New Errands

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The Eastern American Studies Association and the American Studies Program at Penn State Harrisburg are pleased to announce the creation of a new online journal to publish exemplary American Studies work by undergraduate students.

Seeking to develop the next generation of Americanists, New Errands' mission will be both to provide a venue for the publication of important original scholarship by emerging young scholars and to provide a teaching resource for instructors of American Studies looking for exemplary work to use in the classroom.

New Errands will be published semi-annually, after the end of each academic semester. The goal of this timetable will be to collect and publish essays produced during the previous term, so that they can be made available as quickly as possible for use in the following term.

We encourage both self-submission by undergraduate students and nominated submissions by instructional faculty. They must have an Americanist focus, but can employ a variety of disciplinary methods. Submissions can be emailed as Word documents to newerrandsjournal@gmail.com.

Essays can be of any length, but they must have a research focus. Any visual images should be placed at the end of the manuscript, and tags should be placed in the text to indicate the intended placement of each image. Manuscripts should conform to MLA guidelines.

Anthony Bak Buccitelli and John Rogers Haddad

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The Second Generation: Ednah Dow Cheney Carries Margaret Fuller's Feminist Transcendentalism into the Early Progressive Era

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In the nineteenth century, the Transcendentalist and women's movements combined to alter the discussion on the politics of womanhood, developing creative space for progressive individuals to actively make change in the expansion of human rights. Ednah Dow Cheney, a young widow and single mother in the mid-1850s, merged the spirit of Transcendentalism that she inherited from her family and friends and her burgeoning passion for social activism to become a dedicated public servant. An early attendee of the Conversations of Margaret Fuller, author of Woman in the Nineteenth Century and a pioneer in the field of feminist Transcendentalism, Cheney borrowed Fuller's radical ideas and translated them into real action. Throughout the second half of the 1850s and into the early twentieth century, Cheney founded the New England School of Design and the New England Women's Club and managed the New England Hospital for Women and Children, the Boston Education Commission of the Freedmen's Aid Society, and lectured for the New England Suffrage Association and the Concord School of Philosophy. More significantly, she continued through the century to become a feminist intellectual in Fuller's vein.

Despite the crucial role that Cheney played in running such prominent organizations in an environment that was particularly restrictive for women, her story has been left largely overlooked by recent scholarship. Anne Rose's 1981 book, Transcendentalism as a Social Movement, 1830-1850, provides a starting point for conversation on the application of Transcendentalism not just as a philosophical movement, but also as a theory that gave way to activism; however, the book also ends at the very point where the writings of Margaret Fuller and Ralph Waldo Emerson were absorbed and carried to social involvement by the second generation of Transcendentalists, which included individuals such as Ednah Dow Cheney, Caroline Healey Dall, and Julia Ward Howe. Moreover, while Therese B. Dykeman's scholarship on Cheney in Presenting Women Philosophers, American Women Philosophers 1650-1930 and in several articles demonstrate the influence of Cheney's writings on the histories of American aesthetics, it provides little insight on the social impact that Cheney had in New England and in the Reconstruction, postwar south. Finally, although scholarhip has significantly picked up on the influence of key female Transcendentalists, such as Margaret Fuller, the role of the second generation of Transcendentalists, Cheney's generation, in bringing Transcendentalist thought into the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries through social activism remains partially explored by Tiffany Wayne and Phyllis Cole. Therefore, this paper is an effort to recover a new piece of the history of the Transcendentalist movement, which has been assumed to have ended by the 1850s, through the life of Ednah Dow Cheney. Cheney, influenced by the teachings of Margaret Fuller, applied Transcendentalist philosophy into direct social action; in this way, she extended the Transcendentalist movement into the early twentieth century and furthered the feminist movement in her own way by challenging the commonly held gender roles of the time.

Cheney's collision into Fuller's world came with the support of her parents and grandparents, who were liberal enough to take their daughter to hear Emerson. In her autobiography, Reminiscences of Ednah Dow Cheney (Born Littlehale), Cheney recalled that one of her first experiences with Transcendentalism was when she, in her early teens between the years of 1840-1850, was "at a lecture before the society 'for the diffusion of knowledge,' which [she] attended with [her] father and mother" (Reminiscences 99). It was around this time that she was also attending classes to study Plato and Dante; Cheney noted that Amos Bronson Alcott, abolitionist and women's rights advocate, would often join her classes and engage with her peers with their readings (Reminiscences 100). Even from the time when she was a child, Cheney had learned to appreciate a rather unorthodox spiritual lifestyle; her own grandmother "never joined the popular church, and read Emerson and Parker with great enjoyment" at a time when Transcendentalism was vilified and perceived as an "elite" and exclusive club (Reminiscences 3). Cheney's father, Sargent Smith Littlehale, was also a prominent figure in Cheney's life, as she claimed that he was "very liberal in his views…and was a believer in

Woman Suffrage at a very early date. The first anti-slavery word that I ever heard was from him" (Reminiscences 4). Exposure to her father's progressive beliefs set the initial stepping stones for Cheney's subsequent life as an activist for freedmen and women in the mid-nineteenth century. Moreover, her involvement in the Freedmen's Aid Bureau, which she was the secretary of in the headquarters in Boston, could have stemmed from her childhood experience living on a diverse street that was inhabited by a variety of individuals from different socioeconomic and racial backgrounds. She recalled that Belknap Street, where she lived after her parents were married in 1819, expanded into several sections; the upper part was:

> often called Joy Place…Here were some of the finest houses and most 'swell' people in the city. In the middle part were families of good standing, and in this part was our house, where I was born. The lower part was almost entirely occupied by colored people, who streamed by our house, and gave us children that familiarity with this people which, thank God, has prevented me from having any difficulty in recognizing the 'negro as a man and a brother' (Reminiscences 7).

Cheney's childhood environment and her rich connections to the Transcendentalist society through her family provided the perfect breeding grounds for a strong life of intellect and activism. As her colleague, Julia Ward Howe, writes on Cheney, "The home atmosphere was favorable to mental growth. Love of learning, with a taste for good literature, was an inheritance" (Howe 8).

Cheney moved on to reflect on her mother and her network of friends; one particular acquaintance of her mother stood out: Mary Ann Haliburton. Daughter of a bank officer in New Hampshire, Haliburton met Ednah Parker Dow when they were young children; their relationship grew throughout the years, as the two companions engaged in intellectual discussions and were involved in the various literary societies of the time (Reminiscences 27). Cheney was especially inspired by Haliburton's story following her father's remarriage after his wife's premature death. Violently opposed to the remarriage, Haliburton left her home: "At last she came to the resolution to leave home and support herself by teaching drawing, for which she had some talent. But she had a brother then in business in New York who was scandalized at the idea that his sister should work for her support" (Reminiscences 27). Finally, Haliburton was convinced by her brother to leave her work and live off of a monthly allowance from her brother for the remaining years of her life. Cheney's exposure to such a radical-minded woman combined with Haliburton's own return to domestic life further shaped Cheney's understanding of the restrictive state of women in society. As a widow and an eventual mother of a deceased child, Cheney reflected back at her relationship with Haliburton and fondly remembered that Haliburton had always said that she "wished she had been born a widow with one child; for she thought it was the most 'independent position for a woman'" (Reminiscences 28). But, more than anything Cheney writes that she is "greatly indebted to [Mary Ann Haliburton], not only for a great deal of intellectual stimulus and social enjoyments, but especially because Haliburton introduced her "to two of the most precious friends of my life…Margaret Fuller and Mary Shannon" (Reminiscences 28).

Over the summers, Cheney would visit the prestigious Exeter Academy in New Hampshire where she would attend lectures given by Emerson and would also build intellectual friendships that would introduce her to the early British Romantic poets. In this early era of her life, she was acquainted with Mary Shannon whom Cheney described as "broad and progressive in her though, a dear and honored friend of John Weiss, Samuel Johnson, and Theodore Parker, an original member of the Free Religious Association, an active Abolitionist, a friend of the Freedman's schools, and a thorough Woman Suffragist" (Reminiscences 55). She also made acquaintance with Harriot Kezia Hunt whom, she claimed, "was among the most remarkable and characteristic of pioneers of women physicians" (Reminiscences 51). In the coming years, Cheney and Hunt would work together to found the Women's School of Design in Boston. The connections Cheney developed at Exeter Academy remained with her throughout her career and were crucial in fostering in her a sense of romanticism combined with the practical notion of activism.

At the ripe age of thirteen, between November 1837 and February 1838, Ednah Dow Littlehale (later Cheney) and her classmate Caroline Healey (later Dall) engaged in a debate on the position and rights of women in society. Margaret McFadden explores this correspondence in "Boston Teenagers Debate the Woman Question, 1837-1838," stating that while Cheney's strategy was to "deemphasize differences between the sexes, as a matter of justice in light of their common humanity," Caroline Dall claimed that "women are different from men, and these differences give them

strength and power in different separate areas. Abandoning those separate spheres will denigrate women, take away their power, and make them 'mannish' instead of 'ladylike'" (McFadden 837). McFadden also notes that the strong education that the two girls received were vital in the development of a "'feminist' consciousness" and that both individuals relied on the "vocabulary and ideas of the Enlightenment and liberal Protestantism—belief in human value, egalitarianism, and women's worth" to structure their arguments (McFadden 841). These early debates reveal a rare glimpse of Cheney's life before her marriage and before her meeting with Margaret Fuller. Even beyond Cheney's bold and radical assertions on the rights of women in the political sphere and her call for civil disobedience ("If we don't have a hand in making laws, I don't think we ought to obey them"), these early writings bring out her inherently ambitious character. Dall had evidently expressed to Cheney that fame would not bring happiness as much as it would bring misery and that women should refrain from seeking fame; in response, Cheney furiously wrote, "Many thanks Carry for this good advice, but I think it will go up to the moon, for I have not the least idea of following it. I may sink down into obscurity, I may become a humble member of society, but it will not be willingly. While I live my powers shall be devoted to a different purpose" (McFadden 841-42). She even declared that "I never intend to be married" and that "I shall not have any husband or children to take care of…I am equal to the men, and not superior to them. I am a slave until I am free" (McFadden 845). Perhaps it was because of this early, independent thinking that she was not married until the age of 29.

About three years after the debates between Cheney and Dall, in 1841, the two young women attended Margaret Fuller's "Conversations," which had a profound impact on their modes of thinking later in their lives. Over fifty years later, in 1895, Cheney would recall in a "Lecture Given at the Congress of American Advancement of Women" that she "had the inestimable privilege of attending [Fuller's] conversations for three successive seasons, and I count it among the greatest felicities of my life that I thus came under her influence at a very early age, an influence which has never failed me in all the years of my life" ("Reminiscences" 205). Margaret Fuller took on the challenge of reconceiving the position of women through the Transcendentalist philosophy established by Ralph Waldo Emerson's "Man Thinking" in an environment that posed severe limitations on women. Starting from November of 1839, Fuller delivered a series of lectures titled "Conversations," which were conducted in the bookstore parlor of reformer and activist Elizabeth Palmer Peabody; through these lectures, she hoped to initiate dialogue among women on the major issues that she felt that women must contend with: "What were we born to do? How shall we do it? which so few ever propose themselves 'till their best years are gone by" (Marshall 387).

As Tiffany Wayne points out, the language of Transcendentalism promoted independent thought and self-development; it encouraged women to cultivate their strengths and achieve their highest potential. The philosophy held that "all humans, regardless of sex, race, or social position, had the right to pure self-culture and to engage in a vocation, or life's work, suited to one's individual character" (Wayne 3). Thus, Margaret Fuller's reinterpretation of Transcendentalist thought provided her younger disciples with a doctrine of self-culture that imbued women with a sense of agency and ownership; Phyllis Cole states that "these New Women shared a Romantic faith that individual consciousness, permeated by the divine energy of the universe, could rise to revelation and authority" ("Women's Rights and Feminism" 223). Moreover, Ralph Waldo Emerson's call for resignation from oppressive demands of external, social institutions in order to further cultivate the internal consciousness could not be applied to women, who "had no Harvard regimen to boycott, no pulpit, profession, or citizenship from which to stand aside" (Schultz). Therefore, women readers and writers engaged in conversations with each other through periodicals, diaries, and even books, using Fuller's feminist interpretation of Emerson's "Self-Reliance" to conceive women's equality beyond "the rights tradition and its claim to public citizenship" ("Exaltadas" 8).

Fuller's Conversations were placed in the context of an era shaped by the ideology of separate spheres, which pushed women to reimagine the restrictive boundaries in which they were placed in order to gain political clout and to assert themselves in the public sphere. Barbara Welter coined the term "Cult of True Womanhood" to describe the qualities of domesticity and purity that women were encouraged to develop. Such an ideology confined women to a society that understood that women were naturally inclined to seek shelter from the outside world in the private arena of the home, while men were expected to work hard and engage in aggressive competition in the public sphere

(Women's America 174). Dissatisfied and restless under the oppressive regulations of such a culture, both middle-class and working-class women implicitly challenged the idealized sexual division through their actions. In the mid- and late-nineteenth century, Boston, with its "female majority, expanding boundaries, relatively large female labor force, numerous female associations, ethnic and racial diversity, and political struggles between Yankee reformers and immigrant or political machines," gave rise to a politically-charged climate in which women fought to become autonomous and to gain legitimacy as active members of society (Deutsch 4). Sarah Deutsch, Professor of history at Duke University, points out that the daily lives and domesticated spaces of women were connected to the "claims they made in and on public areas"; this was particularly true "in the case of middle-class and elite matrons, who based their claims to a new role in municipal governance on the purported superior morality of the domestic spaces they created" (Deutsch 5). By actively participating and interacting with male political and economic institutions, such as labor unions and other political organizations, women were able to lay claim to a city designed and controlled by men.

However, for those women who refrained from participation in the organized women's rights movement, private letters and journals circulated among like-minded thinkers served as alternate modes of expression. As such private discussions heightened, women began to manipulate and reshape the city of Boston by physically claiming spaces in buildings and forming their own institutions. Deutsch emphasizes that "women intended some of the institutions they formed to mediate between the privacy of the parlor and the public nature of the city. They created these as separate female spaces rather than female-controlled and feminized mixed-sex spaces" (Deutsch 15). Therefore, Fuller's Conversations were a part of a quieter women's movement that is often overshadowed by the more public political actions of first-wave feminists, such as Elisabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott. Charles Capper identifies three groups of women that attended Fuller's Conversations in 1839. The first group included Fuller's own group of close friends, such as Ellen Sturgis Hooper and Anna Barker, while the second group of women were the wives of men who were active members of the social reform movements taking place in the period, such as Lidian Emerson and Sophia Ripley. The third group, the focus of this study, was composed of younger, often single, women in their late teens and early twenties. Capper remarks of the latter group, "Neither so intellectual nor so Transcendental-minded as Fuller's protégées, still they were high-spirited, interested in new trends, socially active in Boston literary and reform circles, and, most important, although not intimate with her, ardently devoted to Fuller" (Capper 291). Ednah Dow Cheney and her friend, Mary Haliburton, both were a part of this second group of women, who stood steadfast to Fuller's principles and were loyal attendees to her lectures.

Cheney and Fuller on Goethe

While the first half of Cheney's life was largely dedicated to forming and running public institutions while raising her daughter, Margaret, Cheney spent the second half of her life, after the 1870s, completing much of her writings. In 1886, four years after the death of this daughter at twenty-seven, Cheney provided a lecture on Goethe for the Concord School of Philosophy. The Concord School, founded by Amos Bronson Alcott in 1979, hosted a series of lectures and discussions on philosophers related to Transcendentalism, such as Emerson, Plato, and Kant. Cheney's lecture, "Das Ewig-Weibliche," was a specific study on Goethe that borrowed from Fuller's notion that women harnessed a divine energy that allowed them to transcend worldly limitations and rise to authority ("Woman's Rights" 223).

Through Goethe, Cheney and Fuller interpreted that the two sexes could not be identified with the use of absolute terms, and that man and woman were containers of the same divine force. Arthur Schultz argues that in Goethe's Faust, Fuller recognized Goethe's ideal of woman, "das ewig Weibliche" ("the eternal womanly"), as the "key to the interpretation of woman' essential character" (Schultz 178). Schultz's claim remains consistent with Fuller's statement in her 1841 essay on Goethe that was published in The Dial, which claimed that "Goethe always represents the highest principle in the feminine form" ("Goethe 26). Nearly four years later, in 1845, Fuller departed from the literary biography of Goethe that she had detailed in her article for The Dial to construct a more focused, gender-based analysis of Goethe. For instance, in Woman in the Nineteenth Century, she wrote that in Faust, "we see the redeeming power, which, at present, upholds woman…[Margaret], enlightened by her sufferings, refusing to receive temporal salvation by the aid of an evil power, obtains the eternal in its stead" (Woman in the Nineteenth 316). Cheney later echoed Fuller's interpretations in her 1886 lecture, elaborating on the

Chorus' use of the phrase "Das Ewig-Weibliche" in the conclusion of the first part of Goethe's Faust; Cheney claimed that the Chorus took the reader to the "supreme abstract idea of womanhood," which "seems intentional on the poet's part. Faust has learned at last the meaning of mortal life…it is no single loved one, but the Eternally Womanly which is henceforth to lead him upward and on" (Das Ewig-Weibliche 221). Once again, Cheney, like Fuller, announced that the permanent ideal, the "redeeming power" was manifested in Margaret, and appealed to all of humanity, calling for a universal rise to perfection.

Although traces of Fuller are easily detected in Cheney's analysis of Goethe, Cheney also shaped her argument to make it relevant to her late nineteenth century audience. For instance, in her attempt to establish Fuller's point that "there is no wholly masculine man, no purely feminine woman," Cheney delved deep into a scientific discussion on plant life and biology, which was a topic that was vastly different from Fuller's subject and style of writing (Woman in the Nineteenth 310). Perhaps influenced by her daughter, Margaret Swan Cheney, who had been a student of science at MIT, Cheney wrote, "the sexes are like the stamen and pistil, different modifications of the same type, and so perpetually varying that it is impossible to make any statement of distinguishing characteristics, which will be invariably true"; moreover, Cheney added that unlike in the animal world where "sex is less differentiated in the lowest forms of life," in the "highest types of human life, we always find a blending of the characteristics of the sexes" (Das Ewig-Weibliche 231). In this way, Cheney adapts Fuller's radical statements to match the naturalistic and rationalistic thought that was so integral to the late 1800s.

In "Reign of Womanhood," an address Cheney delivered in 1897 during the Unitarian Service to commemorate the Queen's Diamond Jubilee, Cheney wrote that woman's "ideal of man must match her own standard of spiritual purity and truth, or instead of leading him on she is dragged down to the dust with him" ("The Reign of Womanhood" 227). The reciprocity of divinity and virtue that Cheney expected in men as well as women was shared by Fuller, who had held a similar vision of the transformation of all humanity; on masculinity and femininity, Fuller had written, "There cannot be a doubt that, if these two developments were in perfect harmony, they would correspond to and fulfil one another, like hemisphere, or the tenor and bass in music" (Woman in the Nineteenth 343). Thus, although not nearly as focused on gender and, perhaps, less a feminist than Fuller, Cheney's expectation of reciprocity was more than a passive female piety that conformed to the conventions of "true womanhood"; rather, it was a powerful idea, calling for the development of a more perfect humanity.

