was a part of the “fancy trade,” but her status as an octoroon, and her brief description of the market where she was sold and in the process almost stripped naked, suggest possible involvement in the “fancy trade.”⁴⁵

For other slave women, being used for sexual purposes did not negate the possibility of exposure to harsh plantation realities. New Orleans historian Al Rose notes there were planters who “came to town renting their nubile, octoroon slave girls” for sexual purposes.⁴⁶ The “fancy trade” exemplifies another institution that, while cruel in itself, held possibilities of freedom for attractive females. As white men combined their own genes with those of slaves, the possibility of freedom for the ensuing mothers and their children became greater.

Slave women were active in seeking freedom if they thought their situation warranted it. Though forbidden to testify in court by the Louisiana Civil Code women often bypassed the stipulation by suing for freedom in New Orleans’ civil courts. Louisiana historian Judith Kelleher Schafer illustrates several examples where slaves grasped legal rights they did not technically have. She writes, “some slaves found ingenious and remarkably sophisticated ways to use the law, lawyers, judges, and the local courts to gain their freedom.”⁴⁷ The case of Sally Dowd, illustrated in Schafer’s book, *Becoming Free, Remaining Free: Manumission and Enslavement in New Orleans, 1846-1862*, portrays a slave woman who sued for her freedom and won. Dowd’s owner, Henry Stream, tried to nullify a contract he made with her allowing her to purchase her freedom, but was unsuccessful.⁴⁸ Dowd’s success in suing for her freedom demonstrates the ability of slave women to grasp autonomy in situations where they technically should have been unable to do so.

Relations Between White Men and Free Women of African Descent

Unlike those chained by slavery, free women of African descent could resist white men, but often did not. Once again this can be partially explained by investigating sexual ratios among the free black populace. In 1830 there were 7,042

42 Ibid., 78.

43 Ibid., 78.

44 Ibid., 78.

45 Mattison, 16.

46 Al Rose, *Storyville, New Orleans: Being an Authentic, Illustrated Account of the Notorious Red-Light District* (Montgomery: University of Alabama Press, 1974), 15.

47 Judith Kelleher Schafer, *Becoming Free, Remaining Free: Manumission and Enslavement in New Orleans, 1846-1862* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003), xiii.

48 Ibid., 53.

free “colored” females residing in the county of Orleans and only 4,864 “colored” men with the same status.⁴⁹ The same discrepancy revealed in the slave population held true for the free population. For some African American women, “being a white man’s mistress was the only opportunity they had to enter into a sexual union with a man.”⁵⁰ The discrepancy found in the ratios between the sexes of men and free women of African heritage does not fully explain why black women were willing to enter into relations with white men. Like enslaved women, free women also looked to white men for opportunities to advance their own economic and personal situations, as well as that of their children. Because they were free, the possibility of genuine attraction remains an additional explanation.

Marriage was legally forbidden between white men and black women; however, a parallel institution called placage did exist. The rights of a woman bound by placage hardly compare with what could be expected from a legally sanctioned and defined marriage. Women were expected to remain loyal to the men, but white males were not expected to return their fidelity.⁵¹ Placage did not guarantee a woman a substantial portion of her partner’s income should he pass on. According to Thomas N. Ingersoll’s article, “Free Blacks in a Slave Society: New Orleans, 1718-1812,” the female partner could only claim up to 10 percent of the deceased’s estate and illegitimate children might be awarded up to 25 percent.⁵² These percentages (though law) did not always translate into reality. If a woman was crafty, ways of skirting the law existed. For instance, following the disappearance of her first husband sometime during the 1820s, Marie Laveau married a white man named Christophe Glapion.⁵³ In order to add legitimacy to the marriage and ensure that it was condoned by the local Catholic Church, Glapion changed his officially documented race from “white” to “colored.”⁵⁴ Even after changing his race, city officials attempted to block Laveau’s rights as a married woman. When Glapion died in 1855, his status as a colored married man became void and several men lay claim to the property Laveau and her children expected to receive. By bequeathing his properties earlier to his children and discretely discussing his affairs with Monsieur Pierre Biron, who would become the executioner of his will, Glapion’s property found its way into the hands of his family.⁵⁵ Laveau did not claim her share as the wife of Glapion, but rather according to Biron as the, “old woman who always attended on the deceased during his sickness.”⁵⁶ Laveau eventually claimed her rights as a wife, but under the guise of a servant. In order for her to do so, the couple resorted to trickery and deception.

Immediate material gain, not dependent on the death of a white male, also lured women of African descent into compromising situations. Melinda Parker received a proposition to become attached in this sort of engagement. She relates a story where a man approached her and promised to give her, “everthin’ I wanted,” if Parker would

49 University of Virginia, “Historical Census Browser”.

50 Walker, 80.

51 *Ibid.*, 83.

52 Thomas N. Ingersoll, “Free Blacks in a Slave Society: New Orleans, 1718-1812,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 48, no. 2 (1991):197.

53 Ward, 45.

54 *Ibid.*, 45.

55 *Ibid.*, 103.

56 *Ibid.*, 103.

agree to become the man's mistress.⁵⁷ Parker refused, telling the man he should spend his time and money with his family. Like Parker, other women also took action against placage. Henriette Delille became a nun to avoid living "in an immoral arrangement with a man who was not her husband."⁵⁸ To women who were less morally concerned and receiving low wages for doing hard labor, placage held more appeal. Some elite African American mothers searched out placements as mistresses for their daughters, hoping to make a deal whereby a white man might give the daughter "a house and an allowance in return for a visiting schedule," according to Ward.⁵⁹ In doing so mothers' supported unions proposed for monetary gain and so gained a degree of economic autonomy for their daughters.

More blatant in their requests for money from the master class, were women of African descent who openly engaged in prostitution. Women with African blood might have been prohibited from marrying white men, but they were in no way barred from selling their own sexuality. Carter Hodding, author of *Past as Prelude; New Orleans 1718-1968*, bestowed the title "prostitution capital of all America" on New Orleans in the years prior to the Civil War.⁶⁰ Prostitution proliferated so rampantly according to Hodding, by 1850 resultant profits were second only to that brought in from the ports.⁶¹ Seemingly, prostitutes ran their businesses unhindered. In 1857 the city's Common Council voted to begin taxing prostitutes, but by 1859 the law was declared unconstitutional, as local harlots rebelled against the imposition.⁶² In an area referred to as the "Swamp," along Gallatin Street, and eventually on Basin Street, prostitutes from all nationalities erected large houses, and some succeeded in amassing small fortunes.⁶³

Women of African descent profited along with women of other nationalities. Rose gives several examples of such women. Hattie Hamilton arrived in New Orleans from Cuba as a "veteran strumpet," and eventually became the madam of a large business.⁶⁴ Minnie Ha-Ha, "a beautiful Negro madame," claimed a royal Native American lineage, and by the "late 1860s hers was one of the most elaborate mansions in the city."⁶⁵ These women assumed wealth not available to other free women who worked scrubbing floors or caring for children. In order to do so they sacrificed any chance of forming ties with "respectable" society, although the society they did inhabit exhibited a lack of discrimination not found elsewhere.

Those not directly of African heritage, but living in places like Basin Street, utilized and adopted the cultural traits of their darker neighbors. In 1860 a prostitute referred to as Fanny Sweet turned to an African woman noted for her specialization in voodoo as an aid for attracting patrons to her brothel.⁶⁶ Sweet was later found to

57 Melinda Parker, *American Life Histories: Manuscripts from the Federal Writers' Project, 1936-1940* Library of Congress [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?wpa:1:./temp/~ammem_IHAB::@@@mbd=mcc], 4.

58 Ward, 37.

59 Ibid., 36.

60 Carter Hodding, *Past as Prelude; New Orleans, 1718-1968*. (New Orleans: Pelican Publishing House: 1968), 236.

61 Ibid., 236.

62 Rose, 8-9.

63 Ibid., 8-9.

64 Hodding, 237.

65 Rose, 13.

66 Ibid., 14.

be in possession of many voodoo relics herself.⁶⁷ Her own retention of relics from African culture shows Sweet not only accepting, but adopting borrowed elements from that culture. The Basin St. area was more accepting of African culture than other environments like a white women's parlor might be. Cultural acceptance combined with monetary reward acted as powerful influencers. Additionally, unlike placage, prostitution allowed women to express their autonomy as they managed businesses and retained mastership of their own careers.

Even so, seeking this kind of career required an almost fool-hardy bravery. Between 1820 and 1850 the "Swamp" hosted approximately eight hundred murders.⁶⁸ The risks in running such a business were numerous. Exposing oneself in areas where, as Rose asserts, "fugitives from every nation's laws found shelter" posed multiple hazards.⁶⁹ Presentable women of color tended to avoid establishments housing criminal activity (like the areas prostitutes inhabited). Parker relays the experiences of one girl who rejected domestic employment when "they told her that there was a lot of dope smugglers" at a residence requesting domestic service.⁷⁰ Prostitution voided any chance women might have of avoiding unsavory criminals. It surely required they welcome questionable characters not only into their businesses, but also into their bedrooms. The freedoms afforded by aspiring to be a madam appear to have motivated numerous women of African descent toward the gilded palaces. For some, the inherent risks were overcome by their desire for economic and personal autonomy.

The rampant mingling of white males and women of African descent naturally resulted in a racially diverse population. By the time of American acquisition, generations of biracial children had already been born. In French New Orleans, Berlin declares, "Native Americans, whites, and blacks all joined in sexual unions."⁷¹ Children did not always profit in these arrangements. The Civil Code of Louisiana stipulated "Children born of a mother then in a state of slavery, whether married or not, follow the condition of their mother."⁷² Some white men chose to free their biracial offspring. Henry Bibb, a slave who wrote about his experiences in the New Orleans' market, wrote of such men, "Many of them set their mulatto children free, and make slaveholders of them."⁷³

Reactions From White Women

Large numbers of individual emancipations allowed the free African American population to grow. By 1840 the free population peaked at 20,000.⁷⁴ As more individuals with African backgrounds assumed the label "free," the lines between freedom and enslavement grew increasingly blurred. Generalizations based on skin color provided some guidelines in ascertaining status. Those with black skin were

67 Ibid., 14.

68 Ibid., 7.

69 Ibid., 9.

70 Parker, 1.

71 Berlin, 86.

72 "Civil Code of Louisiana: 1824", 2.

73 Henry Bibb, "Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Henry Bibb, An American Slave, Written by Himself," in *Slave Narratives*, edited by William L. Andrews and Henry Louis Gates Jr. (New York: Penguin Putnam Inc., 2002), 499.

74 Fischer, 929.

generally considered slaves while mulattoes were “presumed to be free.”⁷⁵ Adding to the confusion, and partially owing to the abysmal realities of the prostitution business, slavery in the city evolved into an institution not totally defined by skin color. White slavery proliferated in the red light district where high prices were paid for young virgins. Mary Fozette, a young white girl, was charged with stealing herself after she escaped from a brothel.⁷⁶ The historian John Bailey accidentally discovered records revealing the story of Sally Miller, a young German girl who was located “working in a squalid cabaret near the New Orleans waterfront” in 1843.⁷⁷ The enslavement of white females suggests slave status could be partially attributed to sex as well as race. Confirmation of this reality brought retaliation from white females who sought to consolidate their own position by maintaining their superiority on the racial hierarchy. Added to their reactions against women of African descent were feelings of jealousy and rage resulting from the actions of white men involved with women of African descent. White women were inherently “powerless when male relatives upon whom they depended—husbands, fathers, brothers, sons, or grandfathers—picked women of color as mistresses.”⁷⁸ Though they were powerless in stopping the men in their lives from having liaisons with women of African descent, white women consistently affirmed their position by physically abusing their darker counterparts.

The abuse white women imparted upon women of African descent violated images of women prevalent in the 1800s. Latrobe illustrates this discrepancy:

And yet several, I had almost said many, of these soft beauties handle *themselves* the cowskin, with a sort of savage pleasure, & those soft eyes can look on the tortures of their slaves, inflicted by their orders, with satisfaction, & coolly prescribe the dose of infliction, the measure of which shall stop short of the life of their property.⁷⁹

Latrobe also offers individual examples of abuse. He exposes Bernard Marigny’s wife who ordered a “naked woman tied up on a ladder...to undergo the punishment of the whip.”⁸⁰ Also noted is Madame Lanusse a “Hellcat” who whipped “a negress to death,” but was not convicted after the affair was “hushed up.”⁸¹ Openly retaliating against white women was simply not an option for many serving beneath them. Though the individuals facing floggings may have been innocent of the behaviors supposedly causing such wrath, they were left without any method of recourse. Fighting a population who could easily hush an incident like murder without legal freedom was not a practical task.

White women were also motivated by rage when faced with the natural outcome of white males’ sexual relations outside the white race. Latrobe describes Mrs. Tremoult, the owner of a boarding house who had a variety of servants including

75 Ingersoll, 198.

76 Rose, 15.

77 John Bailey, *The Lost German Slave Girl* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2003), x.

78 Ward, 36.

79 Latrobe, 53.

80 *Ibid.*, 54.

81 *Ibid.*, 54.

a “Mulatto woman.”⁸² Tremoult held this single servant responsible for “waiting on tables, making beds, and sewing two shirts a day.”⁸³ In spite of her many tasks the servant was apparently “modest, obliging, and incredibly active.”⁸⁴ One day when the woman did not make a bed at the required time, because someone was occupying the bed, she was “stripped quite naked, tied to a bed post” and whipped by both Mrs. Tremoult and her daughter.⁸⁵ The racial characteristics of the girl though (namely that she was a mulatto) probably provoked the rage Tremoult focused on her.

The presence of mulattoes in New Orleans was a constant reminder of the sexual permissiveness between white men and black women. Women who appeared to descend from pure black racial lines were less likely to receive the kind of cruel treatment Tremoult doled out on her mulatto servant. Eliza Moore Chinn McHatton Ripley, in her book *Social Life in Old New Orleans, Being Recollections of My Girlhood*, titled an entire chapter, “Monument to Mammies.”⁸⁶ The Mammy of Ripley’s book is anything but a sexual threat. Mammy is described as “nosed and homely.” In addition, this unattractive woman is praised for having “no adulterated blood” and appearing “as black as her Sunday silk.”⁸⁷ Not only is Mammy ugly, but she does not represent the mixing of white men with colored women.

Even so, white women could not obliterate the presence of the offspring of biracial unions. Biracial women were considered to be preferable house servants. Parker writes of an acquaintance referred to as Emily. Because “she’s French an’ she’s light-colored . . . she gets the good jobs,” Parker states.⁸⁸ Emily’s light skin also gave her an amount of freedom and she had more ability to choose between employers than did her darker counterparts. Though white women were able to succeed in abusing biracial women they had close contact with, ultimately they could not stop such women from assuming a position in society just below their own.

The case of the Quadroon balls further exemplifies the ability of biracial women to achieve victory over the demands of white women. These events allowed opportunities for “Any fairly light Negro woman” to meet with white men.⁸⁹ Often “elite women of color” arranged the meetings and “made semiformal contracts with white men who admired their daughters.”⁹⁰ The balls caused various reactions among white women. Some “attended out of curiosity.”⁹¹ Others were horrified by the events. Because of white women’s protests, the city issued an ordinance in 1828 banning the balls, however the ordinance was not well enforced and the balls continued.⁹²

82 Ibed., 53.

83 Ibed., 53.

84 Ibed., 54.

85 Ibed., 54.

86 Eliza Moore Chinn McHatton Ripley, “Social Life in Old New Orleans, Being Recollections of my Girlhood,” in “Documenting the American South,” [<http://docsouth.unc.edu/ripley/ripley.html>], 209.

