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This issue of the Binghamton Journal of History is dedicated to Professor Warren Wagar.

For many years, Professor Wagar has been the heart and soul of the undergraduate program and, in no small measure, is responsible for the formation of this Journal. He served as director of undergraduate studies since time immemorial, anyway, for a solid decade. He has given simply enormous blocks of his time to overseeing the undergraduate program, to maintaining contacts with the students, and to caring about the nature of undergraduate studies on this campus.

And, he nearly singlehandedly created the Binghamton University chapter of the History Honor Society, Phi Alpha Theta. His leadership and driving presence in that organization have been incredible. His sure hand, wit and commitment in guiding Phi Alpha Theta truly have been inspirational.

With respect and gratitude, this issue thanks Professor Wagar for his extraordinary and unselfish service to our students and this institution.

Aspects of the Great Depression:
Its Causes, the Struggles of the Unions, and the Plight of the Unemployed
By Tania Springer

This research paper focuses on three aspects of the Great Depression: why it happened, the relationship between workers and unions, and how the Depression affected the jobless.

It was the summer months of 1929 that industrial production declined, business slumped and depression began in the United States. Rising unemployment, falling incomes, increasingly underutilized capacity, the drop in primary-product prices and the collapse of international trade combined to depress the international economy. Property owners felt depressed because their assets were shrinking, manufacturers had to deal with declining sales, building operators experienced a crippling lack of demand, railroad managers were desperate because fewer people utilized the rails, farmers were ruined by deflated prices, wage-earners were facing unemployment

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In addition, economists divided business cycles into four stages: expansion; crisis (or panic); recession or contraction; and recovery. Although all economists claimed to know what business cycles look like, they did not

WORKERS AND UNIONS

It is important to keep in mind that during the Great Depression, people who had full time jobs were usually better off, at least economically, than they had been before 1929. This was true because in nearly every nation, the cost of living fell faster and further than wages fell. It is also worth noting that at all times, a large majority of the work force was employed. Put another way, the unemployed, although numerous, were always a minority. Another important fact to remember is that unemployment, for a minority of those who suffered the experience, tended to be a temporary condition.

In the middle and late twenties, real wages were rising and working conditions improving in most industrial regions. The percentage of white-collar and service industry jobs was increasing, which meant that more workers have adopted middle class values and expectations. When workers moved up the economic and social ladder, places opened for others to take the jobs they had vacated. For example, American blacks from Sbd(a)-15(c A)3(m)-2(er)-8(i)-9(c)4(a

both socially desirable policies but ones that if adopted would put some people out of work for the benefit of others. In a way they attacked the unemployment problem by redefining who was unemployed, not by finding new jobs for the idle. Unions also favored getting married women out of the workforce, which was not socially desirable at all, and strictly selfish national policies such as high protective tariffs, "buy American," and measures aimed at sending foreign workers "back to where they came from."

WHAT IT DID TO THE JOBLESS

To contemporaries, persistent, high unemployment was the most alarming aspect of the Great Depression. In every industrial nation, more people were out of work than in any period in the past. It has been estimated that in 1933 about 30 million workers were jobless, about two-thirds of these in three countries-the United States, Germany, and Great Britain. But little can be gained by citing numbers.
Beyond the difficulty in counting the unemployed, there are all sorts of variations to be considered that affected the significance of unemployment to the unemployed and to the societies they inhabited. It made great difference whether a person was unemployed for a few weeks or months or for a longer period. Unemployment affected men differently in most cases than women, old people differently than young, married people differently than single. Such obvious matters as the number of children in a breadwinner's family and the existence and amount of unemployment insurance or welfare also affected the meaning of joblessness for its victims. So did the amount of unemployment in the community.

Furthermore, the trends obscured what was happening to many individuals. After all the unemployed were a relatively small minority of the population. The steep decline of food prices, a result of the agricultural depression, meant that most people with jobs could improve their diets during the Depression years. But in order to obtain enough to eat, unemployed people had to cut down on relatively expensive items like meat and fresh fruit. Even milk and other dairy products cost more than many could afford to buy in adequate amounts. The failure of many poor people to manage their meager resources efficiently complicated the problem. They had nothing to eat their evening meals but bread and coffee. The margin for poor people was so thin that it was difficult even with the management to provide a good diet. Routine medical and dental care tended to be neglected by the unemployed in favor of more pressing needs.

Many of the unemployed suffered from a lack of proper clothing and from poor housing. Social workers often reported that children of their clients could not go to school because they had no shoes. Many families suffered cruelly in winter because they had no money for coal or wood. Landlords frequently allowed destitute families to remain in their homes out of pity. But the newspapers were full of stories of people evicted for non-payment of rent or forced to part with their homes because they could not meet mortgage payments. There was a big increase in vagrancy as people lost their homes and as the jobless took to the road in search of work. Lodging houses operated by local governments and by charitable organizations such as the Salvation Army took care of many of these unfortunates.

that being around the children for prolonged periods of time to be extremely stressful. Some men became absorbed in doing chores around the house; some took up new hobbies. Some took to drink; others sulked.

