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Oshkosh Scholar

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Preface

This is the third issue of *Oshkosh Scholar*, and we are excited to display another fine collection of undergraduate research. *Oshkosh Scholar* provides undergraduate students with an opportunity to showcase their work, also giving them the valuable experience of working with faculty mentors.

This publication is a fine example of the UW Oshkosh vision statement, which states, "We will be admired for…the centrality of the student/faculty relationship that is distinguished by active learning, mutual respect and collaborative scholarship."

For undergraduate students who desire more than cookbook-style class experiments where they follow instructions to get to the expected outcome, hands-on research is the answer. Collaborative research gives students a chance to go beyond the classroom experience, a chance to take their studies to the next level. This active learning experience gives students the opportunity to develop skills that will help them in their future careers, which in turn will benefit their respective communities. The pages herein represent active learning at its finest, and we are proud to be a part of this enriching experience.

Through the research projects, students are given the chance to work closely with university faculty and staff, providing professional growth for both, and helping to establish valuable relationships in scholarship. Student/faculty collaborations prove that not only *can* learning take place outside of a classroom, but that sometimes it *should*.

I want to thank all of the faculty reviewers, faculty advisers, and student authors who contributed to this issue. Special thanks to Susan Surendonk, Dr. Paul Klemp, and our student editors Tracy Rusch and Jonathan "Leviathan" Whitfield. This third edition of *Oshkosh Scholar* is brought to you by their collaborative energies.

Linda S. Freed
Director
Office of Grants and Faculty Development

Cover Design

Cover logo designed by Design III student Kari Ley.
Cover image designed by Design III student Lacie Kostka.
Karina Cutler-Lake, M.F.A., Assistant Professor.

Kostka created more than just an attractive cover: "I wanted something that would convey the dual nature of an academic journal—its debt to the past as well as its aim to the future. I think this image of a worn, yet sturdy tree serves that perfectly."

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Production

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Does an Inverted Yield Curve Predict Recessions?

Ryan DeRosier, author
Dr. Marianne Johnson, Economics, faculty adviser

Ryan DeRosier will graduate from UW Oshkosh in May 2008 with a B.B.A. degree in economics and finance. His research began as a paper assigned in econometrics during his junior year. Ryan's interest in the yield curve has continued, particularly through his involvement in Fed Challenge. Ryan presented his research at the Wisconsin Economics Association Conference in Stevens Point, Wisconsin, in October 2007. He is considering pursuing graduate work in economics.

Dr. Marianne Johnson is an associate professor of economics. She received her Ph.D. from Michigan State University and taught for two years in Boston before coming to UW Oshkosh. She serves as the student research coordinator for the department of economics.

Abstract

This paper examines the factors that determine the rate of growth of Gross Domestic Product in the U.S. economy for the years 1976-2006, with an emphasis on the role of the yield curve in predicting economic growth. Using multiple regression analyses, I examined the impact of a number of independent variables, including year, year-squared, the money supply, the unemployment rate, the lag distribution of unemployment, the inflation rate, the lag distribution of the inflation rate, the current account balance, the lag distribution of the current account, and the yield curve. I found that an inverted yield curve raises the probability of a recession in the next period; this relationship is statistically significant.

Introduction

The main macroeconomic measure of economic performance is gross domestic product (GDP). There are four main components of GDP: consumption, investment, government expenditures, and net exports. Different factors are taken into account for each component; however, a main financial indicator for the economy's overall health is the financial yield curve, measured as the difference between long-term and short-term interest rates. The yield curve is normally positive, meaning that long-term maturities for U.S. treasuries earn higher returns than short-term maturities because of the associated greater level of risk. However, the yield curve can also be inverted, meaning that short-term maturities earn higher returns than long-term maturities.

The yield curve can explain fluctuations in the investment component of GDP by looking at the current interest rate on treasury bonds. Investment levels and the interest rate are negatively related, meaning that when the interest rate is high, investment is low. Since long-term interest rates depend on the expectations of future short-term rates, an inversion would predict higher long-term interest rates. The yield curve can also help to explain fluctuations in net exports. The relationship between net exports and the interest rate is negative; with higher interest rates, overseas investors

find it more attractive to invest in dollars, thereby raising the value of the dollar (i.e., the exchange rate). However, a higher exchange rate makes U.S. goods more expensive to foreigners and foreign goods less expensive to Americans, increasing our imports and decreasing our exports. Ultimately, this causes a reduction in GDP.

The government can take several different steps to promote GDP growth. One is the use of fiscal policy to increase government spending, which may offset some of the reduction in GDP caused by net exports and investment. Falling GDP can also be counterbalanced by policies that push the unemployment rate below its natural rate, which for the U.S. economy is believed to be approximately 5%. Okun's Law states that for every percentage point the unemployment rate is above the natural rate, real GDP is 3% below potential GDP and vice versa.

Unlike their ability to influence fiscal policy choices and unemployment policies, governments have little control over the yield curve beyond controlling the amount of treasuries available. Because the yield curve is based on U.S. treasury bonds, it is important to recognize that bond prices and interest rates are inversely related. The inversion in the yield curve that we are currently experiencing is due to a high demand for long-term bonds, which in turn lowers their prices and raises their yields. In some ways, this runs contrary to economic logic, because if there is an inversion in the yield curve it would be more prosperous to invest in short-term securities. However, investors' expectations of interest rates also affect the yield curve's shape. If investors place their money in long-term bonds, even though short-term bonds yield a higher return, investors must believe that interest rates will go down. If investors buy short-term bonds now, they will have to reinvest that money at a lower rate when their bonds mature. Thus, investing in long-term bonds becomes a rational choice if investors believe interest rates are going down, particularly if there is evidence that the Federal Reserve Bank will lower the target interest rate to try to stimulate the economy (Abel et al., 2007).

This paper is organized as follows. In the literature review section, I briefly consider some of the literature on inverted yield curves. Next, I describe the data collected and the model I will use, describing the relationship between GDP and key explanatory variables such as the yield curve and unemployment. Then I discuss the results of my analysis. And in the final section, I offer some conclusions.

Literature Review

Many economists have been interested in predicting recessions. Brown and Goodman (1991) attempted to forecast the probability of a recession with 3-, 4-, 6-, 9-, and 12-month time lags. Their article predicted turning points in industrial production (output) by using the yield curve as an indicator. The dependent variable for each model, industrial production, was compared to the yield curve from the previous months. Ultimately, they found that an increased probability of a turning point in industrial production more accurately predicted a recession as the date grows closer. The greater the probability, i.e., a turning point in the index of industrial production, the greater the probability of a recession. Unfortunately, their model suffered from omitted variable bias, as some variables cannot be put into the model because they are too difficult to predict.

Using a different approach than Brown and Goodman (1991), Estrella and Mishkin (1996) examined whether financial variables in out-of-sample predictions indicated that the U.S. economy is headed into a recession one to eight quarters in advance. Estrella and Mishkin (1996) used several financial variables—interest rates, interest rate spreads, stock price indexes, and monetary aggregates—as the independent variables. The dependent variable is the measure of R-squared (a measure of explanatory power) that Estrella and Mishkin (1996) fit against the coefficient of determination in a standard linear regression. They found that the financial measures used were encouraging and suggested that the measures played a useful role in predicting recessions for the macro-economy. All of the financial variables used in their research were important because they predicted recessions in the short run. However, the yield curve spread and stock price indexes emerged as the most useful financial indicators because they can predict recessions up to four quarters ahead of time.

Van Horn (Federal Reserve Bank of New York, 1996) explained how much the yield curve fluctuates after monetary authorities changed the price of a particular security. As the independent variables, he used the actual rates of interest and the forward rates projected N years in the future. The dependent variable that relies on the forward rates and real rates of interest was the expected forecasting error N periods in the future. Van Horn found that interest rates for future periods are not perfectly elastic and that the monetary authority could have an effect on all segments of the yield curve and change the interest rate expectations beyond the immediate future. However, this would not be possible if monetary authorities confined themselves to short-term securities and left securities with longer maturities to change independently.

While all of the studies reviewed predicted that the spread of the yield-curve is related to GDP growth, more recently economists have claimed that the impact of yield-curve spread is shrinking due to more highly integrated global capital markets and more open trade policies (Thomas, 2006 and Anderson & Benzoni, 2006). To examine the claim that the yield curve is less important than it used to be in predicting recessions, I collected the following data in an effort to construct a model linking GDP and yield curves.

Data Set and Economic Model

In order to build a regression model comparable with the actual economy, first I needed to collect relevant data. The purpose of this study is to determine what factors affect GDP growth, focusing on recent trends in macroeconomics. I considered quarterly data for the years 1976 to 2006 (120 observations). The data for this project were extracted primarily from the Federal Reserve official Web site at *www.federalreserve.gov* and the Department for Bureau Labor Statistics official home page at *www.bls.gov*. These Web sites provide reliable information for many different types of macroeconomic data. Summary statistics are provided in Table 1. For the purpose of this paper, I used 1982 as a base year; thus, all monetary amounts are expressed in real terms (inflation adjusted) for 1982 dollars.

Unfortunately, data can be difficult to find, so proxies are often needed for certain independent variables. For example, the trade deficit would be an ideal variable to represent net exports, but it is not offered quarterly. Instead, I used the current account deficit, which is a broader measure of international activity. The current

account measures the sum of the balance of trade (net exports), net factor incomes (interest and dividends), and net transfer payments such as foreign aid. I collected data on the other variables of my model without difficulty. Similarly, quarterly consumption data were not available, so I used disposable income.

The dependent variable in my model is GDP growth. It is the main macroeconomic indicator of performance for the U.S. economy, where GDP is a measure of the overall production of the economy. The main components that make up GDP include consumption, investment, government expenditures, and net exports. GDP growth is measured as the percent change in GDP from year to year.

Another key explanatory variable in this model is the yield curve, which is a relationship between the interest rate and the time to maturity, measured as the difference between short-term and long-term interest rates. For the purpose of the paper, I compared the 30-year government note to the one-year government note as a way to approximate the yield curve. The mean spread for the yield curve from the years 1976 to 2006 was 0.83%, or 83 basis points. This implies that, on average, there has been a positive or normal yield curve.

Additional explanatory variables include a quarterly dummy variable, to control for seasonality from year to year. The money supply in the United States is a second independent variable, one that measures the quantity of money available within an economy to purchase goods, services, and securities. The money supply is inversely related to interest rates and positively related to inflation. For example, if the money supply is increased, the interest rate will drop and upward pressure will be generated on prices. As the money supply expands quarterly, my model uses 1988 as the base year. The unemployment rate is a third independent variable; it measures the percentage of U.S. citizens who do not currently have jobs but are actively seeking employment. From 1976 to 2006, the unemployment rate averaged 6.21%, with a standard deviation of 1.4%.

Also included is inflation, or the general rise in prices measured against a standard level of purchasing power. Inflation is found by taking two sets of goods at two different points in time and computing the increase in cost not reflected by an increase in quality. As previously explained, the current account deficit is another independent variable I used. A current account surplus increases a country's net foreign assets by the corresponding amount, and a current account deficit does the reverse. The country on average over the past 30 years has had a current account deficit of $49.56 billion with a standard deviation of $59.43 billion.

Disposable income is the final independent variable in my economic model, and it is the total amount of income an individual receives after taxes; therefore, it is a measure of how much income each individual has to spend. The mean disposable income in my model is $4,761 billion or $4.761 trillion. Disposable income rose every year throughout the observed 30-year period due to the general rise in prices over time.

Summary statistics for the data are provided in Table 1. In my regression model, I also used year and quarter as two independent variables to control for time trends and seasonality.

Table 1
Economic Summary Statistics

Variable	Predicted Sign	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum	Units of Measurement
GDP		3.204	3.13	-7.80	16.7	Percent %
Money Supply	+	850.56	345.55	290.60	1381.0	Billion $
Unemployment Rate	+	6.21	1.38	4.00	9.7	Percent %
Inflation	+	132.18	41.45	55.80	203.5	
Current Account	-	49.56	59.43	-229.40	10.0	Billion $
Yield Curve	+	0.83	1.92	-5.68	5.1	Percent %
Disposable Income	+	4761.80	2405.50	1263.50	9679.0	Billion $

Note: While government spending and investment are important parts of GDP, because they were not statistically significantly related to quarterly GDP performance, they are not included here for efficiency.

Analysis

Looking at the growth in GDP from quarter to quarter, one must realize that four different factors have a detrimental role. GDP can be described as the summation of consumption, investment, government spending, and net exports. This model, however, tested the significance of all four components, and although investment and government spending are theoretically important, they were not individually statistically significantly related to quarterly GDP growth (determined by regression analysis). Please remember that the independent variable disposable income proxies for consumption and the current account balance for net exports. My preliminary model estimates the following relationships:

$$GDP = \beta_0 + \beta_1\, year + \beta_2\, quarter + \beta_3\, money\ supply +$$
$$\beta_4\, unemployment\ rate + \beta_5\, inflation + \beta_6\, current\ account +$$
$$\beta_7\, disposable\ income + \beta_8\, yield\ curve + E,$$

where the *betas* represent the estimated coefficients from an ordinary least squares regression, and *E* represents the error term. In examining this most basic form of my regression model, I found an R^2 of 0.1262, which means that the variation in my independent variables explains only 12.62% of the variation in GDP. Looking at my original regression, I noticed that half of my variables were not statistically significant. One further problem with running regressions using time-series data is that there might be problems with multicollinearity, or that the correlation coefficients between the explanatory variables are too high. The correlation coefficient measures the strength of a linear relationship between two variables: the closer to 1 (or -1) the correlation coefficient is, the variables are more similar. Generally, we might be concerned with correlation coefficients exceeding 0.75 (or -0.75).

Current account and disposable income evidenced the most collinearity. The current account had a correlation of -0.824 with the variable year and had a negative correlation with inflation yielding a correlation coefficient of -0.802. Disposable income had multicollinearity problems with four of the independent variables: disposable income had a correlation coefficient of 0.991 when associated with the year, a correlation coefficient of 0.96 when associated with the money supply, a 0.982

correlation coefficient with inflation, and a correlation coefficient of -0.885 when examined with the current account. Thus, I chose to remove disposable income from the model and focus primarily on the impact of financial variables on GDP growth.

Using this information, I made several adjustments to the model. Money supply was unwieldy in the models, so I logged the variable. Including dummy variables for the quarter to control for seasonality in macroeconomic data and squaring the year time trend also created some significant improvements. In addition, since we are looking at time series data from a 30-year period, it is logical to think that some of the importance of trends might be spread over a number of time periods. Further, many of the leading indicators I included should be related to GDP growth in the next period, rather than the current period. Thus, I included lagged terms for GDP, inflation, unemployment, and current account deficit. I also corrected for heteroskedacity, or nonconstant variance of the error terms.

My final regression is reported in Table 2. The interpretations of the key independent variables in my model are as follows. If the money supply were increased by $1 billion, GDP growth would decrease by approximately 0.006%, holding all else constant. If the unemployment rate increased by 1%, the GDP growth would tend to decrease by approximately 1%. This is interesting because it contradicts Okun's Law, which suggests overall GDP should fall by 3%. A *t* test of the estimated coefficient on unemployment against a critical value of 3 suggests that I can confidently conclude that, based on my data, I find only limited support for Okun's Law: Unemployment reduces GDP growth but not by an amount as large as 3%.

If inflation were increased by 1%, GDP growth would decrease by approximately 0.23%. If the current account were increased by $1 billion, GDP growth would tend to rise approximately 0.01%; yet in my model this variable is not statistically significant. This result, however, is highly relevant to the current economic situation: The weakened U.S. dollar is making exports more attractive for foreign buyers, increasing GDP growth for the United States in the second and third quarters of 2007. Thus, I may see a more significant relationship if the study were to include 2007 data.

As expected, there is a general, positive upward trend in GDP growth over time, as captured by the year and year^2 variables. Further, I find lower GDP growth in the first quarter of the year, as commonly observed. Lagged terms of GDP growth, unemployment rate, inflation rate, and the current account are all statistically significantly related to GDP performance in the next quarter, demonstrating their importance as leading economic indicators.

Table 2
*Regression Results**

Explanatory Variable	Estimated Coefficient	Standard Error	Significant at the 90% level
Year	27.870	68.080	No
Year²	-0.006	0.017	No
Log Money Supply	-0.006	0.005	No
Unemployment Rate	-0.966	0.373	Yes
Inflation Rate	-0.229	0.149	Yes
Current Account	0.016	0.022	No
Yield Curve	0.316	0.181	Yes
Q1 Dummy	-2.028	1.195	Yes
Q2 Dummy	-0.050	0.993	No
Lagged GDP (one period)	-0.174	0.074	Yes
Lagged Inflation (one period)	0.285	0.111	Yes
Lagged Unemployment (one period)	2.166	0.335	Yes
Lagged Current Account (one period)	0.004	0.001	Yes
Constant	-30441	67130	No

* $N = 120$ time periods. $R^2 = 0.2678$.

The key variable I wanted to examine was the yield curve. Given the results, if the yield curve was normal or long-term interest rates exceeded short-term rates, then GDP growth would increase by approximately 0.316% per one-point spread in the rates (equivalent to 100 basis points). However, if the yield curve was inverted, then I must multiply the effect by negative one because short-term rates are higher than long-term rates. After this, there will be a 0.316% decrease in GDP growth for every one-point difference in the spread. Because a recession is two or more consecutive quarters of decline in GDP growth, I conclude that inverted yield curves can contribute to recessions by reducing the GDP growth rate. Further, given that there is a statistically significant relationship between yield curve spread and GDP growth, this model does not verify recent suggestions that the yield curve is less important than it used to be (Thomas, 2006, p. 53).

Conclusions

In this paper, I examined the contributing factors to GDP growth, with a particular emphasis on the yield curve. I developed a model of the factors that have an impact on the overall level of GDP growth in our economy, examining the determinants of GDP growth fluctuations from the years 1976-2006. I found that among these factors are

1) The unemployment rate, which negatively affects GDP growth from quarter to quarter;
2) The rate of inflation (whereas higher rates of inflation contribute to lesser GDP growth);
3) The current account, to which GDP growth is positively related;
4) A positive (normal) yield curve, which has a positive effect on GDP growth (whereas an inverted, or negative, yield curve relates to a decrease in GDP growth); and
5) GDP and inflation, both with a lag of one year, which have a negative impact on GDP growth (whereas the unemployment rate and the current

account, both with lags of one year, have a positive impact on GDP growth).

Based on these results, I can speculate on the recent events influencing the U.S. economy. Currently, the Federal Open Market Committee is trying to keep the economy stable by raising the money supply to offset past increases in interest rates and calm financial markets. While our inflation rate is above the comfort zone of 2%, which normally might signal another rate increase, other aspects of the economy remain weak. In particular, the continuation of an inverted yield curve has a negative impact on our economy (by reducing GDP growth rates), with investors putting more of their money into short-term rather than long-term securities.

The money supply and the current account have a major impact on the overall effect of GDP growth. Focusing our attention on these two variables will significantly help the economy rebound from this economic trough we are currently experiencing. In order to reduce inflation from its high level, the interest rate must increase or the price level of all consumer goods must decrease. When inflation is in check, our unemployment rate should bounce back to its natural rate of 5%, which would lead us back to our productivity output. All of these factors taken into account at the same time should start putting downward pressure on the short-term interest rates and upward pressure on the long-term rates, giving us a normal yield curve in the coming months.

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Gender and GDP Contributions: The Effects of Culture

Elizabeth Graham, author
Drs. Marianne Johnson and M. Kevin McGee, Economics, faculty advisers

Elizabeth Graham graduated from UW Oshkosh in December 2007, with a B.B.A. degree in economics and a B.S. in political science. Her research paper began as a project for econometrics her junior year. Based on this preliminary work, Elizabeth received a Student/Faculty Collaborative Research Program grant to expand her project with the assistance of Dr. Marianne Johnson and Dr. M. Kevin McGee. Elizabeth plans to attend graduate school in economics.

Dr. Marianne Johnson is an associate professor of economics. She received her Ph.D. from Michigan State University, and taught for two years in Boston before coming to UW Oshkosh. Dr. M. Kevin McGee is a professor of economics. He received his Ph.D. from Ohio State University, and has taught at UW Oshkosh ever since. Both Drs. Johnson and McGee teach econometrics and regularly supervise student research projects.

Abstract

This paper uses Ordinary Least Squares regressions to examine the cultural, demographic, and geographical sources of differences in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) contributions of women. These cultural variables include religion, level of female education, fertility, political representation, and the mean age of marriage. The results show that culture has considerable explanatory power for female labor force participation rates, the gender wage gap, and women's contributions to GDP. Surprisingly, fertility rates were not found to have any impact on women's contributions to GDP.

Introduction

In the United States today, women on average earn 78% of men's earnings. This disparity is present and consistently documented in almost every society in the world. There are many possible explanations for why women get paid less than men for essentially the same work. Through the use of several estimation models, this paper aims to discover what factors significantly contribute to this phenomenon around the world.

My theory is that culture has a large impact on women's pay as well as their decision whether or not to participate in the labor force. While demographic variables may have some impact on these issues of gender inequality, it is more likely that differences in traditional gender roles cause the majority of the variation in the dependent variables, *female labor force participation rates* (*FLFPR*), women's wages relative to men's, and *women's labor share* (*WLS*)—a combination of the two. I used macro data to analyze international differences in women's contributions to the GDP from a sample of 137 countries from every region of the world.

Literature Review

Several studies highlight the relationship between cultural factors and women's market earnings. Blau and Kahn (1992) studied the characteristics of the labor market to establish their importance in determining gender wage gaps in eight countries. Their conclusion was that an industrialized country's wage structure is important in explaining international differences in the gender pay gap. This means that countries with centralized wage-determination systems, such as high minimum wage requirements, are likely to have smaller gender pay gaps, and therefore higher *WLS* (pp. 533, 538).

Differences in occupational choices may be related to the lower GDP contributions of women. To study this, Nabil and Gerhart (1991) examined the importance of the percentage of female employees in an industry. They tested whether that percentage was important in explaining the earning gap between men and women. They found no significant differences between women working in predominately male occupations and women working in predominately female occupations, suggesting that factors other than job choices affect *WLS*.

Divorce rates also impact women's economic roles. Ressler and Waters (2000) used a model estimated by a Two-Stage Least Squares procedure to determine the relationship between divorce and female income. The authors wanted to test Gary Becker's hypothesis, which states that rising female income over time may be partly responsible for increases in the divorce rate (p. 1889). Ultimately, Ressler and Waters' results do not support the existence of a single equation model but support two-way causality between female income and divorce. Two-way causality may also be present between *FLFPR* and female earnings as a percentage of men's.

Religious traditions almost certainly affect *WLS*. Lehrer's research (2004) titled "Religion as a Determinant of Economics and Demographic Behavior" studied the impact of religion on people's life choices, particularly marriage and gender roles, in the United States. Lehrer focused on mainline American religions, not including the Muslim community. She wrote that the religious affiliation of both spouses appeared to have an impact on their expected roles, and behavior. She found that some religions, namely the Mormon and Protestant faiths, have strict guidelines determining the social and economic roles of males and females (p. 713). Major religions have been included in this study to measure these effects in my study.

Model

Based on the studies reviewed in the previous section, I constructed the following model. This model, unlike the study done by Blau and Kahn (1992), which focused on the female to male earnings ratio, studied the combined effects of differences in earnings on the basis of gender and *FLFPR*. I combined these variables to arrive at a model that allowed me to measure female GDP contributions, a dependent variable I labeled *Women's Labor Share* (*WLS*).

Assume a Cobb Douglas production function for a domestic economy. The parameters on the Cobb Douglas function are the relative weights assigned to labor or capital in the production process.

$$Q = AK^m L_1^{\alpha_1} L_2^{\alpha_2} ... L_n^{\alpha_n}, \quad m + \sum_{i}^{n} \alpha_i = 1,$$

where L_i is the *ith* worker's labor , P is price, Q is quantity, and K is capital. Then if worker *i* is paid his or her marginal product, $W_i = P\frac{\partial Q}{\partial L_i} = \alpha_i \frac{PQ}{L_i}$, from this, I can calculate total women's income, Y_F , as $Y_F = \sum_{i}^{F} L_i W_i = PQ \sum_{i}^{F} \alpha_i$. Therefore, women's labor share of total production $\left(\sum_{i}^{F} \alpha_i \right)$ equals their share of total income, $Y_F/PQ = Y_F/GDP$. Similarly, men's labor share is calculated as Y_M/GDP.