87 Ibed., 210.

88 Parker, 1.

89 Tregle, 35.

90 Ward, 36.

91 Tregle, 35.

92 Fischer, 935.

Conclusion

Whether women of African descent looked toward Congo Square, the marketplace, or white men, an active striving for varieties of autonomy is present in their stories. They pocketed money, participated in activities rooted in African culture, sued in court for freedom, sold their bodies for economic independence, and on a large scale defeated white women's protests against them. In so doing they succeeded in taking advantage of the unique society of New Orleans. The city consistently afforded unusual opportunities for women of African descent, while surrounded by the dismal realities of the pre-Civil War American South. Yet, it was the women themselves, who with bravery and persistence, tested limits and redefined societal boundaries.

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Ageism: Lack of Implicit Stereotypes Across Adulthood

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Abstract:

This study expanded the sample populations which have been tested for ageism. An encoding task and an unexpected recall task measured ageism within these populations: 18-25 years, 25-54 years, and 55+ years. Eighty-seven participants were tested. There was no significant difference between mean percent of words, positive or negative, recalled from the old encoding task and words, positive or negative recalled from the young encoding task in the separate age categories. This supports research showing ageism does not exist in the current population. Overall, mean percent of positive words recalled was significantly higher than negative words recalled. Mean percent of positive words recalled in the self referent encoding task was significantly higher than negative self referent. Further research exploring alternative methodologies for testing implicit ageism in these populations is recommended.

Introduction

Stereotypes help to guide us through a very complex and detailed world by generalizing information. However, sometimes these generalizations can take on a negative connotation. These are then referred to as prejudices. Two highly researched types of prejudices are sexism and racism. The PsycInfo Database lists more than 32,340 journal articles related to either sexism or racism that have been published from 1900 to 2005. More recently, some research has focused on a different type of -ism: ageism. "Ageism, like sexism and racism, is the prejudice behavior of a society against older adults or negative stereotyping" (Hoyer & Roodin, 2003, p. 39) of the aged. Negative stereotyping against the aged has been depicted as the "new American bigotry" by Butler (1978) who first defined the term ageism as stereotyping and discriminating against people based on age (Cited in Sorgman & Sorensen, 1984, p. 18). Ageism, when imbedded in a society, allows younger generations to view older adults differently from themselves; as a result, they cease to relate to them as human beings (Butler, 1978, p. 12).

Research on ageism is important because the life expectancy of the average person in the United States is increasing due to advances in both medical and industrial technology. According to current population trends, by the year 2030, older adults will make up approximately 20% of the population (Erber, 2005, p. 16). Compared to the population pyramids for the United States in the years 1900, 1970, and 1995, which display a traditional pyramid shape with 0 to 5 year olds at the base, 2030 is projected to show a more even distribution across all age intervals (Erber, 2005, p. 18).

Disturbingly, a study examining the instances of the phrase "senior moment" (Bonnesen & Burgess, 2004, p. 123) in newspapers between the years of 1991 and 2000 revealed the term was used 181 times in 136 newspaper articles and became more common in the latter years. The phrase "senior moment" (p. 123), although most commonly defined as brief slips in memory, can also be indicative of serious cognitive and functional deficiencies. The fact that it is referred to as a "senior" (p. 123) moment

combined with the increasing popularity of the phrase suggests that negative stereotypes of older adults are becoming more accepted in American culture. As stated by Hawkins (2004), "...as the elderly population continues to grow, it is important that we learn more about attitudes toward the elderly. By gaining a more thorough understanding of these attitudes, we can plan and evaluate interventions aimed at improving them" (p. 278).

The research on ageism in the last few decades has reported conflicting results. Tuckman and Lorge conducted one of the first systematic studies of attitudes toward older adults. The study asked graduate students questions targeting older adults (Cited in Slotterback, 1996, p. 552). Results from this study show that these graduate students held negative stereotypes toward the aged. Since then, several methodologies and scales have been used to study ageism. The Aging Semantic Differential Scale has received wide use in assessing the attitudes and perceptions of college students toward older adults. This scale pairs bipolar personality traits requiring the participant to indicate the trait more representative of an older adult. The results of the studies using this scale are inconsistent. For example, Bell and Stanfield's (1973) study indicated non-significant results of positive or negative attitudes toward aging while Hawkins (1996) found that students hold negative views about the aged. Aaronson (1966) administered the Grough Adjective Rating Scale (GARS) to participants where he asked them to "check those adjectives which, in their opinion, described the typical person at decade intervals from 5 through 85" (p. 458). Then he tabulated the frequency with which more negative words were checked in relation to the older ages. With the increase in age, more negative words were checked which indicated age biased attitudes. Weinberger and Millham (1975) assessed attitudes of undergraduate students using an attitude questionnaire in regards to two age categories: a 25-year-old category and 70-year-old category. The participants then rated the target age for various attitudes on an ordinal scale called the Likert scale (p.343). Their results indicated participants held ageism toward the group of older adults but gave more positive responses regarding a personalized older person, such as a grandmother. Mosher-Ashley and Ball (1999) had participants complete a three-page survey modified from one developed by Sheomake and Rowland (1993), which included a checklist format of a series of characteristics. Mosher-Ashley and Ball found undergraduate students tend to hold more positive views toward the aged. Other studies, like one done by Middlecamp and Gross (2002), focus on how intergenerational contact influences attitudes about older adults or aging. The study measured children's attitudes using CATE, Children's Attitudes Towards the Elderly (p. 277). The study found despite contact with older adults in an intergenerational daycare program, preschool children rated the older adults less capable than younger adults and children of participating in the same activities.

Unlike the previously listed studies, Perdue and Gurtman (1990) used an encoding task followed by an unexpected recall to analyze if ageism might have an "unintentional and perhaps unconscious component" (p. 201). The study attempted to depict if negative traits were automatically perceived in reference to old persons when the initial information was encoded (p. 201). This and other studies of stereotyping have recently advanced from the assumption that people organize information about the world "schematically" (Carver & de la Garza, 1984, p. 69). This means information, instead of being encoded in separate, individual pieces, is structured so that associa-

tion between elements is represented along with the elements themselves. Associated information consistent with a person's schematic categorization at the time of encoding will be easier to store and retrieve (Perdue & Gurtman, 1990). This also seems to be valid in reference to social groups or categories (p. 202). "One important reflection of schematic representation is the following: when one aspect of schema is activated or evoked, other related aspects of the schema tend to be evoked as well" (Carver & de la Garza, 1984, p. 69). Therefore, when an encoding task uses the word "old," all information associated with that word, including any negative stereotypes, will be activated in the schema. "Spreading Activation" (Payne & Wenger, 1998, p.252) is the term psychologists have given to this processing in the schema. Perdue and Gurtman (1990) utilized schema activation to identify negative implicit stereotypes about older adults and measured with an unexpected recall test.

Sample populations used for studying ageism have been limited in many studies; oftentimes, experimenters have relied upon a convenience sample of undergraduate students. However, there have been a few exceptions. For example, Middlecamp and Gross (2002) measured children's attitudes resulting from intergenerational contact, Mosher-Ashley and Ball (1999) measured attitudinal differences between traditional students and non-traditional students defined as 23 or more years, and Bell and Stanfield (1973) measured a sample of older retired adults in studying attitudes toward age. A literature review found no studies have looked at ageism across adulthood. A computerized literature search was carried out on the following databases: *PsycINFO* (*Psychological Abstracts*), (1887 to present); *EBSCO host*, (1985 to present); and *Wilson Web*, (1983 to present). Keywords used in the computer search were "attitudes," "ageism," "ageism" <in> "various populations," "ageism" <in> "adulthood," "ageism" <in> "elderly" and "ageism" <in> "aged". No hits were found. Research needs to focus on all aspects of the population who could hold negative stereotypes to fully study, understand, and address ageism in this society.

The following research is an extension of the study done by Perdue and Gurtman (1990) titled "Evidence for the Automaticity of Ageism." The purpose of this study is to determine if other age populations, aside from undergraduate college students, hold negative attitudes toward the aged—specifically non-traditional students and retired senior citizens. Our research question is: "Are discriminatory attitudes held mainly by young adults, or do middle-aged and even older adults themselves have ageist attitudes?" (Erber, 2005, p. 15). By seeking out all age populations who may hold negative attitudes toward the aged, psychologists and society can better understand and eradicate them.

We predict that in the self-referent encoding task, participants across the three age categories will recall more traits, both positive and negative, because self-referent information is processed at a deeper level as found in Rogers et al. (1977) (Cited in Rudolph, 1993). As Rogers et al. also found in the study, fewer traits, both positive and negative, will be recalled in the evaluative encoding task than in the other encoding tasks across all age categories because these traits are processed at a shallow level (Cited in Rudolph, 1993). The young-referent encoding task and old-referent encoding will be recalled at a more equal processing level between the self-referent and evaluative tasks. We predict the undergraduate students (18-25 years) will view the aged more negatively, meaning they will recall a greater percentage of negative traits than

positive traits which had been paired with the old-referent encoding task in accordance with Perdue and Gurtman's (1990) results. The non-traditional students (26-54 years), whom have not previously been categorized independently in other studies, will also recall a greater percentage of negative traits than positive traits paired with the old-referent encoding task because they are students on campus and will identify with the undergraduate population rather than the retired group. This would be consistent with the findings of Mosher-Ashley and Ball (1999) who found no significant differences of ageist attitudes between undergraduates and non-traditional ages. We predict the retired senior citizens (55+ years) will also recall a greater percentage of negative traits than positive traits paired with the old-referent encoding task due to the concept of subjectivity of age. Montepare and Lachman (1989) found older adults' subjective age identities (that is, how they feel) were younger than their chronological age and young adults' subjective age identities were older than their chronological age (Cited in Erber, 2005, p.11). Therefore, the retired senior citizens will not identify themselves as "old" and will create the same barrier seen in the younger populations against older adults.

Method

Participants

A total number of 87 participants comprised the three age categories. Thirty-six participants were undergraduate students, who were enrolled in introductory psychology classes, and between the ages of 18-25 with 29 females and 7 males. These participants received extra credit as compensation for their participation. Twenty-one participants were between the ages of 26-54 with 15 females and 6 males, comprised of non-traditional students. These participants were induced with the use of a lottery drawing of a gift card to the student union. Thirty participants were at least 55 or older with 21 females and 9 males comprised the retired senior citizen age category. All of the participants were Caucasian. Individuals were affiliated with a university of approximately 11,000 students in a Midwestern city of approximately 60,000 people. No restrictions on participants applied; all participant scores were measured and recorded. Participants were treated in accordance with the "Ethical Principals of Psychologists and Codes of Conduct" (American Psychological Association, 1992).

Apparatus

Participants viewed the encoding task on a projected screen from a Compaq laptop computer; model number Evo N800v, which was programmed using Super Lab Pro. The projector, model number NEC VT670, was property of the university psychology department.

Procedure

The following research was an extension of the study done by Perdue and Gurtman (1990). Twenty negative and 20 positive trait adjectives were selected from Anderson's (1968) evaluative rankings of 555 trait adjectives. These traits were chosen because of their unambiguous nature, either clearly positive or clearly negative in connotation (Cited in Perdue & Gurtman, 1990, p. 203). For example, honest was used as a positive trait and cruel was used as a negative trait.

Participants answered one of four possible questions about the adjectives; these are identically replicated from the template study performed by Purdue and

Gurtman (1990): “(1) Is this a term that would describe you (Self-referent encoding task)? (2) Is this a *good* trait to find in a person (Evaluative encoding task)? (3) Is this a term that would describe an *old* person (Old-referent encoding task)? (4) Is this a term that would describe a *young* person (Young-referent encoding task p.203)?” The self-referent and evaluative questions were included to serve as control conditions so the study did not specifically appear to be studying ageism. The two questions also served to make the needed comparisons between age categories (p. 203).

Encoding questions and traits were randomly paired and presented by computer and viewed on an overhead projector screen. The paired trait and encoding question were presented in 24 point, Arial (Western) font, in black ink against a white background for 6 seconds with a plain white screen appearing between each slide for 2 seconds. Participants bubbled in a “yes” or “no” response to each question on a data sheet using a pen or pencil. Each group judged a random selection of five positive and five negative traits in each of the four encoding tasks for a total of 40 questions.

Testing occurred in a student union at a university and at a retirement home in a closed room varying the time of day and week. Groups no larger than 10 participants were tested at a time. Four versions of the slide show encoding task were made. Counterbalancing was used by systematically varying the pairing of five words with each of the four possible questions used and the order of the questions.

In an unexpected recall task at the end of the session, participants were asked to write down as many traits from the preceding slide show as they could remember. “The probability of recall was defined for each trait as the number of times it was recalled in each condition divided by the number of times it was presented in that condition (Purdue & Gurtman, 1990, p.203). In this study the probability of recall was computed in percentages.

Results

The mean total of recalled words was analyzed with a one-way analysis of variance. As shown in Figure 1, the mean total of recalled words from the retired senior citizen age category was significantly lower than the undergraduate and non-traditional age categories, $F(2,84) = 14.18, p < .05$. An alpha level of .05 was used for all statistical tests. Because of this significant difference, all further statistical means were reported in mean percent of words recalled.

The mean percent of words recalled was computed for the positive and negative words in each of the four encoding tasks in the three age categories. The means were analyzed with a $3 \times 2 \times 4$ (Age Category X Trait Connotation X Encoding Task) mixed analysis of variance with repeated measures over trait and task. Overall, as shown in Figure 2, no significant difference in mean percent words recalled was found between the three age categories regarding encoding task, $F(6, 252) = .58, p > .05$. There was no significant difference in mean percent words, both negative and positive, recalled in any of the four encoding tasks in each of the three age categories, $F(6, 252) = .58, p > .05$ (see Figure 3). However, as shown in Figure 4, overall, mean percent positive words recalled was significantly higher than negative words recalled regardless of age category or encoding task $F(1,84) = 7.53, p < .05$.

As shown in Table 1, the analysis of variance indicated an interaction between encoding task and trait connotation, $F(3, 252) = 4.27, p < .05$. Planned

comparisons indicated that the mean percent of positive words recalled in the self-referent encoding task was significantly higher than those of the negative self referent, ($p < .001$). No significant differences emerged between negative and positive words for the old ($p = .723$), young ($p = .369$), nor evaluative ($p = .176$) encoding tasks, (see Figure 5). There were no other significant differences among encoding tasks.

Table 1

Analysis of Variance Summary Table Mean % Words Recalled

Source	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Age Category	1.47	2	.74	1.19	>.05
Error	52.08	84	.62		
Encoding Task	791.01	3	263.67	1.83	>.05
Error	40706.70	282	144.35		
Trait Connotation	918.51	1	918.51	7.53	<.01
Error	10251.36	84	122.04		
Encoding x Trait	1164.24	3	388.08	4.27	<.01
Error	22916.88	252	90.94		
Total	76802.25	711			

Note. Significance was found in the trait connotation factor and in the interaction between trait connotation and encoding task. Both were significant at $p < .01$ alpha level.

