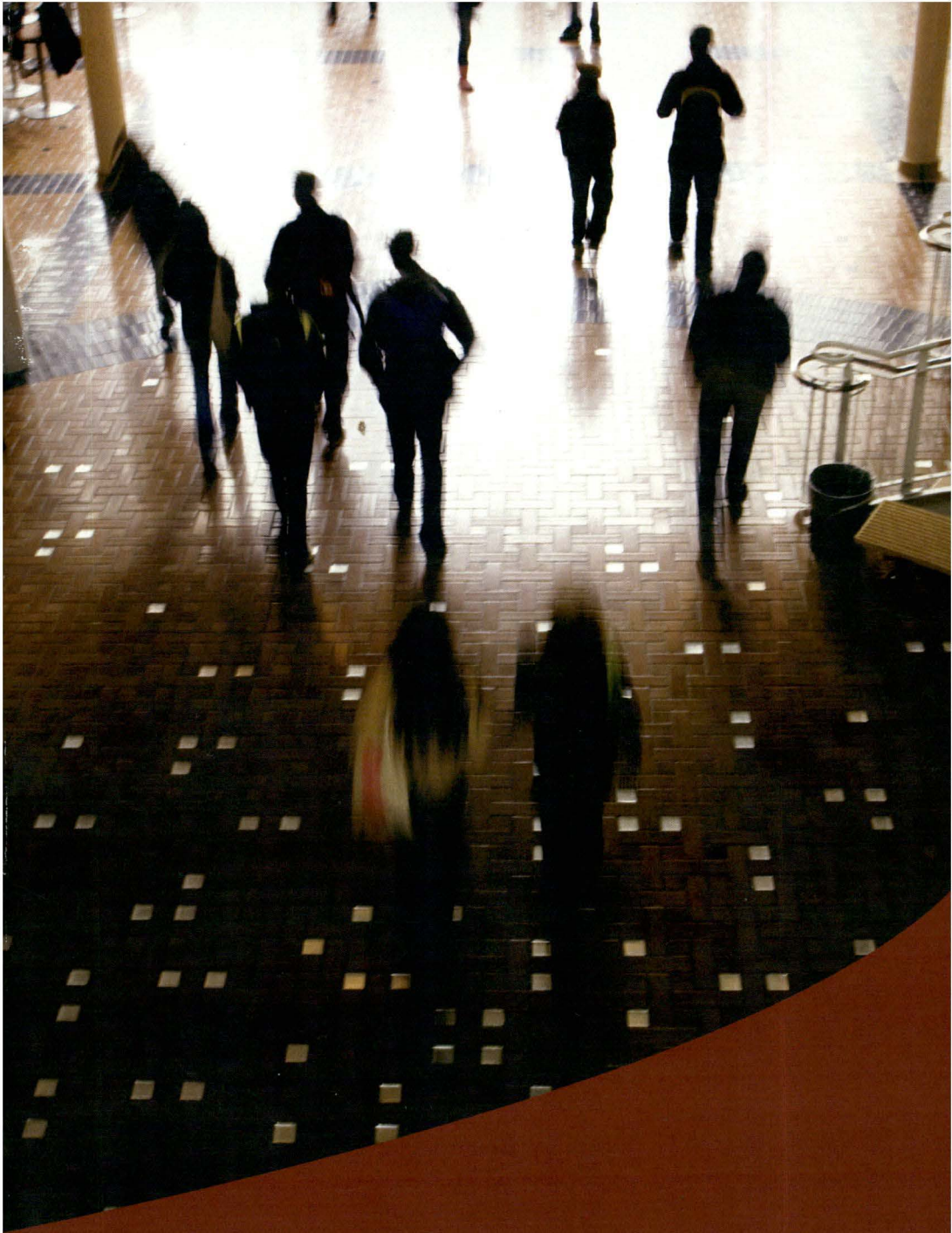




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UNIVERSITY OF OREGON**

2008

**University of Oregon
McNair Scholars Program
Research Journal**

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Reforming the Sexual Menace: Early 1900s Eugenic Sterilization in Oregon

by Jenette Eccleston

History / Women's and Gender Studies

Faculty Mentor: Elizabeth Reis,
Women's and Gender Studies

Oregon Governor Withycombe, in his 1917 message to the Twenty-Ninth Legislative Assembly, declared, "the prevalence and increase of feeble-mindedness and mental disease is one of the greatest problems confronting modern society." He pointed to the "two percent of children" and "hundreds of adults" who were "mentally incompetent" and stated that "unrestricted propagation simply [meant] the creation of more human wrecks."¹ That same year, Oregon became the fourteenth state to mandate sexual sterilization for those labeled "feeble-minded, insane, epileptic, habitual criminals, moral degenerates, and sexual perverts."² Compulsory sterilization laws grew from a combination of Progressive-Era reform initiatives as well as the growing popularity of the eugenics movement. Progressive reformers sought to increase public welfare by protecting the public from criminals and the feeble-minded.³ While Progressive reformers initially looked to the expansion of prisons and mental institutions in order to segregate so-called dangerous populations from the rest of society, eugenicists claimed they could eliminate these unwanted human traits by keeping people with disabilities and criminal tendencies from being born. Eugenicists supported public welfare reform with the

goal of eventually ending the need for institutions altogether.

Although sterilization laws in Oregon claimed to be eugenic and therapeutic rather than punitive, mandatory sterilization worked to control sexual behavior inside and outside institutions by labeling as “deviant” the sexual practices of certain groups of people. Historians of early twentieth century state sterilization laws have paid little attention to Oregon practices.⁴ Nevertheless, Oregon legal battles and interpretations of the laws deserve a close examination. As public welfare reform evolved in the late 1910s, Progressive reformers sought to improve society by focusing on the elimination of crime, disability, and poverty. At the same time, reformers persuaded by the newly emerging science of eugenics presented far-reaching solutions, including the involuntary sterilization of individuals deemed social menaces.

The “feeble-minded” became the targets of the medical community who warned of the increasing dangers that group posed to society. According to the specialists, feeble-mindedness referred to a broad category of people deemed mentally disabled. Doctors spoke of three major categories: “idiots,” “imbeciles,” and “morons.”⁵ Dr. J.N. Smith, superintendent of the State Institution for Feeble-Minded in Salem, declared, “Every feeble-minded person is a potential criminal.” Smith defended his statement by claiming that feeble-minded people could not distinguish right from wrong and drifted into crime or begging.⁶ Smith’s attitudes aligned with those of other physicians in his field such as Dr. Walter Fernald, who claimed that feeble-minded children became potential criminals.⁷ Research at that time not only alleged that “high grade morons” grew up to become criminals and prostitutes, but that feeble-minded women bred at alarmingly high rates.⁸ Smith pointed

to “statistics [showing] that the feeble-minded woman bears twice as many children as the normal woman.”⁹ Those experts painted the picture of feeble-minded women having countless children who would become welfare dependents or crooks.

Fear of sexual deviance and criminality generated Progressive reform initiatives in the first two decades of the twentieth century. In 1912, Governor Oswald West initiated a moral reform campaign against female prostitution.¹⁰ The Portland Vice Commission, initially established to control female prostitution, also dedicated their efforts to the eradication of bootlegging and gambling.¹¹ An agency that received state funding, the Oregon Social Hygiene Society, also focused on female prostitution and “proper sexuality” as a way to eliminate sexually transmitted infections, which Society members associated with sexual vice.¹²

Public welfare officials sought to explain “potential and actual problems of social inadequacy” by drawing a parallel between disability, criminality, and socioeconomic status.¹³ Correspondence, survey documents, and media promotions for the *Oregon State Survey for Mental Defect, Delinquency and Dependency* highlight that professional and public discourse. In 1920, at the state legislature’s request, the University of Oregon and the United States Health Service conducted a statewide survey in the hopes of identifying “defective, dependent, and delinquent” individuals living in Oregon. Over ten thousand volunteers gathered information on individuals they suspected were “defective,” “dependent,” or “delinquent.” Public officials, welfare agents, public school teachers, religious leaders, and other prominent citizens turned in names, ages, and “reason for the person’s trouble” of over 45,000 Oregon residents.¹⁴ University of Oregon President P. L. Campbell

served as vice president of the Oregon Social Hygiene Society at the time of the survey. According to President Campbell, "The survey indicates very clearly the mutual interdependency of delinquency, dependency, and mental defect."¹⁵ The results of this statewide investigation informed legislative recommendations, as requested by senate joint resolution 28.¹⁶

Progressive Era reformers such as the Oregon Social Hygiene Society organized massive sex-education campaigns, alerting the public to the dangers of sexual vice. Social hygiene reformers worked to inform the public about causes and prevention of sexually transmitted infections. They worked to regulate and control sex and sex advice. The society also sought to eliminate prostitution. Other work included disseminating information through public schools, conferences, exhibits, clinics, lectures and door-to-door community outreach. The society claimed that over thirty-three thousand people attended its 1912 exhibits.¹⁷ The Society's fifth-year publication boasted that it led the nation in economic and moral gains. Reformers asked the Oregon legislature to increase state appropriations due to the importance of the society's creation of "new standards of sex life."¹⁸ The society's work helped increase public awareness about sexually transmitted infections, but with a focus on moral behavior. This progressive reform work initiated and defined sex education in Oregon schools, placing a strong emphasis on the definition of moral sex as heterosexual and confined to marriage in order to produce non-disabled children.

The Oregon Social Hygiene Society approached sexual vice and sex education differently for women and men. Their talks catered to sex-segregated audiences. The language and marketing of printed materials juxtaposed women of the night with women in white.

The former would bring ruin to men and boys, while the latter would produce healthy children in a true home life. According to the society, “suggestive costumes of women” caused sexual vice in young boys.¹⁹

In addition to gendered education, the Oregon Social Hygiene Society offered educational pamphlets about correct sex, marriage, and childbearing. For instance, one of dozens of printed circulations included “Education for Sex and Heredity.” Part of the society’s permanent exhibit, “Have I the Right to Marry?” asked viewers to be sure their marriages would not bring generations of “blind and crippled” children into the world “for the sake of self, future family and the race.”²⁰ This education portrayed sex, marriage, and childbearing as privileges that, if not properly carried out, would destroy “the race.”

Eugenics movement activists focused considerable efforts on the creation of what they considered human betterment, which strongly emphasized correct marriage and childbearing practices. In the late nineteenth century, Charles Darwin’s cousin, Francis Galton, coined the term “eugenics” in his argument that selective breeding could speed up human evolution to create a “better race.” By the early twentieth century, selective breeding campaigns sought to encourage parenting from individuals deemed eugenically “fit” while restricting reproduction from individuals considered “unfit.” Eugenicists conducted elaborate family history studies that investigated physical, mental and social characteristics to prove the superiority and subsequent inferiority of particular traits. White eugenicists worried about the “purity” of the white race and used the pedigree studies to evidence the reproduction of criminality, economic dependency, and disability among white families.²¹

These eugenicists worked to maintain whiteness, which, according to them, came from "inherently superior" Nordic and Anglo-Europeans. Eugenicists argued that every child had the right to be well-born. This rhetoric spilled out into progressivism.

Progressive reformers and eugenicists sometimes collaborated to create public policy campaigns. Other Progressive reformers embraced eugenic ideologies. Dr. Bethenia Owens-Adair, a feminist and the most zealous supporter of involuntary sterilization in Oregon, included eugenic-based arguments in her pro-sterilization campaign. For instance, in 1913, a social hygiene measure restricted marriage licenses of men diagnosed with sexually transmitted infections. Owens-Adair advocated for more stringent marriage restriction. Legislation backed by Owens-Adair required male and female marriage applicants to prove their sexual and mental health. A "fail" on either test required the sterilization of one or both applicants if they still wished to pursue marriage. This "Hygienic Marriage Bill" passed the legislature in 1921, but a voter referendum later repealed the law.²² That particular measure spurred an immense public outcry. Oregonians did not necessarily object to sterilization as a prerequisite for marriage, but they did not want their unmarried daughters subject to indecent sexual health examinations.²³

Oregon progressive reform campaigns continued to focus on sex and sexual "vice," turning to the "deviance" of same-sex sexual activity. Governor Oswald West pointed to "degenerate practices" not only in prisons and mental institutions, but also "in every city, contaminating the young, debauching the innocent, cursing the State." West offered "sterilization and emasculation [as] an effective remedy."²⁴ His message referred to a sex scandal

the previous year, which involved several prominent Oregonians and the discovery of a thriving gay community in Portland.²⁵ The statement by West revealed his attitude toward gay men's behavior as predatory and harmful to society. According to historian Peter Boag, later statements made by West indicated a desire to deliver a "drastic surgical operation" to gay men.²⁶

Prison officials reported widespread homosexuality within their institutions as a major problem. In a letter to sterilization-law champion Dr. Owens-Adair, J. J. Walter, chaplain of the Illinois State Penitentiary, wrote, "What a boon your [sterilization] bill would be to the prison management." Walter pointed to the "burning shame" of same-sex sexual activity both in and out of prisons, adding that "fear of this law" provided a "deterrent influence [stronger than] any sentence that any court might inflict."²⁷

Prison representatives claimed that sterilization laws would control undesirable sexual behavior; all in the name of protecting society. In 1917, a Commission to Investigate the Oregon State Penitentiary recommended a castration law "in cases of congenital homo-sexuality... and in cases of incest and in all cases where the sex abnormality has manifested itself in criminal tendency."²⁸ The officials' language spoke of homosexuality as inherited, indicating castration was a eugenic answer to such "sexual deviance." The eugenic argument, however, cited that habitual, or "three-strike" offenders, could pass the criminal gene to their offspring.

Though sterilization might seem punitive, the arguments for sterilizing sex offenders emphasized the therapeutic and socially protective value of castration. Pro-sterilization campaigns attracted significant support from women reformers who argued that sterilization would help prevent rape. Mrs. A J. Cleaveland pointed

to the prevalence of rape in the United States and argued that the proposed legislation would bring safety to women.²⁹ Women also participated in anti-sterilization activism. Lora C. Little campaigned determinedly to revoke sterilization legislation. As vice-president of the Anti-Sterilization League, Little spoke against sterilization as "the most vicious piece of legislation ever passed." While Owens-Adair and other pro-sterilization activists insisted that sterilization would "cure" sexual predators of their desire to rape, Little and other anti-sterilization activists understood that enacting compulsory sterilization had little to do with the issue of sexual assault. Little argued that the use of sterilization would differ from that of "[protecting] society from depraved men."³⁰

Administrators at the Oregon State Penitentiary and the Oregon State Hospital sterilized inmates as a cure for sexual deviance. Historian Janice Brockley cited the Oregon State Penitentiary's therapeutic use of sterilization in 1912, even before its official legalization in Oregon. Brockley described a report of "[women] suffering from 'nymphomania' [who were] 'relieved' after a double oophorectomy."³¹ In the Oregon State Hospital, sterilization allegedly increased the self-control of women. Records labeled the conduct of one woman as unacceptable. Her behavior, listed as "peculiar," included complaints of depression and discouragement, unreasoned laughter, idleness, and masturbation. Evidence of her sterilization "cure" included her ability to become a hard worker.³²

Although received with mixed response by the medical community and the public, institutions in the United States used castration as a form of controlling the sexual "deviance" of masturbation starting in the late nineteenth century. According to historian James Trent, the superintendent of an institute

in Pennsylvania argued that asexualization stopped patients from masturbating.³³ Other superintendents agreed that public masturbation brought significant embarrassment to the administration, especially during visiting hours. In 1894, public and medical opposition as well as support erupted over the castration of fifty-eight masturbators in a Kansas institution.³⁴ An article reprinted in Owens-Adair's *Human Sterilization* referenced "elaborate experiments" in Kansas that would probably expand to the rest of the United States.³⁵

In Oregon, sterilization advocates highlighted the "sterilization as therapy" approach, but also regarded sterilization as discipline. Governor West offered sterilization as a remedy for same-sex sexual practices and Owens-Adair argued that the people convicted of rape and sodomy deserved castration, which, according to Owens-Adair, was not "disproportionate to the crimes."³⁶ Prison officials' reports of sterilization operations included a man who "desired to rape small girls" who "was paroled shortly after the operation... and remained out of trouble." Another man sterilized after "degenerate practices...was greatly benefited by the operation." The reports printed in Owens-Adair's book repeatedly expressed the benefits of castration to the prisoner, but the administrators writing the records came to the conclusion that castration was therapeutic by stating that the sterilized individual no longer caused them trouble. For instance, an account describing a youth sterilized for "degenerative practices [of] allowing other prisoners to commit sodomy on [him]" concluded castration had an "apparently...desired effect [having] had no further trouble with the boy."³⁷ Prison administrators linked their perception of patients' post-surgical behavior to their definition of therapeutic benefit.

Some Oregon citizens questioned the therapeutic and eugenic justifications for sterilization laws. Dr. Duncan Fraser argued that a sterilization approach to crime and homosexuality was unscientific. Regarding crime, he noted that criminologists agreed that habitual criminals were "made, not born." He asserted that the causes of crime were "overcrowding in tenements, malnutrition in infants and older children, industrial oppression and injustice, accident and sickness... [and] lack of education." He concluded that sterilization "[applied] the methods of quack doctors in the domain of social reform." As to homosexuality, Fraser argued that the "nature of their practices" seldom resulted in propagation, adding that homosexuals differed in "culture, intelligence, self control and decency" and would always exist.³⁸ Although Fraser believed in eugenic sterilization for people with disabilities, he questioned the therapeutic argument espoused by sterilization proponents.

Other Oregon citizens understood sterilization as eugenic, therapeutic, *and* punitive. Dr. Charles C. C. Rosenberg argued that unsexing men relieved them from the dangers to themselves and others while keeping their genes out of society. Rosenberg believed that sterilization had a "truly desirable" outcome, leaving men "mild-mannered...and effeminate." Rosenberg added, "punishing the guilty by a penalty which is truly abhorrent [acts] as an effective preventative of progeny, [and improves] the physical chances of the unfortunate invalid while protecting society against propagation of his infirmity."³⁹ Although sterilization laws in Oregon claimed to be purely eugenic and therapeutic, many people also interpreted the laws to be a form of punishment.

Public officials and administrators within the welfare institutions discussed sterilization as a therapeutic solution that

protected society from "mental defect," economic dependency, and criminality. Dr. Frank E. Smith, superintendent and medical director of the Oregon State Institution for Feeble-Minded, asked for a sterilization law in his report to the twenty-seventh legislative assembly in 1913. Smith argued for sterilization mandates "not only for the protection of society, but also as a direct benefit to the individual."⁴⁰ Mrs. Millie Trumbull, Secretary of the Industrial Welfare Commission, submitted an official report regarding youth workers and recommended segregation for "defectives" with "sterilization as the price of freedom."⁴¹ Multnomah Court of Domestic Relations Judge Jacob Kanzler cited his "startling revelation [that a] large percentage of our delinquent and dependent children [are born with] subnormal minds." Kanzler pointed to his own expert testimony with the conclusion that sterilization would "prevent feeble-minded persons from reproducing."⁴² Dr. J.N. Smith, Superintendent of the Oregon State Institution for Feeble-Minded in 1926, heralded sterilization as an economic savior to the state. Smith reported that the Child Welfare Commission and other welfare authorities credited the sterilization act with significantly reducing the number of Portland's unmarried mothers in welfare institutions.⁴³

Oregon sterilization legislation spurred considerable legislative and public debate beginning in 1909, when Governor George Chamberlain vetoed the first sterilization bill after it passed the Senate by a vote of 20-10. The bill specified procreation prevention for "confirmed criminals, insane persons, idiots, imbeciles, and rapists." In his veto message, Chamberlain pointed to the confusing language of the bill, which did not distinguish habitual criminals from those labeled "incurably insane." Although Chamberlain

expressed doubt about whether the class mentioned deserved the "harsh treatment" of sterilization, he recommended a "skillfully framed" sterilization bill in its stead.⁴⁴ When a 1913 referendum prevented the enactment of compulsory sterilization by a vote of 53,319 to 41,767, Owens-Adair counted the result as an overall gain for sterilization legislation.⁴⁵ According to Owens-Adair, voter education "provoked much public discussion" and contributed to a 1917 voter referendum failure.⁴⁶

Oregon compulsory sterilization laws passed in 1917 applied to those labeled "feeble-minded, insane, epileptic, habitual criminals, moral degenerates, and sexual perverts" capable of producing offspring and housed in publicly funded institutions. The Oregon State Board of Eugenics administered the law. Board members consisted of the State Board of Health along with administrators of the state institutions governed under the statute.⁴⁷ In 1919, a second sterilization statute passed, which allowed sterilization candidates to appeal the Board's decisions.⁴⁸

In practice, the sterilization laws targeted sexually deviant behavior. People considered to have deviant sexual or childbearing practices included those with physical or mental impairment, women engaging in sex outside of marriage, and men who had sex with men. In the spring of 1918, the State Board of Health ordered twenty persons sterilized. In 1919, State Health officer Dr. David Roberg divided sterilized individuals into two categories, therapeutic cases of people diagnosed as mentally ill and those sterilized to comply with the release from the State Institution for Feeble-Minded and the Oregon State Hospital.⁴⁹ The Board approved seventeen cases submitted by the Oregon State Hospital in the first year. Of those cases, twelve of the thirteen men were

castrated, and all four women received ovariectomies.⁵⁰ According to State Hospital Superintendent R. E. Steiner, sixteen of the men and women who received castration “were flagrant masturbators or sex perverts.”⁵¹

The view of sterilization as punishment received some public and legislative support in the United States. A few states tried punitive sterilization laws with mixed results. Laws in neighboring Washington allowed for the sterilization of habitual criminals and convicted rapists in addition to mandatory sentences. In 1909, while campaigning for the Oregon sterilization statutes, Dr. Owens-Adair also lobbied tirelessly for the Washington law. Along with being eugenic, the law listed sterilization as a prevention of procreation “in addition to such other punishment.”⁵² The Washington law faced subsequent challenges, but the state’s supreme court upheld the law. According to national eugenic legal expert Harry H. Laughlin, a cruel and unusual punishment ruling did not stand up in the Washington court because the state constitution did not have a provision against unusual punishment. Iowa’s sterilization law mandated compulsory sterilization of sex offenders, criminals with more than one felony, and all convicted white prostitutes. Iowa repealed the law after a district court ruled it cruel and unusual punishment. Nevada courts also ruled the state’s punitive sterilization law as cruel and unusual.⁵³ Laughlin’s legislative recommendations warned of courts’ probable rulings of cruel and unusual punishment, and cited the Washington court case as an anomaly. Laughlin recommended that the language of the laws specify eugenic sterilization while denying any ties to punishment.⁵⁴

Attorney Tom Garland challenged Oregon’s laws in 1921.⁵⁵

Garland argued that the Eugenics Board decision to castrate Jacob Cline, a 65-year old preacher convicted of raping his twelve-year-old adopted daughter, violated the fourteenth amendment regarding due process as well as imposing cruel and unusual punishment.⁵⁶ The Marion Circuit Court ruled in favor of Cline, overturning the 1917 and 1919 statutes. Judges Percy Kelly and George Bingham based their decision on the unconstitutionality of the 1917 and 1919 laws, rather than cruel and unusual punishment.⁵⁷ The court believed the laws violated due process. More importantly, Judge Kelly and Judge Bingham questioned the punitive disclaimers of the laws, stating, "beyond declaring that it is not in any manner a punitive measure, [the law] is silent as to the rules of evidence applicable thereto." Kelly and Bingham referenced seven cases in which challenges to sterilization resulted in rulings of unconstitutionality, and then pointed to the Washington decision as "easily distinguishable [for] the statute undeniably punitive."⁵⁸

By the time Kelly and Bingham's ruling overturned the sterilization laws, 127 individuals, all wards of the state, had been sterilized in Oregon institutions. Despite the efforts of sterilization advocates and the media to focus on the law as social protection from incurable criminal rapists, only eight of the sterilizations had occurred in the Oregon State Penitentiary. Peter Boag has argued that half of the men endured castration for charges related to same-sex sexual activity.⁵⁹ Ninety percent of the sterilizations occurred inside Oregon's two state hospitals, which served patients diagnosed as mentally ill. Of the remaining ten percent of Oregon sterilizations, "feeble-minded" women constituted eight percent, while the remaining two percent were prison inmates.⁶⁰

Immediately after the 1921 abolition of sterilization in Oregon,

sterilization advocates campaigned for and passed another law in 1923. That law stressed sterilization as therapy and again noted that it was non-punitive. The 1923 law applied to all Oregon citizens, both inside and outside public-funded institutions, thus eliminating the Marion Circuit Court's opposition to the laws as class legislation. One clause determined that the law was "to protect society from the acts of such person, or from the menace of procreation by such person."⁶¹ Eugenic sterilization predominately focused on people with disabilities as procreative menaces, continually linking social and sexual deviance and socioeconomic dependency to disability.

Some medical experts advocated for the expansion of the category of feeble-minded and argued that sexual deviance could be an indicator for this so-called mental deficiency. According to Dr. Walter Fernald, administrator of the Massachusetts School for the Feeble-minded, the high-grade, or "moron," could be diagnosed through a complicated system of IQ tests, personal and family history inquiries, and physical examinations. Fernald cited feeble-mindedness as an issue of "significance to physicians, teachers, court officials, social workers and legislators." Fernald laid out the terms for diagnosing the high-grade and pointed to sexually deviant history, economic failure, and lack of ethics as indications of mental defect. Fernald urged that "Inquiry should be made as to a history of general moral insensibility, untruthfulness, theft, cruelty, destructiveness, truancy and vagrancy... the presence or absence of sex precocity, sex perversion and sex immorality is very significant." Fernald reaffirmed his earlier theory of the feeble-minded as criminal, pauper, or social-disease transmitter and argued for their detection and control.⁶² Fernald's theories probably influenced Dr. J.N. Smith, Superintendent for the Oregon State

Institution for Feeble-Minded, who often quoted Fernald.⁶³

Superintendent Smith claimed that sterilizations at the Oregon State Institution for Feeble-Minded had no therapeutic value and were purely eugenic.⁶⁴ However, compulsory sterilization included people who had acquired, rather than inherited, their disability. For example, the institution sterilized a nineteen-year-old woman whose chart indicated feeble-mindedness because of "acute sickness when young." A boy, castrated on his sixteenth birthday, listed the source of his feeble-mindedness as "accidentally swallowing lye."⁶⁵ Those cases indicate that people with noninherited disabilities were thought to be unfit for parenting.

Prison administrators and mental health providers also identified sexual deviance as cause for sterilization. Those labeled sexually "deviant" constituted half of the sterilizations in the Oregon State Hospital and the Oregon State Penitentiary during the first few years of the law.⁶⁶ Additionally, the State Institution for Feeble-Minded's staff often referenced sexual deviance or delinquency in the patient's record. Just over twenty-seven percent of patients sterilized at the institution between 1918 and 1930 were labeled as "immoral, illegitimate, sexually indiscriminate, and masturbator."⁶⁷ In addition, histories of juvenile delinquency and escapes from institutions appeared repeatedly showing that sterilization laws disproportionately applied to people with deviant sexualities or behaviors.

Feeble-mindedness, habitual criminality, moral degeneracy, and sexual perversity already had social definitions, but legal definitions strengthened these categories. For instance, the process of labeling an individual as feeble-minded often took place in the courts or trials during commitment proceedings. Expert witnesses,

usually psychiatrists, conducted Intelligence Quotient (IQ) tests, with a score of “border-line” or below indicating feeble-mindedness. Investigation of personal history and heredity also entered the procedures. Sometimes, a testifier merely needed to say a person did not seem “right” as evidence of feeble-mindedness.⁶⁸

The law defined moral degenerates and sexual perverts as “those addicted to the practice of sodomy or the crime against nature, or to other gross, bestial and perverted sexual habits and practices prohibited by statute.” Although sterilization applied to convicted rapists, specifically outlined in the law as “the offense committed on a female over the age of consent...or on a female under the age of fourteen years with or without consent,” reformers could not easily prove instances of sexual violence that would warrant sterilization under the law. For instance, the law did not apply to rape convictions secured by circumstantial evidence only.⁶⁹

Unfortunately, the survivor of sexual assault was just as likely to be institutionalized and subject to sterilization as the assailant. For example, in the argument to establish the State Institution for Feeble-Minded in 1907, casting blame on the sexual assault survivor showed up on the legislative floor. The report from the Board of Building Commissioners pointed to a complaint of an alleged assault in which the girl, deemed feeble-minded, “had been the victim of a number of men and boys [including] her own father.” The report described the young woman as diseased and immoral, then argued that “such an irresponsible girl...[caused] vicious habits in boys.”⁷⁰ The men discussing the need for an institution to lock up “feeble-minded” girls did not mention a remedy that included removal of the “number of men and boys” from the community, but rather that these rapists were the victims of “such an irresponsible girl.”

Health care providers focused on “feeble-minded” women as the mothers of increased poverty and crime, and created a template for gender-differentiated solutions to feeble-mindedness as a social problem. Feeble-mindedness with resulting sterilization applied disproportionately to women and girls whose sexual behaviors or childbearing came under the surveillance of welfare agents. During the first year of the law, the State Institution for Feeble-Minded recommended six sterilizations of women between the ages of 15 and 22. Of these six, four had engaged in sex outside of marriage, with three resulting in pregnancy. Divorce marred the fifth woman’s chart. A charity home for wayward girls referred the three unmarried young mothers to the institution. In the first few months of the sterilization law, all three teenage mothers faced confinement and sterilization. The institution paroled them within a year of their sterilizations. In that same year, the Oregon State Hospital sterilized and transferred a 31-year-old woman to the State Institution for Feeble-Minded. Her charts listed her as “prolific, with five small children.” The institution released her the same year. In the following year, the State Institution for Feeble-Minded’s sterilizations included nineteen women. Although only two of the charts listed immorality directly, others indicated the results of a sexually transmitted infection test.⁷¹

Some Progressive reformers pointed to race and ethnicity as an indication of feeble-mindedness and criminality. J. A. Churchill, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, documented twenty-three cases of teachers listing “Indian Blood” as an explanation for school retardation.⁷² Additionally, Chester Carlisle noted that many more teachers recorded their pupils’ racial status as Native American somewhere on the information card when describing the

reason for impediments in school progress.⁷³ The official count of twenty-three only included the reports that specified “Indian blood” as the sole reason for so-called mental deficiency. The Oregon State Survey for Mental Defect, Delinquency and Dependency devoted an entire report to Chinese and Japanese immigrants in Oregon. This “special report” furnished by the Oregon Bureau of Labor Commissioner included the total numbers of males, females, and children in each county, as well as their income, employment and marital status. The report also detailed whether Japanese or Chinese owned property in each county, and if they spent money on domestic or foreign products. Carlisle credits this report as “a valuable ethnological study...as to the fundamental causes of dependency and social failure.”⁷⁴

Markers of race and ethnicity on patient charts at the State Institution for Feeble-Minded reveal the biased of institutional staff, which may have contributed to some patients’ involuntary sterilization. The chart of one young white woman included the remark, “illegitimate child...father of the child at Indian School Chemawa.”⁷⁵ In another case, the institution did not include the “alleged cause of deficiency” in any of the charts of the members of one Native American family in 1924. The Board ordered the sterilization of all four family members, including a ten-year old girl.⁷⁶ The Oregon State Institution for Feeble-Minded sterilized another young woman, whose chart listed her “whole family as peculiar—German.” The institution indicated the ethnicity on many more inmate charts, usually those of recent European immigrants, such as people from Germany, Italy, Ireland, Russia, and Denmark.⁷⁷

Whether or not the perceived socioeconomic status, race,

ethnicity, disability, sexual deviance, or delinquency determined an individual's reproductive future, the perception of their sexual practices as a potential menace to society factored into the detection, detention, and sterilization of thousands of Oregonians. The threat of sterilization worked to control individuals whose sexualities differed from that of the norm while effectively blurring the distinction between sexual assault and alternate sexualities. While some reformers concentrated on child rapists, many others, such as Governor West, focused on social hygiene reform that targeted young women engaging in sex outside of marriage, low-income sex workers, and men who participated in same-sex sexual activities.

The varying institutional practices of sterilization reflected the conflicting views of the law's purpose. Administrators of Oregon institutions practiced a few female castrations as a cure for women with sexually "deviant" behavior even before the enactment of sterilization laws, and sexual sterilization as therapy became a selling point for those wishing to increase support for sterilization laws. Administrators of prison and mental health wards employed sterilization, not only as a routine condition for parole that allowed beds to become available for additional inmates, but also as a means of maintaining behavioral control inside their institutions.

During the debate over involuntary sterilization laws in Oregon, progressive reformers adopted rhetoric that diverged from national eugenic theories and professional medical arguments about sterilization, which claimed that sterilization did not inhibit sexual function or desire.⁷⁸ Oregon sterilization proponents Owens-Adair and Governor West embraced the eugenic use of sterilization, while heralding that sexual sterilization decreased sexual assault and sexual "deviance."

Oregon laws allowed for the sterilization of more than 2,600 citizens in over sixty years of state-mandated sterilization.⁷⁹ Sterilization legislation in Oregon survived despite a governor's veto, two voter referendums, and an unconstitutionality ruling in Marion Circuit court. The expansion of public health and the welfare state combined with eugenicists' legislative efforts to regulate human reproduction resulted in the scrutiny of Oregonians' sexual and reproductive practices. People whose socioeconomic status brought them in regular contact with the welfare state most likely had to justify their childbearing practices to the welfare agents who administrated their support. People with physical and mental impairment endured most of the scrutiny, because eugenicists and reformers agreed that the privilege of parenthood did not apply to people with disabilities. The Progressives' focus on moral sexuality combined with the sterilization campaigns' focus on deviant sexual practices worked to put unconventional sexual practices and nonnormative bodies under additional police, public, and medical surveillance.

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² Oregon, *General Laws, 1917* (Salem: State Printing Department, 1917), 518-521.

³ The term feeble-minded has no equivalent in modern terminology, though people with physical or cognitive disabilities or people labeled "border-line," would have been labeled feeble-minded in the early 20th-century. This socially constructed label changed over time and according to the cultural context. The term is offensive, but I have retained the use of the term feeble-minded to avoid presentism.

⁴ Exceptions include Janice A. Brockley, "Doctors, Deviants, and Defectives: Sterilization in Oregon" (Undergraduate Thesis, University of Oregon Honors College, 1991); Peter Boag, *Same-Sex Affairs: Constructing and Controlling Homosexuality in the Pacific Northwest* (Berkeley: University of California Press), 206-216; and Mark A. Largent, "'The Greatest Curse of the Race': Eugenic Sterilization in Oregon, 1909-1983," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 103, no. 2 (2002), 188-209.