One of the few general effects of unemployment on family life was its strong tendency to increase the influence of women, both as wives and as mothers. What form this influence took and its impact on husband-wife and mother-child relationships varied considerably. Some wives were very supportive of their jobless spouses, others scornful. Some found jobs, leaving their husbands to take care of home and children. When these situations were shaky to begin with, unemployment was likely to make them worse. Examples of this are: 1) male resentment at loss of dominance, especially if the woman became the breadwinner; 2) loss of prestige (and the power to control by dispensing of allowance money) in the eyes of the children; 3) social isolation, caused by lack of money to entertain, by shame, and eventually by apathy; and 4) sexual problems, caused by such things as decline in physical energy, apathy again, and fear of pregnancy.
Finally, what to do about the unemployed was part of the larger question of how to end the economic collapse that had caused so many workers to be laid off. It was agreed that ending the Depression would solve the unemployment problem or at least bring unemployment down to manageable levels. There was also, however, the more immediate problem of what to do about the unemployed people who needed help merely to survive. Whether the efforts to aid the unemployment would help end the Depression or make it worse was a matter of controversy.

CONCLUSION

The origins of the Great Depression, which began in 1929, placed an impossible strain, directly and indirectly, upon the world economy. The economical and financial structure, which had developed during the 1920s, was fragile and many economies were moving into a recession in 1929; therefore, when the U.S. boom broke, the general collapse was inevitable. The weaknesses varied from country to country but problems were closely related; once the Depression began, a chain reaction set in and there was no international body or individual state which was able to halt it. The Depression left a deep psychological scar on all nations- even those, which were among the most fortunate; the poverty, the insecurity and despair are still remembered in the urban and rural communities who experienced the mass unemployment or the steep decline in agricultural incomes.

technological innovation. And his Leaves of Grass while intimately personal was at the same time a universal appeal to his fellows to strive toward higher ideals.

Whitman published his first edition of Leaves of Grass in 1855. In subsequent years he revised some of the poems in this collection, added new poems to it and deleted some of them. It was as such a "work in progress" which culminated in the sixth and practically complete edition that has been in print since 1882. While Whitman's literary career in the United States thus starts in the 1850s, it took over a decade before it made inroads in Europe. For Whitman's poetry the late 1860s marked the beginning of his European reception. In 1867 William Rossetti's British edition of Leaves of Grass introduced the author to Britain. That marked the beginning of Whitman's influence on the international literary community. In the assessment of Gay Wilson Allen, who devoted his life to studying Whitman, the poet was even more appreciated abroad than he was at home. Readers all over the world who seriously pondered democracy, took Whitman seriously long before he was recognized in the United States. He was more respected and more widely read in Europe well into the twentieth century.

While Whitman wrote relatively few poems about political revolutions, many political activists saw a compatriot in him. The Bolsheviks found his references to the brotherhood of all nations particularly attractive and a Russian journalist even called the poet "the spirit of revolt" and a champion of the oppressed. Allen considers this dimension of Whitman's work to have had the greatest impact. According to Allen, "Whitman's influence in world literature has been mainly in the realm of ideas, and especially as a symbol of love, international brotherhood, and democratic idealism rather than in esthetics." In this respect, Allen concludes, Whitman's impact is only rivaled by George Washington and Abraham Lincoln.

Introduction to the German-reading public

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Whitman's democratic content also appealed to the German poet Ferdinand Freiligrath (1810-1876), who was a political exile in London. Freiligrath was a revolutionary poet and friend of Karl Marx, who was already known in the United States for his literary work. In 1868 he discovered Rossetti's edition of Whitman's Lean's o]M

clothing of the soil from which he sprang." He was an antidote to German stuffiness and perhaps even more importantly he spoke to those who were yearning. Whitman's admirers, Freiligrath pointed out, see in him "the only poet at all, in whom the age, this struggling, eagerly seeking age, in travail with thought and longing, has found its expression; the poet par excellence."

How should Germans receive Walt Whitman? Freiligrath was clearly taken by the poetry. "We confess that it moves us, disturbs us, will not lose its hold upon us." At the same time Freiligrath cautions his readers not to jump to conclusions. Still he cannot resist to "have a closer look at this strange new comrade, who threatens to overturn our entire Ars Poetica and all our theories and canons on the subject of aesthetics." Clearly the potential for change seemed monumental and Freiligrath was aware that this could be the poetry of the future.
Freiligrath's introductory essay is considered a historical turning point, the moment when Whitman was introduced to the German-reading public. Walter Grünzweig points out, however, that Freiligrath was highly selective in his choice of poems and as such did not offer an accurate picture of Whitman's work. Undoubtedly Freiligrath published the poems he most cherished. In the late 1860s Prussia was engaged in several wars and militarism was on the rise. In this political climate democracy was particularly appealing to dissenters such as Freiligrath. The poems he translated were mostly from Whitman's Civil War poetry in Drum-Taps and as such he did not do justice "to the essential modernity of the American's work." Nonetheless Freiligrath needs to be credited for being far enough on the periphery of German society to be able to appreciate Whitman, while at the same time still being connected enough to be able to bring the American to the German people.

For Freiligrath content may have been more important than aesthetics. This does not mean, however, that the unconventional forms went unnoticed. Freiligrath reflected on Whitman's style and pondered if "the age [has] so much and such serious matter to say, that the old vessels no longer suffice for the new content." Twenty years later, after the first book-length translation of Leaves of Grass (Grashalme) was published in Zürich, some critics were also puzzled over content and style. Overall Grashalme was well received and in the minds of German-speaking Europeans the work reflected "the newness of the New World" which at this time seemed very mythical.

