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Emotions in Work and War: Comparisons of Emotional-Cultures of New Deal CCC Enrollees and WWII U.S. Army Enlistees, 1933-1945

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EMOTIONS IN WORK AND WAR: COMPARISONS OF EMOTIONAL-CULTURES

OF NEW DEAL CCC ENROLLEES AND WWII U.S. ARMY ENLISTEES, 1933-1945

by

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ABSTRACT

Though the Great Depression and Second World War were consecutive eras and overlapped in numerous aspects, scholarship often overlooks the commonalities between these periods. To demonstrate these eras' shared qualities, this thesis examines the relationship in emotional-cultures—the cultural norms that dictated how individuals felt and demonstrated their emotions—among Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) enrollees and U.S. Army enlistees during WWII.

The broad intent of this undertaking is to place the cultural history of the Great Depression and WWII in conversation and to show the advantage of inter- and multidisciplinary work by applying anthropological and historical theories of emotion. Though the historical study of emotions is growing, anthropologists have examined emotions for numerous decades and therefore provide a more rigorous range of approaches to examine the subject. Specifically, feelings and their manifestations give a more intimate viewpoint of social norms and expectations through the understanding of the individual and their relationship with their cultural environment in comparison to the broad understanding of such aspects found in popular culture.

Utilizing camp newsletters and correspondences, this thesis argues that the emotional-culture of CCC enrollees and U.S. Army soldiers overlap—specifically in how men felt and exhibited their emotions within the socio-cultural framework of masculinity. By analyzing the similarities in emotional-cultures between the CCC and U.S. Army, this examination contributes to the historiographical conversation about the shared cultural qualities between these two formative eras.

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This thesis would not have been possible without the continuing support and help by a countless number of people. First-of-all, heaps of thanks to my committee co-chairs, Dr. Bridget Hayden, who was always there to give feedback and keep my chaotic self on track, and Dr. Kevin Greene, who constantly reminded me to not freak out and to be more confident in my abilities. This thesis would have not happened without the support of Drs. Allison Abra and Allison Formanack; I didn't know anything on the scholarly study of emotions, but you guys helped me jump right in.

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My greatest support has always been my parents. You guys have done so much for me—so much more than you guys give yourself credit for. I can never thank you enough for helping me become who I am and cheering me on along the way. You're the strongest people I know, and I hope to be as half as amazing as you guys.

Lastly, I'm forever grateful for the love and support given to me by my significant other, Sean, and our two orange cat sons, Kennedy and Red. Sean, thank you for reading every draft I handed you, listening as I tried to make sense of my thoughts, being there for every good and bad day, and keeping me sane. I appreciate you more than anything.

DEDICATION

To the men whose words informed my work. A thesis is not what you intended when you wrote your letters and newsletters, but I'm forever appreciative. Your words and writings will always live on, not just in this thesis, but through a special fondness in my heart.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CCC	Civilian Conservation Corps
FDR	Franklin Delano Roosevelt
SHSMO	The State Historical Society of Missouri
WAAC	Women's Army Auxiliary Corps

U.S. ARMY ENLISTED MILITARY RANKS[1]

Cpl.	Corporal
1st Sgt.	First Sergeant
Pfc.	Private First Class
Pvt.	Private
S/Sgt.	Staff Sergeant
T/5	Technician Fifth Grade
T/Sgt.	Technical Sergeant

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[1] This list only includes those used in this thesis, this is not the comprehensive list of all enlisted ranks, and it is in alphabetical order, not hierarchical grades.

CHAPTER I - INTRODUCTION

Emotions are strange. They have always existed within humanity, but humanity's understanding of them is continually changing through scholarship and the human experience. Emotions are constantly felt, experienced, and expressed. Often, numerous emotions can be sensed simultaneously. These entities are also a common factor between individuals, phenomena experienced regardless of culture or time. For example, people relate to one another over the internal feelings and outward demonstrations of love. Expressions of love—like other emotions—can occur in countless forms, such as vocalization, restriction, performing an action, or by written word. For example, one man related his feelings of love, mixed with sentiments of confusion and longing, via poem:

> Were you in my arms, or was it
>   just an illusion
> I'll still in confusion, my love
> Did I hold your charms, or, was it
> just illusion from moonlight above?
> Was I on a cloud of romance
> Just thinking aloud of romance
> Seems I felt a kiss, but if it
>   was illusion
> I'd like the illusion again.[2]

Here the author portrayed not only his emotion of love was blended with confusion, as he questioned the subject's affections, but also that these sentiments had a physical effect on him, specifically that of longing as suggested by his wanting for the "illusion" once more. These inner feelings and outward manifestations of love are shared

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[2] "Illusion," *Eastern Cry*, March 1939, 10.

in Stewart Mathew's letter to Helen Brooks, a woman he never met but saw on a

magazine cover, in which he related to her that "you're the ideal I knew I'd meet some

day. I've known you ever since I was old enough to dream."[3] He likened her beauty to a

cathedral back home, describing they "both [are] so symbolic of life, love and hope."[4] He

closed his letter asking:

> May I kiss you just once – I've waited so long – for ever [*sic*] & ever so long.
> Wait, oh please don't go --- I didn't mean to be rude…upon the hill, the old
> cathedral seemed almost unreal…I don't think this will ever find you, but if it
> does, please dont [sic] laugh. We all dream.[5]

Just like the poem's author, Mathews depicted that his love was not only an

internal feeling but included a physical component. Moreover, both writers employed

florid and descriptive language in their respective compositions to communicate their

thoughts and emotions. Where these authors differ, however, is that the poem's author

was an enrollee in the Civilian Conservation Corps, while Mathews was a private in the

United States Army during World War II. This temporal separation suggests that the

poem's author and Mathews should have little in common due to differences in

experiences and possible socio-culture changes. However, their words suggest otherwise,

lending to the question on how—and in what ways—American cultural values were

similar during the Great Depression and Second World War.

