Cornerstone

AN UNDERGRADUATE HISTORICAL JOURNAL

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Published since 1980, the *Cornerstone* journal for undergraduate research has provided students at the University of California, Riverside with an opportunity to showcase their unique, original work in historical research. This year, the journal committee received a number of excellent submissions, and ultimately chose four that stood out based on subject matter, methodology, and their historical fields of study. The papers chosen to be published in this year's edition cover an array of places and time periods, from the Fourth Century Roman Empire to the home front of World War II and the urban streets of Los Angeles. They also make use of a number of different primary sources, including Roman laws and codes, World War II propaganda posters, autobiographies, and personal interviews, showcasing their ability to analyze and interpret materials in a number of unique ways. Despite their wide variety of sources, however, these papers reveal the importance, diversity, and opportunity of researching social and cultural history. The *Cornerstone* papers for this year are Scott Bash's "Loved by Few, Hated by Many, Respected by All: a Brief Look at Los Angeles Ganges," Yvonne England's " 'Skikata Ga Nai' or 'Wash-sho! Wash-sho!:' Compliance and Resistance to Japanese Internment During the Second World War," Christopher Records' "The question of social and legal discontinuity: Homosexuality, religion, society, and Roman law in the imperial constitutions of 341/42 and 390," and Jeremy Ritter's "Persuasion & Propaganda: The Department of Treasury's Victory on the Home Front During World War 2," whose research received special recognition by the Department of History.

Scott Bash's paper, "Loved by Few, Hated by Many, Respected by All: a Brief Look at Los Angeles Ganges," makes use of autobiographies and personal interviews to take a more critical look at why youth in Los Angeles join gangs. He argues that an historical analysis of both African American and Hispanic gangs is necessary to move past the media's sensationalism of gang members, their lifestyle, and criminal activities. Bash's research indicates that membership can be traced to three primary causes: 1) the desire to obtain love, attention, and a sense of belonging missing at home, 2) the desire to obtain respect, power, or money, and 3) the member grew up in a gang-infested environment and knew nothing else. Because of these, Bash demonstrates that the gang problem cannot simply be solved by "lock[ing] 'em up and throw[ing] away the key."

In her research, " 'Skikata Ga Nai' or 'Wash-sho! Wash-sho!:' Compliance and Resistance to Japanese Internment During the Second World War," Yvonne England explores the reactions of both Nisei (first generation Japanese Americans) and Issei (second generation Japanese Americans) to Executive Order 9066 and the establishment of relocation camps during World War II. Her work indicates that responses to internment were not necessarily along generational lines. Rather, Japanese Americans forced to relocate were divided by their emotional reactions—those who were compliant and those who resisted—and their ability or inability to reintegrate into society after the war was over. At the heart of England's historical analysis is the complicated question of how we all might respond if our own civil liberties were called in to question.

Christopher Records' paper, "The question of social and legal discontinuity: Homosexuality, religion, society, and Roman law in the imperial constitutions of 341-42 and 390," researches the complexities of interpreting the relationship between legal codes and sexual behavior in late antiquity. More specifically, Records uses late antiquity legal texts to document the place of male homosexuality in the Roman Empire and early Christian theology. His research demonstrates that the rise of Christianity in the fourth century did *not* cause the legal banishment of homosexual behaviors. Rather, he argues that moral intolerance for such behavior was shared by both Christians and non-Christians in the late Roman Empire. In documenting these legal and cultural changes, Records' research reflects broader historical discussions about how institutional structures—such as the Christian Church—shape and are shaped by cultural attitudes.

In "Persuasion & Propaganda: The Department of Treasury's Victory on the Home Front During World War II," Jeremy Ritter argues that the Department of Treasury's emotional appeal to the American people served a dual purpose. It helped raise the necessary funds to finance war while simultaneously mobilizing and maintaining popular support for the war at home. Ritter takes an interdisciplinary approach to his argument by making use of traditional text-based sources and incorporating an analysis of visual culture—through the use of World War II propaganda posters supporting the bond effort. Beyond his specific arguments and conclusions, Ritter's research raises important questions about the types of sources historians use when creating narratives about the past while also demonstrating the benefits of an interdisciplinary approach to the study of history.

The *Cornerstone* Editorial Committee would like to thank all of those students who submitted their research papers for consideration. Each paper submitted and reprinted here is the product of significant thought, research, writing, and revision. Indeed, all of the submissions demonstrated these fundamental qualities of historical inquiry. The editors would also like to thank Professor Alec Haskell for his guidance and work in preparing this year's *Cornerstone*. Finally, the editors would like to extend a special thanks to Wendy Mello for all of her hard work in helping to make *Cornerstone* a reality.

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Loved By Few, Hated By Many, Respected By All:
A Brief Look at Los Angeles Gangs

By Scott Bash

The media has given significant coverage to gangs and the "gangster lifestyle" over the last thirty years. Through these news stories, newspaper articles, and movies many Americans believe they understand what gangs and the gangster lifestyle is all about. Most Americans assume that gang members are all hardened criminals, unrepentant thugs, and worthless, dangerous people, whose lives amount to nothing more than dealing drugs and shooting each other. Many Americans only see the sensationalized news stories and hear only about the horrible crimes committed by a dedicated few. The common response to the question, "what can be done to prevent gangs and gang violence" would be lock 'em up and throw away the key. While the preceding adjectives do apply to some gang members and locking them away may be the only way to keep society safe from a certain number of them, many, if not a majority, were not always the hardened convicts and thugs portrayed by the media and by the gang members themselves. A majority of gang members come to the gang life not by choice, but rather through family affiliations and pressure from neighbors. Others join gangs as a way to gain acceptance, protection and the love, affection, caring and family atmosphere that most gang members never had at home. Having nobody at home to turn to, look up to and feel a sense of belonging to is what brings a large portion of gang members to the gang life. Many gang members never knew their fathers and their mothers were drug addicts who left their children to fend for themselves. For others, they had mothers that cared, but who worked several jobs to provide for the child. With a mother always at work the child is in the same position he would be in with a drug addict for a mother; that is, home alone, with little to no guidance, supervision, direction or adult affection. These children, mostly boys, then turn to the streets for the love, care, guidance and the sense of belonging they are not finding at home.

In addition, most children in gang controlled neighborhoods have lived a life of poverty and want and see these same people (the gang members) who are showing them the attention and love their parents aren't, that have the cars, the clothes, the cell phones, radios, women and everything else a young boy wants. In his book, *The Black Hand, The Bloody Rise and Redemption of "Boxer" Rene Enriquez*, Chris Blatchford explains: "Rene immediately thought the gang members were charismatic with their tattoos, their sharp cholo outfits, beanies, wool Pendleton shirts with white t-shirts underneath, baggy khaki pants and shiny, black leather shoes. They were cool to a twelve year old kid. They seemed powerful and respected and they seemed to get the girls too."[1] These factors all combine not only to draw young boys into the gang life, but also serve to make them fiercely loyal to those who they now see as a surrogate family; a family that provides for them,

helps them and protects them, and gives them the attention and affection their real families either cannot or will not. In addition, because most gang members will spend their entire lives without ever leaving their neighborhood for any significant time (other than prison), the violent, destructive, predatory nature of gang is their only point of reference and thus, seems normal. Stanley "Tookie" Williams, co-founder of the largest gang in the United States, the Crips, says, "Each time I stepped out into this society-- rife with poverty, crime, illiteracy, drugs and daily, brutal miscarriages of justice--I inhaled its pollutants and so absorbed a distorted sense of self-preservation. As a child I was duped into believing this toxic environment was normal. I was unaware of the violence being done to my mind."[2] Sanyika Shakur, previously known as "Monster" Kody Scott, a member of South Central Los Angeles' Eight Trey Gangster Crips, put it more simply: "My participation came as second nature. It's the equivalent of growing up in Grosse Pointe, Michigan and going to college: everybody does it. If you don't, you aren't a part of the fraternity."[3]

And the problem is only getting worse. According to *L.A. Weekly*, juvenile gang homicides are up 23 percent since 2000. Further, there are six times as many gangs and twice as many gang members in Los Angeles County as there were 25 years ago. Today, estimates place over 700 gangs and 80,000 gang members in Los Angeles County alone, and 30,000 gangs and 800,000 gang members across the country. In the Watts area of South Los Angeles, the gang problem is staggering. In Watts alone, an area of just over 22,000 residents, there are 65 gangs claiming 15,000 members. These gang members shoot 500 people and kill 90 every year, just in Watts. Similarly, 75 percent of black males in Watts will go to prison at some point in their lives. According to the 2000 United States census,

the per capita income of Watts' residents was $6,681 and half live below the poverty line. Even more amazing is this: the average American has a 1:18,000 chance of being murdered; in Watts, the chances are 1:250.[4]

All of this begs the question: why join a gang? Why not just stay away and lead a normal, happy, productive life? Sanyika Shakur says that logic is equivalent to "…telling a homeless person to just get a house. It just isn't happening."[5] In other words, for children who live in gang controlled neighborhoods, not being involved with the gang is not a realistic choice. As Colton "Lil' C-Loc" Simpson, a Crip, notes, "There is no 'I don't want to get involved in gangbanging'. You live in the hood, you're involved. Victim or perpetrator, the choice is yours."[6] To fully understand how and why kids (mostly boys) end up in gangs, one must first look at the history of the areas where gangs thrive. Modern street gangs almost all have their roots in Los Angeles, so looking at the history of both black and Latino gangs in Los Angeles, as well as how gangs work, will give the background needed to understand the gangs and the gangster mentality.

The roots of Los Angeles street gangs reach back into the 1940's when large numbers of blacks began moving to Los Angeles from the southern United States. These gangs did not fulfill the roles we attribute to gangs today, but instead were more like neighborhood clubs or groups of neighborhood boys who banded together to protect themselves from white Angelinos, angry about the influx of blacks into the area. Between 1940 and 1944, the black population of Los Angeles doubled and whites felt as if they were being overrun and pushed out of their own neighborhoods. At the time there were legal restrictions on where blacks could and could not live, although many blacks began to challenge

these laws. In addition, black families challenged integration laws in public schools. Due to the legal restrictions on housing, blacks were relegated to small areas and most of Los Angeles' neighborhoods became racially homogenous. This arrangement only served to further exacerbate racial tensions because blacks and whites both began to see certain neighborhoods as "ours" and "theirs."[7]

As a response to the increased racial tensions some whites formed small gangs to attack blacks and intimidate them into ending court battles that were being waged in order to allow black residents to move out of the overcrowded ghettos in which they were forced to live. These groups had names such as "Spook Hunters" and would drive around "patrolling" their own neighborhoods for blacks or sometimes even venturing into black neighborhoods looking for victims. As a reaction to these attacks, blacks in these neighborhoods formed their own clubs or gangs to protect themselves from the white groups. Raymond Washington, founder of one of these groups called the "Businessmen" said: "You couldn't pass Alameda 'cuz those white-boys would set you on fire."[8] These groups were organized by neighborhood or by housing project and show early signs of the divisions amongst gangs that we see today.[9]

By the 1950's "white flight" out of Los Angeles and into the surrounding suburbs began, leaving Los Angeles proper to be inhabited by mostly black and Hispanic families. During the 1950's the neighborhood gangs that had formed to combat white violence and had originally worked together, began to turn on one another. Black on black violence became a much larger problem than it ever had been. West-side gangs were fighting east-side gangs for a variety of reasons. Most of the early fights were personal in nature, an east-sider was with a west-sider's girl or a west-sider "mouthed off" to an east-sider. However, as these occurrences became more and more common, the two sides began to align against each other more formally. The dozens of different groups from both the east-side and west-side began to identify themselves and each other as east-siders or west-siders. Eventually, what began to drive the dispute was a typical class based rivalry; the east-siders were jealous of the upwardly mobile and more middle class west-siders while the west-siders felt the east-siders were inferior and that they had to prove they were as tough and street savvy as the rougher east-siders.[10]

Throughout the 1950's and early 1960's the rivalry continued. Fights and "rumbles" were a common occurrence, although rarely did the violence go past fists and bats. An occasional knife was pulled, but murders were even rarer. In 1960, there were six gang related murders, which at the time, was an extreme amount. These battles continued until the 1965 Watts Riot which ended the infighting in the black community. After the riot, black youths moved toward unity with one another, political activity and fighting for common goals such as civil rights and so called "policing the police."[11] During the late 1960's, in fact, black gangs in Los Angeles almost ceased to exist. The boys, teenagers, and young men who would normally be involved in gangs now focused their energy on civil rights and became involved in groups like the Community Action Patrol, the Sons of Watts and the two biggest groups, the west-side heavy US Organization and the Black Panther Party, which drew heavily from the east-side. Blacks who had been previously fighting one another were now beginning to feel a sense of unity and cohesiveness and began working together for their common good, at

least superficially. Tensions still ran below the surface from old gang rivalries and from new ideological ones. However, the groups remained peaceful to each other and attempted to work together, although all of this would fall apart within a few years time.[12]

As the Black Nationalist movement grew, the Black Panther Party became more and more powerful, even on the national level. As such, the federal government began to see them as a threat to the stability of the nation and ordered the FBI to dismantle the organization. A government crackdown, coupled with the simmering hostilities with the US Organization over old grudges and new clashes, would spell the end of the Black Panther Party and the relative peace between black gangs. In 1969, at a meeting of the Black Student Union on the campus of UCLA, the leaders of the Black Panther Party, "Munchie" Carter and John Huggins were murdered, allegedly, by US Organization members. Their murders created a power vacuum with-in the Black Panther Party and shattered whatever peace and unity may have still existed within the black community. These events would lead to a huge resurgence in black gangs and would lead to the modern gangs we know today.[13]

With its leaders dead, the Black Panther Party was devastated and as the 1960's ended, the Black Nationalist movement began to lose steam, and as a result, many of the black groups of the 1960's that had worked together disbanded. The crumbling of the neighborhood groups left thousands of black teens and young men with nothing to do, nowhere to go and nothing towards which to direct their time and energy. These factors, combined with the power vacuum left from the Black Nationalist and civil rights groups, left the scene ripe for the birth of new street gangs. Raymond Washington, a 15 year old Los

Angeles high school student, was too young to have been involved in the Black Panther Party, but he did absorb their rhetoric and radical ideas. He formed a quasi-political group based on the Black Panther Party called the Baby Avenues or the Avenue Cribs. Eventually, they just became "the Cribs" due to their youthfulness. The original purpose of the group was to continue the policies and keep alive the ideas of the Black Panther Party. However, with no older members, the group quickly turned into a criminal street gang, committing small times crimes such as thefts of bicycles and assaults. They did succeed in starting new trends in dress and style though. One of these, their trademark canes, may have given rise to the name "Crip." Some say that the original Cribs assaulted some elderly women who described them to police as being cripples because of their canes. Others say "Crip" is simply a bastardization of "Crib." Either way, they new gang was now the Crips and soon gave rise to a new ideal for ghetto kids; Crippin'.[14] Crippin' was essentially a catch-all name given to the lifestyle that glorifies the violence, territorial feuds and style of dress that were becoming commonplace, would be the new ideal for which black children would soon begin to strive.