⁵ A.F. Tredgold, *Mental Deficiency* (New York: William Wood & Company, 1908), 75-76; James W. Trent, Jr., *Inventing the Feeble Mind: A History of Mental Retardation in the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

⁶ Dr. J.N. Smith, quoted in "Owens-Adair Bill literature" folder, box 4, Cornelia M. Pierce Papers, Special Collections, Knight Library, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR (hereafter referred to as CMPP).

⁷ Dr. J.N. Smith, quoted in "Owens-Adair Bill," CMPP.

⁸ Many historians have detailed studies linking feeble-mindedness to prostitution and criminality. For excellent accounts of the construction of the feeble-minded as menace in the United States, see James W. Trent, Jr., *Inventing the Feeble Mind: A History of Mental Retardation in the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Nicole Hahn Raftner, *Creating Born Criminals* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997); Susan K. Cahn, *Sexual Reckonings: Southern Girls in a Troubling Age* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007).

⁹ Dr. J.N. Smith, quoted in "Owens-Adair Bill," CMPP.

¹⁰ Boag, *Same-Sex Affairs*, 208.

¹¹ Boag, *Same-Sex Affairs*, 188.

¹² The Oregon Social Hygiene Society, "Steps Toward Social Health," in *Biennial Report of Progress* (circa 1922), 3.

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¹⁹ Oregon Social Hygiene Society, *Five Years' Work*, 27-29.

²⁰ Oregon Social Hygiene Society, *Five Years' Work*, 27-29.

²¹ Nicole Hahn Rafter, *White Trash: The Eugenic Family Studies 1877-1919*, edited by Nicole Hahn Rafter (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988), 8; Paul Popenoe and Roswell Hill Johnson, *Applied Eugenics* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933), 284, 299.

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²³ "A Freak Marriage Bill," *Morning Oregonian*, May 27, 1921, 8; "Dr. Owens Adair Fails to Answer Criticism," *Morning Oregonian*, June 3, 1921, 10.

²⁴ Governor Oswald D. West, "Biennial Message, 1913," <http://>

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²⁶ Boag, *Same-Sex Affairs*, 208.

²⁷ J. J. Walter, quoted in marked copy of *Human Sterilization: Its Social and Legislative Aspects*, 46, "Owens-Adair Bill Literature" folder, box 4, CMPP.

²⁸ E. E. Brodie, F.W. Mulkey and L.J. Wentworth, quoted in Janice A. Brockley, "Doctors, Deviants, and Defectives," 18.

²⁹ Owens-Adair, marked copy of *Human Sterilization*, 23, "Owens-Adair Bill Literature" folder, box 4, CMPP.

³⁰ Owens-Adair, marked copy of *Human Sterilization*, 72, "Owens-Adair Bill Literature" folder, box 4, CMPP.

³¹ Brockley, "Doctors, Deviants, and Defectives," 24. An oophorectomy, also known as female castration, ovariectomy or ovariectomy, is the removal of one or both ovaries. The practice of removing the sex organs of women as a treatment for mental illness began in the 19th century.

³² Dr. Bethenia Owens-Adair, *Human Sterilization: Its Social and Legislative Aspects* (Michigan: University of Michigan, 1922), 146.

³³ James W. Trent, "Sterilization," *Encyclopedia of Disability*, ed. Gary L. Albrecht (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2006), 1500-1501.

³⁴ Trent, "Sterilization," 1500-1502.

³⁵ Owens-Adair, *Human Sterilization*, 146.

³⁶ Owens-Adair, *Human Sterilization*, 110.

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³⁸ Dr. Duncan Fraser, quoted in Owens-Adair, *Human Sterilization*, 183.

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⁴⁰ Frank E. Smith, "Report of Superintendent," *Third Biennial Report of the Board of Trustees and Superintendent of the State of Oregon to the Twenty-Seventh Legislative Assembly Regular Session, 1913* (circa 1913), 9.

⁴¹ Treasury Department, "Public Health Bulletin," 14.

⁴² Jacob Kanzler, quoted in Owens-Adair, *Human Sterilization*, 87.

⁴³ J.N. Smith, "Biennial Report of the Oregon State Board of Control," *Oregon State Board of Control* (Salem, OR: State Printing Department, 1914-1968), 90.

⁴⁴ George E. Chamberlain quoted, veto message and personal letter to Owens-Adair reprinted in Laughlin, *Eugenical Sterilization*, 40-41.

⁴⁵ Laughlin, *Eugenical Sterilization*, 42-43.

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⁴⁷ Oregon, *General Laws, 1917*, 518-521. Institutions covered under the law included the State Institution for Feeble-Minded, The Oregon State Hospital, The Eastern Oregon State Hospital, and the Oregon State Penitentiary.

⁴⁸ Oregon, *General Laws, 1919* (Salem: State Printing Department, 1919), 415-18.

⁴⁹ David N. Roberg, quoted in Laughlin, *Eugenical Sterilization*, 88-89.

⁵⁰ Oregon State Hospital, "Eugenics Record," 1918-1945, volume 1, 5/04/04/07, Oregon State Archives, Salem, OR.

⁵¹ R. E. Lee Steiner, quoted in Laughlin, *Eugenical Sterilization*, 89.

⁵² Boag, *Same-Sex Affairs*, 207.

⁵³ Laughlin, *Eugenical Sterilization*, 101, 142-145. Oregon law explicitly stated that sterilization of criminals under the law was due to the possibility of transmitting criminality through procreation and not as a punitive measure. Nevada attempted to institute a punitive sterilization law that would sterilize sex offenders, but the Nevada Supreme Court ruled it unconstitutional.

⁵⁴ Laughlin, *Eugenical Sterilization*, 147.

⁵⁵ "Board Called Autocrat," *Oregonian*, October 9, 1921, 17.

⁵⁶ Laughlin, *Eugenical Sterilization*, 272-289, 318-319.

⁵⁷ Laughlin, *Eugenical Sterilization*, 147, 287-289.

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⁵⁹ Boag, *Same Sex Affairs*, 213; Laughlin, *Eugenical Sterilization*, 88. Laughlin lists the Oregon State Penitentiary sterilizations as three.

⁶⁰ Laughlin, *Eugenical Sterilization*, 88

⁶¹ Oregon, *General Laws, 1923* (Salem: State Printing Department), 280.

⁶² Walter E. Fernald, *Diagnosis of the Higher Grades of Mental Defect* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1914), 253-263.

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⁶⁴ Smith, quoted in Laughlin, *Eugenical Sterilization*, 90.

⁶⁵ Fairview Training Center, *Record Books by Resident Number, 1908-1945*, Volumes 1-5, Oregon State Archives, Salem, OR (hereafter listed as FTC, *Record Books*) when listed, pseudonyms replace patient names.

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Relative to the Location and Establishment of an Institution for Feeble-Minded and Epileptic Persons to the Twenty-Fourth Legislative Assembly: Regular Session: 1907,” quoted in Brockley, “Doctors, Deviants, and Defectives,” 7.

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⁷² J. A. Churchill, quoted in Treasury Department, “Public Health Bulletin,” 59.

⁷³ Chester Carlisle, quoted in Treasury Department, “Public Health Bulletin,” 48 (I have assumed the term “Indian blood” referred to Native Americans, rather than Indians).

⁷⁴ Chester Carlisle, quoted in Treasury Department, “Public Health Bulletin,” 22-26.

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⁷⁶ FTC, *Record Books*. It is worth noting that the Chemawa Indian Boarding School did not officially fall under the Oregon state sterilization mandates, but numerous scholars have documented involuntary sterilizations in Indian Boarding Schools. See Myla F. Thyrsa Carpio, “Lost Generation: The Involuntary Sterilization of American Indian Women” (M.A. Thesis, Arizona State University, 1995); Andrea Smith, *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2005).

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⁷⁸ Medicolegal Bureau of the American Medical Association, “Sterilization of Criminals” (Chicago: The Association, circa 1915), 1, 5-11; Popenoe and Johnson, *Applied Eugenics*, 150.

⁷⁹ Governor John Kitzhaber, “Proclamation of Human Rights Day, and Apology for Oregon’s Forced Sterilization of Institutionalized Patients,” http://arcweb.sos.state.or.us/governors/Kitzhaber/web_pages/governor/speeches/s021202.htm (accessed December, 02, 2007).

Conceptual Metaphor in Political Discourse: A Semantic Analysis of Four State of the Union Addresses Delivered by George W. Bush

by Emily Hayes
Linguistics

Faculty Mentor: Eric Pederson, Linguistics

Abstract

In conceptual metaphor theory, metaphor plays a fundamental role in how we understand our world. Metaphorical models help us understand one domain of knowledge in terms of other, different domains. According to linguist George Lakoff, one example of conceptual metaphor can be seen in politics. He argues that we have a metaphorical understanding of our nation as a family. Lakoff claims that two of the major political ideologies in the United States, conservatism and liberalism, are metaphorically based on the Strict Father family model and the Nurturant Parent model, respectively. This study looks for evidence of these metaphors in political discourse through a semantic analysis of four State of the Union Addresses delivered by George W. Bush. Although there is little explicit metaphor, the language is consistent with the entailments of the Strict Father model.

Introduction

Metaphors are ways to understand one thing in terms of another. We often think of them devices used in poetry and literature. But metaphors are common in everyday speech and in ways of which we

may not always even be aware. In *Metaphors We Live By*, linguist George Lakoff and philosopher Mark Johnson claim that thoughts are structured metaphorically. According to Lakoff and Johnson, complex metaphorical structures arise from physical experiences in the world. For example, many expressions convey the metaphor Nurturance Is Warmth. It is this language that Lakoff and Johnson take as evidence that metaphors underlie the way people think about and understand the world. That is what is meant by “conceptual metaphor.”

One feature of a conceptual metaphor is that it is largely unconscious, meaning that people are often unaware that language is metaphorical. That lack of awareness is one reason that Lakoff and Johnson claim that the metaphors are deeply embedded within conceptual frameworks, and also a reason that conceptual metaphors can seem so subjective and difficult to analyze. The analysis therefore often takes the form of interpreting the logical presuppositions and entailments that must follow if the metaphor holds. The metaphor itself is understood as a mapping of one domain onto another. Within each domain are concepts—networks of ideas with particular relationships to one another. Thus, one domain is mapped onto another through the structure of these relationships. For example, the metaphor Love Is A Journey has the concept “journey” in its source domain and “love” in its target domain. A journey is a concept that includes travelers, an origin, a destination, and a path. In the target domain, then, each of these components has a corollary: the lovers, their meeting, their goals together, and the time they spend together. Each of these pieces is activated as part of the concept “journey.” By extension, the idea that a relationship is not “heading anywhere,” may not consciously

evoke the metaphor, but it is a working example of the metaphor Love Is A Journey.

In his book *Moral Politics*, Lakoff argues that political discourse in the United States is based on the metaphor that the nation is a family. He takes this as evidence of a conceptual metaphor, one that structures not just general talk about politics but the way in which different political viewpoints are translated into actual governmental policies. The Nation As A Family metaphor is evidenced in such phrases as “fatherland” and “brothers in arms.” Based on this overarching metaphor and a systematic analysis of the ways in which conservative and liberal views differ, Lakoff identifies two particular family models as those upon which the two major political philosophies are metaphorically based. Specifically, he argues that the family model that structures the conservative framework is the “Strict Father” model and for liberals it is the “Nurturant Parent” model.

The family models are prototypes or stereotypes that we become familiar with growing up in a culture that propagates them through television and other media. These family models are not necessarily based in real life nor do they need to be in order for us to understand what they entail. This process involves what are known as schemas and scripts. A schema can be thought of as something like a play. It is the stage and the setting for what is going to take place. In our analogy, a script is just that—the script. It is the set of actions that are called for based on the setting or schema. For example, a schema with which we are all familiar is eating at a restaurant. The details of what happens at a restaurant might vary somewhat according to the kind of restaurant, but the experience has the same basic structure everywhere. Customers either seat themselves or are

seated by a host. They choose what to eat from a menu and convey this choice to a waitperson, who then brings the food and (ideally) takes care of other aspects of the meal, such as water service. When finished eating, the customer pays for the food and includes a tip for the service. Only once the meal is finished and paid for does the customer leave. The setting of eating at a restaurant is a schema, and the expected actions are the script. People rarely think about how they know what to do at a restaurant – they simply know. Yet everyone had to learn the particulars of what that situation means in our culture, how to act, and how others are expected to act. It seems simple but in fact involves a huge amount of social knowledge that we have had to acquire.

According to theories in psychology and cognitive science, schemas and scripts are critical processes that human beings use to structure the world and thus to make sense of it. Children begin organizing their experiences into scripts and schemas when they are very young and continually revise them as they learn and grow. The Strict Father and Nurturant Parent models of family are schemas. Although an individual may not have grown up in these stereotypical kinds of families, or even known anyone who did, the schemas are recognizable and make it possible to think about some of the things that take place in these models. The basic ways in which these models are structured are clear and understandable because the scripts that accompany them are linked to other cultural experiences.

The Metaphors

In each family model, there are founding principles and guiding philosophies. Each member of the family has particular rights

and responsibilities within this framework. According to Lakoff, the Strict Father family begins with the view that the world is fundamentally a dangerous place. As the head of the household and primary authority, the father's duties are to protect his family from these dangers and to teach his children how to protect themselves. The goal of the father is to raise his children to be independent and strong enough to protect their own families from the world. According to the Strict Father model, children do not know enough about the world to make their own decisions but instead need to be taught by the father, who has gained his knowledge through experience and by being taught himself. Therefore one of the highest values espoused in the Strict Father family is obedience to authority, because that obedience will keep the family safe and lead ultimately to its success.

In the Nurturant Parent model, the world is a place to be explored. It has inherent dangers, but parents should educate their children about those dangers rather than shield children from them. Above all, it is the parents' responsibility to provide for their children's needs so that they have a solid foundation from which to grow and learn about the world. The goal of the Nurturant Parent family is to promote the overall well-being of their children and therefore the whole family. According to Lakoff, the quality most necessary to meet that goal is empathy. With empathy, one can understand the needs of others, care about those needs, and want to meet them. The primary guiding values in the Nurturant Parent family then are empathy and nurturance. The Nurturant Parent family seeks to instill these values so that the children will continue to treat the world in the same way.

From these foundations Lakoff further deconstructs the family

models into groups of moral metaphors and organizes them according to their importance within the Strict Father or Nurturant Parent model (appendix A). These moral metaphors are identified based on the worldviews, goals, and actions specific to each family model. The success or failure of a family is determined by the system of values that family holds. These are the values that, according to Lakoff, become modeled metaphorically in politics and thereby contribute to the social and economic landscape of the country.

The metaphorical mapping of the family models with respect to the political philosophies of conservatives and liberals allows us to understand the viewpoints of these philosophies in the same framework. Therefore, according to Lakoff, conservative positions are based on the same idea of the world as is the Strict Father family. Specifically, the world is a dangerous place in which authority must be obeyed until one has enough knowledge and strength to navigate it. The liberal viewpoint, on the other hand, is based on the view that the world is a place to be cared for, something people learn by caring for and respecting one another. As he argues in *Metaphors We Live By*, Lakoff finds evidence for these metaphorical positions in the language we use, in this case, the language of politics.

The purpose of this study is to examine recent political discourse to see whether the metaphors are as evident as Lakoff suggests. The representative sample of political speech is a collection of State of the Union Addresses by George W. Bush. Rather than a comparison of the two philosophies, this analysis focuses on one philosophy, the conservative viewpoint, and the corresponding family structure upon which Lakoff claims it is metaphorically modeled. The analysis seeks to investigate the implications for an underlying

conceptual understanding based on the stability or instability of the metaphors within each of several domains over time. State of the Union Addresses are rich sources of political rhetoric addressing the key domains Lakoff identifies: social issues such as abortion, gay rights, and education; foreign and domestic policy; and the economy. Using State of the Union Addresses from one administration over a span of seven years provides an opportunity for this longitudinal approach.

By investigating the metaphorical models, it is possible to find one of two versions of Lakoff's theories: the strong and the weak hypotheses. The strong version would ideally find explicit metaphorical language that articulates the moral metaphors outlined by Lakoff. For example, a statement by President Bush that "America is a family and, as the father of that family, I have the moral obligation to provide leadership through strong authority and self-discipline" would be a concrete example of the strong hypothesis, but such direct language is unlikely. Alternatively, the weak hypothesis would look for language that implies positions consistent with the models—that is, language that can be interpreted as lining up with the Strict Father framework even if it does not point directly to that framework. While this weaker version would also be open to explanations other than Lakoff's metaphorical models, it would still offer support for his theories.

Analysis

The analysis of the State of the Union Addresses focuses on the following areas: the economy including the federal budget and taxes; Social Security, Medicare, and health care; domestic social issues and faith-based charities; energy and the environment; and foreign

policy including Iraq and the “war on terror.” The study examines each of these topics in turn in order to determine whether either or both of the metaphorical family models are present and whether they are evenly represented across the domains listed above.

The Economy Including the Federal Budget and Taxes

In his 2001 State of the Union Address, Bush asserted:

Government has a role, and an important role. Yet, too much Government crowds out initiative and hard work, private charity and the private economy. Our new governing vision says Government should be active but limited, engaged but not overbearing. And my budget is based on that philosophy.

Beginning with the notion of “crowding out,” it is necessary to understand when such a thing can happen. For something to be crowded out, at least two conditions must be in place: competition and limited space. Without these things, no crowding out will take place. The competing actors are clearly identified: government versus the private sector. But to make sense of the analogy, we must understand from what the space the government might crowd out initiative and hard work. This can be seen in entailments of the MORAL AUTHORITY metaphor. In his discussion of the Strict Father model, Lakoff articulates an important set of entailments regarding legitimate and illegitimate authority that arise when the child in the Strict Father family reaches maturity. A fundamental goal of the Strict Father family is to raise an independent child who will, ideally, become the head of his own family and uphold the same values. Thus it is necessary for the child to become a moral authority in his own right. Once this happens, it is no longer moral for the parent to exercise his authority over the child. To do is to prevent the child,

now an adult and therefore equal, from exercising his duty and right to be a moral authority himself. The quote above can be understood in this sense of the Strict Father model. Here, the father and child in the source domain are the federal government and private citizens in the target domain. It is made clear that government does not have legitimate authority in this sphere, because the child is reaching maturity. Thus too much government, or authority, “crowds out” the mature child’s ability to make his own decisions. Rather, the role of the authority is to maintain limited guidance as the child transitions from being obedient to being an authoritative figure in his own right.

The view that government’s role in regulating the economy is and should be extremely limited is just as explicit in the other State of the Union Addresses. From the 2003 State of the Union Address, in a statement regarding the federal budget, comes one of the most straightforward examples of the overarching Nation As A Family metaphor:

We must work together to fund only our most important priorities. I will send you a budget that increases discretionary spending by 4 percent next year, about as much as the average family’s income is expected to grow. And that is a good benchmark for us. Federal spending should not rise any faster than the paychecks of American families.

One might argue that this is not metaphorical language, that from an economic standpoint this is simply common sense. To understand the goal articulated in this statement one must see if it matches a particular viewpoint. Why is it undesirable for federal government spending to increase proportionately more than citizens earn? If the aim is a balanced budget, then the reason

is that the government cannot spend more than it receives. If the rate of government spending exceeds the rate at which Americans are paying taxes into the system, then there are only two ways to compensate and maintain a balanced budget: decrease federal spending or increase taxes. These two alternatives are not inherently good or bad prospects—they only become so within a specific economic framework.

In the Nurturant Parent framework, according to Lakoff, the needs of the family and specifically the children take priority over all else. If more money needs to be spent to meet those needs, then more money should be spent. That idea maps metaphorically onto the liberal philosophy that the government's priority is to meet the needs of the citizens. This need takes precedence over lower taxes, therefore if the need for spending increases then taxes should increase accordingly. By contrast, the entailments of the Strict Father model, as outlined above, require that government allow private citizens to meet those needs themselves. In terms of monetary means, the way to do that is to allow the citizens to use their own funds as they see fit.

The latter point is made clear in this statement regarding tax reform from the 2001 address:

My attitude is, Government should never stand in the way of families achieving their dreams. And as we debate this issue, always remember, the surplus is not the Government's money; the surplus is the people's money.

Bush's stated position is an example of the Moral Authority metaphor because of the idea that taxation by the government interferes with the ability of families to "achieve their dreams." How

does this happen? As Bush stated, the money belongs to the people, not to the government. Viewed from the perspective of the Strict Father model, then, if the government attempts to take the money through taxation or dictate how the money should be spent through legislation, then it is impinging upon the rights of the citizens to do as they see fit. The government is not respecting the citizens as their own moral authorities. Instead of taxing the people and spending their money, the responsibility of the government in this sphere is to model self-discipline by reducing spending, keeping taxes low, and in this way maintaining a balanced budget. Thus, the statement that federal spending should maintain a consistent pace with the earnings of America citizens is not just a way of summing up an economic policy. Instead, it reveals a complicated set of values identified in the Strict Father family model.

The notion of self-discipline is an important one in the Strict Father family and comes up many times in Bush's statements about the federal budget. In his 2005 State of the Union Address he said:

America's prosperity requires restraining the spending appetite of the federal government. I welcome the bipartisan enthusiasm for spending discipline. So next week I will send you a budget that holds the growth of discretionary spending below inflation, makes tax relief permanent, and stays on track to cut the deficit in half by 2009. My budget substantially reduces or eliminates more than 150 government programs that are not getting results, or duplicate current efforts, or do not fulfill essential priorities. The principle here is clear: a taxpayer dollar must be spent wisely, or not at all.

He echoed those statements in 2007:

What we need is spending discipline in Washington, D.C. We set a goal of cutting the deficit in half by 2009

and met that goal 3 years ahead of schedule. Now let us take the next step. In the coming weeks, I will submit a budget that eliminates the Federal deficit within the next 5 years. I ask you to make the same commitment. Together we can restrain the spending appetite of the Federal government, and we can balance the Federal budget.

Self-discipline is at the heart of the Strict Father family. Along with obedience to authority, which is how the child learns right from wrong, the child must also gain the self-discipline to choose right over wrong and to resist bad choices. This allows him to build up his moral strength that, in turn, is necessary to become independent and successful in the world. Thus, it is the moral obligation of the father to model self-discipline for the child. It is important for the federal government to reduce spending and therefore taxes according to the Strict Father metaphor. However, actually reducing spending requires that the government make choices about what is necessary and what is unnecessary. This requires both the knowledge about what should be done and the moral strength and self-discipline to act accordingly. Spending discipline is therefore more than a catch phrase—it is a philosophy crucial to the Strict Father model of government.

Social Security, Medicare, and Health cCre

The topics of Social Security, Medicare, and health care are interesting examples of the tension and sometimes contradictions within the family models. The Strict Father model does not preclude any metaphors for nurturance, but the main difference between the nurturance metaphors in the Strict Father model as opposed to the Nurturant Parent model is their priority assignment.

In the Strict Father model, nurturance corresponds to the popular notion of “tough love” and is secondary to such values as obedience to authority, moral strength, and self-discipline. In the Nurturant Parent model, nurturance takes precedence over all else and each of the moral metaphors is subordinate to it. Considering the moral metaphors regarding Social Security, Medicare, and health care, the frameworks and their entailments must be kept in mind.

One of the most interesting things about the way in which these issues are presented in all of the speeches is the view that Social Security and Medicare in particular, and health care to a lesser degree, are challenges to be confronted. That view immediately recalls the Strict Father idea that the world is primarily full of dangers and obstacles requiring moral strength and fortitude to overcome. In contrast, the Nurturant Parent model views care for the poor, elderly, young, and healthy alike as a basic need to be met as opposed to a challenge to be faced. The rhetoric that sets up Social Security and Medicare as challenges begins with the first State of the Union Address in 2001:

Perhaps the biggest test of our foresight and courage will be reforming Medicare and Social Security....Without reform, this country will one day awaken to a stark choice: Either a drastic rise in payroll taxes or a radical cut in retirement benefits. There is a better way.

Bush did not specifically identify Social Security and Medicare as the challenges, but rather the systems through which they are administered. That the systems need to be “reformed” presupposes that they are not working in the first place, but this does not alone entail the Strict Father viewpoint. The alternatives to reform that Bush went on to list, however, do. He presented two choices, made

obviously equally undesirable: an increase in taxes or a reduction of benefits. The Strict Father model tends to see raising taxes as an unacceptable course of action and is particularly applicable in this area. Social Security and Medicare are social programs and therefore should, as much as possible, be funded and administered in the private sector, according to the Strict Father model. In this family model, the maturing and matured child is responsible for preparing for and securing the future. Assistance from authority oversteps the authority's moral boundaries and is seen as coddling or spoiling. Thus, even programs that are well established as governmentally funded do not merit an increase in taxes to meet their growing needs.

That view is seen even more clearly in another quote on the matter from 2003, in a discussion of health care reform:

A growing economy and a focus on essential priorities will be crucial to the future of Social Security. As we continue to work together to keep Social Security sound and reliable, we must offer younger workers a chance to invest in retirement accounts that they will control and they will own.

Here it is made explicit that financial preparation for retirement is an individual's right as well as responsibility and therefore the government's role should be minimal. The "essential priorities" referred to in this quote may at first be confusing. The statement seems to suggest that Social Security is an essential priority, as it is followed by a statement about keeping Social Security "sound and reliable." Yet this is immediately qualified with the declaration that the younger generation should be investing privately in their retirement, which implies that Social Security will not be available to them later in life, at least not in its sound and reliable state. Thus

the essential priority is not keeping Social Security well-funded, rather this can be understood to mean that funding should be withdrawn from any program that is not essential, so as to keep as much money in Social Security as possible without raising taxes.

Also from the section on health care reform in the 2003 address is a statement on Medicare that evidences one of the few examples in the speeches of the Nurturant Parent model unqualified by the Strict Father model in any way:

Health care reform must begin with Medicare. Medicare is the binding commitment of a caring society. We must renew that commitment by giving seniors access to preventive medicine and new drugs that are transforming health care in America.

Unlike other health care programs and Social Security, Bush does not advocate privatization of the Medicare system. The language specifically invokes the MORALITY IS NURTURANCE metaphor, of which two sub-metaphors are clear. The first sub-metaphor, The Community Is A Family, implies that the nation is the community and, thus, the family. The second sub-metaphor is People Needing Help Are Children Needing Nurturance, where those people receiving Medicare are understood to be the children who require nurturance. Also, the MORALITY AS SOCIAL NURTURANCE metaphor is at work regarding the system of Medicare itself. Two additional sub-metaphors tie in to this quote: Social Ties Are Children Needing Care and Moral Action Is the Nurturance of Social Ties. In this mapping, it is not those citizens who use the services of Medicare who are the children, but the "binding commitment" itself which requires nurturance.

The same MORALITY AS SOCIAL NURTURANCE metaphor appears

to be present in a quote from 2005 about Social Security, but as the speech goes on we must reevaluate the conditions:

One of America's most important institutions—a symbol of the trust between generations—is also in need of wise and effective reform. Social Security was a great moral success of the 20th Century, and we must honor its great purposes in this new century. The system, however, on its current path, is headed toward bankruptcy. And so we must join together to strengthen and save Social Security... By the year 2042, the entire system would be exhausted and bankrupt. If steps are not taken to avert that outcome, the only solutions would be drastically higher taxes, massive new borrowing, or sudden and severe cuts in Social Security benefits or other government programs....

You and I share a responsibility. We must pass reforms that solve the financial problems of Social Security once and for all...I know that none of these reforms would be easy. But we have to move ahead with courage and honesty, because children's retirement is more important than partisan politics. I will work with members of Congress to find the most effective combination of reforms. I will listen to anyone who has a good idea to offer. We must, however, be guided by some basic principles. We must make Social Security permanently sound, not leave that task for another day. We must not jeopardize our economic strength by increasing payroll taxes. We must ensure that lower income Americans get the help they need to have dignity and peace of mind in their retirement. We must guarantee that there is no change for those now retired or nearing retirement. And we must take care that any changes in the system are gradual, so younger workers have years to prepare and plan for their future.

This very long quote offers an example of conflicting metaphors. The MORALITY AS SOCIAL NURTURANCE seems to emerge as strongly as in the statements on Medicare in the reference to Social Security as a “symbol of trust between generations” and a “shared responsibility,” yet it is embedded within a Strict Father framework. Once again, Bush offered the equally disastrous options of raising taxes or reducing benefits, which is an entailment of the Strict Father model. Importantly in this quote and unlike with Medicare, this shared responsibility is carefully qualified by a marked delineation in authority. Bush declares that he will work together with Congress but then sets out strict guidelines as to what he will consider a “good idea.” It is perfectly clear where ultimate authority resides, which is with the executive branch. The mapping in this metaphor is that the authority figure in the Strict Father family is the executive branch and it is this authority who will, as the moral authority, make the ultimate decision regarding the child, Social Security.

In 2007, these same conflicting Nurturant Parent and Strict Father metaphors appear in precisely the same context, only now Medicare and Medicaid are included under the umbrella with Social Security:

Social Security and Medicare and Medicaid are commitments of conscience, and so it is our duty to keep them permanently sound. Yet we're failing in that duty. And this failure will one day leave our children with three bad options: huge tax increase; huge deficits; or huge and immediate cuts in benefits.

An important conclusion to draw from these examples is these metaphorical systems are not exempt from contradictions. Both the Strict Father and Nurturant Parent models are schemas that provide

frameworks but do not dictate exact sequences of actions. People face contradictions every day and are remarkably flexible and adaptive in the face of these tensions. These quotes illustrate the complexity of some of these issues and why they are not so simply or easily resolved.

In regards to health care in general, the views of Bush's administration are consistent throughout the set of State of the Union Addresses: health care belongs in the private sphere and government's role should be as limited as possible. The obligation of the government when it comes to health care is to protect the private sphere's authority over it:

My budget puts a priority on access to health care, without telling Americans what doctor they have to see or what coverage they must choose (2001).

Yet for many people, health care costs too much, and many have no health coverage at all. These problems will not be solved with a nationalized health care system that dictates coverage and rations care (2003).

To make our economy stronger and more productive, we must make health care more affordable, and give families greater access to good coverage, and more control over their health decisions. I ask Congress to move forward on a comprehensive health care agenda—with tax credits to help low-income workers buy insurance, a community health center in every poor county, improved information technology to prevent medical errors and needless costs, association health plans for small businesses and their employees, expanded health savings accounts, and medical liability reform that will reduce health care costs, and make sure patients have the doctors and care they need (2005).

The quote above from 2005 is another example of what at first pass appears to be Nurturant Parent metaphors, yet in fact can be more accurately analyzed as an example of the Morality Is Nurturance in the Strict Father model. In this metaphor, the role of authority is not so much to help those who cannot help themselves as it is to help them learn to help themselves. Thus, the role of government as authority here is not to provide health care to low-income families, but to stimulate and protect the private economy, which is in turn responsible for caring for its citizens. This position is clearly articulated in 2007:

A future of hope and opportunity requires that all our citizens have affordable and available health care. When it comes to health care, Government has an obligation to care for the elderly, the disabled, and poor children, and we will meet those responsibilities. For all other Americans, private health insurance is the best way to meet their needs....My second proposal is to help the States that are coming up with innovative ways to cover the uninsured. States that make basic private health insurance available to all their citizens should receive Federal funds to help them provide this coverage to the poor and the sick.

Domestic Social Issues and Faith-based Charities

One way in which Bush resolved the tension between the federal government's responsibilities to its citizens and the view that the private sphere is the true moral authority for those in need is through faith-based charities. In 2001, Bush mentioned faith-based groups as a way to address some of the most often identified domestic social problems—homelessness, drug and alcohol addiction, and violence:

And my budget adopts a hopeful new approach to help the poor and the disadvantaged. We must encourage and support the work of charities and faith-based and community groups that offer help and love, one person at a time.

In 2003, he introduced the Faith-Based Initiative Act:

Americans are doing the work of compassion every day, visiting prisoners, providing shelter for battered women, bringing companionship to lonely seniors. These good works deserve our praise. They deserve our personal support, and when appropriate, they deserve the assistance of the Federal Government. I urge you to pass both my Faith-Based Initiative and the Citizen Service Act, to encourage acts of compassion that can transform America, one heart and one soul at a time.

Again in 2005, in response to social challenges, faith-based charities were part of the solution:

Because one of the deepest values of our country is compassion, we must never turn from any citizen who feels isolated from the opportunities of America. Our government will continue to support faith-based and community groups that bring hope to harsh places.

Charity presents a dilemma for the Strict Father model: helping others in need is a moral act and it is the duty of the father in the Strict Father model to encourage and reward moral behavior. At the same time, it is immoral for the father to reward immoral behavior, and such issues as poverty and drug abuse are usually understood to be the result of immoral behavior. This tension is resolved by introducing a mediating role. The reason it is immoral for the father to help others who are in a bad position because of their own lack of moral strength is that he is in a position of authority.

Help, therefore, is reward, while it is his duty to punish immorality and, by doing so, encourage the subordinate to become moral and self-supportive. It is not, however, immoral for someone on equal footing with the less fortunate person to help that person. In that case, it is help or support, and not reward, because the two are in equal positions with respect to power and authority. Thus, in the Strict Father model, the metaphor can be mapped in the following way: the authority figure in the Strict Father family is the federal government and therefore the father's moral duty to reward moral behavior but not coddle or spoil those who have gotten themselves in a bad situation is the federal government's duty. The child, over whom the father has moral authority, is the private sphere—in this case, faith-based charities, whose moral duty it is to help others less fortunate.

It is specifically faith-based charities that are in a position to help others because they get their authority from the highest of all: God. A rigid hierarchy exists within the Strict Father family that most people recognize whether they subscribe to it or not: God has authority over people, man over woman, adult over child, and people over nature. This is the Moral Order metaphor, and it specifies why faith-based charities and initiatives are not only condoned by the authority but also encouraged and rewarded. In this way, it becomes clear why it is immoral for the federal government to fund social programs for the poor or those with addictions, yet moral for private citizens to do so and moral for the federal government to reward those private charities.