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[3] Helen Brooks was a member of the "Ice Capades," a traveling entertainment ice-skating group. She had her picture featured on the cover of a magazine, which Mathews refers to in his letter. Correspondence from Private (Pvt.) Stewart Mathews to Helen Brooks, c. 1945, WWII Letters Digital Collection, The State Historical Society of Missouri (hence known as SHSMO).

[4] Correspondence from Pvt. Stewart Mathews to Helen Brooks, c. 1945, WWII Letters Digital Collection, The State Historical Society of Missouri (hence known as SHSMO).

[5] Correspondence from Pvt. Stewart Mathews to Helen Brooks, c. 1945, WWII Letters Digital Collection, SHSMO.

The Great Depression and Second World War are often reflected upon historically and in collective memory as eras with significant lessons about crises and strife, trying times of American character which triumphed over hardships and global evils through the work of national unity.[6] Despite the commonalities in the narratives of these eras, scholarship often treats these periods as separate entities or focus interpretations on topics of economics and politics. Moreover, while there are robust historiographies on American culture during the Great Depression and World War II, these conversations often only provide fleeting discussions on how these eras relate to each other, if any such commentary is given at all. The phenomena of focusing on the political and economic relationship between the Depression and wartime may be due to the common attribute of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's (FDR). Because of his historic four-term presidency, historians and collective memory may tend to fixate on the major issues of his administration—fiscal recovery and protection of democracy. This centralization in the historiography, as well as the temporal adjacency of the Depression and Second World War, suggests the need for further analyses of these eras with specific consideration to instances of overlap and differences outside of strictly political and economic topics.

Influenced by collective memory and popular culture of the Great Depression and World War II, I began to form questions that guided what has become this project. I was particularly concerned with if the necessities of the Depression—saving, scrimping, and utilizing any available resources—may have inadvertently prepared Americans for the

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[6] I am specifically referring to the "Greatest Generation" myth that essentially claims that the generation who were youths during the Great Depression and young adults during World War II, rose above historical challenges through personal responsibility, strict patriotism, and faith; for further discussion, see: Kenneth D. Rose, *Myth and the Greatest Generation: A Social History of Americans in World War II* (New York: Routledge, 2008).

exigencies of the Second World War, such as rationing. More broadly, I became

interested in the social and cultural ties between these eras, specifically the correlation

between the experiences of the Great Depression and the mobilization necessities of the

war. Though a society's broad cultural practices and habits may change within a relative

short period of time, there are aspects that may be maintained or not evolve significantly,

like socio-cultural ideas of emotion and their expressions.[7] As my interest in the historical

and anthropological interpretations of emotions grew, I questioned if there was continuity

in American emotional-cultures between the Great Depression and Second World War,

and if so, in what ways?

To answer these questions, this study focuses on Civilian Conservation Corps

(CCC) enrollees between the program's implementation in 1933 and disbandment in

1942, and enlistee soldiers of the United States Army during the Second World War.[8] I

employ these groups as a microcosm reflective of their broader respective populations to

better discern commonalities in emotional-cultures between Americans of the Depression

and WWII eras. Moreover, I utilize masculinity, meaning the socio-cultural expectations

of how men should act and behave, as a lens through which to examine and compare

enrollees and soldiers. By comparing masculinity among these populations, this project

argues that there were emotional commonalities between Americans of the Great

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[7] "Cultural habits" refers to behaviors and values deemed acceptable within a society, such as language, customs, and social conventions.

[8] When first implemented in 1933, the CCC was originally called the "Emergency Conservation Work" program. The CCC was not called the "Civilian Conservation Corps" until 1937, when the program was renewed; Benjamin F. Alexander, *The New Deal's Forest Army: How the Civilian Conservation Corps Worked* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2018), 17 and 123; enlistee soldiers in this paper refers to men who willingly enlisted in the U.S. Army, not those who were drafted, and this will be further explained in the methodology section.

Depression and Second World War. Additionally, I consider the differences in experiences between white and black American men as enrollees and soldiers, specifically if and/or how emotional-cultures vary due to systemic and historical socio-cultural and political inequalities.[9]

History of the CCC and U.S. Army During WWII

The economic downturn of the Great Depression led to mass unemployment, creating a watershed movement of increasing anxieties about the nation's future. In March 1933, FDR inherited these coinciding political, social, and economic issues from the Hoover administration and implemented relief programs during his first hundred days in office.[10] One of the first federal relief programs implemented during Roosevelt's first hundred days as president, the CCC was a federal effort to protect American cultural and natural resources, through the employment of young, able-bodied, single men.[11] Roosevelt already pioneered similar efforts at the state level, including conservation endeavors as employment opportunities in New York state under FDR's governorship.[12] Though the Corps was primarily comprised of young unmarried men, they were not the only ones affected by the hardships of the Depression. Recognizing the fiscal needs of

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[9] I will also use the term "Euramerican," as suggested by anthropologist Catherine Lutz, throughout my thesis when referring to white culture in discussions of race, masculinity, and emotions. Lutz uses "Euramerican" to refer to the broad inclusion of European and American civilization, specifically referring to "Western" norms and societies of Europe and European-Americans. Explanation of how this thesis discusses these topics are found in the methodology section of this chapter. Catherine Lutz, *Unnatural Emotions: Everyday Sentiments on a Micronesian Atoll & Their Challenge to Western Theory* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1988).

[10] Alexander, *The New Deal's Forest Army*, 14.

[11] Alexander, *The New Deal's Forest Army*, 13.