Naturalist or Mystic

Freiligrath had initially introduced Whitman to the German ʔh]hoɨ rɑpod ⊣ pm w

looking to escape the material realities of his time, nor did he shy away from the spiritual domain. He was at home in both.

Perhaps, as Grünzweig noted, those readers who were "looking toward the American poet for assistance, the medicine they actually received was an aesthetic correlative to the newly industrialized culture from which they were attempting to escape." There is, however, another way of looking at this. Whitman may not be able to redeem the modern age, but he does by example of his autobiographical reflections offer a synthesis. Even at a time when organized religion (in particular Christianity) was under severe criticism, one did not have to abandon spiritual matters altogether in order to be recognized as an intellectual and sensible being. One could, indeed toggle between both worlds, admiring technological innovation while seeking communion with higher forces.

Whitman and Nietzsche

As far as scholars have been able to ascertain, there is no evidence that Walt Whitman influenced Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900). Both men have acknowledged a debt to Emerson but Nietzsche never mentioned or alluded to the older Whitman. It is all the more striking that their interests were parallel in many ways. There is always the possibility that Nietzsche was influenced by Whitman without publicly recognizing it, or perhaps that the influence was indirect and as such not evident even to Nietzsche. It could also be argued that both were part of the same Zeitgeist and tapped into similar realms without ever directly interacting.

Whatever the connection may have been between Whitman and Nietzsche may remain obscure. What can be st

through unconventional ways. Both were urging their fellows to stop and smell the roses, to embrace life to the fullest. Experiencing life was for life's sake, there were no other guidelines-especially not traditional morality, to worry about. From this point of view both men were vitalists.

However, Whitman was more at home in the spiritual realm than Nietzsche; he embraced the transcendental as well as the naturalistic. For Whitman a spiritual communion was part of his earthly experience and he was not afraid to use the term God, nor did he shy away from religion.

I do not despise you priests, all time, the world over,
My faith is the greatest of faiths and the least of faiths,
Enclosing worship ancient and modern and all between ancient and modern. . .

Whitman continues in this vein, adding the lama or brahman and referring to eastern traditions. He refers to Jesus and says he accepts the one who was crucified, "knowing assuredly that he is divine." And a few moments later he considers himself

the one who seeks freedom and creates new value. At last, though, it takes the child to overcome all human limitations because the "child is innocence and forgetting, a new beginning, a game, a self-propelled wheel, a first movement, a sacred "Yes." For the game of creation, my brothers, a sacred "Yes" is needed." The child clearly refers to one of Jesus' metaphors.

Nietzsche questions everything. He wants a clean slate and sets o t א " qu at

Hesse not even considered Whitman a gifted writer, but he recognized him as a great poet in human terms. Whitman did not have to draw from the old European treasures or "the junk shop" as Hesse called it. As Freiligrath earlier, Hesse also sees the freshness in Whitman and associates it with the fact that he is American. Whitman can be unconventional. He comes from a young country that is more interested in its grandchildren than its grandfathers. He is raw energy, a creative thrust, preaching the self. "With the proud joy of the unbroken fully-developed human being he speaks of himself, his deeds and voyages, of his country." Hesse's phrasing "the unbroken fully-developed human being" [illegible] emphasizes that Wh_ li Itη t Î ɱ i f f̈ peaup

The poem continues talking about the continents, its people and some of its characteristics. The treatment of America is once again revealing because it shows how Europeans both admired and scorned the young nation.

America, the most youthful, most immature, with forty-four chambers of the heart, but no real soul as yet, greedy, inventive, full of effervescent power, worldly with superior manners, a democrat (for the time being). . .

According to Walter Grünzweig, this poem by Morgenstern is rather earnest compared to his other parodies. Morgenstern was not necessarily out to mock Whitman but to mock the reception of his poetry. An example of the expressionists' "exaggerated adoration of Whitman" to which Morgenstern was reacting, is the poetry by Arthur Drey (1890-1965). Drey called Whitman a titan, a swinger of the torch, a universal man and a prophet. Carl Albert Lange also dedicated a poem to Whitman in which he likened the poet to the image of a giant, whose words cloak the earth. And according to Lange, in these words are the seeds to everything, to cosmic connectedness.

While the admiration may seem exaggerated from a distance, Grünzweig points out that the poems by Drey and Lange were not exclusively written to worship Whitman. They are also an outlet for the frustration that the expressionist poets felt. They were alienated and projected real or imagined deficits. By elevating Whitman to a giant or a titan, they expressed their own sense of inferiority and to Grünzweig this suggests "the degree to which the human individual is dwarfed by modern technology and industrial society. The violent emotions they ascribe to Whitman [. . .] are indicative of the impossibility of expressing subjectivity in a mechanized and controlled society."

