LEGACY

A Journal of Student Scholarship

Volume 22 **2022**

A Publication of the Sigma Kappa Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta
& the Southern Illinois University Carbondale History program

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The editorial staff would like to thank all those who supported this issue of *Legacy*, especially the SIU Undergraduate Student Government, Phi Alpha Theta, SIU History faculty and staff, our history alumni, our school director Dr. Jonathan Bean, the students who submitted papers, and their faculty mentors Professors Jonathan Bean, Joseph Sramek, and Hale Yılmaz

A publication of
the Sigma Kappa Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta
& the History program at
Southern Illinois University Carbondale

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A Reflection of American Affairs and Values: The Evolution of the Summer Camp in American History

Introduction

In today's society, new means of escapism often arise as people try to cope with the technological revolution and the pressures it has on daily life. Escapism is not a new trend in American life either. American escapism is a term coined in reference to a dangerous tendency of the American public to take refuge in fantasy when reality becomes too dark to face. In the human experience, leisure and recreation are both aspects of escapism, but leisure activities only become part of escapism when these activities are less for the enjoyment of spare time and more of a necessity for people to function in their everyday life.

The rise of industrialization in American society created the need for an environment where people could remove themselves from the heavy expectations of a grown capitalist society. As capitalism and its effects took control over the American people, many yearned for a simpler time their ancestors had known, filled with frontiersmen and rugged wilderness. For over a century, nature has been valued and viewed as a haven in the American imagination. As America struggled with the effects of industrialization and the devastation of the two world wars, nature became more and more of a sanctuary to counter these traumas.

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, Americans have longed for uniquely American manifestations and expressions of culture. This yearning has been observed in the American literary transcendentalist movement, which centered on the experiences of individuals in nature since both nature and people were understood to be inherently good. The American tradition broke away from European schools of thought and cultural practices and found different groups to uphold those core values, such as children center nature refuges.[1] Childhood experiences often create the foundation for life and learning. There is a lack of studies on the developmental impact children may experience at camp in the historiography of summer camps in the United States. Many studies

1 Michael G. Kamme, *American Culture, American Tastes: Social Change and the 20th Century* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999), 62-64.

have centered on how summer camps forged a sense of nationalism, the correlation between summer camps and anti-modernism, and other socio-political issues that may stem from summer camps and neglect to address the physiological and mental components. The study of childhood development, specifically at summer camps, can provide insight into how various cultural and environmental factors have contributed to American society. This paper will focus primarily on the ideals surrounding the nature and operations of summer camps rather than the experiences of children summer camps have historically served. Though it is important to note that the summer camp industry, today, includes a diverse spectrum of experiences, the summer camp experience has ties to classism and a history of perpetuating segregation and colonialism. The objective of summer camps has been to serve children. This paper will underscore how the motives for serving children have changed over time. Moreover, while the reasons may be multifold, the objective of summer camps has been and continues to prioritize the well-being of those children it houses every summer.

This essay will argue that shifts in American society directly impacted the evolution of how summer camps nurtured their campers and how they facilitated the creation of an escapist environment. The constant, strong sense of escapism driving the popularity of summer camps was produced in different ways throughout history, informed by how Americans prioritized the importance of childhood. In addition, summer camps allowed children to process their emotions in a place that appeared to be fixed in time; summer camps emerged in the social landscape as temporary sanctuaries for children. This paper will follow a timeline starting in the late nineteenth century with the development of the first summer camps in the Progressive Era.[2] It will conclude in the mid-twentieth century with America's response to World War II and the profound impact the war had on summer camps while highlighting the benefits of outdoor education that contributed to the popularity of summer camps.

Historiography

Environmental historian Michael B. Smith's article, "The Ego of the Good Camper," illustrates the interworkings of summer camps, their social dynamics, and their function. He argued that summer camps were designed as a refuge with children's psychological welfare in mind. This design resulted from the post-WWII movement aiming to protect the mental state of children while providing a means of escapism from their struggles in the "real world."

2 The Progressive Era is a period in United States history spanning from 1890s to 1920, characterized by intense social activism and politcal reform to improve American society and counteract Industrialism.

He evaluated the period between the emergence of the American Camping Association's mission statements throughout World War II until the mid-1950s to show how these policies evolved to adhere to psychological principles for the well-being of American children. Smith noted that summer camps have a physiological effect on children by creating unique, safe environments with his theory on the psychopathic risk campers face while attending summer camp.

In her book *Children's Nature : The Rise of the American Summer Camp*, historian Leslie Paris examined how children developed a sense of community at summer camps.[3] She noted that many Americans first experienced having a community they relied on for emotional support at summer camps. Through testimonials of campers and staff, she argued that the dynamics of summer camp, outdoor living, group activity, simple diets, and fresh air transformed the lives of campers.

The early movement of summer camps started as a result of welfare projects in major urban areas like New York City. In Julia Guarneri's article "Changing Strategies for Child Welfare, Enduring Beliefs about Childhood: The Fresh Air Fund, 1877—1926," she argued that the Fresh Air Movement of the Progressive Era inspired and evolved into the modern summer camp.[4] With urban life being harmful to children and the constant pressures of industrial life and wealth inequality, New York socialites took it upon themselves to introduce the younger generation to a simpler way of living that once dominated American culture, or at least their imagination.

Barksdale Maynard's article, "'An Ideal Life in the Woods for Boys' Architecture and Culture in the Earliest Summer Camps," highlighted the importance of education at summer camps provided to children. He did so by focusing on all boys camps in the Northeast during the 1880s. Maynard credited summer camps for fostering a positive influence and inspiration for these boys as they carried the skills learned in camp into the "real" world and careers.

Origin of Summer Camps (1880-1930)

Summer camps pride themselves on tradition and heritage; many adhere to the same principles under which they were founded. Organizers of many summer camps sought to create a space to embody more traditional aspects of American society based on ideas of a past centered on rugged frontiers and pioneering a new life. The original goal of summer camps was to provide

3 Leslie Paris, *Children's Nature : The Rise of the American Summer* Camp (New York: New York University Press, 2008).

4 Julia Guarneri, "Changing Strategies for Child Welfare, Enduring Beliefs about Childhood: The Fresh Air Fund, 1877–1926," *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 11, no. 1 (2012): 27–70.

children with an opportunity to experience the America previous generations longed for by creating a physical place replicating the American frontier.[5]

The era of -isms beginning in the late nineteenth century encompassed massive global social, political, economic, and cultural changes. Many of these changes were due to imperialism, nationalism, liberalism, and capitalism, among other ideologies, which separated a new generation from their ancestors' simpler ways of living.[6] Many believed the new sprawl of urban development took away the freedoms the frontier had offered. Camping advocate and former camp director R. Alice Drought believed democracy was to blame for softening its citizens by providing higher standards of living.[7] To combat the loss of traditional American values, New York City Progressives started a welfare movement, the Fresh Air Fund (FAF), pioneered by Reverend Willard Parsons.[8] The Rev. Willard Parsons grew up on a farm in Franklin, and throughout his life, he remained fond of the wholesome country life of his childhood. While attending Union Theological Seminary, he became appalled at some social conditions children suffered in New York City of the 1870s. Parsons witnessed what the children of Brooklyn tenements endured in the hot months of summer. In 1877, he began his plans to alleviate child suffering by creating the FAF.[9]

The foundation of the FAF marked the beginning of the summer camp evolution in the United States.[10] Its mission aimed to whisk underprivileged kids from New York City away to host families in rural areas of New England for two weeks over the summer. The briefness of these social interactions had been strategically implemented to prevent children from becoming attached to their temporary homes, thus creating emotional damage.[11] Parsons wanted to offer these children a "socially healthier alternative to the city" and introduce them to simpler living away from poverty, strikes, riots, and the social stigma between classes, but Reverend Parsons adamantly insisted that the Fund could not to solve these issues directly at the source.[12]

5 Leslie Paris, *Children's Nature : The Rise of the American Summer Camp* (New York: New York University Press, 2008), 11.

6 The 19th and early 20th centuries were periods of massive and global social, political, economic, and cultural changes and developments. Imperialism, nationalism, Marxism, liberalism, capitalism, ideological totalitarianism, and globalism are just a few "isms" that the 20th century witnessed.

7 Alice R. Drought, *A Camping Manual* (New York: A.S. Barnes & Company, 1943), 4.

8 Julia Guarneri, "Changing Strategies for Child Welfare, Enduring Beliefs about Childhood: The Fresh Air Fund, 1877–1926," *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 11, no. 1 (January 2012), 28.

9 Guarneri, "Changing Strategies", 28.

10 Fresh Air Fund abbreviated to FAF.

11 Guarneri, "Changing Strategies", 28-29.

12 Guarneri, "Changing Strategies", 42-44.

The precedence of temporary comfort and safe places for children began here. Early camping efforts still embraced traditional American values, but soon things like education and children's well-being became more of the driving force for wanting children to experience the natural world. Parsons and other socialites who sponsored the FAF hoped for the establishment of camping as a vital part of education.[13] In their view, summer camps provided a wide variety of activities so that children experienced alternative forms of learning outside school curriculums. Camp education taught children how to properly socialize with people their age through group dynamics such as problem-solving. Former president of Harvard University, Charles Eliot, called summer camp "the most important step in education that America has given the world."[14]

The creation of the summer camp arose in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Middle-class Americans began to doubt the emerging growth of urbanization and industrial capitalism and fantasized about a sanctuary away from the pressures of their new reality by recreating an agrarian life in nature. Indeed, many Americans believed they could escape the burden of urban life.[15] At the same time, other summer camps began to emerge as a social experiment to understand what types of human socialization were necessary for modern life. Removed from social actors that limited their agency, such as teachers and parents, children at the camp were free to socialize without those involved in their urban lives.

Camp advocates, like the Revered Willard Pastors, believed children in environments where they were free to socialize how they pleased could develop more whole personalities and eventually contribute more to society.[16] These two methods proved widely successful for the foundation of summer camps and sparked the establishment of more summer camps throughout the Northeast. Founded with a mission centered on bringing rural values to children's lives, Jackson's Mill State 4-H Camp in Weston, West Virginia, successfully applied these methods to their summer camp.[17] Jackson's Mill State 4-H Camp, operating for over a century since its foundation in the early 1920s, has proved itself ahead of its time with the summer camp craze.[18]

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13 Lloyd Burgess Sharp, *Education and the Summer Camp: An Experiment* (New York: Teachers College Columbia University, 1930), 4.

14 Maynard W. Barksdale, "'An Ideal Life in the Woods for Boys': Architecture and Culture in the Earliest Summer Camps," *Winterthur Portfolio* 34, no. 1 (March 1999), 3.

15 Michael B. Smith, "'The Ego Ideal of the Good Camper' and the Nature of Summer Camp," *Environmental History* 11, no. 1 (January 2006), 72.

16 "'The Ego Ideal of the Good Camper'", 74.

17 Courtney Fint, "Jackson's Mill State 4-H Camp: The Rural Summer Camp as a Cultural Landscape." *Future Anterior: Journal of Historic Preservation, History, Theory, and Criticism* 1, no. 1 (June 2004), 37.

18 Fint, "Jackson's Mill State 4-H Camp", 37.

At the turn of the twentieth century, there were fewer than one hundred summer camps in the United States, and by 1918 there were more than one thousand.[19] Summer camps began to broaden the demographic of children they served, and by providing easier accessibility, summer camp enrollments rose. Summer camps were able to provide health care that was inaccessible to children living in the city because of their financial status and also their geographic location.[20] Additionally, new labor laws restricting child labor vastly changed the role of young people in society as children were required to attend schools.[21] This newly allotted freedom from work provided children with free time, which previous generations never experienced. Becoming students rather than workers gave children more time to participate in recreational activities, like the FAF, which also provided constructive ways for children to socialize and pass away the time. Without this option, many children would likely adhere to deviant activities that served as a means to end boredom rather than beneficially releasing youthful energy. This legislation protecting the exploitation of American children significantly contributed to the cultural shift in Americans' understanding of childhood. In the eyes of many Americans, the early years of the social development of American children became important and something that needed to be preserved during the age of industrialism and urbanization.

At the end of the nineteenth century, summer camps predominantly served middle and upper-class White Protestant boys, but over the next five decades, they expanded their reach to other demographics such as girls, immigrants, members of religious groups, and ethnic minorities.[22] During the Progressive Era, FAF staff used American rituals to assimilate immigrant children, keeping their overall systematic, professional approach.[23] An essential goal of the summer camp was to reinstate American traditions; however, this process was widely different from camp to camp.

One of the Progressive Era's most recognized children's organizations was The Boy Scouts of America.[24] The BSA provided a way for young boys to build character, be self-reliant, and become responsible citizens of the United States. Progressives these values could produce better members of society. While the FAF aimed to offer a temporary sanctuary for children to relieve themselves from the troubles of their daily lives, the BSA aimed to instill young boys with nationalistic and Progressive morals and values. The BSA used the mode of summer camps to teach the boys they served to be

19 Smith, "'The Ego Ideal'", 77.
20 Sharp, *Education and the Summer Camp,* 35.
21 Paris, *Children's Nature*, 4.
22 Paris, *Children's Nature*, 3.
23 Guarneri, "Changing Strategies, 55.
24 Boy Scouts of America abbreviated to BSA.

upstanding citizens and prepare them for the workforce. The BSA modeled summer camps after the United States military to achieve these goals and implemented rigid schedules and physical fitness exams.[25] However, because of their effectiveness in propelling boys into society as successful citizens, the BSA became a wildly popular standard model of summer camp operations.

Other organizations, such as the FAF, proved to be highly successful for families and socialites alike; however, some families' expectations for their children's time at the camp were not met due to neglectful host families or inadequate facilities.[26] Because summer camps grew rapidly, they often did not adapt to reform, and many camps operated under vastly different standards of operation. It was not until 1924 that summer camps faced significant reform targeting camp problems. The methods of caring for children received careful study through the Children's Welfare Federation.[27] The Fresh Air Fund's focus on ameliorating rather than solving children's issues and urban poverty explains how it survived without major reforms for so long.[28] It was their sense of creating a temporary environment that, in some ways, justified their lack of reform. However, had Fund focused its involvement at the root of social issues, the idea of the summer camp could not have been lost to other forms of welfare. An ACA survey from 1936 showed that many camps operated without meeting ACA guidelines, such as keeping camper medical records. Of the one hundred and seven camps the survey examined, eighty percent kept records, and only nine of the camps consulted the services of a psychologist through periodic visits.[29]

Summer Camps WWI - WWII

Both world wars inspired many camp directors to redesign summer camps to create a more regimented and militaristic experience.[30] The focus on children's discipline became highly structured in camp life. Parents who sent their children to camp expected discipline regardless of whether or not they practiced it at home.[31] World War II proved to be even more impactful to the dynamic of camping institutions in America. Due to the majority of men in their twenties serving in the war, many camp directors often had to make

25 David I. MacLeod, "Act Your Age: Boyhood, Adolescence, and the Rise of the Boy Scouts of America." *Journal of Social History* 16, no. 2 (December 1982): 3–20.

26 MacLeod, "Act Your Age", 40.

27 Sharp, *Education and the Summer Camp*, 21.

28 Guarneri, "Changing Strategies", 70

29 H. S. Dimock, *Putting Standards Into the Summer Camp* (Chicago: Reports of the Seventh Annual Camp Institute Under Joint Auspices of George Williams College and Chicago Camping Association, 1936), 7-9.

30 Smith, "'The Ego Ideal'", 77.

31 Drought, *A Camping Manual*, 7.

do with hiring staff in their forties or late teens instead of the young-adult campers administrators typically preferred.[32] In addition to new staff, many camp directors added activities that aided the war efforts, such as growing their victory gardens.[33]

The war years surged in advocacy from summer camps, with many theorists and supporters arguing that camps and nature were a way to help rehabilitate the youth unsettled by war. During the war, camps served as a refuge for children who sought to separate themselves physically from the war. Camp live excluded all mentions of the war. In 1942, the ACA published its wartime bulletin noting:

> Summer camps tucked away in the hills are not only havens of physical safety, but the normal, happy life of these camps is the best antidote yet discovered for the nerve tension, emotional excitement, and hate endangered the war of nerves, and constant fear of attack experienced by those who live in cities.[34]

Camp advocates such as Ross Allen argued that if camps removed children from the adult-themed discussion of politics, war, and current events, it would help preserve a healthy emotional state in children. By creating a mental diversion through camp activities and leisure, summer camps provided the escapist solution to the psychological toll war could have had on children. In 1942 one summer camp director went as far as eliminating mentions of war from parents' letters to their children as well as radio, newspapers, and discussions of war amongst campers in an effort to seclude them from life outside of camp.[35] The reformed summer camp recast itself as a site for children and a place that worked to preserve the innocence and mental state of the younger generation. Just as the war impacted American society, it also changed the social, physical, and psychological aspects of summer camp operations. The aftermath of the war ushered in a new era of summer camps that heavily focused on child psychology.

In the years after the war, multiple philosophies and approaches to camp operations forged new paths. The main new direction of summer camps converged the traditional camp movement of creating rustic sanctuaries for children focused on outdoorsmanship and education and the new reality brought upon the modern world. These post-war developments informed child psychologists William Morse and Fritz Redl, who observed that summer camps were not natural but created environments in the woods needing

32 Paris, *Children's Nature*, 267.

33 Smith, "'The Ego Ideal'", 82.

34 Smith, "'The Ego Ideal'", 83.

35 Smith, "'The Ego Ideal'", 83-85.

detailed guidance for children to grow.[36] Summer camps during World War II became a place where children could process the conditions and emotions of the real world without having to confront them directly. Outdoor educator Barbra Ellen Joy believed that "camp professionals had to embrace a healing and fortifying approach to camping."[37]

Given the origins of summer camps designed as a refuge from urban sprawl, it is not surprising that camp leaders in the mid-twentieth century, such as Kenneth Webb, 1964 Director of Farm and Wilderness Camps expressed ambivalence towards city life. What is surprising is how ideas about nature, childhood, and urban life have remained constant since the foundation of summer camps, especially in a society increasingly becoming mediated by technology.[38] Camping advocates believed that the life children experienced in urban and suburban America not only took away the experience of adolescent innocence but it also robbed children from creating the important core memories needed to harbor a well-rounded life.

While summer camps were a temporary home for children, the camp experience stuck with them for the rest of their lives. As Webb has noted, "such precious memories of a campfire or of other enchanted moments during the summer linger on long after the campfires are quenched and the feet of youthful listeners started on the trail of life."[39]

Summer Camps Post World War II and the Emergence of Outdoor Education

In the aftermath of the Second World War, summer camps again saw a surge in the number of campers. Due to economic changes linked to a booming economy and the rise in rural land values, summer camps became increasingly more affordable for the average American family. Paris stated that summer camps peaked in popularity postwar, with one in every six American children attending summer camp.[40] Affordability was not the only factor drawing the attention of parents. Summer camps' new focus on education, science, environmentalism, and child development made them more appealing. Many parents saw summer camp as an opportunity for their children to continue learning in the summer, socializing, and learning other life skills.

36 Smith, "'The Ego Ideal'", 71.
37 Smith, "'The Ego Ideal'", 85.
38 Smith, "'The Ego Ideal'", 71.
39 Kenneth B. Webb and Susan H. Webb, *Summer Magic: What Children Gain from Camp* (n.p: Association Press, 195), 159.
40 Paris, *Children's Nature*, 225.

Americans in the mid-twentieth century started to advocate for more opportunities for outdoor education. Conservation activism brought the once unattainable benefits of natural environments to urban spaces. Conservation activism sought the protection of natural resources, plants, and animals. The movement encouraged the use of natural resources sustainably, the conservation of biodiversity, and wilderness preservation. In 1952, Cook County in Chicago sought to preserve over 45,000 acres of undeveloped land as an effort to incorporate outdoor teaching to the children of that metropolis.[41] Theories of the benefits of alternative education centered in nature began to heavily influence parents' decisions to send their children to summer camp and practice outdoor education.

In an article for science teachers published in 1957, one teacher, Louis Rzepka, argued that nature enrichment children's educational process beyond the capabilities of a classroom and other forms of education, such as museums or zoos.[42] Whereas field trips focus on one specific lesson, summer camps nurture children's innate curiosity. Rzepka reasoned that hands-on experiences created more meaningful connections between children and the subject they pursued, whether it was the geographic nature of the camp and surrounding area or their immersion into the local community.[43] Summer camps utilized alternative forms of education classrooms could not provide, and in doing so, summer camps connected children whose needs could not be met within the confines of the traditional classroom. As a result, beginning in the 1950s, many wilderness education programs were designed to provide general education, rehabilitation, and other enriching experiences for psychiatric patients, delinquents, and other individuals involved in management training.[44]

While some articles support education in nature, such as Rzepka, there is a lack of child psychology research on children at summer camp, but there is evidence of outdoor education's positive benefits on a child attending summer camp. Outdoor education seeks to replicate the natural world through open-ended materials and physical factors, creating a more stimulating learning process. This is in line with outdoor education theory, which centered around the idea that children develop qualities such as environmental stewardship and critical thinking through more complex learning in a natural environment

41 Robert A. McCabe, "Outdoor Education Cook County Style," *The Wilson Bulletin* 64, no. 3 (September 1952), 174.

42 Louis Rzepka, "The Summer Camp and Childhood Education," *The Science Teacher* 24, no. 3 (April 1957), 130.

43 Rzepka, "The Summer Camp", 31.

44 John, H. W Hattie, Marsh, James T. Neill, and Garry E. Richards, "Adventure Education and Outward Bound: Out-of-Class Experiences That Make a Lasting Difference," *Review of Educational Research* 67, no. 1 (Spring 1997), 44.

that contributes to their physical and emotional well-being.[45] In all, outdoor education programs focused on the personal growth and effort exuded by students rather than the formal education experienced in the classroom.[46]

One study understanding parents' perceived benefits of outdoor education linked learning and play environments centered in nature to significantly reduced stress levels in children. Additionally, the study showed improved attention and concentration abilities in children affected by attention-deficit disorder.[47] Finally, the study also showed the physical benefits of outdoor learning. At home, children's physical fitness had been limited to structured play such as youth programs and organized sports, but when in the outdoor education program, children's fitness levels and time spent exercising increased.[48] Nevertheless, the emphasized developmental and social skills attracted parents' attention, contributing to summer camp popularity.

The socio-psychological physical impact of summer camps also attracted the attention of child psychologists. These professionals started theorizing about the elements of summer camps that made them attractive to children. After World War II and throughout the rest of the twentieth-century camp, rhetoric and programming emphasized the importance of mental health in camps. One theory behind this logic came from Barbra Ellen Joy, who argued that while a camper may be physically fit, if they suffered from some form of mental stressors, then issues with the authority figures in the camp, as well as other campers start to arise.[49] Focusing on positive mental wellness among campers helped camp administrators run camps more efficiently, benefiting staff and creating a lasting impression on the campers.

From the aftermath of WWII emerged an era where psychologists and mental health professionals deemed the generation that grew up in the war psychologically unwell and burdened with the effects of the war.[50] Many saw summer camps as a refuge where children could process these emotions.[51] The appeal of an environment that combined safe space learning with the issues of the modern world while secluded from the stressors of homemade summer camp a vital role in the lives of campers in the mid-twentieth century.

45 Samuel F. Jr. Dennis, Alexandra Wells, and Candace Bishop, "A Post-Occupancy Study of Nature-Based Outdoor Classrooms in Early Childhood Education," *Children, Youth and Environments 24*, no. 2 (January 2014), 38.

46 Hattie et al., "Adventure Education", 47.

47 Lincoln R. Larson, Jason W. Whiting, and Gary T. Green, "Young People's Outdoor Recreation and State Park Use: Perceived Benefits from the Parent/Guardian Perspective," *Children, Youth and Environments* 23, no. 3 (MONTH 2013), 92.

48 Larson et al., "Young People's Outdoor Recreation", 91.

49 Barbara Ellen Joy, *Annotated Bibliography on Camping* (Chicago, Ill: American Camping Association, 1955), 65.

50 Paris, *Children's Nature*, 266.

51 Smith, "'The Ego Ideal'", 86.

While summer camps offered help to many campers, these safe environments had one unforeseen side effect. Summer camps incorporated and embraced their surrounding natural environments, but without the intervention and guidance from adults, children would not have been able to reap the benefits of nature. At the same time, summer camps had been completely removed from the real world, creating a social environment unique to each summer camp. While summer camp had been a temporary environment for children, the emotionally vulnerable experience they had at camp made camp a vital resource for their mental well-being. At camp, children had been able to escape the troubles of their home life and made meaningful connections to their fellow campers, staff, and environment.

Fritz Redl has noted that camp life has been a "psychopathological risk" because of the emotional dependency campers experienced after summer camp.[52] Redl compared this summer camp phenomenon to the same experience of drug addiction. Just as drugs are a form of stimulation, summer camps have provided children with an intense emotional and physical experience that they can only experience at camp. In his article, Rendl warned of the effects of the relationship between camp and camper:

But just because camping is such a powerful drug, it also shares the properties of all other powerful drugs on the market. It is risky, if the wrong person swallows it, or if the right one swallows too much of it, or at the wrong time. In short, the camp itself is not only something through which children are supposed to adjust better, but also something to which they have to adjust.[53]

The comparison between drugs and summer camps encompassed the fine line between summer camps and the real world seen throughout the history of summer camps in America. Summer camp has become a paradox fueled by the American people's craving for escapism as a bridge between the modern and natural worlds. Like a drug, as Rendl put it, the summer camp served as a treatment for the growing societal problems caused by industrialism and urban development and expansion.

Conclusion

While isolated from the modern world, summer camps evolved due to shifts in American values and the various affairs that ignited them. The Progressive Era created a demand for a sanctuary away from urban life. The Fresh Air Fund pioneered by Reverend William Pastors gave way to the foundation of the summer we know today. The belief that returning to a natural environment held physical benefits gave way to a rise in the popularity

52 Webb et al., *Summer Magic*, 87.

53 Redl, Fritz. "Psychopathologic Risks of Camp Life," *The Nervous Child* 6 (April 1947), 72.

of summer camps. Camp advocates and directors' usage of alternative forms of education laid the foundation for summer camps to evolve into dependable safe havens and mental health resources for campers. The lasting effects of the world wars required summer camps to adapt to the needs of society by working to persevere the innocence and curiosity of childhood and serving as a refuge from the dark reality of the modern world.

The ideology of outdoor education continued to nourish summer camps and benefit campers through alternative education that could cater to individuals' needs and provide support not found in the average classroom. The unique and complex summer camp environment does not fit solely in the modern or natural world but instead serves as a bridge between the two. Without proper precautions taken by summer camp staff and directors, campers may run the risk of becoming emotionally dependent on their temporary home away from home. Regardless, the history of summer camps is rich with ideologies centered on helping children nourish their self-confidence and physical and mental well-being, making sleep-away camp a cherished staple of American summers. The memories, experiences, and lessons of summer camp that campers carried into adulthood made summer camp a beloved nostalgic American tradition.

Mikenzi Bushue

The Americans with Disabilities Act: A Step Towards Equality

Introduction

The United States of America is a country founded on the idea of personal freedoms where people have the right to candidly participate in social, political, and economic activities. The philosophical idea of the "American Dream," where anyone who worked hard could be successful in life, was thought to be available to everyone—at least on the surface. People who used wheelchairs or had been diagnosed with a mental or chronic illness were met with adversity in the forms of harmful stereotypes, discrimination, and sometimes pure hate. People with disabilities—one of the largest minority groups in the United States dating back to the early 1990s—had historically been discriminated against and shut out of society.[1] The disability community was a unique minority group because a person's age, gender, and socioeconomic status are not substantial reasons for ailments. However, the community included a vast amount of people from every walk of life, race, gender, and class. A complex paradigm, an even more complex resolution, seemed unattainable. Equality did not seem achievable until thirty-two years ago, with the passage of what was considered the pinnacle of the disability rights movement: The Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 (ADA).[2] Legislation passed at the height of change for disability rights; there was an expectation and hope for tremendous results. The progression of the movement and the statutory language of the ADA exposed a goal that fell short of intention.