As Simpson explains, "Crippin' ain't easy…You gotta stay down and represent to the fullest. You know what this means, cuz?... Means every member gotta fight, stab, shoot and whatever it takes to destroy the enemy. We're at war… They're trying to kill us. So we kill them first. It's them or us… Either you with it or you get got. And you can't be a buster."[15] Crippin' brought a whole new element to gangs and became a way of life. Those gang members who were most involved in Crippin' strived the most to emulate the style of the time, which included, most importantly, a black leather jacket. But how does an unemployed, poor,

ghetto kid get a leather jacket costing several hundred dollars? If you were a Crip, you took it. In 1972, within a few days of each other, Crip members beat to death a teenager and a 52 year old man, both for their leather jackets. These are thought to be the first Crip murders and propelled them to instant media infamy and ghetto superstardom. In short order, thousands upon thousands of black boys and teenagers in Los Angeles either joined the Crips or started their own gang to battle the Crips. These kids began to realize that by being a gang member they garnered power and respect. Crippin' began to catch on like wildfire. In the three years between 1969 when the first Crip gang formed and 1972, eight Crip gangs were created along with ten non-Crip gangs. In 1972, there were 29 gang related murders in the city of Los Angeles alone. By 1975 there were so many Crip gangs claiming so many members, that non-Crip gangs were being pushed out of their own neighborhoods and slaughtered. As a response, they banded together and created a new, larger gang to try to battle the Crips, beginning the Bloods and the infamous Crip-Blood feud.[16]

Throughout the rest of the 1970's and early 1980's, things remained basically unchanged. Crips fought Bloods, blue killed red, that's all there was to it. However, with the introduction of crack cocaine into the inner-cities in the early to mid 1980's, much changed. Crack cocaine was cheap to buy, highly addictive, and extremely profitable. The gangs began to change from neighborhood gangs with territorial rivalries to drug gangs fighting over drug turf, over who could sell where, when, and to whom. With the tremendous profits to be made, violence increased to a level never before seen. Lil' Ricc (sic), a former Gardena Paybacc (sic) Crip said, "I remember being in crack spots making, $2,000, $3,000 a day,

easily. That was like a slow day. It was motivating, nobody to report to. The financial gains brought by crack brought confusion to the city. Who was gonna sell where, when."[17] The enormous amounts of money suddenly flooding the streets distorted the rules and changed what had previously been a war between two sides. Now, Crips were killing Crips and Bloods were killing Bloods. Alex Alonso of *streetgangs.com* explains: "Crips who used to consider themselves brothers were fighting each other to control every square inch of South Central's drug trade. Outrageous profits began eating away at traditional loyalties."[18] The increase in drug proceeds caused a massive increase in inter-gang fighting which destroyed the one unified Crip gang and one unified Blood gang. In their places came scores of small Crip and Blood gangs who didn't necessarily hold any allegiance to other gangs of the same name. Detective Troy Banks of the Riverside Police Department's gang unit explains, "Each set has their own leaders, their own symbols and their own rules. The only thing they have in common is they are both called Crips or Bloods. It's kind of like Portland, Oregon and Portland, Maine. They don't have anything in common, they just happen to have the same name."[19]

Such a chaotic and disorganized state still defines black gangs in Los Angeles today. The gang members of today don't even know why they hate other gangs, they just do. The hatred began because of some long forgotten squabble, but continues on as brutally and aggressively as though whatever transgression started it happened yesterday. For example, the one square mile Casa Blanca neighborhood in Riverside, a suburb of Los Angeles where many Los Angeles gangs have taken root, has two different Casa Blanca gangs that have been

in a state of perpetual war since the 1950's. According to local legends and backed up by Detective Banks, one Casa Blanca set (or division of a larger gang, for instance, you might be from the Eight Trey Gangster Crips, Eight Trey Gangsters is your set of the Crip gang) beat a member of the other set so badly the man lived the rest of his life in a wheelchair. As retribution, a member of the offending side was shot and killed. Today, grandsons and nephews and children not even related and unaware of why, still hate, shoot at and kill other Casa Blanca gang members.[20] Another example is the story Steve Landesman tells in his article, *Nine Miles and Spreading,* about a Grape Street Crip named Pugh from the Jordan Downs housing project in Los Angeles. When Landesman asked Pugh why he harbored such a rabid hatred for the people of the Nickerson gardens housing projects, he didn't know. What he did know was this: "I wish I could just take a big-ass can of roach spray and spray it all over the whole place and kill everybody. Mamas, children and all. Fuck them and everything that can grow from there."[21]

The history of Hispanic gangs in Los Angeles is very similar to that of the black gangs and although there are separate lineages, so to speak, for black and Hispanic gangs, they both follow a similar path. Los Angeles has always been a city with a large Mexican and Mexican-American population. Most of these residents were what we now call "working class" or were simply poor. They were relegated to *barrios* (a Spanish term similar to a ghetto) and lived in neighborhoods that were almost one hundred percent Hispanic. As the population of Los Angeles grew, the *barrios* became more and more heavily populated and were constantly spreading into new areas. Just like with the black residents mentioned before, white Angelinos felt as if they were being over-run by Hispanics. In addition,

many whites saw Hispanic men as arrogant and cocky, mostly due to the machismo culture and their flashy "Zoot Suits," wide brimmed hats cocked to the side and long, dangling wallet chains. These Zoot-Suiters or *Pachucos* as they were known, were hard to miss. Because of their dress, they endured harassment at the hands of whites and at times were even assaulted. The most violent and well known of these episodes is the infamous Zoot Suit riot of 1943. Although racial tensions were high in Los Angeles during the 1940's, nothing of this magnitude had ever happened before.[22]

United States Navy and Marine Corps personnel stationed in and around Los Angeles had begun to clash with the *Pachucos,* saying their extravagant dress was unpatriotic during a time of war and rationing. As tensions came to a head, Zoot-Suit wearing *Pachucos* beat a group of U.S. Navy sailors, knocking one unconscious and breaking his jaw. Four days later, on June 3rd, 1943, white sailors and Marines began assaulting the Zoot-Suiters, ripping their clothes off and even raping some of their women. The first night, around 200 sailors and Marines hired taxis to take them into East Los Angeles where they repeatedly assaulted any and all Zoot-Suiters that they could find. Over the next few days, thousands of sailors and Marines participated in the attacks, even being assisted by the Los Angeles Police Department. Eventually, nearly 200 people were injured and 500 Hispanics were arrested on charges ranging from rioting to vagrancy. No sailors or Marines were arrested.[23]

Although Hispanic gangs had been forming in the *barrios* of Los Angeles since the 1920's, prior to World War II in general and the Zoot-Suit riots in particular, the gangs were little more than neighborhood kids giving themselves a name, committing petty crimes and or vandalism, and

occasionally fighting with another neighborhood - usually over "ownership" of turf, such as a park or over a girl. With the rapid rise in the Hispanic population and the increase of attacks on Hispanics, these adolescent neighborhood gangs began to become something else, something stronger, more violent, more aggressive, more criminal, and more organized. Just as the black gangs did, Hispanic gangs began to grow, both in membership and in the number of streets and neighborhoods each one claimed. These new gangs were extremely protective of their neighborhoods and would fight at the drop of a hat to keep all outsiders out; whites and blacks, as well as other Hispanics.[24]

The differences between the Hispanic gangs and the black gangs in the early days, between the 1940's and 1960's, was in the numbers of individual gangs and the organization of those gangs. Originally, there were only two powerful black gangs, the Crips and the Bloods. Hispanic gangs on the other hand, were organized by neighborhood and did not hold allegiances to one all powerful gang, such as the Crips or Bloods. Additionally, while younger black gang members looked up to, respected, and may have even idolized older members known as O.G.'s, or Original Gangsters, they did not necessarily have to take orders from them. Each gang member was more or less autonomous. Not so with the Hispanic gangs. In the Hispanic gangs there was and still is a strict hierarchy based on age and "work" put in for the gang. Similar to the structure of a major corporation, Hispanic gangs have leaders, high level managers, middle managers and front line workers. Peter Landesman explains, "The differences between black and Latino gangs are stark. And the black gang members I spoke with readily admit that the difference is fatal. Damien Hartfield,

the former Bounty Hunter Blood, explained, 'Blacks do what they want. When Latinos go gangbanging they have a solid plan. Blacks don't go to war like that. It's spontaneous. Something just happens. Latinos make a call, make a plan. They have a structure.'"[25]

In addition to the hierarchy of gang members within the Hispanic gang itself, a new power began to creep into the Los Angeles underworld in the 1960's. At its inception, the Mexican Mafia or *La Eme* as it is known, was formed strictly as a prison gang for Hispanics in the California prison system to band together. Just as it did in the *barrios*, forming on unified group would enable Hispanic inmates to have one voice and to be able to better protect themselves against other, already established prison gangs such as the Aryan Brotherhood and the Black Gorilla Family. However, as the Hispanic population of California surged, so did the Hispanic population of California's prisons. Before long, the Mexican Mafia was the strongest and most feared prison gang in the prison system. *La Eme* essentially ran the jails and prisons throughout the state. By controlling the drug trade inside the prisons, the Mexican Mafia became wealthy and powerful. They gained the power to have their bidding done in any prison or jail throughout California. When the original members of *La Eme* began to be released back into East Los Angeles, they realized they were the most respected, the most feared and the most powerful men on the streets of East Los Angeles. According to Chris Blatchford in *The Black hand: The Bloody Rise and Redemption of "Boxer" Rene Enriquez*: "The exploits of *Eme soldados* (soldiers) were almost mythical to young gang members in the *barrios*, jails and prison yards across the state."[26] They began to realize that by controlling the prisons and jails (which every gang member

eventually will have to live in at some point) they could also control the gangs on the streets.

Of "Boxer" Rene Enriquez, a founding member and the first leader of the Mexican Mafia, Chris Blatchford says, "Boxer found that his Mexican Mafia reputation was like a franchise. He said, 'Gang related drug dealers would use my name on the streets to deal and protect their interests under the specter of *La Eme*. And those dealers in turn always kicked back some of the profits to me.'"[27] Those profits totaled nearly $80,000 in a good year - all of this without lifting a finger, without selling a single penny worth of drugs, and all done from behind bars in maximum security in California's toughest and most secure prisons. However, "'It's not the money in your wallet,' he theorized. 'Your wealth is in the strength of your crews.' Power and influence were what he craved."[28] The Mexican Mafia grew powerful enough that they controlled all drug activity in East Los Angeles and eventually, all of Southern California. Today, all Hispanic gangs, known as "*Surenos*" or southerners, must pay a tribute or tax to the Mexican Mafia. *La Eme* has a "captain" for each city or county, depending on size, who is in contact with the leaders of each Hispanic gang, who are known as "*veteranos*" or veterans. Between them, they work out an amount to be paid to *La Eme* each month. Additionally, the gangs are "encouraged" to buy their drugs to be repackaged for sale from *La Eme* itself. In return, the gang is allowed to sell drugs in a certain area without interference from anybody else and when their members are inevitably sent to jail or prison they have the protection of *La Eme* and the rest of the *Surenos*. Whatever feuds may have been going on in the streets cease to exist inside the prison walls, as all Hispanic gang members under the control of the Mexican Mafia become known as *Surenos*. The strict

hierarchy within the Hispanic gangs and the control that the Mexican Mafia asserts over them both inside and outside of prison is unique to Hispanic gangs. While the Black Gorilla Family and the Aryan Brotherhood are also powerful inside the prisons and jails, their presence on the streets is miniscule compared to that of the Mexican Mafia.[29]

The drug trade is not the only source of power for gangs. Within neighborhoods, gangs create hierarchies and control territory to the extent that it often shapes the identities and loyalties of that neighborhood's residents in an almost feudal manner. In his article about the Watts neighborhood of Los Angeles entitled *Nine Miles and Spreading*, Peter Landesman explains:

> As in meiosis, L.A.'s bigger neighborhoods and their gangs will usually divide into sub-gangs, or cliques, focusing on cul-de-sacs and parking lots that are claimed as sovereign territory. Nickerson's Bounty Hunter Bloods street gang is split into at least a half dozen cliques around the numbered streets that cross the project (the Five-Line Bounty Hunters hang out on 115th Street, the Four-Lines on 114th Street, etc.). It doesn't matter that the demarcations separate people identical in race, class and marginality. The people identify with their shared piece of pavement.[30]

Sanyika Shakur, a former Crip, further explains: "Eightieth Street was just one street out of many that fell under our jurisdiction. The mechanics involved in taking a street, or territory, is not unlike any

attempt, I would assume, on behalf of Euro-Americans settlers. Send in a scout, have them meet the 'natives,' test their hostility level, military capabilities, needs, likes and dislikes. Once a military presence is established, in come the 'citizens'---in this case, gang members. Those who are not persuaded by our lofty presence will be persuaded by our military might. All who are of fighting age become conscripts. The set expands and so does our territory. Sometimes there is resistance, but most of the time our efforts are successful."[31] In this way, every square inch of the ghetto or *barrio* is claimed by one gang or another. Sometimes things shift on the periphery, but for the most part, the lines were drawn decades ago and don't shift much anymore. Shakur says, "That's why it's necessary to read the walls. Fuck street signs. Walls will tell you where you are."[32] Gang violence used to be about the taking of new turf and expanding your empire. Not so anymore.

Instead, today gangs and the gang lifestyle are about making money and getting respect, not necessarily in that order. Sanyika Shakur, argues that respect "…is the linchpin of relations between all people, but is magnified by thirty times in the ghettos and slums across America."[33] He continues, saying that seemingly innocuous accidents can be seen as signs of disrespect to gang members and in certain neighborhoods "…stepping on somebody's shoe was a capital offense, punishable by death."[34] Gang members are willing to fight and die for respect. Since respect is a commodity more precious than gold in gang infested neighborhoods, if you don't have it, you are a target for disrespect. Shakur further explains: "There is no gray area, no middle ground. You either banged or held strong associations with the gang or you were a victim, period."[35] In order to survive, boys do usually have to join a gang,

although there are different levels of gang membership, for lack of a better term. Colton "C-Loc" Simpson explains, "All gang members are gangsters, but not all gangsters are riders."[36] Steven Cureton, in his book *Hoover Crips: When Crippin' Becomes a Way of Life* says:

> According to Mann and Duck, there is a difference between gang members and gang bangers. Gang members don't necessarily participate in street crime and violence (put in work or bang) for the benefit of the gang, nor are the expected to… given their limited gang activity, gang members are not as highly regarded or respected as gang bangers. Once young boys decide to actively represent a hood or gang, then they are openly gang banging. Gang bangers are more obligate than gang members to participate in gang activity. Gang bangers are those individuals who voluntarily 'get down and dirty' for Hoover; they actively initiate and seek out confrontation in order to enhance their individual status and overall status of the gang. Gang bangers are the combatants, shooters and hell raisers.[37]

With this information one can begin to understand the forces that propel so many young boys into gang memberships. According to Riverside gang investigator Troy Banks, "If you ask ten different gang members why they joined, you'll get ten different answers."[38] While you may get ten

different answers from ten different people, all will have a familiar ring to them. For the vast majority of gang members, membership can be traced to one of three main causes; either the gang member was looking for something he didn't have at home, such as love, attention and belonging, he is looking to gain respect, power and or money or he has simply grown up in a gang infested environment and that is just how life is, joining a gang is just what he is supposed to do.

Many gang members come from homes where their parents paid them little attention and gave them little discipline. There are a variety of reasons for this; for some, drugs destroyed their parents and left the children alone, for others the parents tried to raise their children properly but had to work two or three jobs and were never home. Others had parents who simply didn't care. Their fathers were non-existent and their mothers brought different men in and out of the house all the time, often times resulting in long periods of daily domestic violence and beatings for both mother and child. Stanley "Tookie" Williams described his father as "…an unwelcome visitor who I watched carefully until he left the premises."[39] Colton "C-Loc" Simpson was raised similarly. His earliest memories were of a man beating his mother and then her turning on him (Colton) and his brother after the man had finished beating her. Simpson recounts one of these stories:

> She kicks the clothes on the floor. "Where's my keys? Why's this shit all over? You Goddamn kids." She slaps me. "No wonder Pete is always mad at me…It's you kids." She whacks me on my back and legs, her arms flailing in the air before her hand lands. The small slot

machine Pops gave me for Christmas sails at my head. I duck and it travels through the window. "See? Now I have to fix that fuckin' window"… She strikes my back and my ribs with the baseball bat and storms from the room… being alone is better.[40]

He goes on to describe what happened just two nights later when the man in question, Pete, finally returned after the last beating: "Two nights later I wake up to Pete yelling 'You fuckin' nigger! I'll kill you! I'll kill you, you fuckin' nigger!' I peer into my Mom's bedroom, her blouse is partly open. A family friend, Wilson, is behind her, his fingers on her shoulder."[41] Many gang members grow up in this culture of violence and learn that the way to express your feelings is through violence. Simpson talks about a time before he had learned this lesson and how he came to learn it:

> "So shut up punk ass! You ain't shit!" I can' let this insult ride. I gotta crush all threats. When I was six, at my father's house in Venice, a kid rammed me off my swing. I lay on the ground, gasping for air, then started screaming. Pops heard me, grabbed me under my arms till I faced him. "You gotta stand up for yourself. Don't ever let a man disrespect you. You fight till you knock him out or he gives… Now go over there and fight or you'll have to deal with me!"[42]

This instruction from his father coupled with the constant beatings and

violence at home led Simpson, just as it does many other gang members, to believe that not only is violence acceptable, but it is the proper way to handle a situation. After Simpson beat the boy in the story described above, his father congratulated him, told him he was proud of him and told him that that bully would no longer mess with him or anybody else. So not only did this six year old child's father force him to confront another child with violence, he actually congratulated him and told him it was the correct thing to do. Simpson explains: "I learned from the street culture that criminal activity was an economic necessity and violence a means to a desired end. Plain and simple, in my neighborhood if you wanted something you had to take it - then fight to keep it."[43] Growing up in a culture such as this, it is no wonder that gang members learn so young to be violent.

For other gang members, they weren't necessarily taught violence was acceptable by their parents, rather, they were not taught anything by their parents. As mentioned previously, some were simply absent, some drugged out of their minds and some were always at work. Whatever the reason, the outcome is the same: the child is left alone. When a child is left alone by his parents, he must look elsewhere to find the attention, love, affection and belonging that he should be getting at home. Since most gang members do not have jobs, they are always present in the neighborhood and act as role models for younger boys. The younger boys look up to these older gangsters, known as "O.G.'s." The Original Gangsters fill that void of love and belonging that is being created at home. Steven Cureton, in *Hoover Crips: When Crippin' Becomes a way of Life* states: "Fundamentally, Hoover (Crips) extends a strong arm of acceptance, understanding and openness that is consistent with black males'

needs."[44] The set or gang then becomes the young gang member's new family.