Nora's Return

In Henrik Ibsen's The Doll House (1879), Nora Helmer, realizing her own need to find a greater meaning in life and suffocated by her husband's frustratingly patronizing behavior towards her, finally leaves her home, husband, and family. Since that final scene of Ibsen's when Nora sharply slammed the door and walked out of the suffocating bourgeois sphere of domesticity, authors awoke worldwide to imagine the sequence of events that would follow the shocking rejection of family life. Of the several sequels that were written, it was Walter Besant's outrageous depiction of Nora that sparked Cheney into a fury that inspired her to construct her very own sequel to the play. Reflecting back in her autobiography, Cheney passionately wrote that in 1890, the year in which Besant's story was published, she was "so moved to indignation by Walter Besant's conclusion of the book, which seemed to me wholly false to the original idea, that I hastily wrote my own solution" (Reminiscences 67). Her short book titled, Nora's Return: A Sequel to "The Doll's House" of Henry Ibsen, was sold as a fundraising item at the New England Hospital Fair in December of 1890 (Nora's Return 3). Within a few pages, Cheney revolted against Besant's depiction of Nora as an unforgiving woman who was merciless towards her husband, Torvald, and painfully out of touch with her family's needs. In sharp contrast to Besant's story, Cheney's sequel remained true to Ibsen's text, as she presented Nora as a woman who revolted against a society that defined a woman's identity by the stature of her husband and that also limited her options to gain a fulfilling education. Even more, both Nora's and Torvald's developments in Cheney's sequel highlight the value of self-culture that was so central to Margaret Fuller's doctrine.

As Cheney's rendition of the sequel was produced in reaction to Besant's writing, it is important to note the specific themes that Cheney addressed and counteracted. Nora's Return approached the conflict between Nora and Torvald through a more intimate narrative structure in which the reader gained insight into the characters' sentiments through their written journal entries. Cheney recognized that Besant had unfairly created a villain out of Nora, departing from

Ibsen's intentions with the protagonist's bold decision to leave Torvald. In Besant's interpretation, Nora's friend, Kristine, visited, begging her to think of her "helpless children" and her husband: "Did you never ask yourself what it meant for such a man to be deserted by his wife, and without a cause?" (Besant 321). Within the dialogue between Kristine and Nora, Besant emphasized his understanding that Nora's action was unjustified; Nora had walked away from her children, which was the ultimate sin for a woman living in the nineteenth century. However, Cheney was careful to address this issue in Nora's Return; she took special care to articulate Nora's grief at having to leave behind her children: "Gone are the joys and pangs of motherhood, the nights of watching and care, the hours of joy and glee. The mother might play with them, but their honor, their life, their souls, were his care" (Nora's Return 13). In this way, Cheney's Nora, while choosing to leave the family, also affirmed conventional notions of motherhood and domesticity. At the same time, Cheney's Nora followed through Fuller's advice in Woman in the Nineteenth Century: "If any individual live too much in relations, so that he becomes a stranger to the resources of his own nature, he falls, after a while into a distraction, or imbecility, from which he can only be cured by a time of isolation" (312). Nora's motive in leaving was to develop those "resources" to which she had become a stranger; the same applied for Torvald, who was hopelessly dependent on Nora for all the tiresome domestic services and entertainment. In the same passage, Fuller had also said that "Union is only possible to those who are units. To be fit for relations in time, souls, whether of man or woman, must be able to do without them in the spirit" (Woman in the Nineteenth 312). Thus, the fission of the Helmer household forces the husband and wife to develop themselves as human beings, as man and woman.

Furthermore, Cheney's Nora worked to broaden the position of woman in society by extending her duties to the public sphere, rather than confining them to the private sphere, as Torvald and Besant had attempted. In Ibsen's play, Nora boldly told Helmer that he and her father had wronged her by making her a "beggar" and a "doll-wife." In this crucial scene, she declared that she had duties, other than being a wife and a mother, that were "equally sacred"; she said "before all else, I'm a human being, no less than you—or anyway, I ought to try to become one" (Ibsen 193). Nora claimed that as a human being, she was entitled to the same rights that men enjoyed, even if the customs of society told her otherwise. She stated that she could not continue her life as a mother and a wife without fully discovering herself: "I have to stand completely alone, if I'm ever going to discover myself and the world out there" (Ibsen 192). Therefore, in Cheney's sequel, Nora was shown at the home of a poor sailor's family, reflecting on her condition: "I am a wreck. What is gone? All my early life of loving trust…I hardly knew what truth was. Love and beauty were all I had heard of woman's life; were they not enough?" (Nora's Return 9-10). Cheney began to question the foundations of her life that were established by her father and husband, and in questioning, she began her journey to the truth. Cheney's message fell in line with Fuller's statement that called for woman to "dedicate herself to the Sun, the Sun of Truth…I would have her free from compromise, from complaisance, from helplessness, because I would have her good enough and strong enough to love one and all beings, from the fulness, not the poverty of being" (Woman in the Nineteenth 312). In the end, in Cheney's account, it was Nora's dedication to seeking the truth, uninhibited by the demands of Torvald, that eventually led her to grasp the complexities of her existence as a woman.

Moreover, through Nora's Return, Cheney argued that women and men, both, had to discover their individual identities before they could learn to understand each other in relative terms. In this regard, Cheney's Helmer went through a process of self-discovery just as his wife, Nora, had. While reading a passage from Plato, he realized how he had never bothered to share such knowledge with her, as he had not realized that women could have such interests; moreover, in response to Plato's line that "each one is in search of his counterpart," Helmer responds: "My counterpart! Am I not whole? Do I need another? And is that other my equal, my counterpart?" (Nora's Return 23). This passage in Cheney's text is particularly significant because Plato was one of the most revered of philosophers to the transcendentalists; therefore, it was not by mere coincidence that Helmer was reading Plato when he had an epiphany on the situation on his strained marriage. Furthermore, Fuller, like Plato, had idealized the ultimate union of souls as lying beyond even the existence as units, and it was this understanding that Cheney underscored though Torvald's reflection on his "counterpart." Meanwhile, Nora experienced an epiphany of her own, as she realized her meaning in life: "Yes, I have found myself again; I have found what is left me—the one thing which will make life over again for me. It is service…Love is

not enough, I must learn also, I must prepare for life" (Nora's Return 24). With this realization, Nora joined a hospital as a nurse. In this way, Cheney's Nora directly counterattacked the Nora in Besant's story, who, as the narrator claimed, made "love the sole rule of conduct" (Besant 320). Moreover, Cheney's Nora followed Fuller's declaration that "It is a vulgar error that love, a love to woman is her whole existence; she also is born for Truth and Love in their universal energy" (Woman in the Nineteenth 347). Thus, Cheney stayed true to not only Ibsen's Nora, who had left her husband for self-discovery, but also to Fuller's statement on women, which had called for the search for a higher, more spiritual Love that would draw the inward soul out to perfection.

Distinct to Cheney's experience while working for the New England Hospital for Women and Children, Cheney had written that "the mind and heart, during sickness and convalescence, are open to religious and moral influences, and the grateful patient often became a zealous convert to the church which had given him help in the hour of suffering" ("Care of the Sick" 346). Thus, as Nora, a nurse, returned to heal a cholera-infected Torvald in Cheney's sequel, Torvald, although too ill to realize that it was his wife taking care of him, began to absorb the goodness in Nora's spirit. After all, following Nora's leave after Torvald had sufficiently recovered, Torvald reflected: "But how could she stay with me, when I had so wronged her, so insulted her? I never understood her. I was a stranger to her, and she a beautiful idol to me, no more." Therefore, Cheney's Nora played a similar role to Fuller's Margaret, who had contained the enlightened force that lifted Faust from his sin Goethe's play; Nora's epiphany in Cheney's sequel allowed her divine spirit, the "eternal womanly," that she had cultivated, to influence Torvald and raise him from his faults to realize the truth.

Cheney's sequel concluded with Nora's return to the Helmer household after the two characters' had gained a sense of understanding and had learned to achieve Fuller's stated goal of "self-dependence." Helmer, although he missed his wife, learned to care for his children and to better appreciate Nora. At the same time, working in the hospital provided Nora with a sense of fulfillment through self-reliance: "My life is sure now; I can serve, and, if I cannot be happy, I can be calm, patient, and content with that" (Nora's Return 56). Nora had reached the point of self-actualization in which she was finally on sure grounds and had arrived at a position where she could stand on the independent foundation of her own making. Margaret Fuller wrote that she wanted "woman to live, first for God's sake. Then she will not make an imperfect man her god…Then she will not take what is not fit for her from a sense of weakness and poverty. Then, if she finds what she needs in man embodied, she will know how to love, and be worthy of being loved" (Woman in the Nineteenth 347). Thus, Cheney reiterates that in living first for God, woman would learn to embark on a steadfast journey towards perfection; equipped with such high, transcendent ideals, Nora would not be forced to helplessly rely on a flawed man, such as Helmer. Therefore, once Nora learned her true place in service, her own standing in life, she could, once again, remain open to meaningful love and equal partnership.

Thus, when Nora received a note from Torvald that revealed his remorse and his willingness to sacrifice for his wife, Nora was able to forgive and return to the Helmer household. Upon her arrival, Nora was welcomed lovingly by her children and found that her husband has furnished her old room with new supplies: a bank book, keys to the house, a watch, and paintings by Raphael and Michelangelo. Such items not only affirmed woman's right to manage the practical and financial modes of her own lifestyle, but also the higher, intellectual goals that a woman may want to pursue, as Raphael and Michelangelo were essential to the transcendentalists because of their representations of the ideal. Therefore, Cheney worked to blend the modern aspects of contemporary life with the more romanticized, early nineteenth century philosophy. Moreover, Nora's success in the hospital led to an offer for a promotion; however, Cheney's Nora rejected the job in favor of managing the family and occasionally helping with the hospital in the coming years. The rejection of the management position seems oddly out of place with the themes conveyed by Cheney throughout her sequel; this scene may indicate Cheney affirming the domestic role as a woman's primary one, which is radically different from Fuller's principle. Nonetheless, Nora's decision to leave Helmer for a higher pursuit was justified and was not motivated by a simplistic drive to fulfill selfish desires, as Besant had claimed. Nora simply followed Cheney's interpretation of Fuller in that she realized that "It is not woman, but the law of right, the law of growth, that speaks in us, and demands the perfection of each being in its kind, apple as apple, woman as woman" (Woman in the Nineteenth 347). Nora's journey was one that allowed her to temporarily depart from domestic roles to explore the spiritual

qualities of human life, and to return once more to fulfill Cheney's ideal of womanhood.

Conclusion

Ednah Dow Cheney's literary and intellectual development was shaped by the radical thought of Margaret Fuller, whose feminist interpretation of Transcendentalism, in Cheney's words, "planted in my life the seeds of thought, principle, and purpose…and I owe it to her to speak in her name, and try to make her life again fruitful in others" (Reminiscences 193). However, Cheney was not a passive figure, but rather a creative individual who took Fuller's words and made them relevant to the audience of her time. Following her poignant words on Fuller's influence, Cheney also moved on to argue a place for herself and her colleagues; she wrote that Fuller was not an "exceptional" woman and that "her nature was builded on grand lines, and included much of that large range of powers which belong exclusively to neither sex, but which are the solid basis of humanity" (Reminiscences 193). Thus, Cheney's philosophy, though largely shaped by Fuller, also emerged from her own range of experience and education.

In the November of 1895, Cheney eulogized Fuller in a "Lecture Given at the Congress of American Advancement of Women," marking Fuller's influence not only in her life, but also within the nineteenth century society. She said of Fuller, "It was not acceptance of the outward rule, but of the inward law of life that she demanded, and that law could only be found in freedom. It is by the test of life and experience that we learn both our limitations and our powers" (Reminiscences194). And so, as Cheney's Nora ventured beyond the protected walls of the Helmer household and into the public realm of the hospital, she gained deeper insight into her own state. Only a few months of being a nurse led her to feel, for the first time in her life, "the meaning of truth. Here I must not only speak the truth, but live it, for I am not here to please, but to serve" (Nora's Return, 24). Cheney's Nora was finally released from the years of lies and deceit within which Ibsen's Nora had found herself tangled for the sake of Torvald. She was freed from "the life of woman," which Fuller remarked was "outwardly a well-intentioned, cheerful dissimulation of her real life." Instead, Cheney's Nora learned to live her life in accordance to the truth, never again veiling the reality of her condition. In her 1895 lecture, Cheney had specifically stated that "Margaret was no sentimentalist, who valued self-sacrifice for its own sake. She thought that self-culture was the duty of every human being" (Reminiscences 202). Therefore, Cheney made certain that her character followed through Fuller's design, cultivating her spirit through Cheney's personal choice of service—hospital work—and rising to truth and perfection. Although Nora's return to domesticity in Nora's Return may have been more affirming of the domestic roles of womanhood than Fuller's would have been, Cheney nonetheless deeply valued the experience gained from both public service and intellectual nourishment; after all, Cheney's tireless years of working for the Freedmen's Aid Bureau in the 1860s, managing the education of freed African Americans, stands as further evidence of her own understanding for the need of education to collapse "arbitrary" restrictions.

Finally, throughout her literary journey, Cheney extended the claim that with the rise to the ideal condition, men and women, both, may finally access that divine energy, "the eternal womanly," that may consistently uplift humanity from its tribulations. In a voice contemporary to her time, Cheney communicated Fuller's call for women in her analysis of Goethe; she conveyed Fuller's argument, which, she said, was the same for woman as for humanity and which involved "the individual right of freedom and development. She shall work out her life according to her own insight, finding access to the infinite soul by direct aspiration and reception, without arbitrary constraint" (Reminiscences 194). Margaret, the key figure in Goethe's Faust, remained as the ideal subject for Fuller and, later, Cheney, both of whom recognized that the transcendent spirit, feminine in form and manifested in Margaret, had the power to collapse all obstacles that emerged out of humanity's fallible nature. In an essay commemorating the women who had helped to change the social landscape of Boston, Cheney poignantly wrote that "Although the influence of Sarah Margaret Fuller…was by no means confined to Boston, it was here fully felt; and it lingers in all the life and character of Boston women" ("Women of Boston" 351). Thus, Ednah Dow Cheney, through her own life as an author and reformer, carried on that "lingering" spirit of Margaret Fuller well into the late-nineteenth century, carving out a solid platform for justice into the early Progressive Era.

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Great Job Ladies, Now Give Us Our Jobs Back!

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"The Angel of No Man's Land" is full of conservative themes relating to the experience of women in America during the early 1900s. Women during the early 20th century were expected to follow several guidelines or social norms, mostly revolving around religious piety and caregiving. The so-called "angel" in this image is depicted as a nurse, rising high above the battlefield with heavenly rays of light emanating from her. Despite progress being made by suffragists, images such as this still appeared to the public in an attempt to glorify the traditional woman. Men were afraid that women were going to rise up and demand their rights and freedoms, so they continued to pump out propaganda such as this work in order to reinforce the motherly, loving image of women. The three major themes of religion, motherhood, and domesticity are the driving forces behind this particular piece.

The first major theme that really engulfs this work is that of religion. One of the most noticeable components of the image is the enormous cross behind the nurse. During the early 1900s, men and women in the United States were mostly Christians, and it was a society in which many Americans were encouraged to stick to their religion in a devout manner (DeJong 260). Without much entertainment besides the invention of the radio, many Americans religiously attended church in order to form a sense of community and to have fellow Christians to form friendships with (DeJong 260). The invention of cell phones, television, film, and modern music devices has had a somewhat opposite effect on religious life in America. They provide almost a sort of synthetic feeling of community without having to leave the home. But without these inventions, Americans had to rely on important community centers such as the local churches and places of worship. So, to draw in potential customers, the folks at Tullar-Meredith Company added a religious tone, apart from the obvious use of the word angel in the title of the song. The rays of light given off by the angel add to this theme. To give her one final touch, the artist made her much, much larger than the soldiers in the battlefield, giving her the appearance of an angel that has magically appeared in the sky. The majority of sheet music produced by the Tullar-Meredith Company was in the form of Christian hymns, which makes the religious theme of "Angel of No Man's Land" even less surprising ("Grant"). By portraying this nurse as an angel, the artist has managed to applaud the nurses for the job they did while maintaining their religious integrity. She is not threatening like some of the young atheists and feminists, but merely a pious woman performing her nursing duties.

Another major theme of this work is motherhood, and the caregiver persona that women were expected to adopt. The job of a nurse was almost exclusively for women in the early half of the 20th century, because women were expected to have the motherly caregiver type of instincts necessary to be a nurse (Wagner 27). Men regarded nursing as a "womanly profession," despite the fact that nurses were so important to all men, especially to the men on the front lines in Europe (Wagner 27). Ironically, the men in the image are very small, almost infantile. The soldiers that are not already dead are sitting or lying on the ground, and a few are reaching up towards the nurse as if they were toddlers reaching for their mothers. This appeals to the patriotic men and women of America, who see this nurse on the front lines tending to the heroic men risking their lives overseas. A few nurses during World War I, such as Helen Fairchild, were even more dedicated to taking care of the soldiers, setting up trauma tents just a few hundred yards away from the battlefield, well within the range of artillery and chemical weapons such as mustard gas (Wagner 33). This works steers the viewer away from the idea of nurses such as Fairchild practically on the battlefield by portraying the nurses as an angel rising above the battlefield, away from the action and danger. It's almost as if credit is being taken away from the actual nurses who were on the front lines by saying that they were merely there in the minds of the soldiers. Rather than showing the

women in tents dressing the wounds of the soldiers, they are represented as a symbol in the sky instead. This maintains the motherly image by not portraying these women as being too independent or too brave. They are simply the caretakers for the courageous soldiers.

The role of women in America during this period was still mostly one of subservience, despite the fact that some progress had been made during the suffrage movement. Most women were still expected to cook, clean, and take care of the children while the husband was at work. In order for the men to regain their jobs and status as the "bread-winners" of the household, they also had to transition the women back into a life of domesticity. Sheet music and artwork such as this were most likely created in order to implant the ideas of domestic life back into the minds of American women. They wanted to remind the women that before they were working in the factories and supporting the war effort, they were at home cleaning and taking care of the children. In order to achieve this, the artist had to invoke as many aspects of the "ideal woman" as he possibly could. Even the kind features on the nurse's face seem to suggest that she is a mild-mannered, non-threatening, subservient female that complied with the conservative goals of most American men of that era.

It would seem that despite the new role the women of America had to shoulder during the First World War, they still had not completely made progress. The 19th amendment to the Constitution would be signed shortly after the end of the war, but it would take decades for women to truly begin to be treated more equally. Propaganda such as "The Angel of No Man's Land" was littered with positive images in order to mask true intentions. While men appreciated the role of women in America during the First World War, many of them felt that women needed to relinquish this new feeling of independence and return to their domestic roles. In order to achieve this, artists and authors used themes such as religion, motherhood, and domesticity to try to convince the women of America to step down from their jobs and return to the kitchen.

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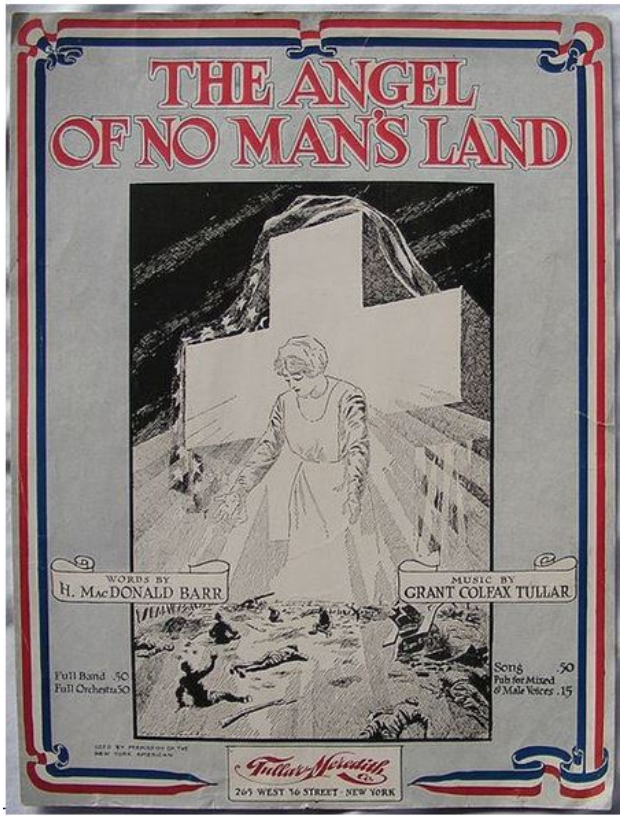

The strip of land between trenches occupied by opposing forces, or "no man's land," was considered the most dangerous territory for a soldier to be near during World War I. This drawing depicts an angelic nurse watching over the men on the battlefield. Her status as a caregiver as well as her open-armed posture exemplifies the motherly characteristics of the "ideal woman" of the early 1900s.