Energy and the Environment

The topic of energy is not a simple one and is therefore

intertwined with other areas of policy in the speeches, usually the environment. This often creates more conflict between the Strict Father and Nurturant Parent models. The Nurturant Parent model is activated with respect to the environment and thus environmentally responsible sources of energy. This is contrasted, however, with the Strict Father model that views the issue of energy as one of freedom and independence. The metaphors active, either implicitly or explicitly, are MORALITY AS NURTURANCE and MORAL STRENGTH. However, these two metaphors have very different roles and therefore different implications within the two family models. In the Strict Father model, MORAL STRENGTH must be upheld above all else and therefore nurturance is in service to it. In the Nurturant Parent model, however, it is the opposite and MORALITY AS NURTURANCE is the prime directive and MORAL STRENGTH must be constrained by that. With that in mind, let us look at the individual quotes and also note their progression:

Our energy demand outstrips our supply. We can produce more energy at home while protecting our environment, and we must. We can produce more electricity to meet demand, and we must. We can promote alternative energy sources and conservation, and we must. America must become more energy independent, and we will (2001).

Bush began by setting up the need for more energy and by portraying this need as a challenge to be met. As with other descriptions of obstacles, this invokes the MORAL STRENGTH metaphor, since facing challenges requires strength. Here, the MORALITY AS NURTURANCE metaphor is clear in the statements regarding the need to protect the environment and promote the environment. However, the final proposition on the list emphasizes the need for

energy independence, which involves the MORAL STRENGTH, MORAL AUTHORITY, and MORAL BOUNDARIES. The first two, MORAL STRENGTH and MORAL AUTHORITY are at work in much the same way as in the economy: a moral authority, in this case the United States, must demonstrate leadership through moral strength, here the strength to become more independent. As an authority, the US is understood to have the right to act freely, without constraint from others. This right can be understood as the right to move unobstructed along a particular path of motion. These are the CONSTRAINTS ON Freedom and Rights AS PATHS entailments of the MORAL BOUNDARIES metaphor and they are central to the energy issue in the other speeches:

Our third goal is to promote energy independence for our country, while dramatically improving the environment. I have sent you a comprehensive energy plan to promote energy efficiency and conservation, to develop cleaner technology, and to produce more energy at home I have sent you Clear Skies legislation that mandates a 70-percent cut in air pollution from powerplants over the next 15 years. I have sent you a Healthy Forests Initiative, to help prevent the catastrophic fires that devastate communities, kill wildlife, and burn away millions of acres of treasured forests (2003).

To keep our economy growing, we also need reliable supplies of affordable, environmentally responsible energy. Nearly four years ago, I submitted a comprehensive energy strategy that encourages conservation, alternative sources, a modernized electricity grid, and more production here at home, including safe, clean nuclear energy. My Clear Skies legislation will cut power plant pollution and improve the health of our citizens. And my budget provides strong funding for leading-edge technology—from

hydrogen-fueled cars, to clean coal, to renewable sources such as ethanol. Four years of debate is enough—I urge Congress to pass legislation that makes America more secure and less dependent on foreign energy (2005).

The above two quotes once again focus on environmental responsibility, the MORAL NURTURANCE metaphor. However, they also are once again bookended by the importance of energy independence. In 2007, independence becomes an explicit moral obligation:

Extending hope and opportunity depends on a stable supply of energy that keeps America's economy running and American's environment clean. For too long, our Nation has been dependent on foreign oil. And this dependence leaves us more vulnerable to hostile regimes and to terrorists who could cause huge disruptions of oil shipments and raise the price of oil and do great harm to our economy (2007).

Here Bush made clear his view of the consequences for not exercising our duty and right to acquire and maintain energy independence. He couched this in terms of the strength required to literally fight evil, which is an instance of the MORAL STRENGTH metaphor. Because moral strength is the first priority in the Strict Father family, other models such as MORALITY AS NURTURANCE are only active to the degree that they support MORAL STRENGTH.

Foreign Policy Including Iraq and the “War on Terror”

The entailments of the MORAL STRENGTH, MORAL AUTHORITY, and MORAL BOUNDARIES metaphors as described above are seen nowhere more clearly than in the sections regarding foreign policy, which even in January, 2001, before the attacks of September 11, centered

around the Middle East and terrorism:

America has a window of opportunity to extend and secure our present peace by promoting a distinctly American internationalism. We will work with our allies and friends to be a force for good and a champion of freedom... Our Nation also needs a clear strategy to confront the threats of the 21st century, threats that are more widespread and less certain. They range from terrorists who threaten with bombs to tyrants in rogue nations intent upon developing weapons of mass destruction. To protect our own people, our allies, and friends, we must develop and we must deploy effective missile defenses... A strong America is the world's best hope for peace and freedom.

Here there is little room to interpret talk of protection as reflecting the MORALITY AS NURTURANCE metaphor. Rather, this is protection in the strictest of the Strict Father sense—the duty of an authority figure to shield those for whom they are responsible from evil. Bush vividly evoked the danger with his discussion of bombs and weapons of mass destruction. The MORAL BOUNDARIES metaphor establishes an understanding that the threat is both physical as well as an issue of American moral freedom to act as it chooses. The MORAL STRENGTH metaphor makes it clear that it is the right as well as duty of the United States to oppose this danger, and the MORAL ORDER and MORAL AUTHORITY metaphors spell out the chain of command so that everyone understands the government to be the authority whose job it is to protect the citizens. In his 2003 address, MORAL AUTHORITY and its relationship to MORAL BOUNDARIES is articulated even more clearly:

In all these efforts, however, America's purpose is

more than to follow a process; it is to achieve a results, the end of terrible threats to the civilized world. All free nations have a stake in preventing sudden and catastrophic attacks. And we're asking them to join us, and many are doing so. Yet the course of this Nation does not depend on the decisions of others. Whatever actions are required, whenever action is necessary, I will defend the freedom and security of the American people.

In 2003, Bush left no room for doubt as to who held the highest position of authority. The metaphors in the Strict Father model outline the authority's obligation to protect the structure of that model above all. The language reflecting this remains vivid in the other speeches, such as in these quotes from 2005 and 2007:

In the long term, the peace we seek will only be achieved by eliminating the conditions that feed radicalism and ideologies of murder. If whole regions of the world remain in despair and grow in hatred, they will be the recruiting grounds for terror, and that terror will stalk America and other free nations for decades. The only force powerful enough to stop the rise of tyranny and terror, and replace hatred with hope, is the force of human freedom (2005).

This war is more than a clash of arms; it is a decisive ideological struggle. And the security of our Nation is in the balance. To prevail, we must remove the conditions that inspire blind hatred and drove 19 men to get onto airplanes and to come and kill us. What every terrorist fears most is human freedom, societies where men and women make their own choices, answer to their own conscience, and live by their hopes instead of their

resentments. Free people are not drawn to violent and malignant ideologies, and most will choose a better way when they're given a chance. So we advance our own security interests by helping moderates and reformers and brave voices for democracy. The great question of our day is whether America will help men and women in the Middle East to build free societies and share in the rights of all humanity. And I say, for the sake of our own security, we must (2007).

These quotes illustrate the way in which the moral metaphors of the Strict Father family model interact to perpetuate themselves. Within the framework of the Strict Father family, there is a right way to live and a wrong way, and it is the moral obligation of the father to enforce the right way. Applied metaphorically, it is the duty of the leader of the United States to ensure that the citizens are governed in accordance with the values laid out by the family model and to protect any threats to those values that arise, whether internal or external.

Challenges and Criticisms

Examining a text for evidence of these metaphors has presented challenges. Although there are explicit instances of the Nation as a Family metaphor, few of the moral metaphor groups that constitute the models outlined in *Moral Politics* can be clearly and unambiguously identified. Instead, the analyses have relied on logical entailments of the wording and stated positions in order to better understand the framework within which the goals and policies are desirable. There is, therefore, some amount of inherent subjectivity. Nevertheless, it is possible to understand how these metaphors could be derived from the Nation As a Family metaphor

given the framework Lakoff articulated.

Researchers must accept, of course, that they are essentially “working backwards” to fit examples of speech into preconceived frameworks. With an advance idea of how language looks, it becomes easy to interpret it as conforming to that idea. Several possible alternatives exist to address the lack of explicit Strict Father metaphor: the language actually reveals one or more different metaphors, it is not metaphorical at all, or the particular medium of the State of the Union Address does not offer a lot of metaphor.

If the examples in this analysis are in fact evidence of a metaphor other than the Strict Father metaphor, then that plausible alternative metaphor must come to light. There is an issue of parsimony here. One advantage of the Strict Father metaphor is that it allows a *structured* analysis—many different concepts fit together within it in predictable ways that can be explained. That is not to say that everything always fits together neatly. On the contrary, it is precisely the flexibility inherent within the system that allows for some contradiction—for example, the nesting of some aspects of the Nurturant Parent model within the Strict Father model. The point at which alternative metaphorical models become apparent should come when the contradictions reach some as yet unspecified critical mass so that this one model can no longer sustain them. In that case, it is incumbent upon the alternative metaphorical system to provide as coherent an explanatory structure as possible for the conservative and liberal philosophies. The author has not yet encountered such an alternative framework.

The second alternative is that there is no underlying metaphorical structure at all—that political ideologies are not based upon any other ideologies but rather exist in their own right.

This problem is linked to the psychological reality of conceptual metaphor in general, and it is perhaps the most significant criticism of Lakoff's work. Here the issue is less one of what kinds of metaphors can be inferred from the language and more what the implication of the metaphor is. Even if one accepts that the Nation as a Family metaphor is present in political discourse and that the family models correspond to the way that conservatives and liberals speak about politics, what does this mean for the way people *think* about politics in the United States? Lakoff is definitive in his views: Americans talk about politics this way because they fundamentally understand politics this way and the choice of words impacts beliefs, choices, and ultimately policies. This is known as "framing," and in "Moral Politics" and other works (e.g. "Don't Think of an Elephant," "Thinking Points," and "Whose Freedom?") Lakoff advocates conscious use of framing to shape political debate and policy.

The question about whether and to what extent language shapes thought is long-standing and has been addressed by philosophers, linguists, and cognitive scientists, and is outside the scope of this study. Yet, questions about whether conceptual metaphors can be activated and influence our thought processes have been experimentally addressed to some degree. For instance, studies on spatial metaphor (Richardson, et al., 2003; Wilson & Gibbs, 2007) have found that performing certain tasks in a vertical or horizontal motion can prime faster lexical identification of verbs metaphorically associated with that direction, such as push (horizontal) and respect (vertical). It is difficult to imagine exactly what an experimental study on political metaphor might look like, but this is the kind of direction this research would need to go in order to investigate

whether the metaphors suggested by Lakoff are indeed active in political understanding. For example, participants might be given a story which describes a typical scene in one of the two family models and then asked questions regarding governmental policy in order to determine whether there is any priming or inhibition effect.

Finally, these speeches were initially appealing because of the scope of the State of the Union Addresses in terms of issues as well as the ability to compare positions on those issues over time. The need, however, for the speeches to appeal to a wide audience may have reduced the number and saliency of metaphors that may otherwise have been present. The audience for the speeches in this case included a public which was not united in support of the President and a divided Congress with whom the President had to work to get his policies enacted. There was a great need, therefore, to soften any divisive language. Additionally, the speeches are rewritten many times over and extensively rehearsed. This kind of scripted language is not the most fertile ground for the kinds of spontaneous metaphor we often hear in political dialogue. Thus, it is possible that the analysis was not as fruitful as was hoped for as a result of the data set and not the hypothesis.

Conclusions

While the psychological implications of this research and its use in framing may be debated, it is evident that the moral metaphors that make up Lakoff's Strict Father family model abound in the State of the Union addresses we have examined. The frequency and consistency of these metaphors are worth attention, as these points strain the argument that these are simply figures of speech, convenient phrases used to punch up political rhetoric for an audience. Their stability suggests a coherent framework, a model that both explains and predicts a particular worldview and its corresponding actions. Whether we want to embrace Lakoff's claim about how much influence this model has over policies in the United States, it is at least a useful analytical tool. After all, as noted in the first example analyzed in this paper: "Our new governing vision says Government should be active but limited, engaged but not overbearing. And my budget is based on that philosophy." When a nation is funded according to a particular governing philosophy, that philosophy requires critical consideration.

Appendix A

I. The Strict Father Model

MORAL STRENGTH

- Being Good Is Being Upright
- Being Bad Is Being Low
- Doing Evil Is Falling
- Evil Is a Force (either internal or external)
- Morality Is Strength

MORAL AUTHORITY

- A Community Is a Family
- Moral Authority Is Parental Authority
- An Authority Figure Is a Parent
- A Person Subject to Moral Authority Is a Child
- Moral Behavior by Someone Subject to Authority is Obedience
- Moral Behavior by Someone in Authority Is Setting Standards and Enforcing Them

MORAL ORDER

- The Moral Order Is the Natural Order

MORAL BOUNDARIES

- Rights As Paths

MORAL ESSENCE

- A Person Is An Object
- His Essence Is the Substance the Object Is Made Of

MORAL WHOLENESS

- Morality Is Wholeness
- Immorality Is Degeneration

MORAL PURITY

- Morality Is Purity
- Immorality Is Impurity

MORAL HEALTH

- Morality Is Health
- Immorality Is Disease

MORAL SELF-INTEREST

MORALITY AS NURTURANCE

II. The Nurturant Parent Model

MORALITY AS NURTURANCE

- The Community Is A Family
- Moral Agents Are Nurturing Parents
- People Needing Help Are Children Needing Nurturance
- Moral Action Is Nurturance

MORALITY AS EMPATHY

- Morality Is Empathy

MORAL SELF-NURTURANCE

MORALITY AS SOCIAL NURTURANCE

- Moral Agents Are Nurturing Parents
- Social Ties Are Children Needing Care
- Moral Action Is the Nurturance of Social Ties

MORALITY AS THE NURTURANCE OF SOCIAL TIES

MORALITY AS SELF-DEVELOPMENT

MORALITY AS HAPPINESS

MORALITY AS FAIR DISTRIBUTION

MORAL GROWTH

- The Degree of Morality is Physical Height
- Moral Growth Is Physical Growth
- Moral Norms for People Are Physical Height Norms

MORAL STRENGTH

- Being Good Is Being Upright
- Being Bad is Being Low
- Evil Is a Force (external or internal)
- Morality Is Strength

RETRIBUTION AND RESTITUTION

MORAL BOUNDARIES

MORAL AUTHORITY

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Moderate Islamists: The Effects of Middle-class Civil Society on Islamist Politics in Turkey

by Luke Mayville
Political Science

Faculty Mentor: Craig Parsons, Political Science

Abstract

Since the founding in 1923 of Turkey, its politics have been characterized by tension between the strong, unified, secular “center” and the weak, scattered, Islamist “periphery.” Structural changes of the 1980s saw the emergence of an Islamist middle class based outside the big cities. That new counter-elite forms the backbone of a popular political movement interested in economic liberalization and cooperation with secularism. Yet the movement also is the focus of a debate: is recent Justice and Development (AK) Party moderation merely a short-term reaction to political circumstances, or does the AK represent a new, enduringly moderate Islamist movement? I argue that middle-class associations have consolidated moderation within the Islamist movement by formulating and articulating shared, pragmatic interests, and by disseminating ideas to the public that are conducive to those interests. An examination of the roles played by two associations—MUSIAD and the Gulen network—shed light on the relationship between civil society and enduring Islamist moderation in Turkey.

On 24 April 2007, the Justice and Development (AK) Party, the ruling party of Turkey, chose a presidential candidate to replace

the president whose term was drawing to a close. Five days later, partly in response to the AK nomination, hundreds of thousands of Turks filled the streets of Istanbul and several other cities in protest. Those participating in these mass rallies sought to uphold Turkey's secular tradition of separating religion from politics. They viewed the AK Party as pro-Islamic and a threat to secular Turkey. In their view, a pro-Islamic presidential appointment, the first in Turkish history, would be a significant step towards Islamization.

The possibility of Islamization in Turkey is a cause of deep concern for many in the West and around the world who have lauded Turkey as the only secular democracy in the Middle East. Turkey, moreover, is referred to as the corridor between Europe and the Middle East. With the prospect of EU accession, Turkey has the potential to play an even more integrative role between East and West. Any fundamental change in Turkey from secularism to Islamism could have grave consequences not only for Turkey but also for much of the world.

The anxieties raised by April's mass rallies beg the question of what the AK Party really represents and whether it poses a danger to secularism in Turkey. Since first gaining political power in a landslide parliamentary victory in 2002, the AK's policies have been widely popular. Central to these policies have been liberal economic and political reforms meant to increase participation in the global economy and to bring Turkey closer to the goal of accession into the European Union. Through five years of continuous reform and popularity, what is conspicuously absent is any real Islamist agenda in the AK's platform. Based on policy analysis, fears of Islamization seem quite overstated.

Despite the seemingly liberal agenda of the AK Party,

however, the fearful sentiments of April's mass rallies are not easily overlooked. The protestors in April were not, after all, voicing opposition to AK policies. Rather, they generally spoke of discontent with the growing influence of Islamists and what this influence might mean for the future of secularism.¹ Regardless of recent policy, the electoral base of the AK Party remains predominantly Islamist, sharing little affinity with the conventional brand of Turkish secularism. Also, as many secularists point out, top AK officials were formerly members of the Islamist parties of the 1990s. Beneath the frequent alarmism of secularist outcry is a more plausible danger: as the AK gains more influence it will gradually push Turkey towards Islamist reform.

The landslide AK Party victory in July 2007, in which many liberal and secular Turks crossed over to vote for the AK, further animated the lingering contention over what the AK represents and what the party means for the future. Its supporters view the AK as representative of a truly democratic "new Turkey" in which widely held Islamic identity plays an active role. The party's detractors, while conceding its success thus far, argue that its moderation is only a short-term reaction to domestic and international politics. While observers argue over Turkey's direction, all agree that the status quo is shifting. The question of vital importance, then, is whether the AK Party is truly a moderate party that is capable and determined to work within the framework of secular democracy. Understood as the latest in a long line of Islamist parties, the AK is also breaking with the past by ceasing to promote an Islamist political agenda. A point of debate is whether that break is permanent. Is the AK Party wearing a temporary mask of moderation, or does it represent modern Turkey's first moderate Islamist movement?

I argue that the AK Party represents a truly moderate movement with roots in the emergence of a new Islamist middle-class that is organized and strengthened by broad social networks. Large-scale economic reforms of the 1980s created economic and associational opportunities for Islamist sectors of the population that had traditionally been excluded by the strong, secular state.

In the socially and economically liberal environment of the 1980s, a new Islamist counter-elite emerged and worked through strong associations that would empower the new elite vis-à-vis the state. With the primary goal of economic growth through liberalization, middle-class associations have been instrumental in the development, articulation, and dissemination of conciliatory political positions believed necessary to reach that goal. Middle-class associations, then, have moderated the Islamist political movement in three ways. First, they have provided forums for the formation of shared interests, allowing members to formulate pragmatic ways to increase their influence. Second, associations have served as platforms for the articulation of pragmatic interests, thus putting pressure on political parties. Third, associations have operated as channels through which a moderate Islamist discourse is disseminated to the public.

The moderating effects of middle-class associations on the Islamist political movement can be measured by analyzing the positions and values formed, articulated, and disseminated by two very influential associations. The first of those associations is the Islamist business association MUSIAD, the foremost associational representative of the emerging Islamist business class. As a socially conservative and Islamic association that represents liberal economic values, MUSIAD's program mirrors that of the AK Party.

The second association is Fethullah Gulen's faith-based movement, which grew in response to the demands of the emerging Islamist middle class and created large educational and media networks. Of special interest are the roles played by the Gulen schools and the movement's popular newspaper, *Zaman*, in formulating and disseminating conciliatory, middle-class interests.

An examination of those institutions will provide a sense of the endurance of moderation within the current Islamist movement in Turkey. If it is true that we are witnessing a transition from a state-centered regime to moderate party politics, as many argue, then recent AK Party victories represent a remarkable development. By shedding light on the forces behind this development we gain an enhanced understanding of an evolving democracy.

Middle Class and Civil Society

In his 1973 article, Serif Mardin outlined a "center-periphery" framework to describe Turkish politics, a framework that others used in the following decades. Mardin applied general center-periphery international development theory singularly to the Turkish political system and emphasized the strength and influence of the unified state apparatus and the corresponding weakness of the heterogeneous population of the "periphery." The "center" consisted of the military, civil servants, economic elites, and others within close proximity and often benefiting from the secular state establishment and was located in Turkey's large Western cities including Istanbul, Izmir, and Ankara. By contrast, the periphery, which represented the mass of the population, was located away from the bastions of state influence, mainly in Anatolia, the Turkish inland. The peripheral population was culturally heterogeneous

and scarcely united politically. The masses of the periphery did, however, share one common trait: a strong Islamic identity coupled with a weak affinity with the secular establishment.²

This wide chasm in the Turkish polity had grave consequences for Turkish democracy. On one hand, the political system remained in a state of tension as political parties mobilized peripheral voters to counter state influence. On the other hand, the Islamist periphery remained outside of the system as parties practiced clientelistic machine politics and thus failed to integrate themselves with Islamist society.³

During the 1980s, large-scale socioeconomic changes led to several novel developments that fundamentally changed center-periphery relations and, in the end, undermined the “center-periphery” characterization itself by empowering the periphery. Two key developments were the emergence of an Islamist middle-class and the proliferation of Islamic associations, which, in the aggregate, amounted to a new Islamic civil society.

Under Turgut Ozal’s Motherland Party in the 1980s, the Turkish economy switched from an import-substitution-industrialization model to an export-oriented economy. That change, along with other reforms, opened opportunities for entrepreneurs in the periphery. A 2005 report published by the European Stability Initiative examines socioeconomic changes in the historically underdeveloped Anatolian province of Kayseri, where, in the past generation, industry has grown rapidly within a devoutly Islamic community. In Kayseri, entrepreneurs took advantage of export-friendly economic policies. Furniture producers prospered through modern techniques of production and marketing. Denim producers brought in foreign investment and gained access to Western markets,

with one Turkish firm producing one percent of the world's denim output by 2005. Resembling the economic "tigers" of Southeast Asia, fuelling the rapid development of that region, Islamist businessmen in Turkey came to be known as "Anatolian tigers."⁴

Throughout the periphery, as small and medium-sized business owners prospered, they were able to send their children to college, thus fuelling the growth of the Islamist business class but also creating a new peripheral class of Islamist professionals and intellectuals.⁵ Of significance was the proliferation of Islamic technical schools, including the "Gulen schools," which led to a large increase in professional training.⁶ Thus, the decades following Ozal's reforms witnessed the gradual emergence of a counter-elite consisting of businessmen, professionals, and intellectuals.

In addition to a new middle-class, the large-scale reforms of the 1980s facilitated the growth of Islamic civil society. Civil society, in general, grew immensely during the Ozal years. From 24,272 in 1980, the number of associations and foundations in Turkey grew to 63,641 by 1995.⁷ A great number of these were Islam-affiliated. As part of the reform movement, Ozal oversaw a stronger relationship between the state and Islam, known as the "Turkish-Islamic Synthesis", in which Islam played a greater role in Turkish identity.⁸ Seeing Islam as a useful buffer against socialism and communism, Ozal's government encouraged the creation of new Islamic associations.

Among the most important Islamic associations were the Association of Independent Industrialists and Businessmen, or MUSIAD, and the faith-based social network founded by Fethullah Gulen. These associations are particularly important because they grew largely in accord with the demands of the rising middle

class. As representatives of the middle class, those organs of civil society allowed counter-elites to influence the Islamist political movement by formulating and articulating shared interests, and by disseminating ideas aligned with those interests.

The appearance of an Islamist middle class with strong associational ties signifies a historic stride in Turkey's democratic development. Metin Heper, comparing the political developments of Germany and Turkey, has argued that democracy suffered in Turkey because of a disproportionately strong state vis-à-vis provincial elites. In Germany, according to Heper, a strong aristocracy played an integrating role by providing an intermediary between individuals and the state. Turkey, by contrast, inherited the Ottoman legacy of an all-powerful state and lacked a developed aristocracy. As a result of that disparity, Turkish democracy has experienced too much "distance" between the state and civil society.⁹ Because of the power disparity between center and periphery, state and society failed to establish a *modus vivendi*, or an agreement to live side by side. In short, democracy has been deficient because large segments of Turkish society have had little influence on the political system. But with the emergence of the influential middle class of the periphery, that imbalance is changing. Through middle-class associations, the counter-elite has articulated shared interests and has facilitated wider participation in the political system. Therefore, the middle class, working through intermediary associations, has played the democratizing role that Heper attributed to the old German aristocracy. Indeed, the recent presidential appointment of Abdullah Gul, an economist and the son of a middle-class Kayseri family, represents a historic conciliation between state and society. Moreover, with the middle-class-based AK Party in firm control of

parliament and the presidency, the “center-periphery” framework seems quite obsolete.

Although middle-class associations are important, they are not the *only* source of moderation affecting the Islamist political movement and the AK Party. Domestic and international political events are important. One such event was the military coup of 1997 that forced Necmettin Erbakan out of power and banned his party following accusations of fundamentalism. The memory of that event undoubtedly has pressured Islamists towards conciliation with the state. Another important development has been the prospect of Turkey’s accession to the European Union, which has surely influenced Islamists towards a more pro-Western political platform. But while those factors are important, they fail to fully explain the significance of recent political moderation in Turkey. Overemphasis of the 1997 coup and the EU accession process leads to the conclusion that current moderation is really only temporary—a short-term reaction. One might think that if the military stopped threatening the legitimacy of political parties, or if the EU ceases to take Turkey seriously, then Islamist political moderation will crumble away and the AK will revert to fundamentalism. But the broad and diverse support received by the AK party hints that Turkish society is experiencing a deeper, more enduring shift. While domestic and international political situations might bring about temporary stints of moderation, long-term socioeconomic developments, such as the growth of middle-class associations, have lasting effects. By formulating and articulating pragmatic interests and by disseminating ideas to the public that are conducive to those interests, middle-class associations have provided an enduring moderation to the Islamist political movement.

MUSIAD

MUSIAD is often understood as being synonymous with the new Islamist middle class. M. Hakan Yavuz, a prominent Turkish sociologist, has written, "The transformative history of MUSIAD is the history" of the "new urbanizing economic elite who were steeped in Islamic ethics and networks."¹⁰ In 1990, several pro-Islamic businessmen founded MUSIAD as an organization of small and medium-sized businessmen. From four hundred members in 1991, MUSIAD increased its membership to three thousand firms in 1998, with annual revenue of \$2.79 billion.¹¹ These firms are mostly involved in textiles, construction, services, transportation, and tourism.¹² Through MUSIAD, Islamist elites sought to counter the influence of TUSIAD, the business association of the old elite that comprises executives of Turkey's three hundred largest corporations.

As one of its main roles, MUSIAD serves as a forum for the formulation of shared interests among its mainly middle-class members. In that respect, MUSIAD contributes to an effective public sphere for the new middle-class. The public sphere, as Jurgen Habermas has asserted, "can best be described as a network for communicating information and points of view...the streams of communication are, in the process, filtered and synthesized in such a way that they coalesce into bundles of topically specified *public* opinions."¹³ In Habermasian terms, associations such as MUSIAD provide forums in which individuals reason with each other in order to form collective interests. Thus, when individuals primarily interested in economic growth come together as MUSIAD, they gradually formulate pragmatic political positions to achieve their goals. In the absence of the process of formulation in the public

sphere, middle-class interests would remain largely heterogeneous, responding only to market and state relations,¹⁴ and would have little influence on the political system.

In formulating shared interests, MUSIAD has shown an impressive capacity for pragmatism, successfully adapting to new domestic and global circumstances. In recent years, for example, MUSIAD has undergone a gradual change in paradigm, growing to embrace pro-Western values. Originally, MUSIAD was slated to create an "Islamic Economic System."¹⁵ For inspiration, MUSIAD looked not to the West but to the East, seeking to create an Islamic economic model similar those so successfully applied in Islamic Southeast Asia.¹⁶ Over time, however, MUSIAD has recognized the benefits of reaching out to the West, and particularly the EU. On one hand, MUSIAD can increase its influence vis-à-vis the state by carving out a new position in the global economic order. On the other hand, the association can utilize the conciliatory Western discourse of democracy and human rights in order to maintain a stable relationship with the state.¹⁷

Therefore, MUSIAD has developed a pro-Western character, and has adopted pro-Western language to describe its policies and aspirations. On its website, the association makes a distinct effort to promote Western values. MUSIAD, the website proclaims, is "dedicated to the realization of a Turkey where human rights and supremacy of the law, justice and equality, peace and security and the welfare and happiness of the people are guaranteed."¹⁸ Moreover, in its public proclamations, MUSIAD repeatedly employs a similar discourse. According to M. Hakan Yavuz, Islamists use EU norms as a "point of reference to create a new social contract in Turkey."¹⁹ Indeed, middle-class Islamists are re-thinking their

position in Turkey and the world, and MUSIAD provides a venue for that process.

Still, while MUSIAD has increasingly embraced the West, it also has worked hard to develop a close relationship with the larger Islamist community in Turkey. It has done that by formulating a new pro-business, "modern" Islamist identity. The 2005 ESI report described how businesses successfully used Islamic identity to mobilize the Islamist community towards economic growth. The development of an Islamic identity conducive to capitalism is understood by many as a novel achievement. As the ESI authors have pointed out, prominent scholars have classically drawn a line of incompatibility between Islam and business.²⁰ Events in Kayseri, as implied by the report, refute old perceptions of Islam and business. Describing the pro-business outlook in Kayseri, the authors labeled the phenomenon "Islamic Calvinism," referring to Max Weber's "Protestant ethic" theory that sought to explain the affinity between the Protestant faith and the rise of capitalism in Europe. They quote the production manager of a local cable factory as saying, "it is good for a religious person to work hard," and that "to open a factory is a kind of prayer." Other interviewees emphasized the character of the Prophet Muhammed as a trader, and refute the dichotomy that polarizes "modern and traditional." The local branch leader of MUSIAD asserted that "the rise of Anatolian capitalists is due to their Protestant work ethic. No personal waste, no speculation, reinvest your profits."²¹

Although some analysts characterize recent Islamic tendencies towards hard work, thrift, and saving as "Calvinist," many Islamists reject the label, preferring instead to attribute those values to Islam itself. For example, when asked about the "Calvinist" label,

MUSIAD General Manager Omer Bolat responded that economic success “is not peculiar to Calvinists. We are presenting the success stories of the Muslim businessmen we call Coma Islamicos.” Bolat continued to argue that “the success of one of our businessmen in Anatolia is not because of the Calvinist doctrine, but because of the Turkish-Islamic ethics and doctrine.”²² While different MUSIAD members prefer different labels, it is clear that they share a common vision of Islam as an economically liberal identity. Despite what MUSIAD members might say, this Islamist identity is fairly new, and MUSIAD, as a public sphere for the middle-class, has played a large role in its construction. This newer identity, in turn, has played a conciliatory role in Turkish society, as Islamists have aimed towards non-confrontational goals of economic growth.

In addition to formulating shared interests for the Islamist middle class, MUSIAD serves as a platform for the articulation of those interests, thus influencing the political system. By articulating the shared interests of the Islamist elite, which are primarily related to economic liberalization, MUSIAD has had a moderating effect on Islamist political parties. The National Outlook Movement (NOM), founded in the 1970s by the charismatic Islamist leader Necmettin Erbakan, was originally a movement of small merchants in the *esnaf* tradition. The rise of the Islamist business class in the 1980s, however, resulted in a shift in priorities for the NOM. In the 1990s, MUSIAD formed a key base of support for the popular Welfare Party (WP), which was the latest NOM political party. Led by Erbakan, the WP responded to the influence of MUSIAD and the Islamist elite in general by adopting an economic policy in favor of global integration. It is likely that MUSIAD also pushed the party towards a more generally pragmatic and conciliatory attitude. Despite its

common reputation as a radical Islamist party, the WP showed an impressive degree of pragmatism.²³

In recent years, MUSIAD has acted as a crucial support base for the AK Party. Upon the nomination of Abdullah Gul for president in April 2007 and the crisis that followed, MUSIAD came out in full support of Gul and the AK Party.²⁴ The AK Party, after all, is often considered the party of the Islamist middle class. If this is truly the case, secularists have little to fear of fundamentalist threats. In any case, MUSIAD serves to reinforce the moderate character of the party by emphasizing economic liberalization and global integration.

In another important moderating role, MUSIAD serves as a channel for the dissemination of ideas that are conducive to the pragmatic interests of the middle class. In order to promote its interests, the middle class needs to appeal to the wider Islamist community. To this end, MUSIAD has sought to mobilize Islamic identity. It has done so, however, by promoting a newly modified Islamist identity with liberal leanings.

Middle-class businessmen, in an effort to strengthen ties with the Islamist community, have propagated a new business-oriented Islamist identity and MUSIAD has served as a major channel for this propagation. M. Hakan Yavuz has cited a MUSIAD pamphlet entitled *Homo Islamicus* that promotes free market capitalism by characterizing the Prophet Muhammed as a merchant. In the pamphlet, MUSIAD seeks to persuade Muslims of the compatibility between Islam and business. Also, MUSIAD propagates "the need for solidarity against a basically hostile socio-political environment."²⁵ Through Islam, MUSIAD seeks to achieve unity and cooperation across classes. Yavuz writes "Islamic identity was not a cause but rather was used as the lubricant to prime the

workings of market forces and as an instrument of carving their share in the market.” While primarily aspiring towards further economic growth, MUSIAD’s position within the historically excluded Islamist periphery necessitates an appeal to Islam on new, economic terms.

In addition to promoting economic growth, MUSIAD has served to disseminate pro-Western liberal discourse among the Islamist population. In this regard, the MUSIAD website and the association’s frequent proclamations are aimed both at fellow middle-class Islamists and at the larger Islamist community. Just as the association formulates the discourse within the Islamist middle class, it also plays an institutional “trend-setting role,” according to Yavuz, and so shapes the larger Islamist political movement. MUSIAD then, has moderated the Islamist political movement in Turkey as an associational representative of Islamist business.

The Gulen Movement

The second association of importance to Islamist moderation in Turkey is that of Fethullah Gulen. Active for some thirty years, Gulen is an intellectual descendant of Said Nursi, one of the preeminent Turkish intellectuals of the twentieth century and the founder of the Nur Movement consisting primarily of reading circles called *dershanes*. Those reading circles, according to M. Hakan Yavuz, acted together as an alternative public sphere, or as a “counter public”²⁶ In the 1970s, Gulen drew inspiration from Nursi’s *dershane* model to establish a network of lighthouses—places where Islamist students lived, socialized, and studied together. Through these institutions, the movement began to build social capital in the forms of solidarity and trust among Islamist students.