Discussion

Despite previous research findings of higher recall in self-referent and lower recall in evaluative encoding tasks, this study found no significant difference between these two tasks in the separate age categories. Similarly, there was no significant difference between words, positive or negative, recalled from the old encoding task. Since the research on ageism reports conflicting results, this study supports the body of research findings showing that ageism does not exist in the current population. However, the results of this study do not support the original findings of Perdue and Gurtman (1990) or the hypothesis that all three age categories would recall more negative than positive words in the old encoding task revealing ageist attitudes.

When combining age categories and looking at the overall words recalled, it was found that positive words recalled in the self-referent encoding task were significantly higher. This is consistent with the research findings on recall of self-referent words. Memory for self-referent information has been found to be better because it is processed at a deeper level. However, this was not found for negative words in the self-referent encoding task in this study contrary to the previous research findings. There was no significant difference between positive and negative words recalled in the old, young, and evaluative encoding tasks.

Counterbalancing the stimuli was effective by randomly varying the 20 positive and 20 negative words with each of the four encoding tasks. Varying the time of day and day of week successfully controlled for the possible confound of subject selection. By using a pre-tested list of trait adjectives, all words were clearly positive or clearly negative in connotation. Each word and encoding question was shown for the same amount of time on a projected computer screen.

Participants were not evenly distributed by age category among the four encoding task programs because of the availability of participants and the restricted testing schedule. By lengthening the duration of testing to allow for more testing times, a better distribution of participants could be achieved. It may also be more beneficial to test participants individually, which would allow for more control over the version to which each participant was exposed.

The uniqueness of our study was that it tested ageism across adulthood. However, when measuring the dependent variable of words recalled, there may have been a scale-attenuation effect in the retired senior citizens age category. Since recall for this group was significantly lower than the other age categories, the study may have been confounded by a floor effect. Perdue and Gurtman did not encounter this confound in their study because their study only tested the undergraduate population. Knowing that free recall is a difficult task, it may be warranted to change the dependent variable to words recognized. It may also be warranted to consider other methodologies for testing implicit ageism across adulthood to account for irreversible developmental age-related slowing and memory deficits.

The majority of the results are specific to the population of college-educated Caucasians. The results from this experimental population do not generalize to all populations and cannot be representative of holistic societal views. To further generalize the results, the pooling of participants should not be restricted to a university campus; diverse ethnic and educational backgrounds should be included in the sample studied. By expanding the participant pool into a larger community, the external validity of this study would be increased.

There may be gender differences in ageist attitudes. Weinberger and Millham (1975) found females held more negative attitudes toward the aged than did males in the undergraduate student age group. This is consistent with the findings of Kalavar (2001), in her study analyzing the difference in attitudes between male and female college students using an age preference task. Due to the low participation of males in this study, gender differences were not considered a factor; however, Kalavar (2001) states, "Gender socialization may play an important role in the formation of ageist attitudes. Further research in this area of gender differences is strongly recommended (p. 512)."

Past studies have failed to test ageism across adulthood. This study has contributed to the science of psychology by expanding the sample population tested to include non-traditional aged students and retired senior citizens in addition to the traditionally tested undergraduate population. Research on ageism is important because discriminatory thoughts and behaviors against older adults are wrong and detrimental to society's growth. Converging evidence is needed to resolve the current conflicting findings on whether or not ageist attitudes are present in today's society. This research has increasing importance, overall, as the age demographics change and the baby boomer cohort moves into older adulthood.

Appendix

Figure 1. Total number of words recalled as a function of age category. The mean total of recalled words from the retired senior citizen age category was significantly lower than the undergraduate and non-traditional age categories, $F(2,84) = 14.18, p < .05$; lines on bar graph indicate $\pm 1 SE$.

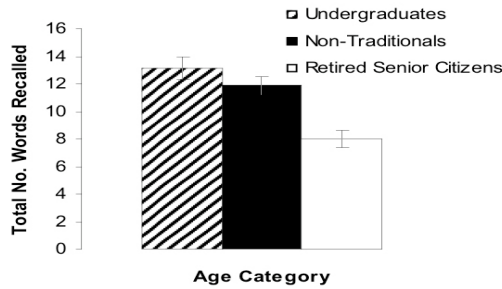


Figure 2. Mean percent positive and negative words recalled as a function of encoding task in the three age categories. Undergraduates (Top). Non-traditionals (Middle). Retired Senior Citizens (Bottom). No significant difference in mean percent words recalled was found between the three age categories regardless of encoding task, $F(6, 252) = .58, p > .05$; lines on bar graph indicate $\pm 1 SE$.

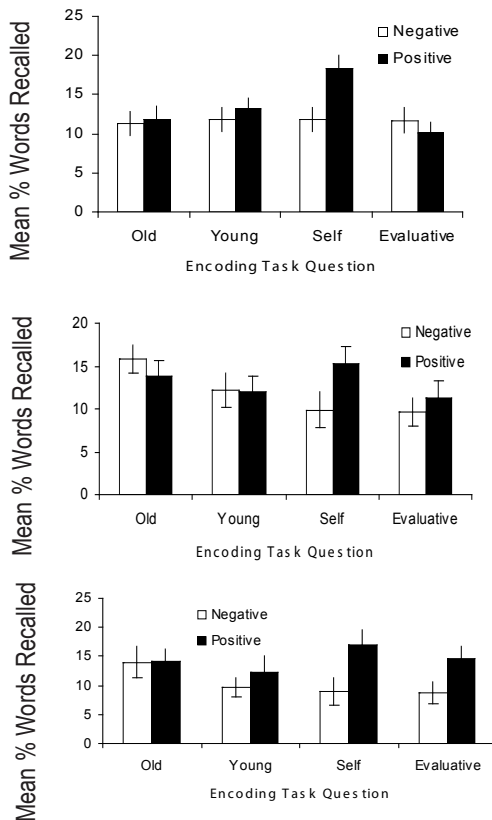


Figure 3. Mean percent words recalled in old, young, self, and evaluative encoding tasks as a function of age category. (Top) Undergraduate. (Middle) Non-traditional. (Bottom) Retired Senior Citizens. There was no significant difference in mean percent words, both negative and positive, recalled in any of the four encoding tasks across all age categories, $F(6, 252) = .58, p > .05$ (see Figure 3); lines on bar graph indicate $\pm 1 SE$.

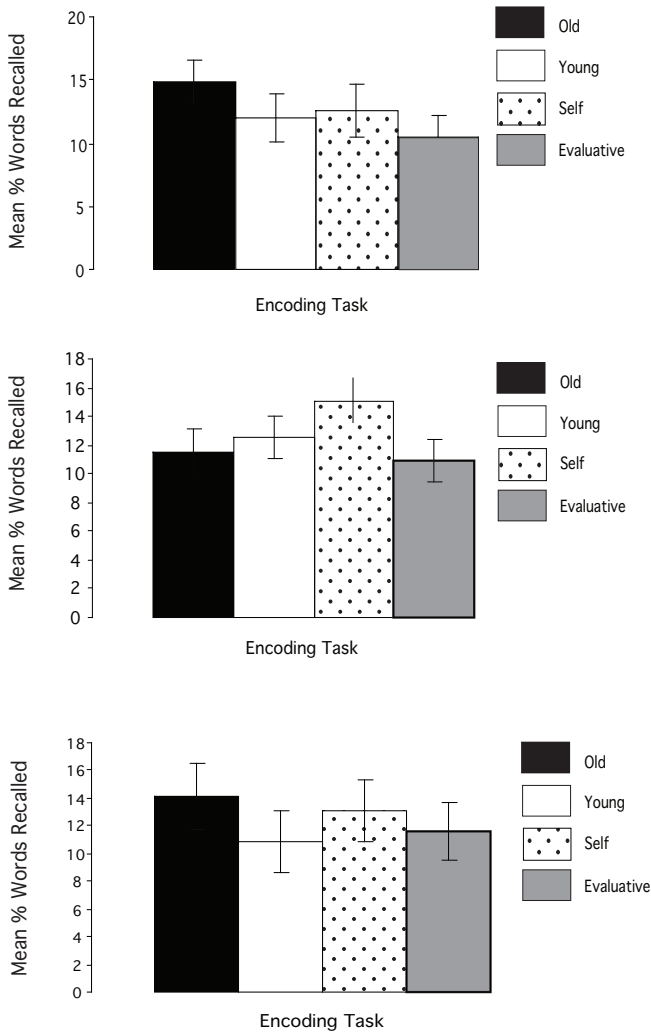


Figure 4. Mean percent positive and negative words recalled as a function of encoding task. Mean percent of positive words recalled in the self referent encoding task was significantly higher than those of the negative self referent, ($p < .001$) There were no significant differences between negative and positive words for old ($p = .723$), young ($p = .369$), and evaluative ($p = .176$) encoding tasks. (see Figure 5). There were no other significant differences among encoding tasks. Lines on bar graph indicate $\pm 1 SE$.

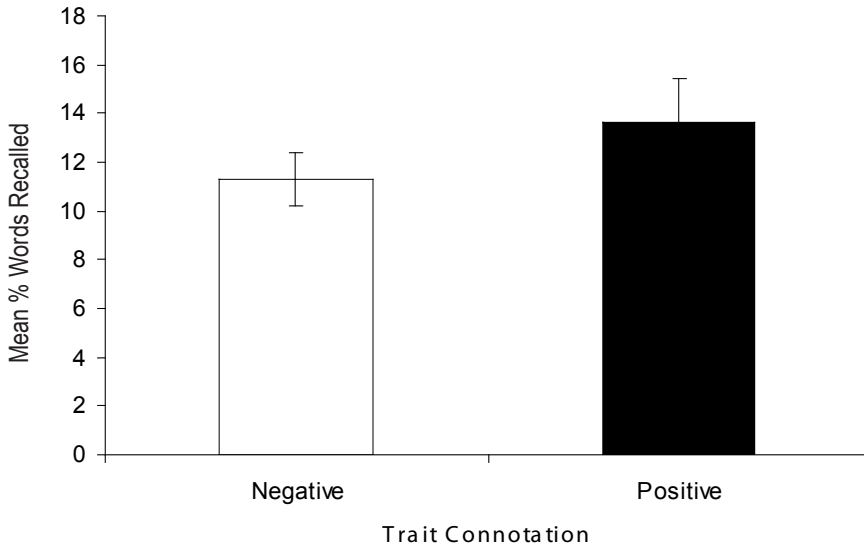
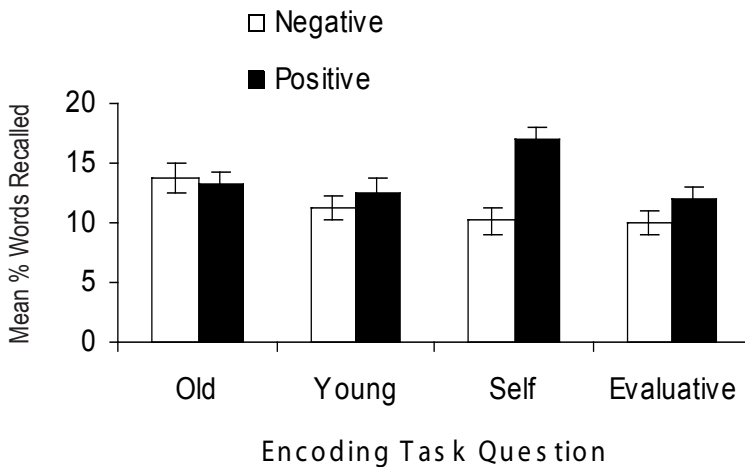


Figure 5. Mean percent words recalled as a function of trait connotation. Mean percent positive words recalled was significantly higher than negative words recalled $F(1,84) = 7.53, p < .05$; lines on bar graph indicate $\pm 1 SE$.



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Lunacy in the 19th Century: Women's Admission to Asylums in United States of America

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Abstract:

Between the years of 1850-1900, women were placed in mental institutions for behaving in ways that male society did not agree with. Women during this time period had minimal rights, even concerning their own mental health. Research concluded that many women were admitted for reasons that could be questionable. Since the 19th century, many of the symptoms women experienced according to admittance records would not make a woman eligible for admittance to a mental asylum today. Women with symptoms were later diagnosed insane by reasons such as religious excitement, epilepsy, and suppressed menstruation. The symptoms and diagnoses presented, show that labeling of women as insane was done very lightly and was influenced by social attitudes toward women. Did these women truly need to be admitted to asylums, or was their admittance an example of their lack of power to control their own lives? Further research could raise additional questions such as a comparison of the rate of admittance between American-born and immigrant women.

Introduction

Women faced many instances when their normal bodily functions, actions or interests as a woman were considered abnormal or a symptom of insanity. Between the years of 1850-1900, women were placed in mental institutions for behaving in ways male society did not agree. Elizabeth Packard was one of these women. (Packard will be discussed later in more depth.) Women during this time period had minimal rights, even concerning their own mental health.

Examples are the status of women concerning their roles in marriage and employment. Women's roles in these areas were minimal and concrete, leading to a second-rate position in society compared to men. "It must be admitted then, that there are causes acting unfavorably upon the chances of insanity among women, the existence of which may be said to be native to the sex" (Tuke, 1864, p. 149). Considered less important than men, women had few rights. Important life decisions including admittance to an asylum were decided by a husband, brother, or male friend. Occasionally, men's societal expectations of how women should act did not coincide with how some women acted.

The symptoms qualifying a woman's need for admittance during these times would be considered controversial in the present day. Symptoms such as depression after the death of loved one, use of abusive language, and suppressed menstruation, meaning the lack of menstrual cycle, would not be accepted as reasons for admittance to a mental institution today. Not only were the symptoms controversial according to today's practices, but the diagnoses resulting from the symptoms were also only during this time period.

Diagnoses such as epilepsy and nymphomania were not looked at as diseases, but as bouts of insanity. Women were also diagnosed with insanity when they exhib-

ited symptoms of overexertion. The female patients understood as being tired and not insane, considering the expected duties of women and the daily struggles of the 19th century.

Further discussions will examine interactions between the role of women, societal expectations, and mental institution commitments.

The source of data was found in the admission files and records of patients admitted to Mendota Mental Asylum during the years of 1860-1900. We studied a total of 60 random women who were admitted to this asylum during this time period. This paper will cite 26 of these case studies who fit criteria of being admitted by their husbands or a male. See Table 1 for more in-depth information on the patients discussed throughout this paper. Mendota Mental Asylum has since changed its name to Mendota Mental Health Institute and is located in Madison, Wisconsin.

We begin our discussion of women's rights and roles during the 19th century. We refer briefly to Elizabeth Packard, who fought for women's rights during the admission process. Next we discuss and explain the symptoms and diagnoses of the women we studied who were admitted to the Mendota Mental Asylum.

Table 1

Information About Women Admitted to Mendota Mental Asylum Between 1869-1872.

