In Search of the Lost Canon in Sociology:
A Teaching Resource and Annotated Bibliography

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Introduction

In my graduate training in sociology, the "classics" we read in my sociological theory seminar consisted literally of three dead European white men: Karl Marx, Max Weber, and Emile Durkheim. Indeed, while some classical sociology courses might add a smattering of other readings from U.S. white male sociologists from the Chicago School, or pre-sociology philosophers like Hegel or Comte, the "big three" listed above make up the sociological canon in graduate programs throughout the country (Thomas & Kukulan 2004). As Joey Sprague (1997, p. 89) notes, the canon isn't just a list of influential readings—it is imbued with "images of sacredness and power." The observation that the core canon in the social sciences is comprised of the work of those who are affectionately referred to as "the dead white men" is now almost a cliché. However, graduate training has yet to catch up with the rest of the contributors to the growth of our disciplines.

While I very much appreciate the "big three" and honor their legacy in my introductory classes, I began to discover a lost canon within sociology consisting of the contributions of early sociologists who were people of color and white women. I felt a sense of betrayal that I had never been taught about their work in my long years of graduate school. However, as the fields of women's and ethnic studies have taught us, we are often offered lies of omission in our academic training. These fields have made clear that many people who are not European and male have made important contributions to the social sciences if only we look for them.

I have felt a huge thirst to learn more and to find my "intellectual ancestors" within sociology. It was tremendously exciting, for example, to discover that Jane Addams, best known for her work with Hull House, was a sociologist who published articles in sociology journals during the late 19th century and was deeply involved in the network of sociologists who founded the first Ph.D. program in sociology in the U.S., at the University of Chicago. This is something I never, not once, learned in my eight years of graduate training in sociology. Similarly, while I might have learned in high school social studies that W.E.B. DuBois was an African-American activist who often had conflicts with Booker T. Washington, I never learned that he was a sociologist who wrote a pioneering work in urban sociology entitled *The Philadelphia Negro*. It is not enough simply to learn *about* such scholars, I must know read and study the contributions of such lost sociologists directly in the same way that I read and studied Marx, Weber and Durkheim. We can't teach what we don't know.

So I built myself a reading list—a series of "remedial classes," so to speak, that would help me recover a history of work by white women and men of women of color in the early development of sociology, as well as the early work in sociology from sociologists in Asia, Africa and Latin America. I knew such a reading list could be built because other scholars have begun the work of digging out this erased history. I saw it as remedial because the contributions to sociology by Third World scholars, and by women and by men of color in U.S. are something that I should have been taught in graduate school.

I also hoped that teaching myself about this lost canon would allow me to offer my students a legacy in sociology of voices that have been silenced but who also, in spite of their deliberate marginalization, made important intellectual contributions to the discipline. Sociologist of education Dorothy Smith wrote (1999, p. 150), "some students learn that their own voices have authority, that they count and should be heard; others learn their lack." Most of my students at De Anza learn their lack of voice when studying the core texts of the social sciences. Roughly 35% of De Anza students are Asian-American, 23% are white, 12% are

Latino and 5% are Filipino. For the last several years, I have been teaching students who are primarily Latino, Filipino and African-American in a program for first year college students. This project reflects my desire to offer my students the *reality* of the history of the discipline of sociology in which people who are *like them*, in terms of race, class, gender or culture, made significant contributions to the study of social life.

Scholars in the field of multicultural education have made very clear how important it is for working class students and students of color to feel connected to course curriculum and to see models of people like them making intellectual contributions to our knowledge base. For example, at the June 2007 Stanford Professional Development Institute which focused on "Pedagogies and Practices for Successfully Reaching African American Students," Dr. Edwin Javius stressed that African American students are more likely to succeed in their classes when they are provided "culturally relevant literature reflecting positive role models." Similarly, Dr. Lisa Delpit (2008), a pioneer in multicultural education, argues that students can find their own brilliance when they understand the intellectual legacy of their cultural groups. Dr. Joseph Johnson (2007) has found that multicultural approaches help improve the retention and success rates of traditionally disadvantaged students.

What follows is an annotated bibliography, in a format most useful to me as a teacher: notes and quotes. As someone who teaches introductory sociology as my bread-and-butter, I have tried to compile a document that will be directly useful in my teaching. I am hoping as well that it will be useful to other teachers in the social sciences. I have appended my original reading list, but this document will be organized somewhat differently than my original ordering. I have chosen to organize this document somewhat chronologically and conceptually rather than demographically. I will "tell the story" of sociology based on what I have learned from our lost canon. This document is necessarily incomplete; with each reading, I learned how much more there is to study. A list of resources for further readings is also included at the end.

<u>Setting Sociology within History</u>

As a teacher, I have begun to use timelines in the introduction to the discipline, in order to help my students both get a sense of massive global social changes over the last two centuries and the concomitant intellectual developments generated by those changes (see final appendix). Sociology is one of the classes my students take to fulfill the requirements of their general education pattern and yet they have no understanding of why they even are asked to complete a "general education" or how the actual disciplines within that pattern fit together. Increasingly, I try to draw out the distinctions among the social sciences by placing them within history. I also want them to understand why sociology has focused on particular sets of issues and how the social problems of the 19th century were agenda-setting for the discipline.

Sociology is a young discipline. I describe it to my students as one of the "teenager" disciplines, barely more than a century old. The wise elder disciplines of philosophy and history gave birth to the social sciences in the 19th century. The social sciences are the intellectual legacy of the Age of Enlightenment and the development of scientific method and are a historical response to the turmoil generated by industrialization, colonialism, democratization, secularization, and urbanization.

Although I organized my original reading list by demographics (See appendix—people of color, white women, and Third World sociology), this annotated bibliography is organized roughly by time period. The first section includes writing from the time before sociology became institutionalized in the academy, primarily the early to mid-1800s. The second section includes writing at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, when sociology in

the U.S. was born and established as an academic discipline. The final section is a bit more thematic than chronological, although it focuses largely on the 20th century, and addresses the ways in which colonized peoples "talked back" to the academy and began to criticize and participate in the social science disciplines in important ways.

SECTION ONE: The Gestation and Birth of Sociology, 1790s-1880s

My reading list began with Wollstonecraft in 1792, as one of the first analyses of the status of women and, though the language of the time doesn't reflect this, the social construction of gender. It wasn't until the 1830s, though, that the notion of a science of society begins to percolate. In my own training, August Comte was credited as the founding father of sociology and the man who coined the term, after his first choice—social physics—was taken by an intellectual rival, Adolphe Quetelet (though some sources indicate that the man who coined the term sociology was Emmanuel Sieyes). Comte's desire to call the discipline social physics was indicative of his belief that like the natural world, the social world had "laws of motion" that social science should discover and explicate. So I was taught that Comte was the first to advocate systematizing observation of the social world and applying the scientific method to understanding social life.

I was very surprised then to discover that Comte's classic work *The Course in Positive Philosophy* (1830-1842) entered the English speaking canon in 1853 by way of British social thinker Harriet Martineau's translation *The Positive Philosophy of August Comte*. Her translation and condensation was the favored version of his text, even by Comte himself (Hill & Hoecker-Drysdale 2001). I was also surprised to discover that Harriet Martineau was a contemporary of Comte and that she had written the first methodological guide for systematic social research also in the 1830s, *How to Observe Morals and Manners*. This book is a delightful read and continues to have contemporary relevance, as you'll see from the entry below. I was taught in graduate school that Emile Durkheim's *The Rules of Sociological Method* (1895) was the first guide to social research methods, even though Martineau's guide predates his by over fifty years. Martineau also put her principles of systematic social research to use in an empirical study called *Society in America*, which pre-dates de Tocqueville's classic and mines some of the same contradictions between American values and practices. For these reasons, in addition to her many other works, she should be considered the founding mother of sociology.

Martineau stressed the importance of making systematic observations in order to make generalizations about social life, analogous to how natural scientists make observations. Her description of the basic elements of social research, such as research questions, guiding theories, warding against bias, and sampling for diversity and representativeness, mirror those of the scientific method. Unlike Comte, she was no armchair sociologist—she conducted and published many empirical investigations. As Hill (2001, p. 191) argues "Any sociologies (especially the received sociology of the standard textbooks) that lack the conscious acknowledgment, influence, and impetus of her work are necessarily strange and distorted versions of sociology."

Martineau stands alone in terms of the selections in this bibliography as someone explicitly advocating for an empirical and systematic approach to the study of society. The rest of the selections here can be viewed as social and political thought rather than as social science. The selections in this section includes Wollstonecraft, several readings by and about Harriet Martineau, as well as three anthologies that go back to this pre-institutionalized period of social thought. One anthology addresses women sociologists, another addresses African-American social thinkers and the final includes writing by and about Asian-Americans. In all three anthologies, the school of thought within sociology that became known as social constructionism is evident. These anthologies extend into the 20th century and begin to overlap with Section Two.

Wollstonecraft, Mary. 1996(1792). *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, Inc.

Biographical note: A teacher, governess, and writer, Wollstonecraft (1759-1797) was a British woman who supported herself financially and was unusually well educated for a woman of her time period. Her work can be placed within the Romantic movement and she contributed to an intellectual community that included Thomas Paine and William Blake. Other published works by her include *Thoughts on the Education of Daughters* (1786) and *Historical and Moral View of the Origin and Progress of the French Revolution* (1794). She died as a result of the birth of her second child, Mary Godwin (later Shelley) who went on to write *Frankenstein*.

Summary and key points:

Criticizing the sexism of many of the male intellectuals of her time (especially Jean-Jacques Rousseau), Wollstonecraft argues that woman have the capacity to reason and as a result are deserving of the same "natural rights" as men. Human striving for perfection depends on reason, virtue and knowledge, and these are cultivated by education. She sees women's degraded state as most forcefully the result of lack of education rather than biological inferiority, although she concedes women's biological disadvantages. Women are educated to be dependent and then that dependence is called "natural." They are expected to be under their parents' thumbs well into adulthood, good training to be under their husbands' thumbs later. She argues that the illusion of much accepted sexual difference will dissipate when women are given equal education and liberty as men.

Wollstonecraft indicts women's education of the time as education for *ladies*, rather than human beings. Such education turns women into *dolls*. (Notice that Wollstonecraft is primarily concerned with conditions for middle and upper class women.) Instead of respect, *ladies* are asked to accept pity and/or love. Instead of virtue, *ladies* are asked to cultivate elegance. Instead of strength, *ladies* are expected to develop delicacy. Instead of intelligence, beauty. *Ladies* are kept in a "state of childhood," reduced to sensation rather than intellect. The only route to power for such women is through sneakiness and cunning.

Wollstonecraft questions how women will raise children to be thoughtful citizens if they themselves are only trained to be "objects of desire." Not only will educated women make better mothers, they will make better wives. She argues that good marriages need to outlast youthful beauty and passion and can do so only if both partners are friends and equals. She sees the goal of education as to develop in humans the habits of virtue. Women may have different duties than men, but they are nonetheless human duties, Wollstonecraft argues (p. 50). In order to contribute to public life, women must be reasonable wives and effective mothers and this requires education.

Wollstonecraft also indicts the hypocrisy of chivalry, which puts women on a pedestal while reinforcing their subordinate position relative to men. Marriage is the only route for women to further their own status in society and Wollstonecraft likens it to legal prostitution. Women not attached to a man are economically vulnerable. Wollstonecraft calls for cultivation of women's physical activity as well as their minds in their education. She questions the sexual double standard that expects chastity in women but actively discourages it in men. Wollstonecraft also argues that women ought to have representation in government. What could educated women do? Wollstonecraft suggests they could become physicians, nurses and midwives, politicians

and entrepreneurs. More job opportunities would prevent women from marrying simply for economic support.

Wollstonecraft ends with recommendations. Public education for all children, both boys and girls, must become a national priority and its goal should be to make citizens. In such schools, boys and girls should study similar subjects, engage in similar exercise, dress similarly and be taught vocations. Democracy hinges on the education of women: "To render also the social compact truly equitable, and in order to spread those enlightening principles, which alone can meliorate the fate of man, women must be allowed to found their virtue on knowledge, which is scarcely possible unless they be educated by the same pursuits as men" (p. 180).

Useful and/or juicy quotations:

"Contending for the rights of woman, my main argument is built on this simple principle, that if she be not prepared by education to become the companion of man, she will stop the progress of knowledge and virtue" (p. 2).

"If children are to be educated to understand the true principle of patriotism, their mother must be a patriot; and the love of mankind, from which an orderly train of virtues spring, can only be produced by considering the moral and civil interest of mankind; but the education and situation of woman, at present, shuts her out from such investigations" (p. 2).

"Who made man the exclusive judge, if woman partake with him the gift of reason?" (p. 3).

"If women are not permitted to enjoy legitimate rights, they will render both men and themselves vicious, to obtain illicit privileges" (p. 4).

"Men…considering females rather as women than human creatures, have been more anxious to make them alluring mistresses than affectionate wives and rational mothers" (p. 6).

"The instruction which women have hitherto received has only tended, with the constitution of civil society, to render them insignificant objects of desire" (p. 9).

"Where is then the sexual difference, when the education has been the same? All the difference that I can discern, arises from the superior advantage of liberty, which enables the former to see more of life" (p. 23).

"Taught from their infancy that beauty is woman's sceptre, the mind shapes itself to the body, and, roaming round its gilt cage, only seeks to adorn its prison" (p. 43).

"Confined then in cages like the feathered race, they have nothing to do but to plume themselves, and stalk with mock majesty from perch to perch. It is true they are provided with food and raiment, for which they neither toil nor spin; but health, liberty and virtue, are given in exchange" (p. 56).

"Necessity never makes prostitution the business of men's lives" (p. 72).

"It would almost provoke a smile of contempt, if the vain absurdities of man did not strike us on all sides, to observe, how eager men are to degrade the sex from whom they pretend to receive the chief pleasure of life" (p. 73).

"Trifling employments have rendered woman a trifler" (p. 77).

"Let us then, by being allowed to take the same exercise as boys, not only during infancy, but youth, arrive at perfection of body, that we may know how far the natural superiority of man extends" (p. 87).

"But in order to render their private virtue a public benefit, they must have a civil existence in the state, married or single" (p. 153).

Martineau, Harriet. 1838. How to Observe Morals and Manners. London: Knight (General Books).

Biographical note: As a primary text with no editor, this book includes no information about Harriet Martineau's life.

Summary and key points:

Martineau's objective is to provide travelers and students, "observers of Men and Manners" (p. 2) with a series of tips for making systematic observation of an unfamiliar society. She argues that both as members of our own societies and as visitors to other societies, our conclusions are partial, prejudiced and dependent on an incomplete sample. Yet, we toss off generalizations without hesitation. Martineau suggests instead "methods of safe generalization" (p. 5).

First, the observer must figure out the question or line of inquiry—what s/he wants to know. (In fact, Martineau uses the analogy of a chemist who must design an experiment based on some specific question, suggestion the application of the scientific method to social observation.) Second, the observer must acknowledge his/her own prejudices and work to keep them separate from her/his observations. We must watch out in particular for ethnocentric assumptions. Martineau, though she does not use the word ethnocentrism, warns us against it. There are as many different combinations of "morals and manners" as there are human societies, yet we tend to assumes ours are the only possible combination. The observer should look for the reasons or underlying conditions for particular morals and manners in particular societies. For example, ideas about what is a virtue and what is a vice differ under feudalism than those under industrialization. Third, the observer must be guided by a set of principles (what we would call theory). Fourth, the observer must have sympathy for those s/he observes. This is a practical concern if the observer wants access to people's domestic life and their honest innermost thoughts and feelings.

Martineau addresses some of the practical considerations of doing research in a foreign place and these read as an excellent set of tips for ethnographic field work. The observer needs to travel in such as way as to be able to meet and talk with a wide variety of people. She even suggests that on foot is best, for meeting people and getting the lay of the land. A simple tourist on foot will learn more than a scholar in a fancy carriage. She makes particular point of the importance to talking to people of various class backgrounds. Also, the observer needs to learn the language. She warns that such research will be very tiring. She also recommends making a list of very carefully thought-out "queries"—what we would call an interview schedule--before starting out to keep in mind when talking to people. She advises taking notes immediately after a conversation, so as not to interfere with the flow of the conversation itself, and suggests reviewing one's list of queries after taking notes for thing to follow up on with interviewees. Similarly, the observer must keep a daily journal of comprehensive notes and Martineau warns against writing about oneself rather than what one observes. In addition to this daily journal, Martineau advises keeping a smaller notebook always on hand for getting down immediate details.

Martineau then moves from *how* to observe to *what* to observe. Here is her classic statement on this (p. 29): "The grand secret of wise inquiry into Morals and Manners is to begin with the study of THINGS, using the DISCOURSE OF PERSONS as a commentary upon them." Talking to people is not enough, although it is very important. Martineau argues that we must verify the

degree to which what people say matches up with the material forms of culture. In studying discourse, it is vital to Martineau to interview as diverse a set of people as possible, and most especially the overlooked in society: servants, prisoners, women, slaves. However, the researcher can only interview a small sample of any society and so must also study the THINGS of that society. Among those THINGS that should be observed are institutions and records. She provides an extensive list of both institutions and records, as well as many of the events and activities of daily life that should be observed.

She addresses in their own sections the following topics for research and develops classification systems for each: religion (eg. licentious, ascetic or moderate), moral notions, the conditions of the domestic state (its geography, commerce and agriculture, public health, living conditions, demographics including birth, marriage, and death rates , and the status of women), the idea of liberty and the degree of progress. For each she indicates particular THINGS to study, such as in the case of religion: places of worship, the status of clergy, forms of prayer, superstition and beliefs, and religious holidays. She suggests looking at monuments, epitaphs and the layouts of cemeteries to get a sense of moral notions, as well as asking people about their heroes and idols and investigating laws, most common crimes, and punishments for law violation. She also advises what we would now call content analysis of popular songs and national literature (both fiction and non-fiction) for notions of morality. She see the idea of liberty as embodied in the relationship between the people and their authority figures, such as police, as well as in a country's system of government, its class structure, its public school system, its newspapers and the degree of freedom of expression. Measures of progress, for Martineau, include the degree of social mobility in a society, its degree of diversity (more diverse=more advanced), and the degree of safety net for its most vulnerable populations.

Useful and/or juicy quotations:

"The powers of observation must be trained, and habits of method in arranging the materials presented to the eye must be acquired before the student possesses the requisites for understanding what he contemplates" (p. 2).

"Here then is the wise traveler's aim, to be kept in view to the exclusion of prejudice, both philosophical and national. He must not allow himself to be perplexed or disgusted by seeing the great ends of human association pursued by means which he could never have devised, and to the practice of which he could not reconcile himself" (p. 7).

"The observer who sets out with a more philosophical belief, not only escapes the affliction of seeing sin wherever he sees difference, and avoids the suffering of contempt and alienation from his species, but, by being prepared for what he witnesses, and aware of the causes, is free from the agitation of being shocked and alarmed, preserves his calmness, his hope, his sympathy; and is thus far better fitted to perceive, understand, and report upon the morals and manners of the people he visits. His more philosophical belief, derived from all fair evidence and just reflection, is, that every man's feelings of right and wrong, instead of being born with him, grow up in him from the influences to which he is subjected" (p. 11).

"Unless a traveler interprets by his sympathies what he sees, he cannot but misunderstand the greater part of that which comes under his observation. He will not be admitted with freedom into the retirements of domestic life; the instructive commentary on all the facts of life, discourse, will be of a slight and superficial character. People will talk to him of the things they

care least about, instead of seeking his sympathy about the affairs which are deepest in their hearts. He will be amused with public spectacles, and informed of historical and chronological facts; but he will not be invited to weddings and christenings; he will hear no love-tales; domestic sorrows will be kept secrets from him; the old folks will not pour out their stories to him, nor the children bring him their prattle" (p. 20).

"The voice of a whole people goes up in the silent workings of an institution; the condition of the masses is reflected from the surface of a record" (p. 29).

"If you can converse face to face with a convict, as man with man, you can hardly fail to be instructed…By thus conversing with a variety of offenders, you will be put in possession of the causes of crime, of the views of society upon the relative gravity of offences, and of the condition of hope or despair in which those are left who have broken the laws, and are delivered over to shame" (p. 58).

"The degree of the degradation of woman is as good a test as the moralist can adopt for ascertaining the state of domestic morals in any country" (p. 78).

"The lowest order of charity is that which is satisfied in relieving the immediate pressure of distress in individual cases. A higher is that which makes provision on a large scale for the relief of such distress…the highest charity of all is that which aims at the prevention rather than the alleviation of evil" (p. 95).

"To the prospects of the sufferers of society, let the observer look; and he will discern the prospects of the society itself" (p. 96).

"As he [the observer] proceeds, he will learn to condemn less, and to admire, not less, but differently" (p. 102).

"To a healthy mind, it is impossible to mix largely with men, under a variety of circumstances, and wholly to despise either societies or individuals" (p. 102).

"Mechanical methods are nothing but in proportion to the power which uses them, as the intellectual accomplishments of the traveler avail him little, and may even bring him back less wise than he went out, a wanderer from truth, as well as from home, unless he sees by a light from his heart shining through the eyes of his mind. He may see, and hear, and record, and infer, and conclude for ever; and he will still not understand if his heart be idle, if he have not sympathy" (p.106).

Martineau, Harriet. 1837. *Society in America*. New York: Sunders and Otley (Nabu Public Domain Reprints).

Biographical note: As a primary text with no editor, this book includes no information about Harriet Martineau's life.

Summary and key points:

The introduction is basically a chapter describing Martineau's research methods. She opens with her hesitations about putting into print her observations of America, but argues the importance of passing on knowledge in service of understanding. Her approach is to compare American society to its own stated principles of its founding. After reading whatever she could get her hands on about America, she spent two years in the U.S. covering as much territory as possible and talking to as many different people as possible. She made it as far south as New Orleans and as far west as Chicago. She visited prisons, asylums, hospitals, factories, plantations, farms, and universities and witnessed many different ordinary activities. She travelled among several Native American tribes and also interviewed Black freedmen and slaves. She makes special point to mention that as a woman, she had access as a man would not to the "the nursery, the boudoir, the kitchen" (p. xii). She also makes a point to mention her partial deafness, which required her to carry a ear trumpet. She acknowledges the disadvantages of this in terms of catching casual conversation but also points out that people will share intimacies with her because of speaking directly into the trumpet. She reviews the ethical principle she maintained in her research, which was to make sure that things told to her in confidence were not identified specifically with their owners.

The rest of the book focuses on politics in Part 1, including parties, the three branches of government, and what she calls the "morals of politics," and the economy in Part 2, including regional variations in forms of commerce and agriculture and geographical descriptions.

Martineau is a supporter of the American principles of self-government and asks whether the U.S. is living up to the promise of those principles. While she finds that the aristocratic class bemoans the "leveling spirit" of America, this is in part because of the success of democratizing forces (p. 11). She observes that security of property through law and order is equally valued among the rich and struggling, if they own property. She is amused by the antagonism of the two parties, which seem essentially to similar to her, but argues that this "mutual watchfulness" is good for the security of the system (p. 17). She makes a similar observation about the safeguards embedded in the states vs. federal conflicts. Overall, she is amazed that Americans do seem to have shed the European legacy of class and status hierarchies. Here is a very clear statement of the ideology that came to be known as the American dream: "In the United States, the prospect is that each will succeed. Paupers may obtain what they want, and proprietors may keep that which they have" (p. 22). Key features to Martineau of American democracy is its flexibility and self-correcting mechanisms.

She notes that there are several issues that test the balance between state and federal power to govern. Slavery is one such issue, and it also tests the American principle of equality. Martineau views it as an "anomaly" in the American political system which is doomed (p. 81). She sees the existence of a Senate and lifetime appointments for judges as violations of republicanism. She underestimates the power of the executive branch—the term of the president is short and "if he does not proceed in accordance with public sentiment, he has no

power" (p. 56). She reviews presidents up to her time and finds only in Andrew Jackson the potential danger for tyranny; even he, though, will quickly pass out of the minds of Americans who are almost congenitally future-oriented. Martineau views the state governments as a conservative check on federal power and also as an institution that encourages average men, not just rich men, to get involved in politics on a more local level. The locality of state government also gives it the power to legislate solutions quickly and conveniently. Though states have tried to rebel, nonetheless the federal government has enough power to keep the union together. She acknowledges the desire for secession in the South but predicts its inevitable failure because slaves would simply escape north, endangering the very institution of slavery that is the South's reason for secession. She sees the secession talk (state's rights talk) as an attempt to distract attention from slavery.

In the chapter on the morals of politics, she addresses the tendency for political candidates, rather than to tell the truth, to tailor their opinions with what they believe the majority wants to hear. Martineau believes that the people would rather have the truth from their political leaders but observes that the American public enjoys being flattered by its politicians. She notes that politicians will take advantage of disasters in order to further their own interests and calls this "the prostitution of moral sentiment" (p. 99). She also points out the constraints on politicians—it is easier to get elected than to make the changes one wants to while in office.

Martineau condemns the American press as well as its politicians. American newspapers, according to Martineau, shade and suppress the truth and outright lie at times. She suggests that people tacitly approve this if they do not demand the truth from the press.

Martineau argues that American democracy is not fulfilled if people do not express their dissent. She observes apathy and refusal to vote among some Americans that belies their reputation as democratic. Some of this political apathy is due to fear of the opinion of others.

Martineau makes interesting observations about race and class in the U.S. For example, Martineau observes that mob behavior, such as lynching, is more likely to be committed by upper class Americans than working class Americans. She returns to the institution of slavery as contrary to democratic principles. She sees the U.S. as held hostage by slaveholders and in particular condemns all those Americans who do not actively speak out against slavery as complicit in the institution. Slavery also exacerbates regional prejudices that pit American against American. The institution is directly involved with battles over the land that will become the state of Texas and white Southerners motivation to take that land from Mexico.

She addresses the issue of race more directly in the chapter on "Citizenship of People of Colour." She has a subtle eye for the effects of privilege, recounting a white man telling her that people of color in New England were treated very well and then analyzes why "this gentleman certainly believe he was telling me the truth" though it was not in fact the case (p. 145). Martineau points out that such a man wouldn't notice that schools for children of color were shut down and wouldn't notice the thousands slights against people of color. White people take the poor treatment of people of color for granted as justified by their racial inferiority. She also highlights the hypocrisy of American racism alongside the principles of equality and democracy. There are a few whites who work against racism in the abolitionist movement.

Martineau puts sexism alongside racism as a betrayal of American values. She points out that the "consent of the governed" is not achieved when women do not have political representation. In some states, women are not allowed to hold property and may be forcibly divorced from their husbands. She scoffs at the argument that women shouldn't be allowed involvement in politics because it would require mixing with men in public meetings, when women already do so in church, entertainment venues and commercial interactions. She also scoffs at the argument that women share the same interests as their husbands and fathers, pointing out that "the interests of women who have fathers and husbands can never be identical with theirs, while there is a necessity for laws to protect women against their husbands and fathers" (p. 150). She argues that Europeans didn't believe commoners could rule, until the Americans put commoners in leadership and the same lesson will apply to women.

Martineau also comments on immigration. She notes that many Americans complain about immigrants but she argues that the influx of diverse immigrants is one of America's strengths.

Part 2 is less analytical and persuasive in form and has the quality of a travelogue, in which Martineau tries to paint a picture of the places and people she met on her journey. It is primarily description, with little commentary. She is charmed by the natural beauty of America and notes its abundance of resources for making a living. Her condemnations of slavery pepper her descriptions of travel in the South. Her stance on Native Americans is contradictory but reflects the ethnocentrism of the times. She refers to them as savage, though perhaps "civilizable," while condemning white encroachment on the Indian lands she passes through and commenting that "the whites seem to have neither honour nor mercy towards the red men" (p. 288).

She observes the centrality of land and the concept of land as a central resource of the nation, as well as the importance of property rights to Americans. She notes that in some regions, manufacturing is replacing agriculture as the center of the economy. She predicts that the competition of free labour in manufacturing in the North will defeat slavery in the South. Slavery is a political anomaly but also an economic one, according to Martineau. She points out the constant stream of slaves who escape that is also weakening the institution. The intense reaction against the abolitionists is also a sign of progress for Martineau, suggesting that the movement must be gaining ground to provoke such hostility. Also, slaveholders themselves have a sense of the immorality of the institution. They would not prevent the teaching of reading and writing to slaves if they did not understand that slaves have minds and the ability to reason. Martineau ends the book with a call for the end of slavery.

Useful and/or juicy quotations:

"The government of the United State is disputed at every step of its workings: but the bulk of the people declare that it works well, while every man is his own security for his life and property" (p. 17).

"The striking effect upon a stranger of witnessing, for the first time, the absence of poverty, of gross ignorance, of all servility, of all insolence of manner, cannot be exaggerated in description" (p. 20).

"There is no hereditary humbug in the United States" (p.65).

"The people can bear, and do prefer to hear the truth. It is a crime to withhold it from them; and a double crime to substitute flattery" (p. 89).

"Nothing is easier than to make the people know only one side of a question; few things are easier than to keep from them altogether the knowledge of any particular affair; and, worse than all, on them may easily be practiced the discovery that lies may work their intended effect, before the truth can overtake them. It is hard to tell which is worst; the wide diffusion of things that are not true, or the suppression of things are true" (p. 109).

"If it were only borne in mind that rulers derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, surely all conscientious men would see the guilt of any man acquiescing in the rule of governors whom he disapproves, by not having recorded his dissent" (p. 117).

"The other cause of this gentleman's mistake was that he did not, from long custom, feel some things to be injuries, which he would call anything but good treatment if he had to bear them himself. Would he think it good treatment to be forbidden to eat with fellow-citizens; to be assigned to a particular gallery in his church; to be excluded from college, from municipal office, from professions, from scientific and literary associations? If he felt himself excluded from every department of society, but its humiliations and drudgery, would he declare himself to be 'perfectly well-treated in Boston?' (pp. 144-45).

"The common argument, about the inferiority of the coloured race, bears no relation whatever to this question. They are citizens. They stand, as such, in the law, and in the acknowledgment of everyone who knows the law. They are citizens, yet their houses and schools are pulled down, and they can obtain no remedy at law. They are thrust out of offices, and excluded from the most honourable employments, and stripped of all the best benefits of society by fellow-citizens who, once a year, solemnly lay their hands on their hearts, and declare that all men are born free and equal, and that rulers derive their just powers from the consent of the governed" (pp. 145-46).

"Governments in the United States have power to enslave certain women; and also to punish other women for inhuman treatment of such slaves. Neither of these powers are 'just,' not being derived from the consent of the governed" (p. 148).

"The question has been asked, from time to time, in more countries than one, how obedience to the laws can be required of women, when no woman has, either actually or virtually, given any assent to any law" (p. 149).

"The blending of qualities, physical and intellectual, the absorption of national prejudices, the increase of mental resources, will be found in the end highly conducive to the elevation of national character. America will find herself largely blessed in this way, however much she may now complain of the immigration of strangers. She complains of some for their poverty; but such bring a will to work, and a capacity for labour. She complains of others for their coming from countries governed by despotism; but it is the love of freedom which they cannot enjoy at home, that brings such. She complains of others that they keep up their national languages, manners and modes of thinking, while they use her privileges of citizenship. This may appear ungracious; but it proceeds from that love of country and home institutions which will make staunch American patriots of their children's children" (pp. 160-61).

"A walk through a lunatic asylum is far less painful than a visit to the slave quarter of an estate" (p. 224).

"The wit and humour of Americans, abundant under ordinary circumstances, are never, I believe, known to fail in emergencies, serious or trifling" (p. 240).

"The possession of land is the aim of all action, generally speaking, and the cure for all social evils, among men in the United States" (p. 292).

"None know so little of the true character and capabilities of Negroes as their owners" (p. 357).

"They have been brought up in the system. To them, the moral deformity of the whole is much obscured by its nearness; while the small advantages, and slight prettinesses which it is very easy to attach to it, are prominent, and always in view. These circumstances prevent my being surprised at the candour with which they not only discussed the question, but showed me all that was to be seen of the economical management of the plantations; the worse as well as the best. Whatever I learned of the system, by express showing, it must be remembered, was from the hands of the slave-holders themselves. Whatever I learned, that lies deepest down in my heart, of the moral evils, the unspeakable vices and woes of slavery, was from the lips of those who are suffering under them on the spot" (p. 378).

"I was frequently told of the 'endearing relation' subsisting between master and slaves; but, at the best, it appeared to me the same 'endearing relation' which subsists between a man and his horse, between a lady and her dog" (p. 381).

"As long as the slave remains ignorant, docile, and contented, he is taken good care of, humoured, and spoken of with a contemptuous, compassionate kindness. But, from the moment he exhibits the attributes of a rational being,--from the moment his intellect seems to come into the most distant competition with that of whites, the most deadly hatred springs up;--not in the black, but in his oppressors. It is a very old truth that we hate those whom we have injured" (pp. 381-82).

"All those who are not with the abolitionists are against them; for silence and inaction are public acquiescence in things as they are" (p. 390).

Hill, Michael R. and Susan Hoecker-Drysdale. 2001. *Harriet Martineau: Theoretical and Methodological Perspectives.* NY: Routledge.

Chapter One, "Taking Harriet Martineau Seriously in the Classroom and Beyond" by Michael R. Hill and Susan Hoecker-Drysdale

This chapter discusses how to use Martineau's work in sociology classes. The authors give basic biographical information about Martineau. She was one of eight children born into a middle-class family in England. She was self-taught. She supported herself financially through writing and never married after a fiancé died. She was raised as a Unitarian but became increasingly secular throughout her life. She was in an intellectual community that included Florence Nightingale, Charles Dickens, George Eliot, Charlotte Bronte, Charles Darwin and William Wordsworth. Beyond her classics, notable writings include *Illustrations of Political Economy* (1830-1834), *England and her Soldiers* (1859, with Nightingale), and *Health, Husbandry and Handicraft* (1859). Various sociologists have tried to recover and promote Martineau's works including Seymour Martin Lipset in the 1960s and Alice Rossi in the 1970s. Hill and Hoecker-Drysdale suggest that one of the challenges of teaching Martineau's work is "to make the implicit theory more explicit" (p. 14). They offer references for learning more about her intellectual biography and make suggestions for particular subject areas in sociology in which Martineau's work could be assigned.

Chapter Two, "Harriet Martineau and the Unitarian Connection" by Pat Duffy Hutcheon

This chapter focuses on Martineau's socialization into Unitarianism. Hutcheon describes Unitarianism, a movement of dissenters, and related movements in England and the U.S. Hutcheon argues that this tradition in Martineau cultivated radical politics, scientific and rational thinking, and a sensitivity to the experience of being an outsider. Her partial deafness reinforced this last quality. Her first publications were in a Unitarian periodical. In her travels in the U.S., she relied on her Unitarian contacts. She was acquainted with Ralph Waldo Emerson, Margaret Fuller, and William Ellery Channing and allied herself with American abolitionism. She became decreasingly religious over her life, though Hutcheon argues that she would have been a supporter of the trend toward humanism that Unitarianism later developed in the U.S.

Chapter Three, "Making Lemonade: Harriet Martineau on Being Deaf" by Mary Jo Deegan

Deegan's goal in this chapter to reflect on Martineau's life through the conceptual lens of disability studies. In her adolescence, Martineau lost some of her hearing, and her senses of taste and smell. Deegan develops a model of how Martineau adjusted to her hearing loss through stages—denial, shame, floundering, acceptance and integration ("making lemonade"). Deegan suggests that reading was a refuge for Martineau. Deegan also argues that Martineau's hearing loss pushed her to cultivate *observation* as a research method, because it was her habit even before becoming a scholar. Deegan analyzes one of Martineau's published writings on deafness, "Letter to the Deaf" (1834), as a sort of guide to reconstructing an social identity as a deaf person. Deegan also summarizes Martineau's analysis of the social experience of living with various types of disabilities in 1838's *Retrospect of Western Travel* and two unsigned pieces published in Charles Dickens' *Household Words*. Deegan suggests that Martineau's work should be placed alongside Goffman's *Stigma* in disability studies classes, as pre-contemporary sociological works about disability.

Chapter Four, "A Methodological Comparison of Harriet Martineau's Society in America (1837) and Alexis de Tocqueville's Democracy in America (1835-1840)" by Michael R. Hill

De Tocqueville continues to be well cited in the social sciences in the U.S., while Martineau's work remains largely unrecognized. This chapter argues that Martineau collected better data than de Tocqueville. While both came as foreigners (de Tocqueville from France), traveled extensively and interviewed with leading citizens, Martineau collected observations guided by a series of methodological principles while de Tocqueville made only adhoc observations. She had written the first draft of *How to Observe Morals and Manners* on the ship ride across the Atlantic. Martineau had systematic methods for record-keeping, while de Tocqueville admits in his own journal, "I have only taken in this conversation what accorded with all the notions I had already received" (p. 66). Martineau spent two years in the U.S., de Tocqueville only 9 months. Though Martineau had to use an ear trumpet, de Tocqueville spoke limited English. De Tocqueville only interviewed upper class men, and an unusual number of French-speakers. Martineau interviewed men and women across class levels, including white people and people of color. Hill summarizes the comparison: "Tocqueville purported to write on 'democracy' in the U.S., but he did so from the perspective of a privilege, white male at a time when only propertied white men had the franchise. His methodological choices simply confirmed his elite perspective. Martineau, by contrast, embraced a far wider conception of democracy. Hence, methodogically, she pursued empirical strategies that allowed her to see the structural effects of white male privilege on the disenfranchised sectors of American society" (p. 74).

Chapter Five, "The Meaning of 'Things:' Theory and Method in Harriet Martineau's *How to Observe Morals and Manners* (1838) and Emile Durkheim's *The Rules of Sociological Method* (1895)" by Patricia Madoo Lengermann and Jill Niebrugge

Madoo Lengermann and Niebrugge argue that it is Martineau who should be seen as the trunk of the sociology tree, and Durkheim as one of the later branches. Martineau's insistence on studying social relations through THINGS predates Durkheim's famous statement about studying social facts as things. Martineau insists on studying things for methodological reasons—one cannot interview everyone in a society, so the things of that society can help increase the representativeness of one's generalizations. Durkheim focuses on social facts as things because they represent underlying social structures of which most people are ignorant. What Martineau refers to as morals, Durkheim refers to as "collective representations." On the other hand, Martineau's purpose for studying social life was to try to determine how morals and manners promote the greatest happiness, while Durkheim's goal is to figure out the abstract universal structures of social life: "The heart of Martineau's analysis is her concern with the production of human happiness which she sees as dependent on three tendencies in a people's morals and manners, which we could almost speak of as their support of 'liberty, equality, fraternity'" (pp. 91-2). Unlike Durkheim, Martineau was writing for a general audience, because there was no social scientific audience when she published *How to Observe Morals and Manners*. Durkheim urges the sociologist to cultivate distance in studying society, whereas Martineau urges sympathy. Durkheim relies on secondary data and government statistics. Martineau also uses these forms of data, but relies primarily on direct observation and analysis of discourse. The authors see Martineau as the ancestor of feminist and interpretive traditions in sociology, whereas Durkheim is obviously a cheerleader for positivist and functionalist approaches. The continued neglect of Martineau in the sociological canon both reflects and reinforces patriarchy within the academy.

Chapter Six, " 'Words on Work': Harriet Martineau's Sociology of Work and Occupations—Part I: Her Theory of Work" by Susan Hoecker-Drysdale

According to Hoecker-Drysdale, Martineau's study of work rests on two core ideas: work as the essence of self and work as scientific object. Work is "the essential lens through which to view society" (p. 100). Martineau did empirical research comparing domestic service in England, Ireland, Scotland and the U.S. Hoecker-Drysdale lists Martineau's grounding theoretical principles regarding work: 1) work is an essential aspect of being human, 2) work expresses self and agency, 3) work as a vocation, 4) work as both physical and mental, 5) leisure as essential, 6) the meaning of work in a given society as telling about that society, 7) the immorality of appropriating totally the work of another, 8) the need for freedom of development for individual workers, 9) the division of labor as a reflection of political economy, and 10) how technology facilitates progress. Martineau also advocates rights in the context of work, including the right to work, to full citizenship, to education, and to fair and safe working conditions.

Chapter Seven, " 'Words on Work': Harriet Martineau's Sociology of Work and Occuations—Part II: Empirical Investigations" by Susan Hoecker-Drysdale

Martineau completed several extensive empirical investigations of work and occupations including manufacturing and industry in Birmingham, agriculture, domestic service, soldiering in the military, teaching and childcare, dressmaking and sewing, and nursing. Her investigations focused on the following issues: division of labor, social change, working conditions, wages, health, safety and environmental impact, leisure, employer-employee relations, work ethic, the meaning and value of work, mechanization, globalization and the relationship between work and family. Hoecker-Drysdale argues that two primary assumptions underly Martineau's research: her belief in progress and her belief in technology as labor-saving.

Martineau is concerned about the separation of head and hand work and the subsequent devaluing of hand work. She makes a particular contribution to the subfield of gender and work. She criticizes the infantilization of middle and upper class women who have no access to employment but she also criticizes the working conditions for working class women. As Hoecker-Drysdale notes, Martineau found that "any work that women customarily do at home is poorly paid when done in the workforce. Women's work, such as sewing, nursing, cooking, both is and is not professional, and therefore is likely to be considered little more than ordinary. Additionally, women's work is often invisible, as in the cases of agricultural labour, household labour, work in their husbands' businesses and artisan shops. Their work is difficult and burdensome. Lower paid women, such as the maids of all-work, are likely to carry heavy workloads and therefore risk life and health" (p. 137).

Chapter Eight, "The Florence Nightingale-Harriet Martineau Collaboration" by Lynn McDonald

Nightingale and Martineau were mutual fans and collaborated, primarily through correspondence, on several research projects and activist efforts. They did research on public health in the military, the nursing profession, contagious diseases, and public health in India. One notable area of their mutual activism was against a law that would mandate compulsory testing and treatment of prostitutes for sexual transmitted diseases. In a letter to the editor they both signed, they argue "it is unjust to punish the sex who are the victims of a vice, and leave unpunished the sex who are the main causes" (p. 163). Both women are critical of what

we would now call the double standard.

Chapter Nine, "Harriet Martineau and the Positivism of Auguste Comte" by Susan Hoecker-Drysdale

This chapter sets out to explore Martineau's own views on Comte's positivism, beyond her influential translation of his work. Martineau was motivated to translate Comte because she believed in the importance of his work, thought the original version was too wordy, and received a commission to translate it (for which she shared some of the money with Comte). She condensed it from 4700 pages down to 1000, and Comte liked it so much he had her version retranslated into French.

Hoecker-Drysdale argues that, like many other British positivists of the time, Martineau accepts some of Comte's ideas and breaks with others. Martineau agreed with the following of Comte's principles: 1) empiricism is the basis of knowledge, 2) the sciences are methodologically coherent, 3) knowledge is unfolding in accordance with the Law of Three Stages, 4) that science should be practical, 5) that theory and empiricism must be linked, 6) that the world can be understood objectively, and 6) that progress depends on science (p. 185). On the other hand, Martineau rejected Comte's elitism (including his sexism and classism). She also did not follow his increasing mysticism as he attempted to turn sociology into a Religion of Humanity with himself as the High Priest and refused his requests that she translate his later works.

Epilogue, "Martineauian Sociology and Our Disciplinary Future" by Michael R. Hill

In this epilogue, Hill makes the case of taking Martineau serious as a founder of the discipline. He lists the core traits she represented which include reasoning and empiricism, rigorous methodology for collecting data, insistence on the interconnectedness of social institutions, interest in everyday lived experience, the values of equality, autonomy and democracy, the use of social science for bettering human life, a rejection of ethnocentrism, and a publically engaged sociology.

Riedesel, Paul L. 1981. "Who Was Harriet Martineau?" *Journal of the History of Sociology*, v.3(2): 63-80.

One of the earliest attempts to put Harriet Martineau back into sociological history, this article provides extensive biographical detail about Martineau, both personal and intellectual, and makes the case for Martineau as a sociologist. The author argues that Martineau's naturalism, empiricism and objectivity demonstrate that she took a scientific approach to studying social institutions. In addition the themes she investigated—community, cultural integrity, structural influences on behavior, stratification—were important topics of sociological study in the 19th century.

From Martineau: "We find ourselves living, not under capricious and arbitrary conditions, unconnected with the constitution and movements of the whole, but under great, general laws, which operate on us as part of the whole" (p. 70, from 1853 preface to her translation of Comte).