The development of social capital early on was a vital stage in the movement's history, as it was able to draw on this resource in later years.²⁷

With the new era of political and economic liberalization under Ozal in the 1980s, the Gulen movement found new opportunities to grow and expand its influence. Gulen's network established strong relationships with growing business organizations. In addition to its lighthouses, the movement founded high schools that emphasized English and natural sciences, earning strong reputations. By 2003, there were three hundred such schools in Turkey.²⁸ Apart from the burgeoning educational network, the Gulen movement established connections with several influential media outlets, including the widely read newspaper *Zaman*.

The Gulen movement, importantly, expanded in the 1980s alongside the new middle class. As Yavuz has observed, the movement comprises "businessmen, teachers, journalists, and students." Yavuz quotes one Turkish writer as saying that Gulen "reveals the aspirations and desires of the new emerging Turkish bourgeoisie, which [has] internalized modern tastes. The Gulen movement, like the emergence of Protestantism within Catholicism along with the help of European bourgeoisie, is evolving from Orthodox Islam."²⁹

The "Gulen Schools" play an important role in formulating shared interests among middle-class Turks. As Gulen's ideas have adapted pragmatically to changing circumstances in Turkey, the schools have followed suit. As middle-class, Islamist students attend these schools in large numbers, the schools form a public sphere in which consensus is formed around non-confrontational Islamism.

Similar to MUSIAD, the Gulen movement has shown a strong capacity to adapt to circumstances and develop new views. Indeed, over time the Gulen educational movement has shifted from traditional Islamic schooling to an emphasis on universal values and technical training. This shift can be attributed, at least partially, to Gulen's own intellectual development and not to the educational network itself. As Bekim Agai has written, however, even Gulen's personal views have been formulated through the schools, as a result of "the rising level of education inside the movement."³⁰

Gulen's concept of the "golden generation" is an example of pragmatic formation of interests within the movement. The main goal of the educational movement, as Gulen has articulated it, is to create a "golden generation" of Turks who are trained both in religion and science.³¹ The idea is to create a new Turkey led by a generation of students who are able to work within the secular system while embracing and promoting Islamic values. In this regard, the Gulen movement has served as a venue in which Islamists develop moderate aims towards peaceful change, or what others have called "conservative revolution."³² Bekim Agai has argued that the idea of the golden generation eventually "transformed from a Turkish Islamic ideal to a universal one" in the 1990s.³³ That adjustment further displays the capacity of the movement to adapt pragmatically to changing circumstances.

As the Gulen network works to formulate shared interests, its media outlets play a vital role in the moderation of Islamist politics by disseminating ideas to the public that are conducive to the shared aims of the movement. Ishan Dagi, a prominent Turkish scholar, has examined the intellectual development of the influential Turkish intellectual Ali Bulac. As one among a

group that Dagi calls the “post-Islamists,” Bulac has changed in recent years from an Islamic focus and a rejection of the West to an embrace of increasingly universal discourses of democracy, human rights, and globalization.³⁴

Significantly, the explanation of Ali Bulac’s relies upon articles published in the Gulen newspaper *Zaman*, for which Bulac is a columnist. As Bulac has formulated new views over time, the public has been an audience to that formulation with *Zaman* as a channel. As Bulac moved towards support for globalization and the EU, for example, the public was able to participate in the shift of paradigm. When Bulac moved towards an embrace of universal, conciliatory values of human rights and democracy, the gradual process of “rethinking” was printed for all to see.

The Gulen movement, then, has pushed the Islamist political movement towards moderation and conciliation with the state. The AK Party, with its goals of empowering the Islamist periphery through economic growth while also reaching a stable relationship with the secular state, seems to share the main aspirations of the Gulen movement. Ihsan Yilmaz has argued that “the emergence of the Justice and Development Party has shown that Muslim politics in Turkey is evolving from an instrumentalist usage of Islam to a new understanding of practicing Muslims who have to deal with daily politics. This evolution is obviously what Gulen has been advocating over the past three decades.”³⁵

Conclusion

Islamist moderation in Turkish politics culminated in a sweeping parliamentary electoral victory for the AK party in July 2007, an outcome interpreted as a message from the populace that

the AK Party is capable of cooperation with the secular state.³⁶

If it is true that the mainstream Islamist political movement in Turkey has moderated and worked as a vehicle for the integration of “peripheral” actors into Turkish democracy, what meaningful observations can we make from this process of democratization? It is clear that several recent developments have worked in the short-term to moderate Islamist politics in Turkey. Political conflict between Islamists and the military during the 1990s undoubtedly influenced the Islamist political movement towards conciliation with the secular state. On the international level, the prospect of EU accession has motivated many Islamists to embrace a pro-Western political platform.

As an explanation of Islamist political moderation in Turkey, domestic and international political developments only tell part of the story. An explanation of moderation leaning solely on these developments leaves the more alarmist of secularist arguments justified. After all, if the recent moderation of the AK Party was solely a reaction to recent, short-term political developments, one could make a strong argument that the AK’s moderation is mainly tactical. Therefore, a focus on the socioeconomic developments underlying the recent moderation of political Islam in Turkey is needed if we are to understand the long-term commitment to moderation among Turkey’s mainstream Islamist political movement.

Islamist middle-class associations have played a vital role in the moderation of the Islamist political movement in Turkey by providing the infrastructure for gradual moderation. With the bourgeois desire for prosperous stability as an impetus, Islamists have sought to empower themselves in relation to the state while simultaneously reaching a *modus vivendi* with Kemalism. Under

the favorable conditions of globalization, in which the state is weakened vis-à-vis supra-national markets and political bodies, middle-class Islamists have aimed towards shrinking the distance between state and society that has inhibited Turkey's democratic development. By working between the state and Islamist society, middle-class associations have both moderated and empowered the periphery, thus bringing Turkey closer to an enduring democracy.

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Nourishing Nineteenth Century Americans: The Dietary Advice in Cookery Books

by Rocío Petersen

Anthropology and Human Physiology

Faculty Mentor: Geraldine Moreno-Black, Anthropology

Abstract

Before the United States established its dietary guidelines and before the discovery of the chemistry of nutrition, authors of nineteenth-century cookery books based their opinions of a healthy lifestyle primarily on their own experiences. The most influential American authors of cookery books dealt with cooking for the home according to their understanding of health and nutrition, evident in the advice that they provided and in the nutritional content of their recipes.

The cookery books represent shifts in the prescribed American diet before and during the dissemination of professional knowledge about the nutrients in foods. By tracing the changes of selected recurring recipes, I evaluate how meals from the early to late 1800s represent the basic tenets of a healthy lifestyle in terms of food choices at that time. The food recommendations and nutrients are assessed following the components of a healthy diet in the 2005 United States Department of Agriculture standards.

Distinctly American Cooking

The arrival of the first immigrants from Europe to North America sparked a cultural exchange of the culinary traditions between these

immigrants and the indigenous peoples. The European settlers grew crops non-native to the areas they settled. They maintained, by the mid-eighteenth century, "kitchen gardens, orchards, and fields brimming with plants and animals."¹ In addition to their introduced plants and animals, the foods that greeted those newcomers to the Americas included staples such as maize (corn), manioc, potatoes, and sweet potatoes, along with other produce and flavors such as peanuts, squash, pineapples, avocados, tomatoes, chocolate, vanilla, chili, and various species of beans.²

With so many flavors new to them, the Europeans who began to call North America their home took part in what historian Sherrie Inness calls the creation of "exile food." Inness explains how "exile food is the culinary reminder of home in the wilds of an adventure where everything is new and strange...[H]ome-style food is a nod toward that which is constant and reassuring."³ Immigrants of yesteryear, like those of today, brought recipes from their home countries and were forced to adapt them to new ingredients or cooking methods. As part of oral tradition, the travelers would have passed on their recipes and advice from friends and family through word-of-mouth because "reading was often a group activity in which a person who knew how to read would share his or her ability with others by reading to them."⁴ Besides the recipes from memory, "impressed by long continued practice,"⁵ immigrant cooks brought their handwritten manuscript cookery books⁶ from home.

The first printed cookery books to help American cooks in the kitchen were either of European origin or they were European copies printed in North America. For example, in carefully prepared books, publishers might "substitute American produce. . . in British recipes."⁷ Usually, however, the editors kept the books in their

original versions. Many of the copyright laws would not be enacted until the 1780s and plagiarism seemed to cause little outrage from consumers.

As historian Mary Tolford Wilson has pointed out, “it would be interesting to know how many copies of these. . . popular works were worn past preserving in colonial homes”⁸ or even which books passed down through several generations of cooks before being lost or thrown out to be replaced by newer books. Available information may have come from estate inventories and shipping invoices listing often unspecified cookbooks. Thus, for the time being, there are few or no known sources to track down the purchasing history of who bought the cookery books and in what quantities. Despite the lack of information about how many cookery books people bought and actually used, historians recognize that there was a need for recipes dealing with ingredients found in North America—“the need of the eighteenth-century American housewife could not be completely met by any one of the British [or other European] works.”⁹

American Cookery Books

Based on the research by Janice Bluestein Longone, the Curator of American Culinary History at the William Clements Library at the University of Michigan, I assume that nineteenth century cookery books illustrated the foodways of the average, middle-class family in the United States. Obviously, throughout the nineteenth century, the “average” family changed as people of different nationalities, religions, and socioeconomic classes joined the American population. The cookery book authors themselves recognized their different audiences. For example, one author wrote that the recipes and advice in her book were collated “entirely from the experience of the best practical housekeepers...[and] the book can be kept in

the kitchen and used by any domestic who can read.”¹⁰

Another author directed her book to its reader, admitting “no apology...[for her] cheap little book of economical hints, except her deep conviction that such a book is needed.”¹¹ The awareness of affordability meant many of the books that became popular could be purchased more easily by a greater percentage of the population. Between 1590 and 1675, any income level had small garden or foods from the surrounding wilderness, but most “well-to-do colonists had more variety every day and ate more refined foods, such as imported wines, domestic fowl, fruits, vegetables, and fine white bread.”¹² However, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the availability of “foods that [were] less complicated and expensive to prepare”¹³ increased.

With regard to literacy and who read the cookery books, information from document signatures and census statistics demonstrated a literacy rate at the beginning of the 19th century of more than fifty percent of women of European descent and about seventy-five percent of men of European descent living in the northern United States. During the same time, about fifty percent of adults of European descent living in the South were literate. Southern women, Latinos, Native Americans, immigrants, and African Americans began the century with much lower literacy rates. By 1860, with increasing education, literacy for adults of European descent increased to about ninety percent in the North and eighty-five percent in the South. For the same time period, the percentage of literate slaves ranged from ten to fifty percent. In 1870, the census specified their questions and began asking about both reading and writing. The percentage of people who could write was about twenty-five percent less than those who could read.¹⁴

In reference to cookery books, the reading and writing rates were important because they meant that writers received more education than their readers. The number of people who could only read might have numbered more than the census' count.

The authors of the cookery books analyzed in this paper represent a few¹⁵ of the most "talented, influential and remarkable group of women...[who] dominated...the nineteenth century American cookbook scene...[since] their books went through hundreds of editions, and they reached millions of households."¹⁶ Coincidentally, the publications of the six works reviewed in this study are in the American Northeast in the states of Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. At first, the publication may indicate a lack of regional diversity. but, it is nearly impossible to track the spread of where the books traveled and were sold.

Amelia Simmons

While printers continued to reproduce European cookery books through the 1700s, by the end of the eighteenth century at least one writer felt the need to fix the problem of the lack of an authentic American cookery book. The 1796 *American Cookery*, by Amelia Simmons, presented a rather revolutionary text. Simmons provided her readers with an indispensable resource. She taught them to be savvy buyers in the city markets, to understand and recognize the many varieties of meat and produce native to the United States, and to cook or preserve their food. By keeping the book relatively short in length yet replete with advice and only one hundred and fifty recipes, Simmons provided a "well-calculated combination of the most common and practical recipes, printed on [in]expensive binding."¹⁷ Even families who could afford few books had the

chance to purchase *American Cookery*.

Simmons and the cookery book authors who came after her embodied what social psychologist Kurt Lewin, in the 1940s, described as the nutrition “gatekeeper” of a family. The writers McIntosh and Zey observe that the “concept of gatekeepers reflects the perception that women control the flow of goods, specifically food, into the household.”¹⁸ The cookery book authors not only cooked in their own households and exercised influence over the “flow of goods,” but also they were responsible for a large portion of the information about food and cooking entering the home. The authors of cookery books thus acted as gatekeepers for their readers interested in learning about cooking and household management.

As a gatekeeper and the first author to write a whole cookery book with recipes using American ingredients, Amelia Simmons followed the American Revolution with her own kind of revolution in the kitchen. In an article published in the *American Heritage Magazine*, Martha Brown points out how Simmons imparted “well spiced...Yankee common sense...[as well as] a lively picture of marketing and gardening in the new nation.”¹⁹ Simmons interspersed her short book with political opinions and tidbits of national pride for the newly independent country.

The culinary historian Mary Tolford Wilson has noted that Simmons’ style appealed to a wide literate audience. Simmons wrote in the vernacular and included American phrasings such as “slapjacks” and “slaw” (a type of salad). Also, while English cookery books used the term “cakes” for the modern version of cookies, Simmons wrote with the Americanized “cooky” for the Dutch term *koekje* (“little cake”).²⁰

In addition to new word uses, Simmons’ book was the first of

its kind to use many ingredients indigenous to America “adapted to this country, and all grades of life.” As a post-independence work, *American Cookery* incorporated patriotism into the pride of cooking dishes with ingredients distinct to North America. Some of the local animals and plants mentioned as ingredients included turkey, pumpkin, squash, and corn. Simmons set the stage for other authors to write with pride about their nation’s origin in the context of books about the home and kitchen. The American variations of European recipes “marked their first appearance in print. . . consequently, Amelia Simmons’s work was, in its minor sphere, another declaration of American independence.”²¹ She also passed down her advice and recipes with candor about the realities of living in a country where the ingredients were unfamiliar to the majority of newly-arrived European immigrants.

Since the cookery book authors were examples of literate women in their communities, an examination not only of their political opinions but also of their treatment of Native North Americans’ knowledge and indigenous ingredients can shed light on yet another aspect of their role as gatekeepers. Because there are no published records of cooking recipes of Native North Americans from the 1800s, twenty-first century researchers must rely on the writings of literate Americans of European descent. Some recipes handed down through oral tradition (and later printed in popular nineteenth century cookery books) included breads made of chinquapin (chestnut) or hickory nuts.²²

In her 1796 cookery book, Amelia Simmons explained that she learned the term for the squash plant from Native Americans. More importantly, Simmons was the first author to include recipes using the American ingredients of corn and cornmeal. As historian Mary

Tolford Wilson has noted, the book *American Cookery* was “truly ‘Adapted to this Country’ by including five receipts requiring the use of corn meal: three for Indian Pudding, one for ‘Johnny Cake or Hoe Cake,’ and one for ‘Indian Slapjack.’”²³ Colonists before Simmons’ time had adopted the use of corn supposedly after being taught to grow it by Native Americans. Almost no cookery book writers, however, felt the need to include recipes with corn even though colonists certainly grew and ate it.

Mary Randolph

After Simmons’ successful booklet, other literate women took up quills and wrote their own advice and recipe books.²⁴ In 1824, Mary Randolph published *The Virginia Housewife Or, Methodical Cook*. Unlike Simmons, whose book contained almost as much advice as recipes, Randolph’s book offered little advice but a large collection of recipes—the “Contents” page contains detailed and accurate lists of more than four hundred recipes.

The Virginia Housewife not only reflected Randolph’s interest in being a “methodical cook” by using “proper weights and measures,” but it also exhibited the author’s curiosity and appreciation for regional and international culinary influences. Randolph emphasized regional pride for some of the recipes when she explained the customs of “southern states” in footnotes for how “To barbeque shote” and “Chicken pudding, a favourite Virginia dish.”

For international flavors, Randolph included recipes such as Spanish “ollo” and “ropa vejija,” “Gumbo—A West Indian dish,” “curry after the East Indian manner,” and Italian vermicelli. Randolph’s French “omelette soufflé,” “fondu,” and numerous foods “a-la-crème” predated the growing American interest in French

cuisine that took off with Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin's 1826 work on fine dining "you are what you eat"²⁵ philosophy. Randolph even explained how "To caveach a fish," which, as historians John and Karen Hess note, was "of course, *escabeche*, the ancient Arab pickling dish."²⁶

Like Simmons who wrote that the produce and meat "quality... must be good, or the cook will be disappointed," Randolph advised her readers to buy fresh ingredients as local as possible. She wrote, "the shorter distance they [the meats] are driven to market, the better their flesh will be." With the invention of the icebox in the late 1820s, meats could be preserved for a longer period of time and thus sent farther distances. Randolph's warning to pay attention to the sources of the household's foods showed how the growing United States population and economy affected families' food sources because food, like meats, no longer came only from the corner butcher but also from a more distant rancher.

With her many regional dishes, Randolph was an author not only unafraid of introducing Americans to foreign recipes but also keen on helping her readers live well. She wrote in a recipe that "fermented honeywater is good in the summer because of its high amount of carbonic acid." Interestingly, she did not provide the reasons why such a drink might be beneficial to the reader's health. The author's main aims were to provide kitchen instruction in the form of recipes.

Lydia Maria Child

Eight years after Randolph's book first appeared, Lydia Maria Child professed to offer housewives advice and recipes to head a thrifty and frugal household. In the 1832 version of *The American*

Frugal Housewife (first published in 1829 without 'American' in the title), Child dedicated her book "to those who are not ashamed of economy." She introduced her ideas about frugality by noting "books of this kind have usually been written for the wealthy: I have written for the poor. I have said nothing about *rich* cooking; those who can afford to be epicures will find the best of information [in other books]." Child was not only an author of numerous books, novels, poems, speeches, but she was also political activist and supporter of the abolitionist movement. Thus it came as no surprise that she would write a relatively inexpensive book that people of lower socioeconomic class could benefit from and afford. Child's cookery book set out to be useful by teaching "how money can be *saved*, not how it can be *enjoyed*." Her book read like a "To Do List" of ways to spend less money, although the author interspersed her advice with literary and famous quotes of the nineteenth century to seemingly lighten the mood.

Unlike Simmons and Randolph, Lydia Maria Child expressed doubts about native knowledge. In the appendix of *The American Frugal Housewife*, under the subject heading "cancers," Child gave an explanation on how to use a poultice of cranberries to cure cancer. She wrote: "whether this will effect a cure I know not; I simply know that Indians strongly recommend it."²⁷ For the bite of a snake, Child wrote that the "Indians say that poke-root boiled into a soft poultice is the cure for the bite of a snake. I have heard of a fine horse saved by it." Although Child did not hold back her own opinion about many European-American recipes to cure illnesses, she hesitated to support the Native American wisdom to the point that one cure could help animals, but not humans. She distrusted the advice of an indigenous culture that professed a cure that might

be better than her own community's recipe would.

Child shared the sentiments of other European-Americans of the nineteenth century. For example, during the American Civil War in the 1860s, female nurses, such as Florence Nightingale, used indigenous ingredients such as arrowroot to treat injured soldiers even though these patients would not completely accept the food.²⁸ Ultimately, most Americans accepted, and adopted as their own, the indigenous plants, animals, and herbs that cookery book authors had previously questioned.

The American Frugal Housewife provided detailed, knowledgeable instructions on how to treat household and family problems ranging from dysentery and dyspepsia to the education of daughters. For example, Child wrote that a remedy for a severe cough or quincy is to "bathe the neck with bear's grease, and pour it down the throat." When the "digestive powers are out of order," the treatment was a sweet tea made of dried huckleberries. Strongly opinionated about the "correct" ways of the household, Child also wrote honestly about advice to keep the family healthy through home remedies for illnesses, a well-kept household, and eating the right kinds of food.

In a succinct, straightforward manner, Child told her readers that the keys to living healthy were to "Rise early. Eat simple food. Take plenty of exercise. . . eat and sleep at regular hours." She provided a recipe for "Sponge cake, or diet bread" which was similar to Simmons' recipe called "Diet Bread." Compared to their other bread recipes, both Child's and Simmons' "diet bread" recipes avoided butter and had smaller quantities of its other ingredients of flour, sugar, eggs, rose water, and spices.

By providing a recipe for "Sponge Cake, or Diet Bread" without

butter or cream, Child implied that there are somewhat lower-fat substitutes for pound cake or a rich Wedding Cake. *The American Frugal Housewife* (1832) was the first to contain a section devoted exclusively to the "General Maxims for Health" which set her apart from Simmons and Randolph in her insistence on teaching the readers about the relationship between food and health. Child further explained how to "Avoid the necessity of a physician...by careful attention to your diet. Eat what best agrees with your system, and resolutely abstain from what hurts you, however well you may like it." She understood the correlation between eating too many sweets or buttery foods. The author seemed to understand that eating less fat in the form of butter could lead to a "healthier" body, although she did not define "healthy."

Published in 1832, Child's cookery book was the first to address, not only bodily health in terms of diet, but also the importance of eating a variety of food, eating according to the seasons with more fruits and vegetables in the summer, and eating slowly so as to eat less. Since Child dedicated the book to the less wealthy, her message of leading a healthy lifestyle demonstrated that in this snapshot of history the less wealthy could afford to maintain a frugal and health-conscious household.

Sarah Josepha Hale

As with other authors, Sarah Josepha Hale approached "cookery as an artistic medium through which personal taste and creativity can be expressed."²⁹ Published in 1841, *The Good Housekeeper* could be read with ease and delight. Hale wrote clearly, intelligently, and adamantly about the topics she considered to be important—messages mingled with quotes from literature as well as a few

teachings from the Bible to help her suggestions reach her Christian readers.

Hale dedicated her book "To Every American Woman, who wishes to promote the Health, Comfort, and Prosperity of Her Family...[with the] greatest economy of cost...[and] the most nourishing and healthy materials." With almost two hundred and seventy recipes and lengthy sections of advice, Hale's cookery book was reminiscent of Simmons's and Child's in that the authors devoted as much space to advice as to cooking recipes. Hale's work was notable for its keen interest in how the health of the readers may be attained through proper cooking, eating, and exercising.

With the belief that "good food...cures ills," Hale was even more adamant than Lydia Maria Child about her advice to eat healthily through a "dietetic system of cookery." Hale's preface to the first edition echoed throughout the book: the need to change American habits of "using *animal food* to excess, eating *hot bread*, and swallowing...meals with steam engine rapidity."

A topic Hale passionately addressed was her opposition to a purely vegetarian diet. To her readers, and to the American public in general, she highly recommended eating "a mixed diet, *bread, meat, vegetables and fruit, as the best, the only right regimen for the healthy.*" She supported her argument with information from science, religion, and history. Her reasoning from "science" came from the fact that humans were similar to monkeys in terms of their teeth and ability to digest the same foods. Since (as the common knowledge of the time) monkeys lived off a vegetarian diet, "those [humans] who should live as the monkeys do would most closely resemble them."

Besides being the first of the six authors in this paper to write

specifically about the importance of a mixed diet, Hale was also the first to use phrases such as “Physiology of Digestion” and the “Principles of Dietetics.” Although formal nutrition research did not begin until the mid 1800s, Hale presented the idea that common sense and passed-down knowledge might not be enough to keep the reader’s family in good health. She wrote that women should be “thoroughly instructed in the physiology and the natural laws which govern the human constitution, in chemistry and in domestic economy.” Hale’s advice relating health to diet characterized a pivotal time in the nineteenth century before the discovery of the chemistry behind nutrients in food. Hale and previous authors had no extensive knowledge chemistry involved in breaking down the nutrients in food and their absorption by the human body.

The Good Housekeeper contained ideas similar to those in *The American Frugal Housewife*. At the beginning of her work, Hale made a respectful reference to Child’s book as well as to “Cook’s Oracle” by William Kitchiner on English cookery. Hale learned from experience: the young and active members of society should eat more often, with the amount of food given in proportion to the amount of exercise taken during the day; everyone should have breakfast; no one should overeat. She asserted that stimulants such as tea, coffee, and chocolate should not be given to children during meals. Hale defended the key idea that “bodily health. . . happiness and usefulness in domestic and social life, depend very much on the proper quantity of food we eat, and the time and circumstances under which it is taken.”

Repeating Child’s admonishment about overeating rich (buttery) foods, Hale noted that “the mischief is that these delicious compounds [of puddings and pies] often tempt to repletion.” Thus,

she concluded that “cake of every sort is to be partaken as a luxury, not eaten for a full meal.” If Hale could not convince her readers to lay off the sweets by claiming concern for their health, she tried to appeal to their reason saying, “were cakes used freely as bread, it would not only prove injurious to the constitution, but we would soon tire of the luscious compound.”

In Hale’s popular cookery book, one sees the beginnings of an American public concerned with the relationship between diet and health. With better cast-iron stoves appearing in 1835 and the invention of the plow and the reaper,³⁰ cooks buying editions of Hale’s cookery book would be able to make more use of the more numerous dessert recipes calling for the precision of a heated oven as opposed to the varying heat produced in a hearth or fireplace. Hale was aware of the growing availability of better ovens and more food in the form of flour—she warned that if dessert cakes were “used freely as bread, [they] would not only prove injurious to the constitution, but we would soon tire of the luscious compound.”

Hale believed in eating desserts and other foods and drinks in moderation. Liquors, for example, should not be used at all, not even in moderation. They were the “insidious destroyer...poison...disguised in delicious flavors...the deadly foe of social improvement and human happiness!” Like Lydia Maria Child writing before her, Hale participated in forwarding the issues of the current temperance movement’s abhorrence of distilled liquors.

Hale seemed to understand the health and diet connection as she quoted a doctor for his experiment with gastric fluid. Hale passed on the doctor’s conclusion about the indigestibility of soup. Also, Hale wrote about the “good and safe rule to proportion our meals to the amount of exercise we have taken,” as well as the importance

of using unbolted wheat flour since “light, white bread...is nearly tasteless, and cannot be as healthy or nutritious as bread made from the flour of good, sound wheat.”

Hale’s cookery book did not rely solely on the scientific knowledge of the time. A comment appearing consistently throughout the cookery book concerned Hale’s disapproval of dumplings. She warned readers: “do not put in [to soup] those libels on civilized cookery, called *dumplings*! One might as well eat, with the hope of digesting, a brick from the ruins of Babylon, as one of the hard, heavy masses of boiled dough which usually pass under this name.” Overall, however, Hale’s cookery advice and recipes demonstrated how a popular author, without formal education in the emerging field of nutrition, began introducing American readers to cooking as a combination of “the promotion of health, the study of economy, and the gratification of taste.”

Catharine Beecher

Chronologically succeeding Hale’s *The Good Housekeeper*, Miss Beecher’s *Domestic Receipt-Book*³¹ first appeared in publication in 1846. Compared to the four authors previously mentioned, Beecher (the sister of novelist Harriet Beecher Stowe) eloquently wrote a much larger volume of recipes—almost five hundred in number, compared to 269 from Hale—along with extensive advice incorporating more issues of health and nutrition, food purchase, butchering, cleaning home tools, and building kitchen equipment like tin freezers. With strong beliefs about what foods she considered injurious or unhealthy for the body, Beecher invoked the professional studies, knowledge, and experience of doctors to explain the basic tenets of maintaining proper bodily health.

As she noted in the preface, the *Receipt-Book* “set forth a large variety of what is both healthful and good, in connexion[sic] with warnings and suggestions which it is hoped may avail to promote a more healthful fashion in regard both to entertainments and to daily table supplies.” Beecher’s wide audience included housekeepers, as well as domestic servants, since the recipes and advice had been collated “entirely from the experience of the best practical housekeepers...[and] the book can be kept in the kitchen and used by any domestic who can read.” But, the main reader Beecher envisioned was the “young and inexperienced housekeeper, in moderate circumstances, who receives visitors[sic] at her table from the most wealthy circles.”

Beecher’s reasons for writing her cookery book, like those of the authors before her, included the inadequacy of books of its kind. She pointed out that other books had recipes that were unclear, too rich and unhealthful, and overly elaborate. In regards to diet, Beecher was not original in her advice about variety with “proper quantities...in a proper time and manner” or in her evidence that “many cases are on record, of great changes for the better, in health of individuals and communities, by the habitual use of food made of unbolted flour.” What Beecher stood out for was her belief that a “lady who understands chemistry may often improve her receipts by applying chemical principles.”

Beecher’s writing about the physiology of the human body as being composed of chemical compounds distinguished her knowledge from the less detailed information in Sarah Josepha Hale’s cookery book. The late 1830s saw the beginnings of food as a topic of scientific study, but the general public did not yet know the particulars about proteins, fats, carbohydrates, and minerals until

later years. By 1846, Beecher's nutrition repertoire included specific names of the elements of oxygen, hydrogen, carbon, and nitrogen along with food building blocks of sugar, starch, oils, and carbonic acid. Beecher has learned that "all food that nourishes the body. . . imparts renewed energies to the various bodily functions."

The extension of science into the kitchen included the use of new tools, such as a thermometer that read precisely 98° to 100° Fahrenheit in order to make cheese. The precision included taking notes so that a housekeeper could try a recipe, "vary it to her own taste, or the taste of her family, and then write the exact proportions for the use of all the future cooks in her family." Beecher's *Receipt-Book* represented the some³² of the earlier knowledge that "cases of slight indisposition are cured by a *change in diet*" alongside recipes for a "Healthful Pie Crust" or "A Healthful Pudding Sauce."

Fannie Farmer

Between the first publication of Beecher's book and the 1896 publication of Fannie Farmer's *The Boston Cooking-School Cook Book*, the last most influential cookery book of the nineteenth century, there appeared numerous new inventions including the four-prong fork, Mason jars for home canning,³³ canned foods, and condensed milk. New foods introduced included commercial breakfast cereals such as Corn Flakes, Shredded Wheat, and Grape Nuts and soda water, flavored with lemon, strawberry, vanilla, ginger, or root beer, and sold as Coca-Cola or Pepsi Cola. The new magazines of *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Good Housekeeping* geared themselves specifically towards women.

With the discovery of a way to produce aluminum, households saw an influx of standardized kitchen products including cooking

pans, utensils, and molds. The process of canning allowed manufacturers to provide a variety of foods year round despite the growing season. The ice box, refrigeration, and electricity also increased the availability of food outside of the constraints of the seasonality of food production while the Union Pacific Railroad linked the industries of the east and west coasts.

The cooks and housewives of the 1860s experienced effects the Civil War in relation to food shortages and adjustments in diet. The people in the country suffered less because of the crops from small gardens and plots of land. On the other hand, the Southern cities, with their dependence on money from cash crop like cotton, depended on Europe and the Union for food. At first, Confederate states received less sugar, salt, tea, and coffee.³⁴ Eventually, the shortages began including meats, fruits, and vegetables. Creative cooks altered their recipes, or reintroduced older recipes, for spruce or ginger beer, apple pie without apples, coffee from toasted acorns, and preserved meat without salt.

By the middle 1890s, Fannie Farmer's kitchen instruction and recipes included more innovations and nutrition data than any of the previous cookery books. Unlike earlier authors, Farmer understood and portrayed cooking as a laboratory experiment that occurred in the kitchen. For example, instead of presenting recipes and advice with the "art of cookery" in mind, Farmer outlined iodine tests to tell whether certain foods contain starch. She followed the experiments with explanations of the role that starches, carbohydrates, and other nutrients played in the growth and maintenance of the human body. The food groups Farmer identified were carbohydrates, proteins, fats, and mineral matter, basically the same food groups of the twenty-first century.

Ingredients never before seen in the previous five cookery books included baking powder, bananas, margarine, marshmallows, and Maraschino cherries. Name-brand, commercial food also first appeared as ingredients. Other ingredients included Baker's chocolate, Nestle's Swiss condensed milk, and Apollinaris bottled water.

Farmer greatly influenced American cooks by teaching them the chemistry behind cooking methods. The tome of more than one thousand recipes served as a type of cooking encyclopedia for home cooks interested in the growing field of domestic science and home economy. Advancement in glass technology meant better and more powerful microscopes allowed scientists to identify bacteria and led to the increase in the insistence for better food hygiene that characterized the realm of domestic science.

The *Boston Cooking-School Cook Book* contained many of the recipes (although "modernized") and much of the advice given by Simmons, Randolph, Child, Hale, and Beecher. In 1894, W. O. Atwater published the food standards and guidelines for Americans. Such a wealth of information about food and nutrition encouraged Fannie Farmer to write her large, comprehensive book combining chemistry, home economics, and recipes of her (mostly) unacknowledged predecessors. Although Farmer's advice paralleled that of previous authors, her new cookery book demonstrated a dramatic shift in the United States cooking recipe: a shift from cooking to please the palate to cooking to feed the body's cellular activities. While the cookery book may not be called a masterpiece in unique cooking styles and recipes, it did take a different approach to explain the relationship between food and bodily health.

Cooking Multiple Dishes

After examining the authors' advice and recipes, a more comprehensive comparison of how each writer treated the same dishes revealed the nuances of each particular approach to cooking and the characteristics of the changing audience. For example, Traci Kelly has commented about the implications of a recipe that includes little instruction for how to proceed with the suggested ingredients: "recipes that aren't 'complete' denote the cook's bias about the cookbook buyer. . . . It indicates that the writers of the cookbook did not expect the cookbook to travel beyond their own culinary community."³⁵

A cookery book author who provided very detailed instructions assumed that her book would travel far and thus influence people who are not used to cooking with certain ingredients or in certain styles. When six authors who span a period of one hundred years share the same recipes, the ingredients that they use as well as how they treat those ingredients denote something about the authors themselves as well as their society.

I followed the authors' own divisions of sections, although I exercised my own judgment in attributing a few uncategorized dishes to a specific category. Recipes are grouped based on the title (i.e. "pudding") as well as the main ingredient or final product. For example, the section that includes puddings, gruels, custards, creams, and iced creams incorporates recipes for products with smooth, spoonable consistencies and have cream as a main ingredient or generally garnished to indicate a dessert dish.

Table 2, below, shows the main recipes grouped into meat dishes and entrées, soups, sauces, vegetable dishes, desserts, breads items, and preserves and pickles. (Table 1, attached, contains a more detailed list of the number of recipes each author provided.) Four of the six authors present recipes in the desserts and sweets course while the other two authors have more recipes for meats and entrées.