Donald Thurman further illustrates how over a short period of time the older gang members win the allegiance and loyalty of the younger kids:

> I wasn't getting anything at home. No food, no clothes, no rides to school, no attention, nothing. My Mom was never there and if she was, she was loaded. When I started hanging out with the older homeboys, they showed me love. They gave me clothes and brought me to their pads to eat. They gave me everything a parent is supposed to give a child, but mine never did. They became my providers, kind of like saviors in my eyes. Shit, I was nine or ten years old, miserable, depressed, these guys come in like knights in shining armor, showing me all the love in the world. After that, I would do anything for them. If they told me to take this dope over there, I'd do it. Steal this, I did it. Damn, if they told me to jump off a fuckin' building, I woulda' did it. Those guys were everything, my life, my family, I was hooked."[45]

Many gangs operate in just this fashion. Since there are so many poor kids that want and need so much, any little thing that an O.G. or a "big homeboy" gives to a child seems like a monumental occasion for that child. It's only a matter of time until

they become full blown gang members and "riders." According to Colton Simpson: "The set was my clearest vision of stability. Although *things* in the hood changed, the hood itself *never* changed… The set functioned as a religion. Nothing held a light to the power of the set. If you died on the trigger, you were definitely smiled upon by the Crip God."[46] Simpson goes on to say that when he was jumped into the Crips at ten years old, his first thought was "I finally belong somewhere."[47]

A central factor involved in children joining gangs, then, is money. Almost all gang bangers come from poor neighborhoods and have lived a life of want from their earliest moments. Originally, the modern gangs were about protecting their members and their neighborhoods. However, with the explosion of crack-cocaine in the 1980's, the gangs changed their priorities and making money became priority number one. Today, Hispanic gangs are very well organized, money making machines. While the black gangs in Los Angeles are not as well as organized, they too are making millions and millions of dollars selling drugs. With this money comes the power to buy whatever one wants. When a ten or twelve year old boy sees the "big homeys" walking around the neighborhood with the latest and greatest in clothing, jewelry, cars, stereos, women and anything else they want, the attraction is instantaneous and overwhelming. Colton Simpson recounts one particularly good week, "We split $179,000 between the four of us… It was more fun than Christmas. I buy a white Cadillac and a 1964 Chevy equipped with custom rims and hydraulics… I've done it. I'm totally equipped. Totally down. Fourteen years old and on the way to achieve my celebrity. Consumption and violence are my validation."[48]

Despite these perceived rewards, perhaps the biggest reason kids joins gangs is because they live in gang infested neighborhoods. Bobby Valdez, a former gang member, describes what it is like to grow up in a neighborhood dominated by gangs:

> Everybody is in gang. Not everybody is out actively bangin' all the time, but everybody is gang-related. I don't know why, it's just how it is. Some neighborhoods kids play cops and robbers and then go home when the street lights come on and eat dinner with their families. In other 'hoods, kids play cops and robbers for real, it's just what we do. The O.G.'s pressure the teenagers, the teenagers pressure the youngsters. Eventually everybody is gang-related. You have to be, if you aren't you're fucked, you're gonna have it tough. You'll get no respect and have a target on you forever.[49]

In the types of neighborhoods Valdez is describing above, social pressure compels residents to join a gang. As discussed earlier, just because you are a gang member doesn't mean you are actively out committing crimes daily, but it is tied to status and if one of the "riders" or "bangers" asks for help with something, even the casual gang member better be ready to help or be ready to face retribution. In some neighborhoods the gang problem is so bad and the gang itself so powerful, the gang controls who can and cannot live in government housing. Civil rights attorney Connie Rice explains, "If you want to live in Jordan Downs you do not ask the housing authority or the city for permission, you ask the Grape Street gang [...] When Latino

families call the housing authorities to complain, the staff, the housing authorities call the Grape Street Crips."[50] Peter Landesman relates an encounter with a young woman who grew up in a gang controlled neighborhood:

> A young woman named Daisy who grew up in Watts told me, "I don't have words to describe what it's like to live among the gangs. There was automatic gunfire every day. We never went out. I left for school no later than 6:40 so I didn't interact with or see anyone. Even the high school kids were gangbangers. After school you came home and locked your doors and locked your windows and entertained yourself inside the house. I spent my childhood washing clothes, cleaning and doing homework." On New Year's Eve so much automatic weapons fire pours into Watts' airspace that LAX air traffic control must divert the flight path of incoming planes. The U.S. military sends its medics to train at local trauma hospitals because the conditions in their trauma units so resemble live warfare.[51]

Many children in gang ridden neighborhoods eventually begin to buy into the gangster lifestyle or the gangster mentality whole heartedly. These are the ones who go from gang member to gang banger and eventually will recruit younger members in the future. Cureton states:

"Essentially, the gang is the strongest force in a gang controlled neighborhood…and is an instrumental component to the transition to manhood in a gang controlled neighborhood… Hoover affords the opportunity to live as respectable men and in the event of a gang related death, the opportunity for revenge."[52] "Boxer" Rene Enriquez was thrilled that the Mexican Mafia asked him to kill another inmate for them: "I was honored that I was picked for the mission and exhilarated by the immediate recognition I received on the yard as a 'big homeboy.' It felt good. It felt like winning a schoolyard fight magnified one hundred times. Ya, it felt good."[53] He was even more excited when invited to become a "Carnal" or brother, in the Mexican Mafia. He explained, "I felt like I had just won a gold medal at the Olympics. I had - in my mind - arrived, reached a pinnacle of my life. I was now a Mafioso."[54]

In neighborhoods where respect is more precious than life, the only way to earn respect is to be a full blown gang banger and to be "put in work." Detective troy Banks explains that: "'Putting in work' just means basically committing crimes. It can be anything from delivering or selling drugs, disposing of a gun, stealing a car, assaulting somebody or even killing somebody. Anything you do in furtherance of the gang is considered 'putting in work.'"[55] Moreover, the more work a member puts in, the more respect he gets and the higher his position in the gang hierarchy becomes. The higher his position in the gang, the more power, control, money and respect he gets. According to Cureton: "Hoover's message that males will be better off with the gang because it will help establish respectable manhood entices many boys to become members."[56] In addition, Cureton says:

…since young boys remain confined to the neighborhood and don't see themselves as ever leaving, they quickly subscribe to the gangster lifestyle… In an environment consumed by deprivation, young boys endeavor to become ghetto superstars (neighborhood celebrities). In other words, ghetto confined black males want to be respected by peers and feared by enemies, to acquire enough money for shelter, cars and clothing, to fulfill family obligations and to attract women. In order to achieve ghetto superstardom, males must participate in the game…[57]

One must wonder, is there any hope for these kids? Do they even want to stop this? Obviously, some don't, but some do. According to Detective Banks, the best way to prevent children from joining gangs is by simply giving them something else to do in order to keep them off the streets. He says that if kids hang out on the streets with nothing to do, eventually the gang members will find them and lure them in. Many see no other way to go, so they join and once they join, it is almost impossible to get them to leave the gang. So the trick is to get them off of the streets and into community centers or after school programs. Detective Banks theorizes that if you can show these children that there is an alternative to the gangs, they may be able to stay out of them and make something of themselves. But, if they do become ensnared by the gangs, it is extremely difficult to get them to let go of the fun, power, respect, money and women that come along with the gangster lifestyle. Grape Street Crip Ronnie Pugh tells Peter

Landesman, "I love this right here. I love this life. I can't even see myself abandoning this. I don't care if I got money, or work Monday through Friday. I just go shoot a motherfucker on the weekends. If that's what need to be done to keep my hood and my young ones around here safe, then that's what get done."[58]

The answer to the question of what to do about gangs is a tough one. There have been hundreds of ideas tried and theories tested. Some have worked to a certain degree, others failed miserably. Overall, what needs to change is the entire culture in the gang controlled neighborhoods. As long as children are left without parental supervision and affection, whatever the reasons, they will develop a deep seeded sense of abandonment and a strong desire for belonging. In addition, children always want to have whatever toy or fashion accessory is in style at the moment. Many parents in gang infested neighborhoods have trouble trying to afford basic necessities, so there is rarely anything left over to spend on toys or two hundred dollar shoes. Unfortunately, children are extremely existential and rarely are able to think past the moment. They need to belong to something, they need love and attention and they want a new cell phone or new jeans now. The gangs promise all the things kids want and need. Not only do the "big homeys" provide the male role models that so many children don't have, but the gang as a whole provides a sense of belonging for these children. To add the proverbial cherry on top, with the quick and easy money that is to be made selling drugs or stealing cars, the "big homeys" can freely give children food or clothing they may need, as well as electronics, toys and other things they want. All of this combines to make a recruiting package the military could only dream of.

Regrettably though, there is a dark side to all of this money, power and respect.

A gang member in his mid-twenties is considered an "Original Gangster" and most gangs let members "retire," so to speak, at thirty.[59] Being allowed to "retire" at 30 years old goes to show just what an accomplishment it is for a gang member to still be alive and not incarcerated at thirty years old. When other people are just beginning their lives, starting careers, getting married and having kids, gang members are old and retired. Through all of the violence, tragedy, fear, heartache and incarceration, many gang members refuse to let go of the life. Peter Landesman gave gang members this choice:

> I asked De'Andre Perry what he'd do if someone gave him a one-way ticket out of Watts and enough money to start a new life. He paused and looked around at the desolate buildings. "I am not going to die for these bricks," he said. But the gang was more state-of-mind than geography. "Wherever you put me I am still going to be me. I am still going to have Bounty Hunters on my arm, embedded in my brain. Wherever you put me I am going to be hood. Wherever I am at, I am going to make it my hood." I asked Andre the same thing. "You can remove your tattoos, disassociate yourself," he replied. "But the only thing that everybody knows about you is you are from Bounty Hunters. And the only way out of it is just death."[60]

According to most gang members the chances that the situation improves are not very good. Colton "C-Loc" Simpson says, "The notion of the 'war on gangs' being successful is as likely as The People's Republic of China telling Americans to stop being Americans."[61] Additionally, Simpson, referring to his best friend, says: "Lil' Crazy De for example, has been wounded thirteen separate times and is still committed to the hood. He is loved by few, hated by many, but respected by all."[62]

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"Skikata Ga Nai" or "Wash-sho! Wash-sho!": Compliance and Resistance to Japanese Internment During the Second World War

By Yvonne L. England

After the 'surprise attack' by the Japanese on Pearl Harbor on December 7th, 1941 over 110,000 people of Japanese descent living on the West Coast of the United States, two-thirds of whom were American citizens, were forcibly relocated into internment camps scattered around the western United States due to a projected fear that members of this minority group might "enlist as spies or saboteurs for the enemy."[i] With Executive Order 9066 President Franklin D. Roosevelt allowed the U.S. military to roundup and relocate Japanese-American residents from California, Oregon, Washington, Hawaii, and a few other states; race alone determined relocation. After the attack, internment of this group was viewed as a wartime necessity, and many people acceptingly left their lives and possessions behind. Many saw relocation as their contribution to the war effort while others thought that internment was a patriotic sacrifice. Thus, by accepting the camps and willingly relocating they were showing their "Americanness."

At the time, and even now, many Japanese individuals did not oppose the camps. Both first generation (Issei) and second generation (Nisei) Japanese went into the situation with some trepidation, but after grasping their surroundings and getting accustomed to a new way of living, many were not upset, but rather content with the camps. Many had their families, work, school, and recreation (essentially everything they needed to live) and felt as if they were doing their part to help America. However, there were a number of people who did resist the camps. Some refused to go initially and were imprisoned, but mostly others began to resist after living in the camps for some time and feeling outrage at certain elements of their incarceration. While one might expect generational differences in reactions to internment to dominate, the greatest difference between the relocated persons was not in generation, but in attitude—namely compliant and resistant. Those who were compliant with incarceration remember the camps as pleasant—they lived without challenging their military caretakers, and attempted life with as much normalcy as possible until the camps were terminated. Those who resisted remember the harassment, violence, and racism that occurred inside and outside the camps.

Initially after the attack on Pearl Harbor—politically labeled a surprise—anti-Japanese sentiment became exacerbated. Many non-Japanese Americans, especially in the western states, feared sabotage from the Japanese people living around them. However, this anti-Japanese sentiment did not originate with the attack on December 7th. It was, in fact, an attitude that many non-Japanese Americans carried and was often expressed through earlier racially based legislation. For example, the Oriental Exclusion Act of 1924 stopped the flow of immigrants from Asian countries and

resulted in other Anti-Alien Land Laws, "which prohibited 'aliens ineligible for naturalization' from owning or operating real estate...No Issei could now legally own his home, his farm, hotel, grocery store, or business establishment."[ii] These laws legitimized racism toward the Japanese minority group—which was later strengthened by government mandated internment. It also made it impossible for Issei leaving the concentration camps to return to their previous lives; nothing remained because they had no legal claim on their property.

With legal and cultural precedent for racism against people of Japanese descent, pejorative words, phrases, and images began to surface after the attack on Pearl Harbor. For example, the word "Jap" became common language for describing American citizens, Japanese immigrants, and the Japanese enemy equally. Gene Oishi describes in a *Newsweek* article what it was like being reduced to the equivalent of the enemy with this word: "To white Americans, Japanese-Americans became simple 'Japs,' with all the cunning and treachery attributed to the enemy in the Pacific."[iii] Eliminating the distinction between the Japanese residing in America and those in Japan turned many American citizens, as well as and men and women living in and dedicated to this country into the enemy. Because of this obscured perspective, Japanese-Americans were seen as a potential threat and were no longer welcome to participate in society. This racist sentiment is what made mass-relocation possible. This sentiment was not present all across the United States, nor was it the point of view for every West Coast resident; nevertheless, it was strongest in the western states, which resulted in the U.S. government asking, and eventually forcing, the Japanese from those states to relocate. Miné Okubo, a Japanese-American author,

relates in her book that "[on] the West Coast there was a lot of talk of possible sabotage and invasion by the enemy. It was 'Jap' this and 'Jap' that."[iv] Such language and hostility is a possible reason so many Japanese were willing to relocate and prove that they were not the enemy, but rather that they were Americans. Japanese-Americans did not want to be perceived as a threat so many went into the concentration camps without resistance.

Initially evacuation was voluntary, but a few people were forcibly detained very quickly after the attack. In an interview, Katsuma Mukaeda, a first generation Japanese man who had an import-export business between the United States and Japan and who was also heavily involved in Japanese-American civic groups, tells of how he was picked up late December 7th and taken into custody in the Los Angeles, California Police Station without being told what the charges were against him. He states: "I was thrown into jail there. They asked for my name and then whether I was connected with the Japanese Consulate. That was all that occurred that night."[v] During the first night of his arrest he was only asked two questions. Later in the interview Mukaeda claims that weeks went by during his detention before the process of questioning continued, but he also says that his incarceration was very comfortable and that he was treated well: "We didn't have many complaints…They didn't have a single bit of trouble."[vi] Instead of being appalled at his unnecessary arrest and feeling resentment towards the guards watching over him along with the other six hundred people held in the camp, he remembers his time there as pleasant and he remembers being on good terms with the other detainees and the guards. He was taken away from family and his career, but he complied—possibly feeling that he was going his civic duty during a time of war.

During Mukaeda's incarceration, trouble did arise in the camp between an inspector and some Japanese men when the inspector was found physically abusing some of the detainees, but Mukaeda describes it as the result of a "grudge" instead of racism. In 1975, when the interview was conducted, Mukaeda was not upset by his internment. The prejudiced treatment he received did not scar his attitude toward America. "I trusted the American people, even though they didn't give us American citizenship…I have no complaints whatsoever and I became an American citizen in May 1953," explained Mukaeda.[vii] Even after an unwarranted arrest and months of incarceration due to racist suspicions suggesting that he might have been a spy or saboteur, Mukaeda was not and never became upset. He spent his time in the camps and then continued on to lead a successful life. The connection he had with the American concentration camps did not deter him from continuing in the effort to gain American citizenship.

Eventually, evacuation became a mandatory order. Not only were certain people detained whom the military classified as high-risk, but soon all Japanese people were forced to relocate themselves into concentration camps across the western states. Writer Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston recalls in her book, *Farewell to Manzanar,* the attitude that her mother exuded in the days leading up to relocation. A common Japanese phrase she remembers hearing from her mother was "Shikata ga nai," which can translate into "It cannot be helped" or "It must be done."[viii] Her mother was upset, but she also felt as if nothing could be done to prevent the relocation. Houston also recalls the hostility she and her family received from white Americans after the attack on Pearl Harbor. Up until that point in her life, she had never felt such

enmity, but in recalling this period, she does not show resentment towards the white Americans. In her book she states, "Looking back, it is easy enough to explain. Public attitudes toward the Japanese in California shifted rapidly…Tolerance had turned to distrust and irrational fear."[ix] For her, the attitudes that white Americans gained after the attack was justifiable. She understands that Americans had been attacked and that they were allowed to feel distrust toward the minority group, but in doing this she also establishes a barrier between herself and white America as if she were not also an American, which validates incarceration as a constructive solution to fear. She does not recall the memory with disgust or anger even though as an American citizen she and many other people were detained only on the basis of race. Like Houston, many Japanese people, both Issei and Nisei, at the time of incarceration and in the present, share this casual attitude, which shows they were participating in what historian Emily Rosenberg calls the 'compliant' or 'model minority' narrative of internment.

Rosenberg discusses this compliant mode of dealing with relocation as a behavior, which stresses pride in being an American; this attitude includes the many individuals who participated in internment during WWII but were not actually citizens of the United States. She also states that compliance suggests a type of loyalty to America. "It also emphasized patriotism and support for the war in its many forms—from being peacefully relocated in camps to volunteering to fight."[x] By not resisting relocation, Issei and Nisei Japanese were attempting to show themselves as unthreatening and therefore American, or worthy of becoming American. With this compliant attitude, the Japanese hoped that, after their incarceration ended, they would be welcomed back into society since they

had done their time in the camps and had proven their patriotism to the rest of America—or at least to the West Coast.

