

philologia

The Virginia Tech Undergraduate Research Journal
of Liberal Arts and Human Sciences

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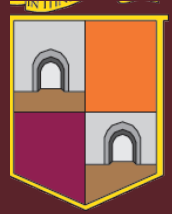
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Letter from the Editors

We are proud to present Volume IV of *Philologia*, Virginia Tech's student-run undergraduate research journal in the College of Liberal Arts and Human Sciences. In this installment, we have been able to maintain the journal's tradition of highlighting many of the diverse and exciting disciplines within our college as the journal continues to expand and grow.

This publication would not be possible without the thoughtful guidance of our advisor, Dr. Diana Ridgwell, whose mentorship is critical to the journal's success. Other individuals to whom we are deeply thankful include the faculty reviewers, who have taken the time to provide critical feedback on our submissions; *Philologia's* faculty advisors, who provide guidance and promote the journal within the university; and Dean Sue Ott Rowlands for her unwavering support. Finally, we want to congratulate our editorial and layout staff for their hard work in reviewing, selecting, proofreading, and designing the works in this volume.

After two years at the helm of *Philologia*, we look forward to seeing how the journal continues to evolve under next year's leadership with Kate Robertson and Michelle Sutherland. We believe *Philologia* has a unique role to play on campus and beyond in advancing research in the liberal arts and human sciences. We hope that you will enjoy Volume IV and continue to make undergraduate research an essential part of academic life at Virginia Tech.

Logan Vidal
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WHAT I LEARNED IN COUNSELING

BY HOLLY KAYS

10/15

THE JUDGE SAYS I'M SPOSED TO WRITE IN THIS STUPID NOTEBOOK TO TRACE BEHAVIORAL PROGRESS AND HE'S GONNA READ IT TO DECIDE IF I NEED MORE DRASTIC BEHAVIORAL RECTICATIONS. WHATEVER THOSE ARE, THAT'S JUST WHAT IT SAYS ON THE LETTER. I DUNNO WHAT THE HELL ANY OF IT MEANS IN REAL ENGLISH. ALL I KNOW IS THEY GOT ME DOING THE WRITING AND SEEING THIS COUNSELOR LADY EVERY WEEK TO TALK ABOUT WHAT'S GOING ON AT HOME AND DID I FEEL BAD ABOUT MAKING KYLE'S FACE BLEED ALL OVER THE PLACE WHEN I BROKE HIS JAW AND WHY DID I DO IT. EVEN THOW IT DON'T REALLY MATTER TO ANYONE WHY I DID IT. ADULTS ALWAYS TALK ABOUT HOW THEY DON'T CARE ABOUT WHAT THE OTHER PERSON DID FIRST, THEY JUST CARE ABOUT WHAT YOU DID SECOND. STUPID IF YOU ASK ME, BUT THEY USUALLY THINK I'M THE STUPID ONE. BUT I AIN'T STUPID, EVEN IF MRS. RESCINARDO SAYS I BETTER WORK HARD OR I'LL BE IN SEVENTH GRADE AGAIN NEXT YEAR.

I'M SPOSED TO MAKE THIS SOUND LIKE I'M SORRY SO THAT THE RECTICATIONS DON'T HAPPEN TO ME, BUT TRUTH IS I AIN'T AND I DON'T CARE WHO KNOWS IT. PEOPLE SHOULD KNOW THEY MESS WITH MY FAMILY THEY MESS WITH ME, AND IT AIN'T MY FAULT IF THEY CAN'T UNDERSTAND THAT.

IN EVERY JERNAL I'M SPOSED TO WRITE WHAT I LEARNED IN COUNSELING THAT DAY. WELL TODAY IN COUNSELING I LEARNED THAT MRS. NELLY ASKS TOO MANY QUESTIONS AND HAS BIG EARS LIKE DUMBO.

10/22

MRS. NELLY SAYS THAT IT'S NEVER OKAY TO HIT SOMEONE WHEN YOUR MAD. SHE SAYS IT DON'T MATTER WHAT KYLE DID TO ME, THERE'S ALWAYS BETTER WAYS TO SOLVE ARGUMINTS. I'D SAY THAT'S WHAT I LEARNED IN COUNSELING TODAY, SEPT IT AIN'T TRUE. IT DOES TOO MATTER WHAT HE DID AND IF HE WON'T LISTEN WHEN I TELL HIM HE BETTER KEEP HIS BIG MOUTH SHUT, THEN WHAT AM I SPOSED TO DO? LET HIM GO AROUND SAYING SH TALKING BAD ABOUT MY FAMILY?

SHE SAYS I SHOULD ALWAYS BE THINKING ABOUT HOW THINGS I DO MAKE OTHER PEOPLE FEEL BUT WHO EVER ASKS HOW STUFF MAKES ME

feel? Kyle can act like he's my friend and then tell the whole school how I live in a junky little trailer that smells like cat pee and weed and that's sposed to be ok. Cording to Mrs. Nelly anyway. How's that momma's boy even no what weed smells like? Besides, it's not like I hit him first thing, first I ~~told him to shut the hell up~~ asked him politely to stop talking bout my family. But all he did was say he never said nothing and he don't know where people heard that stuff from. Yeah sure. Like I said I ain't stupid.

And I guess that's what I learned in counseling today too, cuz no one else is smart enough to understand that I didn't do nothing wrong. Mrs. Nelly read my jernal from last time where I said I ain't sorry and started saying I should learn to be and why ain't I. I just ain't is what I told her. I ain't gotta be sorry cuz I didn't do nothing wrong. But she kept trying to make me say I did. And also she said that I'm too smart to be writing words like ain't and sposed. Like this is English class or something and that matters more than the stuff Kyle did that no one wants to hear about.

10/29

Mrs. Nelly says she wants to hear my side of the story to and she thinks before next week I had better just start from the begining and write down exackly what happened so we can talk about how I can use this expeerience to make myself a Better Person.

I ask her will any of the stuff I say in hear get me in more trouble or get my family in trouble? She says no, she'll sign a paper saying my jernal won't be missable in court sept for the part about tracing Behavioral Progress and More Drastick Behavoyoural Rectifications. Sept it seems to me like I want it to be missable so no one will see it. But whatever, as long as everybody shuts up about me being wrong and bad for what I did.

The begining probbly is when my dad got me a Wii for my birthday. Last year when I turned 12 all I got was a football, and it wasn't even new. The white paint was all rubbed off the part where your fingers go and someone had wrote "Johnson" on the side in black marker. My last name is Allen. But Dad's got a new job now and he makes alot of money, so I got a Wii just like I asked for and also a brand new game, *Call of Duty*.

Anyways in homeroom while Mrs. Rescinardo was taking attendense I was very quietly wispering to my nabers about my new game since really I just wanted to skip out on school and go home and play it. But then after attendense and social studies we got to play dodgeball which I like cuz I

always win. I can throw harder than anyone in seventh grade so it's not true that they're all better than me like they think.

They always act all scared like they think I'm gonna jump them or something ~~and no one ever talks to me~~ which is dumb cuz I don't jump people unless they deserve it. But ~~they're all dumb sissies anyways~~ I like being left alone. Kyle didn't act that way thow even thow I'm big for my age and he's so short the only person he could be partners with for square dancing in gym was Allie Licht who is as short as a 2nd grader. Maybe it's cuz he's new and don't know better but he followed me around and tried to talk to me about stuff like he wanted to be friends or something. I don't know why ~~cuz no one wants to be friends with me~~ he thot that would work since he's a teacher's pet and always gets out first in dodgeball. But then when we were going outside for gym he started asking if he could come to my house after school and play *Call of Duty*, which was weird cuz the week before his mom came in during social studies to tell Mrs. Felter that she didn't presheate her little Kyliekins watching a vilent movie like *Mulan*. We watched *Mulan* one day when Mrs. Felter didn't feel like teaching and it is a sissy movie ain't scary at all and *Call of Duty* has lots more vilents. But ~~no one outside the trailer park ever wanted to come home with me before~~ so I told him fine he could come over but since we should always obey our parents he should ask his mom. I said that cuz I didn't want him to get in trouble and not to make fun of him since his mom probbly still reads him bedtime stories and holds his hand when he crosses the street.

My hand hurts now so I'm done. Mrs. Nelly says to finish the story for next week so we can have a conversation about the flaws in my prescriptive. I don't know what prescriptive means but if it's that there's something wrong with what I did then next week she'll see that ain't true.

What I learned in counseling today is that Mrs. Nelly ~~always thinks she's right when she ain't~~ if I asked myself all the questions adults want you to ask before you decide to do something, I'd probbly never end up doing anything at all.

11/5

When I told Kyle to ask his mom if it was ok to come over he got all mad even thow I was only trying to help. I ain't never seen him get mad before ~~and it was kind of funny cuz he's so little~~. He said he can do what he wants and don't have to ask his mom. I ~~was suprised that visiting me was what somebody wanted~~ so I said fine come over, but good luck beeting me cuz I rule at *Call of Duty*. Later we got on my bus and he showed the bus driver a note from his mom saying he could come with me, so I guessed then that his mom

Creative Scholarship

thought it was okay for him to come after all.

The bus stops just once for the whole trailer park a ways from my house and Kyle complained how it was cold and it was too long to walk, ~~and I told him~~ but I didn't say quit being a crybaby and suck it up cuz that would be mean. When we got to my house Kyle just stopped before we went in and asked me you live here? Which is a dumb question cuz did he think I was just walking into some random house? I kicked the cat Blackie out of the way and walked around to the back door. We have to use the back door only now cuz Dad and one of his friends that always visits got in a fight and knocked the third step out in the front. Dad says that's kinda good since the steps were all rotted anyways and he'll build us some new ones, but Mom just luffed when he said that. She said he's never got his lazy butt off the couch long enough to even sweep the steps so she ain't holding her breath for him building new ones.

Dad was back in the shed behind the trailer which is where he is alot since now he has a bizness fixing up old motorcycles to sell, and he says that's the best job ever cuz he can sell the motorcycles for a lot of money and he don't have to work for a boss. Bosses don't ever like my dad. Mom says that since he's home alot that means he should do more stuff around the house, like do the dishes instead of leaving them in the sink with food all stuck on them. Mom's always gone now cuz she goes to Jess's dad's house so he can help fix our car's radiator. That's where she probably was when I came home with Kyle. I wonder why it takes so long to fix a car, but Mom just says it's cuz Jess's dad is taking the time to do it right, and that's something you won't find at any mekanic shop. And plus he's doing it for free. Jason and Dougie were watching something on E! with a bunch of hot girls but they'd probably been doing that all day since they're too little to go to school and get to just stay home and watch TV.

They wined when I kicked them off the TV but ~~I just switched it to TV2 and pushed them off the cowch and they got lost~~ Kyle was my guest so I had to be polite and play Wii. After I set it up I looked over at Kyle and he was just standing in front of the door kind of scared like he thought something was gonna jump out of the cowch. I asked him if he wanted a snack and I got out two Snickers bars from the cabinet and gave one to him. He didn't open it thow and he said he didn't want to spoil his dinner and did we have any yogurt. He's so bad he don't care about coming over without asking his mom but he's afraid to spoil his dinner. ~~What a~~ Wierd. And who eats yogurt for snack anyways besides old people?

But then we started playing *Call of Duty* and we played until it got dark. Kyle couldn't play worth anything and after a while he started just watching me cuz I'm awesome at it and it felt kind of cool that I could do something someone else wanted to watch. But then when I'm in the middle of a battle Kyle starts saying he's hungry and when is dinner. Who does he think is gonna make him dinner is what I wanted to know? I told him there's hotdogs in the fridge and he could put one in the microwave. Mom wasn't gonna be home for a while and plus she don't make good food anyways. Like for Thanksgiving once she said we were gonna have turkey like they did back when there were Indians. It ended up all black and tuff like eating cardboard so instead we just had PB&J.

Kyle said maybe he better call his mom. That was good cuz I think she probably has a heart attack ~~even if he takes too long in the bathroom, getting worried that he fell in and drowned or something~~ really misses him when he's gone.

And okay, I ain't gonna finish this before counseling but ~~Mrs. Nelly is gonna have to deal with it cuz~~ I've been writing this thing for a whole half hour and I can't write no more.

11/6

So we have a sub today and I figure I mite as well finish this now since ~~I don't wanna do this stupid worksheet about naming angels~~ I'm done (with) all my work.

Well when Kyle called his mom she was real mad and came over quick. She has this fancy silver Lexus car that she drives real fast and I herd her slam the door and then come up the front steps like she was thinking hard about pounding her feet down as loud as she could. But then when she got to the third one I herd her make a sound like Blackie does when you step on his tail and it was real funny I thot but Kyle froze with his eyes open real wide and scared.

She started banging on the front door like she was gonna knock it down so I yelled ~~come in and it was hilaryus to here her scream when Blackie ran out between her legs after she opened it~~ opened it for her and said hello Mrs. Stevenson, but she just looked over my head at Kyle and said Kyle Michael Stevenson, do you have any idea what I've been threw and you get in the car rite now and there will be conskweneses. And the hole time while she waited for Kyle to get his stuff and come out she stood in the doorway tapping her foot and sniffing the air like she smelled a skunk or something. And after they left I decided that even if it was fun to beet Kyle at *Call of Duty* I wouldn't let him come over no more cuz it ain't worth lisening to him wine about dinner

and having his mom look over my head like I ain't there.

So that's what happened that day and see I didn't do nothing wrong. It ain't my fault if Kyle don't tell his mom stuff and it also ain't my fault that the porch stairs are broken and my house smells funny.

I was sure Kyle was gonna be in big trouble from his mom but the next day at school he seemed all happy and even raised his hand to take the attendance envelope up for Mrs. Rescinaro like a sissy good helper. So later after I got him out in dodgeball I asked him did his mom get him in lots of trouble. I'm so good at dodgeball it ain't hard for me to play and also talk at the same time without anyone getting me out.

Then Kyle said his mom didn't punish him at all cuz it ain't his fault it's mine. He said he told her what really happened which is that I told him to ride my bus and I wrote the fake note from his mom for him. He said I wouldn't let him call home from my house until he played *Call of Duty* with me for a long time just cuz I like to win. ~~what a load of bulls~~ None of that's true AT ALL. I got real mad then cuz I'm always getting blamed for stuff that ain't my fault. Teachers always believe ~~teacher's pets~~ people like Kyle over me and Kyle said his mom was gonna tell the principal. Then I'd probably be suspended cuz Mr. Bilton said I would if I got another referral this marking period.

I told Kyle he couldn't prove that stuff cuz it ain't true and I'll tell everyone the truth. For a minute Kyle looked scared like maybe he thot they would believe me, but then he took a big breath and said I better not cuz if I did he'd tell the cops on my dad. I said tell bout what, my dad ain't doing nothing to tell on. But Kyle just laughed ~~his little sissy laugh~~ and started to walk backwards while he said yeah right well at least his dad don't sell mariwana which is a bad thing to do cuz they say so in D.A.R.E.

Like that kid even knows a joint from a cigaret. I bet he ain't ever been within 20 feet of eether one. I said ~~he better keep his big nose outta my family's business and watch himself before he goes telling lies~~ my family's business ain't his so he better stay out of it and also my dad fixes motorcycles and don't sell weed and he don't smoke it neither. But he said his mom smelled it when she picked him up and she knows that's what it is.

I got real mad then, madder than I've ever been, and it was like on cartoons when the good guy catches the bad guy and the good guy stops doing anything but thinking about how

to hurt the bad guy the most. And Kyle was the bad guy cuz nothing was my fault, it was all his but that didn't matter to no one cuz they would all beleve him and not me. He was gonna turn in my dad to the cops and send him to jail and ~~all the kids at school would make fun of me~~ and we wouldn't have no money and none of it would be fair at all cuz my dad don't sell weed. But he'd go to jail anyway cuz everyone knows how the cops have it in for people who live in trailer parks.

And my arms and legs just started going, all the mad inside of me just making them punch and kick and knock ~~that sorry loser~~ Kyle down on the ground and make him pay. For acting like he's my friend when really he ain't, for being scared at my house when there ain't nothing to be scared of, for letting the cops take my dad away just so his mom won't be mad at him. Then all of a sudden we weren't standing up no more, we were on the grass with me sitting on top of Kyle. My fists were still going, punching so that blood came fast out of his nose all over his blue gym uniform. It made his brown hair shiny and his mouth hung open weird like a door that's not connected all the way to the wall. There was blood on my fist sinking down into my nuckles and I heard screaming and then I felt Mrs. Murphy trying to pull me off but I'm so big she couldn't. Then other hands pulled me back and it was Mr. Bilton the principal and he kept his big hand down hard on my shoulder the whole time we walked to his office. He didn't say nothing at all till we got there and he dialed a number in the phone, my number, and said hello Mr. Allen.

And that's why I punched Kyle. Cuz if someone wants to send your dad to jail so that he can never take you four-wheeling like he keeps promising he will some day and he can't watch in two years when you're old enough to play on the high school football team, then what are you sposed to do to make them listen?

11/6

I already rote a lot today but Mrs. Nelly says that I still need to rite the what I learned in counseling today part of my jernal. I tell her my hand hurts so she says I can skip doing that part for last time as long as do it for this time right after I get home.

Mrs. Nelly read my jernal while I played this computer game where your character is a ~~stupid-looking~~ kid with a big smile and really white teeth and has to make all these choices at school like wether to talk to a new kid and what to do when someone makes fun of you. I was sorry it took so many words to tell what happened with Kyle cuz that

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meant I had to play the game for a long time before she was done reading.

When she finished the first thing she said was I'm sorry Kyle treated you like that. I just said yeah. But I was surprised that was what she said and not that I shouldn't make fun of Kyle for holding his mom's hand when he crosses the street or that she don't believe me about Dad not selling weed.

She asked me how did I feel when Kyle said he would tell the cops on my dad. I said angry cuz he didn't have no right to go after my family. And then I said that it made me a little scared. Cuz maybe my dad don't play ball and come in every night for dinner like Jimmy's dad who coaches middle school football, but nothing would feel right if he was gone instead of in the shed fixing motorcycles the judge should get Kyle in trouble for what he said just like he was getting me in trouble for what I did.

Then she asked me if I thought Kyle was scared when I was on top of him punching him. I said I dunno. Maybe I guess. But I remembered how he looked lying on the grass without really moving anything sept his lips to make noises like that dog Dad accidentally ran over once in our driveway, and how my hand had blood all over it that stuck in the little cracks of my skin almost like a glove, and how I saw my body hitting his but couldn't make it stop or change direction or do anything sept act out being mad. And suddenly I just started crying right there in Mrs. Nelly's office. Even thow I never ever cry and everyone in seventh grade knows it. But I couldn't help it, it just started coming out and I couldn't stop even thow Mrs. Nelly was right there and she could see me. She pulled a tisshoe out of her Mickey Mouse tisshoe box and gave it to me and also gave me a big hug, like the kind moms give their kids in cheesy little kid shows. And the hole time she didn't make fun of me or tell me to stop being a baby like my mom did the time I was nine and I cried cuz my fingers got shut in the car door. ~~I liked her hugging me.~~

Mrs. Nelly said she knows it's hard not to do something bad when someone wants to hurt people you care about, but did it make me feel good when I hit Kyle? Was I happyer now that I did it? The same shi-things and adults always ask when you screw up, sept that Mrs. Nelly sounded like maybe she actually wanted to hear an anser. But it's her job to say things like that so then I wondered if maybe she was faking. Some people are pretty good at faking. ~~Like me sometimes.~~

She looked at the clock and gave a little jump cuz it was already 4:00 and the special programs bus leaves at 3:45. My mom always has the car over at Jess's dad's house and I

don't no their number so I said maybe I could just sleep on the floor until school tomorrow. Plus then I would be there in time for school breakfast since my bus always comes too late. She kind of smiled and she said that wasn't nesasary, she could take me home. I said ok and I was kind of glad cuz ~~even thow I'm 13 it might be scary to stay at school all night by myself~~ I was ready to go home and blow some Natseys up on the Wii.

Mrs. Nelly let me sit in the front seat of her car and even pick a CD to listen to. She had alot of country which I like so I played a Keith Urban one. Her car is really clean, not like my mom's old van that has chipping paint outside and Wendy's wrappers in all the cup holders. She opened the box between the two front seats and pulled out a bag of gummy worms and she gave the whole bag to me. She let me eat them right there in her clean car ~~and she said that she thought I was a great kid and she liked spending time with me. She said I was really smart and that she thinks if I learn from this experiece I'll make the world a better place when I grow up. She said I can even start doing that now if I try. No one ever told me I'm a great kid before I like gummy worms.~~

What I learned in counseling today is that Mrs. Nelly is nice to talk to and she don't care that my front porch is broken.

BREAKFAST ON MARS

BY SHELBY WARD

Two eggs slit together on a white ceramic plate,
they aren't quite touching,
but their blobby, oblong almost fingers
reach further and long to fill that space between them.
Perhaps in such a way that they would become one
egg, with two different yellow domes of almost life.

How jealous I was of their conviction,
because as you sit across from me
on this double seated pine wood table,
I wished that I could reach out a tiny finger
to fill up the space that has been building up between us.
A dark space, like the break between two stars,
and has become so much more than
yellow yolk or the words we cannot say.

I took my metal plated fork,
(you said we'd get silver one day)
and poked the fleshy center of the egg,
watching the viscous golden heart leak onto the other.
"Let it all out" I thought.
I looked up to see if you noticed what I did.
But I saw you chop down on a crispy, dry piece of bacon,
while you stared off into space.
You were so lost,
that I knew it would take more than just seeing me
for my words to reach you.

That's when I knew we were having breakfast on Mars.
Not that I am visiting you from Venus,
where they like to say women are from,
but that we are two aliens trapped on this dry,
arid place. Nothing flowing, nothing giving,
and neither of us could speak Martian.

We slit apart,
perhaps one from the Milky Way, the other Andromeda.
I knew that I would not be able to read or understand
the cryptic, hard alphabet that would come out of your
mouth,
even if you took the chance to form your tongue around
them.
And I knew that you couldn't write the loops and swirls
that would be my native language.

I took a look around at this cowardly new world,
and thought if all of this red, red scarlet dust
were the words that we couldn't say,
around us and not between us,
could I pack them into some place small enough
to cause a chemical reaction?

But if I stuffed these bitter particles inside my throat,
forcing myself into the consumption for both of us,
my tiny bang theory would not produce some new habit-
able planet for us.
I would force myself inside out,
breaking into a black hole,
with never enough planets to fill me.

I would suck us both into a place we could not escape.
We'd lose ourselves,
making space, time, and yellow acetic light our unwanted
bedfellows.

Can't you see,
I am craving a super nova,
a forever nova,
and these two eggs will not suffice.



THE JADED GIRL

BY SHELBY WARD

Indian style on the floor,
like she learned in kindergarten.
It's been awhile now, innocence gone.
In front of her is a bitter reflection.
But that's just a wonderland self,
a writer's interpretation.
In reality
it's just curvish-flesh over bones,
shapes that subtly whisper of woman.
Somewhere not so deep within skin
are tiny blue ribbons that pulse softly of life.
Just flesh.

And it's clear,
not invisible, but see-through skin.
She misses the way color used to feel on her.
The way it swept over,
with bold strokes holding her together.
"I want to be the color of something real.
A better shade of self."
But that rainbow skin that she loved so much is gone,
it was peeled off to reveal
this illusion of flesh
that she now studies in the mirror.
It did not come off all at once,
but one rainbow strip at a time,
all the colors taking turns.

Everyone she met proclaimed,
"hat a masterpiece!"

But she refused to hang herself in a museum,
she wanted people to feel the beauty of her brush
strokes,
so the elements were her exhibit.
Over time the sun faded her reds,
and the blues were bled by rain.
Everything else in between,
people dipped their flower petals in.

And now sitting in front a mirror,
she has nothing left to give.
She takes her paintbrush.
She dips it in a color of light green gem stones,
"I'm painting myself an ornament. Just for looks,
please don't touch."

And she is the color of numb,
no longer a canvas left to be filled.



KILL YOUR IDOLS

By Tom Minogue

The midnight oil was burning. The band's latest single, "Tourists At the Edge of Forever," had reached the apex of a flight path out of the studio and onto the airwaves. People were comparing the contemporary disillusionment to Radiohead and the psychedelic melodies to The Beatles, an analogy that had kept the band out of the studio, on a perpetual tour, and warped their perceptions into dreams of a prolonged journey across a never-ending night. There were throngs of fans inside the airports, deliria of multiple varieties, and all the trivial debaucheries of traveling with too much money and too tiny an attention span. The name of the band was No Exits, and their lead vocalist Peter Sevim was sitting on a red-eye from NYC to Port-Au-Prince during the wee hours of February 4, 2004, unbeknownst to his band-mates. Peter was beginning to feel as if the wick of his fame was about to be snuffed at any moment.

— Haiti? What have you been snorting, Sevim? Did you know you were scheduled to play the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame Memorial Concert tomorrow? Did you know that I had to call Brian Wilson specifically so he could harmonize with you at the end of "Rubber Mystery Revolver"? Did you know Brian's people hung up on me thirteen bloody times before I got a meeting? BRIAN WILSON, SEVIM!—

Peter sighed and adjusted the black and red speckled keffiyeh that hung around his neck. The regret of having called his agent sunk in rapidly. Taking stock of his reply, he pressed the fingers of his hand against his olive temple.