Two Swiss poets, Gustav Gamper (1873-1948) and Hans Reinhart (1880-1963) also dedicated poems to Whitman, which were published in a Swiss literary journal in 1919. While they are less flamboyant than the poems of Drey and Lange, they have a solemn religiosity about them. In his "Homage to Walt Whitman" (Bekenntnis zu Walt Whitman), Gamper starts out:

On the path of my soul I encountered the master
and we greeted each other as wanderers.
Oh, to have recognized the face of the aged Camerado,
examining, admonishing, giving, with sparkles and smiles!
When a treetop now whispers, it whispers to me
from Walt Whitman, the wanderer.

Gamper considered Whitman to be the most influential person in his life and he tried to model himself after him. In his best-known work Die Brücke Europa's (The Bridge of Europe), Gamper tried to create a national epic for his Swiss homeland in a Whitmanesque style. The poem above in homage to Whitman is in the preface of Die Brücke Europa's.

These genuine admiration poems stand in stark contrast to the biting cynicism of his critics. Kurt Tucholsky (1890-1935), although he admired Whitman's new style, found his optimism sickening. Tucholsky, one of Germany's most prominent satirists, wrote three Whitman parodies. In the poems he refers to "Walt Wrobel" which either refers to Tucholsky turned Whitman, or the other way around. Tucholsky particularly attacks the notion that life can be grasped by the five senses. He takes Whitman's awe of perception and replaces the stimulus that nature provides with "ridiculous observations from the author's everyday life." In the poem "The Five Senses," Tucholsky writes about taste:

What do you taste, Walt Wrobel-?

I taste the lower crust of the fruit tart which my aunt has baked; regarding the tart, it is

Tuc^t! s
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One of the most contentious issues surrounding Whitman have been around his homo-eroticism. Some of Whitman's poems are clearly erotic, indeed his early publications

Whitman's eroticism affected people in strange ways. The nudists took the poet quite literally. Others were attracted to what they considered quasi-eroticism. Hans Reisiger (1884-1968) and Thomas Mann (1875-1955) even postulated that only a quasi-erotic

Whitman was many things to many people. To some he was a political hero, a comrade in arms. To others he was a mystic whose visions were an alternative to positivism. He was able to speak to the Wandervögel, a German youth movement, who responded to his call for the "open road." And a few even tried to use him in their efforts to fight for homosexual rights. Most recently Whitman's democratic ideals have rekindled discussions in the re-unified Germany.

The fact that at the height of his popularity in Germany (1889-1925) Whitman was able to speak to so many Germans on so many different levels not only reflects the diversity of German culture, it also attests to the versatility of the artist. Even today one can meet as many new Walt Whitmans as one is interested and willing to find.

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Taking the WJLC Agenda to the National Stage: The New Deal, 1933-1938

By John T. McGuire, Ph.D.

"I think that there was a direct line from the progressivism of Theodore Roosevelt through [New York City] Mayor [John Puroy] Mitchel, to Governor Smith, to

legislation. Schneiderman saw the NRA as a means of advancing the gains made in New York State. Using her connection to Eleanor Roosevelt, the NYWTUL president witnessed mixed results in the fight to extend protection to all women workers, regardless of race. Dewson functioned more as a behind-the-scenes facilitator, an activity consistent with her direct connection with the national Democratic Party. Working with the First Lady, Dewson placed such protégés as Elinor Morehouse Herrick in important New Deal-related positions. This subtle but effective use of patronage helped the New York State minimum wage bill at a time when the Supreme Court had seemingly nullified the measure in a 1936 case, Morehead v. Tipaldo. Despite frustrations, the efforts of ex-Conference leaders to promote a maximum hour/minimum wage agenda were rewarded. In 1938 the Franklin D. Roosevelt Administration successfully promoted the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) of 1938,

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Determined to see her proposal become reality, Perkins continued to lobby the President-elect for federal minimum wage legislation. When Roosevelt approached her about the Secretary of Labor position, the New York State Industrial Commissioner told him that federal minimum wage legislation would constitute one of her top priorities. When the President-elect expressed his support, Perkins quickly reminded him that the Supreme Court had rejected minimum wage legislation. "Have you considered," she asked Roosevelt, "that to launch such a program we must think out, frame, and develop labor and social legislation, which then might be considered unconstitutional?" "Well, that's a problem," Roosevelt conceded, "but we can work out something when the time comes." Thus the supreme political experimenter reassured his future Secretary of Labor.

Once confirmed as Secretary of Labor in March 1933, Perkins swiftly gathered her WJLC-affiliated allies for a federal minimum wage fight. Sidney Hillman had sent a memorandum to Perkins shortly after the 1932 election, arguing that federal labor legislation constituted the only means of combating the Depression. Hillman also encouraged the Textile and Garment Workers' Union to support federal legislation. As Suzanne Mettler notes, "[T]hese unions stood out in the early 1930s for representing industries composed largely of unskilled women who worked for extremely low wages." Perkins soon called a conference of labor leaders to make further recommendations to the President. Hillman, William Green of the AFL, and Rose Schneiderman attended the conference, with Perkins forwarding their recommendations to the White House.

Even with his previous encouragement, Roosevelt still proceeded cautiously with the Dewson-Perkins proposal. While he convened a governors' conference at the White House in March 1933, he did not make minimum wage legislation a part of the agenda. When Lehman signed the New York State minimum wage bill in April 1933, Roosevelt did urge other states to follow suit. In addition, the Dewson-Perkins proposal, as well as labor's recommendations to the President, did help create the National Recovery Administration (NRA).