The disability rights movement stood on the legacy of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s, which created effective methods to achieve equality.[3] In 2000, the movement rose to a level of national awareness at the beginning of 1970 but faded into the background thirty years later.[4] Policymakers

1 *Cong. Rec.*, 102nd Cong., 2nd sess., 1992, vol. 136: S614.

2 Paul Wehman, ed., *The ADA Mandate for Social Change* (Grand Rapids, MI: Brookes Publishing Co., 1993), 5.

3 National Council on Disability, *Equality of Opportunity: The Making of the Americans with Disabilities Act* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1997), 11.

4 Duane Stroman, *The Disability Rights Movement: From Deinstitutionalization to Self-Determination* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2003), 75.

intended to draft legislation to lay out clear definitions, rules, guidelines, and prohibitions for public entities to prevent discrimination. The purpose of creating legislation such as this was to aid a unique, diverse, and vulnerable group of people and allow them to participate in society. The legislation developed into the form of sections that dealt with prominent areas of discrimination: employment, public services, public accommodations, and telecommunications.

This paper will examine the disability rights movement, mainly drawing attention to the process of creating the ADA and an in-depth analysis of the legislation. The discussion will begin with a historical account of the disability rights movement until the creation of the ADA. A focus on the creation process of the legislation, including specific influential members of Congress like Senator Weicker or Representative Coelho or the timeline of events from the Senate to the House of Representatives, will highlight the motives and opposition behind the statute. A comprehensive reading of the statute will also tie together the historical and legislative significance. Analyzing the unique interrelationship between the effort put into the legislation and the realities of accommodations will display the underlying downfalls of the ADA.

Disability History and the Disability Rights Movement

The disability rights movement began around 1970 and continued until a few years after the enactment of the ADA. However, the presence of discrimination towards the community existed before colonial America. People with disabilities were treated with ridicule and were often rejected by society, resulting in being outcasts. In the 1830s, asylums were created to place people deemed "less desirable" members of American society. Later, around 1883, documentation found that these institutions started to promote the eugenics movement with the "logic" that people with impairments were the reasons behind poverty and crime. To remedy the "problem," it was argued that forced sterilizations, institutionalizations in asylums, and even restricted immigration were methods to eliminate the possibility of disability.[5] The practices of forced institutionalization and sterilization were standard practices until the 1930s. Treatment began to change with the end of World War I.

The war resulted in a plethora of soldiers permanently injured combing back to the U.S., and a boost to the disability community demographic. Advocacy for veterans post-WW II led to different practices and aid in the form of legislation. President Franklin D. Roosevelt led the country into the 1930s through the early 1940s with a huge secret: he was a person with a disability.

5 Rhonda Neuhaus, Cindy Smith, and Molly Burgdorf "Equality for People with Disabilities, Then and Now," *GPSolo*, 31, no. 6 (November-December 2014): 46-48.

The most powerful man in America suffered from polio and used a wheelchair. However, Roosevelt tried to hide this fact by always having security surround and carry him to create the illusion of walking. Once revealed to the public, historians and the disability community credit President Roosevelt as one of the only people to reach such a high-status career as a person with a disability.[6] Nevertheless, the President tried to hide his disability, as many did, afraid of what Americans would perceive about the leader. Roosevelt's actions indicated how negatively society viewed people with disabilities and the perception that they were unable to have high-power careers.

The 1950s and 1960s brought the Civil Rights Movement to the forefront of everyone's lives and eventually became the crusade that led to the formal protest of the disability rights movement. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was instituted to protect the general public from discrimination based on race, gender, or national origin through federally funded programs. This necessary and progressive legislation left out one large group of people: the disability community. Many activists who advocated for civil and disability rights were ineffective because they argued that adding too much to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 could have diluted its purpose. The disability community was considered a different class than African Americans, other ethnic minorities, or women.[7] This reasoning explained that race and gender were close enough to combine into one piece of legislation but adding language to prevent discrimination against people with disabilities was too much for one document. As a result, people with disabilities were not protected by this legislation, so advocates for people with disabilities decided to fight for their rights.[8] Ultimately, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 became a key in opening the door for discussion about disability rights and, later, the ADA.

During Richard Nixon's presidency, a session of Congress created the Rehabilitation Act of 1973. This document established protection from discrimination and proposed rehabilitation programs.[9] Section 504 of the statute explicitly prohibited discrimination in any program that received federal funding. The remarkable aspect of this law was that it passed through Congress, and President Nixon signed it into law with little to no press or publicity.[10] The act incited the disability community to think more carefully about their needs and how to achieve them. The Rehabilitation Act and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 were the foundations of what became the ADA. They

6 Joseph Shapiro, *No Pity: People with Disabilities Forging a New Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Times Books, 1994), 62.

7 National Council on Disability, *Equality of Opportunity*, 12.

8 Shapiro, *No Pity*, 106.

9 Jacqueline Switzer, *Disabled Rights: American Disability Policy and the Fight for Equality* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2003), 59.

10 National Council on Disability, *Equality of Opportunity*, 14.

laid the groundwork for the initial ideas and parameters of the legislation, yet it took fifteen more years for Congress to pass the ADA.

President Ronald Reagan came into the White House with the reputation of not giving much attention to civil rights, let alone disability rights. Initially, he created the Task Force on Regulatory Relief, which posed a threat to disability rights. The task force evaluated the need for education provisions, especially for children with disabilities.[11] Reagan and the Task Force received almost immediate backlash from parents of these potentially affected children. The President's stance on disability rights was set as one of cutting corners and reallocating money for programs aiding the disability community to other entities. Afterward, Reagan disbanded the National Council of the Handicapped (NCH).

Moreover, he appointed new members aligned more with his political views to the recreated National Council on Disability (NCD).[12] In 1986, the NCD released a thorough document titled *Towards Independence: An Assessment of Federal Laws and Programs Affecting Persons with Disabilities – With Legislative Recommendations*.[13] The document called attention to the federal government's need to improve laws against disability discrimination. The report comprised nine essays or topics that discussed everything from employment, equal opportunity, to suggestions on policy implementation.

The last paper, "J: Coordination," considered the implementation of the policy by Congress and the most effective method of going about it. Specifically, it stated, "After a careful study and review of the current service delivery structure, we have determined that the Council itself has a unique mandate from the Congress to facilitate the implementation of a coordinated disability policy at the national level."[14] The shocking recommendation that the Council (NCD), Congress, and the President would all have to work together to create an effective plan was not a conclusion expected by the Reagan administration. In fact, Reagan and other legislators ignored the report, and no action was taken during his administration. Factors like re-election campaigns and the Iran-Contra polemic were deemed more important than much of any domestic policy.[15] President Reagan's actions, mentioned above, showed his utter disregard for disability rights. The task force Reagan created wrote the revolutionary analysis in *Towards Independence*, yet not promoting more progressive legislation indicated the President's low level of

11 National Council on Disability, *Equality of Opportunity*, 33.

12 Shapiro, *No Pity*, 108.

13 National Council on the Handicapped, *Towards Independence: An Assessment of Federal Laws and Programs Affecting Persons with Disabilities – With Legislation Recommendation* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1986).

14 National Council on the Handicapped, *Towards Independence*, J-13.

15 Shapiro, *No Pity*, 114.

concern.[16] Reagan's conservative agenda, which focused on areas other than funding social programs, provided insights into understanding the sense of hopelessness among the disabled community.

Reagan's presidency exposed the power one had while in office and the control over policies at the top of the political agenda. The outset of the Reagan administration brought forth the most influential person in the creation of the ADA: Vice President George H.W. Bush. His presidential campaign for the 1988 election was the first time a candidate spoke out on the advocacy of rights for people with disabilities, making it a heated debate in the race for the presidency. His acceptance speech for the Republican nomination had a tone of empathy and concern, especially when he described himself as a protector of the people's rights. The language used in the speech differed significantly from any of his predecessors. At one point, Bush stated, "I am going to do whatever it takes to make sure the disabled are included in the mainstream. For too long, they've been left out. But they're not going to be left out anymore."[17] The care and attention in these three sentences were something many thought they would never hear: someone of power was on their side.

The new perspective on disability rights in Bush's speech was not lost among some Senators. They began collaborating with disability advocates, Congresspeople, and potential administration officials to create a draft of what would be known as the ADA. The credit for this process went to Republican Senator Lowell Weicker, from Connecticut, who strategically started drafting a bill supported by every group before it hit the Congress floors. Weicker's mission was a complex, strategic, and carefully executed process to get the best outcome possible: The Americans with Disabilities Act.

The Creation of the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990

In 1988, Weicker began to draft his bill with the assistance of disability advocates such as Evan Kemp and Justin Dart[18], among other Congresspeople, and representatives from the business sector to create an agreeable draft. However, Weicker did not bring it to the Senate floor in the one-hundredth session of Congress. Instead, he had the idea to wait and have as many co-sponsors as possible to avoid conflict or serious debate that could potentially

16 National Council on Disability, *Equality of Opportunity*, 51.

17 "Address Accepting the Presidential Nomination at the Republican National Convention in New Orleans," The American Presidency Project, UC Santa Barbara, accessed October 10, 2021, https://www.presidency.uscb.edu/documents/address-accepting-the-presidential-nomination-the-republican-national-convention-new.

18 Evan Kemp suffered from a neuromuscular disorder, became a lawyer, and ran the Disability Rights Center (DCR) before moving onto other projects. Justin Dart started advocacy work after contracting polio and would become a member of the NCH.

kill the bill. Though influential, Senator Weicker's work ended after losing his re-election campaign in November 1988.[19] Subsequently, Iowan Democratic Senator Tom Harkin teamed up with Massachusetts Democratic Senator Edward Kennedy to carry on the mission. From November 1988 through March 1989, these politicians deliberated, debated, and drafted several copies of the ADA.[20] The final draft of the proposed Americans with Disabilities Act was completed on March 15, 1989—a day of relief and joy for many. A couple of months later, Senator Harkin and Representative Coelho introduced the respective bills simultaneously to both chambers of Congress.

On May 9, 1989, the proposed ADA (S. 933) was introduced to the Senate. Hearings, deliberations, and markups happened continued until September 7 of the same year. On September 7, the Senate passed its version of the ADA with a vote of 76 to 8.[21] After going through the Senate, the bill went to the House of Representatives, where it took nine months of meetings and debates to agree on the language of the bill. Once in the House, the bill had a majority of co-sponsors with 185 Democrats but only 25 Republicans.

The procedure for a bill of this measure meant going through four committees and six subcommittees.[22] The House of Representatives version took almost nine months to clear the floor, from September 12, 1989, to May 22, 1990. One reason for the long process illustrates how Congresspeople of each committee met with concerned Americans and businesspeople opposed to the idea of the ADA. The business sector avoided clashes with Senate members, and instead, it focused on the House of Representatives to express its disapproval. Many advocates, such as James Brady, spoke out in public against rumors spread by the business sector. Brady was the former Reagan Press Secretary who was shot and paralyzed in the assassination attempt on Reagan. Like many other advocates, he tried to explain to a cautious public that passing the ADA would lead to less taxpayer money going towards disability payments, reducing the money needed for the program.[23] The disagreements between the disability community and the business sector were over the specific language and rules drafted in the ADA. Though the language was one of the obstacles the ADA faced, it passed in the House of Representatives on May 22, 1990.

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19 National Council on Disability, *Equality of Opportunity*, 96.

20 National Council on Disability, *Equality of Opportunity*, 97.

21 National Council on Disability, *Equality of Opportunity*, 122.

22 The four committees were: Education and Labor; Public Works and Transportation; Energy and Commerce; and Judiciary. The six subcommittees consisted of: Select Education; Employment Opportunities; Surface Transportation; Telecommunications and Finance; Transportation, Tourism, and Hazardous Materials; and the Civil and Constitutional Rights.

23 James S. Brady, "Save Money: Help the Disabled," *New York Times*, August 29, 1989, https://nytimes.com/1989/08/29/opinion/save-money-help-the-disabled.html.

At that point, the politicians who worked tirelessly on the bill felt like they could see the finish line. Two months after further deliberations and final touches, the ADA passed the House of Representatives and Senate on July 12 and 13, respectively. Thirteen days later, on July 26, 1990, President George H.W. Bush signed the act into law on the South Lawn of the White House with three thousand guests watching. When the President spoke about the ADA, he thanked disability advocates Evan Kemp and Justin Dart, members of Congress, and his administration.[24] However, he left out most of the Democratic members of Congress who were essential to the creation of the bill. Some speculated that this move was intentional because it would play in the Republican Party's favor for the ADA to be perceived as a bill backed by the party.[25] Indeed, this was a maneuver to show a unified Republican Party. However, as noted above, most of the Republican party was more concerned with pleasing the business sector rather than focusing on the rights of an oppressed group of people.

Further into the speech, Bush used analogies that resonated with how proud the country should be, regardless of political affiliation. At one point, Bush compared the barriers torn down by the new law to those that had torn down the Berlin Wall. He passionately proclaimed in the speech:

> Last year, we celebrated a victory of international freedom. Even the strongest person couldn't scale the Berlin Wall to gain the elusive promise of independence that lay just beyond. And so together we rejoiced when that barrier fell. And now I sign legislation which takes a sledgehammer to another wall, one which has for too many generations, separated Americans with disabilities from the freedom they could glimpse, but not grasp.[26]

The ADA's significance and expected idea of liberation were palpable. The bill was signed into law with the hope of promises to turn into reality for this previously excluded group of Americans. The statute proved helpful and constructive on paper with specific language created. Included in the language were stipulated definitions, clarifications on time allowance, and studies to understand better accessibility modifications in public locales. However, the law and action taken in litigation broadly showed the difference between the law theoretically and its practice.

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24 Office of the Press Secretary, *Remarks by the President During Ceremony for the Signing of the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990* (Washington, DC, July 26, 1990), 1.

25 Edward Berkowitz, "George Bush and the Americans with Disabilities Act," Social Welfare History Project, VCU Libraries. Accessed October 10, 2021. https://www.socialwelfare.library/vcu.edu/recollections/george-bush-and-the-americans-with-disabilities-act/.

26 Office of Press Secretary, *Remarks by President During Ceremony*, 3.

The Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 (S. 933)

A factsheet released by the White House Press Secretary's Office on the date of the ADA's signing stated that around 43 million Americans were considered disabled.[27] To encompass such a large but diverse group of people and protect future generations, the ADA had to ride a line of ambiguity to protect everyone and be specific enough to be usable in litigation. The Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 was a fifty-two-page document divided into five titles structured around prominent issues of the time: employment, public services, public accommodations, telecommunications, and any miscellaneous provision unable to fit into other categories. The first and second pages of the document gave information on who passed the bill, the Congressional session, and a short table of contents.

A small section before Title One, "Finding and Perspectives," outlined ideas of statistical and historical findings, such as prominent areas of discrimination and ways society cast out people with disabilities. For example, item number Six of the section stated explicitly: "Census data, national polls, and other studies have documented that people with disabilities, as a group, occupy an inferior status in our society, and are severely disadvantaged socially, vocationally, economically, and educationally."[28] Basic knowledge to some, this statement was the explicit acknowledgment from a governmental entity that the disability community was disadvantaged in society – a groundbreaking step in legislation.

The action of finding and keeping a job was one of the most challenging tasks for the disability community at the time. Until the ADA, employers could fire or not hire someone because there were few legislative laws to protect them. Due to this, the first section of the ADA pertained to employment. Title One of the law detailed rules and provisions regarding employment in eight different sections. Arguably the most important section was the first, where terms such as a qualified individual with a disability, reasonable accommodation, and undue hardship were defined. A qualified person with a disability was defined as "an individual who, with or without reasonable accommodation, can perform the essential functions of the employment positions that such individual holds or desire."[29] The definition clearly stated what was necessary: the ability to perform all required job functions, but tied to the language of reasonable accommodation. Essentially, the person with a disability had a chance to gain access to accommodation, helping them complete required functions, according to the definition placed by the ADA

27 Office of Press Secretary, *Fact Sheet: The Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990*, (Washington, D.C., July 26, 1990), 1.

28 U. S. Congress, *The Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990*, Public Law 101-336, 101st Congress, (July 26, 1990), 329.

29 U. S. Congress, *The Americans with Disabilities Act*, 331.

rather than individual employers. However, two critical words in the law, "reasonable accommodation," allowed for less leeway on the employers' side to discriminate and more protection for the person with a disability.

Title Two of the statute called attention to the area of public service. This clause was divided into "Subtitle A – Prohibition Against Discrimination and Other Generally Applicable Provisions" and "Subtitle B – Actions Applicable to Public Transportation Provided by Public Entities Considered Discriminatory." The first subtitle highlighted five sections detailing what a public entity was and how certain practices were considered discriminatory. A specific definition for the term public entity was "any state or local government; any department, agency, special purpose district, or other instrumentality of a State or States or local government; and the National Railroad Passenger Corporation, and any commuter authority (as defined in 103(8) of the Rail Passenger Act).[30] Here, the jargon was clear with encompassing, specific language yet not too narrow. The approach to the language allowed a clear understanding of the parameters with little wiggle room for the business sector to evade rules. The rest of the subtitle determined the effective date for accommodations and described discrimination practices, enforcement, and regulations. For this subsection, entities had 18 months after the date of enactment to make accommodations.

The second subtitle further divided into two public transportation other than aircraft (Part One) and public transportation of intercity commuter systems (Part Two). Part One laid out that transportation operations such as buses or trains must provide accommodation for people with disabilities, specifically those using wheelchairs. Additionally, ten sections detailed the guidelines, alternative paratransit methods, and enactment dates. Part Two was explicitly designed for intercity rail commute methods with definitive rules for more accessible transportation for people using wheelchairs. The rule for single-passenger coaches, for example, had language which stated:

> I) Be able to be entered by an individual who uses a wheelchair
>
> II) Have space to park and secure a wheelchair
>
> III) Have a seat to which a passenger in a wheelchair can transfer, and a space to fold and store such a passenger's wheelchair.[31]

30 U. S. Congress, *The Americans with Disabilities Act*, 337.

31 U. S. Congress, *The Americans with Disabilities Act*, 347.

This common language underscores respectful and common courtesy actions most people do without thinking. However, thirty-two years ago, lawmakers felt obligated to put into federal law the appropriate and respectful way people using wheelchairs should be treated. This single addition to the law revealed the blatant disrespect and ignorance that non-disabled Americans could legally have toward the disability community. With the implementation of laws such as this, the disability community should have been able to prosper and change perceptions in the minds of non-disabled people.

Overall, the two subtitles encompassing Title Two were dense with technical language. The transportation accommodations of this title were sixteen pages long, implying the importance placed on the issue. Transportation has always played a role in areas of life, including employment, societal activities, and even the ability to fulfill basic needs. The inability to get on a bus or in a taxi severely limited the community from contributing to society or meeting daily needs. The careful and comprehensive language demonstrated the acknowledgment of inclusiveness the community had desired for years.

Title Three coincided with Title Two, known as "Public Accommodations and Services Operated by Private Entities." A vital definition included in this title or section was "commercial entities." These entities were "intended for nonresidential use; and whose operations will affect commerce."[32] The language of the definition seemed to be broad enough to include every known place of business without disregarding establishments for being too specific. After defining the term "commercial entities," there were specific methods and means that further protected people with disabilities against discrimination. Protections in public settings included service equal to others, accessibility to locales, and the inability to deny services due to disability.

An exciting addition to Title Three was Section 305, noted as "Study." The Office of Technology Assessment (OTA) created a study overseeing how people with disabilities used particular public transportation and the most cost-effective methods for providing better privileges in certain situations. The OTA was tasked with taking the six prominent business affordability issues regarding accommodation costs and finding solutions. These issues included possible designs that enhanced accessibility and even the impact on areas of struggling economic finances like rural communities.[33] The study illustrated the attention to detail on how businesses could enhance accessibility at a reasonable cost. As mentioned above, the fear of unreachable, expensive

32 U. S. Congress, *The Americans with Disabilities Act*, 353.

33 U. S. Congress, *The Americans with Disabilities Act*, 360.

accommodation was a significant issue for the business sector.[34] Without plans, businesses could have struggled to meet the standards or even fought the necessary accommodations. Instead, there were clear plans in place for future struggles, including small communities that may have felt left out or unheard in their concerns.

Further into Title Three, Section 307 explained the seemingly harmful boundaries private entities were entitled to regarding accommodations. The section stated, "The provisions of this title shall not apply to private clubs or establishments exempted from coverage under Title II of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (42 U.S.C. 2000a(e)) or to religious organizations or entities controlled by religious organizations, including places of worship."[35] Based on the statement, any private club—versus a public entity defined in Title Two—was exempted from the ADA. That meant private clubs, churches, or religious gathering places were not required to accommodate people with disabilities. Unfortunately harsh, the authors of the ADA had to comply with other laws. If it pushed the boundaries of laws like The Constitution, it would have been deemed unlawful and not passed. An unfavorable but necessary concession was made here to redirect the future of disability rights hopefully.

The Fourth Title, "Telecommunications," focused on people who are hard of hearing or deaf. The entire section that pertained to relay services for these people is an amendment to Title II of the Communications Act of 1934. In the section "Telecommunications Services for Hearing-impaired and Speech-impaired Individuals," there are definitions of similar style to those previously mentioned sections. Section 711 of the Communications Act of 1934 was also amended in the ADA regarding closed captioning. At the passing of the ADA, closed captioning was part of any federally funded announcement.[36] This law title was a massive step for the deaf community, which sparked politicians into drafting legislation for disability rights.[37] Now, there were regulations to assist them.

The most noteworthy and final Title was the Fifth. This section noted "Miscellaneous Provisions" because it was a catch-all for provisions that could not fit in other titles. The title's main objective was to explain how the ADA complied with other laws and insurance policies. A section described the prohibition against retaliation or coercion on anyone pursuing litigation against another person. There was another study in this title in which the National Council on Disability (NCD) was tasked to analyze and report on

34 Bill Bolte, "Disabled Act: More Loophole than Law," *Los Angeles Times*, September 1989.

35 U. S. Congress, *The Americans with Disabilities Act*, 363.

36 U. S. Congress, *The Americans with Disabilities Act*, 369.

37 Shapiro, *No Pity*, 69.

wilderness management practices related to disability inclusivity.[38] The last three sections of the title were the most important because of the security they provided. The three sections included an amendment to the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, proposed alternative dispute methods, and accounted for the question of severability in the future. Section 514, "Severability," stated, "Should any provisions in this Act be found to be unconstitutional by a court of law, such provision shall be severed from the remainder of the Act, and such action shall not affect the enforceability of the remaining provisions of the Act."[39] These statements, as a whole, were the *piéce de résistance* because they ensured a step towards progress that was difficult to take away.

On paper and in theory, the ADA appeared impenetrable against legal challenges. However, there were always downfalls to every law once in place. One vague concept was the idea of punishment or repercussions for people accused of violating the statute. The Fifth Title mentioned alternative dispute methods, but no single repercussion was listed. This huge flaw could have severe consequences if businesses took advantage of this weakness. The statute also primarily focused on discrimination in social settings or civic activities but did not detail any provision on the treatment of the community in the criminal justice system.[40] Nowhere in the statute were there any provisions that dealt with someone incarcerated or guidelines for treatment in prisons or jails.

The ambiguity of definitions such as an individual with a disability, undue hardship, and reasonable accommodation, set in Title One, have been debated for years. For example, those terms were debated at the Conference Report before the enactment because of language differences between the two bodies of Congress.[41] Many argued that the terms had unclear effectiveness in litigation, which could narrow the intended parameters. Finally, a major concession in the Conference Report was casting out people with substance abuse problems.[42] It was determined that this group of individuals was not considered disabled by the current definitions and would not be allowed to reap the benefits that could have aided them.

Conclusion

The Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 was concise and thoughtful and projected the purposeful strides toward equality through the legal system needed for the disabled community. People in this minority group were

38 U. S. Congress, *The Americans with Disabilities Act*, 372.

39 U. S. Congress, *The Americans with Disabilities Act*, 378.

40 Wehman, ed., The ADA Mandate for Social Change, 16.

41 *Cong. Rec.*, 101st Cong., 2nd Sess., vol. 136: H4582.

42 John Parry, "The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA)," *Mental and Physical Disability Law Reporter* 14, no. 4 (July-August 1990), 2.

supposed to enjoy more protection than ever before. With the uniformness of the structure layout, each Title had similar requirements that hopefully leveled the playing field. Today, most of these regulations and prohibitions would seem like "normal" or standard treatment towards a disadvantaged group of people. Nevertheless, it is essential to remember that this statute had to be created to protect this vulnerable group of people. The question remained, has the ADA done its intended job?

The short answer is no. The ADA could not effectively protect the community due to numerous factors. The most influential action against the ADA was a Supreme Court ruling, which restrained the legislative piece shortly after enactment. Ten years after the enactment, the Supreme Court narrowed the parameters of the statute with their opinions on how the language of the ADA applies to reality.[43] Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor wrote in a majority opinion regarding the ADA: "The sponsors are so eager to get something passed that what passes hasn't been carefully written as what a group of law professors might put together."[44] Unfortunately, the desperately prized piece of law was shot down by the highest court of the country. To partially fix this step back, Congress had to either re-amend or propose new laws to counter the Supreme Court's rulings. Indeed, this occurred in 2008 when Congress passed the ADA Restoration Act of 2007.[45] Afterward, more accountability and more precise language allowed for a more diverse group of cases.

The Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 sought equality, protection, and a better quality of life for people then, now, and in the future. Despite the hard work of the disability community, politicians, and advocates, people with disabilities continued to face struggles in an ever-changing society. The future for the disability community was unclear and growing in size every day. There was no perfect next step in this journey of fighting for protection and equality. It would have been impossible to supply every demand or need from the community and enact it into law. However, better programs, more aid, and more attention to the hardships of the community could lead to necessary action. Until every group lacking legal protection under the law has their needs met, there will always be contention, strife, and work to be done.

43 Neuhaus, Smith, and Burgdorf, "Equality for People with Disabilities," 51.

44 Switzer, Disability Rights: American Disability Policy, 209.

45 American Bar Association, "The ADA Restoration Act of 2007: Why is it Necessary?" *Mental and Physical Disability Law Reporter* 32, no. 2 (March-April 2008), 159.

Lindsey Craig

"Will the Last Person Alive in Chelsea Please Turn Out the Lights?": Tracing Anti-Gay Rhetoric and Governmental Neglect During the AIDS Crisis

Introduction

On October 5, 1992, David Robinson walked toward 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue N.W. in Washington, DC, a small cardboard box with gold lamé paper in hand. Inside the box was a plastic bag containing the ashes of his partner, Warren Krause, who had died due to complications from Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) in April of that same year. Though the journey had started with only a few hundred members of the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP), some with ashes of their own to carry, by the time the group reached the White House, their numbers had swollen to thousands. Despite an attempt by police officers on horseback to stop them, they managed to reach the wrought-iron fence surrounding the North Lawn. There, Robinson took the box containing the remains of his partner, who had just months ago been a living human being, and poured its contents through the fence.[1] The ashes of Warren Krause and dozens of others whose lives were cut short came together and blew in the wind across the neat, manicured landscape of the White House, a dusty and physical reminder of an ugly legacy of neglect that began with its previous administration.

The first reported cases of Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS) in the United States occurred in the early 1980s. Because many sectors of United States society perceived the disease to appear only among gay men, it was initially termed Gay-Related Immune Deficiency (GRID), or colloquially known as "gay cancer."[2] Although other social groups succumbed to the same illness very early in the epidemic, AIDS remained a "gay" disease and initially received very little mainstream attention. Even as cases rose dramatically in the early years of the AIDS epidemic, signaling an undisputable public health crisis, President Ronald Reagan never mentioned its existence. As a result of this government dismissal of the illness, no public policy was created to

1 Sarah Schulman, *Let the Record Show: A Political History of ACT UP New York, 1987-1993* (New York, New York: Farrar Straus & Giroux, 2021), 604-608.

2 "HIV/AIDS: Snapshots of an Epidemic," amfAR, accessed November 16, 2021, https://www.amfar.org/thirty-years-of-hiv/aids-snapshots-of-an-epidemic/.

prevent the spread of AIDS, and little to no funding was allocated towards AIDS research to secure a cure.