—Charlie, I know you arranged the song with Brian, but it's not going to happen. I'm on the flight. I'm going to take a few months off, possibly a year. I'm going to Haiti and will return when the rhythms begin again in my mind.—

—Is it the dragon, Sevim? Because you know we've got clinics for that.—

—I don't think the label, much less you, know what I need, Charlie.—

And then he hung up.

Creative Scholarship

Incense was burning in the far corner of a shotgun shack the night before Charlie caught up to Peter. While the former's bald head grew inflamed and scarlet waiting for a jet out of Cleveland, the latter's grew dizzy under a miasma of intoxicants, finding himself at his neighbor's house.

The lone room inside the place was populated by a teeming array of rainbow-colored citizenry, a carnival around which floods of neon shone against the full-moon night. A steady beat was coming from the thumping of drums, and the room moved to their rumble, bass pounding in their chests. The humidity hung across the air and wrapped the revelers in a sticky embrace; sweat ran down bodies, and the unmarked bottles on the grimy bar refreshed them. There was friction between the sweat and the clothing, and Peter considered all the bright young things becoming pastels on the canvas of the bare wood floor.

Charlie's later insinuation was incorrect: Peter was completely aware of the deposition of the Haitian president, and was celebrating with a hundred of his new best friends inside his neighbor's house. News had traveled fast to St. Michel and a local shopkeeper had tried to explain to Peter what had happened in rushed Creole, except the only words he recognized were "Aristide," and "joyeux." The neighbor, Jean—a man a good foot taller than Peter, a stone giant animated into life—had been the resident of the shack for ten leisurely years and had never heard of No Exits. A day later they had decided the best way to commemorate a momentous political shift was a party; that solid hundred had agreed with them, but around midnight the party began to bore Jean. Like he had for a decade, he found himself listless in his own home without any reason to leave, taking in the solitude of his home and perusing books in cardboard boxes left by the shack's former tenant (a professor of French Neoclassical thought) which filled the attic of the place to its ceiling. Now that his house was whirling with action, he desired more than ever to escape, if only for a while, and once Peter asked if he knew somewhere to buy cigarettes he had his excuse.

He explained that the only place likely to be selling tabac at this hour was the night market away from the beach and to town, and they'd have to cross the Rivière du Limbè in order to get there. Peter, perhaps wanting to step away from the noise a bit as well, found that journey agreeable. The two stumbled exuberantly into the darkened, whispering palms, where the light of a beach bonfire was seen behind them only for a moment, and then was gone.

Two hours later Peter was confused: a hangover was starting to set in from the abundance of grain liquor, and thirst overwhelmed him. His feet were sore from walking, more than he could recall, and he didn't know how Jean could peer through the dark and still tell where they were going. This madman had taken him into the jungle to kill him, or worse, hold him for ransom until someone coughed up the money. He could already hear Charlie tut-tutting on the satellite phone: silly Peter trying to find himself and ending up in captivity. No, he knew his imagination was orbiting too far out to make sense anymore; it was Jean's silence he found most disconcerting. Peter wasn't much of a talker but alone and somewhere still unknown to him, and craving a strong hit of nicotine, he could've used a few reassuring words in Jean's well-spoken English. By the time they had reached a clearing, Peter had betrayed his taciturn nature and told Jean more of his life story than the man had probably ever wanted to hear, but he'd been a good sport and even laughed at the part when the band played a gig in London and Peter was so high that he'd flipped Tony Blair the bird.

The river frothed out from where they'd emerged. No longer hidden by vines and canopy, they could see its murky water gushing forth, all the silt and detritus from the bottom and forcing it, just below the surface. On a small dock was the ferryman, his fluorescent teeth shining, ready to take passengers in the still hours of evening. Jean requested passage while Sevim forwardly handed ten gourdes to the ferryman, who maintained his cheshire smile, though Sevim wished he wouldn't. For all the noise there had been while they'd been walking, there was now only the conflation of voices from the river, and the ferryman repeatedly slapped them down with his paddle as he did every night, as if he pushed past the generations who'd lived and died on that river, and the generations yet to come. Though the moon was full as ever, none of the light reached under the boat: when Peter looked over, all he could see were tiny impressions of lapping water against the black.

For the hour being so late, the market was thriving. Peter's nostrils were assailed by cardamom, turmeric, nutmeg, and just below that the unmistakable odor of fish flesh rotting. Vendors were hawking candles, large piles of sweets, and assortments of unrecognizable tchotchkes that didn't interest him nearly as much as a pack of smokes. Yet while they were walking the cramped main drag of the market, a shop window jumped out at him. "TABAC SOLD HERE" said a large purple and green sign in the window; he practically had to pull Jean off the street in order to get him to look, as the other man was so distracted by the bustle about them. As soon as they walked into the unmarked store he realized this

was no 7/11. It was hot, stifflingly so, and the air redolent of pine thanks to the candles all along the shop's perimeter. Every other space was occupied: books, dolls, rugs and tapestries with intricate patterns, a poster of "The Apostle's Creed" in Creole. A tiny woman emerged from the back with her hair covered by a green bandana and told them her name was Mama Delphine, then asked how she could help them.

She explained to them that a pack of Pall Malls came with a free fortune reading. Lulled into acquiescence by the warmth and the pine, Peter agreed, while Jean examined the shop in greater detail. She asked politely that he come to the back of a shop and sit in a worn leather recliner, the temperature increased another ten degrees. The sweat leaked profusely from all of his pores, he could not remember why he'd come in here—why he was here. She dipped her hands into a jar of melted clay and began massaging his face, working it gradually into the stubble around his neck and cheeks. More was slathered across his forehead. She said the mold of the face was the key to his future, and she whispered in Creole words he didn't understand. "Now give him a second mask," she intoned while applying more clay. Her language made a shift into French as the volume of her voice increased, and she pushed deeper into his pores. The mask was slowly drying, caking around his still face. Peter felt so agreeable it didn't matter. He couldn't see, but only the whites of Mama Delphine's eyes were visible. She said

"Vous ne mourrez jamais. Vous ne mourrez jamais. Vous ne mourrez jamais."

He couldn't breathe. He was suffocating. He was sure of it. Wrenching open his eyelids, he was in the sand on the beach, a pack of unopened Pall Malls jutting out of his pants. He ran his hands over his mud free cheeks. The bonfire, the people, and the party were all there. Jean stood over by the fire, staring intently past the licking flames and out to the ocean. He saw the bridge of luminescence form from the water to the moon, and jumped when Peter put a hand on his shoulder.

"Was any of it real?" Peter asked looking up at Jean's dilated pupils, unsure if the Pall Malls were only sensory deception.

Without a word Jean gently picked up an object beside him. The contours were illuminated by fire, intimately familiar to Peter in shape. Jean handed it to him and he ran his hands over the clay face, two crumbled holes for the eyes and satin ribbon trailing behind it, the material rough in his hands. He drew it toward him and tied it on; the pair of them began

to laugh at the absurdity. The beating of drums opened like thunder around the bonfire: Peter and Jean joined the dancing kaleidoscopic procession till morning extinguished the firelight.

*_*_*

He woke on the beach the next morning, alive. The sound of the waves came crashing into his brain, their foam spraying to the far corners of his synapses, the salt air invading his lungs and compelling him to breathe deeply. His fingers gripped at the land and found only tiny white grains to slide between them. Suddenly he was conscious of the wrinkles forming on his clenched brow, and the opening of his eyelids allowing for the entrance of the singular ray of agonizingly bright sunshine. The question was raised: Where am I?

Rising from the imprint of sand his body had molded, he shook the residual particles from his tight black jeans, and picked some unidentifiable material out of his scalp. He felt his calves in part to rub their much-too-warmness away and also to find his knock-off Versace sunglasses, which were hidden in his left pocket. Tempering the sun, he looked out to the Caribbean for what seemed the first real occasion. A hint of pine wafted from the plaid button-down bundled next to him, with a top note of accumulated sweat.

Wading out and diving in the water was the first time he felt at home since he'd left Venice Beach, playing run-down clubs whose floors were saturated with whiskey and cigarette butts. The relative poverty of his band-mates had seemed noble then, chasing the muse's billowing skirt and waiting for a record deal or a blog to pick them up: anything to prove that they were doing something worth the sweat and the everyday shows without an audience. Howling at empty tables would have been the preferable option now, the cacophony from the amps being hurled out at no one in particular. He didn't feel for those times without feeling the hunger, too.

Paddling out, he enjoyed the mild burn in his arms, took the biggest swallow of air he could muster, and let himself drift to the bottom of the fourteen-foot deep. The neck-length strands of his curly black hair floated in the cold current that ran along his body and gave contrast to the rest of those warm waters. Then there was only the quiet. Arms at his side, he could listen for the tiniest disturbances in his surroundings, and finding none, hear the true rhythm of 4/4 time, the real thing. Songs ran through his head at that moment; maybe "House of the Rising Sun" or "Gimme Danger," or maybe he was running down the labyrinth of Bitches Brew.

Creative Scholarship

After repeating this process innumerably, on one rising he noticed a figure clad in a confusingly inappropriate business suit waving his arms frantically from the shore; the garish pink tie he was wearing stood out against the blinding white of the shore.

“Bedfellow Charlie, what the hell are you doing here?”

“Splendid hello, really, do you think I’m here to give you a bloody Nobel? I’m here because you left Brian Wilson, your band-mates, and me. And to figure out whatever on God’s green earth is wrong with you.”

“I appreciate it, but that’s ridiculous and unnecessary in probably the most offensive way possible.”

“You’ve got people that care about you, and you think that me, flying out to Port-Au-Prince then driving to St. Michel to babysit you when I was supposed to be signing the remnants of The Beach Boys to our label is offensive? I drove through a revolution to get here! No, that was not a mistake. While you were bobbing about in the ocean, becoming one with solitude and nature and all that hogwash, there was an actual revolution in the capital! And you probably didn’t even know it, daydreaming about being immortal or something like that I imagine. All your ranting about people taking responsibility for their government, all your songs about the power of the collective voice, and you probably slept right through it. Remarkable. You, Peter, are a hypocrite and a charlatan and I refuse to tolerate it. Standing there all soggy like your sodding music.”

Charlie’s bald head matched the shade of his tie. His wayfarers slid down the edge of his nose. Fumbling in both of his pockets, he turned his back Peter, and, finding what he was looking for, began puffing furiously on a cigarette, muttering to himself:

“Diva...all of the bullets I’ve taken for him...passing out on the stage at Coachella...”

Jean approached the scene, addressing Peter:

“What’s with the suit?”

“He’s my agent.”

“Oh hell.”

* * *
— —

The end of Charlie’s cigarette was burning and shadows grew long as the sun fell into view from the window of the shack. Peter, Jean, and Charlie all sat on different sides of a small table inside. Jean and Peter looked like children who’d been caught trying to stay on the playground after recess is over. Mosquito nets obscured their hunched figures.

“Well, is there anything you have to say for yourselves?”

Peter took a drink and felt the words slinking from his brain and up his esophagus.

“I left you hanging back there in Cleveland...you didn’t deserve it, the band didn’t deserve it, but you have to understand there’s no point of me walking into the studio and onto the stage if I can’t dig up the soul to bring to the microphone, there would be no point in it. There’s a smell that hangs around the truth, Charlie, the stench of authenticity. In my life I’ve been convinced we were creating art, and you can’t fake that. The bridge and the chorus and the words would all be there but the scent would be wrong. You, the fans, and the label would pick it up on us like a pack of wolves. I want to breathe it in for the first time, break down the ingredients like a perfume and all the elation and frustration that come with it.”

Charlie’s expression betrayed his thought that this was the most incredulous load of tripe he’d ever heard, the cigarette dropping from his gaping mouth. All three men sat in resolute silence across from one another, until the remnants of Charlie’s smoldering cigarette ignited the nets around the table. They began to yell with the fear of men who think that they’re far too young to be caught in a burning house. Untangling themselves from the netting, they were unable to prevent a a web of fire from forming across Jean’s living room. Jean briefly considered going down with the ship: a noble death to die among the books that had kept him company for the last ten years—but recognized his opportunity to make an escape.

The three hurtled out the door and into the sunset. Peter’s body shook with tremors of laughter that could tear the world in two. In silence Jean gave a quick salute to his momentary companions and pondered the virtue of Istanbul. Charlie, convinced he was still on fire and screaming, had run to the water and stood there up to his waist in his tailored suit. The shack and the patches of time that accompanied it were being consumed in the flames behind them. They glimpsed the last vestige of twilight concealing the emerging stars they had yet to see.

Creative Scholarship Authors



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Research Articles

Research



Adult Depression and Anger

Predictors of Early Adulthood Depression and Anger
by Amanda Griffin

Societal controls focus on reducing deviance. However, deviance is also a fundamental part of any society because it facilitates change. This research project used the public dataset of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (N = 6,504) to determine whether adolescent deviance continued into early adulthood or declined over time. The results of this research illuminated the important role that social control and self-control play in the transition from adolescence (Hirschi, 1969). Minor and major delinquencies were not significantly correlated with violence in young adulthood, demonstrating the discontinuity of deviant behavior over time. Regression results show that adolescent depression and trouble in school are positively related to depression and anger in young adulthood. The findings from this study imply that deviance is not a stable trait from adolescence to young adulthood, consistent with the theory.

Research Articles

In refining the symbolic interaction theory, Erving Goffman developed a dramaturgical perspective in which societal interactions are viewed as individuals reacting differently to different settings rather than everyone performing standardized interactions. This perspective values how specific contexts inform and alter how individuals behave. Lack of social control and self-control allows and promotes deviant behavior such as drug use, depression, and trouble in school.

“Self-control” refers to individuals’ abilities to exercise restraint or control over their feelings, emotions, and reactions. Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) asserted that self-control develops early in life and is usually fully established by age 8 or 10. Socialization implemented by caregivers, peers, and social institutions, such as schools, faith-based organizations, and extracurricular activities, shape an individual’s cognitive choices and control personal urges. In the absence of these resources, which function as positive influences, children are less likely to learn to defer or inhibit self-gratification (Vazsonyi & Huang, 2010).

“Deviance” refers to actions or behaviors that violate expectations, including formal rules (such as laws) and informal social norms. “Delinquency” refers to predispositions to commit crimes; deviance is a different matter that does not revolve around the law, making it more to do with convention.

In adolescence, deviance might be measured by school-related variables, such as academic achievement, along with individual actions such as theft, drug use, and sexual promiscuity. In young adulthood, deviance might manifest itself through illegal activity, such as drug use and whether the individual has ever spent time in jail or been homeless. It is important to note that these indicators measure the same underlying behavior of deviance, even though they differ in the specific criteria they indicate.

For the purposes of this study, “social control” is understood as the control over an individual’s behavior through public opinion, legal force, and social and religious organizations operating predominantly with the interest of society as a whole.

Theoretical Perspectives

Social Control Theory

Social control theory is based on the notion that when individuals are involved in group social activities, they believe in a sense of higher social norm. Individuals are less likely

to exhibit deviant behavior. In order to prevent individuals from engaging in delinquent behavior, the involvement in non-delinquent groups and having attachments to social contexts is stressed. These relations allow for the belief in more encompassing social norms (Powell, Perreira, & Harris, 2010).

Social control is meant to be an informal means of maintaining public order by fostering conformity and compliance to rules and norms. The mechanisms of social control are nearly invisible to the average citizen and are hardly ever questioned due to the fact that they are frequently cross-cultural. The social control process clearly differs from self-control due to the internalization of norms and values, as well as from the use of sanctions.

Symbolic Interaction Theory

Symbolic interactionism examines how personal interactions relate to the constructions of society and the concept of one’s self. The work of George Herbert Mead argues that meaning is created through interactions (Gould, 2009). Once the meaning of the interaction is agreed upon, it becomes a social reality (Gould, 2009). The connection between society and experience is negotiated by an individual’s interactions, such as language choice, because it gives meaning to the world. Language is an example of a way in which individuals exchange symbols to provide new meaning.

Individuals’ socially constructed meaning derives from interactions that guide their behaviors, which can be understood as a form of social control. Due to the fact that society and individuals cannot be separated, individuals are continuously being pushed, pulled, created, and recreated by society and social forces. Nonetheless, there remains individual agency to negotiate relationships within society. This creates a tension between personal identity and society’s perception of individual value, thus forming a fluid definition of one’s worth. When an individual defines a situation as real, he or she consequently perceives it as real.

Literature Review

This section of the study will introduce all of the major concepts and ideas that serve as a basis for the current study and describe their inadequacies as they pertain to the topic. This research extends from a series of key findings relating deviance to the growth and development of individuals over time. The literature most pertinent to the perspective and direction of this project is summarized below. The concepts introduced by control theory and social bonding theory, as

modified by self-control theory, are discussed through how they relate to deviance being caused by individuals' abilities to exercise restraint or control over their feelings, emotions, and reactions. The unique path my research incorporates is an analysis of how symbolic interactionism interprets personal interactions as they relate to constructs of society and the individual's construct and concept of self. The connection between society and experience is negotiated by an individual's interactions shown through self-control.

One study found that, contrary to popular belief, the type of households inhabited by adolescents was not a significant predictor of delinquency (Mack, Leiber, Featherstone, & Monserud, 2007). The connection of Hirschi's (1969) social control theory with the social bonding theory is meant to explain delinquency as a result of the lack of strong conventional family attachments in an individual's life, emphasizing that it is not the number of connections but the quality of the interaction between parent and child (Mack et al., 2007).

When adolescents have a low level of quality attachment, they are more inclined to be involved in deviant behavior (Mack et al., 2007). Parents play an integral role in the socialization process; it's shown through the increase in delinquency of non-intact households. With children who engage in good relationships with their parents and have quality peer relationships, delinquent behavior is less prevalent (Mack et al., 2007). The relationships function as a form of social control to motivate them to operate and create the adolescents' identity within the norms of society. The questions selected for my research reflect the attachments absent in adolescence by looking at depression, drug use, trouble in school, and violence. These areas show how adolescents lacking in quality attachments have deviant and delinquent relationships.

Negative adolescent effects are categorized as anything that leads to increased deviance (Mason, Hitch, & Spoth, 2009). The effects are characterized as, depression and homelessness, substance use, and peer deviance; interrelated characteristics that shape adolescent relationships, rather than being independent from one another (Mason et al., 2009). Based on the criteria used, my statistical analysis looks at depression, homelessness, violence, and juvenile delinquency. The negative effects promote deviance and delinquency by preventing individuals from upholding constructive relationships with conventional peers and causing peers who lack positive social groups to seek out deviant peers (Mason, 2009). The relationship between these factors is the basis for the questions chosen from Add

Health to determine the deviant behavior in adolescence and into early adulthood. Peer relationships are important because they are the means in which socialization occurs most frequently. Depression, homelessness, violence, low academic achievement, and juvenile delinquency prevent individuals from maintaining constructive relationships with conventional peers and encourage seeking out deviant groups. Based on the literature, the regression analysis of violence interaction, depression, and anger and hostility in early adulthood, is intended to show the relationship with anger, depression, and drug use.

The social controls and bonding theory previously established by Hirschi (1969) is examined alongside the theory that deviance is a function of an individual's ability to exhibit self-control (Longshore, Chang, Hsieh, and Messina, 2004). This adds an additional dimension to the understanding of deviance by looking at the individual's ability to exhibit self-control. In contrast with social control theory, based on an individual's quality of attachment with society, the focus is on an individual's ability to execute self-control. This parallels Goffman's concept that an individual's performance is based on the choice to enact behaviors that exhibit desired characteristics.

Delinquent participants with low self-control have a greater number of peers who consume drugs and possess weaker conventional bonds and moral beliefs (Longshore et al., 2004). These factors contributed to substance use: involvement in an unconventional lifestyle, moral beliefs, religious commitment, and association with substance-using peers (Longshore et al., 2004). While no one path led directly to substance abuse, the combination of substance-using peers and low self-esteem or flaccid moral beliefs did significantly correlate with substance use (Longshore et al., 2004). An individual's amount of self-control is reflected in the peer group they chose to surround themselves with and the deviant actions in which they participated with the given audience. This information has led to my inclusion of deviance later in life, rather than focusing only on early adolescence. Deviant peers in young adulthood could foster deviant actions later in life.

The association between extracurricular activities and deviance among adolescents depends more on micro-level contextual factors meaning the relationships, identities, and norms within specific activities (Guest & McRee, 2009). This is where deviance is taught and reinforced. This then creates a feedback loop that increases the likelihood of negative effects. The process limits individuals' opportunities to develop healthy, socially acceptable relationships, thereby causing

individuals to seek out like-minded peers who participate in and promote deviant behaviors (Mason, 2009). In an individual's chosen group, deviant behavior will allow him/her to gain social status and esteem. Extracurricular activities are where actions are taught and reinforced. When deviance is the behavior being reinforced, it causes individuals to seek out like-minded peers who will accept this type of behavior.

Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) view of being impulsive and lacking the ability to plan for the future is the definition of lacking self-control. Originally, the explanation was that self-control develops during the first decade of life and remains stable (Vazsonyi & Huang, 2010). The findings most pertinent to this research are statistical results showing that, while self-control is developed within the first decade of life, self-control continues to grow over time (Vazsonyi & Huang, 2010). It was also found that the deviant trajectory declines over time (Vazsonyi & Huang, 2010). This shows that positive socialization has a positive nonlinear impact on how self-control is developed, which can explain and predict why self-control measurements of children differ. These conclusions hold true for different ethnic and racial groups, youth and adults in different countries, and among diverse genders and socioeconomic strata.

Method

Working with the Department of Human Development at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University under the supervision of Dr. Mark Benson and graduate research assistant Caitlin Faas, I was able to develop this research project through the use of the public data set from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health). The data from the original Add Health study was based on a nationally representative sample of sixty schools stratified by region, school type, ethnicity, and size. The first wave of data was gathered from seventh to twelfth grade students so that there were equal numbers of students from each grade level. This population was surveyed three additional times after the initial interview.

For the purposes of this project I used the public data set ($N = 6,504$) with no qualifiers. The questions I selected in Wave I were related to adolescent deviance. The Wave IV questions were based on deviance in young adults in order to see if the behavior continued. This was done by examining the questions that measured school-related variables, along with individual actions such as legal problems, emotions, drug use, and sexual promiscuity in Wave I and then following the answers into Wave IV. The questions I selected from the Wave I codebook were based on the Benson,

Faas, and Kaestle (under review) division of the original questions. They had previously divided the question asked of the participants into 30 scales based on similar areas. The analysis of the questions' descriptive variables, correlations, and linear regressions were conducted with JMP, a computer program developed by SAS Institute to perform simple and complex statistical analyses.

Independent Variables-Wave I

Minor juvenile delinquency. This scale's amount of delinquency was determined by using eight items from Wave I ($\alpha = .78$) that were self-reported. Item statements included "How often did you steal something worth more than \$50?" and "How often did you deliberately damage property that did not belong to you?" Responses included (0) never to (3) five or more times, ranging from 0-24.

Major juvenile delinquency. In this scale, the amount of delinquency was determined by using seven items from Wave I ($\alpha = .73$) that were self-reported. Item statements included "How often did you run away from home?" and "How often did you get into a serious physical fight?" Responses included (0) never to (3) five or more times, ranging from 0-21.

Violence and exposure. The construct of violence and exposure consisted of eight items that adolescents self-reported from Wave I. Adolescents were asked to report "How often each of the following things happen." Item statements included "Someone pulled a knife or gun on you" and "You were jumped." Responses included (0) never to (2) more than twice, ranging from 0-16 ($\alpha = .75$).

Drug use. Within this scale, the amount of drug use was determined by using three items from Wave I ($\alpha = .69$) that were self-reported. Item statements included "Have you ever tried marijuana?" and "Have you ever tried cigarette smoking, even just one or two puffs?" Responses included (0) never have tried to (3) all tried, ranging from 0-3.

Depression. The construct of the depression measure consisted of nine items that adolescents self-reported by stating "How often each of the following things is true during that past week." Item statements included "You thought your life had been a failure" and "You were jumped." Responses included (1) never or rarely to (4) most of the time or all the time, ranging from 9-36 ($\alpha = .84$).

Trouble in school. The amount of trouble in school was determined by using four items from Wave I ($\alpha = .76$) that

were self-reported. Adolescents answered items based on “Since school started this year/during that past year, how often have you had trouble” in the selected items. Item statements included “Getting along with your teacher” and “getting your homework done.” Responses include (0) no troubles in school to (4) everyday, ranging from 0-16.

Perceived hassle of birth control. In this scale, the perceived hassle of birth control was determined by using six items from Wave I ($\alpha = .83$) that were self reported. Item statements included “It takes too much planning ahead of time to have birth control on hand when you’re going to have sex” and “Using birth control is morally wrong.” Responses ranged from (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree, ranging from 6-30.

Dependent Variables-Wave IV

Depression. The construct of the depression measure consisted of nine items that in young adulthood were self-reported. Item statements included “In the last 30 days, how often have you felt that difficulties were piling up so high that you could not overcome them?” and “(During the past seven days:) You enjoyed life.” Responses included (0) never or rarely to (3) most of the time or all the time, ranging from 0-28 ($\alpha = .81$).

Anger and hostility. This scaled the amount of anger and hostility within the individuals’ life and was determined by using four items from Wave IV ($\alpha = .76$) that were self reported. Item statements included “I get angry easily.” Responses included (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree, ranging from 4-20.