Lengermann, Patricia Madoo and Gillian Niebrugge. 2007. *The Women Founders: Sociology and Sociological Theory, 1830-1930*. Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press.

Summary and key points:

The goal of this book is to provide an introduction to the lives and thought of women who have been erased from the sociological canon: Harriet Martineau, Jane Addams, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Anna Julia Cooper, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, Marianne Weber, Beatrice Potter Webb and what the authors refer to as the Chicano Women's School of Sociology. The book's origins can be found in the classic question of women's studies: "And what about the women?" (p. 307). All of these women made significant contributions to American sociology that have been forgotten, distorted or erased entirely. The book is meant to counteract the narrative of the founding fathers of sociology as white men. The women in this book were public figures of their time period, were recognized by their contemporaries and were members of a sociological community. With the exception of Harriet Martineau, who lived earlier than the rest of the women, many of these women knew each other, knew of each other and/or read each other's work. Their work has been denied authority and voice through its exclusion from the sociological canon. This exclusion stemmed in part from the patriarchal structure and culture in which these women lived, but also coincided with the marginalization of reform or advocacy approaches to sociology in favor of a so-called value-neutral or objective approach and the movement of the practice of sociology from out 'in the world' into universities. Sociology over the 20th century increasingly became a tool of state and corporate interests. The editors of this book recover a different picture of sociology that the tradition canon paints. As they put it (p. 19), "In choosing to claim these women as part of our tradition as sociologists, we reaffirm that sociology is a discipline that has a history of speaking directly to and pressing for action on the most immediate problems confronting any society in which it is practiced." It is not just Marx who was trying to change the world with his scholarship.

The scholarship of the women in this book demonstrates the long history of critical theory and feminism within sociology. It also demonstrates that the standpoint of the sociologist influences his/her work. As Lengerman and Niebrugge (p. 309) argue, "The chief characteristics of the women's voice as contrasted with that of the male founders, are that it is embodied rather than generalized, engaged rather than abstracted, specific rather than universal, accessible rather than arcane. The woman founder typically presents herself as a woman and usually as a woman of a particular class and ethnicity. She is aware that these facts about herself influence her perception of events. She explains the position from which she addresses her readers, establishing the basis in lived experience of her knowledge."

This book is a text/reader that could be used in a theory class. Each section includes biographical information, a brief analysis of the woman's sociological relevance, and several short excerpts from their work. (Final note: In the brief summaries of each section below, I am not going to include information that is already covered elsewhere in depth in this annotated bibliography.)

"Harriet Martineau (1802-1876)—The Beginnings of a Science of Society"

(This chapter covers ground already written about in the other three Martineau entries in this bibliography and the excerpts are taken from *How to Observe Morals and Manners*, *Society in*

America, and her 1838 article "Domestic Service.") Here are some interesting tidbits:
--Martineau's father was a small scale capitalist, whose business failed in the wake of an economic crisis
--Martineau's *Illustrations of Political Economy*, a monthly series, outsold Charles Dickens serialized novels by at least three times
--when compared to August Comte and Herbert Spencer, often viewed as the founders of sociology, only Martineau engaged in direct observation of social life

From Martineau's "Domestic Service": "Very few individuals are to be trusted with irresponsible power over other human beings; and those few are not to be looked for among such as are themselves suffering under arbitrary power, as every woman is" (p. 62)

"Jane Addams (1860-1935)—Ethics and Society"

(This chapter covers ground already written about in the four other Addams entries in this bibliography. The excerpts are taken from the *Hull House Maps and Papers*, *Democracy and Social Ethics*, an article in the *American Journal of Sociology* entited "Problems of Municipal Administration," and from *The Long Road of Women's Memory*.) Here are some interesting tidbits:
--Addams' work can be seen as a part of Progressivism and the tumultuous social climate in Chicago at the turn of the century. Chicago witnessed tremendous population growth, the influx of immigrants, the first skyscraper, the world's largest stockyards, the agricultural commodities exchange and considerable labor unrest.
--Addams was viewed as traitorous and pro-German for traveling with other women to the leaders of warring nations with a peace proposal during WWI

From Addams' (1916) *Long Road of Women's Memory*: "I found that the two functions of Memory—first, its important role in interpreting and appeasing life for the individual, and second its activity as a selective agency in social reorganization—were not mutually exclusive, and at moments seemed to support each other" (p. 100).

"Charlotte Perkins Gilman (1860-1935)—Gender and Social Structure"

Gilman's father was Frederick Beecher Perkins, so Gilman was the niece of Henry Ward Beecher, Catharine Beecher, and Harriet Beecher Stowe. However, because he deserted the family when she was two, Gilman had the status of a "poor relation" to this well known and well-off family. She began writing for publication when she was 21. Gilman was bisexual but entered a traditional marriage with Charles Walter Stetson when she was 24 and was quite unhappy. She had her one child, Katharine, the following year. It was during this marriage that she had the emotional breakdown that became the center of her most famous piece of writing—"The Yellow Wallpaper." During this episode of depression, Dr. S. Weir Mitchell prescribed absolute rest without any activity whatsoever. He told Gilman to "live as domestic a life as possible. Have your child with you all the time…And never touch pen, brush or pencil as long as you live" (p. 109). Soon after, Gilman asked for a separation from Stetson and moved to California. She and Stetson divorced, she set up Stetson with her best friend Grace Channing and sent her daughter to live with them after they married in 1894. She had several affairs with women during this time. While single, she made a living with odds jobs—running a boarding house, writing, sewing, teaching, painting. She began to give public lectures and started to make a living as a public speaker. She remarried George Houston Gilman, a younger lawyer and one of her cousins. Their marriage was non-traditional and seemed to provide her

the freedom she needed to continue her work while married. In 1907, Gilman became active as as a sociologist, attending the American Sociological Society meetings and publishing in the *American Journal of Sociology*. She remained a member of the ASS until her death. She continued writing throughout her life. She died by suicide while suffering from cancer in 1935.

Gilman was influenced by reform social Darwinism and her theory is limited by an increasing racism throughout her life that sharpened after World War I. Like Marx, work is at the core of her scholarship. However, unlike Marx, she saw patriarchy as the driving force of capitalism and gender, rather than class, as the central social inequality. In addition to developing what became the social constructionist approach to gender and the concept we know call gendered institutions, she was also sharply critical of what she called our androcentric culture.

The excerpts in this section are taken from *Women and Economics*, *Human Work* (1904), and *The Man-Made World* (1911).

From Gilman (1904): "If a watch goes wrong, we examine its 'works' for fracture, loss, misplacement, or some 'foreign body'; but to do this successfully involved knowledge of what a watch is, what it is for, how it is made, and how it works. We must know the mechanics of the thing if we are to mend it. So if Society goes wrong we must examine its works, and we cannot tell if they are wrong, nor set them right, unless we have some knowledge of what Society is, what it is for, how it was made, and, above all, how it works" (p. 141).

Gilman: "Society is a psychic condition; all social relations exist and grow in the human mind. That one despot can rule over a million other men rests absolutely on their state of mind. They believe that he does; let them change their minds, and he does not" (p. 142).

Gilman: "Man reacts to external conditions as do other animals, but also he acts according to those special inner conditions—his ideas. The power to form and retain concepts, and act under their influence precisely as if they were facts, is what gives the element of special progress and also of perversity to human conduct. This internal environment, the general furnishing of a man's brain, and more particularly his basic concepts, do more to determine his action than does external environment" (p. 142).

Gilman: "Society consists of numbers of interrelated and highly specialized functions, the functionaries being individual human animals. Society develops them—they could never have been evolved in solitude" (p. 143).

Gilman: "The human brain is a social organ. Human thought is a social function" (p. 144).

From Gilman (1911): "We have taken it for granted, since the dawn of civilization, that 'mankind' meant men-kind and the world was theirs. Women we have sharply delimited. Women were a sex; 'the sex'" (p. 145).

Gilman: "The adjectives and derivatives based on women's distinctions are alien and derogatory when applied to human affairs; 'effeminate'—too female, connotes contempt, but has no masculine analogue; whereas 'emasculate'—not enough male, is a term of reproach, and has no feminine analogue" (p. 145-6).

Gilman: "All human standards have been based on male characteristics" (p. 146)

Gilman: "There has never been a democracy, so far—only an androcracy. In other words, men have made a human institution into an ultra-masculine performance" (p. 146).

Gilman: "As they see it, a nation is primarily a fighting organization" (p. 147).

Gilman: "Following that pitiful conception of labor as a curse, comes the very old and androcentric habit of despising it as belonging to women, and then to slaves. As a matter of fact industry is in its origin feminine; that is, maternal. It is the overflowing fountain of mother-love and mother-power which first prompts the human race to labor; and for long ages men performed no productive industry at all; being merely hunters and fighters" (p. 147).

Gilman: "Our current teachings in the infant science of Political Economy are naively masculine. They assume as unquestionable that 'the economic man' will never do anything unless he has to; will only do it to escape pain or attain pleasure; and will, inevitably, take all he can get, and do all he can to outwit, overcome, and if necessary destroy his antagonist…Thus the Economic Man. But how about the Economic Woman?" (p. 148)

"Anna Julia Cooper (1858-1974) and Ida B. Wells-Barnett (1862-1931)—The Foundations of Black Feminist Sociology"

Ida Wells-Barnett was born to slave parents. After the Civil War, her mom immediately enrolled in education. Her dad was a skilled carpenter who eventually opened his own shop when his white boss tried to coerce him to vote in a particular direction. Wells-Barnett was the oldest of five children and had to take care of them when in 1876 her parents died of yellow fever. Wells-Barnett became a teacher and during this time also started a newspaper. She resisted segregations on a train in 1884 and filed a lawsuit. She became an activist around lynching after a lynching in Memphis is 1892. She was part owner of another newspaper, called *Free Speech*, and the offices were burned down by white citizens as a result of the newspaper's condemnation of lynching. Fleeing Memphis, she spent time in New York and Great Britain and began public speaking engagements in addition to her writing. She settled in Chicago. She was active in the black women's club movement and the settlement movement and helped to found the NAACP.

Anna Julia Cooper's mother was a slave and her father her slaveowner. Cooper learned to read and write by age 7 and attended a freedmen's school after the war ended. After her husband died, she headed to Oberlin College to continue her education. (See other entry for more complete biographical information.)

Both women did sociology from the standpoint of the oppressed. The authors argue that their method was cross-examination of the dominant culture. Both were theorists of domination and found that domination was maintained by history, ideology, material resources, manners and passion. Both theorized about privilege and oppression as two sides of the same coin. Wells-Barnett advocated self-defense, while Cooper believed in the power of public opinion. Although they had individual relationships with some of the notable white women of the time, these white women rarely addressed issues of race and Cooper and Wells-Barnett were marginalized

in various ways from their social networks.

The excerpts in this section are from Wells-Barnett's (1895) *A Red Record* and Cooper's (1892) *A Voice from the South*.

"Marianne Weber (1870-1954)—A Woman-Centered Sociology"

Marianne Weber, although a sociologist in her own right, is mostly remembered as Max Weber's wife. However, she wrote eight books and was a well known public figure in Germany. Only one of her books as been translated into English and that is Max's biography. She was shaped by her childhood in militaristic Prussia, during a time when educational opportunities for women began to open up. The Weber family was well off and influential, but Marianne's mother, Anna Weber, married a country doctor deemed "beneath" the family and she died when Marianne was two. Her father and uncles went mad; she was cared for by her paternal grandparents. At 16, her maternal grandfather paid for her to attend finishing school and this was how she broke away from her childhood of struggle. She spent time with Max Weber Sr. and his family in 1891 and it was then that she became very close to her aunt Helene and she and her second cousin Max began their courtship. He had to break off a prior engagement to another woman and then were married in 1893. In their married life, Max did not mind her intellectual pursuits as long as she also fulfilled the traditional wifely duties. She began higher education at Frieburg University and was active in the intellectual circles affiliated with Heidelburg University, where Max was a professor. He had a breakdown into depression in 1897 and she spent much of the next decade caring for him while also writing her own scholarly works. They both visited America in 1904 where she met Jane Addams and Florence Kelley. Her scholarly work was influenced by Kantian philosophy and feminism, in addition of course to Max's sociology and the work of Georg Simmel. She had an intellectual salon that included Georg and Gertrude Simmel, Max and his colleagues, and prominent feminists. Max had a long-term affair with a friend of Marianne's, Else Jaffe, but they remained married. She continued to write and after Max died in 1920, she began preparing his projects for publication including the massive *Economy and Society*. She received an honorary doctoral from Heidelburg in 1924 and engaged in public speaking on women's issues. With the rise of the Nazis, she withdrew from public life.

Marianne Weber did extensive work on marriage as the classic example of how patriarchy distorts human relations. Unlike Gilman's assumption that paid labor outside home was the key to wives' independence, Weber recognized that most women work out of necessity and in lousy jobs. Weber viewed work as the origin of human culture. Weber also made critiques of Max's work from a feminist perspective.

The excerpts in this section are the only bit of her work beyond the biography that are currently translated into English. They are essays from her *Reflections on Women and Women's Issues*. They include a history of marriage, an analysis of the value of housework, and a discussion of the role of women in the production of culture.

"The Chicago Women's School of Sociology (1890-1920)—Research as Advocacy"

This section profiles Edith Abbott, Grace Abbot, Sophonisba Breckinridge, Florence Kelley, Frances Kellor, Julia Lathrop, Annie Marion MacLean, and Marion Talbot, who were all part of the social network of social scientists affiliated with Hull House and the University of Chicago. They all published in the *American Journal of Sociology* and other social service and social science journals. They were active in women's groups, professional associations, and activist

organizations (such as the NAACP and the Immigrants' Protective League). Contributing to and shaped by the Progressive Era, they did social science research in the service of reform. They were shaped by pragmatism, feminism and the settlement house movement. For them, the goal of social science was to end human-caused and structurally-produced suffering. They had an empirical approach that relied on triangulation of methods and data. They sought public solutions to social problems. They were hugely influential on the kinds of public services now expected from our government and what became the New Deal.

There is a short excerpt from each of these women covering public charities, department store labor, consumer rights, female criminals, the shorter work day, immigrant workers, education for women, housing conditions, and women in politics.

"Beatrice Potter Webb (1858-1943)—Sociology as Critical Positivism"

The work done by Beatrice and her husband Sidney in collaboration laid the foundation for the present shape of the British welfare state. They were Fabian socialists. Beatrice did not identify with the feminist movement nor analyze gender in her work. She was the eighth of nine daughters and her childhood was overshadowed by the birth of her younger brother and then his death three years later. Her father was a wealthy speculator and she grew up extremely privileged. Herbert Spencer was a family friend. She was largely self-educated and was mentored by Spencer. She became a social researcher through charity work. She worked as a researcher for Charles Booth on *The Life and Labour of the People of London*. She began writing about the working class. She referred to herself as a "brain worker." Her most influential book was 1891's *The Co-operative Movement in Great Britain*. While studying this movement, she became a socialist. She met Sidney, another socialist, in 1890 and they married in 1892. They worked together until her death in 1943, writing over 4,000 pages together and twenty volumes. They were part of the founding of the London School of Economics and Sidney became a member of Parliament. Her own diary indicates that she was ambivalent about both her marriage and her intellectual partnership with Sidney. Webb did not venture into feminism until the early 20th century.

Webb's approach to sociology was empirical and inductive. Poverty and inequality were structural problems that needed public and democratic solutions. Such solutions could be studied through social experiments.

The excerpts here include an analysis of dock life and laborers, a selection from her book on the co-operative movement, and her most famous piece of writing about the feminist movement.

Brotz, Howard. 1992. *African-American Social and Political Thought, 1850-1920*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

Summary and key points:

This anthology of writing by African-Americans between 1850 and 1920 was compiled by Howard Brotz, who could be considered what he calls a "New Black" or what many would consider a black conservative. He references Charles Murray and Shelby Steele as intellectual influences. His introduction criticizes what he refers to as a "black-victim" ideology that focuses on racism as the primary cause of the status of African-Americans, in favor of a "New Black" ideology that focuses on black behavior itself as the primary cause of the status of African-Americans. He organizes this anthology into four themes: emigration, assimilation, cultural nationalism and political nationalism.

Part I includes selections by Martin R. Delany (1812-1883), Edward W. Blyden (1832-1912), James T. Holly (1829-1911), and Alexander Crummell (1819-1898). All four authors see the problem of racial inequality in the U.S. as fundamentally intractable and therefore argue that the only solution is for African-Americans to leave the U.S. Delany argued that the Fugitive Slave Act ensured that black Americans were precluded from citizenship rights in the U.S. and that emigration to Central and South America would be the only avenue to true political sovereignty. He viewed the push for "Back to Africa" colonization of Liberia as an offshoot of white racism. Blyden supported the colonization of Liberia and identification with Africa as a global concentration of black power. James Holly recounted the history of the Haitian revolution as evidence of the capacity of black sovereignty and advocated emigration to Haiti. Finally, Alexander Crummel argued that blacks should emigrate to Africa in order to help Africa itself. African-Americans in particular could bring Christianity to Africa and could bring their skills, knowledge and talent to bear in developing Africa economically.

Part II, entitled Assimilation, includes selections by Henry Highland Garnet (1815-1881), Frederick Douglass (1817-1895), T. Thomas Fortune (1856-1928), Booker T. Washington (1856-1915) and Archibald H. Grimke (1849-1930). All of these authors view the notion that the solution to racism in the U.S. was for blacks to leave as impractical and ridiculous. The idea also plays into white racism. These authors are concerned with political and economic assimilation more than social assimilation. They share a belief in the importance of education and a philosophy of self-help.

Garnet argued that African-Americans were here to stay in the U.S. and had become true Americans. Frederick Douglass, abolitionist and writer, advocated that the African-American community could counter white prejudice by disproving it. He takes a self-help position—African-Americans can succeed by developing their morality, their economic contributions, and their intellectual capacities. For Douglass, one of the lasting and most damaging effects of slavery was that it destroyed self-reliance and self-responsibility. Douglass also argues that the Constitution's core principles favor justice and equality and black people must hold the nation to account and demand it live up to those principles. Douglass values education as crucially important—slaveholders knew it was so powerful they prohibited it to slaves. All the many laws passed to prevent equality between blacks and whites are evidence that such inequality is not biological or inherent. The community must come together to fight for justice and to progress. Douglass does not take a black pride perspective but rather argues that African-Americans are

part of the family of man and part of the American nation and have natural rights as such.

T. Thomas Fortune advocated for universal elementary education and industrial education as a route to economic success and assimilation for black people. He also that black and white people must become mutually interdependent economically. Black people must fully assimilate into American culture and institutions. Booker T. Washington did not dismiss the reality of racism in the U.S. but advocated self-help strategies for African-Americans to succeed in spite of this racism. Somewhat of an anti-intellectualist, he called for industrial education as the avenue for economic success, and economic success as the avenue for equality. Washington's call is one for equality of opportunity. Finally, Archibald Grimke's selection is a history of the role of African-Americans in the industrial development of the U.S. Grimke argued that because African-American slave labor was so absolutely essential for this development, African-American free labor will also be essential.

Part III, Cultural Nationalism, focuses on excerpts by W.E.B. Du Bois (1868-1963). Brotz chooses excerpts that make explicit the many disagreements between Du Bois and Washington. Du Bois viewed Washington as a colluder with white racism. Du Bois believed in the power of higher (non-vocational) education and also in the concept of a Talented Tenth—the best and the brightest of the African-American community--to uplift the race. Du Bois was an outspoken critique of the kind of scientific racism that was popular at the time through social Darwinism and he rejected notions of a biological hierarchy of races. Du Bois also documented the structural aspects of racism in the U.S. and did not believe that self-help alone would allow blacks to transcend structural racism—activism for social justice and civil rights was necessary. He also drew links between global colonialism and racial ideology. He argued that European imperialism had a "whole vocabulary of its own" and that vocabulary was the doctrine of white racial superiority (p. 546).

Marcus Garvey's writing makes up Part IV, entitled "The Revival of Political Nationalism." Garvey (1887-1940) advocated both racial pride and racial purity and because of this, was strongly opposed to assimilation and intermarriage between blacks and whites. He represented a revival to the idea that African-Americans should return to Africa, most advantageously to the former colonies who won their independence from Europe, and African-Americans deserved political sovereignty there. He had no hope of racial equality in the U.S. and imagined a world in which each racial group has its own separate territory. Garvey's philosophy of self-help took the form of racial separatism.

Useful and/or juicy quotes:

From Martin Delany: "Nor was the absurd idea of natural inferiority of the African ever dreamed of, until recently adduced by the slave-holders and their abettors, in justification of their policy" (p. 42).

From Martin Delany: "We cling to our oppressors as the objects of our love" (p. 95).

From Henry Highland Garnet: "This western world is destined to be filled with a mixed race" (p. 200).

From Henry Highland Garnet: "Colorphobia is confined almost entirely to the United States and the Canada" (p. 200).

From Frederick Dougass: "It is evidence that we can be improved and elevated only just so fast and far as we shall improve and elevate ourselves. We must rise or fall, succeed or fail, by our own merits" (p. 204).

From Frederick Douglass: "Now it is impossible that we should ever be respected as a people, while we are so universally and completely dependent upon white men for the necessaries of life. We must make white persons as dependent upon us, as we are upon them" (p. 212).

From Frederick Douglass: "The first work of slavery is to mar and deface those characteristics of its victims which distinguish *men* from *things*, and *persons* from *property*. Its first aim is to destroy all sense of high moral and religious responsibility. It reduces man to a mere machine" (p. 217).

From Frederick Douglass: "It is perfectly well understood at the south, that to educate a slave is to make him discontented with slavery, and to invest him with a power which shall open to him the treasures of freedom; and since the object of the slaveholder is to maintain complete authority over his slave, his constant vigilance is exercised to present everything which militates against, or endangers, the stability of his authority. Education being among the menacing influences, and, perhaps the most dangerous, is, therefore, the most cautiously guarded against" (p. 218).

From Frederick Douglass: "When men oppress their fellow-men, the oppressor ever finds, in the character of the oppressed, a full justification for his oppression. Ignorance and depravity, and the inability to rise from degradation to civilization and respectability, are the most usual allegations against the oppressed. The evils most fostered by slavery and oppression, are precisely those which slaveholders and oppressors would transfer from their system to the inherent character of their victims. Thus the very crimes of slavery become slavery's best defence" (p. 232).

From Frederick Douglass: "Our own great nation, so distinguished for industry and enterprise, is largely indebted to its composite character" (p. 242).

From Frederick Douglass: "Oppression, organized as ours is, will appear invincible up to the very hour of its fall" (p. 248).

From Frederick Douglass: "Slavery lives in this country not because of any paper Constitution, but in the moral blindness of the American people, who persuade themselves that they are safe, though the rights of others may be struck down" (p. 254).

From Frederick Douglass: " 'We, the people'—not we, the white people—not we, the citizens, or the legal voters—not we, the privileged class, and excluding all other classes but we, the people; not we, the horses and cattle, but we the people—the men and women, the human inhabitants of the United States, do ordain and establish this Constitution" (p. 257).

From Frederick Douglass: "If the Negro were a horse or an ox, the question as to whether he can become a party to the American government, and member of the nation, could never have been raised. The very questions raised against him confirm the truth of what they are raised to

disprove. We have laws forbidding the Negro to learn to read, others forbidding his owning a dog, others punishing him for using fire arms, and our Congress came near passing a law that a Negro should in no case be superior to a white man, thus admitting the very possibility of what they were attempting to deny" (p. 271-2).

From Frederick Douglass: "Whenever and wherever men have been oppressed and enslaved, their oppressors and enslavers have in every instance found a warrant for such oppression and enslavement in the alleged character of their victims. The very vices and crimes which slavery generates are usually charged as the peculiar characteristics of the race enslaved" (p. 274).

From Frederick Douglass: "What I ask for the Negro is not benevolence, not pity, not sympathy, but simply *justice*" (p. 283).

From Frederick Douglass: "Knowledge is power. There is no work that men are required to do, which they cannot better or more economically do with education than without it" (p. 294).

From Frederick Douglass: "No man can put a chain about the ankle of his fellow man, without at last finding the other end of it fastened about his own neck" (p. 301).

From Frederick Douglass: "A wrong done to one man, is a wrong done to all men" (p. 301).

From Frederick Douglass: "It is only prejudice against the Negro which calls everyone, however nearly connected with the white race, and however remotely connected with the Negro race, a Negro" (p. 310).

From Frederick Douglass: "It is not because I am a Negro, but because I am a man…Let us have done with complexional superiorities or inferiorities, complexional pride or shame" (p. 317).

From Frederick Douglass: "There can be but one American nation under the American government, and we are Americans…Our policy should be to unite with the great mass of American people in all their activities, and resolve to fall or flourish with our common country. We cannot afford to draw the color line in politics, trade, education, manners, religion, fashion or civilization" (p. 319).

From Frederick Douglass: "Slavery can as really exist without law as with it, and in some instances more securely, because less likely to be interfered with in the absence of law than in its presence" (p. 324).

From T. Thomas Fortune: "I may stand alone in the opinion that the best interests of the race and the best interests of the country will be conserved by building up a bond of union between the white people and the Negroes of the South—advocating the doctrine that the interests of the white and the interests of the colored people are one and the same; that the legislation which affects the one will affect the other; that the good which comes to the one should come to the other, and that, as one people, the evils which blight the hopes of the one blight the hopes of the other" (p. 338).

From T. Thomas Fortune: "I maintain the idea that the preservation of our liberties, the

consummation of our citizenship, must be conserved and matured, not by standing alone and apart, sullen as the melancholy Dane, but by imbibing all that is American, entering into the life and spirit of our institutions, spreading abroad in sentiment, feeling the full force of the fact that while we are classed as Africans, just as the Germans are classed as Germans, we are in all things American citizens, American freemen" (pp. 341-2).

From T. Thomas Fortune: "To preach the independence of the colored man is to preach his Americanization" (p. 342).

From Booker T. Washington: "Brains, property, and character for the Negro will settle the question of civil rights" (p. 352).

From Booker T. Washington: "In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress" (p. 358).

From Booker T. Washington: "It is said that we will be hewers of wood and drawers of water, but we shall be more, we shall turn the wood into houses, into machinery, into implements of commerce and civilization. We shall turn the water into steam, into electricity, into dairy and agricultural products, into food and raiment—and thus wind our life about yours, thus knit our civil and commercial interests into yours" (p. 361).

From Booker T. Washington: "I do not believe that these white people want it continually advertised to the world that some special law must be passed by which they will seem to be given an unfair advantage over the Negro, by reason of their ignorance or poverty" (p. 378).

From Booker T. Washington: "Injustice cannot work harm upon the oppressed without injuring the oppressor" (p. 382).

From Booker T. Washington: "The Indian refused to submit to bondage and learn the white man's ways. The result is that the greater portion of the American Indians have disappeared, the greater portion of those who remain are not civilized. The Negro, wiser and more enduring than the Indian, patiently endured slavery; and contact with the white man has given the Negro in America a civilization vastly superior to that of the Indian" (pp. 417-8).

From W.E.B. Du Bois: "What, then, is a race? It is a vast family of human beings, generally of common blood and language, always of common history, traditions, and impulses, who are both voluntarily and involuntarily striving together for the accomplishments of certain more or less vividly conceived ideals of life" (p. 485).

From W.E.B. Du Bois: "Which was best, slavery or ignorant Negro voters? The answer is clear as day: Negro voters never did anything as bad as slavery. If they were guilty of all the crime charged to them by the wildest enemies, even then what they did was less dangerous, less evil and less cruel than the system of slavery whose death knell they struck" (p. 542).

From Marcus Garvey: "I believe that white men should be white, yellow men should be yellow, and black men should be black in the great panorama of races, until each and every race by its own initiative lifts itself up to the common standard of humanity, as to compel the respect and appreciation of all, and so make it possible for each one to stretch out the hand of welcome

without being able to be prejudiced against the other because of any inferior and unfortunate condition" (p. 553).

From Marcus Garvey: "The Negro must have a country and a nation of his own…If you do not want him to have a country and a nation of his own; if you do not intend to give him equal opportunities in yours, then it is plain to see that you mean that he must die, even as the Indian, to make room for your generations" (p. 558).

From Marcus Garvey: "There is no white supremacy beyond the power and strength of the white man to hold himself against the others. The supremacy of any race is not permanent; it is a thing only of the time in which the race finds itself powerful" (p. 567).

Foner, Philip and Daniel Rosenberg. 1993. *Racism, Dissent and Asian Americans from 1850 to the Present: A Documentary History*. Chicago, IL: Greenwood Press.

Summary and key points:

While not quite a collection of social science documents, this anthology collects political and social writing by and about Asian-Americans beginning in the 1850s. The pieces are all primary source documents. Part I is on laws involving Asian-Americans and the dissent about such laws. This section includes discussion of exclusionary immigration policies regarding Asians and alien land acts. What is most striking about this section is the ways in which the debates about Asian immigration directly parallel contemporary debates about Latin American immigration. Part II is about public figures and organizations addressing Asian-American issues. Mark Twain, John Stuart Mill, Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison all took stands in favor of Asian-American civil rights. Asian-American organizations, such as the Chinese Equal Rights League, also fought for civil rights. Part III includes pieces expressing the views of clergy regarding Asian-Americans. Some notable clergymen spoke out in favor of Asian-American civil rights. Part IV addresses the role of the labor movement in Asian-American issues. Some labor organizers supported racist and exclusionary policies. Others, such as the Colored National Labor Union, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, and the IWW, took stands of unity and solidarity with Asian-American workers. Part V includes selections about African-American perspectives on Asian-Americans as well as relations between African and Asian Americans. Frederick Douglass, in particular, wrote extensively in support of Asian-American civil rights. Part VI focuses on Japanese internment and protest against it. It includes official government texts such as Executive Order 9066 as well as testimony by resisters and reparation activists into the 1980s.

Useful and/or juicy quotations:

From George Hoar (1882, excerpt 8, Part 1): "Nothing is more in conflict with the genius of American institutions than legal distinctions between individuals based upon race or upon occupation."

From Wendell Phillips (1870, excerpt 5, Part 2): "We welcome all…Our faith in our political institutions and in our social system is that both can endure all the strain which such immigration will produce."

From William Lloyd Garrison (1879, excerpt 10, Part 2): "He who allows oppression shares the crime."

From Yan Phou Lee (1889, excerpt 14, Part 2): "No nation can afford to let go its high ideals."

From Yan Phou Lee (1889, excerpt 14, Part 2): "It was by the application of Chinese 'cheap labor' to the building of the railroads, the reclamation of swamp-lands to mining, fruit culture and manufacturing, that an immense vista of employment was opened up for Caucasians, and that millions now are able to live in comfort and luxury."

From Frederick Douglass (1855, excerpt 2, Part 5): "The Chinese have taken the places of the

colored people as victims of oppression."

From Frederick Douglass (1869, excerpt 5, Part 5): "The question of Chinese immigration should be settled upon higher principles than those of a cold and selfish expediency. There are such things in the world as human rights. They rest upon no conventional foundation, but are external, universal and indestructible."

From Frederick Douglass (1869, excerpt 5, Part 5): "I want a home here not only for the Negro, the mulatto and the Latin Races; but I want the Asiatic to find a home here in the United States, and feel at home here, both for his sake and for ours. Right wrongs no man."

From George Rice (1870, excerpt 10, Part 5): "To close the doors against the immigration or civil or political equality of any particular race is to remove the foundations upon which the republic stands."

From General J.L. Dewitt (1942, excerpt 2, Part 6): "The continued presence of a large, unassimilated, tightly knit racial group, bound to an enemy nation by strong ties of race, culture, custom and religion along a frontier vulnerable to attack constituted a menace which had to be dealt with."

From Supreme Court Justice Frank Murphy (1944, excerpt 5, Part 6): "Such exclusion goes over 'the very brink of constitutional power' and falls into the ugly abyss of racism…The reasons appear, instead, to be largely an accumulation of much of the misinformation, half-truths, and insinuations that for years have been directed against Japanese-Americans by people with racial and economic prejudices—the same people who have been among the foremost advocates of the evacuation…I dissent, therefore, from this legalization of racism. Racial discrimination in any form and in any degree has no justifiable part whatever in our democratic way of life."

From W.E.B. DuBois (1944, excerpt 15, Part 6): "Most people do not realize that outbreaks of so-called 'racial hate' are practically always organized and not spontaneous."

From Adaso Kadoya (1981, excerpt 17, Part 6): "Those of us who experienced life behind barbed wire fences know of the suffering, humiliation and unfairness of this horrible act of the United States government."

SECTION TWO: The Institutionalization of Sociology in the U.S., 1890s-1930s

Two competing tensions animate sociology during the period of its institutionalization in the academy—whether sociology's animating force was to solve social problems or achieve an equivalent status to the natural sciences. By the 1930s, the latter approach had won out. As you will see from the notations below, Chicago is the center of the birth of sociology in the U.S. during the 1890s, in which labor conflict, immigration, industrialization, urbanization and Progressivism had deep impacts on the formation of the discipline. Hull House and the University of Chicago represent the two early approaches, although even the University of Chicago did not advocate value neutrality and detached social science until the 1920s, when Robert Park rose to prominence.

While I took a whole class in graduate school based on the "Chicago School" of thought in sociology, this syllabus included no white women nor men and women of color. I never once throughout my graduate training heard about Hull House and its centrality to early American sociology. So for me, while Harriet Martineau was the amazing find of Section One, Jane Addams and the scholarly network of Hull House are the finds of Section Two. They have been almost entirely erased from the intellectual history of sociology and relegated to the discipline of social work. This is no accident, as Mary Deegan (2002) points out that in 1920 all of the women in sociology at the University of Chicago were forcibly transferred to the department of social work. This event is symbolic of the marginalization of an activist and reform approach to sociology. As Deegan (1988, p. 148) points out, "These women have been written out of history for decades. Their vision of sociology emphasizes a way of working and thinking that has not been institutionalized in the academic centers of power within the profession."

This marginalization overlaps with the discounting and erasure of the work of white women and men and women of color who wrote from standpoints that made them critical of society and motivated to bring about social change. So the move in sociology from a social change orientation to an intellectually detached enterprise reflects the vantage point of privileged white males in the academy. Also, as sociology became increasingly institutionalized within universities, educational inequalities blocked white women and men and women of color from access to participation in the discipline.

So the time period between 1890 and 1920 in American sociology is an enormously creative, generative and intellectually exciting period in which white women and men and women of color made important empirical and theoretical contributions to the discipline and left us a legacy of a sociology that engaged in the world. The bibliographic selections in this section include the work of Anna Julia Cooper, Ida Wells-Barnett, and Fannie Barrier Williams who articulated the intersection of race and gender in shaping the lives of women of color. Two classic monographs by W.E.B. DuBois, who has already begun to enter the sociological canon, are summarized in this section. Also in this section is the work of the scholars of Hull House, particularly Jane Addams. Charlotte Perkins Gilman is included this section and her work should be viewed as foundational to the study of the social construction of gender. There is a selection about Marxist scholar and activist Rosa Luxemburg. Finally, there are a series of readings about this time period, the schools of American pragmatism and feminist pragmatism which were so influential on the development of American sociology, and the social construction of the sociological canon itself.

One final comment: the reliance on Marx, Durkheim and Weber as THE canon in sociology is especially shocking given that the canonical works of Durkheim and Weber, in particular, were not translated into English until the 1930s (with the exception of Durkheim's *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*). Meanwhile, all of the other works in this section were available to and read by American English-speaking sociologists between 1890 and 1930.

Lemert, Charles and Esme Bhan, ed. 1998. *The Voice of Anna Julia Cooper*. New York, NY: Rowman & Littlefeld.

Biographical note (from "Anna Julia Cooper: The Colored Woman's Office" by Charles Lemert):

Cooper (1859-1964) was born in slavery. For most of her adult life, she taught high school, including classics, languages, literature, math and science. Cooper married an Episcopal priest named George Cooper in 1877 but was widowed two years later and remained single for the rest of her life. She supported herself on her teacher's salary. Most of her career was at the M Street High School, except for a five year stint at Lincoln University in Missouri from 1906-1911 when she was fired from M Street on trumped up charges stemming from Booker T. Washington's antipathy toward her and power in the city. She returned to M Street when the officials who had removed her had left and taught there until 1930. She did graduate work at Columbia University and received her Ph.D. from the Sorbonne in 1925 at age 66, with a dissertation about beliefs about slavery in France during the French Revolution. Cooper's most active years as a scholar were between 1886 and 1930 and she was a public speaker as well as a writer. Her adult life was centered in Washington DC, where she established a YWCA chapter, was active in the settlement movement, contributed to the *Washington Post*, and was active in the Negro Women's Club movement. She was close friends with Francis and Charlotte Forten Grimke. Although she was acquainted with Mary Church Terrell and W.E.B. DuBois, they did not support her during the M Street controversy. When she retired from high school teaching in 1930, she became president of Frelinghuysen University, a school for the working poor in DC. Cooper raised seven foster children over the course of her life. She described her life's work as "the education of neglected people" (p. 13).

Lemert argues that Cooper can be viewed as the first theorist to work out an intersectional approach to race and gender—the notion that the two social dimensions of social stratification cannot be untangled and both must be examined in order to understand the position of black women in the U.S. Cooper is sometimes criticized as perpetuating the "cult of true womanhood" and a standard for femininity that involved good manners and piety, but Lemert argues that scholars on Cooper believe that she used the cult of true womanhood as a rhetorical tactic to soften up her audience. The principle of the golden role was at the core of her philosophy.

Summary and key points:

A Voice from the South (1892)

Part I focused on women's issues. In the first chapter, Cooper called attention to the special role of black women in the uplift of the race and called the church to get behind this role in educating black women. Women have this special role because they mother future generations. In her chapter on higher education for women, Cooper argued for the notion that educated women can "mother" the nation, offering a counterweight to the dominance of masculine values. In her chapter entitled "Woman versus the Indian," she took on racism within the women's movement and argues that women should ally themselves with all of the most oppressed groups in society. She also addressed the double oppression experienced by black women in the U.S., in particular the hypocrisy of so-called gentlemanly behavior toward "women" that yet never expressed itself toward black women. In the final chapter of Part I,

she described what she viewed as the unique moral force of women—the feminine virtues that could help curb the worst abuses of capitalism. She laid out a special place for black women in particular, for the uplift of the African-American community.

Part II focused on race and culture. In the opening chapter on the American race problem, Cooper suggested that America's race problem is white dominance; its racial diversity, and even its racial conflict, is one of its strengths. In the following chapter, Cooper criticized much of the literature written about black people by white people, noting that such literature tends to say more about the white people writing than it does about the black people purportedly its subject. Cooper noted the stereotypes and distortions in most white writing about black people and called for literature by black people, from the standpoint of black people, and about black and white people. The third chapter made a case for the worthiness of African-American people in their contributions to America and advocated for education, labor and savings as routes to continued improvement. The final chapter in *Voice from the South* made a case against agnosticism and skepticism and for the importance of religious faith in cultivating the virtues of sacrifice and heroism.

The remainder of the anthology includes essays and speeches she wrote for a popular audience, bits of memoir and correspondence, and excerpts from the scholarly work she did for her dissertation. The essays mine much of the same territory as *A Voice from the South*. Unsurprising given her devotion to teaching, she repeatedly stressed the importance of education. She particularly called for development of critical thinking and moral discernment in education, and the importance of a general education even for those who were being trained to take up vocational trades. She stressed the race problem was really a white problem, in that it was whites who perpetuated racism. One of her pieces chronicled the importance of social settlements. Another piece analyzed the so-called "Negro dialect" from a linguistic perspective. The scholarly excerpts are social historical analyses of political thought in France (and the U.S.) during the revolutionary period as it pertained to slavery.

Useful and/or juicy quotes:

"The colored man's inheritance and apportionment is still the somber crux, the perplexing cul de sac of the nation—the dumb skeleton in the closet provoking ceaseless harangues, indeed, but little understood and seldom consulted…One important witness has not yet been heard from. The summing up of the evidence deposed, and the charge to the jury have been made—but no word from the Black woman" (p. 51).

"Respect for woman, the much lauded chivalry of the Middle Ages, meant what I fear it still means to some men in our own day—respect for the elect few among whom they expect to consort. The idea of the radical amelioration of womankind, reverence for woman as woman regardless of rank, wealth, or culture, was to come from that rich and bounteous fountain from which flow all our liberal and universal ideas—the Gospel of Jesus Christ" (pp. 55-6).

"The Church was an organization committed a double offense against woman in the Middle Ages. Making of marriage a sacrament and at the same time insisting on the celibacy of the clergy and other religious orders, she gave an inferior if not an impure character to the marriage relation, especially fitted to reflect discredit on woman" (p. 56).

"The position of woman in society determines the vital elements of its regeneration and

progress. Now that this is so on a priori grounds all must admit. And this not because woman is better or stronger or wiser than man, but from the nature of the case, because it is she who must first form the man by directing the earliest impulses of his character" (p. 59).

"Now the fundamental agency under God in the regeneration, the retraining of the race, as well as the ground work and starting point of its progress upward, must be the *black woman*" (p. 62).

"Only the BLACK WOMAN can say 'when and where I enter, in the quiet, undisputed dignity of my womanhood, without violence and without suing or special patronage, then and there the whole *Negro race enters* with me'" (p. 63).

"Will not the aid of the Church be given to prepare our girls in head, heart, and hand for the duties and responsibilities that await the intelligent wife, the Christian mother, the earnest, virtuous, helpful woman, at once both the lever and the fulcrum for uplifting the race" (p. 70).

"Now I claim that it is the prevalence of the Higher Education among women, the making it a common everyday affair for women to reason and think and express their thought, the training and stimulus which enable and encourage women to administer to the world the bread it needs as well as the sugar it cries for; in short it is the transmitting the potential forces of her soul into dynamic factors that has given symmetry and completeness to the world's agencies. So only could it be consummated that Mercy, the lesson she teaches, and Truth, the task man has set himself, should meet together: that righteousness, or *rightness*, man's ideal,--and *peace*, its necessary 'other half,' should kiss each other" (p. 76).

"You will not find theology consigning infants to lakes of unquenchable fire long after women have had a chance to grasp, master and wield its dogmas. You will not find science annihilating personality from the government of the Universe and making of God an ungovernable, unintelligible, blind, often destructive physical force; you will not find jurisprudence formulating as an axiom the absurdity that man and wife are one, and that one the man—that the married woman may not hold or bequeath her own property save as subject to her husband's direction; you will not find political economists declaring that the only possible adjustment between laborers and capitalists is that of selfishness and rapacity—that each must get all he can and keep all that he gets, while the world cries laissez-faire and the lawyers explain, 'it is the beautiful working of the law of supply and demand'; in fine, you will not find the law of love shut out from the affairs of men after the feminine half of the world's truth is completed" (pp. 76-7).

"Homes for the inebriates and homes for lunatics, shelter for the aged and shelter for babes, hospitals for the sick, props and braces for the falling, reformatory prisons and prison reformatories, all show that a 'mothering' influence from some source is leavening the nation" (p. 77).

"Now please understand me. I do not ask you to admit that these benefactions and virtues are the exclusive possession of women, or even that women are their chief and only advocates. It may be a man who formulates and makes them vocal. It may be, and often is, a man who weeps over the wrongs and struggles for the amelioration: but that man has imbibed those impulses from a mother rather than from a father and is simply materializing and giving back to

the world in tangible form the ideal love and tenderness, devotion and care that have cherished and nourished the helpless period of his own existence" (p. 77).

"She has as many resources as men, as many activities beckon her on. As large possibilities swell and inspire her heart. Now, then, does it destroy or diminish her capacity for loving? Her standards have undoubtedly gone up. The necessity of speculating in 'chawnces' has probably shifted. The question is not now with the woman 'How shall I so cramp, stunt, simplify and nullify myself as to make me eligible to the honor of being swallowed up into some littler man?' but the problem, I trow, now rests with the man as to how he can so develop his God-given powers as to reach the ideal of a generation of women who demand the noblest, grandest and best achievements of which he is capable" (p. 83).

"I fear that majority of colored men do not yet think it worth while that women aspire to higher education" (p. 85).

"I see two dingy little room with 'FOR LADIES' swinging over one and 'FOR COLORED PEOPLE' over the other; while wondering under which head I come" (p. 95).