The Bachelor Embraces the American Fairytale

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American society has come a long way over the years to a place where all are equal, but gender stereotypes are still very much alive and in some sense even embraced. Despite being constitutionally equal to

men, Women are not always viewed this way by society the reality television show, The Bachelor, is the best example of this inequality, proving that many women still prefer a fairytale ending of being saved by Prince Charming to equality in romantic relationships. On the show, "women agree beforehand to claim [the bachelor], sight unseen, as their ideal spouse."[1] The bachelor has the absolute power in determining the outcome of the women's future. "[B]y far the most successful of the group (and the model for the rest), ABC's The Bachelor."[2] Even in the spin-off series The Bachelorette, when the roles are reversed and the woman holds the power, weak audience ratings make it clear that society is not as accepting of a "Princess" Charming.

These are representative of the attitudes prevalent in reality dating shows and their views on the role of women. Additionally, "dating shows might suggest an appalling gallery of female stereotypes and a patriarchal, fairy-tale ethos."[3] The success of The Bachelor provides ratings that women vie for the approval of a male and long for the male's gaze, something women have tried to overcome for centuries, but perhaps the appeal of being the chosen one remains too engrained in society for women to completely reject it. Women are still objectified by men, but the objectification of men is not as readily accepted.

One possible explanation for society's engrained idea that men should be the one in charge is a concept known as the separation of spheres. The separation of spheres is a concept made popular by Alexis de Toqueville, a French man who toured America. De Toqueville wrote an article, "How the Americans Understand the Equality of the Sexes" (1831), stating that the duties of men were different from those of women. These duties were the idea that the woman's place was inside the home taking care of the children and doing the housework while the man was the one to leave the house and have a job outside the home. Her job was to make sure her husband was happy and cared for since he was the provider for the home.[4] Television shows of the 1950's embraced this concept and portrayed women in this fashion.

Although legally, in America, men and women are equals, and women have worked hard to earn that right. At the beginning of America as a nation, Abigail Adams wrote, "If particular care and attention is not paid to the Ladies we are determined to foment a Rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by an Laws in which we have no voice, or Representation."[5] Her words would prove prophetic. The Nineteenth Amendment gave women the right to vote in 1919. The twentieth century saw women gradually became part of the workforce when men went off to war in World War II and later moved slowly to being accepted to higher education. In 1972 The Title IX made it illegal to discriminate in schools based on gender. Women have come a long way to earn the right to hold the same jobs, receive the same pay, and achieve the same level of education that men have. Yet, despite legal advances, one place women struggled to be portrayed as equals is on television.

The role of women on reality television has not had quite as drastic changes as they have in the legal sense. One of the first reality television shows that featured women was Queen for a Day, which began on the radio in 1945 and moved to television and ran until 1964. In this show, contestants told their heart-wrenching problems on air to compete for a prize and the title of "Queen." Because the audience voted for the "queen" using an "applause meter", the woman with the saddest story usually was the winner. The show came out of World War II and people began to become very materialistic.[6] "At the time, Queen for a Day, served as a modern day rags-to-riches reality show."[7] These women were shown almost to see who could be the most desperate and who had the most pathetic situation. "The winner was crowned Queen for a Day. The selected queen was dramatically adorned with a crown, robe, and roses."[8] The concept of helping the winning woman to be could be crowned "Queen for a day", feeds into the idea that there was no show called "King for a Day", because men are treated like kings every day. The women are the ones who deserve only a day.

The next big show to emphasize stereotypical women on television was the sitcom I Love Lucy. This show embraced the concept of Separation of Spheres. In this show, Lucy and Ethel try desperately to make something of themselves, but always end up in trouble when they try to do jobs outside the home. On one specific episode Lucy and Ethel try to get jobs in a chocolate factory but the conveyor belt carrying the chocolates moves too fast and the women end up stuffing chocolate anywhere they can in order for it to not pass by them. In another episode Lucy appears in a television commercial for a new medicine but the medicine makes her intoxicated and she can't do the commercial properly after practicing it too many times.[9] These two examples show the viewers that women are not meant to work outside the home. The women's

place is in the home and the men's place is in the workforce. When Lucy leaves the house, chaos ensues. The show exemplifies the idea of the separation of the spheres. I Love Lucy was a show that embraced separation of spheres in the 1950s.

While Lucille Ball played a character that always managed to get in trouble and relied greatly on her husband, it was Ball who was the producer and star of I Love Lucy. "In an era when women were expected to play traditionally roles as housewives and mothers, Bal created a female character who constantly tried to become more independent and add some excitement to her life."[10] The question remains why would Lucille Ball portray herself as a character to be mocked when she had the say in how the show played out. Perhaps it is because the view of women at the time was that the man was the head of the house hold and in order for her show to be a success, the show had to follow the stereotypes. "Although Lucy Ricardo's struggles always had humorous results, Lucille ball's career as an actress, producer, and president of a major television studio stood as a real-life example for American women."[11] The show gained great success, and the show followed the separation of spheres. Lucille Ball really represented the "American Dream", in which she worked her way up to being a successful woman in Hollywood.

In America there is a myth of the "American Dream", which goes along with Horatio Alger's myth. This is the idea that if a person works hard, then he can become somebody, achieve his dream and make something of his life. This is the myth of individual opportunity. Each person is judged on merit and has a fair opportunity to develop these merits. All that is needed is hard work and common sense.[12] This is the type of dream that children in America grow up with. Their parents tell them that when they grow up they can be anything they want to be if they work hard. Horatio Alger's myth is not the only myth children learn about, they are read and told about fairy tales, and how these fairy tales are shown in Disney movies.

American children, as well as children around the world, are raised on fairy tales with a "happily ever after" ending in mind and something to strive for. The American dream is instilled in their minds through these fairy tales, creating the happily ever after. This develops gender roles in the minds of children, which affects the ability for men and women to be equal. Since children are very impressionable, these stories have a large impact on them. "Millions of women must surely have formed their psycho-sexual self-concepts and their ideas of what they could or could not accomplish, what sort of behavior would be rewarded, and of the nature of reward itself, in part from their favorite fairy tales."[13] The natural way of these children fairy tales is for the prince to rescue the princess. The Bachelor is shown in a positive light while all the women trying to impress him are shown as emotional and not as well put together. He is the prince waiting to rescue his princess. This is a normal order of dating and the way relationships should come about.

These stories portray women as 'weak, submissive, dependent, and self-sacrificing while men are powerful, active, and dominant.' Fairy tales define women as beautiful objects, powerless to alter the events in their lives, while fairy tale men are powerful agents of their own destiny (39).[14]
The Bachelor is an extreme example of the gender roles accepted by society and the roles that are so ingrained in society that it is difficult for men and women to be true equals. In an article written by Leslee Kuykendal and Brian Sturm, they state, "The cultural norms represented in fairy tales play a large part in the socialization processes of the child who read about them."[15] The women on The Bachelor and the woman on The Bachelorette often refer to the events and the show as a fairy tale and the search for Prince Charming. "Researchers concluded that repeated exposure to the stereotyped images of gender was likely to have detrimental effect on the development of a child's self-esteem as well as his perceptions of his own and others' abilities and potential."[16] With this in mind, it is understandable that women cannot get past this idea of the search for Prince Charming that will rescue her and give her a better life. These two reality television shows reinforce this view that society has, because The Bachelor has such high ratings and great success while The Bachelorette struggles for viewers. The Bachelor is an example of the normal gender roles society accepts.

The television shows themselves are full of imagery that embodies the elements of a fairy tale. The season starts off with the women arriving in a limousine in which they pull up to a mansion to be greeted by the handsome "prince". He is dressed in a suit and the girls are dressed in evening gowns. One by one they get out of the limousine and meet the bachelor for the first time, hoping to make a good impression. He greets them with a hug and occasionally quite literally sweeps the girls off their feet. The women who are able to remain are one step closer to acquiring their Prince Charming. Once all

the women have met the bachelor, he comes into the mansion and has mini dates with the women. The dates are unstructured and other women often step in when another is trying to make an impression. At this point, it is all about which woman can out do the others and make the best first impression. On the first episode of multiple seasons, the girls constantly cut in on one another when they are trying to have their time with the new bachelor and make the best impression.[17] Then they move on to the rose ceremony.[18]

Both The Bachelor and The Bachelorette rely greatly on a rose ceremony, which is a direct connection to fairy tales. "The Bachelor climaxes with the 'rose ceremony,' in which the bachelor selects his top picks by offering them roses."[19] In the first episode of each season, there is the first impression rose that all the contestants are vying for. "The ceremony gives the women very little power, reducing them to waiting on their man, and to being given identity via the bachelor's gaze."[20] At the end of every episode, contestants are eliminated as a possible perfect match. "A dialogic reading of the seemingly patriarchal rose ceremony, therefore, would observe that the tension and discomfort of a public dumping ceremony may dominate many viewers' experience of this set-piece."[21] Those that are able to stay on the show are called down one by one to receive a rose, which means these contestants will continue to try to be the perfect match for the bachelor. The rose symbolizes more than just moving on, it has a deeper meaning attached to all red roses. Dean Tersigni states, "Red roses are given to those who you want to show love and passion, people who you have great respect for, and those who have shown great courage… a single red rose shows love."[22] With a rose symbolizing more than a simple gesture or a simple flower, this ceremony is of great importance because the rose is a love symbol and stands for hope that these contestants still stand a chance at their happily ever after.

Roses play a large role in fairy tales such as Beauty and the Beast. In Beauty and the Beast, the prince is cursed and turned into a beast. The condition of the curse is for the beast to learn to love someone and be loved before the last petal of the rose falls in order for the curse to be broken. At the dramatic ending Belle breaks the curse right before the last petal falls and right before the Beast dies. Again, this rose symbolizes love and the ability to find someone to love who will love you back. This story would not have had the same feeling had the flower been of a different type rather than a red rose. There is a cultural myth that the red rose stands for love, which is why women adore them so much and why each woman feels special when she receives one on The Bachelor, even though she isn't the only one accepting the rose.

Although both shows rely on the rose ceremony, The Bachelor's ceremony has greater success. The prince is saving his princess, and every girl wants to be saved. "The Bachelor serves as the archetypal example, offering all the accoutrements of modern-day fairy-tale romance, from evening gowns to extravagant dates."[23] When the "princess" is the one in charge, choosing her prince, there isn't as much of the fundamental fairy tale elements there.

Even their gender-flipping variants, such as Cupid, The Bachelorette, and Average Joe, often made the single female appear more desperate than the cool and collected men and they allowed the men considerably more power and agency in the process.[24] A woman in power is not necessarily seen as attractive in the eyes of society. Gender roles engrained in society prove that the men are to be the strong and powerful partner in a relationship to take care of the weak woman. "Those shows that rely heavily on a fairy-tale ethos can render women inevitable losers."[25] The women give up part of their power and identity for the sole purpose of winning over the bachelor and to be the chosen one. "…Man eventually chooses her above all other suitors, thereby validating her as a person, completing her, rescuing her from a humdrum life, and giving her the chance to become a princess of Reality TV-Land."[26] To be the chosen one feels as though a person has great worth and self-satisfaction over having the power to choose.

Reality television in general allows the viewers to have a connection to the cast and to allow them to be relatable.

What ties together all the various formats of the reality TV genre is their professed abilities to more fully provide viewers an unmediated, voyeuristic, and yet often playful look into what might be called the 'entertaining real.' This fixation with 'authentic' personalities, situations, problems, and narratives is considered to be reality TV's primary distinction from fictional television and also its primary selling point.[27] The Bachelor is no different from any other reality television show in this sense. Love is a complicated subject in the lives of people. People strive to find that one person who is the perfect match and can lead to that fairy tale life they have always read and dreamt about. Other shows, such as Say Yes to the Dress, put

a great emphasis on a person's wedding day. For this reason, The Bachelor mirrors society for the most part. There is the underlying fairy tale dream that starts in the mind of young girls in which they are told some day they will find a prince charming who will rescue them. Even when they grow up to find that these stories were make-believe, that dream never truly goes away. The idea that the viewer could very well be on the show or that the viewer has been in the same type of situation is what draws the audience. Watching the relationships develop between the bachelor and the contestants is a feeling most viewers can empathize with. Since dating and falling in love can be one of the most difficult and confusing parts of life but at the same time is so rewarding, it is a concept audiences love.

The audience watching the show becomes involved in the show by playing along. "Part of the "game" for the viewer at home lies in guessing who will win, such shows can actively encourage viewers to criticize the women's relative style and looks, hence adding considerable scrutiny to the voyeurism of the male gaze."[28] The male gaze has been a concept around for ages and one that society has not overcome. "The male gaze looks at a female person as an erotic or aesthetic object. The mass media, for example, promote women's bodies as objects of men's desires as a means to satisfy the male gaze."[29] As the name itself implies, it is a masculine concept, one that empowers men over women.[30]

The reality of reality is that as viewers, they feed into the ability to constantly watch the contestants behind the scenes and how they talk about the other women and how they treat each other. The audience gets wrapped up in not only what happens between the bachelor and the contestants but, how they act "behind the scene". "Female contestants criticizing each other in secret, and in doing so, they further establish a secondary sport of encouraging viewers, too, to criticize the women's looks."[31] If the contestants on the show talk poorly about one another, it influences the views of the audience and allows them to begin to create these negative and critical perceptions as well.

That being said, the effects of objectification of women and degradation of women, brings into question why women put themselves through the televised agony, for a chance to have Prince Charming choose them? In an article written by Stephanie Pappas, she states, "Numerous studies have found that feeling objectified is bad for women. Being ogled can make women do worse on math tests, and self-sexualization, or scrutiny of one's own shape, is linked to body shame, eating disorders and poor mood."[32] The Bachelor clearly plays into this objectification of the contestants on the show. The contestants themselves do it to one another, giving more credibility to the idea of women being viewed for their appearance rather than who they are as a person. A study by Stephanie Pappas, shows our brains themselves perceive men as whole objects while women are interpreted in parts.[33] "There could be evolutionary reasons that men and women process female bodies differently, [Sarah] Gervais said, but because both genders do it, 'the media is probably a prime suspect."[34] This concept goes so far back in history and begins to take shape in the lives of children at such a young age; it truly is a part of American culture. Therefore, before jumping to conclusions that society has not progressed at all due to the stereotyping and gender roles that still exist, it is partially due to the advancement made in the media to this point that results in our inability to overcome objectification.

The Bachelor has such great ratings and acceptability because it is a relatable show. One of its greatest appeals is due to the fact that viewers at one point or another have been pursued or pursued someone.[35] While watching the show, it's easy to find someone to relate to. "ABC's The Bachelor (and the direct spin-off The Bachelorette) offered viewers the opportunity to see 25 single contestants vie for the romantic affections of a member of the opposite sex."[36] There is a gratification feeling that the audience experiences from this show because of the competition that goes on during the show. "This study identified one new gratification in reality television viewing: personal utility."[37] This concept is new to the reality television factors. As reality television has become more prominent in society and adjusting to the needs of the audiences to gain higher ratings, the study shows that the programs are aiming towards specific groups.

One possible explanation for the higher level of gratifications obtained for this factor might be that as reality programs have become more individualized and specific in terms of content, they no longer appeal to the wider audience they did at their incept. Reality programming may begin catering more and more niche groups and subgroups for ratings. In this, viewers may no longer be watching them as much for social utility, but to obtain gratifications on an individual or specialized level.[38]

In a study reported in Journal of Broadcasting &

Electronic Media, the people in the study reported 79.7% of people who watching The Bachelor/Bachelorette were women and only 44.1% of males watched them.[39] This evidence shows that women make up the majority of viewers that watch The Bachelor and therefore support what the show stands for. The fact that The Bachelor has greater ratings makes it evident that the show has personal utility and is more relatable and gratifying.

Furthermore, the show allows women to be torn down even when they are the main viewers and supporters of the show. Articles even describe the show as one that tears down women. One such article written by Joshua T.E. Kirchner, he states," Who but sexists can tolerate a program whose aim is to portray women as objects to be sorted through for the purpose of finding a shiny one to keep as a wife? I cannot fathom why these women participate in such a show. Yet many more are addicted to watching it."[40] A man wrote this article and even he finds the way the women are displayed to be unacceptable. This raises the question of how society views women when reality shows are created to be relatable and reflect the lives of Americans.

In addition to the show degrading women and making them look fragile and weak, the show leads to the natural reaction of jealousy among the women on the show. "Just a week later on the ABC reality show… her ecstasy turned to agony. Fueled by envy, the once sweet and flirty dentist, 26, turned into an emotional wreck, threatening to walk out – and promos show her wreaking havoc on group dates in an upcoming episode." The contestant was later quoted in the article, Ashley H. said, "I had what I think to be a pretty normal reaction: a little bit of jealousy."[41] Indeed jealousy is a natural reaction to the situation, when 25 women are all after the same man. In the very first episode of season fifteen of The Bachelor, or any season at that, the girls are vying for the first impression rose as well as to continue to stay on the show, they become jealous of one another right away. The girls cut in on one another while they are trying to talk to The Bachelor and make a connection with Brad, the bachelor. Women willingly sign up to participate on The Bachelor, that shows these women as emotional beings who are unable to overcome jealousy even though it is evident in this situation.

However, when the roles are reverse on The Bachelorette, there is a double standard in the idea that a woman can be dating twenty-five guys at one time and be the one in power. "Initially, there was some concern within ABC that having a woman be the hunter could leave some with the impression that the woman was easy."[42] The idea of a woman in power is not standard. "Relationships between men and women have been characterized, since their origins, by inequalities. This situation of inferiority in which women find themselves, both in their professional and personal relationship…"[43]

The idea that The Bachelor is a hit when it comes to ratings in the reality television dating shows genre, but The Bachelorette has had less viewers, lower ratings, and had a hiatus speaks for the actuality of viewers' opinions. This stereotype that the man has to be superior to the woman and that problems can arise when he feels inferior to the woman shows the inequalities that are alive in American society. "Finding [The Bachelor and Joe Millionaire] to contain a complex interplay of gender performance, fairy tale, unruly women, and camp vulgarity, [Jonathan] Gray argues that many viewers read these programs as carnivaleseque, distancing themselves from the often repressive stereotypes of men, women, and romance that lie within."[44] The show is almost a satirical representation of how far people are willing to go in order to find prince charming. Some of the events on the show are hard to believe that a person would truly and willingly do them, making the producers play a role in the way the show is shaped and cut.

The power of those in charge such as producers and the effect they have on every day people was displayed in an experiment done by Stanley Milgram, a researcher at Yale. Milgram was inspired by the Holocaust and how authority figures effect people decided to see how far people were willing to go when told they must continue regardless of the pain of others. The study was influenced by the Cold War and how easily people are brain washed. In the experiment, a person was to question a person who was connected to an electric shock machine on the other side of the wall. Each time the person on the other side got the question wrong, the person being studied was to deliver a shock from the machine. Each time the voltage of the shock went up. When the person on the other side of the wall began to really scream and howl and ask for the experiment to be over, the person running the experiment told the one questioning the person on the other side of the wall that the experiment had to continue. Even when the person on the other side of the wall stopped answering, most likely due to the voltage killing them, the experiment went on.[45] The

experiment showed just how far people are willing to go when someone of authority tells them that it is okay to continue on and that it is necessary to keep going. In the same sense, that is exactly what The Bachelor is doing with these women.