Patient Number	Age	Ethnicity	Marital Status	Children	Diagnosis
1000	17	Bohemian	Unknown	None	Insane by suppressed menses
1001	50	German	Single	None	Insane by religious matters
1011	39	American	Married	Eight	Insane by religious fantasy
1012	47	German	Married	Eleven	Insane by domestic troubles
1016	25	Irish	Single	None	Insane by unknown cause
1350	33	Unknown	Widow	Two	Insane by heredity
1351	25	Unknown	Married	Two	Insane by overexertion
1353	59	Unknown	Married	One	Insane by religious matters
1364	46	Unknown	Married	Eleven	Insane by suppressed menses
1433	30	Irish	Married	Five	Insane by abortion
1557	40	Irish	Married	Ten	Insane by loss of property
1877	30	American	Unknown	None	Insane by mental excitement
2121	57	English	Married	Eight	Insane by overwork and domestic trouble
2213	50	Unknown	Married	Unknown	Insane by religious excitement
2234	40	Prussian	Married	Six	Insane by unknown cause
2268	22	American	Married	One	Insane by childbirth
2285	N.A.	American	Single	None	Insane by nymphomania

Women in the 19th Century

Women's Rights and Roles

During the years between 1850 and 1900, women often held dismal positions in their marriages and employment statuses, such as holding positions as housekeepers or servants. It is important to be aware of these dismal positions, of women's status and lack of opportunities to be able to understand why so many women were deemed insane for very minimal reasons. Though not many, there were some laws in place to protect women. The laws claimed, "Whether man places her on a level with himself or estimates her merely as his slave still there must be legislation in respect of her, if not for her, still she must be protected" (Davis, 1854, p. 2). Even though these laws existed to protect women from being treated unjustly, they were rarely enforced. In addition, these laws were inconsistently applied to women. According to Davis (1854):

Taken in their most extended significance these provisions include not only such as relate to their personal protection but those also which refer to her in the various capacities of child, wife, and mother in some instances conferring privileges in others creating disabilities (p. 2).

In other words, Davis is arguing that the inequality of the laws that lead some women to privileges and others to disadvantages shows not only were these laws rarely enforced, but they were not equally beneficial for all women when they were enforced.

Within this time period, males were more likely to marry solely for their own personal gratification or for the woman's reproduction abilities. An example of how a young woman was treated when first married is explained by Martin:

This young girl, without experience, almost without ideas, whom you give to a man she scarcely knows; if she be handsome, passes in a few hours from submission to sovereignty; from calmness of the soul to high excitation of the senses. Her husband is inebriated by her caresses, he is amorous, he is jealous, he is furious, he now labours to destroy, at once, the innocence of his wife and her earlier affections- to isolate her from the world, and even from her mother. (p. 41, 1851).

This passage explains how some women may have been treated from the first day of their marriage, and how the wife's sole purpose was to please the man. The role of a woman once she was married went from the role of an individual to her husband's possession.

Social statuses for women of these times were bleak. If women were single, thus unsupported, they were likely to be seen as failures, and society did not expect women to amount to much without a husband. Meanwhile, the options for married women were slightly better. Society's outlook on a woman's purpose explained why options were few according to an anonymous writer, "It may be considered a sort of national phenomenon, that the universally received opinion on this subject should declare a women's only calling to be that of a wife and mother; and failing this, consign her to the hopelessness of a 'vocation manqué'" (pp. 3-4, 1855). This person's perception explains the large amount of women whose employment status when being admitted to Mendota Mental Asylum was that of domestic services such as housekeeper, housewife or house servant. Many women's employment status in the 19th century was that of work within the home. However, the admission records were created for male

admissions and were not changed for women admissions, thus containing information that didn't necessarily apply to women.

Although a woman's words and views were rarely taken seriously, one woman was able to go against the grain and fight for the rights of all mentally insane patients being held in mental asylums. Dorothea Dix started her fight by writing letters to then Vice President Millard Fillmore, who in turn helped Dix receive grants to improve conditions at mental asylums. Fillmore was her voice in government, since her status as a woman made her unable to speak. Ms. Dix was important to the status of women at this time because she was herself a woman, and she fought for citizens that society had condemned because of their mental illness (Dix, 1975). Asylums were generally "warehouses for those judged mentally ill," and Ms. Dix's fight coincided with many women's unnecessary hospitalizations for insanity (Brooks, p. 1, 1999). Her efforts touched many women's lives, by improving the conditions these women were forced to stay in until they were deemed recovered. The Lunacy Act of 1890, which "aimed to protect the weak and vulnerable," helped women alongside Ms. Dix's work, since its aim included women who were wrongfully institutionalized (Allderidge, p. 332, 1979).

Elizabeth Packard

An important example of the questionable institutionalizations of women was the plight of Mrs. Elizabeth Parsons Ware Packard. Mrs. Packard was a teacher in Jacksonville, Illinois, and the mother of six children when her husband committed her to the state hospital. He admitted her because she disagreed with his religious beliefs as a pastor. By having her own opinion, Mrs. Packard stepped out of the boundaries of what was allowed for a woman. After experiencing two years in a state mental hospital as a sane person, Mrs. Packard took her case to trial to prove her sanity. The court agreed with her and in freeing her from the hospital, led to her efforts to divorce her controlling husband. Although she could have stopped there, Mrs. Packard continued her battle for women's rights. Until her death she fought for married women's rights by lobbying in the state legislature and writing books about these rights and her personal fight (Packard, 1974).

Symptoms

Women admitted to Mendota Mental Asylum showed symptoms of insanity, and with these symptoms were later given a diagnosis that justified their insanity and stay at the hospital. Mrs. Packard was admitted to the state hospital for being insane because of her religious beliefs. Many of the women admitted to mental asylums were admitted for reasons similar to Mrs. Packard.

One frequent symptom for admission was religious excitement. This symptom included such actions as "delusive on subjects" "religious fantasies," and "foolish romantic talk about the devil and Jesus." Many of these women had differing beliefs from the rest of society, and their spiritual viewpoint stood out among others. At this time, society did not acknowledge that others can have diverse beliefs pertaining to God. Because society was not accepting of these variations, doctors did not educate themselves on how to be accepting of individual religious differences. These "mental health professionals who ignore the spiritual dimension, fail to understand the significance it has for maintaining people's lives" (Nolan, p.719, 2000).

Another symptom for admittance was suppressed menstruation, or anything dealing with female organs.

Myths regarding menstruation and women's reproductive system endorsed and virtually enforced women's embodiment as the weaker sex in both physical and intellectual realms. From 1840 to the early 1900's, the psychiatric establishment went so far as to posit a direct and casual connection between women's reproductive organs and insanity (Murton, pp. 6-7 1995).

After investigation of the patients who were admitted for reproductive organ concerns, it could be found that these women had reoccurring symptoms in months prior to admittance, usually occurring around the same time each month. The admittance records of the women in Mendota Mental Asylum (who possessed the symptoms) showed a trend of experiencing so-called 'attacks' of insanity one to two weeks a month. Ironically, the male outlook on women's menstruation cycles were negative even though a woman's primary purpose was to reproduce. Often times, men saw a woman's emotional and physical changes during menstruation as an excuse to point out her weaknesses and differences compared to a man. "Claude Dagmar Daly suggested that menstruation was less a 'psychosis' than a periodic process denied by men" (Daly, cited in Kerkham, 2003, p. 281).

Religious excitement and suppressed menstruation were found to be the most common, but not the only symptoms used to explain a woman's alleged insanity. Women were deemed insane in cases such as a woman who experienced delusions uncontrollable fits of laughter without cause the feeling of being inclined to do mischief and a tendency to use abusive language toward others. For example, Patient 1351 was admitted after going to her neighbor's and using abusive language. One symptom was depression after the death of a loved one. For women, if the depression continued to last longer than the woman's family deemed an acceptable period of grieving, the depression became grounds for admittance to the asylum. Each of these symptoms were seen at the time as precursors to insanity.

With the research done since the 19th century, many of these symptoms would not make a woman eligible to be considered for admittance to a mental asylum. It could be considered the women who had religious excitement were ahead of their times. Other symptoms, such as the use of abusive language toward others, may have been a woman stepping out of her place in the society she was living in.

Diagnosis

Women with the various symptoms discussed were then examined by a doctor at the mental asylum and given a diagnosis. "As far back as 1840, the census attempted to catalog the insane, and by 1880, the U.S. had created seven official categories of disease: mania, melancholia, monomania, paresis, dementia, dipsomania, and epilepsy" (Grob, 1991; Kutchins & Kirk, 1997). Although these were the official categories given to the mentally ill at this time, many of the women admitted to Mendota Mental Asylum were diagnosed with categories different from the official categories.

Instead of the seven official categories of mental disease used to diagnose insanity, women who were institutionalized were often diagnosed with physical problems. Overexertion was found to be a diagnosis of insanity for women. Of the women

who were diagnosed with overexertion at Mendota Mental Asylum, it was found to be common for a family to consist of seven to eight children. Normal household duties including cooking, cleaning, and raising the children all fell upon the women's shoulders. Having numerous children takes a physical and mental toll on a woman because of the changes her body may go through. Many women were not able to handle these changes after numerous births, which lead to another medical diagnosis given frequently at Mendota Mental Asylum: childbirth. Patient 2268 was 22 when she delivered her first child and experienced an attack of incoherence and constant fear her child was being hurt. She was later diagnosed as insane by childbirth. This woman was possibly experiencing the equivalent of what is diagnosed today as postpartum depression. While childbirth was common among diagnoses, insanity by abortion was also found among a significant amount of patients (Box 3, Mendota Mental Health Institute Patient Records).

One uncommon diagnosis found was insanity by nymphomania. Patient 2285 was found to be overly interested in sex with males, and had even experienced time in the county jail before being admitted to a mental hospital. Her jail confinement was an effort to keep her away from men.

Heredity was the diagnosis for women who had insane family members, and was given to women even if the symptoms of their insanity pointed to another category. There was not always a correlation between symptoms and diagnoses. Patient 1350 was admitted after an attack, which was caused by the loss of property. Her diagnosis was insane by heredity.

Epilepsy and suppressed menstruation, also called suppressions of the menses, were medical conditions found frequently among admitted women. Women diagnosed as insane by epilepsy were usually admitted after experiencing a seizure.

The suppression of menses was also a diagnosis given to women of many different ages. Patient 1000 was diagnosed at age 17 with insanity by suppression of the menses, and Patient 1364 was diagnosed at age 46 with insanity by suppression of the menses resulting from age. It could be concluded that the younger patient may have been pregnant or suffering from an eating disorder, both reasons why a seventeen year old may be experiencing loss of her menstrual period. Meanwhile, the older woman may have been going through menopause.

Women at Mendota Mental Asylum were also diagnosed as insane by radical religious beliefs. One patient's beliefs centered on her thoughts that she was God, and another patient's beliefs were different from those of her church community. These examples show extreme differences between the two women, but both were admitted to a mental asylum with the same diagnoses. It shall be assumed that women were not allowed to speak their beliefs, and putting a label of insanity on these women was an extreme attempt to quiet them, or make their beliefs less credible.

The grief experienced after the death of a loved one and domestic troubles were also diagnoses given to women. Women diagnosed with insanity by domestic troubles were frequently admitted by their husbands. It is possible these men were admitting their wives for a break, to teach them not to disobey, to take them away from their children, or because their wives were actually showing symptoms of insanity. Some women who were diagnosed with insanity by domestic troubles showed actions abnormal from their usual behavior, such as believing a worm is in their stomach or violent attacks of anger. These symptoms may not have even been grounds for a diag-

nosis. Another possibility would be domestic troubles were not the correct diagnosis.

The diagnosis of insane by unknown reasons was given to women who showed many different symptoms. Patient 1016 repeated the same three sentences over and over, spoke foolish romantic talk, and expressed fear from what she saw and experienced in the spiritualistic circle. She was diagnosed as insane by unknown reasons. Patient 2234 expressed great anxiety for her six children, and at times talked of herself in second person was also given this diagnosis. Considering how different these two patients were, it appears that the category “insane by unknown reasons” was used broadly.

Ideas for Future Research

While researching the admittance files and journals from the Mendota Mental Asylum, many additional questions arose that could be considered for future research.

For example, discharge records show women who were discharged by their husbands were found to have been diagnosed with insanity by heredity, childbirth, and unknown reasons at a significantly higher rate than other diagnoses (see Figure 1). Unfortunately, records did not always show who had admitted each woman, but with further research of the discharge records, a relation between diagnosis and discharge by husband could be examined.

A second issue to consider could be the relation between the length of stay of each woman and the different categories of diagnoses. A trend may be found that certain diagnoses would not have enabled the women to recover in the amount of time she

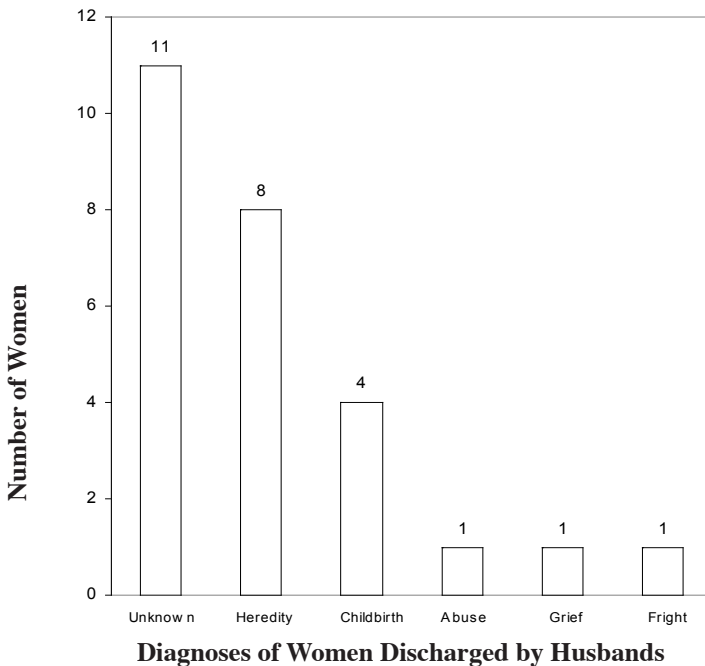


Figure 1. Sample of 26 randomly chosen women admitted to Mendota Mental Asylum. This figure compares diagnoses of insanity and the number of women who were discharged by their husbands with these diagnoses.

spent at the asylum. If a trend was found it may raise the question of how many women were released, unimproved, or were not insane when admitted.

A final issue to address would be a comparison of the rate of admittance between American-born women and immigrant women. Among 19 women, whose birth countries were given in their records, 14 were immigrants and five were American born. A trend that may arise from further research could be that immigrant women were admitted more often than American-born women. Reasons to consider if a trend was found, may be the immigrants' lack of American education, knowledge of American culture, or an additional form of discrimination.

Conclusion

During the years discussed, 1850-1900, it can be seen that women of all social class and ethnicity were admitted to mental asylums for many different reasons. Women had little if any rights to protect themselves from the unfair admittance that some suffered. Elizabeth Packard was one example of these women. She made an enormous impact on the rights of married women.

Some symptoms of insanity a woman experienced were realistically a precursor to insanity, such as the belief that she was God, while other symptoms seem to be behaviors of a woman acting differently than what was expected at this time, such as the tendency to use abusive language.

Many women's symptoms did not coincide directly with the diagnoses given, which makes them questionable. Diagnoses for insanity were numerous and unsystematic. Even though the United States had seven categories for diagnosing insanity, the diagnoses given at Mendota Mental Asylum rarely matched these categories.

Possible connections between diagnosis and being discharged by a husband, the length of stay and the categories of diagnoses, and the rate of admittance of American-born versus immigrant women could lead to interesting discoveries. These connections could show why women were admitted to mental asylums during these years.

It can be concluded some of the women admitted to asylums during this time period were actually mentally ill; however, it appears that a significant number of women were not insane and admitted for questionable reasons. The symptoms and diagnoses presented show the labeling of women as insane was generalized and was influenced by social attitudes about women.