Table 2: Recipes by Type of Dish for Each Author*						
Dish	Simmons	Randolph	Child	Hale	Beecher	Farmer
Animal meat; entrée	13%	37%	38%	28%	20%	30%
Soups		4%		6%	4%	6%
Sauces		4%	1%	5%	4%	8%
Vegetables; salads	4%	13%	6%	8%	8%	13%
Desserts; sweets	60%	24%	35%	34%	43%	32%
Bread items	10%	6%	9%	4%	7%	6%
Preserves and pickles	13%	12%	11%	15%	14%	5%
Total Number of Recipes Included:	150	432	172	269	574	1320

Because many of the desserts required special cooking techniques or ingredients, their presence might indicate why readers bought cookery books. As a sweet ending to a meal, desserts would not appear at every meal of the day. Meat and vegetable dishes that are present at breakfast, lunch, and dinner, would have been in a cook's repertoire of recipes. These would have not required the special instructions found in cookery books.

A Recipe's Distinct Flavor

Similarities in recipe titles suggest a shared style of cooking or similar final products and often best indicate the author's conception of the dish. For example, Amelia Simmons' recipe for "Pompkin" pudding is equivalent to the modern version of pumpkin pie—which appeared with the title "Pumpkin Pie" in Child's 1832 book.

Nine recipes associated with different dishes in a meal (the entrée, fruit preserve, bread item, and dessert) allow for a comparison and a way to assess change over time. The selected recipe include a la mode beef, mince pie, Indian pudding, currant jelly, gingerbread, apple pie, rice pudding, apple pudding, and bread pudding.

A la Mode Beef

In general for à la mode or alamode beef, the cook pierced holes in the meat and filled them these with a stuffing made of bread crumbs seasoned with herbs and spices, such as parsley, sweet marjoram, cloves, and nutmeg. The beef was then stewed in some water over fire. The number of ingredients ranged from seven to thirteen. The authors from the first half of the nineteenth century use more herbs and spices to season the meat and pan juices, but the authors who wrote after 1850 used root vegetables with the meat.

With the discovery of aluminum, American households started to use standardized kitchen products such as measuring cups and spoons, cans, cooking pans, utensils, and molds. Fannie Farmer provides drawings of the different measuring tools. The increased use of flour to thicken the meat's gravy reflects the commercialization and availability of white (versus unbolting wheat) flour. White flour, along with the use of lardoons, skewers, and platters, show how the authors of the recipes for a la mode beef adapted their cooking to technological innovations and commercialization of food items.

Mince Pie

Although à la mode beef remained more or less the same, mince meat pie changed into a dramatically different dish in a hundred years' time. The pie continued to be made with a highly seasoned filling of apples, raisins, currants, cinnamon, cloves, wine, brandy,

and sweetening, but the main ingredient—meat—changed. The first recipes called for ox, calves, or hogs' feet while the latter recipes used tongue or any piece of beef. Two of the last recipes by Fannie Farmer contain no meat at all. Instead, Farmer provided her readers with a "Mock Mince Pie" using "common crackers." The addition of a pre-made commercial ingredient points to a modern touch, especially when combined with the use of standardized measurements such as a cup, tablespoon, and teaspoon instead of the older gill, pint, "just enough," or "as large as a hen's egg."

Although most of the mince pies contained meat—the ingredient that usually signals a dish as an entrée—the cookery authors implied that their readers would probably use the pies as dessert. As such, the pies received special treatment with garnishes of thin slices of citron or "paste cut in fanciful shapes." Hale warned that the pies are a "rich, expensive and exceedingly unhealthy diet" so they should be "used very sparingly."

Hale further explained that "the custom of eating mince pies at Christmas...[and] at Thanksgiving, too...was too firmly rooted for the 'Pilgrim fathers' to abolish."³⁶ Coincidentally, Hale was "instrumental in having President Lincoln mandate Thanksgiving as a national holiday" to help give the young United States a sense of history, tradition, and pride. The classic recipes now associated with the Thanksgiving feast supposedly included mince pie, turkey, pumpkin pie, sweet potato pudding, and stewed cranberries. That national holiday started in 1863 and included many crops and game used by indigenous Americans for thousands of years even if those foods did not represent the actual traditions of the "Pilgrim fathers."

Indian Pudding

Corn, or maize, a plant indigenous to America, appeared in an English-style recipe: pudding with corn meal substituted for the traditional wheat flour. The cookery book authors—except Mary Randolph—referred to ground corn as “Indian meal.” The Oxford English Dictionary notes that the term “cornmeal” began to replace “Indian meal” in the 1780s, while “Indian meal” had been used since 1635. Alone among the studied group of writers, Randolph’s 1824 cookery book presented recipes using “cornmeal.”

Since the early authors had recipes such as “rye’n’injun [bread],” one may assume that they either wanted readers to understand and recognize the origins of the important New World grain or they wanted to distance themselves from the un-European maize plant. Sherrie Inness has studied the connotations of cooking styles and ingredients in recipes that use flour instead of cornmeal. She has argued that in the early 1900s,

Biscuit baking [with flour] demonstrated class consciousness, leisure time for women, consumer marketed equipment, and nationally standardized consumption. *Corn bread*, on the other hand, symbolized ignorance, disease, and poverty. It could be made with locally produced ingredients [such as corn meal], equipment made at home, and brief moments of time seized between other work; even at the turn of the century, it was *regionally identified* and *nationally disparaged*. A social history of class, race, and gender hides in the different recipes and uses of corn bread and biscuits.³⁷

By keeping the title of “Indian pudding” in her recipe, Mary Randolph provided readers with a recognizable dish. She used

cornmeal instead of "Indian meal" in the list of ingredients, showing greater respect and interest for the flavors and dishes of other cultures. She stands out as a woman ahead of her time in respect to her cultural sensitivity.

Currant Jelly

Another curiosity appears in the recipes, in this case with currant jelly. Simmons and Randolph called for a ratio of one to two for currant juice and sugar, although authors who wrote in the second part of the nineteenth century used a ratio of approximately one to one, deviating from the general trend of increased quantities of sugar.

At the end of the 1800s, the cookery book authors included more recipes for sweet foods and desserts, yet the fruit preserve recipes seemed to follow a different pattern. According to Alice L. McLean, the number of recipes about a certain ingredient or dish (such as dessert) showed the importance of that dish in the eyes of the writer. For example, nineteenth-century cookbooks often include a large section on pickling and might devote over half their pages to breads and sweets. The emphasis placed on this category decreases in the twentieth-century because home cooks have less time and skill to devote to time-consuming or elaborate recipes. As a result, these sections will be considerably shorter.³⁸

The fact that currant jelly recipes required less sugar meant fewer cooks paid close attention to the quantities because fewer cooks actually used those time-consuming recipes.

While the main sweetening for Indian pudding was molasses, the sweetening of choice for currant jelly was sugar. In the United States, sugar became more common as a sweetener with the decrease

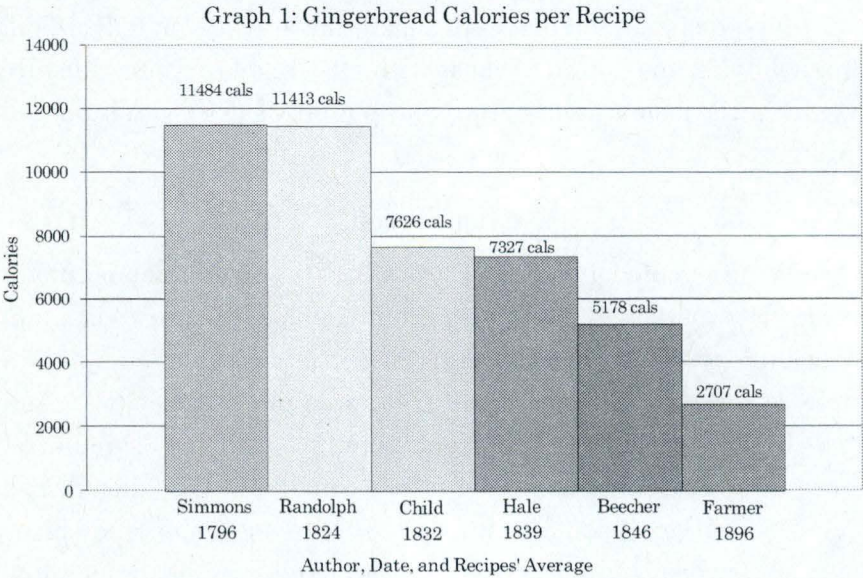
in the price of its manufacture. Harvey Levenstein has noted that “in the decades before the Civil War, new methods for refining sugar brought down the price of white sugar and greatly increased its consumption [and quality].”³⁹ The reduced cost of sugar might also reflect an increase in the strength of the sugar. Evidence comes from the preparation directions. Simmons, for example, instructed that sugar blocks should be dried in an oven before measuring the sugar for a recipe. If the blocks of sugar (that are later grated) are not dried enough, one pound of sugar with the weight of water moisture would not sweeten as much as one pound of dry, white, refined sugar.

Gingerbread

Like mince pie, gingerbread was a highly spiced recipe brought to North America by European immigrants. The bread is often associated with the holidays of Christmas and (in Sarah Hale’s case) Thanksgiving. Gingerbread and apple pudding recipes stand apart because they require a fixed amount for all the ingredients. From Amelia Simmons to Fannie Farmer, all the gingerbread recipes asked for specific quantities of flour, sweetener, and spices with no “sweeten to taste” advice. The fixed specifications allow for nutritional analysis using Food Processor SQL version 8.3, a nutrition database with more than 27,000 foods.

To evaluate the caloric values of the gingerbread, the phrasing of the recipes must be converted to current measurements. The rationale behind some of the ingredient substitutions includes the use of salted butter to dissolve some of the salt added in the formation process to preserve its shelf (or cellar) life because modern salt has many added chemicals and is not as potent as

sea salt, which most colonists used...This fact may be one of the reasons so many recipes that use butter do not require salt. On the other hand, by the nineteenth century, some recipes directed the cook to wash the butter.⁴⁰ None of the authors gave suggestions for serving sizes, which means that the overall calories per recipe is an estimate. Graph 1 below shows the results.

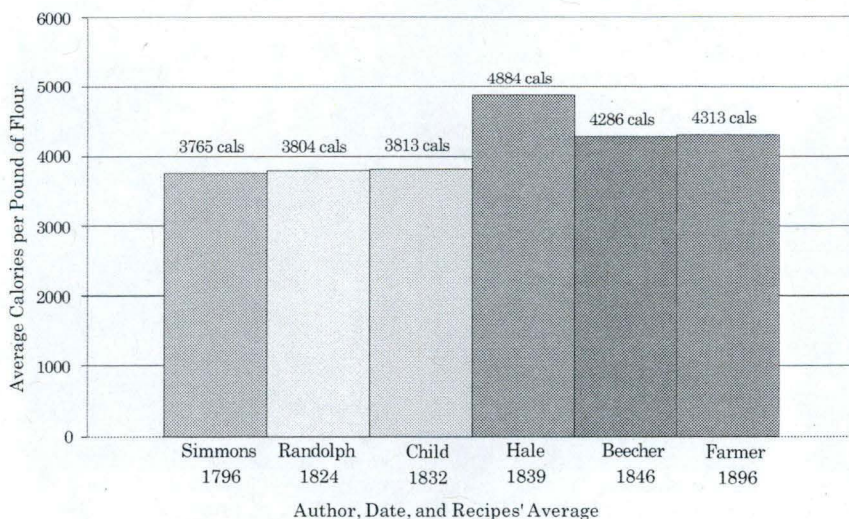


Graph 1 shows a reduction in the number of loaves of gingerbread produced by each recipe. For example, Simmons’ recipe provided a week’s worth of bread but Farmer’s recipe produced one loaf. That shift reflected the general trend in the diminishing number of people living in one household over the years. In response, cookery book authors reduced the serving sizes of their dishes.

Since no authors suggested an actual “serving size,” a

comparison of the gingerbread recipes rested on using a common thread to account for differences in serving sizes. Flour was the only ingredient shared by all these recipes and allowed them to be divided by the nutrients in each pound of flour. Graph 2 shows the average calories per pound of flour for each author. Graph 3, attached at the end of this paper, shows the calories of each individual recipe by the different authors before being averaged.

Graph 2: Gingerbread Calories per Pound of Flour

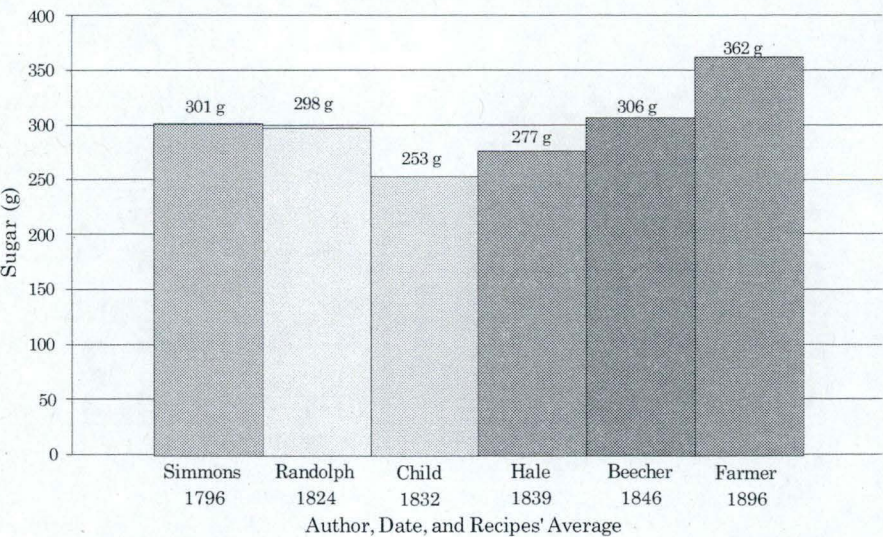


In the above graph, the average calories for Sarah Hale's recipes were higher than those of the other authors because one of her recipes, titled Soft Gingerbread, contained much more fat calories in the form of butter and cream.

The trend in the cookery books was to use more sugar. With the increasing amount of sugar available through the blossoming

worldwide trade, Americans seemed to have a more powerful sweet tooth. The tendency appeared in the analysis of data from the gingerbread recipes. (Because the bread pudding recipes do not have specified quantities of ingredients, I will refer to the results of the gingerbread recipe analysis to support the argument of the increasing presence of the sugar in recipes.) The amount of sugar for each pound of flour in a loaf of gingerbread appears in Graph 4.

Graph 4: Gingerbread Sugar per Pound of Flour



These recipes show the use of modern chemical leavenings such as pearl ash (potassium carbonate), saleratus (baking soda), and baking powder. Yet, because data about gingerbread were not statistically significant, one may argue that the caloric and nutritional values in cooking recipes changed little throughout the nineteenth century. But the advice stated outright by the cookery

book authors does evolve. Hale's recipes for gingerbread have the most calories, but she consistently tells her readers to eat with moderation.

Apple Pie

Apple pie is another dessert commonly associated with the American holiday of Thanksgiving. The recipes for sweetened and spiced apple filling cooked in pie crust vary not so much in the ingredients but in the approach to combining the ingredients. Simmons provided a recipe for pie filling similar to modern apple sauce. Other authors suggested either pre-cooking the apples before putting them into the crust or adding the apples thinly sliced but raw.

Except for Fannie Farmer's recipe, the directions followed Child's rule to "put in sugar to your taste; [since] it is impossible to make a precise rule, because apples vary so much in acidity." Without even an estimate of the amount of sugar needed to sweeten the apples, Child, Simmons, Randolph, Hale, and Beecher trusted in their readers' cooking experience. The reader would follow his or her own senses even if the cooks' personal tastes might have led her to add more (or less) sugar.

The reference to regional and seasonal variations in apples is absent in Fannie Farmer's recipe. For four or five "sour apples," Farmer called for exactly one-third cup of sugar and one-eighth teaspoon of salt. Standardized measurements made cooking easier because the cook no longer had to know or understand food. By following a recipe written by the head of the Boston Cooking School, the cook assumed that the dish would come out perfect. Yet, ignorance of personal tastes and regional differences in fresh

ingredients might have led cooks to use more sugar because it was available at cheaper prices.

Besides specifying the quantities of each ingredient, Farmer's recipe also incorporated the increasingly more reliable iron cooking-stoves and ranges. The first (unreliable) cast-iron stoves appeared in the 1830s. Twenty years later, safer iron ranges moved the cooking process from hearth or fireplace into a compact area in the kitchen. The stove brought an oven for baking. Beecher and the previous authors instructed the reader to bake their apple pies until they were light brown. Farmer, in 1896, instructs the reader to "bake forty to forty-five minutes in moderate oven."

The confidence in a cooking time with five minutes of uncertainty demonstrated that Farmer and her fellow cooking-school cooks completely changed the preparation of American meals. The recipes for apple pie give a glimpse into how food 'as American as apple pie' evolved from a special dessert to a food that "must undergo chemical change after being taken into the body, before it can be utilized by the body" (Farmer). John Lehdorff, of the American Pie Council has explained, "when you say something is 'as American as apple pie,' what you're really saying is that the item came to this country from elsewhere and was transformed into a distinctly American experience."⁴¹ Apple pie, as with other recipes analyzed in this paper, reveals the century of changes in American cooking.

Rice Pudding

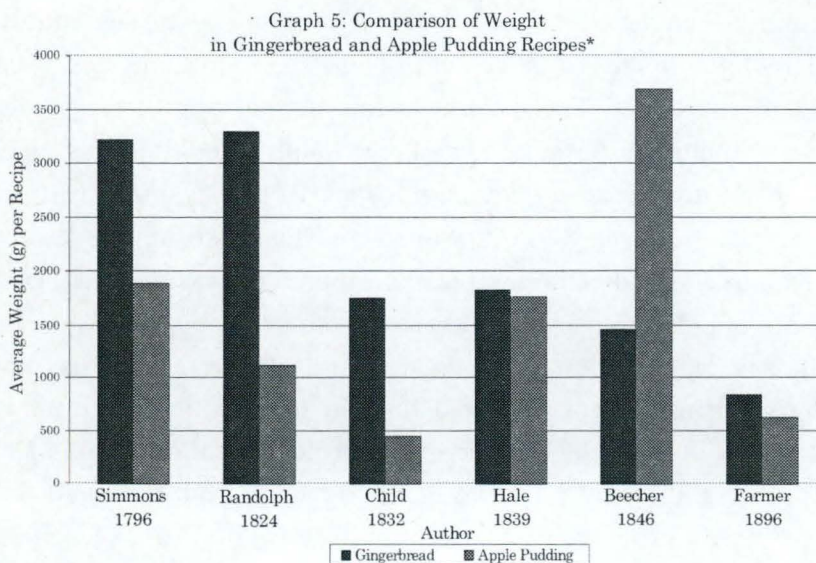
The process of cooking the pie pudding evolved from cooking pre-cooked rice in a pie crust to boiling it in a pudding bag to baking it in a pudding-dish. The ingredients of this "plain" and

“common” pudding change little. The recipes are essentially different combinations of rice, milk, cinnamon, nutmeg, and some kind of sweetener. The difference lies in the type of sweetener. Farmer included a recipe for Poor Man’s Rice Pudding. The ‘cheaper’ pudding used cinnamon instead of lemon and substitutes molasses for the same quantity of sugar. The substitution can only be explained as the author’s personal preference because molasses did not appear in any of the other twelve recipes by other authors. Molasses, a by-product of sugar manufacturing, may or may not have been cheaper in 1896 than in 1796. Since the price of sugar would have been lower in Farmer’s time, the rice pudding recipe is an anomaly. Farmer’s recipe deviated from the trend that “cookbooks during this time did not introduce new foods to eaters, unless they were specifically regional cookbooks that found their way to different regions. Rather, they put in print customs that may have been well established.”⁴²

Apple Pudding

The recipes for apple pudding have ingredient quantities specific enough to calculate caloric values with the nutrition software of Food Processor SQL. Yet, since the majority of apple puddings are boiled in a type of pie crust, and the type of pie crust is rarely specified, I only analyze the actual apple pudding (filling).

Unlike the data for gingerbread, in the case of apple pudding, each cook provided only one recipe. When graphed the data for the calories per gram of apple pudding in each recipe, with the exception of Hale’s, tended to decrease, although not significantly. Interestingly, there appears to be a correlation between the weight of gingerbread and that of apple pudding. The following Graph 5 demonstrates the decrease in the sizes of the dishes over time.



* Note: Beecher's apple pudding recipe weighs more because it contains twenty four apples, while the other recipes contain apples, sugar, spices, lemon juice, and water.

Bread Pudding

The bread pudding recipes support the results of the previous analysis of gingerbread recipes. Bread pudding recipes are, essentially, a lightly sweetened mixture of bread crumbs, milk, and eggs. The recipes from Hale, Beecher, and Farmer added an extra dose of sweetness to their bread pudding by using "a sweet sauce," a Vanilla Sauce, or a Creamy Sauce.

To add even more to the increased sweetness of bread pudding, Fannie Farmer changed her Bread Pudding recipe into a Chocolate Bread Pudding—also served with a Hard or Cream Sauce. Farmer updated her previous recipe by adding two squares of Baker's chocolate and a little over one tablespoon more of sugar, so her

recipes overall had contains a higher percentage of sugar than some of the other cookery books.

Limitations of the Recipes Analyses

Amelia Simmons, Mary Randolph, Lydia Maria Child, Sarah Hale, Catherine Beecher, and Fannie Farmer influenced Americans' attitude towards health in relation to food and cooking, but such an argument has some limitations. By comparing the books of advice and recipes, each writer stands out as an individual with her own history, educational background, and cookery knowledge. Yet, as numerous historians have written, the cookery books influenced generations of readers over a period of one hundred years.

Another limitation concerns the collection of qualitative data. The recipes are titled according to the author's personal preference. The books only share nine recipes with the same titles, but only gingerbread and apple pudding have measured ingredients that could be converted to quantitative data and analyzed with the nutrition program of Food Processor SQL. For consistency, the analyses of these recipes do not include the changes that occurred throughout the nineteenth century. All the gingerbread and apple pudding recipes have the same ingredients, but vary in the amounts and combinations prescribed by their authors. For example, every recipe was calculated using whole wheat flour for "flour" or white granulated sugar for "sugar." The analysis does not take into account the shift to using white flour with the wheat germ removed or to using processed, white grained sugar—to replace the block of raw sugar that needed to be dried and grated.

Even with modern substitutions, such as baking soda replacing pearl ash, my analyses demonstrate that the recipes changed to

include the scientific and technological advances of the time. Between the 1830s and the 1900s, the American experience of the housewife evolved drastically in the way she cooked, planned meals, and nourished her family. Canning allowed manufacturers to provide a variety of foods year round despite the limits of the growing season. The ice box, refrigeration, and electricity also increased the availability of food outside of the constraints of seasonality. With so many changes modernizing the diets of families, food recipes also indicated developing opinions about cooking.

The books and health advice given by the cookery book authors are representations, not reality. For example, in a study about the dainty foods at tea parties, Sherrie Inness has shown that “the recipes suggested an idealized upper-middle-class vision of what women were expected to achieve in the kitchen.”⁴³ Also, according to Janet Theophano, author of *Eat My Words: Reading Women's Lives through the Cookbooks They Wrote*, each cookery book author had different perceptions of who their intended audiences would be. The historical examples of women's writing are “the work of white, middle-class, literate, and often literary women and consequently [these cookery books] offer a somewhat skewed historical portrait.”⁴⁴

The language choice of the cookery book authors was meant to include “stratified households, [because] the title pages were addressed to multiple audiences: ladies, mistresses, housekeepers, maids, nurses, and mothers.”⁴⁵ Each cookery book author “chose language as prosaic and nontechnical as they could muster to reach the widest possible audience.”⁴⁶ In this paper I assume (a possible limitation) that the cooks in the households actually read the books, used the recipes, and followed the authors' advice.

One Step Ahead of the Twenty-first Century

By 2008, the food genre has boomed into a theme that includes television channels, magazines, books, and lines of cooking products sold through their connections to celebrity chefs. While recipe books in the twenty-first century teach readers how to bake the most moist chocolate cake this side of heaven or to cook a low-fat vegetable soup, they also offer windows into the society, culture, and time period in which the recipes are written. Historians, sociologists, and anthropologists have examined the gender, social, ethnic, and nationalistic issues in the first American cookery books published in the United States. However, few researchers have looked into these cookery book writers' cooking and eating advice and the implications of changes in recipes and meal choices to understand how their authors understood nutrition and health.

Janet Theophano has explained that cookery book "writers told stories. Some books were elaborate, if not coded, explorations of identity—of self; of other women; and of home community and country—which supported or challenged (sometimes both) the status quo."⁴⁷ The cookery book authors were leaders in teaching Americans how to cook. Could we learn anything about eating healthy from these old cookery books whose authors knew little or nothing about the science of nutrition?

The first government-issued dietary guidelines for Americans were published in 1894. The leading scientist, W. O. Atwater, described the nutrients that make up food as protein, carbohydrates, fats, and a certain mineral matter called ash. A branch of the United States Department of Agriculture released the most recent revised guidelines in 2005. Interestingly, some of the nineteenth-century cookery books studied in this paper share many of the

recommendations of the new Dietary Guidelines for Americans.

The overall message of contemporary nutrition from the USDA appears on the website MyPyramid.gov. There, the USDA lists tips to stay healthy, include suggestions to “make half your grain whole, vary your veggies, focus on fruit, get your calcium rich foods, go lean with protein, find your balance between food and physical activity.”⁴⁸ As for the whole grains, Sarah Hale, in 1841, noted that whole wheat flour is best for cooking since “light, white bread...is nearly tasteless, and cannot be as healthy or nutritious as bread made from the flour of good, sound wheat.”⁴⁹ Many of the cookery book authors adamantly stressed the benefits of a diet that mixed breads, meat, vegetables, and fruit, which Catherine Beecher termed as “the most valuable articles of food.”⁵⁰ The authors also stressed the value of eating slowly and in moderation. In 1832, Lydia Maria Child, pointed out that Americans need to “take plenty of exercise...eat and sleep at regular hours...[and] avoid the necessity of a physician...by careful attention to [their] diet.”⁵¹

Furthermore, a USDA poster explaining the dietary guidelines says that people should “choose food and beverages low in added sugar. Added sugars contribute calories with few, if any, nutrients.”⁵² Even though the nineteenth century cookery books showed an increase in the use of sweetener and sugar Catherine Beecher warned in 1850 that sugar should be seen as an enemy “not because it is unhealthful in its nature, but because it is used in excess or in an improper manner.”⁵³ Sarah Hale, in her chapter on drinks, concluded that “the best beverage for the healthy, who wish to continue well, is good pure water!”⁵⁴

Dawning of the Age of Nutrition

The goal of this research was to understand how cookery book authors may “improve the health and extend the lives of their countrymen by transforming their eating habits.”⁵² Historian Barbara Wheaton has argued that cookery books are “like a magician’s hat: one can get more out of them than they seem to contain. When they are read carefully, with due effort in understanding them as cultural artifacts, they are rewarding, surprising, and illuminating.”⁵⁵ My research focused on one of many topics that can be discussed in great length when studying nineteenth century American cookery books. Through the knowledge gained by experience and social education, authors of cookery books offered their ideas to other cooks. They wrote about cooking with seasonal plants and about enjoying dessert every now and then, but not at every meal. Even the women writing before the disseminations of scientific research on the chemistry of nutrients understood, through their own history, families, friends, and culture, about ways to have a healthily-maintained body through the right kinds and proportions of food and exercise.

A cursory glance at these writers’ works leaves a wealth of unanswered questions. Some of the subjects not covered here concern vegetarianism, special recipes for the sick, and changes in cooking during the Civil War. Further scholarship will undoubtedly reveal why American society should respect and more fully appreciate nineteenth century cookery book authors and the books they wrote.

Table 1: Recipes for Each Author						
Dish	Simmons	Randolph	Child	Hale	Beecher	Farmer
Meat: beef, veal, lamb, mutton, rabbit, pork	9%	19%	15%	16%	11%	10%
Meat: fish, eel, shellfish	1%	9%	9%	6%	4%	8%
Meat: poultry	4%	6%	11%	4%	2%	6%
Soups, stews		4%		6%	4%	5%
Sauces, dressings, gravy		4%	1%	5%	3%	8%
Vegetables, salads	4%	13%	5%	7%	7%	13%
Pasta, polenta, rice		1%			1%	2%
Eggs, omelet, soufflé		2%			1%	4%
Puddings, gruel, custards, creams, ice cream	29%	17%	15%	16%	18%	13%
Pies, tarts, pie crusts/pastes, fritters	17%	2%	8%	5%	4%	5%
Cakes & cookies	14%	4%	10%	11%	17%	10%
Bread, yeast, biscuits, sandwiches, rusks	10%	5%	9%	4%	6%	6%
Preserves, jellies, jams	11%	6%	6%	9%	8%	4%
Pickles, catsups, vinegars	2%	6%	4%	5%	5%	1%
Cordials, drinks		4%	6%	7%	10%	4%
Candy, sweets						3%
Total Number of Recipes Included:	150	432	172	269	574	1320

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¹ Trudy Eden, *Cooking in America, 1590-1840* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2006) 44.

² Sophie D. Coe, *America's First Cuisines* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994).

³ Traci Marie Kelly, "Honoring Helga, 'The Little Lefse Maker': Regional Food as Social Marker, Tradition, and Art," ed. Sherrie A. Inness, *Cooking Lessons: The Politics of Gender and Food* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2001) 21.

⁴ Eden xxvii.

⁵ Mary Randolph, *The Virginia Housewife: Or Methodical Cook: A Facsimile of an Authentic Early American Cookbook* (New York: Dover Publications, 1993) iv.

⁶ "Cookery" is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary as the art or practice of cooking or the preparation of food by means of fire. The term "cook-book" originated in the United States in the nineteenth century.

⁷ Eden xxviii.

⁸ Mary Tolford Wilson, "Amelia Simmons Fills a Need: American Cookery, 1796," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 14.1 (1957): 17.

⁹ Wilson 18.

¹⁰ Catharine Esther Beecher, *Miss Beecher's Receipt Book: Designed as a Supplement to her Treatise on Domestic Economy* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1850) iii.

¹¹ Lydia Maria Child, *The American Frugal Housewife* (Boston: Carter, Hendee, & co., 1835) 4.

¹² Trudy Eden, *Cooking in America, 1590-1840* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2006) 16.

¹³ Eden xxviii.

¹⁴ Catherine Hobbs, "Introduction: Cultures and Practices of U.S. Women's Literacy" in *Nineteenth-Century Women Learn to Write*, ed. Catherine Hobbs (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995).

¹⁵ Other well-known cookery book authors not covered in my study include Eliza Leslie, Juliet Corson, Marion Harland, Mary J. Lincoln, Maria Parloa and Sarah T. Rorer.

¹⁶ "Feeding America: The Historic American Cookbook Project," *Feeding America*, ed. Jan Langone, 21 May 2004, Michigan State University Library, July 14 2007 <http://digital.lib.msu.edu/projects/cookbooks/html/intro_essay.html#1>.

¹⁷ Wilson 20.

¹⁸ Alex McIntosh and Mary Zey, "Women as Gatekeepers of Food Consumption: A Sociological Critique," *Food and Foodways* 3.4 (1989): 128.

¹⁹ Martha C. Brown, "Of Pearl Ash, Emptins, and Tree Sweetin.'" *American Heritage Magazine* 32.5 (1981).

²⁰ Wilson 25-26.

²¹ Wilson 19.

²² Eden 9.

²³ Wilson 21.

²⁴ Books by male authors included Dr. Chase's advice about the home, Thomas De Voe's book about different cuts of meats at the market, and Pierre Blot's lessons on French cooking. While these other cookery books written by male authors existed, they were not nearly as popular or as often mentioned as the six authors, all coincidentally female, featured in this study.

²⁵ "Physiologie du Gout," *Not by Bread Alone: America's Culinary Heritage*, 2002, Cornell University Library, 25 March 2008 <<http://rnc.library.cornell.edu/>>

food/gastronomy/Physiologie_du_Gout_L.htm>.

²⁶ John L. and Karen Hess, *The Taste of America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000) 91.

²⁷ Child 118.

²⁸ Barbara Haber, *From Hardtack to Home Fries* (New York: The Free Press, 2002) 41.

²⁹ Eden xxix.

³⁰ Richard J. Hooker, *Food and Drink in America: A History*, (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1981).

³¹ According to the online version of the 1989 Oxford English Dictionary, the use of “recipe” for cooking instructions began to come in use in the early eighteenth century. “Receipt” was first, and more commonly, used.

³² After the publication of Beecher’s book, in the late 1850s, Florence Nightingale also added another layer to the growing knowledge of nutrition in “Directions for Cooking by Troops in Camp and Hospital” (published by the Army of Virginia in 1861). This book was “a diet manual based on nutrition science of the time” which included knowledge of nitrogen and carbon in food as well as five food categories, including milk and meat, bread and grains, fat, vegetables and fruits, and simple sugar.

³³ Alice L. McLean, *Cooking in America, 1840-1945* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2006) 3.

³⁴ Richard J. Hooker, *Food and Drink in America: A History*, (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1981).

³⁵ Kelly 34.

³⁶ Sarah Josepha Hale, *Early American Cookery: “The Good Housekeeper,” 1841* (Mineola: Dover Publications, 1996) 51.

³⁷ Elizabeth S. D. Engelhardt, “Beating the Biscuits in Appalachia: Race, Class, and Gender Politics of Women Baking Bread,” ed. Sherrie A. Inness, Cooking Lessons: The Politics of Gender and Food (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2001) 151-168. Emphasis mine.

³⁸ McLean xxviii.

³⁹ Harvey A. Levenstein, *Revolution at the Table: The Transformation of the American Diet* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988) 32.

⁴⁰ Eden xxxvi.

⁴¹ "Apples," *The Food Timeline*, ed. Lynne Olver, 2000, 2 September 2007 <<http://foodtimeline.org/foodpies.html#applepie>>.

⁴² Eden 125.

⁴³ Sherrie A. Inness, *Dinner Roles: American Women and Culinary Culture* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2001) 54.

⁴⁴ Janet Theophano, *Eat My Words: Reading Women's Lives through the Cookbooks They Wrote* (New York: Palgrave, 2002) 2.

⁴⁵ Theophano 208.

⁴⁶ Theophano 190.

⁴⁷ Theophano 228.

⁴⁸ *MyPyramid*, 2005, United States Department of Agriculture, 20 June 2007, <<http://mypyramid.gov/>>.

⁴⁹ Hale 31.

⁵⁰ Beecher 7.

⁵¹ Child 89.