On The Bachelor, it is as though the producers are testing just how far people are willing to go to find prince charming. How far are people willing to go in order to find "true love"? To an extent, these women are willing to give up their dignity and perhaps even morals, simply at a shot of winning over a man that they feel could give them the fairy tale ending that society has told them they need to find. Why does this fairy tale myth still live in the minds of American society in the twenty-first century when the country has developed and progressed in so many aspects. Reality television started off with shows like Queen for a Day and I Love Lucy and shifted to shows like America's Funniest Home Video and Cops as a cheap way to entertain people and give real life events. Now reality television has progressed to shows that select people to be on the show and allow America to watch things progress between complete strangers including shows such as The Real World, The Bachelor and The Bachelorette.

The question is whether reality television has really progressed and what the shows tell about society. The Bachelor enforces inequality among the sexes, the extent to which people are willing to go to find love, and the engrained messages children receive from society about love. The main goal for the bachelor is to end with an engagement and for two people to fall in love and get married.

Additional support of the inequality of men and women is the way in which society treats a man who has many partners versus a woman who has multiple partners. The usual response to a man would be one in which he is congratulated or called "the man". Where as a woman with the same reputation is usually called derogatory names and seen in a very negative light. In an article about Cosmo Girl, women are described in a negative light. "Wives and single women were depicted as shrews and 'goldiggers,' while bachelors were advised to pursue sex on a casual basis to avoid getting snared in a 'long term contract."[46] The idea is that the woman should only be in search for her one and only while men should be testing the waters.

The show is also a blasphemous presentation of humanity's nuptial vocation. It does away with that little thing called the sanctity of marriage in favor of a dramatic and thus ratings-seizing, money-grabbing game show from which the protagonist receives a prize that might as well be a bundle of body parts with a personality.[47]

This adds into question the significance of marriage in American culture. Is it merely something to be achieved at all cost while at the same time losing its true significance? The emphasis seems to be on the idea of the fairy-tale ending, but the shift in society is a push to find the perfect match, when in the past people dated and eventually met that special someone. Now there are all sorts of media-outlets to help people find their perfect match such as dating websites. The fairy-tale is something to be achieved by all, but there are new ways of going about finding a prince and The Bachelor has evidence that audiences support this way of finding a match. However, there lies that double standard in which less of an audience supports The Bachelorette as a way of finding her match. The male is to be the strong and powerful one in charge of making the decision and choosing the princess in which he is to save.

American society has put an enormous amount of value on finding prince charming and having the perfect wedding day. "The U.S. bridal industry is estimated at between $50 and $70 billion annually; the potential for this market is huge."[48] This statistic is proof of the extent in which people are willing to spend on a single day because this is supposed to be the happiest day of the couple's lives and the day in which the woman is to feel like a true princess. She buys an expensive dress, has a huge extravagant place for a reception and invites everyone she knows.

In addition to gala weddings as portrayed in Hollywood films, various reality television programs have been added to the bridal media milieu. Focused on the experience of ordinary people in actual, unscripted environments, documentary-style wedding programs record couples' efforts to escape their current habitus by creating the perfect wedding.[49]

The wedding day is often called the bride's day and it is all about her on that day. The wedding is supposed to be about the couple on that day but often they are overlooked and the bride is the main focus of the day. This relates back to the idea of the show Queen for a Day. The bride receives a single day, however the groom will become the king of the house from here on out.

The wedding provides a venue in which women are still expected to show, and display to others, their femininity. The one day in which a woman, any woman, can be a star is her wedding day, and the reward for

adhering to a hegemony of femininity is a temporary status of being a celebrity…"[50]
No matter what day it is, the woman is looked at for beauty and objectified. These themes are rather outdated themes that are hard to believe they are should still alive in today's society but they are. Even when the roles are reversed in The Bachelorette, American society does not fully embrace it as well as they embrace The Bachelor.

Although the stereotyping of women is still alive in American society, the truth is that Americans are romantics. It is another trait that describes the customs. Fredrick Jackson Turner wrote a paper on the frontier in America, which later became known as the Turner Thesis. In this thesis he stated that Americans had certain tendencies or traits acquired from the frontier.

The presence and predominance of numerous cultural traits -- "that coarseness and strength combined with acuteness and acquisitiveness; that practical inventive turn of mind, quick to find expedients; that masterful grasp of material things... that restless, nervous energy; that dominant individualism" -- could all be attributed to the influence of the frontier.[51]
In the same way, the raising of American children on fairy tales including showing them Disney movies, creates a tendency to feel the desire to be rescued or to witness that happily ever after.

Reality television shows simply want to give the audience entertainment that resembles real life topics and situations. "And as long as viewers are willing to understand that not all that they see is real, and to live in the fantasy of the adventure, then networks will continue to air unscripted dating shows."[52] Reality television show is all about ways to draw in viewers at any cost. The Bachelor has great success in attracting viewers regardless of how the season ends or how the relationships turn out.

The fact that the couples never really stuck together, or all, didn't affect the ratings, either. As viewers began to realize that not everything on a reality show is real, but rather contrived or manipulated to meet a potential storyline, the pressure to create real-life couples became secondary to creating good drama.[53]
The need for a happily ever after is ingrained in American society whether it is by being a contestant on The Bachelor or by watching and supporting the show, the need to be a part of the fairy tale is a significant part of American culture. Society has indeed progressed and become a more advanced civilization, but the fairy tale prince that saves his princess is the way children are raised and is a part of the American myth. The prince saving the princess is the American dream and although it is a stereotype that should not have survived until this time it defines American traditions. The Bachelor goes well beyond the acceptable actions for finding prince charming, but mirrors the view society has on love and fairy tales. The American dream is to live happily ever after which, requires finding the perfect match.

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Ritual Components of Black Friday

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Each year, just as the Halloween moon is setting, retailers are preparing for what has become the single highest grossing retail day in America, Black Friday. Throughout November, as stores are filling their stock rooms, shoppers from Connecticut to California are readying their lists and honing their bargain hunting skills, in preparation for the biggest shopping day of the year. The Christmas season, and its abundance of shopping, is typically seen as a boon for retailers and a well needed boost to a struggling economy.

For decades, shoppers wanting to get an early start on their holiday gift lists have ventured out the day following Thanksgiving, colloquially called Black Friday; however, it has been within the last 10-years, that this day has become the key focus for consumers and retailers alike during the Christmas buying season. Millions of people have shifted their holiday preparations

to this day, making it the single largest retail day in America, replacing the Saturday before Christmas in 2002 [i].

This year, Walmart, America's largest retailer, has forgone Thanksgiving entirely, keeping some stores open all day, while the rest will open at 10 pm to offer early holiday savings to the holiday masses. Compare this to a decade ago, when Walmart kept its doors shuttered until 5 am Friday morning in many of their locations [ii]. This increasing push of retailers to open on Thanksgiving day has led many in the media and across the country to begin crying fowl, saying Black Friday is infringing on Thanksgiving and robing the day of its meaning [iii]. Contrarily, an estimated 247-million people took to the stores Thanksgiving weekend, showing wide-spread approval [iv].

Resent research found that this overwhelming popular support, in conjunction with the manner many prepare for Black Friday has many elements similar to ritualized behavior[v]. In conjunction with this ritualized element, increased consumerism and violence on Black Friday has caused many to ask if the thanks has been removed from Thanksgiving. However, given Thanksgiving's historical relationship with capitalism, including the turkey industry, NFL Football and the Macy's parade, Black Friday consumerism is only an extension of the historical commercialization of Thanksgiving, and does not infringe but rather enriches the holiday, providing additional layers of tradition.

Controversy surrounding this Black Friday is not limited to its influence on Thanksgiving. Numerous written accounts over the last 20-years, from publishers as renowned as Time Magazine to any number of ad-hoc, on-line news services and countless newspaper articles, have provided misinformation regarding the genesis of this day. The story typically reported is, "Black Friday is the day many businesses go into the black" (i.e. gain a profit); however, Bonnie Taylor-Blake from the American Dialectic Society can prove differently.

Mrs. Taylor-Blake has become something of an expert on the origins of the term Black Friday. As Mrs. Taylor-Blake informed me in an interview conducted via email, she never felt right about this reason for the term Black Friday. She says, "This explanation never made sense to me, especially because the general term Black Friday was previously applied to those Fridays in which some calamity had taken place._ Moreover, there's a fairly long tradition (at least in the first half of the 20th century) of referring to a Friday the 13th as 'Black Friday.'" [vi]

It was this dissatisfaction with an answer which lead her to an article in the Public Relations News written by Denny Griswold in 1961. In this article, Griswold describes how the term Black Friday was coined by Philadelphia Police in reference to the traffic problems. Griswold's piece describes the city's efforts to have the day's name changed to Big Friday following pressure from the retail community. Retailers feared the name would ward off shoppers. Although this public relations campaign eventually failed, a subsequent one held in the 1970's and 1980's was successful. Taylor-Blake describes a second effort to tie the name Black Friday with business' profits. She says, "In the end, that was a pretty successful, clever maneuver, because – with Black Friday's explosion nationally over the past decade – the "red ink to black ink" explanation is the one that has stuck._ It's been repeated by public relations bulletins put out by the retail industry, but it's also been put forth by print, radio, and TV reporters covering holiday sales trends._ That the retail industry has been able to sell journalists on the "real" explanation behind the name just goes to show how well they've succeeded." [vii]

Taylor-Blake was able to validate this account by separate account, written by Martian Apfelbaum, Executive Vice President of Earl P.L. Apfelbaum, Inc. In this account, Mr. Apfelbaum begins by saying, "'Black Friday' is the name which the Philadelphia Police Department has given to the Friday following Thanksgiving Day. It is not a term of endearment either. 'Black Friday' officially opens the Christmas shopping season in center city, and it usually brings massive traffic jams and over-crowded sidewalks as the downtown stores are mobbed from opening to closing." [viii]

Holiday shopping has a long standing tradition dating back to the middle of the 19th century. One newspaper article from as early as 1848 urges people to go shopping despite an economic recession. [ix] Another article from the Milwaukee Sentinel, 1959, says, "The cold weather seemed to stimulate the pace of Saturday's buying. Although the crowds downtown were somewhat under Friday's smashing turnout." [x]

Finally, in another article from the Milwaukee Sentinel written in 1970 describes the day following Thanksgiving, "Thousands of persons poured into city and suburban stores Friday in their annual welcome to the Christmas season. Shoppers swarmed the stores from early morning to late afternoon."[xi]

These reports show both a long standing tradition of shopping on the day following Thanksgiving, but also show a scene of relative calm, without the overcrowding typically associated with today's Black Friday. An article from the Schenectady Gazette, Albany, NY from 1988 quotes a general manager of Albany's Cross-Gates Mall as saying, "A lot of Black Friday is media hype. Everybody was worried about Black Friday last year so they waited to shop until Saturday or Sunday, which were much busier days."[xii]

An article, from the New York Times in 1987, describes the scene at a Northern New Jersey mall on Black Friday. "It's 8:30 in the morning, much too early to be leaning against a wall in a shopping mall, but Joy Vicari is here, waiting patiently outside Child World, a large well stocked toy story...The store won't open for another 30-minutes, but Ms. Vicari said she doesn't care. Today's mission, she explained, is to complete this year's Christmas shopping."[xiii]

These articles describe a scene much different from today's mass hysteria and can be used to gauge the general public sentiment regarding Black Friday. Both describe scenes of relative calm and much different from images captured during Black Friday 2012. During this year, like others, thousands of people flooded stores everywhere, mobbing cashiers and overwhelming facilities.[xiv] This comparison in the relative order versus disorder shows how, over the last 20-years, Black Friday has become something more than just a typical shopping day.

Another gauge one can use to track the evidence that Black Friday has changed in recent years, from a normal shopping event into something much more intense, are the acts of violence, and even deaths, resulting from Black Friday shopping. Beginning in 2008 with the trampling of Jdimytia Damour, there has been at-least one death associated with Black Friday shopping per year.[xv]

Since then, Black Friday sales across the country are typically marred by consumer misbehavior, violence, vandalism and other anti-social or maladaptive behaviors [xvi]. This year, like the four previous years, deep discounts and fears of low stock caused riotous scenes in front of retailers across America, including a shooting in Tallahassee, FL and a shoplifter being beaten to death by Walmart employees in Georgia. Although easy to blame the dynamics of crowd psychology to these events, Kenneth Rogers suggests behavior like this cannot be solely attributed to the behavior of crowds. He argues it is the retailers who are at fault. By offering deeply discounted merchandise in limited quantities, merchandizers create scenarios which manipulate consumer behavior.

In a recently published article in the Clothing and Textiles Research Journal, Sharron Lennon and her colleagues looked at these acts of violence, what their root causes are, and steps consumers can take to reduce violence.[xvii] In the article, A Perfect Store, the author surmised that people engage in these behavioral extremes for both intrinsic and extrinsic reasons. Intrinsically, the shopper who prepares, arrives early and gets the good-deal they find are motivated by a sense of being a smart shopper. Extrinsically, however, the money saved and the ability to give someone the perfect gift motivates consumers to go to extremes. Misbehavior occurs when there is a violation in the relationship paradigm between the consumer who has prepared and the merchandizer who fails on the delivery of a desired good (e.g., the item is out of stock). Through their research, they found that by ensuring adequate stock of merchandise and longer sales hours, retailers can avoid the triggers of consumer misbehavior. [xviii]

In spite of these simple steps, retailers continue to manipulate market conditions to ensure Black Friday continues to draw millions each year. Many people, in an attempt to be guaranteed deals and to be first in line, have begun camping out for days prior to Black Friday sales. When interviewed, the majority of people shared they were motivated by the sales; however, this is not always the case.

In 2010, two campers in St. Petersburg, FL, Tina Thain and Lori Davenport, were recognized for being the first in the country to start the Black Friday camp-out, some nine-days before Black Friday. For this, the ladies were rewarded with an iPad. When interviewed about their motives, Thain said, "It isn't about the sales. We just wanted to be first." Davenport followed, "There is just something about being first, a satisfaction in firstness."[xix]

Unlike Thain and Davenport, Samara Rembern, is here for the sales. As of Monday, November 20, 2012, 3-days before Black Friday, Rembern set up her tents outside of the Best Buy in Deptford, NJ. Her camp site is equipped with heaters and generators, and she says she looks forward to providing people with the gifts they want. She plans on purchasing, "A 40-inch (television) for my nephew, a 55-inch for my mom and hopefully the new Nintendo game for the kids if they have it in stock."[xx]

Another un-named man camping next to Samara, said, “Its worth it (camping out and missing Thanksgiving) if you can save thousands. This is my third year out here. Last year, my mom brought me Thanksgiving dinner. I ate it on the hood of her car.” [xxi]

Samara said she is expecting members of her family to bring Thanksgiving dinner to her. When asked if this is extreme, Samara responded with, “We’re here and we’re guaranteed to get our deals. Its all worth it.” [xxii]

With people camping out, shopping at the same stores and conducting the same behaviors year to year, some have begun to argue that Black Friday has become a ritual, or pseudo-holiday, unto itself. A recently published article titled An Exploratory Investigation into Black Friday Consumption Rituals looks at the components of ritual outlined by Rook and applies them to the consumer practices of Black Friday. Rook’s definition of ritual used for this research was, “a type of expressive, symbolic activity constructed of multiple behaviors that occur in a fixed, episodic sequence, and that tend to be repeated over time.”[xxiii]

To gain insight on consumer practices, the researchers provided questionnaires to 38 women over a 2-year period related to their Black Friday shopping habits. The researchers then analyzed the results and applied their findings to the principles of ritual established by Rook. The results of this research were, “Black Friday shopping activities constitute a collective consumption ritual that is practiced and shared by multiple generations of female family members and close friends.” [xxiv]

The authors summarize their findings by saying, “The communal nature of the event (Black Friday shopping), the detailed planning that takes place in advance, and the time bounded nature of the activity appear to be a section of the ritual that has been borrowed in some form from traditional holiday rituals... Thus Black Friday is a unique consumption ritual that blends aspects of traditional shopping rituals with elements of traditional holiday rituals in its social construction.” [xxv]

Another way to look at the apparent ritualistic nature that Black Friday consumerism has taken on is to use Catherine Bell’s six-category framework for ritual classification. As can be seen Black Friday has aspects which meet each of the six categories, includes: formalism, traditionalism, invariance, rule-governances, sacral symbolism and performance.[xxvi]

Formalism, or a set bound of behaviors, is apparent in the traditional consumer-merchant relationship. The consumer exchanges money with a clerk or cashier who is standing behind a counter, typically wearing some kind of formalized uniform or other vestibules. Beyond this traditional consumer formalism, Black Friday shopping has an etiquette until itself including websites, phone apps, and price matching. These tools, which, if not utilized, can lead to a loss of savings and the intrinsic rewards which accompany smart shopping.

As can be seen in the research completed by Lennon (et, al), many families have long standing traditions of Black Friday shopping, some going back over 30-years. Their study also show that it is an intergenerational trend, typically among females to shop with their mothers, sisters, grandmothers and other family members. This provides a sense of the traditionalism needed for Bell’s rituals.

Black Friday shopping excursions are seen to take on a sameness year-to-year. Market consolidation and the ability of only large retailers to purchase enough merchandize to offer steep discounts, has led to people shopping at the same stores each year. In a consolidated sample of nearly 3,000 twitter users, on Black Friday, 2011, a market research firm was able to identify nine stores which were discussed: Walmart, Best Buy, Target, Macy’s, Amazon, Kmart, Kohl’s and Nordstrom’s. [xxvii] This illustrates the small number of retailers fighting for consumer dollars. Although the marketplace is constantly changing, the factors including market consolidation, has provided a limited number of retailers available for Black Friday shopping, thus providing an invariance in the way people approach the day.

Black Friday’s roots in consumerism establishes certain rules of conduct; however, a new form of governance is on the rise as well. Public shaming has become a newly minted phenomenon on both social networking sites and morning news shows. With the availability of video ready cellphones, consumer misbehavior can easily be captured, shared with the masses, and is frequently used to punish bad behavior. This establishes a second tear of governance beyond the state, focusing on societal norms in the shopping situation, and establishing a new set of rules governing actions in situations like Black Friday.

Like the rules of governance, Black Friday’s roots in consumerism also brings with it a set of sacred symbols. An Austrian study conducted in 2010 shows

that children recognize corporate logos long before literacy skills are developed.[xxviii] This suggests an inborn attraction to symbols and highlights the potency of corporation branding. This predisposition towards logos and branding, in conjunction with the limited number of retailers able to offer the steep door-buster savings people crave, leads to these retailers becoming beacons during the holiday season, and elevated to sacred symbols of saving.

Bell's final category, performance, is endured throughout November. As retailers hoard merchandise for the Black Friday rush, consumers are accessing a variety of resources to plan for their holiday shopping. In a survey conducted of 31 participants on Surveymonkey.com, 50% of respondents reported using some tool on Black Friday. This use of aids in preparation for Black Friday has also been seen by Lennon and helps meet the performance criteria established by Bell.

From this analysis, and supported by the literature, Black Friday has ritualized elements that separate it from traditional shopping. Although shopping rituals do meet some of the criteria listed above, the singular importance of the day in conjunction with many people having a long weekend, an established history of shopping and the popular response to Black Friday has propelled it to become a holiday unto itself, but, does this holiday impose its capitalism onto Thanksgiving?