[12] Alexander, *The New Deal's Forest Army*, 11-2.

other populations, the CCC also enrolled Great War veterans, unemployed woodsmen dubbed "Local Experienced Men" (LEM), Native Americans, and some women.[13]

The projects and work by FDR's "Forest Army" were designated according to the company's location and the department or service they were assigned to, such as the Department of the Interior, Department of Agriculture, National Park Service, Forest Service, or other New Deal programs, like the Tennessee Valley Authority.[14] Much of the work completed by CCC enrollees typically consisted of conservation efforts, building structures, and other outdoor labor. Some individuals, though, were tasked with camp duties or clerical assignments. Typically, enrollees worked in fire-prevention, forestry protection from diseases and insects, animal species conservation, planting and caring for tree nurseries, preventing soil erosion, historical site reconstruction, response to natural and man-made disasters, and creating areas for public outdoor recreation.[15]

In addition to receiving employment opportunities, enrollees were also equipped with educational and instructional services in camps. Such lessons varied from those found in a traditional school setting—reading, writing, politics, economics, sciences, and mathematics—to vocational and technical trainings, with the goal of providing enrollees with transferable skills and experiences for employment in other settings.[16] "Soil

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[13] Alexander, *The New Deal's Forest Army*, 24-8; women's enrollment in the CCC was sparse and sporadic, majority learned skills that allowed for them to find other work but the attempt, except for Camp Capitan in New Mexico which lasted until 1940, were disbanded in 1937 when the government began to cut spending on the CCC. This thesis is focusing on the primary group for which the Corps was founded— single, young men.

[14] "Forest Army" and "Soil Soldiers" were other terms utilized to refer to the CCC due to their type of work as well as their militaristic structure and management by the U.S. Army.

[15] Alexander, *The New Deal's Forest Army*, 65-79.

[16] Alexander, *The New Deal's Forest Army*, 83-91.

Soldiers" also enjoyed both structured and spontaneous leisure activities, such as athletics or educational and cultural programs sponsored by the Corps, as well as outdoor recreation or local community events.[17]

By the start of FDR's second term, the American economy healed significantly, resulting in several cuts in New Deal spending, including the withholding of funds to the CCC. Despite these improvements, the nation experienced a recession in 1937. Further economic recovery measures were needed, prolonging the life of the CCC and other New Deal programs.[18] Though FDR's work projects continued because of the recession, they experienced further public and political disengagement as men were drawn to employment in growing industries and military-service. These alternative avenues for employment were largely tied to looming threats of war.[19]

Throughout the 1930s the Japanese Empire and Nazi Germany steadily grew into significant military and political threats, culminating in the Japanese invasion of China in 1937 and the outbreak of war in Europe in 1939.[20] Though physically and politically isolated from the war, the United States began to prepare for the possibilities of war before the nation's official entrance into the fighting.[21] Though the CCC was not

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[17] Alexander, *The New Deal's Forest Army*, 111-20.

[18] Alexander, *The New Deal's Forest Army*, 122.

[19] Alexander, *The New Deal's Forest Army,* 127-9; John A. Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942: A New Deal Case Study* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1967), 199.

[20] Alexander, *The New Deal's Forest Army*, 124.

[21] I use "official" here in the context that the American government was involved economically (discussed further down), socially, and sometimes militarily, as the U.S. "lent" supplies to the Allies and some Americans made the choice to voluntarily join a non-American military or force, such as the Flying Tigers or Eagle Squadron.

immediately terminated with America's declaration of war following the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, the Corps experienced a slow down-sizing until its ultimate discontinuation in mid-1942.[22]

Beginning in 1939, the CCC underwent major changes in anticipation of war. Civilian administrators replaced Army reserve officers in supervising the Corps, the government enacted the first peacetime draft via the Selective Service Act of 1940, and the federal government allowed CCC enrollees to receive noncombat military training.[23] Between 1939 and 1941, the CCC experienced a gradual decline in applicants and numbers due to increases in employment opportunities in other welfare programs, like the National Youth Administration (NYA), and industrial work following the passing of the Lend-Lease Act in early 1941.[24] Following the declaration of war in December 1941, Congress debated the necessity of national work programs as the armed forces began to increase their numbers.[25] Ultimately, Congress discontinued the Corps in June 1942 to accommodate for more defense spending and manpower in other places of employment, namely the military or factories.[26]

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[22] Alexander, *The New Deal's Forest Army*, 132-3.

[23] Alexander, *The New Deal's Forest Army*, 126-7.

[24] Alexander, *The New Deal's Forest Army,* 127-9. The Lend-Lease Act provided American-made supplies to American allies involved in the war.

[25] Calvin W. Gower, "A Continuing Public Youth Work Program: The Drive for a Permanent Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942," *Environmental Review: ER* 5, no. 2 (1981): 47, doi:10.2307/3984249.

[26] Alexander, *The New Deal's Forest Army*, 134; Neil M. Maher, "A New Deal Body Politic: Landscape, Labor, and the Civilian Conservation Corps," *Environmental History* 7, no. 3 (2002): 452-3, www.jstor.org/stable/3985917.

The U.S. Army prosecuted the Second World War in Europe, the Middle East, Asia, Africa, and the United States. In addition to performing in combatant roles, countless troops also served in support capacities, such as medical, ordnance, signal, police, and logistical units.[27] As a collective unit employed to fight and labor for the war effort, these Army soldiers contributed—alongside the Marines, Navy, and Coast Guard—towards the victories in Europe and in the Pacific in 1945.

History of Black Experience in the CCC and U.S. Army During WWII

The Great Depression and World War II highlighted the U.S.'s already entrenched racial struggles, most specifically Jim Crow. FDR, alongside many Democrats, preferred to court white voters' preferences—specifically Southerners—to maintain political power. This resulted in the exclusion of black individuals from opportunities provided by the New Deal and the military.[28] Subsequently, black men's experiences in the Corps and Army highly varied from those of their white counterparts.

Though the CCC was not to discriminate based on "race, color, or creed," this intent was the ideal rather than reality as several barriers—both in the North and South—often excluded many black men from participating in the Corps.[29] Federal officials planned for black men to comprise of only ten percent of their respective state's enrollees—a percentage concurrent with the nation's African American population rather

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[27] Due to the extensive amount of information, in addition to the pervasive knowledge of WWII in American memory and culture, a full discussion of the U.S. Army during WWII is not necessary in comparison to the need to detail the CCC's lesser-known history. For a brief, but more in-depth, discussion of the U.S. Army in WWII, see: Richard D. Adamczyk and Morris J. MacGregor, eds., *United States Army in World War II: Reader's Guide* (Washington, D.C.: United States Army, 1992).