For the purposes of this research, I wanted to measure women's labor share as a fraction of the total labor share of production, *WLS*: $WLS = \dfrac{\sum_{i}^{F} \alpha_i}{\sum_{i}^{F+M} \alpha_i}$.

By the above analysis, this will equal $Y_F/(Y_F + Y_M)$. I used a measurement of mean labor income for women and men, which can be calculated as

$$WLS = \left[\frac{y_F n_F}{\overline{y}_F n_F + \overline{y}_M n_M} \right].$$

From this, I developed an econometric model that looks at several important variables associated with *WLS*, $WLS = \alpha + \beta_0 x_0 + \beta_1 x_1 + \beta_2 x_2$, where x_1 is a vector of demographic/geographical variables and X_2 is a vector of cultural variables.

Data and Variables

The purpose of this study is to uncover what contributes to the varying levels of women's share of GDP around the globe. To examine this, I included several explanatory variables in the study. The data collected are from 137 countries, the largest sample possible considering the availability of data from the OECD and World Bank. Most of the data are from 2004. Again, for instances where data are not available for 2004, the most recent entry is used.

The percentage of the population living in urban areas, or *urban*, may help to explain the structure of the economy. A country with low percentages of people in urban areas is likely to be highly agricultural and thus have a lower overall GDP. Also, more rural countries may have different views about appropriate roles for women than their more urban counterparts.

The percentage of the population that is female, or *female population*, may contribute to the study. If there is a significantly high female population in a country, women's roles may be forced to change. For example, if a war reduced the number of young men in a country, there may be an increase in the number of women without providers or an increase in unmarried women. In either case, women would be forced to enter the workplace to provide for themselves and their families when otherwise they would have chosen not to participate in the labor force.

Per-capita GDP is measured in U.S. dollars and adjusted for purchasing power parity. It estimates the level of poverty in a country by measuring economic development. I was interested to learn whether there was any relationship between it and gender equality.

Beyond geographic and demographic factors, there are significant differences in the opportunities of women around the world. I expected varying cultural attitudes to have an impact on women's opportunities because these attitudes reduce women's

desires and opportunities to work outside the home and, therefore, contribute to GDP. To this end, I included a number of variables designed to capture aspects of culture. *Mean age of marriage* measures the average age at which women marry in a country. This variable is intended to measure the impact of different cultural attitudes toward marriage and women's ability to earn income. I hypothesized that in countries where the mean marriage age is higher, women will have more educational and vocational opportunities than their counterparts in countries where women marry comparatively younger. *Fertility rates* are the average number of children born to a woman in a particular country. It seems intuitive that as this number gets higher, the increased domestic burden will make it more difficult for women to work outside the home.

Also included in the study is a ratio measuring women's educational opportunities compared to men's. This ratio, simply called *education*, measures the combined gross enrollment of primary, secondary, and tertiary schools of women as a percentage of men. Due to the differences in levels of education received by citizens around the world and the fact that, in many countries, women are given fewer educational opportunities than men, a ratio is the best way to characterize these data. Also, a higher ratio indicates a country's willingness to invest in women and, therefore, their value in society.

The percentage of parliamentary seats held by women, or *female parliament*, may reflect women in positions of power in a country. In countries where few women are given the opportunity to participate in politics, it seems likely that few women will be company managers, academics, or company owners; thus, women's employment opportunities will be limited. Finally, the year in which women received the right to vote, called *vote*, measures how recently the women's rights movement occurred in a country. The longer women have had the right to vote, the less resistant the public will be to many aspects of gender equality. It follows that these counties will have higher levels of female labor force participation and more equal wage distribution than in countries where women received the right to vote only recently.

Table 1
Summary Statistics*

VARIABLE	OBS.	MEAN	STD. DEV.	MIN	MAX
Mean Age of Marriage	137	23.56	3.17	18.00	33.0
Fertility Rates	137	3.09	1.72	1.10	7.8
Education	137	0.97	0.13	0.57	1.3
Female Parliament (%)	137	16.49	10.11	0.00	48.8
Vote	137	1949	21.87	1893	None
Female Population (%)	137	50.29	1.84	39.6	54.3
Urban (%)	137	55.44	23.24	10.0	98.3
Per-Capita GDP (US $)	137	$10,580.00	$11,663.00	$561.0	$69,961.0
WLS	137	27.51	9.77	3.42	45.4
FLFPR	137	58.21	14.88	18.47	92.8
RATIO FEMALE TO MALE MEAN INCOME	137	0.53	0.14	0.15	0.8

*N=137

Table 1 summarizes the independent variables used to examine GDP contributions and gender. *Fertility rates* vary considerably from country to country, with a range of 1.1 to 7.8 children per woman. It is interesting to note that *female population*, which would be expected to remain steady at about 50%, actually ranges from 39.6% in Kuwait to 54.3% in Estonia. Also, it is surprising that the mean year in which women received the *vote* was as recent as 1949, with one country, Saudi Arabia, still not allowing women to vote. A dependent variable in this study, *WLS*, is explained in the previous section. The other dependent variables, *FLFPR* and the *ratio of female to male mean income*, are summarized in Table 1. Interestingly, women get no closer to equal pay than 83 cents for every dollar men earn for comparable work. Also, I was surprised to see the wide range in *FLFPR*; they range from approximately 18.5% in Saudi Arabia to nearly 93% in Burundi.

To control for the impact of region on *WLS*, I used dummy variables that divided the world by continent and identified countries by religion. Religion, intuitively, plays a large role in determining women's roles and responsibilities. As Lehrer (2004) found in her study of religion and demographic behavior, in countries where strict adherence to religious teachings is widespread, families are more likely to be structured traditionally, with men working to support the family while women work in the home and raise the family (pp. 712-714). To measure any possible impact religion may have, dummy variables were created to separate countries based on their religious majority and largest religious minority. In this way, any differences in the roles and expectations of women based on different religious teachings can be appropriately measured. Also, the interaction term *Muslim vote*, the year in which Muslim countries gave women the right to vote, was included in the analysis.

Results
Women's Labor Share OLS

The results of the OLS model are illustrated in the following table. The explanatory variables *urban, female population, education, mean age of marriage,* and *female parliament* were all statistically significant. In addition to these, the dummy variables for Latin America, Muslim, Hindu, Protestant minority, Evangelical minority, and Orthodox minority were also statistically significant. The interaction term *Muslim vote*, the year in which Muslim countries gave women the right to vote, was statistically significant. The variable *vote* on its own, however, was less significant. This OLS model has an adjusted R-squared of 0.6091. In other words, this model explains approximately 61% of the variation in *WLS*.

Table 2
*OLS Regression Result: Dependent Variable WLS**

WOMEN'S LABOR SHARE (WLS)	COEFFICIENT	STD. ERROR	t	P> |t|
Urban	-0.4240	0.1230	-3.44	0.001
Urban squared	0.0036	0.0010	3.24	0.002
Female Population	-13.2580	6.9350	-1.91	0.058
Female Population squared	0.1506	0.0717	2.10	0.038
Fertility Rate	0.6657	0.6173	1.08	0.283
Per-Capita GDP	0.0001	0.0001	1.24	0.218
Mean Age Marriage	-11.1511	2.3607	-4.72	0.000
Mean Age Marriage squared	0.2091	0.0464	4.50	0.000
Education	21.0067	7.1807	2.93	0.004
Female Parliament	0.2302	0.0641	3.59	0.000
Muslim	-13.9298	3.6055	-3.86	0.000
Hindu	-11.5862	2.7506	-3.09	0.002
Minority Orthodox	5.4708	2.9225	1.87	0.064
Minority Evangelical	-7.0620	3.4014	-2.08	0.040
Minority Protestant	6.5141	2.1836	2.98	0.003
Latin America	-7.8499	2.0362	-3.86	0.000
Muslim Vote	-0.1377	0.0605	-2.28	0.024
Constant	443.5923	171.6501	2.58	0.011

*N=137

When I examined some of the estimated coefficients more carefully, I found that the percentage of the population living in urban areas is statistically significant when describing changes in *WLS*. I found a nonlinear relationship between *WLS* and the percentage of the population living in urban areas. *WLS* decreases 0.42% for each 1% increase in the urban population until the urban population reaches 59.3%. As the percentage of the population living in urban areas moves from 59.3% to 100%, *WLS* increases 0.004% for each 1% increase in urban population.

I found a similar relationship for the percentage of the population that is female. As the female population approaches 44.2%, *WLS* decreases 13.26% for each 1% increase in female population. As the statistically significant variable female population increases by 1% after the minimum, *WLS* increases 0.15% for each 1% increase in female population.

Also, significant and nonlinear is the mean age of women at the time they are married. As the age of marriage reaches 26.6 years, *WLS* decreases 11% for every one-year increase in the *mean age of marriage*. After the age 26.6, *WLS* increases by about 0.21% for each year increase in age. *Education* also has a significant impact on *WLS*. For every 1% increase in the number of women enrolled in primary, secondary, or tertiary schools compared to men, *WLS* goes up 2.1%. As the percentage of parliamentary seats held by women increases by one, *WLS* goes up 0.23%, which is also statistically significant.

Several religious dummy variables were statistically significant, holding all other factors constant. Women in Islamic and Hindu countries have a *WLS* that is almost 14% and 11.6% lower than their non-Muslim, non-Hindu counterparts respectively. Also, countries with large Orthodox Christian and Protestant minorities had *WLS* that were about 5.5% and 6.5% higher, respectively, than other countries. A strong minority Evangelical population was significantly tied to a *WLS* that was 7% lower than average.

Latin America, which consists of Central and South America, is the only geographical region with statistically significant differences in *WLS*. Latin American women experience *WLS* rates that are 7.84% lower than average; all else held constant. Finally, in Muslim countries, the longer women have had the right to vote, the higher the *WLS*. For each additional year with the right to vote, the *WLS* increased 0.14%.

Surprisingly, *fertility rates* and *per-capita GDP* were not statistically significant in any specifications of the model. While many of these results are consistent with our expectations, I more carefully examined the relationship between the cultural variables and women's contributions to GDP. In particular, I wanted to examine separately which variables are important in determining women's choices to participate in the labor force, and which variables are important for explaining *WLS*.

Female Labor Force Participation Rate (FLFPR) OLS

I was interested to see if regressions of the variables used to calculate *WLS*, *FLFPR*, and the ratio of *female/male mean income* would yield similar results. The variables included in the following regression of *FLFPR* were the same as those for the *WLS* OLS model.

This model has an adjusted R-squared of approximately 55%. In other words, this model explains about 55% of the variation in *FLFPR*. The results appear in Table 3.

Table 3
OLS Regression Results: Dependent Variable FLFPR*

FEMALE LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATE	COEFFICIENT	STD. ERROR	t	P> |t|
Urban	-0.5647	0.201	-2.80	0.006
Urban²	0.0043	0.001	2.41	0.017
Female Population	-22.9227	11.337	-2.02	0.045
Female Population²	0.2526	0.117	2.16	0.033
Fertility Rate	2.5855	1.009	2.56	0.012
Per-Capita GDP	0.0003	0.000	2.03	0.044
Mean Age Marriage	-15.8729	3.839	-4.11	0.000
Mean Age Marriage²	0.2975	0.076	3.92	0.000
Education	28.1978	11.738	2.40	0.018
Female Parliament	0.4065	0.105	3.88	0.000
Muslim	-17.8418	5.894	-3.03	0.003
Hindu	-15.5734	6.131	-2.54	0.012
Minority Orthodox	9.6939	4.777	2.03	0.045
Minority Evangelical	-12.9641	5.560	-2.33	0.021
Minority Protestant	10.0249	3.569	2.81	0.006
Latin America	-6.1815	3.328	-1.86	0.066
Muslim Vote	-.1618	.099	-1.64	0.104
Constant	751.172	280.595	2.68	0.008

*N=137

The results of this OLS model are very similar to the previous results. All the variables that were significant in the model examining the dependent variable *WLS* are significant here. The only exception is that the dummy variable for Latin America is no longer significant at a 95% confidence level, but at a 90% level. *Muslim vote* also significantly decreased.

In this model, unlike the *WLS* model, *fertility rates* and *per-capita GDP* rates are both statistically significant. While *fertility rate* does not directly impact *WLS*, it does affect it indirectly by influencing women's choices to enter the labor market, though I am surprised to find that a higher *fertility rate* increases the likelihood of female participation in the labor market. As a country's *fertility rate* increases by one (one additional child is born to each woman), the *FLFPR* increases by 2.59%. Also, as per-capita GDP increases by 1%, *FLFPR* increase by .0003%. Thus, in higher income countries, women are more likely to participate in the labor force.

Mean Earned Income Ratio OLS

       The final OLS model examines the ratio of female/male mean income. I wanted to determine if there are any significant differences in the variables explaining relationships of *FLFPR*, the *mean earned income ratio*, and *WLS*. This model initially included the same explanatory variables as the previous two models, but, due to statistical insignificance, some variables had to be removed from this OLS model.

       This model has an adjusted R-squared of approximately 59%; it explains nearly 59% of the variation in the differences between female and male mean earned incomes.

Table 4
OLS Regression Results, Dependent Variable Female/Male Mean Income*

RATIO FEMALE/MALE MEAN EARNED INCOME	COEFFICIENT	STD. ERROR	t	P> |t|
Urban	-0.0078	0.002	-4.33	0.000
Urban^2	0.0001	0.000	4.30	0.000
Female Population	0.0149	0.007	2.28	0.024
Mean Age Marriage	-0.1784	0.034	-5.21	0.000
Mean Age Marriage^2	0.0034	0.001	5.00	0.000
Education	0.2941	0.091	3.23	0.002
Female Parliament	0.0032	0.001	3.46	0.001
Muslim	-0.2018	0.052	-3.88	0.000
Hindu	-0.1788	0.056	-3.21	0.002
Minority Orthodox	0.0700	0.044	1.62	0.108
Minority Evangelical	-0.0762	0.051	-1.50	0.136
Minority Protestant	0.0970	0.033	2.96	0.004
Latin America	-0.1420	0.029	-4.90	0.000
Muslim Vote	-0.0020	0.001	-2.19	0.030
Constant	1.9710	0.517	3.81	0.000

    *N=137

       Several statistically significant differences exist in this model compared to the previous two models. *Per-capita GDP* and *fertility rate* are not significant in the mean earned income ratio model, which is consistent with the *WLS* model but unlike the *FLFPR* model. These variables operate directly on participation rates but not on income earned or overall *WLS*.

       Also no longer statistically significant were the religious dummy variables measuring minority Christian Orthodox and minority Evangelical populations. Finally, the female percentage of the population was linearly related to the female/male earnings ratio, instead of non linear as in the case for *FLFPR* and *WLS*.

Discussion of Findings and Conclusion

       It is particularly interesting to speculate about why *fertility rate* is not statistically significant in two of the three models used in this study. This may be because some of the explanatory variables, such as mean age of marriage and

education, are also, in part, measuring the same thing; women are less likely to enter the workforce if they marry young and/or have little education. Although these variables were significant, collinearity between these variables may contribute to a lower significance level than expected. *Fertility rate* appears to be positively related to *WLS* and, therefore, female GDP contributions. This seems counterintuitive but may be because, as women have more children, the family needs more income.

After careful analysis, I found that explanatory variables measuring cultural differences were the most significant independent variables included in the study. Demographic/geographic indicators are still important, but according to this research, culture plays a larger part in determining the social and economic opportunities for women.

While the gender wage gap and *FLFPR* tell important stories on their own, I was particularly interested in seeing the combined effects of the variations in these variables. It turns out that there is little difference in the significance of explanatory variables when *FLFPR* and female/male income are studied apart or when combined to form *WLS*. This is good news for countries interested in creating more equitable employment opportunities. Any efforts they make may have an impact on both wage discrimination and levels of female labor force participation.

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A Contradictory Constitution: Forgotten Hypocrisies in the Blueprint of Democracy

Joseph Knitt, author
Dr. Thomas Rowland, History, faculty adviser

Joseph Knitt is a recent graduate (December 2007) of UW Oshkosh with a B.A. in English and history. He and his wife (a 2005 graduate of the University of Western Ontario) are currently establishing careers in publishing.

Dr. Thomas Rowland is an adjunct faculty member of the history department at UW Oshkosh. He is the author of *In the Shadows of Grant and Sherman: George B. McClellan and Civil War History* (1999).

Abstract

The following essay investigates the contradictions of the modern concepts linked to the U.S. Constitution and the actual ideologies of those who wrote it. While it may be viewed as a beacon of modern democracy today, it contains several contradictory and outright racist portions pertaining to Blacks. Although those contradictions and racist laws have been rectified, it is important that we remember they are still in there. If we cannot learn from the mistakes of those before us, we will more than likely make those same mistakes again.

"All men are created equal," says the Declaration of Independence of the United States. The phrase was one of the guiding principles of the rebellion against Great Britain. It is a part of the U.S. Constitution, a document that is looked at today as the model of modern democracy. Unfortunately, people have forgotten that the phrase was contradictory at its inception, along with most of the ideals behind the Revolutionary War. While the Americans were fighting against the tyranny and enslavement of King George III, they themselves were hypocritically partaking in the practice of holding and trading other human beings as slaves. Even after eliminating the control the British had over them, those who wrote the U.S. Constitution failed to give their slaves the same freedoms they had fought for. Upon investigation, it is easy to see these contradictions now, but at the time most of the nation's founding fathers did not see the contradictions as such hypocrisy.

In his 1775 pamphlet *African Slavery in America,* Thomas Paine asked, "With what consistency, or decency they complain so loudly of attempts to enslave them, while they hold so many hundred thousands in slavery; and annually enslave many thousands more, without any pretense of authority, or claim upon them?" (2005, p. 8). It would appear that, only a year before Paine inspired a nation to revolt with *Common Sense*, no one was listening to him discuss the contradictions in their quest for liberty (not to mention his proclaimed disgust at the institution of slavery itself). Why did the architects of the nation fail to include Blacks in their assessment of the individual rights of every man? While arguments can be made that anti-slavery northern states left the issue alone in order to keep the southern states appeased and remaining in

the newly formed union, one underlying theme remains a more plausible (if less acceptable) reason—racism. It must be noted that there is a distinct difference between anti-slavery individuals and abolitionists. Abolitionists took action to eliminate the institution of slavery, whereas those who were considered anti-slavery simply did not take part in the institution and wanted to keep it confined to the South—abolitionists had moral concerns; anti-slavery individuals did not. Lynn Montross (discussing American's individuality from other Englishmen circa 1775) says, "Prominent among these traits was a ruthlessness of purpose which had not hesitated at the extermination of one 'inferior' race and the enslavement of another" (1950, p. 90). It is apparent that Montross is referring to Native Americans and Blacks respectively. So, it would appear that one of the reasons behind the Constitutional contradictions was racism.

Christopher Collier and James Collier claim that "the major division in the country was between North and South. Indeed, in 1787 these two great sections of the country were already very different from each other in attitudes, life-styles, and economics" (1986, p. 137). Approximately 80 years later, similar observations were made on the eve of the Civil War. However, the majority of those with racist tendencies were never restricted to the South but spread evenly across all the colonies. The Colliers continue, stating, "Northerners in general disliked slavery, but not always for humanitarian reasons...slavery was no doubt immoral and reprehensible, but free or slave, Africans were not welcome, and the ultimate objective of most Northerners was to purge society of their presence altogether" (p. 141). It may difficult to comprehend, but while the men most would consider enlightened for establishing the United States made great progress toward the advancement of democracy, they remained barbaric in their ideas of human equality (or lack thereof). The Colliers provide another eye-opening example of alternative reasons for opposing slavery: "Virginians generally opposed the slave trade, in part because they felt it degraded master as well as servant, but also because the ending of the slave importation would increase the value of Virginia's surplus slaves" (p. 177). This suggests that the Virginians were opposed to slavery for economic—not moral—reasons and could have been considered to have had racist tendencies.

While racism may have been one of the factors in early American contradictions, not all of the nation's founding fathers were so negative toward Blacks. For example, Continental Congressman Richard Smith says in his diary that on Tuesday, September 26, 1775, "E Rutledge moved that the Gen. [Washington] shall discharge all the Negroes as well Slaves as Freemen in his Army" (Burnett, Vol. I, 1963, p. 207). The members of the Continental Congress thought enough of Black slaves to reward them (although not actively recruit them) for their service in the war against Britain. However, this could have also been an attempt to counter the British. The Redcoats promised freedom to American slaves who fought with them during the war. Regardless, Rutledge's motion shows compassion for what some of the delegates believed to be an inferior race of beings.

Another example of this realization of Black humanity comes from George Washington. Carol Berkin states, "Although he had not made the abolition of slavery one of his general causes, he did emancipate all his slaves when he died" (2002, p. 247). Maybe he believed that his efforts would be in vain. Or maybe he simply could not bring himself to go against a lifetime as a Virginia slaveholder. Whatever

the reason, in the end Washington's conscience and morality seemed to have won (although his widow Martha would then have to deal with the fear of being the subject of the recently freed slaves' vengeance toward their former masters). The key point here is that perhaps racism was not the only factor in the contradictions. These two examples show that perception of the status of Blacks was not simplistic.

Another member of the Constitutional Convention, Alexander Hamilton, also had anti-slavery ideologies. Not only did he oppose the act, but he also made it known that he did not believe in the inferiority of Blacks. In his Gettysburg Address, Abraham Lincoln claimed that Hamilton was one of the "most noted antislavery men" during the construction of the American republic (Chan, 2004, p. 207). Notably, Hamilton did not share the common prejudice of Southerners concerning Negroes, which is all the more extraordinary given his upbringing on Nevis where a White Plantation aristocracy likewise relied on Black slaves for its way of life. "He did not even 'hazard' a mere 'supposition' of a natural inferiority of Negroes," claims Michael Chan (p. 217). This would suggest that Hamilton was unbiased about one race's superiority over another. Even though Hamilton was born in the Caribbean and would not have automatically adopted the Southern ideal, the sugar plantations of the islands were very similar to the tobacco plantations in the Southern colonies. As Hamilton led the charge for a new Constitution to replace the Articles of Confederation, he "was steadfastly committed to the eventual abolition of slavery, and was certainly not so complacent as to leave his commitment to the mere hope that slavery was on a path to ultimate extinction" (p. 208). However, it seemed Hamilton would eliminate slavery indirectly as "his program to make America a commercial rather than an agrarian society...would both undermine slavery and provide the best viable economic alternative to it" (p. 221). According to Hamilton's theory, industrialization would have likely brought about the downfall of slavery. If machines performed more work for less money than slaves and the number of merchants (requiring no slaves) grew, then the slaves would be obsolete. However, we will never know because the 13th Amendment to the Constitution abolished slavery before it had a chance to fade away. The point is that Hamilton was another early American leader in opposition of slavery, further complicating the dilemma of what to do about it in the infant nation.

Hamilton was a verbally strong opponent of slavery, but he was not an abolitionist. His view of the immorality of slavery often took a back seat to his belief in an individual's right to property. This logic worked because slaves had long been regarded as property rather than people. It seemed only fair to him that, if slaves were to be emancipated, then their masters should be compensated. Chan noted, however, "if push came to shove...Hamilton would have favored emancipation without full compensation if full compensation was impracticable" (2004, p. 215-216). Again we see how complex the issue of slavery and the perception of Blacks were at the time.

If Hamilton is an example of an exception to the racist rule, then Thomas Jefferson (author of the Declaration of Independence) is perhaps the most notable example of the contradictions in early American ideals. Hamilton's view of an American industrial power clashed with Jefferson's view of virtuous yeoman farmers (Chernow, 2004, p. 73). More important to this examination, though, are their differences with respect to slavery. Upon initial inspection, Jefferson would appear to be in line with Hamilton. In his letters of grievances he sent to Parliament following the

Stamp and Declaratory Acts (circa 1765-66), he stated:

> Jefferson argued in his third claim that His Majesty likewise has failed to fulfill his duties toward America. The British Constitution has given to the king the power to veto a bill that has been passed by the "two branches of the legislature." Yet he has refused to exercise this right in British America. This was particularly evident with respect to the controversial subject of domestic slavery. It was Britain, asserted Jefferson, that introduced slaves in the colonies against the wishes of many British Americans. Yet whenever the colonies initiated steps "to excluded all further importations" of slaves "from Africa," his Majesty's "negative" defeated these proposals to eliminate an "infamous practice" that is an affront to the basic "rights of human nature." (Golden & Golden, 2002, p. 277)

What this appears to say is that the colonists never wanted slavery in the first place. Even before he laid blame on the British for slavery, Jefferson made public strides against it. As a member of the House of Burgesses in 1769, he convinced fellow member Colonel Richard Bland to propose a motion that would make "emancipation a workable option for slave-owners," which he quickly seconded. The motion, however, was defeated, and while Jefferson's actions were dismissed as "youthful indiscretion," Bland was severely reprimanded and treated with disdain (Golden & Golden, 2002, p. 418).