Violence involvement. The construct of Violence Involvement consisted of five items that were self-reported from Wave IV. Young adults stated “How often each of the following things happen.” Item statements included, “Someone pulled a knife or gun on you.” and “Someone slapped, hit, choked, or kicked you.” Responses were either (0) no or (1) yes, ranging from 0-16 ($\alpha = .94$).

Risk of drinking. The final question in young adulthood examined drinking behaviors by asking “How often have you been under the influence of alcohol when you could have gotten yourself or others hurt, or put yourself or others at risk, including unprotected sex?” The responses in Wave IV were either (0) never, (1) one time, or (2) more than one time.

Results

The initial data analysis began with the descriptive statistics of each of the scales (Table 1). This table included mean, standard deviation, range, skewness, kurtosis, and alpha value. The participants of this study had a gender distribution of 52% women. Ethnic distribution was 66% white, 25% African-American, 4% Asian, and 7% other (percentages may total less than a hundred due to subgroups not included). Within the Wave I and Deviance section the scales had relatively low means within their ranges. This is reflected in the skewness of the graphs. In Minor Juvenile Delinquency, Major Juvenile Delinquency, and Violence and Exposure, the means of the scales were low in relation to their respective ranges. The graph of the distributions of these questions all show a positive skewness, where the right tail is longer and the mass of the distribution is concentrated on the left of the figure. Wave I Psychosocial Functioning has a mean that is more centrally located within its respective ranges. The Wave IV variables followed the same sort of trend in Wave I with a positive skewness.

The next part of the analysis was the creation of a correlation table (Table 2). This table looked at each of the variables and how they relate to one another, positively or negatively. There is a unique clumping of high correlations between Wave I Minor Juvenile Delinquency, Major Juvenile Delinquency, Violence and Exposure, and Drug Use. The previously stated independent variables are highly positively correlated to each other. There is also a modest positive correlation with the Trouble in School scale and Minor Juvenile Delinquency, Major Juvenile Delinquency, Violence and Exposure, Drug Use, and Depression. Depression in adolescence and depression as a young adult also demonstrate a high positive correlation.

Three regression tables have been created in order to examine how three Wave IV variables, Violence Involvement (Table 3), Depression (Table 4) and Anger and Hostility (Table 5), can be predicted by using the independent variables from Wave I. Within my graph there are dummy variables, such as gender and ethnicity, which take the values 0 or 1 to indicate the absence or presence of some categorical effect that may be expected to shift the outcome.

Violence Involvement had no statistically significant results. This lack of results was due to the correlations being very low compared to other Wave IV scales, such as Depression and Anger.

Controlling for gender and ethnicity for Depression (Table

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4) the independent variables from Wave I with the largest coefficient size are Depression, Trouble in School, and Hassle of Birth Control. This is the size of the effect these variables have on Wave IV Depression. The indicated standard error is low showing that the regression coefficient has strong precision. Figure 1 shows the means for the scale Wave IV Depression compared with Wave I Depression and Trouble in School since those were statistically significant in Table 3. Figure 1 describes the relations of these variables. There is a greater amount of depression in young adulthood for both genders. Wave I Depression gender differences occur with higher female means in Wave I and Wave IV. However, there is also a steep drop off at the end. With men there is more of an increase in mean value of Trouble in School along with higher means in Wave IV Depression.

Controlling for gender and ethnicity for Anger (Table 5) the independent variables from Wave I with the largest coefficient size are Major Juvenile Deviance, Depression, and Trouble in School. The indicated standard error is low meaning that the regression coefficient has strong precision. Figure 2 shows the means for the scale Wave IV Anger and Hostility compared with Wave I Depression, and Trouble in School since those were statistically significant in Table 5. Figure 2 describes the relations of these variables, showing that males Wave IV Anger decreases as it relates to an increase in Wave I Depression while with women there is a steady increase. However, for both genders, as Trouble in School increases there is also an increase in Wave IV Anger. Both genders have a large dip with Wave IV Anger and then another large spike.

Discussion

Society constantly attempts to extinguish deviant and delinquent behaviors for its own well-being. As adolescents become young adults, they have more social control placed on them by society's expectations. In this context, "social control" is understood as the control over an individual's behavior through public opinion, legal force, and social and religious organizations that operate with the interest of society as a whole coming first.

This study has found significant correlations between Wave I and Wave IV scales. The scales being used are considered to exemplify deviance in adolescents and young adults. In this study the correlations and regression lines show how deviant behavior, such as depression and anger in adolescence, persist into young adulthood.

There is also an increase in the amount of self-control from

adolescence to young adulthood. "Self-control" refers to individuals' abilities to exercise restraint or control over their feelings, emotions, and reactions. Inconsideration for social control and a lack of self-control are measured in this study through minor and major juvenile delinquency, drug use, depression, violence and exposure, and trouble in school. In this study, mean values of the independent variables in young adulthood were lower than means in adolescence. The findings from this study imply that deviance decreases in young adulthood, consistent with the theory.

While there are expectations of more responsibility from young adults than youth, there is also a portion of youths who continue their deviant behavior, such as depression, violence, and anger. This continuation can be explained by the fact that an individual can gain status and esteem from certain social groups through deviant behavior. Delinquent participants with low self-control have a larger number of peers who consume drugs as well as weaker conventional bonds and moral beliefs (Longshore et al., 2004). These factors contribute to substance use: involvement in an unconventional lifestyle, moral beliefs, religious commitment, and association with substance using peers (Longshore et al., 2004). This positive reinforcement thereby encourages deviance into young adulthood. For adolescents for whom deviance does not persist, there is quality connection with positive models of societal expectation.

Minor and major delinquency was not significantly correlated with violence in young adulthood, demonstrating the discontinuation of deviant behavior over time. This may be due to the fact that the minor and major delinquency scales were measured by questions relating to legal crimes, such as theft and vandalism. The violence scale measured events such as witnessing and/or participating in violent acts like stabbing, shooting, and/or assault. Minor and major delinquency and violence in adolescence differed in the severity of the actions being included.

Regression results show that adolescent depression and trouble in school are positively related to depression and anger in young adulthood. When separated by gender, there is a stronger relationship with depression in adolescence and young adulthood for both males and females. However, trouble in school is less of a predictor for depression in males in early adulthood. Predictors of aggression in young adulthood, when separated by gender, show equally strong relationships with depression and trouble in school in adolescence. The main difference is that there is a steady increase in the relationship between the amount of depression in adolescent women and the amount of anger

in young adulthood. This shows that individuals who did not feel the social control placed on them to perform well in school early in life were more likely to feel angry and depressed later in life. The findings from this study imply that deviance decreases in young adulthood, consistent with the theory.

This study shows a unique pattern of how the majority of deviant adolescents tend to grow out of such behavior. A future implication of this study is that society's view of deviance during adolescence as a terminal sentence could be transformed. This would allow deviance to be seen as a growth process of youth. In conjunction with this study it would behoove society to find a way to facilitate the growth process in individuals to whom the natural growth out of deviance does not occur.

Limitations

Considering that I was using secondary data, there were restraints on the type of survey questions that were asked of the participants. Some areas of interest that could have been included are financial responsibility and family responsibility, because alternate literature indicated them as explanations of deviant adult behavior. Since the data was representative of the national population, it would be unwise to generalize these conclusions to subpopulations where the national representation is not present, such as in urban cities. Since the secondary data was nationally representative, studying solely minority populations would have resulted in a low number of participants. While my results show a national trend, it would be interesting to compare the results to individuals who are repeat offenders or who have been career criminals since this population has more deviance. Also, since large amounts of data were available, it is possible that all the possible variables were not taken into account.

This study showed how depression and trouble in school as adolescents is positively related to depression and anger as a young adult. These patterns in deviant behavior can be further used through the application of self-regulation theories. Future studies could examine Add Health data regarding personality and self-regulatory behaviors of participants who had exhibited deviant trends.

This project originally proposed that minor and major delinquency as well as violence would predict deviant behavior in young adulthood. However, this study found that adolescent depression is a more important indicator of anger, violence, and depression in early adulthood.

Depression in adolescence should not be taken lightly because of the strong correlation between depression and violence in early adulthood. Depression in adolescence has grounds for further investigation.

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Variables	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Min. - Max.	Skewness	Kurtosis	α
Wave One and Deviance						
Minor juvenile delinquency	2.71	3.40	0-24	2.05	5.13	.78
Major juvenile delinquency	1.38	2.33	0-21	2.81	10.54	.73
Violence & Exposure	1.05	1.90	0-16	2.85	10.43	.75
Psychosocial Functional Deviance						
Drug use	1.37	1.14	0-3	0.13	-1.39	.69
Depression	12.56	3.90	9-33	1.71	3.53	.84
Trouble In School	4.16	2.92	0-16	0.96	0.98	.69
Perceived hassle of birth control	12.35	4.89	6-30	0.77	0.56	.83
Wave Four and Deviance						
Depression	5.89	4.34	0-28	1.25	2.05	.81
Angry & Hostility	10.21	2.90	4-20	.44	.03	.76
Violence & Exposure	0.72	1.57	0-5	2.10	2.83	.94
Drinking put yourself at risk	1.08	0.92	0-2	-0.16	-1.81	-

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics (N=6,504)

Correlations: (N=6,504) *p < .01. **p<.001.

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Wave I											
1. Minor juvenile delin.	=										
2. Major juvenile delin.	<u>.55**</u>	=									
3. Violence & Exposure	<u>.37**</u>	<u>.68**</u>	=								
4. Drug use	<u>.41**</u>	<u>.32**</u>	<u>.26**</u>	=							
5. Depression	<u>.20**</u>	<u>.19**</u>	<u>.16**</u>	<u>.22**</u>	=						
6. Trouble In School	<u>.36**</u>	<u>.33**</u>	<u>.28**</u>	<u>.29**</u>	<u>.29**</u>	=					
7. Hassle of birth control	<u>.09**</u>	<u>.17**</u>	<u>.13**</u>	<u>-.01</u>	<u>.10**</u>	<u>.13**</u>	=				
Wave IV											
8. Depression	<u>.10**</u>	<u>.13**</u>	<u>.11**</u>	<u>.08**</u>	<u>.30**</u>	<u>.17**</u>	<u>.10**</u>	=			
9. Angry & Hostility	<u>.09**</u>	<u>.12**</u>	<u>.09**</u>	<u>.10**</u>	<u>.17**</u>	<u>.13**</u>	<u>.06</u>	<u>.39**</u>	=		
10. Violence & Exposure	<u>.03</u>	<u>.04*</u>	<u>.04**</u>	<u>.02</u>	<u>.04*</u>	<u>.04*</u>	<u>.02</u>	<u>.07**</u>	<u>.05**</u>	=	
11. Risk of Drinking	<u>.18**</u>	<u>.08*</u>	<u>.29*</u>	<u>.11**</u>	<u>.03</u>	<u>.13**</u>	<u>-.00</u>	<u>.11**</u>	<u>.04</u>	<u>-.00</u>	=

Table 2

*p < .01. **p<.001.

^aWhite ethnicity is the reference group

Variable	B	SE B	B
Gender (Ref: Male)	-.05	.03	-.03
African American ^a	-.12	.07	-.07
Asian ^a	-.06	.09	.01
Other Ethnicity ^a	-.04	.08	.01
Minor JD	.00	.01	.00
Major JD	-.01	.02	-.01
Violence	.05	.02	.06
Drug Use	.01	.02	.01
Depression	.01	.01	.12
Trouble in School	.01	.01	.01
Hassle of birth control	.01	.01	.01

Table 3: Linear Regression of Adolescent Variables on Violence Interaction in Young Adulthood (n=6,504)

*p < .01. **p<.001.

^aWhite ethnicity is the reference group

Dependent Variable Depression			
Variable	B	SE B	B
Gender (Ref: Male)	-.34	.07	-.08**
African American ^a	-.37	.07	-.08**
Asian ^a	-.09	.18	-.01
Other Ethnicity ^a	-.09	.14	-.01
Minor JD	-.01	.02	-.01
Major JD	.07	.04	.04
Violence	.05	.04	.02
Drug Use	-.04	.06	-.01
Depression	.32	.02	.30**
Trouble in School	.10	.03	.07**
Hassle of Birth Control	.05	.01	.06**

Table 4: Linear Regression of Adolescent Variables on Depression in Young Adulthood (N=6,504)

*p < .01. **p<.001.

^aWhite ethnicity is the reference group

Dependent Variable Depression			
Variable	B	SE B	B
Gender (Ref: Male)	-.34	.07	-.08**
African American ^a	-.37	.07	-.08**
Asian ^a	-.09	.18	-.01
Other Ethnicity ^a	-.09	.14	-.01
Minor JD	-.01	.02	-.01
Major JD	.07	.04	.04
Violence	.05	.04	.02
Drug Use	-.04	.06	-.01
Depression	.32	.02	.30**
Trouble in School	.10	.03	.07**
Hassle of Birth Control	.05	.01	.06**

Table 5: Linear Regression of Adolescent Variables on Anger & Hostility in Young Adulthood (N=6,504)

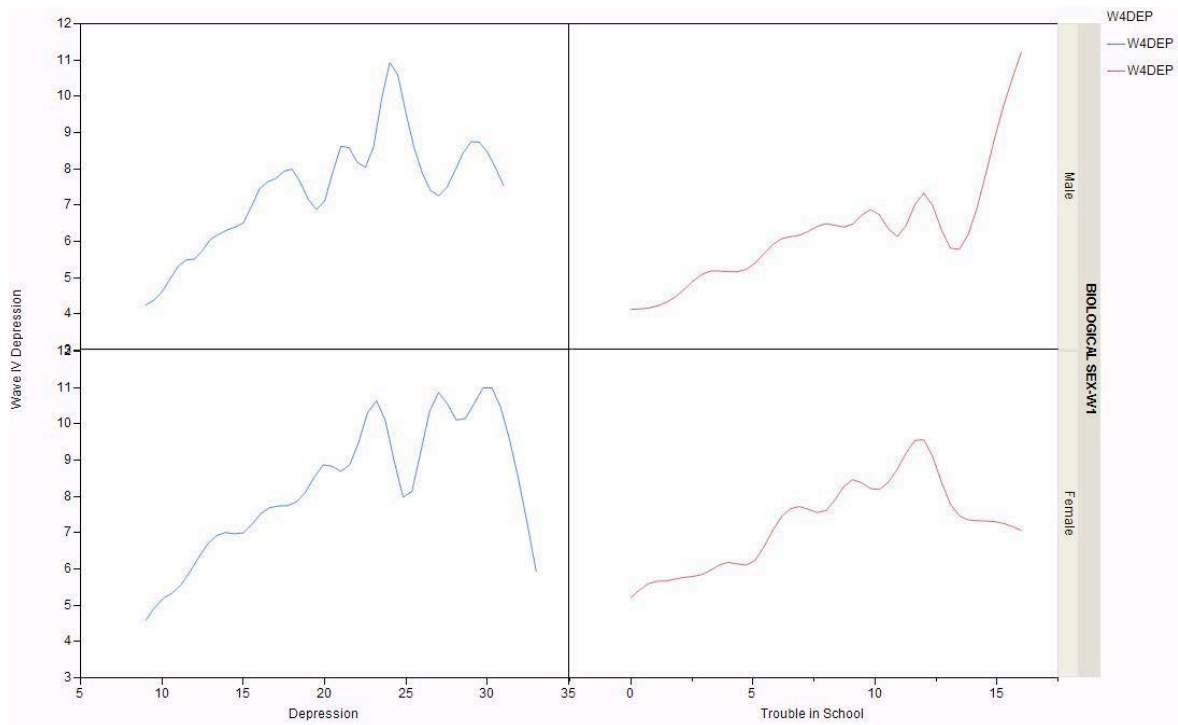


Figure 1: Wave IV Depression vs. Wave I Depression & Trouble in School (N=6,504)

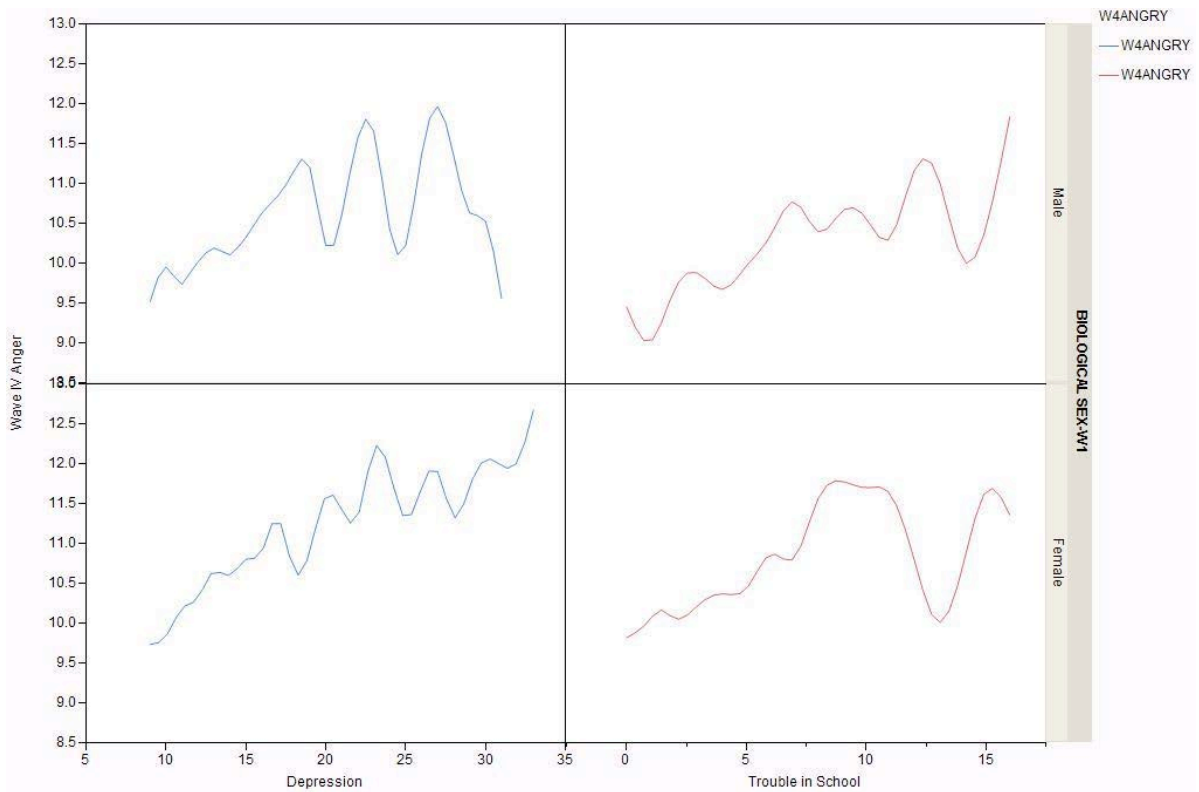


Figure 2: Wave IV Anger vs. Wave I Depression & Trouble in School (N=6,504)

“Yes, but...”

Oscar Blayton and the Unenthusiastic Integration of
William & Mary
by Andrew Gibbs

The stories of the civil rights vanguard are often as dramatic as they are celebrated, with a fascinating cast of heroes and villains occupying opposing corners in the dispute over the shape of American life. The stories of these pioneers provide a lens through which to view the evolution of the civil rights struggle in a diverse array of contexts. Collegiate integration is an important area to examine in order to understand the civil rights struggle because of the location of educational institutions at the intersection of race, class, gender, economics, and culture. While graduate programs were usually integrated first, the undergraduate experience is often much more revealing of the conflicts and compromises of the civil rights movement because the broader access to undergraduate education required schools to maintain a certain image within the larger society that was dependent on the undergraduate experience. At the College of William & Mary institutions, image

and legacy intertwined with integration as the need to maintain a certain “standard” stalked the history of race at the institution.

Many institutions have come to celebrate the history of their first black undergraduates, though many stories remain buried—considered best forgotten or glossed over by their institutions. The story of Oscar Blayton, the first black undergraduate at the College of William & Mary, is an example of a story the institution would evidently rather forget. The College admitted Mr. Blayton in 1963 as a day student, since at that point, an African American resident at William & Mary was unthinkable.¹ The environment he met was so unwelcoming that he struggled for two years before leaving and was then drafted to fight in Vietnam. The College, in its official history of the 1960s, spends far more wordage on the construction of new residence halls than the end of hundreds of years of racial discrimination. Blayton’s story demonstrates that successful integration was more than the admission of black students. As long as the institution did not consider itself integrated, it would marginalize black students, and it could not complete the process of integrating the institution.

The History of Race at William & Mary

The College of William & Mary’s dealings with race did not begin with the admission of its first black graduate student in 1951. The College had already passed through a notorious racial incident, not to mention its history of slave ownership during the colonial period until the Civil War. The Ku Klux Klan had come to the College in 1926, during the presidency of J.A.C. Chandler. The College did not invite the Klan; rather, the Klan informed Chandler that they would be visiting and would like to present him with an American flag.² The choice of gift put Chandler in an awkward position. He could either seem unpatriotic or intolerant, neither seemly for a college president. Chandler took the view that the Klan was a legally organized entity within the state, and it was not his prerogative to deny them entrance to a public institution, despite the threat their visit posed to his reputation for tolerance. This reputation was a product of the rather modest standards of the time; he allowed Catholics and white minorities to meet on campus.³ Eventually he hit upon the solution of allowing the Klan to

visit but used his acceptance speech to repudiate their values.

The Klan did present Chandler with a flag, and Chandler did publicly denounce the Klan’s ideology, even if only indirectly, though it did little to help him. Chandler received harsh criticism from many quarters. The *Baltimore Sun* attacked him for allowing the Klan a chance to air their views in a reputable environment, and a member of the Board of Visitors nearly resigned in protest of the group’s presence on campus. There was also outrage among alumni that the College would host such a contemptible organization. The extent of the damage is unclear, though the flag and its attendant plaque mysteriously disappeared in 1942, apparently with then-President Pomfret’s unofficial blessing.⁴ Repudiating the Klan was an easy step in combating racism, but the far more daunting challenge of creating an integrated student body would continue to confront the College for decades to come.

The first black student to attend the College was Hulon Willis, a graduate student admitted in 1951.⁵ Willis’s admission to the summer graduate program in physical education was the product of both the pragmatism of Pomfret and the place that graduate education had at the time. The landmark *Sweatt v. Painter* and *Sipuel v. Oklahoma* cases, which stipulated that black applicants could not be denied admission into graduate programs at state institutions based on color unless there was another public program that was of commensurate quality open to blacks, was the first sign of trouble.⁶ The federal district court ordered the University of Virginia law school to admit a qualified black applicant, Walter Nathaniel Ridley. This set Pomfret and the William & Mary administration on high alert.⁷ Rather than face a losing legal battle, Pomfret decided to outpace events and admit a black applicant in 1951. Cue Hulon Willis, who was able to integrate quietly with a low profile summer program, allowed the university to avoid any public scrutiny. Edward Travis enrolled that fall in the law program and was the first African American to graduate from William & Mary in 1954.⁸ Hulon Willis graduated two years later in 1956, and following his departure Oscar Blayton was the next African American to attend.

Willis never encountered the sort of vehement opposition

⁴ *Ibid.* 613.

⁵ *Ibid.* 767.

⁶ Kerry S. Ambrose, “Oscar Blayton: The First Black Undergraduate at the College of William & Mary” (1990), 4.

⁷ *Ibid.* 767.

⁸ Peter Wallenstein, “King Color Goes to College,” *Diversity News* (Spring 1999): 5.

¹ Susan H. Godson, *The College of William & Mary: A History* (Williamsburg, VA: King and Queen Press, 1993), 829.

² Tom Silver and John Craig, “The Day the Klan Came to William & Mary,” *Alumni Gazette* (Summer 1984): 18.

³ Richard B. Sherman, *The College of William & Mary: A History* (Williamsburg, VA: King and Queen Press, 1993), 612.

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that arose at some other school integrations; in fact, he looked back at his time at William & Mary fondly, saying, “William & Mary is tops in my book. It always has been and it always will be.”⁹ Willis, a faculty member at Virginia State University, likely had an easier time because he was an older student and only attended in the summer. He was also a karate master, very self-confident, and difficult to intimidate. Blayton, without these mitigating factors, would not have such pleasant memories.

Blayton’s Background

As the son of a prominent local physician and a social worker, and a member of the black middle class, there was no question that Oscar Blayton would attend college. The Blayton children, including Oscar, were encouraged to be voracious readers.¹⁰ As racial tensions in Virginia intensified during the 1950s, Blayton’s parents sent Oscar and his siblings to out-of-state boarding schools to gain a quality of education they could not acquire from the segregated system at home. Blayton’s parents first sent him to Williston Northampton School in Easthampton, Massachusetts, for seventh grade. His academic performance was sub-par, so his father withdrew him from Williston and sent him to the now defunct Palmer Memorial Institute, near Greensboro, North Carolina, for his secondary schooling. His father hoped the remote location and strict standards at Palmer would set his son on the proper path. While the effects of the Palmer experience are unclear, Blayton had matured through his secondary school experience and felt prepared for the increased challenge of collegiate education.¹¹

Oscar Blayton originally applied to several schools, including William & Mary and Howard, his father’s alma mater. Oscar applied to William & Mary despite its segregated status due to a lingering family resentment towards the College. Several years previously, Oscar’s sister had applied to the College’s summer school, and the College informed her that they “did not accept Negro applicants.”¹² William & Mary was local and had a premedical program, making it ideal for the Blayton family, who hoped to see Oscar follow his father’s career path. There was an administrative error with transcripts at Palmer that year, and Blayton was not even in the running for the College’s usual admissions, as evidenced by Dean of Admissions Robert Hunt’s statement in May that

9 “Love At First Sight: William & Mary’s First Black Student Recalls College Fondly,” *Alumni Gazette* (September 1985): 7.