One element of relocation that was especially difficult for Issei as opposed to Nisei was leaving behind the life that they had worked hard to establish since their arrival in the United States because they had no legal claim on any of their homes, jobs, or property due to the Anti-Alien land laws. Within a few days or weeks whole families had to pack up, find storage or loyal friends to guard their possessions, and move miles away from home into a territory that was wholly unfamiliar to them. Many Issei women had to accomplish this task alone since the government had imprisoned their husbands in camps even farther away. This division was the case for Houston and her family. Her father had already been incarcerated when the government mandated that all Japanese people living on the West Coast—regardless of age or sex—had to relocate themselves into camps. Houston remembers her mother's anxiety during situation. Due to time constraints and limited storage space her mother had to leave many of the family's belongings behind or attempt to sell them. One item Houston remembers in particular was her mother's valuable blue and white porcelain china set. After being offered only fifteen dollars for the full set her mother proceeded to break each piece right in front of the dealer. "Mama took out another dinner plate and hurled it at the floor, then another and another, never moving, never opening her mouth, just quivering and glaring at the retreating dealer, with tears streaming down her cheeks."[xi] This event shows the frustration, anger, and sadness that many Issei people felt at the time. The Issei felt that they were being victimized and felt as if they could do nothing about it. Instead of rising up against the forces that were demanding internment, which would have

inevitably brought imprisonment or deportation, the Issei did what they could and resisted and express frustration with the situation when possible. In this one case, Houston's mother broke one of her most prized possessions instead of selling it to an opportunist. She felt as if internment was something that could not be helped, but she could control the situation with her china.

The move to the camps was hard for many people, but settling into the camps was harder. Over 110,000 people moved into ten official Wartime Relocation camps mostly located in western states, but a few as far away as Arkansas. For the younger generations, the camps seemed like an adventure, but for others it was trying and demoralizing. Houston writes that she found the Manzanar camp interesting, like many other young detainees, but after internment, Houston became more aware of how trying the camp was to the older generations. In her book she notes that her father's life ended in Manzanar while hers was just beginning: "He didn't die there, but things finished for him there, whereas for me it was like a birthplace."[xii] In the camp, her father's spirit was crushed. The whole event set him back in life, but it set Houston free. She remembers the camp as a place where she was able to grow into herself. She continued to advance her education and make friends, but her father's career, home, and essentially his entire life came to a sudden halt due do to the inherent debasement he felt in his surroundings and situation.

One element of the camps that made them so difficult to deal with was the structure of their living quarters. The camps were often makeshift barracks converted from racetracks and horse stalls. Also, they were in climates that were completely foreign to many of the internees. These people went from living in a home to living in a cramped space that had often previously housed animals. Miné Okubo recalls: "The

place was in semidarkness; light barely came through the dirty window on either side of the entrance. A swinging half-door divided the 20 by 9 ft. stall into two rooms… The rear room had housed the horse and the front room the fodder."[xiii] Initially the conditions were terrible for the internees; camps were prepared so quickly that they were often incomplete. The people incarcerated there, along with those forcing the incarceration, had to continue building the relocation centers as people poured into the camps—usually hundreds a day.[xiv] In a way this constant construction work was positive for the Japanese people stationed in the camps because it gave them something to do to keep their minds off of their incarceration.

Once the people had settled into the camps, life began to pick up. It was still a life with limited freedom, and a home away from home surrounded by barbed wire and military guards, but some sense of normalcy developed. Schools soon opened for children as well as adults. The schools for children mirrored a typical preschool or elementary school system, but the adult system offered "classes in Americanization, history, sewing, art, and music."[xv] The idea was to teach Japanese people how to be American so that when internment ended they would be able to successfully assimilate into American society. Job opportunities soon presented themselves in the camps as well. This was incredibly important because idleness due to inactivity and depression was a threat for many Japanese. Okubo recounts that "[a]lthough idleness is a trait which the Japanese ordinarily will not tolerate, as the result of the demoralizing effect of the center life we saw men lying around asleep in unusual places."[xvi] With all the anxiety surround the camps, schools and employment helped make the camps livable. Soon recreation centers became available as

well, which further helped alleviate stress and depression for the internees.

After settling in the camps and bringing them to a livable state it was often the case that another relocation episode was right around the corner. Once more permanent camps became available, the temporary ones shut down and people had to pack up, relocate, and experience life in a new camp all over again. This type of transfer was difficult for many people. Okubo remembers it as a nightmare that was full of discomforts, but nothing unforgivable—and in fact the second forced relocation was very forgivable once she received a box of fresh citrus fruits from the guards at the camp.[xvii] Even though she had to live through another entry into a relocation camp she did not hold a grudge. With a simple act of kindness—fresh fruit after a long train ride—she was able to overlook her discomforts. Others were less forgiving.

Those internees who did not forgive the government for such demeaning treatment are the ones Rosenberg places in the resistant group. These people rejected the binary choice between being Japanese and being American that the U.S. government forced upon them.[xviii] Their resistance surfaced after being asked to fill out a questionnaire called the Loyalty Oath. Everyone had to fill out some variety of the form, but it was mainly directed at young Japanese males. Rosenberg explains that the government asked the Nisei males to choose between their 'Japaneseness' and their 'Americanness' through the questionnaire—especially the last two questions:

> Number 27 asked: 'Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United
> States on combat duty, wherever ordered?' Number 28 asked: 'Will

you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any or all attacks by foreign or domestic forces, and foreswear any form of allegiance to the Japanese emperor, or any other foreign government, power, or organization?'[xix]

Many felt that the U. S. government had crossed the line by asking such blatantly ethnic-specific questions. This was the ultimate insult. These men and women had relocated by order of the U.S. government and now that same government was asking them to swear their undivided allegiance to a country which had only offered racism and discrimination. What complicated matters more was that the government was also asking for volunteers for the military with the questionnaire. If the Nisei answered "Yes-Yes" to both questions then they were accepted into a special unit in the military. If they answer "No-No" then they faced the threat of further imprisonment and potential deportation.

Those who answered "No-No" were relocated to the Tule Lake relocation center in northern California. In an article, Rosalie H. Wax explains that "49 per cent of the male citizens [Nisei] and 42 percent of the Issei refused to answer or gave non-affirmative responses."[xx] These people were packed up, relocated, and pronounced disloyal to America. Of all the other camps that the Japanese had to live in during the war, Tule Lake was very different. Once designated as the camp for the disloyal—despite the fact that thousands of loyal Japanese resided there—violence and aggression dominated the scene almost immediately. Within a few weeks there was a car accident in which twenty-nine farm workers were injured—six of whom had serious injuries.[xxi] This incident resulted in a

farmers' strike and conditions in the camp became terrible. "A young Nisei girl said: 'I just thought "What's the camp coming to?" …Oh, it was a miserable life.'"[xxii] With the camp under such conditions, people remember it like it was a nightmare. The military had to be brought in due to the strike and people began to feel like prisoners. There was also an incident between a U.S. soldier and a Japanese man. The soldier shot the man while reportedly saying, "'You Japs and your WRA [Wartime Relocation Authority] friends are trying to run the whole camp.'"[xxiii] After this event other murders and attacks took place within the camp. Unlike the other camps where life was at least tolerable, at Tule Lake people were living under critical conditions.

With the Tule Lake camp still under a farmers' strike chaos ensued. Not only was there resentment between the Japanese and their military overseers, but bitterness and hatred also began to grow between the Japanese themselves. Those who voted to eventually end the strike were labeled "inu"—informers or dogs—because there were still men confined within the camp for their actions concerning the strike.[xxiv] Such divisiveness contributed to the harsh conditions of the camp and eventually led to an underground group who called themselves the Resegregationists—since as disloyal Japanese detainees in Tule Lake were called segragants. The Resegregationists represented a resistant group among the Japanese internees. They opposed the forced relocation, the inu, and even the thought of remaining in America.[xxv] This group wanted to leave the United States due to the harsh and severe treatment the Japanese received after the attack on Pearl Harbor; they felt betrayed. Quickly, the Resegregationists began giving lectures on how to be useful Japanese citizens and formed the Sokoku Kenkye

Seinendan—or the Young Men's Association for the Study of the Mother Country.[xxvi] Many Tule Lake residents remember them marching around in the early mornings wearing sweatshirts with the Japanese symbol of a rising sun chanting "Wash-sho! Wash-sho!" meaning "Hip! Hip!"—signifying a type of resistance on their part toward America and incarceration.[xxvii]

This group directly opposed Japanese internment during WWII. They wanted to prove to Americans as well as the "inu" inside the camp that they were not apart of the compliant group. They did not represent the enemy, but since they had been treated like one for so long they decided to distinguish themselves from the others within the camp. This group also greatly opposed the military questionnaire and the resulting "disloyal" label they acquired after answering "No-No." They had been treated as non-American through forced relocation that they were upset with this country and, for a period of time, wanted to leave it.

In January of 1945, the Japanese Exclusion Order was rescinded and internees were free to leave. Eventually, the Resegregationists withdrew their plea to return to Japan and continued with their lives outside of the camps in America. At last the camps were set to close and people began to make their way back to their old lives. Here, however, there was a difference between the generations in terms of reintegration into American society. Nisei, those old enough to live on their own or have their own families, were the first to leave. They were optimistic about returning home and their futures outside the camps. Okubo recounts her departure on the last page of her book: "I relived momentarily the sorrows and the joys of my whole evacuation experience, until the barracks faded away into the distance. There was

only the desert now. My thoughts shifted from the past to the future."[xxviii] Here, she does not dwell on her time in the camp; instead she thinks about the possibilities outside the camp. Rather than being a large blemish in her past, internment was only a momentary period of sorrow, but also a period of joy.

For the Issei, reintegration was not as easy as it was for the Nisei. Houston remembers her family reacting to the news of freedom in a slightly different way than the Nisei. Instead of being overjoyed they were worried. Even after the years in the camps she remembers still having faith in the outside world, but her parents did not. Due to incarceration in the camps her father no longer had a home or a job to return to. She sensed his trepidation: "He was too old to start over, too afraid of rejection in an unknown part of the world, too stubborn and too tired to travel [to Japan], and finally too proud to do piecework on an assembly line…The truth was, at this point Papa did not know which way to turn."[xxix] Everything was uncertain. Houston remembers staying in the camps for quite some times before returning home to California. Once there, she made an attempt at assimilation and was successful. Her father, on the other hand, was not. He continued to live in the past by focusing on Manzanar and was unable to find a productive, respectable job. She notes that because of his failure after internment she began to lose respect for him: "I was ashamed of him for [staying home all day] and, in a deeper way, for being what had led to our imprisonment, that is, for being so unalterably Japanese."[xxx] Because her father was unsuccessful she related his failure, along with any other negative trait, to his Japanese background. Because of this she pushed herself toward assimilating into American culture.

Not until later in her life when Houston revisited Manzanar with her husband and children did the real meaning of the camps sink in—racism and darkness in this nation's past. Upon seeing the camp with her new family, a solemnity surrounded her. Upon looking at a memorial to the dead she felt the presence of those who died within the camps. Houston recalls, "I also felt the spiritual presence that always lingers near awesome wonders...Then, as if rising from the ground around us on the valley floor, I began to hear the first whispers, and nearly inaudible, from those thousands who once had lived out hear, a wide, windy sound of the ghost of that life."[xxxi] After seeing the camp from an adult perspective, she was able to connect to the seriousness of the past. She needed to hear the whispers of those who died inside of the camps, both from old age and sickness as well as those like her father whose spirits died inside the camp, to fully grasp the meaning of Japanese internment and to be able to move on.

Other U.S. citizens are less able to accept the camps as simply a blemish in this country's past. Roger Daniels, in an essay titled "Incarceration of the Japanese Americans: A Sixty-Year Perspective" feels anger and warns that something like the camps—relocation or detainment based solely on racism—could happen again. He does not call this period in history internment. Instead, he narrows it down to its fundamental truth. He labels it "incarceration" since it was not based on any crimes the Japanese committed, but instead on "birth or ancestry plus—and this is important—where they happened to be living in March 1942."[xxxii] He thinks that the rounding up of Japanese during WWII was a type of imprisonment even though the Japanese residing in America had done nothing wrong. Race alone set off a flood of events that eventually led to the United States apologizing for the wartime exile in 1988 and offering compensation for economic losses.[xxxiii]

Rosenberg states that internment of the Japanese was practically forgotten in collective memory of the United States until the Nisei and Sansei, or third generation Japanese Americans, revived the event by demanding civil rights in the 1960s. She states that they "were coming of age and had the distance, time, and English-language stills to reflect on internment and on the reactions of their parents and grandparents…the Sansei became angry and resistant to the compliant history that they saw written and remembered."[xxxiv] By fighting for civil rights and asserting their position in American society, the Nisei and Sansei generations established the internment experience—or the incarceration as Daniels claims—as a mistake by the United States. Even though the American concentration camps were relatively humane and at times pleasant, they mark a period dominated by racism and hysteria that is often troubling in Japanese-American pasts.

The year 1942 marks a bleak time in America for Japanese individuals. After the attack on Pearl Harbor, over 110,000 Japanese-American people were sent away to live in bare, military-guarded camps for years due to their race and ancestral background. Many do not remember life within the camps as being wholly bad, but rather "Shikata ga nai," something that could not have been helped. They did experience some unhappiness and the transition was difficult, but there were also times of joy. However, upon reflection, many Nisei now see the camps differently than they did while interned. They see the depressing nature of internment and the racism that created it. Kitagawa explains in his book that internment was a period of suffering for the Japanese and that the process was demoralizing as a whole: "The

mass evacuation and forced internment of people of Japanese descent, while intending to solve a problem, in reality created a series of new problems that was much worse."[xxxv] Many other internees felt this negativity at the time of their internment and resisted rather than accepting it as something that could not be helped. Those who resisted were labeled as disloyal to this country and resented their internment and everything associated with it. These two ways of viewing interment (compliant and resistant narratives) are both valid ways of dealing with such hardship—one showing patriotism while the other resists unfair treatment—however the racial policies of the U.S. government did not protect Americans, but rather exacerbated tensions that already existed. Moreover, by ignoring these and other racially based policies it will only allow similar problems to occur—as Daniels suggests. Therefore, through the resistance of the "No-No" internees and the Nisei and Sansei generations calls for civil rights in the 1960s, Americans should view this period of our nation's past as a mistake marked by hysteria and call out "Wash-sho! Wash-sho" so that these events can stay in our memories and never repeated.

Notes

[i] Rosenberg, Emily. A Date Which Will Live: Pearl Harbor in American Memory. Durham: Duke, 2003. p.141.

[ii] Kitagawa, Daisuke. *Issei and Nisei: The Internment Years.* New York, Seabury, 1967. p.9.

[iii] Oishi, Gene. "Our Neighbors Called us 'Japs': A Japanese American's Mixed Feelings on Celebrating Pearl Harbour." *Newsweek.* Nov 25, 1991.

[iv] Okubo, Miné. *Citizen 13660.* Seattle: University of Washington, 1983. p.10.

[v] Mukaeda, Katsuma. Interview with Paul F. Clark. May 22, 1975. *Japanese American World War II Evacuation Oral History Project. Part I: Internees.* Ed. Arthur A. Hansen. Westport: Meckler, 1991.

[vi] Ibid.

[vii] Ibid.

[viii] Wakatsuki Houston, Jeanne and James D. Houston. *Farewell to Manzanar.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973. p.14

[ix] Ibid. p.14-15.

[x] Rosenberg, Emily. *A Date Which Will Live: Pearl Harbor in American Memory.* Durham: Duke, 2003. p.143.

[xi] Wakatsuki Houston, Jeanne and James D. Houston. *Farewell to Manzanar.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973. p.13.

[xii] Ibid. p.41.

[xiii] Okubo, Miné. *Citizen 13660.* Seattle: University of Washington, 1983. p.35.

[xiv] Ibid. p.37.

[xv] Ibid. p.92.

[xvi] Ibid. p.96.

[xvii] Ibid. p.118.

[xviii] Rosenberg, Emily. *A Date Which Will Live: Pearl Harbor in American Memory.* Durham: Duke, 2003. p.147.

[xix] Ibid. p.144.

[xx] Wax, Rosalie H. "In and Out of the Tule Lake Segregation Center: Japanese Internment in the West, 1942-1945." *Montana: The Magazine of Western History.* Bol. 37, No. 2. Spring 1987. p.16.

[xxi] Ibid. p.16-17.

[xxii] Ibid. p.18.

[xxiii] Ibid. p.20.

[xxiv] Ibid. p.18.

[xxv] Ibid. p.19.

[xxvi] Ibid. p.22.

[xxvii] Ibid. p.22-3.

[xxviii] Okubo, Miné. *Citizen 13660.* Seattle: University of Washington, 1983. p.209.

[xxix] Wakatsuki Houston, Jeanne and James D. Houston. *Farewell to Manzanar.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973. p.114.

[xxx] Ibid. p.144.

[xxxi] Ibid. p.165.

[xxxii xxxii] Daniels, Roger. "Incarceration of the Japanese Americans: A Sixty-Year Perspective" *The History Teacher*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (May, 2002), pp. 297-310. p.301.

[xxxiii] Ibid. p.306.

[xxxiv] Ibid. p.148.