The contribution of WJLC leaders and their allies to the NRA initially came in the area of industrial codes, or hours and wages standards for different industries. Industrial codes had been an item on the reform agenda since 1930, when a Taylor Society committee, which included Florence Kelley and Mary Van Kleeck, had prepared a proposed national Industrial Employment Code. The proposed Code recognized the need for minimum wages, maximum hours, and collective bargaining between labor and management. Old rivals Rose Schneiderman and Jane Norman Smith came to the committee meetings to testify before the Taylor Society committee. Schneiderman stated that she approved of the Code's emphasis on collective bargaining. "Personally," she added, "I feel that industry will never be stabilized until

the Russell Sage Foundation until 1948, none of her papers reveal any further correspondence with Perkins or any other WJLC colleagues. It was a sad ending for a woman who had contributed to the WJLC's success in so many ways from 1918 through 1933.

Another area of controversy that soon arose centered on the institution of a general code by the NRA. Announced in July 1933, the code instituted a thirty-five hour week for blue-collar workers and a forty-hour week for office employees. Minimum wages were also instituted, ranging from 12 1/2 cents an hour for needlework employees in Puerto Rico to 70 cents an hour for wreckingmno l dђ ke
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repassed its 1933 minimum wage statute,

York's Labor Standards Committee of 1932-1933, the NCL created the National Labor Standards Committee in March 1938, encompassing a wide variety of civic, political, and labor organizations. The Committee pressured legislators on one key issue: a minimum wage of at least 40 cents an hour without regional differentials. The lobbying of Mary Edna Cruzen, Missouri's Commissioner of Labor, typically reflected the coalition's efforts. "This will inform you," she related in a letter, "that I have addressed telegrams to all of the members of Congress, from the State of Missouri, urging them to support the Wages and Hours Bill, and that I have had favorable replies from nine . . . of them."

While the NCL instituted legislative lobbying, Frances Perkins mobilized her New York labor connections. On April 27, 1938, for example, a delegation of New York City garment and textile workers testified before their representatives at a House Labor Committee meeting. The workers expressed fears that they could lose their jobs to Southern factories, whom usually paid low wages, if national standards were not established. They also cited a resurgence of "sweatshops" in the New York metropolitan area.

This joint effort was assisted by Claude Pepper's dramatic victory in the Florida U.S. Senate Democratic primary on May 3, 1938. Encouraged by the Administration, Pepper had made passage of the FLSA a key part of his program. Events now followed swiftly. On May 6, 1938, Administration allies successfully reintroduced FLSA on the House floor. After the bill passed the House in late May, a conference committee between the House and the Senate secured an acceptable compromise. On June 25, 1938, the President signed the statute into law.

"The National Labor Standards Committee wishes to express its heartiest congratulations to you on the passage of [FLSA]," Mary Dublin, secretary of the Committee, told Mary T. Norton, chairperson of the House Labor Committee, on June 16, 1938. In her reply, Norton thanked Dublin for her congratulations. "I am sure," Norton added, "I need not tell you what a great source of joy and satisfaction its final passage was to me. I am particularly happy at the thought of better working conditions now in store for so many men and women in this country." Thus the process continued by the Women's Joint Legislative Conference during the 1920s resulted in successful federal legislation.

The Legacy of the WJLC: A Catalyst for Reform

This dissertation began with a quotation from a 1957 letter written by Molly Dewson. Now eighty-three years old and living with her partner in Maine, Dewson was contacted by Isador Lubin, New York State Labor Commissioner, for her thoughts on the twentieth anniversary of the repassage of the New York minimum wage statute.

days in 1921 through 1923. Dreier, whose initial leadership of the WJLC from 1919 through 1921 was marked by continuous frustration, later provided decisive leadership in 1925.

Mary Van Kleeck, once the protégé of Kelley and Josephine Goldmark, became a key figure in the 1920s. From 1919 through 1926 the RSF official acted more as an industrial expert who provided key legislative testimony rather than ideas or important connections. From 1926 through 1933 Van Kleeck fulfilled more of a leadership role. Through her membership in the Taylor Society came the key idea of "industrial citizenship." From her connections with Mary Anderson of the U.S. Department of Labor Women's Bureau came technical knowledge and essential support. Van Kleeck also helped successfully frustrate the efforts of Alice Paul and the NWP to use the Women's Bureau as a means of criticizing women's labor legislation. Finally, Van Kleeck provided support to Molly Dewson's long and successful battle for minimum wage legislation.

Even with these women's efforts to establish cross-class alliances, the deepening relationship between New York State women reform leaders and the Democratic Party in the 1920s and early 1930s proved the decisive factor. From 1911 through 1915 the NYWTUL and NCL networks had fashioned seemingly permanent alliances with such New York State Democratic figures as Al Smith and Robert F. Wagner. The Republican control of the state legislature after 1915, however, made identification with the Democrats risky. Upon its creation in 1918 the WJLC staunchly proclaimed its non-partisanship. The organization hoped that it could continue the tradition of women's voluntary organizations in previous eras; that is, the Conference would formulate and propose legislation, and its allies in the state legislature would pass the proposals.