Jefferson made another attempt to curb slavery in his draft of the Virginia Constitution in 1776. In it, he proposed that "'No person hereafter coming into this country' would be held in slavery 'under any pretext whatever'" (Mayer, 1994, p. 57). However, Jefferson's proposal would again be defeated. Despite these political defeats, Jefferson apparently had continuous notions of ridding the United States of slavery. In Query XVIII of his *Notes on the State of Virginia* from 1785, Jefferson made it clear that he wanted to slowly rid his home state of slavery, "an institution he considered to be an unconscionable moral evil" (Golden & Golden, 2002, p. 324).

Of course, these facts show that Jefferson was similar to Hamilton in his views about slavery, but they begin to differ drastically in the realm of race. James Golden and Alan Golden point out that "in spite of these pronouncements, [Jefferson], unlike George Washington and John Randolph, felt motivated to use his administrative power to free only a handful of his slaves" (2002, p. 433). Granted, Washington freed his slaves posthumously, but he freed them nonetheless. Jefferson clearly contradicted himself in his words and actions. Even in *Notes*, Jefferson makes several racist comments. In Query XIV, Jefferson claims "that his experience as a Southerner and as a plantation owner gave him firsthand knowledge of the physical, moral, and mental characteristics of Blacks, [and] he chose to compare these traits with those of Whites. In doing so, he concluded that in most respects Blacks were inferior to Whites" (p. 421). Jefferson also claims that, "the amalgamation of Whites with Blacks produces a degradation to which no lover of his country, no lover of excellence in the human character, can innocently consent" (Halliday, 2001, p. 153). His displeasure toward mulattos is clearly on display here.

Again in *Notes* (Query XIV), Jefferson proposes that in order to abolish slavery, young Black men and women would be raised, educated until age 18 for

women and age 21 for men, and colonized, all at the public's expense (Golden & Golden, 2002, p. 423). At first glance, a proper upbringing would seem like a compassionate thing to do for someone so inferior, but E. M. Halliday makes a disturbing revelation: "It takes a moment to realize that the great champion of human liberty is talking about a program of forced training and deportation designed to ultimately rid America of its black population altogether" (2001, p. 152). It would seem then that Jefferson had no love for Blacks. Halliday does point out, though, that Jefferson's motives for the removal of all Blacks from America may not have been entirely racial. It is possible that Jefferson realized the great tensions between Blacks and Whites and the potential violence and hatred between them if Blacks were to be emancipated. Rather than have the country endure a civil war, Jefferson's proposal would avoid conflict by separating the two sides before any hostilities could begin (p. 153). Again we see how complicated racial situations were in the young republic.

These contradictions invite numerous questions. How can someone who supposedly fought for the freedoms of mankind hold such racist beliefs? Adding to the contradictions, Annette Gordon-Reed asks, "How could a man who wrote such things engage in a sexual liaison with a black person?" (1997, p. 134). Jefferson's relationship with his slave Sally Hemings (a relationship that produced children) would contribute not only to his hypocrisy, but it would invite a bit of controversy as well. Perhaps some of the contradictions can be explained by suggesting that Jefferson was not suited for the life of a plantation owner. According to Halliday, it is possible that Jefferson might have been a successful lawyer if not for his involvement with, and eventual marriage to, Martha Wayles. Jefferson had just begun to practice law and was apparently skilled at it. However, when he fell in love with Wayles, he must have come to the conclusion that a planter's daughter would expect to continue living on a plantation. Jefferson therefore claimed a plantation and 50 slaves from his father and strove to give Wayles what she expected (Halliday, 2001, p. 142).

It is also worth noting that Jefferson was both a gracious and a cruel master. His slaves often received generous rewards (such as new clothes) for their hard work, but it was also not uncommon for them to receive harsh punishments (including excessive floggings) for their insolence. Whether Jefferson himself instituted these punishments is irrelevant as he would have still given the orders to do so (Halliday, 2001, p. 144). This double-sided treatment provides another example of contradiction from Jefferson.

The racial remarks in his *Notes* were written before Sally Hemings moved to Jefferson's Paris mansion when he served as the U.S. Ambassador to France in 1787 (Halliday, 2001, p. 158). Therefore, his personal redemption, if you will, was probably left in his private life. As Jay Fliegelman points out, Jefferson's *Autobiography* at the age of 77 was a recollection of only public affairs, leaving his private life private (1993, p. 121). Even today, most Americans know little about his private life. If Jefferson experienced a crisis of conscience or even just a change of heart, we may never know. If Jefferson was adamant about eliminating slavery, though, then he did not do enough to abolish it (serving as ambassador to France cannot be viewed as an excuse). His inability to accomplish anything in the matter "left to future generations the difficult problem that he once likened to holding 'the wolf by the ears'...the greatest failure of both his private and public life" (Mayer, 1994, p. 326). Jefferson knowingly left the problem of slavery to be resolved by individuals long after his lifetime.

Contrary to popular belief, Jefferson was not present at the Constitutional Convention. Those who were there, however, agreed with Jefferson and wanted to limit (if not abolish) slavery but did not do enough to achieve that goal either. A combination of lack of effort, postponements, and alliances between northern and southern states hindered the elimination of slavery—which arguably brought about the greatest travesty the United States has witnessed, the Civil War. Chan points out that there was "widespread lack of concern over the moral challenge of Negro slavery" (2004, p. 208). Obviously, if there was sufficient concern about the matter, then it would have been at least limited. Instead, it was continually used as a bargaining chip by the South. In addition, Northerners more or less dismissed slavery as unimportant in order to complete the Constitution (Collier & Collier, 1986, p. 178). The greater good of establishing the nation and finishing the Constitution outweighed any potential negatives that would be attached to slavery. For example, in 1774 John Adams said, "*Mr. Henry*...Slaves are to be thrown out of the question" (Burnett, *Vol. VIII*, 1963, p. 14). It appears that Adams held a mind-set similar to the one previously mentioned.

Montross adds, "Congress wisely decided that Americans had better not venture out of their glass houses to throw stones at a monarch whose responsibility for slavery was somewhat less than their own" (1950, p. 156). Montross suggests that Jefferson's accusations about the British introduction of slavery were not entirely warranted. So even if northern abolitionists wanted to push their cause, their challenge was great because the majority of delegates had deemed the issue unimportant for more than 10 years at the time. This would explain why there are so few records of actual attempts to limit slavery. It also explains why there are not more examples such as Rufus King of Massachusetts, who wrote in a letter to Timothy Pickering, "I likewise inclose you the report of a committee on a motion for the exclusion of slavery from the new states. Your ideas on this unjustifiable practice, are so just that it would be impossible to differ from them" (Burnett, *Vol. VIII*, 1963, p. 94). King would be in the minority. As mentioned before, not many examples of anti-slavery or abolitionist correspondence can be found today.

A more complete explanation for the lack of action is presented by Christopher Collier and James Collier: "Northerners at the Convention were so strongly committed to union that it was easy for them to believe that slavery would shortly disappear" (1986, p. 142). "The Colliers further stated, Roger Sherman of Connecticut claimed that although he disapproved of the slave trade, the 'public good' did not require its prohibition, and he 'thought it best to leave the matter' as it was, in order not to drive the South out of the union. He added that slavery was dying out anyway and would by degrees disappear" (p. 172). Not only was slavery unimportant to the delegates, but it was also avoided both to appease the southern states and because it seemed to be a faltering practice anyway. The Colliers conclude, "in sum, if the North had pressed for abolition of slavery, there would have been no Constitution, and everybody at the convention knew it" (p. 177). By allowing the issue of slavery to remain a non-issue, the northern states had a better chance of completing their task of establishing a new government for their infant nation. Obviously, then, "the question before the convention was most distinctly not the abolition of slavery...that issue was never seriously discussed, and any suggestion that it might be was quickly squelched by...Georgia and the Carolinas" (Collier, 2003, p. 65). Realistically, though, not

discussing the issue of slavery was like not discussing the proverbial "elephant in the closet"—eventually something would have to give.

Not to be overlooked, though, is the specter of racism. When given the opportunity to relieve the upstart democracy of what could be considered its greatest evil, "the men of the North did not make the fight. They did not because most of them genuinely believed that Blacks were inferior and, even as freed men, could work only at menial labor" (Collier & Collier, 1986, p. 178). It seems, then, that not only did Northerners not care about debating the issue, but they did not even care about the Blacks in the first place.

The North-South alliances from the convention should also be examined. In order to push their respective agendas, northern and southern states formed alliances to make compromises and combat similar big-state and small-state alliances. In fact, "the alliance may also have been based on a sense among the delegates from the Deep South that if they supported the Big Three on issues important to them, Virginia, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania would not attempt to harass the Deep South on an issue crucial to them—slavery" (Collier & Collier, 1986, p. 91). These alliances obviously worked exceptionally well. Southern delegates wooed enough delegates from the "Big Three" to override the concerns of anti-slavery delegates such as Hamilton and Sherman. One of the most infamous compromises of the convention came about because of such alliances—the Three-Fifths Compromise.

In order to have a proportional section of government, the North had to accept southern slaves as part of their population. The debate, though, was over whether slaves were citizens or property. If they were citizens, then they should be free and given the right to interact with their government like anyone else. However, if they were property, then they had as much of a right to be counted for representation as any other of their masters' tools. James Wilson of Pennsylvania proposed the resolution of the debate (Collier & Collier, 1986, p. 143). He claimed that every five slaves would count as three freemen toward a state's proportional representation. The compromise seemed fair to many, but it was not until the formula was also attached to taxation (slaves would be taxed as three-fifths of a person each as well) that the northern states agreed to the Three-Fifths Compromise.

The North believed that the South would grow and eventually overtake the North in population and would then be able to command the country's economy (Collier & Collier, 1986, p. 161). It is possible that, because of the states' differences in opinion of representation, without this compromise the Constitution may never have been ratified. As Collier points out, however, "the deal that saved the convention in this case helped to bring on the Civil War...it has been justly characterized as a 'dirty compromise'" (2003, p. 63). No doubt that leaving the slavery issue unresolved meant that it was only a matter of time before things grew out of control. Ironically, what most consider America's greatest triumph, the Constitution, can also be viewed as the instrument of arguably the country's greatest tragedy, the Civil War.

Finally, looking at the actual Constitution itself reveals that the word *slavery* does not appear until the 13th Amendment. However, the institution is mentioned in passing three times before then. Article One, Section Two states that, "three fifths of all other Persons" would be used in determining a state's representatives and taxes. The phrase, "such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit,"

refers to the taxation and eventual potential to limit slaves in Section Nine of Article One. Article Four, Section Two mentions a "Person held to Service or Labour in one State," when talking about the duty of states to return runaway slaves to their homes. These passages show the reluctance of our initial lawmakers to deal with slavery. It also provides an excellent example of the ability to discuss something without discussing it. As previously mentioned, the issue of slavery was continually brought up during the creation of the Constitution, but it was rarely discussed. Therefore it seems fitting that the actual word *slavery* never appeared in the Constitution until it was abolished by the 13th Amendment.

In conclusion, liberty was not granted to everyone by the Constitution, as the words of the document might have modern readers believe. The authors even went so far as to leave slavery virtually unmentioned in the Constitution and Bill of Rights. Whether it was because of being overshadowed by those who were apathetic toward slavery, compromises with the South, or even underlying racism, the Constitution initially missed a crucial aspect of freedom. Jefferson was right when he claimed that "all men are created equal." Unfortunately, it took nearly 100 years and the bloodiest war in American history to begin the road to racial equality. These things must not be forgotten by those who know only the image of the Constitution and not the actual document.

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Failed Sisterhood: Expectations and Betrayal Between the Women of the Antebellum South

Erica Filidoro, author
Dr. Michelle Kuhl, History, faculty adviser

Erica Filidoro graduated from UW Oshkosh in December 2007 with a degree in history. She is interested in women's history and focused on the relationship between women in the antebellum South for her thesis in Dr. Michelle Kuhl's American Slavery seminar.

Dr. Michelle Kuhl is an assistant professor in the history department at UW Oshkosh. She received her Ph.D. from the State University of New York at Binghamton in 2004. Currently she is writing a book about masculinity and martyrdom in the anti-lynching movement.

Abstract

Mistresses and slave women in the antebellum South lived and often suffered together under an oppressive patriarchy. They all endured a kind of enslavement in a system that reduced all women to the property of White men in some way. Previous historians have argued that this kindled gender solidarity between White and Black women. Others have argued that issues of race, class, privilege, and jealousy prevented the formation of any sense of sisterhood between the two groups of women. However, the issue is more complex than simply discovering whether there was or was not gender solidarity. Although antebellum women did not achieve any real unity, mistress journals and slave narratives reveal that on rare but important occasions they acknowledged the possibility of sisterhood and responded with guilt, betrayal, or anger at their failure to achieve it. These subtler nuances reveal a complicated relationship between mistress and bondswoman under slavery that transcended easy definitions according to race, privilege, or gender.

Black and White women in the antebellum South lived under an oppressive patriarchy. They lived closely related lives as they went about fulfilling their roles as women within the same household. However, instead of being unified by their common experiences under the system of slavery and Southern male power, they were divided. As a rule, factors such as race, class, powerlessness, and privilege were more powerful than any possible feelings of sisterhood as women. Despite their inability to achieve gender solidarity, on rare but important occasions both groups of women acknowledged that there could have been a sisterhood by responding with feelings of betrayal, anger, or guilt at their failure to achieve it. These instances of acknowledging possible unity are just as important to study as the final failure because they reveal a complex relationship between slave women and mistresses under slavery.

Numerous historians have addressed the issue of possible unity among antebellum women. Catherine Clinton in The Plantation Mistress (1982) argued for the power of the similarities of their experiences. In the antebellum South, she

wrote, "white men wielded the power within society, and made all blacks, all slaves, and all women their victims" (p. 221). Clinton contended that because of this shared subjugation, "the bonds of womanhood could and sometimes did cement relationships between owner and owned" (p. 190). According to Clinton, they were united by their shared oppression.

In *Within the Plantation Household* (1988), Elizabeth Fox-Genovese also recognized the entwined experience of mistress and slave but came to a different conclusion. She asked, "sharing the domination of white men—of the master—did slave and slaveholding women share bonds? Participate in a sisterhood?… the simple and inescapable answer is no" (pp. 33-34). Mistresses benefited too much from the system that included a hierarchy according to race and class as well as gender, and slave women knew that mistresses were "handmaidens of the system as a whole" (p. 144). Yet both historians failed to explore the feelings of betrayal and guilt sometimes expressed by antebellum women as a result of their lack of unity.

There were very important parallels in the experiences of Black and White women, which could easily have fostered the expectation of gender solidarity. They both lived in a unique slave society in which all women were the property of White men. Susan Dabney Smedes (1887), the daughter of a large Mississippi slaveholder, remembered, "it was a saying that the mistress of a plantation was the most complete slave on it" (p. 191). When Mary Boykin Chestnut (1981), a member of the Southern and Confederate elite, saw a slave woman on an auction block smiling for bidders, she understood that all women were bought and sold. She felt "sea sick" with recognition and wrote "you know how women sell themselves and are sold in marriage from queens downward, eh?" (p. 15). She knew that both groups of women suffered in a patriarchy in which all women were owned in some way.

Access to knowledge was severely limited for all women as well as all slaves. It was illegal to teach slaves to read, and masters often used a lack of access to knowledge to control their slaves. Mattie Jackson, a slave born in Missouri who published her memoir in 1866, remembered that her master resented her mother's intelligence. Mr. Lewis hated her mother because she wanted to be free and independent but also "for reading the papers and understanding political affairs" (Thompson, 1988, p. 20). Lewis saw her knowledge as a threat to his authority. White women did not enjoy much greater freedom in their search for knowledge. Although elite White women were frequently sent to school, it was not to become independent intellectuals. Letitia Burwell (1895), the daughter of a nineteenth-century slaveholding family in Virginia, recounted that education for White women was only to make them "intelligent companions for cultivated men" (p. 33). No woman in the antebellum slave society had easy access to significant knowledge or information.

In her classic 1966 essay, historian Barbara Welter described how antebellum women were restricted by the expectation that they would fulfill the ideal of true womanhood, which included virtues such as submissiveness, piety (or goodness), and purity (p. 152). Submissiveness was especially important, for it was related to women's roles within slavery in which they were all forced to obey the will of the White man. Letitia Burwell (1895) described the gilded but restrictive nature of the feminine ideal, recalling that women "seemed to be regarded as some rare and costly statue set in a niche to be admired and never taken down" (p. 36). Although at times alluring, the role

of the lady was like that of a prisoner. She was to be delicate, obedient, and sheltered—not independent and free thinking. Her submissive role was vital in reinforcing the authority of the master and the hierarchy of slavery.

In addition, a woman's piety and goodness were essential in supporting the system of slavery. As Fox-Genovese observed (1988), the mistress was the "feminine face of paternalism that endowed ownership…with whatever humanity it could muster" (p. 132). She served as a defense of slavery as well as the one to whom slaves should go to plead their cases. This role engendered in slaves hopes of compassion from the mistress and could easily stimulate in female slaves further hopes of gender solidarity from kindly fellow women.

For Black and White antebellum women, their primary roles were as mothers and wives. They were both required to reproduce, either heirs or more slaves (Clinton, 1982, p. 206). Mary Boykin Chestnut (1981) frequently expressed in her journal her fear that she was a failure because she was childless. She knew she was, in a way, disappointing her entire society. For slave women, motherhood was also inextricably tied to the profit of the master (White, 1985, p. 110). Fanny Kemble (1863), an English actress who married an antebellum Georgia slaveholder, saw that the slave women understood this. She observed that they:

> have all of them a most distinct and perfect knowledge of their
> value to their owners as property; and a woman thinks, and not
> much amiss, that the more frequently she adds to the number of her
> master's live stock by bringing new slaves into the world, the more
> claims she will have upon his consideration and goodwill. (p. 29)

As mothers, women fulfilled their roles within the slave society. For slave women, however, their roles as mothers within slavery contradicted their own roles as mothers within the family unit, when their families were sold apart or they found themselves unable to protect their children. This created a huge conflict for slave women as their prescribed roles within slavery clashed with their roles within the family. White women did not experience this conflict because their roles as wives and mothers coincided with their roles as women supporting the masters of the slave system.

Both Black and White women suffered as wives from the sexual exploitation of slave women. The master, in abusing his female property, violated the marriages of both women and disallowed Black women from attaining the virtue of purity essential for true womanhood. According to Barbara Welter (1966), without purity a woman was considered "no woman at all, but a member of some lower order" (p. 154). The sexual exploitation of slave women was painful for White wives as well. Herself the wife of a South Carolina senator, Mary Chestnut (1981) observed that the master who was ruining slave marriages in the quarters left at home "his wife and daughters [who] in the might of their purity and innocence are supposed never to dream of what is as plain before their eyes as the sunlight, and they play their parts of unsuspecting angels to the letter" (p. 169). Both women suffered at the hands of the master, who was required to respect neither.

However, the White woman, in her innocence and suffering, was fulfilling her gender role. The master that the mistress was required to obey was her own family member. Mary Chestnut (1981) and her group of friends could be brutally honest about slaveholding men and the impact the sexual exploitation of slave women had

on mistresses, explaining that "Mrs. Stowe [mistress] did not hit the sorest spot. She [made] Legree a bachelor" (p. 168). They were quick to qualify any criticism, however. They admitted that although they could be critical of their men, they "are soft enough with them when they are present" (p. 170). These were their men, and good women were expected to gently forgive their faults.

For mistresses, their roles as women were, as Fox-Genovese (1988) pointed out, "natural extensions of their personal relationships as wives, mothers and daughters" (p. 192). In fact, if a woman was not able to restrain her male relatives and consequently suffered by their actions, that too was part of her expected role and the good she did. As Welter (1966) noted, she would ensure that "the world would be reclaimed by God through her suffering" (p. 152). White women's roles as women coincided with their roles within a slave society, forced them to be quiet in their suffering, and ensured that they would identify with their men as good and dutiful wives and forgiving mothers rather than break with the system to identify with Black women as sisters.

To make the prospects of sisterhood even more remote, White women had a weak sense of gender solidarity among themselves. They were often alone and isolated from friends and family on large rural plantations while their husbands traveled attending to business. Slaves lived within large slave communities with friends and family. Often, on plantations that had large slave populations and an absentee master, the mistress was much more isolated than her slave counterpart (Fox-Genovese, 1988, p. 39). White women did not form a strong sense of group identity with other White women and therefore had difficulty including slave women in a sisterhood they barely experienced themselves.

In addition, gender roles dictating White women's work lives led to a weak sense of agency. Their work reinforced their feelings of subjugation and unimportance. Having slaves meant that ladies did not have to do domestic chores or work the land. While many, such as Clinton (1982), have tried to emphasize how hard mistresses worked, more often in their diaries and journals one finds lists of parties attended and a preoccupation with social calls and dresses worn. They felt what they did was inconsequential. Mary Boykin Chestnut (1981) admitted, "we know of our insignificance" (p. 142). Their principal source of power was through their men, not themselves. Missouri slave Mattie Jackson remembered how her mistress decided to punish her for celebrating the Union victory at New Orleans (Thompson, 1988). In a rage "she went immediately and selected a switch. She placed it in the corner of the room to await the return of her husband at night for him to whip me" (p. 15). The mistress could not act on her own; all of her power lay in her relationship with her husband.

On top of feelings of weak agency, it was difficult for mistresses to challenge the authority of a husband who owned other human beings and a system that, if challenged, could endanger them. As Fox-Genovese (1988) observed, when church and law preached obedience of slaves to their master and when a man was allowed to kill his slaves, it was much harder for a woman to disobey him because he had extraordinary power in their society. Eliza Andrews (1908), a member of the antebellum Georgia slaveholding elite, recalled that slavery "was according to the Bible, and to question it was impious and savored of 'infidelity'" (p. 13). She equated

challenging slavery with challenging the church and her husband. Mary Chestnut (1981) saw that a woman who questioned her subordinate position in society was "a dangerous character…Suppose the women and children secede?" (p. 181). Although half joking, Chestnut here illuminated an important part of the relationship between mistress and slave. If the women and children rebelled against the slave system, they would be questioning the authority upon which the entire system depended, the total and complete authority of the master. They were aware that if they withdrew their support and the system fell, they could also be victims of violent consequences. White women could not lightly challenge the system by forming gender alliances that defied other important social structures and relationships.

Repeatedly, in this slave society, mistresses also chose the great privilege they enjoyed as slave owners over the possible benefits of sisterhood. They were the elites in an elitist society. Eliza Andrews (1908) described the slave-owning class of the antebellum South as "intensely 'class conscious'" (p. 2). Letitia Burwell (1895) remembered how she and her sister visited the slave cabins of their antebellum Virginia plantation "on which occasions no young princesses could have received from admiring subjects more adulation. This made us happy as queens" (pp. 2-3). She also wrote about the proper conduct of White women, describing how "model women… managed their household affairs admirably, and were uniformly kind to, but never familiar with, their servants" (p. 34). In their world, it was improper to bridge the large gulf of class and privilege from which they benefited immensely.

White women, maybe most importantly, were too blinded by race to see slave women as potential allies. Harriet Jacobs, a slave born in 1813 in North Carolina (2001), saw that "it had never occurred to Mrs. Flint [her mistress] that slaves could have any feelings" (p. 891). Letitia Burwell (1895) felt it was literally her race's duty, given to them by God, to elevate the savage slaves to a state of civilization. Burwell commended what she saw as her ancestors' good deeds:

> what courage, what patience, what perseverance, what long suf-
> fering, what Christian forbearance, must it have cost our great-
> grandmothers to civilize, Christianize, and elevate the naked savage
> Africans to the condition of good cooks and respectable maids!…. If
> in heaven there be one seat higher than another, it must be reserved
> for those true Southern matrons, who performed conscientiously
> their part assigned them by God—civilizing and instructing this race.
> (pp. 44-45)

She could not see that slaves would feel anything but gratitude for the generosity of slave owners. Georgia mistress Eliza Andrews (1908) observed, "It did seem a pity to break up a great nation about a parcel of African savages" (p. 220). It was a huge leap for mistresses blinded by prejudice to see "savages" as fellow women, much less as potential allies.