[xxxv] Kitagawa, Daisuke. *Issei and Nisei: The Internment Years.* New York, Seabury, 1967. p.169.

The Question of Social and Legal Discontinuity: Homosexuality, Religion, Society, and Roman Law in the Imperial Constitutions of 341-2 and 390

By Christopher Derek Records

> 3. Emperors Constantius and Constans Augustuses to the People. When a man "marries" in the manner of a woman, a "woman" about to renounce men, what does he wish, when sex has lost its significance; when the crime is one which it is not profitable to know; when Venus is changed into another form; when love is sought and not found? We order the statutes to arise, the laws to be armed with an avenging sword, and that those infamous persons who are now, or who hereafter may be, guilty may be subjected to exquisite punishment.[1]
>
> - Imperial constitution of 341-2 in *The Theodosian Code*

The problem of ascertaining the legal place of sexual behaviors in late antiquity involves complex questions of religion and society, as well as of the law. This is especially true as regards those sexual acts that became subject in late antiquity to legal proscriptions and to religious and social sanctions. The legal place of those sexual relationships that we can retroactively call "homosexual" provides a key example of this.[2] In late antiquity, such relationships and their place in the law came into an intense religious and social discussion.

This paper will look at the place of male "homosexual" relationships and behaviors in the laws of the later Roman Empire and the interaction of those laws with social attitudes, focusing particularly on the 4th century. It will examine the interactions of 4th century legal documents with evidence of earlier Roman traditions and with some theological sources. It will do this in order to advance the argument that the rise of imperial Christianity in the 4th century was not the cause of legal proscriptions banning "homosexual" behaviors, and that it is more correct to ascribe an increasing intolerance of "homosexual" individuals and behaviors to the influence of common moral attitudes that were shared both by Christian and non-Christian individuals in late Roman society. Furthermore, it will advance the argument that one can see the roots of laws proscribing various homosexual behaviors prior to the rise of an official Roman Christianity. Finally, it will conclude that the 4th century did not, in fact, see a penalization of all homosexual behaviors and will place the timing of a more expansive prohibition of homosexual behavior and relationships later, to the time of Justinian (r. 527 - 565).[3]

I. Terminologies
The anachronistic nature of terms

such as "homosexual" or "bisexual" makes their use to describe relationships and sexualities that would have been described quite differently (or not at all) in late antiquity problematic.[4] Late Roman society had no conceptualization of "homosexuality" as a defined sexual identity, and the modern Western conceptualization of a definite and immovable line between "homosexual" and "heterosexual" has little Roman precedent.[5] Defined sexualities themselves, as a self-confessional concept of the 20th and 21st centuries, cannot be superimposed onto a society in which the comprehension of individuals and their sexual lives and behaviors were vastly different from that which prevails today.[6]

As the Romans were concerned, both in classical and in late antiquity, a variety of indirect terms were used for which the modern terms "homosexual" and "homosexuality" may be applicable, in terms of both individuals and behaviors. The most direct regard those men who were "passive" partners in male-male sex (those who were being penetrated, as opposed to penetrating). Terms such as *cinaedus* (from the Greek *kinaidos*)*, catamite,* and variants of the adjective *mollis* (meaning soft) were used to describe those who engaged in certain "homosexual" acts, as were *pathicus*, *subactor*, *paedico* (or *paedicator*), *puer*, *pullus*, *pusio*, *delicatus*, *tener*, *debilis*, *effeminatus*, *discinctus*, *semivir*, *morbosus,* and *exoletus* and *spintriae* (both of which were used to refer to male prostitutes). All were terms of negative imputation, and all connoted a loss of masculinity on the part of the passive partner as a result of being penetrated.[7] As regarded the active partner in a sexual act, social stigmatization was not very significant,

and there is no direct terms that approximate an active "homosexual".

Within the legal scholarship, illicit or deviant (in the sense of being outside of a normative, male-female sexual relationship not involving adultery or rape) sexual behaviors such as those involving male-male sex were categorized under the framework of *stuprum*, a broad, umbrella term under which a wide variety of non-marital sexual behaviors can be grouped. For the purposes of this paper, the terms *pudicitia* (chastity), *impudicitia* (unchastity), and *infamia* (infamy or outrage) are also important in a social and legal context as part of the discourse on homosexual behaviors in pre-Christian and Christian texts.

II. The question of stigma

The idea that hostile attitudes towards certain "homosexual" behaviors and individuals were entirely absent from the Roman consciousness prior to the rise of Christianity is wrong.[8] Throughout the Republican and Imperial periods, Roman attitudes toward passive homosexuals and passive homosexual behavior were consistently hostile. Textual evidence, in Roman humor, histories, and other documents attests to the definite social stigma attached to "pathics," who were considered shameful, defective, and socially dangerous. The mainstay of this stigma was the consideration of a passive-active dichotomy, with the active partner in male-male sex largely exempt from social sanction, and the passive partner considered *impudicus*, *effeminatus*, and *mollis*.

That said, the line between social stigmatization and legal penalization is a wide one. To locate the roots of 4th century legal action, we must look to the

laws of the Republic and of earlier emperors.

III. The roots of proscription

Roman laws proscribing various male-male sexual behaviors were produced throughout the history of the Empire, and even earlier. The elusive *Lex Scantinia* (which various sources date either to 149 BC or to farther in the past) has been interpreted as having proscribed some type of homosexual activity, either pederasty or passive male-male sex.[9]

Suetonius records that, in the early Principate, Caligula (r. 37 - 41 AD) "drove from the city the perverts known as *spintriae*, and could with difficulty be restrained from drowning the lot."[10] Certainly, that the *spintriae* (male prostitutes) were targeted by imperial proscription in the early 1st century attests to the early disapproval of male, passive prostitution.

Further evidence for earlier roots to the constitutions of the 4th century comes from the problematic *Historia Augusta*, from its discussion of the reigns of Alexander Severus (r. 222-235) and Philip the Arab (r. 244-249).[11] The *Augustan History* records that Alexander Severus considered a ban on male prostitution in the early 3rd century, but ended up merely diverting the tax revenues from homosexual brothels. The passage also records that Philip later fulfilled Alexander's original intention, banning male prostitution entirely:

> He [Alexander Severus] ordered that the taxes imposed on procurers, harlots, and catamites should not be deposited in the public treasury, but utilized them to meet the state's expenditures for the restoration of the theatre, the Circus, the Amphitheatre, and the Stadium. In fact, he had it in mind to prohibit catamites altogether — which was afterwards done by Philip — but he feared that such a prohibition would merely convert an evil recognized by the state into a vice practiced in private.[12]

The existence of legal roots for proscriptions on homosexual activities considered especially outrageous or deviant prior to the 4th century (and the establishment of imperial Christianity) is compelling evidence against the hypothesis that Christianization and the penalization of homosexual acts were coterminous. Further evidence against that hypothesis can be seen in the tradition of stigma that surrounded passive homosexual behaviors from the early days of the Empire, and from the Republican period.

IV. Traditional Roman attitudes against passive homosexual behavior

John Boswell's contention that "none of its [Rome's] laws, strictures, or taboos regulating love or sexuality was intended to penalize gay people or their sexuality, and intolerance on this issue was rare to the point of insignificance in its great urban centers" is incorrect, though even Boswell recognizes an "increasing intoleran[ce] of sexual pleasure in the later Empire" spanning "all philosophical traditions." Amy Richlin's work on Roman humor and on Roman attitudes toward the *cinaedi* reveal a far

different and far less tolerant undercurrent within mainstream Roman society from the Republic onward, one that was strongly hostile to male-male sexual activity and to behaviors such as effeminacy and male prostitution that the Romans associated with it.[13]

Richlin quite thoroughly examines Roman humor and satire and finds a long tradition of aggressive attitudes toward *pathici* and *cinaedi* that often leads the writers she examines (who include Martial, Catullus, and Juvenal) to extend their threats to violence/ She goes so far as to argue that, based upon analysis of these documents and of others (including of Suetonius, Cicero, and Ovid), the Romans had a definite concept of social difference between the majority of men (who were the active partners in either male-female or male-male sex) and those who participated in male-male sex as passive partners, and that this sense of distinction between the active Roman male and the *cinaedi* amounts to a Roman acknowledgement of distinctive sexualities (and ones that were subjected to different degrees of social acceptance and stigma).

Richlin cites Cicero's attack on Marc Antony in his second *Philippic* as part of her extended argument for the strong disapproval of passive sex in Roman society:

> You assumed the manly gown, which you soon made a womanly one: at first a public prostitute, with a regular price for your wickedness, and that not a low one. But very soon Curio stepped in, who carried you off from your public trade, and, as if he had bestowed a

matron's robe upon you, settled you in a steady and durable wedlock… But let us say no more of your profligacy and debauchery.[14]

Here, the suggestion of Antony's early passive homosexuality is an indication of his *inpudicitia* (unchastity), a serious allegation against his character and reputation that indicates he is unfit to wield power.

Cicero's use of the suggestion of passive homosexual activity as a serious imputation against the practitioner's masculinity is something that is carried over into other pre-Christian histories and documents. It is especially prominent Suetonius' *Twelve Caesars*, in which Suetonius discusses the passive homosexual behavior of successive emperors and uses the suggestion of pathic behavior as a strategy designed to explain defects. In his profile of Galba, for example, Suetonius comments on the emperor having been "a homosexual invert" with an appetite for "mature and very sturdy men," who reacted to news of Nero's death by giving the messenger a shower of "kisses and [by] begg[ing] him to get ready and have intercourse with him without delay."[15]

Epictetus, one of the founding philosophers of the Stoic school, addressed a question of effeminacy (which was considered an indication of passive homosexual behavior) by comparing it to male prostitution and further saying of it:

> In a man it is monstrous not to have hair; and if he has no hair, he is a monster; but if he cuts off his hairs and plucks them

out, what shall we do with him?... But if you are not pleased with the matter: set to work then upon the whole business. Take away- what is its name?- that which is the cause of the hairs: make yourself a woman in all respects, that we may not be mistaken: do not make one half man, and the other half woman.[16]

That the Stoic moral asceticism that Epictetus and his fellow philosophers espoused strongly stigmatized passive homosexual behavior before the rise of Christianity is well-known. That this disapproval came within the context of a long lineage (going back to the Republic) of social stigma attached to pathic behaviors further reduces the plausibility of arguments for moral discontinuity between the pre-Christian and the Christian Empires.

Such early texts leave no doubt about the strong stigma attached to passive homosexual behavior in Roman society from the very beginning of the Roman state. As Vern Bullough has said: "beneath the scandalous conduct and rampant sexuality described by writers of the first and second centuries AD," a strong "ascetic trend" existed in Rome, one that regarded passive homosexual behavior as "a deviation, and though the Romans might well have tolerated it as beyond an individual's control, they never romanticized it or philosophized about it."[17] In light of that continuity, the negativity of the early Church fathers toward sexuality and homosexual behaviors becomes much less radical.

In this context, one can well imagine pagan Romans accepting John

Chrysostom's contention that "the mad lust after males" was "monstrous."[18] One can also imagine them finding no fault with provision 71 of the Canons of the Council of Elvira, which said that "men who sexually abuse boys shall not be given communion at the end."[19] These statements represented traditional, pre-Christian Roman views, rather than a foreign, extreme morality that was an innovation of Christianity.

V. The imperial constitutions of 341-2 and 390

The two imperial constitutions of the 4th century that deal with the subject of certain homosexual behaviors, that of Constans and Constantius from 341-2 and that of Theodosius, Valentinian, and Arcadius from 390, both of which have been preserved (one of them in altered form) in *The Theodosian Code*, are documents that should be seen coming out of this atmosphere. As such, they were uncontroversial statements, and cannot be seen, in any case, as puritanical or radical. Additionally, given that we have evidence of Republican laws proscribing homosexual acts (i.e. the *Lex Scantinia*) and also have evidence that both 1st century and the 3rd century emperors took actions against passive homosexual prostitutes in Rome, the constitutions of the 4th century appear as restatements of the law. They should not be seen as anything else, and indeed they do not go so far as to proscribe all homosexual acts. Rather, they concern themselves with questions of passive homosexuality, public effeminacy, and male prostitution, the last two of which were behaviors associated with passive homosexuality but not entirely synonymous with it at the time.

The first of the two documents, a

constitution of Constans and Constantius, is entirely in line with this. Rather than targeting all homosexual acts for proscription, the constitution targets the blurring of the line between the genders in Roman society by certain effeminate, passive homosexuals (the so-called *cinaedi* or *pathici*):

> When a man "marries" in the manner of a woman, a "woman" about to renounce men, what does he wish, *when sex has lost its significance*; when the crime is one which it is not profitable to know; when Venus is changed into another form; when love is sought and not found? We order the statutes to arise, the laws to be armed with an avenging sword, and that those infamous persons who are now, or who hereafter may be, guilty may be subjected to exquisite punishment.[20]

The matter that the constitution addresses is not male-male sexual behavior. It is, rather, the passive behavior of certain Roman men who were seen as having debased their manhood and become *semiviri* (half-men). As Peter Brown has said of the sexual concerns of the Romans throughout antiquity: "What had worried ancient Romans was that a free man might upset the stern civic hierarchy that separated him from a woman."[21] What threatened the Roman state was the prospect that the elite Roman man, upon whom the empire was built and preserved, might break the immovable and solid line between male and female bodies and spheres that existed, becoming *impudicus* and defying the duties, roles, and powers that were attached to him by virtue of his being a Roman man and citizen. For an elite male to be penetrated was, in the Roman consciousness, an act of dishonor, and an attack on civic virtue that, in fact, had negative consequences for the entire state (in the case of alleged imperial *pathici* such as Caligula, Nero, Domitian, and Elagabalus, for example).

It is particularly of note that the constitution of Constans and Constantius from 341/2 was followed up only 50 years later by a constitution of Theodosius, Arcadius, and Valentinian on the same subject. As is the case with many of the laws in the *Theodosian Code*, the question of their actual applicability comes up.[22] Certainly, the fact that subsequent laws on the subject (from 490 and later on, in the 6th century reign of Justinian) were warranted indicates the continued presence of *cinaedi* in Roman society.

The constitution of 390 is even more ambiguous than the one of fifty years earlier. Part of this is due to the difference in the version of the document that was included in the *Theodosian Code* and a longer version that was preserved in the *Romanarum et Mosaicarum legum Collatio*. Both versions concern themselves not with all *stuprum masculorum* (male-male sex) but with questions of gender roles and sex:

> The Same Augustuses [Emperors Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius Augustuses] to Orientus, Vicar of the City of Rome.

We cannot tolerate the city of Rome, mother of all virtues, being stained any longer by the *contamination of male effeminacy*, nor can we allow that agrarian strength, which comes down from the founders, to be softly broken by the people, thus heaping shame on the centuries of our founders and the princes, Orientius dearly beloved and favoured. Your laudable experience will therefore punish the grossness of the crime, all those who have given themselves up to the infamy of *condemning their manly body, transformed into a feminine one*, to bear practices reserved for the other sex, which have nothing different from women, carried forth- we are ashamed to say- *from male brothels*, so that all may know that the house of the manly soul must be sacrosanct to all, and that he who basely abandons his own sex cannot aspire to that of another without undergoing the supreme punishment.[23]

The Same Augustuses [Emperors Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius Augustuses] to Orientus, Vicar of the City of Rome.
All persons who have the shameful custom of *condemning a man's body, acting the part of a woman's, to the sufferance of an alien sex* (for they appear not to be different from women), shall expiate a crime of this kind in avenging flames in the sight of the people.[24]

The questions in both of the versions of the constitution (the former being the original text and the latter being the version that was printed in the *Theodosian Code*) is the public effeminacy of Roman men and the matter of male brothels in the city of Rome. The first of which had been inveighed against since the Republican period; the second was subject to a long history of proscription, from the outlawing of the *spintriae* by Caligula in the first century to the crack down on male prostitution in the reign of Philip the Arab in the third. Additionally, considering the fact that the latter of the two versions is the sole one to mention burning as a punishment, one is left with a much less sensationalist image of the nature of the constitution's immediate effect at Rome. Certainly, the plausibility of Peter Brown's claim that "for the first time in history, in 390, the Roman people witnessed the public burning of male prostitutes, dragged from the homosexual brothels of Rome" is significantly diminished.[25]

VI. An accurate chronology for discontinuity
Without convincing evidence for discontinuity between Roman legal precedent and the two constitutions on the subject of passive homosexual

activity in the 4th century, the question of a more accurate dating for discontinuity has to be addressed. There is compelling textual evidence for a shift in legal language and in the harshness of penalties not only for passive homosexual activity but for all male-male sexual and romantic relationships by the end of late antiquity. The first concrete evidence of this that I have found comes from the 6th century and the reign of Justinian I (r. 527-565).

It is in the reign of Justinian that one can see a distinct Christianization of the language used to castigate and proscribe homosexual acts, an association of male-male sex with natural disasters (in line with the emerging association of homosexuality with the sin of Sodom), and a break-down of the classic legal and social distinction between the active and the passive partner (both of which, in contrast to the past, were subjected to stigma and proscription). In Novel 77 of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, one can see the presence of all of these changed norms:

> Since certain men, seized by diabolical incitement practice among themselves the most disgraceful lusts, and act contrary to nature: we enjoin them to take to heart the fear of God and the judgment to come, and to abstain from suchlike diabolical and unlawful lusts, so that they may not be visited by the just wrath of God on account of these impious acts, with the result that cities perish with all their inhabitants. For we are taught by the Holy Scriptures that because of like impious conduct cities have indeed perish, together with all the men in them.[26]

Here, there is no distinction between active and passive partners in male-male sex, and equal proscription is given to both. Also, there is a belief that homosexual behavior is more than just a matter of sapped vitality or lost honor, of *pudicita* and *impudicitia*, but a matter of the security and sanctity of the godly, Christian state. In the allusions to the "just wrath of God" is the presence of a changed paradigm.