Political reality proved otherwise in the 1920s. Progressivism in the state Republican Party had only lasted from 1898, when Theodore Roosevelt won the New York governorship, through 1911, when Roosevelt's successor Charles Evans Hughes left Albany for the U.S. Supreme Court. Thaddeus Sweet ruthlessly exterminated any progressivism in the State Assembly in 1919 and 1920, and only a few Progressive Republicans such as Frederick Davenport lingered proÞ l ъMSp e

1924 and 1925. When the Republicans reneged on their promise to support the 48-hour bill in early 1925, Conference leaders, bitter at being betrayed, finally turned to Al Smith and the Democratic Party. The key women in establishing an alliance with the New York State Democratic Party were Eleanor Roosevelt and Molly Dewson. As shown in Chapter 5, Roosevelt and her colleagues at the Women's Division of the New York State Democratic Party effectively made the Democrats a partner with the WJLC from 1924 through 1927. Molly Dewson continued the partnership after Eleanor Roosevelt "retired" from her public commitments in late 1928. Dewson anm" ame the fo 1928 through 1933. Her shrewd political sense formed effective alliances with first Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt and then his su]essor, Her " t H. Lehman.ĭ The Confere two new developments in social justice feminism. First, a generational shift took place among women reform leade s in New Yor State throughou the 1920s. In 1918, for example, Florence Kelley, Mary Elizabeth Dreier, and Rose Schneiderman controlled the central organizations in the WJLC: the NCL and the NYWTUL. Ea]h women possessed many years of expe ien]e in promoting and de ending women's labor legislation. By 1933, the women's politi]al lands]ape in New Yor State had drasti]ally]hanged. Floren]e Kelley was de d; Dreier had semi-retired; and only S]hneide man remained in an important position (presiden]y of the NYWTUL.) Three new, signifi]ant politi]al leade s from the WJLC now asserted national]ontrol. Eleanor Roosevelt be]ame First Lady of the United States. Molly De wson was now poised to be]ome a key women leade in the national De o]rati] Pa ty. Fran]es Pe ns le t her position as New Yor State Industrial Commissioner to be]ome U.S. Se]retary of Labor. The P ogressive Era generation had thus passed on the tor h to its New Deal successors.

The second important development for social justice feminism centered on its growing parti]ipation in the state. In 1918 WJLC leade s su]h as Kelley and Dreier stood apart from state involve ent. Although Kelley had served as Illinois's factory inspe]tor in the 1890s, and Dreier had se ved as a FIC Commissioner from 1911 through 1915, only Mary Van Klee]k was involved in state se vi]e through the U.S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Women in Industry. By 1933 this situation had changed. Besides the obvious example of Perkins, other WJLC leade s se ved, or had served, in the New York State government: Nelle Swartz, Maud Mwartz, Belle Moskowitz nʿ u

THE COLORS OF WORLD HISTORY

Which brings me to my main theme, the "colors" of world history. Almost everything that ever happened has left no trace, but the evidence that does remain is nevertheless immense, far more than any single human being could ever hope to access and assimilate in any number of life-times. We think we have managed to condense it into textbooks only five hundred or a thousand pages long, but such books are little more than the tricks of a skilled magician: they supply an illusion of global history, but not the thing itself. Even if a single mind could take it all in, it would still be only a fragment of the total. Worse yet, everything that ever happened has, by definition, already happened--all the thoughts, all the actions are gone. The historian cannot see, touch, or feel any of them. The historian has only the surviving evidence, which is no more the real, living past than a skeleton lying in its tomb is a real, living human being. Such evidence does not speak to us. It is utterly silent. We have to "make sense" of it. When the great 19th-Century French historian Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges, addressing his students, said "Do not applaud me. It is not I that speaks to you but history that speaks by my mouth," he was full of prunes. [2]

So how do we make sense of this plethora of dead, inert, silent evidence? We take out our palette full of colors and we paint. A palette full of colors is simply my metaphor for the ideologically conditioned screens or templates or paradigms that we consciously or unconsciously employ to determine what kinds of evidence are most worth accessing and how we go about converting them into explanations and narratives of the past. I say "consciously or unconsciously" because I recognize that many historians are not fully aware of their ideological underpinnings and the sources of their preconceptions. A further complication is that few of us in this chaotic postmodern world follow any single readily identifiable party line: we are almost always the product of several rival world-views, which can lead us into holding contradictory opinions. "Do I contradict myself?" asked Walt Whitman, "Very well then I contradict myself, (I am large, I contain multitudes)." [3]

With this in mind, I like to think of historians as painters filling their canvasses with strokes in various, sometimes clashing colors, although many seem to prefer one color over the others, like Picasso during his "Blue" period. For example, it is possible to write global history that is predominantly Gray: the story of how, through science and technology and skillfully managed accumulation of capital, human beings acquired mastery of their environment, vastly increased their material wealth, and produced the globalized economy and civilization of the 21st Century. The chief ideological underpinnings of Gray global history are Enlightenment faith in reason and science and liberal political economy. Elsewhere I have dubbed this world-view "technoliberalism."[4] As of the year 2001, this is the reigning ideology throughout the so-called developed world, and its power in the so-called less developed world should never be underestimated.

Of course there are many other colors on our palette. The late Arnold J. Toynbee

counterculturalism lie partly in the romantic world-view of the early 19th Century, partly in the utopian socialism of the same period, partly in various religious traditions, especially both Eastern and Western mysticism and gnosticism, and of course partly in the environmental activism of the last 40 or 50 years.