10 Oscar Blayton, telephone interview from Williamsburg, Virginia (November 11, 2010).

11 *Ibid.*

12 *Ibid.*

no black applicant had submitted a completed application.¹³ Following the resolution of the transcript issue, Blayton was accepted to Howard, where he matriculated and had even paid his housing deposit. Looking forward to attending Howard in the fall, Blayton spent the summer unemployed and curious about why he was not accepted to the College.

Application and Acceptance

Feeling bored and mischievous one summer afternoon, Blayton decided to inquire about his application with Dean Hunt, since William & Mary seemed to have forgotten about it. SAT booklet in hand and confident of his own qualifications (having found information on the average incoming freshman), Blayton met with Dean Hunt and upbraided him for the discriminatory practices at the College.¹⁴ Blayton had a good laugh at the College’s expense and thought little of it later. Sitting at home watching television about a week afterward, Blayton watched George Wallace conduct his famous stand in the schoolhouse door.

Wallace has become a legend of Southern politics through his decades in office and tortured search for redemption. Upon taking office in 1962, he famously declared, “In the name of the greatest people that have ever trod this earth, I draw the line in the dust and toss the gauntlet before the feet of tyranny, and I say segregation today, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever.”¹⁵ On June 11, 1963, he staked out his position on collegiate integration rhetorically and physically at the doorway to the Foster Auditorium at the University of Alabama. At stake was the registration of two black students, Vivian Malone Jones and James Hood. He described the students as “[t]he unwelcomed, unwanted, unwarranted and force-induced intrusion upon the campus of the University of Alabama.”¹⁶ In response, President Kennedy ordered an Army National Guard contingent to remove Wallace. That evening, following the successful eviction of Wallace from the doorway, the president gave a speech on integration:

Now the time has come for this nation to fulfill its promise. The events in Birmingham and elsewhere have so increased the cries for equality that no city

13 “660 Students Accepted by W&M For Fall Term,” *Daily Press* (May 8, 1963): 23.

14 Oscar Blayton, telephone interview.

15 Wallace Quotes. <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/wallace/sfeature/quotes.html>.

16 George C. Wallace, “Statement and Proclamation of Governor George C. Wallace, University of Alabama, June 11, 1963,” Alabama Department of Archives and History, http://www.archives.state.al.us/govs_list/schooldoor.html.

or state or legislative body can prudently choose to ignore them. The fires of frustration and discord are burning in every city, North and South, where legal remedies are not at hand. Redress is sought in the streets, demonstrations, parades, and protests, which create tensions and threaten violence and threaten lives.

We face, therefore, a moral crisis as a country and as a people. It cannot be met by repressive police action. It cannot be left to increased demonstrations in the streets. It cannot be quieted by token moves or talk. It is a time to act in the Congress, in your state and local legislative body and, above all, in all of our daily lives.¹⁷

Deputy Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach accompanied the President's speech with stern words on the pecuniary consequences of noncompliance with integration.¹⁸ Specifically, institutions were under threat of losing federal funding if they continued to refuse black applicants. The funding issue loomed large during the early 1960s because The College was in the midst of an expensive expansion effort, with many new buildings planned. Blayton was watching two well-known reporters, Huntley and Brinkley, do a post-event analysis when the phone rang. Dean Hunt was calling to invite Oscar and his family to talk about his admission.¹⁹ While a relationship between Federal warnings concerning financing and Blayton's admission cannot be definitively drawn, the timing of Dean Hunt's call suggests a connection.

When interviewed, Robert Hunt stated that Blayton's application was treated like any other; once it was received in full, it was processed in the typical manner by the admissions staff. (It should be noted that Blayton's application to Howard had progressed to the point of securing housing by the time Hunt contacted Blayton.) Additionally, Hunt claimed that the decision to admit Blayton was entirely the work of the admissions staff as a due result of Blayton's qualifications. Blayton had not attached a photo to his application, as was sometimes the case, and there were no questions on the application regarding race. Hunt said that the only reason he even knew Blayton was black was because he was aware of his family. "If he had been from Richmond I would have had no idea he was Black," he said.²⁰ A photo

or an outright admission of race was not the only way to identify an applicant's race. In an era of segregated schools, one only had to check the applicant's high school to ascertain the color of his or her skin.

Given the later behavior of the College, it is unlikely that the administration had accepted race as a non-factor to the extent that the Admissions Committee sought no higher approval to go forward with Blayton's acceptance. The president at the time, Davis Y. Paschall, known in the black community as a segregationist, would have been unlikely to support the move if consulted. When Blayton and his parents visited the campus, Dean Hunt and Dean Lambert offered him admission at the College that fall. They extended the offer on the conditions that he would not live on campus and would spend minimal time there; the dining halls were open to him, but he was not encouraged to take advantage of the facilities. Hunt cautioned him against the difficulties he would likely face and suggested that he take some time to think it over. Hunt's warning did not deter Blayton, at the time. In an interview for the College's student newspaper, *Flat Hat*, he said, "But I did not have to [think it over]. My mind was made up. I was ready to go!"²¹

Blayton at William & Mary

Oscar Blayton entered William & Mary with high hopes, though his experiences would slowly dash these through two years of struggle. He enrolled in the pre-medical program in accordance with his family's wishes. Oscar had misgivings about this, as his own interests and aptitudes had always been in the humanities. His fears proved accurate, and this course of action would become a major cause of problems.²² When interviewed by the *Flat Hat* in 1963, Blayton said, "I was expecting a cold reception, but everyone was warm and friendly . . . Everyone accepted me without seeming to give it a second thought."²³ Blayton later recalled that he in fact had a cold welcome, certainly not overtly hostile, but distinctly distant. "Some were curious, some were welcoming, some were unimpressed . . . for the most part they left me alone."²⁴ This divergence speaks perhaps to his optimism at the time, a common trait amongst black pioneers trying to make the best of their situation, though his later negativity could also be a product of the unfortunate turn his William & Mary experience took. According to Blayton's account, none of

17 John F Kennedy, "The American Promise to African Americans," Washington, DC: *Congressional Record*, 88th Congress, 1st Session, <http://www.britannica.com/presidents/article-9116924>.

18 Oscar Blayton, telephone interview.

19 Ibid.

20 Robert Hunt, telephone interview from Chesapeake, Virginia (January 6, 201).

21 "No Apprehensions' Felt By Negro Undergraduate," *The Virginia Gazette* (May 8, 1964): 3A.

22 Oscar Blayton, telephone interview.

23 "No Apprehensions' Felt By Negro Undergraduate," *The Virginia Gazette* (May 8, 1964): 3A.

24 Oscar Blayton, telephone interview.

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the students ever acted particularly intolerant towards him, though locals heckled him occasionally. The studied indifference to his presence was overwhelming, save for two notable exceptions. The first was the Theater Department, and the second was Paschall.

President Paschall displayed perhaps the worst attitude of anyone on campus towards Blayton and epitomized the treatment that left Blayton feeling crushed and failed by a system meant to support students. Paschall had been superintendent of public schools in Virginia from 1957 to 1960.²⁵ He was the man charged with implementing Massive Resistance, which he did with vigor. In a retrospective on Paschall's dealing with race, Blayton wrote, "Dr. Paschall was viewed by Governor Stanley and the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* as not only a segregationist, but as a 'No Integration At Any Price' segregationist."²⁶ Due to these activities, he acquired a reputation as a staunch segregationist, both on and off campus. At the time, there were rumors that he would privately scold students who had "inappropriate" interactions with African Americans.²⁷ Blayton never confronted Paschall directly, but he does remember that Paschall would make a point of looking away from Blayton if their paths crossed.²⁸ While Paschall may have been the worst offender, Blayton felt unengaged by his classes, and his teachers did little to increase his involvement.

Blayton had also tried to get involved in football at William & Mary as a way to find friends. Another inspiration for his involvement was the controversy at the time over whether Southern schools would play against teams with black players. Blayton was determined to get his name on the roster for a game, if only to force the issues of integrated teams.²⁹ Blayton played on the junior team, since at the time freshmen could not play on the varsity team. He did not have the success he had hoped at garnering friends, but he did play in a game. He took the field against the Shipyard Apprentice School during the first game of the season. After that contest, he left the team, concluding that with his size and athletic ability he would get little playtime. Years later, his father told him about a call he had received from one of the football coaches. The coach had warned Dr. Blayton that some of the players were planning to injure Oscar during practice and suggested that Dr. Blayton remove his son from the team. Dr. Blayton knew his son was tough enough to

handle it and so said nothing at the time. Oscar suspects that this was just a ploy to get him removed from the team; he never experienced anything that seemed like intentional overenthusiasm.³⁰

The most pleasant on-campus experiences Blayton had were with the Theater Department and particularly his treatment by Howard Scammon, an associate professor of theater and speech. Scammon sought Blayton out during the first semester of his second year. Scammon had a problem. Blayton described their first meeting, "He said, 'I want to do this play, but it has a part for a Negro. Do you play the piano?'. . . He talked me into auditioning and that's how I got involved in the theater group."³¹ The play was Saroyan's "The Time of Your Life," and Blayton successfully auditioned for the part of Wesley, who played the piano. The theater students were more accepting of Blayton than the majority of the student body, and he developed a circle of good friends.³² The theater experience was the highlight of an otherwise bleak experience.

There were some promising signs that William & Mary may have been ready for integration before Blayton's arrival. The most prominent was a petition signed by 800 students in support of integration.³³ Of course, while this represented a significant number of students, it was a minority nonetheless. This number of signatories confirms Blayton's view that most of the campus was still quite conservative, with only a few very more liberal people. Eight hundred is still a significant number of students, and, based on Blayton's account, it seemed few of these were willing to extend a helping hand for integration when they were in public and a black student was before them. Integration may have been acceptable when it just meant a name on a petition to many people. But when social capital was at risk, there were few gamblers to be found outside of the theater students, who Blayton identified as already being the campus "odd-balls."

Blayton's departure from campus was as low-key as his arrival. No one informed Blayton of his academic advisor's existence until after he was on academic probation during his second year. Oscar met with his adviser only once, and the only advice he was given was the simple statement, "You have a lot of work to do."³⁴ Blayton credits this lack of support structure as a significant factor in his poor performance. The apathy of the administrators and faculty demonstrates the

25 Godson, *The College of William & Mary: A History*, 807.

26 Oscar Blayton, "A Different Perspective," *The Virginia Gazette* (November 3, 2001): 13A.

27 Ambrose, "Oscar Blayton: The First Black Undergraduate," 11.

28 Oscar Blayton, telephone interview.

29 *Ibid.*

30 *Ibid.*

31 *Ibid.*

32 *Ibid.*

33 "800 Students Sign Poll," *Flat Hat* (May 10, 1963): 1.

34 Oscar Blayton, telephone interview.

wide gulf between mere acceptance and a warm welcome. Ultimately, Blayton was unable to raise his grades and had to leave William & Mary, taking with him a mere twelve credit hours and a crushed spirit.

Blayton After William & Mary

Following his departure from William & Mary, Blayton's draft status was changed. He was eligible for conscription, and the local draft board took due notice, giving him over to the United States Marine Corps. Following a typically harrowing experience at Marine Corps boot camp at Paris Island, South Carolina, Blayton gave superior performances on a series of standardized tests, making him eligible to attend Officer Candidate School (OCS). At OCS, Blayton continued to do well and received an assignment as a helicopter pilot. Pilot School at Pensacola, Florida, proved integral for building Blayton's confidence. During training he found out that, once he was in an environment where success was encouraged and facilitated through motivated instruction, he had no problem with the academic material. Much of the instruction was on topics similar to the pre-medical material that had so troubled him.³⁵

Blayton shipped out to Vietnam after graduating from pilot school., While stationed in Southeast Asia, Blayton enrolled in several collegiate level correspondence courses. Once he rotated out of Vietnam, he was stationed in Japan and began using the University of Maryland's distance education program to continue working towards a degree. Following his discharge from the Marines, Blayton attended night classes at the University of Maryland's College Park campus. By this time he was married and working but still finished his bachelor's degree in journalism with excellent grades. Blayton was accepted into the law program at Yale. He had a wonderful time at Yale, where serious thinkers surrounded him, and this environment crystallized his interest in international human rights issues.³⁶

Following graduation, Blayton intended to become involved in international law, but events conspired against him. Family issues called him back to Williamsburg. Blayton vowed to "hang his shingle" back in Virginia for only two years. However, he became involved with a Hampton busing case, which delayed his departure. Then another case came to his attention, and another, and another.

35 Oscar Blayton, telephone interview.

36 *Ibid.*

William & Mary After Blayton

While Blayton was at William & Mary, President Lyndon Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 into law. The provisions of this piece of legislation laid the foundation for the next chapter of the William & Mary integration story through a clause banning federal funds from institutions that refused to integrate. The act banned segregation of all public educational institutions and laid the foundation for the involvement of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) in 1968. During the post-Blayton period, the faculty had urged the College to increase black enrollment, with limited success, enrolling just three new black students in 1967.³⁷ *The College of William & Mary: A History* attributes this to a lack of qualified applicants, perhaps due to the Blayton experience.³⁸ According to Blayton, there were several other black undergraduates attending during his second year. Their invisibility in the historical record may be due to part-time status.

The experiences of the three young women admitted in 1967 confirm that the treatment Blayton received was not anomalous. In words reminiscent of Blayton, Lynn Briley stated in a 1993 interview, "There was a sense of coldness, a sense of isolation. I think there might have been an attitude among the administration that we were there, but they weren't going to make it easy for us."³⁹ The three young women were living together in a triple room in the basement of Jefferson Hall, having integrated on-campus housing, so they were able to provide each other with support through the difficulties they faced. Despite the harsh words they would later have for their experiences at William & Mary, the women, like Blayton, gave very up-beat interviews to the *Flat Hat* at the time⁴⁰ to try to make the best of difficult circumstances. Together they persevered, with the William & Mary class of '71 becoming the first to graduate its entire black population.

In the fall of 1968, HEW inspectors came to William & Mary and found that efforts to comply with the spirit of the law were unsatisfactory, even though on the face of it the school had integrated with a bare handful of black students. This issue parallels the difference between integration in name only and an integration policy that fosters a multiracial

37 Godson, *The College of William & Mary: A History*, 829; Christopher Miller, "When Everything was Black and White," *Jump!* (Winter 1993): 10.

38 Godson, *The College of William & Mary: A History*, 829.

39 Christopher Miller, "When Everything was Black and White," *Jump!* (Winter 1993): 11.

40 Nadia Tongour, "'Other Half' Lives No Differently Finds First Negro Coeds in Dorms," *Flat Hat* (October 20, 1967): 16.

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community. Eloise Severinson, the HEW regional director, recommended a series of measures to encourage greater black enrollment and a more accepting campus environment.⁴¹ These measures included more aggressive recruiting at predominantly black high schools in Virginia, increasing financial aid to black students, ending discriminatory off-campus housing lists, and moving the College's publications to include equal opportunity language. When the inspectors returned a year later, they once again deemed William & Mary's efforts were unsatisfactory, and Severinson requested the suspension of the College's one million dollars in federal aid.

Paschall, upon learning that Severinson was still not satisfied following a third round of inspections, sent her a letter insisting that the College had done enough to satisfy HEW's expectations. Severinson interpreted this as a commitment to noncompliance and sent the letter to her superiors in Washington. At some point, the matter died at HEW headquarters, and William & Mary continued to receive its money uninterrupted.⁴² Severinson had a commitment to enforcement at William & Mary. This issue merits further investigation as no extant secondary source provides a clear explanation. The noncompliance with the original recommendations was not the only infraction in the eyes of Severinson. She also considered the proposed elevation of the predominantly black Richard Bland College to a four-year institution unacceptable because this move reinforced a "whites only" image for William & Mary. The courts blocked the expansion of Richard Bland College, resolving the issue cleanly.⁴³

Conclusion

The construction of this narrative is dependent not only on magnifying extant positive traits, but also selective forgetting. The modern story of race at William & Mary has often slipped into the dustbin of institutional history. Except for Hulon Willis, none of the early black students look back at their time there with fondness. The College moved to integrate for practical reasons, charting a careful public course and an even more cautious private path through the cognitive dissonance of repudiating both the Klan and integration. The motivation behind integration were practical measures to avoid funding complications or a tarnished reputation. Three hundred years of tradition and responsibility can sometimes be a double-edged sword, though some like Paschall never saw them in those terms.

41 Godson, *The College of William & Mary: A History*, 829.

42 *Ibid.* 830.

43 *Ibid.* 830.

Despite the difficulties it faced in the 1960s, by the 1970s the College was making notable progress. Today it has become quite progressive by the standards of larger society. 7.2% of the student body is African American (20.5% of the Virginia population is African American). Recently, William & Mary elected a transgender homecoming queen, Jesse Vasold, in 2009. Image and history remain as important as they have ever been, but as society evolved, so did William & Mary. Today, while the College has not attained diversity statistics commensurate with the larger population, administration policy is no longer an impediment to further integration. The College has made some efforts to come to grips with the role of race in its history through the Lemon Project, named for a slave owned by the College during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. These efforts currently focus on the early history of race at William & Mary, and further developments will show to what extent the College is willing to come to terms with the realities of the civil rights movement.

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When you ride **ALONE**
you ride with Hitler!

Riding with Hitler

The Failure of Fuel Rationing During WWII
by Kate Pandick

Did you know that when you fail to carpool, you are “riding with Hitler”?¹ At the height of World War II, the government employed such propaganda slogans to increase patriotism and shape the attitudes of the American public—and from the very beginning, both political and peer pressure played a significant role in the United States gasoline rationing campaign. Although a “true” American did everything he or she could to win the war, many Americans refused to give up the luxury of an automobile despite the pressure to conserve gasoline.

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, wealthy Americans became obsessed with the motorcar. The development of the gasoline motor in 1893 brought the age of the automobile rolling into the twentieth

¹ Michael L. Berger, *The Automobile in American History and Culture* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2001), xvii.

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century.² As early as 1905, when 86 percent of all automobiles sold ran on petroleum fuel, gasoline-powered cars dominated the market.³ Once Henry Ford created the assembly line for the Model T a few years later, cars became an icon of the American way.

Unfortunately, the good times would not last for long. When the Great Depression arose, automobile sales plummeted as the nation watched its savings disappear. In the end, Americans took to the road with what was often the only possession they had left: the family car. Driving across the country, looking for work and a better life was a common cause of motor-propelled migration. As the demand for gasoline rose exponentially, the United States was thrown abruptly into World War II. Although the need for fuel to power tanks, airplanes, and ships overseas soon came to the forefront of national importance, many Americans were hesitant to give up what they saw as an essential commodity.

Previous researchers, including Stanley Cunningham, Nicholas Cull, David Culbert, and David Welch, have aimed to establish the power of “traditional propaganda.” Cunningham defines this term as targeting a mass audience with the intent of rousing support by presenting ideas and facts as convincingly as possible.⁴ Creating effective propaganda takes a well-organized and clever strategy, involving both fact and fiction. Findings have suggested that some level of truth must be incorporated into the message for it to be persuasive.⁵ Additionally, researcher Stanley Newcourt-Nowodworski identified a form of messaging known as “black propaganda,” which is used to portray the subject as a villain or vicious monster.⁶ With the gasoline-rationing campaign, the government did not employ “black propaganda” often; rather, it used more simple forms of manipulation, such as dramatic captions about the war and the fuel shortage.

When the Office of War Information instituted a formal campaign to carpool, conserve, and ration gasoline in 1942, the public was immediately up in arms.⁷ Consequently, a failure of the fuel conservation movement seemed imminent with a high likelihood of angry outcries and protests. The

2 Michael L. Berger, *The Automobile in American History and Culture*, xviii.

3 Michael L. Berger, *The Automobile in American History and Culture*, xviii.

4 Stanley B. Cunningham, *The Idea of Propaganda* (London: Praeger Publishers, 2002), 25.

5 Cunningham, *The Idea of Propaganda*, 102.

6 Stanley Newcourt-Nowodworski, *Black Propaganda in the Second World War* (Phoenix Mill: Sutton Publishing Limited, 2005), 2-4.

7 “Voices of the 20th Century: Gas Rationing, 1942,” <http://www.eyewitnesshistory.com/vogas.htm>.

only potentially effective response to this resistance was to psychologically manipulate and to persuade the hearts and minds of the American people. However, it wasn't enough to create artistic posters and slogans for fuel conservation to be a success. Private businesses, as well as the government, lost billions of dollars in revenue and support due to the gasoline rationing. Despite the government's strong push through the use of colorful and catchy propaganda posters, gasoline rationing during World War II was a failure.

A propaganda campaign, “distinguished from other forms of communication in that it is consciously and deliberately used to influence group attitudes,” can be traced back to the sixteenth century or even earlier.⁸ Most propaganda campaigns consisted of a photographic or artistic representation, such as radio and film advertising, of a conflict and the need for a resolution through the implied directions within the propaganda. Initially, the main reason for artistic propaganda was due to the high illiteracy rate among the public. For propaganda to be successful, there was a need for subtle psychological manipulation.⁹ Two ways to achieve subtle psychological manipulation are through positive or negative methods. The “positive” emotion method in a poster puts the cause on the offensive by refuting the enemy's assertions.¹⁰ For example, declaring that an enemy's statement is a boldfaced lie can focus attention on the topic being addressed. The other method is the “negative” attempt, a defensive measure. Government leaders and propaganda offices have often depended on the belief that “if [a lie is] turned into a slogan, and repeated often enough, [it] is to be half believed.”¹¹ The overall point of propaganda is to be as eye-catching as possible to draw a person in, then to persuade their emotions to encourage action on behalf of the cause.

In wartime, a propaganda poster's message strived to inspire patriotism and to bring the populous together for the common good. Victory would never come if “you neglect to use every channel in your fight against [the enemy].”¹² During World War II, officials in the Office of War Information hypothesized that if the government could

8 Nicholas J. Cull, David Culbert, and David Welch, *Propaganda and Mass Persuasion* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2003), xv-xvi; The Columbia Encyclopedia, “Propaganda,” <http://www.encyclopedia.com>.

9 Yahya R. Kamalipour and Nancy Snow, *War, Media, and Propaganda: A Global Perspective* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004), 11-14.

10 Eric Knight, “‘Shaping Mental and Moral Forces’: Memo on Propaganda,” *Munsen Papers* (1942), <http://www.historymatters.gmu.edu>.

11 Knight, “Shaping Mental and Moral Forces.”

12 Knight, “Shaping Mental and Moral Forces.”



Figure 1: An example of a Class B ration card (Duke University Library)

inspire people to fight the Axis powers on the home front as well as overseas, victory was guaranteed. Thus, a campaign to ration was created. Rationing allowed the government to take control of all resources deemed important for the war effort—everything from food to clothing to scrap metal was collected.¹³

Unfortunately, the fuel rationing campaign was a disastrous failure. The situation did not improve until a nation-wide program of forced ration cards and coupons began. Beginning in the spring of 1942, the general American citizen would receive a Class B ration card. (see fig. 1). It was specifically for passenger cars and provided for nineteen punches, based on the schedule of the Federal Register.¹⁴ There were 3,148,994 of these cards issued between May 15 and June 30, 1942.¹⁵ The procedure still did not deter the majority of dissenters; The American public found ways to keep their automobiles out on the open road.

The government had a strong interest in the use of rationing to help sustain the economy, while also providing for troops overseas. Rationing takes money away from certain commodities; for example, if a person can buy five gallons of gasoline a week and only spends \$1.50, part of his income is left to spend on non-rationed goods. This excess cash, in turn, helps boost the economy. The conserved commodities

13 The Columbia Encyclopedia, "Rationing," <http://www.encyclopedia.com>.

14 Duke University Libraries, "Ration Coupons on the Home Front, 1942-1945," <http://library.duke.edu>.

15 Duke University Libraries, "Ration Coupons on the Home Front, 1942-1945."

can be used overseas or wherever they happen to be needed most at the time.¹⁶ Although valid in theory, it proved very difficult to convince an economically uneducated public of the benefits of rationing.

The government saw fuel as a major sticking point for both public and private businesses, and even tried to convince automakers to secretly go along with hopeful defense plans for the country, involving the heightened use of cars and fuel overseas.¹⁷ Most members of the public remained unconvinced about the necessity of rationing and few, if any, attempts at encouraging conservation of commodities, like gasoline, made a considerable difference. In this case, the efforts to manipulate the public using propaganda repeatedly failed. Americans saw the government as trying to reverse the progress the economy had made since the 1920s. In an article for the *Nation's Business*, Lawrence Sullivan reported about the clear negativity of the campaigns, especially the effort to ration gasoline:

It took American business almost a quarter century to make the automobile a household necessity...might it be possible for [the government] by sheer authority of hasty and ill-considered executive orders, to undo all this work in six months?¹⁸

The public saw rationing campaigns as bullying and a use of fear to manipulate the home front to a significantly reduced standard of living. Accounts of hoarding portrayed the widespread panic caused by the government. Yet, federal officials continued to produce new propaganda, and later resorted to forced ration cards in the attempt to keep the war effort strong. The feelings and "needs" of the general public did not seem to matter.