Both Clinton (1982) and Fox-Genovese (1988) posited that mistresses often took their anger out on slaves because they were helpless to confront the patriarchy that oppressed them. In some ways, their double victimization with slave women drove a larger wedge between the two groups as opposed to uniting them, as "Southern white women were powerless to right the wrongs done them…some did strike back but not always at Southern patriarchs, but usually at their unwitting and powerless rivals, slave

women" (Fox-Genovese, 1988, p. 41). Harriet Jacobs (2001) chronicled the impact of masters' infidelity, explaining that "even the little child, who is accustomed to wait on her mistress and her children, will learn before she is twelve years old, why it is that her mistress hates such and such a one among the slaves" (p. 774). In these cases, the intimacy of experience actually served to crush any sense of gender solidarity.

   Slave women, on the other hand, had a much stronger sense of gender solidarity. In the fields, women were often separated into all-female gangs or groups. During the time she spent on her husband's Georgia plantation, Fanny Kemble (1863) remarked upon the way the task system on their plantation was "graduated according to sex" (p. 14). She even noted the presence of gangs of pregnant women (p. 39). In the kitchen or at the creek where they washed their clothes, Black women could create a sense of space in which they were powerful and proud, where men as well as White women were not allowed and, therefore, increase their sense of agency and self-respect (White, 1985). According to historian Deborah Grey White (1985), "rather than being diminished, their sense of womanhood was probably enhanced, and their bonds with one another made stronger" (p. 12). For Black women, there was a sisterhood.

   The normative gender ideal of the fragile, delicate woman did not apply to bondswomen and therefore increased their sense of agency. Separated from their husbands and children in their roles as wives and mothers, Black women were made to do men's work in the fields and were frequently sexually violated, therefore denying them the possibility of chastity (Fox-Genovese, 1988). In response, they formed their own gender ideal: the strong independent woman (White, 1985). Old Elizabeth, a slave born in antebellum Maryland, remembered bracing herself to "gird up my loins now like a man" (Andrews ed., 1988, p. 9). When Sojourner Truth (2001), a Northern slave of the early republic and antebellum periods, challenged her mistress, she felt amazed as she was flooded with power: "Why, I felt so *tall* within—I felt as if the *power of a nation* was within me!" (p. 599). These powerful Black women were not the Southern ladies who were able to act only through their husbands and fathers. Once forced to break the gender stereotype of delicate women, slave women found a new kind of strength.

   This deviation from the gender norm served slave women well; while mistresses were suffering in silence for the good of their families, slave women found ways to control their day-to-day lives. Harriet Jacobs (2001) noted that although her master "had power and law on his side; I had a determined will. There is might in each" (p. 831). Mattie Jackson got into a fight with her mistress, who "flew into a rage and told him [the master/husband] I was saucy, and to strike me" (Thompson, 1988, p. 15). The master beat her badly until her mother came into the room, at which point he stopped because "he was aware my mother could usually defend herself against any one man, and both of us would overpower him" (p. 16). The mistress had to act through her husband. Mattie and her mother did not need a man. They were strong women— even stronger together.

   Possibly because slave women were forced to adopt new gender ideals and sources of feminine power, they looked not to their husbands or fathers but rather to other women for solidarity. In the case of Jackson and her mother, this approach was successful, but when slaves looked to the mistress for help, they did not always find the source of power they were looking for. Slave women and men frequently approached

Fanny Kemble (1863) with requests for help on her husband's plantation. However, even in her prescribed role as a woman who might help make slavery humane, she felt the limitations placed on her. She felt powerless to help and reported, "I am anxious to spare both myself and them the pain of vain appeals to me for redress and help, which alas! it is too often utterly out of my power to give them" (p. 25). After all, Kemble was not the master of the plantation and felt her resulting lack of power. Had she been able to respond to the needs of slave women, Kemble's actions could have led to a sense of gender solidarity. However, because she had no independent agency in the plantation patriarchy, she could not respond when slave women turned to her, a fellow woman, for help.

North Carolina slave Harriet Jacobs (2001) looked to White women not only for compassion but also for actual sisterhood in the face of slavery. She addressed her slave narrative to free women, pleading, "rise up, ye women that are at ease!...Give ear unto my speech" (p. 743). She later remembered the approach of New Year's day, when slave families were most often sold apart, and appealed to White women: "Oh, you happy free woman, contrast your New Year's day with that of the poor bond-woman!" (p. 761). The White mother should understand the slave woman's plight for although the slave woman "may be an ignorant creature, degraded by the system that has brutalized her from childhood…she has a mother's instincts and is capable of feeling a mother's agonies" (p. 761). Jacobs recognized the possibility of gender solidarity and called on White women to recognize slave women as sisters, fellow women, and fellow mothers.

When Harriet Jacobs' master, Dr. Flint, pursued a sexual relationship with her, Jacobs felt sorry for his wife (2001). She identified her mistress as a sister and saw clearly their mutual suffering. Causing Jacobs confusion and hurt, Mrs. Flint responded with hatred instead of sympathy. Jacobs could not understand why, especially given the fact that she "had far more pity for her [Mrs. Flint] than he had, whose duty it was to make her life happy" (pp. 777-778). Jacobs felt their shared suffering at the hands of the same man should have united them, should have strengthened their bond. Instead Mrs. Flint turned her anger on Jacobs.

Jacobs, revealing her expectation of unity, felt deeply betrayed by this lack of compassion between women. She lamented, "the mistress, who ought to protect the helpless victim, has no other feelings toward her but those of jealousy and rage" (2001, p. 773). She saw that White women could have and should have seen Black women as sisters who deserved their help and protection. It caused her great pain when her childhood mistress, whom she loved like a mother and who was a foster sister to her own mother, died but did not free Jacobs in her will. The mistress had promised her "dying mother that her children should never suffer for any thing; and when I remembered that, and recalled her many proofs of attachment to me, I could not help saving some hopes that she had left me free" (p. 754). Jacobs was devastated when she found out that her mistress had not freed her. Her hopes of freedom were disappointed, and she felt a profound sense of betrayal. Jacobs revealed the deep personal hurt she experienced, admitting, "I would give much to blot out from my memory that one great wrong" (p. 754). What she wished to forget more than anything was not the period of being harassed by Dr. Flint or the seven years she spent almost immobile in hiding to free her children; it was the betrayal by her once beloved mistress and fellow woman.

Slave women also demonstrated their feelings of betrayal and revealed their expectations of at least compassion if not gender solidarity through the profound anger they reserved for cruel mistresses who abused female slaves. It was harder to accept abuse or cruelty at the hands of another woman. Missouri slave Mattie Jackson felt special hatred for the pitiless mistress who caused the death of her little brother (Thompson, 1988, p. 12). The White woman made her mother keep the young boy in a box because otherwise he would take up too much of his mother's time. Eventually, on the morning he died, "it made no impression on my mistress until she came into the kitchen and saw his life fast ebbing away, then she put on a sad countenance for fear of being exposed, and told my mother to take the child to her room, where he only lived one hour" (p. 12). The callousness of the mistress shocked Jackson. She further described how the mistress would whip one little girl every night to teach her to wake up early to tend to the mistress' own children (p. 10). Jackson described the master as "severe" but complained more bitterly that with the mistress, "it appeared impossible to please her" (p. 10). She made a point of noting that the mistress was crueler than the master, all the more brutal because she was a woman, a fellow mother.

New York slave Sojourner Truth (2001) told the story of a young woman and mother, "of fine appearance, and high standing in society, the pride of her husband, and the mother of an infant daughter," who savagely beat her slave Tabby to death (p. 630). Truth reported that it "caused my blood to stir within me, and my heart to sicken at the thought" (p. 631). Truth was obviously upset by this story because both the perpetrator and the victim were women. It was more disturbing and therefore worthy of retelling in her narrative because the murderess was a young woman and young mother from whom Truth expected gentleness and compassion toward other women—not savage violence.

Harriet Jacobs (2001) moved past pity for Mrs. Flint and toward hatred when she scathingly observed that she "like many southern women, was totally deficient in energy. She had not strength to superintend her household affairs; but her nerves were so strong, that she could sit in her easy chair and see a woman whipped, till the blood trickled from every stroke of the lash" (p. 758). Mrs. Flint was a hypocrite and a traitor as she watched another woman whipped. The woman who had once been a possible sister had betrayed Jacobs and all women, and she hated her as such.

White women also recognized the possibility of sisterhood. Georgia mistress Fanny Kemble (1863) struggled to see slave women as fellow women, guiltily recognizing her failure when she did not. When an old woman asked her to come see "many, many of my offspring," Kemble stopped, suddenly realizing that although she "looked like a crooked ill built figure set up in a field to scare crows, with a face infinitely more like a mere animal than any human countenance I ever beheld," this "creature…*was* a woman" (p. 45). On another occasion, Kemble stopped to caress a slave infant and noted "the caress excited the irrepressible delight of all the women present—poor creatures! who seem to forget that I was a woman, and had children myself, and bore a woman's and a mother's heart towards them and theirs" (p. 20). She saw that, as a rule, White women failed to reach out to Black women as sisters. Elizabeth Lyle Saxon (1905), a suffragist and social reformer born in antebellum Tennessee, even came close to abolitionism through her identification with slaves as women. She complained bitterly of the American woman's position in society and "the

shame of her repression" (p. 14). These feelings led her to admit that "southern in every vein and fiber of being though I was…I saw slavery in its bearing upon my own sex. I saw that it teemed with injustice and shame to all womankind, and I hated it" (p. 14). It was not as an abolitionist that she criticized slavery—but as a woman. Saxon dutifully returned to the South at the outbreak of the Civil War after having lived in the North with her husband for some years. However, for a moment she had seen slave women as sisters and felt the pain of their common suffering in a society that enslaved them both.

Examples like these reveal that, although White and Black women in the antebellum South did not form an effective sisterhood, they occasionally recognized that gender solidarity was possible. Some women, especially slave women, expected at least compassion if not unity. Both mistress and slave responded to the lack of solidarity differently—sometimes with guilt, sometimes with feelings of betrayal or anger. Either way, they revealed a complex relationship as women dealing with issues of race, class, privilege, jealousy, and gender under a harsh patriarchy. In the end, they missed out on what could have been a powerful alliance.

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Prolonging the War for a Permanent Peace: Wisconsin Soldiers and the 1864 Election

Scott Karel, author
Dr. Thomas Rowland, History, faculty adviser

Scott Karel graduated from UW Oshkosh in December 2007 with a degree in history. He began this project in the spring semester of 2007 as a research paper for a class about Lincoln's politics. The class was taught by Professor Siemers.

Dr. Thomas Rowland joined the UW Oshkosh history department as a lecturer in 1998. He has a Ph.D. from The George Washington University. He is the author of *In the Shadows of Grant and Sherman: George B. McClellan and Civil War History* (1999).

Abstract

The main focus of this essay was to find out what the motivations were for Civil War soldiers from Wisconsin in their choice for president in the 1864 election. The decision was a difficult one: they could either stay with the incumbent president or choose George McClellan, the former commander of the Army of the Potomac. McClellan was well-liked by the majority of his men, and through the summer of 1864 it appeared as though the Lincoln administration was not managing the war efficiently. An examination of the soldiers' journals and personal letters indicates that, although many men questioned Lincoln's capability to lead the Union to victory, the soldiers were forced to vote against McClellan after the Democratic Convention adopted a party platform that endorsed peace with the South at any cost.

On August 23, 1864, Abraham Lincoln sat at his desk and drafted a memorandum. After he was done, he sealed it and placed it in his desk, not opening it until after the presidential election in November of that year, when he read it to his staff. He wrote:

> This morning, as for some days past, it seems exceedingly probable
> that the Administration will not be re-elected. Then it will be my
> duty to so co-operate with the President elect, as to save the Union
> between the election and inauguration; as he will have secured his
> election on such ground that he can not possibly save it afterwards.
> (Gienapp, 2002, p. 205)

Lincoln, arguably one of the greatest presidents, doubted his chances at re-election fewer than three months before it was to take place. Yet taking a look at the election results from 1864, one can see that Lincoln won in a landslide. How could such a rapid change take place in fewer than three months?

One important reason was that at the time of Lincoln's memorandum, the war was not going well for the Union. Hundreds of thousands of men had died on both sides, and it looked like there was more blood to be spilled. Lincoln needed every vote he could muster, and everything seemed to hinge on the morale of the army. As of

August 1864, the Federal army was faltering. To make matters worse, the Democratic Party nominated George McClellan, former commander of the Army of the Potomac. McClellan was popular with the men who had served under him, and the Democrats were hoping that by taking the army vote, they could win back the presidency in 1864. The deck was clearly stacked against Lincoln. However, the soldiers' absentee ballots again showed overwhelming support for the commander-in-chief. Why would soldiers fighting in a costly war support a candidate with little military experience?

To figure out why there was such a large turnaround in support from August to November 1864, one must look to the Midwest. Soldiers from the upper Midwest, in particular Wisconsin, lacked the strong abolitionist movement of the Northeast. Only one out of 10 Wisconsin soldiers had strong feelings about seeing slavery end (Nesbit, 1989, p. 253). Many were perhaps fearful that freed Blacks would come north after the war and steal their jobs. Yet none of these issues seemed to concern soldiers as the election drew near.

As the fall presidential contest approached, the soldier's home state played a large role in how he voted. Soldiers from the Northeast were more likely to vote for Lincoln due to the large abolitionist movement found there. Soldiers from the Border States probably wanted to see the war conclude as quickly as possible—since it was being fought on their soil and some people living in these states still practiced slavery. Each of the soldiers in these states more than likely already had his mind made up about which candidate he wanted. This is why I feel it is important to focus on Wisconsin soldiers' thoughts on the election. While many historians have covered Wisconsin's involvement in the Civil War and the election of 1864, studies like Richard Current's *The History of Wisconsin* pay more attention to the state's civilian vote and give only a brief reference to the soldier vote. Little is known about what specifically drove Wisconsin soldiers to choose Lincoln.

The journals they kept in the field and letters they wrote to their friends and family back home indicated what issues mattered most to Wisconsin soldiers. I came to the conclusion that soldiers from Wisconsin were more concerned about how the war was to be fought. They overwhelmingly believed the South needed to be punished for seceding and that no terms of peace should be agreed on unless the Union was restored. The candidate who agreed with this outlook would receive their vote.

The soldiers knew Lincoln's war plans. Until the South was defeated, the war would continue. In order to court the pro-war Democratic voters, Lincoln and the Republicans even went so far as to change the party name to the National Union Party. At this time, the soldiers did not know whom the Democrats would choose for their candidate and what their platform would be. A carefully chosen platform and candidate who focused on peace along with the South's return could steal many soldiers' votes away from Lincoln. By mid-1864, soldiers were not yet convinced that Lincoln was the better man to lead the army. General Sherman had not yet made his famous drive into the heart of the South, and General Grant and the Army of the Potomac were stalled fighting Robert E. Lee in Virginia. The soldiers sensed the importance of the upcoming Democratic Convention in Chicago and were eager to hear its results.

Harrison Churchill was a member in Company G of the 32nd Wisconsin Regiment when he wrote a letter to his brother back home in Oxford, Wisconsin, on August 22, 1864. He was under the command of General William Tecumseh Sherman,

who had recently been put in charge of all the forces in the Western Theater of the war, between the Mississippi River and the Appalachian Mountains. Unlike their Eastern counterparts, soldiers in the West had seen much more military success against the rebel army. Of either of the two theaters of war, the soldiers fighting in the western states were more likely to support Lincoln due to the success and the fact they were far away from East Coast politics. Even those who favored Lincoln still doubted his chances. Churchill wrote:

> The coming election is much talked about and many of course think
> that if Lincoln is reelected that the war will certainly continue, others
> think if someone else could be put in for president that we would
> soon have the matter ended. No one but He who has control over all
> things can tell what would be the effect should Lincoln be reelected
> or not. One thing is certain that if he is elected that the South will
> know what to expect when if someone else were to take his place
> they might entertain the hope that there might be a possibility of their
> yet gaining the day. (Personal communication, 1864)

At this time, the soldiers did not know who the Democratic candidate would be and on what platform he would run. This made the approaching Democratic convention in Chicago a pivotal event for the upcoming election.

Others were equally eager to hear the results from Chicago. A soldier named John Davison wrote to his friend George Fairfield on August 28, 1864, saying: "Tomorrow is the day for the Chicago Convention and I suppose we will soon find out who our enemies in the North are . . . a big victory will give Lincoln the majority of votes in the army but with out I don't believe he can be elected in the army." Lincoln's job seemed to be in jeopardy; many soldiers were eager to hear a new candidate's ideas. Thus, to many Wisconsin soldiers, the entire election pivoted on the outcome of the Democratic Convention in Chicago.

The Democratic Party, however, was coming off a disappointing showing in the congressional and gubernatorial elections of 1863. On a larger scale, they still had to deal with the split between Northern and Southern Democrats, which had cost them the presidential election of 1860. Party leaders agreed that they needed a charismatic, popular leader in order to bring back party unity and have any chance of success in 1864. Democratic Party leader Samuel Cox believed the only person who could fit that role was former General of the Army of the Potomac George McClellan (Sears, 1988, p. 358).

McClellan, the on-again, off-again commander of the Union Army, was already well known for his contempt for President Lincoln and his administration. Despite Lincoln's disapproval of his approach to handling the war, the general was universally beloved by the troops who served under him. This made him a wise choice for a political party that was trying to deflect attention from its radical anti-war contingent. It was also a tactically sound move for trying to corner the critical soldier vote.

Many soldiers in the Eastern Theater of war supported their general and were shocked when Lincoln chose to remove McClellan from command of the Army of the Potomac. Lieutenant Jerry Flint, a River Falls native and a member of Company G of the 4th Wisconsin Infantry, wrote to his cousin Mira Powell on November 22, 1862:

> I am afraid the removal of McClellan will cause another defeat of
> our army. If we are driven back over the Potomac again I'm afraid
> our cause will be lost. The lives of many of our friends will have
> been given up for no gain.

Albert Morse of Grant County gave similar praise of the general on January 25, 1863: "There has never been a General thought so much of by his soldiers as George B. McClellan was by his, & I believe that McClellan can do more to day with the army of the Potomac than any other man."   The men who served under McClellan were more than willing to put their complete trust in him. However, after Lincoln removed him from command of the Army of the Potomac for the second time, the general's political future was in doubt.

After his final dismissal from leading the Army of the Potomac, McClellan attempted to retreat from public life. However, when he went to West Point to dedicate a statue honoring the soldiers killed in the war, his commencement speech thrust him back into the political spotlight. He stated that the rebellion facing the country "cannot be justified upon ethical grounds, and the only alternatives for our choice are its suppression or the destruction of our nationality" (Waugh, 1997, p. 206). McClellan later solidified his stance on the war while expressing his opposition to Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. He stated that an honorable peace was obtainable, but that this administration had lost sight of "the preservation of the Union, its constitution and its laws . . . and that issues have been brought into the foreground which should be entirely secondary, or are wrong or impossible of attainment" (Sears, 1988, p. 366). Although he publicly believed that no man should actively seek the presidency, he also believed that no one should refuse it if the position was presented to him. McClellan made it clear that he had no intention of running on a peace platform, yet in the end he agreed to accept the nomination.

Many Democrats, especially McClellan, claimed that Lincoln's insistence on emancipation unnecessarily prolonged the war. They believed that if the issue would simply be dropped, an honorable peace with the Confederacy could be agreed on much sooner. Since Lincoln decided to use emancipation as a requirement of reunion, many felt that the South would be more likely to prolong the war to keep slavery. Few Wisconsin soldiers were willing to sacrifice any more men just to allow slaves their freedom. Nearly all Wisconsin soldiers serving at this time had little stake in whether slavery continued, unlike the abolitionists and men serving the Union from the border slave states of Kentucky, Missouri, and Maryland. To many soldiers, this was an unnecessary war goal. In contrast to Lincoln, McClellan offered a position of reunion with slavery, and most Wisconsin soldiers would have accepted this offer.

Edwin Kimberly, a Brodhead native and member of the 3rd Wisconsin Band, described in a letter to his parents on August 24, 1864, the restlessness of the soldiers to hear from the Democratic Convention so that a better candidate than Lincoln might be chosen:

> We are anxiously waiting to hear from the Chicago Convention and
> it is the opinion of several in fact many that even the nomination of a
> good ticket. . . will naturally change the feeling both in the North and
> South and. . . . will ensure a speedy and honorable peace. The rebels
> will hear to no terms of peace under our present Administration.

> Should Lincoln be reelected it will undoubtedly prolong the war for
> he will sacrifice the last drop of white blood to save the accursed ne-
> gro. . . We want no such man as this as the head of our government.
> The people, the country deserve a change of administration feeling
> assured that nothing but this will be instrumental in bringing about
> an honorable and speedy peace. I find the army universally against
> Lincoln. . . This awful war must close soon or what will become
> of us as a nation. I am not despondent as regards the saving of our
> country but the country I am confident that it can't be saved in truce,
> and at an awful expense of life and treasure.

Kimberly believed that Lincoln's insistence on emancipation was unnecessarily prolonging the war. If a good Democratic candidate could be nominated, he believed the candidate would undoubtedly win the election and would be able to bring a quick end to the fighting.

However, there was one section of the Democratic Party that both McClellan and his supporters hoped would not be active during the convention. The Copperheads, or Peace-Men, formed a small yet outspoken minority of the Democratic Party. These men were critical of the Lincoln administration, especially its use of the draft. They believed the war was a failure and their first priority was to end the war, even if it meant acknowledging Confederate independence. This stance caused the Wisconsin soldiers who were fighting to view them negatively, since many believed they wanted the war to end quickly to avoid being drafted and having to fight.

Soldiers such as John F. Brobst of the 25th Wisconsin often wrote home about their contempt of the men supporting the Democrats. Brobst wrote on September 6, 1864: "I could shoot a copperhead with as good hart as I could shoot a wolf." Brobst was explaining what he felt would happen if the soldiers were forced to come back to Wisconsin to enforce the draft. He continued, "I would shoot my father if he was one but thank god he is not one of the miseirablest of all God's creatures, a copperhead, a northern traitor." Other descriptions were just as unflattering. R. M. Perry called them "dam good-for-nothings that opposed the government, men who is too dam cowardly to go and fight for the north or south" (September 5, 1864). Clearly this was a political group McClellan and his supporters would have tried to quiet to ensure a victory, but they were probably going to have a presence at the Chicago Convention.

As the Democratic campaign progressed, it was becoming more likely that the candidate chosen in the convention had to please both sides of the party—the War Democrats and the Copperheads. Lincoln was aware of this, noting that the Democrats had the choice of either nominating a peace man on a war platform or a war man on a peace platform (Sears, 1988, p. 368). Since McClellan was a former Union general and favored continuing the war until an honorable peace could be obtained, his selection forced the party either to adopt a peace platform or risk yet another split. This would give them no chance against Lincoln.

The Democratic Convention was initially scheduled to take place on July 4, 1864. However, by mid-June, war-weariness in the North seemed to be at an all-time high. Many in the party thought it foolish to hold the convention and pick a platform so soon when it was possible that a change in the war's progress might cause public opinion to shift in the four months that stood between the convention and the election.

Their pro-war candidate was aware that some in the party hoped that continued military failures would allow them to adopt a stronger peace platform (Sears, 1988, p. 369). Much to the dismay of McClellan, the convention was pushed back to August 29.

By the time the convention started, the Copperheads used the fear of another split to their advantage. This peace wing was led by Clement Vallandigham, who a year earlier had been banished to the Confederacy for publicly denouncing the administration's policies. He traveled back to the states through Canada just in time to attend the Democratic Convention. Vallandigham did not like McClellan as a candidate because of his pro-war stance, and it was his mission to bring the party back to a plank that better suited his personal preferences. Under his leadership, this small peace wing gained significant power in the convention, even allowing Vallandigham to be part of the committee in charge of writing the platform. In this capacity, he created one of the most pivotal positions of either campaign. He inserted a resolution stating that the war up to this point had been a failure and claimed that public welfare demanded that it end as soon as possible. Shocked, McClellan's followers tried to change the strategy to peace only with reunion, but Vallandigham and his supporters in the committee voted it down. He used the Democratic Party's fear of yet another split to quiet most opposition to his peace platform. To further complicate things, the Democrats nominated George H. Pendleton as vice president (Sears, 1988, p. 374). Like Vallandigham, Pendleton was a peace Democrat from Ohio, and his nomination further linked McClellan to the Copperheads despite his personal convictions.