[28] Alexander, *The New Deal's Forest Army*, 52.

[29] John A. Salmond, "The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Negro," *The Journal of American History* 52, no. 1 (1965): 76-7, www.jstor.org/stable/1901125.

than an amount reflective of the individual states' populace.[30] Additionally, when asked

why there were so few nonwhite enrollees in their states, some Southern regional

selection agents in the South claimed that black applicants were deemed not as destitute

as many white enrollees.[31] With federal pressure from the Department of Labor's

Director of CCC Selection, W. Frank Persons, southern state directors were instructed to

enroll a "token number" of African Americans. Black enrollment, of course, came into

conflict with socio-cultural enforcement of segregation and racism across the country.[32]

Integrated camps were only an option in states with low black populations and

could not feasibly form black-only companies, whereas states with large black

populations formed segregated camps and companies. In hopes of relieving tensions

between white locals and black companies, Corps Director Robert Fechner restricted

black companies to work on projects only in their state. Most locations were determined

by the state's governor.[33] Local communities—namely in the North—often pressured

such companies to be dissolved due to "perceived threats" to white locals' safety and

social values, though such protests were mostly non-existent in the South.[34] Initially,

black civilian men were banned from leadership positions aside from serving as

educational advisors, while black Army reserve officers could only serve as chaplains

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[30] Alexander, *The New Deal's Forest Army*, 53-4.

[31] Salmond, "The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Negro," 77.

[32] Salmond, "The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Negro," 79.

[33] Salmond, "The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Negro," 80.

[34] Salmond, "The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Negro," 80; Salmond did not explain why white southerners did not protest to black companies but could be attributed to the history of slavery as well as the high rate of lynching and other violence towards black individuals in the south as a form of extralegal control.

and surgeons. This changed in 1936 when FDR allowed for African American men to serve as administrative officers and supervisory personnel.[35] Due to severe restrictions, racism, and placation of white voters, black enrollment was confined to fulfilling quotas and blocking African American men from opportunities within the CCC. No new companies for black enrollees were established, and men were only accepted when vacancies in established black companies were open.[36]

In the 1930s and 1940s, discrimination against African Americans in the U.S. military was commonplace. Not only were units segregated, but black troops were often restricted to support positions and there were fewer black divisions in comparison to white units.[37] The necessities of manpower led to some changes within the military in regards to the treatment of black individuals, including the establishment of further African American units for logistical support as well as artillery, antiaircraft, and engineer.[38] Though some traditionally closed opportunities were opened for black men, segregation persisted in the belief it was the most suitable option in avoiding racial conflict and perceived differences, resulting in the continuation of unequal treatment

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[35] Salmond, "The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Negro," 82; Alexander, *The New Deal's Forest Army*, 58-9.

[36] Salmond, "The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Negro," 84-5.

[37] Maggi M. Morehouse, *Fighting in the Jim Crow Army: Black Men and Women Remember World War II* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000), 2-3.

[38] Morehouse, *Fighting in the Jim Crow Army*, 3.

towards black units.[39] In addition to creating unequal opportunities and morale problems, segregation required building separate facilities, a costly and time-consuming need.[40]

Though the organization of the military was created to evade racial issues in the time of war, society was rife with tension. WWII was identified as a struggle for democracy against fascism, or more broadly good versus evil, leading to moral and ethical questions that African American communities found hypocritical: America was fighting for democracy abroad, yet democracy was denied back home. Countless black leaders and communities pressed the American government for equality in the military, government, and economic opportunities, such as industries with government contracts.[41] The war required extreme levels of American support, primarily through manpower and industrial power. Many black Americans utilized this national need to their leverage for their civil rights.[42] The *Pittsburgh Courier*'s "Double-V" Campaign began in 1942 and promoted the concept of racial equality as a wartime necessity. Promoted by newspapers across the country, the marketing strategy emphasized the connections between the war against fascism and for democracy abroad and the socio-political struggles of black Americans, calling for the defeat of international enemies and enemies of racial equality within the nation.[43]

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[39] For example, black men were allowed to serve as regular Army officers rather than as only chaplains or surgeons. Morehouse, *Fighting in the Jim Crow Army*, 3.

[40] Morehouse, *Fighting in the Jim Crow Army*, 4.

[41] For more information about African Americans and wartime industry, see in following chapter discussion of Daniel Kryder, *Divided Arsenal: Race and the American State During World War II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[42] Harvard Sitkoff, "Racial Militancy and Interracial Violence in the Second World War," *The Journal of American History* 58, no. 3 (1971): 662, doi.org/10.2307/1893729.

Violence and conflict ruptured across the country because of racial tensions heightened by wartime. White Americans, civilian and military personnel alike, lashed out in reaction to political and social pressures from African American civilians, as well as socio-cultural anxieties that resulted from the migration and actions of black military-members. Countless white communities across the country viewed black military bases, or the stationing of black units nearby, as a threat to not only white social customs and safety but more specifically a peril to white power.[44]

Methodology

Due to its concern with the ideals and attitudes common among a population, this project is specifically a cultural history. The purpose of this study is to bring anthropological and historical interpretations of emotions into dialogue with one another, which is encompassed by my notions of "emotional-culture."[45] My idea of emotional-culture is relatively straight-forward and is essentially defined via the base terms of "emotions" and "culture." It refers to socio-cultural rules that dictate how an individual is expected to process and express their internal psychobiological feelings. Moreover, while there are broad socio-cultural rules, this method also considers concepts of race, gender, and class. My analysis of feelings and their manifestations give a more intimate viewpoint of social norms and expectations through the understanding of the individual

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[43] Lee Finkle, *Forum for Protest: The Black Press During World War II* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, Inc., 1975), 108 and 112.