Despite the overwhelming disapproval of the American public, rationing was increased. After the bombing of Pearl Harbor in 1941, the government increased its propaganda output of posters, films, and speeches. Posters were one of the more effective media to persuade the public; however, they continually failed to make a significant difference in the fuel rationing campaign. The American public would not be voluntarily swayed by propaganda. Although the Great Depression saw the total number of passenger cars properly registered increase only from roughly 23 million to

16 Hans P. Neisser, "Theoretical Aspects of Rationing," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 57, no. 3 (1943): 387-388, <http://www.jstor.org>.

17 James J. Flink, *The Automobile Age* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1988), 273.

18 Lawrence Sullivan, "Rations: War Need or 'Reform?'" *Nation's Business* (1942), <http://www.proquest.com>.

28 million between 1930 and 1946, the government insisted that people not travel over a speed of 35 miles an hour.¹⁹ Unfortunately, the United States was still a country running on the “need” for cars, dashing down roads as fast as one pleased.²⁰

The poster campaign for fuel rationing officially began in 1942. One of the first examples included the slogan “Should brave men die so you can drive?”²¹ Appearing early in the year, the poster displayed a torpedo-stricken tanker clearly sinking with its crew on board. (see fig. 2). Depictions such as these became commonplace, as more and more rations looked inevitable for the country. Shortages were on the horizon, especially in the winter months when fuel was used for vehicles as well as heating homes. Furthermore, it was difficult to deliver the fuel to the homes because of rations for vehicles. The fuel economy was a complete mess, and people were angry.

By August of 1942, predictions indicated that there would be a 25 percent shortage that would linger throughout the winter.²² Posters of torpedoed ships didn’t help heat homes or fuel cars for the home front; people were not swayed, only more disheartened with the government’s efforts to limit the needs of the public. A frustrated populace signified the end for the campaign.²³ Rationing slowly eroded the home economy and quickly depleted morale. Although fuel was only a sliver of the commodities being held back, few believed giving up gasoline would do anything but inconvenience the average American citizen.

19 E.H. Holmes, “Current and Postwar Automobile Speeds,” *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 35, no. 3 (1945): 189, <http://www.jstor.org>;
Louis P. Cain, “Motor Vehicle Registrations, by Vehicle Type: 1900-1995,” *Historical Statistics of the United States Millennial Edition* (1997), <http://hsus.cambridge.org>.

20 Frank Donovan, *Wheels for a Nation* (New York, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1964), 263; E.H. Holmes, “Current and Postwar Automobile Speeds,” *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 35 (1945), no. 3: 189, <http://www.jstor.org>.

21 United States Office of Price Administration, “Another Tanker Torpedoed Off the Atlantic Coast: Should Brave Men Die So You Can Drive?” (1942), <http://digital.library.northwestern.edu>.

22 High Spots of Industrial News, “Rationing of Fuel Oil Inevitable in the East,” *Barron’s National Business and Financial Weekly* (1942), <http://www.proquest.com>.

23 Victor Abramson and Charles F. Phillips, “The Rationing of Consumer Goods,” *The Journal of Business of the University of Chicago* 15, no.1 (1942): 6, <http://www.jstor.org>.

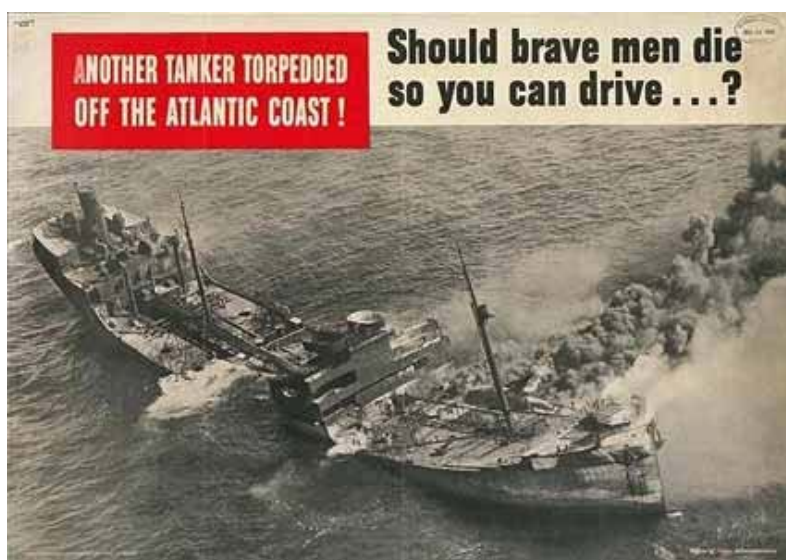


Figure 2: A relatively graphic depiction of a ship being destroyed by torpedo—especially for a public poster, 1942 (United States Office of Price Administration)

Throughout 1942, criticism mounted against the fuel rationing campaign through both complaints and media reports. In fact, gasoline consumption stayed relatively consistent between 1939 and 1944 (see fig. 7).²⁴ An ill omen came in May of 1942, with the first wave of gasoline rations. Automakers were forced to shift production from vehicles to weapons; between 1941 and 1944, sales of passenger cars plummeted from 37 million down to just 600.²⁵ In the cost of living index for the United States, automobiles were dropped entirely from the measurement because of the significant losses they incurred.²⁶ Americans did not understand that although the cost of living went down in 1942, the shortages increased prices significantly in terms of transportation costs.²⁷ Citizens were frustrated that their automobile was put in jeopardy for a war being waged so far from home. Although many men and women were away at war, Americans on the home front found it difficult to judge the importance of gasoline rationing because the war seemed so distant.

An indication of the campaign’s failure was a downward spiral in revenue collection by state governments and

24 Lewis P. Caine, “Motor-Vehicle Fuel Consumption: 1936-1995,” *Historical Statistics of the United States Millennial Edition* (2006), <http://hsus.cambridge.org>.

25 Lewis P. Caine, “Motor-Vehicle Factory Sales, by Vehicle Type: 1900-1996,” *Historical Statistics of the United States Millennial Edition* (2006), <http://hsus.cambridge.org>.

26 Frances R. Rice, Emil D. Schnell, and Faith M. Williams, “Cost of Living Indexes in Wartime,” *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 37 (1942), no. 220: 417, <http://www.jstor.org>.

27 Rice, “Cost of Living Indexes in Wartime,” 418-419.

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private firms. States were hemorrhaging tax revenues. Cars, and subsequently fuel, were a major source of income, especially in states such as Florida and New Hampshire.²⁸ Both states acquired almost 50 percent of their tax revenues from gasoline and license fees. Although fuel rationing did not damage other states as heavily, income was lost nationwide, which affected each state directly in terms of public programs and funding. The lack of funding furthered resentment toward the federal campaign, not only from citizens, but from the state governments as well; Senator Russell of Georgia even demanded that the Treasury Department reimburse the states for their losses.²⁹

On top of state revenue difficulty, private businesses suffered a loss of customery. From 1941 to 1942, for instance, sales of the leading mail-order retailers plummeted. Sears Roebuck lost 19.4 percent of its sales, and Western Auto Supply dropped almost 30 percent of sales.³⁰ Freight traffic dropped from 81 million ton-miles in 1941 to 58 million ton-miles in 1944.³¹ The shortage of gasoline due to rationing on the Atlantic coast drove people away from ordering their goods and made it expensive for businesses to ship products into their warehouses. The early 1940s sales loss was only the beginning. A distinct snowballing effect impacted virtually every aspect of the economy. After the failed poster campaigns of the previous year, propagandists tried more creative and provocative approaches. Weimer Pursell drew a colorful poster titled “When you ride ALONE you ride with Hitler!”, which was unveiled in 1943.³² The poster’s message aimed to encourage creating or joining a car-sharing club to save on gasoline. Despite the eye-catching and startling message, it failed to move the public, considering the appraisals of the

28 Joseph D. Kelly, “How Gasoline Rationing Affects States; Its Impact on Their Revenue Situations Varies Widely,” *Barron’s* (1942), <http://www.proquest.com>.

29 Kelly, “How Gasoline Rationing Affects States.”

30 “Mail Order Sales Off in May,” *Barron’s* (1942), <http://www.proquest.com>.

31 Lewis P. Caine, “Domestic Intercity Freight Traffic – Volume and Percentage, by Type of Transportation: 1939–1996,” *Historical Statistics of the United States Millennial Edition* (2006), <http://hsus.cambridge.org>.

32 Pursell, “When You Ride Alone, You Ride with Hitler.”

Year	Passenger vehicles	Trucks and combinations	Motor vehicle fuel usage per vehicle	Miles traveled per gallon used
	Df482 ¹	Df483	Df484	Df485
	Million gallons	Million gallons	Gallons	Miles per gallon
1936	14,026	4,003	635	14.0
1937	15,018	4,365	648	13.9
1938	15,069	4,465	658	13.9
1939	15,826	4,807	668	13.8
1940	16,759	5,156	678	13.8
1941	18,502	5,754	694	13.8
1942	14,974	4,889	604	13.5
1943	11,424	4,534	519	13.1
1944	11,805	4,576	540	13.0
1945	14,023	5,055	617	13.1
1946	19,502	6,068	747	13.3
1947	20,864	7,243	746	13.2
1948	22,149	8,189	741	13.1
1949	23,645	8,666	727	13.1
1950	25,037	10,566	728	12.9
1951	26,910	11,171	730	12.9
1952	28,735	11,849	766	12.7
1953	30,384	12,245	757	12.8
1954	31,670	12,541	757	12.7

Figure 3: Fuel Consumption 1936 – 1954; focus on 1939–1944 (Historical Statistics of the United States Millennial Edition)

campaign that took place in 1942, this failure is not a surprise. Additionally, the fuel rationing caused major gasoline companies to lose money and jobs daily, especially on the East coast.

Even transportation of the gasoline itself was a problem.³³ Tanker ships were being attacked and sunk by the German navy, which depleted the fuel supply even more. Fuel dealers now had to choose who would receive deliveries across the country; most stuck with their oldest and most loyal customers

first, then moved down the ladder until the supply was exhausted.³⁴ Each day got tougher for all affected by the federal conservation campaigns. In January of 1943, the government attempted to ban “pleasure driving,” with only a few months of success; the movement weakened and lost legitimacy by March.

As the war dragged on, the patience of the American people wore thin. The country continued to settle into “its new, poor-relation status.”³⁵ Government-sponsored artists released a new poster in 1944.³⁶ The government hoped that a sympathetic depiction of a hard-working soldier overseas would inspire a collective desire to conserve and ration fuel. The poster, depicting a dirty, unshaven, and tired United States soldier, aimed to increase car-club participation but did little to reverse popular resistance. Lobbyists and the public pressed on the government to cease the rationing and the conservation campaign. In a sense, a “keep the drive

33 “Effects of Gasoline Rationing Appraised,” *Barron’s*, <http://www.proquest.com>.

34 Margaret N. Balcom and James A. Maxwell, “Gasoline Rationing in the United States,” *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 40, no. 4 (1946): 562, <http://www.jstor.org>.

35 Stephen W. Sears, “Sorry No Gas: How Americans Met the First Great Gasoline Crisis – Nearly Forty Years Ago,” *American Heritage Magazine* 30 (1979): 4, <http://www.americanheritage.com>.

36 United States Office of Price Administration, “Have You Really Tried to Save Gas By Getting into a Car Club?” (1944), <http://digital.library.unt.edu>.



Figure 4: A rough looking soldier; dirty, tired, and bleeding, 1944 (United States Office of Price Administration)

alive” movement arose again and again. In 1945, the last year of fuel restriction attempts came as the war was winding down. The government had lost much hope for public support of fuel rationing, and the posters of the age reflected their sentiments. A feeble attempt to discourage free travel circulated in early 1945. A poster was released featuring four cartoons with characters attempting to justify their desire to drive. However, the main caption dismissed these “rationalizations” – “Don’t travel unless your trip helps win the war.”³⁷ In spite of the posters, the total distances traveled by Americans between 1942 and 1945 did not noticeably change.³⁸ Americans were tired of their soldiers being overseas and felt the war had dragged on long enough. At this point, hoarding became commonplace; black markets and the use of loopholes were in full swing. Many people cheated the

37 United States Office of Defense Transportation, “Could This Be You?: Don’t Travel – Unless Your Trip Helps Win the War,” (1945), <http://digital.library.northwestern.edu>.

38 Lewis P. Caine, “Distance Traveled, Fuel Consumption, and Registered Vehicles, by Motor Vehicle Type: 1936–1995,” *Historical Statistics of the United States Millennium Edition* (2006), <http://hsus.cambridge.org>.



Figure 5: A maintenance man works to show how easy it can be to convert fuel-oil furnace to coal, 1942 (Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division)

system by “borrowing” the unused rations of neighbors or relatives and stealing coupons or allotted rations from printing factories or gas stations.³⁹ The enormous market for under-the-table commodities revealed the government’s weakness. There were few risks and a lot of money to be made if it was done correctly. The American automobile culture did not waiver in its refusal of the government’s rationing campaign. Despite the refusal of rationing by the American public, non-government sponsored radio addresses, programs, and photography supplemented the posters of the rationing campaign in the years between 1942 and 1945. Radio program hosts debated the positives and negatives of the fuel rationing campaigns.⁴⁰ Meanwhile, homeowners were encouraged to convert their oil furnaces to coal to conserve liquid fuel. Photographs of citizens and maintenance men were a part of the widely circulated propaganda movement, showing how easy and efficient

39 Sears, “Sorry No Gas,” 5.

40 John R. Richards, Berry, Cushing, and Howes, *Radio Discussion of Gasoline Rationing in the Detroit Area and its Effect on Warworkers and War Production*, (1942), <http://www.archives.gov>.

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the fuel shift was (see fig. 5).⁴¹ This effort was particularly pushed in the New England and upper coastal states, which tended to rely most heavily on fuel oil for heat.⁴² However, the American public refused to abide by the campaign.

Propaganda has ranged from the unethical to the brilliant.⁴³ Nevertheless, in the context of World War II gasoline rationing, the colorful posters were seen as unnecessary lies. Conservation was a threat to the American way and a negative weight on an already stressed population. Gas rationing inhibited the ability of the public to enjoy their freedoms, from traveling on road trip adventures to commuting to work. Americans would not give up their love of the automobile—and accordingly resisted giving up consumption of gasoline. In August of 1945, V-J Day resulted in an immediate end to rationing, which caused celebration on the home front.⁴⁴ As a “Ration’-al Request” published in *The Rotarian* at the height of the ration campaign suggested, the United States was, and still is, a country that is defined by the automobile:

“And when I die, please bury me
‘Neath a ton of sugar, by a rubber tree.
Lay me to rest in an auto machine,
And water my grave with gasoline.”⁴⁵



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41 Howard Liberman, “Fuel Conservation of Furnace to Coal from Oil...” (1942), Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

42 James Kennedy, Arthur Flint, and Luther Harris, *Radio Discussion of Fuel-Oil Rationing in the New England Area and Converting Heating Units to Coal*, (1942), <http://www.archives.gov>.

43 Cunningham, *The Idea of Propaganda*, 127.

44 Sears, “Sorry No Gas,” 6.

45 Quoted from Sears, “Sorry No Gas,” 7.; Originally published in Gear Shift, “Ration’-al Request,” *The Rotarian*, May 1943, 63.



A Refutation of Yankee Slanders

The Confederacy's Reaction to Reports on the Battle of
Fort Pillow
by Stephanie Washburn

As with any war, the American Civil War had numerous atrocities and gory battles. Fort Pillow was just one of countless battles fought during the war, but it caught the attention of both the North and the South in 1864. Union newspapers ripped into the Confederacy and Major-General Nathan Bedford Forrest, claiming that he and his cavalry had massacred the Union garrison at Fort Pillow in West Tennessee. Northern newspapers used the Battle of Fort Pillow as just another example of the depravity of the South and its military leaders. Although the North reviled Nathan Bedford Forrest, to much of the Confederacy he was the “Wizard of the Saddle.” The Union garrison stationed on the Mississippi River represented all that the South abhorred, so Northern threats of revenge or retribution for the massacre did not cow the South. Instead Southern citizens and soldiers alike lauded this Confederate victory. Even

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those Confederates who were not overjoyed at the news did not express fear of reprisal. However, few today remember Fort Pillow and Forrest's involvement. As Jack Hurst wrote, "Fort Pillow, for better or for worst, is all but forgotten."¹

Astonishingly, in all the work discussing the Fort Pillow Massacre, few discuss the reactions of the South. Much of the discussion surrounding Fort Pillow focuses on the multiple controversies of the battle. Biographers of General Forrest argue that the massacre was not premeditated and that Forrest acted with the honor and respectability expected of a Southern gentleman and military leader. Historians of the incident have varied reactions to the battle and the controversies. Richard Fuchs lays the blame fully at General Forrest's feet, while Andrew Ward and John Cimprich argue that the circumstances and prevailing Southern prejudices led to the bloody slaughter.² Although the rage and shock of the North is prominent in discussions of the battle, it might seem that historians neglect the South in their analysis. Although some historians do point out that the Confederate government had little tolerance for the exchange of African American soldiers, in general the Southern reaction is only mentioned in passing. Andrew Ward points out that the *Memphis Daily Appeal* considered "the capture of Fort Pillow [as] one of the most brilliant achievements of the war,"³ but then moves on quickly to discuss how the Northern outrage at the battle overshadowed the Southern reactions.

Born in Bedford County, Tennessee, on July 13, 1821, to William and Mariam Forrest, Nathan Bedford Forrest grew up in the backwoods country of the antebellum South. At sixteen, with no more than six months of formal schooling, Nathan Bedford became the head of the family and took his duties seriously. Fiercely protective of his family and land, Forrest demonstrated on more than one occasion the hardiness grown on the frontier as well as the pride bred into the Southern man regardless of class or wealth. This time spent in the rough-and-tumble world of the backwoods country gave Forrest an arsenal of strategies that would prove useful in his military career. Brian Wills explains just how valuable this background would prove to be in Forrest's future: "In a world of arbitrary violence, he learned to use

any means at his disposal to disarm and defeat his foes."⁴ By 1858, Forrest and his small family owned land in Tennessee, Mississippi, and Arkansas, including a plantation of close to 3000 acres in Coahoma County that housed 36 slaves and produced around 1000 bales of cotton annually.⁵ The once poor backwoods farmer had pulled himself out of the dreary life of yeomanry and had built for himself and his family a wealthy life among the planter class.

When the Confederacy declared war, Forrest, along with one of his brothers and his son, enlisted together as privates in the Confederate army.⁶ Three years into the war, Forrest no longer held the rank of a lowly private but instead commanded a large fighting force. With the title of Major-General, after routing a Union campaign into Mississippi, the Southern cavalry leader solidly impressed both Union generals Grant and Sherman. Sherman wished to destroy him, and Grant begrudgingly offered praise: "for the peculiar kind of warfare which Forrest had carried on neither army could present a more effective officer than he."⁷ His shrewd mind and background in backwoods fighting gave him the means for strategizing numerous successful campaigns.

Members of perhaps one of the best cavalries in the Confederate army, many of Forrest's men had originally served as infantrymen before the Confederate army reorganized in 1862. This gave General Forrest's cavalry an imposing picture, as many of his men were taller than professional cavalymen, and Forrest was able to employ his men as both cavalry and infantry. One of his soldiers, J.P. Wilson, described his service as "mounted infantry armed with long guns."⁸ Despite lacking traditional cavalry training, Forrest's men were superb horsemen whom General Sherman described as the "best cavalry in the world" and declared that "war suits them" because of their innate ability to ride.⁹ James D. Porter, in his history on the Confederate campaigns in Tennessee, argued that "the greatest achievements of the [Confederate] cavalry of the State were under the leadership of Gen. Nathan B. Forrest."¹⁰

Early in March 1864, Forrest mobilized his troops in West

1 Jack Hurst, *Nathan Bedford Forrest: A Biography* (New York: Knopf, 1993), 384.

2 John Cimprich, *Fort Pillow, a Civil War Massacre, and Public Memory* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005); Andrew Ward, *River Run Red: The Fort Pillow Massacre in the American Civil War* (New York: Viking Penguin, 2005); Robert Fuchs, *An Unerring Fire: The Massacre at Fort Pillow* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1994).

3 Andrew Ward, *River Run Red*, 283.

4 Brian Wills, *A Battle from the Start: The Life of Nathan Bedford Forrest* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992), 16.

5 Hurst, *Nathan Bedford Forrest*, 64.

6 Hurst, *Nathan Bedford Forrest*, 67.

7 Grant quoted in Wills, *A Battle from the Start*, 167-168.

8 Ward, *River Run Red*, 90-91.

9 Ward, *River Run Red*, 90-91.

10 James D. Porter, *Confederate Military History Extended Edition*, vol. 10, *Tennessee*, ed. General Clement A. Evans (Wilmington, NC: Broadfoot Publishing Company, 1987), 217.

Tennessee to gather supplies as well as round up deserters in the area.¹¹ With orders to make a “short campaign” into West Tennessee and Kentucky while leaving the bulk of his force in Mississippi to hold Union movements in check, Forrest split his command between Brigadier Generals Chalmers and Buford. While scouring the countryside, the men of Forrest’s command heard word of Union Major Bradford’s Thirteenth Tennessee Cavalry and the tragedies they had wreaked upon Tennesseans.¹² Other citizens faced the harassments of “renegade Tennesseans” under the command of Union Colonel Fielding Hurst.¹³ Forrest spoke of the strains the region was forced to bear: “The whole of Tennessee is overrun by bands and squads of robbers, horse thieves and deserters, whose depredations and unlawful appropriations of private property are rapidly and effectually depleting the country.”¹⁴

Late in March, General Forrest, with his main force, marched to confront Colonel Samuel G. Hicks at Paducah in Kentucky. Forrest commanded the superior force but was unable to repeat the success of his subordinate. Forrest sent a demand for surrender and threatened no quarter, but Hicks refused and Forrest retreated after taking valuable supplies.¹⁵ Although unable to repeat Colonel William Lafayette Duckworth’s success in bluffing the Union commander at Paducah, the wording of the demands for surrender were almost identical to those in Forrest’s demand for Bradford’s surrender at Fort Pillow. The garrison at Paducah held African American troops, but because Forrest’s men never truly engaged in battle, Forrest and his cavalry would meet African American troops for the first time at Fort Pillow.

Early in April, after the successful campaigns to gather supplies at Union City and Paducah, Forrest recalled Chalmers and Buford and other commanders to discuss further the plans for the West Tennessee campaign. Forrest ordered concurrent attacks on Columbus, Paducah, and Memphis while he moved in on Fort Pillow on the Mississippi River, thus giving Union forces the impression that General Forrest raided everywhere at once. With the activity scattered across two states, the commanding officer, Major L.F. Booth, and his subordinate, Major Bradford, at Fort Pillow believed the command to be secure and “perfectly safe.”¹⁶ Unknown to Booth and Bradford, Confederate troops were headed in

their direction with every intention of raiding the Union supplies and taking the strategically placed fort that the Confederates had originally built three years prior.

On April 12, 1864, Forrest’s superior cavalrymen met and battled the Union garrison at Fort Pillow. Although General Sherman ordered the post closed, General Hurlbut reopened the fort for its strategic position on the Mississippi River and sent Major William F. Bradford and his Thirteenth Tennessee cavalry to garrison the fort in early February 1864.¹⁷ By the end of February, a detachment of mostly contrabands from the Second U.S. Colored Light Artillery joined Bradford, and in March, Major Lionel F. Booth led the first battalion of the Sixth U.S. Colored Heavy Artillery to Fort Pillow and took command of the fort.¹⁸ While Bradford was disdainful of the local loyalties to the South, he began recruiting in the surrounding countryside. His lack of experience, however, caused desertions, and recruitment slowed to a trickle. By the end of March, Bradford’s battalion numbered 419 men, but only 292 were fit and able to fight.¹⁹

Fort Pillow sat on a bluff backing up to the Mississippi River and was partially bordered on one side by Coal Creek. Three lines of fortification, designed to hinder an attack from land, included long parapets surrounding the central fort at 600 and 300 yards.²⁰ The geography surrounding the fort provided an added fortification, although several hills were higher than the fort’s parapets. East of the fort was a narrow gorge that set the fort apart from the hills, ridges, and ravines running down a slope. On the south side of the fort, a valley running parallel to the Mississippi River provided a weakness in the defenses and allowed Confederates within 150 yards of the fort. About 60 yards from the fort were cabins and tents that would provide cover for Forrest’s forces. The fort itself was fortified with a ditch six feet deep and 12 feet in width and parapets standing eight feet high. The Union garrison holding the fort consisted of about 580 men split equally between white and African American troops. Waiting to assist the garrison, if need arose, was the gun boat *New Era*.

Chalmers, taking command of a force that included Colonel McCulloch’s brigade and Colonel Bell’s brigade of Buford’s forces, arrived at Fort Pillow on April 11, 1864, and immediately implemented a strategy to take the fort. At dawn on April 12, Colonel McCulloch’s forces advanced from the south, hugging the water and fortress, while

11 Hurst, *Nathan Bedford Forrest*, 159.

12 Jordan, *The Campaigns of Lieutenant General Forrest and of Forrest’s Cavalry* (Dayton: Morningside Bookshop, 1988), 423.