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A Diatom-based, Paleolimnological Study of Rush Lake, Wisconsin

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Abstract:

Rush Lake, located in Winnebago County, Wisconsin, is a shallow, eutrophic, lake/wetland dominated by cattails. This system has been historically important for fishing and waterfowl production. A sediment core (374cm) was taken by employing a modified Livingstone piston corer. The core was dated with carbon-14 yielding an age date at the base of the core of 4110 +/- 40 C-14-yr. B.P. The core sediments were sampled for diatoms at 10-cm intervals, starting at 5cm (37 samples). Diatoms were counted for a total of 300 per sample. Typical of shallow lakes, the core showed signs of being extensively reworked. Sediment is often remixed due to wave action, plant roots, burrowing invertebrates, foraging carp, other bottom feeders, and periodic drying. Despite this, multivariate analysis of diatoms (PCA) suggests that this system has become more eutrophic. The multivariate analysis is consistent with a pollen analysis and is likely due to human induced deforestation. There is no evidence (i.e., increase in % planktonic diatoms) that the lake had ever developed a pelagic zone for an extended period of time.



Aerial Photo of Rush Lake taken September 2004

Introduction

Paleolimnology explores the history of a watershed by the examination of lake sediment. Patterns observed in lake sediment cores can possibly provide insight to many of the past environmental conditions (i.e. climate, pH, and trophic level). Rush Lake (88° 48'W; 43°56') is located in the counties of Winnebago and Fond du Lac (Wisconsin), covers 3,070 acres (Figure 1, U.S. Geological Survey) and has an average depth of 30.48 45.72 cm (Northern Environmental, 2002). Water is supplied by six surrounding watersheds. Each waterbed is very small (Figure 2, Northern Environmental, 2002).

Approximately 15,000 years ago, the recession of the Green Bay Lobe from its maximum extent was punctuated by periods when the ice margin stabilized and end moraines formed. Rush Lake was formed after the deposition of the Rush Lake moraine closed the south end of the sediment-filled bedrock valley. The Native Americans

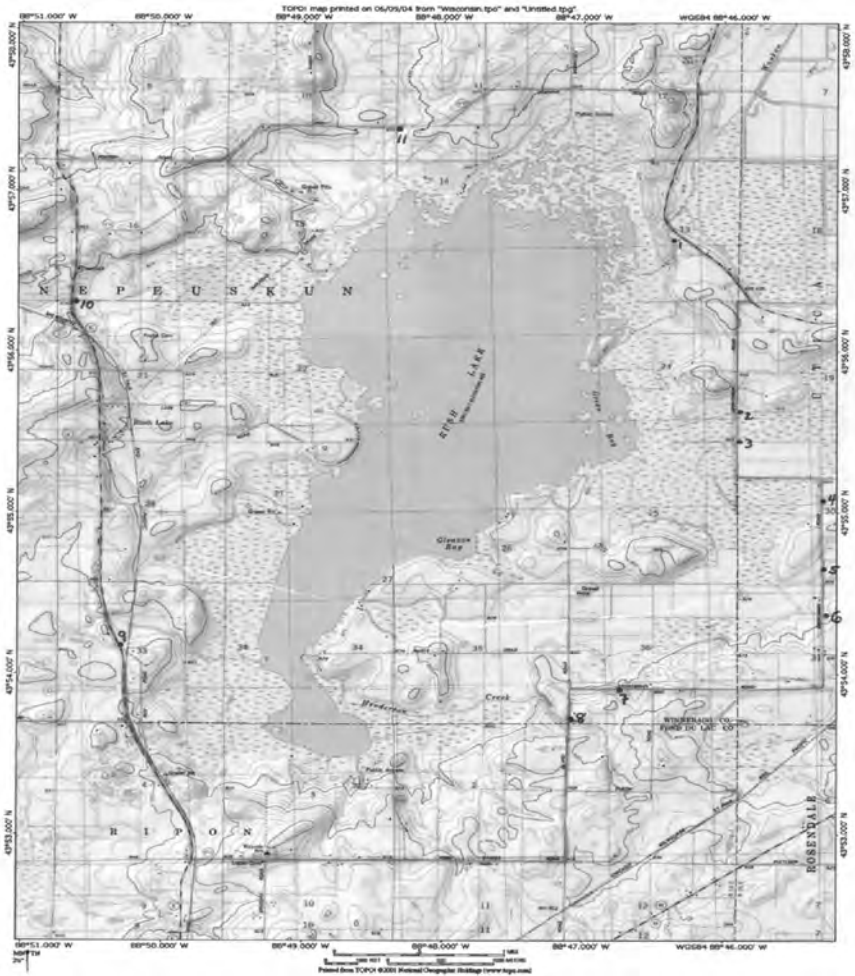


Figure 1
Topographic map Rush Lake (U.S. Geographical Society).

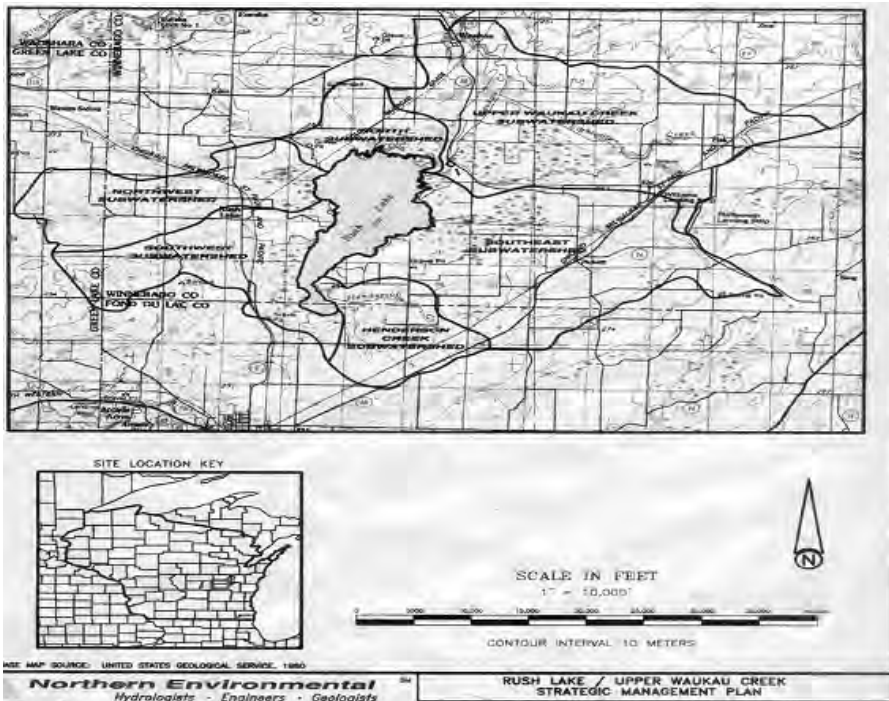


Figure 2
Rush Lake map (Northern Environmental).

called this lake “Appucaway” (pronounced as A-pah-ke-ah-kun-nee), meaning “where the rushes or flags grow” (*Oshkosh Northwestern*, 1851). This name suggests a shallow lake/wetland system. Historical records show that Rush Lake was a productive source of fur-bearing animals and fish (Mitchell, 2004; Northern Environmental, 2002). The water level remained unaltered by humans until 1847, when a series of power-generating dams were placed on Waukau Creek (Figure 1, U.S. Geological Survey), which is the outflow from Rush Lake. The level of Rush Lake rose 30.48 cm and caused the lake to double in surface area (Mitchell, 2004; Northern Environmental, 2002).

During the 1920’s, the railroad commission ordered the last remaining dam removed to abate flooding (Northern Environmental, 2002; Mitchell, 2004). Once again, natural processes were allowed to control the water level of Rush Lake. During this period, records indicate the lake dried out on several occasions in: 1921, 1931, 1934, and 1939 (Mitchell, 2004). In 1946, a new dam was commissioned to improve duck and fish habitat by providing a constant water level so Rush Lake became well known for its fish and waterfowl production (Mitchell, 2004; Northern Environmental, 2002).

Currently, the dam-regulated water level has become more controversial as undesirable species like carp and bullhead have become dominant (Mitchell, 2004; Northern Environmental, 2002), turbidity has increased, while bull rushed and ducks have decreased (Mitchell, 2004; Northern Environmental, 2002). Due to increased human influence in the watershed, Rush Lake is experiencing an increase in eutrophication (Mitchell, 2004; Northern Environmental, 2002).

Diatom (Phylum Bacillariophyta) (Figure 3 and Figure 4) fossils (siliceous frustules) in sediment cores are good indicators of pH, salt content, and eutrophication (Battarbee, 1984). Diatoms are found in all aquatic habitats and species preferences can be used to make predictions about current and past conditions (Lowe, 1974). Because of their wide dispersion, diatoms reflect the quality of the water in lakes and streams. Diatoms are also the primary food for many invertebrates and vertebrates (Davis and Norton, 1978).



Figure 3

Picture of typical diatoms found in Rush Lake (Center: *Cyclotella Schumannii*, upper right center: *Flagilaria pinneta*, lower left: *Nitzschia amphibian*)



Figure 4

Examples view of the corner of Figure 3 Center: *Flagilaria capucina* var. *vaucheriae*

There is one main problem associated with the analysis of sediment cores from a shallow lake/wetland. Sediment is often remixed due to wave action, plant roots, burrowing invertebrates, foraging carp, other bottom feeders, and periodic drying. Despite these problems, there may be some value in examining a core sample from Rush Lake for the following reasons: (1) The current and historic importance of this wetland to the regional landscape for fish and waterfowl production, (2) strong community and government support for the large-scale restoration of Rush Lake, and (3) poor and conflicting information on the historical conditions of Rush Lake. We examined the diatoms from a sediment core of Rush Lake to see if any information could be retrieved

that would be helpful in making future management decisions.

Table 1
Water Chemistry and Conductivity/Temperature/Salinity Readings

Measurements	Average Values	Standard Deviation
Ca Hardness	129.66 mg/l	14.29
Total Hardness	226.66 mg/l	26.117
Chloride	27.16 mg/l	5.91
Nitrogen	1.7 mg/l	0
Phosphorous	1.0 mg/l	0
pH	7.43	.903
Temperature oC	18.89	4.106
Conductivity (mohs)	643.2	132.4
Salinity (ppt)	.33	.0739

Objectives

1. Given the problems often associated with wetland sediment cores, do the diatoms exhibit an interpretable pattern in the sediment core?
2. Does this pattern agree with other studies of Rush Lake?
3. Can information from this core be used in upcoming management considerations for Rush Lake?

Materials and Methods

A core sample was taken by employing the Livingstone Sampler at the east side of the lake (Kostka and others, 2002). The core was dated using carbon-14. The core sediments (total=365cm) were sampled for diatoms at 10-cm intervals, starting at 5cm (37 samples). Three hundred diatom values were counted and identified for each sample (Patrick, and Riemer, 1966; Kammer and Lange-Bertalot, 1986). When possible, the environmental preferences for each taxon were also recorded (Lowe 1974). Permanent diatom slides were prepared from the sediment by cleaning aliquots with 30% H₂O₂ and K₂Cr₂O₇, and mounting in Naphrax (Van Der Werff, A., 1955). Principal Component Analysis (PCA) was conducted on data from the diatom counts to help identify underlying patterns in diatoms community composition.

Water samples were taken from site 1 (Figure 1, U.S. Geological Survey) from June to August. The water was analyzed for nitrogen (nessler method 8038), phosphorus (ortho-phosphate procedure method 8114), chloride (silver nitrate titration method 8225), total hardness (manver II titration method 8226), calcium hardness (method 8204), and pH according to standard methods of *Hach Water Analysis Handbook* (1992). A conductivity/temperature/salinity meter was used at sites 1- 13 (Figure 1, U.S. Geological Survey) monthly from June to August.

Results

The carbon-14 analysis indicated an age of 4110 +/- 40 C-14-yr. B.P at the base of the core. The water chemistry data are presented in Table 1. From the conductivity/temperature/salinity meter Table 1 represents the measurements from site 1-13 (Figure 1, U.S. Geological Survey).

Sixty-three diatom species were identified. The sediment samples located at 145 cm, 295 cm, and 365 cm showed very few countable diatom frustules and thus were not used in the ordination. Only diatoms present in at least three samples with greater than 3% relative abundance in at least one sample were included. Thirty-seven species of diatoms were used in the PCA analysis. The first two axes of the resulting ordination explained 50.6% of the variability in species composition. From this ordination, two non-overlapping groups of samples could be identified (Figure 5).

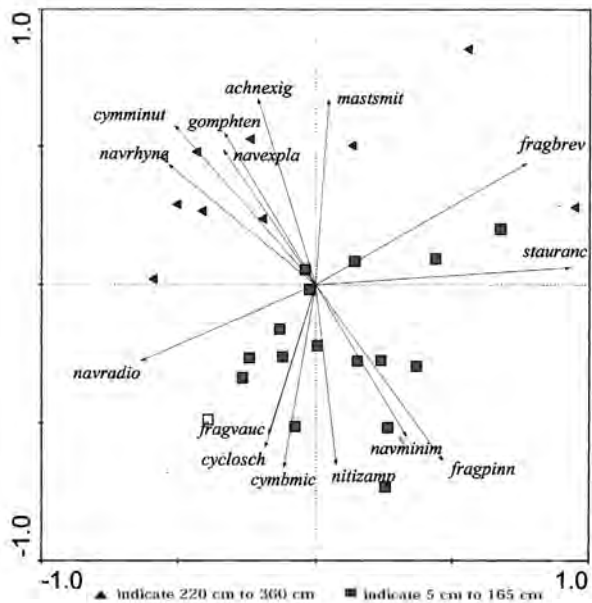


Figure 5 Principle Component Analysis graph. Species are arrows.

The first group (older samples) all came from a core-depth of 360-220 cm. The diatom species best associated with this group were: *Nitzshia amphia*, *Navicula subclidula*, *Cymbella cistula*, *Flagilaria pinnata*, *Cymbella microcephala*, *Flagilaria vaucheriae*, *Cyclotella schumannii*, and *Surirella linearis*. The second group (younger samples) was composed of samples for core depths between 5 and 165 cm. This younger group was associated with 12 dominant species that were mainly eutrophic in nature. They were: *Cymbella minuta*, *Cymbella cymbiformis*, *Navicula rhynchocephala*, *Achnanthes exigua*, *Gomphonema tenellum*, *Navicula diluviana*, *Navicula explanata*, *Fragilaria brevistriata*, *Stauronies anceps*, *Mastogloia smithii*, and *Synedra rumpens vflagillariodes* (Figures 5 and 6).

Discussion

The diatom frustuals throughout the core were dominated by species regarded as alkaliphilous and periphytic. Multivariate analysis showed that the two main diatom assemblages (older and younger) were separated by depth. The diatoms in the deeper sediments (360 cm to 220 cm) suggest mesotrophic to eutrophic conditions. The diatoms in more recent sediment (165 cm to 5 cm) indicate a higher degree of eutrophication (eutrophic-indicating taxon more common). This is consistent with the current water chemistry (Table 1).

The water chemistry in Table 1 shows high levels of calcium and manganese, which indicated hard water probably due to dolomite sediments. The presence of chloride and high conductivity may be from the road salt runoff (Table 1). This agrees with an increase in the relative abundance of brackish water diatoms (such as *Mastogloria smithii* and *Navicula rhynchocephala*) toward the top of the core (Figure 6).