By 1986 there had been 24,559 deaths linked to AIDS complications from an overall 28,712 cases reported, and yet Reagan had still not uttered the word AIDS in public.[3] Caught in the crossfire between gay liberation activists and homophobic politicians, the communities most impacted by the rising death toll began to grow angry. It was then that AIDS activism began in earnest. Activists soon established organizations such as ACT UP and Gay Men's Health Crisis (GMHC) in a desperate attempt to save the lives of men, women, and children affected with AIDS in the face of gross governmental negligence rooted in a political ultra-conservative political climate against the burgeoning gay liberation movement. This paper will trace responses to the AIDS crisis during a historical moment understood as a cultural war through the examination of anti-gay rhetoric in the late 1970s to demonstrate its influence in a broader policy of governmental neglect by the Ronald Reagan administration and his public health appointees in the first crucial years of the AIDS epidemic. The conclusion drawn from this evidence indicates that anti-gay rhetoric heavily influenced health policy decisions early in the AIDS epidemic. This widely accepted bias against the LGBT community ultimately contributed to more deaths from AIDS. Concurrently, it examines how that same neglect led to grassroots organizing by the LGBT community, eventually creating important changes in how people with AIDS (P.W.A.s) were perceived and treated.

Historiography

To better comprehend why the Reagan administration failed to provide adequate resources to those affected by the AIDS epidemic, it is necessary to examine right-wing backlash to the burgeoning gay rights movement in the years prior to the AIDS epidemic. Vocal reactionary attitudes contributed to the public acceptance of the mistreatment of P.W.A.s.

In his book *Stand by Me: The Forgotten History of Gay Liberation*, Jim Downs illustrated the central role anti-gay spokeswoman Anita Bryant had in the politics against a governmental response to AIDS and the Gay Liberation movement. In the book, he noted that Bryant's "Save Our Children" campaign directly responded to growing demand from queer people insisting on full inclusion in religious settings. Downes argued that, though many Christians had long been preaching against homosexuality, they "did not have a mainstream political outlet until Bryant emerged as their conduit."[4] Religious

3 "HIV/AIDS: Snapshots of an Epidemic," amfAR, accessed November 16, 2021, https://www.amfar.org/thirty-years-of-hiv/aids-snapshots-of-an-epidemic/.

4 Jim Downs, *Stand By Me: The Forgotten History of Gay Liberation* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 2020), 56.

leaders began to invite Bryant to speak at their events, providing a broader platform for her increasingly scathing sermons against homosexuality. Downs did not provide any detail regarding how many evangelicals identified with Bryant's rhetoric, but noted that research into other studies on her impact showed that her popularity was high during this time.[5]

In his article "From 'Gay is Good' to the Scourge of AIDS: The Evolution of Gay Liberation Rhetoric, 1977-1990," Dr. James Darsey, professor of communication at Georgia State University, examined the rise of anti-gay sentiment in the wake of earlier achievements by gay activists. Darsey noted that in the years prior to the rise of Bryant's national notoriety, "the gay liberation movement had been in a stage characterized as uncertain maturity."[6] Forceful demonstrations like the Stonewall Riots in 1969 had stopped by the 1980s. Instead, activists used more mundane actions tapping into the existing political system to effect change. According to Darsey, this resulted in less interest in the Gay Liberation movement, which primed the stage of conservative activism for people like Bryant. The Moral Majority movement, a reactionary branch of conservatism, fully supported presidential candidate Ronald Reagan.[7]

The role of the Moral Majority concerning the historical period under review was further discussed in Seth Dowland's article "'Family Values' and the Formation of a Christian Right Agenda." In the article, Dowland detailed the rise of Jerry Falwell, Sr., organizer of the Moral Majority movement, and how his rhetoric, along with that of other evangelical Christians, created a specific unifying idea of an America represented by the heteronormative nuclear family.[8] While the article mainly focused on the anti-abortion origins of the Moral Majority movement, the article mentioned its fight against gay rights activism. The anti-gay rhetoric propelled by the Moral Majority movement was further collaborated by the work of Clyde Wilcox in his article "Popular Support for the Moral Majority in 1980: A Second Look." Both articles provide context for Reagan's later rhetoric on AIDS.

Tina L Perez and George N. Dionisopoulos tackled the issue of AIDS in the Reagan administration in their article "Presidential Silence, C. Everett Koop, and the *Surgeon General's Report on AIDS*." In their article, they show how the members of the Reagan administration refused to address public concerns over AIDS until well into the epidemic. When C. Everett Koop, the Surgeon General during Regan's administration, published the *Surgeon*

5 Downs, *Stand By Me,* 56.

6 James Darsey, "From 'Gay Is Good' to the Scourge of AIDS: The Evolution of Gay Liberation Rhetoric, 1977-1990," *Communication Studies* 42, no. 1 (Spring 1991), 48.

7 Darsey, "From 'Gay Is Good'", 50.

8 Seth Dowland, "'Family Values' and the Formation of a Christian Right Agenda," *Church History* 78, no. 3 (Sept. 2009): 606-631.

General's Report on Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome in 1986, Reagan maintained his silence on an increasingly concerning public health issue. It was not until April 1987, nearly ten years after the first reports of AIDS, that "there was even a publicly offered metaphor of a 'war on AIDS.'"[9] In the article "Sounding Board: AIDS, Activism, and the Politics of Public Health," Robert M. Wachter examined AIDS activism and its effects on public health. He argued that groups like ACT UP owed their successes to radical and controversial action, a departure from pacifist forms of social engagement.[10] Activists were able to use a combination of intelligence and intimidation to manipulate existing structures into working for their maximum benefit exposing the necessity for AIDS resources. Because articulate and media-literate activists joined the ranks of these organizations, AIDS activists were able to make better use of the little access they could muster to policymakers, scientists, and doctors.[11]

An often-conflicting narrative emerged from the scholarship on AIDS demonstrations because of the large number of activist groups and protests. Sarah Schulman, former ACT UP New York member, drew attention to this in her book *Let the Record Show: A Political History of ACT UP New York, 1987-1993*. The purpose of this compilation was partly to record a history of activism very nearly lost along with an entire generation of LGBT people. However, it was also because newspapers and journals like *The New York Times*, which she referred to as "*The New York Crimes*," often inaccurately and minimally reported on the epidemic; there were the same news reports quoted by professional academic research.[12]

Anita Bryant and Unifying Homophobia

Despite the existence of a Gay and Lesbian movement for at least two decades, it was not until the Stonewall Riots of 1969 that the Gay Liberation movement began to mature.[13] Groups like the Mattachine Society and the Daughters of Bilitis had done some work for Gay Liberation, but it was in the 1970s that a more public and organized queer community emerged. The first yearly commemoration of the Stonewall Riots in New York City became

9 Tina L. Perez and George N. Dionisopoulos, "Presidential Silence, C. Everett Koop, and The Surgeon General's Report on AIDS," *Communication Studies* 46, no. 1-2 (July 1995), 21.

10 Robert M. Wachter, "Sounding Board: AIDS, Activism, and the Politics of Public Health," *The New England Journal of Medicine* (January 1992), 128.

11 Wachter, "Sounding Board", 129.

12 Schulman, *Let the Record Show*, xv.

13 It should be noted that during this time the gay liberation movement was focused only on gay men and lesbians. It would not be until later that other sexualities would be included in liberation rhetoric.

known as Christopher Street Liberation Day Parade. The celebration drew the attendance of thousands of people.[14] In subsequent years, LGBT people attempted to make further inroads into sectors of society that had previously been closed to them, including the Christian church. By the late 1970s, many LGBT people sought full recognition and acceptance by members of their respective churches.[15] The push for religious inclusion and gay rights contributed to the emergence of songwriter and former beauty queen Anita Bryant as a voice against the Gay Liberation movement.

Bryant's first public demonstration against the LGBT community happened in Dade County, Miami, in 1977. She was vocally opposed to a passed ordinance that prohibited discrimination based on sexual orientation. At first, her support came from locals residing in Dade County. Soon, she was supported by other Southern Christian fundamentalists and thus began the first national crusade against homosexuality.[16] Her "Save Our Children" campaign aided in constructing a narrative that homosexuals were sinners and child molesters. During her campaign, she declared, "As a mother, I know that homosexuals cannot biologically reproduce children; therefore, they must recruit our children."[17] This statement illustrated the fear-driven nature of her campaign. The campaign never provided evidence that homosexuals were more prone to child molestation than their heterosexual counterparts and Bryant's quote itself was ambiguous in meaning. However, Bryant's campaign appealed to concerned Christian parents among other community members. As a result, she succeeded in repealing the Dade County ordinance.

It is necessary to examine the legacy of Bryant's crusade because it unleashed in its wake more vocal and harmful rhetoric from other influential sectors of the public. One year later, in 1978, senator John Briggs from Orange County, California, sponsored California Proposition 6, a ballot initiative that sought to ban gay men and lesbians from working in California public schools.[18] The Briggs Initiative, as it was called, was defeated, but it, along with Bryant's efforts, pointed to a broader trend in anti-gay movements, as evidenced by headlines from gay newspapers at the time. *The Philadelphia Gay News* published an editorial with the headline "Bryant Threatens All GAYS!" and a warning that Florida gays must be helped "otherwise Anita Bryant and

14 David Carter, *Stonewall: The Riots That Sparked the Gay Revolution* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Griffin, 2011), 255.

15 Downs, *Stand by Me*, 45.

16 Downs, *Stand by Me*, 56.

17 The Daily Dish, "Falwell and Mohler," *The Atlantic*. Atlantic Media Company, July 18, 2013. Accessed October 28, 2021, https://www.theatlantic.com/daily-dish/archive/2007/05/falwell-and-mohler/228497/.

18 Randy Shilts, *And the Band Played On: Politics, People, and the AIDS Epidemic* (New York, NY: St Martin's Griffin, 1987), 16.

friends might show up in your town."[19] This warning proved to be particularly poignant in the upcoming years.

The Moral Majority

Resistance to the bias attacks on the LGBT community coupled with Bryant political stunts rendered her activism as ridicule performances. She eventually fell out of public favor. Through a series of boycotts and protests organized against Bryant, including a well-reported pie thrown in her face during a national broadcast, LGBT people managed to create enough controversy that she was dropped by her sponsors and from the public eye.[20] However, her rhetoric lived on and found itself new hosts in evangelical ministers like Francis Schaeffer and Jerry Falwell, Sr. It is interesting to note that before 1975, evangelicals had little influence in the public sphere. In fact, evangelicals often spoke in favor of feminist causes like the Equal Rights Amendment (E.R.A.).[21] It was not until the landmark Supreme Court decision on *Roe v Wade* that Christian fundamentalists like Shaeffer and Falwell Sr. emerged as gatekeepers of moral values. Before *Roe v Wade*, the religious right had maintained a policy of separation when it came to politics, considering it a dirty business, but by the 1980s, they represented a powerful voting bloc.[22]

The reason for this drastic shift lay partly with Shaeffer, who became the first evangelical to preach about the dangers of a so-called "culture war."[23] Like Bryant's "Save Our Children" campaign, this war was fabricated to stall progressive movements and return the United States to a more conservative period and morality. In a review of Schaeffer's book *A Christian Manifesto*, reviewer Mark McCulley wrote that Shaeffer clearly stated his desire for separation of church and state, but "what [was] left unspoken here, however, [was] that like [John] Calvin, Shaeffer *does* want 'Christian-state.' Like [John] Knox, he [*did*] want rulers to rule by 'God's law.'"[24] Shaeffer was not alone in his determination to legislate morality, and his theories attracted several followers, including Falwell, Sr.

Falwell, Sr. was one of the first to adopt Shaeffer's theory of "co-belligerency," which stated that the most effective political tactic was to find a

19 Darsey, "From 'Gay Is Good'", 48.

20 Tyler Austin, "Today in Gay History: Gay Activist Pies Anita Bryant in the Face," *OUT Magazine*. Out Magazine, October 14, 2018. Accessed, November 12, 2021, https://www.out.com/today-gay-history/2016/10/14/today-gay-history-gay-activist-pies-anita-bryant-face.

21 Dowland, "'Family Values'", 607.

22 Dowland, "'Family Values'", 613.

23 Dowland, "'Family Values'", 613.

24 Mark McCulley, "Book Review," *Journal of Church and State 25*, no. 2 (Spring 1983): 354-56.

common cause with non-evangelicals in order to achieve their political aims.[25] To this end, Falwell Sr. formed the Moral Majority, a political action group that described itself in an early brochure as "pro-life, pro-family, pro-moral, and pro-America."[26] Falwell's hard and fast opposition to feminism, abortion, and gay rights won conservative Protestant favor with groups that had historical animosity with them, including Catholics; this support later proved crucial to Falwell, Sr.'s political activism in part because the Moral Majority was to some degree unpopular outside of fundamentalist Christian circles.[27]

Although many did not fully embrace the Moral Majority, its rhetoric found a firm footing in the American consciousness. Building on the previous work of Bryant and Shaeffer, Falwell Sr. dedicated himself to fighting what he saw as America's moral decline. In *The Moral Majority Report*, he wrote, "if America is to return to original greatness, we must…support the traditional monogamous family as the only acceptable form."[28] As Falwell began to move into political circles, his and Shaeffer's defense of the family rhetoric became more popular with candidates in all branches of the government endorsed by the group. Some of these candidates included senator Jesse Helms and former president Jimmy Carter, who eventually fell out of favor with the conservative groups, and President Ronald Reagan.

Ronald Reagan, AIDS, and Governmental Neglect

The rise of Anita Bryant and the Moral Majority was significant because, though Ronald Reagan was not openly a supporter of either, much of his policy and rhetoric aligned with the Christian fundamentalist focus on traditional family values. In addition, he hired a former executive director of the Moral Majority as a staff member during his campaign.[29] While governor of California, Reagan referred to gay people as "sick unfortunates" and blocked the repeal of state sodomy laws explicitly known for targeting the civil rights of gay men.[30] Reagan's homophobia emerged shortly into his presidential term, and it had disastrous consequences for the gay community during the beginning of the AIDS epidemic.

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25 Dowland, "'Family Values'", 613.

26 "Your Invitation to Join the Moral Majority," *Your Invitation to Join the Moral Majority*. Accessed October 30 2021, https://liberty.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p17184coll1/id/21.

27 Clyde Wilcox, "Popular Support for the Moral Majority in 1980: A Second Look," *Social Science Quarterly* 68, no. 1 (1987): 157-66.

28 Jerry Falwell, "America Was Built on Seven Great Principles," *The Moral Majority Report*, May 18, 1981, 3.

29 Charles Milton "Chuck" Patrick, ed., *TWT*, October 24, 1980, 10.

30 Patrick, *TWT*, 9.

The first cases of AIDS in the United States coincided with the beginning of Reagan's first presidential term. The early years of the AIDS crisis were full of confusion, lack of scientific information, and uncertainty. The virus that caused AIDS had yet to be unidentified, and people only knew that it seemed only to infect gay men. As it became more apparent that cases were rising rapidly and people were dying, Reagan maintained a policy of silence on the epidemic, echoed by the rest of the government and the media. Randy Shilts's *And the Band Played On: Politics, People, and the AIDS Epidemic*, commented on the silent stand taken by the administration during a 1983 hearing before the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Labor, Health and Human Services. Shilts asserted that committee members who testified that AIDS research needed less funding "were treading one step shy of perjury."[31] Dr. William Foege, then director of the C.D.C., testified that funds were unnecessary but just six days previously had privately written that "the C.D.C. 'clearly' needed more money."[32] These statements were indicative of the ongoing issue of AIDS funding caught between an emerging public health crisis and everyday politics. It was clear that funding was needed but administrators were unwilling to publicly admit it.

The lack of funding was only one part of a broader problem. Doctors could not publicly discuss the success or failure of their experimental treatments because medical journals refused to publish their studies if any of its content was brought to the public's attention before publishing.[33] Hospital policies remained unaltered despite the harm they caused to P.W.A.s. Sloan-Kettering, a cancer hospital in New York, had a policy that only one dermatological patient could be admitted per week. Such policies were detrimental to AIDS patients considering that one of the most common opportunistic infections affecting P.W.A.s was a rare skin cancer called Kaposi's sarcoma.[34] By October of 1983, the C.D.C. had recorded 2,640 AIDS cases. Of that number, 1,092 had died, yet, Reagan had still not mentioned the epidemic or enacted any policy regarding its spread.[35] In fact, C. Everett Koop, the Surgeon General, had been specifically banned from speaking publicly on AIDS and was "completely cut off from AIDS."[36] In 1986, Koop released *The Surgeon General's Report on AIDS* without clearance from the White House because, as he stated:

> I knew that telling the truth about AIDS, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth would not be well received in

31 Shilts, *And the Band Played On*, 294.
32 Shilts, *And the Band Played On*, 293.
33 Larry Kramer, "1,112 and Counting" *The New York Native*, March 14, 1983, 181.
34 Kramer, "1,112 and Counting", 181.
35 Shilts, *And the Band Played On*, 382.
36 Perez and Dionisopoulos, "Presidential Silence", 21.

> some places. One of those places would be the White House, at least in those offices where ideology would be the main concern…A large portion of the president's constituency was anti-homosexual, anti-drug abuse, anti-promiscuity, and anti-sex education; these people would not respond well to some of the things that would have to be said in a health report about AIDS.[37]

Koop's report contained a detailed record of all the information about AIDS and AIDS prevention at that time. *The Surgeon General's Report* was too little too late. This was particularly true for LGBT people who had succumbed to the disease or had been suffering for years. Reagan remained silent. He did not publicly mention AIDS until 1987; this fact was not lost on the LGBT activists who had long since decided to take matters into their own hands.[38]

AIDS Activism

AIDS activism began slowly. During the confusing early years, many activists were unaware or lacked the information to efficiently organize their efforts to assist in the fight against AIDS. However, once it became clear that AIDS was a severe disease affecting a marginalized community, it became necessary for P.W.A.s and their allies to ignite modes for self-advocacy. By 1987 nearly 20,000 people had died of AIDS, and three-fourths were gay.[39] With the evidence of their mortality mounting, LGBT people had little choice but to begin a campaign demanding the care and treatment they desperately required.

AIDS activism was effective partly because its focus was not solely on one aspect of living with AIDS. Dr. Robert M. Wachter stated, "The activists' unprecedented modus operandi [was] a study in contrasts: street theatre and intimidation on the one hand, detailed position papers and painstaking negotiation on the other. The effect has been to energize the fight against AIDS with an urgency that has translated into expedited drug approvals, lower prices for medications, and increased funding for AIDS research and care."[40] AIDS groups like ACTUP attracted numerous members who were able to use their expertise or creativity to effect change for those struggling with the illness. ACTUP activists spent time and money attempting to spread AIDS awareness with campaigns like "Kissing Doesn't Kill." The New York-based campaign included a series of posters informing the public that AIDS was not transmitted through saliva.[41]

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37 C. Everett Koop, *Koop: The Memoirs of America's Family Doctor* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Pub. House, 1992), 204.

38 Perez and Dionisopoulos, "Presidential Silence", 21.

39 Wachter, "Sounding Board", 128.

40 Wachter, "Sounding Board", 128.

41 Schulman, *Let the Record Show*, 45.

More poignant movements were borne from the desperation many LGBT people felt in the face of an almost inevitable death from AIDS. Activists also deployed "Die-ins" where protesters lay on the ground silently to represent those lives already lost to the disease. The demonstrations frequently occurred at places like the C.D.C. and the National Institute of Health (N.I.H.).[42] The most famous demonstration representing the many Americans lost to AIDS was the AIDS Quilt displayed on the National Mall in Washington, DC, in October of 1987. Conceived by gay rights activist Cleve Jones, the quilt included 1,920 panels and covered a space larger than a football field.[43] Another lasting image from AIDS protests was captured in a simple photo of activist David Wojnarowicz with the words, in all capital letters, emblazoned on his back: "IF I DIE OF AIDS – FORGET BURIAL – JUST DROP MY BODY ON THE STEPS OF THE F.D.A."[44] Wojnarowicz passed away from complications with AIDS in 1992.

The Legacy of the AIDS Crisis

As of 2021, an estimated 36.3 million people worldwide have died from AIDS-related illnesses since the beginning of the epidemic.[45] New treatments have decreased mortality rates significantly, and it is now possible to live an expected lifespan with treatment. However, by the time science had caught up with the fast-acting disease, millions had already died. Because AIDS primarily affected marginalized communities, funding was limited, so research was slow. Anita Bryant, Moral Majority, and their supporters did nothing to improve the desire for increased funding and more rapid research. In fact, their hate-fueled rhetoric directly contributed to the exacerbation of both these issues. It is impossible to know how many more lives could have been saved with a faster response by the government, and it is plausible that an effective treatment could have been found years earlier with more funding.

The legacy of the AIDS crisis encompassed both tragedy and triumph. It remains a stain on the Reagan administration, but more importantly, it is an impactful moment in LGBT history. A community united in desperation and anger with its elected officials decided to take matters into its own hands and recasts its political relationship while drafting how to confront treatment for

42 Schulman, *Let the Record Show*, 32.

43 "The History of the Quilt," National Aids Memorial. Accessed December 10, 2021, https://www.aidsmemorial.org/quilt-history.

44 Olivia Laing, "David Wojnarowicz: Still Fighting Prejudice 24 Years After His Death," The Guardian (Guardian News and Media, May 12, 2016), https://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/may/13/david-wojnarowicz-close-to-the-knives-a-memoir-of-disintegration-artist-aids-activist.

45 "Global HIV & AIDS Statistics - Fact Sheet," *UNAIDS*, 2021. Accessed, November 12, 2021, https://www.unaids.org/en/resources/fact-sheet.

future infectious diseases. Organizations like ACTUP are still active in the fight against AIDS and continue to organize in the hopes that one day, AIDS itself will be a distant memory. The contributions of those whose lives were given in the fight will continue to be remembered in the emblem "Act up. Fight back. Fight AIDS."[46]

46 ACTUP Slogan. https://actupny.org/index.html.

Claire Kassitas

You Load Sixteen Tons, What Do You Get?: Economic Exploitation by Vertical Monopoly in the Low Moor Iron Company

The Making of a Company Town

Welcome to Appalachia, home of the New River Gorge, moonshine, and economic instability. Stretching from Georgia to Maine, the Appalachian region was most remembered for its expansive natural resources and history of low socioeconomic status. Around the end of the nineteenth century into the twentieth century, the Appalachian region was rich in resources such as iron and coal. People arrived to exploit this abundance and the labor needed to acquire these resources. Natural abundance and a sense of opportunism from the working class were key elements for the Appalachian company towns to establish themselves in the region and inflict damage on working-class citizens. The establishment of the Appalachian company town later proved to be damaging for the individuals working within its borders, doing more harm than good for the region. At the turn of the twentieth century, company towns systematically underfunded Appalachian infrastructure, specifically West Virginian infrastructure, by establishing a monopoly of resources to ensure the economic instability of the working class, keeping already disadvantaged people at the bottom of the totem pole.

As company towns such as the Low Moor Iron Company profited off their employees at the expense of their livelihoods, many different facets of employees' lives were exploited. The Appalachian people were exploited based on class, race, and age, just to name a few of these characteristics. To increase their profits, local companies used cheap labor, such as that of people of color and children, offering them little to nothing in return for their labor. Schools were heavily segregated and biased towards company skills rather than general skills that would benefit the company and the individual. A single company provided everything needed to sustain the local community contained within; the lines between work and play were incredibly faint, if not invisible. Americans today are not exempt from this same capitalist

exploitation, as can be shown through the likes of corporations including, but certainly not limited to, Disney and Tesla.[1]

In preparation for a discussion on the exploitative nature of what is referred to as "company towns," it is important to discuss a general history of American company towns and how they exploited the "cheap labor" of people of color and immigrants to advance their capitalist agenda and accelerate profits at the expense of underrepresented communities. Capitalism could be defined as a political and economic system where private owners with minimal control from the state government dictated societal industries. For private establishments to turn a profit, there must have been people to bear the brunt of this labor, with the general rule of thumb being that cheaper labor was the easiest to exploit, thus, turning a more significant profit margin. Company towns were not the first—and certainly will not be the last—to utilize capitalist exploitation to take advantage of the working class. Secondary sources such as Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*, Thomas Guglielmo's *White on Arrival*, and EP Thompson's Time, Work Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism were just a few of the many pieces of literature discussing capitalism through the lenses of race, citizenship status, and personal lives.[2]

Marcelo J. Borges defined a "company town" as a town (or group of towns) solely run by one specific company or industry, with the company controlling the finances, housing, and education, along with a host of other aspects of life.[3] Company employment of this nature was synonymous with residency within the respective company town, blurring the lines between work and personal life. With the lack of boundaries between employment and individuality, employees were never genuinely removed from their workplace. This exploitation mechanism increased productivity for the company, which was the primary goal of creating such an environment.

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1 See Jeremy Shearmur, "Living with a Marsupial Mouse: Lessons from Celebration, Florida." *Policy: A Journal of Public Policy and Ideas 18, no. 2* (2002): 19–22; and "Impact: Employee Benefits." Tesla. Accessed June 29, 2022. https://www.tesla.com/impact/people#:~:text=Tesla%20employees%20enjoy%20comprehensive%20medical,them%20do%20their%20best%20work.

2 Upton Sinclair, *Jungle Sinclair* (New York, NY: New American Library, 1960); Thomas A. Guglielmo, *White on Arrival: Italians, Race, Color, and Power in Chicago, 1890-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); E. P Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism - E. P. Thompson," libcom.org. Accessed October 28, 2022, https://libcom.org/article/time-work-discipline-and-industrial-capitalism-e-p-thompson.

3 Marcelo J. Borges, *Company Towns: Labor, Space, and Power Relations across Time and Continents* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012), 4-9.

The Company System

The exploitation of residents inhabiting a company town was further perpetuated through economic exploitation through the system of "company money." This illegitimate currency was the main instrument in ensuring the economic instability of company employees, as what little money they earned was only accepted in businesses that recognized the company's currency. This alternative monetary system effectively instituted a vertical monopoly within the confines of the town, shutting down many people's chances of survival outside of the company due to a lack of financial backing or accumulation. By monopolizing all the basic needs to sustain a population, companies involved in these business practices had an iron grip on the communities they occupied, creating communities solely dependent on the company and its assets. Creating these dependencies was intentional, with this perpetual economic instability working towards the long-term subjugation of the Appalachian working class for private interest.

Many different industries capitalized on this structure of business proceedings, and of these different industries, coal and iron were the largest. Within the iron industry specifically, the Low Moor Iron Company was a key player in instituting said company towns and the exploitation that came in their wake. The company produced iron from 1899 to its abandonment in 1952. The bulk of its labor occurred between 1899 and the start of World War I in 1915. This West Virginian employer had not one but two neighboring towns to employ: Low Moor and Kay Moor. The employees and residents of the Moors were kept busy at work because the town was rich in coal, enough to run the country. Low Moor and its adjacent towns were just one example of the Appalachian company town, but these conditions were nearly universal among company towns beyond Low Moor and the region.

Diversity of the Exploited in Kay Moor and Low Moor

To understand why the Low Moor Iron Company engaged in the types of exploitive practices they did, historians must focus on the multiple relationships between workers engaged in these practices and the companies that employed them as well as why these workers accepted such conditions. The mines of Kay Moor and Low Moor were built off the backs of poor communities that did not have much social or financial capital, thus making them easy to exploit in the name of productivity. The Kay Moor Census from 1910 gives some much-needed insight into the exploitation of the workers under these conditions. According to the census, the racial composition of Kay Moor was around 68.5% white, with 8% of this population being

foreign-born.[4] The immigrant population in these towns came mainly from Italy, Bulgaria, and Turkey. At this point in American history, some people who immigrated to the United States faced persecution due to their heritage, giving them little maneuvering to further their status in America, mainly their socioeconomic status.[5] Stereotyped as evil, dirty gangsters, among other tropes, some of these immigrants were targets of the Ku Klux Klan and were caricatured as lacking the stock for becoming American since they were not visually representative of what an "American" should be.[6] To the mainly white, Anglo-Saxon (read as Northern European) heads of business at this time, their immigrant employee population should not have received the same treatment as their white counterparts simply because they were white of a different kind (read as Southern and Eastern Europeans), due in part to their respective countries of origin.[7] Profiting off this marginalized community in an exploitative way underscores the racialized nature of company towns that employed those desperate for jobs and opportunities. The racial mechanisms at play denied workers of skills or assets that would benefit them outside the town: mechanisms of exploitation. In order to have flourished outside of the company town, workers needed skills transferable to other industries. By only providing their employees with the essential skills needed to perform their limited tasks within the confines of the company, this cycle of subjugation continued, repressing the skills and potential of the working class for the benefit and financial gain of private companies, a tale as old as capitalism itself.