The adopted peace platform put McClellan in a compromised position. He had publicly and privately stated that he would not accept the nomination if it were based on a peace platform. He could have taken a stance and refused the nomination, but decided to refute his party's platform and run on his own principles. In his acceptance speech, he assured the people that he would consider peace with the Confederacy only if they agreed to rejoin the Union (Sears, 1988, pp. 375-376). Unfortunately for McClellan, the mere linking of himself to Pendleton and the Copperheads made every previous claim he made concerning peace irrelevant to the majority of the soldiers. The stigma of peace at any cost was now synonymous with his name, and Wisconsin soldiers believed that this type of peace would be neither honorable nor lasting. This made Lincoln and his coalition Union party a more attractive option.

Soldiers who may have thought of McClellan as pro-Union were quickly changing their minds. For example, Omro's James F. Sawyer was asked when he believed the war would end. He said: ". . . if Mr. Lincoln is elected we will have four years of war and blood shed, and if McClellan is elected we will have a dishonorable and cowardly surrender and so I would prefer Mr. Lincoln after all because surrender does not sound agreeable to my ear" (November 10, 1864). Although Sawyer was not initially inclined to vote for Lincoln, given the options he would be the better candidate. For others, it was difficult to comprehend why McClellan would be a part of such a shameful platform. "I did think once that little Mack was a good Union man," wrote R. M. Perry to his brother on September 20, 1864. "I don't know what is yet but I think if he was, he never would go in that da--copperhead peace snake platform. So I think he can't be much of a man." Soldiers took out their anger on the commander who appeared to abandon them during the fight, although McClellan did not agree with the principle of peace at any cost.

Jerry Flint, who had previously feared that removing McClellan from the command of the Army of the Potomac could lead to defeat, began to change his mind. He wrote to his brother on September 26, 1864:

> The boys talk politics considerable now the "Chicago" Platform is being distributed freely through the camp. McClellan's stock does not run into very high figures but he still has some "bidders." His letter of acceptance is source enough, but the platform, on which he stands, I do not think, will bear him up through the courses. He is a very good man but has fell into some bad company. . . I think I shall vote for Abraham.

Flint's comments again illustrate that for many soldiers, Lincoln was not the first choice for president, but rather that he was the better option.

Even after the convention and the conquering of Atlanta, Charles M. Smith of the 16th Wisconsin regiment remained fearful that McClellan would capture the coveted army vote. He told his father in a letter on September 14, 1864, that "McClellan has a great many friends I find in the army & if the army should decide the matter little McClellan would be elected with an overwhelming majority—for my part I want to see Abe Lincoln run in again." At this time, Smith did not realize how much damage had been done to McClellan's campaign in the eyes of the soldiers.

Homer Levings of the 12th Wisconsin felt that the Democratic platform had clearly drawn a line in the sand. He now realized which candidate would get his support. Levings noted to his parents on September 18, 1864:

> All the talk is about the election and the military campaigns . . . Lincoln and Johnson's election is looked upon with far more confidence than awhile ago. The hellish designs of the Peace Democracy & Copperheads are clearly understood, we know what they intend. The Chicago platform of those men is a very nice thing on the outside. . . McClellan says he will make "the constitution and the laws the rule of his conduct." Yet, he knows that to outstep the limits of the Constitution as Mr. Lincoln is doing, will crush the rebellion forever. He knows this is the only & right way to do it but for the sake of policy, the interest of Democracy, both North & South, that it may raise into power. He pledges himself to make the "Constitution and laws the rule of his conduct." No wonder his supporters are pleased.... The Union on the basis of dishonorable peace, though they do not say so, is far better than that the war should go on till the rebels are made to accept out own terms and the Union thus be preserved. Their platform is only a mask of their real designs.

The thought of a peace that included Southern independence was unimaginable to the men. The soldiers would not allow their years of sacrifice to be made worthless by allowing the South to become an independent nation.

A common theme emerged among the majority of Wisconsin soldiers. They desired a candidate who would make sure the war was fought until the South surrendered. Given the platform adopted at the Chicago Convention, Abraham Lincoln appeared to be the candidate they desired. Strengthening this view was the recent success fighting against the rebel army. The day after McClellan accepted

the Democratic nomination, whose plank stated that the war was a complete failure, General Sherman took Atlanta. Suddenly, it looked like the Federal Army could succeed. Every thrust that Sherman made into the heart of the South, besides weakening Southern resolve, made the Democratic platform seem more outrageous. Soldiers who did the fighting and saw first-hand the success now became offended that any party could create such a platform and that a soldier like McClellan would accept the nomination based on it.

On October 7, 1864, John Davidson wrote another letter to his friend George Fairfield with a more optimistic view of Lincoln's chances to receive the army vote:

> The topic on the Presidential campaign has some what abated since
> the late victories and those who were in favor of giving the South
> their Independence rather than elect a war man are quite silent and
> very few has any doubt in regard to Abe Lincoln being Re-elected.

This new optimism was also found in the thoughts of Edward Levings, the brother of Homer Levings. Shortly after taking part in the fall of Atlanta, Edward wrote back home to River Falls that every victory ". . . while it adds to the discouragement and demoralization of their armies, adds to the discomfort and shame of the 'peace men' at home. This war could not go on much beyond this year, for I feel that our victories and the coming election will give the rebels and 'peace men' such a quietus that they will give up the struggle as a lost game" (September 24, 1864).

The Democratic platform of peace at any cost seemed unnecessarily defeatist now that the Union had the Confederacy on the ropes. This platform did, however, give hope to one group of people. Confederate soldiers now saw the election of McClellan as their only hope to salvage their independence. The Union soldiers soon became aware of this, and many who were facing a difficult decision about voting against their former commander became convinced. This perspective appears in the letters of two former supporters of McClellan. Late in 1862, Jerry Flint feared that the removal of McClellan from command of the Army of the Potomac could lead to a Union defeat. However, on October 11, 1864, he noted to his mother that "all the rebels we capture say that their only hope is the election of McClellan." Albert Morse agreed. On October 13, 1864, he described to his sister Mattie a dialogue between Union and rebel soldiers across the lines:

> Some of our boys Hurrahed for Lincoln & they [rebels] wished him
> in that bad place that the good book tells about but to cap all some of
> them hurrahed for little Mac which I think shows plain enough who
> ought to be our next president.

For many Wisconsin soldiers, picking the right candidate for themselves was not good enough. Numerous soldiers made it their mission to campaign for Lincoln and to change the mind of any man in their camp who planned to vote for McClellan. James Nugent noted while training at Camp Randall: "It is strange how soldiering changes a persons politics. Good McClellan men come here, and in two weeks they are loud for Old Abe" (October 1, 1864). Campaigning did not focus solely on men in the field. R. M. Perry concluded a letter to his brother saying, "Do your best for old Abe in election. Every man who votes against him is a soldier's enemy, so vote for old Abe and Johnson" (November 1, 1864). Others, like James F. Sawyer, made it their mission to talk men out of voting for McClellan. On November 10, 1864, he wrote:

"We had two more copperheads in our Co. but they would not vote for either candidate because I endeavored to show to them their folly in voting for a party so dishonorable and disgraceful." However, not every soldier was convinced that Lincoln was the right candidate.

Those whose minds could not be changed were chastised, especially when it came time to vote in early November. Voting in an election was not as private of a matter as it is today. Men would approach a table and select either a Democratic or Union party card and place it in the ballot box. This method of voting made the men in the company aware of whom their comrades had chosen. Churchill described those loyal to McClellan:

> They are like donkeys among fine noble horses . . . I have often
> wished that such men were obliged to stand side by side with the
> Johnnies, in front of our guns and let them try their hands in the
> business of trying to conquer the North. (Personal communication,
> November 10, 1864)

On November 8, 1864, Edward Levings described McClellan voters with similar degrading remarks:

> Most all of the men who went for McClellan & Pendleton are re-
> cruits, or men who do not know enough to poll an intelligent vote. I
> was clerk of our Co. election and I know who voted the Democratic
> ticket and will vouch that those men actually do not know enough to
> give an intelligent vote. I never saw one of them with a newspaper
> in their hands. One man wanted to vote the Dem ticket, but was so
> ashamed that he would not vote. Another was much ashamed, but
> stung with rage because laughed at by his comrades, did vote for
> the wonderful little Mac. There were just three men of Co. "A" who
> voted for him. I wish I could paint them as they looked . . . Each one
> put in his contemptible ticket and sneaked away like a dog with his
> tail between his legs, not daring to look a man in the face . . . A man
> who votes for McClellan is looked upon by his comrades as an igno-
> ramus or a coward & wants to get out of service & so voted for Mac.

Most men were swollen with pride at how their company had voted. As the election results from the different states began coming in, soldiers were relieved to see that the majority of the country had voted as they had. With the election behind them, the men could focus on finishing the job they had started: defeating the rebel army.

Many wrote home to tell how their company had voted. The 29th Wisconsin's Marcus Wheeler took the opportunity to rub in the election results to members of his family back home who had doubted Lincoln:

> I am proud to say it, —and am ready to avow it from the housetops.
> But the "Little Mackerels" were so much ashamed of their position
> . . . and have no reason to give for voting as they did except Dey had
> fought long enough—and want to have Peace and go home!!! We are
> "Peace men" too but not anxious to give the South Independence ….
> (Personal communication, November 8, 1864).

Although it is unlikely that, if elected, McClellan would have granted the South independence, no one, especially the soldiers, was willing to take a chance. Hartford

native Lloyd Nanscawen, private in the 29th Wisconsin volunteer infantry, said he felt "proud of our Co., for every man had common sense enough to vote for Lincoln ...." He added, "...it does the soldier good to hear the different election returns from the different States, for nearly all have gone right for us, and I feel quite certain that this year will close the war" (November 12, 1864). Even Edwin Kimberly, the band member who in late August had said that the army was universally against Lincoln and wished to see a change, now believed Lincoln was the right choice. On November 11, 1864, he wrote: "We hear very little of election news yet what we do hear is very flattering indeed. Three fourths of the Army are for Lincoln. The Chicago Platform has placed McClellan in obscurity—we would have voted for him had it been for this." The soldiers would have no peace without reunion, which is exactly what the Chicago platform expressed. The men would never vote for anyone who would be associated with such a platform, causing most of them to side with Abraham Lincoln.

          Although the soldier vote was not needed to give Lincoln the majority in Wisconsin, it still remained a close election. Had McClellan been able to run on a platform that mirrored his principles, despite the late military success, the vote would have been much closer. If the absentee soldier vote had been in McClellan's favor by 5,000 votes, it would have allowed him to take the state of Wisconsin. This is because the civilian vote was 65,000 to 61,000 in favor of Lincoln (Klement, 1997, p. 122). Many other states with similar close election results might also have gone for McClellan had his platform been different, quite possibly giving him enough electoral votes to gain the presidency.

          The descriptions of events in the soldiers' journals and letters home offer some of the only remaining glimpses into their minds as they made their way through the difficult period of the Civil War. Like the war itself, the 1864 election was not guaranteed to go any particular way. The common soldier especially had a hard time choosing between the incumbent president and the beloved general. Wisconsin soldiers offer a unique perspective. The common soldier from rural Wisconsin had nothing vested in the practice of slavery. Although many thought it was wrong, they did not care to see it as a condition of reunion. This is why, for many Wisconsin soldiers, Abraham Lincoln was not their first choice as president. Anyone who could offer a better solution would have probably received their vote. Had George McClellan not been forced to adopt a peace at any cost platform, he might have carried the soldier vote. Instead soldiers voted for the candidate who served their number one goal—to keep the war going until the South reunited with the North.

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Robert Venturi and His Contributions to Postmodern Architecture

Douglas Kahl, author
Dr. Stephen Kercher, History, faculty adviser

Douglas Kahl graduated from UW Oshkosh in January 2007 with a degree in history. He studied the works of architect Robert Venturi and the ripples he created in the architectural community during the 1970s. Douglas has always had an avid interest in architecture, and this research allowed him to cultivate that interest even further. He is currently attending Syracuse University, pursuing a graduate degree in architecture.

Dr. Stephen Kercher is associate professor of history at UW Oshkosh. He is the author of *Revel With a Cause: Liberal Satire in Postwar America* (University of Chicago Press, 2006) and the past director of the Northeast Wisconsin Teachers Academy for the Study of American History. He is currently directing the Black Thursday Oral History Project at UW Oshkosh and initiating research into American political and cultural life during the 1970s.

Abstract

This paper examines the major contributions of architect Robert Venturi to the field of Postmodern architecture during the 1970s. Many of Venturi's buildings were small in stature, designed for a specific location and site, and only large when necessary. Designing for a specific site was not traditionally done during the first half of the 20th century. The Modern movement was a stark, plain, and disengaging form of architecture from which Venturi took enormous strides to distance himself. Venturi's interpretations of what Postmodernism should be included intense historical symbolism from the particular region in which he intended to build. For him, a schoolhouse being designed for the state of Georgia ought to be different from a school being designed for Washington state. The cultural history that a community's citizens share varies intensely from city to city, a realization that Venturi worked to address through Postmodernism. Eventually fed up with the generic feel Modernism projected, Venturi took the quote "Less is more" from Mies van der Rohe, a staunch Modernist architect, and mockingly declared that "Less is a bore." Venturi's brand of Postmodern architecture was anything but boring.

Introduction

Robert Venturi always planned to become an architect (Owens, 1986, p. C13). Born in 1925, he was a summa cum laude graduate of Princeton University. In 1950, three years after graduating, he received his Master of Fine Arts, also from Princeton. Venturi eventually went on to work with some of the great architects of the day, including Louis Kahn and Eero Saarinen. Following that, he spent two years as a fellow at the American Academy in Rome before he opened his own firm in Philadelphia and started teaching at the University of Pennsylvania. Venturi had always been a fan of Italian and English architecture (Owens, 1986, p. C13). By the 1960s,

he started to question the "blandness" that began to smother the cities of America, a blandness in architecture known as Modernism (Glancey, 2000, p. 198).

Venturi's Interpretations: Detail, History, and Symbolism

In 1966, Venturi published *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*, an immensely influential book for all who practiced some form of architecture (Glancey, 2000, p. 198). At first, it appeared to bash Modern architecture and everything it stood for. In reality, this was not the intended message; Venturi was merely explaining his argument against Modernism. He was positive there was something better than the cold and austere straight lines of Modernism. Much of the architectural community, especially those in the Modernist camp, did not receive Venturi's argument with enthusiasm. As a result, he was condemned for his radical deviations from Modernism (Hughes, 1979). Here was a man, along with members of his firm, who had very few buildings of his own to showcase, telling the world that the most popular and seemingly successful movement in architecture over the past several hundred years was flawed.

Venturi attempted to untangle what he perceived as flaws in architectural thinking when he coauthored *Learning from Las Vegas* (1977). This book was his self-described brilliant study of the Las Vegas Strip (Louise, 1971, p. B7). Here he acknowledged that, despite the supposed defects within the Strip, such as the sporadic placement of buildings and parking lots, the Strip was here to stay. Las Vegas helped Venturi learn to look at an existing landscape and then go from there, accepting what he was given. The architectural community was appalled by this notion. Many felt that major boulevards across the country, including the Las Vegas Strip, were inherently flawed and had to be completely altered (Cook & Klotz, 1973, p. 248). Venturi was again branded a rebel.

"Naturally," the rebellious Venturi began during an interview, "we were punished by the architectural establishment for being so vulgar. But we used it as a vehicle to learn about symbolism" (Owens, 1986, p. C13). In 1973, seven years after the release of *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*, Venturi freely admitted that he had very few buildings of his own to reference and acknowledged that as a problem to maintaining his credibility (Cook & Klotz, 1973, p. 261). If he was going to try to convince architects and the public of his grand vision for the future, Venturi needed experience to back up his ideas.

Venturi did not write his books to convince anyone of anything; he did not even consider himself to be a good writer (Cook & Klotz, 1973, p. 247). His books were written so he could better understand the world of architecture. Through his research, Venturi discovered that successful architecture did employ symbolism that was native to a particular area. He was referring to a society's vernacular, the common techniques, styles, and traditions that could be used for constructing a building in a specific region (Hoeveler, 1996, p. 93). As a result, he was cited as "the first major American [architect] to give impetus to vernacular styles" through his writings of the 1960s (Giovanni, 1983, p. B3). It is interesting to realize that Venturi was the first to take this stance, a stance that seems only natural in retrospect.

In *Learning from Las Vegas*, Venturi stated that "Many architects find the vernacular of the middle class of America to be so repugnant, distasteful, and

unappealing that they have a difficult time in examining it open-mindedly to discover its true functionality" (1977, p. 153). He previously surmised in *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* that the "desire for a complex architecture, with its attendant contradictions," was fundamentally a reaction to Modernism and the architecture of the 1960s and 1970s (1966, p. 19). He recognized that most people yearn for the use of symbolism within their buildings, a kind of symbolism that they could understand. Venturi believed that middle-class Americans preferred homes "that [were] nostalgic echoes of the past, rather than those dwellings that [were] 'pure' and austere statements of orthodox Modernism" (Carren, 1982, p. 30). While Venturi conceded that his buildings were never thought of as monuments, they were more successful than the Modernist behemoths because everyday people could relate to them in a much more personal way. Simply put, Venturi believed that "good architecture is regional architecture" (Giovanni, 1983, p. B3). He had identified a breach in the acceptance of Modern architecture by the American public and believed his new style, a style that involved tradition and history, was the best way to fill it. Modernism had become "stale and rigid," according to Venturi, and his new style of architecture offered a way out ("American Wins," 1991, sec. 7, p. 4).

To be clear, Venturi had no intention of creating a signature style. Unlike many architects of the 1970s, and even in the following decades, he was not out to make a name for himself. Venturi stated that he and his firm "don't try to do a signature... that can be a real egotistical thing" (Klass, 1992, sec. 7). He explained that "It used to be considered a sign of weakness if your buildings were different, without the architect's personal vocabulary stamped on it" ("American Wins," sec. 7, p. 4). Venturi pushed the envelope in this area, making difference and variety more accepted. His style of architecture worked to provide the best possible building for a given site, offering a type of double coding that mixed traditional symbolism with modern building techniques, all to make the structure more readable to a broader regional audience. Venturi stated that "The main approach of mine, of our firm, is that we have emphasized an architecture which promotes richness over simplicity" (Owens, 1986, p. C13).

Venturi concluded that the simple façades of Modern architecture were not engaging enough. Instead he chose to showcase specific aspects such as colored brick patterns within the walls of his structures. As long as they were appropriate for the project, Venturi was intrepid in his use colors and patterns in his designs (Owens, 1986, p. C13). This love of richness and symbolism in design was apparent in Venturi's Sainsbury Wing addition to London's National Gallery, a work that was greeted with much praise (London National Gallery, 2006). Because of his flexibility in his architectural program, he was selected to design the new addition where he incorporated themes from the existing structure, but the addition was noticeably different. The new design maintained many of the exterior themes from the existing façade but also incorporated a vast array of skylights and an irregularly shaped and non-symmetrical floor plan. Like Prince Charles of England, Venturi shared the same "disdain" for the simplicity of Modernism (Owens, 1986, p. C13).

In another project, Venturi was commissioned to design an addition to the Allen Memorial Art Museum at Oberlin College in Ohio. As with the Sainsbury Wing addition, Venturi and his staff achieved the goal of designing an addition that

conformed to a series of interior uses but avoided stealing the original building's significance by emphasizing specific qualities of the "architectural gem" (Miller, 1977, p. D1). The addition to the Allen Memorial Art Museum was opened to the public in 1977 and was seen as one of the "finest examples of postmodern architecture in the United States" (Allen Memorial Art Museum at Oberlin College, 2006). Venturi's addition, with its inventive use of ornamentation and symbolism, generously complemented the original Tuscan-style building to which it had been attached.

     Along with these additions, Venturi produced a series of smaller buildings during the 1970s—most of which are not known by most Americans. Regardless of their lack of recognition, some of Venturi's proudest achievements were "houses that look[ed] like houses." He wanted to create fire stations that looked like fire stations and hospitals that looked like hospitals. Venturi admitted that what he and his firm were doing "horrified people," particularly Modern architects, (Klass, 1992, sec. 7).

     Venturi designed buildings that were seemingly ordinary looking and that were not revolutionary like Modern style buildings, with their excessive simplicity. In creating a home in the traditional vernacular, he spoke directly to a local population. But by embracing commonality and ordinariness in his architecture, Venturi had, in fact, taken a revolutionary path of his own. What he did with his style of architecture was unlike anything people had been accustomed to throughout much of the 20th century. Naturally, it took a fair amount of time for the architectural community to digest it.

     With everything he held dear, Venturi incorporated history and relevant, yet simple, ornamentation into his designs. However, while he was a staunch advocate of his use of history, he had urged a more symbolic, rather than literal, representation (Smith, 1975, p. 1). In essence, if Venturi had been commissioned to plan an addition to the White House in Washington or some other iconic building, he would not try to create a duplicate image of the White House. Instead, he would use the most current construction methods available to create a design that incorporated themes from the White House; he would create a representation to complement the character of the existing mansion (Anderson, 1990, p. 72).

     In 1975, Venturi and his firm were hired to revitalize a boardwalk-type shopping center in Galveston, Texas, known as The Strand. Here, Venturi and his staff took many of the Art Deco and 19th century-style buildings into consideration but realized that a single style of historic architecture could not be favored over the other in the revitalization. As a way to unify the neighborhood, a series of color schemes was proposed, the original canopied walkway was reconstructed, and a visually engaging signage system was created (Taraila, 1976, p. 10). The result was a unique cross design that helped an ailing neighborhood reclaim its former footings. Not only in Galveston, but in all locations where Venturi chose to work, he formed a type of hybrid architecture, incorporating bits and pieces of the past with bits and pieces of the present, to produce a different result each time. "I like elements that are hybrid rather than 'pure,'" Venturi commented, "compromising rather than 'clean,' distorted rather than 'straightforward'... I am for the messy vitality over obvious unity" ("American Wins," 1991, sec. 7, p. 4).

     Venturi created a successful design, one that incorporated history, symbolism, and tradition through exhaustive research. He and his staff would travel to the city

for which their design was intended and meet with the local residents to discover the attitude and feel of the city ("American Wins," 1991, sec. 7, p. 4). "Small details loom large" and they are "the hardest thing to get," but the only way to success was to have an in-depth understanding of the local environment (Klass, 1992, sec. 7). Venturi's attention to detail has been a major contributing factor to his success since the 1970s.

   In the late 1950s, already hinting at his eventual shift to Postmodernism, Modern architect Philip Johnson declared, "You cannot not know history" (Hughes, 1979). Johnson's proclamation offended orthodox Modernists, but he eventually realized that history binds people together and found that Modernism offered no outlet to express historical relevance. Venturi understood Johnson's historical desires better than most architects did and later incorporated the same convictions into his own style of Postmodern architecture. He believed that successful architecture had to be undertaken by those who understand their history. Venturi pointed out in a 1990 interview that "most architects don't (know their history) today." As a consequence, he continued, the resulting architecture displays a "kind of lifelessness" and "lack of vitality" (Anderson, 1990, p.72). What is essential in understanding why Modernism failed to relate to the general population is that it was lifeless and bland and held no significance for anyone. In the same interview, Venturi commented on how "Modernism involved a minimalist approach," so there was hardly room for historical symbolism to be included in a Modern-style building (Anderson, 1990, p. 78).

   Since Venturi's designs varied a great deal from project to project, there was no one right or wrong piece of ornamentation that could be used. Each of his buildings was different from all others because the specific historical factors from a given region contributed to the symbolism that Venturi included in his work. Because he aimed to include symbolism in his designs, a wide range of people appreciated and understood his traditionally inspired buildings. His symbolism came from influences such as local materials, local building traditions, climate, and the overall building site (Giovanni, 1983, p. B3). These elements came together in his mind to create a unique hybrid architecture, one that many people came to call Postmodernism.