"If your own father was a pirate, a robber, a murderer, his hands are dyed in red blood, and you don't say very much about it. But if your great great great grandfather's grandfather stole and pillaged and slew, and you can prove it, your blood has become blue and you are at great pains to establish the relationship" (p. 98).

"The social equality scare then is all humbug…I might add that the overtures for forced association in the past history of these two races were not made by the manacled black man, nor by *the silent and suffering black woman*!" (p. 102).

"Woman should not, even by inference, or for the sake of argument, seem to disparage what is weak. For woman's cause is the cause of the weak; and when all the weak shall have received their due consideration, then woman will have her 'rights,' and the Indian will have his rights, and the Negro will have his rights, and all the strong will have learned at last to deal justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly" (p. 105).

"All the prejudices, whether of race, sect or sex, class pride and caste distinctions are the belittling inheritance and badge of snobs and prigs. The philosophic mind sees that its own 'rights' are the rights of humanity" (p. 105).

"Why should woman become plaintiff in a suit versus the Indian, or the Negro or any other race or class who have been crushed under the iron heel of Anglo-Saxon power and selfishness? If the Indian has been wronged and cheated by the puissance of this American government, it is woman's mission to plead with her country to cease to do evil and to pay its honest debts. If the Negro has been deceitfully cajoled or inhumanly cuffed according to selfish expediency or capricious antipathy, let it be woman's mission to plead that he be met as a man and honestly given half the road. If woman's own happiness has been ignored or misunderstood in our country's legislating for bread winners, for rum sellers, for property holders, for the family relations, for any or all the interests that touch her vitally, let her rest her plea, not on Indian inferiority, nor on Negro depravity, but on the obligation of legislators to do for her as they would have others do for them were relations reversed" (p. 108).

"When race, color, sex, condition, are realized to be the accidents, not the substance of life, and consequently as not obscuring or modifying the inalienable title to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness—then is mastered the science of politeness, the art of courteous contact, which is naught but the practical application of the principle of benevolence, the back bone and marrow of all religion; then woman's lesson is taught and woman's cause is won—not the white woman nor the black woman nor the red woman, but the cause of every man or woman who has writhed silently under a mighty wrong" (p. 108).

"Woman's work and woman's influence are needed as never before; needed to bring a heart power into this money getting, dollar-worshipping civilization; needed to bring a moral force into the utilitarian motives and interests of the time; needed to stand for God and Home and Native Land versus *gain and greed and grasping selfishness*" (p. 111).

"The colored woman of to-day occupies, one may say, a unique position in this country…She is confronted by both a woman question and a race problem" (p. 112).

"Progressive peace in a nation is the result of conflict; and conflict, such as is healthy, stimulating and progressive, is produced through the co-existence of radically opposing or racially different elements" (p. 122).

"The law holds good in sociology as in the world of matter, *that equilibrium, not repression among conflicting forces is the condition of natural harmony, of permanent progress, and of universal freedom*. That exclusiveness and selfishness in a family, in a community, or in a nation is suicidal to progress. Caste and prejudice mean immobility. One race predominance means death. The community that closes its gates against foreign talent can never hope to advance beyond a certain point. Resolve to keep out foreigners and you keep out progress" (p. 126).

"America for Americans! This is the white man's country! The Chinese must go, shrieks the exclusionist. Exclude the Italians! Colonize the blacks in Mexico or deport them to Africa. Lynch, suppress, drive out, kill out! America for Americans! 'Who are Americans?' comes rolling back from ten million throats" (p. 127).

"Exclusive possession belongs to none. There was never a point in history when it did. There was never a time since America became a nation when there were not more than one race, more than one party, more than one belief contending for supremacy. Hence no one is or can be supreme. All interests must be consulted, all claims conciliated" (p. 128).

"Compromise and concession, liberality and toleration, were the conditions of the nation's birth and are the *sine qua non* of its continued existence" (p. 128).

"The art of 'thinking one's self imaginatively into the experiences of others' is not given to all, and it is impossible to acquire it without a background and a substratum of sympathetic knowledge" (p. 139).

"If the cultivated black man cannot endure the white man's barbarity—the cure, it seems to me, would be to cultivate the white man" (p. 151).

"Education, then, is the safest and richest investment possible to man. It pays the largest dividends and gives the grandest possible produce to the world—a man" (p. 168).

"The 'Crackers' and 'poor-whites' were never slaves, were never oppressed or discriminated against. Their time, their earnings, their activities have always been at their own disposal; and pauperism in their case can be attributed to nothing but stagnation,--moral, mental, and physical immobility: while in the case of the Negro, poverty can at least be partially accounted for by the hard conditions of life and labor,—the past oppression and continued repression which form the vital air in which the Negro lives and moves and has his being" (p. 173).

"If we contribute a positive value in those things the world prizes, no amount of negrophobia can ultimately prevent its recognition. And our great 'problem' after all is to be solved not by brooding over it, and orating about it, but by *living into it*" (p. 187).

"The great, the fundamental need of any nation, of any race, is for heroism, devotion, sacrifice; and there cannot be heroism, devotion, or sacrifice in a primarily skeptical spirit" (p. 193).

"A foreigner can learn the language and out-American the American on his own soil. A white man can apply burnt cork and impute his meanness to the colored race as his appointed scapegoat. But the Ethiopian cannot change his skin. On him is laid the iniquity of his whole race and his character is prejudged by formula" (p. 208).

"For after all the Negro Question in American today is the white man's problem—Nay it is humanity's problem" (p. 212).

"We have been so ridden with tests and measurements, so leashed and spurred for percentages and retardations that the machinery has run away with the mass production and quite a way back bumped off the driver. I wonder that a robot has not been invented to make the assignments, give the objective tests, mark the scores and—chloroform all teachers who dared bring original thought to the specific problems and needs of their pupils" (p. 235).

"The only sane education, therefore, is that which conserves the very lowest stratum, the best and most economical is that which gives to teach individual, according to his capacity, that training of 'head, hand, and heart,' or, more literally, of mind, body and spirit which converts him into a beneficent force in the service of the world" (p. 251).

"It is well known that the power to think, the power to appreciate, and the power to will the right and make it prevail, is the sum total of the faculties of the human soul. Education which is truly 'educative' must strengthen, develop, 'lead out' these faculties in preparation for those special activities which may be called 'occupative,' because they give the one line of training necessary for the occupation or trade of the individual" (p. 251).

" 'We learn by doing' is an educational axiom, but true as it is, it does not mean as it is often attempted to prove that sense travels only from hand to brain. The normal direction of the current would seem logically to go just the other way. Brain power insures hand power, and thought training produces industrial efficiency" (p. 257).

"Enlightened industrialism does not mean that the body who plows cotton must study nothing but cotton and that he who would drive a mule successfully should have contact only with mules. Indeed it has been well said 'if I knew my son would drive a mule all his days, I should still give him the groundwork of a general education in his youth that would place the greatest possible distance between him and the mule'" (p. 257).

Bailey, Cathryn. 2004. "Anna Julia Cooper: 'Dedicated in the Name of My Slave Mother to the Education of Colored Working People'." *Hypatia*, v.19(2): 56-73.

This essay begins with material discussed elsewhere in this bibliography, providing detail about Cooper's biography. Then, the author points out the centrality of Cooper's Christian beliefs to her thought, although she was often also critical of the role of religious institutions in perpetuated inequality. The author also highlights a middle class ethnocentrism that Cooper's work sometimes demonstrates. Bailey argues that Cooper saw a vision for a middle path between the approaches of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois. Bailey defends Cooper against criticism that she adopts the "cult of true womanhood," arguing instead the Cooper maintains that Black women should be treated with the same consideration as white women. Bailey also notes the Cooper seemed to accept the eugenics frameworks of many of her contemporaries, such as Alexander Crummel and Lester Ward, and women's role in maintaining the quality of "the race." Bailey suggests that this may be less about Cooper's own beliefs than her strategy of tailoring arguments to her audience.

May, Vivian M. 2004. "Thinking from the Margins, Acting at the Intersections: Anna Julia Cooper's *A Voice from the South*." *Hypatia*, v.19(2): 74-91.

May argues that in her work *A Voice from the South*, Cooper makes a case for the importance of an embodied and socially located social theory and the value of subjectivity in knowledge building. Cooper is critical of the positivist and detached approach to social science represented by people like August Comte. Cooper is part of an African-American tradition of the use of narrative as a rhetorical form. She analyzes domination as structural and institutional rather than interpersonal or natural. Her theory is holistic rather that dualist and makes room for multiple identities and locations.

Wells-Barnett, Ida B. 1969. *On Lynchings: Southern Horrors, A Red Record, and Mob Rule in New Orleans*. New York, NY: Arno Press.

Biographical note: According to the writer of the preface, historian August Meier, Ida Wells was born in 1969 in Mississippi. She attended Rust College, was a teacher for six years, and began editor and half-owner of a black newspaper called *Free Speech* in addition to making a living as a public speaker. She married a lawyer in 1895 and settled in Chicago. She was an active crusader against lynching for most of her adult life and was one of the founders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. She died in 1931.

Summary and key points:

"Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in all its Phases (1892)"
Wells describes her goal as arousing Americans to demand justice and punishment for the lawless (i.e. lynchers). Wells begins by refuting the stereotype that black men rape white women, using actual accounts in white newspapers that make it clear that white women return the affections of the black men with whom they are intimate. The South uses this stereotype as a smokescreen. She points out that it is leading white businessmen who comprise lynch mobs and the white press that encourages it. She notes the hypocrisy of white men who oppose miscegenation while preying upon black women. They also have no concern about rape when the victim is a black woman.

Wells views lynching as a tool for the violent perpetuation of racism after the Civil War, alongside the systematic disenfranchisement of black men. Wells compiles statistics from white newspaper accounts to find 728 Afro-Americans lynched between 1886-1892. She suggests that it is the refusal to signal what whites consider an appropriate amount of submission and deference that prompts the white anger behind lynchings: "The white people won't stand this sort of thing" (p. 17).

Wells believes that lynching will not diminish until public opinion turns against it. She indicts white people who do not stand up against lynching as giving their silent consent. She advocates self-defense for Afro-Americans, including the use of guns. Afro-Americans must also get the facts out to the public about lynching, and use boycott and emigration to bring the practice to a halt.

"A Red Record: Tabulated Statistics and Alleged Cause of Lynching in the United States (1894)"
Wells lists 1894 as the state of public outrage against lynching. She views lynching as an intimidation tool. She argues that the records of whites themselves show that over 10,000 black people were murdered by whites, with only three white men convicted for these murders. Whites have developed various flimsy excuses for these murders—the need to prevent race riots, the need to maintain white rule (though blacks were thoroughly disenfranchised in the South) and the need to avenge sexual aggression against white women. However, clearly white women have consensual relations with black men, a fact so threatening to white men that Wells herself was violently driven out of Memphis for writing about it in the *Free Speech* newspaper. White men, however, have a long history of forcing sexual advances upon black women. Meanwhile, after Emancipation, white women who became school teachers for black children were socially vilified by white men.

Wells provides a recounting of lynching events, with data collected from white newspapers.

She finds incidents even of the lynching of people who were mentally incapacitated and describes one such lynching in Texas at length. As Wells points out, innocent men are lynched "for anything or nothing" (p. 43) and regardless, guilt is a difficult thing to determine in a racist justice system in which blacks are always tried by a jury of whites. Lynching is such a taken-for-granted feature of Southern life that it is never investigated. She describes in detail lynchings for various trumped up reasons.

Wells responds to those who criticize the anti-lynching movement as unpatriotic, suggesting that they feel defensive because the eyes of the world had finally turned to their behavior. Throughout the South, so called good citizens turned a blind eye to the lynching, or even participated directly. Wells also takes on Frances Willard, of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, who refused to condemn lynching and also accused Ida Wells of impugning the character of white women. She quotes Williard directly to demonstrate the extent of her racist ideas, notes that the Southern WCTU admits no black women, and discusses how a resolution against lynching was voted down by the WCTU.

Wells calls for equal punishment for both black and white criminals, including fair trials. She gives her readers suggestions for how to take action, including disseminating facts about lynching (such as her own pamphlet), asking the organizations one participates in to adopt anti-lynching resolutions, to divest from Southern businesses in places where lynching is tolerated, and to petition Congress in favor of the anti-lynching resolution.

<u>"Mob Rule in New Orleans: Robert Charles and His Fight to the Death" (1900)</u>
This is primarily an account of a particular incident in New Orleans which led to a massacre by whites of black citizens of the city. The race riot by whites began when police officers assaulted two innocent black men, one of whom fought back after the first was shot. The mayor himself sanctioned the mob by offering a reward for him to be brought back "dead or alive." Wells-Barnett quotes one of the white participants, interviewed in a newspaper account of the massacre: "The only way that you can teach these Niggers a lesson and put them in their place is to go out and lynch a few of them as an object lesson. String up a few of them and the others will trouble you no more" (p. 14). Only when the massacre began to affect commerce in New Orleans did white people make a move to stop things. Wells-Barnett then goes on to recount additional statistics about whites burning black people, and the ways in which crowds of white people would come to watch lynchings as entertainment.

Useful and/or juicy quotations:

"The miscegenation laws of the South only operate against the legitimate union of the race; they leave the white man free to seduce all the colored girls he can, but it is death to the colored man who yield to the force and advances of a similar attraction in white women" (p. 6).

"From this exposition of the race issue in lynch law, the whole matter is explained by the well-known opposition growing out of slavery to the progress of the race. This is crystallized in the oft-repeated slogan: 'This is a white man's country and the white man must rule.' The South resented giving the Afro-American his freedom, the ballot box and the Civil Rights Law" (p. 13).

"Men who stand high in the esteem of the public for Christian character, for moral and physical courage, for devotion to the principles of equal and exact justice to all, and for great sagacity,

stand as cowards who fear to open their mouths before this great outrage. They do not see that their tacit encouragement, their silent acquiescence, the black shadow of lawlessness in the form of lynch law is spreading its wings over the whole country" (p. 14).

"They forget that a concession of the right to lynch a man for a certain crime, not only concedes the right to lynch any person for any crime, but (so frequently is the cry of rape now raised) it is in a fair way to stamp us a race of rapists and desperadoes" (p. 15).

"A Winchester rifle should have a place of honor in every black home and it should be used for that protection which the law refuses to give. When the white man who is always the aggressor knows he runs as great risk of biting the dust every time his Afro-American victim does, he will have greater respect for Afro-American life" (p. 23).

"The more the Afro-American yields and cringes and begs, the more he has to do so, the more he is insulted, outraged, and lynched" (p. 23).

"The slave was rarely killed, he was too valuable…but Emancipation came and the vested interests of the white man in the Negro's body were lost" (p. 7).

"To justify their own barbarism they assume a chivalry which they do not possess. True chivalry respects all womanhood, and no one who reads the record, as it is written in the faces of the million mulattoes in the South, will for a minute conceive that the southern white man had a very chivalrous regard for the honor due the women of his own race or respect for the womanhood which circumstances placed in his power. That chivalry which is 'most sensitive concerning the honor of women' can hope for but little respect from the civilized world, when it confines itself entirely to the woman who happens to be white. Virtue knows no color line" (p. 13).

"Before the world adjudges the Negro a moral monster, a vicious assailant of womanhood and a menace to the sacred precincts of home, the colored people ask the consideration of the silent record of gratitude, respect, protection, and devotion of the millions of the race in the South, to the thousands of northern white women who have served as teachers and missionaries since the war" (p. 14).

"We plead not for the colored people alone, but for all victims of the terrible injustice which puts men and women to death without forms of law" (p. 15).

"The moral support of those who are chosen by the people to execute the law, is frequently given to the support of lawlessness and mob violence. The press and even the pulpit, in the main either by silence or open apology, have condoned and encouraged this state of anarchy" (p. 24).

"A white person's word is taken as absolutely for as against a Negro" (p. 70).

"Civilized white people, men who boast of their chivalry and blue blood, actually had fun in beating, chasing and shooting men who had no possible connection with any crime" (p. 30).

"Many fair ladies drove out in their carriages on a Sunday afternoon to witness the torture and

burning of a human being" (p. 45).

"If the laws of the country were obeyed and respected by the white men of the country who charge that the Negro has no respect for law, these things could not be, for every individual, no matter what the charge, would have a fair trial and an opportunity to prove his guilt or innocence before a tribunal of law. This is all the Negro asks" (p. 47).

Deegan, Mary Jo, ed. 2002. *The New Woman of Color: The Collected Writings of Fannie Barrier Williams, 1893-1918*. DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press.

Biographical note (from "Fannie Barrier Williams and Her Life as a New Woman of Color in Chicago, 1893-1918" by Mary Jo Deegan, pp. xiii-lx):

Williams was born in New York in 1855 to a middle class family that included three generations of free black people. She grew up in a predominant white town and had mostly pleasant interactions with white people during her youth. She went to the South after the Civil War to teach black children during Reconstruction. She married a lawyer, S. Laing Williams in 1887, and the two became part of Chicago's black intellectual elite during the end of the 19th century into the 20th. She was active in the social settlement movement in Chicago, including the Frederick Douglass Center, Hull House and the University of Chicago Social Settlement. A driving force in the women's club movement, she help to found the National League of Colored Women and fought a battle to become a member of then all-white Chicago Women's Club. She famously spoke at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 and was a journalist for much of her life. Her intellectual network included at various points in time Anna Julia Cooper, W.E.B. DuBois, Booker T. Washington (her husband's best friend), Celia Parker Woolley, Susan B. Anthony, Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, Ida Wells-Barnett, Jane Addams, Mary Church Terrell. Williams was sometimes criticized as having an upper-class bias, as sometimes passing for white, and as being an apologist for Booker T. Washington. Deegan disagrees with these criticisms. Deegan sees Williams as part of the tradition of feminist pragmatism developing at the time in Chicago. Williams died in 1944.

Summary and key points:

Deegan organizes Williams' writings into five sections: autobiography, African American women, African Americans, Social Settlements, and Eulogies. In the first section, Williams describes her experiences with segregation and discrimination. She ends by comparing the North to the South, arguing that racism in the North is seen mostly clearly in business and employment whereas in the South it is seen most clearly in social interactions in which whites expect deference and separation. Whether in the South or North, black people will not be treated as fully human and valuable beings.

In section two, Williams describes the conditions for black women in America. She argues that though Black women had made tremendous strides in education and religious life since Emancipation, they continued to face discrimination in employment and social quarantine in a segregated society. Black women are confined to the most menial and least paid jobs. She sees reason for hope in the organization of black women into women's clubs. Such clubs began "systematic study of social conditions" that led to practical efforts such as "temperance, mother's meetings, sewing school, rescue agencies, night schools, home sanitation, and lectures on all subjects of social interest" (p. 33). In addition, black women's clubs across the nations developed training classes for nurses, homes for orphan's, kindergartens, day nurseries, night schools, savings banks and periodicals. The National Association of Colored Women included over 400 clubs. Williams notes that white women's clubs have often barred black women from membership and that the controversies around this have brought good press to black women's clubs and sometimes led to alliances between black and white women. She warns the club movement against becoming bogged down in petty politics.

In section two, she also discusses women in domestic service and advocates domestic science as a way to elevate the profession and thereby the status of black women in the profession. She also calls for black businessmen to elevate their wives and daughters, educate them and treat them as partners. Women themselves can excel in business. Williams calls for a concept of American womanhood that includes black women, noting the suffering that black women face as women and most especially as *black* women.

Section three focuses on the status of African-Americans in the U.S. She begins with an indictment of how religion was used to justify slavery in the U.S. and keep slaves docile. She acknowledges, though, that after Emancipations many churches have mobilized to assist black people, especially regarding education. The rest of the section offers various suggestions for how African-Americans might improve their situation in the U.S. She sees industrial education as one avenue for self-improvement, but argues that such education must include the liberal arts and the cultivation of intelligence. She advises living modesty in order to save money. She advocates for the cultivation of art appreciation through traveling art lending libraries and suggests that black people must make their own art. She advises that African-Americans travel, both to acquire knowledge and to introduce white people to African-American life. She believes that most white people remain ignorant about African-Americans and that this ignorance maintains prejudice.

Section four outlines Williams' observations about social settlements. The spirit behind the social settlement movement is to work *with* rather than for those less fortunate than oneself. The goal of social settlements is to ameliorate the social problems of urban life. Black people in cities have a particularly strong need for social settlements. Black churches, secret orders, and organizations have been helpful, but the need for social settlements persists. She highlights the Frederick Douglass Centre with detailed examples.

Section five includes three eulogies Williams delivered, for Philip D. Armour, Susan B. Anthony, and Celia Parker Woolley.

Useful and/or juicy quotations:

"Indeed, until I became a young woman and went South to teach I had never been reminded that I belonged to an 'inferior race'…It was here and for the first time that I began life as a colored person, in all that the term implies" (p. 6).

"I found that, instead, of there being a unity of life common to all intelligent, respectable and ambitious people, down South life was divided in white and black lines, and that in every direction my ambitions and aspirations were to have no beginnings and no chance for development" (p. 6).

"I have never quite recovered from the shock and pain of my first bitter realization that to be a colored woman is to be discredited, mistrusted, and often meanly hated" (p. 7).

"I soon discovered that it was much easier for progressive white women to be considerate and even companionable to one colored woman whom they chanced to know and like than to be just and generous to colored young women as a race" (p. 7).

"We must look to American slavery as the source of every imperfection which mars the

character of the colored American. It ought not to be necessary to remind a Southern woman that less than fifty years ago the ill-starred mothers of this ransomed race were not allowed to be modest, not allowed to follow the instincts of moral rectitude, and there was no living man to whom they could cry for protection against the men who not only owned them, body and soul, but also the souls of their husbands, their brothers, and, alas, their sons. Slavery made her the only woman in America for whom virtue was not an ornament and a necessity" (p. 12).

"Taught everywhere in ethics and social economy that merit always wins, colored women carefully prepare themselves for all kinds of occupation only to meet with stern refusal, rebuff, and disappointment" (p. 23).

"The Negro is learning that the things that our women are doing come first in the lessons of citizenship; that there will never be an unchallenged vote, a respected political power, or an unquestioned claim to position of influence and importance until the present stigma is removed from the home and the women of its race" (p. 51).

"A woman has a large degree of adaptability and hence is capable of doing almost everything that a man does besides doing what is strictly a woman's work" (p. 61).

"Religion, like every other force in America, was first used as an instrument and servant of slavery. All attempts to Christianize the Negro were limited by the important fact that he was property of a valuable and peculiar sort, and that the property value must not be disturbed, even if his soul were lost. If Christianity could make the Negro docile, domestic and less an independent and fighting savage, let it be preached to that extent and no further. Do not open the Bible too wide" (p. 73).

"In nothing was slavery so savage and so relentless as in its attempted destruction of the family instincts of the Negro race in America. Individuals, not families; shelters, not homes; herding, not marriages, were the cardinal sins in that system of horrors" (p. 77).

"In the term Industrial Education, the emphasis is always upon education. Mathematics, drawing, chemistry, history, psychology and sociology go along with the deft handling of the carpenter's and engineer's tools, with the knowledge of arming, dairying, printing, and the whole range of the mechanical arts" (p. 79).

"There can be no such thing as caste in the every day work of life, if that work is under the direction and control of trained intellect. Whether we do our share of the world's work with the pen or with the tool, in the office or the shop, in the broad green acres on the hill slopes, or in the senate hall, the question is always the same—how much intelligence and character do you bring to the work" (p. 79).

"An intelligence blacksmith is worth more to a community than an incompetent doctor, a hungry lawyer, or an immoral minister" (p. 81).

"There are so many Negroes who are not Negroes, so many colored people who are not colored, and so many Afro-Americans who are not Africans that it is simply impossible even to coin a term that will precisely designate and connote all the people who are now included under any one of the terms mentioned…It certainly does not seem sensible to change the name of a

whole race of people in order to forget, or in some way hide from, the misfortunes suffered by the American branch of that race" (p. 86).

"As this average American sees but little of the Negro and knows but little of him, he is at liberty to form any kind of erroneous opinions concerning him. It is not too much to say that public opinion concerning the Negro in this country is largely based on ignorance of nearly everything that is good and prophetic in the life of the race" (p. 87).

"In every community the Negro is practically dependent, for nearly everything of importance, upon the dominant race. He must live in places set apart for him, and that often in the worst portions of the city. He must find work below his capabilities and training. He must live on the outer rim of life's advantages and pleasures. His merit, whatever it may be, is more apt to be discredited than recognized. Even though he be educated, public opinion still persists in rating him as ignorant, and treating him as such. His virtues are generally overlooked or reluctantly believed in. He is the victim of more injustice than is meted out to any other class of people" (pp. 121-2).

"The Frederick Douglass Center was created out of a deep anxiety on the part of many prominent and large-souled white women and men, not only to help worthy colored people to realize all their citizenship rights and privileges, but also to save white people from the soul-belittling effect of inherited and cultivated prejudices" (p. 128).

DuBois, W.E.B. 1970(1899). *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study*. New York, NY: Schocken Books.

Biographical note (from Introduction by E. Digby Baltzell):

William Edward Burghardt DuBois was born in 1868 in Great Barrington, Massachusetts. The town of roughly 5000 had approximately 25-50 African-Americans when DuBois was growing up. His family had lived in the area since soon after the Revolutionary War when his great-great-grandfather had been set free. DuBois was of French, Dutch and African ancestry. Even though (or perhaps because) he was raised by a poor single mother (because his father died very young), he identified with the upper class people in town and looked down upon the poor. Teachers encouraged DuBois to attend college and received a gift of books from the wife of a local mill owner to help prepare. He worked odd jobs after school and on the weekend and wrote for several newspapers even as a teenager. He graduated high school in 1884 with high honors and his mother died shortly after.

He saved money and got a scholarship to attend Fisk University in Nashville, TN. He taught elementary school in Tennessee during the summers. He got a clear picture of Southern race relations while at Fisk. He began at Harvard University in 1888 on scholarship and was only accepted on the condition that he accepted segregation from the rest of the students. He was mentored by William James and Albert Bushnell Hart, both of whom nudged him from philosophy into the social sciences. He received his A.B. in 1890 and his M.A. in 1891, then left the country to travel for two years on a scholarship. He took classes from Max Weber at the University of Berlin and traveled throughout Europe. His Ph.D. dissertation was entitled *The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870* and it was published in 1896 as the first volume of the Harvard Historical Series.

He was hired by Susan P. Wharton to move to Philadelphia to study the Seventh Ward. Wharton was active in the Philadelphia College Settlement and this book can be seen as one of several research studies generated by the Settlement movement. DuBois stayed in Philadelphia from August 1896 through January 1898 doing his research. His own writing about this time suggests that he had little support from the University of Pennsylvania, was poorly paid, and lived in the worst part of the Seventh Ward. This book, published in 1899, received reviews praising its rigorous methodology.

Summary and key points:

Dubois described the goal of the research as to describe the social conditions of African-Americans in Philadelphia. This involved a house-to-house canvass of the Seventh Ward. He developed separate interview schedules for families, homes, individuals, institutions, the street, and servants. Official statistics and historical documents were also utilized.

After setting out the goal and methods of the research, and the contemporary situation of African-Americans in Philadelphia, Du Bois provided a detailed social history of race relations in Philadelphia from 1638 to 1896. He then summarized, over the course of several chapters, the demographics of the African-American population in Philadelphia, including population size, age, sex, marital status, educational levels, occupation, and health. Du Bois devoted several chapters to the social organization of the African-American community.

Du Bois documented employment discrimination and occupational segregation which continued to contribute to social problems in the African-American community, such as family instability and crime. He documents how unions themselves engage in discrimination against black people. He documented educational inequities contributing to economic inequities. He documented housing discrimination which led to high rents and overcrowded housing. He discussed the economic disincentives for marriage, the prevalence of cohabitation, and the need for African-American women to engage in paid labor. He analyzed the social functions of the church in African-American community and predicted its central role in organizing and self-improvement efforts. He documents higher mortality and illness rates among blacks in Philadelphia and links these both to economic vulnerability and to racism. He noted the overrepresentation of African-Americans in the criminal justice system and suggested the relationship between lack of economic opportunity and criminality, along with direct racial discrimination, as the reasons for this overrepresentation. While Du Bois in various ways pointed out the behaviors of African-Americans that contribute to their low position in society, he nonetheless maintains the central importance of structural racism in preventing progress in the African-American community. His solutions involve opening up access to equal education and employment as well as political rights for African-Americans.

Isabel Eaton's appendix is a study of domestic work in Philadelphia. She documents its stigmatized position, low wages, and poor working conditions. She calls for professionalization and training in order to raise the status and wages for domestic workers.

Useful and/or juicy quotations:

"I was going to study the facts, any and all facts, concerning the American Negro and his plight, and by measurement and comparison and research, work up to any valid generalization which I could" (p. xviii).

"There is a far mightier influence to mold and make the citizen, and that is the social atmosphere which surrounds him" (p. 309).

"The humblest white employee knows that the better he does his work the more chance there is for him to rise in business. The black employee knows that the better he does his work the longer he may do it; he cannot hope for promotion" (p. 328).

We must study, we must investigate, we must attempt to solve ; and the utmost that the world can demand is, not lack of human interest and moral conviction, but rather the heart-quality of fairness, and an earnest desire for the truth despite its possible unpleasantness" (p. 3).

"The student must clearly recognize that a complete study must not confine itself to the group, but must specially notice the environment; the physical environment of city, sections and houses, the far mightier social environment—the surrounding world of custom, wish, whim, and thought which envelops this group and powerfully influences its social development" (p. 5).

"A slum is not a simple fact, it is a symptom" (p. 6).

"No differences of social condition allowed any Negro to escape from the group, although such escape was continually the rule among Irish, Germans, and other whites" (p. 11).

"Doubtless if we could divide the white population into social strata, we would find some classes whose characteristics corresponded in many respects to those of the Negro" (p. 49).

"The noticeable feature is the extraordinary number of widowed and separated persons, indicating economic stress, a high death rate and lax morality. Such are the social results of a large excess of young women in a city where young men cannot afford to marry" (p. 70).

"Everyone knows that in a city like Philadelphia a Negro does not have the same chance to exercise his ability or secure work according to his talents as a white man" (p. 98).

"The sorts of work open to Negroes are not only restricted by their own lack of training but also by discrimination against them on account of their race" (p. 98).

"All the forces that are impelling white women to become bread winners, are emphasized in the case of Negro women: their chances of marriage are decreased by the low wages of the men and the large excess of their own sex in the great cities; they must work, and if there are few chances open they must suffer from competition in wages. Among the men low wages means either enforced celibacy or irregular and often dissipated lives, or homes where the wife and mother must also be a bread-winner" (p. 110).

"The peculiar distribution of employments among whites and Negroes makes the great middle class of white people seldom, if ever, brought into contact with Negroes—may not this be a cause as well as an effect of prejudice?" (p. 111).

"This opportunity arose from three causes: Here was a mass of black workmen of whom very few were by previous training fitted to become the mechanics and artisans of a new industrial development; here, too, were an increasing mass of foreigners and native Americans who were unusually well fitted to take part in the new industries; finally, most people were willing and many eager that Negroes should be kept as menial servants rather than develop into industrial factors. This was the situation, and here was the opportunity for the white workmen; they were by previous training better workmen on the average than Negroes; they were stronger numerically and the result was that every new industrial enterprise started in the city took white workmen. Soon the white workmen were strong enough to go a step further than this and practically prohibit Negroes from entering trades under any circumstances" (p. 126).

"Thus partially by taking advantage of race prejudice, partially by greater economic efficiency and partially by the endeavor to maintain and raise wages, white workmen have not only monopolized the new industrial opportunities of an age which has transformed Philadelphia from a colonial town to a world-city, but have also been enabled to take from the Negro workman the opportunities he already enjoyed in certain lines of work" (p. 127).

"How now has this exclusion been maintained? In some cases by the actual inclusion of the word "white" among qualifications for entrance into certain trade unions. More often, however, by leaving the matter of color entirely to local bodies, who make no general rule, but invariably fail to admit a colored applicant except under pressing circumstances. This is the most workable system and is adopted by nearly all trade unions" (p. 128).

"Without doubt there is not in Philadelphia enough work of the kind that the mass of Negroes

can and may do, to employ at fair wages the laborers who at present desire work. The result of this must, of course, be disastrous, and give rise to many loafers, criminals, and casual labor ers" (p. 134).

"So long as entrance into domestic service involves a loss of all social standing and consideration, so long will domestic service be a social problem" (p. 136).

"It makes the one central question of the Seventh Ward, not imperative social betterments, raising of the standard of home life, taking advantage of the civilizing institutions of the great city—on the contrary, it makes it a sheer question of bread and butter and the maintenance of a standard of living above that of the Virginia plantation" (p. 140).

"The industrial condition of the Negro cannot be considered apart from the great fact of race prejudice" (p. 145).

"One thing we must of course expect to find, and that is a much higher death rate at present among Negroes than among whites : this is one measure of the difference in their social advancement" (p. 148).

"The Negroes live in unsanitary dwellings, partly by their own fault, partly on account of the difficulty of securing decent houses by reason of race prejudice" (p. 160).

"The most difficult social problem in the matter of Negro health is the peculiar attitude of the nation toward the well-being of the race. There have, for instance, been few other cases in the history of civilized peoples where human suffering has been viewed with such peculiar in difference" (p. 163).

"Much of the money that should have gone into homes has gone into costly church edifices, dues to societies, dress and entertainment" (p. 185).

"The mass of the Negro people must be taught sacredly to guard the home, to make it the centre of social life and moral guardianship" (p. 195-6).

"The church really represented all that was left of African tribal life, and was the sole expression of the organized efforts of the slaves. It was natural that any movement among freedmen should centre about their religious life, the sole remaining element of their former tribal system" (p. 197).

"As a social group the Negro church may be said to have antedated the Negro family on American soil; as such it has preserved, on the one hand, many functions of tribal organization, and on the other hand, many of the family functions" (p. 201).

"The largest hope for the ultimate rise of the Negro lies in this mastery of the art of social organized life" (p. 233).

"Crime is a phenomenon of organized social life, and is the open rebellion of an individual against his social environment. Naturally then, if men are suddenly transported from one environment to another, the result is lack of harmony with the new conditions; lack of harmony

with the new physical surroundings leading to disease and death or modification of physique; lack of harmony with social surroundings leading to crime" (p. 235).

"Moreover, in the case of the Negro there were special causes for the prevalence of crime: he had lately been freed from serfdom, he was the object of stinging oppression and ridicule, and paths of advancement open to many were closed to him. Consequently the class of the shiftless, aimless, idle, discouraged and disappointed was proportionately larger" (p. 241).

"This of course assumes that the convicts in the penitentiary represent with a fair degree of accuracy the crime committed. The assumption is not wholly true; in convictions by human courts the rich always are favored somewhat at the expense of the poor, the upper classes at the expense of the unfortunate classes, and whites at the expense of Negroes" (p. 249).

"From this study we may conclude that young men are the perpetrators of the serious crime among Negroes; that this crime consists mainly of stealing and assault; that ignorance, and immigration to the temptations of city life, are responsible for much of this crime but not for all; that deep social causes underlie this prevalence of crime and they have so worked as to form among Negroes since 1864 a distinct class of habitual criminals ; that to this criminal class and not to the great mass of Negroes the bulk of the serious crime perpetrated by this race should be charged" (p. 259).

"The first effect of emancipation was that of any sudden social revolution: a strain upon the strength and resources of the Negro, moral, economic and physical, which drove many to the wall. For this reason the rise of the Negro in this city is a series of rushes and backslidings rather than a continuous growth. The second great peculiarity of the situation of the Negroes is the fact of immigration" (p. 283).

"Here then we have two great causes for the present condition of the Negro: Slavery and emancipation with their attendant phenomena of ignorance, lack of discipline, and moral weakness; immigration with its increased competition and moral influence. To this must be added a third as great—possibly greater in influence than the other two, namely the environment in which a Negro finds him self—the world of custom and thought in which he must live and work, the physical surrounding of house and home and ward, the moral encouragements and discouragements which he encounters" (p. 283-4).

"The undeniable fact that most Philadelphia white people prefer not to live near Negroes limits the Negro very seriously in his choice of a home and especially in the choice of a cheap home" (p. 295).

"Nevertheless much of the Negro problem in this city finds adequate explanation when we reflect that here is a people receiving a little lower wages than usual for less desirable work, and compelled, in order to do that work, to live in a little less pleasant quarters than most people, and pay for them somewhat higher rents" (p. 296).

"The Negro who ventures away from the mass of his people and their organized life, finds himself alone, shunned and taunted, stared at and made uncomfortable; he can make few new friends, for his neighbors however well-disposed would shrink to add a Negro to their list of acquaintances" (p. 297).

"Instead then of social classes held together by strong ties of mutual interest we have in the case of the Negroes, classes who have much to keep them apart, and only community of blood and color prejudice to bind them together" (p. 317).

"Naturally the uncertain economic status even of this picked class makes it difficult for them to spare much time and energy in social reform ; compared with their fellows they are rich, but compared with white Americans they are poor" (p. 317-8).

"In the Negro's mind, color prejudice in Philadelphia is that widespread feeling of dislike for his blood, which keeps him and his children out of decent employment, from certain public conveniences and amusements, from hiring houses in many sections, and in general, from being recognized as a man. Negroes regard this prejudice as the chief cause of their present unfortunate condition. On the other hand most white people are quite unconscious of any such powerful and vindictive feeling; they regard color prejudice as the easily explicable feeling that intimate social intercourse with a lower race is not only undesirable but impracticable if our present standards of culture are to be maintained; and although they are aware that some people feel the aversion more intensely than others, they cannot see how such a feeling has much influence on the real situation or alters the social condition of the mass of Negroes" (p. 322).

"Men are used to seeing Negroes in inferior positions; when, therefore, by any chance a Negro gets in a better position, most men immediately conclude that he is not fitted for it, even before he has a chance to show his fitness" (p. 324).

"The Negro finds it extremely difficult to rear children in such an atmosphere and not have them either cringing or impudent: if he impresses upon them patience with their lot, they may grow up satisfied with their condition; if he inspires them with ambition to rise, they may grow to despise their own people, hate the whites and become embittered with the world" (p. 324).

"In all walks of life the Negro is liable to meet some objection to his presence or some discourteous treatment; and the ties of friendship or memory seldom are strong enough to hold across the color line" (p. 325).

"Any one of these things happening now and then would not be remarkable or call for especial comment; but when one group of people suffer all these little differences of treatment and discriminations and insults continually, the result is either discouragement, or bitterness, or over-sensitiveness, or recklessness. And a people feeling thus cannot do their best" (p. 325).

"Thus the young white man starts in life knowing that within some limits and barring accidents, talent and application will tell. The young Negro starts knowing that on all sides his advance is made doubly difficult if not wholly shut off by his color" (p. 327).

"It is one of the paradoxes of this question to see a people so discriminated against sometimes add to their misfortunes by discriminating against themselves" (p. 347).

"How long can a city say to a part of its citizens, 'It is useless to work; it is fruitless to deserve well of men; education will gain you nothing but disappointment and humiliation?' How long can

a city teach its black children that the road to success is to have a white face?" (p. 351).

"For thirty years and more Philadelphia has said to its black children: 'Honesty, efficiency and talent have little to do with your success; if you work hard, spend little and are good you may earn your bread and butter at those sorts of work which we frankly confess we despise; if you are dishonest and lazy, the State will furnish your bread free.' Thus the class of Negroes which the prejudices of the city have distinctly encouraged is that of the criminal, the lazy and the shiftless" (pp. 351-2).

"It is high time that the best conscience of Philadelphia awakened to her duty; her Negro citizens are here to remain; they can be made good citizens or burdens to the community; if we want them to be sources of wealth and power and not of poverty and weakness then they must be given employment according to their ability and encouraged to train that ability and increase their talents by the hope of reasonable reward" (pp. 353-4).

"The same Philadelphian who would not let a Negro work in his store or mill will contribute handsomely to relieve Negroes in poverty and distress" (p. 355).

"First the ballot has without doubt been a means of protection in the hands of a people peculiarly liable to oppression. Its first bestowal gained Negroes admittance to street-cars after a struggle of a quarter century; and frequently since private and public oppression has been lightened by the knowledge of the power of the black vote" (p. 382).

"The Negro problem looked at in one way is but the old world questions of ignorance, poverty, crime, and the dislike of the stranger" (p. 385).

"We rather hasten to forget that once the courtiers of English kings looked upon the ancestors of most Americans with far greater contempt than these Americans look upon Negroes—and perhaps, indeed, had more cause" (p. 386).

"We grant full citizenship in the World Commonwealth to the "Anglo-Saxon" (whatever that may mean), the Teuton and the Latin; then with just a shade of reluctance we extend it to the Celt and Slav. We half deny it to the yellow races of Asia, admit the brown Indians to an ante-room only on the strength of an undeniable past; but with the Negroes of Africa we come to a full stop" (pp. 386-7).

"Moreover the battle involves more than a mere altruistic interest in an alien people. It is a battle for humanity and human culture. If in the hey-dey of the greatest of the world's civilizations, it is possible for one people ruthlessly to steal another, drag them helpless across the water, enslave them, debauch them, and then slowly murder them by economic and social exclusion until they disappear from the face of the earth—if the consummation of such a crime be possible in the twentieth century, then our civilization is vain and the republic is a mockery and a farce" (p. 388).

"If this be so then a few plain propositions may be laid down as axiomatic: 1. The Negro is here to stay. 2. It is to the advantage of all, both black and white, that every Negro should make the best of himself. 3. It is the duty of the Negro to raise himself by every effort to the standards of modern civilization and not to lower those standards in any degree. 4. It is the duty of the white

people to guard their civilization against debauchment by themselves or others; but in order to do this it is not necessary to hinder and retard the efforts of an earnest people to rise, simply because they lack faith in the ability of that people. 5. With these duties in mind and with a spirit of self-help, mutual aid and co-operation, the two races should strive side by side to realize the ideals of the republic and make this truly a land of equal opportunity for all men" (pp. 388-9).

"The bulk of the work of raising the Negro must be done by the Negro himself" (p. 390).

"The old query: Would you want your sister to marry a Nigger? still stands as a grim sentinel to stop much rational discussion" (p. 393).

"So with the Negroes: men have a right to object to a race so poor and ignorant and inefficient as the mass of the Negroes; but if their policy in the past is parent of much of this condition, and if to-day by shutting black boys and girls out of most avenues of decent employment they are increasing pauperism and vice, then they must hold themselves largely responsible for the deplorable results" (p. 394).

"The centre and kernel of the Negro problem so far as the white people are concerned is the narrow opportunities afforded Negroes for earning a decent living. Such discrimination is morally wrong, politically dangerous, industrially wasteful, and socially silly. It is the duty of the whites to stop it, and to do so primarily for their own sakes" (p. 394).

Dubois, W.E.B. 1994(1903). *The Souls of Black Folk*. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications.

Biographical note: DuBois was born in Massachusetts in 1868 and died as a citizen of Ghana in 1963. The book, first published in 1903, was successful and sold many printings.

Summary and key points:

The note and forethought summarize key themes in DuBois' writing—his use of the concept of "The Veil" as a metaphor for segregation and his most famous line: "The problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color-line" (p. v). In the forethought, DuBois describes the goal of the book: "to sketch, in vague, uncertain outline, the spiritual world in which ten thousand thousand Americans live and strive" (p. v). It is a description of the social conditions of African-Americans post-Emancipation. Some of the writing first appeared in periodicals such as *The Atlantic Monthly* and the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. Each chapter is introduced with a few lines of poetry and then a bar of one of what DuBois calls the Sorrow Songs (African-American spirituals).

Chapter One is the most anthologized and excerpted piece of DuBois' writings, and I am summarizing it in detail because of this. It opens with his descriptions of being the only black person in many social settings confronted with the implicit question from white people: "How does it feel to be a problem?" (p. 1). He describes a childhood story in which a white girl refused his greeting card and he became aware of "the veil" separating blacks from whites. He suggests that this veil causes many African-Americans to ask, "Why did God make me an outcast and a stranger in mine own house?" (p. 2). This chapter includes the passage about twoness, or doubleconsciousness, in which African-Americans are forced to see themselves through the eyes of a contemptuous white America. It suggests that African-Americans strive "to become a co-worker in the kingdom of culture" (p. 3).