13 Henry, “*First with the Most*”, 238.

14 Wills, *A Battle from the Start*, 171-172.

15 Cimprich, *Fort Pillow*, 72.

16 Henry, “*First with the Most*”, 250-251.

17 Cimprich, *Fort Pillow*, 70.

18 Cimprich, *Fort Pillow*, 72-73.

19 Ward, *River Run Red*, 79-80.

20 Hurst, *Nathan Bedford Forrest*, 167.

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Colonel Bell attempted to bring his men around to the fort along Coal Creek. The Confederates soon found Bell's approach unfeasible. When General Forrest arrived, the total Confederate forces consisted of 1,500 men. He proceeded to take stock of the situation while, unbeknownst to the Confederate forces, Major Booth was shot and killed by the Confederate sharpshooters placed strategically at highpoints around the fort. Forrest effectively placed his men in a semicircle around the fort, using the ravines to protect the Confederates from the fort's artillery, which could not aim into the ravines.²¹

By around 3:30, Forrest had established a strong enough presence to demand the surrender of the Union garrison, closing his demand with "should my demand be refused, I cannot be responsible for the fate of your command."²² These words echoed those he had used at Paducah and those Duckworth had used at Union City. Bradford, acting as Booth, asked for an hour to consult his officers. Forrest denied this request and granted only 20 minutes, fearing that any added delay would allow the garrison to receive reinforcements. Bradford refused to surrender, leading to an assault on the fort and its garrison.²³

After receiving the fort's refusal to surrender, Forrest returned to his position about 400 yards from the fort and ordered the charge. Chaos reigned after Confederates poured over the parapets of the fort. Without officers, the Federal troops broke quickly and fled down the bluff towards the river and the *New Era*. Major Booth had supposedly arranged with Captain Marshall a signal for the *New Era* to provide cover to the retreating troops. However, due to the positions of Captain Anderson and Colonel Barteau—on the southern side of the fort, along the trenches under the bluff, and north of the Coal Creek ravine—the retreating Union soldiers were caught in the crossfire of the Confederates.²⁴ Confederate soldiers maintained that while some may have surrendered, others continued to turn and fire in the midst of the retreat.²⁵ Many African American soldiers continued to fight, remembering Major Booth's exhortation to them to never give up their colors.²⁶ As some soldiers retreated, others,

21 Hurst, *Nathan Bedford Forrest*, 165-168.

22 C.C. Washburn, "Reports of Maj. Gen. Cadwallader C. Washburn, U.S. Army Transmitting Correspondence with Maj. Gen. Stephen D. Lee and Maj. Gen. Nathan B. Forrest, C.S. Army," *Forrest's Expedition into West Tennessee and Kentucky*, <http://www.civilwarhome.com/forrest.htm>.

23 Robert Fuchs, *An Unerring Fire*, 55-57.

24 Henry, "*First with the Most*", 255.

25 Jordan, *The Campaigns*, 439.

26 Thomas I. Jackson, *Controversy at Fort Pillow*, http://mobile96.com/cw2/Forrest_Pillow.html.

hoping to escape from the firing, raced into the Mississippi and consequently drowned. The battle continued for twenty to 30 minutes until Forrest ordered a cease-fire following the removal of the Federal flag.²⁷

Described as an indiscriminate slaughter by both Union and Confederate accounts, the actions taken by Forrest and his soldiers remain under debate to this day. Biographers of Forrest, especially those writing around the turn of the 20th century, defend the general's actions and try to explain away the atrocities committed by the Confederate cavalry. For the most part, historians of the Civil War and the racial violence of the battles tend to be less forgiving and in some cases show just as much bias as the former Confederate biographers of Forrest.²⁸

Despite its lack of military significance, the battle of Fort Pillow remains a debatable topic because of the incredibly lopsided casualty rates for the Union and Confederate units. The Union garrison of almost 600 men was roughly split between white and African American soldiers, many of whom the Confederate Army considered contrabands.²⁹ A statistical analysis of the battle by John Cimprich and Robert Mainfort, Jr. argues that the Confederate soldiers killed or mortally wounded about 49% of the garrison. Among the Union troops, African American soldiers had a casualty rate of 64%, almost double the white casualty rate. On the other hand, Forrest lost only 20 men with 60 more wounded, according to his report to Lieutenant Colonel Thomas M. Jack.³⁰

Confederate soldier Sergeant Achilles V. Clark described the battle as a "butcher[ing]" in a letter to his sisters two days afterwards. Unwilling and unable to describe the scene, Clark wrote that "our men were so exasperated by the Yankee's threats of no quarter that they gave but little. The slaughter was awful... The poor deluded negroes would run up to our men, fall upon their knees and with uplifted hands

27 Hurst, *Nathan Bedford Forrest*, 174.

28 For a sample of historians of the Civil War see Robert Fuchs, *An Unerring Fire: The Massacre at Fort Pillow* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1994) and Andrew Ward, *River Run Red: The Fort Pillow Massacre in the American Civil War* (New York: Viking Penguin, 2005).

29 John Cimprich and Robert C. Mainfort Jr., "The Fort Pillow Massacre: A Statistical Note," *The Journal of American History* 76, no. 3 (1989): 831, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2936423>.

30 N.B. Forrest "Report of Maj. Gen. Nathan B. Forrest, C. S. Army, commanding Cavalry, of the Capture of Fort Pillow March 16-April 14, 1864," *Forrest's Expedition into West Tennessee and Kentucky*, <http://civilwarhome.com/forrest.htm>.

scream for mercy, but they were ordered to their feet and then shot down. The white man fared but little better. Their fort turned out to be a great slaughter pen.”³¹ A surgeon of the Sixteenth Tennessee Cavalry, Samuel H. Caldwell, wrote in a letter to his wife that the battle had been a slaughter in which the Confederates were enraged by the refusal of the Union garrison to surrender.³² Although never admitting to an order to kill the Union African-American soldiers, General Forrest showed his own racial prejudices, as well as those of most of his men and the Confederate government, in his correspondence with Union Major General Washburn. Expressing the common sentiment of the Confederate government’s policy regarding African American soldiers, Forrest stated:

[I] regard captured negroes as I do other captured property and not as captured soldiers, but as to how regarded by my Government and the disposition which has been and will hereafter be made of them, I respectfully refer you through the proper channel to the authorities at Richmond. It is not the policy nor the interest of the South to destroy the negro—on the contrary, to preserve and protect him—and all who have surrendered to us have received kind and humane treatment.

In further correspondence, General Forrest continued to rebuke General Washburn and reiterate that to the Southern government, African Americans were no more than property and would be treated as such under the laws of the Confederate States of America.³³

Within days of the battle at Fort Pillow, the Northern press trumpeted the news of an intentional and deliberate slaughter of the African American troops. Reviling General Forrest and his men, a Kansas newspaper from Junction City contained the headline “Fort Pillow Taken—Women and Children Massacred.” The article opened with, “Our worst fears are realized. What we anticipated yesterday is true today. Our brave boys at Fort Pillow have been murdered by Forrest and his outlaws.” The editor also described the Confederates as “insatiable as fiends, and bloodthirsty as devils incarnate” who, after storming the fort, began to kill without regard to whether or not the Union soldiers had

chosen to surrender.³⁴ Although just one example of the outrage felt throughout the North, this article shows the emphatically negative reaction of the North toward General Forrest, his cavalymen, and the North’s disgust of the Confederacy.

In response to Fort Pillow, African American troops began to take oaths of retaliation, and Union newspapers reported the need for revenge against the atrocities committed. In his correspondence with General Forrest, General Washburn acknowledged that “all the negro troops stationed at Memphis took an oath on their knees...to avenge Fort Pillow, and that they would show your [Forrest’s] troops no quarter.” He seemed to encourage his men and African American troops in raising a black flag of retaliation and single-mindedly focusing on avenging the Fort Pillow garrison. When General Forrest objected to the reports of Union troops taking oaths, General Washburn merely brushed off Forrest’s worries and stated that his men would not treat Confederate soldiers with respect until the Confederate Government intended to treat all Union forces as men and soldiers.³⁵

Newspapers in the North gleefully reported that the United States government planned to take steps towards avenging Fort Pillow. *The Big Blue Union* in Kansas reported at the end of April that the Union government would take steps towards retaliation “for the rebel barbarities perpetrated at the recent capture of Ft. Pillow.” The article proudly stated that a Joint Committee on the Conduct of War would determine that the Confederate actions were immensely inappropriate, and it would “take evidence in retaliation to the massacre at Ft. Pillow.” With these actions, the North could “rejoice” with pride in the actions of its government.³⁶ *The Daily National Republican* in Washington, D.C., reporting on the thirty-eighth Congress, conveyed the feelings of the government for revenge. While one senator, Jacob Merritt Howard of Michigan, argued that the Union must retaliate “in the promptest and severest form” to ensure African American troops’ safety, Senator Reverdy Johnson of Maryland believed that Howard’s sentiments did not go far enough. In order to truly put the matter to rest, Johnson argued for action by the government itself and that “nothing less than life for a life is dictated by our [Union’s] reputation and our duty.”³⁷

34 “Fort Pillow Taken – Women and Children Massacred,” *The Smoky Hill and Republican union*, April 23, 1864, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84030186/1864-04-23/ed-1/seq-1/>.

35 Washburn, “Reports of Maj. Gen. Cadwallader C. Washburn,” <http://www.civilwarhome.com/ftpillow.htm>.

36 “The Fort Pillow Massacre,” *The Big Blue Union*, April 30, 1864. <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84027640/1864-04-30/ed-1/seq-2/>.

37 “Congressional. Thirty-eighth Congress, First Session.” *The*

31 Sgt. Achilles V. Clark, *Controversy at Fort Pillow*, http://mobile96.com/cw2/Forrest_Pillow.html.

32 Samuel H. Caldwell, *Controversy at Fort Pillow*, http://mobile96.com/cw2/Forrest_Pillow.html.

33 Washburn, “Reports of Maj. Gen. Cadwallader C. Washburn,” <http://www.civilwarhome.com/ftpillow.htm>.

Research Articles

Although only a handful of accounts mention retaliation, these newspapers show that outrage spread across the Union from Kansas to Washington, D.C., and the Northern wishes for swift revenge against the barbaric Confederacy.

Despite Northern threats Confederates rallied around their flag and commanders. Just over a week after the battle, *The Abingdon Virginian* had already begun to refute the claims of Northern papers. Reprinting part of a Union article, *The Abingdon Virginian* derisively called the account “the Yankee version of the capture of Fort Pillow” and on the same page referenced an article in the *Vidette* in Mobile, Alabama, proudly stating that a “great slaughter of negroes and Yankees” occurred whereas the Confederate losses were a mere 75. Echoing accounts of soldiers, the paper reported that “the fort ran with blood. Many jumped into the river and were drowned or shot in the water.”³⁸

Confederate newspapers continued their defense well into May. *The Atlanta Memphis Appeal* called the Union soldiers “defiant and insolent,” citing the insults and threats hurtling back and forth between the two sides, and considered it the fort’s commander’s own folly for not surrendering to General Forrest. Rather than express remorse over “the work of slaughter and death,” the article called the soldiers’ actions “courageous madness.”³⁹ Indeed the report laid the blame at the feet of the Union troops, blaming the African American troops’ refusal to surrender as the reason for why so many were killed when the bloodshed could have been easily avoided. At the same time, *The Abingdon Virginian* again defended General Forrest’s cavalry. Giving a detailed account of the battle, the article defended the actions of the Confederate soldiers and refuted the “Yankee slanders.” Although the article admitted that some of the Union garrison may have been shot down after surrendering to Confederate forces, it attributed the event to the immense confusion of battle. It claimed the Union soldiers fled towards the river, leaving their colors still flying, which caused many of the Southern soldiers to pursue the retreating Yankees. Therefore, the article concluded, “there is not a semblance of a shadow of truth in the Federal exaggerations of wholesale slaughter.”⁴⁰

In Alabama, the *Jacksonville Republican* also defended the

Daily National Republican, April 16, 1864, Second Edition, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86053570/1864-04-16/ed-1/seq-2/>.

38 “The Capture of Fort Pillow,” *The Abingdon Virginia*, April 22, 1864, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84025980/1864-04-22/ed-1/seq-3/>.

39 Memphis, *Controversy at Fort Pillow*, http://mobile96.com/cw2/Forrest_Pillow.html.

40 *The Abingdon Virginian*, May 27, 1864.

actions of the Confederacy at Fort Pillow. Suggesting that the Yankees exaggerated their accounts of the battle, the article scoffed at the mention of Abraham Lincoln threatening retaliation. Because many supporters of the Confederacy believed that its army had in fact done no wrong in the battle, its newspapers only laughed at Union threats. The *Jacksonville Republican* even went so far as to suggest that Lincoln would not even be able to carry out his threat of retribution because none of his generals were good enough or smart enough to “storm a Southern garrison.”⁴¹ Even several years into the war, with more and more indication that the Union armies had better supplies, the Confederates refused to give up. The Confederacy would live as long as it had men courageous and brave enough to face the enemy. In Richmond, an editor for the *Richmond Examiner* argued that rather than backing down from the Northern threats of retaliation, the Confederacy should “mete out to them strict justice...repeat Fort Pillow. Repeat Fort Plymouth a few times and we shall bring the Yankees to their senses.”⁴²

Civilian diaries and journals echoed the messages of the newspapers with stout claims in favor of the Confederacy. Living close enough to Fort Pillow to hear the firing of artillery back and forth between the fort’s garrison and General Forrest’s cavalry, Belle Edmundson expressed nothing but joy at the Confederate victory in her diary. Only four days after the battle, she reported that General Forrest continued to hold Fort Pillow and gleefully wrote that “the Yanks are frightened to death in Memphis” and prayed that the Confederacy would “humbly receive the blessings” of victory at Fort Pillow and “drive this wicked band from our Sunny land, give us liberty and peace!”⁴³ Even after hearing reports of Northern threats of retaliation, Belle Edmundson continued to rejoice in the victory at Fort Pillow. Laughing at what she considered to be a pitiful attempt at retaliation, she wrote, “we are still victorious on all sides” even after “the negroes [raised] the black flag—gone out on raid after Forrest, and I bet, but few will ever return.” She expressed full confidence in the Confederate cause and its soldiers. There was no remorse in her contemplations of the battle, and she even went so far as to call the African American troops racing out after Forrests’ “cowardly dogs.”⁴⁴

Much like Belle Edmundson, Kate Stone, recording the

41 *Jacksonville Republican*, May 7, 1984, <http://lib-www.jsu.edu/archives/republican/1864/May-1864.pdf>.

42 Cimprich, *Fort Pillow*, 96.

43 Belle Edmundson Diary, April 14th and 15th 1864, quoted in *Diary of Belle Edmundson: January – November 1864*, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/edmundson.html>.

44 Belle Edmundson Diary, May 4, 1864.

battles in West Tennessee while on her plantation in Louisiana, rejoiced in the Confederate victory. Remarking that the “whole country is in a state of delighted surprise,” Kate did not dwell on Northern accounts of the battle. Instead she stated that in his assault on Fort Pillow, General Forrest was doing “noble work.” Heaping praise on her country’s military leaders, she did not flinch at mentioning the death and capture of “thousands” and instead rejoiced that “everywhere Victory is perching on our banners and Peace, an honorable Peace, must be near.”⁴⁵ Although both of these diaries are of young women, neither expressed fear of reprisal. In fact, it almost seems as though Belle and Kate would prefer to see the Yankees attempt retaliation if only in hopes of watching them fail.

Civilians were not alone in expressing this intense defiance. Louis Leon, a Confederate soldier from North Carolina, expressed such sentiments even while in captivity. While on the march across the Chancellorsville battlefield, Leon and his fellow prisoners listened to taunts thrown at them by the African American soldiers they passed. Rather than being cowed by the “terrible cursing and holler[ing of] ‘Fort Pillow,’” Leon expressed his wishes that this particular brigade of African American Union soldiers had been at Fort Pillow and that “they certainly would not curse [the Confederates] now.” Instead of fearing that Union troops might retaliate against defeated Confederate soldiers and prisoners, Leon scoffed at the threats and wished only for these Yankees to meet the same fate as those who met General Forrest at Fort Pillow.⁴⁶

Although still proud of the Confederate victories, some Southerners reacted with much more restraint. The nonchalance of several diaries and articles indicates that, despite acknowledging the Yankee threats, these Southerners were not concerned with any foul consequences. Writing almost a week after the battle at Fort Pillow, Jason Niles seemed to carelessly mention that a wholesale slaughter of the Union garrison occurred. Nestled between entries in his diary about the weather and with whom he had dinner or discussed readings of William Shakespeare, Niles casually mentioned that a neighbor discussed the recent capture of Fort Pillow, where “681 of the garrison killed, about 200 prisoners. Forrest’s loss 50 killed 100 wounded (about).” These entirely lopsided numbers come right after stating that April 23 marked the three hundredth year since Shakespeare

45 Kate Stone Diary, May 5, 1864, quoted in *Brokenburn: the Journal of Kate Stone 1861-1868*, ed. John Q. Anderson (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972), 281.

46 Louis Leon Diary, May 9, 1864 as quoted in *Diary of a Tar Heel Confederate Soldier*, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/leon/leon.xml>.

was born and that Shakespeare had died on his birthday.⁴⁷ The diary contains no other mention of Fort Pillow at a later date. This entirely cavalier attitude towards the battle shows that even without the explicit love of the Confederacy that Kate Stone and Belle Edmundson exhibited, some citizens were not concerned with the possible reactions of the North.

In a similarly casual manner, Samuel Agnew referenced the battle of Fort Pillow numerous times. Beginning only two days after the battle, Agnew mentioned that “another batch [of Union prisoners], 500 or 300, have been sent down from Forrest.” On April 17, Agnew mentioned the rainy weather and then immediately entered a discussion of Forrest and Fort Pillow, saying that the fort, garrisoned mostly by African Americans, “felt secure and at the outset hoisted the black flag and consequently no quarter given them and many were slaughtered.” He then followed this with the news that a neighbor married recently.⁴⁸ Although there is clearly pride in the Confederacy, Agnew gave this news no more significance than he would the changing weather. The battle was not a concern for retaliation, but rather one more battle in a long war.

A staunchly Confederate newspaper in South Carolina, *The Daily Phoenix*, did not report that much on Fort Pillow during the war. In fact Fort Pillow and Forrest’s involvement is not mentioned until June 2, 1865. Giving the battle only a small amount of space on the page, *The Daily Phoenix* first mentioned Fort Pillow as a “negro attempt to assassinate the paroled rebel prisoners in Memphis. . . in revenge for the Fort Pillow massacre”⁴⁹ Although reporting the event, the article did not seem to hint at any fear that these plots might be widespread. Instead, the paper noted how the white Union troops, in their efforts to stop the African Americans, ended up killing about 20 of the conspirators. There is no concern about Fort Pillow, merely a short article that would only reinforce Confederate feelings toward African Americans as inferior to themselves and needing the firm control of slavery.

The immediate reactions of the Southern press and Confederate citizens and soldiers only tell part of the story. In order to truly understand the impact that Fort Pillow had on the Confederacy, post-war accounts need to be recognized.

47 Jason Niles Diary, April 22, 1864 quoted in *Diary of Jason Niles (1819-1894)*, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/niles/niles.xml>.

48 Samuel Andrew Agnew Diary, April 14th and 17th, 1864, quoted in *Diary of Samuel Andrew Agnew 1833-1902*, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/agnew/agnew.html?pagewanted=all>.

49 *The Columbia Daily Phoenix*, June 2, 1865, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84027007/1865-06-02/ed-1/seq-2/>.

Research Articles

By looking at the newspaper accounts following the close of the war and the different accounts of General Forrest, we see the overall memories that the Confederacy had of Fort Pillow in relation to other battles and racial atrocities of the war like Milliken's Bend, Poison Springs, Fort Wagner, and Plymouth.

By the end of the war, the Confederate press no longer concerned itself with the controversy of the battle of Fort Pillow and the Yankee threats of retaliation. In fact, in January 1866, *The Anderson Intelligencer* only mentioned Fort Pillow in reference to the "majestic [Mississippi] river." With only the briefest mention of the massacre, the article reported that the river eroded away most of the earthen works of the fort and only half of the fort remained.⁵⁰ Four months later *The Semi-Weekly Times* in Natchitoches, Louisiana, simply reported that while the Union dead were being reinterred, "both friend and foe" ignored the dead Confederate soldiers.⁵¹ By the early 1870s, the Southern press again only rarely mentioned Fort Pillow. In 1871, *The Charleston News* reported that the fort "has wholly disappeared under the abrading forces of the Mississippi."⁵² *The Daily Phoenix* in Columbia, South Carolina, reprinted an article from a Memphis newspaper that reported a fire "at the site of old Fort Pillow" that had been burning "like a volcano for a distance of several hundred yards."⁵³ There is no strong reference to the battle that caused such uproar among the Union press and within the ranks of the Yankee soldiers. From these articles it seems that the Confederacy was more concerned with rebuilding its livelihood than dwelling on a memory that upset few southerners.

However, as the ideal of the Lost Cause began to rise, the press sought to preserve the memory of General Forrest's service. The battle of Fort Pillow was not a memory that southerners wished to suppress; instead it became a rallying point for them. *The Daily Phoenix* and *The Louisiana Democrat* reprinted a letter Forrest wrote to the editor of the *New York Times* defending his conduct at Fort Pillow.⁵⁴ Beginning with a quote from the *New York Times* article,

50 *The Anderson Intelligencer*, January 25, 1866, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84026965/1866-01-25/ed-1/seq-4/>.

51 "Latest News," *The Semi-Weekly Times*, May 5, 1866, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86053712/1866-05-05/ed-1/seq-2/>.

52 "News of the Day," *The Charleston News*, May 4, 1871. <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84026994/1871-05-04/ed-1/seq-2/>.

53 *The Daily Phoenix*, October 13, 1872.

54 "The Fort Pillow Affair – A Card from Gen. N.B. Forrest," *The Daily Phoenix*, October 3, 1867, and "The Fort Pillow Affair – A Card from Gen. N.B. Forrest," *The Louisiana Democrat*, October 16, 1867, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82003389/1867-10-16/ed-1/seq-3/>.

Forrest immediately defended his honor by pointing out the inconsistencies with the official reports and the claims made by the *New York Times* article. After continuing on at length, Forrest concluded with:

These facts are known to the Government of the United States, and acquit me, not only in the opinion of the President, Mr. Stanton, and Judge Holt, but in that of Congress, of any violation of the rules of civilized warfare. Otherwise, I would have been long ago arrested and tried upon that charge. For my own part, conscious of my innocence, and knowing perfectly well that I have always waged war with the strictest regard to the usages of civilized nations, I have never shunned any investigation to which the Executive or Congress might just subject my military conduct.

Although neither newspaper offers any commentary on Forrest's letter or the *New York Times* article, the fact that each paper reprinted it shows the love Southerners had for their military leaders. General Forrest's defense of his conduct and that of his men spoke for itself throughout the South. Neither paper needed to offer commentary because former Confederates believed the truth as it was told by their trusted leaders instead of the slander of the Northern press. That each paper refused to refer to the battle as a "massacre" and instead referred it merely as the "Fort Pillow Affair" again shows the willingness of the Confederacy to stand behind its heroes.

In fact *The Daily Phoenix* went on to print two articles within two months of each other in 1868 that staunchly defended General Forrest and the conduct of the Confederates at Fort Pillow. In September, the paper reported a recollection of Forrest's of the battle, which supported Confederate claims that the fort's garrison never truly surrendered. By October, the relatively calm wording of the paper on the topic had changed drastically. In "Revamping an Old Story," the author blasted the *Washington Chronicle*, arguing that the Northern press "finding the supply of fresh outrages in the South not equal to the demand, has lately gone back upon the so-called massacre at Fort Pillow during the war."⁵⁵ Defending the actions of the Confederacy with adamant language, the author implied that the North was so eager to punish the Southern rebels that it would continue to bring up subjects that the Confederacy itself had already resolved. This article implied that, rather than focusing on repairing the country, Northerners wished to continue to bring up grievances against Confederates, which in turn caused

55 "Revamping an Old Story," *The Daily Phoenix*, October 7, 1868.

Southern rebels to more staunchly defend its actions and leaders.

By 1872, General Forrest was no longer the uncouth and brash backwoods upstart for whom many Southerners held little respect. To former Confederates, he was a national hero who deserved praise, not the foul and outrageous reports of the Northern press. Although it did not discuss the battle of Fort Pillow directly, an article in *The Weekly Kansas Chief* referred to General Forrest as “the hero of Fort Pillow.”⁵⁶ The article did not focus on the extremely lopsided statistics of the battle but instead emphasized that the battle was a Confederate victory. By referring to Forrest as a hero of a highly controversial battle, the author revealed that the South loved its commander as a way of countering the unending Northern claims that Forrest was a murderous scoundrel. The controversy of the battle of Fort Pillow was not a true concern because Forrest and his cavalry decimated African American units. In the eyes of the Confederacy, the resulting increased desertions by African American soldiers and the slowing of African American recruitment would be reason enough to call General Forrest a hero.⁵⁷

Although the Fort Pillow Massacre continued to be sparsely mentioned, it was always in conjunction with praise for General Forrest. In May 1878, *The Morning Star and Catholic Messenger* devoted a lengthy article to “a few anecdotes of the great Confederate cavalry leader.” With four different anecdotes, the article itself is a lengthy tribute to General Forrest and his service with the Confederate Army. The small blurb on “The Fort Pillow Massacre” did not dwell on the accusations hurled at Forrest and his cavalry by the Union press. Instead the article scoffed at the idea of Forrest committing “ruthless butchery” at the battle. The author focused on the stories of how Forrest had to shoot his own men for plundering the Yankee stores of calico for their wives and sweethearts. Although the section does end with an adamant statement by Forrest that there was “no deliberate intention nor effort to massacre the garrison as has been so generally reported by the Northern papers,”⁵⁸ it did not make apologies for Confederate actions. Beyond a doubt, these Southern authors were proud of General Forrest and his accomplishments, even those that stirred up

56 “Peleg Wales at Chappaqua,” *The Weekly Kansas Chief*, July 11, 1872, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82015484/1872-07-11/ed-1/seq-1/>.