   Other architects following in Venturi's footsteps recognized the importance of using symbolism. Author and architect Cesar Pelli stated that "Postmodernism reminded us that buildings have symbolic roles to play, that character may be more important than aesthetic composition" (1999, p. 47). Pelli continued by reemphasizing the importance of the use of history and tradition in architecture, saying "that we perceive buildings not only with our eyes but also with our memory" (p. 47). People often make comparisons between new and old buildings and there comes a moment when those people decide whether or not they do in fact like the building. A building is prone to be more successful and well-liked if its audience and everyday users can relate to it. Pelli understood the need for history, tradition, and symbolism—just as Venturi did.

   Modernism employed symbolism through I-beams and repetitive window patterns and sheets of glass covering massive skyscrapers. The creation of space had become the paramount issue for Modernists. They had submerged all remnants of symbolism, and as Venturi explained, Modern buildings had essentially become symbols in themselves (1977, p. 103). He further went on to say that "Modernist architects [were] building for themselves as opposed to the rest of society." Unlike the

Modernists, Venturi wanted to acknowledge the "silent white majority of architecture" and create designs that spoke to as many people of a particular region as possible through his use of architectural symbolism and tradition (p. 154).

Perhaps one of Venturi's better-known smaller buildings is the Vanna Venturi House, a home he designed for his mother, constructed in 1964. The house is the type of hybrid that Venturi so often sought to create in his life's work. By combining influences from American tradition with elements from European symbolism, he created a house that maintained the pitched roof—common in much of the United States—with a centered front entrance and a chimney on top. One of Venturi's critics later described the house as "a child's drawing" ("American Wins," 1991, sec. 7, p. 4). The criticism was mainly due to the building's nonstructural broken arch above the front entrance. But in spite of the criticism, it was arguably one of Venturi's greatest achievements, one that has become a subject of study for architects and students around the globe.

The Vanna Venturi House may have been more of a source of influence for others than Venturi was willing to admit. Today the house looks like it may have been a precursor to Philip Johnson's AT&T Building (now the Sony Building) in New York City. The classic and easily recognizable Chippendale pediment that caps off the AT&T Building is reminiscent of Venturi's roof design for the Vanna Venturi House. By the 1970s, other architects were already beginning to emulate Venturi. With the success of Venturi and the new form of Postmodern architecture that he helped develop, a page was turned in the history of architecture.

Conclusions: Who are the Real Postmodern Architects?

Venturi himself probably disagrees with the categorization of Postmodernism that much of the architectural community has come to accept. He explicitly stated that while others term him a Postmodernist, he considers himself an architect of the Classical tradition of Western architecture (Venturi & Brown, 1984, p. 110).

Numerous architects, each with a style of architecture that protests the foundations of Modernism, have been lumped together under the term of Postmodernist. As author Robert Hughes stated, "There is no common style" (1979). Hughes cited a line from a book by Charles Jencks, *The Language of Post-modern Architecture* (1977), in an effort to describe the accepted primary definition of what constitutes a Postmodern building: "'any building with funny kinks in it, or sensuous imagery' has come to be labeled as Postmodern." Hughes stated that Jencks was not particularly fond of this definition and that it should revolve around buildings that are "hybrid[s] ...designed around historical memory, local context, [and] metaphor." On this point, Venturi would likely agree.

It should be noted, too, that Venturi considers Postmodernism to be just as rigid and inflexible as Modernism (Anderson, 1990, p. 78). Both movements, as defined by others on the outside, adhered to a specific vocabulary and a unified way of doing things. This was not what Venturi had intended to convey through his writings. Venturi's wife, Denise Scott Brown, stated in an *Architectural Digest* interview, "the Postmodernists have taken out of what we've done only what they wanted" (1990, p. 74). Brown also referred to the fact that many Postmodernists adhered to the idea of including historic symbolism in a design or building, but that it does not always have

relevance. She continued by saying that the Postmodernists "missed a lot of what we wrote and said" (p. 74). Venturi and his wife concluded this interview by expressing regret for other architects' misinterpretations.

In *A View from Campidoglio: Selected Essays 1953-1984* (1984), Venturi declared:

> Architecture can be many things, but it should be appropriate. It should have cultural relevance. It is necessary to make this obvious point because today's architecture is frequently arbitrary in its symbolism. Architects who indulge their preferences for esoteric and exotic symbols tend to produce an architecture of whimsical pavilions and picturesque follies that makes insufficient reference to the diversities and subtleties of taste cultures at hand, or to the context of place which should give substance to form. (p. 110)

Venturi may have been referring to the works of Michael Graves and Frank Gehry, two well-known and successful architects. Graves is probably the best known self-described Postmodern architect. He is responsible for the Portland Building in Portland, Oregon, and the Swan and Dolphin Resort at Walt Disney World in Orlando, Florida. Both buildings by Graves, as well as numerous others, have a playful cartoon feel to them. While Graves' buildings may have history and symbolism mixed into their designs, they display the same irrelevant symbolism that Denise Scott Brown mentioned in her interview with *Architectural Digest*.

Gehry, with his flare for Deconstructivism, exhibited traits that were generally undesirable to Venturi, who declared that he does not "feel sympathetic toward Deconstructivism." Venturi also stated that he does "not like the incoherence or arbitrariness of incompetent architecture, nor precious intricacies of picturesqueness or expressionism" (Anderson, 1990, p. 82). As Jonathan Glancey described in *The Story of Architecture* (2000), the threat of Postmodernism falling "into the realm of visual puns and gimcrack design" was very real, and in fact it did (p. 199). With architects such as Gehry and Graves at the helm of Postmodernism, there was nothing to hold them back from creating buildings that continuously pushed the limits of the architectural community.

The tenets that Venturi developed were not wholly adhered to, and many of them were taken out of context and exaggerated. Despite these setbacks, though, Venturi continues to produce designs of exceptional quality that exhibit symbolic traditions passed down through cultures, as well as new and innovative building techniques of the present. Ada Louise commented that all of Venturi's buildings are "intensely personal, idiosyncratic and arbitrary, done in an intelligent but totally unsettling way" (1971, p. B7). While Venturi may not describe himself as a Postmodern architect, he is because he stepped away from the staleness of Modernism. Any architect from the 1960s through the 1980s who took such a step is in essence a Postmodernist.

Venturi and a few other architects identified a problem in American society and took steps to solve it. Architecture is a voice for future generations to listen to; it speaks of the values and beliefs held by a society. Modernism failed to convey the needs, wants, desires, and values of American society because it was not a form of architecture specifically intended for them. Postmodernism, in its various forms,

helped to address the issue of unresponsive architecture. So far, Venturi's version of Postmodernism has arguably been the most successful. Through his architectural program, he included relevant symbols and traditions in his designs, creating a hybrid architecture, unique each time he began a new project. Venturi is a Postmodern architect who during the 1970s succeeded in addressing the ailments of society through architecture with designs aimed at the local level. To this day, he continues to stand above his contemporaries—a unique architect.

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Use of Screen Real Estate on University Home Pages

Alexander Zinoviev, author
Miles Maguire, Journalism, faculty adviser

Alexander Zinoviev graduated cum laude from UW Oshkosh in May 2007. As a marketing major, he had four emphases: global business, advertising, graphic design, and Japanese. He received the Beta Gamma Sigma Honor Society's award for scholastic achievement and the Honors Medallion, after completing the requirements of the University Honors Program. This article is based on his Honors thesis, which won the 2007 Deans' Outstanding Undergraduate Research Award.

Miles Maguire is an associate professor in the department of journalism at UW Oshkosh. He is a former newspaper reporter, magazine editor, and publishing executive. He holds a master's degree in business administration from Loyola College in Maryland, and his research, which has been presented in Asia and Europe as well as North America, focuses on media economics.

Abstract

In this project, the home pages of the 11 comprehensive universities in the University of Wisconsin System were analyzed and compared according to categories suggested by Jakob Nielsen. This research clearly defines eight categories of screen real estate and then uses them to compare home pages of each university. Results show that the universities do not use space efficiently and that they vary according to how they use their Web sites for such things as promoting themselves or providing content of interest. Design suggestions are offered for improving the allocation of screen real estate on university home pages: use design that takes advantage of the entire screen; allocate more space to content of interest and navigation; and limit use of self-promotion content and filler.

Introduction

The home page is the most important page on any Web site, and university Web sites are no exception. The home page is the university's face to the students, parents, alumni, and most importantly to the rest of the world. Increasingly, potential students will look at a university online before making contact with it. The first impression of the university often depends on the way the Web site looks and functions. Satisfied users will most likely return to the Web site, because of positive experience from interactions with it. The visitor could be a student, who is considering applying to the university; parents, who might recommend that their children look at a certain university; or an alumnus, who would be proud to donate money to a university that has a great alumni Web site. In every case, the university benefits from having a Web site that provides its visitors with a positive experience.

According to the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, Wisconsin will see a decline in the number of high school graduates, especially over the next six years, as shown in Figure 1 (2003). For universities, this trend means fewer prospective students, and therefore the competition is growing. Wisconsin

Figure 1
1987-88 to 2001-02 (Actual), 2002-03 to 2017-18 (Projected)
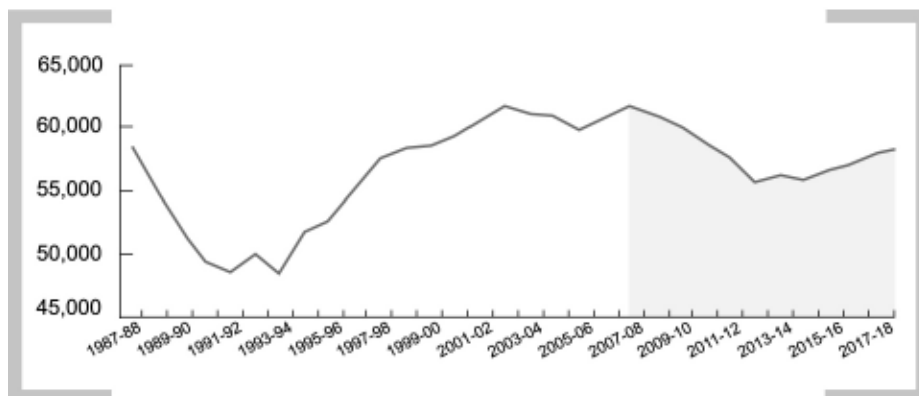
universities seek to increase enrollment, faculty, and state funding for some obvious reasons, one of which is that Wisconsin ranks near the bottom in attracting high school graduates, according to University of Wisconsin System President Kevin Reilly (Foley, 2006). Thus, it is becoming more crucial to use Web sites to send the right message to prospective students, parents, alumni, and the community.

Today institutions usually put a lot of effort into designing more appealing Web sites. One way to increase user satisfaction with an institution's Web site is to make it compliant with usability standards that are readily available to organizations. One aspect of usability depends upon the space allocations within the layout of the page, also known as the screen "real estate," which is defined as the space available on a screen to display a Web page. This research particularly focuses on how university home pages use screen real estate.

The information presented in this research is practical and will assist UW System Web masters. Most importantly, this project will pinpoint common mistakes Web designers make when allocating space for various elements on the page. Thus, some changes could be integrated into the design or redesign of UW System home pages.

Literature Review

Usability is not a new topic. According to The Usability Company, the first usability studies appeared during World War II as a result of intensive research about the use of more advanced technology. The science spread into the field of telecommunications in the 1950s and was applied to computers in the 1980s. Before the Internet existed, numerous human-computer studies provided a solid base for studying usability on the Web. Jakob Nielsen, one of the pioneers in the new field of the Internet, developed guidelines for the Web that he summarized in *Designing Web Usability: The Practice of Simplicity* (2000). It offered eye-opening information that

changed the way Web developers thought about the Web. In collaboration with Marie Tahir, he next published *Homepage Usability: 50 Websites Deconstructed* (2001). Nielsen and Tahir showed usability guidelines in action by analyzing 50 homepages of the most popular Web sites at the time. The Web has changed dramatically since 2001, and so have its users. Thus many usability guidelines that were developed by Nielsen in 2000 are no longer as critical, but the basic approach is still valid. In 2006, he published *Prioritizing Web Usability*, which addressed the changes that happened since the previous release. Now that the usability standards are established, the goal is to make them take a higher priority when designing Web sites. *Research-Based Web Design and Usability Guidelines (*Koyani, et al.*)*, written in 2004 by a team of usability experts from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, outlines previous research findings in usability. It also provides ratings in terms of relative importance and strength of evidence for each guideline.

A number of studies have already been done about Web site usability, but there is still room for further research, because as we know "[for] every industry or type of company, there will be many detailed guidelines that address the ways customers of such companies expect to interact with websites and the best ways to serve those users' needs" (Nielsen & Tahir, 2001, p. 8).

Research Questions

The use of screen real estate is one issue among many that universities have to examine to produce a sound design. For several reasons, it certainly should be one of the first issues addressed. Sound design determines how all the elements on the page are placed, how well the design functions as a whole, and how much information is presented in a given space. This leads us to the formulation of the first research question.

RQ1. How is screen real estate allocated on UW System home pages?

According to Nielsen the two most important areas of a home page are content of interest and navigation. A balance among content of interest, navigation, and other elements is crucial. For example, if a Web site is overloaded with graphics, it does not have enough space to present valuable content. On the other hand, if it is loaded with text, it might lack visual appeal and thus not attract users. Therefore, the following two research questions help determine how Wisconsin universities are presenting their two most important kinds of Web content.

RQ2. How do UW System comprehensives compare in navigation?

RQ3. How do UW System comprehensives compare in content of interest?

Proper use of screen real estate on home pages achieves balance between all elements on the page, which provides users with the best experience on the Web site and increases their trust and satisfaction. Proper use of screen real estate determines the message a Web site is trying to convey, which helps the university stand out from the competition.

Methods

In this project, the home pages of the 11 comprehensive UW System institutions are analyzed and compared according to standards of Web usability. The focus is on regional comprehensive institutions, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1
Wisconsin Comprehensive Institutions

Name	Size
University Of Wisconsin-La Crosse	7,888
University Of Wisconsin-Eau Claire	9,636
University Of Wisconsin-Stevens Point	7,967
University Of Wisconsin-River Falls	5,417
University Of Wisconsin-Platteville	5,408
University Of Wisconsin-Whitewater	8,844
University Of Wisconsin-Oshkosh	9,112
University Of Wisconsin-Stout	6,938
University Of Wisconsin-Green Bay	4,799
University Of Wisconsin-Superior	2,283
University Of Wisconsin-Parkside	3,970

Each university's home page was analyzed according to the use of screen real estate, based on the categories taken from Nielsen & Tahir's *Homepage Usability* (2001). Concise definitions of each category were developed specifically for this research. They are as follows:

Welcome and Site Identity: The welcome and site identity area informs the user of the site and what its main purpose is. It could be a university's logo, tag line, or welcoming statement.

Content of Interest: This is information the user is seeking. The defining characteristic of content of interest is reliance on text, graphics, and pictures that are designed to convey to users information on a given subject (Koyani, et al., 2004).

Navigation: Navigation represents the structure of a Web site. It shows users where they are, where things are located, and how to get the things they need (Bailey, 2006). Navigation refers to a number of links that guide the user through the site.

Self-promotion: Self-promotion refers to internal advertising, which is defined as "advertising-looking areas that promote [the] site's own products or services" (Nielsen & Tahir, 2001, p. 50).

Advertising and Sponsorship: Advertising is traditionally identified as "any paid form of non-personal communication about an organization, product, service, or idea by an identified sponsor" (Belch & Belch, 2007, p. 17). On the Web, these are sponsored banners, or links, which promote other Web sites.

Operating System and Browser Controls: Operating system and browser controls refer to the browser window interface, including toolbars, scrollbars, and a window title bar.

Filler: Filler represents graphic elements on a Web page that do not provide the user with valuable information. It could be clip art imagery, patterns, or even solid color that is used to fill the space.

Unused Space: Unused space represents the area of the page that is empty, often because of a fixed width design. "Unused space does not include pixels used for white space or separators, which are coded as belonging to the category they were inside or adjacent to" (Nielsen, 2003, p. 3).

The appearance of screen real estate in each of these categories varies depending on the operating system, resolution, and type of browser used to look at a Web site.

Usability-Related Web User Profile Statistics retrieved on September 23, 2006, from www.webusability.com indicated that 82% of users used Windows® XP operating system, 86% of the time they used Internet Explorer® 6.x browser, and 60% of the time their monitor resolution was 1024 by 768 pixels. Therefore a snapshot or picture of a computer screen with a 1024 by 768 pixel screen resolution was taken using the Windows® print screen key, while each Web site was open in the Internet Explorer® 6.x on a computer running Windows® XP. Then the screen capture was pasted into a graphics-editing program Adobe® Photoshop® CS2, which allowed the precise measurement pixel by pixel of the screen real estate of each category. Using Photoshop® CS2 tools, the areas of interest were highlighted in different colors, as shown in Figure 2. The data were presented in the form of pie charts representing the percentages those areas occupied on the screen. The screen shots with color-coding and corresponding pie charts allowed for visual representation of the data. Then percentages of how much screen space each category occupies were recorded and compiled into a database, which was used to draw further conclusions.

Figure 2
Average Percentage of Pixels Allocated to Each Category
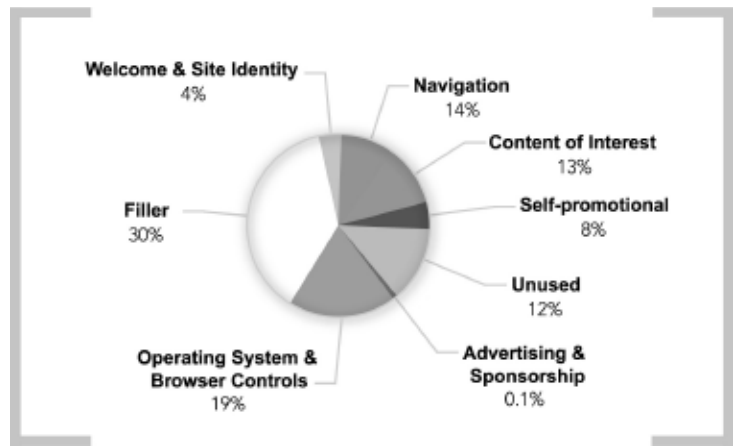
Coder reliability was established with the help of a research associate, who analyzed a subset of the data following the same methodology to determine screen real estate allocation for each home page. The intercoder reliability index was then calculated. Depending on the category, it deviated on average anywhere from zero to 6.6%, indicating a reliability index of more than 93% in all cases.

Results
Based on the collected data, the majority of universities' home pages do not use screen real estate to its full potential, which shows an obvious need for redesign in compliance with current usability guidelines and industry trends. The pie chart in

Figure 2 gives an overview of average percentage of pixels allocated to each category across the 11 university home pages.

The most important elements to users, content of interest and navigation, take up 27%, which is a clear indicator of an inefficient use of space. According to Nielsen, more than 39% should be allocated to those elements (2003, p. 1). A good example of extensive use of navigation is UW Stout. It allocates 29% to navigation. This may be partially explained by UW Stout's focus on engineering and physical sciences. It makes sense for the site to emphasize navigation because this appeals to its users.

The information that users typically ignore, according to Nielsen, is all types of promotions, site identity, filler clip art, and unused space, which represents lost pixels (2003, p. 3). Welcome and site identity and self-promotion content are not useless, although welcome and site identity should be kept to a minimum. The 4% in that category is an indicator of an efficient use of space; however, in some cases it can be further reduced. The primary purpose of that category is to "offer just enough to let users know what site they are on and its main purpose" (Nielsen, 2003, p. 3). On average 8% is allocated to self-promotion, which may be an indicator of increasing efforts by some universities. UW Oshkosh and UW River Falls are the highest in this category with 18%, which shows their increasing efforts to brand themselves.

The unused space and filler elements should be considered. There is a fine line between those elements. Unused space represents empty areas, often caused by a fixed width design; filler, on the other hand, is more of a placeholder, which, like unused space, gets ignored most of the time. Neither element delivers a message to the user. Unfortunately, a combination of those elements on average takes up 42% of a page. It is a significant design flaw mostly caused by a fixed width design as opposed to a liquid design, which stretches to fill all the available space on the screen. This should be one of the first issues addressed when redesigning a university home page.

The last category, which takes up 19% of the average page, is operating system and browser controls. Unfortunately, a designer cannot do anything about these pixels, although eliminating vertical and especially horizontal scrolling can save screen real estate. The fact that 19% of screen real estate is lost to this category puts pressure on the designer to focus more on the remaining space.

Discussion

To achieve an efficient use of screen real estate, the designer should ensure that the majority of space is allocated to the elements the user is looking for—content of interest and navigation. All the other elements on a page should be kept to a minimum, so they do not take away from the most important elements. Research findings offer three guidelines. The first focuses on placement of home page elements. The second looks at how much space should be allocated to the most important elements. And the third offers tips about how to turn the elements of a page that are typically ignored into content of interest.

Use Liquid Design

According to this study, on average 40% of screen space is unused due to a fixed design, which does not expand beyond a specific width. Of course, fixed design has its own advantages. It gives a designer more control over a space he or she has to work with. Text line lengths are easier to control, and they do not become extremely

long and hard to read when the browser window is maximized on a large screen. Also, fixed design is the easiest way to control specific placement and proximity of text and images. The design stays intact and visually unified regardless of the width of the browser window.

On the other hand, liquid design is a Web page that stretches to fill the entire space in the browser window. Only one out of 11 schools took advantage of liquid design—UW Oshkosh. Liquid design's main advantage is the ability to efficiently use screen real estate by filling the entire space in the browser window. It reduces, and sometimes eliminates, scrolling. Only two out of 11 Web sites did not require any scrolling on their home pages, which allowed them to devote more pixels to the elements that are most important to the user.

According to Nielsen and Loranger's study, "only 23 percent of users scrolled the home page during their initial visit and even fewer scrolled on subsequent visits. This is because users know or think they know where the important areas on the home page are after one visit" (2006, p. 47). This relates to a common rule widely used by Web designers: designing "above the fold," which means one has to make sure the most important information is located up top and clearly visible without scrolling. None of the home pages required horizontal scrolling. Vertical scrolling was present on all pages except for two out of 11, but the rest kept it to less than a half a page. The page fold is not static and depends on the browser, operating system, and different display resolutions. In this case, it is the top 612 pixels. Designing a page above the fold, eliminating scrolling if possible, and using a liquid design are good practices for Web designers.

Allocate More Space to Content of Interest and Navigation

According to Nielsen, the most important elements on a home page that the user is looking for are content of interest and navigation. Content of interest represents something that communicates the site's purpose and offers value, which distinguishes it from the competition. Navigation refers to the actionable area of a home page, which shows all major options available on the Web site. A home page that concentrates users' attention on content of interest and navigation fulfills its primary goals. Therefore, as the most crucial elements, content of interest and navigation should take up the majority of space on the screen.

Merely 13% of screen real estate, on average, is allocated to content of interest and only 14%, on average, is allocated to navigation. Major improvements are needed in those areas. One way to address this issue is to take advantage of white space. There are two types of white space: macro white space, which is the space between major elements on a page, and micro white space, which is the space between smaller elements such as list items, words, letters, and lines or text (Boulton, 2007). Moderate use of white space is recommended; too much requires more scrolling, while too little may provide a display that looks too busy.

The majority of home pages' macro white space is concentrated around the edges of a page because of the fixed width design, therefore limiting the breathing room between major elements. Readability can be improved by allowing more room for major elements and adjusting the size of letters and the space between the lines of text and paragraphs, making content of interest look cleaner. As a result of allocating

more space to content of interest and navigation, unused and filler space is minimized. Therefore, more space is allocated to the things the user is seeking.

Limit the Use of Self-promotion Content and Filler

Users look for content of interest on a home page. It is an element of a page that provides useful information and sparks more interest, inviting the user to explore the rest of the site. On the other hand, according to Nielsen, any promotional content, site identity, filler clip art, and unused pixels are usually ignored. Although each element on a page has a purpose, excessive focus on the elements that are not important to the user is not a good practice. As we can see from Figure 2, excessive screen real estate is allocated to filler, unused space, and self-promotion. Those are the three major areas where each home page can improve. Two previous guidelines focus on significant reduction of unused space, which is why this guideline suggests reducing self-promotion content and filler.

A Web site could be well-structured and visually appealing, but without good content it fails to reach and retain the user. A home page overloaded with self-promotion discourages users from returning.