The percentage pollen diagram for Rush Lake (Figure 7, Kostka, et.al., 2002) recorded a change from pine (*Pinus*) to oak (*Quercus*) dominated at 290 cm, and then at 80 cm, which is a change to more abundant grass (*Gramineae*). This result may reflect the deforestation within the watershed, which is consistent with the diatom record. Ragweed (*Ambrosia*) percentages decrease through time.

The carbon analysis done by Baeten, et.al. (1994) and Kostka, et. al., (2002) in Figure 8 showed periodic shifts in the percent carbonate carbon. They attribute these changes to shifts from marl-producing shallow pools (high-carbonate) to a deeper, open-water system (low carbonate).

Planktonic diatoms, however, were virtually absent from our analysis. This suggests there were no prolonged pelagic or open water areas. Also, at core depth of 145, 295, and 365 cm, there was a conspicuous lack of diatom frustules, which may occur from the wetland drying out. A shallow wetland that occasionally dried up is consistent with historical records of Rush Lake (Mitchell, 2004).

Although a significant amount of sediment reworking is evident, several trends can be seen. There is a general decline in *Quercus* (oak) and *Pinus* (pine) pollen (graph 5) as well as an increase in grass (*Gramineae*) pollen toward the sediment surface. This result may indicate deforestation by humans. This trend agrees with patterns seen in the diatom frustuals suggesting eutrophication from agricultural activities within the watershed.

The trend in the patterns observed have shown more eutrophication in the lake and require better agricultural practices. Green Lake (10 miles from Rush), which has

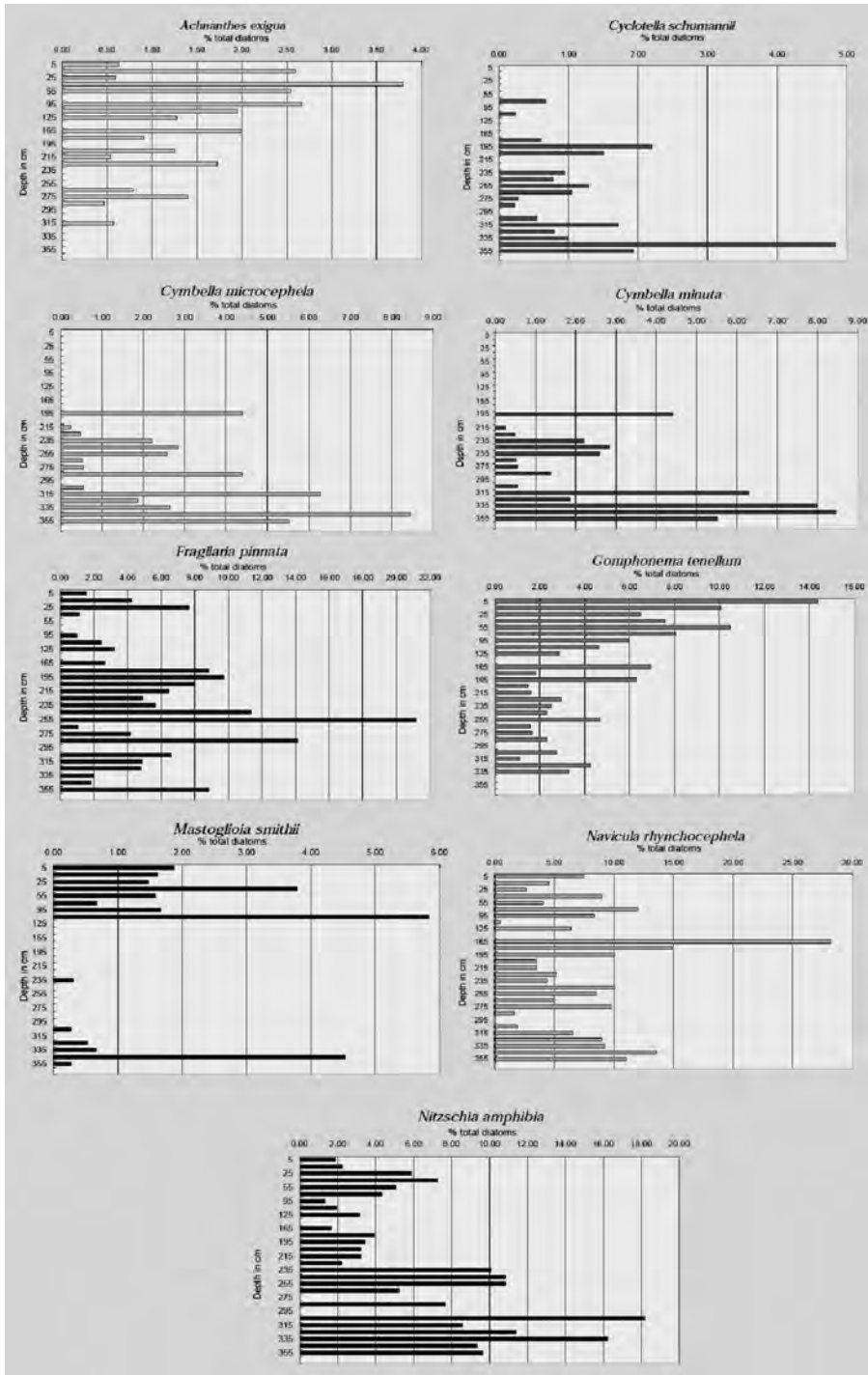


Figure 6 The percent relative abundance of fossil diatoms from the younger and older sediment of the core. Y axis = depth. X axis = percent.

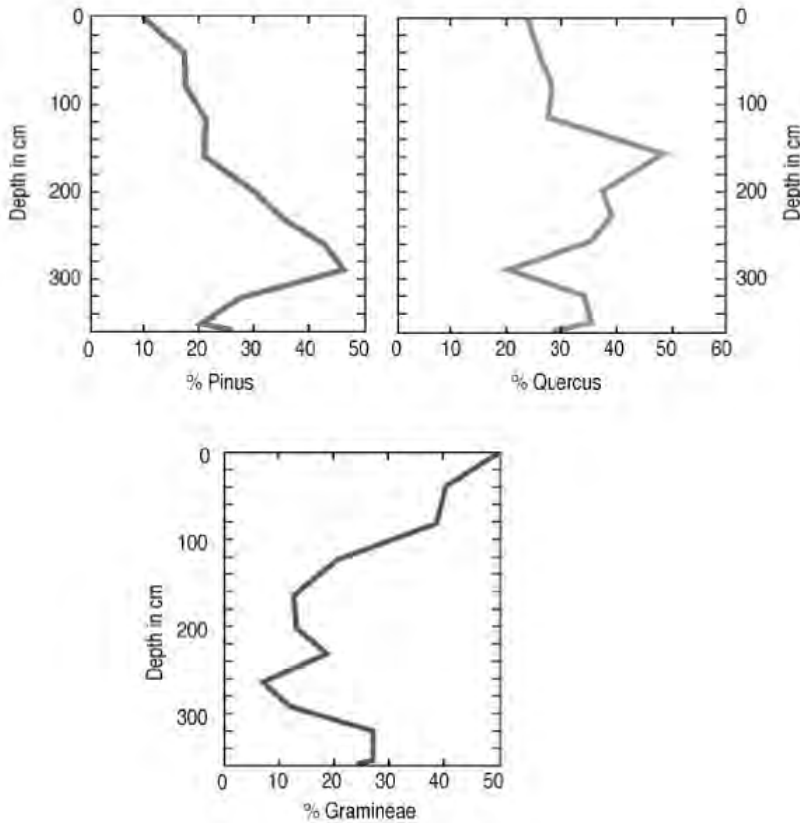


Figure 7 Percent pollen (Kostka and others, 2000.)

a very deep basin with well-preserved sediment, also shows signs (through sediment analysis) of becoming more eutrophic (Garrison, P., 2002). The similar interpretations of cores from Green Lake and Rush Lake suggest that even though the sediment in Rush Lake is more disturbed, it has captured the shift in trophic conditions likely common to that area.

Conclusions

1. Despite sediment reworking common to shallow/wetland systems, broad patterns (which suggest environmental changes) were apparent.
2. Patterns seen with the diatoms agree with current lake chemistry as well as the pollen record.
3. This study indicates the system has always been fairly productive (meso-eutrophic) and has become more eutrophic since European settlement. It is likely that human activity has altered the watershed to a more eutrophic condition (through logging and agricultural). This suggests that if the extensive restoration plans are carried out (erosion control, exotic species eradication), water quality may moderately improve.

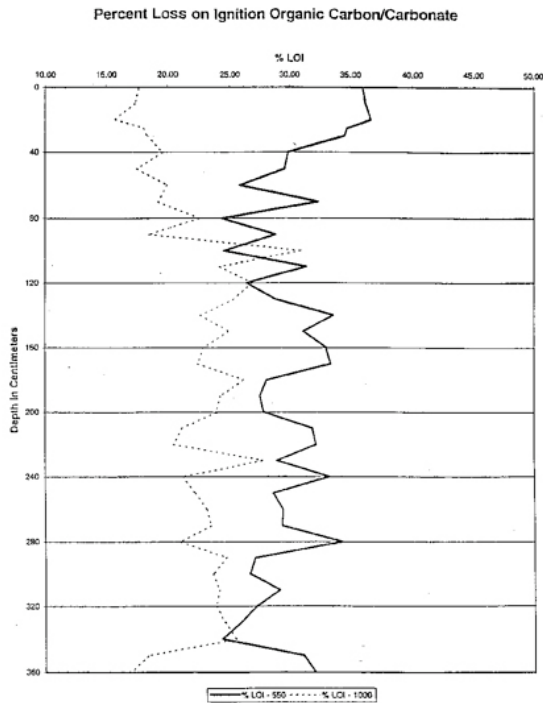


Figure 8 Percentage weight of organic carbon (550°C) and Carbonate (1000°C) in sediments from Rush Lake (Kostka and others, 2000.)

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A War for Freedom: Slavery and the Emancipation Proclamation

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Abstract:

This paper examines the real effects of the Emancipation Proclamation, as it technically freed no slaves. It explores the events and legislation that led up the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation as well as the reactions to and effects of the proclamation's release. This paper delves into the role of slaves in the Civil War, both as "contraband" and soldiers, and the conflict that resulted from these roles. The research ultimately enters the debate on who freed the slaves. Some historians argue that the slaves freed themselves, while others argue that they were freed by the Civil War and President Lincoln. Based on primary and secondary source research, the paper combines these two ideas into an independent judgment on this question, concluding that slaves provided the pressure to force Lincoln's hand, but the act of emancipation was still ultimately issued by Lincoln, so he should be credited with freeing the slaves.

On January 1, 1863, African Americans and white abolitionists across the country anxiously waited to find out whether President Abraham Lincoln would follow through on his promise to free the slaves. As the text of the Emancipation Proclamation came over the telegraph wires, cautiously optimistic festivities erupted in widespread jubilation and celebrations that lasted throughout the night in some areas. African Americans celebrated a status many took for granted: freedom. However, the Emancipation Proclamation technically freed no slaves. The much-celebrated document only applied to the rebelling territories, though the Confederate states were not inclined to obey the president of the Union from which they had seceded. Slaveholders across the country held tight to their livelihood, reluctant to accept the Emancipation Proclamation. The border states and most areas controlled by the Union army before January 1, 1863 were exempted from the Proclamation; slaves reacted as if there were no exceptions. The Emancipation Proclamation may not have freed the slaves, but it nonetheless changed the focus of the Civil War and compelled the nation to decide on a final solution to the issue of slavery, as slaves pressured officials for their freedom through both actions and words.

Historians continue to debate the issue of emancipation, asking a central question: who freed the slaves? Civil War historian James McPherson argues that Abraham Lincoln freed the slaves. Slavery scholars such as Ira Berlin argue that the slaves freed themselves. In *Drawn with the Sword*, McPherson maintains that the Civil War and President Lincoln were responsible for emancipation. This traditional answer holds true because, "The common denominator in all of the steps that opened the door to freedom was the active agency of Abraham Lincoln as antislavery political leader, president-elect, president, and commander in chief."¹ These roles placed Lincoln in a position to issue the Emancipation Proclamation. Though slaves certainly pressured the president to move toward an emancipation measure by their actions, the decision was ultimately Lincoln's to make. Berlin claims the slaves freed themselves, asserting that, "the actions of the slaves made it possible and necessary

for citizens, legislators, military officers, and the president to act.”² Many slaves fled to Union camps and served the army in various capacities, which took labor away from the enemy. The slaves’ flight forced the army to develop a federal policy on slave “contrabands” of war and to address the issue of emancipation. Parts of both Berlin’s and McPherson’s arguments seem correct. While Berlin is correct that the slaves forced the issue of emancipation through their actions, ultimately, the slaves did not possess the authority to abolish slavery; Lincoln did. Thus, McPherson argues correctly that President Lincoln freed the slaves. He did not have to do so and not every person in his position would have.³ These factors and others make Lincoln’s decision to issue the Emancipation Proclamation more significant and are the reasons he can be credited with freeing the slaves

Determining Federal Slave Policy

The Emancipation Proclamation was the result of many months of thought and planning. Lincoln tried to avoid outright emancipation through rewards to encourage states, especially the border states, to free the slaves on their own. Lincoln repeatedly offered a system of compensated, gradual emancipation and colonization of freed slaves. The Emancipation Proclamation was the final step in what had been a series of military and government orders regarding slaves and runaways. Lincoln did not enter office with the intention of freeing the slaves, but both blacks and whites urged him to do so through their actions. Letters pressing Lincoln to abolish slavery and enlist freed slaves into the Union army arrived daily. However, Lincoln insisted that the war not become a war over slavery.⁴ “I have no purpose,” Lincoln declared in his inaugural address, “to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists.”⁵ Circumstances of the war urged him to consider the issues of slavery and emancipation more closely though, as slaves crossed into Union lines expecting freedom.

The military did not initially have a policy for dealing with slaves, though as early as December 1861, Secretary of War Simon Cameron recommended emancipating and arming slaves. Lincoln disagreed, refusing to use black soldiers in a war ostensibly being fought to save the Union.⁶ He allowed generals to form their own policies for dealing with runaway slaves. This course of action became problematic as Union armies moved deeper into slaveholding areas, where slaves desperately sought work and protection with the Union army and its soldiers. Every general had a different policy. Most generals opposed emancipation when the war began and returned slaves to their owners if the owner came to claim them.⁷ Meanwhile, the Confederates used slaves to defeat the Union by having them build fortifications and tend the fields in their masters’ absence. Eventually, the Union army also took advantage of southern slaves and freedmen, though the slaves remained chattel property.

Although Union generals had a great deal of choice regarding what to do with the slaves who ran to their camps, some actually emancipated the slaves, creating headaches for the Lincoln administration and firing up abolitionists and slaveholders alike. Major General Benjamin Butler, the commander of Fortress Monroe at Port Royal, South Carolina, devised perhaps the most inventive approach to the slave issue. In May 1861, slaves from a nearby Confederate camp came to Ft. Monroe seeking freedom. Instead of returning the slaves per the Fugitive Slave Act, Butler kept the able-bodied slaves and put them to work at the fort digging trenches, building

fortifications, cooking, and cleaning camp, providing for their needs in return. He started calling these slaves “contraband,” a term typically used to describe property confiscated from the enemy in war. Slaves could be used against the Union army, so there was a military interest in confiscating them as human contraband. The term caught on, and other generals also began calling runaways contraband. Butler viewed using the slaves as taking labor away from the enemy, thus hurting their cause. Nonetheless, he wrote to his commander seeking advice on whether his policy was politically acceptable. “As a military question,” Butler wrote, “it would seem to be a measure of necessity to deprive their masters of their services.”⁸ Both his superior officer and Secretary of War Cameron supported Butler’s policy because slaves were confiscated for military purposes. Slaves were thus employed to the benefit of the Union army; however, as contraband, they were still technically property.