⁵² *MyPyramid*, 12 September 2007, <<http://www.mypyramid.gov/downloads/MiniPoster.pdf>>.

⁵³ Beecher 7-8.

⁵⁴ Hale 113.

⁵⁵ Levenstein 369.

⁵⁶ Inness 10.

Transcending the Spiritual Conquest: From Tenochtitlan to the Mission San Francisco Solano

by J. K. Schneider

History

Faculty Mentor: Robert Haskett, History

Faculty Mentor: Stephanie Wood

Wired Humanities Project and CSWS

Introduction

The role of the Catholic Church and the “Spiritual Conquest” in the Iberian (Spanish) conquest of the Americas significantly altered the socio-cultural hierarchy as well as the landscape of the New World. The “Spiritual Conquest” provided the avenues for conversion and colonization to be accomplished nearly simultaneously with the blessing of the Crown. Herbert E. Bolton, Robert H. Jackson, and a host of others have noted that the missions functioned as frontier institutions in the “civilizing” of those thought to be “savages.”¹ This “civilizing” of the indigenous peoples received its greatest support from governing powers when frontier lands were threatened by foreign expansion or required “purification” and “spiritual education” before the desired labor and goods could be harvested. The natives suffered the brunt of the abuse.

The system, although not created in the Americas during colonization, continued even after Mexico gained its independence from Spain and can clearly be seen through an examination of

Mission San Francisco Solano, better known today as the Sonoma Mission (Valley of the Moon). San Francisco Solano was unique. It was the only Alta California mission founded (1823) after Mexico became independent but before the entire mission system was secularized in the 1830s. It was the final mission built in a series of twenty-one Franciscan establishments that formed the California mission chain and the only mission founded in that period without the formal permission of the Church. Solano's unique founding raises questions about its purpose, the final disposition of its land, its role as a "civilizing" tool as Bolton suggested, the policies and structure of the mission, and the abuses that existed within it.

Europeans nearly caused the annihilation of the indigenous populations in the Americas by bringing foreign pathogens into what historians refer to as the "virgin soils" (uncompromised) of the New World. The Franciscan desire (and that of other orders) to "civilize the savages," put additional pressures on the indigenous, and the Sonoma Mission did indeed serve as a frontier institution that allowed for the advancement of colonization under the guise of the need for spiritual conversion. The mission continued to serve these ends after secularization. The abuse at San Francisco Solano and those who condoned it sought to "civilize" the indigenous and enforce colonial will. A fresh look at the results, however, reveals both the limits of the effort and the ways in which the indigenous transcended it. In the end, San Francisco Solano acts as a case study exploring how the indigenous reacted and transcended the abuses of the mission system, as well as their struggle to survive secularization under military and civil control.

Sources and Mission Studies

Although extensive research has explored specific categories regarding the “Spiritual Conquest” of the Americas, few studies have researched the problem in relation to Alta California and San Francisco Solano. Specifically, how indigenous socio-cultural perspectives changed is still poorly understood.

Other significant problems stem from the destruction of indigenous records in Mexico and the lack of records from the Alta California period. Reconstruction of missing histories often led to their Europeanization. In Alta California, descriptive accounts of indigenous culture came from Spanish friars, officials, travelers, or settlers, most of whom were prominent men. In the later nineteenth century, oral testimonies from aged indigenous survivors contained filters of time, as well as personal agendas and biases.² Even less reliable are the hagiographies, yet those reverent accounts lend insight into the era and help us identify particular mindsets. Perhaps more useful are the records, requests, and letters from the missionaries who, as Jackson has pointed out, were often “self-centered and self-serving,” yet tended to provide a useful glimpse into indigenous life.³ Nevertheless, these records, too, raise questions because birth and death records of converts as well as mission inventories, including cattle, and agricultural production, were often miscounted.⁴ Existing records for the Sonoma Mission are in repositories such as the Bancroft Library at the University of California Berkley, and were not easily accessible for the present study. Thanks, however, to Lynn Bremer at the Santa Barbara Mission Archives-Library (SBMAL), new information (previously ignored archival documents) documents the abuses at Mission Solano.

Some twentieth-century literature about the missions of Alta

California tends to lack sufficient historical data and presents a limited view. Adult readers frequently find romanticized views of the missions, and juvenile readers learn that the Indians of the time were poor creatures who not only needed to be converted to Christianity, but also saved from starvation.⁵ William Henry Hudson uncritically wrote that a "serious conflict" was avoided because "one of the fathers drew forth...a canvas bearing the picture of the Virgin...[and the] savages threw their weapons to the ground" to besiege "the marvelous images" thus narrowly averting danger.⁶ As the sun set on the twentieth century, writers Rupert Costo and Jeannette Henry Costo rocked previous notions regarding the California missions by presenting the horrors of mission life in their book *The Missions of California: A Legacy of Genocide*. Their highly polemical book challenged the comfort level of conventional wisdom about missions, but, like Hudson, still represented an extreme that failed to consider the whole picture.

"Civilizing" Missions and "Double Mistaken Identity"

Among those who sought to offer a more complete picture was Herbert Eugene Bolton (and others) who argued that the "Spiritual Conquest" was part of an "economic" process that they dubbed the "civilizing function." The "civilizing function" began with the conversion of the indigenous to the Catholic faith. Further, natives were required to adopt the customs and behaviors of Europeans and to accept the exploitation of local resources (labor, land, etc.) by the power doing the "civilizing." According to Bolton, the effort of the Catholic clergy to implement the "civilizing function" was necessary to create a bulwark that would allow for the successful colonization of the region as well as the formation of a peasantry,

of sorts.⁷ The missionaries, Bolton wrote, “Were a veritable corps of Indian agents, serving both Church and State.”⁸

Contemporary historians have challenged Bolton’s views. According to Jackson and a host of other historians, the indigenous people mediated their adoption and adaptation of Christianity. Prior to this study, little evidence had been uncovered to support the existence of this process at Mission San Francisco Solano.⁹ Further, Louise Burkhart has stressed that, “modern Indian religion is seen as a mixture of pre-Hispanic and European elements, a middle ground between the two cultures,” and noted “the often surprising extent to which ancient beliefs survive.”¹⁰ A similar process likely occurred at Sonoma.

Several reasons help explain why information on Sonoma is limited. Primarily, by 1823, the year of the founding of the Sonoma Mission, the “newness” of cultural encounters had for the most part worn off. In addition, unlike the peoples of central Mesoamerica, the indigenous people from the Sonoma region did not craft written versions of their languages. Increased encroachment by outsiders left the natives in what Randall Milliken aptly referred to as “a time of little choice.”¹¹ In both regions and eras, the appearance of accepting Christianity often allowed the natives greater liberties. In many cases, they continued to practice their own religion while appearing to have adopted the favored lifestyle.

James Lockhart, an ethnohistorian, has referred to that process as “double mistaken identity.” According to Lockhart, neither the foreigner nor the indigenous fully understood one another. Lockhart argued that “the root of cultural interaction between Nahuas and Spaniards was a process...whereby each side takes it that a given form or concept is essentially one already known to” the other.

Therefore, each group, and by extension, each person “could view Indian town government, the monastery complexes, mural painting, land tenure, and many other phenomena,” differently in accordance with a personal or group “frame of reference.”¹² Langer and Jackson illuminated this concept in California when they wrote that “The Indians viewed the Franciscans as witches with powerful magic” and “probably made efforts to use the priests as intermediaries with the spirit world,” unconsciously invoking Lockhart’s idea of “double mistaken identity.”¹³

Langer and Jackson also have argued that “the destruction of the Indian populations” at the missions “precluded any meaningful conversion to Catholicism or any large-scale effort at syncretism.”¹⁴ It is doubtful that the Pala from the twenty-second *asistencia* (smaller mission) near San Diego would agree, because today, they have a thriving society that appears to have had a meaningful conversion to Catholicism and incorporated many traditional beliefs.¹⁵ Maynard Geiger’s book, *As the Padres Saw Them*, contains responses to questionnaires that were sent out from the Department of Overseas Colonies in Cadiz, Spain. Those responses allow the astute reader to observe syncretism and cases of “double mistaken identity.” A case in point occurred at Mission San Francisco, where the padres reported that the indigenous did not practice idolatry, but that “the Indians have some foolish practices when they go hunting and fishing which if they fail to practice [the rite] they forgo the hunt and fishing. For instance, they plant a stick with feathers and seeds or they abstain from meat.”¹⁶ In other words, if Indians failed to perform the proper rituals they would not risk their safety. The questionnaire pre-dated the founding of the final missions giving the illusion that syncretism or double mistaken identity may

not occur at Sonoma until Randall Milliken's research. According to Milliken:

the core group of adult Christians at Mission Santa Clara...was composed of people from the Alson village of San Francisco Solano, rather than the nearer tiny Tamien villages. Julian Julau...a thirty-year-old man from San Francisco Solano village, became the first Indian *alcalde*...at Mission Santa Clara.¹⁷

Milliken's research lends evidence to the idea that the responses involved natives from Sonoma and Napa.

Iberian Culture

The Iberians (Spanish and Portuguese), at the time of their invasions of the Americas, boasted a society stratified into three basic divisions (estates): nobility, clergy, and commoners, with each estate stratified within itself.¹⁸ The social hierarchy was based on kinship; that is, familial origins, ties, and marriage, all of which could increase or decrease a person's status. De jure social status dictated the colors and styles of clothing people wore, the foods they consumed, the jobs they held, the tools or weapons they could own, and the punishments they received for committing crimes. Wealthy families commonly sent their daughters to a convent where they would remain until they became either a bride of a man or a "Bride of Christ." Males, on the other hand, remained to receive a formal education that included developing their intellectual and physical prowess. Children from lower classes worked simply to survive. Marriage, for the most part, was an economic contract that provided for social and economic advancement.

A Tale of Two Cultures: Mesoamerica and Alta California

In contrast to Iberian cultures, the cultures in the Americas were highly diverse. According to Mark A. Burkholder and Lyman L. Johnson, before the Iberian incursions, Latin America had "over 350 major tribal groups, 15 distinct cultural centers, and more than 160 linguistic stocks."¹⁹ Throughout the Americas, were countless numbers of sedentary, semi-sedentary, and non-sedentary groups, each with its own social hierarchy and ritual beliefs.²⁰

The roles of men and women within indigenous society differed in important ways from those found among the Spanish, and notable variations existed among native groups, too. The Aztec pattern tended to be patrilineal, others were matrilineal, and yet another group might be both patrilineal and matrilineal.²¹ Throughout the Americas, men tended to hunt or have a specialized skill that they practiced while women generally performed domestic duties and played a major role in the agricultural process, craft production, and marketing.²² Duties were not exclusive to gender,²³ and Europeans commented that native women were outside the realm of proper women.²⁴

Children of sedentary indigenous groups had experiences similar to those of Spanish children, and experiences that were vastly different. Aztec children, for instance, were educated according to their standing in society as well as by the date and sign of their births.²⁵ Boys of commoners became warriors while those from noble origins were primarily trained in priestly or administrative duties, and as warriors.²⁶ Girls unlike their Spanish counterparts had possibilities other than marriage or becoming nuns.²⁷

In central Mexico, the societies were highly stratified with

complex political, economic, and social hierarchies living in magnificent cities and enormous wealth.²⁸ Probably the most renowned description was that of Bernal Díaz del Castillo, who recalled the beauty of the Tenochtitlan:

The towers and cues [temples] were full of people as well as the canoes from all parts of the lake. Gazing on such wonderful sights...on one side...there were great cities...and the lake itself was crowded with canoes, and in the Causeway were many bridges.²⁹

Yet despite those intricacies, Europeans failed to grasp the vast complexity of indigenous societies, generally contending they were barbaric or that the “Indian” had the mental capacity of a “perpetual child” who needed “civilizing.” Unfortunately, those ethnocentric views continued in the northern regions, including California.

California lacked the grand civilizations and wealth observed during the first *entradas* (expeditions) into Mexico. The geographic diversity within California mirrored the diversity among its peoples. In California, six stocks served as a base for at least sixty-four and possibly as many as eighty different languages, and myriad dialects.³⁰ Both Santos and Milliken concurred that the missionaries’ recruitment affected “ninety-six tribes and villages” in the San Francisco area alone.³¹

Despite the lack of written records, the magnitude of archeological finds provides evidence that great cultures existed. For instance, at Olompali State Historic Park on Mount Burdell, the Olompali (“southern village” or “southern people”) of the Coast Miwok “inhabited at least one site...from 6000 BCE [to] the 1850s.”³² The women of the Olompali gathered to grind “acorns and seeds,” socialize, and perhaps discuss the problems of their day. In doing

so, they left their mark on *kitchen rock* (a large boulder). Records in California lend strength to the existence of gender parallelism dating from pre-Hispanic origins. According to Isabel Kelly, on the Marin Peninsula:

there were two important female leaders. [One was the] woman chief (*hóypuh kuléyih*)...the second female leader (*máien*) was a genuinely key person: '*máien* bosses everyone, even *hóypuh*' [who] was head of the dance house. [M]*áien* dealt with and oversaw construction of a new dance house...sent out invitation sticks for dances, and, in some cases, selected the performers.³³

Chronicler	Village Size	Occupants
Anza; Cañizares	Largest	400
Crespí; Font	Large	200-250
Anza	"Good Size"	100
Palóu	"not large"	40

Further, according to Helen McCarthy, a secret society called the *huta* ranked "above the village, or *olkapma* affiliation and controlled the artisans."³⁴ The fact that the society had a term for their village and for a secret society above the level of the village lends evidence to the idea of a more sedentary society than researchers previously thought.³⁵ As with people in Mesoamerica, the inhabitants of Alta California had their own hierarchies, customs, and micro-patriotic groups. Native populations were thinly spread, creating a balance between the land and the people.³⁶ The data in the table above illustrates the demographics of the San Francisco Area, providing a sharp contrast between the Bay Area's "largest" at 400 and the

magnitude of Tenochtitlan.³⁷ Lifestyles were also different. The people in California lived in, “hemispherical huts with bulrush or grass-bundle thatching” unless they were near wooded areas.³⁸

The subsistence and material cultures in the San Francisco area often went unseen by the first explorers, missionaries, and settlers. According to Milliken, “the land was divided among scores of independent tribes [and] associations of families that [*sic*] worked together...within fixed territories” maintaining yearly ceremonial cycles.”³⁹ Further, Milliken has asserted that indigenous people in the Bay area sustained themselves by harvesting local resources, which they augmented with “resources received in trade,”⁴⁰ taking advantage of “indirect trading network[s]” when items were not available locally.⁴¹ Their diversity created a “complex mosaic of cultural variation.”⁴² According to Milliken:

in some areas of California, the families of a tribe shared a single central village location for much of the year; however, Bay Area tribe members lived most of the year in a more dispersed pattern. The Ssalsons...for example, lived contemporaneously at the three villages of Aleitac, Altagmu, and Uturpe. The Huimens of the southern Marin Peninsula also had three key villages, Anamas, Livangeluà, and Naique.⁴³

As a result “neighboring tribes were tied together by bonds of commerce and economic reciprocity as well as by bonds of intermarriage.”⁴⁴

Colliding Cultures and the “Spiritual Conquest”

Into that native world, the Spanish arrived with their notion of one “true” religion, Catholicism. Some clergy, including members of the Franciscan order, believed that they needed to prepare

the world for the second coming of Christ by converting all who were not Christians. In the indigenous world, great leaders and great events tended to have marvelous mythical beginnings with foundations based on a historical event or phenomena.⁴⁵ Indigenous people also had their own creation myths, migration folklore, and religious practices that, for the most part, highly offended Catholic priests and average Spaniards alike because of a propensity for daily human sacrifice.⁴⁶ The church destroyed everything thought to be idolatrous,⁴⁷ a process that continued in other areas including California.

While foreign pathogens caused a devastating 80-90% mortality rate,⁴⁸ the Catholic Church helped advance the colonization of the Americas in ways other than destroying practices presumed to be idolatrous. For example, the *Treaty of Tordesillas*, divided the New World, and allowed the spread of Christianity while also collecting tributes in labor, goods, and precious metals as revenue. That dual process advanced the cause of 'the crown and the cross.'⁴⁹ The first clerics who came with Cortés were secular rather than members of trained mendicant orders. Not until May 1524 did the first significant group of *regular* clergy arrived in New Spain, a contingent of twelve Franciscan Friars.⁵⁰ In 1542, new regulations regarding the treatment of Native Americans in places such as New Spain⁵¹ came in part from the urgings of Fray Bartolomé de las Casas (1474-1566).⁵²

Early Teaching of the Faith was Tantamount to Confusion

Christianization proved to be a difficult and deadly experience for many of those involved. Clergy were often martyred for their beliefs and the indigenous often died from the diseases brought

by the strangers and sometimes the conversion methods. Beyond the earliest conversion methods, teaching the faith rather than baptism became paramount in the process, see *table 1*. The earliest conversions were brutal and required little more than the reading of the *requerimiento* (requirement), which the natives often found about as communicative as a brick wall, but which was often used as a license for a “just war.”⁵³ Had it not been for the horrific brutality that often followed the reading of the *requerimiento*, the event might have appeared more like a theatrical show by Firesign Theater in which a priest simply waved a cross and exclaimed, “domini, domini, domini, and you’re all Catholics now.”⁵⁴ Teaching the new faith was often tantamount to confusion rather than a clear and concise lesson.

In every period and area, the clergy had their own unique way of teaching the faith. Each group most likely believed that they were conveying or receiving the “true” Christianity but for the most part, they generally entered into what James Lockhart referred to as “double mistaken identity.” The cross as a religious symbol has often found itself at the center of great confusion, debate, and even death. The lessons in fray Bernardino de Sahagún’s *Exercicio Quotidiano* most likely rendered confusion but the extent of the confusion is speculative.⁵⁵ Consequently, the formation of cults and some forms of religious veneration may actually be the result of “double mistaken identity.”⁵⁶

Another potent example of the possibility of this kind of spiritual confusion is offered by Juan Diego’s vision of the Virgin of Guadalupe in 1531. While the apparition may have never happened, the legacy of the apparition has woven itself within the very fabric of the Americas and even parts of Europe. Did Juan

Diego see the Virgin of Guadalupe as a European Mary, or was she an apparition of Tonantzin, a pre-conquest goddess, or perhaps a fusion of the two, much like the Iberian and indigenous cultures? The Virgin had become a powerful figure both to the local Spaniards and to the Nahuas (and others).⁵⁷ According to Stephanie Wood, the incorporation of patron saints into daily life often served as a means of transcending the changes that occurred during the spiritual conquest.⁵⁸ Wood's research on Nahuatl testaments shows "twenty-four examples wherein family members shared the name of and had a special devotion to a saint venerated," including the gifting of land and structures to the saints.⁵⁹

The Mission and Its Program

According to Robert Jackson the "Spanish frontier policy sought, in part, to modify the social and economic structure of semi-sedentary and nomadic native groups to conform more closely to that of the sedentary, town-dwelling agricultural communities that the Spanish successfully dominated and exploited."⁶⁰ As time marched on so did the organization of regulations for conversion and punishment, at least on paper. The reality was that the further one was from authority, the more likely one was to find corruption and abuses.

To Jackson, as well as other historians, the "missions were a cost effective form of colonization" that served three basic purposes. Foremost, the aim was to secure territory for the crown. Evangelizing of the pagans was linked to the first goal, as was the third purpose, which was the continued expansion of economic growth for the crown, the Church, and other Spaniards. Jackson divided the clergy into two periods and three types of actions (here

expanded to three periods and five types of actions).

Table 1: Central Mexico to Northern Mexico and California			
Pre-1500s	Early-1600s	Late-1700s	General Actions Taken by Clergy⁶¹ √ = common for era r = rare for era
√	√	√	1. Taught new faith.
√	√	√	2. Evangelized and "Civilized" Native Populations
√	√	r	3. Evangelized and "Civilized" Sedentary Populations
	r	√	4. Rounded-up and Settled into Villages to Evangelize and "Civilize"
		√	5. Exercised a greater control over daily life of natives

As shown in the table, during the pre-mission years (1500s), the first clerics began the conversions of the larger populations who also lived in the wealthier regions. As time progressed laws were put into place to protect the natives against abuses, but conversion practices remained relatively the same. What did seem to differ over time were the punishments inflicted on the prospective converts in an attempt to "civilize" them. When converts and workers were scarce, the *reducciones* served as a tool to continue evangelizing.

For the most part, historians agree that the *reducciones* and *congregaciones* were at the heart of the "mission program,"⁶² and were, according to Stephanie Wood, "an integral part of the consolidation of conquest" designed "to condense dispersed populations following epidemics for better religious instruction and taxation," a process that today is recognized "as [a] disruptive"

force.⁶³ Critics saw the forced resettlement as a means of gaining and retaining control of assets including labor.⁶⁴

In California, the missions were similar to the *reducciones* that placed different groups who had lived in a dispersed manner, into a confined area with foreign pathogens; illness flourished and mortality rates remained high.⁶⁵ California had many clergy, beginning with the Jesuits who established and maintained missions in Lower California until their expulsion in 1767. Following the Jesuits, final control of Baja California went to the Dominicans, and the Franciscans received the charge of Alta California, considered a poor and difficult region. As the padres and priests spread out, so did the Spanish troops and *presidios* that supported the missions. In most cases, these troops were poorly trained, ill supplied, and dependent upon the missions for their food and well-being. In turn, the missions and the missionaries were dependent upon the troops and the *presidios* because of their remote locations that tended to infringe on occupied territories. Generally, natives outnumbered the troops and may even have enjoyed military superiority had it not been for their tendencies towards micro-patriotism.

Daily Life in a Mission

According to Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt, all the missions had more or less the same daily routine. "At sunrise the bell called to church all the adults, that is to say, all over nine years of age. Holy Mass was celebrated by one of the Fathers, whilst the other recited aloud the prayers and the "Doctrina" with the Indians." After mass and roll call, each neophyte kissed the padre's hand, then the punishment of alleged miscreants began. Other missions followed that general patter. Sometimes descriptions focused on separate eating quarters for men and women. Other descriptions

focused on different patterns of work, with men and boys working “in the field, among the live-stock, or in the shops,” while “the girls and single women found occupation under the care of the matron.”⁶⁶ According to Engelhardt, after the adults left for work, the Fathers instructed the boys and girls who were five and older; “none” were allowed “to be absent.”⁶⁷ By noon, the bell rang again, calling the people to gruel, which could have any of the following ingredients: “meat, beans, peas, lentils, or garbanzos” depending on the “season and means of the mission.” They returned to work until five in the evening, when they would once again go to mass, have dinner, and spend the rest of the evening as they pleased often indulging “in the pastimes of their savage state” including gaming.

The Civilizing Function: Regulations, Obedience, Punishment, and sometimes Revolt

The French voyager Jean Francois Galaup de Lapérouse, in 1785, described the daily routine at San Carlos de Borromeo (Carmel) mission. He had a far worse opinion of what mission life was like than Engelhardt. Lapérouse recalled that the men and women were not left alone even for a moment, for the “friar conducts them” everywhere. Lapérouse had mixed feelings expressing high regard for some friars but not others. He wrote that life in the mission was in “resemblance” to a slave colony: “we have seen men and women loaded with irons, others in the *bloc*, and finally, the blows of the whip have reached our ears.”⁶⁸ What he saw was part of everyday life for many. Louis Choris wrote of the inhabitants of San Francisco, “I have never seen one smile, I have never even seen one look another in the eye,” it was a telling sign of the abuse they endured.⁶⁹

In many cases, the punishments issued by the friars and other Spaniards of Alta California (and elsewhere) overstepped the bounds given by the Law of the Indies. The indigenous were to be protected due to their value as labor and sources of tax revenues. The native peoples, according to the law, were to have been punished as "children" (*niños con barbas* or children with beards) but for the most part the punishment was much harsher.⁷⁰ Those who were under seventeen years of age were considered, under the *Las Siete Partidas*, minors with a right to legal representation and lighter punishments.⁷¹ Accordingly, children had some basic rights, as did the indigenous. A case in point was of a twenty-two year old indigenous man who confessed to "having robbed a store of various items of clothing." He was found not guilty due to his "double minority," age and "Indian condition."⁷² Laws written on paper depended on the willingness of local authorities to enforce them. The distance from California to Mexico was great and communication was extremely precarious because there was no system in place to facilitate regular communication, and there was no easy way for Mexico City officials to check on the northern frontier. Many opportunities existed for civil officials in California to corrupt the laws or rules.

Essentially, people faced two forms of punishment, light and harsh. Light punishment was corrective in manner and slightly physical. For example, those who missed daily mass were rounded up and pinched on the ears to get them to go to church. Sometimes, the light punishment was more abusive. A long stick (walking cane) was used to strike the "Indians about the ears and head" for falling asleep in church.⁷³ One could, however, incur worse punishments. Indian promiscuity, for example, was seen as idolatry and punished

by whipping (flogging), and each inflictor had his own methods and tools. Other typical punishments included flogging, shackles, and the stocks. Franciscan Francis Guest reminded his readers that whipping was a common punishment during the era, which it was. Guest suggests that the native people were used to the whip because some of them followed the Franciscan's example of self-flagellation.⁷⁴ I would suggest that whipping oneself however is wholly different from having the whip, the lash, or the cane inflicted by someone else.

Thomas Savage's interview of Eulalia Pérez, the wife of a soldier, in December 1877, clearly showed that many punishments were beyond the legal limits of the law.⁷⁵ According to Pérez, less serious crimes might be punished by placing the offender in stocks and/or confining them to a cell. But "when the crime was serious, they would take the delinquent to the guardhouse" and there such people were whipped. Pérez recalled that sometimes a person was tied to a post before being whipped, but lacking a post, the person would be tied to "a cannon" or put in what Pérez described as *Ley de bayona*. That punishment involved putting a shotgun behind the knees with the person's hands tied to the gun; "It was very painful."⁷⁶ It is hard to imagine anyone tying a child to a pillory post, a cannon, or putting a person into *Ley de Bayona*, and then whipping that person in front of the community. Yet it happened to the indigenous children and adults as outside forces attempted to "civilize" them. In reality it was torture for all who were subject to the abuse.

Sometimes the natives revolted, but other factors, such as fear and disunity limited their actions. Another factor might have been that all single women and married women whose husbands were

away were kept locked up at night like hostages in the *monjeríos*. Without strict controls, many padres feared rebellion, but too much strictness or abuse could result in uprisings. The latter occurred with the native reaction to Padre Andrés Quintana (Mission Santa Cruz). According to James Sandos, the decision to act came when Fray Quintana threatened to introduce a "new metal-tipped whip with which to cut the flesh of those being flogged." On the third try, the natives finally killed him (October of 1812). They smothered him and left him with one of his testicles shoved into his mouth, a common final insult.⁷⁷ Another effective example of revolt occurred when Fray Luís Jayme (Mission San Diego de Alcalá) was beaten to death by a mob of angry natives. In contrast, abuses inflicted by Fray José Altimira spawned only the partial burning of the mission and Altimira's need to flee.⁷⁸ Isolation, seclusion, and autonomy often increased whenever Mexico found itself in political or economic turmoil, which was the case much of the time during the post-independence period.

The Founding of Sonoma Mission

Seclusion and autonomy were factors in the founding of the Sonoma Mission, as were the personal aspirations of Fr. José Altimira.⁷⁹ Mission San Francisco de Solano was founded without the formal permission of the Church, without permission from Mexico, and, of course, without the permission of the indigenous people. Fr. Altimira did have the consent of California's Mexican Governor Luis Argüello. Thus, the founding of Sonoma Mission was in direct conflict with the Church and traditional founding methods.

Fray Altimira, in addition to breaking his Order's chain of

command, placed envy and greed into the equation, possibly losing sight of his vow of poverty, as he openly lusted for what he wanted. His behavior and attitudes were in opposition to that which was acceptable during the period, even visible in his correspondence with his superiors following the founding of the mission and in his letter to the governor asking for continued support.⁸⁰ Fray Altimira used the growing Russian presence to swell fears of further incursions. According to Kent Lightfoot, the “native peoples displaced by the construction of Mission San Rafael and Mission San Francisco Solano were encouraged” by Ivan Kuskov “to relocate along the southern boundary...providing a buffer” from “their Hispanic neighbors.”⁸¹ Altimira hoped to stimulate support from Argüello, for while a single “mission could hardly serve as a military bulwark... it could substantiate a claim to territory.”⁸²

It was not until after the founding of the new site that Fr. Altimira bothered to write to his superiors to inform them of his action and of his plans to usurp some of the residents in other Bay Area missions.⁸³ On the fourth day, according to the expedition diary, they marked the site for the new mission. Fr. Altimira recalled that it was a day for “a festival,” the altar was prepared that morning and a provisional cross was made that measured 7 *varas* in length and 3 *varas* wide at the arms.⁸⁴

We blessed the place and within the site at where the gentile Indians of *Sonoma* formerly lived in their *ranchería* [a native settlement], we planted the Holy Cross and at the moment of raising high this image. The troops discharged a volley and at the same time the padre with [his] 2 neophytes sang...in the adoration of the Holy Cross.⁸⁵

Based on what we know, those who participated in that event, whether by singing or firing the volley, most likely had a completely different understanding of it than the curious onlooker. The onlooker most likely understood that it was a sacred ritual, but the images may have served as a lesson on the interconnectedness or duality in the life force of the tree. Another viewer might have believed that the ritual was a prerequisite for a safe journey (they left that day), and other explanations are possible.

Reporting the Unlawful Act

The records of the Church, though usually one-sided, offer a look at what happened following the founding of the Mission. On July 10, Fr. José Altimira sent a letter to Fr. Presidente José Señan (unaware that he had died) claiming that the "Mission at Dolores was on its last legs and a change was necessary and that Mission San Rafael Arcangel could not subsist alone." Fr. Altimira hoped for approval but stated that, "if no changes were made, he would leave the missions here in California and return to Europe at the first opportunity." Scrambling to defend his actions, he charged that Missions San José and San Rafael were "forcibly seizing gentiles...and taking them against their will to their mission," which of course violated the "agreement."⁸⁶ Most likely, there was truth to his statement, but Altimira's record has problems of its own, leaving one to wonder about his credibility.⁸⁷ According to Engelhardt, "the new Father President, Fr. Sarriá" wrote to Fr. Altimira chastising his insolent actions.⁸⁸

The Father President ordered Fr. Altimira to stop work on the Mission. Altimira responded with "a blistering letter of complaint" to Governor Argüello, asserting "I came here to convert gentiles

and to establish new missions. If I cannot do it here, where as we all agree is the best spot...I will leave the country." Not only did Fr. José Altimira seem like a spoiled child, he challenged the Governor's pride by asking if the *diputaciones* were legal. Argüello retorted that "now the establishment at Sonoma was a fact, it would continue as a military post."⁸⁹ In other words, he understood that his distance from Mexico allowed him the latitude of attitude, and Governor Argüello no doubt felt that the fledgling nation would find the site useful for military support to maintain control against the growing Russian presence.⁹⁰

Back at the Mission

Father Altimira finally won the right to continue building the mission but even that had required help from the Governor. The Padre's success was short lived because of his fervor for building or perhaps his bad temper. During the early mission periods (pre-Alta California), the "temporalities" were theoretically used to provide for the mission and the neophytes. In California, troops and settlers used more than the surplus often leaving the native people to find their own food in an environment compromised and depleted by the foreign intrusion of man and beast (cattle, oxen, sheep, and pigs).⁹¹

The original inhabitants of the San Francisco Bay Area missions continued openly to display traditional customs, and in many cases, the padres failed to comprehend their actions. That was especially true when matters concerned death and an afterlife, which often continued under the watchful eyes of the padres. Those who lived by the sea often believed that following death of the body, "they [would] go out to sea and that there are many there," implying an

afterlife that was in keeping with pre-Hispanic beliefs.⁹² In other cases, women continued to bedaub themselves (beating on the chest with a stone usually to the point of “drawing of blood”).⁹³ The padres believed that burial methods were decided by the laziness of the individual or the number of relatives alive that could help with the process. Divorced from this clerical bias, the evidence suggests that indigenous people continued to practice their burial traditions without the padres’ knowledge. Moreover, many also continued to practice traditional forms of curatives.⁹⁴ The “cut [of] their hair” and their “disfigured [tattooed] faces” spoke loudly to the continuation of cultural lifestyles. The padres and Isidora commented that traditional marriage ceremonies continued.⁹⁵ Yet, for the most part, daily life became what the individual padre demanded.

Many Indians ran away from the missions and Sonoma Mission was no exception. According to Sherburne Cook, “Some Indians came to San Carlos saying that many were running away from San Francisco Solano because the Indians do not like Father Altimira.” Cook compiled a list of reasons the captured escapees gave for running away that speaks loudly of the hunger and abuse they endured.⁹⁶ Fr. Sarriá, in a letter to Argüello, reported that the “Indians were running away from Sonoma, because they disliked Fr. Altimira’s ways.”⁹⁷ Antonio María Osio wrote that Father Altimira had ordered, “Each Indian from San Francisco be given fifty lashes,” a clear violation of the law, and a telling sign of the abuse.⁹⁸

Father Altimira proved to be a good administrator but had difficulty relating to those entrusted to his care. His constant flogging and imprisonment of the Native Americans, in his efforts to “civilize” them soon caused a revolt. A large group of angry Native Americans attacked the mission in 1826. After looting

and burning buildings and supplies, they forced Father Altimira to flee to Mission San Rafael. Discouraged, Father Altimira sought transfer to another mission, but was unwelcome.⁹⁹

According to Robert Smilie, "complaints from the Indians had reached the Father Commissary Prefect and he had passed the information on to the governor."¹⁰⁰ Unwelcome by his fellow Franciscans, Altimira and Ripoll (from the Mission Santa Barbara) surreptitiously fled on December 29, 1827.¹⁰¹

Fr. Buenaventura Fortuni, who had been stationed at San José, replaced Fr. José Altimira. Robert Smilie's assemblage of the *informes* (reports) show that under Fr. Fortuni the mission had bountiful harvests, increased building, and increased baptisms, yet, the mission continued to have chronically high mortality rates. In 1832, Fr. Fortuni requested a transfer from the Sonoma Mission because of his advancing age, a lack of companionship, and because he had no personal confessor.¹⁰² In 1833, Fr. José Gutiérrez replaced the retiring Fortuni, but his stay at Sonoma was brief because of his questionable methods and ethics. Even General Mariano Vallejo, the Mexican military commander who also had questionable ethics, filed charges against Gutiérrez.¹⁰³

Secularization

In 1834, the Mexican government once again called for secularization of the missions and churches, but with that new effort secularization came to fruition. Secularization brought many changes, including the end of the *casta* system and the so-called emancipation of the indigenous people. Ending the *casta* system ended an indigenous person's right to an advocate and allowed

the indigenous to be taken advantage of by those who promised to protect them.