There is a fine line between self-promotion content and content of interest, which designers and content producers often fail to address. Content of interest can easily become self-promotion because of slight changes in wording or presentation. For example, instead of a link that directs a user to a news release, which is considered self-promotion, the user could be taken to a page where the content is presented in a non-promotional format.

On average, filler space takes up 30% of a page. This is often caused by a fixed width design, where designers use solid color or graphic elements as a background of a home page. There is also a portion of filler space allocated to clip art graphics, banners, or images that do not serve any particular purpose. Often those areas fail to provide useful information to the user and therefore become filler space. In some cases, filler space could be turned into content of interest. Providing a caption to an image or tying it to the main text will turn it into content of interest, which would justify the space allocated to that image.

At the top of a home page, designers often use horizontal banners with catchy graphics to spice up the design and improve the visual appeal. Such graphics are not useful to the user and, therefore, become filler space. A simple tag line, slogan, or link can justify the use of banners, turning them into content of interest. Knowing the difference among self-promotion content, filler, and content of interest allows a savvy designer to efficiently allocate space for each category without undermining the user's experience.

Web designers are encouraged to consider the guidelines outlined in this research. This research focused on the screen real estate aspect of usability, and the guidelines suggested here can be used in the design process of any university home page. But screen real estate is not the only aspect of home page design that should be addressed. There are numerous studies about other aspects of usability, Web functionality, and Web design that should be considered by savvy Web designers. The Internet is constantly evolving along with the users. Being able to keep up with new technologies and user preferences is crucial for any university in order to maintain a competitive edge.

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Effects of Music and Choice Listening on Arousal Changes

Katie Miller, Christina Brazeau, Melissa Fuiten, and
Jessica Woelfel, authors
Tammy Kadah-Ammeter, Psychology, faculty adviser

Katie Miller will graduate from UW Oshkosh in May 2009 with a degree in psychology and a minor in neuroscience. Her introduction to research began with an experimental psychology course in spring 2007, and she is now assisting Dr. David Lishner and Dr. Phan Hong of the UW Oshkosh psychology department with their research. Katie is interested in clinical psychology, and she hopes to pursue further study in the field after graduating.

Christina Brazeau is a senior majoring in psychology at UW Oshkosh. Behavioral psychology with an emphasis in child behavior is her field of interest. She is aspiring to work in a clinical setting, counseling adolescents and young adults. When she is not studying, she enjoys spending time with her son and husband, volunteering, watching movies, and playing a variety of sports.

Melissa Fuiten graduated from UW Oshkosh in December 2007 with a bachelor's degree in psychology. She is now pursuing a bachelor's degree in nursing from UW Oshkosh and will graduate from the program in May 2010. Her career goal is to gain employment at Children's Hospital in Milwaukee as a pediatric nurse and child life specialist. She believes that through compassionate caring she can make an immense difference in the lives of children.

Jessica Woelfel will graduate from UW Oshkosh in May 2008 with a Bachelor of Arts degree in psychology. She plans to continue her schooling at Edgewood College in Madison by pursuing a Masters of Science degree in marriage and family therapy.

Tammy Kadah-Ammeter, a UW Fox Valley alumna, received her M.S. in experimental psychology from UW Oshkosh in 2005, followed by appointments at Fox Valley Technical College, UW Oshkosh, and UW Fox Valley. She teaches courses in introductory psychology, life span developmental psychology, experimental psychology, statistical methods in psychology, psychology of adulthood and aging, cognitive psychology, and psychology of human relations. Her background is in experimental and cross-cultural psychology, with a focus on the way we see ourselves in relation to others, or self-construal. Her primary research emphasis examines the potential for priming to affect self-construal scale scores.

Abstract

This study based its method on Pitzen and Rauscher's 1998 study, testing 60 participants between classical stimulative, sedative, or no music conditions and choice or no choice exposure conditions. We calculated results using two 2 X 3 design (Condition X Music) completely randomized factorial analyses of variance for mean difference of heart-rate (HR) before and after the exposure condition and

for state anxiety, a short-term form of anxiety. Findings indicated that mean HR difference increased in the no choice condition compared to the choice. Participants scored significantly higher state anxiety for choice-stimulative as compared to the no choice-stimulative condition. Additionally, participants in the no choice-no music condition showed significantly higher state anxiety compared to those in the no choice-stimulative condition. For future research, experimenters may include the skin conductive measure galvanic skin response (GSR) as a second dependent variable. Finally, participants could wait 5 to 10 min in order to acclimate to the testing environment.

Numerous studies have looked at physiological arousal, particularly its causes and effects. Some of this research has discovered a link between arousal and memory facilitation. Quas and Lench (2007) found an association in children between higher HR at the time of encoding memory and fewer errors on a memory test. Similarly, Field, Rickard, Toukhsati, and Gibbs (2007) found that the release of norepinephrine in the state of physiological arousal facilitated learning in young chicks.

Given this effect of arousal on memory facilitation, research on the effects of exposure conditions on arousal levels produced mixed results. Pitzen and Rauscher (1998) found that 8 min of the no music exposure condition resulted in higher GSR, which measures skin conductance in response to stress, than the no choice or choice music conditions. The study also found that the choice exposure condition, when varied across different genres of music (jazz, classical, techno, and folk), resulted in significantly lower GSR. In terms of HR, there was no difference between listening conditions. This finding indicates that choice listening conditions can result in lower arousal. Also, exposure to music despite no choice or choice listening conditions is less arousing than being in silence.

In contrast to this finding, however, Hirokawa (2004) measured arousal levels using Thayer's Activation-Deactivation Adjective Check List (1978) after subjects listened to 10 min of subject-preferred music, relaxation instructions, or silence. Results indicated that silence increased the participants' tiredness and calmness levels. Music also increased subjects' energy levels, and relaxation and silence significantly decreased them. This discrepancy could have occurred because Hirokawa (2004) had longer listening conditions and looked at older adults as opposed to college students. The study also found that subject-preferred music was potentially able to reduce the tension subcategory of arousal in older adults. Therefore, being able to listen to music that one chooses could result in lower levels of physiological arousal.

Existing research on stimulating versus sedative music and arousal levels is also conflicting. Smith and Morris (1976) had students listen to stimulative, sedative, or no music while taking a course exam and, as they were taking the exam, fill out a questionnaire five times that was designed to measure the students' worry about the test, arousal, concentration ability, performance expectancy, and like or dislike of the music. This study found that stimulating music significantly increased both worry and emotion, while sedative music had no effect on anxiety compared to the control group.

Rohner and Miller (1980) examined the effect that familiar music, varying in terms of familiarity and stimulating or sedative, had on a participant pertaining to

state anxiety. State anxiety, a short-term form of anxiety, is a condition that a person experiences at a certain moment. This is opposed to trait anxiety, which is a more permanent personality feature. The study used five levels of music treatment: familiar-stimulating, familiar-sedative, unfamiliar-stimulating, unfamiliar-sedative, and no music. Results for this study implied that music had no reducing effect on state anxiety. Smith and Morris (1976) may have found differences in arousal caused by sedative and stimulative music because they had their participants take a course examination during the listening conditions, a factor that may have resulted in their having higher anxiety than the participants who were not taking an exam in the study by Rohner and Miller (1980).

In our study, we used HR and state anxiety as dependent measures. Various studies have tried to find the relationship between psychological self-report measures, such as state anxiety, and physiological measures of anxiety, such as HR, with mixed results. For instance, De Jong, Moser, An, and Chung (2004) did not find any correlation between state anxiety and HR in acutely ill cardiac patients. However, Tenenbaum and Milgram (1978) found a correlation between state anxiety and HR in Israeli student athletes. Similarly, Kantor, Endler, Heslegrave, and Kocovski (2001) found that a self-report measure of state anxiety significantly related to HR during a stressful situation.

In this study, we examined the effects that listening to stimulative, sedative, or no music in choice or no choice exposure conditions have on physiological arousal. Previous studies, including Pitzen and Rauscher's (1998), looked at effects on arousal with more than one genre of music and more than one musical selection for each genre. We examined only the classical music genre and offered participants one musical selection for each music condition (sedative, stimulative, or no music). Because of the link between arousal and memory, the study could have implications for learning, such as which music to listen to while studying or whether having the option of choosing to hear certain music will assist the learning process. We considered the following hypotheses:

Heart Rate

Hypothesis 1: Hirokawa (2004) found implications for reducing the tension subcategory of arousal with subject-preferred music. Therefore, we hypothesized that participants in the no choice condition would have a higher mean difference between HR before and after the exposure condition than those in the choice condition.

Hypothesis 2: Because Pitzen and Rauscher (1998) found no difference in mean HR between music conditions, there would be no mean HR difference between music conditions (sedative and no music, stimulative and no music, and stimulative and sedative).

Hypothesis 3: Hirokawa (2004) found that silent listening conditions increased relaxation, so participants who chose no music would have the lowest mean HR difference compared to all other conditions.

State Anxiety Inventory (STAI)

Hypothesis 4: We predicted that participants in the no choice condition would have higher HR. Previous studies (Kantor et al., 2001; Tenenbaum & Milgram, 1978)

linked high HR to high state anxiety, so participants in the no choice condition would have higher state anxiety scores than those in the choice condition.

Hypothesis 5: Smith and Morris (1976) found that stimulative music increased worry and anxiety. Therefore, participants in the stimulative music condition would have higher state anxiety scores than those in the sedative and no music conditions, respectively.

Hypothesis 6: With the above reasoning, participants in the no choice-stimulative condition would have the highest state anxiety scores overall.

Method
Participants

Sixty UW Oshkosh undergraduate students (ages 18 to 30) of mixed race, ethnicity, and gender participated in this experiment. The participants were either fulfilling a course requirement or earning extra credit. We recruited them from Sona Systems™, an online participant pool Web site used through the UW Oshkosh psychology department. Participants were treated in accordance with the "Ethical Principles of Psychologists and Code of Conduct" (American Psychological Association, 1992).

Apparatus/Materials

The apparatus/materials used in this study consisted of a stimulating classical music selection (choice A), a sedative classical musical selection (choice B), a compact disc Sony® ESP-MAX CD Walkman® CD-R/RW with a model number of D-E356CK, Sony® headphones with model number MDR-G52, a watertight model 266 Sportline® stopwatch, the STAI (Spielberger and Reheiser 2004), and a demographic and music preference survey that we created. For the stimulative music selection (choice A), we used "Allegro con fuoco" by Piotr Tchaikovsky from the Manfred Symphony Op. 58, taken from the study by Pitzen and Rauscher (1998). For the sedative classical music selection (choice B), we used "The Swan of Tuonela" by Jean Sibelius, which was from the study by Rohner and Miller (1980).

We did not place headphones on the participants in the control group who were not exposed to music. We took the HR (pulse) of the participants for 1 min for three different times throughout the experiment using our hands because we were unable to find HR measuring devices such as finger HR monitors. Using the stopwatch, we took the participants' HR for 1 min at three different times during the experiment.

The STAI consisted of 40 questions that determined how the participants felt at the time. On the STAI, participants agreed or disagreed with statements such as "I feel calm" and "I lack self-confidence." The experimenters also devised a demographic and music preference survey that consisted of 32 questions to help determine participants' personal experience with and preference for music as well as familiarity with the piece they had heard if they were in either of the two music conditions. The demographic and music preference survey asked participants to agree or disagree with statements such as "I prefer to listen to classical music" and "I prefer to listen to music with lyrics."

Procedure

 After obtaining informed consent, we randomly assigned the participants to either a no choice or a choice condition. If the participants were randomly assigned to a no choice condition, we also randomly assigned the participants to listen to either choice A, choice B, or no musical selection. If the participants were randomly assigned to a choice condition, the participants were given the option to listen to choice A, choice B, or no musical selection.

 Next, we issued the instructions for the participants to read before they participated in the study. The instructions were slightly different for participants depending on whether they were randomly assigned to the no choice or choice condition and whether they were in the control group. We told participants in the music conditions to sit and listen closely to the music, and participants in the no music condition to sit quietly for 4 min; except for a table and a chair, the testing room was empty so that they would not be distracted. We then took and recorded the participants' pulses using a stopwatch to time for 1 min.

 The participants then listened to one of the two musical selections or no musical selection at all, which either the participant or we had chosen, for 4 min using a compact disc Walkman® and headphones. We took the participants' pulses for a second time using the first method. The experimenters next issued the participants the STAI. After they had filled out the STAI, we issued a demographic and music preference survey. In order to ensure that there were no lasting effects from the music or silence, we took the participants' pulses for a third time. Finally, we debriefed the participants by explaining the purpose of the study, the condition to which the participants were assigned, and the benefits of the research to psychological knowledge. If the participant had any questions, we answered them forthrightly.

Results
Heart Rate

 We calculated the mean differences between the HR baseline and after the exposure condition using a 2 X 3 design (Condition X Music) and two completely randomized factorial analyses of variance, one within-subjects and one between-subjects. All statistics used an alpha level of .05 (alpha level is used to determine whether the *p* value found in the statistical tests is significant; the odds that the observed result was due to chance). Overall, participants in the no choice condition experienced an increase between the first HR taken and the second HR taken (after the exposure condition). The choice condition experienced an overall decrease in mean HR difference. Participants in the no choice condition ($M = 1.9$, $SD = 4.5$) showed a significantly higher variation in mean HR difference compared to those in the choice condition ($M = -1.26$, $SD = 4.5$), $F(1, 58) = 6.31$, p < .05 (see Figure 1). The no music condition showed the highest increase in mean HR difference; sedative music was neutral, and stimulative music showed a decrease in regard to mean HR difference.

Figure 1
*Main Effect of Exposure Condition for Mean Difference of HR*
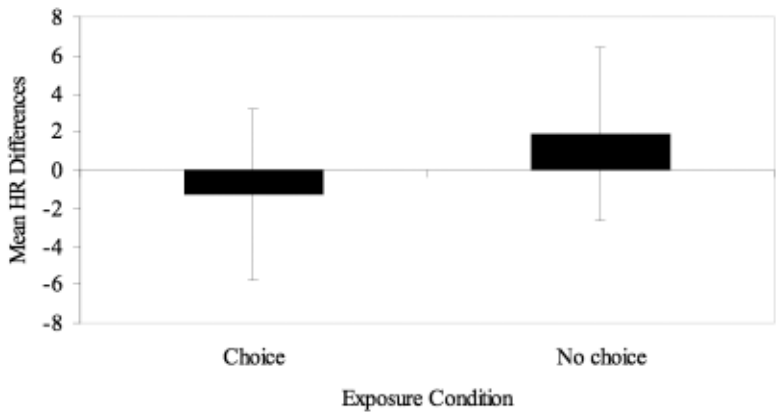
Note. Participants in the no choice condition ($M = 1.9$, $SD = 4.5$) showed a significantly higher difference in HR (baseline to music), compared to choice condition ($M = -1.26$, $SD = 4.5$), $F(1, 58) = 6.31$, $p < .05$. Lines on bars indicate SD* of ± 1 SE**.

*Standard Deviation (SD) basically tells how far or close the scores are from the mean of a set of data.

**Standard Error (SE) measures the standard amount of difference between the sample mean and the population mean that one can expect by chance.

As seen in Figure 2, there was an overall main effect for music condition ($M = .31$, $SE = 6.1$), $F(2, 58) = 4.33$, $p < .05$. A Scheffé comparison showed that stimulative music ($M = -1.47$, $SE = 1$) had a statistically significant lower mean HR difference compared to no music ($M = 3$, $SE = .84$), $F(2, 58) = 4.34$, $p < .05$. We found no significant disparity between stimulative and sedative music, or sedative and no music, or in mean HR differences between music and survey readings, or base and survey readings. We also did not find any interactions between condition and music in regard to the difference in HR.

Figure 2
Main Effect for Music Condition
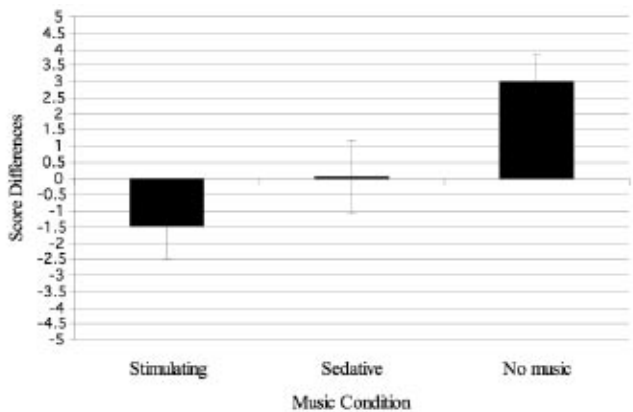
Note. Main effect for music condition ($M = .31$, $SE = .61$), $F(2, 58) = 4.33$, $p < .05$. Scheffé comparison showed stimulative music ($M = -1.47$, $SE = 1$) had statistically significant lower HR differences than no music ($M = 3$, $SE = .84$), $F(2, 58) = 4.34$, $p < .05$. Lines on bars indicate SE of ± 1 SE.

State Anxiety

        Using a 2 X 3 design (Condition X Music), we analyzed the mean scores for the state anxiety survey using a between-subjects completely randomized factorial analysis of variance. Participants in the no choice-no music condition demonstrated higher levels of state anxiety. Those in the no choice-stimulative condition had the lowest state anxiety scores. State anxiety scores increased in sedative music and were highest in the no music level for the no choice condition.

        Choice-condition participants showed a small decrease in state anxiety over stimulative, sedative, and no music levels, with no music being lowest in choice condition. There were no main effects found for exposure condition or music condition. Overall, participants in the no choice condition had lower state anxiety than those in the choice condition, but these differences were not significant. Participants in the stimulative music condition scored lower for state anxiety as opposed to sedative and no music, respectively. However, a significant interaction was found between condition and music type $F(2, 54) = 4.36$, $p < .05$ (see Figure 3). The Scheffé comparisons showed that the choice-stimulative condition ($M = 45.75$, $SE = 1.27$) was significantly higher than no choice-stimulative ($M = 40.2$, $SE = 1.39$). The no choice-stimulative condition ($M = 40.2$, $SE = 1.39$) was significantly lower than the no choice-no music condition ($M = 46.7$, $SE = 1.39$), $F(2, 54) = 4.36$, $p < .05$.

Figure 3
Interaction of Condition and Level for State Anxiety Score
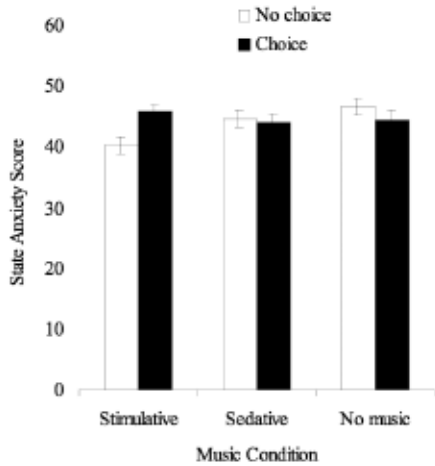
Note. Lines on bars indicate *SD* of ± 1 *SD*.

Discussion

        Our results did not support the Pitzen and Rauscher (1998) study because we found significance for mean HR difference between music levels in the no choice and choice groups, whereas the Pitzen and Rauscher study did not find significant variation in HR between music levels. The data obtained in the current study also did not support

the Hirokawa (2004) study, which found that subject-preferred music has the potential to increase older adults' arousal; in the current study, participants who chose their music condition had higher state anxiety scores and a decrease in mean HR difference than those in the no choice condition. The current study, however, used young adults, which may account for the differences found.

In effect, we found it interesting that participants in the stimulative music condition had high state anxiety scores but a decrease in mean HR difference. This difference is not entirely surprising because of the varied research on the relationship between physiological and psychological measures, even though some studies have linked the two. The difference between HR and state anxiety scores in the current study could be due to the STAI being a self-reported measure; participants may not have been truthful while filling out the questionnaire or perhaps did not take the time to reflect on and answer the questions accurately.

During testing, we discovered several problems with the current study. The first pertained to taking the participants' HR. The experimenters took participants' HR for 1 min three times throughout the experiment, but there were other methods available, such as taking HR for 15 s and multiplying it by 4, or taking HR for 30 s and multiplying it by two. Since there was no conclusive information about which method was most accurate, experimenters had to choose one method over the others, and this could have altered results because participants' HR could have been lower or higher when taken with one method than with another.

Also, when many participants arrived for the study they were out of breath; some were freshmen who had gotten lost trying to find the experimenting room or were running late. Either way, for these participants, the first HR measurement would have been higher than average and established an unreliable baseline. Conversely, other participants arrived early and had time to sit and relax before having their baseline HR taken.

Because of these problems associated with taking HR, many of the previous studies employed other dependent variables to measure arousal levels, such as GSR. We considered using GSR to measure arousal level in addition to HR but, due to time limits, decided against it. GSR might have been a more accurate measure of participant arousal levels, and thus had it been used the data might have turned out differently. Researchers who wish to examine the relevance of no choice and choice exposure conditions and music conditions on physiological arousal levels should consider using medical equipment to take HR and employ GSR as a dependent variable.

Additionally, participants in the no music condition were possibly more likely to think about other topics during the 4 min of silence; anxiety caused by these thoughts would not have been due to the independent variables of the listening or the exposure condition and therefore would result in an internal validity problem. This discrepancy might account for the higher state anxiety scores in the choice-no music condition than in the no choice-stimulative condition.

The results of the study achieved our purpose, which was to demonstrate that a no choice music condition would cause higher levels of physiological arousal than a chosen music condition. Also, because physiological arousal is a process involved in learning, the current study's findings had a bearing on practical applications for study habits. Results showed that participants in the no music condition had the highest

arousal level, but also experienced the highest level of anxiety, respectively. Future research could test the effects of silence using a learning task.

This particular finding also has implications for relaxation methods because the highest arousal levels in the no music condition indicate that it is more relaxing to listen to music than to sit in silence. Also relating to relaxation, the no choice-stimulative condition had higher arousal levels than those in the choice-stimulative condition. This result suggests that if people wish to relax, it would be more beneficial to let them choose the music they would like to listen to, rather than forcing them to do so.

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The Historical Jesus and the Slave of the Centurion: How the Themes of Slavery, Sexuality, and Military Service Intersect in Matthew 8:5-13

Erik Koepnick, author
Dr. Kathleen Corley, Religious Studies & Anthropology, faculty adviser

Erik Koepnick graduated from UW Oshkosh in December 2007 with a degree in Religious Studies and Anthropology. His research began as essay in Dr. Kathleen Corley's Jesus and the Gospels course during the fall semester of 2006. They later expanded the project through the Student/Faculty Collaborative Research Program. Erik was pleased that he could combine his interests in historical Jesus research and Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender studies into his project. He will be attending Chicago Theological Seminary in fall 2008 to pursue a master's degree in Divinity and Ordination in the United Church of Christ.

Dr. Kathleen Corley studied religious studies and English at Westmont College, and theology at Fuller Theological Seminary. She completed both a master's degree and a Ph.D. in religion at the Claremont Graduate School. She is a member of the North American Association for the Study of Religion and the nationally known Jesus Seminar. At UW Oshkosh she teaches New Testament, Christianity, Women and Religion, The Bible and Current Events, Jesus and the Gospels, Women and the New Testament, and Gnosticism. Her books include *Private Women, Public Meals* (1993) and *Women and the Historical Jesus: Feminist Myths of Christian Origins* (1993).

Abstract

When the identity of the slave in the Gospel narrative of "The Healing of the Centurion's Slave" is studied through historical-critical research, the written and earlier oral traditions of the story indicate that the miraculous act is true to the historical Jesus. Also, by exploring the slave's identity as a slave, same-sex love interest, and military recruit—and the 1st century C.E. implications thereof—the author concludes that the historical Jesus understood the sexual relationship between the centurion and his slave, and healed the latter based on the faith of the former. Jesus never spoke negatively about homosexuality and never offered sociological or theological discourse pertaining thereto.

Introduction

In the field of historical-critical research, very few scholars have made explicit attempts to discuss the topic of sexuality—much less homosexuality.[1] Commonly, Christian faith communities adhering to strict biblical authority view sexuality, especially homosexuality, in a negative light. However, positive biblical references to both sexuality and same-sex love are often misunderstood through the hetero-patriarchal lens most often used to read, teach, and understand the Bible. I drew upon the dual concept of hetero-patriarchy to denote the reality that, historically, the Bible has been written, edited, and interpreted mostly by heterosexual males; consequently,

the biblical worldview is fraught with androcentrism and a complete lack of the modern notion of sexual orientation.[2] One of these misunderstood stories is that of the distance healing of the centurion's slave found in Matthew 8:5-13.[3] Most of the previous scholarship regarding this story has standardized the androcentric assumption that the centurion loved the slave as a father does his son. Instead, my research offers the realistic possibility that the centurion and his slave were in a sexual relationship. By examining the prevailing social constructs of slavery, sexuality, and military service, we can better understand the true circumstances of this story and its meaning for the historical Jesus.