This has been a question asked more this year than in years prior in response to many of the large retailers, including Walmart, Target and Toys R' Us, opening their doors on Thanksgiving night. This left many asking if Black Friday has begun infringing upon the Thanksgiving holiday. In a survey conducted via Surveymonkey.com, 41% of respondents said "Yes," but can a consumer holiday infringe on Thanksgiving?

Although traditionally a New England Holiday, Thanksgiving as we celebrate it today owes its genesis to figures like Sarah Josepha Hale, Abraham Lincoln and not anyone from the Mayflower. Hale, author of the popular home journal Goodey's Magazine and Lady's Book, used her position as editor to outline how Thanksgiving is celebrated, what food should be present and how it should be prepared.[xxix] Through her efforts, and endorsed by Lincoln, Thanksgiving became known as the first national holiday in 1863, to be celebrated on the fourth Thursday in November. [xxx]

Matthew Dennis, author of Red, White and Blue Letter Days, feels Thanksgiving escapes the commercialism of many American holidays. He says that Thanksgiving, "...more successfully than most holidays, has managed to escape the wanton commercialization that purists complain has debauched other sacred calendrical moments." He continues, "..the most striking thing about Thanksgiving is that today, amid commercial blitzes and multicultural battles, the holiday remains remarkably unpoliticized and uncommercialized." [xxxi]

For an author like Dennis, Black Friday's "wonton commercialization" would most definitely impose upon the traditional Thanksgiving ritual. Although, later in this chapter Dennis blindly includes the NFL into the non-commercialization of Thanksgiving, a farce, given that the NFL makes millions in broadcasting these games, Dennis would see Thanksgiving night shopping as an imposition.

Contrary to Dennis, Elizabeth Pleck writes about the invasion commerce has already had on the traditional Thanksgiving holiday. Pointing to things like NFL football and the Macy's Thanksgiving parade, Pleck feels Thanksgiving has already become a commercial holiday. She says, "The Macy's Thanksgiving day parade, begun in 1924, was a symbol of the commercialization of a holiday the general public regarded as noncommercial. In truth, Thanksgiving had some commercial elements as early as the nineteenth century, when a man might give his brother a Bible as a Thanksgiving present...A Crisco ad from 1916, for example, showed a grey-haired granny with wire rimmed glasses holding her mince pie made with its product."[xxxii]

Adding to evidence of a commercialized Thanksgiving is a precedence set by Franklin D. Roosevelt. In 1939, Thanksgiving day was going to fall on November 30, leaving only 24 days until Christmas. Under duress from American retailers, and fearing this may stall economic recovery following the Great Depression, FDR signed a bill making Thanksgiving the third Thursday of the month, creating a political firestorm.[xxxiii] As a result, Thanksgiving was celebrated over the course of two weeks, on the third Thursday for the Nation, but on the fourth Thursday for traditionalists. Although this only lasted for two years, the move to side with retailers and reschedule Thanksgiving around the Christmas shopping season established a national precedence commercializing the Thanksgiving holiday.

Another indicator of Thanksgiving's economic importance, according the IBIS World Inc.'s 2010 Holiday spending report, Thanksgiving is the second

highest grossing American Holiday for retails, brining in an estimated $30-billion in 2010.[xxxiv] This comes not only in food consumption, but holiday travel as well. Given Thanksgiving's rating of the second highest grossing holiday in combination with events like the Macy's Thanksgiving parade, and Thanksgiving's historical association with NFL football, Thanksgiving has proven itself to be a holiday as commercialized as Christmas or any other holiday associated with consumerism. Thus, Black Friday is merely an extension of the consumeristic culture which has surrounded Thanksgiving since its inception.

Thanksgiving has also become an important date for on-line retailers. Although e-commerce currently does not meet the sales volume of traditional retail, each year, on-line sales climb, specifically on days like Thanksgiving. According to the National Retail Federation, Thanksgiving sales rose nearly 20%, from 29-million last year to nearly 35-million transactions completed by on-line retailers on Thanksgiving.[xxxv] This growing trend of on-line sales during Thanksgiving can be interpreted both as the commercialism already inherent in the Thanksgiving holiday and the consumer's desire to begin holiday shopping early.

Finally, in a study completed by Melanie Wallendorf, she and her colleagues analyze Thanksgiving, determining that it is a celebration of abundance and consumption. Guests and hostesses alike are encouraged to gorge themselves on the bountiful feast presented, as food is prepared in abundance, plates are piled high, second and third helpings are encouraged. From the observations conducted of numerous Thanksgiving celebrations, Wallendorf notices, "When the hostess offers dessert, participants decided to wait because they were 'too full'. Instead of felling rejected, the hostess feels successful in feeding them well."[xxxvi]

She continues to describe this as a prescribed set of behaviors, a certain formalism which is expect by both the hostess and the guests. Wallendorf uses this scene to illustrate the Thanksgiving ritual celebration of abundance and consumption in which this day is meant to embody.[xxxvii] Thus, how could Black Friday impose its commercialization on Thanksgiving if Thanksgiving already has a long history of commercial influences and is built upon ideals of abundant consumption if not gluttony? Given this history, Thanksgiving itself is already sufficiently commercialized, although this is hidden by a vail of traditions. By opening their doors on Thanksgiving Night, retailers are not taking away from Thanksgiving, but rather providing consumers with what they desire. Retailers are adding another layer of tradition on Thanksgiving rather than imposing upon the sacredness of the holiday.

As for the future of Black Friday, I believe it will soon become a thing of the past. With retailers opening their doors this year on Thanksgiving night, the crush of shoppers seemed much less. In my own personal experience, the Walmart I went to at 10 pm had little in the means of a rush. Although fairly crowded for a Thursday night, I witnessed no bedlam or any of the other scenes depicted in modern media accounts of the day. Instead, I saw people with full-carts and sleepy eyes, trying to get their shopping done.

The economic estimates show this same sluggish nature in store receipts. Black Friday sales volume was down 1.8% from last year; however, overall weekend sales were up 13% from last year's spending.[xxxviii] This shows a trend that one might expect. With many stores opening on Thanksgiving night, Black Friday was robbed of its potency. Although I believe the tradition of Black Friday, as identified by Lennon, will continue, as a family-centric shopping ritual, the consumer ritual of Black Friday will soon end and become part of a four-day consumption festival in which we eat, sleep, and shop only to eat some more.

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Charlesgate: Palimpsest of Urban Planning

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"Not only are we allowing individuals to destroy a naturally beautiful landscape, but we are by default allowing these same or other individuals to replace or deface it with ugliness of an antihuman dimension."
– Richard Latham, The Artifact as a Cultural Cipher

Between Boston's Back Bay and Kenmore neighborhoods, a small park branched off from the Charles River. This park, once a salty bog, was transformed into a tranquil urban oasis: Charlesgate Park. Today it is again a wasteland, albeit one capped by a highway overpass.

Charlesgate Park, over its century lifespan, was a small stretch of parkland through Boston’s Back Bay. It had grassy fields; a tranquil, flowing river; and plenty of reeds, shrubs, and trees. It provided residents an escape from the dirt, concrete, and artifice of the city. The first architectural imposition upon this landscape, Charlesgate Park was representative of the values held by urban planners at the turn of the twentieth century.

The Bowker Overpass was an ordinary stretch of elevated highway. However, it was an unconventional instance of urban highway development. Its construction required no demolition or relocation of residents. It did not invade a minority neighborhood or introduce questions of eminent domain. The overpass was not even constructed on purchased property. It was built upon the cheapest land possible, city owned land, which benefitted both taxpayers and politicians. To the planners of the 1960s, the parkland was entirely dispensable.

The small, rectangular plot between Kenmore and Back Bay has experienced multiple iterations since its initial development. The dominant urban design theories of multiple eras imposed themselves upon it. Currently the landscape is in dire disrepair, but looking beyond the developments of more recent decades reveals a rich heritage. Before the highway, what was the relationship between the parkland and the city? Was the land so valueless as to have no protection against disruptive development? What has happened to the landscape after the overpass's construction; was value added?

This paper does not lament the loss of a park; it has been replaced by a highway and the past is immutable. Instead, this paper will examine the transformation of the landscape over time. It will analyze the landscape by tracing its history, observing it, identifying the ambitions that guided its development, and finding the realistic limits of those ambitions. (1) This is a study of how a landscape is an expression of the society surrounding it.

The twentieth century was dominated by three distinct periods of urban planning and design. The first, leading into 1900, was influenced by transcendentalism. It sought to replace a natural beauty destroyed by industry and commerce. The second, following the end of World War II, was focused upon the automobile and suburban development. The third, emerging in the early 1960s, treasured urban neighborhoods and refocused on residents.

Frederick Law Olmsted was the co-leader of the first period along with Andrew Jackson Downing. Robert Moses was not the leader of the second period, but he was its preeminent practitioner. The third wave of urban design theory emerged from criticisms of Moses and the second wave. Led by Jane Jacobs, this school of thought carries into the present and will have inevitable effects upon the landscapes of tomorrow.

Frederick Law Olmsted rooted the theoretical basis for his parks in his aesthetic ideals. The artifice of the urban landscape was human; the natural world was connected to God. There was a danger, Olmsted felt, that those in the city may lose their relationship with God. Irving Fisher wrote that in all the parks he designed:

Olmsted's most important objective was to use the park to restore the alienated city inhabitants a sense of community and to the fragmented psyche a sense of wholeness. In Olmsted's view the park was an aesthetic instrument to achieve a social and psychological change in a business oriented, urban society. (2)

His parks aspired to restore weary spirits and communicate of the sublime beauty of nature. To achieve his ends, Olmsted idealized nature: instead of recreating natural landscapes as they were, he created natural landscapes as they ought to appear. Men and women were meant to lounge in the park while pondering their relationship to the grass and trees. Olmsted's ambitions were communicated through his intricately designed plans and his own blatant exposition.

Robert Moses was New York City's infamous master builder. Imposing his will upon the city, shaped it as he saw fit. He leveled historic neighborhoods and cut off Manhattan from its riverfront with his extensive highway networks. He also created much of the Long Island suburban sprawl by building bridges and highways leading straight into the city. The size of his ambition was only matched by the size of his engineering projects. It was this ambition which would eventually be his undoing.

In 1961, concurrent with the planning and construction of the Bowker Overpass, Moses was pushing for approval of the Lower Manhattan Expressway (LOMEX). The federally funded, elevated highway would begin at the Manhattan exit of the Holland Tunnel and cut across the island's south end, severing it from the rest of the city. It would fork halfway, one prong headed towards the Manhattan Bridge and the other towards the Williamsburg Bridge, further segmenting the island. The construction would bulldoze through countless blocks of low-income housing in Little Italy and SoHo—Moses did not care what was lost, only that his highway be built.

Opposition to LOMEX was spearheaded by Jane Jacobs, an architectural journalist. As author Jonah Lehrer recounts:

Jacobs first got interested in cities as a way of defending Greenwich Village, her neighborhood. At the time, these small-scale enclaves were under constant attack as city planers sought to "modernize" the civic landscape, bulldozing old buildings and erecting "super-blocks" filled with residential high-rises and elevated highways. (3)

She lead a popular campaign against Moses and his project; gathering public opinion, she helped prevent its approval. Moses's ideology, establishing the automobile as the atomic urban unit, was supplemented by Jacobs's, which understood people to be essential.

Moreover, Jacobs thought neighborhoods and small-scale interactions were far more important to cities than Moses' grand, dehumanizing designs. She believed that, "the more successfully a city mingles everyday diversity of uses and users in its everyday streets, the more successfully, casually (and economically) its people thereby enliven and support well-located parks that can thus give back grace and delight to their neighborhoods instead of vacuity." (4) Jacobs' urban planning is rooted in an understanding of the communities that fill a city, and designing in accordance with their needs and behaviors. If this seems a return to Olmsted's ideals, it is, but with modifications. Jacobs presents preservation and historical awareness as essential, reducing reconstruction until it is only needed to replace buildings that fall. She still understands individuals to be the atomic unit of the city who guided its growth, just as Olmsted did. Yet, she has also been touched by Moses's influence and she still believes in large-scale, systematic planning of cities.

Each of these three periods has manifested itself upon the landscape as American society changed and the landscape was transformed to meet changing needs. The small plot of land between Kenmore and Back Bay chronicles urban development over the course of the twentieth century.

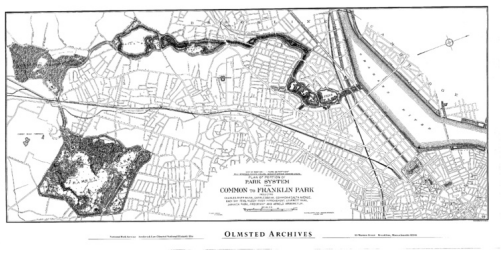


Fig. 1 – Olmsted's master plan for Boston's Emerald Necklace. List of parks, clockwise from bottom: Franklin Park, Arnold Arboretum, Jamaica Park, Riverway, Back Bay Fens, Charlesgate Park, Commonwealth Avenue Mall, Boston Garden, Boston Common.

In the late 1870s, Olmsted was hired to design a new park system for the city of Boston. One of the many linear, urban park networks he designed, it was named Boston's Emerald Necklace. Olmsted's system began in downtown Boston and ran out into its peripheral suburban areas. The planned system was seven miles long, and ran though multiple neighborhoods and districts. The system began in the Boston Common, ran westward down the Commonwealth Avenue Mall, turned south at the Back Bay Fens, followed the Muddy River south towards Jamaica Pond and the Arboretum, and finally turned back east to end in Franklin Park. Each park was a jewel along a semicircular string.

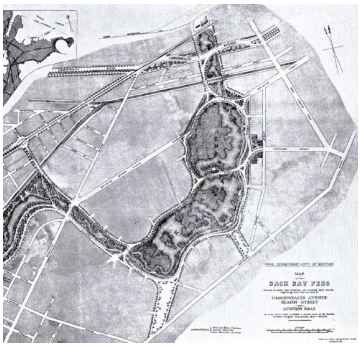
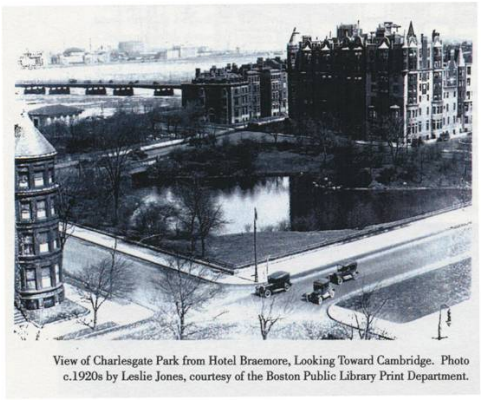


Fig. 2 – Olmsted's 1887 design for the Back Bay Fens and Charlesgate Park. The park is the tall rectangle at the top of the image. Running through Charlesgate Park is Commonwealth Avenue. Running between Charlesgate Park and the Fens is the Boston & Albany Railroad. The Charles River (not pictured) is directly north of this map.

One of these jewels was Charlesgate Park, sited on the small strip of land between Back Bay and Kenmore. Before the area was developed into a park, it was a collection of swampy, brackish pools connected to the Atlantic tides. The landscape's transformation into a park formalized the boundary between Back Bay and Kenmore while addressing several essential environmental needs.

Olmsted's design for the park addressed three problems: controlling flooding, correcting the unhealthy conditions caused by salt water, and beautification. The first two problems did not require Olmsted's expertise—they could be solved by any engineer. (5) The beautification of the swampy area, however, required his careful consideration. For the residents of Back Bay, he was determined to preserve some elements of a landscape that Boston was devouring as its boundaries grew. He also hoped to help preserve some sanity for the Back Bay's residents, afraid that the sheer artifice of the cityscape would overwhelm them.



View of Charlesgate Park from Hotel Braemore, Looking Toward Cambridge. Photo c.1920s by Leslie Jones, courtesy of the Boston Public Library Print Department.

Fig. 3 – Charlesgate Park, seen with the Charles River in the background.

Fig. 4 – Commonwealth Avenue, seen where it crosses Charlesgate Park.

Olmsted would return a sublime sense of natural beauty to the landscape. He wanted to restore plant and animal life to an area stripped bare by human activity. The Annual Report from Boston's Board of Commissioners of the Department of Parks explained how Olmstead's plan for Charlesgate Park focused upon the:

direct development of the original conditions of the locality in adaptation to the needs of a dense community. So regarded, it will be found to be, in the artistic sense of the word, natural, and possible to suggest a modest poetic sentiment more grateful to town-weary minds than an elaborate and elegant gardenlike work would have yielded. (6)

The "natural, and…modest poetic sentiment" would express itself through curvilinear forms, organized plantings of indigenous greenery, and a meandering river. The birdsong in trees and the babbling water would put weary minds, frayed by the bustle of a major city, to rest. The natural landscape Olmsted planned would be a paradise, free from artifice and the eroding forces of civilization.

There was an uneasy cohabitation between the park and the city. The landscape, however natural in appearances, still belonged to Boston and the park

could never completely separate itself from the city. It had to integrate itself into the urban fabric. Olmsted planned for "the park and the city [to] remain a complementary duality, yet synthesized into an organic urban whole for the community." He provided stark contrast against the urban order, since "the configuration of the park, with its free-flowing, natural lines, was the antithesis of the gridiron design of the city." (7) The lines, however free-flowing, were still engineered by Olmsted. The design of the park was a careful reconciliation between the natural and built environments. The rational design of Charlesgate Park imposed a layer of human control over the chaotic stochasticity of nature.

Where the city intruded upon the park, Olmsted "subordinated the artificial and manmade objects to the vegetation." He believed that "to the extent that roads, bridges, walks, seats, and buildings must be constructed for the convenience of a mass of people, they detract from the aesthetic element of the park," and he only engineered necessary manmade features. Where these features were necessary, Olmsted maintained that, "they must be subordinate and harmonious with the natural features. They must not conspicuously obtrude." (8) Olmsted wanted to provide an escape from the city, but ignoring its presence would be obtuse. He had to accommodate urban forces or they would sunder his careful plan. Olmsted could not fight the forces of urbanization surrounding his park, so he did his best to reconcile with them.

The reconciliation between urban and natural elements is most obvious in Olmsted's design for the Fenway, a high-capacity road that ran around, and occasionally through, his park. It connected the northern riverfront to the suburbs further south. Adhering to his design philosophy, "Olmsted creatively attempted to incorporate the assets of natural beauty while providing the utility of a broad highway for the efficient flow of vehicular traffic." (9) The Fenway surrounded and enclosed the Fens, buffering it from the city. The Fenway's goals, utility and efficient flow, were oppositional to the tranquility and naturalism of the park, but still contained many of the park's natural elements. The parkway created a transitional aesthetic space, a smooth gradient from the city's stone and brick to the park's trees and grass. This neatly integrated the park within Boston's cityscape.

The Fens ended at the south of Charlesgate Park. To connect the Fenway to Commonwealth Avenue, Olmsted planned for a semicircular intersection to cap the fens; the semicircular design preserved as much parkland as possible. This junction crossed over the Boston & Albany Railroad that separated Charlesgate Park from the Fenway. The Fenway's bridges crossing the railroad and the river were designed by acclaimed American architect, and Olmsted's friend, H.H. Richardson. "In the Fenway bridge there is plainly visible the organic beauty-function aesthetic" which aligns perfectly with Olmsted's aesthetic goals since "Richardson had early established the practice of using local materials so that his buildings would be congruent with their surroundings."(10) The bridge crossing the river was built from locally quarried puddingstone and the one crossing the railway was built from steel. The river bridge recalled the simplicity of rural Massachusetts while the railway bridge mimicked the mathematical precision of industrial construction. Despite different styles, their underlying design remained the same and bridged the aesthetic distance between the two.