So Green history is not environmental history, pure and simple: it is all about how human beings have been abusing the Earth for thousands of years and paying heavy prices for their folly, the heaviest of which may well have to be paid in the 21st Century. Be reminded that Ponting's A Green History of the World has a minatory sub-title, namely, The Environment and the Collapse of Great Civilizations. Green history tends to be apocalyptic history.

But this is not to say

But environmental studies can also help explain the predominance of certain cultures and states at one time and of other cultures and states at other times. Consider China. From the 3rd Century B.C. on down to the present, most of what we know as China has been--with occasional interregna--a single unified state. A few other great ancient empires originated earlier, but none still in existence can boast a more or less continuous existence of almost 2300 years. During at least half of those years, and perhaps more, China was also the richest and most populous country on the planet. Andre Gunder Frank contends in his ReOrient that Chinese pre-eminence did not wane until the early 19th Century; and we all know how rapidly China has regained its status as a major economic power during the past quarter-century, partly due to the fact that it remains the world's most populous country.[7] A further ecological consideration, emphasized by William H. McNeill, is that imperial China may have amassed more wealth and enjoyed longer periods of political unity than imperial India simply because the climate of the Indian subcontinent is somewhat less healthful, with higher incidence of infectious disease, reducing the productivity of labor, than the lands occupied by the Chinese.[8]

But China was not simply the product of the Chinese. It is singularly favored by nature. The heartland of China consists of two fertile river valleys, the valley of the Yang-Tze and the valley of the Huang-Ho. This heartland is not divided into many isolated geographical regions by vast mountain ranges or interior seas, as is the case with Europe. It was relatively easy to unify once the necessary political ideas and military strategies and technologies coalesced, as they did in the 3rd Century B.C. For the next 2,000 years China was far and away the hegemonic power in East Asia: the center of high culture, the center of commerce, industry, and craftsmanship. China was self-sufficient and unsurpassable. Even the barbarian war-bands who sometimes conquered China were soon fully assimilated into Chinese civilization, becoming no less Chinese than the Chinese themselves.

Of course the very success of China undermined, at least temporarily, its ability to compete with the rising rival powers of Western Europe in the 19th Century. Look at Western Europe from the perspectives of Green history. Mediterranean Europe, along with North Africa and Southwest Asia, was relatively easy to unify, as the Romans discovered, thanks in part to the Mediterranean Sea itself. But once--in ancient times--you reach the Pyrenees and the Alps and the Carpathians and the Balkans, you enter quite a different world: a world of dense hardwood forests, steep mountain ranges, islands, rugged coasts, rough inland seas, glaciers, snow, and ice.

The indefatigable Romans did manage to subdue part of this northern world, for a few centuries, but at least half of it remained wild and barbaric. When advances in metallurgy finally made possible the felling of the forests, much of the land proved to be fertile. Populations increased. The temperate climate of the lower-lying northern

lands was relatively salubrious, especially after economic progress made warm

But the breakthrough to modern capitalism and industrialism did not, and I suspect could not have, occurred in the United States, Japan, or Russia. That distinction belonged to Western Europe, and it was not a sudden breakthrough. It took centuries to happen, from its barest beginnings in Renaissance Italy to its climactic moments in the first half of the 19th Century in Great Britain and parts of northern France, the Lowlands, and western Germany. And it cannot be understood by the tools of Gray, Blue, Gold, or Silver history alone. Everything that took place was, to a considerable extent, predetermined by the hard facts of Green history. Green history is the bedrock. And if modern global capitalist industrial and postindustrial civilization manages to overshoot and exceed the carrying capacity of the environment--which seems all too possible--the hard facts of Green history will have the last word, too.

But I have one more color to discuss. If we are all fleas on the back of Mother Earth, some fleas have a better purchase on her back than others. This brings me to Red history, the history of the exploitation of some human beings by other human beings, the history of class struggle, which is rooted ideologically in 19th-Century utopian socialism and Marxism. The term "exploitation" is freighted with all kinds of pejorative connotations, but so it should be. Exploitation denotes the theft, or the undervaluing, of the labor of some to enhance the well-being of others. Without such exploitation, civil hq x l -

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tribes of biologically human men and women swiftly spread northward and eastward from their African homeland, outbred their hominid rivals, and in due course populated the whole planet. To me, this is globalization, the global diffusion of humankind and human cultures. In only a few thousand generations, Homo sapiens was everywhere, and everywhere essentially the same, despite superficial differences such as skin color or width of nose or degree of hirsuteness. Globalization outran evolution. The sheer mobility and versatility of Homo sapiens precluded significant differentiation.

Accordingly, I would like to define world history as the history of all the doings of the species Homo sapiens on (and off) the planet Earth, the globe Earth, since its emergence in Africa more than 100,000 years ago. In all these millennia, humankind has swarmed over the whole planet and has exchanged ideas, institutions, technologies, and languages back and forth and every which way, often making it difficult if not impossible to ascertain which idea, institution, technology, or language first arose where or when. In short, we have been globalizing from the beginning, although I freely acknowledge that in certain periods, such as the middle of the 4th Millennium B.C., the 16th Century A.D., and the second halves of the 19th and 20th Centuries, we have seen significant upsurges in the tempo and scale of globalization.