This chapter highlights the toll of segregation on African-American achievement and argues that segregation creates an illusion of African-American weakness. DuBois argues that Emancipation did not bring freedom. He uses the metaphor of a race to point out that post-Emancipation, African-Americans do not begin the race at the same starting point as European-Americans and in fact continue to face the shadow of prejudice. This shadow often leads to despair, which contributes to "the inevitable self-questioning, self-disparagement, and lowering of ideals which ever accompany repression and breed in an atmosphere of contempt and hate" (p. 6).

DuBois suggests that the combination of freedom, political power and higher education are strategies for African-Americans to try to advance in the U.S., yet he does not advocate assimilation into the white world. He suggests that while there are some values of the white America that African-Americans should adopt, African-Americans also make their own unique and valuable contribution to American culture. This chapter is definitely a classic in the field of sociology, setting up the study of deviance (How does it feel to be a problem?), the effects of inequality on self and identity (double-consciousness) and arguments for multiculturalism rather than assimilation. The writing is about as literary as sociology ever gets.

Chapter Two summarizes and analyzes the work of the Freedmen's Bureau and the period from 1861 to 1872. It opens with DuBois's most quoted line: "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color-line—the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia

and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea," a line that turned out to be remarkably prescient given the rise of American imperialism, the decolonization struggles throughout the Third World, and finally the rise of neo-colonialism (p. 9). DuBois suggests that Emancipation brought with it a central problem, which was what to be done about African-Americans in the U.S.

In 1865, Congress passed a bill establishing within the War Department a "Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands" which allowed the Secretary of War to issue rations, clothing and fuel to former slaves and appropriate abandoned lands for the purpose of leasing and selling to former slaves in 40 acre parcels (the now famous and undelivered promise of "40 acres and a mule"). The Freedmen's Bureau necessarily ran into problems, according to DuBois. First, the idea to take the lands of white plantation owners and give it to former slaves of course ran into resistance and evaporated once the government granted amnesty to white Southerners. Secondly, the situation "on the ground" throughout the South was complicated and not easily amenable to Northern supervision. DuBois suggests that the Freedmen's Bureau had three successes—meeting the physical needs of many former slaves, moving many former fugitives back to farms from cities, and transplanting New England schoolhouses and schoolmarms among the white and black folks of the South. The Freedmen's Bureau was doomed to failure given the war itself, the aftermath of the war, poverty and hunger, conflict and continued resentment and resistance from Southern men. Nonetheless, hospitals and asylums were built, rations were distributed, labor contracts were written and free schools were established.

The conflict between DuBois and Washington is quite famous. In Chapter Three, DuBois takes on Washington's program of vocational education and segregation ("as separate as the five fingers") as one of conciliation and submission to white racism. DuBois argues that there were three paths for dealing with white racism—revolt, submission to the dominant group, or self-development. The slave rebellions were examples of the first path, whereas someone like Frederick Douglass would be an example of the third path. DuBois sees Washington as an exemplar of the middle path. DuBois criticizes Washington's willingness to trade African-American political power, civil rights and higher education, in exchange for the hope of accumulation of wealth.

Chapter Four describes DuBois' experiences teaching in Tennessee. In this chapter, he questions the meaning of progress when segregation continues in the U.S.

Chapter Five challenges the American pursuit of wealth as the measure of success. DuBois feared that African-Americans would be seduced away from lives of righteousness by love of money. In particular, this chapter argues against focusing education around pursuit of wealth instead of love of knowledge.

In Chapter Six, he advocates for the education of Black people. The development and increase in black college graduates is proof against white beliefs in black intellectual inferiority. He indicts the "two separate worlds" of the South under Jim Crow. He argues that social stability in the South will only be possible if black people are educated. He condemns the hypocrisy of "Southern gentleman" who oppose miscegenation yet frequent black prostitutes and rape black women, who view blacks as predisposed to crime while whites perpetrated the "arch-crime" of slavery and commit lynchings. The Negro college must help solve the problems of race conflict.

Chapters Seven and Eight analyzes life in the Black Belt of Georgia, south of Macon, as basically a form of feudalism. From the desperate straits of tenant farmers to the rise of cotton mills, Blacks were living under lousy conditions. Homes were wretched and overcrowded; marriage rates had declined; illiteracy rates were high; and daily life consisted of monotonous toil. Slaves became tenant/serfs; plantation owners became landlords/merchants. Black people are persistently in debt under this system.

Chapter Nine is a study of the effects of racial segregation in the South. One can draw a color-line on a map of most towns in the South, according to DuBois. In economic relations, black laborers, trained for obedience and willingness, are thrown into unfair competition with their laborers bred for self-reliance and initiative. In order to ameliorate this situation, race prejudice must be accepted as a fact in the South and education and voting rights must work to make things right. The legal system in the South is overly lenient regarding white crime and overly severe regarding black crime. The educational system invests in four times as many resources in white students as it does in black students. This whole situation inspires crime and other problems in the black community and those problems are then pointed to by whites as why blacks do not progress in society. There are few opportunities for neutral intellectual interactions in which blacks and whites might get acquainted with one another's thoughts—they live, travel, study and worship separately. This is especially true among the middle and upper classes; while, DuBois argues, there may be unfortunate chance for mutual conversation among blacks and whites visiting brothels, saloons, and gambling halls.

Chapter Ten addresses the religious practices of black people and the importance of the preacher, the music and the frenzy. The church is the center of Black communities in the U.S, in part, DuBois argues, as a remnant of former tribal life in Africa. The reverence for preachers is similarly then a remnant of the importance of the tribal priest/medicine man. DuBois points out that the black church predates the black home. DuBois argues that given the terrible conditions in the South, Christian theology and its emphasis on the joys of the afterlife had tremendous appeal for black people suffering first under slavery and later under segregation. In DuBois' time, he believes that religion can have both positive and negative effects on the Black community.

Chapter Eleven is a tender and brutal description of the death of his firstborn baby and DuBois simultaneous grief and bitter relief that that child didn't have to face living under the Veil. Chapter Twelve was written in honor of Alexander Crummell, African-American minister, scholar and orator, who lost his congregation due to racism. Chapter Thirteen addresses the effects of racism through a story comparing the life of two boys named John, one white and one black. It is really a parable about the embitterment experienced by educated black people in the South suffering the humiliations and segregation.

Chapter Fourteen was written in honor of the African-American sorrow songs, music which DuBois argues is "the sole American music" and "the most beautiful expression of human experience born this side the seas" (p. 156). The music blends African music with music slaves heard in America to tell a story of exile, suffering and hope. White music that came after was unfailingly influenced by the sorrow songs. DuBois uses the sorrow songs as well as an example of the various contributions that blacks have made to American society, without which America would not be America.

Useful and/or juicy quotes:

"How does it feel to be a problem?" (p. 1).

"The Nation has not yet found peace from its sins; the freedman has not yet found in freedom his promised land" (p. 4).

"He began to have a dim feeling that, to attain his place in the world, he must be himself and not another" (p. 5).

"Merely a concrete test of the underlying principles of the great republic is the Negro problem" (p. 7).

"Thus Negro suffrage ended a civil war by beginning a race feud" (p. 23).

"Despite compromise, war and struggle, the Negro is not free…taxation without representation is the rule of their political life. And the result of all this is, and in nature must have been, lawlessness and crime. That is the large legacy of the Freedmen's Bureau, the work it did not do because it could not" (p. 24).

"Mr. Washington's programme practically accepts the alleged inferiority of the Negro races" (p. 30).

"In the history of nearly all other races and peoples the doctrine preached at such crises has been that manly self-respect is worth more than lands and houses, and that a people who voluntarily surrender such respect, or cease striving for it, are not worth civilizing" (p. 30).

"For every social ill the panacea of Wealth has been urged,--wealth to overthrow the remains of slave feudalism; wealth to raise the 'cracker' Third Estate; wealth to employ the black serfs, and the prospect of wealth to keep them working; wealth as the end and aim of politics, and as the legal tender for law and order; and, finally, instead of Truth, Beauty, and Goodness, wealth as the ideal of the Public School" (p. 49).

"And the final product of our training must be neither a psychologist nor a brickmason, but a man. And to make men, we must have ideals, broad, pure, and inspiring ends of living—not sordid money-getting, not apples of gold. The worker must work for the glory of his handiwork, not simply for pay; the thinker must think for truth, not for fame" (p. 54).

"The tendency is here, born of slavery and quickened to renewed life by the crazy imperialism of the day, to regard human beings as among material resources of a land to be trained with an eye single to future dividends. Race-prejudices, which keep brown and black men in their 'places,' we are coming to regard as useful allies with such a theory" (p. 58).

"Here, then, is the plain thirst for training; by refusing to give this Talented Tenth the key to knowledge, can any sane man imagine that they will lightly lay aside their yearning and contentedly become hewers of wood and drawers of water? No. The dangerously clear logic of the Negro's position will more and more loudly assert itself in that day when increasing wealth and more intricate social organization preclude the South from being, as it so largely is, simply

an armed camp for intimidating black folk" (p. 65).

"I sit with Shakespeare and he winces not. Across the color-line I move arm in arm with Balzac and Dumas…I summon Artistotle and Aurelius and what soul I will, and they come all graciously with no scorn nor condescension. So, wed with Truth, I dwell above the Veil" (p. 67).

"America is not another word for Opportunity to *all* her sons" (p. 88).

"In considerable parts of all the Gulf States, and especially in Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas, the Negroes on the plantations in the back-country districts are still held at forced labor practically without wages" (p. 92).

"War, murder, slavery, extermination, and debauchery—this has again and again been the result of carrying civilization and the blessed gospel to the isles of the sea and the heathen without the law" (p. 99).

"Daily the Negro is coming more and more to look upon law and justice, not as protecting safeguards, but as sources of humiliation and oppression" (p. 106).

"What in the name of reason does this nation expect of a people, poorly trained and hard pressed in severe economic competition, without political rights, and with ludicrously inadequate common-school facilities?" (p. 109).

"Some day the Awakening will come, when the pent-up vigor of ten million souls shall sweep irresistibly toward the Goal, out of the Valley of the Shadow of Death, where all that makes life worth living—Liberty, Justice and Right—is marked 'For White People Only'" (p. 125).

"And thus in the land of the Color-line I saw, as it fell across my baby, the shadow of the Veil. Within the Veil was he born, said I; and there within he shall live—a Negro and a Negro's son" (p. 128).

"All that day and all that night there sat an awful gladness in my heart—nay, blame me not if I see the world thus darkly through the Veil—and my soul whispers ever to me, saying 'Not dead, not dead, but escaped; not bond, but free.' No bitter meanness shall sicken his baby heart till it die a living death, no taunt shall madden his happy boyhood. Fool was I to think or wish that this little soul should grow choked and deformed within the Veil!" (p. 130).

"Your country? How came it yours? Before the Pilgrims landed we were here. Here we have brought our three gifts and mingled them with yours: a gift of story and song—soft, stirring melody in an ill-harmonized and unmelodious land; the gift of sweat and brawn to beat back the wilderness, conquer the soil, and lay the foundations of this vast economic empire two hundred years earlier than your week hands could have done it; the third, a gift of the Spirit. Around us the history of the land has centred for thrice a hundred years; out of the nation's heart we have called all that was best to throttle and subdue all that was worst; fire and blood, prayer and sacrifice, have billowed over this people, and they have found peace only in the altars of the God of Right. Nor has our gift of the Spirit been merely passive. Actively we have woven ourselves with the very warp and woof of this nation—we fought their battles, shared their sorrow, mingled our blood with theirs, and generation after generation have pleaded with

a headstrong, careless people to despise not Justice, Mercy and Truth, lest the nation be smitten with a curse. Our song, our toil, our cheer, and warning have been given to this nation in blood-brotherhood. Are these not gifts worth the giving? Is not this work and striving? Would America have been America without her Negro people?" (p. 162-3).

Residents of Hull House. 2007(1895). *Hull House Maps and Papers: A Presentation of Nationalities and Wages in a Congested District of Chicago, Together with Comments and Essays on Problems Growing Out of the Social Conditions*. Introduction by Rima Lunin Schulz. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

"Introduction," pp. 1-42, by Rima Lunin Schulz:

Begun in 1892, HHM&P was published in 1895, with ten contributors to the research effort: Florence Kelley, Alzina Parsons Stevens, Agnes Sinclair Holbrook, Isabel Eaton, Charles Zueblin, Josefa Humpal-Zeman, Alessandro Mastro-Valerio, Julia C. Lathrop, Ellen Gates Starr, and Jane Addams. Florence Kelley went on to draft the Illinois Factory and Inspection Act. Alzina Stevens was a labor leader and former president of the Working Women's Union #1. Isabel Eaton later headed the Social Settlement of Hartford and contributed a chapter on domestic service to W.E.B. DuBois' *The Philadelphia Negro*. Julia Lathrop ran the Illinois State Board of Charities. Mastro-Valerio and Humpal-Zeman edited ethnic newspapers in Chicago and were controversial leaders of the Italian and Bohemian communities, respectively. Zueblin founded the Northwestern University Settlement and was a sociology instructor at the University of Chicago. Addams' close friend Ellen Gates Starr was particularly interested in art and arts education and helped to bring arts education into the Chicago public school system in addition to establishing an art lending library at Hull House. In the early 20th century, estimates indicate that 7000-9000 children and adults came to Hull House per week.

HHM&P was a pioneering piece of sociology in its use of color-coded maps, its contribution to urban sociology, and its empirical investigation of the costs of industrial society on urban dwellers. Its motivation was a belief held by the residents of Hull House in the power of social scientific knowledge to change and mobilize public sentiment to solve social problems. It was a women-designed piece of social science and Hull House itself was heavily funded by women's clubs, which allowed it to remain autonomous from university or corporate affiliations. Economist Richard T. Ely, founder of the American Economic Association, chose it as the fifth volume for his series *The Library of Economics and Politics* and promoted as important sociology. It is only later that Jane Addams and the other residents of Hull House get erased from the sociological record and framed instead as social workers. Women were excluded from faculty positions at the University of Chicago and some of the men who also shared an interest in social reform found their jobs threatened with the increasing emphasis on detached social science designed to mimic the natural sciences.

Florence Kelley's anti-sweatshop campaign provoked much of the early research for the HHM&P and it was her along with Agnes Holbrook, trained in the sciences and the arts, who organized the data and made the maps. The maps documented the ethnic diversity in the neighborhood surrounding Hull House, though there were also small ethnic enclaves as well. The maps also showed that residences, warehouses, factories and rail yards all existed side by side.

Schulz critiques the maps for their handling of race and the lack of specificity on where inhabitants lived. She also criticizes the portrayal of immigrants as pathological and lackinig agency within the papers themselves, even if that pathology and lack of agency are portrayed in part as a result of industrial conditions.

Summary and key points:

The first essay, by Agnes Holbrook, describes the demographic makeup and living conditions of the neighborhood, which were studied by sending researchers home to home with a survey schedule. In the nationalities map, each ethnic group was given its own color. While the ethnic groups are mixed in the neighborhood, there are nonetheless small ethnic enclaves. The largest ethnic groups are Italians, Russian and Polish Jews, and Bohemians. In the wage map, families and not individuals are the unit. Wage levels are also color coded.

The second chapter summarizes Florence Kelley's findings on the sweating-system, which employs over 25,000 garment workers. Sweatshop workers are not collectively organized, are in competition with one another, and are also divided by language and cultural differences. Many children are employed in sweatshops, most of which are located in tenement houses. Contagious disease is a real public health problem for both workers and consumers, as it can be spread through the clothing itself. Work is intermittent and wages are low. As a result of these findings, many pushed the 1893 Workshop and Factories Act, which led to some tentative reforms.

Chapter three focuses on child labor and is a joint collaboration by Kelley and Alzina Stevens. They note that census figures tend to underestimate the prevalence of child labor because of what we would now call social approval bias. They find about 1 in 10 employees in the state are children. The Nineteenth Ward has children employed as bootblacks, newsboys, cash-children, clothing-clerks, and factory workers. In the state, children are employed in risky and dangerous occupations, such as the tobacco trade, sweatshops, bakeries, and metal working. The poor health conditions of much child labor can permanent affect their health and development. Much child labor is also transitory, which makes it hard for them to organize. Many children's earnings are essential to the family, and so one avenue for solving the problem of child labor is better wages and safer working conditions for parents. The state should enforce school attendance until age 16 and subsidize such attendance for families who need the wages.

In Isabel Eaton's chapter four comparing cloakmakers in Chicago and New York, she finds higher wages in Chicago than New York, similarly long work weeks, a higher degree of debt in New York than Chicago, and cheaper rents in Chicago than New York, although both sets of workers use a high proportion of their wage to pay rent.

The next three chapters are on the social and economic conditions of ethnic enclaves. In Chapter Five, Charles Zeublin describes the Jewish ghetto. In Chapter Six, Josefa Humpal-Zeman describes the Bohemian enclave and in Chapter Seven, Alessandro Mastro-Valerio describes the Italian enclave.

Julia Lathrop describes the charity institutions established in Cook County in Chapter Eight. Men make up the majority in poorhouses. Conditions in the Cook Hospital infirmary are somewhat miserable, as is the case for the insane asylum. There is a need for a proper convalescent's home, to prevent early discharge. The county relief office is poorly managed.

Ellen Gates Starr makes a case for the importance of aesthetics and beauty in daily life in Chapter Nine. Influenced by John Ruskin and William Morris, she argues that all work done with joy becomes art. The working poor have been deprived of beauty. For example, renters are prohibited from decorating and beautifying the buildings in which they live. Even though

both rich and poor kids might learn of art in school, the poor kid goes home to a place lacking in beauty and the rich kid goes home to a place filled with beauty. Part of the work of the settlement house must be to encourage art making and cultivation of beauty.

The book concludes with Addams' analysis of the role of the settlement house in the labor movement. Because Hull House is surrounded by sweatshops, the residents have come to recognize that it is absolutely essential for workers to organize themselves. Thus, Hull House has welcomed trades unions and clubs of various political beliefs, including socialism. Addams argues that workers must organize not just to resist or thwart employers but to bring about progressive social change. The labor movement must eventually transcend entrenched class loyalties and cultivate the idea of the common good for all people.

The appendix describes the activities of Hull House. (Note: I mention here only those activities I have not already recorded in the annotation from Addams' memoir.) These include a student's association, a working-people's chorus, Sunday concerts, a boarding club for young women, a debate club, cooking classes, summer field trips, a pharmacy, and a food delivery service to nearby factories at lunch.

Useful and/or juicy quotations:

Agnes Sinclair Holbrook: "Little idea can be given of the filthy and rotten tenements, the dingy courts and tumble-down sheds, the foul stables and dilapidated outhouses, the broken sewer-pipes, the piles of garbage fairly alive with diseased odors, and of the numbers of children filling every nook, working and playing in every room, eating and sleeping in every window-sill, pouring in and out of every door, and seeming literally to pave every scrap of 'yard'" (p. 54).

Agnes Sinclair Holbrook: "The manner of investigation has been painstaking, and the facts set forth are as trustworthy as personal inquiry and intelligent effort could make them. Not only was each house, tenement, and room visited and inspected, but in many cases the reports obtained from one person were corroborated by many others, and statements from different workers at the same trades and occupations, as to wages and unemployed seasons, served as mutual confirmation" (p. 57).

Agnes Sinclair Holbrook: "Merely to state symptoms and go no farther would be idle; but to state symptoms in order to ascertain the nature of disease, and apply, it may be, its cure, is not only scientific, but in the highest sense humanitarian" (p. 58).

Agnes Sinclair Holbrook: "The theory that 'every man supports his own family' is as idle in a district like this as the fiction that 'every one can get work if he wants it'" (p. 61).

Agnes Sinclair Holbrook: "This irregularity of employment, whether caused by the season, weather, fashion, or the caprices of the law of supply and demand, affects not only the unskilled, but to a considerable degree the employee of the manufactories, and the artisan. The poorest suffer from intermittent work, of course, the most" (p. 62).

Florence Kelley: "Everywhere steam, electricity, and human ingenuity have been pressed into service for the purpose of organization and centralization; but in the garment trades this process has been reversed, and the division of labor has been made a means of demoralization, disorganization, and degradation" (p. 69).

Florence Kelley: "The condition of the sweaters' victim is a conclusive refutation of the ubiquitous argument that poverty is the result of crime, vice, intemperance, sloth and unthrift; for the Jewish sweaters' victims are probably more temperate, hard-working and avaricious than any equally large body of wage-earners in America…Yet the reward of work at their trade is grinding poverty, ending only in death or escape to some more hopeful occupation" (p. 70).

Kelley and Stevens: "Children are found in greatest number where the conditions of labor are most dangerous to life and health" (p. 78).

Kelley and Stevens: "Where they are, the wage-earning children are an unmitigated injury to themselves, to the community upon which they will later be burdens, and to the trade which they demoralize. They learn nothing valuable; they shorten the average of the trade life, and they lower the standard of living of the adults with whom they compete" (p. 89).

Charles Zeublin: "Nevertheless, the greatest need of the Ghetto is its annihilation" (p. 105).

Julia Lathrop: "There is no mal-administration so strong that it can persist in the face of public knowledge and attention" (p. 129).

Ellen Gates Starr: "Art must be of the people if it is to be at all" (p. 131).

Ellen Gates Starr: "It is only when a man is doing work which he wishes done, and delights in doing, and which he is free to do as he likes, that his work becomes a language to him. As soon as it does so become it is artistic. Every man working in the joy of his heart is, in some measure, an artist. Everything wrought with delight in the work itself is, in some measure, lovely" (p. 131).

Ellen Gates Starr: "We have believed that we could force men to live without beauty in their own lives, and still compel them to make for us the beautiful things in which we have denied them any part" (pp. 131-32).

Ellen Gates Starr: "Whatever the inspiring motive of art, though there be in it pain and struggle, the result must be one of triumph, at least of hope" (p. 135).

Jane Addams: "By virtue of its [the settlement's] very locality it has put itself in a position to see, as no one but a neighbor can see, the stress and need of those who bear the brunt of the social injury" (p. 138).

Jane Addams: "Working-people among themselves are being forced into a social democracy from the pressure of the economic situation. It presents an educating and broadening aspect of no small value" (p. 142).

Jane Addams: "The transient aspect of the strike is the anger and opposition against the employer, and too often the chagrin of failure. The permanent is the binding together of the strikers in the ties of association and brotherhood, and the attainment of a more democratic relation to the employer; and it is because of a growing sense of brotherhood and of democracy in the labor movement that we see in it a growing ethical power" (p. 148).

Jane Addams: "The settlement is pledged to insist upon the unity of life, to gather to itself the sense of righteousness to be found in its neighborhood, and as far as possible in its city; to work toward the betterment not of one kind of people or class of people, but for the common good" (p. 148).

Addams, Jane. 1964(1907). *Democracy and Social Ethics*, edited by Anne Firor Scott. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Biographical note (from Scott's introduction):
(Note: I am only including information here that does not duplicate other entries).

Addams wanted to go to Smith College, but her father insisted on Rockford Seminary. Addams was not comfortable in the fundamentalist atmosphere and even dared to experiment with not praying daily during her time there. She was active in many student clubs and graduated as valedictorian. Her father died soon after she graduated in 1881. Addams discovered she had a head for business when she had to take over the affairs of her mentally ill brother. Her first trip to Europe was with her mother; she returned later with her closest friend, Ellen Gates Starr, and a former teacher. At the time she and Starr founded Hull House, Chicago was in the thick of the failures of industrial society—labor strife, overcrowding, a growing divide between the rich and the poor. At the time, 80% of Chicagoans were either immigrants or first generation Americans. Many of the women affiliated with Hull House went on to notable positions and works, including Julia Lathrop, Florence Kelley, and Alice Hamilton. Many influential men of the time were had collegial relationships with Addams and Hull House, including John Dewey and William James. Addams was a famous public figure in the city of Chicago.

Addams served on the Chicago school board, was the first president of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, participated in the founding of the National Associated for the Advancement of Colored People, edited two periodicals (*Charities* and *The Survey*), and was active in Progressive Party politics. Other notable books include *Newer Ideals of Peace* (1906), *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets* (1909), *A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil* (1912), *Women at the Hague* (1915), and *Peace and Bread in Time of War* (1922). Her pacifism and internationalism during World War I resulted in her being labeled as traitorous.

Addams never married but was known to have a very close long term friendship with Mary Rozet Smith (to whom this book is dedicated). (Note: none of the scholarship I have read states outright whether Smith and Addams were lovers; however, their correspondence is suggestive of their mutual love and intimacy.)

Addams should be seen as part of the school of American pragmatism developing in Chicago at the turn of the century. She rejected social Darwinism.

Summary and key points:

Addams' first book, published initially in 1902, was a collection of seven previously published articles in periodicals such as *Atlantic Monthly* and the *American Journal of Sociology*. Democracy is not just an ideal for Addams; it must be practiced and lived. Addams argues that practical democracy requires the development of a social ethic. This social ethic is acquired by "associated effort" (what we would now call collective action), by interacting with a wide variety of people outside one's usual circle, and by cultivating empathy for the experiences of others. Most people have developed an ethic for individual relationships and for familial relationships, but few have developed the social ethic required for active participation in a democracy.

The essays address the consequences of the lack of a social ethic as seen in specific situations: the relationship between charity workers and poor people, the situation of young women in

middle class families, the relationship between domestic workers and their employers, the relationship between factory workers and their employers, and the corruption found in local politics. The charity worker does not understand the values and living conditions of the poor people she visits, which inspires mistrust and the belief that one must "work" the system. Middle class families with educated young women expect those women to enter marriage (a family ethic) rather than putting their knowledge to good use in the world at large (a social ethic). Employers of domestic workers force domestic workers to remain isolated in single homes. The entire privatized system of domestic labor lacks a social ethic. Addams argues for the professionalization and unionization of domestic workers and the collectivization of domestic work. In factories, all the benefits of associated effort devolve entirely onto the individual owner. Factory legislation is required to bring a social ethic into the workplace. Finally, local politicians give favors in exchange for votes, but if the state actually met the needs that those favors meet, corruption would not gain purchase.

Addams also lays out her educational philosophy in one of the essays. She believes that education should cultivate a social ethic and, particularly in regard to vocational education, it must show us how our own individual work is bound up with the larger economic world. Schools must recognize the knowledge students already enter with, from their own experiences in the world.

Useful and/or juicy quotes:

"We are thus brought to a conception of Democracy not merely as a sentiment which desires the well-being of all men, nor yet as a creed which believes in the essential dignity and equality of all men, but as that which affords a rule of living as well as a test of faith" (p. 6).

"We are learning that a standard of social ethics is not attained by travelling a sequestered byway, but by mixing on the thronged and common road where all must turn out for one another, and at least see the size of one another's burdens. To follow the path of social morality results perforce in the temper if not the practice of the democratic spirit, for it implies that diversified human experience and resultant sympathy which are the foundation and guarantee of Democracy" (pp. 6-7).

"We have learned as common knowledge that much of the insensibility and hardness of the world is due to the lack of imagination which prevents a realization of the experiences of other people" (p. 9).

"Thus the identification with the common lot which is the essential idea of Democracy becomes the source and expression of social ethics" (p. 11).

"A most striking incongruity, at once apparent, is the difference between the emotional kindness with which relief is given by one poor neighbor to another poor neighbor, and the guarded care with which relief is given by a charity visitor to a charity recipient" (p. 19).

"A very little familiarity with the poor districts of any city is sufficient to show how primitive and genuine are the neighborly relations. There is the greatest willingness to lend or borrow anything, and all the residents of the given tenement know the most intimate family affairs of all the others. The fact that the economic condition of all alike is on a most precarious level makes the ready outflow of sympathy and material assistance the most natural thing in the

world" (pp. 19-20).

"But in our charitable efforts we think much more of what a man ought to be than of what he is or what he may become; and we ruthlessly force our conventions and standards upon him, with a sternness which we would consider stupid indeed did an educator use it in forcing his mature intellectual convictions upon an undeveloped mind" (p. 66).

"Our democracy is making inroads upon the family, the oldest of human institutions, and a claim is being advanced which in a certain sense is larger than the family claim" (p. 77).

"The family in its entirety must be carried out into the larger life. Its various members together must recognize and acknowledge the validity of the social obligation" (p. 79).

"From the familiar proposition that the home began because the mother was obliged to stay in one spot in order to cherish the child, we can see a foundation for the belief that if women are much away from home, the home itself will be destroyed and all ethical progress endangered" (pp. 103-4).

"Only a few hundred years ago, woman had complete control of the manufacturing of many commodities which now figure so largely in commerce, and it is evident that she let the manufacturing of these commodities go into the hands of men, as soon as organization and a larger conception of their production were required…She had become convinced that a woman's duty extended only to her own family, and that the world outside had no claim upon her" (p. 105).

"If it were not for the undemocratic ethics used by the employers of domestics, much work now performed in the household would be done outside, as is true of many products formerly manufactured in the feudal household. The worker in all other trades has complete control of his own time after the performance of definitely limited services, his wages are paid altogether in money which he may spend in the maintenance of a separate home life, and he has full opportunity to organize with the other workers in his trade. The domestic employee is retained in the household largely because her 'mistress' fatuously believes that she is thus maintaining the sanctity of family life" (p. 116).

"Social relations are often resting upon the will of an individual, and are in reality regulated by a code of individual ethics" (p. 139).

"To perform too many good deeds may be to lose the power of recognizing good in others" (p. 146).

"Genuine experiments toward higher social conditions must have a more democratic faith and practice that those which underlie private venture. Public parks and improvements, intended for the common use, are after all only safe in the hands of the public itself; and associated effort toward social progress, although much more awkward and stumbling than that same effort managed by a capable individual, does yet enlist deeper forces and evoke higher social capacities" (p. 153).

"By the very exigencies of business demands, the employer is too often cut off from the social

ethics developing in regard to our larger social relationships, and from the great moral life springing from our common experiences. This is sure to happen when he is good 'to' people rather than 'with' them, when he allows himself to decide what is best for them instead of consulting them" (p. 154).

"The self-made man is encouraging one boy's own efforts; the philanthropic lady is helping on a few boys; the workingman alone is obliged to include all the boys of his class. Workingmen, because of their feebleness in all but numbers, have been forced to appeal to the state, in order to secure protection for themselves and for their children" (p. 170).

"We are gradually requiring of the educator that he shall free the powers of each man and connect him with the rest of life" (p. 178).

"The democratic ideal demands of the school that it shall give the child's own experience a social value; that it shall teach him to direct his own activities and adjust them to those of other people" (p. 180).

"We are impatient with the schools which lay all stress on reading and writing, suspecting them to rest upon the assumption that the ordinary experience of life is worth little, and that all knowledge and interest must be brought to the children through the medium of books. Such an assumption fails to give the child any clue to the life about him, or any power to usefully or intelligently connect himself with it" (pp. 180-1).

"If we admit that in education it is necessary to begin with the experiences which the child already has and to use his spontaneous and social activity, then the city streets begin this education for him in a more natural way than does the school" (pp. 186-7).

"The schools do so little really to interest the child in the life of production, or to excite his ambition in the line of industrial occupation, that the ideal of life, almost from the very beginning, becomes not an absorbing interest in one's work and a consciousness of its value and social relation, but a desire for money with which unmeaning purchases may be made and an unmeaning social standing obtained" (pp. 193-4).

"Theoretically, we would all admit that the man at the bottom, who performs the meanest and humblest work, so long as the work is necessary, performs a useful function; but we do not live up to our theories, and it addition to his hard and uninteresting work he is covered with a sort of contempt, and unless he falls into illness or trouble, he receives little sympathy or attention" (p. 195).

"We quote the dictum, 'What is learned in the schoolroom must be applied in the workshop,' and yet the skill and handicraft constantly used in the workshop have no relevance or meaning given to them by the school; and when we do try to help the workingman in an educational way, we completely ignore his everyday occupation" (p. 208).

"If a workingman is to have a conception of his value at all, he must see industry in its unity and entirety; he must have a conception that will include not only himself and his immediate family and community, but the industrial organization as a whole" (p. 213).

"Feeding a machine with a material of which he has no knowledge, producing a product, totally unrelated to the rest of his life, without in the least knowing what becomes of it, or its connection with the community, is, of course, unquestionably deadening to his intellectual and moral life. To make the moral connection it would be necessary to give him a social consciousness of the value of his work, and at least a sense of participation and a certain joy in its ultimate use; to make the intellectual connection it would be essential to create in him some historic conception of the development of industry and the relation of his individual work to it" (pp. 213-14).

"It is a striking fact that when workingmen formulate their own moral code, and try to inspire and encourage each other, it is always a large and general doctrine which they preach…As they have formulated their own morals by laying the greatest stress upon the largest morality, so if they could found their own schools, it is doubtful whether they would be of the mechanic institute type" (pp. 214-15).

"We have learned to say that the good must be extended to all of society before it can be held secure by any one person or any one class; but we have not yet learned to add to that statement, that unless all men and all classes contribute to a good, we cannot even be sure that it is worth having" (p. 220).

"Upon this foundation it ought not to be difficult to build a structure of civic virtue. It is only necessary to make it clear to the voter that his individual needs are common needs, that is, public needs, and that they can only be legitimately supplied for him when they are supplied for all" (p. 269).

"For action is indeed the sole medium of expression for ethics" (p. 273).

Addams, Jane. 1981(1910). *Twenty Years at Hull House*. New York, NY: Signet.

Biographical note (Foreword by Henry Steele Commager):

Addams was born on September 6 in Cedarville, IL in 1860. Addams was raised by her father for her first 8 years, as her mother died while she was a baby and her father finally remarried when she was 8 years old. Her father own two mills and was an influential man. He served in the Illinois state senate from 1854 to 1870. He identified very strongly as a Quaker. Abraham Lincoln was a friend of Addams' father and Addams devotes a whole chapter to his influence on her thinking and in part her value of democracy. Addams own description of her childhood is somewhat idyllic, in terms of its material comforts. Her father was clearly the center of her life and she dedicates the book to him.

Addams got her bachelor's degree from Rockford Seminary in 1882 (which became Rockford College, thanks in part to the activism of Addams and other female students). Addams describes her time at Rockford as intellectually exciting for the women there and it was during this time she began to think about "living with the poor" (p. 57). At Rockford, she was heavily pressured to choose a life of religious service. She describes her resistance to this pressure, her "clinging to an individual conviction," as one of the most useful moral teachings she acquired at Rockford (p. 54). Addams decided to attend medical school, but she had to withdraw due to the scoliosis she had had since childhood. She ended up traveling on and off in Europe for the next several years, in part studying, before finally taking up her work at Hull House.

She founded Hull House in 1889. In the course of her political work at Hull House, she became sanitation inspector for her ward and fought for labor reform, city parks, immigrants rights, women's suffrage, and juvenile justice. She was a delegate to the Progressive Party national convention in 1912. She founded the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in 1915 and was vilified during WWI for her pacifism. Nonetheless, she won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931 and donated the money to the Women's Peace Party. She died in Chicago on May 21, 1935.

Summary and key points:

Addams spent eight years after finishing college in a state of indecision about what to do with her life. During this time, she began to question the effects of higher education on middle class women, if they remained idle. A visit to the East End of London was very influential on Addams, introducing her to the levels of human suffering produced by the industrial era. She began to conceive of what later became the settlement house at Hull House as one way to address such suffering and also as a way to give a sense of practical purpose to educated middle class women. She visited Toynbee Hall in 1888 for practical ideas about how to proceed. Addams' vision of the social settlement sees it as much a benefit for educated, upper middle class young people who need to be engaged in practical, socially progressive activity as it is for the poor neighborhood in which the settlement rests. Her vision also sees social settlements as providing the mutual and reciprocal relationships upon which true democracy rests. And finally, her vision is rooted in a social justice oriented Christianity, sometimes referred to as the social gospel. In this latter regard, Addams was heavily influenced by the work of Leo Tolstoy and his concept of 'bread labor." The success of the settlement rests in the willingness of its volunteers to live side by side in solidarity with community members.

The property and buildings of Hull House were leased to Jane Addams for free by a wealthy white woman named Helen Culver. Addams and her close friends Ellen Starr and Mary Keyser moved in on September 18, 1889. Hull House was located in a poverty-stricken area of Chicago, home to many recent Russian, Italian and Greek immigrants. The neighborhood was full of tenements and neglected by public services such as sanitation. Hull House activities included a kindergarten, a library, a bathhouse, an art lending library, art exhibits, citizenship classes, college extension and vocational classes, a daycare, classes and clubs, activities for the elderly, an art museum, a theater, a gymnasium, a music school, employment placement services, a labor museum, a shop for neighborhood handicrafts, and a coffeehouse. Its political activities included investigating working conditions in sweatshops, securing garbage pickup in the neighborhood, running a coal cooperative, running a boarding house for striking workers, investigation of child prostitution, running a homeless shelter, fighting against corruption in local politics, advocacy for widows, divorcees, injured workers, and tenement residents, organizing political clubs (such as the Working People's Social Science Club) and labor unions, lobbying for legislation to secure women's right to vote, prohibit child labor, establish an 8 hour work day, and regulate worker safety and housing conditions, lobbying for city parks and public libraries and bathhouses, and participating in the Consumers' League, the Nineteenth Ward Improvement Association, the Juvenile Protection Association, the Chicago Woman's Trades Union League, the International League for Labor Legislation, and the League for the Protection of Immigrants. Throughout all of these efforts, Hull House volunteers, neighbors and affiliates also conducted and published social research, including the most famous *Hull House Maps and Papers*. Hull House researchers pioneered public health research, such as health effects of poor sanitation; researchers were amazed to find there was pavement under the 18 inches of garbage on neighborhood streets.

Although Hull House was a private institution, Addams did not see private volunteerism as adequate to address the problems of industrial society, which explains the extensive political activism engaged in by Hull House volunteers in order to secure public services for the working poor.

Useful and/or juicy quotations:

"The conviction remained with me, that however long a time might be required to establish justice in the new relationships of our raw industrialism, it would never be stable until it had received the sanction of those upon whom the present situation presses so harshly" (p. 57).

" 'You do not know what life means when all the difficulties are removed! I am simply smothered and sickened with advantages. It is like eating a sweet dessert first thing in the morning.' This, then, was the difficulty, this sweet dessert in the morning and the assumption that the sheltered, educated girl has nothing to do with the bitter poverty and the social maladjustment which is all about her, and which, after all, cannot be concealed, for it breaks through poetry and literature in a burning tide which overwhelms her; it peers at her in the form of heavy-laden market women and underpaid street laborers, gibing her with a sense of uselessness" (p. 65).

"In spite of my distrust of 'advantages' I was apparently not yet so cured but that I wanted more of them" (p. 67).

"There was also growing within me an almost passionate devotion to the ideals of democracy, and when in all history had these ideals become so thrillingly expressed as when the faith of the fisherman and the slave had been boldly opposed to the accepted moral belief that the well-being of a privileged few might justly be built upon the ignorance and sacrifice of the many" (pp. 68-9).

"I gradually became convinced that it would be good thing to rent a house in a part of the city where many primitive and actual needs are found, in which young women who had been given over exclusively to study might restore a balance of activity along traditional lines and learn of life from life itself; where they might try out some of the things they had been taught and put truth to 'the ultimate test of the conduct it dictates or inspires'" (p. 72).

"I never addressed a Chicago audience on the subject of the Settlement and its vicinity without inviting a neighbor to go with me, that I might curb any hasty generalization by the consciousness that I had an auditor who knew the conditions more intimately than I could hope to do" (p. 80).

"The policy of the public authorities of never taking an initiative, and always waiting to be urged to do their duty, is obviously fatal in a neighborhood where there is little initiative among the citizens. The idea underlying our self-government breaks down in such a ward. The streets are inexpressibly dirty, the number of schools inadequate, sanitary legislation unenforced, the street lighting bad, the paving miserable and altogether lacking in the alleys and smaller streets, and the stables foul beyond description. Hundreds of houses are unconnected with the street sewer (p. 81).

"We were very insistent that the Settlement should not be primarily for the children, and felt that it was absurd to suppose that grown people would not respond to opportunities for education and social life" (p. 86).

"From the first it seemed understood that we were ready to perform the humblest neighborhood services. We were asked to wash the newborn babies, and to prepare the dead for burial, to nurse the sick, and to 'mind the children'" (p. 88).

(from the Hull House charter) "To provide a center for higher civic and social life; to institute and maintain educational and philanthropic enterprises, and to investigate and improve the conditions in industrial districts in Chicago" (p. 89).

"It is difficult to see how the notion of a higher civic life can be fostered save through common intercourse; that the blessing which we associate with a life of refinement and cultivation can be made universal and must be made universal if they are to be permanent; that the good we secure for ourselves is precarious and uncertain, is floating in mid-air, until it is secured for all of us and incorporated into our common life" (p. 92).

"To shut one's self away from that half of the race life [the starvation struggle] is to shut one's self away from the most vital part of it" (p. 92).

"A settlement…aims, in a measure, to develop whatever of social life its neighborhood may afford, to focus and give form to that life, to bring to bear upon it the results of cultivation and

training; but it receives in exchange for the music of isolated voices the volume and strength of the chorus" (p. 97).

"The Settlement, then, is an experimental effort to aid in the solution of the social and industrial problems which are engendered by the modern conditions of life in a great city. It insists that these problems are not confined to any one portion of a city. It is an attempt to relieve, at the same time, the overaccumulation at one end of society and the destitution at the other; but it assumes that this overaccumulation and destitution is more sorely felt in the things that pertain to social and educational privileges" (p. 98).

"The difference between the relief-station relation to the poor and the Settlement relation to its neighbors [is] the latter wishing to know them through all the varying conditions of life, to stand by when they are in distress, but by no means to drop intercourse with them when normal prosperity has returned, enabling the relation to become more social and free from economic disturbance"(p. 125).

"No one so poignantly realizes the failures in the social structure as the man at the bottom, who has been most directly in contact with those failures and has suffered most" (p. 137).

"For whether the Hull House is in any wise identified with the strike or not, makes no difference. When 'Labor' is in disgrace we are always regarded as belonging to it and share the opprobrium" (p. 167).

"One thing seemed clear in regard to entertaining immigrants; to preserve and keep whatever of value their past life contained and to being them in contact with a better type of Americans" (p. 169)

"Under the direction of the first man who came as resident to Hull-House we began a systematic investigation of the city system of garbage collection, both as to its efficiency in other wards and its possible connection with the death rate in the various wards of the city" (p. 202).

"If I may illustrate one of these romantic discoveries from my own experience, I would cite the indications of an internationalism as sturdy and virile as it is unprecedented which I have seen in our cosmopolitan neighborhood: when a South Italian Catholic is forced by the very exigencies of the situation to make friends with an Austrian Jew representing another nationality and another religion, both of which cut into all his most cherished prejudices, he finds it harder to utilize them a second time and gradually loses them. He thus modifies his provincialism, for if an old enemy working by his side has turned into a friend, almost anything may happen" (p. 217).

"I have always objected to the phrase 'sociological laboratory' applied to us, because Settlements should something much more human and spontaneous than such a phrase connotes, and yet it is inevitable that the residents should know their own neighborhoods more thoroughly than any other, and that their experiences there should affect their convictions" (p. 217).

"One of the first lessons we learned at Hull-House was that private beneficence is totally

adequate to deal with the vast numbers of the city's disinherited" (p. 219).

"Life in the Settlement discovers above all what has been called 'the extraordinary pliability of human nature,' and it seems impossible to set any bounds to the moral capabilities which might unfold under ideal civic and educational conditions. But in order to obtain these conditions, the Settlement recognizes the need of cooperation, both with the radical and the conservative, and from the very nature of the case the Settlement cannot limit its friends to any one political party or economic school" (pp. 309-10).

Deegan, Mary Jo. 1988. "W.E.B. Du Bois and the Women of Hull-House, 1895-1899." *The American Sociologist*, v.19(4): 301-311.

Deegan argues for the importance of DuBois' relationships with women associated with Hull House, including Jane Addams, Katherine Bement Davis, Florence Kelley and Isabel Eaton, given his exclusion by white men from traditional academic prestige. The *Philadelphia Negro* was born from the settlement movement and funded by Susan P. Wharton, a mentee of Jane Addams. Isabel Eaton wrote the final fifth of that work based on her research on domestic workers and was mentored by DuBois. DuBois and Addams met at least twenty times between 1898 and 1935. Many of the Hull House scholars were founding members of the NAACP, as was DuBois and Florence Kelley was most strongly involved.

Deegan, Mary Jo. 1981. "Early Women Sociologists and the American Sociological Society: The Patterns of Exclusion and Participation." *The American Sociologist*, v.16:14-24.