Meanwhile, Congress worked to pass legislation to make acts such as Butler’s legal. The First Confiscation Act, passed in August 1861, stated that if rebels used their slaves against Union forces, the slaves could be confiscated by the Union. Lincoln reluctantly signed the bill, but did not strongly enforce it.⁹ It did not take long for someone to test the new act. The same month the Confiscation Act was signed, Major General John C. Fremont declared martial law in Missouri, where he was military governor, and freed slaves belonging to Confederate sympathizers.¹⁰ After repeated unsuccessful efforts to get Fremont to abide by the limits of the Constitution and the Confiscation Act, Lincoln removed him from his post. Missouri was a border state and still loyal to the Union. Fremont’s act thus proved especially infuriating for Lincoln, who was working tirelessly to keep the border states loyal by defining the war as one to save the Union; Congress even passed the Crittenden Resolution to emphasize that the war was not about slavery.¹¹ Abolitionists criticized Lincoln’s policy, charging him with being opposed to emancipation. Meanwhile, slaveholders grew increasingly nervous about slaves escaping or revolting. Fremont was not the first or the last Union commander to attempt to emancipate slaves, but the response remained the same: Lincoln sought to reserve emancipation of slaves for himself as president and commander-in-chief.

The government, in July 1861, decided that when slaves escaped to Union camps, the army was required to return them to their owners, but this did not always happen. Some individual soldiers or regiments sheltered slaves who ran within their lines, even reacting violently toward slaveholders who tried to claim their property. Slaveholder A.J. Smoot met with such a reception. Though he was in Maryland, where Union troops could not confiscate slaves, his slave ran to an army camp and was protected by abolitionists in the regiment. Smoot was warned of the regiment’s views on slavery, but he tried to claim his property from the soldiers anyway. “At first their threats were accompanied with a few stones thrown at me,” Smoot wrote, “which very soon became an allmost [sic] continued shower of stones a number of which struck me.”¹² Smoot gave up on the slave, but his experience was not an isolated incident, irritating slaveholders in the border states; they had been assured that their property would be protected. Acts such as this demonstrated that the “slaves did not emancipate themselves; they were liberated by Union armies.”¹³ The slave ran to the camp, but the soldiers refused to give him up to his owner, despite orders to the contrary.

The situation with Fremont, and others similar to it, helped push Congress further toward emancipation. On April 11, 1862, Congress approved the compensated emancipation of slaves residing in the District of Columbia, where they had jurisdiction to make and enforce such an edict; slaves flocked to Washington to claim freedom. In June, Congress also passed the abolition of slavery in the territories.¹⁴ Militarily, Congress approved the Second Confiscation Act on July 17, 1862, freeing the slaves of traitorous owners. It was soon followed by an act declaring that soldiers could not return fugitive slaves to their Confederate owners; slaves were valuable to the military. Significantly, a letter from E. P. Halstead stated “that all negroes coming into the lines...are to be treated as persons and not as chattels.”¹⁵ This suggested a humanization of the “contrabands” and demonstrated changing views on the war and slavery.

The Preliminary Proclamation

Lincoln finally decided that he needed to free the slaves to save the Union. He pushed for gradual, compensated emancipation and colonization of freed slaves until the very end, but found little support. The border states stubbornly held onto slavery, even as their slaves fled to Union camps. Lincoln offered compensation in exchange for emancipation in the border states and any rebel states that wanted to rejoin the Union; the government would buy the slaves and then free them.¹⁶ Lincoln wanted to colonize the freed persons, for as Lorraine A. Williams pointed out, he “believed that as long as Negroes remained in the United States, they would always be a source of friction because they could never live as equals with whites.”¹⁷ He was concerned with the racial dynamics of the nation. The plan never successfully materialized and the idea met with vehement opposition, especially from African Americans and abolitionists. The war was slowly eroding slavery in the South, as it disrupted life and enabled slaves to escape virtually unnoticed by their masters, who were often fighting in the war; this situation placed greater pressure on the border states to either emancipate or watch their slaves more closely.¹⁸

By about the middle of 1862, after months of consideration, Lincoln had decided to free the slaves, determining that it was necessary to save the Union. He formally announced his decision to his cabinet on July 22 and requested suggestions on the language and timing of release of an emancipation proclamation.¹⁹ This early form of the proclamation outlined policies making civil and military confiscation of property federal policy; it also repeated the idea of compensated, gradual emancipation as a means of enticing states back into the Union. The cabinet largely supported Lincoln’s act, though they suggested he wait for a Union victory to unveil it. After a shaky Union victory at Antietam, Lincoln decided to release the Preliminary Proclamation on September 22, 1862, stating that it would go into effect on January 1, 1863. The country had one hundred days to react and respond to the threat of emancipation.

By this point in the war, contact with runaways and contraband had turned more Union soldiers into abolitionist sympathizers favoring emancipation and made them less likely to return runaways to their masters, regardless of whether the owner was a Unionist or a rebel.²⁰ Prejudice between blacks and whites was certainly still prevalent and had even risen in some areas, but the war largely seemed to encourage its decline. In July 1862, Congress repealed the ban on African Americans serving in state militias. This was controversial, since many feared armed blacks would seek

revenge against their masters. Others thought former slaves would be cowards in combat and run at the first shots. Opposing such people were those who believed slaves were good workers and deserved to be armed and added to the soldiers' ranks.²¹ Emancipation thus proved a divisive issue. Lincoln still hoped the border states would abolish slavery on their own. Although the proclamation would not affect them directly, it led to noticeable repercussions due to their proximity to Southern slave states where emancipation occurred.

Lincoln did not doubt the constitutionality of his move to issue the Preliminary Proclamation, believing that, as a war president, his powers extended to emancipation if he believed it was the only way to preserve the Union or hasten the end of the Civil War. Lincoln referenced acts of Congress such as the Confiscation Acts and the militia act as precedent in order to ground himself in a legislative framework. As historian Allen Guelzo suggested, the preliminary proclamation was also "entirely a military pronouncement, not a civil proclamation," for Lincoln was acting under his war powers against the Confederacy.²² He did not free the slaves out of regard for a higher moral purpose, though he was personally opposed to slavery. He held true to the statement he made to Horace Greeley of the *New York Tribune*, when he wrote, "What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union..."²³ His main objective remained to save the Union, even if that meant freeing some slaves and not others. Regardless of pressure from slaves, emancipation was still up to Lincoln.

Reaction to the Preliminary Proclamation was swift and varied, from grand accolades to equally intense condemnation. Initial public reaction was positive. Crowds in Washington D.C. celebrated, singing and praising Lincoln. Most Northern governors supported the proclamation as well.²⁴ Horace Greeley declared in his editorial, "It is the beginning of the end of the rebellion; the beginning of the new life of the nation."²⁵ He had pressured Lincoln toward emancipation through his newspaper column up until the preliminary proclamation was issued. Most newspapers, however, were either opposed to the preliminary proclamation or were reticent on the issue, withholding opinion.

Abolitionists greeted the proclamation with parades, rallies, and bonfires.²⁶ Frederick Douglass was not as eager with his praise, lamenting at the proclamation's modest demands and legalistic tone.²⁷ Many criticized the document for freeing slaves not under control of Union armies and for leaving slavery in the border states intact. Lincoln still held out hope that his gradual, compensated emancipation plan would draw support from some border states and seceded states before the January 1 deadline. Radical Republicans in Congress either withheld comment on the proclamation or reluctantly supported it. Some questioned Lincoln's claim of presidential authority to free the Confederacy's slaves. Most Northerners agreed with the preliminary proclamation as a measure to weaken the South and hasten the end of the war.²⁸

Union army commander General George McClellan only abided by the proclamation with great reluctance, actually refusing to read the document to the troops. He even prepared an objection to the proclamation that he almost presented to Lincoln, but his friends wisely dissuaded him.²⁹ He was very popular with the troops and very critical of the Lincoln administration. His influence was potentially dangerous. In the 1864 election, he was the Democratic nominee and opposed Lincoln. Lincoln sincerely believed he would not win reelection. As McPherson conjectures, this

would have been a serious setback for freedom in America: “If the Democrats had won, at best the Union would have been restored without a Thirteenth Amendment; at worst the Confederacy would have achieved its independence. In either case the institution of slavery would have survived. That this did not happen was owing more to the steadfast purpose of Abraham Lincoln than to any other single factor.”³⁰ Lincoln refused to back down on slavery, despite extreme pressure. Fortunately, he won reelection. However, such dissension at the head of the Union army and within its ranks clearly illustrates the challenges Lincoln faced in determining slave policy.

The reactions of soldiers varied. Some agreed with the proclamation and the idea of freedom, while others resigned their commissions and left for home in opposition to fighting a war to end slavery. Naturally, the proclamation infuriated Confederates more than Unionists.³¹ Perhaps not surprisingly, wrote scholar William Klingaman, the border states responded to news of the proclamation with “nearly universal condemnation.”³² Some Southern newspapers did not even carry news of the proclamation; others relegated it to interior pages with no analysis or reaction, only the text of the document. News of the preliminary proclamation traveled quickly to slaves in the South, so that within days slaves heard about the proclamation. Slave owners rushed to move their slaves to the interior and slaves ran away or simply quit working in anticipation of emancipation.³³ Slaves did not usually distinguish between loyal and seceded states, so some slaves in the border states mistakenly thought they were free, which infuriated loyal masters.

Southern papers offered biting criticism of the presidential order, noting its ineffectuality in the South, where the President lacked jurisdiction. The *Richmond Whig* declared it the “last resort of a defeated, perplexed and desperate government.”³⁴ Historian John Hope Franklin noted that, aside from all the reactionary rhetoric, Southern editorial comments expressed a couple of major fears regarding the proclamation: “fear of servile insurrection” inspired by the proclamation, and the obstruction of Confederate attempts to gain diplomatic recognition abroad.³⁵ The South grew more determined to preserve slavery, though Lincoln hoped slaves would leave their masters and deny the rebels their labor, thus undercutting the military.³⁶ Lincoln got his wish, as slaves fled in even greater numbers than before the proclamation.

In the December session of Congress, Lincoln once again proposed compensated emancipation for the border states; it was declined. On December 15, both Houses narrowly approved Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation, which was set to be released soon. The only state that took advantage of Lincoln’s offer of gradual emancipation was West Virginia, which seceded from Virginia to rejoin the Union before the Emancipation Proclamation took effect. Despite uncertainty about the constitutionality of a state seceding from another state, Congress reluctantly approved and Lincoln signed the bill allowing West Virginia to enter the Union as a free state in the last days of 1862.³⁷ Lincoln also finished writing his final draft of the Emancipation Proclamation, with few changes from the Preliminary Proclamation he had issued in September. According to Klingaman, the decision to issue the proclamation was based on such vital domestic war issues as the need to take valuable human resources from the Confederacy, counter Radical Republicans in Congress, “and destroy the institution that ripped the country apart.”³⁸ Slavery had helped cause the war. Lincoln, with the Emancipation Proclamation, sought to end the institution and thus hasten the end of the war.

The Emancipation Proclamation Takes Effect

On the afternoon of January 1, 1863, Abraham Lincoln fulfilled his promise of freeing the slaves by signing the Emancipation Proclamation, saying to those present, "I never, in my life, felt more certain that I was doing right than I do in signing this paper."³⁹ Regardless of the legalistic manner and tone of the document, Lincoln believed in his decision to free the slaves, calling it an "act of justice."⁴⁰ The proclamation only freed slaves in the rebelling territories and could only promise freedom for the duration of the Lincoln administration. The document beseeched slaves not to revolt violently against their masters, but suggested "they labor faithfully for reasonable wages," recognizing both the South's need for labor and freedpeople's need for work.⁴¹ Slaves were allowed to join the armed services for the first time, another move aimed at weakening the Confederacy. The proclamation listed areas that were exempt including slaveholding areas loyal to the Union, areas already occupied by Union troops, the newly created West Virginia, and Tennessee, whose Senator, Andrew Johnson, did not vacate his Senate seat upon secession of the state he represented. The final draft included nothing about compensation, gradualism, or colonization, though they had always been Lincoln's pet projects. Lincoln opted for immediate emancipation in the end, believing it was "a fit and necessary measure" to save the Union, stop the southern rebellion, and hasten the end of the war.⁴²

Regardless of the wording or meaning of Lincoln's act, celebrations erupted as the text of the Emancipation Proclamation came over telegraph wires throughout the North, especially in cities such as Boston and Philadelphia. In the cities, "By firing of guns, mass meetings and other demonstrations, the Proclamation was widely hailed as an occasion of jubilation."⁴³ Despite its limits, people saw a reason to celebrate a symbolic turning point in the Civil War and the war against slavery. The largest celebrations were in Boston on New Year's Day, where the festivities boasted guests such as Ralph Waldo Emerson, Harriet Beecher Stowe and Frederick Douglass. Douglass praised the Emancipation Proclamation, but warned that slavery had a deep hold on the American character, so deep that "The slave will yet remain in some sense a slave, long after the chains are taken from his limbs."⁴⁴ His words anticipated the trials that awaited the emancipated slave in a nation that was not yet ready to view blacks and whites as equals.

African Americans were happy, but abolitionists were disappointed that the proclamation was promulgated out of "military necessity," not moral righteousness.⁴⁵ Perhaps ironically, one of the largest emancipation celebrations occurred in Norfolk, Virginia, which was exempted from the Emancipation Proclamation because it was in Union hands. Although the Sea Islands in South Carolina were under Union control at the time of the proclamation, they curiously escaped exception. Slaves in the thriving contraband community gathered with military officers and teachers to celebrate emancipation, an event they had planned for months. Famously, the freedmen sporadically began singing "My country, 'tis of thee," professing their new identity in American society.⁴⁶ In New Orleans, both races celebrated the Emancipation Proclamation, though the city was already in Union hands and thus exempt.⁴⁷

Newspapers reacted in much the same way as they had to the Preliminary Proclamation. Many Northern newspapers supported the proclamation; the *New York Times* declared it a "revolution" that "changes entirely the relations of the

National Government to the institution of Slavery.”⁴⁸ In his abolitionist newspaper *The Liberator*, William Lloyd Garrison published poems written to commemorate the event. Almira Seymour’s poem was entitled “January First”:

Hear it, ye Traitors with you sealed doom frantic,
 You own salvation’s summons, could you read!
 Hear it, across the Christo-born Atlantic
 Oppressed, to hope! Oppressors, well to heed!

Catch it, ye echoes of the loftiest mountains!
 Chant it, ye thunders of the wildest sea!
 Angels and men! Shout from life’s deepest fountains,
 Today, Today, Columbia is free.⁴⁹

The poem succinctly expressed the emotions of the day and the reactions of newly freed slaves. However, some people in the Midwest and areas close to the border states were opposed to emancipation for fear of slaves coming north and competing for jobs, which would drive down wages. Many also disagreed with Lincoln’s use of presidential power.⁵⁰ Democratic newspapers frequently charged that the Emancipation Proclamation was unconstitutional and would be ineffective; additionally, they argued that Lincoln lacked the authority to free the slaves. Others feared servile insurrection, though it never occurred.