[44] Sitkoff, "Racial Militancy and Interracial Violence in the Second World War," 668-70.

[45] The term "emotional-culture" utilized in this thesis is partly derived from Paul Fussell's "emotional culture" found in *Wartime*, but the two are theoretically divergent; Paul Fussell, *Wartime: Understanding and Behavior in the Second World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), ix.

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and their relationship with their cultural environment, specifically constructs of

masculinity, in comparison to the broad understanding of such aspects in popular culture.

Rather than follow a specific epistemological and/or methodological lens found in

either the anthropology or history of emotions, I employ a combination of both.

Anthropological and historical methods on the evaluation of feelings largely overlap and

often pull from other fields of inquiry, like psychology, philosophy, or sociology. This is

largely due to the uncertain nature of emotions—namely, what they are, how they are

formed, and where they are formed.[46] Because emotions are challenging entities and/or

concepts to understand, this lends to a multi-and interdisciplinary approach through

which to interpret them.[47] The various disciplines that study emotion provide a range of

approaches in the understanding of sentiments. As my research is concerned with

emotions as cultural constructs in the context of evaluating the relationships of specific

values shared among past populations, I find it most appropriate to rely more heavily on

anthropological and historical methods of the interpretation of emotions.

Due to my focus on the working-class, these frameworks are applied towards the

experiences of CCC enrollees, rather than administrators or organizers, as well as enlisted

men in the Army rather than the entire Army. My reasoning for omitting administrator

and officers' experiences and emotions is because they comprised smaller populations in

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[46] Catherine Lutz, Geoffrey M. White, and Andrew Beatty provide in-depth discussions on these questions within the larger scholarship of emotions; see: Catherine Lutz and Geoffrey M. White, "The Anthropology of Emotions," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 15 (1986): 405-36, www.jstor.org/stable/2155767; Andrew Beatty, "Current Emotion Research in Anthropology: Reporting the Field," *Emotion Review* 5, no. 4 (2013), doi: 10.1177/1754073913490045; Andrew Beatty, "Anthropology and Emotion," *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 20, no. 3 (2014): 559, www.jstor.org/stable/43907704.

[47] Because of the inherent multi- and interdisciplinary nature of the study of emotions, I refer to it as the "scholarship of emotions" to encompass the various fields of inquiry.

comparison to workers and regular soldiers, and therefore have lesser numbers in the archives. Also, these individuals had some form of privilege—such as wealth or higher education—that led to their position, reflecting that their realities during both the Depression and the war varied greatly from the experiences of the common American.

I focus on the experiences of soldiers in the Army rather than include the Army Air Forces, which was a component of the Army during WWII, due to the similar logistical organization and administration of the Corps and regular Army that allow for a more thorough translation and comparison of emotions between the two eras. Moreover, I favor the experiences of soldiers who volunteered rather than those who were drafted, as this more closely parallels the experiences of enrollees, who were all volunteers. Men were identified as either volunteer or drafted based on their assigned serial numbers, which were often written on letters, available through the U.S. Army WWII serial number database housed by the National Archives and Records Administration, or via enlistment or discharge paperwork.[48] If a serial number was unidentifiable, the letter was used in the chance that the soldier was a volunteer.

The purpose of this study is to compare the emotional-culture between enrollees and soldiers, rather than white versus black experiences. Therefore, I separated primary sources and analyses based on the race of the writer or company he belonged to. While I was able to specify white versus black sources via subject tags produced by the digital archives and often reading the source, I confirmed that the original findings were correct

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[48] Serial numbers starting with "1" referred to volunteers, "2" were National Guard, and "3" and "4" were drafted. NARA database: aad.archives.gov/aad/series-description.jsp?s=3360&cat=all&bc=sl,fd.

through additional secondary source research.[49] Moreover, I did not include any primary sources that were illegible due to poor scan quality or paper deterioration.

To determine and evaluate emotional-cultures among CCC enrollees and U.S. Army soldiers, this research relies on letters and newsletters written by individuals from these groups. Specifically, it utilizes letters from soldiers, as well as newsletters by Corps companies and Army divisions. As letters were commonly written to family or friends with updates about events and experiences during the war, this form of literature provides an insight into soldiers' thoughts and emotions that were not shared in publications. Newsletters, a form of non-daily printed literature about a group's agenda, fulfill similar informational and socio-cultural purposes as newspapers. Historically, newspapers in American society have held a significant role in the dissemination of information about events and people, but also served as a medium through which cultural values and ideas were shared. As the country covered a wide geographic range and comprised of various populations, print culture—specifically newspapers—provided a method through which the American public could be unified.[50]

Within the broad classification of newspapers were publications specific to socio-economic classes, ethnic and racial populations, and gender. These subdivisions provided a way for these populations to share ideas and events significant to their distinct community. The black press was one such subcategory of newspapers. African American

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[49] Secondary source data included census data and/or military paperwork.

[50] James W. Carey, *Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society – Revised Edition* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 4-6; Benedict Anderson provides a discussion on the use of printed media in the creation of a socio-culturally constructed community, with specific consideration of its role in the formation of nationalistic sentiments; see: Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

newspapers reported and informed specifically on the interests of black Americans.

Oftentimes, such discussions included advocating for black civil rights not only

politically, but also to protest socio-cultural discrimination like negative depictions of

African Americans in white media that frequently ignored or denied black voices.[51] As a

result of discrimination, the black press equipped African Americans with not only a way

to inform but was largely a cultural device through which black Americans could

establish a national black community.[52]

      Though there are differences between newspapers newsletters, referring to the

latter's purpose of distributing information about events and agendas specific to a group

rather than general news, the two serve similar purposes. In fact, because of their

specialization, newsletters are more conducive in the understanding of a population's

emotional-culture as it specifically reflects their interests and concerns. However,

newsletters also contain major drawbacks. The primary lapse is that newsletters make it

difficult to discern how they were received by their readers and if readers subscribed to

the views or suggestions written. The newsletters used for this thesis did not have

accompanying materials, like letters from readers, and often did not include spaces for

feedback.[53] However, as in the case of the Corps newsletters, editorial teams comprised

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[51] Charles G. Spellman, "The Black Press: Setting the Political Agenda During World War II," *Negro History Bulletin* 51/57, no. 1/12 (1993): 38, www.jstor.org/stable/44177228.