Deegan documents the exclusion of women from positions of power in the American Sociological Society. Albion Small, the first Chair of the graduate sociology department at Chicago, founding editor of AJS and early ASS president, believed that women were intellectually inferior to men and did not believe women should have the right to vote (although he did hire women faculty at UofC to teach in "women's areas" such as household administration). However, Small along with Lester F. Ward did invite women (such as Gilman and Addams) to be discussants for ASS meetings and presentations). When women presented, it would be hard to find men willing to comment on their work.

There were other men who did associate with the network of women sociologists at the time: Lester F. Ward communicated with Gilman, E.A. Ross communicated with Addams and Emily Green Balch, and W.I. Thomas who communicated with Ethel Sturgess Drummer. Deegan recovers material on both Balch and Drummer that suggests the importance of further study of these two women. While no women held the highest offices of the ASS between 1906 and 1931, there were 8 women who had elected positions on the executive committee during this period, all of whom were part of Jane Addams' social network. Addams' work also influenced the work of all of the early men of the UofC, as well as Mead and Dewey.

Seigfried, Charlene Haddock. 1999. "Socializing Democracy: Jane Addams and John Dewey." *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, v.29(2): 207-230.

Seigfried argues that the emancipatory elements of American pragmatism were in large part a result of the feminist pragmatism developed by the women of Hull House, who also influenced John Dewey. Dewey's emphasis on everyday experience can be traced to the work of Hull House. Dewey used the work of Addams and of Hull House in his own and assigned Addams' *Democracy and Social Ethics* to his students. Seigfried contrasts the pragmatist approach to democracy—which is associational, values diversity, and understands inequality—which a liberal approach that assumes autonomous individuals in equal positions and thereby obscures relations of privilege.

Deegan, Mary Jo. 2002. *Race, Hull House and the University of Chicago: A New Conscience against Ancient Evils*. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Summary and key points:

The goal of this book is to resurrect the history of early anti-racism in American sociology before 1920. Robert Park is often seen as the first sociologist to take on racism, but of course there were many scholars before him to do so, and Deegan argues that he was a follower of the accommodationist approach of Booker T. Washington. Scholars at both Hull House and the University of Chicago sociology department studied race relations as early as the 1890s. The Hull House scholars can be seen as part of a feminist pragmatist school of sociological thinking. Early University of Chicago sociologists, and Hull House sociologists, had an activist orientation rooted in democratic values. One amazing fact Deegan uncovers is that all of the women in the department of sociology at the University of Chicago were transferred to the department of social work in 1920. Deegan traces the social networks of scholars of race relations at Hull House and the University of Chicago and summarizes key themes in their work. She describes ally relationship between black and whites in Chicago around "new abolitionism" at the turn of the century. DuBois was part of the social network of Hull House, as was Ida Wells Barnett, and he worked with a Hull House scholar, Isabel Eaton, on the *Philadelphia Negro*. Deegan argues, though, that DuBois downplayed his involvement with the women of Hull House and sometimes made their work invisible in his own. Deegan notes that W.I. Thomas was one of the first white male sociologists to argue against biological justifications for racism and gender inequality.

Though early University of Chicago male sociologists were reformers and progressives and the department graduated over a dozen scholars who challenged white racism in their work, later sociologists at the UofC Park and Burgess distanced themselves from this more activist sociological legacy. The UofC was central to American sociology in its early days—founding the American Journal of Sociology, leading the American Sociological Society and graduating sociologists. Early Chicago sociologists were central to the founding of the NAACP and the CAACP and many were involved in early battles against segregated schools in Chicago.

However, it was Park and Burgess who popularized the notion of the "Chicago School" with their 1921 textbook *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*. Park strove to be more scientific and academic and less applied. He opposed W.E.B. DuBois, distanced himself from Hull House, ignored the work of African American women scholars, did not support women's rights, and in general pulled away from activism for social justice. He opposed women's involvement in sociology but did mentor African-American male scholars, although he favored assimilationism. Park viewed the city of Chicago as a lab, a marked contrast from Addam's approach to sociologist as neighbor. Deegan views the Park era as a significant break from the activist and social justice orientation of sociology in Chicago and the beginnings of the disconnection of academic sociology from its progressive heritage. Park even marginalized white male scholars with social justice orientations, including W.I. Thomas, whom he fails to credit for his 'marginal man' concept.

Deegan recovers the work of an African-American female scholar, Wilmoth A Carter, who was the first African-American female to get a Ph.D. in sociology, in 1959. She completed several important studies of African American life in the South in the 1960s. She also recovers the

work of E. Franklin Frazier, an African American scholar who conducted breaching experiments in the Jim Crow South. Deegan delves into the work of Oliver C. Cox, as another important but neglected African-American scholar. She argues that Cox developed a concept of a world-system prior to Immanuel Wallerstein. Finally, Deegan analyzes the links between the Highlander School founder Myles Horton and Jane Addams of Hull House.

All in all, in this book Deegan unearths a long history of social justice activism around race and gender inequality that is formative of the discipline of sociology in the U.S. and that was systematically marginalized from the history of the discipline beginning in 1920.

Useful and/or juicy quotes:

None recorded.

Pratt, Scott. 2002. *Native Pragmatism: Rethinking the Roots of American Philosophy*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Summary and key points:

In this book, Pratt does what Wilshire (2000) does not, which is to trace out direct connections between the thought of classical American pragmatists and that of Native American thinkers. He begins with a summary of the four major commitments or principles of classical American pragmatism, as seen in the work of John Dewey, William James, and Charles Peirce. Then he moves back in time to contrast a "colonial attitude" in European-American philosophy, in the work of Cotton Matter, Thomas Jefferson and George Bancroft, with a developing "indigenous attitude" in European-American philosophy in the work of Roger Williams and Benjamin Franklin. He makes a case for how the development of the "indigenous attitude" comes from the Native prophetic movement of the 18th and 19th centuries, with which Benjamin Franklin was directly acquainted. He also discusses Native author Jane Johnston Schoolscraft and her influence on European-American feminist philosopher Lydia Maria Child. Finally, he shows the how the classical pragmatists were influenced in their four commitments by the work of Franklin and Child. He creates a genealogy for classical American pragmatists in which Native American thought has its proper influence, rather than the usual philosophical lineage which erases it.

In histories of American philosophy, classical American pragmatism, seen as uniquely American thought, is constructed as if it simply sprung up spontaneously. Instead, Pratt argues, that uniquely American philosophy is American because it developed in interaction with the Native peoples of North America. Pratt (p. 18) defines philosophy as "a culturally located critique of widely held beliefs using resources, methods and attitudes present in the culture" and points out that it may take different forms, such as storytelling. Thus, Native Americans, although rarely located within the formal academy, nonetheless had their own philosophy and shared this philosophy with European Americans.

Pratt summarizes the four major commitments or principles of the classical pragmatism developed by Dewey, James and Peirce:

1) Interaction: This is the idea that we know things by interacting with them, which relates to the importance of both experience and experimentation and the recognition that actions have consequences.
2) Pluralism: This is the idea that there are different ways of being and ways of knowing and different cultural contexts for those ways.
3) Community: This is the idea that human communities both create and limit human experience; even the self is a social creation. Human communities require not simply toleration but hospitality and open-mindedness.
4) Growth: This is a stance against stasis, and growth is measured against the standard of "maximizing possibilities and promoting future growth" (p. 34) both in individuals and in the community.

Cotton Mather and Thomas Jefferson represent two different versions of the colonial attitude. Both see a single timeline of human history progressing from primitivism to civilization. For Mather, civilization rests on Christianization; whereas for Jefferson, civilization rests upon acceptance of Enlightenment principles. For both, Europeans in America become a kind of chosen people and the fulfillment of human progress. Both men view Native Americans as

standing outside history and as inferior relative to European Americans; they are obstacles to progress. George Bancroft also represents a colonial attitude, with a Jacksonian populist twist, in which America becomes the fulfillment of human progress through its raising up of the common as opposed to aristocratic (white) man. The colonial attitude, of course, was materially enacted through wars against Native peoples, broken treaties, and the Indian Removal Act of 1830.

Cotton Mather viewed his contemporary Roger Williams as a sinner, for his dissenting views. Pratt argues that Roger Williams developed his philosophical principles in conversations with Native Americans. Williams developed close friendships with Native Americans when he stayed with them during his exile from the Massachusetts Bay Colony. He was directly influenced by their stories about how to deal with cannibals (in this case, a metaphor for the colonists) and by the Native concepts of *wunnégin* (welcome/hospitality) and *wunnaumwáuonck* (faithfulness/integrity). Unlike European stories about cannibals, in which cannibals are necessarily evil and must be destroyed, Native stories about cannibals suggested ways in which the cannibals themselves might be transformed or integrated into the community. These contrasting approaches inform European and Native behavior towards difference/strangeness/outsiders. Based on these Native principles, Williams argued for European Christians peaceful coexistence alongside Native Americans, rather than extermination or conversion.

According to Pratt, the rise of the evangelical Great Awakening in the 1730s led to the growth of a prophetic resistance movement among Native Americans that rooted resistance in a logic of place. Native resistance also resulted in Pontiac's War of 1763-65 and Tecumseh's war of 1811-13. Pratt discusses the philosophy of Neolin, known as the Delaware Prophet. For Neolin, people must cultivate fit relationships with the land. Neolin also embraces a pluralist vision of humanity. Europeans destroyed those fit relationships with the land. Pontiac uses this destruction as cause for a war that would restore a sense of place to Native communities. Shawnee prophet Tenskwatawa was similarly influential for Tecumseh in articulating the importance of right relationships with the land.

Pratt also discusses the philosophy of Teedyuscung, a Delaware leader, and the influence of Teedyuscung and other Native thinkers on Benjamin Franklin, who could be considered the father of American pragmatism. Teedyuscung rejects the narcissism of the Golden Role in favor of a call for whites to understand themselves and their actions from a Native point of view. In particular, whites had failed to understand the relationship of Native people to the land. Franklin had many interactions with Native people, because of his role in negotiations in conflicts between the British and Native tribes. Over the years of his experiences negotiating, he came increasingly to let go of racist beliefs about Native Americans, to integrate Native worldviews into his own philosophy, and to begin to support positions sympathetic to Native sovereignty. Even before this, Franklin had a history of dissent from orthodox Christian beliefs and a belief that humans know only partial truths. Franklin also held a scientific worldview with a foundation of flexible experimentation. Franklin was also influenced by Cadwallader Colden, who had strong ties to Mohawk and Haudenosaunee people and subscribed to the Native concept of *orenda* (the idea that things are their songs—things are known by what they do, how they express themselves). Franklin held the principles of interaction and community that became the hallmarks of classical pragmatism and became increasingly pluralist over the course of his experiences with Native Americans. In particular, Frankin's value of civility—the ability to

acknowledge others' beliefs—results from this increasing pluralism in the context of his interactions with Native American and prefigures classical pragmatism.

Pratt argues that a 'logic of place' gives way to a 'logic of home' in the 19th century with the work of Native writer Jane Johnston Schoolcraft and white writer Lydia Maria Child, along with later African-American scholars like Frederick Douglass and W.E.B. DuBois and white feminist pragmatist Jane Addams. Child directly interacted with Native Americans and was an activist on behalf of Native rights. All of these writers used specific narratives, often emphasizing 'domestic details,' to make more general points. Within a logic of home, women are essential, powerful, and valuable members of the community. A home is a product of interaction between people and place. The four commitments of pragmatism is illustrated by the work of these writers.

In the end, classical pragmatism, and its four commitments, emerged from this complicated lineage that included both Native American and European American thinkers; it is its Native roots that makes classical pragmatism a uniquely American philosophy.

Useful and/or juicy quotations:

"Although it is rarely clear from the published histories, the immigrant Europeans were never alone in America and were never free of the diverse influences of those they encountered, enslaved, and dispossessed" (p. xi).

"American pragmatism begins along the border between Native and European America as an attitude of resistance against the dominant attitudes of European colonialism" (p. xiv).

"In most histories of American thought in general and in histories of American philosophy in particular, people indigenous to America are viewed as having made no contribution to the intellectual, moral and social progress of immigrant European peoples" (p. 1).

"Rather than seeing Native American thought as irrelevant, I propose that we see it as the starting place of some of the distinctive aspects of the American philosophical tradition, as a way to answer the problem of origin. By tracing the career of the central commitments of pragmatism beginning in Native American thought, through their use in resisting exclusion, racism, and sexism, to their emergence in the work of classical pragmatists, these ways of understanding and acting in the world can become renewed resources" (p. 9).

"The immigrants fought the Indians, but they also ate with them, hunted with them, laughed and jokes with them, made love with them, bore children with them and learned with them" (p. 14).

"In short, to account for the development of American thought, we may refigure the frontiers as borders, as regions of interaction, exchange, and transformation. Some aspects of the border are surely aspects of conquest, that is, 'frontiers' of European expansion and the accompanying destruction of Native life and culture. But this does not exhaust the character of the border…Borderlands are regions of colonization, but they are also regions of decolonization. Things are learned and resisted as well as forgotten and overwhelmed" (pp. 15-16).

From John Dewey: "Open-mindedness is not the same as empty-mindedness. To hang out a

sign saying 'Come right in; there is no one at home' is not the equivalent of hospitality. But there is a kind of passivity, a willingness to let experiences accumulate and sink in and ripen, which is an essential of development" (p. 31).

"Those who encounter the world differently, who fail to have opportunities to participate in the requisite discourse, who may find that such discourse is inadequate to their experience, are not included in histories of thought or are included only when they properly enter the debate" (p. 76).

"An approach which draws attention to distinctive attitudes makes it possible to look for influence outside the narrow range of professional philosophers and self-identified intellectuals within the European tradition and to look to a wide range of people whose ways of making things meaningful displayed in other ways can also count as sources for intellectual development" (p. 76).

"In the earliest period of Native and European interaction, the model for coexistence grew out of the practices that the Massachusett and Narragansett people called *wunnégin* (welcome) that entered the European American tradition in part through the work of Roger Williams" (pp. 76-7).

"Even as Mather sought the demise of the dissenter movements and the necessary and violent extermination of the Native people who resisted colonial governance, Williams argued that dissenters and even whole societies of outsiders ought to stand side by side with the community of saints as it pursued salvation" (p. 80)

"The stage was set for Williams to learn a new attitude of meaning when he sat across a fire from Miantonomi, a leader of the Narragansett people, in the winter of 1636. Banished from the Massachusetts Bay Colony for preaching against colonial policies, Williams was probably a receptive listener as Miantonomi talked about the necessity of achieving a peaceful coexistence with the European immigrants, a coexistence marked by tolerance and mutual support" (p. 84-5).

"The Penobscot story suggests three significant aspects of the Ki.wá'ke [cannibals]: they are outsiders who are dangerous and disruptive; some can be effectively responded to with hospitality and kindness; and in some cases they can be transformed from outsiders to insiders or members of the group and at other times to peaceful neighbors" (p. 90).

"It is clear, for example, in their interactions with Williams that the Narragansett did not set out initially to convert or exterminate the Europeans. Rather they sought coexistence. What is important is that the Narragansett had alternative ways of responding to the encounter with dangerous differences, including a well-developed process of welcoming and coexisting with such diversity. In this case, the strategy of welcoming the cannibal English was chosen as the better response. Later, when the Narragansett became part of Metacom's (King Philip's) alliance and joined him in attacking the English, it might been seen as the adoption of an alternative model based on the apparent inability of the English colonies to understand and respond properly to the offer of peaceful coexistence" (p. 96).

"In general, the process of welcoming strangers serves as a central practice in the attitude of

meaning Williams experienced in his contact with Miantonomi and the Narragansett and adopted to frame his own conception of a pluralist community" (pp. 97-8).

"From Canonicus's [a Narragansett Sachem] perspective, the plural community depends upon both faithfulness, that is, one's willingness to act in a way consistent with one's words and, at the same time, one's readiness to act upon one's own beliefs" (p. 101).

"Unlike patterns of assimilation or segregation, *wunnégin* establishes a pattern of mutual cooperation that at once preserves the distinctiveness of the participants and fosters their connectedness. The process does so not by trying to see others as if they were oneself, but by engaging in an active (and presumably experimental) process of attempting to see things as others do" (p. 104).

"Combining a Native vision of pluralism and European metaphors of the ship of the commonwealth, Williams joined Native and European practice and thought" (pp. 115-6).

From Roger Williams: "The Ship of the Commonwealth must share her weals and woes in common" (p. 133).

"For Native people, the Great Awakening combined with westward expansion of the English colonies marked an assault of both Native lands and culture" (p. 138).

"In response to attempts to eliminate Native difference, Native leaders emerged as prophets, leading a practical struggle against the acquisition of lands and efforts to destroy Native culture, while also establishing a logic of place, that is, an alternative philosophical framework that organized meaning in terms of place" (p. 138).

"The problem, as Neolin describes it, is that the access ways, the points of connection to the region are blocked, in one case by the 'evil spirit' and in the other by white settlement…Europeans, whose own origins do not appear in the story or on the map, appear relative to the lands of Native peoples and then serve as real, located obstacles to be overcome or driven off. Native resistance becomes one that requires the restoration of place by reestablishing a fit relationships to the land and the events that occur within its boundaries" (p. 147).

"Neolin's challenge, in simplest terms, begins by affirming what the evangelists of the Great Awakening had long argued: a single, all-powerful god created the world as it is experienced. This created world, Neolin says, includes a vast diversity of experiences including the experience of different deities, different relations with nature, different origins, and different ways of life" (p. 149).

"The point was not that profits or productivity had been reduced by the presence of the Europeans, but rather that the ability of the place to sustain itself as a living complex had been compromised by the failure to sustain fit relations. Growth, in the sense of establishing connections and possibilities, had been undercut, and the call was for its restoration in the form of relations appropriate to the place" (p. 154).

"From the perspective of resistance as manifested in the Prophetic movement, Teedyuscung's

rejection of the Golden Rule is not because he thinks that God must 'give [humankind] a new heart' so that people can see others as themselves, but because God has already made people different and provided an appropriate moral standard for such a creation. Given 'human nature' from the Native prophets' viewpoint, the proper rule is not seeing others as oneself but seeing oneself from the perspective of others as a member of particular nation, as part of a particular place" (p. 165).

"From Teedyuscung's perspective, the European practices that ignored the importance to Native people of land and boundaries clearly violated the expectation that actions ought to take into account how they will be viewed and how they will be understood by others. By destroying Native places, that is, the complex interaction between people, land, and the land's other inhabitants, the Europeans failed to see things through others' eyes" (p. 170).

"The problem is not the exchange, but the failure to maintain proper relations afterwards. For Teedyuscung, 'selling' the land does not mean turning over the land exclusively to someone else, but rather means something like entering into an ongoing relation where there was none before. When the whites 'bought' the land, they took exclusive hold of it and began to destroy the crucial relations long established between the land and its inhabitants" (p. 180).

From Benjamin Franklin: "The love of truth is not more essential to an honest Man than a Readiness to change his Mind and Practice upon the Conviction that he is in the wrong" (p. 187).

"In the end, Franklin's conception of scientific inquiry, structured by the principles of interaction, is joined with his commitment to the political and cultural sovereignty of place through the practices of 'civility'" (p. 210).

"Civility does not demand that one simply give up believing something, but rather that one adopt an attitude that will entertain the possibility of believing something else, an attitude that can promote belief—the attitude of humility" (p. 212).

"The practices of experimental science, understood broadly as the practices of civility, provide the intellectual resources for sustaining differences in a culturally plural context. In short, politically and culturally sovereign places are sustained by an attitude that at once acknowledges and engages the beliefs of others while still recognizing the need for knowledge that works in particular places" (pp. 212-3).

"Their stories constructed meaning around a central place, acknowledged differences, presented meaning embedded in context and community, and used the process of narration to frame new possibilities" (p.241).

"Just as the practices of *wunnégin* are undermined by colonization, so too are the practices associated with womanhood. The result is that both women and Native people are made subjects to an oppressive structure that blocks what Child will later call the 'true culture' of women and Native people" (p. 260).

"Child, standing at the border between Native and European America, also stands as a pragmatist whose work served as the starting point for the line of pragmatist thought that

developed in the work of nineteenth-century feminists and helped form the context from which classical pragmatism emerged" (p. 271).

Gilman, Charlotte Perkins. 1998(1898). *Women and Economics: A Study of the Economic Relation between Men and Women as a Factor in Social Evolution*. Mineola, NY: Dover.

Biographical note (from Introduction by Sheryl L. Meyering): Gilman married Walter Stetson in 1884, had a daughter named Katherine in 1885 and suffered what we would now call post-partum depression, and divorced in 1894. She remarried Houghton Gilman in 1900 and they remained married until his death in 1934. She died in 1935. (Note: Gilman references Harriet Martineau in the book, suggesting a clear familiarity with her work.)

Summary and key points:

Gilman argues that humans are the only animal species in which the female is entirely dependent on the male for her food. As she puts it, the sex-relation is also an economic relation in humans. This is not an inevitable state of affairs and is in fact quite unnatural. We are also a species in which our social environment is tremendously powerful in shaping us. Though women do create economic value in the home, it is not equally exchanged for wages. Women's class position is instead based on the economic position of their husbands. Though prostitution is vilified, marriage is essentially legal and morally sanctioned prostitution in which women trade sexual favors for economic wellbeing.

Gilman argues that one of the major problems of human social life is what she calls "excessive sex distinction" (p. 16). We see appropriate sex distinction in the primary and secondary sex characteristics, but we see excessive sex distinctions in the elaborate and differentiated codes of behavior we expect from men and women. One bit of evidence for the fact that sex distinction is excessive is that we require it from prepubescent boys and girls. This excessive distinction is dangerous for the preservation of the species, according to Gilman. In men, excessive sex distinction encourages them to be overly aggressive, hard, prideful, and sexually promiscuous. However, men are also allowed to be human, in the realms of commerce, science, industry, politics, art, and religion. This has led to the equation: human=male. Women on the other hand are encouraged to excessive weakness. This weakness is bad for the species. Women have been removed from the evolution of human progress. To those who argue that women's weakness is due to motherhood, Gilman points out that women do not spend that much of their total lives actually engaged in child-bearing.

Humans are intensely trained into excessive sex distinction. People are thus entirely desensitized and accustomed to excessive sex distinction, so take it for granted, that they are quite angry when it is pointed out to them. In addition, sex relations are so personal that their structural and patterned reality is often obscured.

Gilman argues that human progress rests on its increasing specialization and thus interdependence economically. Yet, by conflating the sex relation with an economic relation, we inhibit this progress by forcing individuals to compete for mates. Individualism remains where collectivism should have been cultivated. Instead of working to one's best capacities, men compete to get as much money and therefore as attractive a wife as possible. Instead of working to one's best capacities, women compete to attract husbands. In addition, because the drive to create is the core of human nature, women are denied this distinguishing trait of the human species. In place of production, women are expected to consume (and socialize children into the value of 'taking' over 'making') (p. 59). A woman becomes "the priestess of the temple

of consumption" (p. 60). Humanity must outgrow this emphasis on sex distinction in order to evolve. Gilman argues that the fact that men have been forced to take care of their utterly dependent wives has civilized men, blunting their former hunterly and fighterly instincts. However, the times have changed and now women's subordination stands in the way of civilization. Industrial society requires that social duty must win out over individualism or even familial duty.

The times demonstrate women's increasing involvement in the professions and in politics. Some women have entered the labor market due to economic necessity; some have entered because of a desire for independence. The times also demonstrate an increase in social thinking. The women's club movement is evidence of women's ability to take part in social life. The most necessary values for modern life are those cultivated outside the home.

Gilman notes the intense romanticization of motherhood. She argues that equality would actually improve mothering. Weakness is not an effective parenting strategy and ignorance is not an effective teaching tool. Women trained for sexual attraction are not women trained to be effective mothers. Gilman lays out two principles, that it is human duty to progress and that just because we enjoy something doesn't mean it is right. Excessive sex distinction might be something that some humans enjoy, but it is inhibiting human progress.

Women have become so associated with the home and men so associated with the work world, that the work which takes place inside the home is viewed as essentially feminine work and all other work viewed as essentially masculine. Gilman advocates for the industrialization of food labor and childcare. Were this to happen, the home could become a place of leisure for women as well as for men. Also the social duties required by modern society cannot be properly taught in private homes. Women must become servants of the world rather than servants of the home. With more inequality and social mixing between men and women in public, men and women could actually become friends, Gilman suggests.

The social virtues so necessary for modern life can only be encouraged if the sex relation is detached from the economic relation.

Useful and/or juicy quotations:

"To show how some of the worst evils under which we suffer, evils long supposed to be inherent and ineradicable in our natures, are but the result of certain arbitrary conditions of our own adoption, and how, by removing these conditions, we may remove the evil resultant" (p. viii).

"The labor of women in the house, certainly, enables men to produce more wealth than they otherwise could; and in this way women are economic factors in society. But so are horses. The labor of horses enables men to produce more wealth than they otherwise could. The horse is an economic factor in society. But the horse is not economically independent, nor is the woman" (p. 7).

"Whatever the economic value of the domestic industry of women is, they do not get it. The women who do the most work get the least money, and the women who have the most money do the least work" (p. 8).

"She is the worker par excellence, but her work is not such as to affect her economic status. Her living, all that she gets,--food, clothing, ornaments, amusements, luxuries,--these bear no relation to her power to produce wealth, to her services in the house, or to her motherhood. These things bear relation only to the man she marries, the man she depends on,--to how much he has and how much he is willing to give her" (p. 11)

"We have differentiated our industries, our responsibilities, our very virtues, along sex lines" (p 22).

"So utterly has the status of woman been accepted as a sexual one that it has remained for the woman's movement of the nineteenth century to devote much contention to the claim that women are persons!" (p. 25).

"From the time our children are born, we use every means known to accentuate sex-distinction in both boy and girl; and the reason that the boy is not so hopelessly marked by it as the girl is that he has the whole field of human expression open to him besides. In our steady insistence on proclaiming sex-distinction we have grown to consider most human attributes as masculine attributes, for the simple reason that they were allowed to men and forbidden to women" (p. 26).

"In garments whose main purpose is unmistakably to announce her sex; with a tendency to ornament which marks exuberance of sex-energy, with a body so modified to sex as to be grievously deprived of its natural activities; with a manner and behavior wholly attuned to sex-advantage, and frequently most disadvantageous to any human gain; with a field of action most rigidly confined to sex-relations; with her overcharged sensibility, her prominent modesty, her 'eternal femininity,'—the female of genus homo is undeniably over-sexed" (p. 28).

"Women's economic profit comes through the power of sex-attraction. When we confront this fact boldly and plainly in the open market of vice, we are sick with horror. When we see the same economic relation made permanent, established by law, sanctioned and sanctified by religion, covered with flowers and incense and all accumulated sentiment, we think it innocent, lovely, and right. The transient trade we think evil. The bargain for life we think good" (p. 33).

"The absolutely stationary female and the wide-ranging male are distinctly human institutions" (p. 33).

"It is perfectly possible for an individual to become accustomed to the most disadvantageous conditions, and fail to notice them. It is equally possible for a race, a nation, a class, to become accustomed to most disadvantageous conditions, and fail to notice them" (p. 39).

"Put a corset, even a loose one, on a vigorous man or woman who never wore one, and there is intense discomfort, and a vivid consciousness thereof…But the person habitually wearing a corset does not feel these evils…In fact, the wearer becomes so used to the sensations that, when they are removed,--with the corset--, there is a distinct sense of loss and discomfort" (p. 40).

"So, in our common life, individual instances of injustice or cruelty are observed long before the popular mind is able to see that it is a condition which causes these things, and that the

condition must be altered before the effects can be removed" (p. 42).

"The fear exhibited that women generally, once fully independent, will not marry, is proof of how well it has been known that only dependence forced them to marriage as it was" (p. 46).

"Thus we have painfully and laboriously evolved and carefully maintain among us an enormous class of non-productive consumers,--a class which is half the world, and mother of the other half. We have built into the constitution of the human race the habit and desire of taking, as divorced from its natural precursor and concomitant of making" (p. 59).

"While the sexuo-economic relation makes the family the centre of industrial activity, no higher collectivity than we have to-day is possible. But, as women become free, economic, social factors, so becomes possible the full social combination of individuals in collective industry" (p. 72).

"There is no female mind. The brain is not an organ of sex. As well speak of a female liver" (p. 74).

"Human labor is an exercise of faculty, without which we should cease to be human; that to do and to make not only gives deep pleasure, but is indispensable to healthy growth" (p. 78).

"There is no more sublimated expression of our morbid ideas of sex-distinction than in this complacent claiming of all human life-processes as sex-functions of the male. 'Masculine' and 'feminine' are only to be predicated of reproductive functions" (p. 79).

"Science, art, government, education, industry,--the home is the cradle of them all, and their grave, if they stay in it. Only as we live, think, feel and work outside the home, do we become humanly developed, civilized, socialized" (p. 110).

"The home does not produce the virtues needed in society. But society does produce the virtues needed in such homes as we desire to-day" (p. 110).

"As a natural consequence of our division of labor on sex-lines, giving to woman the home and to man the world in which to work, we have come to have a dense prejudice in favor of the essential womanliness of the home duties, as opposed to the essential manliness of every other kind of work" (p. 111).

"A mother economically free, a world-servant instead of a house-servant; a mother knowing the world and living in it,--can be to her children far more than has ever been possible before. Motherhood in the world will make that world a different place for her child" (p. 133).

"Work the object of which is merely to serve one's self is the lowest. Work the object of which is merely to serve one's family is the next lowest. Work the object of which is to serve more and more people, in widening range, till it approximates the divine spirit that cares for all the world, is social service in the fullest sense, and the highest form of service that we can reach" (p. 138).

"The mother as a social servant instead of a home servant will not lack in true mother duty.

She will love her child as well, perhaps better, when she is not in hourly contact with it, when she goes from its life to her own life, and back from her own life to its life, with ever new delight and power" (p. 143).

"Men meet one another freely in their work, while women work alone" (p. 152).

"Through all the ages the men have played; and the women have looked on, when they were asked" (p. 152).

"To free an entire half of humanity from an artificial position; to release vast natural forces from a strained and clumsy combination, and set them free to work smoothly and easily as they were intended to work; to introduce conditions that will change humanity from within, making for better motherhood and fatherhood, better babyhood and childhood, better food, better homes, better society,--this is to work for human improvement along natural lines" (p. 156).

"What we need to see is that it is not woman as a sex who is responsible for this mis-mothered world, but the economic position of woman which makes her what she is. If men were so placed, it would have the same effect" (p. 164).

"Man, as master, has suffered from his position also. The lust for power and conquest, natural to the male of any species, has been fostered in him to an enormous degree by this cheap and easy lordship. His dominance is not that of one chosen as best fitted to rule or of one ruling by successful competition with 'foemen worthy of his steel;' but it is a sovereignty based on the accident of sex, and hold over such helpless and inferior dependents as could not question or oppose. The easy superiority that needs no striving to maintain it; the temptation to cruelty always begotten by irresponsible power; the pride and self-will which surely accompany it,--these qualities have been bred into the souls of men by their side of the relation" (p. 166).

Hill, Michael R. and Mary Jo Deegan. 2004. *Social Ethics: Sociology and the Future of Society, Charlotte Perkins Gilman*. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Summary and key points:

Hill and Deegan have brought together a book which first appeared as a serial in 1914 in a sociological journal called *The Forerunner*. They argue that Gilman synthesized sociology and evolutionary theory to develop principles of social ethics. Hill and Deegan make a case for Gilman's credentials as a sociologist. She published in the AJS and was a member and presented at the American Sociological Society. She was well known as a sociologist at the time and worked with several other well known male and female sociologists, including E.A. Ross, Lester Ward, Florence Kelley, and Jane Addams. She was a public intellectual who disseminated her ideas on the lecture circuit and in the press. Gilman has been largely erased from the history of sociology and is mostly studied by literature and women's studies scholars. Hill and Deegan suggest that Gilman was influenced by and contributed to the following schools of thought: cultural feminism, reform Darwinism, feminist pragmatism, Fabian socialism, and Durkheimian structural functionalism.

Gilman opens by arguing that only humans have ethical codes and she defines ethics as the science of conduct. She makes the following analogy: sociology is to ethics as physiology is to hygiene. For individuals, what is right is that which leads to the individual's best development, according to Gilman, so the mission for sociology is to figure out what will lead to society's (the social organism's) best development. She makes the distinction between individual ethics, family ethics and state ethics, which may or may not conflict or overlap. Fundamentally, though, Gilman believes that the social ethic is the most important ethic from which the others fall.

Gilman (like Jane Addams) argues that democracy requires new virtues. It requires us to learn how to live together and make decisions through persuasion and compromise. For Gilman, the ethical question in a democracy must be: What must we do to help each other forward?

She also argues that definitions of good and bad are context dependent and relative. Our conduct is shaped by habit/inheritance, environment/association, and education and therefore it can be shaped and changed.

She observes the power of religious dogma to enforce codes of conduct. If people have a habit of believing something, it will not matter whether that thing is true or not. Whereas religion relies on authority, science relies on experimentation—failure and persistence. People can and must thus test human conduct with science. We can replace bad ideas with good ones. Gilman moves away from equating evil with sin and instead defines evil as the misuse of function. She believes we should reject the concept of sin since it is through mistakes that we learn ethics.

Gilman argues that conduct is right if it is beneficial to humanity. Sociologists need to study evil and its causes and remove those causes. Each individual's conduct should contribute to the good of all. Truth, then, becomes an essential social virtue. Because she defines evil as the misuse of function, she views gender inequality as unethical and a drag on human self-development. It leads to an overvaluation of violence and destruction and an undervaluation of creation and service. The gendered division of labor blinds us to our mutual interdependence

and degrades the moral development of both men and women. Gender inequality also corrupts child raising in ways that are harmful to society. Gilman argues that child socialization should develop in children the "power to see" and the "power to do." Everything regarding children is personalized, so they learn no social ethics. She advocates behavior modification through experimentation in which children deduce ethical behavior from consequences.

Gilman also addresses ethics in the realm of economics, criticizing individual self-interest as a flawed value. Because society is an organism, if we poison someone else, we also poison ourselves. To be in a dominant position poisons the mind with selfishness and an overabundance of pride. To be in a subordinated position poisons the mind with inferiority and internalized oppression.

Gilman suggests an ethical scale in which the highest ethics are those which advance the most people and the lowest ethics are those which degrade the most people. Because we tend to think only in terms of individuals, we severely punish individual ethical violations while simultaneously failing to even notice social ethical violations. She calls for a college on social ethics, with study based on biology and sociology, that investigates the factors that lead to social progress. We can teach ethics by showing the effects of our behavior on humanity and develop standards of conduct based on sociological laws.

Useful and/or juicy quotations:

"A society modifies its individuals far more rapidly and powerfully than they modify it" (chap 1).

"Our human consciousness is essentially social" (chap 2).

"If a given act is universally condemned and punished, or universally praised and rewarded, our sense of 'right' and 'wrong' adjusts itself to the conditions very promptly" (chap 3).

"People 'feel' as they do merely from education and association" (chap 3).

"We have an ingrained contempt for some of the most valuable human qualities, and an exorbitant pride in others whose value has long since departed" (chap 7).

"Looking down upon her he has looked down on service" (chap 7).

"The ages of woman-service and of slave-service makes us still, with those inherited ideas of ours, despise the working class" (chap 7).

"To be submitted to in all things, even by one person, is not strengthening to the moral nature" (chap 7).

"Command, backed by punishment, does not develop either the power to judge or the power to do" (chap 8).

"We literally lack power of vision to recognize the murderer of thousands, the thief of millions, the man who bestially degrades society" (chap 10).

"Real human evil is offence against society, and the offense is to be measures by the extent

and permanence of the harm inflicted" (chap 10).

"We live and function in groups and in those mutual relations find our largest exercise and joy" (chap 12).

"As social progress made me what I am, I owe to social progress my life's best service. That is the foundation of social ethics" (chap 12).

Dunayevskaya, Raya. 1991 (1982). *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, 2nd ed. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Biographical note: Luxemburg had a long love affair with a fellow Marxist Leo Jogiches that was complicated, as they both engaged in revolutionary activism. They broke up but continued to work together. Luxemburg was also a close friend with suffragist Clara Zetkin.

Summary and key points:

As the foreword itself explains, this book turns out to be more an explication of Marx, and a recover of the humanist Marx, than it is a book about Rosa Luxemburg. (For the purposes of this notation, I will be focused on the material about Rosa Luxemburg. The main find for me regarding Marx was the analysis of his late-in-life *Ethnological Notebooks*, which indicate the extent to which he was studying the anthropology of the time and grappling critically with colonialism and racism.) Luxemburg's dissertation was on the economy in Poland and Luxemburg shortly after became an editor of the underground newspaper called *Worker's Cause*. According to Dunayevskaya, Luxemburg's (1899) *Reform or Revolution* became a classic in trying to dig Marx out from revisionist accounts of his work and 1913's *Accumulation of Capital* tried to finish what was unfinished in Marx. She took particular issue with the interpretations of Marx by his literary executor, Eduard Bernstein. Male activists wanted to Luxemburg to focus on "the woman question" but Luxemburg insisted on maintaining a class focus. Dunayevskaya sees Luxemburg's main focus as on "the spontaneity of the masses." Nonetheless, Luxemburg was active on behalf of women's suffrage, as a socialist feminist.

Luxemburg wrote about Marx from the perspective of someone who was actively involved in revolutionary communist politics, rather than as an academic, in Germany, Poland, France, and Russia. For instance, she helped to organize a general strike in Poland and wrote about the general strike, and mass strikes, as a revolutionary tool, not just for socialism but also for women's suffrage. Luxemburg was also involved in the International Socialist Women's Conference. She was often critical of communist and/or worker's party leadership. For instance, she was critical of Lenin's "ultra-centralism."

Luxemburg also developed an anti-imperialist stance, witnessing the imperialist acts of Germany, Japan, the U.S. and England. Her *Accumulation of Capital* analyzed accumulation through imperialism in Algeria and India, South Africa, and North America. Her politics were internationalist, though, and she opposed the principle of self-determination of nations. She believed in the importance of a unified international party.

She was arrested in Germany for her opposition to World War I and spent her time in prison writing what became a very influential anti-war pamphlet. She was imprisoned throughout the entire war and her first action upon release was to speak at a mass meeting advocated revolution in Germany on the heels of the Bolshevik revolution. As a result of her post-war revolutionary agitation, in 1919 the German government dragged her out of her house, beat her, shot her in the head and dumped her body into a canal.

Dunayevskaya points out errors that she sees in Luxemburg's critiques and analysis of Marx and the last half of the book is an analysis of Marx.

Useful and/or juicy quotes:

Luxemburg: "Being human means joyfully throwing your whole life 'on the scales of destiny' when need be, but all the while rejoicing in every sunny day and every beautiful cloud" (p. 77).

Luxemburg: "Fighting for women's suffrage, we will also hasten the coming of the hour when the present society falls in ruins under the hammer strokes of the revolutionary proletariat" (p. 95).

Luxemburg: "For the propertied bourgeois woman, her house is the world. For the proletarian woman, the whole world is her house" (p. 95).

Dunayevskaya: "To this writer, despite all the new depth and scope and global dimension of the new Woman's Liberation Movement today, the most serious errors of not only bourgeois but of socialist feminists are that they, at one and the same time, have disregarded Rosa Luxemburg as a revolutionary and as a feminist, and, above all, have helped those men who have tried to reduce Marx to a single discipline, be that as economist, philosopher, anthropologist, or 'political strategist.' The truth is, however, that Marx, at all times—in theory as in practice, and in practice as in theory—was a revolutionary" (p. 104).

Sprague, Joey. 1997. "Holy Men and Big Guns: The Can(n)on in Social Theory." *Gender & Society*, v. 11:88-107.

Sprague criticizes the masculinist bias of the canon in sociology. Her analysis of syllabi submitted to the ASA classical theory collection found that Marx, Weber and Durkheim dominated the syllabi, followed by other "dead white males" such as Comte and Parsons. She points out that the message of most theory classes is that "these ideas/thinkers are universal and ahistorical, independent of the social circumstances from which they originated" (p. 89). This way of constructing social theory is a construction that makes sense to white male capitalists. Feminist theory points out that standpoint shapes the kinds of things one studies and theorizes about, so reproduction has been largely ignored by sociological theory generated by men. Similarly, male theorists have neglected the ways in which the private sphere is just as social as the public sphere. Feminist theory also criticizes the dichotomous thinking that characterizes social theory, especially the dualism of mind/body, nature/culture, private/public, micro/macro, worker/capitalist, and agency/structure. In much social theory, individuals are abstracted and decontextualized from their actual lived social environments. The canon of sociological theory becomes a "chain of abstract ideas descending through a series of individuals" (p. 93). In this vision of sociological theory, the goal then is "to continue the flow of ideas, not to address the issues of daily life or to nurture our communities" (p. 94) and this goal serves those with privilege. This privileged perspective is presented as universal. Sprague uses the work of Nancy Chodorow, Mary O'Brien, Dorothy Smith, and Patricia Hill Collins to analyze the ways in which masculine privilege rests in part on withdrawal from everyday labor, struggle and social experience. Sprague concludes, "the conceptual pattern of the white male capitalist bears a striking resemblance to the social organization of social theory, including the rituals of connection to ideas and men from history, the devaluation of intimacy and nurturance, the reliance on logical dichotomy and decontextualized abstraction, and the detachment from the life of the community" (p. 99). She calls instead for an epistemology of connection and embodiment.

Deegan, Mary Jo. 1988. "Transcending a Patriarchal Past: Teaching the History of Women in Sociology." *Teaching Sociology* 16(2): 141-150.

This article is meant as a guide to sociologists who wish to include the founding mothers of sociology but lack information and resources to do so. She provides a list of early female sociologists, including Addams, Wells-Barnett, and Gilman, along with Emily Bach, Florence Kelley, Julia Lathrop, Mary McDowell, Mary Smith, Anna Spencer, and Marion Talbot, and makes a case for their sociological credentials. Hull House was a central institution for early women sociologists. Deegan argues that their engaged and applied approach to sociology was valued at the time and only later became deeply marginalized within the discipline. Women were structurally pushed out of sociology roughly around 1920. Deegan suggests references on these women.

Deegan, Mary Jo. 2003. "Textbooks, the History of Sociology, and the Sociological Stock of Knowledge." *Sociological Theory,* Vol. 21 (September): 298-305.

In this article, Deegan criticizes a history of sociology written by Richard Hamilton in the same volume she is contributing. Hamilton advocates for a history of sociology that excludes Marx and men and women of color. Deegan argues that he has not done his homework on the research available about the history of sociology. She singles out Harriet Martineau and Jane Addams as examples of a scholars who should be included in sociological history and notes Hamilton's neglect of key references about both. She addresses one of Hamilton's points—that sociologists didn't use or refer to Martineau's work—by noting the sociologists who did/do use her work. She suggests other early sociologists who deserve to be included in histories of the discipline, including George Herbert Mead, Thorstein Veblen, Gilman, Cooper, Barrier Williams, W.I. Thomas, Oliver Cox, Richard Wright, Mary Elizabeth Burroughs, Roberts Smith Coolidge and George E. Howard. Deegan argues for the important of a complex and multilayered portrayal of the history of sociology.

Terry, James L. 1983. "Bringing Women…In: A Modest Proposal." *Teaching Sociology* 10(2): 251-261.

Terry notes that the study of women has been confined to the sociology of marriage and family. He argues that Harriet Martineau and Charlotte Perkins Gilman should be included into the sociological canon and briefly summarizes their social thought in *How to Observe Morals and Manners*, *Society in America*, and *Women and Economics*. He teaches Martineau alongside Comte in his own classes and Gilman alongside Spencer, Sumner and Ward. He concludes, regarding the exclusion of women from the canon, "our perceptions of the history of sociology have been conditioned by generations of blindness" (p. 259).

Thomas, Jan E. and Annis Kukulan. 2004. "'Why Don't I Know About These Women?': Incorporating Women into Classical Theory." *Teaching Sociology,* 32(3): 252-264.