57 Ward, *River Run Red*, 308.

58 Major General D.H. Maury, “General N.B. Forrest: a Few Anecdotes of the Great Confederate Cavalry Leader,” *The Morning Star and Catholic Messenger*, May 12, 1878, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86086284/1878-05-12/ed-1/seq-3/>.

Yankee wrath.

Perhaps the strongest praise given to General Forrest and his actions at Fort Pillow in 1864 is contained in an article titled “American Generals” written 51 years later in 1915. Taken from an interview with General French, the commander of English forces in France during World War I, the article describes numerous generals from the Civil War, including General Jackson, General Lee, and General Forrest. Although the editor quoted an Englishman, the decision to print the article reveals a deep respect and love for the Confederate leaders. The article remarked that “Forrest’s tactics at the capture of Fort Pillow were perfect... [despite having] no military experience before the war.” It exhorted the South to honor the great generals of the Civil War and “in as great a degree to revere the memory of the private soldiers who wore the gray.”⁵⁹ Even a half-century removed from the Civil War, the Confederacy continued to praise the actions and victory of the battle of Fort Pillow. Southerners were not ashamed of the deeds of which the North accused them, but instead focused on the undeniable fact that on April 12, the Confederate soldiers had triumphed over their Yankee counterparts.

As much as Northern newspapers railed against Confederate cruelty and Union officers threatened retaliation, Southern rebels never quaked with fear. Fort Pillow was not the first nor was it the last battle in which the North saw its African American units slaughtered at higher rates than its white units. Six days after Fort Pillow, a Confederate force defeated a smaller force of white and African American Union troops, and the Southern soldiers killed 27 percent of the African American regiment. On April 20, 1864, another force of Confederates met a biracial garrison at Plymouth, North Carolina, and again the African American units suffered higher rates of death than their white counterparts.⁶⁰ The Confederacy continued to show its disgust for armed African Americans throughout the end of the war, and it flouted any Union threats of retaliation.

After the Battle of Fort Pillow, the South did not react with remorse. Even those who were not overjoyed at the news of another Confederate victory did not reveal indications of fear or regret. In the days and months immediately following the battle, newspapers were most adamant in their expressions of triumph, but the diaries of Belle Edmundson and Kate Stone reveal that young women were just as

59 Bogalusa Americall, “American Generals,” *The Era-Leader*, April 15, 1915, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88064305/1915-04-15/ed-1/seq-2/>.

60 Cimprich, *Fort Pillow*, 95.

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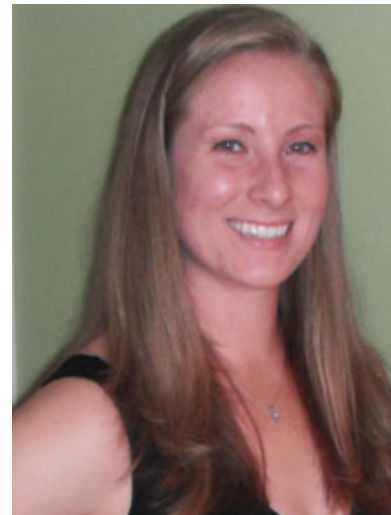
overjoyed as the papers. Even as a prisoner paraded past an African American regiment, Louis Leon was proud of his countrymen's victory at Fort Pillow and expressed wishes that those African American Yankees would meet the same fate as the Fort Pillow garrison. Other Southern civilians like Jason Niles and Samuel Agnew may have only mentioned the victory in passing in their diaries, but the fact that they even mentioned it shows that they were not ashamed of the actions of Forrest and his men. While they may not have condoned the slaughter, neither were they upset by the lopsided number of deaths and casualties. Northern threats did not produce the desired effect, but instead led to a reaffirmation of Southern support for General Forrest and his cavalry.

Even after the war drew to a close, Confederates continued to express delight in the victory at Fort Pillow. Threats of retribution by Union Army leaders and Northern newspapers did not shake Confederate resolve during the war, and the continued criticisms of General Forrest and his cavalry by the Northern press after the war only led the Southern press to increase its support of Forrest. Because of Forrest's success as a cavalry leader and his unwavering refusal to back down from Yankee threats, the South adored General Forrest and fully supported his men in their actions at Fort Pillow. As a result, American history remembers the Battle of Fort Pillow with two very different points of view. The Confederacy clung to its victory as the Civil War came to a close, and as the sesquicentennial passes, there are still those that adhere to the Lost Cause who consider the battle a misunderstanding. Contemporary historians continue to criticize the Confederate policy toward African American soldiers. However, there is still no defining conclusion to Nathan Bedford Forrest's part in the massacre.

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Low Fertility and Wanderlust

Do Travel Desires Affect Fertility?
by Thomas Anderson

While it may come as a surprise to many given our current world population of 7 billion, fertility has fallen over the last 50 years, often to record levels, in nearly every country in the world. A total fertility rate (TFR) of 2.1 is generally considered the threshold at which a population will “replace itself.”¹ In other words, a woman in any given society must bear, on average, 2.1 children in order to maintain the population at equilibrium.² Without either perennial immigration or unimaginable increases in life expectancy, a population will experience indefinite population decline if the total fertility rate remains under 2.1. Currently, nearly half of the world’s population is located in countries where fertility is

¹ A TFR of 2.1 is the “replacement rate” in low mortality countries.

² John Bongaarts. “Fertility Decline in the Developed World: Where Will It End?” *American Economic Review* 89.2 (1999): 256-60. Print.

under the replacement rate.³ East Asian countries such as South Korea, Taiwan, and Japan lead the world for having some of the lowest fertility levels—at 1.23, 1.15, and 1.37 respectively.^{4,5} A close runner-up is Europe, where the TFR of the European Union has been well below the replacement level for the past three decades, and currently hovers around 1.6 children per woman.⁶

There is disagreement on whether and how low fertility (and by extension, population decline) is beneficial or harmful. On one hand, ecologists and environmentalists view overpopulation as a central factor for environmental degradation. They often praise the notion of fewer people on earth, since fewer people translate to less pressure placed on natural resources. On the other hand, economists and some sociologists argue that low fertility and population decline are sources of concern, given their potentially threatening economic and social consequences, such as “population aging” and decline in economic productivity. Low fertility is the primary driving force of “population aging,” an increase in the median age of a population and a rise in the fraction of people over 65.⁷ Having a growing fraction of elderly and shrinking number of working-age individuals (15-64) puts pressure on social security and pensions, while also increasing the need for social services and care for older people. Additionally, as a country’s population shrinks, so does the number of economically active people in that society, thus potentially affecting that country’s long-term economic output.⁸ Not surprisingly, national governments in many low-fertility countries have recognized the unfavorable implications of population decline and have taken measures

to increase fertility.^{9,10}

Why has fertility fallen to such low levels in so many countries? It is important to note that while an eclectic range of both conventional and unconventional factors universally contribute to low fertility, each individual population may have different contributing factors influencing its fertility rate. Gender equality in both education and the labor force, more effective and higher rates of contraceptive use, and delayed marriages, among other considerations, form what are now considered conventional causal factors of low fertility.¹¹

More recently, a new set of multifarious factors emerging from a modern, post-industrialized, technological society have led to what some demographers refer to as the *second demographic transition* (SDT). The second demographic transition was coined by demographers Ron Lesthaeghe and D. van de Kaa, is characterized by “sustained sub-replacement fertility,” and generally follows the well-known (first) demographic transition.^{12,13} In their discussion of the second demographic transition, Lesthaeghe and Niedert state that long-term sub-fertility stems from “better-educated men and women who hold an egalitarian world view, place greater influence on Maslow’s (1954) ‘higher order of needs’ (i.e., individualistic and expressive orientations and self-actualization), and [have] stronger ‘post-materialist’ political orientations.”¹⁴ They add that prolonged education, “increased consumerism associated with self-expressive orientations, finding a suitable companion and realizing a more fulfilled partnership, and keeping an open future” all stand as elements of the SDT.¹⁵ Collectively, the SDT

3 Philip S. Morgan and Miles G. Taylor. “Low Fertility at the Turn of the Twenty-First Century.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 32.1 (2006): 375-99. Print.

4 Fertility in some East Asian cities and city-states are the lowest in the world, at .6 in Shanghai, 1.04 in Hong Kong, and 1.22 in Singapore.

5 World Bank World Development Indicators for Fertility. Raw data. Public Data via Google.

6 “Fertility Statistics.” *Eurostat*. European Commission, Oct. 2011. Web. 05 Jan. 2011. <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics_explained/index.php/Fertility_statistics>.

7 Leonid Gavrilov and Patrick Heuveline. “Population Aging.” *Longevity Science: Unraveling the Secrets of Human Longevity & Aging*. Manuscript from The Encyclopedia of Population, 2003. Web. 08 Jan. 2012. <http://longevity-science.org/Population_Aging.htm>.

8 Fred R. Harris. *The Baby Bust: Who Will Do the Work? Who Will Pay the Taxes?* Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006. Print.

9 Gavin W. Jones and Paulin Tay. Straughan, and Angelique Wei Ming. Chan. *Ultra-low Fertility in Pacific Asia: Trends, Causes and Policy Issues*. London: Routledge, 2009. Print.

10 Peter McDonald. “Low Fertility and the State: The Efficacy of Policy.” *Population and Development Review* 32.3 (2006): 485-510. Print.

11 Bulatao, Rodolfo A., and John B. Casterline. *Global Fertility Transition*. New York: Population Council, 2001. Print.

12 Ron J. Lesthaeghe. *The Unfolding Story of the Second Demographic Transition*. Rep. Ann Arbor: Population Studies Center University of Michigan, 2010. Web.

13 Ron J. Lesthaeghe and D. van de Kaa: “Twee demografische transitie?” (Two demographic transitions?) in Lesthaeghe & van de Kaa (eds): *Bevolking - Groei en Krimp*, Mens en Maatschappij, Van Loghthum Slaterus, Deventer, 1986: 9-24.

14 Ron J. Lesthaeghe and Lisa Niedert. “The Second Demographic Transition in the United States: Exception or Textbook Example?” *Population and Development Review* Volume 32.Issue 4 (2006): p. 669. Print.

15 *Ibid.* p. 669.

suggests that a shift towards individualism presumably has great influence on woman's desired fertility.

It is important to note that although Lesthaeghe and van de Kaa are indeed viewed as highly venerated pioneers of contemporary low fertility theory with their proposed "second demographic transition," low fertility theory has its roots in late-nineteenth century demographer Arsene Dumont's notion of *social capillarity*, a term coined long before either of the demographic transitions. Social capillarity is described as "the desire of people to rise on the social scale, to increase their individuality as well as their personal wealth."¹⁶ According to Dumont, advancing one's socio-economic status would require one to make sacrifices, including limiting family size. Dumont pointed out that greatly stratified societies (such as pre-nineteenth-century France) did not allow for much social movement, while democracies (such as late-nineteenth-century France) opened opportunities for citizen social mobility among all social echelons.¹⁷ Andre Benjin states that Dumont's reasoning for limiting childbearing stems from "a selfish desire for security and leisure, individualism, and, finally, the desire to adopt the behavior of a class which individuals were trying to join."¹⁸ While English economist John Stuart Mill argued that it was angst of losing one's status that would promote lower fertility, Dumont argued that social aspiration would lead to population decline.¹⁹

One can tie the second demographic transition and Dumont's theory of social capillarity with the theories of demographers Ansley Coale and Gary Becker. As a result of the Princeton European Population Fertility Project, Coale concluded that (1) people had accepted calculated choice as a valid element, and (2) people perceived advantages from lowered fertility when discussing low fertility.²⁰ Coale's claims are important because they suggest that fertility is a conscious and calculated decision. Moreover, Nobel Prize laureate Gary Becker provides in his article *An Economic Analysis of Fertility* a contentious yet logical claim that children in modern societies are viewed as "consumption

16 John R. Weeks. "Chapter 3 Demographic Perspectives." *Population: an Introduction to Concepts and Issues*. Belmont, CA: Thomson/Wadsworth, 2008. 86-88. Print.

17 *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88.

18 A. Benjin (1989). Arsene Dumont and social capillarity. *Population* 44(6): 1009-1028.

19 See Weeks, *Population: an Introduction to Concepts and Issues* in note 3.

20 Ansley J. Coale (1973). "'The demographic transition reconsidered'", in International Union for the Scientific Study of Population (IUSSP) (ed): Proceedings of the international population conference 1973, Editions Ordina, Liège, vol. 1: 53-73.

goods."²¹ Becker argues that couples opt to have children not for economic advantages (e.g., extra labor or income) but rather that children serve to satisfy "consumerist" needs of the parents.

It can be succinctly concluded from the discussed theories posited by Dumont, Coale, and Becker—as well as Lesthaeghe and van de Kaa—that (1) couples are motivated by social capillarity to have fewer children; (2) higher education among both genders coupled with greater individualistic aspirations influence lower fertility; (3) fertility is a conscious and calculated decision; and (4) children can be viewed as "consumption goods and satisfaction providers."

Advancements in aviation technologies coupled with higher salaries have transformed traveling from an exclusive luxury primarily for the rich to a pleasure now enjoyed by many. Escaping quotidian life through traveling and following man's natural "peripatetic instinct" is more attractive and attainable than ever before. Constant reminders from pop-up internet windows, television advertisements, and magazine articles deepen these desires to travel by reiterating how vast this world really is and the ease with which one can now discover it. These factors have created a culture of wanderlust—a term meaning "strong desires to travel."²² As a result, "seeing the world," while cliché, no longer sits idle on the average Westerner's "bucket list;" it is a reality.

The aim of this study is to extend the understanding of fertility (and specifically, low fertility) concerning female aspirations and experiences. The study draws upon quantitative data to probe if strong desires to travel (wanderlust) could influence an individual's desired family size.

Dumont, Coale, Becker, and Lesthaeghe and van de Kaa's theories on low fertility, individualism, materialism, and social mobility provide the basis for which my research questions were formulated: Does wanderlust affect desired fertility? Does the recognition of the financial onus and parental responsibility affect a "wanderslusic woman's" view of motherhood? Lastly, if an individual's "wanderlust" really does correlate with lower desired fertility, how would the proposed relationship relate to the theories on low fertility posited by Lesthaeghe and van de Kaa, Dumont, Coale, and Becker?

21 Becker, G. (1960). "An Economic Analysis of Fertility," in *Demographic and Economic Change in Developed Countries*, Universities-National Bureau of Economic Research Conference Series 11. Princeton NJ: NBER: 209-31.

22 "Definition for Wanderlust - Oxford Dictionaries Online (World English)." *Oxford Dictionaries Online*. Web. 05 Jan. 2012. <<http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/wanderlust>>.

The Research Project

Methodology

Virginia Tech female students were surveyed in order to identify their desires to travel in the future, perceptions toward motherhood and life aspirations, and desired fertility (DF).²³

The key question which formed the survey's two sampling groups was based on a yes/no answer to the question: "Have you studied and/or lived abroad (outside of the United States) for longer than four weeks?" This study collectively refers to females who have studied abroad (respondents to "yes") as Group A while those who have not studied abroad (those who answered "no") as Group N. The answer to this question served as the key variable due to the hypothesis that those females already exposed to living and traveling abroad understand its perceived thrill. Because this hypothesis may not always hold true, the survey contained various questions to identify females who have not had the chance to go abroad but still have wanderlust as well as to identify those who have been abroad but still prefer less itinerant or "domicile" lifestyle. Examples of such questions will be given below. Only females were surveyed, as females are generally viewed as the ultimate decision makers for fertility.

The participants of the study were reached using cluster sampling. After receiving approval from the Institutional Review Board (IRB), the surveys were sent to two geography courses with a combined total of 460 female participants. The courses are taken by many as elective credits and thus attract a diverse range of students who represent nearly every department at Virginia Tech. It initially seemed unlikely that a sizeable number of females in the two courses had studied or lived abroad; therefore, in order to seek participants that would form Group A, an additional 80 surveys were sent out directly to students who were or had been abroad. The contact information of such participants was available publically through (1) the Virginia Tech study abroad website and/or (2) Facebook which has specific groups exclusively for Virginia Tech students who are abroad. After the survey period of two weeks, 100 participants formed Group A (G_A) while Group N (G_N) had 157 participants; the response rate for the study was 46.6% (257 completed surveys, 540 females contacted).

The survey incorporated both qualitative and quantitative questions making for a total of 12 questions, making it

²³ For this study, desired fertility (DF) refers to the number of children that each female would like to have.

possible to discuss a large number of relationships between questions from various angles. Due to length considerations, the discussion will focus on the relationship of five questions. Two of the five questions form the pith for drawing conclusions and a central argument while the other three are especially helpful in bolstering the conclusion derived from the former two. The remaining seven questions and their unstratified results can be found in Appendix 1.

Results

Two Central Questions

Question 1: I have studied and/or lived abroad (for longer than four weeks): Yes No (Table 1 in appendix)

Question 2: The number of kids you would like to have is...²⁴ 0 1 2 3 4 5+ (Table 2)

Desired Fertility (DF) Between Group A and Group N

I hypothesized that females with exposure to studying and/or living abroad would be more likely "to have wanderlust" and thus may prefer smaller families (as children are difficult and expensive to travel with). As noted below, females in G_N would like an average of .7 children per woman more than in G_A :

$$DF_{GroupN} - DF_{GroupA} = 2.82 - 2.12 = .7$$

As seen below, performing a two-sample t-test to compare the means of Group A and Group N strengthens this hypothesis and allows us to conclude that females who go abroad are likely to desire fewer children than those who do not ($t=5.129$, $p < .001$). Despite this correlation, it would not be justifiable to solely attribute previous life experiences with desired fertility. The following questions from the survey help to explain why studying abroad may affect desired fertility and how women prioritize their life aspirations.

Supporting Three Questions

Importance of Motherhood by Group

Question 3: Is it important for you to have kids? Yes No (Table 3)

The first supporting question, "Is it important for you to have kids?" had the purpose of measuring how important motherhood was to the participants. With the results of the Chi-Squared Test above, it can be concluded that on

²⁴ All statistics in this study were calculated using "5" for the desired fertility of respondents who answered "5+."

average, females who have spent time abroad are less likely to find motherhood to be “important” than females who have not been abroad. ($X^2 = 3.981$, $p = .046$).

A possible explanation for this gap in the importance of motherhood between Group A and Group N is that female participants who go abroad may have a different outlook on life or different way of thinking. Leaving one’s native country means breaking out of one’s comfort zone and immersing oneself in new cultures, customs, and norms. Perhaps those willing to take on this challenge lead more confident or individualistic lives than their “homebody” counterparts. If this is the case, these women may see motherhood as an impediment to leading their “wanderlusty” lifestyles.

It would, however, be erroneous to assume that all of the females who want to see the world actually study abroad. After all, there are likely many females who would like to study abroad but are unable to due to time, health, or money constraints. The following question was asked to identify who from which group deems seeing the world as “very important” and who as “nice, but not what life is all about.”

Importance of World Travel

Question 4: “Seeing the world” is... (Tables 4 & 5)

- a) Very important in my life
- b) Nice, but not what life is all about
- c) Not very important

The question regarding the importance of “seeing the world” sheds light on the participants’ priorities in life. Specifically, it is plausible to hypothesize that respondents who chose A, “very important in my life,” have consciously decided that they would like to pursue international travel while those who responded to choice B, “nice, but not what life is all about,” appear to have less of an impulse to travel.

As illustrated in Table 7, the desired fertility of respondents of choice B (“nice, but not what life is all about”) is noticeably higher than the desired fertility of those who chose option A (“very important in my life”). By performing a simple t-test, we can see that the two means are statistically different ($f = .229$, $p = .036$) and thus may conclude that women who find traveling “very important” (what some may consider “women with wanderlust”) desire on average fewer children than those who show less of a fervor to explore the world.

Looking at the stratified results, one sees that women who have had experience living/studying abroad (Group A) find

it overwhelmingly more important to “see the world” than those from Group N. While 45% of Group N opted for B (“nice, but not what life is all about”) only about 20% of females in Group A shared a similar view. On the contrary, 55% of females in Group N and 81% of females in Group A indicated from their response that seeing the world is very important to them ($z = 4.55$, $p < .001$).

A detail worth mentioning is that out of all 257 responses, no participant viewed “seeing the world” as unimportant (choice C). Given that all of the female participants in the study are constantly exposed to the idea of international travel through media advertisements, university courses, television programs, among other things, it is probable that they all feel comfortable with the idea that international travel is at least “nice,” if not very important. I also argue that it is part of the human psyche to either live naturally itinerant or at least be curious as to what else exists in the world; after all, the fact that human beings are one of the few species that have migrated to every corner of the world cannot solely be attributed to survival.

To Work, Mother or Travel?

Question 5: I think that it is MOST important in life to... (Tables 7 & 8)

- a) Be successful in my job and enjoy a financially comfortable life
- b) Get married, have a family and focus on being a good mother
- c) Travel the world and experience everything I can before I die

Perhaps the most edifying relationship found in the data comes from the question, “I think that it is MOST important in life to...” What specifically stands out is that the desired fertility of those who chose choice B (“get married, have a family and focus on being a good mother”) was radically higher than those who chose choices A (“be successful in my job...”) and C (“travel the world...”). Comparing the desired fertility mean between the participants who answered “A,” “B,” or “C” evinces that long term priorities correlate with differing desired fertility.

This question is unique in that it indirectly asks women to choose their primary priority orientation: career oriented, family oriented, or travel oriented. From the pairwise comparison chart (Table 10), we see that “life priority orientation” indeed affects desired fertility. Moreover, the average desired fertility of respondents to choice A (career oriented) and choice C (travel oriented), as the pairwise

comparisons above indicate, are not statistically different ($P = .131$) while the means (average desired fertility) of choices A and B (career oriented and family oriented) and choice B and C (family oriented and travel oriented) were significantly different ($P < .001$ for both cases).

What is worthy to examine is not why family oriented females prefer more children, but rather why the career and travel oriented females prefer significantly fewer children. A probable explanation is that the career and travel oriented participants (regardless of experience abroad) appear to follow “individualistic aspirations.” While the majority of these women indeed would like children, on average they desire fewer. The idea of individualistic aspirations (which will be discussed in more depth in the following section), is a recurring theme tied to declining fertility. Given the empirical data regarding the participants’ primary orientation, we are able to observe that most career and travel oriented women probably view larger families as an impediment to living out their individualistic career or travel aspirations.

Table 11 shows the stratified results of “life priority” by group while Table 12 contains the results of a two-way ANOVA test between life priority and study abroad experience with the dependent variable as desired fertility. Following these tables is an interaction plot of the main effects, where the Y-axis shows desired fertility and the X-axis shows life priority. This plot is especially useful in observing that desired fertility among participants in Group A is lower on all levels than Group N. In other words, females from Group A who are “career oriented” tend to desire fewer children than the “career oriented” participants in Group N. Likewise, “travel oriented” and “family oriented” participants in Group A, on average desire fewer children than “family or travel oriented” participants in Group N.

Admittedly, this question may be considered contentious, as some females may have found it difficult to choose only one of the three responses. After all, most females would probably like to have a financially comfortable life, be a good mother, *and* travel the world. Therefore, while the question indeed provides empirical evidence for desired fertility differences between different female priority orientations, it does not necessarily imply that females who want to travel are not interested in having children, or that good mothers cannot work and live financially comfortable lives.

Discussion

Why Such High Desired Fertility?

The average desired fertility of the 257 female participants was 2.54, a rather high number when compared to the 2010 TFR rate in the United States of about 2.1.²⁵ According to John Bongaarts, desired fertility exceeds the actual TFR in nearly all populations.²⁶ A number of factors may help to explain why there exists such a large gap between the DF of this study and the actual TFR of the United States. First, the female participants who took the survey are both childless and unmarried. They therefore may idealize motherhood and/or the prospects of a large family without considering the amount of financial investment and physical care each child requires. Additionally, upon joining the labor market, these females may realize that their idealistic family size may threaten their ability to maintain a full time job, afford modern day luxuries, and/or lead an individualistic lifestyle. Moreover, as Bongaarts points out, the factor of “involuntary limitation on fertility” caused by infecundity, marital disruption, late age of marriage and non-marriage is inevitable in every population, which may prevent some females from having their desired number of offspring.²⁷

Limitations

One must also understand that direct causality cannot be confirmed by this survey; the participants did not have a chance on the survey to explicitly state why they chose their desired fertility amount.