[52] Spellman, "The Black Press," 38 and 41.

[53] In its first publication, the *93d Blue Helmet* had a column informing the men to send suggestions on improvements and what they would like included, as the "newspaper belongs to the soldiers of the 93d Division and will reflect their thoughts"; see: "Your Newspaper," *93d Blue Helmet*, September 18, 1942, 1.

mainly of personnel from within the ranks.[54] This therefore suggests that enrollee and

soldiers' interests greatly influenced newsletter articles and topics.

My theoretical framework considers the psychobiological and cultural influences.

Psychobiological approaches view emotions as creations of and influenced solely by

bodily reactions. Conversely, cultural analyses, known as constructionism, refers to the

notion that emotions are formed by cultural rules.[55] Therefore, my stance balances

between these concepts, in which I regard that the treatment and expression of internal

feelings—the psychobiological experiences—are considerably dictated and practiced by

socio-cultural views and attitudes. Due to my focus on how emotions are representative

of cultural values, I more heavily focus on cultural interpretations with the recognition of

the psychological and biological factors of the human experience.

With this concept in mind, I closely relate to Catherine Lutz's notion of

engendered emotions, which suggests that there is a hierarchy of emotions in

Euramerican culture, most notably rational or irrational that directly correlates to ideas of

masculine versus feminine emotions.[56] Moreover, Lutz's framework of gender in

emotions claims that there to be emotional is inherently linked to women and chaotic

nature, conversely suggesting that to be rational, emotionally controlled, and even lack

emotions, is therefore masculine.[57] Utilizing Lutz's concepts of gender and emotion, I

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[54] For examples of newsletters' editorial staff, see: *The Resurrector*, June 1938, 2; *Pokagon Chieftain*, January 1940, 2; *93d Blue Helmet*, October 23, 1942, 4.

[55] There will be further explanation and discussion of the cultural-psychological considerations in the literature review chapter.

[56] Lutz, *Unnatural Emotions*, 54-5.

[57] Catherine Lutz, "Engendered Emotion: Gender, Power, and the Rhetoric of Emotional Control in American Discourse," in *Language and the Politics of Emotion: Studies in Emotion and Social Interaction*, ed.

consider the emotional notions of masculinity and manliness among CCC enrollees and

U.S. Army enlistees, specifically in how these concepts dictated the emotional-cultures of

these groups, as well as the emotional expressions of individuals.[58]

This idea of permissible or denied emotions and related expressions correlates to

Peter Stearn's and Carol Stearn's concept of emotionology, which is defined as the

attitudes and ideals of a society towards basic emotions, suggesting that there are

emotional standards to which individuals within the society are held—such as strict

emotional management, even under times of distress.[59] Emotionology, as proposed by the

Stearns, provides another method of understanding the types of emotions and emotional

expressions allowed to individuals within a specific culture, as well as the views on

emotions considered inappropriate for an individual to feel and/or express. Such rules are

not only dictated by notions of gender within the individual's culture, as suggested by

Lutz, but also by the broader culture the individual is situated in. Similar to the Stearns,

Monique Scheer offers "emotional practices," which integrates Pierre Bourdieu's concept

of habitus to recognize that emotions are both felt and enacted, the latter of which is

defined by socio-cultural structures.[60] Essentially, emotionology and emotional practices

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Catherine A. Lutz and Lila Abu-Lughod (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 69-71.

[58] Further discussion of manliness and masculinity will appear in the literature review, but discussion with regards to racial ideals and masculinity will appear in the respective analyses' chapters on white and black emotional-cultures.

[59] Peter N. Stearns and Carol Z. Stearns, "Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards," *The American Historical Review* 90, no. 4 (1985): 813-14; "emotional management" refers to the ability to control emotions and expressions.

[60] "Felt" refers to the psychobiological experience of emotion, which I will use to differentiate from the expression of an emotion. Monique Scheer, "Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and is that What Makes them have a History)? A Bourdieuian Approach to Understanding Emotion," *History and Theory* 51, no. 2 (2012): 193-4, www.jstor.org/stable/23277639.

allow for the recognition of emotions' dual nature as inward feelings and their outward

manifestation, the latter being dictated by social structures, like masculinity and gender.

     Based on the engendered emotions, emotional practices, and emotionology

frameworks, my analytical lens is directed by ideas of emotional management based on

concepts of gender expectations. Specifically, I view that most men—especially those in

roles considered "masculine"—restrict their emotions and expressions. Additionally, my

approach views that, due to restrictions and emphasis on specific emotions within the

broader emotional-culture, men discuss their emotions via methods that are inherently

more personal where such mentions are allowed, such as correspondences and journals,

therefore justifying the use of letters and newsletters as primary evidence.

CHAPTER II – LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter explores how historians have discussed the American experiences of the Great Depression and Second World War. The conversation about these eras demonstrates that these years are not typically evaluated together but as separate events. Instead, this chapter aims to show how the historiography often overlaps. The second objective of this chapter is to evaluate the various epistemological frameworks in the evaluation of emotions with the larger purpose of understanding how emotions are formed and interact within the context of a psychobiological-constructionist binary. The practicality of this theoretical examination will occur in the following chapters.