The authors analyze syllabi from theory classes in 40 different sociology graduate programs. They find that the syllabi are centered on Marx, Weber and Durkheim but 17% did include at least one female theorist. Little time was spent on these female theorists—usually only 1 week. The sex of the instructor did not predict the inclusion of women; however, men taught 80% of the theory classes analyzed. Women are more likely to be taught in contemporary theory classes than in classical theory classes, although here too less class time was spent than on men. Overall, this suggests that future scholars are not being trained to include women in the sociological canon in their own teaching. As the authors put it, "We teach what we are taught" (p. 255). They call for full integration of women theorists into graduate and undergraduate theory classes.

Jefferson, Paul. 1986. "Working Notes on the Prehistory of Black Sociology: The Tuskegee Negro Conference." *Knowledge and Society*, v.6: 119-151.

While W.E.B. DuBois is often seen as the starting point for black sociology, Jefferson argues that the seeds were planted earlier. The First Annual Convention for People of Color in 1831 tried to promote social research and the first survey of a northern black community was published in 1838. Statistics were viewed as important sources for positive social change. The Colored National Convention in 1848 develops an explicit research agenda and the conference movement in general promoted what we could now think of as a black sociology. The Tuskegee Negro Conferences of the late 1900s could be seen as training in practical sociology.

Young, Alford A. & Donald R. Deskins, Jr. 2001. "Early Traditions of African-American Sociological Thought." *Annual Review of Sociology*, v. 27: 445-477.

The contributions of early African-American sociologists have been largely excluded from the canon. Young and Deskins observe there was a kind of 'golden age' between 1899 and 1945 for African-American sociology; however, these sociologists were largely absent from mainstream publications and white universities. The American Negro Academy, founded in 1897, was important in promoting social research. The authors highlight the importance of Anna Julia Cooper, Ida Wells Barnett and W.E.B. DuBois as the first scholars of this 'golden age.' DuBois married Cooper's social criticism with Well Barnett's empirical approach and all had the goal of social reform through their study. Kelly Miller was another important black sociologist and founded Howard University's sociology department. One of Miller's most important contributions was his correction of Census data about African-Americans. George Edmund Haynes was the first black person to get a doctorate from Columbia University. He was influential in several reform organizations in the early 1900s and his most important work as *The Negro at Work in New York City: A Study in Economic Progress* (1912). All of these scholars had to fight against a white supremacist culture. Young and Deskins argues that the generation to follow this first group was more successfully incorporated into the white academy, in part due to the efforts of Robert Park's and W. Lloyd Warner's willingness to work with African-American scholars and the increasing willingness of philanthropic organizations to fund African-Americans to do research. This second wave focused in particular on urbanization and its effects on African-Americans. Oliver Cox stands out at the end of this second wave for his more radical, Marxist, and world-systems approach to race. Young and Deskins do note that some of the work of the early African-American sociologists was used to support notions of the black community as pathological and in need of assimilation to white culture.

Bowser, Benjamin P. 1981. "The Contribution of Blacks to Sociological Knowledge: A Problem of Theory and Role to 1950." *Phylon*, v.42(2): 180-193.

This article traces the social history of the rise of the social sciences and the role of blacks in that social history. For instance, the generation of wealth from black slavery made possible the merchant classes that gave birth to intellectuals like Francis Bacon or David Hume. Furthermore, much of the social thought produced by the Enlightenment—such as Montequieu and Hume and the idea of natural law--was designed to justify slavery. Herbert Spencer's social Darwinism was an ideological justification of slavery through its emphasis on a natural hierarchy of races. While France was already facing decolonization efforts by revolutionary Haiti, England was entrenching its colonies, supported by the ideas of Locke, Montequieu, Hume, Smith and Spencer. Bowser argues that the first expressions of sociology in the U.S.—Henry Hughes' (1854) *Treatise on Sociology* and George Fitzhugh's (1854) *Sociology of the South: Or the Failure of Free Society*—were both ideological defenses of slavery. The so-called natural order of the races was a key principle of early American sociology, according to Bowser. This was maintained by the intellectual followers of Herbert Spencer—William G. Sumner, Lester F. Ward and Franklin Giddings. All of the early African-American social thinkers—people like Alexander Crummel, William W. Brown, George W. Williams, and William H. Ferris—had to respond to this principle by advocating the notion that it was socialization and not nature that produced human difference and behavior. Given this, Bowser suggests that it is really they who should be viewed as the first true American sociologists. While European scholars of the time were repudiating social Darwinism, their influence on American sociology at the turn of the century appears to be minimal. In addition to DuBois's important works, other black sociologists completed empirical studies well before Robert Park and the Chicago School: George Haynes, Edward Daniels, and Mary Ovington. A second generation of black sociologists developed within the academy through the sponsorship of W.I. Thomas, Albion Small and Robert Park (although Park's approach to race relations was somewhat conservative and in line with Booker T. Washington). These include Charles Johnson, E. Franklin Frazier, Drake, Cayton, Reid and Doyle. Bowser notes the racism involved in hiring Swede Gunnar Myrdal to conduct a field report on the black community and its portrayal of the black community as pathological, although socially produced. After this study, black sociologists largely disappeared from the history of the discipline.

SECTION THREE: The Colonized Strike Back--Global Sociology in the 20th Century

It became clear even with this very preliminary and incomplete list of readings on sociology in Asia, Africa and Latin America just how intertwined the development of the social sciences are with the history of European colonialism. In fact, some of the authors discussed in this section argue that sociology and its closest cousin anthropology, are irrevocably tainted by their use as instruments of colonial administration and domination. Others argue that their nature as academic disciplines are deeply and unavoidably shaped by Western/Northern cultural assumptions and values. Similarly the institutions of the academy are in most places a result of European colonial imposition. Some of the analysts of the development of the social sciences in these regions see sociology and anthropology as disciplines imposed by European colonists and has having developed in these regions only because of colonization. Others make a case for indigenous traditions of social thought, despite their lack of institutionalization within a university context, and speculate on how they would have developed if European colonization hadn't happened.

Even despite the decolonization movements of the 20th century, the global influence of American and European cultural and economic systems through neo-colonialism remains dominant. In various ways, the scholarship described in this section is in a position of reaction and defense against Western ethnocentrism and racism. Even as scholars from the Global South research and theorize about their own cultures, they do so in ways that remain circumscribed to some degree by the Western/Northern academic tradition. The West/North has yet to be de-centered within the social sciences. At the same time, the readings in this section do cultivate devastating analyses and critiques of colonialism and its role in perpetuating class and race stratification.

The entries in this section are organized regionally rather than chronologically. Sociology from Asia is the first region, followed by Latin America and then Africa. Finally, I include in Section Three readings from the mid-to-late 20th century generated by peoples who have faced internal colonialism in the U.S.—Asian-Americans, Chicanos and Native Americans.

Gupta, Bela Dutt. 2007(1972). *Sociology in India: An Enquiry into Sociological Thinking & Empirical Social Research in the Nineteenth Century*. Kolkata, India: Progressive Publishers.

Summary and key points:

This book has two parts. The first part is Bela Dutt Gupta's history of the origins of sociology in India, specifically in Bengal, during the 19th century. Gupta argues that the development of sociology in India took place concurrently with the development of sociology in Europe. Despite some criticisms that the Indian intellectual tradition is overly religious, Gupta argues that there was a strong secular and scientific tradition in India dating back to the 18th century and the establishment of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta in 1784. The goal of this organization was to study the history, arts, sciences, and literature of Asia. It can be seen as an organization for British colonial administrators but did publish work by Indian authors. British colonialism in the 18th century set up intellectual tensions that continue around tradition versus modernity, Westernization versus indigenization, and religion versus science. Colonial administration had a huge impact on the development of empirical research in India as well as on the Indian educational system. The early 19th century saw a mushrooming of interest in science, as evidenced by the founding of the General Committee for Public Instruction in 1823, the Society for Translating European Sciences in 1825, the Calcutta Medical College in 1835, the Mechanics Institute in 1839, the Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge in 1839, the Linnaean Society of India in 1840, and the *Calcutta Journal of Natural History* in 1840.

Gupta argues that philosophy and analysis about social institutions dates back to ancient literature in India, including the Vedas, the Grhyasutras, the Dharmasutras, the Ramayana and Mahabharata, the Arthasastras, the Kamasutras, the Kuttanimatam, Kavya Mimansha and Kadambari, and the Puranas. However, Gupta credits Rammohan Roy (1777-1833) as the founding father of sociology in India. A scholar, activist and social thinker, Rammohan questioned taken-for-granted institutions in Indian society, such as the practice of sati or the caste system, and developed the approach of comparative methods in studying social life. Following Rammohan was Akshay Kumar Dutta (1820-1886), another social thinker who valued rationalism in studying the relationship between individual and society. He used both comparison and direct observation to study institutions such as religion and the criminal justice system. During this time, there was also a thriving press and literary culture featuring much debate about social problems.

Sociology itself begins in a more formal way in the second half of the 19th century. The Bethune Society, established in 1851 to encourage scientific and literary study, instituted a section on sociology in 1859. Rev. James Long was the first president of the sociology section and helped to develop an agenda of 500 inquiries about Indian society. The Bengal Social Science Association was founded in 1867. The members of the BSSA, of which there were 200 both Indian and British by the end of its first year, undertook investigation of the topics of jurisprudence and law, education, health, and economy and trade. The social problems it chose to focus on were issues of agricultural labor, education for women, and the artisan class in Calcutta. The BSSA attempted to be empirical and objective in its endeavors. In 1868 Syed Shurufuddin's pamphlet *Sociology for India* was published by the Oudh Scientific Society. The Bengali word for sociology first appears in print in 1875. The BSSA began to diminish by the late 1870s. There were also many organizations devoted to a range of social reforms during this

time period.

Harriet Martineau's English translation of August Comte's work hit India in the 1860s and it was translated into Bengali in 1874. A Positivist Society started in Calcutta in 1873. Positivism had a hugh impact on Bengali social science. Gupta argues that positivism was a system of thought that was compatible with Hinduism and seemed to blend progress and order and science and religion. It also facilitated the emergence of anti-colonialist social thought, thanks in part to the anti-imperialist stance of influential British positivist Richard Congreve. Novelist and scholar Bankim Chandra also helped spread positivism in India.

The first graduate degrees in sociology in Calcutta were given in 1911. The University of Bombay established India's first full-fledged sociology department in 1919.

The second part is a collection of original papers and talks given at the Bengal Social Science Association between 1867 and 1878. These papers addressed topics such as education, religion, the status of women, village life, labor, peasant conditions, public health, caste, and criminal justice. They are primarily descriptive and indicative of the social problems focus of the BSSA.

Useful and/or juicy quotations:

"It is true that these early sociologists in India did not employ the vocabulary of special words and usage which Sociology and Anthropology have now developed. Even if their interests were practical-administrative and meliorative like the eighteenth century sociologists in Britain, they were, nevertheless, sociologists and not social philosophers: And they analysed social facts in a wholly secular manner. They wrote on the alienating consequences of urbanization, social consequences of the spread of railways and other communication media, social conflict arising from acculturation, and many other subjects of social reality. They were also very much aware, almost in a Durkheimian genre, of the sociological consequences of the extension of the divison of labour. They were not professional academics on the subject of Sociology. They were rather frontiersman with a keen sense of social welfare. They were never tired of feeling, thinking and talking about what is good for their society in India" (p. xviii-xix).

"The western impact produced a whole spectrum of responses in India. An atmosphere of attraction and repulsion toward the foreign culture—a psychological ambivalence of love-hate—was brought into being. There was an Indian consciousness too" (p. 24)

"The alien authority, in the early period of its rule, had oftener proved a hindrance rather than a help in the proper study of society in India…Also, exigencies of administration were secured even at the cost of distortion of historical understanding" (p. 25).

From Rammohan Roy: "Human beings are naturally social beings and they are required to live together socially. But as society depends upon an individual's understanding of the ideas of each other reciprocally and on existence of some rules by which property of one is defined and distinguished from that of another, and one is prevented from exercising oppression over another; so all the rulers inhabiting different countries, and even the inhabitants of isolated islands and the summits of lofty mountains, have invented special words indicating certain ideas which form the basis of invention of religion and upon which the organization of society depends" (p. 49).

From Rammohan Roy (1822): "As you keep women generally void of education and acquirements, you cannot, therefore in justice, pronounce their inferiority" (p. 53).

From the Sociology Section of the Bethune Society (1859): "To the student in sociology, India offers a vast and inexhaustible field of investigation and research, and the natives themselves are in the most favourable position to furnish correct information on the social system of the Hindus, as foreigners have little opportunity of acquainting themselves with the internal workings of native society" (p. 116).

From Kalli Churn Banerjee (1860s): "Social forces admits of a twofold sense. It may be employed to denote those forces which contribute to the organization of society, or it may be understood to refer to those forces which an organized society brings to bear upon its membership" (pp. 120-1).

"If this 'social problem background of sociology' was common to Europe and India alike, some of the societies in India were engaged in social research much earlier than their European counterparts" (p. 202).

From Mahadev Govind Ranade: "The reformer is not to write on a clean slate. His work is more often to complete the half written sentence. He has to produce the ideal out of the actual" (p. 459).

"As in European countries, in India, too, social criticism, social reform and social science went hand in hand to give shape to what is known as sociology today" (p. 468).

Atal, Yogesh. 1985. *Sociology and Social Anthropology in Asia and the Pacific*. Paris, France: Wiley Eastern Limited.

Chapter 1, "Growth Points in Asian and Pacific Sociology and Social Anthropology" by Yogesh Atal

The goal of this book is to profile the development of sociology and social anthropology in 12 countries in Asia. Each author was asked to provide historical background, the institutional framework, major issues in the discipline, and areas for development and improvement. (There is a kind of repetitiveness in the book because of this structure, but I wish there were similar anthologies for Europe, Africa and Latin America.)

Atal argues that sociology and anthropology are "western implantation(s)" (p. 2) and that were influenced by the particular emphasis of those disciplines in the colonizing nation. For example, the Philippines were influenced by American sociology and India by British sociology. Furthermore, European colonial studies of Asian communities were necessarily biased and ethnocentric. While there are clearly long indigenous traditions of social thought in the region, Atal argues that these two disciplines are relatively young. Atal points out that now that anthropology is no longer the province of Europeans studying so-called "exotic" cultures, there is little substantive difference between sociology and social anthropology other than their different institutional locations. While there has been tremendous growth in both fields in the latter 20th century, there remains a great need for infrastructure, indigenization and theory development.

Chapter 2, "Japan's Sociology: Major Areas and their Research Development" by Shugo Koyano

This chapter dates the beginning of sociology in Japan at the early 1900s, with the work of Yasuma Takada (1883-1972) and Teizo Toda (1887-1955) and others. Early works focused on group relations, family structure, rural and urban life, class, power, and social structure. Sociology was suspended during WWII and the words "social" and "society" were prohibited as a threat to the government. Sociology opened up against after the war and journals resumed publication. Applied sociology became very important after the war. American sociology also became increasingly influential. As is true of most neo-colonial relations, this influence has not gone both ways. Rapid social change in Japan has set the agenda for sociological research there. In the 1980s, Japan began to sponsor international conferences to increase collaborations with other Asian sociologists.

Chapter 3, "People's Republic of China" by Wang Kang

This chapter dates the start of sociology in China with Yan Fu's 1903 translation of Herbert Spencer's *Study of Sociology*. Sociology was suspected by the government in 1952 and did not resume until 1979. It follows Marxist-Leninism and the thought of Mao Zedong. The first lecture course on sociology was taught in 1980. The author writes that while sociologists must accept historical materialism as their guiding theory, they have moved away from the notion that socialist societies do not have social problems. (This essay seems to me quite likely to have been censored by the PRC government given both its cheerleading tone and brevity.)

Chapter 4, "Republic of Korea" by Kyong-Dong Kim

Sociology and anthropology in Korea start at the turn of the 19th to 20th centuries. Spencer and

Comte were early European influences on it. The 1930s saw the return of Korean scholars trained in Europe and a spate of textbooks by them about sociology. The first classes in sociology were in the 1920s and not until 1945 for anthropology. Kim observes, "No doubt, both disciplines suffered from the [Japanese] colonial experience: suppression of sociology and co-optation of anthropology" (p. 92) Sociology was associated with nationalism and anthropology was a tool of colonial administration. It was after WWII that Korean sociology began to develop independently. The Korean Sociological Society was founded in 1956. American sociology began to influence Korean sociology. Indigenization of the discipline began in the 1970s and there was a growth in publications, although most funding still came from foreign organizations. By 1980s there were 9 sociology and 3 anthropology departments at the university level in Korea. Infrastructure is still needed and the author although argues that there is a lack of a tradition of criticism in Korean academia.

Chapter 5, "Thailand" by Amara Pongsapich

The chapter dates the development of both disciplines after WWII, mostly by foreign scholars initially. The first department of sociology was founded in 1964. The disciplines are still in early development with few job opportunities, little funding, and a research agenda that is problem oriented.

Chapter 6, "Indonesia" by E.K.M. Masinambow and Meutia Swasono

Indonesian social science was influenced by Dutch colonization and early studies were in the service of colonial administration. A more indigenous orientation did not begin until the late 1950s. The Indonesian National Development Plan (1969-1980) helped spur social research. There is too much work for the small number of anthropologists and sociologists in Indonesia (roughly 80 total as of 1980) and little infrastructure for research and publication. Many social scientists are simultaneously government officials, so there is little autonomy for the social sciences.

Chapter 7, "The Philippines" by Isabel S. Panopia and Ponciano L. Bennagen

Colonized first by Spain and then by the U.S., in the Philippines, social research began for colonial administration. Both disciplines begin in the early 20th century. Seratin Macaraig became the first Filipino to get a Ph.D. in sociology from the U.S. and returned to join the Department of Anthropology and Sociology at the University of the Philippines. He wrote the first sociology textbook written by a Filipino in 1938 called *An Introduction to Sociology*. Even after independence, American sociologists continued to institutionalize social sciences in the Philippines. The University of Chicago started the Philippines Studies Programme in the 1950s, with a structural functionalist approach. International funding also spurred research. An American, John De Young, was brought in by the University of the Philippines to strengthen the sociology curriculum. The Philippines Sociological Society was founded in 1952; the first sociological journal had begun in 1933. Anthropology grew in the 1960s. However, by the mid-70s, only 15 schools had a BA in sociology and only 7 in anthropology. Most faculty had only master's degrees rather than Ph.Ds. There remains a need for indigenization and institution building for both disciplines.

Chapter 8, "Singapore" by John Clammer

Higher education gets institutionalized in 1949 with the University of Malaya. The social sciences develop in the 1960s. As of the 1980s, only one university provided a (undergraduate only) degree in sociology—the National University of Singapore. There is a very Western bias in

the curriculum, which is taught in English, and only a handful of students enroll each year.

Chapter 9, "India" by D.N. Dhanagare

The author points out that both disciplines were born in India in order to consolidate colonial power; "Ideas and interpretations in history have been closely knit with the structures as well as dynamics of power" (p. 313). However, there was indigenous social thought in India even under British rule. So the author notes a tension in Indian social sciences between Indological approaches resulting from British interests and Indian scholars who reject both disciplines as inherently Western. There were many Indian scholars doing social science in the early 20th century, but India's programs of planned development in the 1950s spurred considerable growth in the social sciences. However, economic development and the Ford Foundation set the agenda for social research. It wasn't until the 1970s that sociology became more autonomous from economic development concerns. By the 1980s, 80 of the 120 higher education institutions had sociology and anthropology curriculum and the Indian Sociology Society had 600 Indian members. The authors calls for increased theory building and social criticism.

Chapter 10, "Pakistan" by Ahmad Hasan Dani

There was little empirical research until independence in 1947. Sociology has diffused throughout universities but anthropology was only taught in one by the 1980s. Most sociologists continued to be trained in the U.S. There are not enough Ph.D.s in Pakistan and there has been a brain drain to the UK, the U.S. and Canada. Western sociology continues to dominate.

Chapter 11, "Bangladesh" by Mohammad Afsaruddin

The authors notes that ancient texts made observations of sociological value over 2000 years ago. Formal science began when the British established the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784. Higher education of Bangladesh was under the University of Calcultta until 1947. The University of Dacca was founded in 1921. UNESCO sent Levi-Strauss to Bangladesh in the 1950s and he sent back scholars to help develop a sociology department at Dacca, founded in 1957 with UNESCO funds. A second department of sociology was opened in 1964 at Rajashahi University and a third in 1970 at the University of Chittagong. The Bangladesh Sociological Association was founded in 1979. The author argues that even by the 1980s, the discipline is just laying foundation as there remains a lack of infrastructure and personnel. Unemployment was high in Bangladesh and there was considerable brain drain. Curriculum continues to be western dominated: "In general, the sociology to which the student in Bangladesh is exposed is the science of the 'Homo Sapiens Yankeensis Sophomorus,' as has ironically been observed. In other words, having read the books in the pensum, the student will be able to generalize quite descriptively about the American College Sophomore. The question remains open, however, whether generalizations which usefully predict the behavior of urbanized, wealthy, humanist, western educated youth apply to the rest of humanity" (p. 401). The author concludes that lack of career opportunities and research resources are two very pressing needs.

Chapter 12, "Australia" by Jim Lally

Anthropology developed in Australia because of British colonial interest in aboriginal Australians throughout the 19th century and into the 20th. Academic institutionalization of the discipline gets rolling in the latter 20th century. Sociology, on the other hand, is largely neglected until the late 1950s, in part because of the opposition to sociology by scholars trained at Oxford and

Cambridge: "Social sciences (apart from anthropology) were not part of the old English academic tradition and by implication, therefore, they were of no consequence" (p. 423). The British educational system was imposed upon Australia. This shifted in the latter 20th century when Australian education began to look more like American education. The Sociological Association of Australia and New Zealand was founded in 1963 and its journal in 1965. By 1980s, all universities offered at least some sociology curriculum. Anthropology dominated until the 1960s, but sociology has been growing faster since then. Education and theory were two top areas of research interest. Research on Papua New Guinea was largely colonially motivated and then restricted after independence. In the 1970s, in both sociology and anthropology there was a shift from "dry" empirical studies to more theoretical and thematic work. Anthropology on indigenous Pacific Islanders has seesawed between advocacy for indigenous communities and biased and distorted racist accounts.

Chapter 13, "New Zealand" by J.H. Robb and C.H.G. Crothers

Once again, sociology and anthropology were driven by colonial interest in Maori society in the 19th and 20th centuries. Sociology is first taught beginning in the late 1950s and experienced a wave of popularity during the 1970s. American and British schools of thought dominated. Most scholars taught and were self-trained in research and had little time for it because of high teaching loads. Much research has been government driven and is funded with strings attached. In general, there is little institutional infrastructure for research or publication and little knowledge-building.

Atal, Yogesh. 2003. *Indian Sociology: From Where to Where?* Jaipur, India: Raiwat Publications.

Summary and key points:

Atal credits colonialism for introducing the social sciences to Asia, which he argues had primarily a sacred literature up to that point. The start of social sciences in Asia were what we would now call anthropological studies by Europeans of what they perceived as the "exotic" and "primitive" peoples they were colonizing. Europe studied Asia. In the next phase of social sciences in Asia, higher education institutions in Asia began teaching social science and Asians themselves traveled to Europe for study. This is when Asia begins to study Europe, at least to some degree. The tradition in each nation is heavily influenced by its colonizing nation. For instance, Korean sociology is influenced by Japanese social science and most of Southeast Asia is influenced by the British intellectual tradition. In India, as is true for other colonized nations, the social sciences develop as a tool of colonial administration. When expats return to Asia to teach and research, a more indigenous phase of the social sciences in Asia begins. The need for indigenization persists to the present day, as Asian social science has remained dependent on the West, and increasingly the U.S. in particular.

Atal observes that there has been tremendous growth in the social sciences in the late 20th century, influenced by both decolonization and development. There continues to be a resource gap, in terms of technology, funding, infrastructure and human capital, between Asia and Europe/U.S.. Much social science in Asia is dependent on government support. There is intense need for social science research and many social problems in need of investigation and solution.

Atal addresses the relationship between sociology and anthropology. Because anthropology begins as Westerners studying the exotic Other and sociology begins as Westerners studying the problems of Western modernity, the discipline experiences a crisis when people from colonized nations begin receiving academic credentials. If so-called "natives" study their own societies, does this remain anthropology? Given the overlap in subject matter, it appears the main distinction between the two disciplines is simply that they are located separately within higher education institutions. There is a real point of connection between sociology and anthropology in India in the emphasis on village studies.

Sociology in India is first institutionalized in Bombay (1895) and Lucknow (1919) Universities. Even before this, there were many studies of Indian society, mostly by Brits. By the end of the 1970s, over 80 colleges and universities in India offered postgraduate sociology training and had produced over 500 Ph.D.'s in sociology or anthropology. Sociology has grown considerably more than anthropology. There is still a need for research, inhibited by high teaching loads and lack of funding and facilities. There is also a need for the diffusion of social research findings and encouragement of their utilization by policymakers. There are few job opportunities for sociology graduates. The syllabi of sociology courses still favor Westerners over Indian sociologists. There is also a need for the synthesis of research findings in sociology and anthropology, to get a sense of the big picture.

The movement for indigenization in the social sciences gathered steam in the 1970s, calling for a decolonization of the mind. This has led, in some places, to restrictions on foreign/Western

scholars who want to do research on formerly colonized nations. It has also led to a rethinking and critique of the concepts generated by the Western intellectual tradition (though, Atal notes, Marx is often excepted from this critique.) It has also led to a focus on local and national problems in research, a call for more local infrastructure, and the increase in scholarship in regional and national languages. Decolonization led to a shift from what Atal calls a single-aperture model, in which the colonizer country is the only source of information about the larger world, to a multiple-aperture model with multiple points of global contact. There has also been a shift from studying tradition to studying social change.

Useful and/or juicy quotations:

"It is a weakness in our scholarship that we know a great deal about countries of the developed world and their problems and so little about ourselves and our neighbours. Besides, whatever we do know about each other's countries, we seem to learn from Western scholars" (p. 29).

"A distinction based on the nationality of the investigator rather than the subject matter of study cannot justify the existence of two disciplines; nor can any particular method of investigation be treated as a monopoly of a given discipline" (p. 46-7).

"Obviously, the emergence of Third World anthropologists has created a crisis of definition for anthropology" (p. 47).

"Since sociology developed mainly in the West, most of the books are available in non-Indian languages. Sociology reaches the Indian students through the gateway of English" (p. 76).

"Born together in the same historical moment, capitalism, colonialism, and social sciences arrived from the West and became implanted in those countries that became colonies of the Western powers. Academic colonialism, in fact, went beyond the boundaries of political colonies; countries that managed to retain their political autonomy could not prevent the vicarious colonization of their academia. The westernization/modernization package had a much wider clientele. The relationship of 'dependency, deference and servility' created and maintained through these processes is now under attack" (p. 95).

"Doubtless, there are scores of writings on India, which have fascinated Western scholarship, and on which have capitalized the Indian pundits. But these writings have done much to distort the Indian reality, and have hampered the growth of realistic sociology, which would replace ritualistic Indology" (p. 167-8).

"We have a dual responsibility of protecting ourselves from the danger of recolonization of our minds on the one hand, and of chauvinistic insulation, on the other. It will be fatal to keep our doors closed" (p. 224).

From M.N. Srinivas: "The study of an alien society is a prerequisite to understanding one's own" (p.238).

Yan, Ming. 1989. "Sociology in China: Its Past, Present, and Future." *Chinese Sociology and Anthropology*, v.22(1): 3-29.

This article divides the history of Chinese sociology into five periods: adoption (1895-1913), institutionalization (1913-1930), expansion (1930-1949), suspension (1949-1979) and reconstruction (1979 to present). Yan argues that sociology enters China with Yan Fu's essay about Herbert Spencer in 1895 and his 1903 translation of Spencer's *The Study of Sociology*. Yan Fu introduces the phrase "the study of collectivities" into Chinese, but sociology came to be called by the Chinese words for the "study of society," borrowed from Japanese translations of Western sociology. The first sociology department in China was established at Shanghai College in 1913 and by 1930 there were 16 universities with sociology curricula. Most of the sociology professors were Americans. Kang Baozhong became the first Chinese sociology professor in 1916. Later Chinese professors trained outside of China. Several other Western works of sociology were translated into Chinese in the teens and twenties and Chinese authored studies also began to be published. The Chinese Sociological Society was established in 1930. Sun Benwen was the first editor of the CSS's *Journal of Sociology*. The CSS held nine conferences between 1930 and 1949 and had 160 members by 1947. This period also saw calls for sinification of sociology.

After the Communist revolution in 1949, the government shut down all sociology programs in 1952 as bourgeoisie pseudoscience. It did not resume until Hu Quiamu, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the president of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, redeemed sociology's reputation in the eyes of the party. By the writing of this article, one doctoral program, 9 master's programs and 12 undergraduate programs in sociology had been re-established. The CASS also developed an Institute of Sociology and a Chinese Sociological Association was established. However, these organizations have a mandate to follow Marxist and Maoist thought. There are national projects to study small towns, family, urbanization, the life course, social structure and classes. Community studies are also common. There is a popular journal for sociology called *Shehui* (Society) and several academic sociology journals as well and thousands of articles and hundreds of monographs have been published since 1979. The study of population problems make up nearly one third of these publications.

The author argues that post-1979 sociology in China has been marked by four features: it is China-centered, oriented toward solving practical problems, collectivist/collaborative involving committees and groups working and publishing together, and increasingly open to sociology from other regions.

Yunkang, Pan. 1989. "Sociology and Historical Materialism." *Chinese Sociology and Anthropology*, v.22(1): 30-41.

The author profiles the relationships between sociology and historical materialism and argues that sociology conducts concrete and empirical studies that can be interpreted through historical materialism as a philosophy. In the author's words, "historical materialism is the guiding thought for all branches of social science" (p. 39). However, there is a need for the empirical emphasis of sociology given rapid modernization in China.

Assayag, Jackie & Veronique Berei, ed. 2003. *At Home in Diaspora: South Asian Scholars and the West*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Summary and key points:

This is a collection of personal intellectual biographies by scholars who have a foot in more than one culture and, in particular, scholars from the so-called "East" who work in "Western" universities. Studies of the 'East' and 'West' have emphasized the themes of representation, contact, and colonization. These issues are even more timely given the huge waves of immigration into the U.S. since 1990 and increasing globalization. Some of the scholars in this collection have privileged positions within American institutions, yet are also marginalized as Other in key ways. On the other hand, scholars working in the 'East' draw attention to the inequities of power and resources that keep such scholars marginal in international academic circles. The contributors point out the pervasive ethnocentrism of the basic foundation of the social sciences. Such ethnocentrism is perpetuated today by the persistent focus on the history of Eastern societies rather than their contemporary features, the refusal to learn the language of the communities being studied, and the tendency to view Eastern nations as monolithic rather than internally varied. Several mention the importance of the rise of Subaltern Studies. The contributors trace out the relationships between academia and colonialism. They summarize their particular areas of research and theoretical interest. This book is an interesting read because of its personal narratives. It would be useful to assign in something like a graduate proseminar for beginning sociology graduate students.

Useful and/or juicy quotes:

Jackie Assayag & Veronique Benei ("Introduction," pp. 1-27): "There is no straightforward opposition between the so-called 'East' and 'West,' but a hierarchical relation of multiple powers and modes of subordination that is more often than not a construct of Western ethnocentricity, inspired by the belief in a fundamental difference between distinct types of religions, race, and humanities" (p. 2).

Prasenjit Duara ("Journey to the East, by the West," pp. 101-14): "The comparative study of India and China has of course stimulated many European social theories, at least since Hegel. Virtually all of these studies have been designed to understand the special quality of Western modernity. Whatever the reasons for the three-pronged strategy of studying India, China and the West, it is clear that even in a sophisticated and well-informed writer like Max Weber, India and China represented a symmetrical complementarity of absences or lack in relation to the West. The excess of despotism in Chine and of religiosity in India meant that the rational individual or methodological individualism could not appear in those societies. The effects of these paradigmatic understandings, however, went much deeper than we often realise" (p. 104).

Gyan Prakash ("The Location of Scholarship," pp. 115-26): "Colonialism had institutionalized the West's dominance in the educational system. The achievement of national independence did not decolonize colonial education; instead, it universalized the West even more" (p. 117)

Gyan Prakash ("The Location of Scholarship," pp. 115-26): "Outside its borders, Europe lives and universalizes itself in mythic images. So much so that this mythical history does not even care to mark itself as a provincial story but represents itself as a universal narrative of progress.

That is how we were taught. The West was History, and Indians became a part on Western terms. One studied the histories of Britain and Europe to identify the emergence and crystallization of universals—humanism, democracy, the rule of reason, science, and modernity. India's history was plotted alongside and against this universal pattern to reveal both its 'lacks' and its positive contribution to History" (p. 117).

Gyan Prakash ("The Location of Scholarship," pp. 115-26): "It was disconcerting to be viewed as a object of knowledge…My American colleagues in the South Asia field were often taken aback by my familiarity with 'their' culture, unprepared as they were to encounter the object of their study so close to home and talking back in their own language. I think most of them ended up seeing me as an anomaly, an exception to an India that remained in their minds as decidedly religious, caste-bound, Sanskritic, and traditional" (p. 120).

Dipesh Chakrabarty ("Globalisation, Democratisation, and the Evacuation of History?," pp. 127-47): "Academics may not look like they have anything to do with managerial functions. But it does not take much thinking to see that one function of tertiary education is to fit people out for modern bureaucracies" (p. 138).

Sudipta Kaviraj ("On the Advantages of Being a Barbarian," pp. 148-62): "The West can be indifferent towards the rest of the world's cultures; but they can't similarly neglect the West. I wish to argue that this is grounded in the partly unfounded assumption of progress and Western superiority in everything, a strangely unsustainable intellectual stance. Though, equally strangely, it is held as a general framework by an astonishingly large number of Western academics…this is considerably to our advantage, for the rather uncomplex reason that access to two cultures is, in some ways, better than one" (p. 149).

Davis, Harold E. 1966. *Latin American Social Thought: A History of its Development since Independence, with Selected Readings*. Seattle, WA: University Press of Washington.

Summary and key points:

Many of the writers in this collection are Latin American political officials; some were scholars, writers or activists. Davis divides this anthology of writings by Latin Americans into four sections. Part One includes writers shaped by the Enlightenment addressing the issue of independence from Spain: Simon Bolivar (1783-1830, Venezuela), Jose Joaquin Fernandez de Lizardi (1776-1827, Mexico), Mariano Moreno (1778-1811, Argentina), and Jose Cecilio del Valle (1780-1834, Honduras and Guatemala). These authors are influenced by the French and U.S. revolutions as well as European philosophers like Descartes, Locke and Rousseau. They were searching for a uniquely Latin American system of government. They disagreed about the most appropriate form—whether monarchical or republican—and about the role of indigenous people in the new nations.

Part Two reflects writers influenced by utilitarianism and romantic liberalism: Esteban Echeverria (1805-1851, Argentina), Juan Bautista Alberdi (1810-1884, Argentina), Domingo Faustino Sarmiento (1811-1888, Argentina), Jose Maria Luis Mora (1794-1850, Mexico), Francisco Bilbao (1823-1865, Chile) and Felix Varela y Morales (1787-1853, Cuba). These thinkers were influenced by Jeremy Bentham, James Mill and Saint Simon but also developing increasing resistance to European authority. They engaged with the debates of their time period around issues of liberty versus order, revolution versus evolution, unitary versus federal government, the relationship between religion and the state and the concept of history.

The excerpts from Part Three are social thinkers engaging with European positivism and evolutionary thinking: Manuel Gonzalez Prada (1848-1918, Peru), Euclydes da Cunha (1866-1909, Brazil), Rui Barbosa (1849-1923, Brazil), Eugenio Maria de Hostos (1839-1903, Puerto Rico), Jose Marti (1853-1895, Cuba), Agustin Enrique Alvarez Suarez (1857-1914, Argentina), Jose Ingenieros (1877-1925, Argentina), Jose Enrique Rodo (1871-1917, Uruguay), Justo Sierra (1848-1912, Mexico), Valentin Letelier (1852-1919, Chile), Ramon Rosa (1848-1893, Honduras and Guatemala), and Juan Montalvo (1832-1889, Ecuador). Comte's program for a science of society and Marxist ideas influenced Latin American thought in the latter 19th century. In particular, Comte's idea that progress required social order was important. Also, there is an increasing emphasis on the role of science and scientific thinking during this period. Some thinkers reacted against positivism as a defender of the status quo, as well as against the racism of social Darwinism. The debate between materialism and idealism is also represented in the writers of this section. In Latin America, social thinkers of the late 19th century were grappling with the challenging economic conditions, complicated racial dynamics, conflicts between Catholicism and the state, and the perceived failure to develop democratic institutions. Also in this period, the seeds of indigenismo can be seen.

The final section excerpts writers from the first half of the 20th century: Jose Vasconcelos (1882-1959, Mexico), Antonio Caso (1883-1946, Mexico), Manuel Galvez (1882-1968, Argentina), Ricardo Rojas (1882-1957, Argentina), Jose Carlos Mariategui (1895-1930, Peru), Victor Raul Haya de la Torre (1895-1979, Peru), Alejandro Deustua (1849-1945, Peru), Jose Figueres Ferrer (1906-1990, Costa Rica), Juan Jose Arevalo Bermejo (1904-1990, Guatemala),

Augusto Mijares (1897-1979, Venezuela), Gilberto Freyre (1900-1987, Brazil), Alceu Amoroso Lima (1893-1983, Brazil), Romula Betancourt (1908-1981, Venezuela), and Eduardo Frei Montalva (1911-1982, Chile). Trends in 20th century social thought included rising popularity of Marxist thought and Christian democratic socialism, as well as existentialist and humanist perspectives. 20th century writers also grappled with and/or participated in revolutionary movements in Latin America. For example, Davis summarizes the principles of the pan-Latin American APRISTA movement: "anti-imperialism, Latin American unity, nationalization of land and industry, internationalization of the Panama canal, and solidarity with all oppressed peoples and classes in the world" (p. 446). Indigenismo developed more fully in the 20th century. Also, the social sciences got more fully institutionalized in Latin America.

The entire collection as a whole demonstrates the intellectual love-hate relationship between Latin America and Europe and the attempt by Latin American social thinkers to develop a distinct voice and perspective. Some of the features of this distinct perspective include theorizing about what it means to be creole or mixed, a spirit of resistance to authority alongside an optimistic utopianism, and an analysis of how class relations in Latin America coincided with European versus indigenous race relations.

Useful and/or juicy quotations:

From Simon Bolivar: "We are not Europeans; we are not Indians; we are but a mixed species of aborigines and Spaniards. Americans by birth and Europeans by law, we find ourselves engaged in a dual conflict: we are disputing with the natives for titles of ownership, and at the same time we are struggling to maintain ourselves in the country that gave us birth against the opposition of the invaders" (p. 18).

From Simon Bolivar: "The fundamental basis of our political system hinges directly and exclusively upon the establishment and practice of equality in Venezuela" (p. 24).

From Simon Bolivar: "The most perfect system of government is that which results in the greatest possible measure of happiness and the maximum of social security and political stability" (p. 25).

From Jose Cecilio del Valle: "Color is no title of superiority or slavery. Copper-skinned, swarthy or white, you are a man, unhappy American, and the essence of man gives you inviolable rights" (p. 81).

From Jose Cecilio del Valle: "In such great chaos, justice is the one link which can unite such contrary interests, and justice in politics is 'the greatest possible good of the greatest possible number'" (p. 91).

From Esteban Echeverria: "Without association there is no progress, or better still, association is the condition of all civilization and all progress. True association cannot exist except among equals. Inequality engenders hates and passions which suffocate confraternity and weaken social ties" (p. 106).

From Esteban Echeverria: "The free exercise of individual faculties ought not to cause damage nor violation of the rights of others. Do not do to another what you would not wish done to you. Human liberty has no other limits" (p. 109).

From Esteban Echeverria: "The great thought of the revolution has not been achieved. We are independent but not free" (p. 114).

From Esteban Echeverria: "Democracy, therefore, is not the absolute despotism of the masses nor of the majorities. It is the rule of reason" (p. 118).

From Juan Bautista Alberdi: "The two principles which vainly aspired through long years of futile struggle for exclusive government of the country are now seeking a parliamentary fusion in a joint system, embracing and reconciling the rights of each province and the prerogatives of the whole nation" (p. 132).

From Domingo Faustino Sarmiento: "By what miracle, then, can a government accelerate the work of time and improve at once the intellectual, industrial, and productive capacity of the present population? European immigration answers all these questions" (p. 143).

From Domingo Faustino Sarmiento: "Where this mass of population is gathered, uncultivated fields disappear, cities arise, rivers are peopled with ships, and markets are filled with products, because the European brings with him some of the knowledge, the industry, and the tools of production of the civilized nations" (p. 143).

From Jose Maria Luis Mora: "Few men commit transgressions, but many allow them to be committed" (p. 151).

From Francisco Bilbao: "History is reason judging memory and projecting the duty of the future" (p. 172).

From Francisco Bilbao: "In humanity are celebrated the solemn nuptials of fatality and freedom" (p. 174).

From Manuel Gonzalez Prada: "Whoever dates to say to a race, 'Thus far you may come and no farther,' is blind and stupid. How convenient an invention ethnology is in the hands of some men! If one grants the division of humanity into superior and inferior races and recognizes the superiority of the whites and their consequent right to govern the planet, nothing is more natural than the suppression of the Negro in Africa, the redskin in the United States, the Tagalog in the Philippines, or the Indian in Peru" (p. 107).

From Manuel Gonzalez Prada: "When an individual rises above the level of his social class he usually becomes its worst enemy" (p. 200).

From Manuel Gonzalez Prada: "Without the forced labor (faenas) of the American Indian the coffers of the Spanish treasury would have been empty. The wealth sent by the colonies to the Metropolis was merely blood and tears converted into gold" (p. 201).

From Manuel Gonzalez Prada: "The essence of morality, for individuals as well as for societies, consists in transforming the struggle of man against man into a mutual accord for living. Where there is no justice, pity or benevolence, there is no civilization…Those societies deserve to be called highly civilized in which the practice of the good has become an habitual obligation

and the beneficent act instinctive" (p. 205).

From Manual Gonzalez Prada: "To one who says *the school* reply *the school and bread*" (p. 207).

From Rui Barbosa: "Let no one be disheartened, then, that the cradle was not generous with him; let no one believe himself damned by being born without wealth and social standing. In all of this there is no surprise too great to be expected from tenacity and sanctity in work" (p. 228).

From Rui Barbosa: "Reading is commonplace, reflection rare. Knowledge consists not so much in the learning of others which one absorbs, but rather of ideas themselves which arise from the understandings absorbed and the transmutation through which they pass in the mind which assimilates them. A learned man is not a closet of stored wisdom but a reflective transformer of digested acquisitions" (p. 228).

From Rui Barbosa: "If the people are illiterate, only ignoramuses will be qualified to govern them" (p. 229).

From Eugenio Maria de Hostos (1939): "Society is a living reality, a living organism" (p. 240).

From Eugenio Maria de Hostos: "The functions of the life of a society correspond to the needs to be satisfied" (p. 241).

From Eugenio Maria de Hostos: "We may see every day a quantity of facts, alike in themselves, which are repeated as regularly as the acts of individuals in satisfying their needs" (p. 241).

From Eugenio Maria de Hostos: "Order is a destiny of human societies—that is to say, that is results of necessity from the very character of the life of the social organism" (p. 244).

From Eugenio Maria de Hostos: "Without association there is no individual existence. Notice, in the first place, that every human being springs from the carnal association of two other human beings. In the second place, he is so constituted that he cannot subsist by himself" (p. 247).

From Jose Marti: "Man has no special right because he belongs to one race or another: speak of man and you have spoken of all his rights" (p. 264).

From Agustin Enrique Alvarez Suarez (1894): "It matters little whether a thing actually exists or not. As long as we believe that it does, we are logical if we act accordingly" (p. 277).

From Jose Ingenieros: "Hypothesis flies, fact trudges" (p. 285).

From Jose Ingenieros: "Imagination is the mother of all originality; deforming reality toward its perfection, imagination creates ideals, giving them impulse with the illusory sentiment of liberty. Free will is an error useful for the gestation of ideals" (p. 285).

From Jose Ingenieros (1917): "Illusions have as much value in directing conduct as the most precise truths" (p. 285).

From Jose Ingenieros: "To live is to learn, in order to be ignorant of fewer things. To live is to love, in order to bind oneself to a larger part of humanity. To live is to admire, in order to share the excellences of nature and of man. It is an effort to better oneself, a never-ending zeal for progress toward defined ideals. Many are born; few live" (p. 289).