Targeting poor communities as (essentially) free labor was not exclusive to the immigrant populations in Kay Moor. Regarding race, ethnicity, and nationality, around 40% of residents employed by Kay Moor belonged to a racially marginalized group at the time. In this paper, racially marginalized is meant to identify anyone who was not White Anglo-Saxon (otherwise referred to as WASPs), in line with racial labels of the time. Among those racially marginalized included the significant immigrant population of Italians and Turks that we might consider white by today's racial understandings. The remaining 60% consisted of working-class whites who experienced the same financial burden at the hands of the iron company. The 40% "minority" population in the Moors faced economic exploitation coupled with discrimination based on nationality and race. 30.5% of the residents

4 Sharon A. Brown, *Kay Moor, New River Gorge National River, West Virginia,* (Washington, D.C: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1990), 104-111.

5 *Under Attack | Italian | Immigration and Relocation in US History,* (Library of Congress), April 4, 2022, https://www.loc.gov/classroom-materials/immigration/italian/under-attack/.

6 *Under Attack | Italian | Immigration and Relocation in US History.*

7 John Bodnar, *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987).

were either African American or of mixed race, adding to the sentiment of exploitation based on race.[8] Much of the Black population came from southern states as part of the Great Migration. Their primary motivations for migrating north were social and economic stability and mobility.[9] This drive for social and economic mobility was quickly diminished by the restrictive nature of the company town, eliminating any chance of an easy transition to a life outside of the mines.

First-hand accounts from citizens of Kay Moor and Low Moor are few and far between. However, those that survived are first-hand accounts from residents/employees of color—there remained accounts from African Americans living within company towns other than Low Moor and Kay Moor. These voices emerged in William Turner's *Blacks in Appalachia*. In the "Conversations with the 'Ole Man' section," Turner noted that the "narrator outlined his life as a Black Appalachian coal miner. In his words, he stated that "…there was more interrelating between the four immigrant groups and Blacks than between the native whites and any other single group. This is probably because there was more trust between the non-English-speaking people and the Blacks as opposed to between the whites and the non-English-speaking people."[10] As pointed out by Turner, non-English speakers and the Black population formed alliances despite their differences out of necessity based on their racial otherness and economic conditions. As victims of economic exploitation and a low position in society due to race, the African American and non-Anglo populations in company towns represented the intersection between race and class in West Virginia. In other words, an intersection represents the duality of two different circumstances or characteristics that come together to give a broader perspective to a person or group of people.[11] For example, the African American and immigrant populations of these towns showcase the intersection of race and class, as their struggles exist as socioeconomic issues, with issues of race and class more connected in American society than disconnected.

In the age of de facto segregation, company towns only added to these racial tensions within the States. Despite the large African American population in Kay Moor, it was standard practice that those who were not

8 Brown, *New River Gorge,* 104-111.

9 Brown, *New River Gorge,* 24.

10 Reginald Millner, "Conversations with the 'Ole Man,'" in William H.Turner and Edward J. Cabbell, eds., *Blacks in Appalachia* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2014), 216.

11 Sumi Cho, Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, and Leslie McCall, "Toward a Field of Intersectionality Studies: Theory, Applications, and Praxis," *Signs*, 38, no. 4, (Summer 2013): 785-810.

white were not able to hold leadership positions in the town and/or company.[12] Discrimination was an all too common practice within the towns under segregation, the higher-ups of the company used the power dynamic of race hierarchies to perpetuate economic inequality within the industry further. Without having any of the African American population in positions of power, it is more than evident that life within the company town offered no economic opportunity to the Black population, which was to be expected in a country that did not provide much room for much social and financial mobility for Blacks under a system of racial segregation. Moving up in the ranks of the company was not an option, ensuring their exploitation in the lowest ranks of the company. By exploiting their labor and earnings, the institution of the company town was executing its goal—to take economically and socially underprivileged people and use them as free labor—with great ease.

The Factory "Education"

This marginalization did not discriminate based on the age of the Kay Moor residents. According to the U.S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, "the West Virginia compulsory school attendance law, as amended in 1919, required children between the ages of 7 and 14 to be in school during the entire school term.[13]" While this law came nine years after the census was recorded, this law provides a reference point to gauge how many children would have been school-age. Referencing the 1910 Census again, the total number of children between the ages of 7 and 14 comes out to 82, making 17% of the general population of school-age children. To accompany and educate these 82 children were two teachers, making the classroom ratio of students to teachers 41:1.[14]

For a multitude of reasons, what little education these children received was not adequate to support a life outside of the company town. With the given ratio, the quality of education was poor and increasingly poorer with the addition of more children to the school-age bracket. An increasing school population without a change in staff numbers inevitably led to a decrease in the quality of education. Either each student would have received the same below-average education or students would have been left with an education at all, with only a select few children to complete an education in the company-owned school. In other words, companies could not be trusted to provide quality education to each child in the town when unbiased, quality education was not their primary goal. According to McGill, a study of children in West

12 Price Fishback, "Segregation in Job Hierarchies: West Virginia Coal Mining, 1906–1932," *The Journal of Economic History* 44, no. 3 (September 1984): 756.

13 Nettie Pauline McGill, *The Welfare of Children in Bituminous Coal Mining Communities in West Virginia*, no. 117 (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1923), 18.

14 Brown, *New River Gorge,* 104-111.

Virginia coal mines concluded that only 58% of children between the ages of 7 and 14 attended school at least once each year, with 256 children going unreported.[15] Given the relatively close period and working conditions, it can be inferred that this statistic was on par with the conditions of Low Moor. If anything, these numbers reflected lower numbers in the 1919 study since the census was conducted years before the implementation of the Compulsory School Attendance Law. To provide some context for this statistic, according to the National Center for Education Statistics, the year 1910 saw a national average of around 78% of children ages 5-17 enrolled in the education system.[16] Regardless, both the quality of education and student attendance would not have been adequate to prepare students for life outside of the company town. If there was low attendance and minimal quality education, what purpose did schools serve, if not to educate and ensure high quality of life upon graduation?

Additionally, the company towns appeared to have failed to provide a reliable, unbiased approach to schooling their children, given the overall conditions of the town. The goals of the town made the schools biased in the sense that company schools skewed mainly towards skills essential to working in the company, and not skills transferable to other industries that would provide an increased quality of life for these working-class citizens.

The Kay Moor School District had two "white schools" and two "black schools," adhering to the "separate but equal" doctrine established by Plessy v. Ferguson. This racial separation only added to the many layers of exploitation and discrimination, keeping people subjugated while they were already in a disadvantaged economic state. While the local government funded the Kay Moor Schools, they were unofficially privately owned institutions guided by their curriculum that fueled the school-to-company pipeline. While there was not much known about the specific curriculum taught within any of the four schools, "the following subjects were offered: mine gases, timbering and haulage, and hoisting."[17]Against any other prospects of social mobility, one perspective points at the purpose of further perpetuating low financial and social status, schools in the area primarily taught skills that would benefit Kay Moor's residents as employees, not as people. Here, schoolwork trained students to enter the company town, not a formal education to exit the conditions under which they were born. By training the children to enter the workforce within the company town rather than providing them with universal life skills, executives within Low Moor tightened the leash they had around their employees. The region's natural resources provided common

15 McGill, *Children in Bituminous Coal Mining*, 18.

16 Thomas Snyder, *120 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait* (Washington, D.C: National Center for Education Statistics, 1993), 27.

17 Brown, *New River Gorge*, 80.

accessibility to economic promise, which was exploited by the mines. By design, most of the skills taught in Appalachia at this point were targeted toward ones that would benefit the industries they supported. However, company towns took this capitalist schooling mindset, exclusively teaching industry skills rather than using industry skills to supplement traditional schooling.

An Illegal Economy

Understanding the exploitative reach under this atmosphere shifts the focus of the discussion to specific methods of exploitation, as noted in the previous sections, unsanctioned, the non-governmental currency used as compensation for employees in Kay Moor and adjacent towns using similar economic infrastructures. "Company money"—or company scrip—was the 1910's version of monopoly money, only having actual legitimacy inside the company town game. Employees were paid nominal wages despite this currency being entirely subjective and dictated by the owners. With a made-up currency, there was no budget to be balanced and no penalty for paying employees what they rightfully deserved for their labor. Company towns were able to manipulate the cost of goods and rents at will as a method to reclaim any potential accumulations of wealth. Regardless, the poorest employees of Kay Moor (coal cutters) were paid $0.14 per hour in 1902, which would equate to about $4.62 per hour in 2022.[18] Congress created the first national minimum wage when it passed the Fair Labor Standards Act in 1938. The data published on the general wages within this town was slim, and wage/salary rates for residents of color were nonexistent. With knowledge of their inability to hold leadership positions within their line of work, it can be inferred that these wages were not universal across racial lines, creating disparate outcomes. The coal laborers and other employees of the mines were grossly underpaid for the labor they were performing. Even worse, their monetary compensation never went to increasing the quality of life of Kay Moor-ians.

Figure 1. *Low Moor Iron Company Coins (2).* RootsWeb (Ancestry.com), Lehi, Utah.

18 Brown, *New River Gorge*, 124. For changes in inflation, see "CPI Inflation Calculator," In 2013 Dollars. Accessed April 19, 2022, https://www.in2013dollars.com/.

Company scrip was issued mainly in silver coins in the Moors, but there were additionally company checks in circulation. Company scrip within the Low Moor Iron Company operated as a stand-in for cash, eliminating the need for U.S. currency within their town borders.[19] These practices made it impossible to establish a life outside the town since their monetary earnings did not have any value outside the confines of the Iron Company. This questionable standard of business ended in 1938 with the Fair Labor Standards Act, which made company scrip illegal at all levels and established the abolition of "oppressive child labor."[20] By the time the act came into effect, the damage had already been done; the iron company had ensured generational inequality through its failure to adequately compensate its employees.

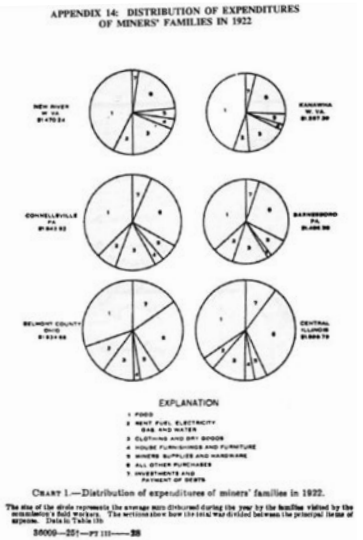

Figure 2. "Report III," *In Report of the United States Coal Commission on the Bituminous Mine Workers and Their Homes*." United States Coal Commission, Washington D.C.

Expenditures from Low Moor, Kay Moor, and the New River Gorge area gave needed insight into where the unlicensed funds were going. The U.S. Coal Commission provided a graphic illustrating six pie charts signifying the direction of funds of company towns in six regions. While they are not the payments of the Low Moor Iron Company, Figure 1 shows the spending patterns of coal companies in this same region; both industries used the same business model. These pie charts contained seven categories: food, household

19 Crandall A. Shifflett, *Coal Towns: Life, work, and culture in company towns of Southern Appalachia, 1880-1960* (Knoxville, TN: Univ. of Tennessee Press, 1991).

20 U.S. Department of Labor, Wage and Hour Division, *The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1938).

bills (rent, electricity, etc.), clothing, furniture, miner supplies, debt payments, and other expenses.[21] In the New River Gorge area, approximately 80% of spending was done within company-owned structures. While the "other" category expenditures were unknown, one could infer that this, too, was put towards a company structure, but it is not known for sure. In any case, the majority of wages, if not the entirety, went directly back into the company town's pocket, maintaining and preserving a system of inequality.

The people of Low Moor, West Virginia, could not just leave and move to somewhere with more economic stability and upward mobility. Production levels stayed high out of fear of retaliation by company leadership and the upheaval of everything the employees had worked for. While the employees would have had the same, if not more financial capital had they been fired from the company, it was likely much easier to stay in the remote town they have already established themselves in rather than venture out to unknown areas[22] and start anew. To them, staying in the company and being exploited was likely much more desirable than losing everything they had ever known to achieve a hypothetical "better life" outside of the town. Since the employees only had company money to their name, they had no truly legitimate currency. Essentially, nobody had the financial backing essential to move away from Low Moor. Even worse, nobody had the education needed to be employed in any skilled position beyond company, as education was geared toward company employment. "Pulling themselves up by the bootstraps" was not an option, as there were no bootstraps upon which to pull.

A Culture of Their Own

As a result of the poor living and economic conditions, the Appalachian people as a whole (including West Virginia) developed a culture of their own. Like a phoenix, the people of the Appalachian company towns have risen from the ash and rubble, emerging with a culture unique to their circumstances and regional history from groups not limited to white Anglo-Saxon people's model. Stories such as those included in William Turner's *Blacks in Appalachia* represent an African American culture that has largely been erased when discussing Appalachian history due to white populations' appropriation of historically Black cultural influences. This pattern is evident in ways that Americans may not recognize. For example, the banjo, largely thought today

21 U.S. Coal Commission, "Report III," *In Report of the United States Coal Commission on the Bituminous Mine Workers and Their Homes*, (Washington, D.C: U.S. Coal Commission, 1922), 1455.

22 "Company Towns," PBS (Public Broadcasting Service). Accessed October 28, 2022, https://www.pbs.org/tpt/slavery-by-another-name/themes/company-towns/#:~:text=The%20remoteness%20and%20lack%20of,buy%20from%20other%2C%20independent%20merchants.

to be a "white instrument," originated in Africa, and its history has been sanitized by erasing its African origins.[23] In "Not Just Blacks in Appalachia," the author noted that 1 in every 14 Appalachians is Black, yet somehow, Black history was an afterthought when discussing Appalachian history, favoring euro-centered stories over anything else.[24] The erasure of Black history by the white-driven narrative of Appalachian history effectively distorted the nuances surrounding the region, sterilizing the complexities and crossroads to conceptualize the history of Appalachian fully.

An excerpt in *Appalachian Reckoning* titled "How Appalachian I Am" provides an excellent background into Appalachian culture despite decades and decades of adversity and strife.[25] The author told his autobiographical perception of his Appalachian industrial town through the point of view of film photographs. This Appalachian town was home to a chemical processing plant, which played a significant role in the lives of the residents. The author explained that "Every trip to Dollywood ever recorded on film, every wedding, every prom, every mugshot…recorded in a photograph during the nearly hundred years when all photographs were recorded on film, was more than likely to have been enabled by a chemical made in that plant by the river in Kingsport, Tennessee."[26] The photographic evidence provides readers with a visual look into how industries that exploited the land and the people around them had an iron grip on the communities they established. The chemical processing plant ran the town and surrounding area in the structure of a company town, permeating through the lives of citizens both in their professional and personal lives. The industry-inflicted destruction was another example of a long history of exploitation under capitalism.

Despite this occupation of exploitative industries, the Appalachian people have built a culture of close-knit communities and resilience among themselves. In telling Appalachian people to "leave if they're so frustrated with the way they're living," the Appalachian people were essentially being told to abandon everything they've known, to leave a culture that their ancestors developed out of survival and resilience.[27] The sons and daughters of those exploited by industry were living examples of the generational

23 Lilliane Blary, "Claude McKay and Africa: Banjo," *Commonwealth* (Dijon) vol. 5 (Jan 1, 1981), 25.

24 Millner, "Conversations with the 'Ole Man'", 207.

25 Robert Gipe, "How Appalachian I Am," in Meredith McCarroll and Anthony Harkins, eds., *Appalachian Reckoning: A Region Responds to Hillbilly Elegy* (Morgantown, W.V: West Virginia University Press, 2019), 312.

26 Gipe, "How Appalachian I Am", 312.

27 Jordan W. Smith et al., "Community Resilience in Southern Appalachia: A Theoretical Framework and Three Case Studies - Human Ecology," SpringerLink (Springer US, April 1, 2012), https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10745-012-9470-y.

inequality in these Appalachian companies. In saying this, it was essential to acknowledge our predominantly white historical connotation of the Appalachian region. Appalachian people of color and immigrants have contributed just as much as their white counterparts yet were rarely given credit for the history and culture they helped to construct. Additionally, it was important to acknowledge that Appalachian history and culture existed long before industry dominance in the region. Discussions of white privilege were crucial to understanding the nuances of historical depictions of Appalachia, and historians needed not to contribute to the ever-present erasure of these "racially marginalized" communities.

The history of company towns and the monopolistic industries reveals how they have contributed to detrimental economic status and the lifestyle of Appalachian people and the region as a whole. When companies, such as the Low Moor Iron Company, limited their workers' ability to accumulate wealth for their gain, entire Appalachian populations were without the means (both financial and educational) to succeed outside of the company's reach. Despite the institution of company towns originating over 100 years ago, the historical and cultural significance of said institutions was not limited to the early 1900s. While it was easy for the general population to be far-removed from these stories, it was not so easy to dismiss these issues, which remain today. With the idea of company money as a matter of the past, the lingering sentiment of company towns' ideology remains present in workplaces today. While it was easy to see these practices broadly as something of the past, the practice of capitalistic exploitation existed long before the establishment of company towns and would continue to exist long after. The ideology of a company town and the exploitation it exuded was a microcosm of capitalism, just one example of exploitation in a sea of those exploited. Again, themes of exploitation of the working class and blurring the lines between work and play have never been more apparent than today, despite claims that this exploitation was exterminated long ago. Megacorporations such as Disney and Tesla were moving towards the use of a modernized company town within the confines of their respective companies to increase productivity among their employees.[28]

Conclusion

In recent years, the Walt Disney Company used on-campus housing to increase employee efficiency. Disney was to the entertainment industry what West Virginia was to coal, and Pittsburgh was to steel, a monopoly

28 J.A. English-Lueck, "Silicon Valley Reinvents the Company Town," Futures (Pergamon, August 18, 2000), https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0016328700000264.

confined within the limits of their respective cities.[29] In the community of Celebration, Florida, along with the newly unveiled "StoryLiving" community in California, Disney blended the lines between life in Disney and life outside of Disney.[30] This living structure made the Disney corporation central to their employees' lives, with their personal lives built into the employment structure. After clocking out, employees were still on Disney property, sleeping in Disney beds, eating from Disney establishments, and paying Disney rent, never being able to indeed remove themselves from the culture based on animation, attractions, and exploitation. Disney and Low Moor, while different in their specific business models, both instilled a sense of entrapment and, as a result, exploitation of their employees. With the erasure of personal lives and the increased presence of company-owned businesses, these employers were more alike than different, taking advantage of their employees at any cost. Due to laws against the use of company scrip, the seemingly endless cycle of class subjugation was hard to implement on a private corporate level. Today, employees of present-day corporations and companies can leave and change their circumstances much more freely than their counterparts in Low Moor. Despite implementing these laws, companies today still strive for the level of efficiency and employee retention that company towns of the past once had, using the likes of Low Moor and Kay Moor as much as possible.

Living on campus was an idea implemented by many companies across the nation, Tesla being one of the most recent examples of this phenomenon. In Silicon Valley, there was no more important asset than productivity. With the ease of mobility and transport in mind, Elon Musk developed a pseudo-company town in Warm Springs, Fremont, calling it an InnovationZone. Musk created up to 3,000 housing units and 40,000 jobs within biking distance from their employer.[31] Interestingly, the company took no issue with this streamlined efficiency that walked the fine line between "smart city" and company town. Efficiency was the main goal for this city planning, working their employees even off the clock, always keeping them in a working mindset.

By providing all the essentials and making an employee "feel at home," it was much harder to remove oneself from the company, and as a result,

29 Jim Clark, *Married to the Mouse: Walt Disney World and Orlando,* (Cocoa, FL: Florida Historical Society, 2004), 172.

30 Jeremy Shearmur, *Living with a Marsupial Mouse: Lessons from Celebration, Florida,* (St Leonards, N.S.W, Centre for Independent Studies, 2014), 3.

31 Phillip Cooke, "Silicon Valley Imperialists Create New Model Villages as Smart Cities in Their Own Image," *Journal of Open Innovation: Technology, Market, and Complexity* 6, no. 2 (2020), 13.

exploitation of the working class continued, no matter how passively.[32] On-campus housing and meals, coupled with other benefits such as gym access and recreation spaces owned by the company, helped the company to permeate into the lives of the working class in more ways than one. When the lines started to blur between work and home, coworkers and family, the stigma of establishing a personal life became increasingly harder. Using a sick day or allotted time off was a betrayal in these spaces as business affairs became increasingly more personal.

Economic exploitation of the working class by major companies was not a theme that was exclusive to any specific period. For centuries, companies have attempted to make work the sole factor in a person's life, recognizing employees as a cog in the well-oiled machine rather than as individuals. Even in their modern form, company towns must be scrutinized to prevent financial inequality and exploitation of the working class. The history behind the Low Moor Iron Company should be taken as a cautionary tale so as not to repeat the mistakes that led to a region void of economic infrastructure. Disregarding the story of the Low Moor Iron Company disregards the lessons learned in the past, setting the present and the future up for failure.

32 "Impact: Employee Benefits" Tesla. Accessed June 29, 2022, https://www.tesla.com/impact/people#:~:text=Tesla%20employees%20enjoy%20comprehensive%20medical,them%20do%20their%20best%20work.

Ryan Jurich

The Bust and Boom of University Housing at Southern Illinois University, 1948-1991

Introduction

On a fall day in September 1953, students at Southern Illinois University began to arrive on campus for the start of a new semester. Anthony Hall, named for Susan B. Anthony, had stood for over forty years as the only girls' dormitory on campus.[1] That semester, the excited commotion of new and returning students could be heard at the gates of Woody Hall, purposely built over the previous spring and summer to house 422 female students.[2] Despite the multiple building projects undertaken by the university that year, including Woody Hall, the university's administration estimated that the university could only house 17% of the university's burgeoning population in university-owned lodging.[3]

Southern Illinois University, Carbondale (SIUC), is unique in the Illinois public university system. Founded in 1869, it remained little more than a quiet teaching college in an oft-forgotten part of the state for many decades. The modern history of SIUC began with the appointment of Delyte Morris as SIUC President in 1948. Over his long tenure, SIUC grew from under 3,000 students to well over 20,000.[4] Such a massive change led to a dramatic expansion and overhaul of every part of SIUC, including housing. Before Morris's appointment, on-campus housing consisted of little more than a few small barracks and one women's-only dorm. The massive increases in student population over the next three decades forced the university and surrounding community to accommodate the expansion of housing for thousands of students. The subsequent decline in enrollment in the 1990s forced the university and town to reckon with the consequences.

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1 Oma Dorris, "Girls Say Bye to Anthony Hall," *Daily Egyptian*, July 29, 1953, 1.

2 Charles Pulley, *A Residence Halls Program for Southern Illinois University Carbondale, Illinois* (Chicago, IL: Perkins & Will, 1953).

3 Pulley, *Residence Halls*, 9.

4 Enrollment counting at SIUC can be a tricky subject. Detailed accounts exist only for recent decades. Both modern and older records are the subject of debate and controversy, and sources can conflict. This article will use Betty Mitchell's enrollment record in *Southern Illinois University, A Pictorial History* (St. Louis, MO: G. Bradley, 1993), unless otherwise stated.

This work describes the evolution of the relationship between SIUC's housing administration and the off-campus community, centered on the need for student housing. The student population's rapid growth from the 1940s to the 1970s often had unintended consequences for university administrators, students, and local landlords. Problems with affordability, overcrowding, and the rights of students, tenants, and renters were common points of contention for all involved. As the expected continued increases in student enrollment failed to materialize in the 1980s, a new set of problems emerged. The outdated living quarters on-campus became hard to fill and often caused students to desire to move off-campus. These different sets of problems for student housing at a time of dramatic increase and decrease in student population demonstrate the need for strong cooperation between the university, students, and their local community if all are to thrive as partners.

Historiography

The history of SIUC's modern period exists in a limited albeit detailed capacity. Unfortunately, emphasis on university housing issues is often mentioned only in passing. Former SIUC professor Robert A. Harper's *The University That Shouldn't Have Happened, But Did* is an essential contribution to the history of SIUC.[5] Published in 1998, it offers a complete account of the changes that occurred during Morris's leadership. The volume provides one of the best housing historical accounts at SIUC, and it remains today a relevant read by the faculty of the university's History program.

Betty Mitchell's book Southern *Illinois University, A Pictorial History,* surveys through its photographic essays many of the university's main changes from the late 1800s to the early 1990s.[6] Bearing witness to the change in SIUC's housing, photographs offer direct and compelling evidence of the campus under construction. Commissioned by the university administration and published in 1993, Mitchell's work is a mainstay of SIU history. Perhaps more significant than Mitchell's book was the vast research which remained unpublished; another of Mitchell's projects—a more detailed and complete account of SIUC's history—was never completed. In the preface to his own book, Harper acknowledges that a large amount of his cited work comes from the interviews Mitchell conducted with university faculty and staff. In total, Mitchell conducted over one hundred interviews over a period of two years.

5 Robert Harper, *The University That Shouldn't Have Happened, but Did: Southern Illinois University during the Morris Years, 1948-1970* (Carbondale IL: Devil's Kitchen Press, 1998).

6 Betty Mitchell, *Southern Illinois University: A Pictorial History* (St. Louis, MO: G. Bradley, 1993).

Other significant sources for the period under review include *The Ordeal of Southern Illinois University* by George Kimball Plochmann, former faculty in the philosophy department, and *Delyte Morris of SIU*, also written by Betty Mitchell.[7] Additionally, Eli Lentz's work *Seventy-Five Years in Retrospect: Southern Illinois University*, James Necker's monograph *The Building of a Department: Chemistry at Southern Illinois University*, *The Other Illinois* by Baker Brownell, and *Retrospect at a Tenth Anniversary: Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville* by David Butler.[8,9,10,11] Each of these works on the history of SIUC adds a unique perspective to the historiography of SIUC and a vast wealth of information on multiple themes and issues on the growth of the university.

There remains a lack of attention to the issue of housing at SIUC. Fortunately, there is a wealth of documented sources on housing needs across the country, including student housing. Sources on housing emerged in relation to the expansion of the Federal Government under President Lyndon B. Johnson in his newly created social welfare programs. A flurry of research directed by organizations such as the Department of Urban Housing and Development has left a paper trail of housing information dating back to the mid-1960s. Most of SIUC's detailed housing records include important enrollment statistics since 1965. Sources on public housing are essential as many students over the years have chosen to live off-campus, no matter the state of university housing. In these cases, information about housing options in a university's local community can reveal much about housing options on-campus by way of implication—occasionally, such reports can even contain detailed information about the state and availability of the university's housing spaces. SIU's situation was no exception. A field market analysis of the Carbondale area performed by the Federal Housing Administration showed that as of 1967, 9,825 dormitory spaces existed at SIU, of which "about 5,000" were privately owned. The report also noted that "about 8,100" of these spaces were added after 1960. Such statistics make it clear that, as the university grew, so did the local community. They also show how decisions and changes in the local community affected the university and vice-versa.

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7 George Kimball Plochmann, *The Ordeal of Southern Illinois University* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1959) and Betty Mitchell, *Delyte Morris of SIU* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1988).

8 Eli Gilbert Lentz, *Seventy-Five Years in Retrospect, from Normal School to Teachers College to University, Southern Illinois University, 1874-1949* (Carbondale: University Editorial Board, Southern Illinois University, 1955).

9 James W. Neckers, *The Building of a Department: Chemistry at Southern Illinois University, 1927-1967* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1979).