History of the Great Depression and Second World War

The relationships between the American experience of the Great Depression and World War II are often expressed between terms of economics and politics. Namely, historians convey the relationship between economics and politics through FDR's historic four-term presidency and note that the war ended the Depression. Comparisons, for the most part, start and end with those analyses. The historiographic conversations on the Great Depression and Second World War remain surprisingly disparate in discussing the interrelated qualities between these eras through other analytical frameworks, like cultural evaluations. Most discussions chronicle how the Great Depression came about as a result , the events of the era, and through the end of the Second World War the immediate pre-Great Depression through the Second World War (1920-1945), to provide

a broad spectrum of historical discussion on both periods.[61] Perhaps the most preeminent

work to consider these eras within a singular work, David Kennedy examines the role of

economics, national and international politics, and industry between 1929 and 1945.[62]

However, the nature of the synthesis means Kennedy lacks an argument. Stud Terkel's

compiled oral histories on American experiences during WWII compliment Kennedy's

work, revealing the eras' humanistic aspects via the reporting of personal stories and

memories.[63] These works' drawbacks relate to their respective approaches. Though a

single work, Kennedy's compilation treats the eras as separate rather than as one

continuous entity. Similarly, Terkel's works are divorced by era and therefore lacks in-

depth conversation on how the periods may have related, such as in terms of socio-

cultural views or behaviors.

Comparisons between the CCC and U.S. Army, provide the most literature

examining the overlap between the Depression and World War II. However, these are

often brief considerations about the Army's role in the Corps' mobilization and

maintenance.[64] For example, Charles Heller attempts to bridge this interpretive chasm

between the histories of the Depression and war, but focuses solely on how the Corps

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[61] For example, some scholars discuss the events of the 1920s to introduce the Great Depression or explain how the Depression came about, and then portray WWII as the Depression's end.

[62] David M. Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

[63] Studs Terkel, *Hard Times: An Oral History of the Great Depression* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1970), 3; *The Good War: An Oral History of World War II* (New York: The New Press, 1984), 3.

[64] Marvin A. Kreidberg and Merton G. Henry, *History of Military Mobilization in the United States Army, 1775-1945* (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Army, 1955), 461.

"inadvertently prepared" men and the Army for wartime necessities.[65] He argues the CCC gave reserve officers leadership experience, unintentionally prepared a selection of men to become capable Non-Commissioned Officers (NCOs), and allowed opportunities for the Army to practice mobilizing citizen soldiers.

Calvin Gower examines political arguments made for and against establishing the CCC as a permanent fixture. Those who were "pro-CCC" cited the Corps' ability to provide unemployed men with opportunities to learn social cooperation, earn a wage, and gain vocational training, with the added national benefit of conserving American parks. Conversely, those against a permanent program questioned the Army's role as the Corps' administrators, specifically the training of civilians and if the agency could survive without the men, equipment, and knowledge supplied by the Army.[66] Taken together, Heller and Gower's arguments suggest the Army played a significant role in the CCC's maintenance, conveying the Corps' culture mirrored some aspects of Army culture.

Several historians suggest that the Army's involvement in the Corps was the federal government's attempts at social control.[67] For example, Eric Gorham contends the program was the federal government's deliberate social and economic intervention to form young men into capable and willing workers of an industrial, capitalistic society.[68]

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[65] Charles E. Heller, "The U.S. Army, the Civilian Conservation Corps, and Leadership for World War II, 1933—1942," *Armed Forces & Society* 36, no. 3 (2010): 439, doi.org/10.1177/0095327X09333944.

[66] Gower, "A Continuing Public Youth Work Program," 46.

[67] John A. Salmond and Benjamin F. Alexander provide comprehensive discussions on the work and organization of the CCC: Salmond focuses on the organization and appeal of the program, which Alexander updates in his publication; Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942*; Alexander, *The New Deal's Forest Army*.

[68] Eric Gorham, "The Ambiguous Practices of the Civilian Conservation Corps," *Social History* 17, no. 2 (1992): 231, www.jstor.org/stable/4286017.

While Heller and Gower claim that the Corps' organization was to provide structure and maximize success, Gorham invokes Foucauldian theory to convey that such structures were used to enforce and normalize certain behaviors and labor practices. He asserts that the Corps' secondary goal to build male bodies from "boyhood" to "manhood" was not about learning trades or ensuring masculinity, but to mold men into productive workers. Conversely, other historians view that the 1930s, specifically New Deal work programs, played a significant role in culturally affirming the masculinity of bodies physically and mentally destroyed by the Depression. Philip Abbott and Josep M. Armengol are concerned with how masculinity and manliness concepts shifted during the era.

Abbott opposes concepts claiming the Great Depression caused a feminization of American socio-cultural norms via men's loss of economic status. Instead, he maintains that masculine values shifted from focusing on materiality and self-interest, towards male responsibility and public stewardship, ultimately relating this change to the political and cultural shifts that occurred because of the New Deal's liberal policies.[69] Armengol directly correlates to Abbott through his interpretation of modifications in hegemonic masculinity. During the 1920s, masculinity was defined by economic success, but the Depression—which affected men's ability to provide for their families—"emasculated" men. As a result, masculinity shifted to an obsession with muscularity typically associated with working-class men.[70] Similarly, Suzik claims that the Corps performed as

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[69] Philip Abbott, "Titans/Planners, Bohemians/Revolutionaries: Male Empowerment in the 1930s," *Journal of American Studies* 40, no. 3 (2006): 463-5, www.jstor.org/stable/27557856.

[70] Josep M. Armengol, "Gendering the Great Depression: Rethinking the Male Body in 1930s American Culture and Literature," *Journal of Gender Studies* 23, no. 1 (2014): 60-1, dx.doi.org/10.1080/09589236.2012.750237.

the government's method to rebuild American mental, emotional, and physical

masculinity, as well as reoriented the concept of American manliness with the CCC

enrollee as its representation.[71]

Through their discussions, these authors indicate how ideas of masculinity rapidly

transformed and were reinforced during the 1930s. They highlight the political and socio-

cultural discourses surrounding the emotional, mental, and physical status of the

American masculine body. Specifically, they relate that American society perceived the

masculine body as damaged due to the Depression, referring to diminished health from

poor conditions and a decline in power status associated with providing for one's family.