From Jose Ingenieros: "The Normal Man in one society is not that of another. The Normal Man of a thousand years ago would not be such today, nor in the future" (p. 291).

From Jose Ingenieros: "The concept of human normality must be relative to a given social environment" (p. 292).

From Jose Ingenieros: "Justice is respect for merit" (p. 299).

From Ramon Rosa: "Societies live, grow, and perfect themselves under the influence of ideas" (p. 337).

From Jose Vasconcelos: "We see in sociology the last stage of the empirical science which begins with Galileo and develops its methods in Bacon and Comte. We believe that the experimental discipline and systematic and direct observation are essential for the study of concrete reality" (p. 390).

From Jose Vasconcelos: "Society has a kind of triple being, living at the same time in the physical, biological, and psychic modes" (p. 391).

From Jose Vasconcelos: "Thus, sociological becoming, which participates in both the material and the spiritual, requires a method which rises above without excluding determinism. In other words, the social process is not arbitrary, but neither is it mechanical. In sociology the spiritual factor is not just one datum among many, but an active element, the source of events, the cause of processes. And it is not enough to observe its behavior. It is necessary to take into account its contradictions and rejections, its innovations and miracles" (p. 392).

From Antonio Caso (1936): "The forms of naturalism, materialism, and empiricism are doomed. Spiritism, axiological idealism, and intuitionism are the progressive forms of independent thought" (p. 402).

From Antonio Caso: "Comte tries to base social evolution on the growth of reason and Marx undertakes to base it upon the vicissitudes of economic factors. But the constant error of both thinkers lies in selecting a single social factor and making it all powerful. It is impossible to compress into a rigid mold the multiple and constant variation of history" (p. 403).

From Antonio Caso: "The so-called economic structure presupposes social life complete and whole. Without language there is no economy, without invention there is no production, without moral and religious ideals to orient production the supply of goods is not conceivable. Without customs there can be no exchange" (p. 403).

From Antonio Caso: "Not historical materialism, but mutual and reciprocal action of the material upon the ideal and of the ideal upon the material. Moreover, in all strictness, nothing is

material, not even the economic order itself, because it is impregnated with ideas" (p. 407).

From Antonio Caso: "But, it will be replied, the individual is explained by his social environment. Yet, but only in part, because he also constitutes a causal element within the social environment. Once again reciprocal action!" (p. 409).

From Antonio Caso: "Dogmatism in thought is fanaticism in sentiment and tyranny in action" (p. 412).

From Ricardo Rojas: "If we examine the American evolution, we shall see that the city, the source of civilization, has always been a fortress of military conquest or a factory of economic conquest. Our historical cities have not grown by the gathering together of country dwellers in a spontaneous process, but by the penetration of armed men, come from abroad" (p. 427).

From Jose Figueres Ferrer: "Endeavoring to own a country from outside is not a good way of encouraging its growth" (p. 473).

From Juan Jose Arevalo Bermejo: "These nations were organized more than a century ago, motivated by democratic ideals; yet in many of them today one can find millions of native who do not participate in the life of the nation, as they have always been denied effective intervention in political and cultural life" (p. 487).

From Juan Jose Arevalo Bermejo: "All the educational agencies of the nation must strive to eliminate the spiritual remnants of colonialism" (p. 487).

From Gilberto Freyre: "Hybrid from the beginning, Brazilian society is, of all those in the Americas, the one most harmoniously constituted so far as racial relations are concerned, within the environment of a practical cultural reciprocity that results in the advanced people deriving the maximum of profits from the values and experiences of the backward ones, and in a maximum of conformity between the foreign and the native cultures, that of the conqueror and that of the conquered" (p. 508).

From Gilberto Freyre: "Neither did the social relations between the two races, the conquering and the indigenous one, ever reach that point of sharp antipathy or hatred, the grating sound of which reaches our ears from all the countries that have been colonized by Anglo-Saxon Protestants. The friction here was smoothed by the lubricating oil of a deep-going miscegenation" (pp. 508-9).

From Gilberto Freyre: "Our social institutions as well as our material culture were suffused with Amerindian influence, as later with that coming from Africa" (p. 509).

From Alceu Amoroso Lima: "I do not believe that scientific methods must by nature conflict with artistic methods. In the latter the principle of singularity predominates. In the former that of universality. Science has to do only with the general. Art has to do only with the particular. Yet this does not mean that science and art are activities which contradict each other or are mutually incompatible. They are merely two different ways of considering the same combination of realities which present themselves for study or to the operation of our intelligence" (p. 522).

Schutte, Ofelia. 1993. *Cultural Identity and Social Liberation in Latin American Thought*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Summary and key points:

Schutte explores the concepts of cultural identity and social liberation in several Latin American social philosophers of the 20th century. Schutte (p. 10) defines social liberation as "the need to liberate individuals from structures of social oppression, particularly those that create or reproduce inequities due to economic class, sex, race, or national origin." She defines cultural identity(p. 12) as a concept that "can be used to distinguish the positive features uniting a number of individuals around something they hold to be a very valuable part of their selves."

Schutte begins with an analysis of the work of Jose Carlos Mariategui (1894-1930), a Peruvian philosopher who remains a central figure in Latin American Marxism. Mariategui's contribution to Marxist thought was his concept of an Indo-Hispanic socialism. He believed it wasn't just workers who needed socialism but also peasants, and in Peru most peasants were indigenous people. He rejected a Peruvian nationalism that did not acknowledge the centrality of Peru's indigenous population. The Spanish conquest did not "civilize" Indians but rather destroyed a thriving communal way of life, reducing the indigenous population from ten million down to one million. He advocates for a form of socialism based on traditional communal indigenous practices. Schutte argues that Mariategui blends existentialist and interpretivist philosophy with Marxist dialectics, all within a specifically Latin American perspective. He was also influenced by the rising indigenismo within Latin America.

Schutte also explores how Samuel Ramos, Leopold Zea and Augusto Salazar Bondy addressed the problem of how to develop an authentic cultural identity given the historical consequences of colonization. For Ramos, cultivation of self-knowledge is the path to an authentic cultural identity. For Zea, the development of a mestizaje consciousness is the route to authenticity and for Bondy it is the development of a consciousness of underdevelopment. Influenced by Jose Marti, Zea argued that the initial independence movements failed because they rejected the indigenous as central to the nation and culture.

Schutte also compares and contrasts the work of liberation theologian Gustavo Gutierrez with educator Paulo Freire. Freire pioneered a philosophy of education in which students would learn the practice of democracy through dialogue and decentering of the teacher's authority. Gutierrez pioneered liberation theology, which advocated a radical solidarity with the poor and the need for the Church to take a stand on the side of the oppressed. Schutte criticizes Freire and some liberation theologians for their use of a somewhat abstract and homogenizing concept of "the people." She also criticizes liberation theology for its failure to move beyond class in its vision of liberation and include issues of race, gender, sexuality, physical ability, etc. and for the limitations it faces as part of the hierarchical structure of Catholicism.

Schutte also critiques some of the strands of thinking in the philosophical school of thought referred to as the "philosophy of liberation," including absolutism, paternalism and conservatism. She sets up feminist theory as a counterweight to these faults. Schutte argues that a feminist tradition has existed since the 17th century in Latin America but grew tremendously in the last decades of the 20th century. Its pluralism corrects for the exclusionary approach of much philosophy of liberation. Some feminists have used a discourse centered

around women's roles as mothers and wives to support women's entrance into the public sphere to demand better conditions in their neighborhoods and communities.

Schutte (p. 242) ends with a call for an inclusive and flexible cultural identity within Latin America, "a Latin American cultural identity that assumes a positive relationship with the whole cultural legacy of humanity, including the legacy of non-Western traditions as they apply to the region, but that also places its learning in the service of the social liberation of the people, especially minorities, women, and those in need of material assistance."

Useful and/or juicy quotes:

"Mariategui offers a second argument for which he has become renowned: the key to the solution of Peru's problems is tied to the liberation of the Indian peasants, and socialism is the most appropriate contemporary system to meet the Indian's needs" (p. 22).

"In particular, his view of the conquest as a 'cut' into a non-Western self-sustaining economy of material wealth based on attachment to the land as 'mother' reveals some affinities Mariategui has with postmodern feminists and Nietzsche in the treatment of such concepts as continuity, abundance, and violence" (p. 28)

"First, Mariategui insisted on the economic aspect—the exploitation of the Indians' labor power by the system of gamonalismo (a type of feudalism), which had complete control over rural life. Second, he noted the Indians' cultural attachment to the land due to traditional beliefs they had inherited from their Inca ancestors. For socialism (or any other approach) to solve 'the problem of the Indian,' Mariategui went on to argue, it must speak both to the Indians' economic (material) and cultural (spiritual) needs" (p. 59).

From Mariategui: "The redemption of the Indian is the cause and the goal of the renovation of Peru" (p. 59).

"Mariategui claims that the descendants of the Inca are culturally predisposed toward socialism and communism because of the communal habits of work and cooperation they have inherited. The spirit of individualism fostered by a society of free competition is alien to the Indian, he notes, not only because he has not had to live in such a society but because in order to survive under gamonalismo the Indians have had to depend for support on their ancient forms of community, the ayllus" (p. 64).

"[Ramos] emphasizes three principal aspects [of the problem of inauthenticity]: the problem of inferiority—the perceived inferiority of Mexico to Europe, which, in Ramos' view, leads Mexicans to a blind imitation of Europe; the problem of self-knowledge (or a corresponding flight from reality)—the idea that lack of awareness of their own reality leads Mexicans to live fake lives, with deep splits between reality and illusion; and the lack of any substantive moral values, which leads them to think of life only in terms of survival…For Ramos, the major problem lies in the second category, that is, in the split between reality and illusion or the failure to be in touch with what is real" (pp. 76-7).

"The sense of inferiority and frustration experienced by the alienated Mexican is actually a function of something much larger than himself. It results from the unequal status between two different cultures. This condition leaves its mark on the collective consciousness of the

citizens of the less powerful country" (p. 79).

"One must be able to look at Europe from a Mexican perspective, as opposed to looking at Mexico from a European perspective" (pp. 82-3).

"Until those elements that were most discriminated against at the time of the conquest and the colony are restored to a position of dignity and equality in the cultural legacy of a postcolonial nation, such a nation necessarily remains tied to the colonizer's prejudices and therefore cannot redeem itself fully from colonialism's negative weight" (pp. 83-4).

"Zea addresses the problem of colonialism by questioning the political use of the notion of rationality. The marginalization of non-European people with respect to Europeans, he thinks, is related to a Eurocentric view of reason, which leads to the perception that non-Western people are inferior to Europeans in their capacity to reason, hence, in their status as human beings" (p. 86).

From Leopoldo Zea: "The European men who participated in the discovery, conquest, and colonization of America were equipped with a conception of the world and of life in which there was no place for the indigenous conception…This world, instead of being understood, was condemned and negated in honor of the alleged universality the Europeans had granted their own culture…Nevertheless, a world as real as the one that had been discovered could not simply be denied. Despite all the efforts of European man to deny this reality, replacing it with his own, it remained alive and thriving" (pp. 89-90).

"For Zea, all perspectives are culturally rooted and, furthermore, no particular culture is ethically entitled to impose its standards of rationality and value on other cultures" (p. 93).

"A culture can also be either fully itself or defective. Salazar [Bondy] appears to hold that an underdeveloped country suffers from a defective culture because its culture does not fully correspond to the needs of the community (or communities) making it up. A culture where the needs of the community are fulfilled would be a culture of liberation, whereas one that fails to express community needs is a culture of domination. The cultures of countries that dominate other less advantaged countries (or groups within their own territories) are also cultures of domination, although they benefit from domination rather than suffer from it. Thus, for domination to end, a change must occur both in the underdeveloped and in the developed countries" (p. 98).

"Leopoldo Zea believes that in order to reach both self-knowledge and a proper understanding of one's present social reality, one must sustain a deep awareness of the past. This awareness must include the memory of events that are especially painful or difficult to recall. One event of this type, in the multiple and varied symbolism it evokes, is that of the conquest" (p. 111).

"In the world of power politics, the conquerors define what is human, honorable, and reasonable, while the conquered—though not necessarily any less human—are confined to silence and marginality. Latin American history has had such marginality in relation to Western European history. Thus, if one is to affirm the legitimacy of a Latin American perspective in world history, one must learn to read world history from the margins, as a countertext to a previously hegemonic discourse" (p. 111).

"In Zea's narrative, the historical origin of *mestizaje* in America is found in the sexual union between the Spanish conqueror and the Indian woman who is part of a conquered people…According to Zea, in whose account only a masculine view of the meaning of the conquest is examined, the *mestizo* understands that his paternal ancestors imposed by force an order of domination and conquest on the maternal side of his family. In order to legitimate this use of force, the paternal Spanish side rejected the cultural value of the maternal indigenous element" (p. 114).

"Zea believes freedom from dependence requires the recognition by both parties—the colonizers and those who have suffered the effects of colonization—of the equal human status of those colonized" (p. 115).

From Paulo Freire: "Education as the practice of freedom—as opposed to education as the practice of domination—denies that man is abstract, isolated, independent, and unattached to the world; it also denies that the world exists as a reality apart from men" (p. 143).

From Paulo Freire: "Any situation in which some men prevent others from engaging in the process of inquiry is one of violence" (p. 146).

"Her body constitutes her most intimate world. It is a world that patriarchal morality has broken into parts and parceled out for the satisfaction of others…Sexual liberation, in contrast, involves the recovery of the world that is one's body" (p. 225).

"Latin American philosophy…needs to make space for women's ideals of justice and freedom within its formulation of the region's cultural heritage and its hopes for the years ahead" (p. 238).

"Too strict a paradigm of cultural identity can stifle change and development in the region, while the disregard for cultural identity can lead to the erosion of historical roots and loss of inherited values" (p. 239).

"A basic human right that individuals need to protect from erosion is the right to the expression of their cultural heritage, including the new needs for creative expression that may emerge within their culture. In order to protect and assure the exercise of this right, tolerance of cultural variations should be practiced internally, within one's group, just as the recognition of and respect for cultural diversity should be extended to other groups" (p. 239).

Gogol, Eugene. 2002. *The Concept of Other in Latin American Liberation: Fusing Emancipatory Philosophic Thought and Social Revolt*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Summary and key points:

This book is less an analysis of Latin American social thought than it is an argument for how mass movements and a philosophy of revolution can bring about truly emancipatory economic and political systems in Latin America. Gogol spends a good chunk of the book explicating Hegelian dialectics and Marxist humanism. His discussion of particular Latin American philosophers is organized around the ways in which they reflect or misinterpret Hegelian dialectics or Marxist humanism. The book also describes the economic realities and effects of neoliberal policies and neocolonial dependence on the U.S. It also examines the development of analysis about how racism provided an ideological underpinning for colonialism. Finally, Gogol profiles revolutionary mass movements in Latin America, including indigenous movements, women's movements and workers & peasant movements, that he believes have the most potential to bring about a true liberation in Latin America.

Useful and/or juicy quotations:

"In this study, the interweaving of three strands—Hegel's dialectic of negativity, Marx's 'thoroughgoing naturalism or humanism,' and Latin America's revolutionary subjectivity—forms the basis for examining the concept of Other in Latin American liberation" (p.1).

"Ever since Columbus and the Conquest, what became known as Latin America came to be seen as Other, first by Europe and then by the United States—an Other to be subdued, exploited, and dominated. But also Latin America has become an Other of a resistance and revolt as the Conquest is interminable" (p. 1).

From Eduardo Galeano: "Our defeat was always implicit in the victory of others; our wealth has always generated our poverty by nourishing the prosperity of others—the empires and their native overseers. In the colonial and neo-colonial alchemy, gold changes into scrap metal and food into poison" (p. 5).

From Octavio Paz: "The person who creates Nobody, by denying Somebody's existence, is also changed into Nobody" (p. 59).

"[Anibal] Quijano argues that the European Enlightenment 'contained an unbridgeable split' between tendencies that 'saw reason as the highest promise of the liberation of humanity,' and those who saw 'rationality in instrumental terms, as a mechanism of power and domination.' With the ascendancy of British industrial capitalism, the concept 'of reason primarily in instrumental terms' grew dominant" (p. 69).

From Anibal Quijano: "After 500 years of false modernization, the question before Latin America is not to choose between statism and control, on the one hand, and the freedom of the market and of profit-making on the other. In the final analysis, both paths lead to the same thing: vertical corporate structures which become, or are closely linked to, the state…The socially oriented private sector and its non-state public sphere shows us a way out of the blind alley into which the ideologues of capital and power have led us" (p. 71).

From Jose Carlos Mariategui: "In Peru—the working class—is four-fifths part Indian. Our socialism then would not be Peruvian—it would not even be socialism—if it did not first consolidate itself with indigenous demands. Certainly we do not want Marxism in Latin America to be a blueprint and copy. It should be a heroic creation. We have to give life, with our own reality, in our own language, to Indo-American socialism" (p. 99).

"Mariategui, most certainly unaware of most of Marx's last writings, but faced with a non-European, nonindustrially developed society in the early twentieth century, begins his own study by looking at the historical economic development of Peru, the question of land in the predominantly agricultural society, and, most crucially, at the Peruvian Indian peasant" (p. 101).

"What Mariategui does catch, which brings him in concert with Marx, is that once the European onslaught has taken hold, then whatever the mode of production being destroyed or imposed, a racist component is present in the colonizers' actions" (p. 104).

From Gustavo Gutierrez: "We will have an authentic theology of liberation only when the oppressed themselves can freely raise their voice and express themselves directly and creatively in society and in the heart of the People of God…when they are protagonists of their own liberation" (p. 111).

From Gustavo Gutierrez: "In Latin America, the Church must place itself squarely within the process of revolution…Not to exercise this influence in favor of the oppressed of Latin America is really to exercise it against them" (p. 111).

"For the Latin American masses, neoliberalism has meant (1) massive unemployment, as 'unproductive' facilities are not able to compete against foreign factories, and thus close, (2) a competition to be the cheapest labor source, as unregulated capital continually searches for the lowest cost of production in which employment and poverty go hand in hand, (3) a growth in the informal economy of permanent underemployment, a life where even the basic necessities are often absent" (p. 131).

From Karl Marx: "The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the indigenous population of that continent, the beginnings of a conquest and plunder of India, and the conversion of Africa into a preserve for the commercial hunting of blackskins, are all things which characterize the dawn of the era of capitalist production" (p. 141).

"The colonialization of America, while having its initial aim in the extraction of precious metals and other natural resources, had a powerfully ideological component, one involving the alleged inferiority of the peoples of Latin America and those imported from Africa as slaves. This social complex of racism, of ethnicity, had its origins at the time of the Conquest" (p. 162).

"Neoliberal capitalism is not simply a return to an old form. The often unrecognized new reality, is that the role of the state in terms of organization, military might, and repression has been vastly augmented. Economics has been more closely tied to politics and militarization, even as it frees itself from meaningful social regulation" (p. 192).

From Franz Fanon: "Because it is a systematic negation of the other person and a furious determination to deny the other person all attributes of humanity, colonialism forces the people it dominates to ask themselves the question constantly: 'In reality, who am I?' (p. 211).

"For more than half a millennium the Other on this continent has had to literally fight for its language" (p. 221).

From Hebe de Bonafini: "They say that to dream alone is only a dream, but to dream with others is revolutionary. I feel like a revolutionary Mother, a fighting Mother every day, resisting and combating" (p. 296).

From Karl Marx: "Labor in the white skin can never be free as long as labor in the Black skin is branded" (p. 335).

"Authentic socialism is impossible without authentic democracy" (p. 346).

"A living philosophy of liberation fused with a concept of revolutionary subjectivity can form the basis for finding pathways toward an emancipator future in the face of today's economic and social realities. Such is the challenge for revolutionary thinker-activists within the Other of Latin American liberation" (p. 364).

Briceño-León, Roberto. 2002. "Introduction: Latin America—A Challenge for Sociology." *Current Sociology*, v.50(1): 9-18.

The author argues that sociologists in Latin American have been actively involved in social struggles there. He divides Latin American sociology into several periods. First, he discusses the post-WWII period in which the Latin American Sociological Association began and sociology documented the modernization of Latin America; he calls this the 'time of hope' (p. 11). The 1960s were a time of political ferment in which political repression and dictatorship ended up winning out in many cases over democratization; during this period dependency theory and French structuralist approaches to Marxism developed in sociology. Sociology and Marxism came to be seen as intertwined and repressive governments closed down many sociology programs (Chile being a prime example). He refers to the 1980s as the lost decade in which economic stagnation was matched by a move from macro theory to practical problem solving in sociology. During this time, though, many different approaches in sociology developed in a pluralist way. In the 1990s, neoliberal ideology dominated Latin America and has led to a widening gap between the wealthy and poor. There was regional conference for sociology in 2001 and the papers in this special volume come from that conference. The author argues that sociologists in Latin America cannot remain apart from the very deep challenges facing people there, but must commit to political struggles in ways that are shaped by the knowledge they build. The author concludes, "Sociology in Latin America is not a luxury, it is not a hobby, it is a commitment to urgent social needs. Sociology has before it the challenge of producing a knowledge that makes it possible to open up new paths for society to travel. Sociology should not limit itself to a 'forensic' role of examining and explaining the reasons for all the deaths occurring in this society; it must act, on the basis of its insights, as the 'midwife' who illuminates the changes needed to make the societies and nations of Latin America viable" (p. 17).

Cavalcanti, Clóvis. 2002. "Economic Thinking, Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Ethnoeconomics." *Current Sociology*, v.50(1): 39-55.

Cavalcanti argues that the challenge for economic thought is sustainable development—real environmental limits on our economic systems. Traditional (Western) economic thought that emphasizes individual choice and scarcity is ethnocentrically based on the European context and does not offer any vision for sustainable development. However, the economic perspectives of indigenous peoples do. Anthropology offers some insight into the economic thinking of indigenous peoples, but Cavalcanti calls for an 'ethnoeconomics' that puts sustainability as its top priority. This ethnoeconomics must draw from the ecological knowledge already accumulated by indigenous peoples around the world to stay in balance with the natural environment while simultaneously providing for human wellbeing.

Elízaga, Raquel Sosa. 2002. "Social Exclusion and Knowledge." *Current Sociology*, v.50(1), 89-98.

The article addresses the failure of social policies to address the problems of poverty in Latin America. The author is critical of social research that does not involve the participation of those who are economically marginalized. The poor "are an *object*, and not a *subject*, of the policies pursued for their benefit" (p. 92). Statistics homogenize the poor and because of this obscure possible solutions. The poor lack the full rights and benefits of citizenship. In various ways, intellectuals become part of the problem rather than part of the solution.

Quijano, Aníbal. 2002. "The Return of the Future and Questions about Knowledge." *Current Sociology*, v.50(1): 75-87.

The 'great colonial empires' were brought down by the end of the 20th century. However, the end of the 1980s also saw the end of a vision of socialism and a vision of the future that included a 'radical redistribution of power and radical historical changes in social existence" (p. 77). There had been an imaginary that envisioning freeing people from all forms of power and this imaginary has now died. What has happened instead is "a near total reconcentration of the control of power in the hands of the dominant elites and fragmentation and social deconcentration among the workers" (p. 84). A new horizon for the future must be developed that does not rely on Eurocentric rationality.

Vessuri, Hebe. 2002. "Ethical Challenges for the Social Sciences on the Threshold of the 21st Century." *Current Sociology*, v.50(1), 135-150.

Science simultaneous has become more arcane but also more devalued by laypeople. Vessuri raises questions about the funding of social science and its uses by those in power. He also suggests that the objects of social scientific study should have rights to participate and shape agendas. In fact, the 1990s saw increasing invasion by laypeople into scientific enterprises, for example, through AIDS activism. There are many routes to authority. As Vessuri notes, "no one can know everything: everyone must therefore acknowledge that others speak with authority—at least *some* others, *some* of the time" (p. 141). On the other hand, populism cannot supplant or replace expertise. Furthermore, we live in cultures of manipulation, mistrust and disillusionment and the social sciences are not immune from these cultures. Social scientists must remember that technical knowledge does not equate to moral knowledge.

Masilela, Ntongela, ed. 2000. *African Sociology, Towards a Critical Perspective: The Selected Essays of Bernard Makhosezwe Magubane*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.

Biographical note (from Foreword by Ntongela Masilela):

Bernard Makhosewze Magubane was part of a group of South African scholars who were in exile from South Africa and a member of the African National Congress. These essays were written during his exile. He was influenced by Karl Max, W.E.B. DuBois, Franz Fanon, Eric Williams, Walter Rodney and Amilcar Cabral. In this collection, Magubane's earliest essay was published in 1968 and the rest of the essays continue in a steady stream throughout the 1970s and 1980s.

Summary and key points:

A good chunk of this collection of essays involves Magubane's scathing criticism of most of the social science literature about Africa for its refusal to take into account the severe effects of colonialism and neo-colonialism in Africa. Targets for his criticism include the anthropological tradition represented by scholars like Clyde Mitchell, Aidan Southall, Pierre van der Berghe, Philip Mayer, Daryll Forde and the African International Institute, and Max Gluckman and the Rhodes Livingstone Institute with their use of ethnographic methods and concepts like plural societies and tribalism. He also takes on structural functionalist approaches to African society, economic rational choice models, sociologists studying stratification, the UC Press series on Southern Africa, and modernization theory. In all cases, Magubane contends that social science on Africa misses the forest of colonialism for the trees. In focusing on specific variables as if colonialism did not exist or in taking for granted colonialism as inevitable and a source of progress, these social scientists in effect become apologists for colonialism. They "whitewash" the past. Magubane is so critical of anthropology in particular that he sees no further use for the discipline.

Magubane himself advocates a historical materialist approach that takes seriously the interlocking systems of capitalism, imperialism and racism. For Magubane, it is ludicrous to discuss the issue of economic development in Africa without addressing head-on the dynamic of deliberate underdevelopment in Africa caused by colonialism and modernization in the Western world precisely because of the wealth generated by colonialist expoitation. Magubane analyzes the class structure of South African under what he calls the "colonial capitalist mode of production." In his own empirical work, Magubane employs a comparative perspective to trace out the process of urbanization in colonized South Africa and explain why and how it differs from urbanization in the colonial powers. He also employs a comparative perspective to analyze race relations in the U.S. and South Africa. He uses a sociology of knowledge approach to examine the ideological impact of the Rhodes Trust and Round Table Movement of scholars. He also develops social histories of class relations and race relations in South Africa.

In addition to his scathing critiques of social science in the service of colonial repression, Magubane's most powerful analysis is his articulation of a materialist explanation for racism. Racism provides the ideology of colonialist capitalism. Racism divides the working class by bribing white workers with racial privilege. Racism cannot be ended unless the economic system that fuels it is ended.

Useful and/or juicy quotations:

"In their deference to the activities of colonialists the African social scientists betrayed their African subjects" (p. 2).

"I would go further and say that the aim of most social anthropological work was to find out how alien rule could be imposed on African society with a minimum of friction" (p. 3).

"These studies either ignore the colonial situation, or, if they take it into account, they regard it as a natural landscape which enables them to condone its effects on the grounds not only of its immediate effects on the world economy, but also on its long term consequences for what are called the backward peoples. After all, it is said that modern nation states in Africa are the creation of Belgian, British and French rule. Modern education, towns and other 'civilizing' agencies are said to be part and parcel of this rule. This argument has enabled some social anthropologists to ignore altogether or to minimize the suffering, exploitation and complete degradation that was and still is the lot of the Africans" (p. 4).

"Colonialism was more than the influence of isolated factors. It was a complete hegemonic system which, when stripped of all rationalizations in terms of humanitarian propaganda contained in a lot of what goes for sociological analysis, was simply uncalled-for domination of one group over another. For it meant one thing to the oppressor, the colonist, and another to the oppressed, the colonized. For the rulers, it meant profit and imposing of their value system on the oppressed. For the colonized it meant the loss of their value system, degradation, dehumanization and torture" (p. 7).

"The use of the notion of tribalism to describe 'urban African social relationships' is inappropriate and confusing. The term tribalism has shortcoming which are historical and ideological. The term has associations with the 'primitive'; when the term is used to describe the urban cultural patterns there is a slurring of the importance of the changes that take place" (p. 14).

"Participant observation and systematic recording of a restricted field of social life can only result, and in fact, has resulted in a vast and growing mass of 'dry as dust' factual accounts of minutely specialized monographs" (p. 23).

"Thus, to look at the urban African situation in a colonial society in terms of roles eliminated the human actors and mystified their true character of subjection. The structural system which produced these roles was conveniently forgotten. During the colonial era the African lost his right to be human. Every day when he came into contact with the white society he played a role in which he was insulted and had to take it in silence. Under the pretext of 'civilizing him' the colonial institutions spread revolting and insipid images of himself that the oppressors wanted him to accept, and limiting one's analyses to these roles was stopping at the water's edge of social analysis. However, sociology betrays its task if it studies merely such 'givenness' but not the various processes of becoming this 'givenness'" (pp. 24-5).

"The idea that the conflicts, which plague and threaten Africa today, are due to inborn antipathies and not to drives built into the society is not scientific. Such notions, because they foster the belief that nothing can be done to change the situation, can produce harmful consequences" (p. 33).

"The studies in question are not concerned with how the colonial social order worked to limit every aspect of African life. Colonial sociology did not deal with the exploitative colonial relations of production and the nature of classes in such a society. It concentrated on prestige and status groups of individuals. It considered only their aspirations, divorcing itself from the daily miseries of discrimination which led to the struggle for national emancipation. Because these studies looked only at individuals, African were portrayed as aspiring to what were called 'goals of a European character.' These studies obscured the fact that, if Africans 'aspired to a European way of life,' they were only expressing a desire to escape from the sad condition colonialism imposed on them" (p. 59).

"To identify what is conceived to be structurally significant in a society with what is significant to the individual member is wrong" (p. 67).

"Photographic description of human reality always fails to show the transformation taking place in the reality described so minutely" (p. 67).

"Sociology has become blindly empirical and fruitlessly static. It discusses only the present and forgets the deep-rooted effects of colonialism and its ideology of white supremacy" (p. 67).

"Describing the world is a form of interpretation which implicitly raises the problem of criticizing it, and a critique may lead to the possibility of transforming the world. Colonial sociology, therefore, took refuge in the intellectual security of minutely detailed descriptions" (p. 74).

"As interpreters of the colonial social order, the white social anthropologists almost always construed it in their own favor, i.e. in these studies there was an unselfconscious self-adoration. For the colonized these studies could create a feeling that their indigenous culture was nothing to be proud of, a feeling which would then lead the colonized to see their past as dark barbarism, from which colonial subjugation rescued them" (p. 78).

"The conditions under which the Africans live today as outcasts in the land of their birth are the direct result of the pyramidal structure of capitalist exploitation, which step by step, with diabolical ingenuity, has evolved with one purpose—to enslave the African peoples of South Africa for easy exploitation. The South African state was built on black labor, but the black man himself was not allowed to share in the fruits of this labor. Investigation of the development of racism in South Africa and location of it in the economic structure of world imperialism enables us to see racism not as an aberration of particular individuals, groups, or countries, but as integral to the structure created by capitalism and imperialism" (pp. 98-9).

"Another weakness of these studies is that they were essentially attitude surveys. Even if human action cannot be understood independently of the meaning which the actor gives it, it is also important to recognize not only the structural determinants of behavior of which the actor may not be conscious but also the false consciousness of the actor" (p. 110).

"But what rational man would deliberately choose to travel hundreds of miles away from family and friends to live in squalid conditions and work at dangerously heavy labor in a mine 16 hours a day for a pittance? The answer, of course, is that *no rational man would choose to do so*. Thus, the essence, the implicit conclusion, of the arguments put forth by social anthropologists,

is that the African 'natives' are irrational, that they don't know (or perhaps care?) how to act to their own advantage, and that *white men are justified in exploiting them*. The truth of the matter is that the migrant laborer exercises nothing remotely resembling freedom of choice when he 'chooses' to participate in the system or leave his family behind; the other alternatives are economically unviable or even more odious than labor migration. And it is no accident that this is the case. Migratory labor fulfills the needs of the implanted capitalist economic system, and therefore, the explanation of it must be sought in the requirements of that system not in the psyches of the individuals it exploits" (p. 111).

"It is important to realize that the concepts we use, the method we apply, and the units we do or do not select for analysis have a direct bearing on our ideological standpoint" (p. 117).

"In the struggle between the socialist and the capitalist road of economic development, the theorists of modernization are surely in the forefront of those who would do for the status quo and the capitalist road what the Jesuits did for Catholicism—persuade the underdeveloped society that the Western model of economic growth is the only one applicable to their condition. This is an insurmountable objective. It involves creation of palatable euphemisms to describe the economic condition of the former colonies and absolving the former metropolitan countries of any blame regarding the status of affairs in the former colonies" (p. 121-2).

"Many of the bourgeois theories of modernization consciously or unconsciously are apologies for the rape of the former colonized people" (p. 128).

"Development and underdevelopment from our point of view are simultaneous processes" (p. 145).

"The primitive underdevelopment of Africa is the adverse side of the development of the world system since slavery. Since development and underdevelopment are contradictions inherent in the nature of capitalism, the continued links between Africa and that capitalist system can only aggravate and worsen underdevelopment" (p. 147).

"Urbanization in South Africa was attended by unique features. It did not develop out of the gradual improvement of local industries or local farming; it conquered the country from outside with the economic culture of industrialized Europe (especially British) behind it" (p. 149).

"The truly comprehensive understanding of social forces in a process of social change requires more than an analysis of the victims of oppression. It requires also the study of the system of domination itself; particularly of the mechanisms whereby the ruling class participates in the process of change itself—how the ruling class operates to maintain, adapt, and modify the social structure of the dominated, and how it enforces its will" (p. 162).

"Those in power—the Whites—have found it in their interest to deindividualize and dehumanize the Africans, since the more depersonalized he is, the more impotent his projects will be, and the less he will attempt to bypass the status quo" (p. 163).

"The designations 'Red' and 'School,' 'tribesmen' and 'townsmen,' 'Christian' and 'pagan,' 'Westernized,' 'civilized,' and 'tribal,' and worse of all 'native' and 'Bantu' are not only ideological but are racist terms" (p. 164).

"The 'urban' and 'tribal' Africans are two sides of the same coin—development and underdevelopment—due to the uneven intrusion of forces of capitalism and the consequent abstraction of individual African males from their society to serve a colonial type economy. This was to create in South Africa aberrant and inhuman social structure; the polarization of resources and opportunities, social and cultural fracture, and this extreme irrationality is being maintained by cultivation of racism and a military industrial system that is the most formidable in Africa. The falsity of South Africa lies in its attempt to ossify Africans in archaic 'tribal' molds under hereditary rules instead of accepting them as full citizens of the South African state" (p. 171).

"Africans in this passage are not only typed as tribesmen, but also frozen into this primordial identity. Their conquest and colonization, which in fact is the precondition for their representation into 'tribal' entities, is ignored. The essentialization of the 'tribal identity' denies any mutability or adaptability in African character and excludes any assimilation which is part of urban experience" (p. 174).

"The colonial inheritance for the new nations of Africa could be described by one term: scarcity, in every aspect of social life…scarcity of things…scarcity of personnel..scarcity of values…In the empire of scarcity, humans ineluctably become the enemy of each other…It is not tribalism that is the root cause of conflict in Africa" (p. 195-6).

"Historical incorporation of distinct societies under capitalism proceeds by means of conquest, domination, and enslavement of alien peoples, followed by the socioeconomic restructuring of the dominated society in order to install new forms of production or exploit the former productive activities. The fundamental objective of this restructuring is to bind the incorporated society into the expansionist world economy as part of its productive system. This is commonly followed by the diffusion of the colonizer's cultural tradition" (p. 200).

"In studying the evolution of Africa's class structure under imperialism, one must study the activities and structure of British, French, Belgian, Portuguese and American finance capital in Africa: the specific forms of the reorganization of African labor power to serve imperialist enterprises; and the development of secondary forms of capitalist enterprises, controlled in some parts of African by Asian and Eurasian minorities and in other cases by the indigenous petty bourgeoisie serving, after independence, in competition with (as well as agents of) imperialist capital" (p. 210).

"The notion of the world ruling class located in the control of international corporations is no longer a fancy; it signifies the control of the world-economy by the rules of the old capitalist countries" (p. 221).

"Colonialism left post-colonial Africa with social structures which (combined with its new neocolonial status and severe internal problems) condemned these national entities to perpetual dependency and underdevelopment" (p. 222).

"When differences in the urbanization of nineteenth-century Europe and that of colonial Africa are observed, there is little attempt to explain them. Rather, the African experience is characterized as a deviation from the Western model" (p. 241).

"Africa does not suffer from a mysterious decoupling of urbanization and industrialization but rather from imperialist penetration which creates forced shanty urbanization in the colonies and industrial development in the metropolitan countries. The exaggerated influx of masses of people from rural areas into urban centers was precipitated by indiscriminate policies designed to create a surplus labor force as quickly as possible without regard for future consequences" (p. 247).

"The city was the abode of the white man, and the reserve was the abode of the African. This did not mean that Africans would not be allowed to participate in the urban economy. It meant that they must be integrated into it as migrant labor" (p. 269).

"The evolution of South Africa in the 19th and early part of the 20th century illustrates the making of those institutions and concepts of society, of race and religion, of status and privilege, and right and might, which took root in South Africa as Dutch and English colonists incorporated Africans, coloured, and Indians into a vertical spectrum from white at the top to black at the bottom; from omnipotent to utterly powerless. The black working class emerged and was shaped to conform to this socioeconomic heritage" (p. 354).

"Black people were not always poor or backward" (p. 407).

"The economic plight of the Black world is historically rooted in the exploitation that resulted from the expansion of the world capitalist system. The African slave trade not only integrated the Black world into the world capitalist economy, but was also the major source of primitive accumulation for European and American capitalists. The ideological consequences of slavery, that is, the association of a black skin and genetic inferiority, persist in the modern world. Thus, any discussion of the current economic plight of the Black world must recognize the fact that Black economic distress is not a fact of nature, but a consequence of our integration in the world capitalist economy in the last four hundred years" (p. 407).

"Formal independence was granted under neocolonialism but our people were made to accept rulers and politicians who would defer major economic decisions to the exploiters of yesterday" (p. 421).

"So-called race-relation situations are first and foremost relations of exploitation, domination and violence…If the plantation society, the mining compound, and the urban slums and ghettos are looked upon as due to race prejudice (a term that is hypocritical rather than technical) the elements that define the essence of the race relations situations are left unconsidered" (p. 468).

"Settler societies are inherently racist" (p. 470).

"To institute and maintain the system of white supremacy and black oppression and exploitation, given the ideology of the Enlightenment, required that rationalization be clothed in scientific garb and be given out as deduction from scientific facts" (pp. 470-1).

"Because in North America and in South Africa black and white live in the same territorial space, race oppression and class exploitation are interwoven into their social systems in one historical process. That is, class relations were transmuted into 'race relations'" (p. 472).

"Europeans of all backgrounds would be taught to be conscious of being members of the dominant white race" (p. 475).

"Under slavery race and class were identical, and race relations expressed the class relations. Racism, however, did more: it was the reinforcing agent of class exploitation and it also was the lightning rod redirecting the antagonism of poor white workers and those who labored under class oppression. In time a subtle, dangerous, and enduring association of ideas was established: certain forms of dirty work, e.g., plantation agriculture, could only be done by black slaves" (p. 478).

"Race becomes the modality in which class is 'lived'" (p. 491).

"In the last five hundred years the lot of blacks in the United States and South Africa has been dictated by the interests of white capital. Their will has been bludgeoned and coerced under some of the most vicious forms of exploitation ever inflicted upon one people by another. Their desperate attempts to liberate themselves and to survive have had few parallels in history. Their own material poverty has been a vivid reminder of its opposite: the extraordinary wealth that their labor produced and that has been stolen from them throughout the ages" (p. 495).

"Social anthropologists constituted the Others as objects. Hence, whatever a European anthropologist might say, no matter whether they are friends or foes, their *enterprise* remains part of what people in the Third World consider suspect—as an invention of their enemy" (p. 501).

"The practitioners of anthropology had divided humanity into irreconcilable categories and had linked race and culture into an evolutionary hierarchy in which the darker-skinned represented some gap between the ape and white men, or some other 'ratio' by which the West was sanctioned" (p. 501).

"Those who dominate our society also see to it that they dominate the writing of our past" (p. 531).

"Apartheid can be traced to the ideas first articulated more systematically by the members of the [Round Table Movement]. For instance, the RTM was unequivocal that they did not want to see Indians or Africans become permanent members of the 'white dominions'" (p. 547).

"It is my belief that there can be no meaningful understanding of our condition outside the context of those social policies which imperialism implemented to shape our sub-continent" (p. 556).

"Nature does not create 'rich and poor' nor does it create 'superior and inferior' races. All these institutionalized categories are created by human action" (p. 556).

Assimeng, Max. 1997. *Foundations of African Social Thought: A Contribution to the Sociology of Knowledge*. Accra: Ghana Universities Press.

Summary and key points:

Assimeng introduces the book by explaining that it resulted from his years of teaching sociological theory to students of African descent and the fact that such theory has been seen as exclusively European in origin. He argues that you can see social thought demonstrated in Africa in the form of primary resistance movements to colonialism, rather than in the academy (as was the case in Europe). He analyzes the internal and external factors that contributed to the rise of such resistance and protest. More institutionalized social thought can be found in West Africa, which was less conducive to European settlement and suffered from more indirect rule, opening up intellectual and educational opportunities for indigenous Africans. Journalism in West Africa also thrived beginning in the mid-19th century. Different colonial patterns led to differing degrees of repression and opportunity for Africans.

Assimeng notes that blackness was a central theme for African social thinkers, as were the goal to refute European portrayals of Africa and Africans and the expression of resistance to European domination. While early 20th century African social thought can be a somewhat defensive reaction to European colonialist views, social thought grows increasingly militant in the latter 20th century, although Assimeng argues that some scholars demonstrate a kind of mental colonization. He concludes by urging African social science to develop a base of empirical and scientific information.

Useful and/or juicy quotes:

"Social theory has generally been presented to students in African universities as if it were a European preserve" (p. 1).

"We have a culturally induced tendency to regard our own institutions and thought processes as given and, therefore, untouchable" (p. 11).

"Students of the social sciences in post-colonial countries in Africa appear to have carried the mentality and perceptual tags of the colonial situation into scholarship and literature" (p. 111).

"Social scientists do not cease having values, but they do well not to confuse their own evaluative inclinations for objective scientific knowledge" (p. 116).

"Any serious sociology worth its name should enable people to understand and interpret their social world" (p. 119).

From K.A. Busia (1960, Ghana): "Should the social sciences become only a matter of the head, obsessed only with the search for abstract theories and intellectually satisfying systems, without the human heart that shares human love and suffering, they will fail to serve mankind" (p. 121).

Deflem, Matthieu. 2007. *Sociologists in a Global Age: Biographical Perspectives*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.

Summary and key points:

This collection includes intellectual autobiographies of contemporary sociologists with international perspectives. The autobiographies are organized into three sections on the following themes: crossing national boundaries, the changing nature of sociology, and transformations of social identities. Its chief usefulness, I think, would be for graduate students in sociology for a window into the personal and professional challenges facing scholars. The sociologists included in the anthology are: Martin Albrow, Karin Knorr Cetina, Joachim J. Savelsberg, Diane E. Davis, Saskia Sassen, Richard Munch, Ewa Morawska, Leon Grunberg, Hyun-Chin Lim, Pierpaolo Donati, Ruut Veenhoven, Piotr Sztompka, Eiko Ikegami, Horst J. Helle, Tiankui Jing,and Edward Tiryakian. The collection suffers from an over-representation of European scholars. Some themes come up repeatedly, such as the value of cross-cultural experiences, the desire for social reform and change as a motivation to do sociology, the importance of global perspectives in sociology, the relationship between local and global structures, how scholars are influenced by the intellectual and political trends of their own time periods, the influence/dominance of European and American perspectives on global sociology, how repressive governments limit intellectual freedom, and how technology opens up possibilities for global collaboration.

Useful and/or juicy quotes:

From Martin Albrow: "Sympathy with marginal, deviant, or just other people's experiences; empathy with other cultures; and knowledge of new sects are not acquired from canonical texts or from advanced statistics, and yet they expand the knowledge base of the discipline" (p. 23).