Justinian's regime seems to have been unusually focused on the prosecution of alleged homosexuals. Procopius, in his *Secret History*, describes allegations and prosecutions against supposed pederasts during the reign of Justinian as a witch-hunt, one that often ended in extraordinarily brutal punishments against those who were convicted:

> After that he passed a law forbidding offences against boys, not inquiring closely into those committed after the passing of the law, but seeking out men who had succumbed to this moral sickness some time in the past. The prosecution of these offenders was conducted in the most irregular fashion, since the penalty was imposed even where there was no accuser, and the word of a single man or boy, even if

he happened to be a slave forced to give evidence most unwillingly against his owner, was accepted as final proof. Men convicted in this way was castrated and exposed to public ribaldry.[27]

It is clear from these mentions that the Justinianic concept of homosexuality's place in the law was distinctly different from that of the 4th century. In the language of a new regime that termed all homosexual acts "impious conduct… which some men sacrilegiously and impiously dare to attempt, perpetrating vile acts with other men," one can see the legal discontinuity that is absent from the constitutions of 341-2 and 390.[28]

VII. Conclusions

The 4th century emperors, their effect on the law, and the influences that impacted that effect are poorly understood, at least by some scholars. Rather than being particularly radical shapers of the law, emperors such as Constans, Constantius, Theodosius, Arcadius, and Valentinian were equally bound (at least in principle) to traditions and precedents that had governed Roman laws and morals since the earliest days of the Republic.[29] While certainly Christian, these men were also traditionally Roman, products of a legal and moral culture that was arguably just as morally ascetic and disapproving of "illicit" sexuality as the culture of early Christianity.

The constitutions of these emperors as regarded passive homosexual behavior, male prostitution, and effeminacy must be seen in that context,

as traditional acts, motivated as much by traditional Roman morality as anything else. They must be seen as limited acts, as legislative statements that addressed specific and particular homosexual behaviors that had always been stigmatized in Roman society. The timing for a broader and more widespread proscription of homosexual behaviors must be placed later, between the end of the 4th century and the regime of Justinian, at the end of which, certainly, a shift in the legal place of homosexuality in Roman law had taken place.

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Notes

[1] Book 9, *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions*, trans. Clyde Pharr, Theresa Sherrer Davison, and Mary Brown Pharr (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), 231-2

[2] For the purposes of this paper, I have chosen to focus on male-male sexual and romantic relationships and those individuals who were part of them. I guardedly use the term "homosexual" to describe them, mindful that it is anachronistic. Late Roman society had no conceptualization of "homosexuality" as a defined sexual identity, and the modern Western conceptualization of a definite and immovable line between "homosexual" and "heterosexual" has little Roman precedent. I've taken into consideration Foucault's conception of sexualities as a later innovation. See Michele Foucault, *Histoire de la Sexualité: La volonté de savoir* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1976).

[3] The major analyses of the two constitutions from the 4th century and of the 4th century developments to Roman law as concerned homosexual behaviors tend toward the notion that the time period saw a major alteration in Roman law and culture on homosexuality. Eve Cantarella argues for a definite division between the classical and the late antique on homosexual behavior that she insinuates occurred in the 4th century. Peter Brown suggests not only a change in the relationship between the law and sexuality in the 4th century, but a complete alteration of Roman notions of the body in late antiquity. John Boswell argues for a golden age of tolerance of homosexuality in the early Roman Empire proceeded by a long descent into intolerance that began sometime in the 3rd or 4th century. Warren Johansson and William Percy argue that the two constitutions with which this paper treats were "inspired by theologians" and that they "prescribed death" to homosexuals. Vern Bullough and James Brundage share recognition of the pre-Christian Roman hostility to homosexuality and advocate for an interpretation of cultural continuity between antique and the late antique Roman mores as concerned homosexuality. Bullough, in particular, stresses an interpretation of the 4th century legislation on "homosexuality" that recognizes the doubtfulness of strong enforcement and the haziness of the legal language. Nevertheless, even he argues that the constitution of 390 was wholly prohibitive of homosexual, penetrative sex. See Eve Cantarella, *Bisexuality in the Ancient World*, trans. Cormac O Cuilleanain (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992); Peter Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988); John Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality: Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1980); Warren Johansson and William Percy, "Homosexuality" in *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality*, ed. Vern L. Bullough and James A. Brundage (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1996); Vern Bullough, *Sexual Variance in Society and History* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1976); James A. Brundage, *Law,*

Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1987).

[4] I have chosen to use the term "homosexual" to describe male-male sexual acts and relationships and the individuals who engaged in them, mindful that the term is itself artificial and controversial, and that it has its own politics. I am also mindful of the fact that it suffers from what Orwell attacked as "a lack of precision," but I nevertheless have chosen to use it (in conjunction with the phrase "male-male sex" or "male-male relationships") in the absence of any other, more suitable and precise alternatives. See David Halperin, "One Hundred Years of Homosexuality" in *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality: And Other Essays on Greek Love* (New York: Routledge, 1999); and George Orwell, "Politics and the English Language," available at
http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/orwell46.htm; accessed 06 May 2009.

[5] Certainly, there was a concrete line in the Roman consciousness between passive homosexual behavior and active homosexual behavior. Social stigmatization of passive homosexual acts and those who practiced them had a long history in Roman society that long preceded the rise of Christianity. See Amy Richlin, "Not Before Homosexuality: The Materiality of the *Cinaedus* and the Roman Law against Love Between Men" in the *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (Apr. 1993), p. 523-573.

[6] I have considered social scientific definitions of sexuality, most especially Foucault's description of sexuality as concept with its roots in medieval and early modern social conflict. I recognize that this is controversial and has been critiqued as a revisionist notion by many, including Amy Richlin. See Michel Foucault, *Histoire de la Sexualité: La volonté de savoir* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1976), and Amy Richlin, ""Not Before Homosexuality: The Materiality of the Cinaedus and the Roman Law against Love Between Men."

[7] See Bullough, *Sexual Variance in Society and History*, 142.

[8] Suggestions of a complete Roman "tolerance" of homosexual behaviors and those who engaged in them, advocated most notably by John Boswell, have been used to promote a revisionist agenda that simplifies and mischaracterizes Roman attitudes toward sexuality. See Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality*, 87.

[9] Cantarella, *Bisexuality in the Ancient World*, 111-4

[10] Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars*, trans. Robert Graves (New York and London: Penguin, 1979), 157.

[11] The *Historia Augusta* is a very problematic document, but, in the words of Ronald Syme "the student of the Roman Empire cannot do without the *HA*." See Ronald Syme, "The Composition of the *Historia Augusta*: Recent Theories" in *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 62 (1972), p. 123-33; available at
http://wwwjstor.org/stable/298933; accessed 25 May 2009.

[12] The *Historia Augusta*'s discussion of Alexander Severus' alleged consideration of a ban on the *exoleti* is (as is the case with much of the text) controversial. That Philip later took action against them is less in doubt, as it is confirmed in the *Liber de Caesaribus* of Aurelius Victor: "*Imperator Philippus... usum virilis scorti removendum honestissime consultavit. verumtamen manet: quippe condicione loci mutata peioribus flagitiis agitator, dum avidius periculosa quibusque prohibentur mortales petunt*." See *Historia Augusta*, available at
http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Historia_Augusta/Severus_Alexander/1*.html; accessed 06 May 2009. Aurelius Victor, *Liber de Caesaribus*, Chapter 28, available at
http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/victor.caes.html#28; accessed 06 June 2009. and Robert J. Penella, "Alexander Severus and the *Exsoleti*: An Unfulfilled Intention" in *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 124 (1981), p. 184-187, available at http://www.rhm.uni-koeln.de/pdf/124_RhM/RhM_124-2/07-RhM124-2_Penella.pdf ; accessed 25 May 2009.

[13] Amy Richlin, *The Garden of Priapus: Sexuality and Aggression in Roman Humor* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983).

[14] Cicero, *The Second Philippic,* 2.44, available at http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/ptext?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0021&query=speech%3D%232; accessed 06 May 2009; also see Amy Richlin, *The Garden of Priapus*, 14.

[15] Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars*, 261.

[16] Arrian, *Epictetus- Discourse 3*, available at http://classics.mit.edu/Epictetus/discourses.3.three.html; accessed 07 May 2009.

[17] Vern Bullough, *Sexual Variance in Society and History*, 150-151

[18] Chrysostom, *Homily IV on Romans*, available at http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/210204.htm; accessed 03 May 2009.

[19] *The Canons of the Council of Elvira*, in Laeuchli, *Power and Sexuality: The Emergence of Canon Law at the Council of Elvira* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1972), 134.

[20] Italics by author; See *Theodosian Code*, 231-2.

[21] Brown, *The Body and Society*, 432.

[22] Andrea Giardina speaks to this question, saying that "nothing appears to have guaranteed that imperial constitutions were applied consistently…" See Andrea Giardina, "The Transition to Late Antiquity" in *The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World, Vol. 1*, ed. Walter Scheidel, Ian Morris, and Richard Saller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 749.

[23] Italics by author; See Cantarella, *Bisexuality in the Ancient World*, 177.

[24] Italics by author; *Theodosian Code*, 232.

[25] Brown, *The Body and Society*, 383.

[26] Justinian, *Novel 77*, Medieval Sourcebook, available at http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/pwh/just-novels.html; accessed 02 May 2009.

[27] Procopius, *The Secret History*, trans. G.A. Williamson (New York: Penguin Books, 1966), 98-99.

[28] Justinian, *Novel 141*, Medieval Sourcebook, available at http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/pwh/just-novels.html; accessed 02 May 2009. One can also see a change in the conceptualization of gender (parallel to the change in the conceptualization of male-male sexual activity) occurring around the time of Justinian that has been remarked upon by Leslie Brubaker. In Brubaker's opinion, "gender roles became increasingly Christianized after the reign of Justinian." See Leslie Brubaker, "The Age of Justinian: Gender and Society" in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*, ed. Michael Maas.(New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

[29] Jill Harries comments on the influence of *consuetudo* in the acts of 4th and 5th century emperors, saying that legal content "was determined by precedent" among other factors, such as the imperial policies of the day. See Jill Harries, *Law and empire in late antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 31-6.

Persuasion & Propaganda:
The Department of Treasury's Victory on the Home Front During World War 2

By Jeremy Ritter

During World War Two, the American Department of Treasury coordinated one of the largest propaganda campaigns ever attempted by the United States government. Following America's formal entry in the Second World War in 1942, President Franklin Roosevelt and the Department of Treasury decided to organize and implement a massive loan program that encouraged American citizens to purchase war bonds to finance the United States' involvement in the war.[1] In an effort to maximize the effectiveness of their campaign, the Treasury Department often appealed to emotion in their advertisements, primarily via explicit references to death, in order to persuade the public to purchase war bonds. Through their appeals to emotion, the American war loan efforts not only raised the funds necessary to finance the war, but also served as an effective medium for mobilizing and maintaining popular support on the home front.

To understand the context in which the Roosevelt administration and the Department of Treasury were forced to operate during World War Two, one must look at the United States' involvement in the First World War. From the outset of the European conflict, the Americans were cautious of all things German, especially anything that was perceived as intended to persuade the American public toward support of the German cause. The American public was so concerned with the prospect of foreign propaganda that it didn't bother to consider its own government as a possible source of persuasion on the home front. While American's were constantly on the lookout for "the Kaiser's secret army in America," Woodrow Wilson's Committee on Public Information was fervently creating and distributing propaganda of the domestic sort.[2]

Following the United States' entry in World War I, President Woodrow Wilson created the Committee on Public Information, a government agency that heralded itself as an unbiased organization created for the sole purpose of distributing information about the war to the American public. In reality however, its primary function was to influence public opinion on the United States' participation in the European conflict.[3] At the committee's head was George Creel, a former investigative journalist who immediately began recruiting an array of professionals including professors, advertising specialists, journalists and artists to aid the committee in its crusade to mold public opinion.[4] Via film, posters, radio and almost every other form of media available at the time, the CPI influenced public opinion by exaggerating accounts of German atrocities; depicting them as a barbaric, Hun-like people aimed at

world domination. On the other hand, the committee often portrayed American soldiers as crusaders for civilization, "rescuing innocent allies and defeating a viscous enemy."[5] By means of persuasive techniques and half-truths, the Committee on Public information effectively led the American public away from its previous isolationist tendencies and toward a consensus of patriotism and support for the war.

Although the American public largely accepted the CPI's claims without skepticism during the war due to extreme nationalist fervor and intolerance of "un-American" activities, they began to look at the committee's actions more suspiciously in the interwar period.[6] Commenting on his efforts to mobilize popular support for the war, George Creel, recalled that the committee "strove for the maintenance of our own morale and the Allied morale by every process of stimulation… There was no part of the great war machinery that we did not touch, no medium of appeal that we did not employ. The printed word, the spoken word, the motion picture, the telegraph, the cable, the wireless, the poster, the sign-board—all these were used in our campaign to make our own people and all other peoples understand the causes that compelled America to take arms."[7] Although many understood the extent of the CPI's influence during the war, few were aware that Creel was also a member of the Censorship Board, a government organization that oversaw and coordinated censorship activities concerning the distribution of foreign and domestic information. During his time on the Censorship Board, Creel participated in attempts to suppress materials that presented the United States in a bad light, however accurate they may have been.[8] The skepticism of government-distributed information that emerged during the post-

war period as a result of the actions of Creel and the CPI during the First World War directly affected the way in which the United States government coordinated its propaganda campaign during the Second World War.

In the period leading up to America's entry in the Second World War, the Roosevelt administration became increasingly aware that they would have to deal with a more skeptical and guarded audience due to the Wilson administration's propaganda efforts during the First World War. Consequently, the information agencies that operated during the Second World War were unable to operate with the efficiency or credibility needed to coordinate an effective propaganda campaign. The questionable reputation of the Committee on Public Information had ensured that the American citizenry would be suspicious of information distributed by the United States government during the second conflict. As a result, the Roosevelt administration strove to find alternative means of mobilizing popular support for American involvement in the war following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.[9]

In response to the successes of the German military in the countries of Denmark, Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, and finally France in 1940, the United States government was forced to consider the possibility of American involvement in the conflict. Of primary concern was the question of how defense spending and possible involvement would be financed. While many favored the idea of taxation to finance the defense budget, others argued that the involuntary nature of taxes would be detrimental to morale and support in the case of war. President Roosevelt ultimately sided with the secretary of the Department of Treasury's proposal of a loan program that would encourage Americans to loan money to the

government while at the same time arousing support and patriotism for the American cause.[10]

By looking at the United States government's war loan activities in previous conflicts, the Department of Treasury secretary Henry Morgenthau Jr. argued that a voluntary loan program similar to the Liberty Loan drives of the First World War could raise the money necessary to finance the defense budget. In what George Creel called a campaign "for the minds of men," the Department of Treasury and the CPI had implemented a total of five loan drives that raised over twenty-one billion dollars by the end of the Great War.[11] Interestingly, the Treasury Department's loan campaigns were not met with the skepticism or scrutiny that ruined the CPI's reputation in the postwar years. Roosevelt, convinced by Morgenthau's belief in the campaign's ability to raise the necessary funds and its "potential unifying factor in a time of great public discord and uncertainty," gave him the go ahead to begin coordinating a national defense bond program.[12]

Soon after Morgenthau began organizing the Department of Treasury's defense bond program in the Fall of 1940, he sought advice from outside sources. One of principal importance was Peter Odegard, a political scientist who specialized in the study of propaganda. Morgenthau had only initially employed him to create a list of objectives for the war loan program, but after obtaining leave from Amherst College, Odegard became the program's primary strategic advisor.[13] The two eventually agreed on three distinct objectives that were to govern the way in which the war loan campaign operated through the end of the Second World War. The department's primary objective was also the most obvious, to raise money. Secondly, they hoped that the exchange of war bonds would

decrease the amount of spending money available in the market, thus combating inflation. Lastly, they hoped that by allowing the average citizen to participate economically in the effort, they could mobilize popular support for the war effort.[14]

In terms of the financial denominations and nature of the bonds that were to be issued by the Department of Treasury for the duration of the war, there were several options available to consumers. War bonds were organized into three distinct groups, each with a unique target audience in mind. The primary focus of the Treasury Department's efforts was directed toward the Series E bonds, which were organized into denominations of 25, 50, 100, 500 and 1,000 dollars and sold at 75% of their face value.[15] For those that could not afford to spare the $18.75 required to purchase a 25 dollar bond, the option of War Stamps was available. These notes were sold at denominations of 10, 25, 50, 100 and 500 cents and could be redeemed for bonds when one had accumulated a sufficient value.[16] While Series E securities were aimed at the American public, the F and G Series were reserved for commercial banks and non-banking investors only.[17] From a perspective that analyzes the persuasive nature of bond advertisements, the Series E group was the most significant in influencing public opinion.