The text of Matthew 8:5-13 is a pericope, that is, a specific selection within a broader section of the Bible. The word *pericope* is used here to isolate the story of "The Healing of the Centurion's Slave" from the rest of the stories in the chapter, consisting only of verses 5-13 of chapter 8. Preference is given to the word *pericope* over *story* because the latter often calls to mind fictional stories, such as myth or fable, while the former allows the text to be understood as historical. The pericope of "The Healing of the Centurion's Slave" centers on three characters: Jesus, the centurion, and a slave belonging to the centurion. Here, the centurion understood Jesus as a worker of miracles, and we do not know whether or not the centurion valued Jesus as a faith leader, but he believed in Jesus' abilities enough to ask him to heal his slave. The centurion's title denotes that he was an officer in the Roman army charged with overseeing a legion of 100 men. The slave in this pericope is denoted using the Greek word *pais* and is a slave within the centurion's household; yet the meaning of the word *pais* is much more complex than simply *slave*. So in order to do justice to the identity of the pais in this pericope, and shed light on his true identity, I will provide evidence for the historical nature of the pericope and then outline the cultural circumstances in which the pais lived.

The first step toward substantiating that a pericope is authentic to the historical Jesus is to return to its earliest sources. Since we do not have written sources from Jesus himself, we must rely on the secondhand accounts of Jesus' life and ministry as recorded in the Gospels. Furthermore, since the biblical Gospels were not written during Jesus' lifetime, we must demonstrate that the pericope had a strong tradition within the oral period—30-50 C.E.[4] This period creates a bridge between Jesus' ministry ending with his crucifixion around 30 C.E. and the earliest written Gospels that preserve the pericope of Jesus healing the centurion's slave.[5]

The modern biblical canon preserves this pericope in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, both written after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. (Funk, Scott & Butts, 1988, pp. 12-13), and John, written in approximately 100 C.E. (Witherington, 1995, p. 28; Kysar, 1992, pp. 918-919). However, the Gospel Q and the Signs Source are the predecessors of the canonical Gospels and the earliest sources of this pericope, both argued to have been written before the fall of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. and as early as 50 C.E. (Funk, Scott, & Butts, 1988, p. 13; Kloppenborg, Meyer, Patterson, & Steinhauser, 1990, p. 5).

According to Fortna (1992), the Signs Source (*Semeia* Source) is as follows:
Hypothetical document comprising accounts of Jesus' miracles and held by a number of scholars to underlie the narratives in chapters 1-12 of the Fourth Gospel ([The Gospel of] John). Quite unlike

the Synoptics, this gospel characteristically refers to the miracles performed by Jesus as "signs" (in Greek, *semeia*): demonstrations of his messiahship, even his divinity. The [author of John] would have derived this use from a distinctive narrative source, the Signs Source. (p.18)

The Gospel Q is a hypothetical document considered to be a written source that accounts for the direct literary parallelism between the Gospels of Matthew and Luke that are not found in Mark (Kloppenborg, 2000). The Gospels of Matthew and Luke were authored contemporaneously, but neither author had knowledge of the other's work. Scholars agree that the authors of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke used the Gospel of Mark as a source, which accounts for only some of the parallelism between them. Current scholarship agrees that the common early source, Gospel Q, accounts for the parallels between the Gospels of Matthew and Luke not found in Mark (Kloppenborg, et al., 1990, p. 7).

The parallels between Matthew's and Luke's versions of the pericope of Jesus healing the centurion's pais are striking:

- Jesus was in Capernaum in Galilee (Mt 8:5; Lk 7:1);
- A Roman centurion was the petitioner (Mt 8:5; Lk 7:2);
- The centurion asked for healing for his pais (Mt 8:8; Lk 7:7);
- The centurion recognized his hierarchical inferiority to Jesus (Mt 8:8; Lk 7:6);
- The centurion stated that Jesus' word alone would effect the cure (Mt 8:8; Lk 7:7);
- The centurion offered a short discourse naming parallels between his authority and that of Jesus (Mt 8:9; Lk 7:8);
- Jesus listened to, and was amazed by, the faith of the centurion (Mt 8:10; Lk 7:9);
- Jesus addressed the crowd (Mt 8:10; Lk 7:9);
- The affected was healed at a distance (Mt 8:13; Lk 7:10).

This parallelism suggests that Matthew and Luke used the Gospel Q as a source apart from their more well-known common source, the Gospel of Mark. Furthermore, since both Matthew and Luke preserved this pericope and the consistent use of the word *pais* to refer to the affected person, in all likelihood the Gospel Q also included this pericope using the word *pais*. A reconstruction of Q by Robinson, Hoffman, and Kloppenborg (2002) confirms this assertion (pp. 90-91). So not only does Q preserve *pais*, but it is an early source that predates the canonical Gospels, bringing us one step closer to Jesus' lifetime.

The date commonly associated with the Gospel Q is early, around 50-70 C.E. (Funk, Hoover, & The Jesus Seminar, 1993, p. 18; Funk & The Jesus Seminar, 1998, p. 8; Kloppenborg et al., 1990, p. 5). What Q preserved is probably more accurate because it was written closer to when the actual event happened and closer to Jesus' lifetime than the other Gospels. As mentioned earlier, the Gospel Q is not the only early source for the pericope that preserves this pericope with the word *pais*.

The other early source where this pericope can be found is the Signs Source that, like Q, was not preserved in its original form in the modern biblical canon. According to Fortna (1988), the Signs Source preserved this pericope just as it appears

in the Gospel of John: using the Greek word *huios* (the English word *son*) in vss.
46-47, but preserving the word *paidion* (a diminutive of the word *pais*) on the lips
of the Roman official (vs. 49) and *pais* in vs. 51 (p. 59). Fortna bases his conclusion
on the assertion that the verbatim text of the Signs Source can be lifted directly from
the Gospel of John (p. 7). John's reputation as a creative editor suggests a different
conclusion based on his intention to use Jesus' miraculous acts to prove that he was the
Son of God.

      As mentioned before, the Gospel of John preserves a version of Jesus healing
the centurion's slave but with several variations compared to the pericope found in
the Gospel Q. The Gospel of John holds that the affected person was a "son" of a
Roman elected officer—not a centurion—and that Jesus was in Cana, not Capernaum.
The author of John also replaced the discussion of authority in QLuke 7:8, with Jesus
proclaiming, "Unless you see signs and wonders you will not believe. Go, your son
[huios] will live" (John 4:50). Thus, the author of the Gospel of John shifted the focus
away from the subversiveness of Jesus' praising the faith of the centurion—a Gentile or
non-Jewish person—and remains focused on the act itself. Further, the author of John
showed the officer's faith. The officer believed only after he was told by his household
that his son recovered, and he linked the time of recovery with the exact time Jesus
spoke the cure. Consequently, the version in John does not have Jesus effecting a
cure based on the faith of the officer, but instead has the officer gaining faith after
seeing that Jesus' miracle worked. It is likely that the author's attempt to remove all
subversiveness from this pericope also motivated him to change *pais* in vss. 46-47 to
huios—in order to remove evidence of sexual relationship.

      This redaction of the Signs Source by the author of John suggests that faith
in Jesus is inspired by proof-positive signs and further illustrates the intent of the
author of John to use miracles alone to prove Jesus as the messiah (Fortna, 1988, p.
48; Malina & Rohrbaugh, 1998, p. 65; Morris, 1995, p. 254; Smith, 1999, p. 81). This
theory is widely accepted by scholars, and I agree. The intentions of the author of John
do not preserve the historical Jesus. It is probable that the Signs Source, like its early
parallel source Q, preserved the word *pais*—not *huios*—in its original form.

      A pericope must be linked to the oral period—30-50 C.E.—in order to be
considered true to the historical Jesus. Because the oral period did not end one day and
the written period begin the next, scholars conclude that "sayings or parables that are
attested in two or more independent sources are older than the sources in which they
are embedded" (Funk et al., 1993, p. 26). Consequently, because the Gospel Q and the
Signs Source are both early sources of the pericope and its use of the word *pais*, one
can conclude that they both originate from a strong early oral tradition.[6]

      The discussion of the evidence about the identity of the pais raises even
more complex issues. In the popular research on the identity of the pais, each author
is reluctant to provide a complete and unambiguous definition of the pais. Definitions
of the word *pais* include "boy," "girl," "child," "son," "daughter," "slave," "handsome
young man," and "beloved" (Dover, 1978, p. 16; Corley, 1993, p. 66; Jennings & Liew,
2004, pp. 472-473). While many authors argue for one over the other, my research
found a much more intricate, nuanced identity for the pais that does not depend on just
one aspect of his persona.

      Unlike the English language, every noun in Greek has a gender, and this is
signified with a definite article preceding the word. This explains why the word *pais*

can have both masculine and feminine meanings. The Greek article *ho* is used to indicate the masculine and appears in the Greek text of the New Testament to refer to the affected person.[7] Thus, the gender of the pais in the variations of the pericope goes undisputed.

Classicists agree that "slave" is a definitional possibility for the word *pais*; yet more convincing evidence indicates that the pais in this pericope was probably a slave. The author of the Gospel of Luke changed the word *pais* to the word *doulos* (a Greek word that means, simply, "slave") to remove any doubt about the identity of the pais as a slave. Further contextual proof is found within and outside of the Bible and considers societal customs in the first-century Roman Empire in which Jesus lived.

The Roman Empire was structured as a strict social hierarchy that influenced life at every level. The hierarchy can be visualized as a triangle forcing citizens of the Roman Empire into conformity within a power structure that held freeborn male Roman citizens at its apex, with freeborn women and children placed below, and the underclass and slaves at the very bottom (Boswell, 1980, p. 74; Hallett & Skinner, 1997, p. 41). Those at the top of the hierarchy (e.g., freeborn Roman males) directed their power against those below them (e.g., women, children, and slaves both male and female), so any action that appeared to challenge the hierarchy was viewed negatively. For instance, a male who abandoned his masculine role and adopted that of a female was seen as surrendering power for passivity (Torjesen, 1993, p. 184). For a slave, every aspect of personhood, even sexuality, was controlled through ownership.

Many of Jesus' sayings reveal that he understood this hierarchy as a part of daily life within the Roman Empire. Many scholars have explained that Jesus used the subversion of everyday ideas to challenge his audience's point of view and to inspire them to employ critical thinking in their everyday lives. Corley confirms "Jesus' interest in his parables to challenge his hearers to consider slave/master relations" (1993, p. 65). Glancy corroborates this view: "Because so many of Jesus' sayings preserved in Luke and Matthew feature the figure of the slave, they create the impression that Jesus' audience was as familiar with the world of slaveholding and enslavement as with the worlds of farming and fishing" (2006, p. 107).

The effects of the common attitudes toward slaves even permeate the colloquial language of the time—specifically regarding the word *pais*. Slave owners used the word *pais* in everyday language to refer to their slaves, and it referred to the slaves' subordinate status within the household (Glancy, 2006, p. 24; Veyne, 1987, p. 61). This is one possible explanation for the centurion's use of the word *pais* to refer to the ill male in his household. Another reason stems from an existing Roman law that applied to the centurion because of his rank in the Roman military. Jennings and Liew verify that "It is well known among classicists that, around 13 B.C.E., Augustus had legally banned soldiers below the ranks of senatorial and equestrian officers from marrying, and that this ban was lifted either temporarily or permanently by Septimus Severus around 197 C.E." (2004, p. 470).[8] As such, the centurion would not have had the opportunity to have children unless he did it on the sly; even then, why would there be so much confusion in the Gospel narratives if the pais was simply a son (the Greek word *huios*)? Thus, the change made by the author of John's Gospel, from the word *pais* to the word *huios*, is a possible error.

Like almost every householder in the Roman Empire, military officials like the centurion commonly employed slaves in their households to take care of the day-

to-day housework. Jesus would have understood this aspect of the role of the pais in the centurion's household because he would have known that the centurion was not allowed to marry and thus had no wife or children to maintain the household. Furthermore, simple childhood does not explain the disciples' reaction to the paidia (the Greek plural of *pais*) in the Gospel of Mark.

What characteristic other than slavery would inspire the disciples to rebuke Jesus' blessing of the paidia in the Gospel of Mark (Mark 10:13; Corley, 1993, p. 66)? Here, the word *paidia* is often translated "little children"; yet why would the disciples be upset that Jesus was blessing children? Corley explained that in the next verses (Mark 10:14-15) "Jesus' hearers are told to identify themselves with the enslaved or those in positions of servitude. In fact, the reign of God belongs especially to them" (1993, p. 66). This made more sense within the context of the chapter and also fit with Jesus' overall style of subverting normal assumptions by stating that the kingdom of God belongs to slaves—those at the very bottom of the social hierarchy. The disciples found this view ridiculous since they also lived within the hierarchy and afforded no privileges to slaves. This evidence shows that the pais is someone other than a son and that Jesus would have rightly understood the slavery aspect of the identity of the pais, but further evidence reveals that he was also more than just a slave.

While the pais in the pericope in question was a male slave, another facet to the meaning of the word *pais* can be applied to his identity. The word *pais* was also used as a diminutive that implied affection (i.e., a pet name) to refer to the younger or more youthful partner in a homosexual relationship (Boswell, 1980, pp. 29-30; Dover, 1978, p. 16; Gagnon, 2002, p. 163; Jennings & Liew, 2004, pp. 472-473). In this way, the centurion was likely using the word *pais* with respect to his sexual relationship with the male slave.

Scholars overwhelmingly agree that the word *pais* was used in the Greek language as a synonym for the word *eromenos*—a Greek word meaning "the boy you love" and specifically denoting a homosexual relationship (Dover, 1978, p. 16; Gagnon, 2002, p. 162; Jennings & Liew, 2004, pp. 472-473; Nissinen, 1998, p. 58). This idea appears in numerous ancient sources, including Plato's *Symposium* (385 B.C.E.), in which the author acknowledges the positive morality of a homosexual relationship wherein the beloved (in Greek, pais) is made "wise and virtuous" by the more mature lover (in Greek, erastes) (Nissinen, 1998, p. 59). It also appears in *The History of the Peloponnesian War* (433-411 B.C.E.), in which Thucydides writes of the homosexual relationship between Pausanias and Agathon, using the word *pais* when referring to Agathon; and in *Against Timarchos* (345 B.C.E.), in which Aeschines discusses Timarchos' reputation for taking advantage of the older men with whom he had relationships, using the word *pais* when referring to Timarchos. Furthermore, Boswell notes that "an official Roman document of the second century [C.E.]" mentions a pais in a "specifically homosexual context" (1980, p. 30). Even though there is a large span between the dates of these documents, there is no change in the use of the word *pais* to refer to a man's same-sex devotee.

Additionally, the life and ministry of Jesus fall within the time period in which the word *pais* was used in such a way, suggesting that Jesus would have known this word as synonymous with the words *male lover*. Moreover, the Gospel of Matthew uses the word *doulos* apart from his use of the word *pais* to refer to slaves,

and the word *huios* apart from the word *pais* to mean son; thus these words are not synonymous for Matthew (Jennings and Liew, 2004, pp. 471-472). As I alluded to earlier, each of the Gospels that preserved a version of this pericope—Matthew, Luke, and John—preserved the word *pais* on the lips of the centurion/officer. Therefore, it is not inconsistent to suggest that Jesus heard the centurion utter: "Say the word and my youthful male lover will be healed!" (Mt 8:8, Lk 7:7).

  The assertion that the pais is the same-sex love interest of the centurion is further corroborated by the use of the word *pais* in the lexicon of the Roman Army. Boswell asserts that adult males "were still classed as 'boys' by Roman writers when they were serving in the Roman army," and that this alludes to "youthful beauty rather than chronological minority" (1980, p. 81). The centurion's pais may have been preparing to serve beside his master in the Roman army. While a man must be free to serve in the Roman military (Fitzgerald, 2000, p. 4), the centurion may well have chosen a trusted, physically fit, attractive male slave with plans to free him, allowing master and freed slave to fight side-by-side in battle.

  Strong evidence confirms that the Roman army used pederastic relationships to their benefit in the organization of some legions of soldiers. In his work from the first century C.E. concerning the life of a Roman military captain Pelopidas, Plutarch described the Sacred Band of Lovers, a Roman battalion composed of homosexual partners:

> [The] Sacred Band of three hundred chosen men...composed of
> young men attached to each other by personal affection...a band
> cemented by friendship grounded upon love is never to be broken,
> and invincible; since the lovers, ashamed to be base in sight of their
> beloved, and the beloved before their lovers, willingly rush into dan-
> ger for the relief of one another. (2001, p. 396; cf. Boswell, 1995, pp.
> 64-65; Greenberg, 1988, pp. 110-116)

In this way, the less experienced soldier (the pais in Matthew) would model himself after the more experienced soldier (the centurion in Matthew) to fight the enemy with bravery (Nissinen, 1998, p. 58). Furthermore, since intimacy with a slave master would eventually lead to freedom for the slave (Boswell, 1980, p. 74; Veyne, 1987, p. 57; Fitzgerald, 2000, p. 13), and the positive treatment of slaves would reflect positively on their master (Fitzgerald, p. 5), it is possible to propose that the pais was a slave in the centurion's household who, at some point,was chosen by the centurion as a lover in order to be later freed to fight beside him in the Roman army.

  The modern understanding of pederasty as a relationship between a man and a boy evokes ideas of inappropriate contact between an adult and a child; interestingly, the ancient practice of pederasty was more complex than our modern ideology would let us believe. According to Jennings, "[*Pais*] is one of two roots that together form the word 'pederasty.' The other root is 'erastes' (from the Greek word eros) which means 'lover.' The term 'pederasty' means 'lover of youths' and was the technical term for male homosexual relationships in the Hellenistic world" (2003, p. 133). However, the pais as a lover, just like the pais as a slave, was referred to as such even when he was an adult displaying adult characteristics (i.e., facial hair, height) (Dover, 1978, p. 85; Glancy, 2006, p. 24). Furthermore, Boswell states, "In the majority of instances homosexual relations are described as occurring between fully grown persons, and

no disparity in age is implied or stated," citing an extensive list of ancient works by authors including Plutarch and Clement of Alexandria (1980, p. 30). Jennings (2003) agrees, stating, "In the Hellenistic world, despite the literal connotation of 'boy,' the 'beloved' referred to in this way would not normally have been a minor" (pp. 133-134). Scholars have even found that some pederastic relationships were not temporary bonds, but lasted through adulthood (Nissinen, 1998, p. 67; Scroggs, 1983, pp. 130-139). Thus, the centurion's pais may have been only slightly younger than himself or even a peer with the use of the word *pais* referring to his inferior social status as a slave. Finally, with the lawful ban on marriage looming over the centurion, his relationship with the pais was likely not a short-term tryst but a valuable solution to his lack of mutual affection and his vulnerability in the battlefield.

My research has shown that Jesus' miraculous healing of the centurion's slave is grounded in historical fact; that the slave was not a son or just a slave of the centurion, but his sexual partner, and that Jesus healed the slave with a full understanding that he was in a physical relationship with his master, the centurion. So what, finally, are the implications of Jesus' healing of the centurion's pais? First, this pericope is true to the historical Jesus, which I concluded by tracing the pericope from the Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John through their earlier sources (the Gospel Q and the Signs Source). This then implies the existence of an oral tradition for the pericope dating back to within Jesus' lifetime. Thus, it is implicit that the historical Jesus healed the male pais of a Roman army official. Second, as revealed by the evidence for the sociocultural context of the first-century Roman Empire, Jesus would have understood that the pais was a slave. Thus, this pericope can be seen as yet another example of Jesus' empathy toward those on the lowest end of the social order and in positions of servitude, to the extent that their position is especially blessed by Jesus' ministry.[9] Third, the sociocultural context also indicates that the historical Jesus probably healed the centurion's pais with the understanding that the two were involved in a deeply affectionate relationship that likely included sexual relations between the two males, and he gave no commentary—positive or negative, social or theological. If anything, Jesus' impetus for healing the pais was based on the centurion's faith (QLuke 7:9). This last conclusion calls into doubt the assertion by modern Christian conservatives that homosexual acts are inherently sinful. This pericope sheds light on a different point of view. It reveals the likelihood that Jesus healed the slave based solely on the faith of the centurion—even with knowledge of their possible physical relationship. Not only that, but he performed the miracle without even acknowledging their relationship. In my opinion, this action illustrates that Jesus did not disapprove of their bond.

In fact, we have no opinion of same-sex relations from either the Jesus of history or the Christ of faith.[10] If Jesus did have a strong opinion regarding the relationship between the centurion and his slave-boy, this would have been the prime opportunity for him to assert it. Was this a missed opportunity to condemn homosexuality or merely a non-judgmental miracle of faith? Or was homosexuality a non-issue for Jesus? I conclude that if Jesus did have a strong opinion about homosexuality, it would have been recorded and would appear in our modern Gospels. If anything, this research has at least created a dialogue, offering readers a different interpretation of the pericope.

Notes

[1] Baird, in his analysis of New Testament criticism for the *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (1992) states that historical-criticism is a method of "higher criticism" focused on realizing a historical understanding of the texts of the New Testament, and that "to achieve this, the [New Testament] documents [have] to be viewed in their historical and cultural context" (pp. 730-736). This is what I attempt in my analysis: to understand the historical context in which the Centurion and his slave lived in order to more fully understand their relationship to one another.

[2] For further reading on religious and biblical based sexism, see Ruether, 1983.

[3] Remus (1992) outlines the "typical form" of a healing miracle in the New Testament: "the sickness is described (e.g., its duration, life-threatening symptoms, the failure of physicians and medicines to effect a cure); the sick person and the healer encounter one another; the healer, through word or manipulations and use of substances (but sometimes none of these), works a cure, which usually is sudden; proof of the healing is supplied; the spectators (if any) are amazed." "The Healing of the Centurion's Slave" follows this form with the one exception that Jesus does not have direct contact with the afflicted slave. This exception defines the miracle as a distance healing in which Jesus need not have contact with the afflicted person, but needs only to speak the word to effect a cure (cf. Mk 2:1-12, Mt 9:1-8, Lk 5:17-26; Mk 7:24-30, Mt 15:21-28; Mk 11:12-14, 20-26; Mt 21:18-22; Remus, 1992, p. 850).

[4] C.E. is an abbreviation for "common era," a term that denotes a period in time analogous to A.D. (anno domini). This distinction is common within biblical scholarship because it does not use the name of the Lord; thus it communicates more effectively cross-culturally.

[5] The Jesus Seminar relies on this "fundamental axiom" that "only sayings and parables that can be traced back to the oral period, 30-50 C.E., can possibly have originated with Jesus" (Funk, Hoover, & The Jesus Seminar, 1993).

[6] It is the view of The Jesus Seminar that the Q and John (Signs Source) versions of the story of Jesus healing the centurion's slave are derived from common oral tradition (Funk & The Jesus Seminar, 1998).

[7] The phrase "*ho pais*" is found in Matthew 8:6, 8, 13, Luke 7:7, and John 4:49, 51. Luke uses "*hos doulos*" (male slave) in 7:3. John uses "*ho huios*" (male son) in 4:46-47, 50, 53.

[8] According to Scheidel, "The state's rationale for its disapproval of military marriage is not discussed in the extant sources and remains an object of debate. Modern notions that this policy was designed to create a pool of illegitimate sons who grew up in a military environment and had a strong incentive to join the army in order to gain citizenship are implausible: there is no evidence that such individuals would obtain citizen status upon enlistment, and the 'internal replacement' model of Roman recruitment is unlikely for demographic reasons as well... The Severan legalization of regular marriage (alongside a pay raise) was supposed to make military service more attractive, which (if true) implies that soldiers may somehow have perceived the 'ban' as a handicap as well" (2005, p. 3)

[9] For further analysis of the historical Jesus concerning slavery, see Corley (1993, pp. 62-67).

[10] This distinction is common within New Testament scholarship concerning the historical problem of Jesus compared to the contradictory information offered in the Gospels (Barnes Tatum, 1982, pp. 87-90).

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