From Martin Albrow: "Privilege confers immunity, and extra cleverness may provide further protection from the uncomfortable messages sociology can convey" (p. 24).

From Karin Knorr Cetina: "Global social and cultural forms, I found, are no larger in their component structures and processes than non-global forms; they are just differently organized and distributed" (p. 41).

From Karin Knorr Cetina: "What we call the global world has microtextures of various kinds" (p. 42).

From Joachim Savelsberg: "Americans are much more at ease with their nation and its history than are Germans with theirs" (p. 59).

From Joachim Savelsberg: "The overwhelming sentiment is one of ease and trust that Americans invest in those government institutions that specialize in the use of force, domestically and internationally" (p. 59).

From Joachim Savelsberg: "There is some link between the lives we live and the scholarship we do most successfully" (p. 61).

From Saskia Sassen: "Language is seeing. Juxtaposing different languages is seeing differences

in that seeing" (p. 85).

From Saskia Sassen: "Focusing on cities has the effect of bringing the global down, down into the thick environment of cities, down into the multiple work cultures through which global corporate work gets done. And it inserts into the notion of the global a concrete space for politics, including the politics of the disadvantaged" (p. 87).

From Saskia Sassen: "There are many globalizations. Each has a particularized geography and architecture" (p. 89).

From Saskia Sassen: "A single city can have hundreds of terrains for political action" (p. 97).
From Ewa Morawksa: "My historical ethnographic projects (and my Judaic studies) increasingly revealed the structure of the world as murky, multilayered mother-of-pearl rather than clear-cut diamond" (p. 120).

From Leon Grunberg: "Having a contrarian spirit is very useful to scholars and researchers as it predisposes them to question and challenge what seem like settled findings or theories and, if they're fortunate, to discover something new or original" (p. 133).

From Leon Grunberg: "Work is but one of many sources of pain (and joy) and… individuals can be remarkably resilient and psychologically resourceful in the face of chronic and acute sources of work stress" (p. 142).

From Hyun-Chin Lim: "Sociology is a great academic discipline because it can take a bird's eye view of the world" (p. 145).

From Hyun-Chin Lim: "Sociology also connects the micro and the macro because we use both 'microscopes and telescopes' in our analysis" (p. 145).

From Hyun-Chin Lim: "Sociology is situated right between literature's exploration of imagination and history's recording of facts" (p. 147).

From Hyun-Chin Lim: "Sociology has both an instrumental aspect and a liberating aspect" (p. 152).

From Hyun-Chin Lim: "Sociology can promote the value of being a 'global citizen' by enabling people to look beyond their own societies and increase their sensitivities to cultural differences" (p. 155).

From Eiko Ikegami: "A new kind of immigrant is emerging—one who can actively maintain a strong personal and professional foundation in more than one country" (p. 204).

From Eiko Ikegami: "The social experiences of non-Western societies are often subordinated to Western experiences" (p. 210).

Lee, Rose Hum. 1978(1947). *The Growth and Decline of Chinese Communities in the Rocky Mountain Region*. New York, NY: Arno Press.

Summary and key points:

This is an early piece of sociology by an Asian-American woman, about Asian-Americans. It was a dissertation about the phenomenon of Chinatowns in the American West that used ethnographic research, historical research, surveys, and use of existing data to develop a set of conclusions about the features of Chinatown in the Rocky Mountain states. Butte, MT is the most developed case in the book. Up until this study, there had been only a handful of studies on Chinatowns, all of them by graduate students. Using Robert Park's theories about race, including the concept that people of color wear a "racial uniform," Lee analyzes the effects of racism on Chinatowns in the Rocky Mountain states. Lee summarizes the history of Chinese immigration to the U.S. Cities that were historically connected to the first waves of immigration developed to largest Chinese populations (eg. San Francisco, Seattle, etc.). Lee defines a Chinatown as having a Chinese population living within narrow boundaries and supported by other Chinese outside it that view it as a social and economic center. It will disappear if the Chinese population drops below 250 people. After the completion of the railroad and changes in the mining industry, in many western cities white people began to view Chinese Americans as a problem. This became especially true once white women began to settle, since the occupations taken up by many Chinese immigrants were forms of "women's work" that were needed in the white male dominated population. Lee documents state by state the history of racist legislation toward Chinese Americans as well as occupational change in those states.

In the second half of the book, Lee analyzes Butte in detail, discussing its labor and immigration history, profiling occupational segregation in the town, and describing in detail family organization, social institutions, and social change in Chinatown. In Butte MT, white organizing against Chinese Americans began in 1882. During a series of bitter labor conflicts with mining companies, white workers viewed Chinese Americans as scapegoats. Butte labor union organized boycotts against Chinese owned businesses. As a result of economic pressures and racism, the Chinese community dropped to 240 by 1920 and 88 by 1940. In addition to serving as a economic center for the Chinese community, Chinatowns were also marked by social structures similar to home villages in China, with a range of clan and family associations designed to provide support and solidarity for individuals. Chinatowns also developed religious, political and cultural institutions. Out-migration, along with white occupational and ecological invasion, led to the disappearance of the Butte Chinatown. Also acculturation of second and third generation Chinese Americans can contribute to the decline of Chinatowns.

Useful and/or juicy quotes:

"The members of the dominant society regard certain occupations and services as rightfully and morally 'theirs'" (p. 104).

"When one of the ethnic groups wear a 'racial uniform,' the members of the dominant society assign to it a rank and position indicating an inferior status. It is expected that the subordinate accepts this without struggling. When economic reverses occur, the subordinate group often becomes the targets of attack and are labeled 'non-assimilable,' 'aliens,' 'sons of Confucius,' etc." (p. 105).

"Unlike European immigrants, the Chinese were unable to exercise free choice in the selection of their occupations in the new world" (p. 341).

Garcia, Alma, ed. 1997. *Chicana Feminist Thought: The Basic Historical Writings*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Summary and key points:

In this anthology, Garcia collects primary documents from the feminism that emerged from the U.S. Chicano movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Like other forms of feminism spurred by activism in the 1960s, Chicana feminism developed by women who were active in El Movimiento and began to question the sexism they faced *within* the movement. Garcia argues that internal colonialism was the primary lens for analysis and cultural nationalism as the primary strategy, unlike the primary lens of patriarchy for white feminism. Garcia also highlights the Chicana feminist analysis of the triple oppression of Chicanas by race, class and sex. The selections come from Chicano periodicals and conferences and Chicana feminist periodicals, newspapers, newsletters and conferences. Chicana feminists were sometimes viewed as selling out to Anglo values by fellow men in the movement, but saw such allegations as an attempt to distract from the real sexism within the movement.

The documents themselves are primarily polemics about the effects of racism and sexism on Chicana lives. Part One focuses on the earliest articulations of feminism within El Movimiento. These essays share several themes. They see the roots of sexism in the colonial domination of Spain over Mexico, destroying the more egalitarian gender relations present in indigenous cultures. Machismo develops from the Spanish conquest and is sometimes used by men as a compensation for the stigmatized position Chicano men occupy in the U.S. Marianismo is used as an ideology to keep Chicana women silent and sacrificing and to prop up a sexual double standard. The centrality of the family in cultural survival is recognized but Chicana feminists criticize sexism within the family. Chicana feminists refuse to identify with the white feminist movement because of the severity of racist and internal colonialist forces on Chicana life. The importance of voice is another key theme in Part One.

Part Two is divided up into five sections addressing core themes in Chicana feminist thought. The first theme is the treatment of Chicana women within the movement, including the expectations that Chicanas will act as secretaries, housekeepers or sexual objects for male activists. The second theme focuses on the interlocking oppressions experienced by Chicanas. The third section includes mission statements, manifestos and platforms of Chicana feminist organizations and organizing efforts. The fourth theme is the criticisms of white feminism from a Chicana perspective, including racism within feminism, the willingness of white women to sell out the issues of women of color, and the different interests of Chicana women (eg. occupational segregation rather than the glass ceiling). The fifth section documents the concerns and agenda of Chicana feminists in the 1980s trying to institutionalize Chicana feminism.

Part Three includes selections by post-Movement feminists of the 1980s and 1990s. Some excerpts illustrate a tendency to move away from Movement calls for solidarity with Chicano men towards increasing criticism of patriarchy. There is a tension between essentialist notions of gender and a recognition of multiple identities. There is increasing interest in sexuality and articulations of the oppression of Chicana lesbians. There is also more reflection about the Movement and earlier periods of Chicana feminism. Gloria Anzaldua's use of the notion of borderlands and mestiza consciousness gains influence during this period.

Useful and/or juicy quotations:

From Mirta Vidal: "Raza women suffer a triple form of oppression: as members of an oppressed nationality, as workers and as women" (p. 23).

From Mirta Vidal: "Instead, they are told to stay away from the women's liberation movement because it is an 'Anglo thing.' One needs only to analyze the origins of male supremacy to expose that position for what it is—a distortion of reality and false. The inferior role of women in society does not date back to the beginning of time. In fact, before the Europeans came to this part of the world women enjoyed a high position of equality with men. The submission of women, along with institutions such as the church and the patriarchy, was imported by the European colonizer, and remains to this day part of Anglo society. Machismo—which, as it is commonly used, translates in English into male chauvinism—is the one thing, if any which should be labeled an 'Anglo thing'" (p.23).

From Elizabeth Martinez: "The coming of the European with his Catholic Church and feudal social system, was a turning point. Our roots lie in the act of rape: the rape of women, the rape of an entire continent and its people" (p. 32).

From Elizabeth Martinez: "For the Chicana, the three types of oppression cannot be separated. They are all a part of the same system, they are three faces of the same enemy" (p. 34).

From Jennie V. Chavez: "Prior to the Houston conference, Las Chicanas was being used as the work club by the other male-run Chicano organizations in the city of Albuquerque. Every time they needed maids or cooks, they'd dial-a-Chicana" (p. 37).

From Adelaida R. del Castillo: "What child care means to the white woman, means an entirely different thing to the Chicana woman because she has additional considerations. For example, 'is it culturally relevant,' 'is it bi-lingual,' 'is it supplying recognition of the familia'" (p. 46).

From Anna NietoGomez: "The roots of the psyche of la Chicana lies deep within the colonial period in Mexico. The conquest, the encomienda system and the colonial Catholic Church were to play a major role in forming the sexual-social roles of the Mexican woman. And the class relationship between patron and Indian slave woman provides the historical foundation of the machismo phenomenon. Rape of the Mexican Indian women by the Spanish conquistadores was an act of conquest and marriage subsequently became a tool of colonization. Rape and marriage represented models for the Mexican male who longed to be free and strong like the conquistadores. Even the colonial Catholic church superimposed its ideology during this period and justified the oppression of conquest as something good. Marianismo, the veneration of the Virgin Mary, became the model of how to make oppression a religious obligation. This is the heritage of the Chicana" (p. 48).

From Anna NietoGomez: "The social station of *la mujer mala*—Indian women—was quite different. They actively participated in the religious, social and commercial life of their own people. They shared the responsibility of the household and also contributed to the economic and social life. The different cultural and economic role of the Indian woman opposed the ideal image of Spanish women and Marianismo, and yet, unfortunately, became associated with the image of the *Mala Mujer*, the Bad Woman, the infamous one, the whore…Gradually the Spanish

woman became identified as the ideal and the Indian woman and her mestizo children became the pariahs of society" (p. 50).

From Rita Sanchez: "The Chicana writer, by the fact that she is even writing in today's society, is making a revolutionary act. Embodied in the act of writing is her voice against others' definitions of who she is and what she should be" (p. 66).

From Anna NietoGomez: "As minority women, the Chicanas have had to fight racism, sexism and sexual racism. Racism oppresses the Chicana as a member of a Spanish speaking, culturally different, non-Anglo group in a society that values only one culture, and only one race as superior over all, the Anglo-Saxon race. The Chicana encounters sexism in a society that associates social and economic power, authority and superiority with male dominance and male control. It is also perpetuated by nationalists who demand that women must always be traditional and maintain the culture, in spite of their socio-economically oppressive conditions. Sexist racism is manifest by those who consider and recognize only the needs of the single, Anglo and middle class women. It is also reinforced when Anglo women are compared as more 'politically active, educated,' and in general superior to the non-Anglo women who in turn are viewed as passive, apolitical and illiterate beings" (pp. 86-7).

From Rosalie Flores: "When la raza make up 10% of the total population [of the Southwest] and 20% of our boys on the front lines in Vietnam have Spanish surnames, can it be that officials know too well that 'cultural trait' of machismo and make it work for them, too?" (p 96).

From Enriqueta Longeaux Vasquez: "Now we, Raza, are a colonized people (we have been a colony of New Spain, we have been Mexico, and have only a veneer of U.S. of A rule—since 1848, just 100 years) and an oppressed people. We must have a clearer vision of our uplight and certainly we can not blame our men for oppression of the woman. Our men are not the power structure that oppresses us as a whole. We know who stole our lands, we know who discriminates against us; we know who came in (our parents still remember), threw out our Spanish books and brought in new, fresh-written history books and we know who wrote those books for us to read. In other words, we know where we hurt and why. And even more important, we can not afford to fight within and among ourselves anymore, much less male pitted against female" (p. 198).

From Consuelo Nieto: "The Chicana must tell her brother, 'I am not here to emasculate you; I am here to fight with you shoulder to shoulder as an equal. If you can only be free when I take second place to you, then you are not truly free—and I want freedom for you as well as for me'" (p. 210).

From Gloria Anzaldua: "Cradled in one culture, sandwiched between two cultures, straddling all three cultures and their value systems, *la mestiza* undergoes a struggle of flesh, a struggle of borders, an inner war" (p. 271).

From Gloria Anzaldua: "The new *mestiza* copes by developing a tolerance for contradictions, a tolerance for ambiguity" (p. 272).

From Gloria Anzaldua: "A massive uprooting of dualistic thinking in the individual and collective consciousness is the beginning, of a long struggle, but one that could, in our best hopes, bring

us to the end of rape, of violence, of war" (p. 272).

From Gloria Anzaldua: "As a *mestiza* I have no country, my homeland cast me out; yet all countries are mine because I am every woman's sister or potential lover" (p. 273).

From Cherrie Moraga: "To Be a Chicana is not merely to name one's racial/cultural identity, but also to name a politic, a politic that refuses assimilation into the U.S. mainstream. It acknowledges our mestizaje-Indian, Spnaish, and Africano" (p. 290).

Blea, Irene I. 1988. *Toward a Chicano Social Science*. New York, NY: Praeger.

Summary and key points:

Blea argues that until the late 1960s, there were very few studies of Chicano life by Chicanos. Social science on Chicanos up to this point was distorted by white ethnocentrism and tended to portray Chicano communities as pathological. Chicano social scientists have been in the position of trying to "correct the record" since then. Blea argues that two core concepts must be used in order to understanding social conditions for Chicanos in the U.S.: internal colonialism and social stratification. Chicano communities are internal colonies within the U.S. and Chicano lives are fundamentally shaped by race, class and gender stratification. Nonetheless, Chicano communities have a long history of resistance to conquest and oppression and increasingly that history is rooted in decolonization struggles.

The bulk of the book is a textbook about Chicano social experience in the U.S. One chapter profiles key features of Chicano culture in the U.S., including the centrality of religion, family and marriage, common cultural observances, and key stressors. Another chapter addresses the double oppression experienced by Chicanas, facing both patriarchy and racing. Blea writes a chapter about social control and the conflicting Anglo and Chicano norms against which Chicano behavior is measured in a society that overvalues Anglo culture. Blea also gives a social history of political, electoral and community organizing by the Chicano community in the U.S. The book ends with a call for social science and education to help the Chicano community continue to decolonize.

Useful and/or juicy quotations:

"The condition of introduction into the United States is important. Those who did not enter voluntarily were subjected to even more severe discrimination than their voluntary-immigrant European counterparts. Voluntary immigrants knew that if they came to America, they would have to change. Apartheid, conquest, slavery, and force do not set up conditions for cultural abnegation. People of color were/are not invited into the white system. These people are too culturally different and, above all, they are not white" (p. 15).

"One 'does' social science as a means by which to understand society and the world, and in order to apply these findings, these understandings, and make the society a better place to live" (p. 141).

"That Chicanos resist assimilation into a social system that punishes them is a well-known fact. This system has attempted to erase Chicanos from consideration. It has erased their history, and their literary and artistic contributions, and has acted to suppress this production by degrading and suppressing the Chicanos or ignoring them altogether. If anything has survived, it has been because of Chicano resistance, preservation, and conscious production" (p. 142).

"Stop making the social sciences a political tool to reaffirm the status quo" (p. 145).

"Chicano youth do not drop out of school, they are pushed out. Their 'push out,' however, is not a total failure. Chicano children have had degradation and devaluation drilled into their heads. They learn that whites discovered and built the United States; that they are conquerors, the biggest, the best, the most powerful, the most intelligent; and that only they can lead.

Some come to doubt the messages. They sit in classrooms with secret questions, secret insights, secret conclusions, and they finally drop out when they can no longer tolerate the
Mirande, Alfredo. 1982. "Sociology of Chicanos or Chicano Sociology?: A Critical Assessment of Emergent Paradigms." *Pacific Sociological Review*, v.25(4): 495-508.
pain" (pp. 148-9).

Baca Zinn, Maxine. 1981. "Sociological Theory in Emergent Chicano Perspectives." *Pacific Sociological Review*, v.24(2): 255-272.

This article is a review of the sociology of Chicanos. Early studies were condemned for their stereotypical and ethnocentric portrayals. With the rise of Chicano protest and Chicano Studies in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Chicano sociologists criticized this early literature. Baca Zinn argues that while there is a long tradition of black sociology, Chicano sociology begins with this critical period. The early sociology of Chicanos focused exclusively of culture and neglected the role of social organization and structure. Critical Chicano sociology of the 1970s developed macro level analyses of inequality and concepts like structural discrimination and internal colonialism. In addition, even studies of Chicano culture have reversed the traditional assumptions of Anglo cultural superiority. Interpretive theories gave room for the agency of Chicano people. Chicano sociologists are in the process of developing a paradigm for Chicano sociology.

Castaneda, Antonia. 1992. "Women of Color and the Rewriting of Western History: The Discourse, Politics and Decolonization of History." *Pacific Historical Review*, v.61: 501-533.

This article analyzes 1980s historiographies of about women in the 19th century American West and argues that the systematic exclusion of women of color from these historiographies maintains white middle class privilege. Women scholars of color face gender oppression within their own communities and racial, class and sexual oppression from the dominant culture. They are nonetheless beginning to recover the history of women of color in the U.S. They are articulating the gendered and racialized processes of colonialism and attempting to "decolonize western history" (p. 533). Castaneda criticizes the 1980s multicultural anthologies of women's history that fail to acknowledge power differences among groups of women and continue to place white women at the center. There is also a need to acknowledge the diversity within specific cultural groups. The ways in which white women actively participated in conquest also must be problematized. Castaneda particularly criticizes Joan Jensen and Darlis Miller.

Garcia, Alma. 1989. "The Development of Chicana Feminist Theory, 1970-1980." *Gender & Society*, v.3(2): 217-238 .

Garcia focuses on the decade of the 1970s as the birth period for Chicana feminism, originating from politics within the Chicano movement. Chicana feminists maintained the importance of cultural nationalism, as opposed to white feminism, but also criticized notions of "ideal Chicanas" and sexism within the Chicano community. Many Chicana feminists, and most especially lesbian feminists, were accused of being traitors to the movement. However, they did not align with white feminism and instead analyzed the intersections of race, gender, class and colonialism.

Hayes-Bautista, David E. 2000. "Chicano Studies and the Academy: The Opportunities Missed." *Aztlan*, v.25(1): 183-185.

This very short reflection argues that little has improved for Latino/a students in public schools and that the goals of the Chicano movement have not yet been fulfilled. Chicano Studies remains marginalized within the academy and has not invested in public engagement and social change.

Lowy, Richard F. and David D. Baker. 1988. "Transcendence, Critical Theory and Emancipation: Reconceptualizing the Framework for a Chicano Sociology." *Journal of Ethnic Studies*, v. 15(4): 57-68.

This article discusses the debates between scholars like Alfredo Mirande and Maxine Baca Zinn around the development of a Chicano paradigm. Baca Zinn maintains that sociological perspectives as they are can include and are sufficient to do Chicano sociology. Mirande sees sociology as a colonial enterprise. The authors advocate the use of the work of the Frankfurt School to put forward forms of knowledge by and about Chicanos that are emancipatory.

Mirande, Alfredo. 1982. "Sociology of Chicanos or Chicano Sociology?: A Critical Assessment of Emergent Paradigms." *Pacific Sociological Review*, v.25(4): 495-508.

Mirande responds to Baca Zinn's article (summarized above) by contrasting a sociology in which Chicanos are the *objects* of study with the need for a sociology by Chicanos, with a Chicano perspective. He criticizes her portrayal of colonialism as a theory, one approach among many others, rather than as a historical fact that conditions the lives of all Chicanos. Analysis of colonialism is essential to understanding Chicano life, according to Mirande. Mirande is deeply critical of scientism's emphasis on so-called objectivity and value neutrality and argues that sociology must be in solidarity with oppressed peoples. Chicano sociology places Chicano perspectives at the center and as the standard. He concludes, "we must recognize that the bulk of our sociological legacy is alien and European, and begin to forge our own unique brand of sociological imagination; an imagination drawn not from a foreign ethos, but from our rich cultural heritage, firmly grounded in the reality of our contemporary experience" (p. 507).

Soltadenko, Michael. 1998. "The Genesis of Academic Chicano Studies, 1967-1970: The Emergence of Perspectivist and Empirical Chicano Studies." *Latino Studies Journal*, v. 9(2): 3-25.

This article charts the rise of Chicano Studies and argues there were two distinct lines of intellectual thought. One line he refers to as perspectivist, because it maintains that social science must be done from the perspective of Chicanos themselves. The other line he refers to as empirical, because these scholars believe that social science must conduct empirical studies on the mechanisms of inequality. The formation of Chicano studies is a result of the protest and ethnic studies movements. Soltadenko dates the start of Chicano studies with Octavio Romano's first essays on the social science of Chicanos in 1967/8, El Plan de Santa Barbara in 1969 and the founding of *Aztlan: Chicano Journal of the Social Sciences and the Arts* in 1970. Octavio Romano represents the perspectivist approach to Chicano Studies, is deeply critical of traditional white dominated social science and views with suspicion the incorporation of Chicano Studies into traditional academic institutions. Soltadenko sees Romano as the generator of a Chicano standpoint theory. On the other hand, the express goal of El Plan de Santa Barbara was to institutionalized Chicano Studies within the academy, although Chicano Studies should nonetheless be conducted in the service of social justice for Chicanos. This latter goal did not win out in the end, however, over the structures of university life. The result of El Plan was the development of an empirical approach to Chicano Studies.

Soltadenko, Michael. 1999. "Empirics and Chicano Studies: The Formation of Empirical Chicano Studies, 1970-1975." *Latino Studies Journal*, v.10(3): 67-97.

A follow-up to the article above, this article describes how the empirical approach to Chicano Studies won out over the perspectivist approach. He also notes the masculinist bias of the empirical approach. Because of the structure of university life, Chicano studies modeled itself after traditional academy disciplines in order to survive within the academy. The original goal of community action could not be wedged into the university structure. Unlike *El Grito*, the journal *Aztlan* was not as critical of the traditional epistemology of the social sciences. The empirical approach allowed Chicano scholars to succeed within the rules of the academy but it silenced the earlier more radical approach.

Williams, Norma. 1988. "A Mexican American Woman Encounters Sociology: An Autobiographical Perspective." *The American Sociologist*, v. 19(4): 340-346.

This short reflection is an intellectual autobiography. Williams describes how her social location—fourth generation Mexican American, economically disadvantaged but raised by a family that valued higher education, female, with an employment history that included discrimination by the union she worked for and work as a trainer of teachers—shaped her intellectual interests. She argues for the importance of mentors/sponsors for scholars of color, people who can help them gain entry to the avenues for authority, because she had two mentors who helped her become an "insider" in the academy despite her outsider status. Her own work has aimed to counter ethnocentric and distorted portrayals of Mexican Americans within the sociological literature.

Grande, Sandy. 2004. *Red Pedagogy: Native American Social and Political Thought*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Summary and key points:

The title of this book is a bit of misnomer, as the author's primary goal is to critique critical social theory during the end of the twentieth century and to examines ways in which what she calls "revolutionary critical theory" can be used by American Indians to further the goal of sovereignty (and not to review indigenous social and political thought). In particular, she draws upon Peter McLaren's work in critical pedagogy and Vine Deloria's work on Native American philosophy. The title phrase "red pedagogy" is meant to suggest the kinds of educational frameworks that might best serve American Indian students.

Grande calls for dialogue between Anglo-western social theory and scholarship by American Indians. She is critical both of the colonialist underpinnings of Western social theory and of the privileging of personal experience by many indigenous scholars. She is deeply critical of what she refers to as whitestream social theory, especially that generated by the postmodern and poststructuralist turn in academia and second wave academic feminism. Marxists have prioritized labor over land. The push for democratization both in U.S. history and in educational theory has gone hand-in-hand with literal and cultural genocide of Native Americans. While indigenous systems are not hostile to democracy, it is sovereignty and not democracy that is the key goal of Native resistance. She highlights the dire situation of American Indian students in school, marked by high dropout rates, performance gaps, and low college attendance and retention, to make the point that we must transform schools and curriculum as well as the wider structures of imperialism and capitalism in order to better meet the needs of indigenous students. Grande outlines the history of the education of indigenous people in the Americas.

Grande counterposes what she calls the "colonialist consciousness" to a Red pedagogy. Features of the colonialist consciousness include 1) a belief in change as progress, 2) a belief that faith and reason are separate and mutually exclusive, 3) a belief in reality as secular, mechanistic and material, 4) a belief in ontological individualism (the individual as a real unit), and 5) a belief that humans are superior to and separate from nature. These five features permeate the educational system in the values of independence, achievement, humanism, detachment from local knowledge and detachment from nature. Grande describes three battles over land that illustrate the difference between colonialist and Native understandings of the meaning of land. Grande wants to recover what is useful about critical theory from its colonialist underpinnings in order to develop a Red pedagogy.

Grande criticizes the rise of identity politics as a distraction. Essentialism only reifies "Indianness" and supports racist and colonialist practices. The U.S. government currently gets to decide who is authentically Indian, while white people simultaneously try to appropriate Indian identities.

Most forms of feminism also undercut indigenous sovereignty. Most feminisms primarily serve the interests of white, middle class women. Most feminisms perpetuated racist views of Native peoples. She argues for an Indigenista politics, which sees the experiences of indigenous women as primarily shaped by colonialism rather than patriarchy, although that colonialism is also patriarchal in character. Many indigenous communities have matriarchal and egalitarian

traditions that remain alive and it is imperialism that puts indigenous women in the most peril.

Contemporary politics in which the U.S. tackles nation building in the Middle East demonstrates the continuing power of colonialist ideology. So Red pedagogy's goal of decolonization remains relevant for indigenous peoples and others. Grande ends the book with a call for the concept of a "nation-people," a concept that allows for the sovereignty and self-determination of Native peoples, and for a Red pedagogy that puts indigenous worldviews at the center of the educational process.

Useful and/or juicy quotations:

"From the time of invasion to the present day, the church and state have acted as coconspirators in the theft of Native America" (p. 11).

"A Red pedagogy compels students to questions how (whitestream) knowledge is related to the processes of colonization" (p. 56)

"The project of decolonization demands students to acquire not only the knowledge of 'the oppressor' but also the skills to dismantle and negotiate the implications of such knowledge" (p. 56).

"By displacing the real sites of struggle (sovereignty and self-determination), the discourse of identity politics ultimately obfuscates the real sources of oppression—colonialism and global capitalism" (p. 92).

"Indeed, to indigenous women who engage in peaceful and armed insurrections against global forces that aim to confiscate and deplete Indian lands and resources, feminist politics that aim to procure subsidized day care, equal pay for equal work, and access to power beyond the 'glass ceiling' seem conspicuously tied to capitalist imperatives that necessitate those same lands and resources" (p. 151).

"The precipitating theory of indigenista needs to remain rooted in the struggles of indigenous peoples and the quest for sovereignty and self-determination, as well as be elastic enough to incorporate the diversity of American Indian women's lives" (p. 156).

"Indigenous communities preceded the nation-state. Indeed, the borders of empire were drawn around, through, and over their lands and peoples. Indigenous peoples were, thus, the first 'border crossers.' However, contrary to whitestream theories that construct 'border crossing' as an insurgent 'choice' of liberated subjectivities, indigenous peoples did not 'choose' to ignore, resist, transcend and/or transgress the borders of empire. They were, rather, forced into a struggle for their own survival. Thus, indigenous resistance to the grammar of empire—mixed-blood/full-blood, legal/illegal, alien/resident, immigrant/citizen, tribal/detribalized—must be examined in terms of the racist, nationalist, and colonialist frameworks from which it emerged" (p. 167).

"In the end a Red pedagogy embraces an educative process that works to reenchant the universe, to reconnect peoples to the land, and is as much about belief and acquiescence as it is about questioning and empowerment. In so doing, it defines a viable space for tradition, rather than working to 'rupture' our connections to it" (p. 176).

Wilshire, Bruce. 2000. *The Primal Roots of American Philosophy: Pragmatism, Phenomenology and Native American Thought*. University Park, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Summary and key points:

Wilshire, rather than making a case for how white American philosophers of the 19th and 20th centuries were directly influenced by Native American thought, instead draws out the continuities and parallels he sees between the ideas of pragmatists and later phenomenologists and the ideas of Black Elk and other Native American thought. As he puts it, "our primal and pragmatic philosophers converge toward indigenous views of cosmic kinship" (p. 27). In some ways, he is really making a call for philosophers to take Native American worldviews seriously *as* philosophy and a call to move philosophy beyond the bounds of the academy. The pragmatists he focuses on are William James and John Dewey; the phenomenologists include William Ernest Hocking, Henry Bugbee, and Charles Peirce. All of these philosophers, Wilshire argues, reclaim the rootedness of humans in Nature, find limits in scientific Enlightenment thinking, and are critical of modernism and its dualisms. These philosophers live "within the aura" of Thoreau, Emerson, and Black Elk's thinking (p. 20).

Black Elk recounts his thoughts to John Neihardt in 1931, speaking "out of a broken heart and a broken nation" (p. 23). Wilshire compares Black Elk's concept of the sacred hoop of the world with Emerson's concept of horizon. Black Elk recounts the destruction of his people's way of life by the colonizers, but the colonizers have also broken their relationship to the natural world, according to Wilshire. Wilshire believes it is difficult for Europeans to reconnect to their own primal past, but they can do so through Native American primal thought. Wilshire recounts the story of Black Elk's first healings to make a series of points about the falseness of mind-body and body-world dualisms.

He views the work of William James as a point of connection between western psychology, alternative medicine and indigenous traditions of healing. He analyzes the reverence for Nature found in Dewey's poetry but also sees Dewey as limited by his faith in science and secularism. He views the phenomenologist philosophers as re-emphasizing embodied lived experiences and humans as permeated by the world. Wilshire is critical of philosophers like Richard Rorty and Willard van Orman Quine, neo-pragmatists, because of their assumption that the route to understanding Nature is through science.

In the latter third of the book, Wilshire builds his prescription for how to make universities, and the discipline of philosophy, more holistic and more embodied. Education should be ecological. Universities should be "decompartmentalized and deprofessionalized" (p. 200).

(I would like to note personally that Wilshire could be criticized for his portrayal of Native American thought as monolithic, static, and outside of history. He perpetuates a romanticized vision of Native Americans and also ignores them as still alive and here in the U.S.)

Useful and/or juicy quotations:

"We are supposed to be minds attached somehow to mechanical bodies. In contrast, our American-pragmatist philosophical thinkers of the nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries are

organismic to the core: the world is like an organism and we organisms are most mindful and most spiritual when most involved ecstatically in the world-whole. They are pragmatic and primal. They begin turning back toward indigenous life" (p. 5).

"The modernist pretension to throw off the past as superstitious burden is simplistic pride and egregious arrogance. This is the unmistakeable birth in Thoreau and Emerson and their legacy for James, Dewey and others: a visceral sense of a new lease on life and thought by redefining progress to require return to sources. They connect unmistakably with the orientation of Black Elk" (p. 6).

"Phenomenology opens up the vastness of our immediate involvements in the world. As practiced—particularly by James as we will see it—it is a broad pathway into indigenous or primal life" (p. 9).

"Before anything can belong to us, we belong to Nature" (p. 16).

"For indigenous populations, feelings of being enlarged, enlivened, and oriented stand and resonate in direct ratio to the breadth and depth of their care and celebration within the sensuously evidence world" (pp. 16-7).

"Thoreau likewise reclaims indigenous intimacy and at-one-ness when he describes the way the world lives within him, authorizing him, humanizing him, that is, showing him his vital place within the community of all beings and all materials" (p. 19).

"Dewey's natural piety links him, along with Emerson, to indigenous peoples, a linkage seldom or ever appreciated" (p. 23).

"Primal experience is very similar from culture to culture, although for Europeans—dividing ourselves every more from our Paleolithic past—it is generally harder to tap" (pp. 26-7).

"Pragmatically and primally put, Emerson's horizon and Black Elk's one circle, wide as daylight and as starlight, amount to about the same thing. So does Emerson's Yggdrazil and the indigenous American's great flowering tree at the center that shelters all the children of one mother and one father. And both see that the whole is holy" (p. 27).

"Science alone cannot address our hunger to find meaning in our lives. It cannot be science must objectify and quantify everything it studies. However, as we live caught up immediately in the world around us, we are not objects for ourselves, nor can the lived quality of our lives be grasped adequately through any observer's objectifications and measurements" (p. 45).

"Dewey is practically obsessed not only by geographic but also by agricultural and animal metaphors for grasping our locatedness in actual environments and for guiding educational efforts" (p. 103).

"In Dewey's fugitive and discarded poetry, we see the female archetype of a decentralized, pluralistic, and noncontrolling ground of being. It is reminiscent of Mother Earth in Black Elk's thought and practice—the ultimate support system and source of nourishment, energy, endurance" (p. 118).

"Reminiscent of indigenous thinkers as well, [Bugbee] finds too much of the Western tradition to be highly abstract, to lead us away from the actuality of our immediate involvement in the world and, of course, ourselves" (p. 156).

"The true educator helps generate questions for us all to entertain and wrestle with: What matters most? Is the danger of choosing to do evil a danger worse than death? What is the heart of the self, the soul? For what can we hope when our immediate prospects are bleak? In the midst of immediate personal animosities and petty flare-ups, can we discover a deeper consensus that will develop ourselves as individuals in the very process of finding our most organic and fruitful role within the community? Learning is conversational in the most serious sense" (p. 169).

"*Education* cannot be *delivered*. Bread can be delivered, or cocaine; and instruction—say in certain computer techniques—can in a sense be delivered, and various forms of instruction do comprise some of the tasks of the university. But the very roots of the term *education* reveal the distinctive need that that word and concept were evolved to meet: To *educe*, to *draw out*, or *lead out*, from us learners what most concerns us mortal individual beings in community, concerns that may have been halfway or wholly forgotten in the relentless press of everyday living" (p. 170).

"Meaning-making and truth are essential features of being vitally alive and centered, of fully being, and philosophy is meant to nurture and feed us ecstatic body-minds" (p. 195).

Conclusion

As you can see from the above entries, there is really no excuse for the continued exclusion of diverse scholars from the sociological canon. The body of work on people like Martineau, Addams, DuBois, Cooper, etc. is growing all of the time. The increasing interconnectedness of our world necessitates a deeper understanding of the sociological perspectives of those in the Global South. If the kinds of material covered in this annotated bibliography do not make their way into graduate curriculum in sociology, the canon will continue to focus on Marx, Weber and Durkheim. More importantly, the story we tell our students about sociology will emphasize its status as a social science aspiring to the supposed value neutrality and determinism of the 'hard' sciences rather than its long legacy of engagement with the problems of social life and its use by oppressed peoples as an instrument in the service of social justice.

Instead of the metaphor of the white-coated scientist who somehow remains aloof from the rest of humanity, who deceives himself into believing he is not also a part of humanity, why not cultivate the metaphors for sociology given to us by Harriet Martineau and Jane Addams? For Martineau, the sociologist is the curious, sympathetic and open-minded traveler. In a community, but not always of it, the traveler keeps her eyes and heart open, asks questions and listens well. The traveler uses her outsiderness to note what insiders take for granted but remains sympathetic and accountable to how her hosts understand their own lives and communities. For Addams, the sociologist is the neighbor. In this metaphor, the sociologist becomes an active member of the community first, and an investigator and scholar second. The sociologist works toward a participatory democracy in her community and values knowledge for its contributions toward achieving that goal. She does not stand apart and suffers alongside her neighbors. Or how about the firebrands of sociology—Ida Wells Barnett or W.E.B. DuBois? The sociologist as firebrand uses evidence and analysis to kindle struggles for social justice. The firebrand is a provocateur and trickster who unsettles our taken-for-granted assumptions about the world and speaks up in the face of overwhelming resistance.

There is so much more yet to learn, but already we can offer our students a more complex history of the discipline that includes a wider range of people and perspectives than our standard textbooks offer. We can offer a history that inspires rather alienates our students.

Filling in the Gaps: Suggestions for Further Reading

Along the way, I discovered many other references that would have been useful to read if I had had more time. The list below is necessarily incomplete and idiosyncratic. It reflects selections I wish I had read by some of the scholars already featured here, as well as scholars I wish I had explored in addition.

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APPENDIX: PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT LEAVE READING LIST

Reading List: Spring Quarter 2009
Transforming the Canon: People of Color and the Early Days of Sociology in the U.S.

Books--Primary Texts

Deegan, Mary Jo, ed. 2002. *The New Woman of Color: The Collected Writings of Fannie Barrier Williams, 1893-1918*. DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press.

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Reading List: Spring Quarter 2010
Transforming the Canon: White Women and the Early Days of Sociology

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Partial Timeline of the Development of Sociology

900s	Development of universities (Egypt, China, Europe)
1100s First assembly line, shipbuilding factory in Venice	
1400s Gutenberg invents the printing press Beginning of European discontinguous colonialism	
1500s Rise of the Portugese and Spanish Empires Martin Luther nails theses to the door; Church of England separates from Catholicism; Protestant Reformation begins Beginning of the rise of European capitalism Slave trade begins	Copernicus and the start of the scientific revolution
1600s Beginning of the British Empire 1602 Dutch East India Company 1611 King James Bible	Francis Bacon, Descartes and the beginning of the Enlightenment
1700s Chattel slavery institutionalized in America Rise of modern nation states rather than multiethnic empires Steam engines/cotton gin Industrial Revolution 1776 U.S. Revolution 1789 French Revolution 1798 French invasion of Egypt	Development of political philosophy 1792 Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*

1800s

1803 Haitian Revolution
1803 Louisiana Purchase

1816 Argentina gains independence

1820 Colombia gains independence
1821 Venezuela gains independence
1822 Brazil gains independence

1830s French conquest of Algeria

Development of statistics
1830-1834 Harriet Martineau's *Illustrations of Political Economy*
1831 First Annual Convention of People of Color
1837 Harriet Martineau's *Society in America*
1838 Martineau's *How to Observe Morals and Manners*
1838 Comte coins the word sociology: society is real, society as organism

1840 World Anti-Slavery Convention
1846-1848 Mexican American War

1843 Ethnological Society of London (seen by some as birth of anthropology)
1848 Karl Marx's *The Communist Manifesto*

1850 English translation of Karl Marx's *The Communist Manifesto*

1853 Gadsen Purchase (U.S. colonization of huge chunk of former Mexico)
1858 Translatlantic telegraph cable

1853 Martineau translates Comte into English, *The Positive Philosophy of August Comte*
1857 National Assocation for the Promotion of Social Science (Britain)
1859 Darwin's Origin of the Species
1959 Harriet Martineau and Florence Nightingale's *England and her Soldiers*
1859 Harriet Martineau's *Health, Husbandry and Handicraft*

1860s U.S. Civil War
1860s Rise of labor organizing in U.S.
1868 U.S. transcontinental railroad completed

1865 Founding of the American Social Science Association
1867 First volume published of Karl Marx's *Capital*
1867 Founding of Bengal Social Science Association in India
1868 Syed Shurufuddin's *Sociology for India*

1870s The Long Depression in UK and U.S. 1876 Alexander Graham Bell makes the first telephone call 1877 Invention of phonograph 1879 Invention of lightbulb	1874 The first book with the term 'sociology' in its title Herbert Spencer's *The Study of Sociology* 1875 Bengali word for sociology first appears in print
1880s Gilded Era; violent labor conflicts 1885 Invention of modern automobile French conquest of Indochina	1887 Ferdinand Tonnies' *Gemeinschaft and Geselleschaft* 1887 English translation of Karl Marx's *Capital* 1889 Founding of Hull House in Chicago by Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr
1890s Rise of Progressivism British conquest of Rhodesia through Cecil Rhodes	1890 The discipline was taught by its own name for the first time at the University of Kansas under the title *Elements of Sociology* 1891 The *Department of History and Sociology* at the University of Kansas was established 1892 The first Ph.D. program in sociology was established at the University of Chicago 1892 Anna Julia Cooper's *A Voice from the South* 1892 Ida Wells Barnett's *On Lynching* 1893 Rene Worms founded the small Institut International de Sociologie 1893 Emile Durkheim's *The Division of Labor in Society* 1895 Albion Small founded the American Journal of Sociology 1895 Emile Durkheim's *Rules of the Sociological Method* 1895 Durhkeim founds the first European department of sociology at the University of Bordeaux 1895 *The Hull House Maps and Papers* 1896 Durkheim founds L'Annee 1897 Emile Durkheim's *Suicide*
1898 American colonization of the Philippines	1898 Charlotte Perkins Gilman's *Women and Economics* 1899 W.E.B. Dubois' *The Philadelphia Negro*

1900s

1902 Cuban independence from U.S.
1903 Invention of airplane

1902 Jane Addams' *Democracy and Social Ethics*
1904 The first sociology department to be established in the United Kingdom was at the London School of Economics and Political Science
1905 Founding of the American Sociological Society (later the American Sociological Association
1905 Max Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*

1910 Jane Addams' *Twenty Years at Hull House*
1912 Emile Durkheim's *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*

1914-1918 World War I

1914 Charlotte Perkins Gilman's *Social Ethics*
1914 Charlotte Perkins Gilman's *The Man-made World*
1915 English translation of Durkheim's *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*

1917 Communist revolution in Russia

1919 Max Weber founds sociology department in Germany at the Ludwig Maximilians University of Munich

1920 Mexican Independence
1920 Women earn right to vote in U.S.

1920 Florian Znaniecki founds sociology department in Poland
1920 Women at University of Chicago transferred from sociology department to department of social work
1921 Park and Burgess's *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, a 1000 page textbook
1922 Marianne Weber publishes Max Weber's *Economy and Society*
1920s "Chicago School" gets institutionalized through leadership of Robert Park

1930s Great Depression
Rise of fascism in Europe

1930 First translation into English of Max Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*
1930 Chinese Sociological Society founded
1933 First translation into English of Emile Durkheim's *Division of Labor in Society*

1939-1945 World War II

1945 Dropping of atomic bomb

1947 Indian Independence; partition of India and Pakistan

1949 Communist revolution in China

1954 Philippines gains independence
1956 Sudan gain independence
1957 Ghana gain independence
1959 Morocco and Tunisia gain independence
1959 Communist revolution in Cuba

1960s
Civil rights movement, anti-war, student and feminist movements

1938 First translation into English of Emile Durkheim's *Rules of the Sociological Method*
1938 Seratin Macaraig's *Introduction to Sociology* (first Filipino to write sociology textbook)
1930s--1940s Rise of Columbia and Harvard University as schools of sociology; push of the use of statistical surveys
1940s Huge growth of federally funded social research, mostly statistical
1947 Rose Hum Lee's *The Growth and Decline of Chinese Communities in the Rocky Mountain Region*
1949 International Sociological Association founded
1950 Latin American Sociological Association founded
1951 First English translation of Emile Durkheim's *Suicide*
1952 Philippines Sociological Society founded

1956 Korean Sociological Society founded

1968 First English translation of Max Weber's *Economy and Society*

Rise of ethnic and women's studies