10 Baker Brownell, *The Other Illinois* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1958).

11 David L. Butler, *Retrospect at a Tenth Anniversary, Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1976).

Other forms of documents, such as housing surveys, architectural programs, and trustee meeting minutes, provide an invaluable look into the decision-making processes that shaped SIUC housing policies. For example, the architectural report "A Residence Halls Program for Southern Illinois University," prepared in May 1953 under the direction of Charles Pulley and the firm of Perkins & Will, sought to study the housing situation at SIUC.[12] This report provides much insight into a crucial point in both SIU's development and President Morris's tenure—SIUC's initial on-campus housing developments.

Lastly, the voices of former SIUC students provide human agency to this story by connecting institutional processes to their everyday lives. Students' voices come through articles published by the student newspaper *The Daily Egyptian,* which has run without interruption since the 1920s. In other cases, the voices of students, faculty, and staff arise from interviews conducted by Betty Mitchell, all of which offer essential first-hand accounts. More recent interviews with former students offer some of the most personal information. The stories of these former students weaved together anecdotes and other experiences, illustrating how they were affected by the decisions, policies, and procedures created by SIUS Housing Administration as it exists today. For these students and all students who have resided in SIUC's dorms and apartments, a discussion of housing is more than meeting minutes and executive reports—it is a discussion about the places they called home during some of the most formative and memorable years of their lives.

Origins of the Housing Administration

The story of housing at SIU is inextricably connected to student enrollment patterns. For the 1879-80 academic year, ten years after the chartering of the university and five years after its first year of operation, enrollment stood at just 264 students. Initially designed to be only a simple teaching college, SIU was then known as Southern Illinois Normal University.[13] For the fall of 1922, enrollment had increased to 1,011 students. Many buildings forming the heart of the campus, collectively known as "Old Campus," had been built. These buildings include Old Main (built 1887, burned 1969), Altgeld Castle (b. 1896), Wheeler Library (b. 1904), the Allyn Building (b. 1908), Anthony Hall (b. 1913), and Shryock Auditorium (b. 1918).[14] In 1948, when Delyte Morris was selected to serve as SIUS's President, university enrollment stood at just 3,013 students.

12 Charles Pulley, *A Residence Halls Program for Southern Illinois University Carbondale, Illinois* (Chicago, IL: Perkins & Will, 1953).

13 A "Normal" university or college was the standard designation (still used in rare instances today) for any two-year institution designed to train teachers and other educators. SINU (Southern Illinois Normal University) renamed to SIU in 1947.

14 Mitchell, *Southern Illinois University*, 212.

With the introduction of the G.I. Bill for Education and ensuing post-war prosperity, SIUC experienced the equivalent of a renaissance under Morris's leadership. The existing curriculum was reformed while the university offerings adapted entirely new programs. The campus itself was revitalized and massively expanded. By 1953, student enrollment was predicted to reach at least 9,000 students by the end of the decade.[15] This prediction proved remarkably accurate—during the 1960-61 academic year, enrollment peaked at 9,028 students. An examination of residential mobility and migration over the 1948-52 period conducted in 1954 by Richard Robinson, an MA student at SIU, summed up the earliest housing situation of the university. Robinson's report concludes that "Carbondale [did] not compare with other Southern Illinois's cities … It is evident that the influence of the university and the stable employment by the Illinois Central Railroad [made] Carbondale a stable locality in the midst of out-migration elsewhere in Southern Illinois."[16] Accounts such as Robinson's suggest that SIUC's population growth was here to stay. From the earliest period, administrators recognized that such an expansion required administrative and structural changes and the rapid construction of new student housing.

Such an expansion proved to be a difficult task. In 1953, university-owned housing consisted of two permanent residential buildings: Anthony Hall, a small Victorian-style brick building (subsequently converted to a men's dormitory after Woody Hall's construction), and the newly constructed Woody Hall. Anthony Hall held 122 male students, and Woody Hall housed 422 female students.[17] Alternative housing options operated by the university were grossly inadequate: nine World War II surplus barracks purchased from Camp Ellis[18] for the use of 184 men, 105 temporary apartment spaces located on the nearby Chautaugua Street Housing Unit for the benefit of married students, and 95 apartment units situated 10 miles east of campus in the Southern Hills Housing Project.[19]

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15 Pulley, *Residence Halls*, 9.

16 Richard Gregory Robinson, "A Study of Residential Mobility and Migration in a Middle Class White Section of Carbondale, Illinois, 1948-1952" (Ph. D. Diss., Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, 1954), 43.

17 Southern Illinois University Board of Trustee, *Annual Report of the Board of Trustees* (1952), 113.

18 A location with a unique history of its own, Camp Ellis served as a training camp for thousands of army support personnel during WWII. Recruits practiced building pontoon bridges over the nearby Spoon River, of *Anthology* fame. It served as a prison camp for German soldiers before being turned over to the Illinois National Guard in 1946 and eventually demolished.

19 Pulley, *Residence Halls*, 9.

Understanding such a predicament, the SIU Board of Trustees, at the behest of President Morris, contracted the Chicago architectural firm Perkins & Will to complete a redesign of SIUC's housing under the direction of university architect Charles Pulley. The company Perkins & Will became involved in numerous large, multi-stage projects to redesign the campus. These projects included a proposal unanimously adopted by the Board of Trustees on April 26, 1956, to entirely shift the proposed home of the newly created Home Economics Program several blocks across town.[20] The design plan created by Perkins & Will instrumentally shaped the foundation of SIUC's housing administration up to the present day. The design plan's preface was empathetic toward student concerns:

> Residence halls for Southern Illinois University are a necessity. Student housing is the current limitation on its growth. Residence halls are also an opportunity — an opportunity to exploit the educational possibilities of group living; an opportunity to relate faculty living to student living in ways which will enhance learning experiences; an opportunity for students to experience companionship in groups small enough so that they remain persons rather than a commodity to be housed; an opportunity to teach by example some of the amenities of living and at the same time achieve money economies beyond those usually achieved in university dormitories.
>
> The above statement of principle represents the judgment of the university staff members and the architects who participated in this study of housing for Southern Illinois university. The conflict between the dollar efficiency of bigness and the educational efficiencies of small grouping was the central theme of their many discussions. They believe that this Report, which is the product of their efforts, represents a step toward achieving both of these desirable and apparently conflicting goals […] They feel that the unusual obligation of Southern Illinois is to teach "living" and to educate while providing low-cost shelter. The following Report is so aimed.[21]

The report's brief thirty-five pages, a mixture of detailed technical analysis coupled with statements like the ones seen above and scintillating

20 Southern Illinois University of the Board of Trustees, *Annual Report of the Board of Trustees* (1956), 154.

21 Pulley, *Residence Halls*, 6.

endorsement for the report's findings, provide the best look at the state of university housing during this crucial time. The many diagrams and maps included in its pages contain fascinating examples of various alternative ways the SIUC campus could have looked today. However, the report's optimistic plans were tempered by more sober observations, as stated in its opening paragraphs:

> The problem of student housing, however, is not limited to the consideration of quantity. Practically no new structures have been made available for housing students for the past forty years. Nearly every one of the homes and fraternity houses are inadequate from the standpoint of such facilities as plumbing, wiring, study desks, and social and dining spaces. In many cases there is serious overcrowding of bath facilities, while approximately twenty per cent of the students housed in Carbondale live in homes in which there are less than six students.[22]

The report wryly concluded by stating that "Since it [appeared] unlikely that private operators [would] produce the housing needed for increased enrollment, the University must assume responsibility for creating this needed housing." SIUC took the report's conclusions seriously, internalizing its findings regarding the lack of growth in private housing over the past four decades and the deplorable and often negligent quality of such accommodations. The deficiencies of available privately-owned facilities detailed in the report and its glowing endorsement of the benefits new housing structures could provide ensured that the construction of modern dormitory structures became a priority for university administrators over the coming decades.

Problems with Off-Campus Housing

While SIU's Board of Trustees had firmly committed to a bold new vision for the university, the simple fact remained that apartments and dorms took time to fund and build. For most of this early period and well into the modern day, many of the student population resided in off-campus, privately-owned apartments. A 1953 statement from the Board of Trustees explained the university's attitude towards privately-owned student housing by stating that:

> With respect to off-campus student housing, it is the philosophy of the university that this category of housing should represent an extension of on-campus housing whereby owners, student renters and the university

22 Pulley, *Residence Halls*, 9.

> cooperatively assume certain responsibilities in order that off-campus student housing may be improved continually with respect to both quantity and quality of such housing.[23]

The concern displayed by university administrators for the needs of students on and off-campus continued for decades to come. Just as the issue of student safety needed to be addressed on and off-campus, so too were the concerns about housing, on and off-campus, that needed constant evaluation. While the university could not help but understand that its reputation would be at risk if it allowed students to reside in dangerous or dilapidated housing, records show that genuine humanitarian concerns were also involved.

Minutes from the same board meeting explained how the university attempted to design its policies and which offices would be in charge of their implementation. The sheer amount of documentation illustrating multiple attempts to enforce university policies also showed subsequent frustration by university officials in applying its directive. Private housing owners often took issue with university officials investigating their properties. In contrast, those same officials sought that students follow university policies off-campus. The most illuminating documentation can be found in complaint reports from tenants, property owners, and university administrators. On a complaint report filed on January 7, 1947, Mrs. Robert Gher, resident at 405 North University, noted that:

> Harry Wesley Carter register [sic] late and there were only a few rooms in town left vacant. He contacted Mrs. Gher who had rented to him previously and she gave him a place to stay in a double room with five other boys. On October the 15 I visited Mrs. Gher and asked her not to place not more than five in the double rooms.

A follow-up dated January 8, stated that:

> [A housing administrator] called Mrs. Gher to ask for an explanation for renting to more than five students. She gave as her explanation that one boy by the name of Bob Craig was undecided about commuting from Johnston City and she feared she would only be left with four boys.
>
> [The housing administrator] then told her of the study that was made of the deficiency grades of the past term which showed that practically all houses with crowded conditions

23 Southern Illinois University, Student Housing Policies and Standards, December 10, 1966, University Housing Records, RG 13-16, Box 2, Special Collections Research Center, Southern Illinois University Carbondale, 5. [Hereafter SCRC.SIUC.HUR].

> had a large number of students who were failing in one or more subjects.
>
> She seemed a bit irritated and stated that she would not rent at all if she could not rent to at least five at $3.00 per week each.[24]

Another complaint, this time captured on an internal departmental memo from Director of Housing Mabel Pulliam to Assistant to the Dean of Men[25] Ledford Bischof, dated March 2, 1948, briefly read:

> Dear Mr. Bischof:
>
> Dr. Robert Lentz, a dentist, at 206 W. Jackson, [reported] that a student girl has been visiting the apartment of William Crocker and Marion Dwain Farris every evening. He [was] concerned about the reputation this will give his home.
>
> I [Mr. Pulliam] have said nothing to the boys about the rule prohibiting unmarried students from occupying apartments because these rooms are in the home of Dr. Lentz, and I [Mr. Pulliam] had assumed they would have a certain amount of supervision.
>
> Unless you wish me to assist with this, I shall leave the matter in your hands.[26]

A third complaint report dated September 9, intended as a copy of a letter sent to Mrs. Win Parker, living at 215 ½ West Walnut, read as follows:

> Val Refett who lived in your house during the past academic year has reported that you failed to return a $25.00 damage deposit to him although you had informed him earlier that he was not responsible for any damage.
>
> I understand that there was an altercation between you

24 Mrs. Robert Gher, Complaint Letter, January 7, 1947, SCRC.SIUC.HUR, RG 13-16, Box 3, Folder 1.

25 The Dean of Men position is an ancestor of the modern Dean of Students position, the holder of which is still responsible for the Director of Housing and the entirety of the Housing Administration. The Dean of Student Affairs reports to the Vice-Chancellor for Student Affairs, who in turn reports directly to the Chancellor of the University. The consolidation of the male and female student affairs offices is a modern evolution, yet the byzantine structure of the university's administration dates back to the university's earliest period.

26 Mrs. Mabel Pulliam, Complaint Memo, March 2, 1948, SCRC.SIUC.HUR, RG 13-16, Box 3, Folder 1.

> and that you subsequently called the Chief of Police and informedhim [sic] that Val was drunk. According to Val's account later substantiated by the Chief of Police, Val went to the Police station and asked the chief to check this accusation of being drunk. The Chief informed us that Val had not been drinking and was certainly not drunk.
>
> The chief of Police said that he would talk to you.[27]

Reports such as these are numerous, following a pattern that would remain evident well into later decades. For example, a 1946 report contained the university's response to the concerns of a landlord accused of improper living facilities on the property.[28] The report included the subsequent investigation, which revealed the complete lack of lavatory facilities. A 1947 report detailed the strategies used by a landlord attempting to charge four female students for using a hotplate.[29] These reports provide some of the issues influencing housing dissatisfaction among students, involving staff and community residents.

Still, compared with the limited university-owned housing and the only semi-available fraternity housing, these cramped off-campus rooms were often the only choice for students. The scramble for available student housing began every fall semester; this became an SIUC tradition. Before the beginning of the semester, students, parents, and renters posted and read multiple ads for available housing in town. Most of these ads appeared in the student daily, *The Daily Egyptian,* and the local newspaper, *The Southern Illinoisan*.

Privately-owned off-campus housing also involved other problems. In the summer of 1959, the Department of Community Development at SIUC conducted a survey on housing in Carbondale sponsored by the City of Carbondale and the Public Housing Administration. The study provides a detailed review of available housing in the Carbondale community at that time. The survey included information on 177 city blocks and 807 dwelling units, as well as 667 other structures. The review found that many of the city's housing units were in a poor state of repair, lacking essential safety features and basic lavatory facilities or requiring significant repairs.

Interestingly, the survey did not cite overcrowding as a significant issue. Perhaps this oversight can be explained by the fact that the survey did not include areas that SIUC indicated it would soon be adding to its

27 Mrs. Win Parker, Complaint Letter, September 9, SCRC.SIUC.HUR, RG 13-16, Box 3, Folder 1.

28 Mrs. Gertrude McMinn, Complaint Letter, December 18, 1947, SCRC.SIUC.HUR, RG 13-16, Box 3, Folder 1.

29 Mrs. O.P. Patton, Complaint Letter, January 28, 1947, SCRC.SIUC.HUR, RG 13-16, Box 3, Folder 1

campus. Alternatively, since the survey was conducted over the summer, the issue of overcrowding reported during the school year did not appear during the summer, making this issue a seasonal phenomenon. The areas in good condition were often clustered together similarly to those in the worst conditions, likewise, concentrated in other city sections. It is plausible that prices for lodging accounted for this disparity. The median rent was estimated at $61.00 per month, while the median range was $38.00 to $71.00 per month.[30]

Those students lucky or quick enough to obtain university-owned housing often enjoyed a degree of security and luxury at the expense of a lack of independence. They were ensured access to all necessary modern facilities and proximity to campus at a relatively affordable cost. For the 1952-53 academic year, room rates at Anthony Hall were set at $13.00 per week, while the opening rates for Woody Hall were $15.00 per week.[31] On nearby Chautauqua Street, two-bedroom apartment monthly rates were $40.00 for students and $50.00 for faculty.[32] In 1956 these rates increased by $2.50. Even this increase could be justified by comparison to rates for other privately-owned housing options, many of which did not offer anywhere near the same number of amenities.

Despite the urgent need for additional housing structures and the SIUC administration's acceptance of this need, building new facilities was initially a slow process affected by budgetary constraints. It was estimated that Woody Hall alone would bring in a total of $247,650 during its first year of operation.[33] However, the construction and operation of Woody Hall was a relatively expensive endeavor. The amenities that attracted students to university-owned housing could render future construction plans too costly. Nevertheless, the state of Illinois appropriated $1,018,832 to construct the dormitory building, leaving the university to come up with over $1,100,000.[34] As a result, the university paid for the remainder of this fee with the sale of bonds, per a loan agreement reached with the United States Housing and Home Finance Agency—an arrangement the university repeated during many of its future construction projects.[35] Ultimately, Woody Hall's funding was achieved

30 Greater Carbondale Community Development Association and Robert E. Knittel, *A Housing Survey of the City of Carbondale Ill* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1959).

31 A per-week rate was preferred to a per-month rate in university-owned housing structures owing to the fact that college semesters were, and continue to be, based on a schedule of weeks instead of months.

32 Southern Illinois University Board of Trustees, *Annual Report of the Board of Trustees* (1956), 176.

33 Southern Illinois University Board of Trustees, *Annual Report of the Board of* (1952), 113.

34 Southern Illinois University Board of Trustees, *Annual Report of the Board of* (1952), 111.

35 Southern Illinois University Board of Trustees, *Annual Report of the Board of* (1952), 66.

through a complicated process. This arrangement was approved unanimously by the Board of Trustees, two absences notwithstanding, indicating that the university had faith and optimism in its plan to expand housing.

While Woody Hall eventually paid for its own construction, in 1952, it took the university many years to completely paid off the debt it had taken on to build it. As such, any unexpected construction costs might impair the university's budget for years to come. A joint letter from President Morris and the Board of Trustees to the supervising architect on the Woody Hall construction site, Merrick Hammond, urged him to "do whatever possible to expedite the completion of the construction." The letter cited their common financial concerns and anxiety about the cost of such programs since "each day required for construction [was] of substantial cost to the University." [36]

Growth and Compromise from the 1950s to the 1960s

After Woody Hall, other university-owned dormitory structures followed in 1957. Each dormitory was part of a multi-stage building program on Thompson Point, as outlined in the Perkins & Will architectural plan.[37] Despite the urgent need for housing, the second and final stage of the project was only completed five years later, in 1962.[38] The complex consisted of eleven three-story buildings, each housing fifty-one two-person rooms, and six three-person rooms, for a maximum occupancy of 1,320 students. The program was slightly constricted by the fact that each building would house either men or women. Every two rooms shared a bathroom complete with modern facilities. Each building had easy access to a central dining hall building and the nearby lakefront. The eventual design of the Thompson Point area followed that outlined in the Perkins & Will plan, despite the nearly ten-year gap between the latter's creation and the former's completion.

For much of this period, many SIUC students found housing accommodations through their association with fraternities or sororities. In 1923, the Sigma Alpha Pi fraternity began offering rooms to twenty-five members at the house at 608 Normal Avenue. Throughout the 1920s and 30s,

36 Southern Illinois University Board of Trustees, *Annual Report of the Board of* (1952), 8.

37 Situated between Campus (formerly Thompson) Lake and Thompson Woods, the land which makes up the Thompson Point area were purchased by the University in 1956 from the eponymous Thompson family. President Morris's original (since demolished) home in Carbondale was located on nearby Thompson Street, today the site of the Dorothy Morris Gardens.

38 "Our History: University Housing: SIU," University Housing. Accessed June 15, 2022, https://housing.siu.edu/about-us/history.php.

Greek groups continued to lease or construct new houses for their members.[39] Enrollment issues, the world wars, and a cautious attitude on behalf of the SIUC administration prevented the so-called "local" Greek groups from becoming nationally registered organizations until Delyte Morris's presidency. While not a fraternity member, President Morris quickly appreciated the value they might offer to the university. President Morris found himself in the unique position of inheriting the leadership of the university at a time when the Greek groups were still in the early stages of organizing. By 1949, discussions were underway for involving the university in providing housing arrangements for various Greek organizations. The actual process of creating such housing was slow. It required that university officials obtain sufficient grants or loans, convincing Greek groups who owned houses to sell them to the university and move to university-owned structures. The more logistical issue of finding space for the new housing took many years.

The poor and often dangerous condition of Greek housing gave SIUC students and staff many reasons for insisting on university involvement. The same conditions present in community housing, discussed above, were often present in Greek housing; lack of basic facilities was a serious concern, while overcrowded basements and attics presented a serious fire hazard. After much discussion and investigation by the university and representatives of the Greek system, in June of 1956, the SIU Board of Trustees approved a plan to create university-owned housing for the Greek groups. Construction began in 1959, and Greek groups were selected for re-location on a provisional basis, giving preference to those living in the most unsafe conditions. The site selected was just across from the Thompson Point housing location and was subsequently named the Small Group Housing area.

Fifteen two-story buildings were planned, their layout and exterior generally matching that of the Thompson Point buildings. The buildings' interiors appeared better suited to the needs of the Greek groups, with large common rooms, dormitory-style bedrooms, and kitchens. Groups allowed to move into the new buildings also had to adhere to more stringent university policies. The most controversial of the university's requirements assigned half of each building's forty-five spaces to first-year students. While innocent enough at first glance, the university insisted that if pledging first-year students did not fill the twenty-two spaces, the university would fill those vacancies at its discretion. The administration defended itself by arguing that this same stipulation applied to all university-owned housing, but the

39 Many of these first houses existed on what is now university-owned property; many have since been demolished as the university expanded. Today, most of the university's Greek groups own houses along either W. Mill St. or S. University Ave., together forming two sides of an area which includes a great deal of off-campus student housing.

consternation among students was evident. However, with few other options available, the Small Group Housing area (subsequently referred to as Greek Row) was partially completed and occupied in time for the 1959 fall semester.[40] A memorial plaque outside the location dedicated on May 26, 1959, reads, "Man must belong and create if he searches for truth, for faith, and for the democratic ethic."[41]

During the 1960s, enrollment and housing plans continued to increase. In 1960, an additional dormitory housing project began at the Southern Hills apartment site, and it was completed in 1962. The Southern Hills location was a slightly smaller site consisting of a dozen two-story dormitory-type buildings. The university had intended to replace the apartment spaces, which mainly housed married or senior students, with one-to-two bedrooms per apartment, tile floors, and kitchens.[42]

However, this project could not keep up with SIUC's impressive growth. Enrollment during the 1960-61 academic year reached 9,028 students. Each year after this saw an increase of nearly 1,000 students; by the time of the 1970-71 academic year, enrollment had exploded to 23,848 students. Such a massive increase proved that earlier predictions, which had seemed optimistic then, were entirely inadequate. Once again, university-affiliated apartments filled the gap on housing. The Elizabeth Street Apartments, constructed in 1965, presented a notable exception to the usual policy of relying on privately-owned facilities. The facilities were constructed, owned, and operated directly by the university. They provided sixteen furnished apartments in a two-story structure on nearby Elizabeth Street, ostensibly for the use of married or more senior students.[43]

Meanwhile, other apartment complexes continued SIUC's tradition of working with privately owned housing to ensure adequate student living. In the coming decades, numerous sprawling complexes were built in the Carbondale area to profit from students' desire for affordable housing free

40 Other issues related to campus accessibility and SIUC's administrative adventures are detailed in Benjamin Bradley, "Finding the Sweet Spot: The Culture and Economics Behind SIU Parking Policy, 1946-1989," *Legacy Magazine* (Carbondale, IL; History Program, 2019). Accessed September 6, 2022, https://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/legacy/vol19/iss1/2/.

41 See Frances DeSimone Becque, "A History of the Fraternity System at Southern Illinois University from 1948 through 1960" (M.A. thesis, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, 1995).

42 The Southern Hills became well-known for its international student population as SIUC expanded its reach to a global students, a reputation carried on by the Evergreen Terrace apartments today.

43 "Apartment Areas: University Housing: SIU," University Housing, accessed December 8, 2021, https://housing.siu.edu/housing-options/apartments/areas/index.php. (Carbondale, n.d.), accessed September 4, 2022.

from the university's direct control. Such complexes, many of which still exist today, included Lewis Apartments, Georgetown Apartments, and Aspen Court Apartments, among others.

Reaching the Height: SIUC at the End of the 60s

To highlight the massive scale of Carbondale's construction expansion over the two decades, the Federal Housing Association noted in its report of June 1, 1967, that "The nonfarm population of the Carbondale HMA totaled approximately 52,500 as of June 1, 1967, an increase of 2,100 persons (4.7 percent) annually since April 1, 1960, when the population was about 37,400."[44] The report also recognized an understandably significant increase in available housing spaces. According to the report, "There were 9,825 dormitory spaces at SIUC in June 1967, of which about 5,000 were privately owned, and 4,825 were university-operated."[45] This growth represented an increase in privately-owned housing available to students; this meant problems for university officials in attracting students to university dormitories. To solve this situation, university officials, in 1967, introduced a policy requiring new SIUC students to live in university-affiliated housing.

This growth of off-campus housing occurred against the backdrop of student and administrator concerns about the outdated and dilapidating housing. The September 23, 1967, issue of the *Daily Egyptian* ran with the headline "SIU 'Duty-Bound' to Clean Up Housing" and detailed a pledge by President Morris to fight slum housing and provide modernized and hygienic university-owned dormitories.[46] A different article from the same issue, "Housing Officials Inspect Apartment, Withdraw Approval," discussed SIUC officials' ongoing battle with local landlords.[47] In the article, students complained about the university's ineffectiveness in inspecting violations of the City Housing Code. The article accused the Dean of Students, Wilbert Moulton, of relying on city officials for the lapse in qualified inspections. Tensions between university administrators, students, city officials, and local property owners became a repeated discussion cycle.

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44 Department Of Housing and Urban Development Federal Housing Administration, *Analysis of the Carbondale, Illionis* [sic], *Housing Market as of June 1, 1967* (Washington, D.C: FHA, 1967).

45 Department Of Housing and Urban Development Federal Housing Administration, *Analysis of the Carbondale*, 2.

46 Ed Bomberger, "SIU 'Duty-Bound' to Clean Up Housing," *Daily Egyptian*, September 23, 1967, https://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/de_September1967/.

47 The university also took other steps to improve the quality of life for its students. In that same year, a portion of Grand Avenue was closed to create a tree-lined pedestrian space in front of the Wham Education Building, creating the university's modern borders along Mill Street and S. Illinois Avenue.

In 1965, the increase in enrollment of 3,500 students combined with the continuing concerns about off-campus housing ensured that the university's most significant housing projects got underway. That same year saw the completion of the University Park housing complex. It comprised three main elements: three four-story interconnected structures similar in design to the dormitories found on Thompson Point, dubbed The Triads, one main dining hall named Trueblood Hall, and the centerpiece of the project—a seventeen-story high-rise named Neely Hall.[48] Three years later, in 1968, two more high-rise towers were added to that location; Mae Smith and Schneider Halls collectively became known as the Brush Towers.[49] The combined occupancy of the towers and the Triad buildings numbered in the thousands. Added to this was Wilson Hall (now University Hall), constructed in 1967 as a privately-owned off-campus facility, and the Evergreen Terrace Apartments, thirty-eight two-story buildings constructed in 1969 specifically for students with families.

SIUC operated an impressive series of housing structures by the end of the 1960s. What had existed as a few scattered buildings in 1948 had grown from the ground up over the next two decades to house thousands of students. At that time, housing construction appeared to continue for a while. Indeed, as late as 1975, the *Daily Egyptian* reported that hundreds of students faced a lack of housing.[50] However, after the completion of this massive building spree, housing construction halted.

Setbacks and Stagnation in the 1970s and 1980s

University administrators had continued to anticipate ever-increasing enrollment records, but by the mid-1970s, growth began to subside. Given the dramatic increases in population during the 1948-70 period, it stands to reason that city and university administrators optimistically projected continued growth over the next 22-year period. For example, a July 1973 report from the City of Carbondale Greater Egypt Regional Planning & Development Center

48 The Triads were demolished between 2011 and 2012 as part of a planned campus redesign. Conspicuous green spaces marking the spots where they once stood can still be seen today. See, "Triads Demolition: Facilities and Energy Management: SIU," Facilities and Energy Management (SIU), accessed June 14, 2022, https://facilities.siu.edu/facility-improvements/completed/triads-demo.php.

49 The "Brush" in Brush Towers refers to Daniel Harmon Brush, one of the founders of the city of Carbondale, who gave his name to the region where the towers are located. Brush's grave is located in downtown Carbondale's Woodlawn Cemetery. "Notable Grave Sites," Notable Grave Sites | Carbondale, IL (Carbondale City Government), accessed September 4, 2022, https://explorecarbondale.com/368/Notable-Grave-Sites.

50 Nancy Landis, "SIU Predicts Increased Housing Disputes; Housing May Not Meet Demands," *Daily Egyptian*, August 20, 1975, https://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/de_August1975/7/.

illustrates this positive attitude. The report cautiously concluded that "The primary problem [lay] in the uncertainty in the growth of the University […] if the enrollment were to reach the projected 35,000 in 1980 as once planned, the economy and population of the region would increase."[51] However, the 1980-81 academic year did not reflect the projected growth, as total enrollment amounted to 23,236 students. The end of SIUC's boom period was now in sight, though few recognized this fact. During the 1991-92 academic year, the student population reached its highest-ever record of 24,869 before beginning a sudden and unexpected decline.