Despite the convincing statistics, other unmeasured causal factors may also come into play. On one hand, the idea of studying or living abroad may be an attractive option for females who already have a strong sense of wanderlust or an individualistic or venturesome mentality. On the other hand, being exposed to life abroad may cause females to gain a new appreciation towards international travel and inspire them to continue traveling. Also, participants with experience abroad, for example, are more likely to come from families with higher socio-economic backgrounds while those from low(er) socio-economic echelons may be financially unable to afford spending time abroad.

25 Jennifer Day. “National Population Projections.” *Population Profile of the United States*. US Census Bureau. Web. <<http://www.census.gov/population/www/pop-profile/natproj.html>>.

26 John Bongaarts. *Measurement of Wanted Fertility*. New York, NY: Population Council, 1990. Print.

27 *Ibid.*

Conclusions

Given the nature of the survey and its results, the study suggests that (1) there exists a relationship between an experience living abroad and desired fertility, where a presence of the former correlates to a decrease in the latter; (2) women who consider seeing the world “very important” prefer to have fewer children than women who find traveling “nice, but not what life about”; (3) on average, women who have not lived abroad find it more important to have children than those who have lived abroad; and (4) regardless of experience abroad, females to whom it is most important in life to start a family prefer to have significantly more children than females who would rather traveling or pursue a career oriented, financially comfortable life. Additionally, the results suggest that college experiences, such as studying abroad, may influence later life decisions such as fertility intentions.

Relevance for the Second Demographic Transition

It is important to reiterate that directly adducing traveling as the cause of low fertility rates would be illogical, yet it is reasonable to conclude that a desire for a more self-indulgent lifestyle, which includes traveling, could contribute to sub-level fertility. While this study was novel in the way in which it was undertaken, the data simply strengthens the theory of the second demographic transition, in which women characterized by “increased consumerism associated with self-expressive orientations” tend to have fewer children than those who prefer more domestic and traditional lifestyles.²⁸

Future Research

This study examined the relationship between wanderlust and desired fertility and opens up various directions for additional research dealing with the following questions:

- How can causal claims be made to desired fertility?
- What are examples of other lifestyle preferences or priorities that influence desired fertility?
- Which measures on the macro (governmental and/or societal) or micro (individual) level could be taken to help females balance their desired fertility and individualistic aspirations?
- In an ever-growing consumerist world, is it likely that fertility rates remain under the replacement rate?

By working to answer these questions, among many others, societies with high fertility rates may have answers that lead to apposite policy solutions to cope with low fertility.

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Thomas Anderson, from Centreville, Virginia, graduated in Spring 2011 with degrees in international studies and Spanish. He would like to thank Dr. Ted Fuller, sociology, for his guidance, suggestions, and many talks about demography that led to this article. He also thanks instructor Marlow Lemons for aiding with the statistical analysis of this project. Anderson will attend the University of Pennsylvania to pursue a Ph.D. in demography in Fall 2012 and hopes for a career in academia or at a research think-tank.

Tables

I have studied AND/OR lived abroad (for longer than four weeks):	Frequency	
	No (Group N)	157
	Yes (Group A)	100
	Total	257

Table 1

	I have studied AND/OR lived abroad (for longer than four weeks):	N	Mean (Desired Fertility)	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
The number of kids you would like to have is/are...	Yes (Group A)	100	2.12	1.094	.109
	No (Group N)	157	2.82	1.053	.084

Table 2: Group Statistics

			Is it important for you to have kids?		Total
			No	Yes	
I have studied AND/OR lived abroad (for longer than four weeks):	No (Group N)	Count	20	137	157
		Expected Count	25.8	131.2	157.0
	Yes (Group A)	Count*	22	77	99
		Expected Count	16.2	82.8	99.0
Total		Count	42	214	256
		Expected Count	42.0	214.0	256.0

*One participant in Group A did not answer this question

Table 3

				Total	Frequency (%)
		Group n	Group A		
Seeing the world is...	Nice, but not what life is all about	70	19	89	35%
	Very important in my life	87	81	168	65%
Total		157	100	257	100%

*None of the 257 participants chose "Not Very Important"

Table 4

	Seeing the world is...	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
The number of kids you would like to have is/are (edited)...	Nice, but not what life is all about	87	2.75	1.070	.115
	Very important in my life	165	2.44	1.133	.088

		Levene's Test				t-test for Equality of Means				
		F	Sig.	t	df.	Sig (2-tailed)	Mean Diff.	Std. Error Diff	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
The number of kids you would like to have is/are (edited)...	Equal variances assumed	.228	.633	2.110	250	.036	.311	.147	.021	.601

Table 6: Group Statistics (Above) & Independent Sample Tsts: Seeing the world...(Below)

I think that it is MOST important in life to...		Frequency	Frequency (%)
Valid	Be successful in my job and enjoying a financially comfortable life	62	24%
	Get married, have a family and focus on being a good mother	90	35%
	Travel the world and experience everything I can before I die	100	39%
Total (Response)		252	98%
Missing (Non-Response)		5	2%
Total		257	100%

Table 7

Dependent Variable: The number of kids you would like to have is/are (edited)...

I think that it is MOST important in life to...	Mean (Desired Fertility)
Be successful in my job and enjoying a financially comfortable life	2.070
Get married, have a family and focus on being a good mother	2.923
Travel the world and experience everything I can before I die	2.325

Table 8: Desired Fertility and "Life Priority"

Dependent Variable: The number of kids you would like to have is/are (edited)...

Groups	I think that it is MOST important in life to...	N	Mean (Desired Fertility)	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Group N	Career Oriented	38	2.474	.166	2.147	2.800
	Family Oriented	67	3.194	.125	2.948	3.440
	Travel Oriented	49	2.551	.146	2.263	2.839
Group A	Career Oriented	24	1.667	.209	1.256	2.078
	Family Oriented	23	2.652	.213	2.232	3.072
	Travel Oriented	51	2.098	.143	1.816	2.380

Table 11: Desired Fertility and "Life Priority" Stratified by Group

Appendix 1

Remaining Seven Questions (Unstratified in Groups)

Individuals may request the stratified results to the following questions which will be given upon the discretion of the researcher and/or research mentor.

1. Choose one of the following:

I generally go on vacation within a one day drive where I live	72	(28%)
Vacations are usually within the 50 United States, but are occasionally abroad	126	(49%)
Vacations generally entail visiting another country	50	(19%)
I rarely take vacations; I have everything I need around my house	8	(3%)
no answer	1	(0%)

2. How many of the seven continents have you visited? (NOTE: For this study, the Caribbean is part of North America)

I've never left North America or the Caribbean	64	(25%)
One	45	(18%)
Two	91	(35%)
Three or more	56	(22%)
No answer	1	(0%)

3. How many round-trip airplane trips do you take yearly? (one trip=a departure and arrival)

Zero	41	(16%)
One a year	113	(44%)
Two a year	59	(23%)
Three times a year	21	(8%)
Four or more times a year	23	(9%)
No answer	0	(0%)

4. My dream job has me...

Staying in one community	37	(14%)
Staying in one community but with the possibility to relocate domestically	76	(30%)
Staying in one community but with the possibility to relocate internationally	44	(17%)

Working partly abroad and partly in the States	75	(29%)
Working and living abroad for the majority of my life	25	(10%)
No answer	0	(0%)

4. If you are planning on having children, when do you expect to have your first child?

20-23	5	(2%)
24-27	79	(31%)
28-31	128	(50%)
32-35	26	(10%)
36-39	1	(0%)
40+	0	(0%)
I do not want children.	18	(7%)
No answer	0	(0%)

5. Is it appropriate for a woman to be an at-home mother and not work full time?

Yes	193	(75%)
No	63	(25%)
no answer	1	(0%)

6. If I do have kids, I will probably...

Travel with them primarily in the United States	86	(33%)
Travel with them predominantly out of the country	19	(7%)
Travel equally abroad as domestically	151	(59%)
No answer	1	(0%)

Featured Articles

A group of diverse students sitting outdoors, with one student in a wheelchair in the foreground. The background shows a stone wall and other students looking towards the right.

iPads as Assistive Technology for Students with Disabilities

Researcher: Justin Graves
by Adam Smith & Anne Cunha

Disabilities can be viewed in one of two ways: either as insurmountable misfortunes or as mere challenges to be overcome. Justin Graves, a senior majoring in sociology, has allowed the latter view to guide him in his research on assistive technologies for disabled students: "Even though some people in life—like me, for example—are inherently dealt challenges, those things really aren't in your control ... I don't think they should hold you back." Graves' research aims to overcome the social stigma sometimes attached to assistive technologies—aiming to introduce new opportunities for disabled students to use popular devices such as the iPhone and iPad to overcome the challenges they face on a day-to-day basis. Even something as simple as the iPad's "iBooks" app, Graves points out, can be helpful to a student who might have difficulty carrying a heavy load of textbooks and would prefer to download them electronically in



An app that Graves reviewed, Verballly, is a comprehensive assisted speech solution for the iPad. It is classified as an Augmentative and Alternative Communication (AAC) app, which allows users to communicate more quickly and confidently in situations where they may otherwise be unable.

a single lightweight device. The potential of these gadgets for addressing the needs of disabled students, however, extends far beyond e-books. To date, Justin has reviewed more than 80 assistive technology applications designed for the Mac operating system, incorporating peer information from colleagues as well as Internet searches to locate useful applications, then speaking with disabled students and faculty members to determine how they were using them to overcome their disabilities. Graves groups these programs into different sections by the type of aid provided—titled See, Look, Hear, Think, or Speak—then reviews them for their intended functions.

The final product of his research will take the form of an online manual published at the end of the spring 2012 semester for disabled college students—incorporating application descriptions, reviews, and further instructions on recommended implementation as assistive technologies. In the course of his project, Graves admits to using not only his own personal experiences with disability and various technologies, but also the perspectives of young children in programs such as College Bound—a program designed to help transition students with disabilities into higher education—and the YMCA.

A Virginia Tech Undergraduate Diversity Research Grant funds Graves’ project, which has garnered attention from Assistive Technology systems throughout Virginia and led to numerous requests to speak at webinars as well as professional and classroom demonstrations. Graves has also presented his research at a “Transition Practitioners’ Council” consisting of special educators, transition specialists, and vocational rehabilitation counselors from 34 counties and cities in Southwest Virginia.

During his presentations, Graves demonstrates the ways in which popular applications, as well as some of the basic features of the iPad, can be repurposed to aid students with disabilities. Graves points to the “Verbally” app as an example: This program features a virtual keyboard as well as common words and phrases that, when activated via a “Speak” button, can be used to build sentences spoken out loud by the device. “A student with a speech impediment who may be unable to speak at all—or may have limitations speaking in a group—would be able to relay information to a teacher or professor,” Graves says. “Students with disabilities are constantly trying ... to find tools that put them on a more level playing field with their peers.” Although he admits it can be difficult for people to accept help from assistive technology due to the social stigma sometimes attached to such aids, Graves advocates his model as a chance for offices of disabilities at universities around the nation to improve of the way they serve disabled students.

After the completion of his research, Graves has decided to attend graduate school to continue his education in assistive technologies, eventually aiming to work in a office of disabilities at a university. “Taking to researching and documenting these apps, and knowing that it will eventually—if it hasn’t already—make a difference in someone’s life is incredibly empowering,” Graves says. He serves as a tribute to the way undergraduates can be both impacted by and impactful through research.

Music and Multimedia: “A Dream Come True”

Researcher Katherine Coe
by Kate Robertson & Erika Lower

The music industry is inherently a multimedia business. Artists do not simply record their songs and release them to the public—from engineering to production to marketing, technology is involved every step of the way. While many musicians choose to focus only on their own songwriting and performance, one Virginia Tech student found that directly combining music and multimedia technology opened a door to a new city, a new career, and an inside look at the music industry itself.

Katherine Coe, a 2011 graduate of Virginia Tech, has been involved in music “for as long as [she] can remember.” Coe began playing the piano at age seven, followed by flute and guitar. As her love for performing developed, she began to express interest in recording her music, and her technological explorations began. What had started as a hobby quickly developed into a

Featured Articles

passion, and when Coe started her college search, the Music Technology program at Virginia Tech immediately drew her interest. After touring the campus and meeting with piano professor Tracy Cowden, Coe's decision was made. "Everything clicked," she explained.

During her time at Virginia Tech, Coe performed in multiple concerts and played solo recitals in her junior and senior years. In addition to her academic pursuits, she searched for opportunities to share her talents away from Virginia Tech. When Professor Cowden told her about the First Annual Hollywood Competition, a contest held by the world-renowned pianist Carter Larsen, Coe decided to take part. The competition required participants to submit two videos: one piano performance of a classical piece and a performance of a Larsen composition. To assemble her entry, Coe took advantage of the music department's downtown recording studio and editorial resources provided by the Innovation Space.



Katherine Coe

Coe developed an impressive repertoire and began assembling her work into a concrete portfolio at the beginning of her senior year. Her prior experience working with a range of media led her to believe that a traditionally styled album was not the most imaginative way to share her music. Instead, Coe built an entire website. Though she had no formal training in web design, she learned to format and

code online to exhibit her work in an innovative way. This multimedia approach gave Coe an outlet to show off her musical abilities as well as her skill and creativity in graphic and web design.

One of the required classes for music majors at Virginia Tech is an "Intermediate MIDI Applications" course, which familiarizes students with basic recording, compositional, and design technologies and gave Coe an introduction to information that would be essential to building her first website. When it came time to begin assembling her body of work, Coe turned to technology professor Michael Dunston; together, the two worked to code and construct a clean, visually appealing online portfolio to showcase Coe's musical and graphic projects. The final product can be seen at <http://www.music.vt.edu/alumni/coek/>. Host to audio recordings, visual arts, and personal reflections, the website is an elegant digital portrait of her musical and educational career.

Immediately after graduating from Virginia Tech, Coe packed a bag and a journal of research she had compiled about jobs in the music industry and headed to Nashville, Tennessee. It was a bold move on her part: "I'd never been to Nashville until graduation day," Coe admits, but she knew at once that Music City was where she wanted to be. "I had to step out my comfort zone a lot, but what I found is that so many people in Nashville are here for the same reason I am: because they love music, too."

Coe's confidence paid off, and she found a job with a music management company that put her multimedia talents to use promoting up-and-coming artists like Tony Kerr and Sarah Jarosz. Her commissions include designing and building websites, editing videos, and creating advertisements for local concerts and events throughout Nashville, a city she has quickly adopted as a second home. "I love the friendly people, the city lights, and the music everywhere," she says. "It's where I belong!" Coe hopes that she can continue to combine her passion for music and technology throughout Nashville and beyond. Her experience so far has been, in her own words, "a dream come true."

The success of her first website led Coe to put together a second site, titled "Coe Chic," to showcase the work she has completed post-graduation, including music, photography, web designs, and other multimedia projects: <http://www.coechic.com>



Dressing Shakespeare

Researcher: Sammi Santini
by Allie Donohue & Chelsea Gillenwater

In a theatrical production, the costumes are often the first connection that the audience forms with the characters—even before those characters speak. Costumes can set the tone for a play and help define the characters themselves. Sammi Santini, a senior majoring in Theater and Cinema as well as Psychology at Virginia Tech, designed the costumes for the main stage production of William Shakespeare's Twelfth Night in the 2011 fall season. As the only undergraduate designer involved, she was given a budget of \$2,400 to fashion a total of 23 costumes. Santini collaborated with the play's director, Greg Justice, and her senior design professor, Jane Stein, to come up with the perfect inspiration for the pieces: a cross between Joel Grey, Queen Elizabeth I, and Lady Gaga. Over a period of six months, Santini designed the costumes, purchased materials for construction, and completed the final garments worn in the thirteen-

show production.

Santini has been working behind the scenes on plays since high school, starting with set design and making her way on to the costume crew. After matriculating at Virginia Tech, she gained more responsibility by working on productions as a stage manager. Last spring, Santini worked on the show *Dog Sees God*. “I was mainly a dresser,” Santini stated. “The clothes were all very normal and everyday, so I just had to stay within the budget.” Santini’s experience with the show, as well as her work in her senior design class, helped secure her the position as the undergraduate costume designer for *Twelfth Night*.

In discussing the design department at Virginia Tech, Santini stated that “it is very close-knit, with only about six of us in the senior design course.” Therefore, in choosing a student to ultimately run the show, Santini’s senior design professor, Jane Stein, took into consideration the strength of the student’s work as well as the experience each student had. “I’m the only one in that field who has done another show. We do four main stage productions, so everyone rotates on those, but our professor chose me for this one,” said Santini. Once she’d been assigned *Twelfth Night* Santini began a conversation with Justice and Stein for the inspiration of the design.

Plans for the show began during the spring of 2011, long before *Twelfth Night*’s opening on November 3. The formula for the production’s look and feel came from the combined efforts of director Justice and dramaturg Karl Precoda. They envisioned this production of *Twelfth Night* as a combination of influences from Lady Gaga, Lawrence Welk, and Ethel Merman, all rather surprising choices for a Shakespeare adaptation. With these general concepts in mind, Justice met with his creative team, including the set, lighting, and costume designers. “When [Justice] came in, he gave us some sketches he had already done,” Santini recalled. “They gave me a starting point, and I just went from there. I’d occasionally check in with the director to make sure I was going down the right path.”

Santini was tasked with creating costumes for all the characters. By the end, she had created 23 costume variations, some of which needed to transform as the scenes dictated. “The research is just a continual process,” Santini explained. “A lot of the research and work for something creative like this is really just looking at some designs, scrapping them, and starting over. I think I drew the costumes for the opening number about five times before I found a design I was happy with.” Santini worked for most of the summer

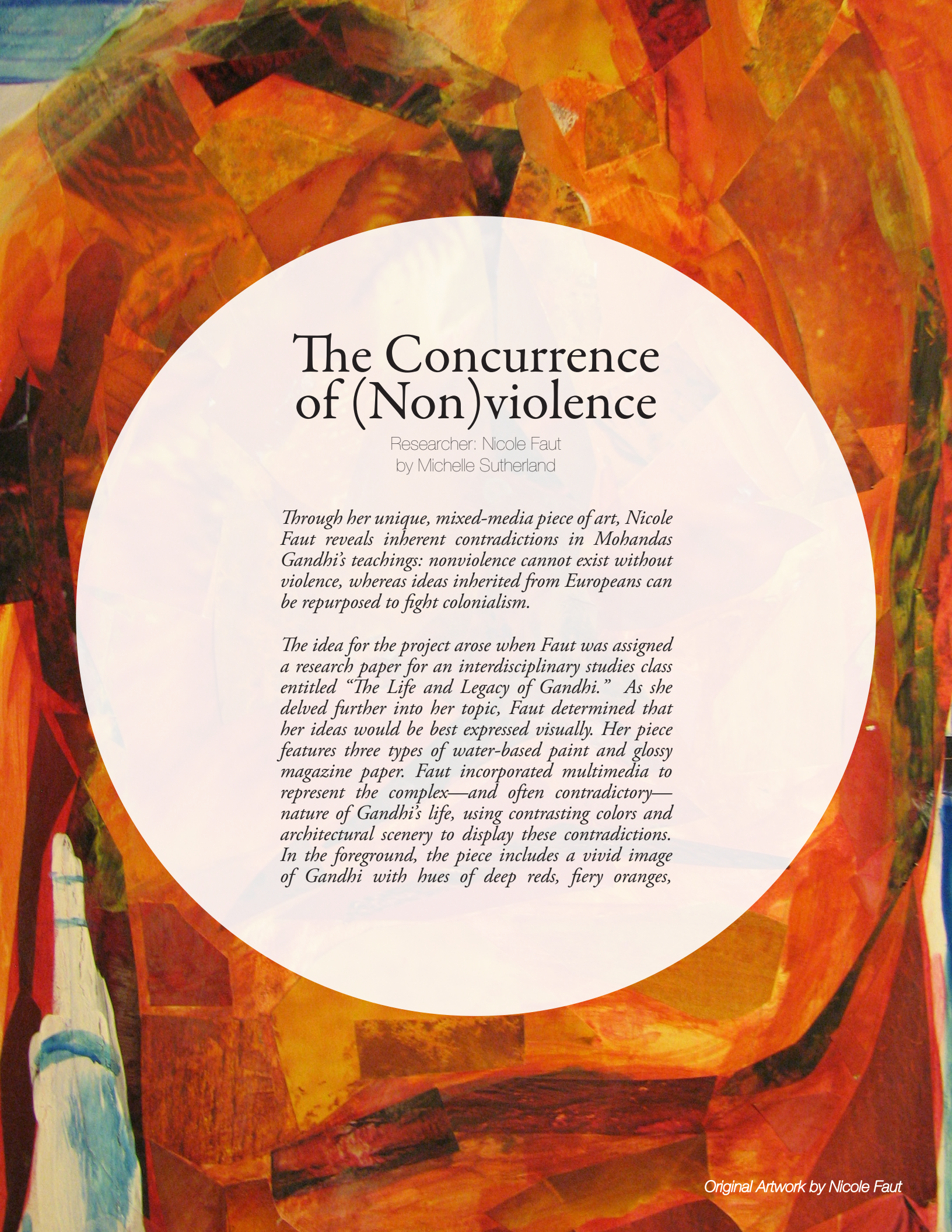
molding a variety of inspirations into a cohesive collection of costumes. The anachronistic blend of modern pop idols and vaudevillian stars offered Santini an opportunity to push the bounds of creativity, providing many different challenges from her work on *Dog Sees God*.

Santini spent most of the summer finalizing the designs for the show, but in many ways, the real challenge was bringing those early concepts to life within a relatively limited amount of time. As soon as the fall semester began, Santini was hard at work overseeing the construction of the costumes, providing new materials and recycled pieces from previous productions to the design department, as everyone feverishly worked to complete all the costumes.

“I wasn’t fully aware of how much of a time commitment it would be once we got into production,” she recalled about the challenges that arose as preproduction began. “I don’t have a car, but I had to be out buying stuff all the time. You’re really invested in the show—doing fittings, finding material—and you’re just thinking about the show all the time. I was up at 9:00 every day, working on something.”

With the completion of the costume design and assembly, Santini’s final job was to watch the show, see how her costumes fared, and observe the reactions of the audience. When asked how she felt seeing her costumes on stage, Santini admitted, “It was stressful watching [the performance]. The second night of the show I was sitting in the audience thinking, ‘I can’t sit here while people are judging everything!’” However, with the final production of the show over, Santini smiles and states, “I was really happy with it.”

Santini certainly has reason to be happy. The theatre department’s production of *Twelfth Night* was incredibly well-received, opening to packed houses and glowing reviews. The show’s audacious design seems to have succeeded in reimagining Shakespeare’s timeless characters for a modern audience, and Santini’s costumes are practically characters unto themselves—bold, dramatic creations infused with a human subtlety—that are likely to be remembered long after the final curtain call.



The Concurrence of (Non)violence

Researcher: Nicole Faut
by Michelle Sutherland

Through her unique, mixed-media piece of art, Nicole Faut reveals inherent contradictions in Mohandas Gandhi's teachings: nonviolence cannot exist without violence, whereas ideas inherited from Europeans can be repurposed to fight colonialism.

The idea for the project arose when Faut was assigned a research paper for an interdisciplinary studies class entitled "The Life and Legacy of Gandhi." As she delved further into her topic, Faut determined that her ideas would be best expressed visually. Her piece features three types of water-based paint and glossy magazine paper. Faut incorporated multimedia to represent the complex—and often contradictory—nature of Gandhi's life, using contrasting colors and architectural scenery to display these contradictions. In the foreground, the piece includes a vivid image of Gandhi with hues of deep reds, fiery oranges,



Portrait of Gandhi by Nicole Faut

and yellows. In the background, the piece depicts Indian architecture with shades of blue.

Investigating further into Gandhi's life, Faut found that Gandhi inflicted severe internal violence upon himself during his work. He starved himself, performed intense physical labor, wore little clothing, and exposed himself to other harsh conditions. Faut argues through her artwork that this internal struggle was inherently a violent act, and that violence cannot be separated from nonviolence. To add depth and complexity to her painting, she used strips of paper from a *National Geographic* magazine: hues of warm colors combined with the strips of paper comprise Gandhi's image. Faut chose images of a whale slaughter, a fire burning down a house, and other negative images to further represent Gandhi's inner violence. Although Gandhi aimed to eliminate violence, Faut argues that it is impossible to do so, titling her work, "The Concurrence of (Non)violence," to reflect this paradoxical inseparability.

In Faut's piece, the blue background colors greatly contrast with the ferocity of the central image. Architecture, comprised of water-based paints and paper with images of oceans, trees, fish, and other calming hues, serves as a background to Gandhi's likeness. Faut chose these colors

and images to portray Gandhi not as a "champion of the poor from humble beginnings," but as a more privileged, Anglicized man relative to his peers. He was raised in a well-off household and attended college to become a lawyer. Blue, for instance, represents the top tier of the caste system. Some evidence also suggests that Gandhi was raised in a traditional English fashion, lending some credence to the hypothesis that Gandhi's idea of nonviolence arose out of inheritances of European philosopher such as Plato and Kant, through the imposition of values from British colonialism.

Through her artwork, Faut hopes to enlighten others to the truths of Gandhi's life. Her multimedia piece reveals the ironies associated with this figure: hardship and pain coexist alongside and inevitably clash with a nonviolence doctrine. Although Gandhi is credited as one of the founders of the nonviolence movement, his life shows that violence is always present.

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