Confederate newspapers predictably reacted with reproach, as did the people and President Jefferson Davis. Naturally, those papers that had been critical of the Preliminary Proclamation were critical of the Emancipation Proclamation. However, some reacted with less vehemence, perhaps realizing that their way of life hung in the balance and they could not stop the movement to end slavery.⁵¹ Davis declared that reconciliation between North and South “has been rendered forever impossible”; many southerners agreed.⁵² Contrary to its purpose, the proclamation initially strengthened the resolve of the Confederacy, before the full effects of the Emancipation Proclamation manifested themselves.

The border states were especially vehement in their opposition to the Emancipation Proclamation, as alienation from the Union grew. Some states, such as Kentucky, even proposed state legislation against the proclamation.⁵³ The border states were close to the Confederacy, so they feared that all their slaves would flee to freedom elsewhere. In Missouri and other states, “Emancipation became the most important issue in politics.”⁵⁴ Missouri eventually abolished slavery, but not before the Emancipation Proclamation took effect. Many slaveholders tried hard to keep emancipation a secret; as a result, many slaves did not gain freedom until the Union army went through or after the war ended.

With the Emancipation Proclamation, Union soldiers had the power to bring freedom to slaves in areas they passed through. Soldiers, however, had mixed reactions to the proclamation. Some were willing to fight and die for the Union, but not for slavery; some were content fighting for both. Others were simply happy African Americans could help fight the war, shifting some of the burden off white men.⁵⁵ High-ranking officers largely opposed emancipation and many resigned; mid-level

officers, who were the most educated, were more likely to favor it. Soldiers were often ready to enforce anything to hurt the Confederacy.⁵⁶ Many slaves quickly learned that Lincoln had signed the proclamation and were eager for freedom. Despite the efforts of whites, within days black slaves learned they were free. They heard it through the slave grapevine, Union soldiers, overhearing whites talking, and by reading copies of the Emancipation Proclamation or having it read to them. This knowledge inaugurated a “cascade of running away in 1863 that began sweeping off the underpinnings of slavery,”⁵⁷ just as Lincoln had hoped. His main objective for issuing the proclamation proved fruitful, despite the complaints of the border states. He robbed the Confederacy of its key labor force and a major source of strength.

As the border states had feared, emancipation in the South sufficiently destabilized slavery in the region to lead to its collapse. Slaves fled to Union armies in the area, where masters struggled to get them back. John Ryland and other slaveholders wrote to Governor Gamble to complain: “It is no matter what proof the master offers, the negroes say they be long [sic] to secessionists, and the officers believe them.”⁵⁸ Slaves pushed the issue and most states gave in to the pressure to emancipate their slaves, but “With more slaves than any other border state, Kentucky stubbornly clung to the dying institution to the bitter end,” until it was forced to emancipate under the Thirteenth Amendment in December 1865.⁵⁹ Until then, thousands remained in bondage. Despite all of Lincoln’s efforts to encourage emancipation in the border states before the Emancipation Proclamation and before the Thirteenth Amendment, it took pressure from Southern emancipation, the flight of mass numbers of slaves, and a change in the Constitution to finally rid the nation of slavery.

The biggest effect of the Emancipation Proclamation was that it made the Civil War about slavery. Jefferson Davis predicted that the proclamation would have “one of three possible consequences—the extermination of the slaves, the exile of the whole white population of the Confederacy, or absolute and total separation of these states from the United States.”⁶⁰ While none of these dire effects occurred, Davis’ conjectures demonstrated the level of fear and uncertainty Southerners felt toward the idea of emancipation. Though not all slaves ran away, many started acting like freedmen or making more demands of their owners; some simply refused to work, at least not without pay. No slave insurrections occurred, but slaves rebelled in more subtle ways, much as they had done before emancipation. Such a situation, especially with many slaves tempted to run for Union lines, encouraged slaveholders to take their slaves to the interior, away from Union armies, or sell their slaves to the deep South. The peculiar institution was dying despite the tireless efforts of those who sought to perpetuate it.

Slaves responded to freedom in a number of ways. One of the first things they did was change their name or add to their old name as a measure of self-respect and manhood. Many went looking for family members who had been sold away. Men rushed to claim wives and families and anti-slavery clergymen married men and women.⁶¹ Chaplain A.B. Randall wrote in February 1865 about the slaves’ view of freedom: “The Colord [sic] People here, generally consider, this war not only; their *exodus*, from bondage; but the road, to Responsibility; Competency; and an honorable Citizenship.”⁶² Many freed slaves took advantage of the freedom to move away from slavery. Many moved to cities, where some received harsh treatment. Other slaves fled

to Union camps, where commanders were often inundated with more laborers than they needed; they were left wondering how to provide for the extra men, women, and children.

Contraband camps were common and tried to provide for slaves and their families. The impression former slaves made on those in charge of such camps seemed largely encouraging, as evidenced by the responses to questions posed by the Emancipation League in 1863. Captain and Aide-de-camp E.W. Hooper gave a very positive picture of freedmen and concluded that “equal laws *faithfully administered* would enable the negroes to take their place in society, as a laboring class, with a fair prospect of self-support and progress.”⁶³ Others interviewed by the Emancipation League gave similar accounts of the freedmen under their protection. People in the camps regarded freedmen as men, not chattel, and considered them capable of improving through education to function in society independent of government assistance. Slaves in camps proved good laborers and were “invaluable and almost indispensable” as spies, scouts and guides, risking their lives to gain valuable information; women and children supported themselves by doing such things as washing, ironing, and cooking for army camps.⁶⁴ Slaves worked hard to create a positive impression on their white emancipators and protectors, as if they needed to prove themselves worthy of the freedom they fought so hard to gain.

The Emancipation Proclamation allowed freedmen to enlist in the Union army, an opportunity of which many took advantage. This gave many freedmen a chance to prove themselves equal to whites and participate in the war for their freedom. They would not have had this opportunity if not for Lincoln’s issuance of the Proclamation. Slaves could now fight masters on equal terms. Freedmen in the border states enlisted primarily “to gain freedom for themselves and their families,” though they risked being captured by armed patrols.⁶⁵ For thousands, it was worth it. The War Department created a segregated unit, the Bureau of Colored Troops, for black soldiers. Union soldiers recruited 134,000 black soldiers in the slave states and 52,000 men in the free states.⁶⁶ Whites in the North were not pleased with the decision to arm the former slaves. Abuse of African American troops was high, especially toward the few black officers, many of whom were forced to resign their commissions. However, as casualties rose, whites were glad to have others to share in the sacrifice.

Talk of revoking the Emancipation Proclamation declined as the war dragged on, as people realized that African Americans were earning their freedom and sacrificing their lives for their country; thus, “black enlistment made the Emancipation Proclamation irrevocable.”⁶⁷ Black soldiers proved themselves as good and capable as white troops. The attack on Petersburg, Virginia turned the African American soldiers of the Army of the James into heroes, for June 15, 1864 was the “day when it was admitted that colored men were equal to the severest ordeal,” the “day when prejudice died in the entire Army of the U.S. of America.”⁶⁸ African American troops could no longer be charged with cowardice. In battle, they risked capture by Confederate troops, who would have mostly likely either murdered them or sold them back into slavery. As Samuel Denison reported to Treasury Secretary Salmon Chase, “the whole army, from colonels down, is thoroughly abolitionized. They have seen the negroes drill and fight, and they want to give them a chance and put down slavery.”⁶⁹ The valor of African American soldiers had indeed changed many opinions on slaves and slavery.

Assessing Emancipation

Even for those slaves not freed under the Emancipation Proclamation, they still dated a sense of freedom from January 1, 1863. It is as if the symbolic was more important than the reality, for as Henry Ward Beecher admitted, “Even if the Proclamation did not free a single slave, it gave liberty a moral recognition.”⁷⁰ Slaves called Abraham Lincoln “Father Abraham” for his acts against slavery. Decades later, slaves remembered when they were emancipated, whether it was by Union soldiers or their master, and they remembered who was responsible for the measure that freed them. On December 8, 1863, in his third annual message to Congress, Lincoln reported no negative effects from the Emancipation Proclamation. He stated that nearly 100,000 African American soldiers had enlisted in Union armies. The Confederacy seemed to be weakening and he proposed lenient peace terms.⁷¹ At the beginning of 1865, Secretary of State William Seward estimated that the proclamation had directly freed 200,000 slaves and the final total may have been as high as 400,000 slaves emancipated.⁷² Thousands were still enslaved at the time of Lincoln’s assassination in April 1865. Kentucky alone held 65,000 slaves and, along with Delaware, was the last to emancipate its slaves.⁷³ Many states who emancipated their slaves instituted slave codes to limit the rights of African Americans.

Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation proved a pivotal juncture both in the history of the Civil War and the history of the United States. Scholar Henry Jaffa wrote, “In a sense, it is true that Lincoln never intended to emancipate the Negro; what he intended was to emancipate the American republic from the curse of slavery.”⁷⁴ Lincoln’s own words corroborate this statement, as he told a Washington D.C. lawyer, “It was not only the Negro that I freed, but the white man no less.”⁷⁵ He wanted the words of the Declaration of Independence to ring true at last. Lincoln faced enormous pressures as president, both from his peers and the people he had been elected to govern. He heard the cries of the slaves, soldiers, abolitionists, and commanders who petitioned for emancipation. He interpreted his presidential position as commander-in-chief to be the only one that could legitimately free the slaves, even if some questioned that claim. Ultimately, it was Lincoln who signed the Emancipation Proclamation, though only at the behest of those who hated slavery and in the interests of the Union, for “the Emancipation Proclamation reminds all...that real change derives both from the actions of the people and from the imprimatur of constitutional authority.”⁷⁶ The slaves sufficiently pressured the government to do something about slavery; Lincoln eventually responded and at least symbolically freed the slaves, as only he could. In 1865, after the assassination of “Father Abraham,” the Thirteenth Amendment freed the slaves and made the United States a free country at last.

Notes

- 1 James McPherson, *Drawn with the Sword: Reflections on the American Civil War*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 197.
- 2 Ira Berlin, *Who Freed the Slaves? Emancipation and Its Meaning*, in *Major Problems in the Civil War and Reconstruction*, 2nd ed., ed. Michael Perman (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1998), 291.
- 3 McPherson argues that not even every Republican would have freed the slaves, such as Edward Bates, had he been nominated and won the 1860 presidential election, 199.
- 4 William K. Klingaman, *Abraham Lincoln and the Road to Emancipation, 1861-1865*, (New York: Viking Penguin, 2001), 52.
- 5 Abraham Lincoln, "First Inaugural Address of Abraham Lincoln," [<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/presiden/inaug/lincoln1.htm>], 5 Nov 2005.
- 6 John Hope Franklin, *The Emancipation Proclamation*, (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1963), 14-15.
- 7 Klingaman, 58.
- 8 Benjamin F. Butler, "Benjamin F. Butler to Lieutenant Genl. Scott," in *Free At Last*, ed. Ira Berlin (New York: The New Press, 1992), 10.
- 9 Allen C. Guelzo, *Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation: The End of Slavery in America*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004), 41.
- 10 Franklin, 16.
- 11 Klingaman, 66.
- 12 A.J. Smoot, "Affadavit of A.J. Smoot," in *Free At Last*, ed. Berlin, 33.
- 13 McPherson, 206.
- 14 Franklin, 19-20.
- 15 E.P. Halstead, "Assistant Adjutant General E.P. Halstead to Col. J.D. Shaul," in *Free At Last*, ed. Berlin, 36.
- 16 Guelzo, 68-69.
- 17 Lorraine A. Williams, "Northern Intellectual Reaction to the Policy of Emancipation," in *The Journal of Negro History* 46, no. 3 (1961): 180, <http://www.jstor.org>, 10 Oct 2005.
- 18 Klingaman, 85.
- 19 Franklin, 39.
- 20 Klingaman, 92-93.
- 21 Klingaman, 160.
- 22 Guelzo, 154.
- 23 Quoted in Franklin, 28.
- 24 Franklin, 59.
- 25 Franklin, 62.
- 26 Klingaman, 196.
- 27 Guelzo, 160.
- 28 Guelzo, 160.
- 29 Guelzo, 165.
- 30 McPherson, 205.
- 31 Franklin, 79-80.
- 32 Klingaman, 198.
- 33 Klingaman, 205.
- 34 Quoted in Franklin, 68.
- 35 Franklin, 68-69.
- 36 Franklin, 80-81.
- 37 Guelzo, 176.
- 38 Klingaman, 233.

- 39 Quoted in Franklin, 95.
- 40 Abraham Lincoln, "Emancipation Proclamation," [<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part4/4h1549t.html>], 5 October 2005.
- 41 Lincoln, "Emancipation Proclamation."
- 42 Lincoln, "Emancipation Proclamation."
- 43 Williams, 184.
- 44 Quoted in Klingaman, 234.
- 45 Franklin, 108-9.
- 46 Klingaman, 234.
- 47 Franklin, 115.
- 48 Klingaman, 235, Franklin, 118.
- 49 Quoted in Franklin, 120.
- 50 Klingaman, 236.
- 51 Franklin, 121, 124, 125.
- 52 Franklin, 126.
- 53 Guelzo, 188-9.
- 54 William E. Gienapp, "Abraham Lincoln and the Border states," *Journal of the Abraham Lincoln Association*, 13, no. 1 (1992): par. 59, <http://www.historycooperative.org/cgi-bin/printpage.cgi>, 5 Nov 2005.
- 55 Franklin, 128.
- 56 Klingaman, 237.
- 57 Guelzo, 213-4.
- 58 John F. Ryland et al, "John F. Ryland et al to His Excellency Governor Gamble," in *Free At Last*, ed. Berlin, 350.
- 59 Gienapp, par. 61.
- 60 Quoted in Klingaman, 236.
- 61 Guelzo, 216.
- 62 A.B. Randall, "Chaplain A.B. Randall to Brig. Genl L. Thomas," in *Free At Last*, ed. Berlin, 222.
- 63 E.W. Hooper, "Let There Be Light. Important Facts Concerning the Negro," in *From Slavery to Freedom: The African-American Pamphlet Collection, 1824-1909*, collected by the Emancipation League, [<http://www.memory.loc.gov/>], 9 October 2005.
- 64 Vincent Colyer, "Vincent Colyer to Hon. Rob. Dale Owen (American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission)," in *Free At Last*, ed. Berlin, 195-8.
- 65 Berlin, *Free At Last*, 359.
- 66 Franklin, 129.
- 67 Guelzo, 218-9.
- 68 William H. Hunter, "Letter 40," in *A Grand Army*, ed. Redkey, 102-103.
- 69 Quoted in Klingaman, 256.
- 70 Quoted in Franklin, 144.
- 71 Klingaman, 272.
- 72 Guelzo, 214.
- 73 Klingaman, 289.
- 74 Harry V. Jaffa, "The Emancipation Proclamation," in *100 Years of Emancipation*, ed. Robert A. Goldwin, (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1963), 23.
- 75 Quoted in Klingaman, 233.
- 76 Berlin, *Who Freed the Slaves*, 297.

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