For some, the early 1960s to early 1980s period came to be considered the golden age for SIUC. From an administrative perspective, the many new programs filled their courses to maximum capacity while providing highly successful educational results. From an enrollment perspective, the boom in student population increased economic benefits for the university and community. The increase in wealth rolled into expanding the university's programs and campus features. From a housing perspective, all the challenging work of past decades resulted in efficient and expansive infrastructure. Many of the housing spaces it created could still be considered modern, and regular repairs and upgrades ensured that they would maintain that status for the foreseeable future.

Former students from the end of this period offer positive reviews. John Timmermann, a student at SIUC from 1979-83 and a resident of Schneider Hall tower's fourth floor, remarked that there was "a lot of camaraderie" between residents.[52] He had no complaints about housing administration nor the state of accommodations but instead described memories of group meals in Trueblood Hall and "MASH" (the television series) watch parties. Phil Wisczorek, a student at SIUC from 1977-83, worked as a Resident Assistant in Schneider Hall before becoming a Head Resident at Pierce Hall.[53] He remembered having very few difficulties despite being in charge of "17 stories of boys." He commented, "so long as you explained what you were doing and why you were doing it, they understood that it wasn't your fault." The change from sex-segregated to co-ed housing, accomplished in the late 1970s, was described by Wisczorek as "a smooth transition." The transition occurred despite fears of university officials, as evidenced by a 1967 directive from Coordinator of Housing Business Services Samuel Rinella. The directive required that "All student room doors in the living unit [during social

51 *Annexation Study for Carbondale, Illinois: Phase I.* (Carbondale, Ill: Greater Egypt Regional Planning & Development Commission, 1973).

52 John Timmermann, interview conducted by author, December 1, 2021.

53 Phil Wisczorek, interview conducted by author, December 3, 2021.

functions] [should] remain open during the hours of visitation by members of the opposite sex."[54]

Kevin Curran attended SIUC from 1979-86. He lived his first two years on-campus in Bailey Hall on Thompson Point.[55] He described his accommodations as more than adequate, similarly to Wisczorek's opinion that Thompson Point was "something like a country club" compared to the busy life at the towers. Curran also recounted that the Housing Administration was installing air conditioning units in each of the bedrooms during his first year in the dorms. Curran remembered "plastic sheets over the windows" and "bundling up in blankets" as the fall months dragged on due to the subsequent lack of heating. The air conditioning units installed over the fall of 1979 appear to be the same in the dorms today. Each former student expressed overall satisfaction with their housing accommodations. All of them mentioned how their experiences in university housing helped them become accustomed to living away from home for the first time and achieving a newfound sense of independence. They asserted that they had never heard of a student staying in university housing longer than necessary if accommodation could be found elsewhere. For example, some students rented or purchased trailers on the outskirts of town—not uncommon for students to do at the time, though such instances are unheard of today. Students from SIUC's local community sometimes circumvent university policy dictating that all new students have to live in university-owned housing for at least one year. They did so by claiming permanent residency in the local area.[56]

The massive boom in affordable and modern private apartments during this time continued to affect the university's ability to fill rooms. Discontent among the student body in the 1960s, largely an effect of the Vietnam War and other social issues, only increased students' desire to escape university administration regulations. The largest casualty of this mass exodus was Greek Row, which saw a dramatic decrease in occupancy after the 1971-72 academic year due to a combination of these issues and the strict university guidelines which had been placed upon it since its inception.[57] In later decades, stagnating enrollment meant a lack of funds for costly maintenance projects, which were becoming increasingly necessary as buildings approached the end

54 Rinella Field, named after Samuel Rinella, is a large green space located between the towers area and the Grand Ave. parking lot. The field today serves as a space for parties and impromptu soccer matches, and as an arena for SIUC's quidditch team. Southern Illinois University, Procedural Directives Residence Halls 1967, January 1, 1967, SCRC.SIUC.HUR, RG 13-16, Box 2.

55 Kevin Curran, interview conducted by author, December 2, 2021.

56 This requirement, whose precedent dates back to the 1967, attempted to decrease vacancy in dormitory housing; it was lowered to one year in the early 1980s.

57 Becque, "A History of the Fraternity System", 134.

of their lifespans. Kristi Abba attended SIUC from 1994-99. She resided in the Mae Smith Hall tower for her first year as a student.[58] She described feeling safe on-campus and that she enjoyed living in the dorms. She also pointed out that her living quarter in the towers "was definitely dated" before adding that "everything worked, and we never had any problems." When asked if she had considered staying in the towers after the first year, she concluded, "I had a good experience, but I was ready to move out." This remark sheds light on the general opinion of most university housing residents, both past and present.

Conclusions

In many ways, SIUC's housing troubles were largely due to the university's expansion and grand success. Spurred on by the grossly inadequate student-housing situation in the 1960s, the subsequent decline in enrollment by the 1990s occurred when the university needed extra funding to maintain its extensive and expensive housing projects. In total, housing at SIUC was close to full occupancy for little more than two decades. Over the years, the severe lack of capital resulted in administrative cutbacks and further dilapidated aging structures.

The path that SIU set itself upon during the 1930s and 1940s was a perfect storm of coincidence, circumstance, and unintended consequences. By the start of the 1990s, an entirely different university had been created. Nearly all of the administrative decisions made over this period had the best intentions behind them. The use of loans, grants, and bonds to build new housing and educational structures was seen as an investment in the university's future during a period when such improvements were sorely needed. The optimistic outlook of President Morris and his staff during the 1950s and 1960s seemed to be justified by the exponential growth of the population of the university and the surrounding community. SIU was a pioneer in terms of university housing and many other aspects. However, the compromises and conclusions which formed the bedrock for this growth and optimism created tensions between the staff, students, and the local community which were never resolved. As the university tightened its control on student housing, both the university and the local community continued to find opposing solutions to meet students' needs. A feedback loop was therefore created in which the two began competing with one another for attention and control over the university's students. When student enrollment began to falter, these conditions only worsened.

University administrators had developed an ambitious expansion plan for university housing, but it was based on the expectation that the conditions and needs of past decades would continue to hold true. The retirement of

58 Kristi Abba, interview conducted by author, December 3, 2021.

President Morris and the replacement of much of his staff in the 1970s left the university aimless, coasting off its previous achievements. The Greek Row and Southern Hills housing sites, which are now all near completely abandoned due to a lack of students, are visible reminders of the consequences of these planning failures.

The university has had to reckon with its successes and failures in recent years. While the future seems brighter, the university must prepare to meet the needs of its students and surrounding community differently to avoid past mistakes. The voices of SIUC's past and present offer a glimpse into the potential of this university when it embraces pioneering growth. It is the result of innovation, compromise, and in many cases, an honest desire to ensure that SIUC's students have the best learning facilities. By listening to the voices of SIUC's future, we can ensure that the history of those who helped make the university and who once called it home will not be remembered in vain.

Paul Mills

Teddy Roosevelt and the Panama Canal

Introduction

There is a wonderful scene in the film *Lincoln* by Steven Spielberg where Lincoln asks the telegraph operator, "Do we choose to be born?" The telegraph operator responds, "No." Lincoln then asks, "Are we fitted into the times we are born into?" After a pause, the telegrapher responds, "I do not know for myself, but you may be."[1] As some may wonder whether it is providence, hard work, or both, certain people in history undoubtedly stand out as "fitted into the times." In American history, Abraham Lincoln was one such person, and Theodore Roosevelt was another. Roosevelt's personality, previous positions in government, and military experience shaped his presidency as uniquely fit for his tenure as president. Theodore Roosevelt (also known as Teddy or T. R.) was born to "fit his times," as we shall see throughout this paper. His presidency coincided with significant advances in technology, medicine, and thought during the changing of the guards across many older empires. Some advances, mainly in technology, along with a push for economic globalization, contributed to the building of the Panama Canal. This paper seeks to illustrate the cult of President Theodore Roosevelt as a visionary that connected historical economic, political, and technological forces to facilitate the flow of goods, people, and ideas between the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans.

Theodore Roosevelt

Although born to a wealthy family, Roosevelt suffered from chronic illness as a child. Through the encouragement of his family, although without being pampered, he was able to fight through the sicknesses and become a strong young man. However, his struggle and the need to overcome obstacles would be part of T. R.'s life and ultimately forge his personality. Three years into his marriage, he lost his wife hours after giving birth to a little girl and his mother from typhoid on the same day.[2] He would remind himself of his father's words about the brevity of life. He masked his sadness and depression

1 *Lincoln,* directed by Stephen Spielberg (Dream Works Production, 2012), 2 hr., 30 min.
2 David McCullough, *Mornings on Horseback* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2001), 282-284.

by throwing himself into work, jobs, and purposes.[3] To him, there was no greater purpose than to serve the people, but first, he would need to recover from his losses.

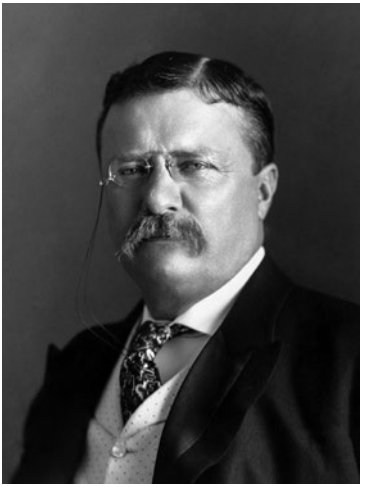

Figure 1. Official 1904 Presidential Portrait of Theodore Roosevelt.[4]

After a period living as a cowboy in the Badlands of North Dakota, he returned to public life in several high-profile positions. As New York City's police commissioner, T. R. boldly dealt with Tammany Hall,[5] which was rife with corruption and had an unorthodox manner of management. As Governor of New York, he became acquainted with international trade, canal operations, and national politics. As the Secretary of the Navy, he was determined to make America the most extraordinary sea power on earth. Resigning his politically appointed position to volunteer for the Spanish-American War (1898), T. R. led men in combat. He received a valorous award upgraded years later to the Medal of Honor for his heroism on San Juan Hill, Cuba. T. R. climbed the political ladder and, coupled with his fame, was chosen as McKinley's vice president. He had done all of this by the time he was forty.

While attending the Pan American Exposition in Buffalo, N. Y., the steelworker and anarchist Leon Czolgosz shot President McKinley on September 6, 1901; McKinley died a week later. He was in the first six months of his second term as president. However, an accidental President,

3 H.W. Brands, "Part Two – Engagement: Eight – The Light That Failed: 1883-86," in *T.R.: The Last Romantic* (New York: Basic Books, 1997), 162.

4 Parch Brothers, Official 1904 Presidential Portrait of Theodore Roosevelt. Accessed June 2022, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Theodore_Roosevelt).

5 Doris Kearns Goodwin, "Toppling Old Bosses," in *The Bully Pulpit* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2013), 68-69.

President Roosevelt's uniqueness as a person set him apart from all of his contemporaries. His leadership, vision, and "can-do" attitude led to many great successes. These included "trust-busting" the large corporations, advocating to protect the environment, and creating the first national park. He also became known for being the first president to publicly invite a black man to dine with him at the White House. Although he was known for being a man of action, Roosevelt had many layers. For instance, he received the Noble Peace Prize for his help ending the Russo-Sino War in 1905; additionally, he worked tirelessly toward the most remarkable infrastructure project of that era—the Panama Canal.

In building the Panama Canal, T. R. fostered an environment of collaboration. In turn, the completion of the Panama Canal led to the etiology and treatments of tropical medical diseases such as Yellow Fever. Yellow five killed 20,000 individuals during the failed French attempts to build a canal in Central America.[6] If ever a man was fitted for his times, it was Theodore Roosevelt. T. R. was immensely popular among Americans, and his appointment as McKinley's vice president aimed at removing T. R. from influencing state and national politics. As Vice-President, he would have no power or influence in those days, leading indeed to political death. On hearing McKinley's death, Senator Mark Hanna exclaimed, "Now that damn cowboy is President."[7] T. R. embodied the curious adventurer in all Americans of that era, and his political direction and choices would prove this.

As a historian, Roosevelt recognized the desire and need for a transatlantic crossing point in Central America. Rumors among sailors postulated about a western route to China for years as far back as the Phoenicians and Vikings. Spain hired Columbus to survey a new route to Asia. Columbus' courageous journey discovered something unexpected for the Europeans—another continent between Europe and Asia. Cortez, Balboa, and Magellan surveyed and explored the Americans, trying to find a quicker route to Asia. This exploration began a nearly 400-year attempt to find and build a crossing through Central America to shorten the distance to Asia. Roosevelt, a historian and author of forty-seven books was intimately aware of this history. He was raised near the water, learned to sail as a child, and grew up with stories of naval heroics achieved by both sides during the Civil War. His childhood included stories from his maternal uncles. They were Confederate Naval Officers who filled T. R.'s mind with stories of adventure and daring. While an undergraduate at Harvard, he wrote his first book, *The*

6 "Yellow Fever and Malaria in the Canal," PBS, October 2014. http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/general-article/panama-fever/.

7 David McCullough, *The Path Between the Seas: The Creation of the Panama Canal: 1870-1914* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1977), 247.

Naval War of 1812.[8] Still, today his book is a compelling study of the causes, outcomes, and significance of a modern standing Navy. T. R. understood the power of sailing vessels and a strong navy, the need for them to be fast, and quick access to be used as instruments of war.

Additionally, he was influenced by the work of A.T. Mahan, especially his book, *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History*. T. R. would have remembered the U. S. fleet barely arriving on time from the Pacific Ocean in support of the Spanish American War. The naval fleet's long journey around the South American trip added days to the voyage and put the Americas at a tactical deficit. As Secretary of the Navy, T. R. tried to influence American foreign policy; as the president of the United States, he controlled it and fixed this isthmus crossing problem.

U.S. Canal History

The use of canals dates back to ancient civilizations such as the Egyptian and Roman empires. They continued to be used throughout history and became more sophisticated as knowledge and technology developed. Normally, canals were sea-level structures with no option to negotiate elevations and used in simple transportation as in Great Britain or Suez. Irrigation canals and water movement canals operate using angles and gravity to move water. Not until the advent of complex metallurgy would the technology be available to negotiate higher elevations to lift ships over mountains using lock systems.

There was a vacillating interest and commitment to building a canal across the Panamanian Isthmus through most of the 1800s. The French, German, and English governments had significant interests in undertaking the operation based on aggressive foreign policy desires. Two events rekindled American interests in such ventures, the Gold Rush of the 1840s and, as stated above, the Spanish American War. When the U.S. sought to take a shot at building the Panama Canal, American engineers had master canal-building knowledge and practices. For politicians, there was a dual purpose for a Central American canal. First, for economic reasons, shipping could be cut in half for domestic trade to the west coast. International trade to Asia and the southern States would be the main ports to be used in such an endeavor.[9] Second, the U.S. was the up-and-coming country for defense purposes, and naval vessels were the primary military technology through the late 1800s and 1900s.

8 Theodore Roosevelt, *The Naval War of 1812* (New York: Putnam, 1882).

9 McCullough, *The Path Between the Seas,* 259-265.

Figure 2. John William Hill, View of the Erie Canal (1830-1832).[10]

As governor of New York, Roosevelt was familiar with modern canal operations, their importance, and their early use. Canals were an important economic and transportation asset.[11] Although replaced by trains for routine commerce and public transportation, they were still part of the fabric of the state. They required routine maintenance and care during Roosevelt's time. As the 33rd Governor of New York, Roosevelt played an essential role in the survival of the New York State canal system. Concerned about the power of railroad companies, a contentious relationship that would continue into his presidency, Roosevelt had the canal system re-surveyed and enlarged many of the canals. Roosevelt believed it would be folly not to use the topographical advantages of New York State. That is the presence of the best water route for shipping as a supplement for the growing influence of railroads. T.R. thought New York would lose this shipping advantage if it depended solely on the railroads.[12] This canal experience paid significant dividends when he was president during the building of the Panama Canal.

The History of U.S. Involvement

T.R.'s time in Cuba partially shaped his thoughts about Spain, its possessions, and America's future and responsibility. Countries and Empires came and went like a sine wave through time, rising and falling, and it is

10 CBS News. Accessed June 2022, https://www.cbsnews.com/news/all-hail-the-erie-canal-200th-anniversary.

11 Caroll Sheriff, *The Artificial River: The Erie Canal and the Paradox of Progress, 1817-1862* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1996), 4.

12 Ashley Maready, "Erie Canal Museum's Curator Talks: TR and His Canals," YouTube Video, 30:05, June 9, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6RojN2I8DLA.

important what they did with their power and influence. T.R. felt that it was America's time, and that America should lead as other great nations led in the past.

By the mid-1800s, the Spanish empire was in decline, and its former colonies across the Western Hemisphere claimed independence. At first, some of these new republics formed confederations in the 1820s. That experiment was short-lived as they quickly became independent countries by the 1840s, but not without internal rebellion, corruption, and political instability.[13] Eventually, Spain lost political influence and control of its assets in the Americas due to mounting debt, the Spanish American War and these independence movements. By the end of the 1800s, the Spanish Empire collapsed, a pattern in the decline of the age of empires which, would be followed by the Ottomans and then the British. Spain's demise was similar to the Ottoman decline. It was a slow loss of control and influence. Although not the only U.S. president to consider a transatlantic crossing point, T.R. would be the one to get it done in a neighborhood of unstable but friendly governments.[14] Guided by the Monroe Doctrine, Roosevelt safeguarded U.S. interests by creating a foreign policy keeping European interests and colonialism away from the Americas. The Roosevelt Corollary justified American action, foreign policy interests, and the building of the Panama Canal.

American presidents have talked about a passageway across Central America since the times of Thomas Jefferson in the early 1800s. During this period, the idea of building a canal in Central America was aggressively pursued from Washington, D.C. to upstate New York even before the explosion of the U.S. railroad industry. Jefferson met with the famous German author, adventurer, and explorer Alexander von Humboldt who trekked and surveyed Central America.[15] Spain had commissioned Humboldt to explore "New Spain" to include a passageway between the oceans. At the end of his five-year adventure, he visited the United States. There President Jefferson welcomed him. In 1804 Jefferson, intrigued with discovery and science, having sent out Lewis and Clark to survey the West, and having purchased the Louisiana Territory from Spain, invited Humboldt to stay with him for two weeks at the White

13 Moisés Prieto, "Corrupt and Rapacious: Colonial Spanish-American Past Through the Eyes of Early Nineteenth-Century Contemporaries. A Contribution from the History of Emotions," in Ronald Kroeze, Pol Dalmau, and Frédéric Monier, eds., *Corruption, Empire and Colonialism in the Modern Era* (Singapore: Palgrave MacMillan, 2021).

14 Ralph Emmett Avery, "The French Failure," in *America's Triumph at Panama* (Chicago, IL: L.W. Walter Company, 1913), 45-68.

15 John L. Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan,* vol 1 (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1841).

House.[16] President Grant also took a serious interest in a passageway through Central America. In fact, he ordered five surveys between 1870-1875 to find the best geographical site for a passageway to the Pacific from the Atlantic. From then on, most experts agreed that three sites would be the best terrain to build an infrastructure crossing through Central America. Those sites were: (1) Tehuantepec in Mexico, (2) Nicaragua at Lake Nicaragua, and (3) the Panama Isthmus. The United States, throughout the 1800s, believed that the Nicaraguan site was the best place for a canal. Thus, American interest and effort were directed toward building a canal in Nicaragua. Even Roosevelt believed Nicaragua was the best spot for a canal; after all, the Panamanian location was the site of French efforts to build a canal potentially; however, in 1903, Roosevelt changed his mind when an opportune moment arrived.[17]

Influencers

In the late 1800s, national/imperial economic interests fueled competition between the great European powers transforming liberal economic practices into aggressive foreign policies. The new foreign policies, economic interests, and technological progress in multiple areas, such as canal-building and lock, assisted expansionism and neo-colonization. Elsewhere, political stagnation, mismanagement, and war took a toll on the Ottoman Empire, incrementally unraveling it. Political instability led some areas of the empire to succumb to European influence. In the province of Egypt, former diplomat Ferdinand de Lesseps befriended the Egyptian Pasha and secured the rights to build a canal through the Suez Isthmus. By linking the Mediterranean Sea with the Red Sea, de Lesseps opened a direct trade line to India and Asia. In the mid to late 1800s, the French were famous for their engineering skills and technology. The Suez Canal was engineered as a sea-level canal due to the small changes in altitude between both sides. A lock system was not needed. From 1859 until its completion of the Suez Canal in 1869, de Lesseps led and managed the construction of one of the most significant engineering accomplishments since antiquity. The British viewed a French-controlled canal at Suez as threatening their trade monopoly in India and were generally still suspicious of French political and economic intentions. Thus, the British supported an overthrow of the Egyptian Pasha. Britain was prosperous and stayed in Egypt through both World Wars. IN 1956, the British left Egypt when President Gamal Abdel nationalized the canal.

16 McCullough, *The Path Between the Seas*, 29.

17 Theodore Roosevelt, ed., "How the United States Acquired the Right to Dig the Panama Canal," *The Outlook* 99, no. 6 (October 1911): 314-319.

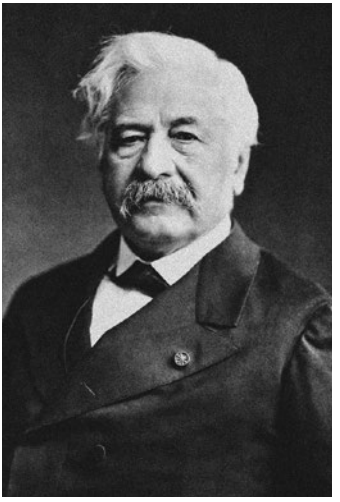

Figure 3. Stefano Bianchetti, Photograph of Ferdinand de Lesseps (1805-1894).[18]

After completing the Suez Canal, de Lesseps was welcomed back to Paris and honored by France and globally for his accomplishments. Additionally, De Lesseps was celebrated by the best science fiction writer of the day, Jules Verne; and was honored by Giuseppe Verdi, who wrote the famous opera *Aida* in honor of de Lesseps and the canal. In 1871, the new Cairo Opera House ran *Aida* for de Lesseps and guests. Coincidentally, Teddy Roosevelt and his family were in Paris while de Lesseps returned to be honored.[19] This moment marked Roosevelt. He experienced great art, literature, and engineering at the height of the industrial revolution; he bore witness to construction technological advances while celebrating de Lesseps's accomplishment—all simultaneously! T. R.'s curiosity and the belief that all things could be accomplished with effort were reinforced. Like T. R., de Lesseps suffered from personal loss. De Lesseps lost his wife and child, and he, too, threw himself into his work, which led to the creation of the Suez Canal.

Ten years after his triumph of Suez, deLesseps, now one of the most famous people in the world, was asked to build the Panama Canal. He formed a committee, took advice, and began the work. Most of the advisors were insistent on a sea-level canal, the most common canal type at the time. However, most of his advisors had never been to Panama. The French government refused to fund or allocate any resources for the project; therefore, the Panama Canal had to be privately funded.

18 Photography of Dragon, Bridgeman Images. Accessed June 2022, https://images-cdn.bridgemanimages.com/api/1.0/image/600wm.XEE.23371440.7055475/4414153.jpg.

19 McCullough, *The Path Between the Seas,* 294.

The Mindset of the Times

As enlightened liberal ideas continued to evolve, they spread from politics to the natural sciences. Darwinism and later Social Darwinism affected many people's perceptions of the world. Enlightened ideas of science and discovery did not dismiss the belief in God, but it proposed that people could take fate into their own hands. This emerging worldview and continued scientific discoveries led people to believe that all things were possible through their actions. A new paradigm of conquering nature through science and progress led to the construction of the Trans-Continental Railroad, The Suez Canal and was encouraged by Jules Verne and his writings. This school of thought matched Roosevelt's beliefs: a "can do" attitude and hard work could accomplish anything. Roosevelt's political maturity coincided with a rise in the U. S.'s geopolitical status in sharp contrast to the falling "old-world" empires. This American era encompassed the height of innovative technological advances such as the automobile, the assembly line, the airplane, and the building of the Brooklyn Bridge. Theodore Roosevelt was at the helm of what came to be known as "The American Century." Before becoming president, Theodore Roosevelt frequented the upscale Cosmo Club in Manhattan. There, listening to Roosevelt in casual conversations with other patrons, Rudyard Kipling wrote, "I curled up on the seat opposite of Roosevelt and listened and wondered, until the universe seemed to be spinning around and Theodore was the spinner."[20] Teddy Roosevelt was a man of persuasive words, but more importantly, a man of action that motivated and affected all Americans of his time.

French Failure

The Panama project was becoming untenable for the French. The canal was privately funded through stocks and bonds with a predicted return tenfold on the initial investment;[21] however, it was getting incrementally impossible to complete the French project over the years. French engineers were committed to a sea-level canal, but they were still unsure how to get through the high mountains of the Culebra Pass and how to decant the water from the tropical rains. Furthermore, the endeavor was costing more than expected, yet dividends were being dispersed to investors at the same time. This financial strategy meant more money was needed for the project. Reports of corruption circulated widely. De Lesseps managed the Panamanian construction site from Paris, which proved disastrous. For President Roosevelt, however, this became a point of interest. He understood this French failure as

20 McCullough, *The Path Between the Seas,* 253.

21 Ferdinand De Lesseps, *Recollections of Forty Years* vol 2, trans. C. B. Pitman (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1887), 178.

a future opportunity for the U. S. As the French failure continued to unfold, De Lesseps looked for a way out. After ten years of work and 22,000 deaths due to tropical diseases, corruption, and graft, the French approached the U. S. to sell the canal zone's rights. [22]

Figure 4. Everett Collection, Inc. Alamy, Canal Construction 1909.[23]

The Opportunity to Build the Panama Canal

The construction of the Panama Canal became an American enterprise. The French approached the Roosevelt Administration and sold the canal zone's rights and all of its equipment on site for 40 million dollars.[24] The U. S. was committed to a Nicaraguan canal for over forty years. Under Roosevelt, the U.S. abandoned its congressionally approved Nicaragua Canal plan and struck a deal with the French. Initially, it went poorly for the U. S. The Congressional Canal Board, based in Washington, D.C., was remotely making decisions *a la* de Lesseps. The first lead engineer quit after one year. The second engineer hired was John Stevens. He was a distinguished engineer in the railroad industry and responsible for the plan used to construct the Panama

22 "Yellow Fever and Malaria in the Canal," PBS, October 2014. http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/general-article/panama-fever/.

23 Photographs. Accessed June 2022, https://c8.alamy.com/comp/C13M5P/panamanian-laborers-at-work-with-shovels-during-panama-canal-construction-C13M5P.jpg.

24 McCullough, *The Path Between the Seas*, 293.

Canal. However, he left after his second year. Roosevelt refused to replicate the French failure pattern on his watch. By executive order, T.R. shunted the overall responsibility of the Panama Canal to the new lead engineer and curtailed the involvement of the Washington, D.C.-based Isthmian Canal Board.[25] T.R. ordered L.T.C. Goethals, an army engineer, to lead the canal-building project. As a military man, it would be impossible for Goethals to quit while ensuring that all canal-building decisions were made on-site and not by bureaucrats in D.C. Goethals stayed on the project for the next seven years until the canal's completion.

Geography and Disease

The most limiting factor to success in Panama was diseases. Roosevelt knew the effects and destruction of malaria and yellow fever on canal workers. While commanding the Rough Riders in Cuba during the Spanish American War, Roosevelt, like other commanders, lost more soldiers to disease than they did in combat.[26] Fevers were a scientific enigma. Fevers were one of the ancient biblical mysteries that humans had not deciphered. Germ theory, the theory that microscopic organisms cause disease, was still in its infancy, and many scientists frankly did not believe that invisible to the eye organisms could live inside other small organisms and spread disease. In fact, that is precisely how malaria and yellow fever operates and spreads.[27] While Roosevelt was fighting in Cuba, a little-known frontier army physician, working under Walter Reed using findings from Dr. Ross of Europe and a Spanish-Cuban physician Dr. Finlay in Havana, was fighting his war to eradicate yellow fever in Havana, becoming the world expert on the topic. Dr. William Gorgas did the same in Panama. For some, Dr. Gorgas was responsible for completing the Panama Canal.