Olmsted planned for traffic, but he did not predict the growing popularity of the automobile among Boston's middle class as the twentieth century progressed. Cars were increasingly preferred to public transportation and Boston's limited network of high-capacity roadways soon became congested with commuter traffic.

As roadways became increasingly choked, Boston politicians began to hunt for solutions. One of these was a redesign of the intersection at the south end of Charlesgate Park, proposed in 1929. On February 27, 1929, the Boston Globe reported on Mayor Nichols's proposal to relieve cross traffic in Kenmore Square. (11) The planned development would demolish Richardson's railway bridge, replacing it with a higher-capacity overpass. Starting at Gaston Square and stretching north, the new roadway would stand above Charlesgate Park, Commonwealth Avenue, and Beacon Street, carrying traffic towards a planned Charles River parkway. If constructed, the overpass would have forced Charlesgate Park and its patrons to pay for the city's poor planning. It was never enacted and fell by the wayside. Yet, the idea had potential. This proposal was essentially identical to the overpass constructed years later. For the next few decades an overpass through Charlesgate Park was the immediate solution to complaints against Kenmore Square's traffic.

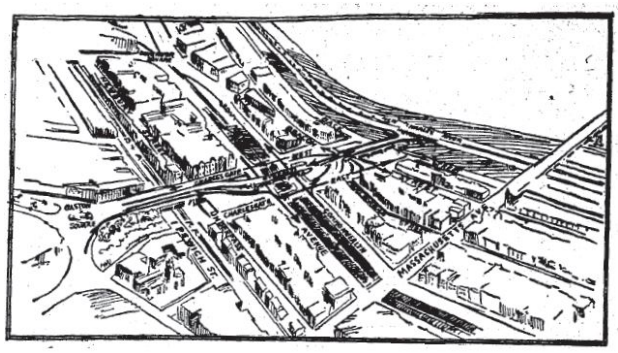


Fig. 5 – An illustration of the 1929 overpass proposal.

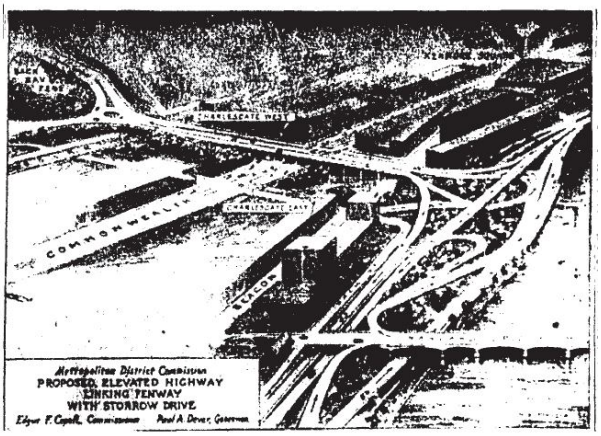


Fig. 6 – An illustration of the 1952 overpass proposal; notice the enlarged intersection.

In 1952, an overpass over Charlesgate Park was proposed again (12) and its updated design was greedier than the one from 1929—it would consume almost the entirety of the Park. The updated overpass would branch out of Gaston Square and rise 14 feet above the park, passing over the railway, Commonwealth Avenue, and Beacon Street. It would end in a T-intersection with Storrow Drive, allowing high-speed entry and exit without traffic signals. The branching, sloping, on- and offramps would require much more space than the 1929 design, consuming the entire north end of the park between Beacon and Commonwealth. Additionally, the overpass was wider and would have to cut through a large section of the park.

The 1952 overpass design was not built, either. The Metropolitan District Commission (MDC) blamed this upon rising construction costs for Storrow Drive and timidity over interference with Massachusetts Turnpike planning. Poor communication between different state planning agencies seemed to have spared the park—but not for long.

Boston's postwar planners and politicians were untroubled by repurposing parkland into highways. The construction of the Storrow Drive parkway set a precedent which would later be followed by the Bowker Overpass. Storrow Drive was built in response to suburbanization after World War II, which drastically increased the volume of automotive commuters. The parkway consumed a large portion of the riverside esplanade that ran the length of the Charles River Basin. Despite enormous opposition, "the highway proposal was…rammed through the [state] legislature."(13) Politicians worked against residents, feeling the highway's benefits justified their actions. The willingness of the city and state governments to build upon parkland was reflective of the contemporary mindset, where cars were king and the commuters were first-class citizens.

Storrow Drive was popular since it substantially eased travel between the riverside suburbs and the city. Without police enforcement, the 35 mile-per-hour parkway speed limit was disregarded, unofficially transforming the route into a major highway. With increased speeds came decreased commute times; with decreased commute times came increased volumes. Soon Storrow Drive was beyond capacity and the gridlock spilled over onto adjacent roadways. Kenmore Square suffered heavy congestion during rush hours. The backstreet connections between two major traffic arteries, Storrow Drive and the Fenway, were quickly overwhelmed. The speed and mass of commuters was destructive and dangerous for all residents.

In 1962, Robert Carr reported in his Boston Globe transportation column about an effort by the MDC to revive the 1952 overpass. (14) Carr condemned the heavy traffic in his series on inefficient intersections and areas of improvement within Boston's road network. Kenmore Square was a disaster and authorities within the MDC began to publicly call for funds to build the overpass. Carr was a proponent of the project, extolling its virtues within his column. With loud public voices in their favor, the Metropolitan District Commission began to act.

A year later, in April of 1963, residents and business approved the MDC's overpass proposal. It initially required an allocation of 3.5 million dollars, part of which was offset by the Massachusetts Turnpike Authority. (15) The assistance from the Turnpike Authority came with a stipulation: Richardson's railway bridge would be demolished to widen the roadbed, enabling construction of the new turnpike into Boston. Charlesgate Park was losing ground on all sides: to the north for the Storrow Drive intersection, to the south for

the turnpike expansion, and straight through the middle for the overpass. The construction of the overpass and the turnpike upon an urban park evidences the revaluation of open space and public land in the face of a growing national infrastructure, wealth, and population. Open space became wasted space, free to be built up with asphalt and off-ramps.

With the changes made to the landscape, the Metropolitan District Commission finally wrested control from Olmsted. The overpass opened on December 17, 1965. In October of 1966, it was dedicated to Brookline state senator and former MDC commissioner Philip G. Bowker. To appease the residents of the overpass's neighborhood, the MDC "went much further than merely replacing the previous shabby greenery in the old park," according to one Boston Globe article. The Commission renovated the park below and added, "brick walks, sculptured concrete benches, attractive pole lights; plus hardy Austrian pines, shrubs, bushes, and automatic sprinklers—and expanses of pachysandra plants, 340,000 of them." (16) With large pines and concrete furniture, not to mention the imposing steel structure, the MDC permanently changed the character of the park.

During planning and construction, a society's ideals are made manifest upon the environment. The demand for development and the allocation of space are dependent on what the society values at that moment. When Olmsted took undeveloped land and transformed it into a park, he was serving his society. When planners at the MDC took Olmsted's park and transformed it into an overpass and highway extension, they were serving their society. But, even after construction ends and the landscape is left to sit, it continues to develop. As the society surrounding it changes and uses the landscape differently, it responds to those changes.

In theory, there were no barriers to Olmsted's park. All were welcome to enjoy the area and participate in the adoration of nature. Practically, access to the park was limited, mostly by class privilege. Charlesgate Park was located by the Back Bay, a wealthy neighborhood considerably distant from poorer areas of the city. Additionally, there is a question of whether Boston's poor could afford the luxury of long walks and quiet relaxation that the park encouraged. Other Olmsted parks around Boston, especially Franklin Park, were located farther out from the city and better located for the poor. It seems as though Charlesgate Park and the Back Bay Fens were much less inclusive than intended.

With the construction of the Bowker Overpass, the scale of the Charlesgate landscape ballooned, unexpectedly excluding all people from the area. It created a landscape that, according to designer Richard Latham, is, "too big by human standards." It is simply "too large in relation to the human beings who…live with it." (17) The overpass is disproportionate to the human scale—this creates a feeling of displacement and alienation within the landscape.

The overpass's dedication to needs of the car, above all other occupants of the landscape, results in this exclusionary scale. Boris Pushkarev, former Chief Planner with the Regional Plan Association of New York, understands that, "the scale of the urban environment [is], of course, a function of the prevailing technological level, which is reflected in, among other things, the consumption of energy by a society…Our consumption of raw mechanical energy in 1960 was over sixty times greater than that of energy supplied through food." (18) Cars were faster and heavier than anything that existed in Olmsted's time, save for the locomotive. The automobile, when introduced to the Charlesgate Park landscape, overwhelmed it. The only way the landscape could safely contain the cars was with a massive overpass, looming above pedestrians. The size of the overpass did not appeal to the needs of humans, but those of automobiles.

This means the design and construction of the Bowker Overpass was dictated by one particular set of needs: those of cars. Most obvious are the signs hanging overpass's entrance, declaring CARS ONLY. Thousands of multi-ton cars cross the overpass every day; it must be able to support the weight. It is wide enough to provide buffer space between drivers, the overpass's edges, and oncoming traffic. The structure must also accommodate high-speed traffic for automobiles entering and exiting Storrow Drive. A single traffic accident could shut the overpass down and bottleneck Storrow Drive, leading to greater danger. The park's thick concrete pylons and latticed steel framework prevent it from collapsing. The on- and off-ramps gently slope, with wide turns as a precaution against high-speed fatalities. The underside of the structure is raw and unembellished, while the topside, the roadside, is smooth, adorned with signs, and well lit at night. The structure itself reveals society's prioritization of cars and devaluation of individuals.

The park and the overpass addressed the needs of different segments of Boston's population. The engineering and design targeted the problems of specific groups. This means however well a park or

overpass may have solved certain issues, the lack of any all-encompassing solution has engaged a territorial dispute between population subsets. Residents demand a people-focused environment, while drivers demand an automobile-focused one. Olmsted understood people, individuals, as the city's atomic unit. The overpass saw the automobile as the city's atomic unit. When the road ran over the park, these two ideas were irreconcilable. Only one philosophy could exist within the space, and the overpass won. That tension is still manifested upon the landscape.

Today, the landscape can be understood in different ways. Visiting the park as a pedestrian, observing it at eye level, is only one method of understanding it. It is a fragmented method with a tendency to separate out specific elements from the larger whole, as passage throughout the space is required. Most of the observations are subjective, sensory, and lack rationality. Grounded observations carry very particular, unprovable claims along with them. These claims must be offset by another, more objective, perspective. Seen through maps, the landscape as seen from above—as a planner might—affords a better view of the complex systems operating within the landscape.

Charlesgate Park once served as a barrier between the Back Bay and Kenmore Square. Today, the Bowker Overpass achieves the same effect. A singular mass of steel and concrete, it has a distinct lack of aesthetic sense. The actual structure is cut-rate, without any of the careful design and environmental considerations present in the Richardson bridge it replaced. Construction crews dropped massive concrete pylons into the river and upon lawns. They erected large stone walls along an east-west axis, cutting off any potential views of the Charles River. It seems as if the structure was dropped on the park from above, with no concern for geography or precision.

Since its construction the park has been completely subsumed by the overpass. Where was once a picturesque urban oasis is now a dry and dying husk. A park designed for the appreciation of natural beauty and the release from industrial and commercial blight has disappeared. Despite the extensive planting by the MDC, the landscape has been neglected for far too long. It has become an urban wasteland, ignored and abandoned by the very people it was built to serve. The overpass has overwhelmed the landscape and obliterated Olmsted's careful environmental planning.

Fig. 7 – The riverside railings, erected along with the overpass, stand starkly beside Olmsted's own.

Fig. 8 – The overpass's support columns drop down into the river.

Where Olmsted's classical Commonwealth Avenue bridges crossed the small river, they are flanked by crude barriers of iron piping, carelessly built and never replaced or improved. The railings were built to prevent anyone from falling into an increasingly garbage choked river. The river, once the treasure of Olmsted's park, is heartbreaking in its current state.

Fig. 9 – The fields in the park are empty and unwelcoming – the overpass blocks most of the sun.

Fig. 10 – Garbage is strewn across the park and never cleaned up.

Once grassy lawns are now unmaintained. They turn to dirt and, when it rains, muck. When overpass maintenance crews drive upon the soggy lawns to repair leaks in the roadway, they carve deep gouges into the ground. Runoff water collects into these ruts and putrefies.

The lattice steel canopy has become a pigeon roost and passersby were constantly blighted a fecal rain until the city lined the overpass's underside with a protective layer of wooden planks. There are dangers underfoot as well, as unchecked goose populations leave behind a minefield of their own droppings. The overpass blocks out the noon sun, the only direct light the park receives. The landscape is dark and decaying, inhospitable to the individuals who pass through it.

Fig. 11 – Cars race by, at up to 40 miles per hour, an arms-length away from pedestrians.

Fig. 12 – The narrow stretch of sidewalk is all that is afforded to pedestrians.

Equally inhospitable is the top of the overpass, the space reserved for cars. Pedestrians are not allowed on the roadway, save for one sidewalk running up an offramp and providing a footbridge over the Turnpike. To take this path is to subject oneself to an even more threatening atmosphere than the desolate parkland. Cars race by only an arms-length away. The surface of the overpass is solid concrete and the noon sun is turned full force upon it. This was an area never meant for pedestrians. It begrudgingly accommodates the local community.

The roadway oppresses the individual with the traffic's unending drone. The sight of mutilated trees and desolate fields impress a bleak understanding of man's subjugation of nature. The stagnant water banked by excrement is redolent of sewage. It is inhospitable, repulsive, and avoided by residents who do not enjoy being within its presence.

Taking the planners perspective, using maps and plans, allows one to see the landscape from above and enables a different understanding. The aerial perspective allows the landscape to be viewed in its entirety. All elements are simultaneously and equally represented by the map. Spatial structure and organization emerge from what the pedestrian only sees as singular elements.

Fig. 13 – The street-map and satellite views of Charlesgate Park, provided by Google, inform a holistic understanding of the present landscape.

The Bowker Overpass plays a valuable role within Boston's transportation infrastructure, a fact only visible from above. The overpass's importance for suburban commuters is made obvious: it is a major intersection, providing nonstop highway access to every direction but north. The overpass's relationship to its surrounding architecture is also better understood, with the structure neatly fitting between a gap in residential construction. Only from above do the snaking on- and off-ramps have any legibility, with in- and outbound traffic guided toward their directions as if riding along a track. At various scales, the planning perspective provides valuable insight into the landscape's larger interactions.

The map, and by extension the planners perspective, is weakened by its detachment from the landscape. It is only a depiction of a real place and cannot accurately describe the landscape as it actually exists. It presents an illustration, useful for understanding the rational order of the space, but is ultimately an idealization.

The landscape's documented representations in charts, plans, and proposals describes the ambitions held for the area and its ideal function and relationships. First-person observations inform us of the landscape's actual functions and how the society has adapted the landscape to fit its own needs. Whether the original idealizations have survived or yielded to unanticipated forces is revealed by a comparison of the two.

The ambitions and actualities of Olmsted's Charlesgate Park steadily diverged. Olmsted's park was transformed due to the society's need for easy automobile transportation to and from the suburbs. A need Olmsted could never have anticipated, his park could not accommodate it. In response the society captured his park and transformed it to fit their own needs. Underneath, the park still sits, but in starkly different circumstances than it was envisioned.

Storrow Drive was also transformed by its society, since they demanded a different use of it than its planners had intended. Ideally, Storrow Drive was a parkway for light traffic at low speeds. Today, its convenience for commuters and minimal police presence have transformed it into an unofficial expressway, with double the expected traffic traveling at speeds well above the limit. This discrepancy between its theoretical and actual uses had cascading consequences throughout the Boston's riverside traffic networks, with high volumes of commuters snaking through unprepared side streets and intersections, like the one at Kenmore Square. The engineers of Storrow Drive had not foreseen this misuse of the roadway, and this caused the overpass's construction.

The ambitions of the overpass most accurately satisfies its society. The overpass was envisioned as a relief for the congestion of Kenmore Square and as a quick, effortless interchange between Storrow Drive and the Fenway. It also had to carry cars across the railway and Massachusetts Turnpike. This is exactly how it is used by hundreds of thousands of commuters each day. The overpass is used just as it was intended.

Sometimes ambitions align with the realities of a landscape's use—especially when it serves a small population whose needs are not expected to change. When they do not align, the landscape is transformed through the collective actions of its inhabitants. Understanding how landscapes responded to their occupants' needs formed the basis for the third major period in twentieth century urban design theory.

The Bowker Overpass is almost 50 years old and, in the next few years, will either have to be rebuilt or demolished. This has sparked another debate within city planning meetings in the Back Bay. Two separate groups, the Esplanade Association and the Friends of Charlesgate Park, want the aging overpass torn down and the park preserved. Their arguments are bolstered by the contemporary attitudes towards urban design, the ones originating with Jane Jacobs.

The overpass, according to contemporary arguments, is an outdated and unseemly interruption of parkland and a detriment to the neighborhood. The Friends of the Charlesgate, who follow Jacobs' urban design theories, want the overpass should be torn down since it invades the neighborhood. They claim it favors the suburbanite, an "other," over the resident. They pine for a beautiful park in their backyards, one that respects Olmsted's original vision for the area. The Esplanade Association, a separate group, wants the overpass torn down to remove the imposition it places upon the riverside Esplanade. They want the city-long strip of parkland to be preserved; part of that goal requires subduing Storrow Drive and reclaiming the land it stole. The Bowker Overpass, as a component of Storrow Drive, presents a threat to their vision.

The third wave of urban planning will layer itself upon the landscape in some way. If these organizations are ignored and the overpass is rebuilt, it will continue to support thick commuter traffic running in and out of the city. The parkland may be replanted, as it was in 1966, and the overpass's aesthetics may be updated; Jacobs'

influence will be felt, however lightly. Nevertheless, it will still be seen as a distasteful disservice to the people who surround it. If it is knocked down, it will signal a return to the urban planning of Olmsted and Jacobs, prioritizing residents over commuting transients. How deeply the third wave of urban planning theory will impress upon the landscape will be determined in just the next few years.

As each change was impressed upon this small strip of riverside land, it recorded its originating urban theory. These changes, layered and stacked as time progressed, provide a condensed history of urban design theory. From the transcendental theories of Frederick Law Olmsted, to the imposing infrastructural developments characteristic of Robert Moses' age, to the neighborhood-nurturing theories of Jane Jacobs, the landscape records them all. What makes Charlesgate Park remarkable is that these layers are not scraped away to make room for the newest; they all inhabit the landscape together, if not always equally.

Each of the landscape's historical layers are not hidden—the park still rots under the rumbling overpass. It has, and will, serve as a record of the dominant design theories of the twentieth century. With a small bit of investigation and analysis, this landscape can divulge the relationships held between people and their cities, and how they changed over time.

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Fig. 1 – Boston Park Department & Olmsted Landscape Architects. Emerald Necklace Park System, Boston, Massachusetts. 1894. Illustration. Wikimedia Commons. <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Olmsted_historic_map_Boston.png>, accessed 25 April 2012.

Fig. 2 – Boston Park Department & Olmsted Landscape Architects. Back Bay Fens, Boston, Massachusetts. 1887. Illustration. Wikimedia Commons. <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:BackBayFens1887Plan.png>, accessed 25 April 2012.

Fig. 3 – Jones, Leslie. View of Charlesgate Park. 1920. Photograph. Friends of the Charlesgate. <http://charlesgateparkfriends.files.wordpress.com/2010/11/bowker1.jpg>, accessed 25 April 2012.

Fig. 4 – Author Unknown. Untitled. Date Unknown. Photograph. Friends of the Charlesgate. <http://charlesgateparkfriends.files.wordpress.com/2010/11/charlesgate.pdf>, accessed 25 April 2012.