All this means that the subject matter of world--or global--history is everything that every human being everywhere has ever done, said, thought, felt, and dreamt. One cannot write off any doing, saying, thinking, feeling, or dreaming of any human being as "irrelevant" or "unimportant." Everything that ever happened bears witness to the human condition. Some happenings may have had, surely did have, more influence than others, although influence is fiendishly difficult to measure objectively, but all of them bear witness.

The only problem with this point of view is that almost all human doings, sayings, thinkings, feelings, and dreamings have left no trace: no written records, no artifacts, no impact on the Earth's crust, nothing. Even the lives of relatively well-documented figures in history, such as Martin Luther or Mohandas Gandhi, are known to us only in bits and pieces. So what can historians do? They can connect the dots, the pitifully few dots, to make conjectural pictures of the past; they can assemble the surviving evidence into narratives, or stories, about the past, with liberal resort to their imaginations; but they will always do so in the light of certain premises or theories or world-views that inform their labors, even if they have no coherent awareness of these premises, theories, or world-views. It would be advisable if historians could operate in an intellectual vacuum free of all presuppositions and all ideologies, but in fact none of us can. We are i apr . Aüs

Reflecting on all this deeply enough, one may feel paralyzed. If the historian's will is

Does Green history have an ideological matrix? Typically it does: an ideology that I label "counterculturalism,"[6] a complex of ideas and values flatly opposed to

One obvious thread worth exploring in global history is what Ponting calls the collapse of great civilizations. Scholarly opinion nowadays tends to attribute the initial

you reach the Pyrenees and the Alps and the Carpathians and the Balkans, you enter quite a different world: a world of dense hardwood forests, steep mountain ranges, islands, rugged coasts, rough inland seas, glaciers, snow, and ice.

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The indefatigable Romans did manage to subdue part of this northern world, for a few centuries, but at least half of it remained wild and barbaric. When advances in metallurgy finally made possible the felling of the forests, much of the land proved to be fertile. Populations increased. The temperate climate of the lower-lying northern lands was relatively salubrious, especially after economic progress made warm clothing and snug dwellings easier to come by. But the geographical boundaries remained formidable. This transalpine Europe, although not vast in extent, did not lend itself to conquest by a single imperial power. From Charlemagne to Hitler, all the would-be Caesars ultimately failed.

The outcome was a dishevelled world of many independent and semi-independent kingdoms, principalities, duchies, and city-states, all in ruthless competition with one another, unwilling to submit to the rule of any would-be Rome, and dependent in varying degrees on the enterprise of their merchants and bankers for their revenues, their arms, and their glory. Late medieval Europe supplied the perfect launch-pad for the take-off of modern capitalism, a tireless machine for the unrelenting accumulation of capital. At first Venice, Genoa, Portugal, and Spain led the way; then the Netherlands; then England. Every effort on the part of one great power to rebuild the Roman Empire, from the Austro-Hispanic Habsburgs to Bourbon and Napoleonic France to Nazi Germany, fell fatally short. Eventually, in the 18th and 19th Centuries, this divided but exuberant Western Europe conquered most of the rest of the world. And make no mistake: today, as the 21st Century gets under way, for better or worse, the whole world lies in the thrall of Western European or European-descended technology, capital, culture, and systems of belief.

So, to what can we credit the "success" of Western Europe? White skin? Blue eyes? Christian piety? I think not! The best guess is that late medieval Western Europe's relative poverty, compared to the great powers of Asia, and its disunity--frustrating the emergence of an all-powerful, all-controlling, innovation-discouraging imperial bureaucracy--gave Western Europeans the hunger, the aggressiveness, the competitiveness, and the economic machinery to reach out, grab, exploit, and "su en, a ev

The most successful, and also the most favored by geology, geography, and climate, was the United States, which had the additional cultural advantage, in the mid-19th

But I do not argue that Green and Red history are the one, exclusive, "scientific" way to do global history. They are certainly not the only way to do global history. In the arena of competing ideologies, all the players stake their claims to truth, and their claims to overarching rationality and/or spiritual pre-eminence. In the final analysis, it is not heuristic power, explanatory power, that wins the battle, but the innermost convictions of the players. Here I relapse into my role as a Silver historian, as a relativizing historicist. I am profoundly skeptical about the possibility of a true social science on the model of physics or biology. Human beings are somehow more than molecules or ants.

But come what may, I do believe that Green and Red history will, if the human race survives, inherit the future, becoming, together, the dominant paradigm in historical study in the course of the 21st Century. And rest assured: historians are the custodians of the collective memory of humankind. When presidents and prime ministers wonder how they will "go down" in history, they mean how we, and all those like us, will read their performance 20, 50, or a hundred years from now. For it is not history that speaks: it is we, we poor, fallible, blinkered, incomplete human beings who have chosen to help create, help report, and help preserve the memory of our species.

So I would contend that the sacrality of our function requires us to be true to our knowledge and our convictions. If our knowledge and our convictions incline us to use more of the greens and reds on our palettes than other colors, so be it!

ENDNOTES

[1] Bruce Mazlish,

[4] W. Warren Wagar,