Nevertheless, Roosevelt had the courage and insight to support Gorgas's work at a crucial time in building the canal. Early in the American takeover of canal operations at Colon, Panama, a disease epidemic wrought havoc on the workers and townspeople. The chief engineer at the time was under pressure to "get the dirt flying" and was less concerned with health and preventive medicine measures that would improve his chances of success. [28] Gorgas demanded strict preventive medicine techniques and equipment such as

25 *Executive Orders Relating to the Isthmian Canal Commission*: *March, 1904, to June 12, 1911, Inclusive* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1911).

26 Emil C. Gotschlich, "Bullets and Bacilli: The Spanish-American War and Military Medicine," *The Journal of Clinical Investigation* 15, no. 1 (January 2005): 3-3, 10.1172/JCI24100.

27 Chris Jeffs, "Mosquitoes and the Panama Canal," *Insect Week (Royal Entomological Society), 2021,* https://www.insectweek.co.uk/news/mosquitoes-and-panama-canal

28 McCullough, *The Path Between the Seas,* 408.

screen windows and doors. The chief engineer did not want to spend any effort or money on items such as window screens, paving roads, or removing and disinfecting all standing water. The chief engineer tried to fire and replace Gorgas with the help of the Canal Board based in Washington. In response, T. R. reorganized the Canal Board by executive order and threw his support completely behind Dr. Gorgas. Gorgas ordered the construction of elevated housing, removed stagnant water, and paved the roads in the U. S. canal zone and the adjacent Panamanian cities.[29]

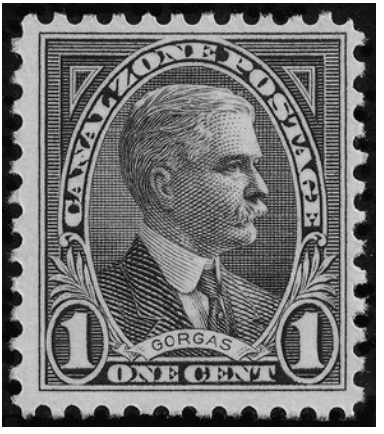

Figure 5. Gorgas Postage Stamp.[30]

His efforts effectively brought yellow fever deaths to zero and minimized all other infectious diseases. T. R.'s first-hand experience of the ravages of diseases, his previous and continued interest in the natural sciences, and his leadership acumen, allowed for an open-mindedness in decision-making that was unusual for the times. T. R. made the right choice despite any pushback. Gorgas stayed in Panama until the canal's completion and became one of the most famous tropical medicine physicians in history. Because of his work in Tropical Diseases, the King of England knighted him. Gorgas retired as the Surgeon General of the U. S. Army. In the U. S. he was honored by appearing in a postal stamp.

29 "Panama Canal," CDC: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, accessed April 30, 2022, https://www.cdc.gov/malaria/about/history/panama_canal.html.

30 U. S. Postal Service. Accessed June 2022, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/9/93/Canal_Zone_1c_Gorgas%2C_1928_Issue.jpg/400px-Canal_Zone_1c_Gorgas%2C_1928_Issue.jpg.

Figure 6. Roosevelt Family Portrait (1902-1904).[31]

Conclusion

Theodore Roosevelt seemed uniquely suited for every domestic and international event of his times. We see a man with the skill and experience to manage and lead against any challenge. He allowed others to do their job without micromanaging them as he demanded success. T. R. died in 1919 at the age of 60. His only visit to the Panama Canal was in 1906; he never saw it again. The outbreak of World War I overshadowed the opening of the canal. The dream of connecting the Pacific and the Atlantic to facilitate the circulation of goods, ideas, and people had a solemn reality. The ceremony occurred with less of a "fan fair" of excitement than one would expect for one of the most significant modern human accomplishments. The death of T. R.'s youngest son Kermit, a fighter pilot in WWI, rekindled the pain and hurt he had repressed with work since that infamous day in 1885 when his wife and mother died. It may appear as if all his accomplishments were mere placeholders to avoid the depression and despair of his private life, deep in sadness and hurt. He was complex, assertive, efficient, and single-minded on topics. His drive yielded a vision others followed and the type of leadership that inspired the nation. His profile resembles that of other historical figures who achieved enormous success with great personal defeats and losses.

31 Digital Horizons. Accessed June 2022, http://www.digitalhorizonsonline.org/digital/api/singleitem/image/uw-ndshs/3284/default.jpg.

If we return to the telegraph operator's question in Spielberg's film mentioned in the introduction, the question remains; is someone's position in history pre-destination or an act of will? Perhaps both are true in the case of T. R. He remained consistent in his personality, always looking forward and trying to use scientific knowledge for the progress of the U.S. He was able to move beyond personal setbacks and believe in the ability of the individual as part as a collective serving progress. Either with his personal defeats or as a leader in public office, he always had a vision for the right course of action to take, he chartered it, and perhaps, piloted the U.S. during its greatest expanse. Benjamin Franklin once said, "Either write something worth reading or do something worth writing."[32] Teddy Roosevelt did both. T. R. was a man fitted for his times.

32 See introduction, Laura Ross, ed., *A Passion to Lead: Theodore Roosevelt in His Own Words: How One Extraordinary Man Led from the Front and Changed America Forever (*New York: Sterling Publishing, 2012), xi.

Jacob Parr

Black Hawk War: The White Man's Acceleration to the West

Introduction

The Black Hawk War (August to April 1832) was a defining event in the establishment of the United States of America today. The events, actors, and historical processes of The Black Hawk War directly correlate with the evolution of a 'traditional' American identity encased in domestic violence and expansionist ideology. The war was a short conflict with a long-lasting bearing on all Native American tribes. The loss of native ancestral land to the United States government led to an increase in White settlements supporting the expansionist directive of the U.S. In response to governmental expansionism, Native tribes and their leaders had to gauge how to handle the potential removal of their people. In this conflict, the historical leader Black Hawk chose to lead his people to fight against the U.S. government, even when aware they were outnumbered. In search of a compromise with the U.S., other Native tribes in the Midwest chose diplomacy to curtail settlers' encroachment—but failed as well. Native Americans' losses, both diplomatically and at war, as in the case of the Black Hawk War, enabled White settlers to expand across the Midwest of the United States. In contrast to the idea of *Playing Indian*, in which Philip Deloria analyses the complex relationship among White Americans learning to become 'natives' from American Indians during the early days of the Republic, this paper shows that by the mid-1800s 'playing Indian was no longer a necessity for an American identity.[1] The Black Hawk War is a testament to how White Americans stopped 'playing Indians' and sought their removal and defeat.

Black Hawk: A Young Warrior

Black Hawk was a fiery and great Native American warrior. At a young age, Black Hawk witnessed his Sauk tribe's cultural transformation from an independent nation to a nation dependent on their relation to white men. The culture of the Sauk partially changed because of the growing economic influence of White settlers since the Sauk became reliant on Whites to trade and buy fur from their tribe.

1 Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

Through the years, as his culture changed, Black Hawk understood himself as a defender of not only his village but of the tribal traditions as well. Black Hawk was born to be a warrior. By age fifteen, he had already displayed the skills of an astute warrior, including planning and coordinating many attacks on their enemies. As noted by Antoine Le Claire, Black hawk "and his band killed many Che-mo-ka-ma (white men), as well as many Indians of other tribes and massacred whole families in Illinois."[2] Black Hawk saw himself as the defender of the village and tribal traditions for his people. Black Hawk's actions throughout his life proved his ability to be a great leader. Black Hawk tended to look backward, to favor long-established traditions and practices rather than accommodate the present. Playing a significant role in two major wars also helped Black Hawk to become a leader amongst his tribe.

The assassination of his father marked him as a tribe's leader. In 1800, Black Hawk sought to avenge the murder of his father. To do so, he organized a group of men to attack the Cherokee tribes for killing his father.[3] At the time of his father's death, Black Hawk's father was engaged in battle with the Cherokee. During this fight, Black Hawk's father, the tribe's medicine man, was mortally wounded succumbing to his injuries. His death allowed young Black Hawk to take the role of medicine man in the tribe.[4] After the Cherokee killed his father, Black Hawk announced that he "now fell heir to the great medicine bag of my forefathers, which had belonged to my father."[5] His rise to the tribal position of medicine man created a motivated warrior who impressed other warriors on the battlefield. By 1800, Black Hawk participated in frequent raids central to the continuity of his tribe's way of life. He led war parties against other tribes, including the Ottawa, Kaskaskia, Osage tribes and intruding White settlers.[6] He was known for not only celebrating his tribe's victories on the battlefield but also for honoring and mourning those who died during the conflict.[7]

The United States Government and the Sauk Nation

Tensions between the Sauk nation and the United States Government predate their first contact. Over his early lifetime, Black Hawk developed amicable relationships with the Spanish and the French before the United

2 Antoine Le Claire, "Reminiscences of Black Hawk, by People Who Knew Him," *The Burlington* (Iowa) Hawk-Eye, March 24, 1907, 7.

3 Roger L. Nichols, *Black Hawk and the Warriors Path* (Malden: MA, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 2017), 3.

4 Nichols, *Black Hawk*, 3.

5 Nichols, *Black Hawk*, 1.

6 Nicholas, *Black Hawk*, 18.

7 Nichols, *Black Hawk*, 1.

States purchased the New Orleans Territory and became the primary country to influence the region.[8] The French and Spanish traveled to St. Louis to trade fairly with the Sauk tribe. Both sides respected and trusted each other. The Sauks relied on their fur trade to better their economy and for the purchase of guns. Black Hawk trusted the Spaniards since the Spaniards tended to favor the Sauk tribe over their enemies, the Osage tribe. The United States, on the other hand, favored the Osage since the U.S. had more trading routes and posts with the Osage than the Sauk. As a result, the Sauk felt at an economic disadvantage in relation to their competitors and at odds with the United States. To avoid any problems, the United States government sought to bridge the relationship between the Sauks and the Osages. They tried so by encouraging both tribes to sign a treaty of peace with the United States. This peace treaty protected U.S. commercial interests and trade while placing both tribes in a state of dependency on U.S. trade such as the 1808 Osage treaty and the Treaty of Portage Des Sioux. This resulted in the ability of Black Hawk and Osage chief's' freedom to travel to the East coast cities such as Philadelphia and New York City, a small but willing attempt by the United States to generate better relations with both tribes.[9]

Nevertheless, regardless of the relationship between Black Hawk and the U.S., other Sauk continued killing pioneers, settlers, and hunters, infuriating the Sauk and Mesquakie tribes. The U.S. demanded justice against tribe members who killed innocent civilians. The tribes refused to do so, and additionally, threatened with war. As a result, the U.S. government stopped trading with the Sauk because they did not want the Sauk to have the ability to trade for guns or gunpowder.[10]

U.S. Expansionism and Native Tribes in the Midwest

The United States expansionist project disrupted its relationship with the Fox, Sauk, and Mesquakie tribes while invoking fear and violence from these tribes. The U.S acquisition of Louisiana Territory in 1803 led to their first extensive contact with the expanding American nation as it encroached on Indian land. American pioneers demanded that the government remove westward native tribes around the Great lakes, Mississippi.[11] In response to these demands, the U.S government devised ways to trick or force Native tribes among them Black Hawk's tribe into relinquishing their land.

8 Le Claire, "Reminiscences of Black Hawk", 1.

9 Nichols, *Black Hawk*, 27.

10 Nichols, *Black Hawk*, 27.

11 Michael John Witgen, *Seeing Red: Indigenous Land, American Expansion, and the Political Economy of Plunder in North America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2022), 41.

On one occasion, the tribal council of the Sauk, Fox, and Mesquakie tribes sent a small delegation composed of minor chiefs to St. Louis to attempt to negotiate the increasing expansion of the Whites into native lands with the Americans and avoid war.[12] This decision cost the tribes greatly. The negotiations went awry and many of the young chiefs were detained. Tribal chiefs saw it as one of their duties to seek the release of their tribesmen and to keep the peace. The United States military seized the issue as a chance to achieve the U.S. unstated goal to take a land cession from the Sauk and Mesquakie tribes.[13] The U.S. Military negotiated a treaty promising 1,000 dollars for fifty million acres of tribal land known as the Treaty of St. Louis (1804). The representatives of these Native tribes did not understand the treaty, nor did they have the power of their tribe to sign these agreements. Native Americans from the Sauk, Fox, and Mesquakies tribes felt misinformed and tricked by the United States' expansionist goals.

Black Hawk was angered, as were the rest of the members of the local tribes covering the fifty million acres signed over to the United States. To these events, Black Hawk noted, "I leave it to the people of the United States to say whether our nation was properly represented in this treaty, or whether we received fair compensation for the extent of the country ceded by those four individuals. I could say much about this treaty, but I will not at this time. It has been the origin of all our difficulties."[14] Black Hawk felt that the United States government unfairly misrepresented his tribe in the St. Louis Treaty. This misrepresentation continued to create a hostile relationship between Sauks and settlers for the next twenty-seven years.

Broken Promises, Broken Alliances

The United States failed to uphold its responsibilities of economically aiding the tribes included in the Treaty of St. Louis. This failure led to the starvation of Native Americans. American expansionist ideology and Indian resentment pushed the Sauk, Mesquakies, and Fox warriors to join the British in the 1812 War. Indians and British authorities began to build trade relations in 1811, partly because of the U.S.'s inability to assist the native tribes in their economic pursuits. The Treaty of St. Louis stated that "the United States [would], at a convenient time, establish a trading house, or factory, where the individuals of the said tribes [could] be supplied with goods at a more reasonable rate than they have been accustomed to procure them."[15] The failure to honor the treaty while cutting off trade from Black Hawk pushed

12 Nichols, *Black Hawk*, 27.

13 Nichols, *Black Hawk*, 33.

14 Frank Stevens, *Black Hawk War Including a Preview of Black Hawk's Life* (Chicago: Self-Published, 1903), 32.

15 United States, Congress, *The Treaty of Greenville, August 3, 1795*. 1919.

his allied tribes to seek help from the British. To worsen U.S.-Indian relations, poor weather conditions killed crops which caused malnutrition among men, women, and children of the Fox, Sauks, and Mequakies tribes.[16]

The socio-economic and political relationship between the Sauk, Fox, and Mesquakie tribes (commonly known as the British Band or simply the Band) with the United States began to downward spiral immediately after the signing of the Treaty of St. Louis and continued until 1832 when the Black Hawk War began. Around 1811, rumors reached St. Louis that the Sauk and Mesquakie leaders had sent a speech with wampum to the Kickapoos people, asking that tribe to join them in a war against the pioneers, who were already filtering into Illinois.[17] Settlers began to fear that the Sauk, Fox, and Mesquakie were planning a violent massacre of the pioneers. Kickapoo reported that the Sauk emissaries rode around their village dragging an American Flag from the tail of their horses.[18] This display of aggression increased tension between the Band and the settlers encouraging the United States to remove the tribes from their lands. In 1811, the United States tried to negotiate with the Native American tribes around the Great Lakes area a neutrality stance in the British and United States conflict.

The United States hoped the Native American tribes around the Great Lakes would not become allies of the British in the war against them. However, Black Hawk and his followers refused to stay neutral. This was not a surprise since U.S. had previously failed to fulfill its treaty promises, such as failing to send crops and money to them in exchange for fifty million acres of land. On the other hand, the British had helped them acquire guns, grains, and furs and provided them with food when the tribes suffered from malnutrition and starvation. Black Hawk, in his autobiography, stated, "They (the Americans) made fair promises but never fulfilled them,"[19] the failed promises upheld Black Hawk's logic to fight against them in war, coupled with the increasing numbers of settlers moving onto their land. In 1812, Black Hawk and his men joined the British. The United States publicly cast Native Americans, specifically Black Hawk, as traitors because of their role and alliance in the War of 1812.[20] Black Hawk fought in several battles against the United States, gaining the admiration of the British. The American public reaffirmed the nickname Black Hawk and his followers as the British Band, following their support for the British.

16 "Historical Indians: Black Hawk (Sauk)," *Central States Archaeological Journal* 16, no. 4 (October 1969), 166.

17 Stevens, *The Black Hawk War*", 22.

18 Stevens, *The Black Hawk War*", 26.

19 Black Hawk, *Black Hawk (Ma-Ka-Tai-Me-She-Kia-Kiak) an Autobiography* (University of Illinois Press, 1974). 28.

20 United States Congress, *The Treaty of Greenville, August 3, 1795.*

The British capitalized on the failed promises made by the United States to the Sauk. While most of Sauk wanted to stay neutral during this conflict between the British and the United States, some felt they had no choice but to fight.[21] The British called Black Hawk "General" and gave him medals, new clothes, a British flag, and new weapons to go and fight the Americans. This increased tension between settlers and Native Americans because the Sauk flew a British flag over their land to express their anti-American sentiment. Finally, the British had promised to reinstate the 1795 Greenville Treaty that protected the United States and many tribes located around the Great Lakes. This treaty granted many Native American tribes safe territory around Ohio and the Great Lakes.[22] This dream did not come to be as the British lose the war to American armed forces.

War of 1814 Aftermath: Toward the Black Hawk War

The Treaty of Ghent in 1814 led to more skepticism against the United States from Black Hawk's followers. The Treaty of Ghent created national borders between the United States and Canada, and the British gave back all conquered land.[23] For Black Hawk losing this war meant losing the land of his tribe in the Midwest to White expansionism. An incredible number of more than 200 treaties were forced on tribes, establishing nearly a hundred reservations and relocating native tribes west of the Mississippi River.[24] The British Band was outraged with the loss of land; as a result, they continued to raid and kill settlers and hunters trespassing on their land.

After the 1812 War, the need for additional farmland forced the United States to assert its resources as a nation to assist settlers wanting to move west, making land concerns critical for the government. The rising prices of agricultural goods pulled settlers westward to find available land and became farmers.[25] In this effort, United States newspapers further painted and expressed a negative image of Native Americans to undermine any backlash from settlers acquiring native lands. White captivity narratives began to emphasize the violence, savagery, and laziness of Natives.[26] Some cartoons

21 Nichols, *Black Hawk*, 3.

22 United States, Congress, *The Treaty of Greenville*, August 3, 1795.

23 United States, Congress, *The Treaty of Ghent*. 1814. December 24, 1814.

24 Donald Fixico, "Native Nations Contend with the Legacy of the War of 1812" (U.S. National Park Service). Accessed, July 20, 2023, https://www.nps.gov/articles/the-legacy-of-the-war-of-1812-in-tribal-communities.htm.

25 *Ontario Grain Farmer*. "The Big Picture: Farming and the War of 1812." *Ontario Grain Farmer*, 5 June 2017. https://ontariograinfarmer.ca/2012/09/01/the-big-picture-farming-and-the-war-of1812/.

26 George Catlin, "Black Hawk and Followers in Balls and Chains (1796-1872)." National Gallery of Art. Accessed August 1, 2022, https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.50403.html.

of that time depicted the uprooting of natives from their lands to expand westward. "The Indian is granted subject status only as he becomes subject to white representation."[27] Black Hawk's involvement with the British in the War of 1812 intensified the negative publicity for his Band as more Americans viewed them as traitors and savages.

The Sauk and the United States had reasons to seek peace with each other before the events leading to the Black Hawk War. Black Hawk and his people faced starvation and sickness from the lack of resources promised by the U.S government and the inability to grow crops in Iowa because of a harsh winter. These factors forced the British Band to return to Illinois territory to seek refuge with the Winnebago people. The U.S. reasoned that going to war with Native Americans had enormous financial costs, even if the war was short.[28] The U.S. would have to train and supply soldiers with weapons, which by the time the Black Hawk War started in 1832, there had been many lengthy and costly wars against Native Americans. U.S. forces took the British Band act of coming back to Illinois as an act of War in 1832 and violence against White settlers.[29] War could have been avoided; however, the British Band had built up reputation of warmongers. On the other hand, United States' violation of treaties that promised money and goods not given to Black Hawk's tribe among others did not inspire trust.

Black Hawk and the Black Hawk War

Black Hawk tried but failed to form alliances with other Native tribes to face the U.S. armed forces. A couple of days before the war began, Black Hawk turned to the Winnebago for help in their resistance to what they saw as white expansionism. The Winnebago initially urged Black Hawk to cross the Mississippi, but once the Winnebago chiefs realized U.S. interference was inevitable, they refused to aid and feed Black Hawks people.[30] As Black Hawk's rival Chief in the Sauk tribe announced, the Sauk and Fox supported Black Hawk's pro-war efforts to defend their territory in Illinois from the U.S government. Black Hawk looked for neighboring Indian tribes to support him in the War. He visited the Kickapoo, Potawatomi, and Winnebago tribes.[31] Black Hawk's inability to form alliances with neighboring tribes from other tribes helped aid settlers' ability to expand to new lands since there was no sizeable native resistance attribute. "With no provisions and no allies, Black

27 Autobiography: Life of Black Hawk Sauk-Sulattle." *Black Hawk Native American Writer and Storyteller.* http://nativeamericanwriters.com/blackhawk.html.

28 Stevens, *The Black Hawk War*, 30.

29 A. K. Fielding, *Rough Diamond: The Life of Colonel William Stephen Hamilton, Alexander Hamilton's Forgotten Son* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press), 50.

30 Nichols, *Black Hawk*, 64.

31 Stevens, *The Black Hawk War*", 35.

Hawk decided in mid-May that the Band should return peacefully down the Rock to the Mississippi."[32] Black Hawk planned to move his followers back across the Mississippi but was faced with an armed military.

The Black Hawk War devastated the British Band as many of their people died in battle. Black Hawk had an estimated 1,100 followers, including women and children, who were at the front of this war supporting Black Hawk. The United States had 5,979 troops in the Black Hawk War.[33] The first battle in the war occurred as the U.S government received information that the British Band was coming back into Illinois. U.S officials feared that Black Hawk was returning to seek revenge on White settlers, which provoked the battle of Stillman's Run. Major Stillman took two hundred and seventy-five soldiers to an area known today as Stillman's Valley. Black Hawk and his fifty warriors successfully fought off and made the soldiers retreat. Nevertheless, the British Band was vastly outnumbered, and his people were very weak, which granted the importance of allying to help achieve their goals. In all, Black Hawk lost 500 of his followers, including women and children to U.S. forces and other rival Indian tribes that formed an alliance against Black Hawk with the U.S.

The Battle of Bad Axe was the war's last and most devastating battle. U.S forces had cornered Black Hawk and his people. U.S forces had steamboats on the Mississippi river and soldiers on foot.[34] When Black Hawk and his followers tried to escape, they tried to cross safely the river into Iowa. However, Sioux Indians slaughtered them once they got to shore including the women and children.[35] Black Hawk escaped and sought shelter up north. A year later U.S forces captured him. This battle was detrimental to the Indian resistance against white expansionism. Since no more tribes allied and fought along Black Hawk, the lack of a united front made the U.S. government and settlers less fearful of further native resistance. Other tribes aimed to stop white expansion diplomatically instead of using violence or aggression to no avail.

In the aftermath of the Black Hawk War, the United States used the events of the Black Hawk War to continue to force Natives off their land. Black Hawk was taken to St. Louis barracks as a prisoner, along with other captured Native Americans. Andrew Jackson sent Black Hawk across eastern U.S. cities as a

32 "The Black Hawk War Phases." Northern Illinois University Digital Library. https://digital.lib.niu.edu/illinois/lincoln/topics/blackhawk/phases.

33 National Archives and Records Administration, "Military Service during the Black Hawk War, 1831–1832." Archives.org. Accessed June 20, 2022, https://www.archives.gov/files/research/military/indian-wars/black-hawk-war-1831-1832.pdf.

34 Wisconsin Historical Society, Battle of Bad Axe, 3 Aug. 2012. https://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Records/Article/CS1604.

35 Wisconsin Historical Society, Battle of Bad Axe, 3 Aug. 2012. https://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Records/Article/CS1604.

public spectacle. Black Hawk became President Jackson's symbol of savagery, but a defeated one since "Indian savagery," as represented by Black Hawk, could no longer threaten the civilization of America and its right to colonize the North American continent internally.[36]

Conclusion

The Black Hawk War enabled the continuous expansion of the white settlers across the Midwest. The Black Hawk War ended Indian reservations in Illinois, including the lands of tribes who had helped the United States against Black Hawk. The end of the Black Hawk War afforded settlers more land without resistance from Native Americans. Native tribes in Iowa, such as the Dakotas, Potawatomi, Winnebago, and Chippewa, eventually ceded their land and were removed from their land shortly after the Black Hawk War. The Natives' defeat essentially ended all Native American resistance east of the Mississippi River and opened up the rest of Illinois and Wisconsin to U.S. expansionism.[37]

36 Autobiography: Life of Black Hawk Sauk-Sulattle." *Black Hawk Native American Writer and Storyteller.* http://nativeamericanwriters.com/blackhawk.html.

37 Black Hawk, *Life of Black Hawk, or Ma-Ka-Tai-Me-She-Kia-Kiak: Dictated by Himself* (LaVergne, TN: Simon & Brown, 2018).

Shana Storm

Pearl Harbor: 81 Years Later and We Still Cannot Agree

Introduction

> Responsibility for the Pearl Harbor disaster should not fall solely on the shoulders of Admiral Kimmel or General Short; it should be broadly shared.
>
> Undersecretary of Defense, Edwin Dorn, December 15, 1995.[1]

Early on a sleepy Sunday morning in December, the quietness surrounding Pearl Harbor was shattered by an onslaught of Japanese planes dropping their bombs. One day later, on December 8, 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt orated that "Yesterday – December 7, 1941 – a date which will live in infamy – the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan."[2] After nine separate investigations were completed by 1946, it seemed as though the blame for being unprepared was going to fall on the shoulders of the commanding officers in Pearl Harbor.[3] However, in 1995, the Department of Defense commenced its investigation, and some new truths were brought to life. The Dorn Report, as the investigation was called, signaled that blame had to be shared because of the lack of warning on the part of the government in Washington.[4] The United States Government and the Pacific Fleet should have acted on available intelligence and prevented or mitigated the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

Over the last 81 years, the story of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor has been told and retold. However, many questions still remain unanswered. Was the United States genuinely taken by surprise? Should the attack have been stopped before it happened? Were Kimmel and Short unaware of the recently decoded Japanese transmissions? These questions are what led

1 Fred Borch and Daniel Martinez, *Kimmel, Short, and Pearl Harbor: The Final Report Revealed* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2005), 114.

2 Melissa Chan, "'A Date Which Will Live in Infamy.' Read President Roosevelt's Pearl Harbor Address," *Time,* last modified December 6, 2018, 1, https://time.com/4593483/pearl-harbor-franklin-roosevelt-infamy-speech-attack/

3 Edward L. Beach, *Scapegoats: A Defense of Kimmel and Short at Pearl Harbor* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1995), 111.

4 Borch and Martinez, *Kimmel, Short, and Pearl Harbor,* 114-120.

to the writing of this paper. After ten investigations have been conducted, there is no clear answer to any of them. Society today has the advantage of hindsight when judging the actions of all involved in the attack on Pearl Harbor. Previous literature, such as Bruce Bartlett's *Cover-Up: The Politics of Pearl Harbor, 1941-1946*, Roberta Wohlstetter's *Pearl Harbor: Warning and Decision*, and even Admiral Husband E. Kimmel's *Admiral Kimmel's Story*, did not have the advantage of having the Dorn Report. The Dorn Report is the first investigation since the Joint Congressional Committee's investigation in 1946.[5] The Dorn Investigation was also unique in that it was conducted by the Department of Defense and was not affiliated with the Army or the Navy.[6] This paper attempts to examine the findings of the investigations, whittle them down into basic facts, and present them so that ordinary people can make their conclusions. The American government was formed to be a representation of American citizens. Suppose the citizens are ignorant of the political and militaristic blunders that were made in the past. In that case, they are doomed to repeat those same mistakes.