The defense loan drives also psychologically prepared the home front for participation in the European conflict by acclimating the American citizenry's state of mind toward one of military preparedness. By the spring of 1941, preparations for the Defense Bond program were complete and the Department of Treasury had officially kicked off its new program. Morgenthau and the president appeared on public radio to commemorate the occasion, heralding that

"in every state and county, city and town in America—it will be possible for everyone— literally everyone—to have a chance in the National Defense effort."[18] The defense loan drive stressed the idea that economic participation was a way to express one's patriotism. Nearly eight months before the United States' formal entry in the Second World War, the American government had begun mobilizing funds as well as morale for the conflict.

The next stage of the Department of Treasury's campaign began after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December of 1941. While the attack resulted in a temporary increase of war bond sales, Morgenthau realized that public outrage would eventually die down along with the purchase of bonds.[19] Calling for a "much more intensified selling campaign," the Treasury Department decided that a series of strategically executed loan drives could further stimulate bond sales.[20] Although the public was able to purchase war bonds at any time during the conflict, a total of eight specific drives implemented between 1942 and 1945 helped to reiterate the importance of civilian contribution as well as maintain awareness and popular support of the American cause.

In terms of advertisements circulated by the Department of Treasury during the Second World War, three primary and distinct techniques were employed in order to persuade viewers to purchase war bonds. The vast majority of war bond advertisements used explicit references to death to incite feelings of guilt and sadness in the viewer. The Treasury Department also circulated personalized ads that attempted to single-out the viewer, making him or her feel included in the war effort. Lastly, war bond advertisements often used images of children in their efforts to coerce the public to purchase bonds.

One advertisement that exemplifies the Department of Treasury's strategy of referencing death in order to incite guilt in the viewer was distributed on behalf of the Farmers and Mechanics Savings Bank of Minneapolis as part of the Second War Loan Drive in 1943 (see fig. 1). At the top of the ad, one sees a military style helmet and a government-issue utility belt situated on the butt of an American rifle. The rifle, which is situated at a sideways angle, is firmly positioned in the ground by a bayonet located near the barrel of the weapon. If one follows the rifle downward, it leads to the grave of an American soldier, under which a message reads "In memory of the War Bonds you didn't buy." The message is further emphasized by the word "didn't," which is underlined for dramatic effect. Although the image is quite simple, its implication is unmistakable. This soldier, and many others like him, is dead because you failed to do your part by purchasing war bonds. By placing the blame on the individual and playing on the fears and anxieties of a wartime citizenry, this advertisement makes for an emotionally persuasive piece of propaganda.

Taking to an even more extreme extent the goal of laying blame on civilian audiences who may not have been supporting the war effort was another advertisement circulated during the Fifth War Loan drive in the summer of 1944.[21] In the forefront of the ad stands a dead American soldier, under which a caption reads "I DIED TODAY… *WHAT DID YOU DO?*" (see fig. 2).[22] Behind the soldier one can see an unidentified battle raging, implying that the soldier died serving his country. The lack of identification concerning the soldier serves to put him in the context of all those killed in combat throughout the war. The caption and the image work together in this case to imply that this man paid the ultimate sacrifice in

the name of patriotic duty. Furthermore, the ad belittles anything an average citizen could hope to contribute to the war effort by establishing his death as the standard. The caption further emphasizes this point by mockingly asking the viewer how his or her efforts compare to those of the soldier. By setting death as the standard for wartime sacrifice and exemplifying that sacrifice, the ad attempts to make the viewer feel guilty for the soldiers' death.

Below the ghastly image of the soldier in Figure 2, a series of paragraphs employ further references to death in order to maximize the persuasive effect of the advertisement. The text claims that although "We cannot hope to give as much as the boy who gives his life—*but we can try!*" The text also takes for granted that most Americans have by this time already purchased war bonds, claiming that the viewer should be "*scheming and figuring* on a way to buy extra War Bonds." In order to belittle the audience's past and future sacrifices, the ad stresses that servicemen "are doing *their* part… in the Pacific, in Italy, in England," prompting the viewer to ask whether or not he or she is "matching… what the boys are doing over there?" The text also exemplifies the logic behind the idea of economic participation and frugality in the name of postwar consumption, claiming that when war bonds mature, "they mean new machinery and equipment, new conveniences for the house, money for the childrens' schooling, funds for retirement." Although the idea that sacrifice now will mean funds for consumption in the postwar period is more directly addressed in Figure 2 than in most other advertisements, it functions as the predominant logic behind the war bond advertisements of the Second World War.

The third advertisement I have chosen for the same purpose as the previous two portrays three dead American soldiers lying on a beach in New Guinea, directly above which a caption reads "Why You Should Buy Bonds" in bold letters (see fig. 3). The soldiers are conveniently positioned in a semi-circle formation so that the fore, middle and background of the image are occupied by dead bodies. In addition, one can see an amphibious vehicle beached on the shore in the right hand corner of the photo. Below the image, a short description argues that the dead bodies "form the strongest argument as to why you should buy more war bonds", claiming that "the men you see paid the supreme sacrifice." Furthermore, the plurality of the statement "more war bonds" assumes that the viewer has already purchased a certain number of war bonds by this point in the conflict, but implies that the viewer can still do more to contribute to the war effort. In a fashion similar to that of the previous advertisement, this ad attempts to make the viewer feel sad for the death of the soldiers depicted in the photo and guilty that he or she cannot or has not paid "the supreme sacrifice" as have the soldiers shown in the image.

Although the Department of Treasury heralded its War Loan program as an opportunity for the public to participate in the war effort, some advertisements were more explicit in their attempts to incite feelings of inclusion and belonging in the viewer. For instance, in one 1943 advertisement circulated by the Beech-Nut Packing Company (see fig. 4), war bonds are being promoted using this technique. Dominating the ad is a photograph of a civilian aiming a bayonet at a fallen, unarmed Nazi soldier.[23] In contrast to Figures 1, 2 & 3 which attempt to place guilt and blame on the viewer for American deaths, Figure 4 references death in a positive fashion by implying that the viewer

can put an enemy soldier out of commission through economic participation.

Concerning the textual aspects of Figure 4, the word "YOU" appears capitalized in thick white letters on the border that separates the image from the accompanying text. This word is strategically located on the border of the image so that it contrasts sharply with the black and white photo. In smaller letters, the remainder of the caption reads "can put a Nazi out of the war!" The image works in conjunction with the caption to imply that you too can put a Nazi out of the war, provided you purchase war bonds. The text that accompanies the image further emphasizes this point, arguing that the war bond program provides a "way you can fight… right out there beside our boys." As seen in Figure 2, this advertisement also promotes the idea of economic participation and frugality now so that when "the war is over you will have savings to help buy that house or send your boy to college or whatever you will need the money for." By appealing to emotions of belonging and inclusion as well as emphasizing the prospects of postwar consumption, this advertisement attempts to coerce the viewer to purchase war bonds.

Another advertisement that promotes war bonds by inciting feelings of inclusion and belonging in the viewer was circulated by Thomas Leeming & Company beginning in 1943 (see fig. 5). At the top the said advertisement, a caption reads "ME? SINK A SUB?" in large bold letters. This caption intentionally employs question marks so that the viewer inadvertently asks the question of his or her self while reading the statement. The text that accompanies the caption confirms the statement, declaring "Yes, you! You can help provide the depth charge that will sink a Nazi sub—save thousands of American lives—insure more supplies for our fighting forces! Just buy U.S. War

Bonds…" As seen in the accompanying texts of Figures 2 & 4, Figure 5 also stresses the prospects for postwar consumption offered by the purchase of war bonds, emphasizing the fact that one will receive "$4 for every $3 [invested] at the end of 10 years." Additionally, by implying that the viewer's investment may pay for "the depth charge that will sink a Nazi sub", the ad attempts to make the viewer feel included in the war effort.

The following analysis is of an ad that was distributed on behalf of the Container Corporation of America in 1943 (see fig. 6). Occupying the central focus of the ad is an image of a joystick with a button labeled "B" located on the tip of the handle. Gripping the joystick is a pilot's hand, prepared to press the button necessary to attack an unidentified enemy target. This implication is further supported by an image of six bombers located in the lower-half portion of the advertisement. Located above the joystick are three imperative phrases that ask the viewer to "PRESS THE BUTTON", "BUY WAR BONDS…", and "RELEASE BOMBS!" The commanding nature of the instructions serves to single out the viewer as the person holding the joystick while at the same time implying that just as bombing is not a passive act, neither is consumption of bonds. In doing so, the advertisement attempts to make the viewer feel actively involved in the war effort by implying that purchasing war bonds will allow him or her to release bombs on an enemy target as seen in the image.

In addition to attempting to incite feelings of guilt and inclusion in the viewer, war bond advertisements circulated during the Second World War often employed a third strategy to maximize the persuasiveness of their ads. By employing images of children in their advertisements, the Department of Treasury and companies that circulated advertisements on their

behalf intentionally hoped to appeal to viewers on an emotional level beyond that achieved by other means of persuasion. The strategy of referencing children is unique in comparison to those appealing to guilt and belonging because it strikes a special chord in the audience's emotional spectrum.

The next advertisement was circulated on behalf of the Electric Auto-Lite Company in the early months of 1944 (see fig. 7).[24] The image employed in the ad portrays a sad-looking child, below which a caption reads "Please help bring my Daddy home" in sloppy handwriting, implying that this is the girl's writing. Furthermore, the word "Daddy" is capitalized, adding emphasis to the girl's longing for her father. The overall message of the ad implies that you can hasten the return of this girl's father by purchasing war bonds.[25] A similar logic can be seen in an advertisement circulated by the General Tire & Rubber Company beginning in 1943 (see fig. 8). Occupying the central focus of the ad is an image of a male child with tears running down his face. Around the child's neck is a medal, most likely earned by his father who is assumed to have been enlisted in the military. The pendant acts as an arrow pointing downward toward something in the child's hand, most likely his father's hat. Directly below the image, a caption reads "**H**e knows why this Christmas all of us should **GIVE WAR BONDS**". Concerning the typography in which the caption is printed, the letter "H" belonging to the word "He" as well as the words "GIVE WAR BONDS" are capitalized and printed in a boldness different from that of the rest of the caption, emphasizing the boy and war bonds as the primary objects of importance in the ad. One immediately makes the assumption that they boy's father died as a result of the war, hence his crying. This suggests that the child knows better than most why the viewer

should give war bonds as Christmas presents. The rationale behind this suggestion serves to imply that buying war bonds may prevent other children from becoming fatherless as a result of the war.[26] Regardless of the logistics behind the implications of Figures 7 & 8, their use of children to appeal to the emotions of adults override any questions the viewer may otherwise have about their validity.

Although the previous two images use the emotions of children to persuade the viewer to purchase war bonds, the following advertisement portrays children in danger in order to incite feelings of outrage and fear in the viewer (see fig. 9).[27] Occupying the mid-section of this ad are three children playing on a grassy field. While two of the children are gazing without purpose in adjacent directions, the oldest of the group seems to be looking ominously at an approaching object in the sky. The object is not identified by the image, but one can judge from the swastika-shaped shadow on the ground that it is of Nazi origin. One of the children is holding a makeshift American flag, stressing that these are American children in the image. Below the children, a caption reads "Don't Let That Shadow Touch Them—*Buy* WAR BONDS". The typography of this statement is formatted so that the phrase "*Buy* WAR BONDS" appears larger than the rest of the caption. The word "*Buy*" appears italicized in a font different from that of the rest of the ad to further emphasize its primary intent. The ad as a whole implies that America is in danger of being attacked by Nazi forces. The deliberate use of children conveys thoughts of innocence and helplessness in the viewer, as opposed to the portrayal of adults which would not have been as emotionally appealing. Furthermore, the caption implies that by purchasing war bonds, the viewer can save these children, and many more like

them, from the Nazi war machine.[28] By showing children in danger, this ad deliberately attempts to incite anxiety and outrage in the viewer in order to persuade him or her to purchase war bonds.
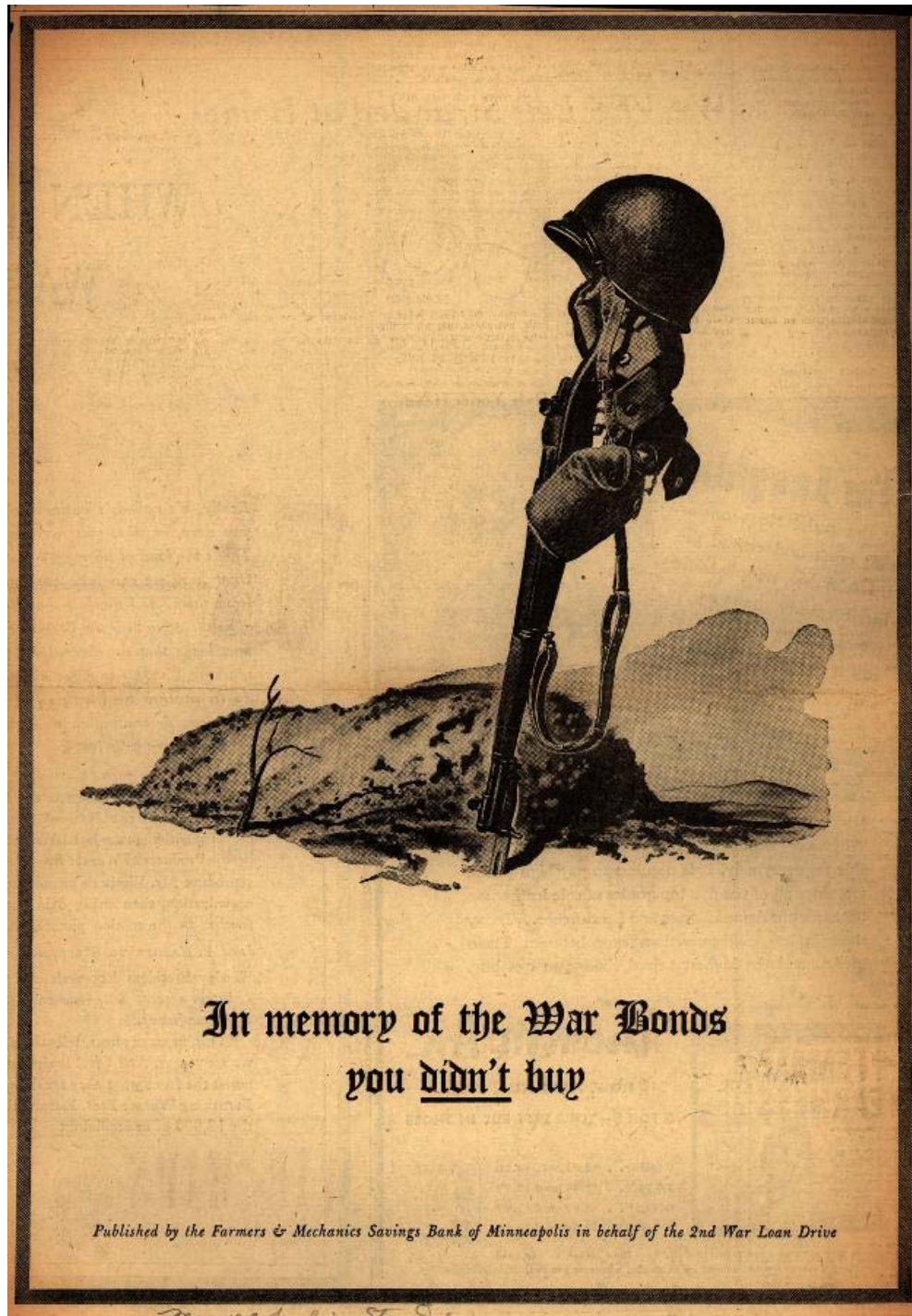
Following the American bombings of Nagasaki and Hiroshima and the Japanese surrender in August of 1945, the United States Department of Treasury began its final loan campaign. Rather than continuing the status quo, the Treasury Department commenced a Victory Bond campaign which was meant to pay for the cost of demobilization as well as bring closure to the war.[29] This campaign was unique in the sense that it was primarily positive in nature, expressing emotions of American accomplishment and triumph in the conflict. Among symbols employed during the campaign, images of and references to the recently deceased president Roosevelt emerged with amazing frequency.[30] Figure 10 employs a paternalistic image of Roosevelt looking over the land, below which two separate captions read "In the strength of great hope we must shoulder our common load" and "BUY VICTORY BONDS". The image of Roosevelt appears smiling, probably pleased with the outcome of the war. Below the captions stands an American family looking into the horizon, symbolizing the post-war longing for better things to come. On the family's left stands a cross-shaped tombstone, symbolizing the sacrifices made on behalf of the war effort. The caption implies that although the worst is over, the American people must continue to make sacrifices (and buy bonds) in hopes of a brighter future. By depicting Roosevelt as the personification of America's wartime sacrifices and playing on the sorrow of the American people's grief over his death, this image attempts to persuade the viewer to purchase victory bonds.

In terms of the Department of Treasury's financial accomplishments over the course of the war, it succeeded in raising close to 186 billion dollars through its loan program.[31] Of that 186 billion, about 157 billion dollars were raised in periods during which one of the eight strategic drives were in progress. The Treasury Department initiated all eight drives with a quota, each of which was met with an excess of at least 2 billion dollars.[32] The fact that the majority of the Treasury Department's earnings occurred in times during which a loan drive was in effect is representative of the level of success achieved by its persuasive efforts.