Fig. 5 – “Mayor Nichols Orders Plans For an Overpass to Eliminate Cross Traffic.” Boston Globe, February 27, 1929, 6.

Fig. 6 – “New Arial Highway Coming.” Boston Globe, October 5, 1952, C48.

Fig. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 – Photographs by Author

Fig. 13 – “Charlesgate Park, Boston, Massachusetts.” Map. Google Maps. <http://goo.gl/maps/Z9cT6>, accessed 28 April 2012.

[1] Analytic structure borrowed from Pierce Lewis, “Learning from Looking: Geographic and Other Writing about the American Cultural Landscape,” American Quarterly 35, no. 3 (1983).

[2] Irving Fisher, Frederick Law Olmsted and the City Planning Movement in the United States (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1986), 103.
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[6] Board of Commissioners of the Department of Parks, City of Boston [Mass.] Annual Report 5 (1880), quoted in Irving Fisher, Frederick Law Olmsted and the City Planning Movement in the United States (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1986), 31.
[7] Fisher, Frederick Law Olmsted, 102–103
[8] Fisher, Frederick Law Olmsted, 30–31
[9] Fisher, Frederick Law Olmsted, 32
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Pretzels with a Purpose: The Role of Christianity in the Auntie Anne's Brand

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Auntie Anne's pretzel company began in 1988 as a single stall in a Pennsylvania farmer's market. Founder and owner Anne Beiler grew up in a Lancaster County Amish-Mennonite community and sought to embed her religious values within the business. Once FOCUS Brands Inc., an affiliate of Roark Capital Group, purchased the company in 2010, the business maintained success through the perception that the Auntie Anne's brand had a higher purpose beyond profit. This business performs as an example of Christian-based companies that can expand successfully in the United States and abroad by projecting an altruistic image. Auntie Anne's marketing materials and employee opportunities imply that working for or buying their products contributes to ethical and Christian consumption. But the company does not clearly abide by Christian principles in all aspects of business. Instead, the benevolence of Auntie Anne's is created by its executives rather than represented through tangible actions.

Bread products are laden with religious associations. According to many scholars, "Food has long ceased to be merely about sustenance and nutrition. It is packed with social, cultural, and symbolic meanings."[1] Bread is important to Christians as the figurative body of Jesus. Muslims eat bread at the celebration following the month-long fast of Ramadan. Jews have challah for Shabbat and matzo for Passover. In this way, Auntie Anne's utilized the pre-existing connotations of bread to create spiritual significance in their pretzel product.

The history of the pretzel is somewhat mysterious but Auntie Anne's attributed its invention to an Italian monk around 610 A.D. The company history described how "these 'pretiolas,' Latin for 'little rewards,' were rolled and twisted dough resembling his student's folded arms across their chests while praying."[2] Beiler perpetuated the spiritual significance of the pretzel explaining that the three holes signify Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Additionally, in a WITF interview, she connected salting pretzels to the mention of salt of the earth in the Gospel of Matthew.[3] A common interpretation of this phrase calls on Jesus' followers to preserve the goodness in the world. Both understandings attach a sense of sacredness to this common Pennsylvania snack food which actually originated overseas. Most likely, Southern German and Swiss immigrants brought the pretzel to the United States. Coincidentally, the Swiss who settled in Pennsylvania were primarily part of the Mennonite and Amish movement.

Beiler grew up with Amish parents in Gap,

Pennsylvania. Eventually the family became less conservative and joined the Mennonite Church. She described her family as Amish-Mennonite or black car Amish. This phrase means she had some modern conveniences such as electricity, mainstream clothing, English church services, and a plain car. But her family wanted to remain in an isolated and close-knit society. According to Beiler her parents took her "to church every Sunday and taught us obedience to God and the fear of God."[4] After marrying her husband Jonas Beiler, the couple left the Mennonite Church and joined an evangelical Christian church where they served as youth pastors.

The structure of the Auntie Anne's company has a basis in Beiler's religious convictions to maintain community, be a steward of God, and emulate the life of Christ. The company first used only family members as employees when it opened in 1988. Later, Beiler hired young Amish girls to work at market locations. As John Hostetler explained, the stereotypical image of the Amish has been of Bible-centeredness, simplicity, and discipleship.[5] Employing the Amish at market stalls perpetuated the image of Beiler's benevolent Amish-Mennonite roots. Once Beiler began to franchise, she selected sisters, brothers-in-law, and cousins as the managers for her local stores. In 2005, she placed her trust and the fate of the company in her cousin by selling the company to Sam Beiler.

To Anne Beiler, the pretzel recipe and success were part of God's plan for her family. The business was a calling she felt the need to obey. In her autobiography Beiler lauded the blind faith of her father-in-law who loaned her $6,000 to purchase her first market stand sight unseen.[6] In many interviews, she used similarly spiritually charged terms to describe how Auntie Anne's was a business miracle. Beiler ascribed to prosperity theology trusting that God would make her thrive and help her fulfill a duty to give to other people in need saying,

The spiritual aspect of it was so powerful. I didn't have high school or college degrees, so I had to rely on the Word of God. I dug into the Book of Proverbs and we based and built our business on its principles. God encouraged me along the way. I remember in June 1990, I was sitting in a church service on missions Sunday, and I saw myself rolling pretzels and Jesus standing there. It wasn't a vision; it was just a clear impression from the Lord. Jesus spoke to my heart and said, 'I want you to use Auntie Anne's as a vehicle for missions.' There was a big smile on His face and I understood clearly for the first time God's purpose for Auntie Anne's.[7]

The original mission statement for Auntie Anne's advised workers to, "Go LIGHT your world: Lead by example, Invest in employees, Give freely, Honor God, and Treat all business contacts with respect."[8] During Beiler's time as owner, employees had the opportunity to participate in prayer time every Monday at work. A prayer opened business meetings as well. And associates had access to free faith-based counseling.[9] It was important for employees to be able to "connect to their spiritual side at work."

Beiler claimed buying an Auntie Anne's pretzel was giving back to God's work. Through this she indicated that "it matters morally how and what we eat."[10] Authors David Bell and Gill Valentine similarly depicted ethical consumerism as a sense of responsibility people feel in their purchases. Buying products that appear to aid others, positively feeds the conscience.[11] Bryant Simon found a comparable pattern of ethical consumption through brands such as Starbucks. He explained, "If we buy right, not only will the lives of others improve, but so will our lives and our self-images."[12] But Bryant was also critical of this business mentality saying, "Starbucks, that big guy, wanted the business of the people who cared about little guys, it had to convince them that it walked softly in the global order and that it made the world a better place for the people at the bottom and for its customers."[13] Auntie Anne's version of Christian consumerism could have grown out of the Amish-Mennonite belief in Gelassenheit which is a yieldedness to God's will and a concern for fellow members of the community.[14]

The phrase Christian ethical consumption is an even more complex and in some ways contradictory concept. Current Evangelicalism has come to embrace Christian capitalism by allowing their message to be accommodated to the spirit of contemporary culture.[15] The inaugural issue of the Christian Business Review supported the role of businesses in the world. Contributor Jeff Duzer argued that businesses are essential to "generate the funds necessary to sponsor God's desired activity."[16] He reasoned, "When businesses produce material things that enhance the welfare of the community, they are engaged in work that matters to God."[17] The role of executives is to be stewards or trustees, explained Duzer, businesses do not actually belong to them or any earthly owners. Beiler similarly said, "This company was not about me. It was about God and his plan."[18] The founder of the

Christian-based chain In-N-Out Burger echoed this sentiment saying, “This is God’s company . . . not mine.”[19] Coincidentally, Duzer uses a food related example to describe how humans act as stewards, “Human beings were created with a capacity to pool their resources (what we now call capital), to design and build an oven (technical innovation), to order and receive shipments of flour (supply chain), to bake bread (operation) . . . [and] take the bread that God intended to provide for a hungry world and make delivery on God’s behalf.”[20]

But Duzer absolved businesses from accountability saying they are not responsible for “green” initiatives, for example. In this way, Duzer leaned on his own understanding of the Bible rather than providing evidence from the Bible to release business owners from being stewards of the land. Duzer used the Bible to justify what had already been decided rather than to shape business decisions. He defended the separation between business and sustainability by describing how certain institutions are simply better suited for certain tasks. Duzer said he did not believe that protecting the environment would “make God’s list of fundamental purposes for the institution of business as a whole.”[21]

But Chik-fil-a, a popular Christian-based company, boasted of sustainability efforts on its website. The company is working to use ecological packaging, decrease energy use, conserve water, and increase recycling. Additionally, they have built their first Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design certified restaurant. The company emphasized how they are called to be concerned for the environment and to be “a faithful steward of all that is entrusted to us.”[22] Auntie Anne’s only sustainable effort has been in donating surplus food to its community partner, Food Donation Connect.[23] Auntie Anne’s cannot be held accountable for failing to attain perfection in goodness, but there is little evidence that they are continually striving or making new efforts to fully embody Christian values. The company seems unwilling to sacrifice larger profits to meet these goals.

Although the business does not follow through in the Christian mission, Christian roots are integrated into Auntie Anne’s marketing. In 2006 the company added a halo above a pretzel to the logo. The logo is on all of its merchandise including posters, cups, and its website. The company also created the perception of religious grounding through a 2010 tagline, “You either know us well, or you're curious and seeking pretzel truth. This slogan relates to the spiritual journey of discovering Jesus and the Word as truth. In-N-Out Burger, discreetly places Bible verses on their packaging. The bottom rim of their soda cups, french fry holders, and their burger wrappers feature scripture quotes. Their milkshake cups feature Proverbs 3: 5.[24] This refers to the quote, “Trust in the Lord with all your heart and lean not on your own understanding.”[25] In this way, the franchises share their faith through mass culture.

During Beiler’s time as owner of Auntie Anne’s, the company sponsored two faith-based entertainment programs to help spread the word of God and increase sales. In 2003 Auntie Anne’s partnered with Big Idea Productions for the DVD and VHS release of Jonah – A VeggieTales Movie. The company actively supported this children’s film by offering a special deal, a half price Jonah plush toy for customers who purchased two pretzels and a drink. Additionally three million of the film copies contained a coupon for one free pretzel with purchase of a pretzel and a drink.

The plot of the film, based on the Biblical story of Jonah, focused on compassion and mercy. In this movie, the wholesome vegetable main characters proselytize Christian values. In the story the city of Nineveh, known for their Cheese Curl factory, is corrupt and violent. Jonah, depicted as an asparagus spear, is called by God to help the citizens reform their ways. At one point, Jonah’s friend Kahlil explains how “the world doesn’t need more people who are big and important,” it needs more people who are nice, compassionate, and merciful.[26] The film seems to parallel the way in which Auntie Anne’s uses wholesome pretzels as a way of spreading God’s message. Auntie Anne’s promoted this animated film through their product that embedded the Christian association with the company.

Beiler’s faith did influence a component of charity within the business, even though fulfillment of a Christian mission has fallen short in other areas. Her overall philosophy was to have a great product, great people on her team, and a purpose greater than oneself.[27] This attitude permeated through the company, even as she allowed non-family members to manage other store locations. In 1995, Auntie Anne’s employees founded the C.A.R.E.S. (Community Action Requires Employee Support) Committee. This group provided focused community assistance through time and resources.

In Beiler’s autobiography she began a chapter by quoting theologian John Wesley who said, “Make all

you can. Save all you can. Give all you can."[28] She believed one should "try giving ten percent, not on what you are actually making, but on what you feel you should be making, and trust that God will help you reach that new income level."[29] This belief demonstrated a new model of stewardship of doing God's work in a novel way. Rather than being a steward of the land and people, Beiler believed it was virtuous for Christian business people only to be stewards of their personal time, talent, and money to make the community a better place.[30]

One should not discount the support Auntie Anne's has provided by partnering with two national charitable organizations, in particular. From 1999 to 2009 Auntie Anne's raised over four million dollars as a corporate sponsor for the Children's Miracle Network. FOCUS Brands has tried to build on this legacy of charitable giving since they acquired the company in 2010. In 2011, Auntie Anne's joined Alex's Lemonade Stand in the fight against childhood cancer through support of research, prevention, and treatment. During the first year of partnering Auntie Anne's raised more than $150,000 through coin canister donations, local pretzel rolling contests, and the C.A.R.E.S. Golf Tournament.__In addition, Auntie Anne's supports local communities through Food Donation Connection. This "program enables stores to donate surplus pretzel products through a hunger relief organization, such as a rescue mission or after-school program . . . to feed those in need, reduce food waste, and improve employee morale." In 2011, Auntie Anne's locally raised $60,000 for the Lancaster based foundation, Children Deserve a Chance.[31] The company sought brand distinction through strategic philanthropy that aligns the organizations' passions for helping others. Internationally, Auntie Anne's celebrated their fifteenth anniversary in Malaysia by giving away thousands of free pretzels. The franchisor also donated $5,500 to Precious Children's Home after pledging to contribute a portion of the profit from one month of sales. In this way, Auntie Anne's fulfilled their public promise to provide goods and services that enhance lives and to allocate business resources to community projects.

There is a connection between Auntie Anne's international expansion and the religious demographics of the areas. None of the first countries to have franchises were predominantly Protestant Christian. In Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, and Singapore the majority of the population practiced either Islam or Buddhism. In some ways this franchising could be considered "a new form of 'virtuous globalization'."[32] In 2003, Thailand had the most locations of the twelve countries in Auntie Anne's International program. The company was a form of proselytization by promoting Christian beliefs in a less obvious and original way. Professor Richard Chewning, examines how Christian businesses are called to do business in problem areas and to model the kingdom way.[33] To him, a particular approach to food is a way in which people can come to understand one another.[34]

Auntie Anne's adapted their product to cultural preferences. In Singapore, the franchise offered a seaweed-flavored pretzel. In Saudi Arabia, customers could order a pretzel with dates. One of the favorites in Thailand included pretzel sticks coated with sweet coconut and powdered sugar.[35] A global brand has to be consistent but willing to modify to meet local taste. FOCUS Brands' international efforts continue to experience momentum by surrendering some of Auntie Anne's cultural origins in order "to develop strong relationships with consumers across different countries and cultures."[36]

Although the pretzel has adapted to other cultures, part of the success of this product rests in its novelty. "The pretzel is arguably an icon of Central Pennsylvania" since Julius Sturgis Pretzel Bakery in Lititz, PA was the first commercial pretzel bakery in the country.[37] Pretzels have continued to dominate the areas many snack food companies. Eating has become a window through which people can explore an area and its people through food tourism. People from outside of the United States may feel as if they are experiencing authentic Pennsylvania Dutch cuisine through Auntie Anne's.

Within one year, Anne Beiler moved from her first stand at the Downingtown Farmer's Market to Harrisburg, Middletown, Morgantown, and finally Park City Mall in Lancaster. The first international Auntie Anne's location opened in July of 1995 in Jakarta, Indonesia. The overseas franchisees initiated contact with Beiler. But upon reflection, Belier felt that it was a natural connection. In her autobiography, Beiler explained how "an Indonesian missionary to the U.S. had led me to a more spirit-filled life way back in 1974. And now, over twenty years later, I returned to her country with pretiolas, little gifts."[38] But upon international development, Beiler felt a duty to impoverished countries. Mennonite entrepreneurs, specifically, have "accepted as an economic principle that the poor anywhere had a right to be helped by the

rich."[39] Christian American businesses, in particular, are starting to have a greater impact on Third World countries. Beiler wondered, "How could it be faith that God blessed me with so much yet seemed to leave these people in their misery . . . In the years to come, we would begin exploring how to channel some of Auntie Anne's resources into helping people like the ones I saw in Indonesia."[40] Eventually she joined Global Disciples which aids international Christian business leaders as they reach out to people in areas of the world where access is greatly restricted. Auntie Anne's became a "part of a much larger set of communications and practices through which US evangelicals are becoming increasingly aware of the poverty, social injustices, and political crises."[41]

To date, Auntie Anne's has 1,200 locations worldwide.[42]_ Rather than overextending through excessive and unnecessary expansion, Auntie Anne's could focus on the mission of serving a larger purpose. The company has the resources to make a physical, sustaining impact in needy communities but they continue to simply emphasize conversion as the main way to improve one's life. Philosopher Michael Novak argued that the goal of religious corporations in a globalizing world is to provide for social needs and strengthen social morality.[43] Professor Steve Rundle similarly explained how the role of Christian executives is to make their company significant for a larger purpose. Citing the Bible he explained that "we were created for good works, that we should use our resources, opportunities, and even our positions of authority in ways that benefit others."[44] Christian executives are charged to faithfully carry out the dual mission of serving investors and helping the less fortunate. But this involves inherent contradictions. They integrate both responsibilities into a single business strategy but are "trapped between the cultural expectations of the" Christian and secular world.[45]

Particularly once FOCUS Brands acquired Auntie Anne's, the company had to balance financial health with Christian values. Scholars charge that brands have responsibilities: "They are not simply money-making machines working in some kind of pure, soulless economy. They have an influence on some real issues and real people . . . In a world where brands are blamed for everything from obesity to child labor, it pays to be good."[46] Additionally, brands attempt to be highly visible, almost omnipresent. "Brands want people to have faith in what they have to offer."[47] Auntie Anne's has so much faith in their product that they have free pretzel day once a year. The executives think once a potential customer tries one they will believe in the superior taste experience and become a loyal patron. This is a form of "Eucharistic hospitality" in that Auntie Anne's shares and cares for others and hopes their customers will reciprocate.[48]

CNBC described Auntie Anne's as the great American success story which has endured, opening on average two stores a week, even during the recession. William Dunn became the new President and Chief Operating Officer upon Sam Beiler's sale of the company to FOCUS Brands. He noted how "giving back to the communities where we work and play is one of our critical values, and we take a great deal of pride in our partnership."[49] Obamacare is not a priority included in Dunn's commitment to community. Instead the company has shown concern for employees' spiritual wellbeing. Religious "programs are just a natural part of a full and complete employee benefits slate . . . we want them to be healthy in all ways that matter, and we're here to help them. It makes for a better employee and a healthier employee."[50]

Part-time employees do not currently receive healthcare through Auntie Anne's. Yet the book of Proverbs, upon which Beiler based the mission of the company, states, "Do not withhold good from those to whom it is due, when it is in your power to do it."[51] Dunn explained, "We work strategically with a company that helps provide the service to our franchise partners around the country . . . our preference certainly would be for us to work with our franchise partners on the health insurance side and not have the government do that . . . we just feel as though we know our business, we know the employees."[52] Dunn emphasizes the company's self-reliance. But Chewning argues in Business Through The Eyes of Faith that,

Christians need to examine their views of government regulation of business. Many of us rather glibly suggest that the least government is the best government. That is far too simple an answer. Government is one way that people in a country do things together. It is also a way of taking care of things that no one person or group can take care of themselves. We need to recognize the positive roles government can play in partnership with business.[53] From Chewning's perspective, it is the duty of Christian businesses to go beyond the minimum legal requirements or government standards to express justice and provide a quality work environment.[54]

Many scholars argue that there is no inherent

conflict between the pursuits of business and the basic values of religion. But this environment puts responsibility in the hands of executives to determine what actions fulfill the company's Christian mission, carry on the established value system, and are fiscally responsible. Christian business efforts to nurture and build community should precede labor and productivity. But Dunn's opinions against mandated healthcare conflicts with this effort. Dunn directly contradicts the guidelines Christian businessmen have encouraged, to "use our faith, skills, and resources to correct inequities, work toward economic justice, seek righteousness, bring hope where there is no hope."[55] Unlike Chik-fil-a, which closes on Sundays for example, Auntie Anne's does not put "principles before profits."[56] Dissimilarly, Chik-fil-a values the Sabbath as a time when employees should go to church and be with their family. This company sacrifices profits by closing one day a week while their competitors remain open for business. The darkened store front of a Chik-fil-a on Sundays within the landscape of a mall, for example, sends a powerful message about what the company believes is important. Park City Mall in Lancaster, Colonial Park Mall in Harrisburg, and Westmoreland Mall in Greensburg, PA feature not one but two Auntie Anne's stores.[57] It would be much easier for citizens to notice, understand, and perhaps become inspired by the company's religious founding if both were closed on Sundays.