Secularization of the missions might have seemed an appealing change, but once again, greed and a self-serving approach often led to corruption. At age 27, Mariano Vallejo became the Military Commander and Director of Colonization of the Northern Frontier and was "to take charge of the mission, establish the parish church, free the Indian workers," which included the fair distribution of the mission lands. "Instead he claimed the mission property to be his own and added it to his already vast property holdings." He had already been granted 44,000 acres in the Petaluma Valley "to develop a private rancho," but that was not nearly enough land for his wishes.¹⁰⁴ For the most part, he simply gave and sold the mission lands to himself and others within his circle of *hombres de bien* (privileged white men).¹⁰⁵

The "Indians best fitted for release" were supposed to be given "small parcel[s] of land, seeds, implements, few cattle and horses, a year's food, and other items," but few families left until the process of graft went into full swing. Padres too were allotted certain rights under the laws of secularization, but as Fr. José Quijas soon found, what was supposed to happen often did not.¹⁰⁶ Early on some of the "Indians demanded land," but for the most part "they were given movable property and told to live where they pleased," leaving Vallejo in "charge of their stock" and the land.¹⁰⁷ Vallejo extended his role, trying to fill the padres' shoes. He increased his activities as the patriarchal leader, in addition to his military role and *jefe* (boss man) on his own ranchos. Vallejo called himself the "protector of the natives," yet many feared him. According to Osio, "The Indians...showed him a mixture of esteem, great respect, and

fear.”¹⁰⁸ In many cases, Vallejo gained land as part of fake gifts from Indians who he kept in place unpaid workers.

Although the Sonoma Mission was placed in the hands General Vallejo, he in turn gave it to his younger brother, Salvador Vallejo (age 20), and later *mayordomo* Antonio Ortega.¹⁰⁹ Besides the havoc of secularization, the mission was besieged with the settlers of the Híjar and Padrés party¹¹⁰ despite President Santa Anna’s order that those groups not be recognized. As a result, tempers flared.¹¹¹ The colonists at the Sonoma Mission became disgruntled and plotted to take action. “Lieutenant Vallejo discovered their plans” for an uprising and subsequently arrested the leaders, disarmed the settlers, and banished many of them.¹¹²

By the end of 1835, Father Quíjas moved to San Rafael Arcangel to free himself from the dark and vile acts that were taking place at Sonoma Mission.¹¹³ He alerted his superiors and Governor Figueroa to the problems, but after his letters and verbal complaints to other clergy, civil, and military authorities went unanswered¹¹⁴ Fr. Quíjas left the mission rather than continue to witness “the abominable deeds of Ortega.” According to Quíjas, Ortega’s vile deeds were conducted in “an unbridled and barefaced manner” that “has given free rein to the infamous vice of lust.” Ortega openly boasted of his conquests, to “Sergeant Pablo Pacheco, Ignacio Azevedo, Nicolas Higuera, [as well as] a number of carpenters and shoemakers”¹¹⁵ whose voices might have carried some weight in a court of law.

Beyond those whose voices would count, were those of the nearly muted neophytes. It was from those voices, the victims, that the most damning evidence came. More than 170 years have elapsed since Fr Quíjas officially exposed the crimes of Antonio Ortega. Today the charges against Ortega would have included not

only the brutal rape and abuse of women (young and old alike), but also his sexual abuse of men and perhaps boys.¹¹⁶ The latter was a subject the padres shied away from.

Fr. Quijas's written complaint was so nonspecific in detailing the facts it undoubtedly contributed to the lack of action. He was careful what he wrote because he feared that even writing about it was a sin, and he did not wish to promote such abominable acts acknowledging them. Beyond that, he had no wish for the victims or the offspring to suffer further. The reality is it just was not proper during the period to make public the fact that "Yoquila" the "wife of the gentile Talai" had been raped in a place that was so public "many heathens and Christians witnessed it" causing both to lose their honor. Nor was it an era when the voice of Yoquila or Tadeo would have been heard without speculation about their own moral characters. Carlos the *alcalde* reported that he had seen Ortega "in the *posolera* [sic] in the act of sinning with a new male convert named Tadeo." Samuela said that she did not resist Ortega because she feared him and the violence he had done to others. Others also complained about Ortega, including, "Prima, Fermina, Dolores, Escolastica, Garina, Samuela, Adjuta, Cecilia, Cesaria."¹¹⁷ Tadeo and unknown others did not speak, perhaps, because having sexual relations with a person of the same sex was considered an abomination. No witnesses were called against Ortega; it seems that Fr. Quijas was to have neither quick legal intervention nor divine intervention.

Instead of responding to the padre's complaints, Governor Figueroa wrote a letter saying nothing about Ortega but "reprimanding ...Castillo [who] arbitrarily ordered" the flogging of "some of the Indian boys."¹¹⁸ Two main reasons explain the lack

of action. First, Figueroa had died, and second, political turmoil followed his death. In the end, none of the victims received justice because the charges against Ortega were dismissed after a good deal of wrangling on the part of Mariano Vallejo. Following Ortega's brief trial, "Mariano Vallejo, resigned his position as *comisionado*... Ortega succeeded him as administrator," remaining there until 1837, when he was forced to resign for unacceptable behavior.¹¹⁹

For more than eleven years, the Native Americans at the Sonoma Mission were the legal subjects (wards) of the missionaries, subject to the whims and punishments of the padres and the military. Mariano Vallejo controlled many aspects of military and civil authoritative command in the region, and the native inhabitants had learned to obey orders or pay the consequences of disobeying (commonly flogging). It is reasonable that natives might give up everything in exchange for protection.

Isidora Filomena, the widow of Prince Solano, was ninety years old and living under the protection of the Vallejos when Henry Cerruti, one of Bancroft's writers, interviewed her in April 1874. She was also present at other interviews and offered a different opinion of her benefactors. The interview came with substantial effort and a set of conditions, which included that both Salvador Vallejo and Captain M. A. McLaughlin were to be in attendance during the interview.¹²⁰ Isidora was an important woman because she was the widow of one of Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo's closest allies; in addition, her participation in the interview process clearly reveals the ominous power the Vallejos held.¹²¹ According to Cerruti, her living conditions resembled the feudalistic era, in that, her house was a "hut" and she feared speaking without permission. It was not until after Salvador Vallejo "inaccurately" told her,

"Cerruti was 'one of her people, and an innate enemy' of the North Americans" that Isidora began to listen, but a conversation was out of the question until they had given her enough brandy to reduce her inhibitions. By the end of the interview, she was so drunk that Cerruti, with the help of Salvador Vallejo, was able to pressure her to relinquish her cherished matrimonial outfit. In sum, Cerruti ended up with Isidora's heirloom wedding outfit because he took advantage of her problem with alcohol and her fear of not complying with the Vallejos.

Filomena's interview also adds depth to our view of everyday life among neophytes during the Mexican era. Prince Bill, Isidora's son, was ready to "censure his mother, who is a decided worshiper of Bacchus." Isidora asserted that Vallejo had "forced" Solano to quit "working independently" and instead go to work "with the Vallejo" sharing the profits. Previously Solano had contracted labor for Vallejo's properties and even "sold some Indian children to rancheros in the San Pablo area" keeping his profit.¹²² When Solano was granted land, he gave it to Vallejo, receiving the title of *mayordomo* in return. In time, even Solano's warriors took their commands from Vallejo. Later Solano was patented another 10,000 acres and that also went to Vallejo.

Transcending the Conquest

Over the centuries, from Tenochtitlan to the mission San Francisco Solano, transcending the spiritual conquest has often been associated with the veneration of religious items, a constant that became less visible as centuries passed. As Stephanie Wood has noted, the veneration of religious items often served as a means of transcending the changes that occurred during the spiritual

conquest. The veneration of religious items did not imply the whole-hearted acceptance of Catholicism, especially if one applies Lockhart's "double mistaken identity," which could imply the adoption or adaptation of religious symbols, imbuing them with different meanings (commonly called syncretism).

Previously, historians contended there was little evidence to support the existence of this in California among the mission neophytes, but the evidence reveals that syncretism and "double mistaken identity" did occur in the Alta California missions. For instance, the inhabitants of the San Francisco Bay Area missions were allowed, and at times encouraged, to perform customary dances and rituals. Dances featured traditional rituals, and served as tools to promote trade and entertainment for foreigners and locals alike. In fact, General Vallejo was relatively "addicted to this form of entertainment." Vallejo "used the neophytes at Solano" not only to fulfill his entertainment needs but his other needs as well.¹²³

Traditional burial patterns often continued under the noses of the watchful padres, and widows continued to beat themselves in the chest until blood appeared. Hunting and fishing rituals continued, as did many other rituals so that feathers were commonly added to the religious items. Those facts make it clear that syncretism and "double mistaken identity" occurred in California.¹²⁴

Summing it Up

In the earliest periods, the Church, in its attempt to impose a new and exclusive faith, helped to lay the foundation for the colonization and attempted Christianization of the Americas, just as Herbert Bolton suggested. Yet in their effort to eradicate idolatry, they inadvertently created a venue for syncretism and "double

mistaken identity" to flourish from the very beginning. As Kevin Terraciano reminds us, this process began much earlier. In the church's infancy in the Americas, it used the "tombs and images" that it confiscated and condemned as idolatrous to provide the "start-up for the Christian Temple enterprise; similarly, temples supplied [the] building materials for new churches."¹²⁵ Lockhart's theory allows us to speculate that the indigenous most likely inferred many different meanings from the new church; some saw the new church, others saw the temple, and still others saw a fusion creating a more sacrosanct area.

Conversion methods varied greatly from era to era as well as from region to region, as did the types of punishment. The frontier brought the padres opportunities to achieve their expressed hope of converting and civilizing the indigenous populations, and it provided the excuse and means for the church to function as a bulwark of the frontier, thus facilitating a new political, social, and economic system. Nevertheless, there were a good number of "native leaders and shamans in every mission" who most likely "sought to maintain their traditional beliefs and values" suggesting that some traditions did continue.¹²⁶

As the years passed and increasing numbers of settlers came to the vast open lands, missions tended to function as trading posts of sorts.¹²⁷ In the beginning, it had been just a hand-full of soldiers (and their families) but the presidios and garrisons grew adding an ever-greater burden on the missions. The "Christianization of the Indians" had been "the centerpiece" of "a pact between church and state" wherein the well-being of the original inhabitants was often forgotten, to say nothing of the fragile environment that was quickly stripped of resources.¹²⁸ The indigenous found themselves

facing irreconcilable odds, and for the most part, found themselves in what Randall Milliken called “a time of little choice.” The abuse was only a part of a broader pattern of cultural encounters, conflicts, adoptions, and adaptations that ushered in a myriad of other changes that shaped the experiences from Tenochtitlan to the Bay Area missions of Alta California.

When secularization actually did occur, for the most part the native people of the region did not benefit. In fact, in most cases, the indigenous people suffered greater abuse at the hands of civil and military authorities as well as the nearly constant flow of foreigners. Mariano Vallejo recalled in hindsight that, “the Indians did not receive at our hands the treatment they deserved, for their property was, to a certain extent, wasted and devoted to uses very different from those to which it should have been applied.”¹²⁹ There can be no doubt that without an advocate and without the protection of the law, abuse at the Sonoma mission increased exponentially. Moreover, the further one was from the central government, whether Spain or Mexico, the greater the possibility for abuse. That was clearly the case at Sonoma.

Considerable research has focused on the “Spiritual Conquest” that followed the Iberian invasions of Mexico yet there is much left to be explored and translated.¹³⁰ There can be no doubt that transcending the conquest was an extremely difficult task, yet, as Alfred Kroeber and Sherburne Cook clearly illustrated in their separate works, the native peoples and some of their cultural traditions did survive using myriad different avenues and venues.

Notes

¹ Herbert E. Bolton, "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Oct., 1917), p 43. Bolton's view differs dramatically from contemporary historians. See also David Sweet, "The Ibero-American Frontier Mission," in *The New Latin American Mission History: A Latin American Study Series*, ed. by Erick Langer and Robert H. Jackson. (Lincoln and London: Nebraska Press, 1995), p 1.

² Erick Langer and Robert H. Jackson, ed., *The New Latin American Mission History*. (1995) p. xiii.

³ Ibid, pp. xiii-xv.

⁴ Ibid. p. xiv.

⁵ Leo Politi, *The Mission Bell*. (New York: Scribner, 1953.); Winifred Esther Wise, *Fray Junípero Serra and the California Conquest* (New York: Scribner, 1967.)

⁶ *The Famous Missions of California*, (New York: Dodge Publishing Company, 1901) p. 33.

⁷ *The Mission as a Frontier Institution*, Vol. 23, No. 1. (Oct., 1917), p 43. Also see John Francis Bannon, ed., *Bolton and the Spanish Borderlands* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), p. 67-85, 201, 255-299; and Herbert Eugene Bolton and Thomas Maitland Marshall, *The Colonization of North America, 1492-1783*. (New York: MacMillan, 1920), p. 13-19, 236-237.

⁸ Bolton and Marshall. *The Colonization of North America*, p. 236.

⁹ Jacques Soustelle, *Daily Life Of The Aztecs: On The Eve Of The Spanish Conquest*. [translated by Patrick O'Brian]. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, California, 1976), p. 95-119.

¹⁰ Louise Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth: Nahuua-Christian Moral Dialogue in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989), p. 7, 188.

¹¹ *A Time of Little Choice: The Disintegration of Tribal Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1769-1810*. (Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press, 1995.)

¹² Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of*

the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, California., 1992.) p. 445. Also, see Lockhart, *We People Here: Nahuatl Accounts of the Conquest of Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), p. 5.

¹⁴ Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries.* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992) p. 445. See also Lockhart, *We People Here: Nahuatl Accounts of the Conquest of Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), p. 5

¹³ "Colonial and Republican Missions Compared: The Cases of Alta California and Southeastern Bolivia," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 30, No. 2. (Apr., 1988), p. 303, Shipek, *California Indian Reactions*, p. 482-483. Also see Nancy Farriss, *Maya Society under Colonial Rule: The Collective Enterprise of Survival.* (Princeton, 1984), p. 286-354. On Mexico, see Nancy Farriss *Crown and Clergy In Colonial Mexico, 1759-1821: The Crisis Of Ecclesiastical Privilege* (London: Athlone Press, 1968).

¹⁴ "Colonial and Republican Missions Compared," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 30, No. 2. (Apr. 1988), p. 303.

¹⁵ Robert Haskett. [Seminar The Missions]. (Eugene, University of Oregon, 2007). Also see PBS Video of the *California Missions*.

¹⁶ Maynard Geiger and Clement Meighan, eds., *As the Padres Saw Them: California Indian Life and Customs as Reported by the Franciscan Missionaries, 1813-1815*, (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library, Glendale, Calif., distributed by A. H. Clark Co., 1976), p. 51.

¹⁷ Milliken. *A Time Of Little Choice*, p. 78.

¹⁸ Iberians were the Spanish and Portuguese. For more information, see Mark A. Burkholder and Lyman L. Johnson, *Colonial Latin America*.(5th ed., (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004) p. 182-196.

¹⁹ Burkholder & Johnson, *Colonial Latin America*, p. 1.

²⁰ Lesser-known semi-sedentary and non-sedentary groups of peoples also existed within the Americas at the time of incursion, and in reality, they made-up the majority of the population. See Burkholder & Johnson, *Colonial Latin America*, p.

1-4, 182-196.

²¹ Fray Diego Durán noted that succession between Aztec (Mexico) varied in that the Mexica did not require both parents to be royal for succession to occur. (ex. The ruler 'Itzcoatl was born of a slave woman from Azcapotzaloc') See Doris Heyden and Fernando Horcasitas, trans. and eds., *The Aztecs: The History of the Indies of New Spain* (New York: Orion Press, 1964), p 71.

²² See Louise Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth*; Matthew Restall, Lisa Sousa, and Kevin Terraciano, *Mesoamerican Voices: Native-Language Writings from Colonial Mexico, Oaxaca, Yucatan, and Guatemala* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Susan Schroeder, Stephanie Wood, and Robert Haskett, *Indian Women of Early Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999).

²³ Soustelle, *Daily Life Of The Aztecs*, p. 183; Schwartz, *The Victors Vanquished*, p. 198.

²⁴ See June E. Hahner, ed. *Women through Women's Eyes: Latin American Women in Nineteenth-Century Travel Accounts* (Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 1998). Hahner looks at everyday life, in particular that of women, from the viewpoint of a woman.

²⁵ See Max Shein's *The PreColumbian Child*. [trans. Marina Castañeda] (Culver City; California: Labyrinthos, 1992) [Originally Published in México as El Niño Precolombino]; Frances F. Berdan and Patricia Rieff Anawalt, eds., *The Essential Codex Mendoza* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), Part 3.

²⁶ Serge Gruzinski, *The Conquest of Mexico*, p. 9.

²⁷ Burkhart, *Slippery Earth*, p. 138. For more on fraternal polyandry see J. K. Schneider, "A Glimpse of Tibet: History, Religion and Traditional Lifestyles," in John Stelzer *World Religion*, [CD-ROM] (2004).

²⁸ James Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest*, p. 95.

²⁹ Bernal Diaz, *The Conquest Of New Spain* [Trans. J.M. Cohen] (New York: Penguin Books, 1978); Bernal Diaz del Castillo in Schwartz, *Victors and Vanquished*, p. 133-135.

³⁰ Helen McCarthy, William R Hildebrandt, and Laureen K. Swenson, "Ethnography and Prehistory of North Coast Range California" *Archaeological Research Report No. 8*. (University of California, Davis, 1985).

³¹ James A. Sandos, *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 14-15; Randall Milliken, *The Disintegration of Tribal culture in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1769-1810* (San Francisco: Ballena Press Publication, 1995), p 24-26, 231-261.

³² California State Parks, "Olompali SHP" Historic No. 172, <http://search.parks.ca.gov/> See also Joan Reuting, "Olompali Park Filled With History," *The Coastal Post* (September, 1997), <http://coastalpost.com/97/9/13.htm..>

³³Robert Heizer, ed., "Coast Miwok" in *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 8. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Press, 1978), p. 419. See also Herbert Bolton, *Font's Complete Diary of the Second Anza Expedition, Anza's California Expeditions*, Vol. 4 in the *Works of Herbert E. Bolton*, page 354. Throughout my research, I noted that *hóypuh kulévih* has been used to indicate a female, while *hóypuh* indicates a male chief or figure of authority. Most authors, however, simply shorten it to *hóypuh* once the sex has been determined. For more information on pre-Columbian North America see Jesse D. Jennings, ed., *Ancient North Americans* (New York: W.H. Freeman and Company, 1983) A. L. Kroeber, "Indian Myths of South Central California," *University of California Publications of American Archaeology And Ethnology* (Vol. 4 No. 6, 1907) ; and Kroeber, "The Religion of the Indians of California" *University of California Publications of American Archaeology And Ethnology* (Vol. 4 No. 4, 1907). For more general information on Mythology see Mike Dixon-Kennedy, *Native American Myth & Legend: An A-Z of People and Places*. (London: Brockhampton Press, 1996).

³⁴ McCarthy, Hildebrandt, and Swenson, "Ethnography and Prehistory of North Coast Range California" No. 8. (1985) p. 44.

³⁵ See R. F. Heizer and M. A. Whipple, eds., *The California Indians: A Source Book* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), pp. 36, 45, 51, and 115.

³⁶ See Cynthia Murrieta Radding, *Wandering Peoples: Colonialism, Ethnic Spaces, and Ecological Frontiers in Northwestern Mexico, 1700-1850* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997).

³⁷ See Francisco Palou, *La Vida de Junipero Serra*, p. 212.

³⁸ Ibid. p. 18. Also see Kroeber, "Handbook of the Indians of California," *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 78, (1925) p. 276; George Vancouver, *A*

Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and Round the world: In Which the coast of North-West America has been Carefully Examined and Accurately surveyed, Performed in the Years 1790-1795 in the Discovery Sloop of War and Armed Tender Chatham, under the Command of Captain George Vancouver, vol. 2 (London: G.G. and J. Robinson, 1778).

³⁹ Milliken, *A Time of Little Choice*, p. 13.

⁴⁰ Ibid. p. 16.

⁴¹ Trade items included obsidian, shells, sinew-backed bows, tobacco, basketry materials, and ornamental pigments. Milliken, *A Time of Little Choice*, p. 17; Kroeber "Handbook of the Indians of California" (1925) p. 276; Sonoma County. *Sonoma County Inn Draft: EIR*. [5.9 Cultural Resources], p. 5.9-2, 5.9-5; R. Louis Gentilcore, "Missions and Mission Lands of Alta California," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* Vol. 51, No. 1. (Mar., 1961).

⁴² Milliken, *A Time of Little Choice*, p. 13.

⁴³ Ibid. p.21.

⁴⁴ Ibid. p.24.

⁴⁵ See Dixon-Kennedy, *Native American Myth & Legend*; Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft: The Native Races*, Vol. 1-5 (1883).

⁴⁶ F.C. Vaillant, quoted in Francisco Gonzalez Davila, *Ancient Cultures of Mexico: The Aztec Calendar; Reconstruction of Colors and Text* (Mexico: Meseo Nacional de Antropologia), back leaf.

⁴⁷ Fernando Mires, *Discurso de la Indianidad: La cuestión indígena en América Latina* [Colección 500 años, No 53] (Quito-Ecuador: Abya-yala, 1992), p. 34.

⁴⁸ Burkholder and Johnson, p. 113. For other information on this subject, see Dainiel T. Reff, *Disease, Depopulation, and Culture Change in Northwestern New Spain, 1518-1764*. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1991), p. 181-274; Robert H. Jackson, *From Savages to Subjects: Missions in the History of the American Southwest*. (Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2000), p. 89-125; Robert H. Jackson, *Missions and The Frontiers of Spanish America: A Comparative Study of the Impact of Environmental, Economic, Political, and Socio-Cultural Variations on the Missions in the Rio De La Plata Regions and on the Northern Frontier of New Spain*

(Scottsdale, Arizona: Pentacle Press, 2005), p.275-355.

⁴⁹ The terms “*the crown and the cross*” or “*the sword and the cross*” commonly used to express the concepts of gaining property or wealth in the name of the crown, usually through violence, as well as the role that spreading Christianity. “*The crown and the cross*” also refers to the royal patronage that developed between the Crown and the Church.

⁵⁰ See Peter Masten Dunne, *Black Robes in Lower California* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1952) and Harry Crosby, *Antigua California: Mission and Colony on the Peninsular Frontier, 1697-1798* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994).

⁵¹ *The Laws of the Indies*.

⁵² For religious related abuses of the church and state, see Stephanie Wood, *Transcending Conquest: Nahua Views of Spanish Colonial Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003); R. Boyer & G. Spurling, eds., *Colonial Lives: Documents on Latin American History, 1550-1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). On the teaching of Christianity, see Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth*.

⁵³ John Schwaller has compared the *requerimiento* to “a statement of Christian dogma and an explanation of Spanish royal authority” that was “a very legalistic way, to bring the natives into submission” and it well many have worked had it not been for the language barrier. See: *The church in Colonial Latin America* (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources Inc. Imprint), p. xv.

⁵⁴ The Firesign Theater “Temporarily Humboldt County” [scene 1], *Waiting For The Electrician (Or Someone Like Him)*. (New York: Columbia Records, 1968), track 1, scene 1.

⁵⁵ Fray Bernardino de Sahagún did not understand how his story about the “Tree of Death, Tree of Life a Lesson about the Cross” might be interpreted. The story charged the “listeners to venerate the cross as a tree of life, in opposition to the tree of Eden which led to the expulsion and spiritual ‘death’ of Adam and Eve.” (1993) p. 147.

⁵⁶ The lesson of Jesus’s death on the cross, bears a great resemblance to the concept of sacrifice (and punishment in some regions) and stressed the importance of “precious blood.” From: *Doctrina Cristian en lengua Mexicana of the Franciscan*

Fray Pedro De Gante (1553). [ed by Ernesto de la torre Villar] *Centro de Estudios Histórico Fray Bernardino de Sahagun*, (1981).

Mesoamerican Voices, pp. 196, 197-201.

⁵⁸ *Mesoamerican Voices*, p. 194,195. Also see Lisa Sousa, Stafford Poole, and James Lockhart, trans., "The Story of Guadalupe," in *The Nahuatl Studies Series*, Number 5 (1998).

⁵⁹ Stephanie Wood, *Indian women of Early Mexico*, p. 178. Also see "Adopted Saints: Christian Images in Nahuatl Testaments of Late Colonial Toluca," in *The Americas* 47:3 (January 1991) 259-93.

⁶⁰ *The New Latin American Mission History* (1995) p. vii. The "grid system" was used in the California missions despite the vast geographic and demographic differences.

⁶¹ Jackson, *The New Latin American Mission History*, p. viii.

⁶² The *reducciones* and *congregaciones* dealt with resettlement of the indigenous populations into "compact" villages.

⁶³ "The Cosmic Conquest: Late-Colonial Views of the Sword and Cross in Central Mexican Títulos" in *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 38:2 (Spring, 1991), p. 182.

⁶⁴ See: Jackson, *New Latin American Mission History*, p. viii.

⁶⁵ Dainiel T. Reff, *Disease, Depopulation, and Culture Change in Northwestern New Spain, 1518-1764* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1991), p. 181-274; Jackson, *From Savages to Subjects*, p. 89-125; Jackson, *Missions and The Frontiers of Spanish America: A Comparative Study of the Impact of Environmental, Economic, Political, and Socio-Cultural Variations on the Missions in the Rio De La Plata Regions and on the Northern Frontier of New Spain* (Scottsdale, Arizona: Pentacle Press, 2005), p.275-355.

⁶⁶ *The Missions and Missionaries of California, Vol II, Upper California Part I. General History* (San Francisco, CA: the James H. Barry Company, 1912) p. 253-255.

⁶⁷ *The Missions and Missionaries of California :Vol II* p. 253-255.

⁶⁸ Charles N. Redkin, trans., *Early California Travels Series XLVI: The First*

French Expedition to California: Lapérouse in 1786 (Los Angeles, California: Glen Dawson, 1959), p. 64-65; footnote. A *bloc* "is a beam split lengthwise in which has been made a hole of the size of an ordinary let. An iron hinge unites the halves of this beam at one extremity; it opens at the other end to admit the prisoner's leg and is fastened with a padlock. This forces him to lie down in a very uncomfortable position."

⁶⁹ Louis Choris, *The Visit of the "Rurik" to San Francisco in 1816*. (Stanford Press, [1816] 1932), p. 91-102.

⁷⁰ Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, "Model Children and Models for Children in Early Mexico" in Tobias Hecht's *Minor Omissions: Children in Latin American History and Society* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), pp. 58-64.

⁷¹ Lipsett-Rivera, "Model Children and Models for Children in Early Mexico," in Hecht, *Minor Omissions*, p. 60.

⁷² Bianca Premo, "Minor Offenses" in Hecht, *Minor Omissions* (2002) p.127. The case in question is from: Fáctica, Juzgado del Corregidor del Cercado o Sub-Delegado del Cercado, 18800, legajo, cuaderno 16, folio 29.

⁷³ James Sandos, *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions*. (2004) p. 49.

⁷⁴ Sandos, *Converting California*, p 36-37; M. Guest, *Cultural Perspectives on California Mission Life*, p. 6-22; Fr. Palou, *La Vida Life de Junipero Serra*, p. 44; and Geiger, *Life and Time of Junipero Serra*, 1, p.146-147.

⁷⁵ Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, *Testimonios: Early California through the Eyes of Women, 1815-1848*. [2006: 96].

⁷⁶ Eulalia Pérez in Beebe and Senkewicz, *Testimonios: Early California*, p.109.

⁷⁷ Lorenzo Asisara, "The Assassination of Padre Andres Quintana by the Indians of Misión Santa Cruz in 1812" in Edward D. Castillo, ed., *The Narrative of Llorenzo Asisara*, "California History", 68: 3 (Fall 1989).

⁷⁸ Sandos, *Converting California*, p. 159.

⁷⁹ Most written works that refer to padres, friars (singular, fray), priests, in the following manner: fray José Altimira, becomes, fray José or Fr. José. For the purpose of this written work, however, (because there were too many friars named José) fray

José Altimira will become either fray Altimira or Fr. Altimira (name type of clergy + surname). *Sonoma* means “valley of the moon.”

⁸⁰ Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library [SBMAL] located in California. Document: *Altimira to Senan* [CMDOC 2450. San Francisco. 7/10/1823] [SBMAL]; *Diary of the expedition* by Altimira. [CMDOC 2453. 6/25-/22/1823] [SBMAL] ; *Altimira to Luis Arguello on his desire to build...without delay.* [CMDOC 2454. San Francisco Solano. 7/22/1823.] [SBMAL].

⁸¹ *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants: The Legacy of Colonial Encounters on the California Frontiers.* (Berkeley: University of California Press), p. 135.

⁸² Charles E Chapman, *A History of California: The Spanish Period* (New York: MacMillan Company, 1936), p. 431.

⁸³ *Altimira to Senan* [CMDOC 2450. San Francisco. 7/10/1823] [SBMAL]

⁸⁴ Robert S. Smilie, *The Sonoma Mission: San Francisco Solano de Sonoma: The Founding, Ruin and Restoration of California's 21st Mission.* (Fresno; California: Valley Publishers, 1975), p. 12. According to Ken Mahn [Telephone Interview, 12 Apr. 2007], the term *vara* refers to a measurement that varied, but was finally standardized at approximately 33 1/3 inches. For more information on Spanish and Latin American (Hispanic American) measurements see Kenneth Pauley articles available through <www.ca-missions.org/> or in “California Mission Studies Assn. Articles” *Weights & Measurements in California's Mission Period: Part I—Linear Measurements; Weights & Measurements in California's Mission Period: Part 2—Area Measurements; Weights & Measurements in California's Mission Period: Part 3—Volume Measurements.*

⁸⁵ Smilie, *The Sonoma Mission*, p. 12, 3; Altimira, *Diary of the expedition* [CMDOC 2453. 6/25-/22/1823] [SBMAL].

⁸⁶ Smilie, *The Sonoma Mission*, p. 13; *Altimira to Senan* [CMDOC 2450. San Francisco. 1823] [SBMAL]

⁸⁷ Fr. Duran denied Altimira's charges against him in *Duran to Arguello.* [CMDOC2451. San Jose. 7/12/1823].

⁸⁸ Smilie, *The Sonoma Mission*. p. 17; Z. Engelhardt and Archive Doc: *Sarria to Altimira disapproving of is having established Mission San Francisco Solano.* [CMDOC 2472. San Juan Bautista. 08/23/1823] [SBMAL].

⁸⁹ Smilie, *The Sonoma Mission*. p. 17-18. Diputación (in this case) called for the closure of the two missions [San Francisco de Axis and San Rafael] which would allow for the transfer of their "goods" and indigenous populations to Sonoma Mission. Also see *Altimira to Luis Arguello on the need for suppressing Mission San Rafael and aggregating its inhabitants to Mission San Francisco Solano*. [CMDOC 2474. San Francisco Solano. 8/31/1823] [SBMAL].

⁹⁰ See Clarence John DuFour, *The Russian Withdrawal from California* reprinted in *Quarterly of the California Historical Society* Vol. XII No. 3 [September 1933]. For a look at the inter-workings and nepotism see John S. Hittell, *History of the City of San Francisco and Incidentally of the State of California*. (San Francisco, 1878) p. 89; Andrew F. Rolle, *An American in California, The Biography of William Heath Davis, 1822-1909* (San Mariano, California: Henry E. Huntington Library, 1956), p. 39.

⁹¹ By examining, the *informes* (reports) of the padres compilations of Solano's *informes*, as well as the works of other historians, anthropologists, ecologists, and immigration experts it quick becomes apparent that the northern frontier was comprised by what Radding referred to as small "ecological frontiers;" Jackson called them "microecologic" regions.

⁹² Geiger, *As the Padres saw Them*, p. 52, 146, 119-120.

⁹³ Geiger, *As the Padres saw Them*, p. 52, 146, 119-120.

⁹⁴ Beebe and Senkewicz, *Testimonios: Early California*, p. 3-15, 328-329, for a reprint of Henry Cerruti's 1874 interview of Isidora Filomena who was the widow of Suisun chief Sem-Yeto, better known as Francisco Solano (baptismal name) or Prince Solano.

⁹⁵ Geiger, *As the Padres saw Them*, p. 70, 79-80.

⁹⁶ *The Conflict between the California Indian and White Civilization*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976) p. 69-72.

⁹⁷ *The Missions and Missionaries of California Vol III Upper California Part II, General History*, p. 184. For a complete account, see CMDOC 2506. San Carlos, 10/18/1823 at SBMAL.

⁹⁸ Antonio Mariia Osio in Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, ed. and trans., *The History of Alta California: A Memoir of Mexican California* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), p. 123.

⁹⁹ Athanasius Schaefer Multimedia. "San Francisco Solano (Sonoma Mission)," <http://www.athanasius.com/camission/sonoma.htm>.

¹⁰⁰ Smilie, *The Sonoma Mission*, p. 23.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. p. 29.

¹⁰² Ibid. p. 40.

¹⁰³ See Smilie for *informes* (reports) and demographics mentioned.

¹⁰⁴ Athanasius Schaefer Multimedia. "Mission San Francisco Solano (Sonoma)," <http://www.athanasius.com/camission/sonoma.htm>. Also see J. P. Munro-Fraser, *History of Sonoma County* (1973).

¹⁰⁵ J. P. Munro-Fraser, *History of Sonoma County: Including its Geology, Topography, Mountains, Valleys and Streams: Together with a Full and Particular Record of the Spanish Grants* (Petaluma, California: C. B. Veronda, 1973). The term *hombres de bien* refers to what might be best described as the Wealthy Good Old Boys network. The term *hombres de bien* literally translates to "the men of good" or "the good men" but in reality, the phrase implied the men who were of good standing in the hierarchy of socio-economic community.

¹⁰⁶ Smilie, *Sonoma Mission*, p. 47. Beebe and Senkewicz, *Testimonios: Early California* (2006) p. 415; Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., *Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California, 1769-1848: A Biographical Dictionary* (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1969), p. 200-203.

¹⁰⁷ Mrs. Fremont Older, *California Missions and Their Romances*. (New York: Tudor Publishing Co., 1945) p. 293.