By means of its war loan program during the Second World War, the United States Department of Treasury successfully implemented one of the largest propaganda campaigns ever attempted by the American government. In order to maximize its financial earnings, the Treasury Department employed a series of techniques in its advertisements aimed at appealing to the American public on an emotional level. Working within the wide spectrum of human emotion, war bond advertisements most commonly employed explicit references to death as well as overtly personalized themes to increase the persuasiveness of their advertisements. With surprising frequency, war bond advertisement also employed images of children for the same purpose. In addition, an emphasis on wartime economic sacrifice in the name of postwar consumption and abundance served as a common theme linking these techniques together. By appealing to the American public both emotionally and economically in its advertisements, the Department of Treasury successfully mobilized the funds and popular support needed for the war effort.

Fig. 1. *In Memory of the War Bonds You Didn't Buy*, 1943. Database on-line. Duke University Libraries: Digital Collections. <http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/adaccess.W0334/pg.1/> (Accessed 13 January 2010).

Fig. 2. *I Died Today*. Treasury Department, War Finance Division. Advertisement, in *Mobilizing the Home Front: War Bonds and Domestic Propaganda*. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2006), 80.

Fig. 3. *Why You Should Buy Bonds*. Treasury Department, War Finance Division. Advertisement, in *Mobilizing the Home Front: War Bonds and Domestic Propaganda*. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2006), 74.

Fig. 4. *You Can Put a Nazi Out of the War!*, 1943. Database on-line. Duke University Libraries: Digital Collections. <http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/adaccess.W0329/pg.1/> (Accessed 13 January 2010).

Fig. 5. *Me? Sink a Sub?*, 1943. Database on-line. Duke University Libraries: Digital Collections. <http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/adaccess.W0125/pg.1/> (Accessed 13 January 2010).

Fig. 6. *Press the Button—Release Bombs!*, 1943. Database on-line. Duke University Libraries: Digital Collections. <http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/adaccess.W0102/pg.1/> (Accessed 13 January 2010).

Fig. 7. *Please Help Bring My Daddy Home*. The Electric Auto-Lite Company, Toledo, Ohio. Advertisement, in *All-Out for Victory: Magazine Advertisements and the World War II Home Front* (Waltham: Brandeis University Press, 2009), 280.
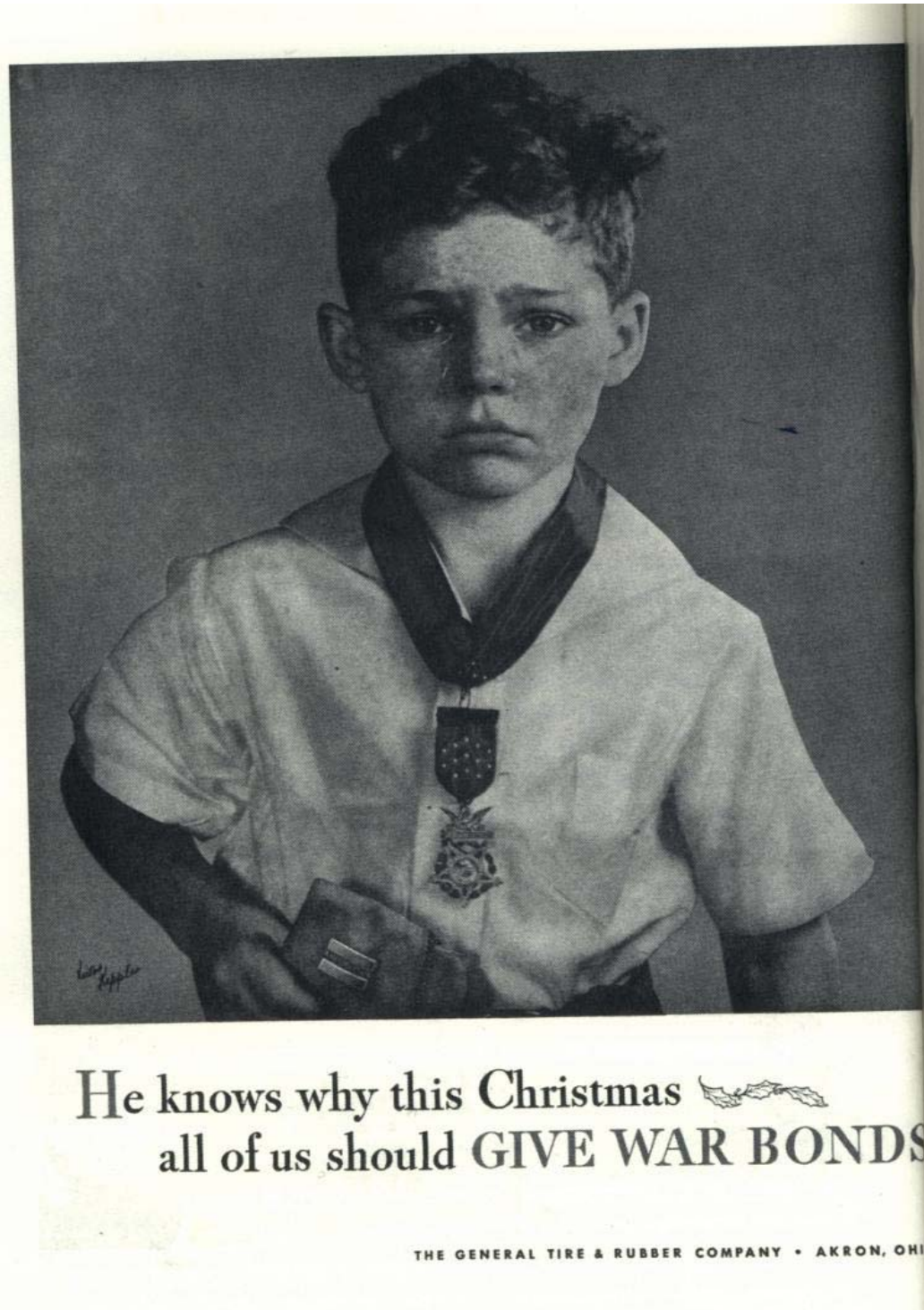
Fig. 8. *He Knows Why This Christmas All of Us Should Give War Bonds*. The General Tire & Rubber Company, Akron, Ohio. Advertisement, in *All-Out for Victory: Magazine Advertisements and the World War II Home Front* (Waltham: Brandeis University Press, 2009), 14.
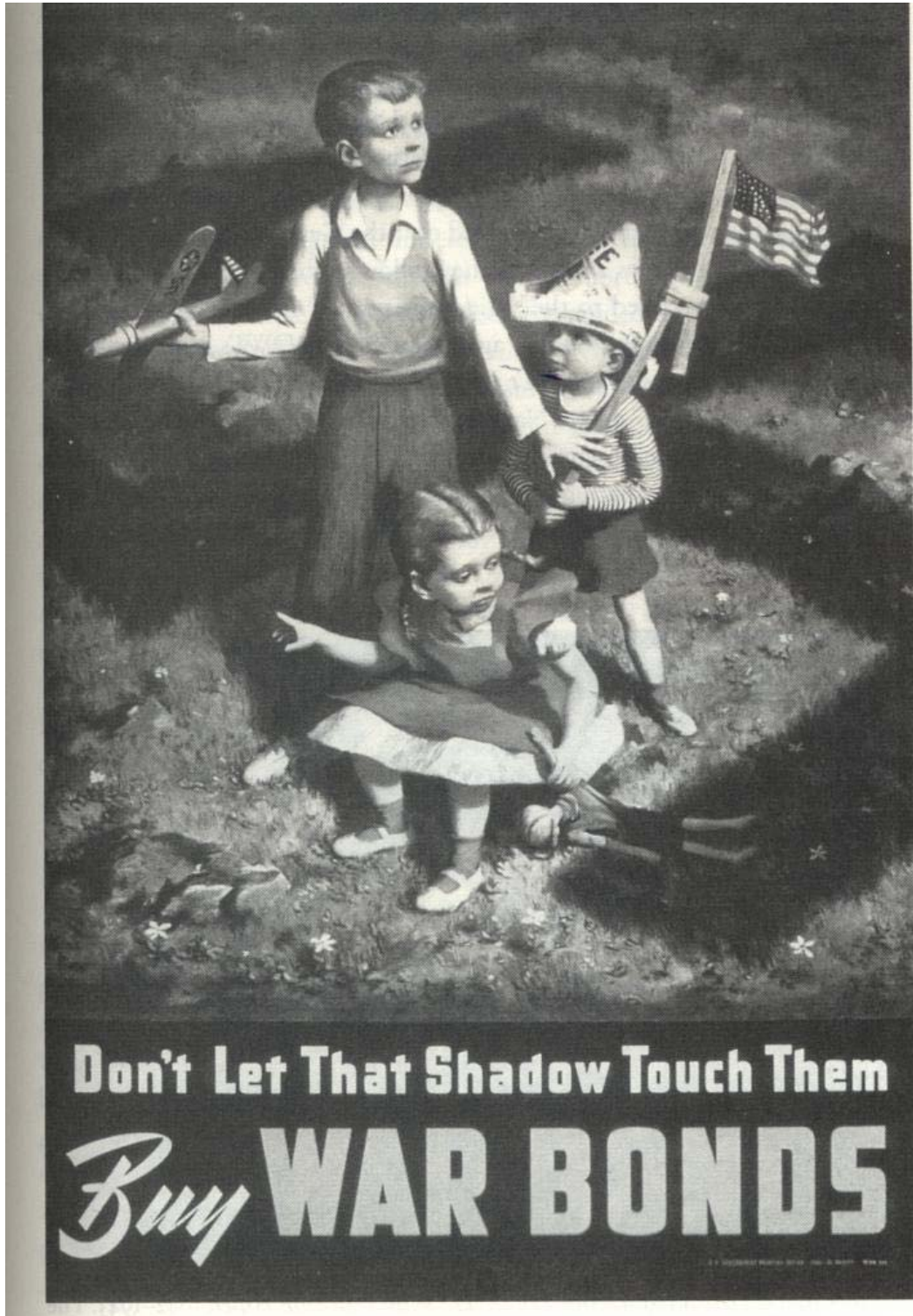
Fig. 9. *Don't Let That Shadow Touch Them*. Advertisement, in *Why America Fights: Patriotism and War Propaganda from the Philippines to Iraq* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 105.
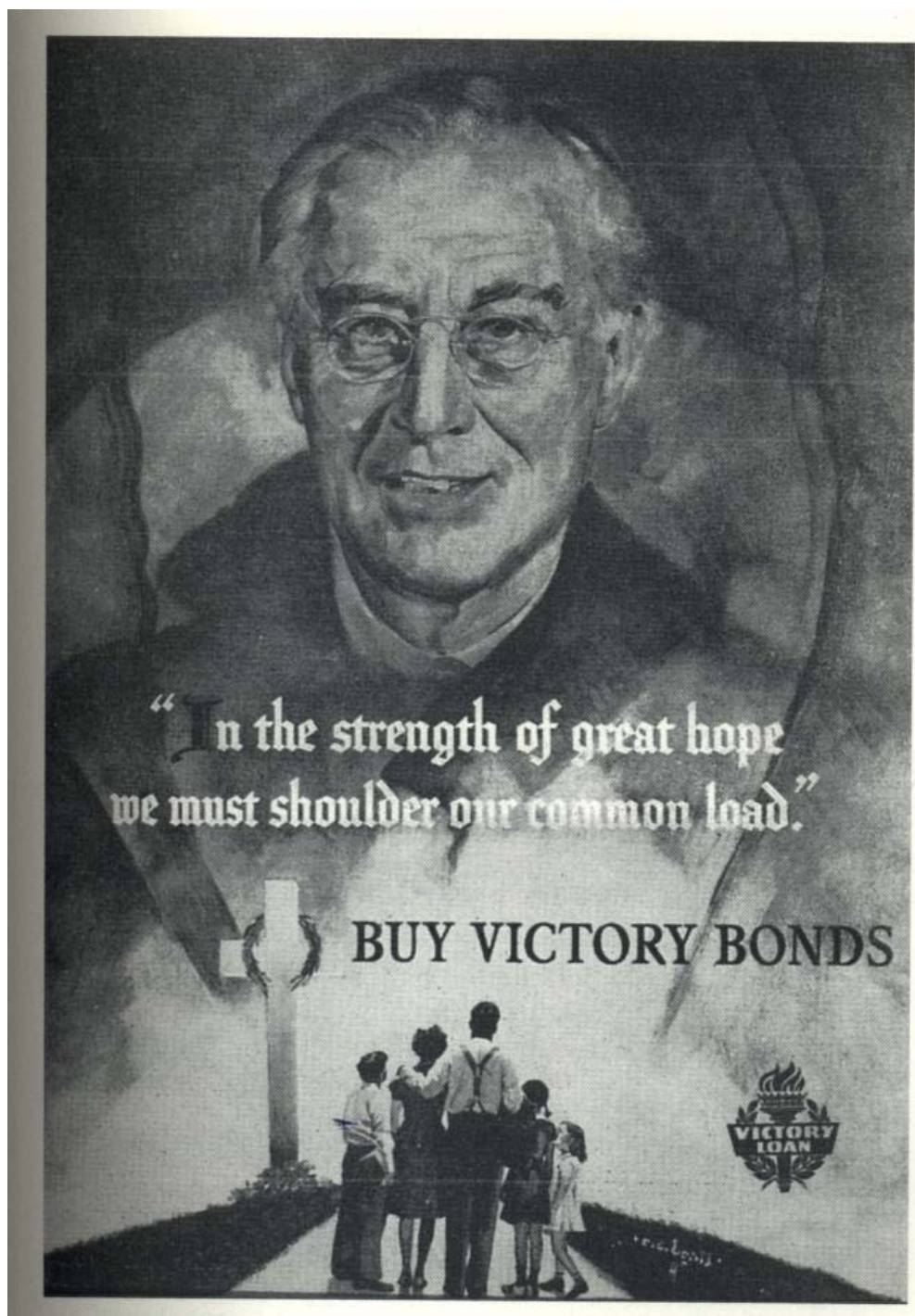
Fig. 10. *In the Strength of Great Common Hope We Must Shoulder Our Common* Load. Advertisement, in *Mobilizing the Home Front: War Bonds and Domestic Propaganda*. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2006), 123.

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You Can Put a Nazi Out of the War!, 1943. Database on-line. Duke University Libraries: Digital Collections. http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/ada ccess.W0329/pg.1/ Accessed 13 January 2010.

Notes

[1] James J. Kimble, Mobilizing the Home Front: War Bonds and Domestic Propaganda (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2006), 5.

[2] Ibid, 3-4.

[3] Ibid, 3-4.

[4] Susan Brewer, Why America Fights: Patriotism and War Propaganda from the Philippines to Iraq (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 55.

[5] Ibid, 47.

[6] Kimble, 5.

[7] "George Creel on the Selling of the War, 1920" in Leon Fink, ed., Major Problems in the Gilded Age and the Progressive Era (Lexington: D.C. Heath and Company, 1993), 532.

[8] Stephen Vaughn, Holding Fast the Inner Lines: Democracy, Nationalism and the Committee on Public Information (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 221 & 225.

[9] Kimble, 5.

[10] Ibid, 19-20.

[11] Ibid, 15-16.

[12] Ibid, 5-6.

[13] Ibid, 21 & 23.

[14] Ibid, 24-25.

[15] U.S. Department of Treasury, Promotional Research Section: War Finance Division. Factual Information: The Seven War Loans, War Savings Bonds and Stamps, 14th ed. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1945), 18.

[16] Ibid, 29-30.

[17] Ibid, 2.

[18] Ibid, 30.

[19] Kimble, 32.

[20] Ibid, 37.

[21] U.S. Department of Treasury, 2.

[22] Although the soldier depicted in the image is dead, he appears conscious as a zombie-like figure in order to personify death as well as the terrors of war that will haunt those who survive it.

[23] As seen in Figure 3, this advertisement also employs photographic images to drive home its message. The decision to employ photographic images, rather than illustrations as seen in Figure 1

and Figure 2, may have been an attempt to maximize the advertisement's realistic nature.

[24] Ibid, 2.

[25] This implication is illogical in the sense that the speed, efficiency and/or progress of American involvement during the war was not seriously hindered by lack of funds or materiel. Therefore, purchasing war bonds would do little to hasten the return of the girl's father.

[26] The illogical nature of this argument is similar to that seen in Figure 7.

[27] This ad is unique in the sense that it is about nationalist politics and moral opposition the Nazi cause, which contrasts sharply with the more common emphasis on the financial prospects of postwar consumption often seen in war bond advertisements.

[28] The logic behind this ad's implication is invalid, although for reasons different than those seen in Figures 7 and 8. With the exception of a brief period following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the likelihood of an enemy attack on the American mainland was extremely farfetched. Even during the brief period mentioned above, the threat was conceived as being of Japanese, not Nazi origin.

[29] Kimble, 102.

[30] Ibid, 122.

[31] Ibid, 134.

[32] John Jones, <u>All Out for Victory: Magazine Advertisements and the World War II Home Front</u> (Waltham: Brandeis University Press, 2009), 252. & U.S. Department of Treasury, 2.