I began writing this paper as a way for my teenage son and daughters to understand Pearl Harbor's significance. I aimed to pare the details down to basic facts and make it easy for them to draw their own conclusions. However, after I concluded my research, it was clear to me, and maybe clear to others, that the U.S. government in Washington D. C. was at least as culpable, if not more so, than both Kimmel and Short. According to Eric J. Dahl, "As a study by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) put it, this strategic intelligence allows policymakers to see the smoke of growing threat, but not the flames that tell them where and when to take action against it."[7] This paper challenges such premise in the case of Pearl Harbor since, as the paper will argue, there was enough information in the hands of the intelligence office in Washington D.C. that the policymakers could see not only the flames but also the kindling and matches.

World War II Begins in Europe and Asia

The world was in turmoil in the years leading up to Pearl Harbor. Germany, Italy, and Japan, commonly known as the Axis Powers, were the major countries that began an onslaught of aggressive military actions.[8] In the 1930s, all three began terror campaigns around Europe, Africa, and Asia. Germany, led by Adolf Hitler, began its aggressive expansion in Eastern

5 Borch and Martinez, *Kimmel, Short, and Pearl Harbor*, xi.

6 Borch and Martinez, *Kimmel, Short, and Pearl Harbor*, xi.

7 Eric J. Dahl, *Intelligence and Surprise Attack: Failure and Success from Pearl Harbor to 9/11 and Beyond* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2013), 2.

8 Vice Admiral Homer N. Wallen, *Pearl Harbor: Why, How, Fleet Salvage and Final Appraisal* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1968), 5.

Europe, claiming countries such as Austria and Czechoslovakia.[9] Italy, led by Benito Mussolini, began its takeover in Northern African countries such as Ethiopia and Albania.[10] Japan, led by Emperor Hirohito, was trying to expand its territory by taking Chinese land. Japan wanted to imitate the world powers and have access to the plentiful natural resources found in China.

While this began as a peaceful jockeying for power in Eastern Asia between the United States and Japan, 1931 brought change. Japan seized Manchuria, renamed it, and installed its government that year.[11] The United States refused to recognize the new regime.[12] However, the United States did nothing to try to stop the Japanese onslaught against the Chinese. No sanctions were issued for Japan, nor any significant support for China.[13] In 1939, Germany invaded Poland, thus starting what would become World War II.[14] Due to this attack, Great Britain and France, allies of Poland, declared war on Germany.[15] Italy initially remained neutral but soon entered the war as Germany's ally.[16] The United States was trying to avoid its involvement in any conflicts in Eastern Asia and Europe. The people of the United States were in favor of isolationism.[17] By the end of the 1930s, though, this sentiment was beginning to change. While the American people still preferred to stay out of foreign conflict, they supported sending aid to Great Britain and China while sanctioning the invading countries.[18] The sanctions leveled against Japan were the catalyst that eventually would bring the attack on Pearl Harbor.

The Attack

On December 7, 1941, the Japanese attacked the United States Naval base in Pearl Harbor on the Hawaiian island of Oahu. With a cry of "Tora, Tora, Tora," the attack began. The Japanese strike force included 40 torpedo planes, 103 level bombers, 131 dive bombers, and 79 fighter planes, for a total of 353 aircraft launched from only four aircraft carriers.[19] They also had in their fleet: two heavy cruisers, two light cruisers, two battleships, 11 destroyers, nine

9 Wallen, *Pearl Harbor*, 10.
10 Wallen, *Pearl Harbor*, 12-13.
11 Wallen, *Pearl Harbor*, 14.
12 Wallen, *Pearl Harbor*, 14.
13 Michael Gannon, *Pearl Harbor Betrayed the True Story of a Man and a Nation Under Attack* (New York, NY: Henry Hold and Company, 2001), 68-9.
14 Wallen, *Pearl Harbor*, 11.
15 Wallen, *Pearl Harbor*, 11.
16 Wallen, *Pearl Harbor*, 13.
17 Wallen, *Pearl Harbor*, 25.
18 Wallen, *Pearl Harbor*, 34.
19 "Remembering Pearl Harbor: A Pearl Harbor Fact Sheet," The National World War II Museum, date of access April 6, 2022, https://www.census.gov/history/pdf/pearl-harbor-fact-sheet-1.pdf.

oilers, and 35 submarines.[20] The attack took one hour and 15 minutes and resulted in massive loss of life and substantial loss and damage to the Pacific fleet.[21] There were 2,401 deaths and 1,178 wounded among the U.S. soldiers and sailors.[22] There were 159 U.S. aircraft damaged and 169 U.S. aircraft destroyed, as well as 16 damaged and three destroyed ships from the U.S. fleet.

In contrast, the Japanese lost 129 lives, 29 aircraft, and five midget submarines.[23] In the aftermath of the attack, the inquiries started and sought to explain why America was caught so off guard that Pearl Harbor was ultimately a perfect target for Japan. It is essential to know the key players and the situations that led to the attack to understand the fallacy of the investigations.

The Commanders

Admiral Husband E. Kimmel, United States Navy, and Major General Walter C. Short, United States Army, were the commanding officers of the Pacific theater at the time of the attack. On February 1, 1941, Rear Admiral Kimmel took over the command of the Pacific fleet and was assigned the temporary rank of four-star Admiral. Major General Short also took over the command of the U.S. Army's Hawaiian Department. He was assigned the temporary rank of Lieutenant General. Following the attack, both Kimmel and Short were relieved of their duties. They both subsequently retired but were not allowed to keep their temporary ranks and had to revert to their permanent rank. They were both accused in at least one investigation of dereliction of duty. While there was not enough evidence to court-martial them, they were both blamed for not being ready for an attack.[24] During the investigations, there was evidence signaling that both Kimmel and Short should have expected and been prepared for an imminent attack.

The Mistakes

While the information that Kimmel and Short had received regarding the impending Japanese attack was limited and speculative, it should have been clear that defenses must be mounted. War Plan Orange had been in effect since the 1930s. It was a well-thought-out plan from the Naval Institute regarding what to do if there was a Japanese attack in the Pacific. There is evidence that they received intelligence that if the Japanese attacked, it would be a surprise without a declaration of war. An addendum to Naval Base Defense of the Joint

20 "Remembering Pearl Harbor: A Pearl Harbor Fact Sheet".
21 "Remembering Pearl Harbor: A Pearl Harbor Fact Sheet".
22 "Remembering Pearl Harbor: A Pearl Harbor Fact Sheet".
23 "Remembering Pearl Harbor: A Pearl Harbor Fact Sheet".
24 Borch and Martinez, *Kimmel, Short, and Pearl Harbor*, 40-1.

suggested covering Army and Navy air action in the event of sudden hostile action against Oahu or fleet units in the Hawaiian area. Section I stated that "Relations between the U.S. and Japan (Orange) [were] strained, that Japan has never preceded hostile actions by a declaration of war, and a sudden and successful raid on the ships in Hawaii might prevent effective operations by the U.S. in the Pacific."[25] By November of 1941, military and civilians had concluded that conflict with Japan was imminent, just not where or when it would occur.

On November 27, 1941, both commanders received a war warning. Short and Kimmel each received a warning with different wording. However, both made it clear that this warning should be taken very seriously. They were advised that negotiations between the U.S. and Japan were at a stalemate and hostile activity by Japan was to be expected.[26] Be that as it may, the U.S. government expected Japanese attacks in the Philippines, Thailand, Kra Peninsula, or Borneo.[27] Washington did not seem to think that an attack on U.S. soil could happen but thought that the war warning would be enough to put both Kimmel and Short on heightened alert.[28]

Kimmel and Short were given specific defensive orders in the war warning. Yet, they were not to alarm or inform the civilian population. Kimmel was ordered, by the Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Stark, to execute a defensive deployment consistent with the U.S. war plan in the Pacific, War Plan Orange.[29] Kimmel interpreted Admiral Stark's message that he should continue doing what he had been doing for the past several weeks. This included sending submarines and planes to patrol the areas around Midway and Wake. He was also sending patrols outside of Pearl Harbor looking for Japanese submarines.[30] Army Chief of Staff Marshall ordered Short to undertake reconnaissance and other necessary measures. Short was confused by this, as he thought that command would have known that the Navy had taken over the reconnaissance role in Pearl Harbor. When he replied to General Marshall, Short outlined a plan to prevent sabotage but did not mention anything regarding reconnaissance.[31] This lack of communication seemed to be just one instance of fallacy in the weeks leading up to the attack on Pearl Harbor.

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25 United States and Barkley, *Pearl Harbor Attack. Hearings before the Joint Committee on the Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack, Congress of the United States, Seventy-Ninth Congress, First [-Second] Session, Pursuant to S. Con. Res. 27.* 1182-6.

26 United States and Barkley, *Pearl Harbor Attack*, 782.

27 United States and Barkley, *Pearl Harbor Attack*, 782.

28 United States and Barkley, *Pearl Harbor Attack*, 782.

29 United States and Barkley, *Pearl Harbor Attack*, 782.

30 United States and Barkley, *Pearl Harbor Attack*, 782.

31 Gannon, *Pearl Harbor Betrayed*, 129-30.

The Pearl Harbor commanders did not adequately discuss the defensive techniques and strategies to be used after they received the war warning. According to the Dorn report, the Army and the Navy were separate departments with different leaders reporting only to the President.[32] At the time of the war warning, President Roosevelt did not ensure they were working together. Kimmel and Short were cordial but did not pry into the other's department, as was standard at the time.[33] Short's mission was to defend the Hawaiian fleet. His Army Air Corps fliers were on a four-hour alert. He also needed adequate time to ready his anti-aircraft guns since the ammunition was stored far from the batteries.[34] Kimmel's duty was to prepare for offensive operations against Japan.[35] The Navy had assumed responsibility for the long-range aerial patrols. On December 2, 1941, Kimmel also learned that U.S. intelligence had lost several Japanese carriers and that the Japanese were on radio silence.[36] Kimmel and Short did not check with each other to ensure that their duties were being carried out. Kimmel also did not inform Short that the Japanese were on radio silence.[37] While Kimmel and Short did not effectively communicate with each other, Washington did not effectively communicate with either of the commanders to ensure they were kept informed.

The lack of communication from Washington led to the laxer attitudes of both Kimmel and Short. Washington had intelligence from the Magic Project that broke some Japanese code. In 1940, codebreaking was still in its infancy. By 1941, the United States had developed a code-breaking program unknown to Japan called "Magic."[38] Magic was able to break some, but not all, of Japan's codes. Notably, the diplomatic codes were the most accessible.[39] As a result of Magic, Washington had intelligence that Japan had a spy embedded in Pearl Harbor. This spy was supposed to inform his superiors in Tokyo about the precise movement and locations of ships and planes in Pearl Harbor and the surrounding areas.[40] According to the Dorn Report, neither Kimmel nor Short were informed of these decoded transmissions.[41] Had they known, they likely would have been more diligent in their defenses. Also, when Washington

32 Borch and Martinez, *Kimmel, Short, and Pearl Harbor*, 115.
33 Borch and Martinez, *Kimmel, Short, and Pearl Harbor*, 115.
34 Borch and Martinez, *Kimmel, Short, and Pearl Harbor*, 115-6.
35 Borch and Martinez, *Kimmel, Short, and Pearl Harbor*, 115.
36 Borch and Martinez, *Kimmel, Short, and Pearl Harbor*, 115.
37 Borch and Martinez, *Kimmel, Short, and Pearl Harbor*, 116.
38 Beach, *Scapegoats A Defense of Kimmel*, 37.
39 Beach, *Scapegoats A Defense of Kimmel*, 37.
40 Henry Claussen and Bruce Lee, *Pearl Harbor: Final Judgement* (New York, NY: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1992), 315, 320, 321, 329.
41 Borch and Martinez, *Kimmel, Short, and Pearl Harbor*, 115.

received the responses from Kimmel and Short regarding their war warning missions, there were no follow-up discussions.[42] Short never mentioned in his reply what he was or was not doing. Kimmel did not move the fleet out of the harbor. Instead, he just turned all the ships with bows facing out to make a quick escape if needed.[43] No one in Washington seemed to take issue with these responses. Along with the lack of communication, there was also a lack of resources.

Resources in both Washington and Pearl Harbor were scarce. There were not as many cryptographers as needed to translate the vast number of transmissions coming through. As a result, the cryptographers mainly focused on diplomatic transmissions rather than military ones. Also, there were not enough airplanes or crews in Pearl Harbor. Records show that both Kimmel and Short requested more fighter and reconnaissance aircraft. However, Washington knew that American resources were stretched and prioritized the Atlantic coast more than the Pacific. In a letter to Kimmel, dated September 23, 1941, Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Harold R. Stark said that "The situation in the Pacific generally is far different from what it is in the Atlantic. The operations of raiders in the Pacific at present [were] not very widespread or very effective."[44] While the personnel and equipment shortages impacted the lack of preparation for the attack, it should not be discounted that the Japanese were well prepared.

The Japanese Plans

Since 1935, the Japanese had been devising a realistic plan of attack on Pearl Harbor. Minoru Genda was a Japanese Navy Captain. He started his military career as a fighter pilot and, in 1935, went to the Naval War College in Tokyo. There, he began to question the much-loved Japanese war strategy called "Zengen Sakuse."[45] This strategy was a Great All-Out Battle strategy focused on luring American ships to Japanese waters.[46] As the Americans came, the Japanese submarines picked them off one-by-one. When the remaining American ships got to Japanese waters, Japanese battleships surrounded them, soundly defeated. Genda believed that the future of war was in naval aviation.[47] He thought that fighters should be used aggressively and not just as escorts, even over land. Higher-ranking Navy members did not receive Genda's ideas, most especially gunnery officers of battleships

42 Borch and Martinez, *Kimmel, Short, and Pearl Harbor*, 117.
43 Borch and Martinez, *Kimmel, Short, and Pearl Harbor*, 117.
44 United States and Barkley, *Pearl Harbor Attack*, 1231.
45 Donald Goldstein and Katherine Dillon, *The Pearl Harbor Papers: Inside the Japanese Plans* (Washington D.C.: Brassey's US, 1993), 5.
46 Goldstein and Dillon, *The Pearl Harbor Papers*, 5.
47 Goldstein and Dillon, *The Pearl Harbor Papers*, 5.

and torpedo officers of submarines. In 1936, Genda suggested a task force that centered around aircraft carriers.[48] Again, this suggestion was not well received. No one took Genda's air raid idea seriously until early 1941 when Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto reasoned that an attack on Pearl Harbor could work but only if it came from the air.[49]

With Yamamoto's involvement, plans for an air attack on Pearl Harbor began to take shape in early 1941. Secrecy was imperative to the Japanese when planning the attack on Pearl Harbor. As plans were drawn up throughout the spring and summer of 1941, only a select few of the Japanese high command knew that the intended target was Pearl Harbor. The task force was trained, and the fighters flew practice missions, but they were unaware there was an actual target. The commanders knew that a few mission-specific goals had to be accomplished for a favorable outcome. First, they knew that all the plans and designs were secret.[50] Second, they knew they needed to attack during daytime hours for the bombings to succeed.[51] Third, they knew they needed to use enough force to put the American fleet out of operation for at least six months.[52] Fourth, they knew that they needed to use the tactic of dive bombing rather than torpedoes, as the water was too shallow.[53] Finally, they knew that they needed to target aircraft carriers; to do this, they needed to know the exact locations of said targets.[54] While they worked on the plans, the Japanese needed someone feeding them information from inside enemy lines.

The Japanese Spy

On March 27, 1941, Takeo Yoshikawa, Japan's top-secret spy, slipped into Honolulu Harbor aboard the line Nita Maru. He used the alias Tadashi Morimura to disguise himself as another tourist or bureaucrat.[55] Before becoming a spy, Yoshikawa graduated from Eta Jima and quickly advanced his Naval career.[56] However, he came down with a stomach illness that halted any thought of being career military.[57] Soon after, someone from the Japanese Navy told Yoshikawa that although his military career was over, he could

48 Goldstein and Dillon, *The Pearl Harbor Papers*, 5.
49 Goldstein and Dillon, *The Pearl Harbor Papers*, 5.
50 Goldstein and Dillon, *The Pearl Harbor Papers*, 14.
51 Goldstein and Dillon, *The Pearl Harbor Papers*, 14.
52 Goldstein and Dillon, *The Pearl Harbor Papers*, 14.
53 Goldstein and Dillon, *The Pearl Harbor Papers*, 14.
54 Goldstein and Dillon, *The Pearl Harbor Papers*, 14.
55 Gordon Prange, Donald Goldstein, and Katherine Dillon, *At Dawn We Slept* (New York, NY: McGraw Hill, 1981), 73.
56 Prange et al., *At Dawn We Slept*, 73.
57 Prange et al., *At Dawn We Slept*, 73.

still be of service to the country.[58] He jumped at the opportunity and soon received instructions. He had to become proficient in English.[59] He also had to become an expert in the U.S. Naval bases in Guam, Manilla, and Pearl Harbor, in addition to mastering knowledge of the Pacific Fleet and the U.S. Navy.[60] It took him four years, but Yoshikawa passed the Foreign Ministry's English-language exams and became a junior diplomat, forming his cover story.[61] In August of 1940, Yoshikawa learned of his mission. He was to go to Honolulu as a diplomat and report, by diplomatic code, the daily status of the U.S. Pacific fleet and its bases.[62] Before he left Japan, Yoshikawa was told to focus mainly on Oahu.

Once he arrived in Hawaii, Yoshikawa found many sites to observe and chart the movements of the U.S. Navy. His spots were unobtrusive, facilitating the making of comprehensive maps and charts.[63] He did not have as much luck recording the flight patterns of the air patrols and did not have a way to do so without drawing suspicion.[64] One of the most vital facts that Yoshikawa gathered was that there were always a significant number of ships in port on Saturdays and Sundays. He also noted that the Americans rarely sent any patrols north of Oahu.[65] Takeo Yoshikawa mentioned that "[He] knew all this with certainty since [his] whole being had been dedicated to a concentrated study of the U. S. Pacific Fleet for the last seven years, and since [he] alone had been in sole charge of espionage for the Imperial Japanese Navy at Pearl Harbor for the last eight months."[66] He sent reports of all his findings through diplomatic transmissions.[67] The transmissions between Tokyo and Yoshikawa should have been a dire warning, but they went apparently unnoticed or not taken seriously.

The Messages

The United States Intelligence personnel should have placed the utmost importance on the transmissions between Tokyo and Takeo Yoshikawa in Honolulu. Messages sent and translated should have clarified, to the

58 Prange et al., *At Dawn We Slept*, 73.
59 Prange et al., *At Dawn We Slept*, 73.
60 Prange et al., *At Dawn We Slept*, 75.
61 Prange et al., *At Dawn We Slept*, 75.
62 Prange et al., *At Dawn We Slept*, 75.
63 Prange et al., *At Dawn We Slept*, 76.
64 Prange et al., *At Dawn We Slept*, 76.
65 Prange et al., *At Dawn We Slept*, 76.
66 Takeo Yoshikawa, "Top Secret Assignment," *United States Naval Institute Proceedings*, 86/12/694, (1960), https://www.usni.org/magazines/proceedings/1960/december/top-secret-assignment.
67 Prange et al., *At Dawn We Slept*, 75.

intelligence agencies, that the Japanese were interested in surveying all aspects of Pearl Harbor. The first message intercepted on September 24, 1941, and translated on October 9, 1941, asked Tokyo to Yoshikawa to divide Pearl Harbor into five subareas when making his reports.[68] This message became known as "the bomb plot" message. The purpose of the requested reporting was to show the exact locations of the ships to establish coordinates for an eventual bombing.[69] The second transmission was intercepted on November 15, 1941, and translated on December 3, 1941.[70] This message from Tokyo to Yoshikawa requested instructions for his "ships in harbor" reports to be sent at least two times per week, but not on a regular schedule.[71] The third message was intercepted on November 20, 1941, and translated on December 4, 1941. This missive from Tokyo asked Yoshikawa to investigate the fleet bases, in the neighborhood of the Hawaiian military reservation, comprehensively.[72] The final message that was intercepted and translated before the attack on Pearl Harbor was sent on November 29, 1941, and decoded on December 5, 1941.[73] It contained a request from Tokyo to Yoshikawa asking that he not only report the movement of the ships in and out of the harbor but also to report when there was no movement.[74] These messages were not treated with the urgency and seriousness they required.

The content of the transmissions between Tokyo and Yoshikawa was translated before the attack on Pearl Harbor as part of the United States Intelligence Department's efforts to gain insight into what the Japanese were planning. These transmissions were sent in a less secure code than Magic, which was thought to be just a small part of Japan's intelligence gathering.[75] However, nobody informed Kimmel or Short about them.[76] There was no effort to stop or disrupt the communication between Tokyo and Yoshikawa. There was also no attempt to stop the local radio and newspaper from reporting on the movements of the fleet in Pearl Harbor, which according to Yoshikawa, was a significant source of the information he sent from Hawaii to Tokyo.[77] Many believed Yoshikawa had an extensive network of spies in Hawaii;

68 Henry C., and Bruce. Lee, *Pearl Harbor: Final Judgement.* 1st ed.(New York: Crown, 1992), 315.

69 Bruce R. Bartlett, *Cover-Up: The Politics of Pearl Harbor 1941-1946* (New Rochelle, NY: Arlington House Publishers, 1978), 54.

70 Hans L. Trefousse, *Pearl Harbor: The Continuing Controversy* (Malabar, FL: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Company, 1982), 149.

71 Trefousse, *Pearl Harbor: The Continuing Controversy*, 149.

72 Clausen and Lee, *Pearl Harbor Final Judgement*, 315.

73 Trefousse, *Pearl Harbor: The Continuing Controversy*, 150.

74 Trefousse, *Pearl Harbor: The Continuing Controversy*, 150.

75 Trefousse, *Pearl Harbor: The Continuing Controversy*, 46.

76 Beach, *Scapegoats A Defense of Kimmel*, 35-6.

77 Yoshikawa, "Top Secret Assignment".

however, according to his own words, he worked alone.[78] All of this allowed the Japanese to continue their spy operations and to send, unhindered, the information that should have been classified to Tokyo, allowing for the well-planned attack on Pearl Harbor. It was the aftermath of the attack, and the investigations began.

The Investigations

The Knox investigation was the first of the U.S. government probes into the attack on Pearl Harbor. Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox immediately went to Pearl Harbor and began his inquiry. His investigation began on December 9, 1941, two days after the attacks, and ended on December 12, 1941. After seeing the carnage and damage for himself, Knox concluded that both the commander of the Navy's Pacific Fleet (Kimmel) and the commander of the Army's Hawaiian Department (Short) would have to be relieved of their respective commands and lose their wartime ranks.[79] The Knox Investigation was just the first of nine separate investigations in the aftermath of the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Following the Knox Investigation, the U.S. government conducted eight other investigations between December 18, 1941, and May 23, 1946. The first of these was the Roberts Commission (December 18, 1941-January 23, 1942) which stated unequivocally that Kimmel and Short were derelict in their duty.[80] On February 12, 1944, the Hart Investigation began and lasted until June 15, 1944. There were no specific recommendations after the Hart Inquiry. It was only to forestall the statute of limitations.[81] After that, three investigations ran simultaneously: The Navy Court of Inquiry (July 24, 1944-October 19, 1944), The Army Pearl Harbor Board (July 7, 1944-October 20, 1944), and The Clark Investigation (August 8, 1944-September 9, 1944). The Navy Court of Inquire found that Kimmel was not derelict, and the blame should be refocused on Washington.

The Army Pearl Harbor Board found that Short did fail in his duties, as did Washington. However, this report did not include any reference to the translated messages.[82] The Clark Investigation probed the handling of top-secret communications before the Pearl Harbor attack; it found no evidence that supported the destruction of intelligence documents.[83] Soon after came two more investigations: Clausen Investigation (January 1, 1945-September

78 Yoshikawa, "Top Secret Assignment".

79 Borch and Martinez, *Kimmel, Short, and Pearl Harbor*, 23.

80 Borch and Martinez, *Kimmel, Short, and Pearl Harbor*, 40-1.

81 Edwin Layton, Roger Pineau, and John Costello, *"And I Was There": Pearl Harbor and Midway--Breaking the Secrets* (New York, NY: W Morrow, 1985), 512.

82 Layton et al., *"And I Was There": Pearl Harbor*, 513.

83 Layton et al., *"And I Was There": Pearl Harbor*, 515.

12, 1945) and the Hewitt Inquiry (May 5, 1945-July 11, 1945). The one-man-led Clausen Investigation was used to supplement the Pearl Harbor Army Board investigation. He made no public report, but he did testify before the Joint Congressional Committee.[84] Likewise, the Hewitt Inquiry was to supplement the Navy Court of Inquiry investigation.

Hewitt had no public report, but his findings led the Secretary of the Navy to announce that Admiral Kimmel and Admiral Stark did not demonstrate the necessary judgment in exercising their commands.[85] The Joint Congressional Committee conducted the last investigation (November 15, 1945-May 23, 1946). The JCC thoroughly investigated the events surrounding the Pearl Harbor attack. Their findings concluded that Japan's attack was skillfully planned and unprovoked, noting that every effort was made to prevent war.[86] The commanders failed to take appropriate action after the war warnings, but this was an error in judgment, not a dereliction of duty.[87] Both Army and Navy intelligence failed to recognize the significance of the messages or to pass them on to the Pacific commanders.[88] Some of these investigations were not conducted to place blame on specific persons. The investigations, whose purpose was to place blame, however, did not agree on the culpability of a single person. However, they agreed that the commanders of the Army and Navy in the Pacific theater held most of the responsibility. According to Henry Clausen, this lack of cohesion among the reports "… proves that America still does not understand the facts behind the disaster of Pearl Harbor."[89]

Conclusion

The attack on Pearl Harbor became one of the most momentous events in United States history, and it was the catalyst that caused the U.S. to enter World War II. The United States may have continued its policy of isolationism, and hundreds of thousands of American lives may have been saved if the attack had been prevented. The United States, along with Great Britain, China, and the Soviet Union, formed the Allied Powers bringing about the end of World War II through bloody battles, defeating the Axis Powers one by one as a result of the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Kimmel and Short were vilified after the attack on Pearl Harbor. However, it should be clear that the blame should rest not only on them alone but also the U.S. government in Washington. Kimmel and Short did not take all the defensive measures the events required. They were given a vague war

84 Layton et al., *"And I Was There": Pearl Harbor*, 514-5.
85 Layton et al., *"And I Was There": Pearl Harbor*, 515.
86 Layton et al., *"And I Was There": Pearl Harbor*, 516.
87 Layton et al., *"And I Was There": Pearl Harbor*, 517.
88 Layton et al., *"And I Was There": Pearl Harbor*, 516-7.
89 Claussen and Lee, foreword to *Pearl Harbor: Final Judgement*, 3.

warning. The available intelligence should have been enough of a warning for them to step up their defenses strategically. Washington should have been more aware of the steps, or lack thereof, that Kimmel and Short took. Japan took its time incorporating its plans. They were able to plant an astute spy under the guise of the role of a junior diplomat. This role allowed him to send Tokyo unlimited diplomatic messages containing vital information that pointed directly to the attack on Pearl Harbor. These messages were intercepted and translated. However, they were not deemed necessary enough to be shared.

Washington did not make Kimmel and Short aware of the known information from the transmissions between Yoshikawa and Tokyo. The U.S. Government did not warn the Pacific fleet thoroughly of the danger and allowed Japanese spies to continue working in Pearl Harbor. The U.S. government did not admit wrongdoing in order to avoid taking any blame after the Pearl Harbor attack. Instead, they allowed two decorated officers of the military, who did not have all the information to make informed decisions, to take the fall. The attack on Pearl Harbor occurred 81 years ago. There have been ten investigations and countless debates trying to blame one specific entity or person. There have been no definitive conclusions. The debate somewhat resembles a blame game. This distracts from the real lesson we can learn from such a tragic historical moment. Americans need to know that our government and military commanders are prepared for any attack. The intelligence gathered around 1941 shows that our government can intercept the plans of our enemies. It also shows that our government did not share the pertinent information with those strategically placed to make a difference in defense of the U.S. We need to put an end to this debate to ensure that we can trust our nation's leaders. We do not want another surprise or another day to live in infamy.

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