¹⁰⁸ Beebe and Senkewicz's translation of Antonio Maria Osio's *The History of Alta California: A Memoir of Mexican California*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), p. 105.

¹⁰⁹ Antonio Ortega had several names and there has also been confusion between two persons. See *Bancroft's Works Vol. XXI: History of California, 1840-1845*, (San Francisco, California: History Company Publishers, 1886), vol. iii, pp. 354, 711, 719-720, vol. i, p. 606, and vol. iv, p. 760.

¹¹⁰ Lisbeth Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California, 1769-1936*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995) p. 35-36.

- ¹¹¹ Smilie, *Sonoma Mission*. p. 53-54.
- ¹¹² Ibid. p. 55-56.
- ¹¹³ *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft. "History of California" (Vols 1-7).* (1890).
- ¹¹⁴ Gerald Joseph Geary, *The Secularization of the California Missions, 1810-1846* (Washington, D.C.: the Catholics University of America, 1934), p. 158.
- ¹¹⁵ Zephyrin Engelhardt, *The Missions and Missionaries of California. Vols III Part II.* p.584-585. CMDOC 3537. Santa Clara. 8/12/1835. *Garcia Diego y Moreno to Figueroa on the report of Quijas.. August 2, on conditions at San Francisco Solano*
- ¹¹⁶ Engelhardt, *The Missions and Missionaries of California. Vols III Part II.* p.585 ; CMDOC 3537. Santa Clara. 8/12/1835. *Garcia Diego y Moreno to Figueroa on the report of Quijas.* Beebe and Senkewicz, *The History of Alta California* p. 346.
- ¹¹⁷ CMDOC 3537. Santa Clara. 8/12/1835. *Garcia Diego y Moreno to Figueroa on the report of Quijas.* Beebe and Senkewicz, *The History of Alta California* p. 346.
- ¹¹⁸ Pedro del Castillo was the "associate commissioner for secularization of Mission Dolores in 1835, says Hittell, iv, 743. Bancroft (iii, 377 ; 700) says this Castillo was receptor of government revenues at San Francisco in 183-1835." Previous from: Engelhardt's *The Missions and Missionaries of California. Vols III Part II.* p.591 footnote 2.
- ¹¹⁹ Engelhardt, *The Missions and Missionaries of California. Vols III Part II.* p.591.
- ¹²⁰ Beebe and Senkewicz, *Testimonios: Early California* (2006) p. 323.
- ¹²¹ Isidora Filomena in Beebe and Senkewicz, *Testimonios: Early California* (2006) p. 3-16.
- ¹²² Ibid. p. 7-8.
- ¹²³ Sherburne F. Cook, *The Conflict Between*, p. 153.
- ¹²⁴ The populations of California seem meager compared to those that the Iberian

first encountered in Tenochtitlan.

¹²⁵ *The people of Two Hearts and the One god from Castile: Ambivalent Responses to Christianity in Early Colonial Oaxaca in Religion in New Spain* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007), p. 20.

¹²⁶ "California Indian Shamanism," *Anthropological Papers*, No. 39 (Menlo Park, California: Ballena Press, 1992), p. 166.

¹²⁷ S. F. Cook, "Conflict Between," p. 562-571 and "Migration and Urbanization of the Indians in California," p. 551-561, in Heizer and Whipple, eds., *The California Indians: A Source Book*.

¹²⁸ Cynthia Radding, *Wandering Peoples*; Titian Ramsay Peale, *The Diary of Titian Ramsey Peale: Oregon to California, overland journey, September and October, 1841*. (Los Angeles, California: Glen Dawson, 1957), p. 73.

¹²⁹ Steven W. Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769-1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), p. 374.

¹³⁰ There are documents at the Santa Barbara Mission Archives that have never been translated, and still others, can be found at the Bancroft Library in San Francisco, California. Memoirs and other documents such as those translated by Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewica (Santa Clara Archives) provide new avenues of exploration in historical research. Other interesting explorations would be that of the Solano country Historical Society in Vallejo, California, as well as the California State Library (Sacramento), just to name a few. And lest we forget, the countless numbers of documents Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City.

Relational Aggression in Relation to Friendship Quality in Female Dyads

by Anna J. Spece
Psychology

Faculty Mentor: Thomas Dishion
Psychology, School Psychology, Child and Family Center

Abstract

Understanding relational aggression within adolescent relationships can provide information about reasons why teens engage in antisocial or prosocial behavior, and may lead to better solutions for controlling deviant acts. Likewise, knowledge of relational aggression within friendships can assist therapists, teachers, and parents in developing tools to help teens stop relational aggression. This study seeks to understand how high levels of mutuality contribute to relational aggression in a friendship and to perceptions of the quality of that friendship. Those same high levels of relational aggression and closeness, however, can lead either to prosocial or deviant behavior in adolescent friendships. Data for the study consist of videotaped interactions of 138 female participants, aged 16 to 17, engaged in the Peer Interaction Task. Project Alliance, a psychological organization from a University of Oregon affiliate, the Child and Family Center, collected and controls the data, which is part of a larger study.

Relationships among children, and both the reputation and status of children in peer groups, are important for social and emotional development (Zimmer-Gembeck, Geiger, & Crick, 2005). Children thrive on the relationships that they develop throughout childhood and adolescence, and through those relationships they often develop key traits and abilities that they carry with them throughout their formative years. Past studies have shown that the friendships young children attain in their first years in school (i.e. preschool, kindergarten), often contribute to their language abilities (Bonica, Arnold, Fisher, and Zeljo, 2003), self-representations (Moretti, Holland, and McKay, 2001), and also to their emotional development. Professionals in the psychological field believe that friendships greatly impact decision-making processes and behaviors in children, preadolescents, and adolescents. Moreover, behavior changes and consistencies of a child or adolescent have been directly linked to the behavior exhibited within a peer group or dyadic relationship. Such behavior is highly influential to an individual as it often explains the rules of normative, prosocial, and deviant behavior within peer groups and dyadic relationships (Brendgen, Vitaro, and Bukowski, 2000).

Understanding behavior of children and adolescents is crucial in understanding all forms of emotional responses that often hinder performances in school, within families, and in the broader society. One such behavior that has been particularly caustic in most social situations is aggression, especially overt aggression, which consists of behaviors such as hitting, kicking, physical, or verbal threatening intended to harm another through physical damage or the threat of such damage (Grotperter and Crick, 1996). In contrast, relational aggression includes behaviors such as spreading rumors to damage

status, or giving someone the silent treatment, all of which harm others by manipulating their relationships (Grotmeter and Crick, 1996). Although both forms of aggression are often present at schools and within many child and adolescent relationships, a general distinction exists between the two forms. Primarily, males use overt aggression whereas females use relational aggression. Many studies have found that males do use some forms of relational aggression and that females use overt aggression, but the results of those studies show that girls engage in relational aggression largely because it focuses on emotions and language—key components of female behavior (Bonica, Arnold, Fisher, et al., 2003).

Until recently, girls have been perceived as less prone to aggression than boys. Consequently, research in developmental psychopathology and delinquency has focused almost exclusively on identifying the precursors and consequences of aggressive behavior in boys alone (Moretti, Holland, and McKay, 2001). It is now apparent, however, that females are engaging in aggressive behaviors and are using these behaviors to control and dominate relationships and friendships. Crick and Grotmeter found significantly high rates of relational aggression among preadolescent girls that continued throughout high school and college (1996). Similarly, Bonica, Arnold, Fisher, and Zeljo discovered evidence of relational aggression beginning in preschool with children ages 3 to 5 and increasing throughout grade school (2003).

Because friendship and peer relationships are so significant to a child's development, it is natural to assume that friends could influence one another using relational aggression. Because of its intimate nature, relational aggression provides its users with the tools to control many aspects of others' lives. In doing so, the one using

relational aggression is able to maintain many relationships with multiple people and often do not suffer from a lack of friendships. Thus, intimate exchanges with friends may be especially predictive of relational aggression, especially with girls because of the high emotionality expressed within female friendships (Murray-Close, Ostrov, and Crick, 2007).

Although apparent in group settings, relational aggression is also present within dyadic relationships. Recent research has stressed the importance of assessing the qualities of children's friendships (Grotperter and Crick, 1996), because the quality of a friendship can expose hidden aggression, fear, anger, or other emotions. With the intimate nature of female relationships, females may experience more maladjustment issues within a friendship, such as a lack of self-acceptance, poor self-esteem, anger, or depression. Moreover, friends often can influence the behaviors or feelings of each other. If one friend has been experiencing bouts of anger or depression, it is quite possible that those feelings could hinder or enhance feelings within a friendship and ultimately determine whether the other friend will have similar emotional issues. Thus, close friends in a dyadic relationship can influence one another to act within normative, antisocial, or prosocial behavior.

Considerable evidence suggests that adolescent problem behavior is embedded within friendship networks. Aggression, delinquency, substance use, and early sexual intercourse are some of the behaviors witnessed in these networks (Poulin, Dishion, and Haas, 1999). Thus, understanding friendship quality among dyads is imperative for understanding early problem behavior, including deviancy and relational aggression. Friendship quality regarded as high within dyads can contribute to similarities in behaviors

that range from normative to antisocial. Repeatedly, girls have reported higher levels of positive friendship quality in their same-sex friendships than boys, and females often show more disclosure and agreement in friendships than boys (Brendgen, Markiewicz, Doyle, & Bukowski, 2001). Among youth who have been identified as at risk for delinquent behavior, peers can strongly support the development of each others' deviance in part by training one another in deviant behavior patterns (Allen, Porter and McFarland, 2006).

Hypotheses

Friendship quality rests on such things as whether two people like each other's company, share similar interests, or have other relative similarities. Given that view, the central research hypothesis suggests that if relational aggression is present in the friendship, then the quality of the friendship between the target child and the peer would be negatively affected. By extension, if antisocial females in dyadic relationships have higher levels of relational aggression and if friendships with high levels of relational aggression affect the quality of a dyadic relationship, then relational aggression between female friends should be correlated positively with friendship quality. Similarly, friendships with high levels of relational aggression will not have strong friendship quality, and at least one of the peers will exhibit relational aggression. Therefore, the target child will have higher levels of relational aggression than the peer. Further, if the target child shows signs of relational aggression, then the peer will also exhibit similar characteristics of relational aggression, such as depression, anger, and poor social networks.

Methodology

Participants

The study investigated relational aggression in interactions among adolescents using questionnaires completed by assessors, coders, and the adolescents themselves. It is part of the larger Project Alliance study, a multiwave, longitudinal intervention study of 999 adolescents and their families in a large Pacific Northwest city. Project Alliance intended to assist adolescents in the prevention of problem behaviors by supporting middle-school families within selected neighborhoods. Project Alliance 1 is a follow-up study of 999 young adults and their families who participated in family-centered services in the Portland, Oregon, school district middle schools from 1996 through 1998. Only a portion of the data from Project Alliance 1 is used to explore relational aggression.

From the full sample, 138 female participants were selected from Wave 6 (ages 16-17) based on their self-reported antisocial behavior. A secondary analysis explores the subjects' observational and recorded data. The adolescents involved in Project Alliance were identified as either high risk, no risk, or at-risk based on the questionnaires completed by their sixth-grade teachers. The sub-sample consists of fifty seven no risk, forty eight at-risk, and thirty three high-risk adolescents. The reported ethnicities of the selected group were: 42.2% European Americans, 31.9% African American, 2.2% Native American, 5.8% Hispanic Latinos, 3.1% Asian Americans, 1.1% Pacific Islanders, 2.8% other specific ethnicities, 3.1% European/African Americans, and 7.8% other ethnic combinations.

All participants were surveyed annually with a variety of instruments that assessed problem behaviors, socioeconomic

adjustment, and social functioning. Questionnaires regarding problem behavior at home and in school were given to the participant and her teacher. The answers from the both the participant and the teacher helped determine the participant's problem behavior as well as her social functioning, or whether she can function normally with other people. Responses from parents about how much money the family accrued each year by working or by receiving extra financial help through federal agencies or from alternate means determined the socioeconomic status of the child. Participants also completed videotaped observations that took place at a research institute and for which subjects were paid.

Procedure

The dyadic interactions between the two adolescents, or the target child and the peer, were captured with videotaped observations in what is referred to as the Peer Interaction Task. The taped interactions took place at the Child and Family Center of Portland and consisted of seven trials (TC Problem, Peer Problem, Substance Use, Goals, Relationships, Friends, and Planning a Party). Each adolescent participant completed a questionnaire prior to beginning the Peer Interaction Task. The adolescents were given the Peer Relations Questionnaire (PRREL), which has items describing the friend and the overall friendship. The Friendship Quality questions were measured using a Likert scale, with a score of "1" corresponding with an answer of "never" and a score of "5" corresponding with "very often."

An assessor gave instructions for each of the seven tasks to each dyad in the study. During each the assessor left the room so that the participants could discuss the task privately and without interruption. The assessors who instructed the dyads during the

Peer Interaction Task completed several questionnaires and surveys on the behavior and interactions among the adolescents. The Peer Impressions (PIMP) was given to each assessor after the Peer Interaction Task. The assessor then recorded impressions about the target child, the peer, and the two adolescents as friends, meaning how the both the target child and the peer interacted together. The questions corresponding to friendship quality from the PIMP were measured using a Likert scale, with a score of "1" corresponding with an answer of "very true" and a score of "5" corresponding with "not at all true."

Observers, or coders, using the Topic Code, coded the videotaped dyadic interactions between the adolescents in each task. All codes were scored based on verbal and physical content. After coding all seven tasks, the observers were asked to complete a questionnaire regarding their impressions of the adolescents individually and as dyads. The Peer Interaction Task Coder Impressions (COIMP) was given to each person who viewed and coded the dyad. The relational aggression questions from the COIMP were measured using a Likert scale, with a score of "1" corresponding with an answer of "not at all" and a score of "5" corresponding with "very much."

Results

Four variables and related hypotheses formed the core of the research: the reported friendship quality between the peer and target child, positive qualities in both the peer and target child, assessor scores on relational aggression in both the target child and the peer, and coder impressions of relational aggression in the dyad. Paired samples t-tests were used to examine the relationship between the scores of the target child and the peer.

Results 1: Friendship Quality between the Friends.

The first hypothesis rested on the assumption that the target child and the peer would rate her friendship quality differently. Comparing the target child's (TC) reported friendship quality score on the PRREL to the peer's (P) reported score offered a way to test that assumption. A paired-samples t-test (Table 3) revealed that the friendship quality score rated by the TC was not significantly different from that reported by the P, $t(131) = -.793, p=.429$. The mean friendship quality score of the target child rating of the friendship quality ($M = 4.13$) (see Table 1) was lower, though not significantly, than the mean score of the peer rating of the friendship quality ($M = 4.16$).

Results 2: Positive Qualities Between the Friends.

The second hypothesis extended the first and focused more on the assumption that the target child and the peer would rate the positive qualities of the friendship differently. The test for this second hypothesis compared the positive friendship qualities score of the TC to that of the P from the PRREL. A paired-samples t-test (Table 3) revealed no significant differences in the reported positive qualities from the target child and the peer, $t(131) = -.303, p=.762$. The mean positive quality score of the TC's rating of the peer ($M = 4.41$) (see Table 1) was lower, though not significantly, than the mean score of the P's rating of the TC ($M = 4.43$).

Results 3: Coder Impressions of Relational Aggression in Dyadic Relationship.

People other than the friends were involved in this research. The third hypothesis assumed that the coder would score the target child and the peer differently. That idea was tested using coders'

scores from Task 6 on the COIMP. A paired samples t-test (Table 3) revealed a marginally significant difference between the coder's evaluation of relational aggression in TCs ($M = 1.2304$) (Table 1) and the levels of relational aggression assigned to Ps ($M = 1.2841$), $t(137) = -1.706$, $p = .090$.

Results 4: Assessor Impressions of Dyad's Friendship.

Finally, the assessors may have rated the TC and P differently. The test for this hypothesis compared assessor impression scores for the TC and P from the PIMP. The results revealed no significant difference in levels of relational aggression between the TC ($M = 4.4414$) and P ($M = 4.4537$), as assessed by the project assessor, $t(107) = -.306$, $p = .760$ (Tables 1 and 3).

Discussion

To explore dyadic relationships and determine whether friendship quality is directly related to relational aggression in adolescent female behavior, we focused on scores and score differences from several different measurement tools. We analyzed differences in scores between members of each dyad, and differences in scores from assessors and coders who completed separate questionnaires. All those efforts were part of the attempt to understand the dyadic relationships among adolescent females and better recognize the interpersonal dynamics that may lead to relational aggression. While no significant effects were found between the dyad and assessor scores, marginally significant effects were found with the coder impressions scores. The analysis of the Friendship Quality Among Friends section of the PRREL suggested that both the target child and the peer rated the friendship quality similarly, signifying no real difference in the friendship. Similarly,

analysis of the Positive Qualities Among Friends revealed no significant differences in the scores of either the target child or the peer indicating that both adolescents viewed the positive qualities similarly. Assessor Impressions of the Friendship showed that the adolescents were alike in their friendship, as no significant differences were found suggesting a negative or positive friendship. Coder Impressions of Relational Aggression did reveal slightly significant results, as the Peers were, on average, rated as more relationally aggressive during the Relationships Task than target children, suggesting that the peers exhibited more relationally aggressive behavior during the task.

Given the diversity in the sub-sample, the general expectation was for a wider array of scores, with some scores indicating differences in friendship quality interpretations. Overall, however, our expectations were not confirmed. We theorized that perhaps the friends both used relational aggression as a way to attract other friends with similar characteristics, or found that relational aggression was a major component in the friendship. If relational aggression were considered to be a component of positive friendship quality, then neither friend would look upon it as negative and would not score it as such. Similarly, if relational aggression were a factor in creating friendships, then a friendship rich in relational aggression would not appear poor to those involved.

The differentiation between friendship quality and relational aggression are congruent with findings from previous research studies showing that social support and connections within friendships are crucial to the development of quality in adolescent friendships (Stanton-Salazar and Spina, 2005; Stiles & Raney, 2004; Cillessen et al., 2005). Continual social support, whether it

is negative or positive, aids the adolescent in basic social needs. Instead of being left alone or singled out, the teen is able to find assistance and guidance from other friends who exhibit similar behavior. If two friends are relationally aggressive against a third person, their coalition may be strengthened (Grotmeter and Crick, 1996). Thus, relationally aggressive friends may perceive their friendships as higher in quality rather than lower. It does not matter in this context whether the actor's behavior is assessed via self reports or reports from teachers, peers, or other observers (Cillessen et al., 2005). Similarly, physically and emotionally aggressive adolescents may have poor relationships with everyone, including their friends. Relational aggression, however, is associated with certain positive outcomes such as perceived popularity and social prominence in adolescence (Cillessen and Mayeux, 2004) or with strengthened coalitions (Grotmeter and Crick, 1996).

Although the interactions between the dyads did not show poor friendship quality with respect to relational aggression, a study by Cillessen et al. (2005) may provide more insight to help understand the effects of dyadic interactions among adolescents. The Cillessen et al. study looked at the predictors of friendship quality in adolescents, with particular emphasis on dependence among the adolescents. Further, it looked at the actor effect (the effect of an actor's behavior on his or her view of the relationship) in determining relationship behavior. For example, aggressive adolescents may rate their friendships as high in conflict, perhaps reflecting hostile attribution biases. In contrast, the partner effect refers to the effect of an actor's behavior on the partner's view of the relationship (Cillessen, et al. 2005). In other words, aggressive adolescents may have friends who rate their friendship as high in

conflict, which may accurately reflect the actor's general aggressive tendencies. It does not matter in this context whether the actors' behavior is assessed via self report or the report of another observer. The logic is identical in each case. Adolescents who were seen as physically and relationally aggressive by the peer group did not necessarily report more conflict in their friendships and did not have low reports of friendship quality (Cillessen, et al. 2005).

Similarly, Hawley, Little, and Card (2007) and Cillessen and Mayeux (2004) discussed how friendship dynamics and relational aggression correlate with social prominence, and how social status may contribute to self-reported friendship quality in adolescents. Recent work has shown that while social prominence and social preference may overlap, they have highly distinct features (Cillessen & Rose, 2005). Social prominence, or perceived popularity, for example, appears to be positively associated with relational aggression, an association that becomes stronger as children progress from the fifth to ninth grade (Cillessen and Mayeux, 2004).

A weakness of the present study was the use of only a limited number of completed self report questionnaires in the effort to determine perceived relational aggression, such as anger, hostility or overt aggression displayed in the friendship. Although two self-reports did show results, more reports may have been effective in determining friendship quality, social connections, and peer relationships, all of which could be imperative in determining the existence and the extent of relational aggression. Similarly, the study focused solely on specific questions from the selected questionnaires. A more detailed look at all questions on all questionnaires may have strengthened the argument that females with high levels of aggression would have poorer friendships and

friends high in relational aggression. A replication of the present study with the consideration of all questionnaires and questions may provide better insight into the interpersonal dynamics of adolescent friendships.

In conclusion, relational aggression and friendship quality still seem to be interlinked in adolescent friendship. The construct of relational aggression within a friendship is of significant interest because it can help determine sociality within a friendship and deviant behavior in individuals. The study has important social and developmental implications for intervention and prevention research with parents of high-risk youth, as relational aggression can be disruptive to the developmental processes of adolescent relationships with friends and family.

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Tables

Table 1: *Sample Statistics for PRREL, COIMP, and PIMP.*

Paired Samples Statistics					
		Mean	N	Std. Dev.	Mean Std. Error
Pair 1	PRREL wv6 Child: Reported friendship quality with peer AVERAGE	4.1288	132	0.45613	0.03970
	PRREL wv6 Peer: Reported friendship quality with TC AVERAGE	4.1608	132	0.39750	0.03460
Pair 2	PRREL wv6 Child: Positive qualities in peer AVERAGE	4.4066	132	0.69445	0.06044
	PRREL wv6 Peer: Positive qualities in TC AVERAGE	4.4297	132	0.63973	0.05568
Pair 3	average of items 13-17 on COIMP for TC	1.2304	138	0.38957	0.03316
	average of items 13-17 on COIMP for Peer	1.2841	138	0.49453	0.04210
Pair 4	average of TC PIMP	4.4414	108	0.49782	0.04790
	average of PEER PIMP	4.4537	108	0.52647	0.05066

Table 2: *Correlations of PRREL, COIMP, and PIMP scores.*

Paired Sample Correlations				
		N	Correlation	Significance
Pair 1	PRREL wv6 Child: Reported friend-ship quality with peer AVERAGE & PRREL wv6 Peer: Reported friend- ship quality with TC AVERAGE	132	0.417	0.000
Pair 2	PRREL wv6 Child: Positive qualities in peer AVERAGE & PRREL wv6 Peer: Positive qualities in TC AVERAGE	132	0.143	0.103
Pair 3	average of items 13-17 on COIMP for TC & average of items 13-17 on COIMP for Peer	138	0.675	0.000
Pair 4	average of TC PIMP & average of PEER PIMP	108	0.667	0.000

Table 3 : *Paired Samples T-test for reported friendship quality and positive qualities (PRREL), COIMP scores and PIMP scores.*

Paired Samples Test									
		Paired Differences							
					95% Confidence Interval of Difference				
		Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean Std. Error	Lower	Upper	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Pair 1	PRREL wv6 Child: Reported friendship quality with peer AVERAGE - PRREL wv6 Peer: Reported friendship quality with TC AVERAGE	-.03199	.46365	.04036	-.11182	.04785	-.793	131	.429
Pair 2	PRREL wv6 Child: Reported friendship quality with peer AVERAGE - PRREL wv6 Peer: Reported friendship quality with TC AVERAGE	-.02309	.87451	.07612	-.17366	.12749	-.303	131	.762
Pair 3	average of itemss 13-17 on COIMP for TC - average of items 13-17 on COIMP for Peer	-.05362	.36929	.03144	-.11579	.00854	-1.706	137	.090
Pair 4	average of TC PIMP - average of PEER PIMP	-.01235	.41874	.04029	-.09222	.06753	-.306	107	.760

Other Research by McNair Scholars at the University of Oregon

Abstracts

Thomas Pynchon's *Against the Day*

Nathan Benjamin, English / History / Humanities

Faculty Mentor: Anne Laskaya, English

Thomas Pynchon, the reclusive author of *Gravity's Rainbow* and *The Crying of Lot 49*, has written a new novel, *Against the Day*, that may serve as a capstone to his career. A widely read and studied author of the twentieth century, Pynchon has attracted a considerable amount of criticism and analysis. His latest novel, however, remains largely unexamined outside of reviews in the mainstream media. In large part, due to its recent release in November 2006, little scholarship has focused on Pynchon's new novel. A thematic analysis and an examination of the novel's historical context allow an exploration of Pynchon's newest work within the framework of his writing as a whole as it echoes the themes and techniques with which he has concerned himself throughout his career.

Literacy Markers for Adults in Lane County Drug Court

Roseanna Boyer, Psychology /

Planning, Public Policy, and Management

Faculty Mentor: Robert Mauro, Psychology

Faculty Mentor: Michael Hibbard

Planning, Public Policy, and Management

A lack of basic literacy may increase the likelihood that individuals will fail to complete drug and alcohol treatment programs thereby contributing to increased rates of recidivism following participation in treatment programs. Stage one of this project assessed basic literacy and math levels using the Comprehensive Adult Student Assessment System (CASAS). Preliminary results indicated a broad relationship between literacy level and incentive to engage in voluntary educational training. Stage two continues the study and relates literacy performance to measures of success and recidivism in the Lane County Drug Court. If individuals with higher levels of literacy demonstrate higher success rates and lower recidivism rates, the study would provide justification for developing interventions designed to increase levels of literacy for individuals referred to Drug Court. This project is the result of collaboration between the Lane County Circuit Court, Emergence Treatment Services, Lane Community College, and the University of Oregon.

Nunn-Lugar in the Twenty-first Century: A Plan for Success

Neil Brown, Political Science

Faculty Mentor: Jane Cramer, Political Science

After the fall of the Soviet Union, the United States began funding the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction (CTR) program in an attempt to help the states of the former Soviet Union do several things: dismantle their weapons of mass destruction (WMD); secure the materials, technology, and expertise related to weapons of mass destruction materials; and convert their WMD facilities to civilian use. The Nunn-Lugar program is a vital program in securing loose weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and preventing such weapons from falling into the hands of rogue or terrorist regimes. The paper will explore the successes and failures of the Nunn-Lugar CTR program in former Soviet states in an effort to draw conclusions about the future of the program.

Sex Tourism: A Feminist Perspective of Travel Media and the Portrayal of Thai Women

Deanna Campbell, Anthropology

Faculty Mentor: Diane Baxter, Anthropology

The sex tourism industry has become a booming market in the last several decades with a corresponding increase in marketing for such types of tourism. Many images generated for travel brochures, websites, and travel books portray Thai women as submissive sex objects. Much research has been done on the creation of such images and why people of color from third world countries, especially women, are shown in such a demeaning fashion. Using a feminist perspective to analyze gender relations between Thai women and Western male consumers, this paper shows that the images used in tourism marketing give the Western consumer the belief that the women shown in travel media are submissive, inferior, and the subservient "other."

Care of a Yurok Collection according to Yurok Religion and Curatorial Practices: A Case Study at the Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian

Rosie Clayburn, Anthropology

Faculty Mentor: Madonna Moss, Anthropology

From first contact, the Yurok people have intrigued outsiders. Their language, culture, and material wealth have been extensively collected and studied, with many religiously significant Yurok items housed throughout the world. The Yurok, as other Native peoples, have struggled to have these items cared for according to Tribal beliefs until they can be returned home. Using the Yurok collection housed at the Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian in Washington, DC, I look at ways in which Yurok curatorial practices and modern curatorship can work together to take care of a Yurok collection. My paper strives to be a guide both for museums and the Yurok Tribe in dealing with a large collection. Also, I discuss the complexities in dealing with objects that have been taken out of the possession of tribal people through various ways. Tribal people and museums can overcome a negative history to find ways to work together. In this way these important objects can be treated with the respect that they deserve.

Transformative Education: An Analysis of Paulo Freire and *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*

Bryce Frazier, History

Faculty Mentor: Robert Haskett, History

Brazilian educator Paulo Freire is widely considered a leading scholar of critical pedagogy. His most famous work *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* offers insights regarding the student-teacher relationship and the significance of education in transforming society. Many scholars have noted the eclecticism in Freire's ideas, a point his critics have used to question the innovation of his work. An examination of Freire's ideas requires an understanding of their historical context and the unique personal experiences that have given his thought a distinct quality. A stronger understanding of how Freire's ideology was shaped will help explain why his message has been popular in "third world" countries. Throughout his career Freire incorporated ideas from Marxist and religious thinkers to construct his own educational philosophy and reconcile those two seemingly incompatible elements. Both schools of thought greatly shaped Freire's understanding of people, the mentality of the oppressed and oppressors, and the means of transforming society.

As Long As the Waters Run: Metaphors of Water in Thomas King's *Green Grass, Running Water*

Laura Gibson, Ethnic Studies

Faculty Mentor: Brian Klopotek, Ethnic Studies

Faculty Mentor: Ernesto Martinez, Women's and Gender Studies

The use of stories to teach lessons is a long-standing tradition of indigenous peoples. Every story is a tapestry with multiple threads of meaning woven throughout the narrative. Although Thomas King, the product of a non-Native education, is part Cherokee, the characters in his novels are often of Blackfoot ancestry. Therefore, an analysis of King's metaphoric use of water in his novel, *Green Grass, Running Water*, offers opportunities to examine these metaphors not only from the perspective of Western culture, but also from the cultures and mythologies of the Cherokee and Blackfoot nations. While images of water are sometimes used in literature as metaphors for obstructions or impediments, King's use of water imagery in this novel is different in that, while representations of obstruction are present, water is also representative of connectivity, creativity, and spirituality.

Six Oregon Watershed Councils: Finding and Using Community-Impact Indicators

Joy Gipson, Planning, Public Policy, and Management

Faculty Mentor: Michael Hibbard

Planning, Public Policy, and Management

Community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) refers to a merging of ecology with economic development and other community needs. Local watershed stewardship organizations are one of the most common types of CBNRM efforts, and Oregon's watershed councils are leading examples of organizing community efforts to improve and maintain the health of local watersheds. Although their mission is ecological health, their restoration activities add economic and aesthetic value to local areas. In turn, the councils depend on the goodwill and participation of their community members. Effective implementation of CBNRM requires an assessment of outcomes, the final direct and indirect products of specific actions. This study is part of a larger project that attempts to demonstrate the feasibility of measuring the local, economic, and civic engagement outcomes of watershed council activities. The larger project identified indicators for six rural Oregon watershed councils. This study involves collecting time-series data on the indicators and working with the councils to use the data for self-evaluation, strategic planning, building legitimacy, and community education based on each council's needs.

Sensory Semantics: George Berkeley's Theory of Vision, Phenomenology, and Twenty-first Century Philosophy of Cognitive Science

Katherine Logan Guy. Philosophy
Faculty Mentor, Beata Stawarska, Philosophy

The work of George Berkeley, an eighteenth-century empiricist philosopher, has been historically less successful than the work of his rationalist and empiricist contemporaries, primarily due to his unusual metaphysical claims. Berkeley's work on visual theory, however, has garnered some attention in the last ten years from philosophers of cognitive science. Recent publications, by philosophers as diverse as Alva Noë and Shaun Gallagher, reveal a distinctive methodology in Berkeley's theorizing about the nature of vision. Berkeley based his thesis on evidence culled from the conscious experience of visual perception, a method nearly opposite, and generating a conclusion nearly opposite that of his contemporary, René Descartes. Furthermore, Berkeley insisted upon the primacy of conscious experience for understanding visual perception. Therefore, his work could be described as having a (proto-) phenomenological orientation, which I argue is the very thing that gives his work its lasting relevance.

The Rose of Mysterious Union: The Influence of William Blake on Jim Morrison as a Poet

Sara Hendrickson, English

Faculty Mentor: Forest Pyle, English

Jim Morrison is often disregarded and thought of as a simple poet, and his poetry is regarded at times as simple rhymes. The same could be said, however, of William Blake, one of the most famous Romantic poets of all time, especially in light of his *Songs of Innocence and Experience*. Both artists were viewed as eccentric in their times and both had an interest in social and political revolution and revolutionary aims. It is commonly acknowledged that Blake influenced Morrison as far as the name of his band, The Doors, but Blake's influence and the themes of Romanticism extend much further into the body of Morrison's work than previously realized.

Characterization of Histone H4 N-Terminal Regulation of DNA Methylation in *Neurospora Crassa*

Francis Maddox, Biology

Faculty Mentor: Eric Selker, Biology / Molecular Biology

Faculty Mentor: Keyur Adhvaryu, Molecular Biology

The regulation of genomic expression in eukaryotes is accomplished by a variety of cellular mechanisms which may activate or silence specific genes. DNA methylation, an expression regulator often associated with genetic silencing, is particularly interesting because patterns of methylation related to such processes as histone modification are being actively researched. Recent investigations indicate the possibility that the n-terminal tails of core histones, around which DNA is packaged into the nucleosome, play some role in regulating methylation. This study indicates to what extent the H4 n-terminal residues are interrelated with the process of localized and global methylation. Such correlations are identified by substituting each of twenty-one modifications of the gene encoding histone H4 for that same gene in a suitable strain of *Neurospora Crassa*. Patterns of methylation and phenotypic variance in the tested H4 strains indicate to what extent the structure of H4 is involved in DNA methylation.

Reading Cultural Hybridity in Mestiza Altars: A Comparative Historical Analysis

Sharryl Sosa, Spanish / International Studies

Faculty Mentory: Tania Triana, Romance Languages / Spanish

The construction and maintenance of religious home altars by women in the borderlands has been imagined as a feminized art form that invokes the traditional domestic roles ascribed to women. To analyze and deconstruct that cultural myth, this study examines conquest era tendencies relating to gender and the burgeoning cult of saints. Using insights drawn from contemporary scholars such as Kay Turner and Amalia Mesa-Bains, the study explores the implications of altar creation and maintenance in today's borderlands. Also, the study examines the manner in which the spatial context of altar art creates a reversal of the patriarchal hegemony characteristic of traditional gender roles within the domestic sphere, where historically women have been oppressed. This paper analyzes three different ways in which the reversal of patriarchal hegemony is manifested: the various uses of altars and their sociopolitical importance, the spatial reclamation exhibited in the placement of home altars and yard shrines, and the motives of devout women who decided to discontinue their attendance in church.



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