A 2005 study found that Christian based companies are generally more successful than their secular counterparts. In particular, Mennonite entrepreneurs' self-perception of their success is attributed to their religious tradition and characteristics of honesty, integrity, dependability, and practicality.[58] One measure determined that Christian companies had a higher sales growth rate and smaller employee growth rate. This indicated that their workers were more productive than secular companies. Faith based businesses tended "to inspire loyalty among both employees and customers." Author Fred Reichheld, explained how "this loyalty effect, the full range of economic and human benefits that accrue to leaders who treat their customers, operators, and employees in a manner worthy of their loyalty, is at the core of most of the truly successful growth companies in the world today. And there is no clearer case study of the loyalty effect than Chick-fil-A." One does not technically need to be a Christian to own or work in a Chik-fil-a franchise, but the company does ask that their associates base "business on biblical principles because they work."[59] Auntie Anne's and similarly founded businesses emphasized a determination to be loyal to their suppliers through fair and honest negotiations. The organizational cultures and the strong positive relationships Christian companies built led to these results.[60]

For Auntie Anne's, Beiler's spiritual story, image, and legacy are part of brand. This perception of the product creates an emotional relationship with patrons. Christian brands can become powerful through this attachment.[61] But Bryant is skeptical of this loyalty. Using the example of Starbucks he says, "In corporate-designed narratives of change, the poor . . . become symbols as the buyers emerge as the main subjects. . . The 'little' people on the ground moreover, will pay us back for our generosity by liking us and maybe even embracing our values. If wealthy customers know that a luxury brand is socially responsible they will give the brand greater purchase consideration over a brand with similar quality and service."[62] But in this case businesses may not work toward a larger purpose because it is the right thing to do, but the profitable thing to do.

Auntie Anne's rolls more than five-hundred thousand pretzels every two days, enough to feed a pretzel to every person living in Lancaster County.[63] "Estimates of how many international franchises fail range from more than half to as much as ninety percent" but Auntie Anne's was able to maintain success despite diffusion to twenty-three countries.[64] This business demonstrates its religious roots through philanthropy, marketing, and employee programs. Christian-based companies like Auntie Anne's create faithful employees and customers who feel, accurately or not, as if they are contributing to a greater good by working in the company or consuming the product.

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The Harlem Renaissance: A Cultural, Social, and Political Movement

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The Harlem Renaissance was an explosion of creativity and culture within New York City’s African American community in the 1920s, however, its true impact far surpassed a mere cultural movement. It was the locus for the radicalization and politicization for a disenfranchised population. The creative minds behind the Harlem Renaissance used artistic expression to prove their_humanity_and demand equality from an often hostile white America. The literal migration of southern Blacks to the North also symbolized a mental shift, changing the previous image of the rural, uneducated African-American to one of urban, cosmopolitan sophistication. This new identity led to increased social consciousness, and endowed a population that until this time had only experienced inferiority and depravity. This movement provided a source of release of their oppression and gave them hope, faith, and inspiration to create an empowered identity. This new movement wasn’t just a coincidence, however, it was driven by several key circumstances and figures, and among the most important of these was Charles Spurgeon Johnson. He, with the support of philosopher and professor Alain LeRoy Locke, guided the emergence of African-American culture into white-dominated society, and this effort was formally and symbolically launched through their orchestration of the Civic Club Dinner in Manhattan on March 21st, 1924.

Migration to Harlem

In the South, African-Americans were trapped in a sharecropping economy that hardly offered any hope for advancement. Along with these poor economic conditions, African-Americans were socially disadvantaged within the Jim Crow system that didn’t acknowledge their voting rights, overlooked lynching, and disregarded unequal education opportunities. The North symbolized the opportunity to escape these horrors of the South as well as the possibility of economic prosperity.[1] New York’s Harlem was among the most popular cities of refuge, and by the 1920s, Harlem_became a center of black cultural life and the center stage for a cultural and political renaissance.[2] This migration forever changed the dynamics of the nation, physically and mentally. The oppression the African-Americans were fleeing from also symbolized the cultural image they were fleeing from: slave, uneducated, ignorant, oppressed, and inferior. They hoped the North would be a haven from their oppression in the South and a place to re-establish their identity.

This presented a complex dilemma for African-Americans who wanted to embrace their heritage, yet seek a new identity. W.E.B. Du Bois addressed this double consciousness in his 1903 publication of Souls of Black Folk, stating that the Negro constantly had this “sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others." He claimed that it was the Negro’s “dogged strength alone [that] kep[t] [him] from being torn asunder” as he battled these two contrasting identities. [3] In the presence of this duality, a new literary theme emerged. As the African-American struggled with his

own racial identity, many artists began to use this clash as the focal point of their works. This increasing expression of the struggle of double-consciousness created a new market in the field of literature, proposing a new battle: how to combine this distinct "New Negro" identity with the rest of American culture.[4]

Charles Spurgeon Johnson

Charles Spurgeon Johnson was a lifelong advocate for racial equality and promoter of the advancement of African-Americans. As an African-American born of mixed racial heritage in Bristol, Virginia in 1893 he could personally grasp and relate to the struggles of members of his own race. He faced his own obstacles as an African-American in the South, having to travel to Richmond to attend a high school that accepted black students. After graduating, he attended the historically-black Virginia Union University that was also in Richmond.[5] Finally moving North in 1918, Johnson attended the University of Chicago for his graduate work, where he studied under renowned sociologist Robert Ezra Park. It was Park that exposed Johnson to the theory that suggested that the way to break barriers of segregation and discrimination could only come through contact, interaction, and personal relationships with white people. Park claimed that, "'Personal relations and personal friendships are the great moral solvents. Under their influence all distinctions of class, caste, and even race, are dissolved into the general flux which we sometimes call democracy.'"[6] It was this idea of contact among races that would permeate Charles Johnson's work towards the advancement of the African-American race.

Johnson was reaching the peak of his academic career in 1918 while studying at the University of Chicago when sociology was making new inroads into American universities. He looked to his academic profession as a means for dismantling the barriers of racism. Always encouraged by Park to use his surroundings as a laboratory, Johnson used Chicago to demonstrate race relations and the way ideas of subordination rise and remain within society.[7] As race riots were erupting in Chicago during the summer of 1919, he conducted sociological research and produced an assessment for the Chicago Commission on Race Relation entitled "The Negro in Chicago." This assessment demonstrated that the institution of slavery introduced, expanded, and maintained presumptions of Negro inferiority and those attitudes remained even after emancipation. This report penetrated the deep-seated prejudice that whites had against blacks and the labels stamped upon the two races that led them to believe they were opposites. In his report, he profoundly addressed the issue of racism against African-Americans by stating, "No group in our population is less responsible for its existence. But every group is responsible for its continuance and every citizen, regardless of color or racial origin, is in honor and conscience bound to seek and forward its solution.[8]"

Johnson's abilities extended beyond his research skills. He was at the prime of his career in a time of increasing militancy towards civil rights, yet he didn't approach the movement with the same intensity as his counterparts, such as W.E.B. DuBois and Marcus Garvey. Johnson preferred to take a more passive-aggressive approach. This is not to discredit his enthusiasm or assertiveness, but more so to reflect that his strengths lied in coordinating and manipulating. Johnson preferred to be a "sidelines activist" striving for practical ends through more conservative means. While Johnson was studying at the University of Chicago, Robert Park planted in Johnson his theory that increased interaction among races would bring about equality. Johnson would go on to promote that idea through his ability to orchestrate contact between whites and blacks.

National Urban League

Meanwhile, in New York City, organizations were also promoting civil rights for African-Americans. The National Urban League had sprung from three earlier organizations: the Committee for the Improvement of Industrial Conditions Among Negroes in New York (founded in 1906), the National League for the Protection of Colored Women (founded 1906), and the Committee on Urban Conditions Among Negroes (founded 1910). In 1911, these three organizations merged into The National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes. Its name officially became The National Urban League in 1920.[9] However, its mission was the same all along—it was founded to eliminate racial segregation and discrimination among African-Americans and other minority groups. The agency always valued and believed in practical and technical approaches towards equality. One of its founders was Edumund Haynes, who believed well-planned and realistic agendas were keys to the organization's success. When Haynes left the organization in 1918, he handpicked Eugene Kinckle Jones as his successor as Executive Secretary to carry on the league's practical

tactics to achieve racial equality. Under Jones' direction, the League significantly expanded its multifaceted campaign to crack the barriers to black employment. Jones implemented_boycotts_against firms that refused to employ blacks, pressured schools to expand vocational opportunities for young people, constantly prodded_Washington officials_to include blacks in_government-directed programs, and worked to get African-Americans into previously segregated labor unions.[10] Practicality was the National Urban League's preferred method towards attaining equality.

Entering the 1920s, Johnson was at the forefront of the field of Black Sociology. His highly acclaimed report "The Negro in Chicago" for the Chicago Commission on Race Relations helped land him a position as director of research for the National Urban League in 1921 in New York City. Jones was confident that Johnson's skills would help stimulate the League's approaches in advocacy through its strong emphasis on research. Johnson began his career for the League by conducting and reporting on race relations surveys and editing the_League's tabloid-style periodical, The Urban League Bulletin, as a way to publicize the league's opinion and its research of race relations. By 1923, he launched the league's monthly publication Opportunity: Journal of Negro Life as a way to keep the public well-informed on race issues.

Still serving as the league's Executive Secretary, Eugene Knickels Jones' wanted Opportunity's practicality to match that of the organization. In fact, he stated this in the magazine's first issue writing, "We shall try to set down interestingly but without sugar-coating or generaliz[ing] the findings of careful scientific surveys and the facts gathered from research."[11] Johnson thus offered the readers of Opportunity scientific evidence of the distorted use of data on race by those seeking political, economic, and social gains. He believed the first step towards equality was bringing these pseudoscientific accusations to the light and correcting them. Therefore, Opportunity consisted of mostly statistical reports and surveys, scholarly essays, and the occasional miscellaneous literary works.

As Johnson was in the midst of editing Opportunity, he witnessed the rise of other magazines in the literary scene around him. Among the most popular were The Crisis and The Messenger, both of which began publishing more literary works by African-American artists. Seeing the cultural approach to these literary magazines led Johnson to investigate how art could be use as a more indirect tactic for attaining political and social equality for the Negro. By Opportunity's second issue, Johnson proposed that the magazine's emphasis shift from being mainly social and economic to increasingly cultural.[12] To Johnson, the world of the black literati was not merely underappreciated, it was completely obscure. The world of black literature needed a stage of its own on which its exposure would not be able to be suppressed by this normally white-dominated domain. This belief was evident when he boldly stated, "The importance of the Crisis Magazine and Opportunity Magazine was that it provided an outlet for young Negro writers and scholars whose work was not acceptable to other established media because it could not be believed to be of standard quality despite the superior quality of much of it.[13]"

Johnson looked upon African American arts as a powerful agent of movement toward racial assimilation in American society. As David Levering Lewis noted in When Harlem Was in Vogue, Johnson considered African American literature as "a small crack in the wall of racism that was worth trying to widen." Lewis added, "If the road to the ballot box and jobs was blocked, Johnson saw that the door to Carnegie Hall and New York publishers was_ajar."[14] Johnson had this unprecedented notion to provide an outlet for African American scholars and writers alike whose work was not acceptable to other media. He sought to expose and arouse public literature and "disturb the age-old customary cynicisms" of the white publishing industry.[15] This meant extending his vision and efforts beyond the creation of Opportunity. There was more strategy behind Opportunity than merely its publication. Johnson had to find a way to unite black and white audiences. His manipulative and scheming yet compassionate demeanor in doing this would become the hallmark of his approach to bringing black and white literary spheres together.

Alain LeRoy Locke

Alain LeRoy Locke was an African-American born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania just seven years before Charles Johnson. With a successful high school career, graduating second in his class, he went on to Harvard University where he received his undergraduate degrees in English and Philosophy. Locke initially found his inspiration for debunking racism while completing his undergraduate work at Harvard beginning in 1907. However, this inspiration didn't come from classroom lectures; rather it came from the interactions he saw

among his fellow students in spaces such as the dining-room and library. He noted the patterns of black students in the dining-room in a letter home to his mother saying they had "unanimously chosen to occupy a separate table together. Now what do you think of that? It's the same old lifelong criticism I shall be making against our people."[16] Locke complained that he couldn't grasp how his peers "come up here in a broad-minded place like this and stick together like they were in the heart of Africa."[17]

After graduating from Harvard, he expanded his cultural perspective by attending University of Oxford. He arrived at Herford College of the University of Oxford in 1910 to find that the atmosphere there was very different than what he had experienced at Harvard; there was a sense of equality and unity at this campus where diversity was better embraced. However, he still found discrimination within the university. Even when he left Oxford to study philosophy in Berlin, he saw racism in his evaluations of the participation of minorities in the social, economic, and political spheres. With new inspiration to attack these problems of racial prejudice he returned to the U.S. where he completed his Ph.D. in philosophy from Harvard while teaching English at Howard University.[18]

Locke was drawn to philosophy because it enabled him to understand the culture of racism and gave him the tools to argue that race was a cultivated phenomenon, rather than something based on permanent and innate characteristics.[19] He did not support that racism was inevitable or automatic. Racism did not have instinctive forces. Racism was a form of socialization; science was merely a form of justification.[20] It was these ideas of social biases that he addressed in his doctoral research and dissertation.

Locke presented these ideas at Howard University in a series of lectures titled: "Race Contacts and Interracial Relations: Lectures on the Theory and Practice of Race." Locke called upon African-Americans to disregard the race consciousness that society had stamped them with and to create their own image. He asserted that race was an "ethnic fiction[21]" that had somehow survived and intensified and would continue to do so because race consciousness psychologically benefitted the elitist majority that so desperately wanted to preserve it. Not blind to the dangers of excessive radicalism, Locke fully believed in a cultural movement as a tactic for political equality in a more subtle disguise.[22] He supported a cultural movement as an approach to lift up the African-American image and tear down the psychological barriers rooted in racism.

Civic Club Dinner

The year of 1924 marked a significant shift in the Harlem literary scene, sparked by the publication of the novel, There Is Confusion, written by African-American author Jessie Redmon Fauset. This novel deviated from the standard norms of the portrayals of African-Americans in literature—specifically African-American women. The female characters in the book exemplified this principle of deviation as they refused to conform, lived by their own rules, and rejected the sexual and social codes of their time. Their confidence to steer their decisions towards their own satisfaction rather than satisfy the societal norms set these fictional characters apart from other characters of the time. Therefore, this set Fauset apart from writers of her era.[23]

At the time of the publication of Fauset's novel, Opportunity had been in circulation for a year. Johnson had been working towards his mission to use literature as means to achieve equality for African-Americans for a year as well. Johnson recognized the importance of Fauset's message and latched onto this opportunity to launch her novel by organizing a dinner at the Manhattan Civic Club to celebrate its publication. Whereas the initial motive behind the Civic Club dinner was to honor Fauset, Johnson saw this event as an appropriate time to unite Harlem's black literati with white publishers. He wanted to include as many black writers as possible rather than having an event focused exclusively on Fauset. David Levering Lewis revealed how Johnson recognized the state of black literature: "He was satisfied to see the cultural spotlight shining on the Afro-American as never before, and he intended to secure this unique moment for an Afro-American effort at breakthrough."[24] Johnson wanted to introduce Negro art on a stage where which it wouldn't be criticized or condemned for racial reasons. Lewis referred to the frequent criticism that black literature often received: "…the white presence…hovered over the New Negro world of art and literature like a benevolent censor, politely but pervasively setting the outer limits of its creative boundaries. "[25] The Civic Club dinner was to serve as an equalizer. It would highlight the potential of up and coming African-American artists in the presence of white philanthropists and publishers that had not yet fully accepted the dimensions that black art could bring to this white-dominated domain.

Working for the National Urban League gave

Johnson connections to high-class white society. After all, the league itself was created through the collaboration of Ruth Standish Baldwin, a woman from elite white society, and Edmund Hayes, a successful African-American. Being the editor of Opportunity allowed Johnson to witness the talent of Negro artists whose works he published. With this personal connection to African-American artists, he could easily persuade them to attend. Through his connections to both races, he offered incentives to each one. For the black artists, it meant exposure; for the white publishers, it meant expansion. Whereas his social position was crucial, it was also his demeanor. Lewis describes Johnson saying, "He was, moreover, a man whose passion for dominion expressed itself through secrecy and patient manipulation. Yet it was manipulation for a purpose: to redeem, through art, the standing of his people.[26]"

Johnson was the ideal person to orchestrate the Civic Club dinner; however he needed someone to serve as the spokesman for the event. He chose Alain LeRoy Locke, having him serve as the Civic Club dinner's master of ceremonies.[27] This position suited Locke well, for he was more direct and upfront than Johnson. Johnson preferred to remain behind the scenes where his manipulation was most effective. Locke readily agreed to facilitate the event, for he recognized and supported Johnson's approach to using art as a way to attain political equality. In fact, Johnson's method to using art to gain social equality uncannily exemplified the type of cultural movement Locke advocated for in his lectures at Howard University.

On the night of March 21, 1924, more than 100 publishers, magazine editors, artists and writers gathered at the Manhattan Civic Club to acknowledge and celebrate the emerging abundance of black creative talent. Among the powerful white attendees was Paul Kellogg of The Survey Graphic, an influential journal advocating social reform. His presence at the dinner brought significant results. At the night's end, Kellogg approached Johnson informing him that he'd like to devote an entire issue of The Survey Graphic to African-American literature to aid in the promotion of black culture in Harlem. In March, 1925, this special issue of the journal was published—a direct result of the Civic Club dinner. Edited by Alain Locke, this issue was titled: "Harlem: Mecca of the New Negro."[28]

In this issue of the Survey Graphic Locke did not want Harlem to be mistakenly viewed as the cultural location where African-American art originated. Rather, he wanted to show how Harlem was the first place in which African-American art began to be accepted. It was where new mindsets united between a white America and a black America. He frequently referenced this "New Negro;" however, a New Negro never emerged, rather the Old Negro vanished. The African-American was discarding this image of the Old Negro in which he was "more of a myth than a man"[29] and finding a renewed self-respect and self-dependence for himself. The Negro had begun challenging his own suppression and the tyrannical forces that convinced him of his own inferiority. This newfound emancipation for the African-American was never psychological or spiritual until Harlem opened the gates to self-expression.

This self-expression arguably began in Harlem at the turn of the 20th century, but it would never have met white society on its own. It was Charles Johnson that found a way to unite the black and white populations through literature. The Civic Club dinner was the momentous occasion that achieved this and appropriately represents Charles Johnson's lifelong advocacy for racial equality. He recognized the power of literature—that art was a subtle but highly effective approach to equality. It was never coercive and never overbearing. Johnson believed he could use these qualities to push for political and social equality without the public ever realizing he was doing so. This was exemplified on March 21, 1924 at the Civic Club dinner—a night disguised as merely the exposure and appreciation of art. However, this night carried much more significance than simply exposing of African-American artists to white audiences, just as Harlem symbolized more than a cultural movement. Harlem represented the embrace of a new psychology and spirit and a racial awakening on a national level. The Civic Club dinner reveals how two men with similar ideas came together to create a cultural moment that would in turn serve to highlight and launch the larger cultural, political, and social movement that was the Harlem Renaissance.

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