Moreover, these considerations demonstrate a recognition of efforts by the federal

government to mediate and affirm American concepts of masculinity.

Concerned with the intersection of culture and CCC workers' physical aspects,

Colin Johnson adds to the discussion of male bodies by identifying and analyzing

homosocial and homoerotic subculture. Johnson suggests that enrollees utilized their

experiences to gain work experience, discipline, and confidence, as well as explore

deviating notions of masculinity and manhood.[72] Such instances were demonstrated in the

practice of traditionally feminine chores like cleaning, cooking, or laundry, but more-so

through pastimes.[73] In this latter instance, Johnson explains that men utilized these

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[71] Jeffrey Ryan Suzik, "'Building Better Men': The CCC Boy and the Changing Social Ideal of Manliness," *Men and Masculinities* 2, no. 2 (1999): 153, doi.org/10.1177%2F1097184X99002002003.

[72] Colin R. Johnson, "Camp Life: The Queer History of 'Manhood' in the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1937," *American Studies* 48, no. 2 (2007): 19, doi:10.2307/40644066.

[73] Robert A. Waller also utilizes the *Happy Days* CCC national newsletters, but instead examines the publications for insight into the educational aspects and unofficial lives at South Carolina CCC camps, with specific interest in the relationship of these letters with the high numbers of unemployed, illiterate, and

occasions for self-expression, such as theatrics like "woman-less weddings" and drag performances, but also through athleticism, which allowed for innuendo-laden displays and close interactions. Johnson's examination of homosociality in the CCC provides a divergent perspective of the masculine body and mentality discussed above, demonstrating how—even within a system produced and enforced by the government—enrollees maintained their agency within the structures of the Corps.

Neil Maher contributes to this discussion of gender and masculinity by analyzing the CCC's relationship its enrollees, claiming that the exchange was dynamic and influential on multiple scales. He suggests that the program aided in the physical and mental maturation of its enrollees from "boys" to "men." In turn, these men physically and politically transformed the American landscape, contributed to the American conservation movement, and aided in the growth of support for Roosevelt's welfare systems.[74] Maher also demonstrates how the Corps aided in the refocusing of environmental conservation from the Progressive's concern with natural resources to the post-war regard for recreation, wilderness preservation, and ecological balance.[75] Through this latter examination, Maher also contributes to the larger historiography of the intersection of culture, politics, and environmentalism during the Depression era.[76]

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minority enrollees in the state; Robert A. Waller, "Happy Days and the Civilian Conservation Corps in South Carolina, 1933–1942," *The Historian* 64, no. 1 (2001): 41, www.jstor.org/stable/24450671.

[74] Maher, "A New Deal Body Politic," 436.

[75] Neil M. Maher, *Nature's New Deal: The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Roots of the American Environmental Movement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 10-1.

[76] Donald Worster provides a microcosm through the experiences of Cimarron County, Oklahoma to demonstrate the FDR administration's attempts at environmental and ecological as part of New Deal policies, as well as the Dust Bowl's impacts on communities and ideologies. He scrutinizes the relationship between Great Plains societies and innovations in industry with specific interest in the ecological effects on the land that culminated in the Dust Bowl of the 1930s, relating how populations that negatively impacted

Robert McElvaine contributes the historiographic gap between the Depression and World War II through his discussion of the former's socio-political aspects. Focusing more broadly on the Depression, McElvaine outlines the period from origins to its end by employing dualistic political and social analyses to comprehend how people dealt with the crisis and how society transformed because of the Depression.[77] Alan Brinkley similarly contributes to the socio-political analyses through his discussion of Huey Long and Father Coughlin, two brief yet striking dissident leaders during the mid-1930s. Brinkley argues these men utilized growing disenchantment with the seemingly failing New Deal and fears of societal collapse, to gain considerable followings through their criticisms of the FDR administration.[78] Like McElvaine's focus on society and politics' reciprocal relationship, Brinkley highlights the creation and impact of a subculture subversive to policies of the era.

As suggested by Brinkley's examinations of Long and Coughlin, discontentment has been a major factor in unifying populations. For example, workers across the country—regardless of employment status or employer, location, or ethnicities—were united through similar political orientations and beliefs. Robin D. G. Kelley and Lizabeth Cohen similarly focus on working-class culture and their political movements during the Depression. Kelley focuses on the "homegrown radicalism" of the Alabama Communist

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the environment were in turn hit with a loss of community and identity: Donald Worster, *Dust Bowl: The Southern Plains in the 1930s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979).

[77] Robert S. McElvaine, *The Great Depression: America, 1929-1941* (New York: Times Books, 1984), xiii.

[78] Alan Brinkley, *Voices of Protest: Huey Long, Father Coughlin, and the Great Depression* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), 261.

Party, which included black and white men and women, during the early twentieth-century in Birmingham. He examines how, despite members' differences in experiences and backgrounds, the party greatly influenced the Communist movement. Moreover, he argues that black participation in the movement was voluntary and directed by their interest in racial and work equality, deviating from false notions that white Communists imposed their views on black individuals. Kelley employs his argument to highlight the ideological agency of black Communists in Alabama, demonstrating black populations' role in the political and cultural movements of the Depression.[79]

Cohen centers her argument on Chicago's working-class population's role in the mobilization for the support and expansion of labor unions during the 1930s. Akin to Kelley's argument on the ideological motivations of Alabama Communists, Cohen asserts that workers were motivated by their respective socio-cultural experiences to push for political and social changes. Cohen argues that such transformations occurred due to growing diversification of ethnicities in the working-class, reactions to national politics, as well as receptions of changes in cultural phenomena.[80] Kelley's and Cohen's works correlate through the interrelated cultural, political, and economic experiences of their respective studies, highlighting varying yet similar experiences of the working-class in

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[79] Robin D. G. Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists during the Great Depression* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1990), xxviii. David Brown and Clive Webb provide a broad but brief synthesis on race in the American South, ranging from the colonial period through the contemporary era; David Brown and Clive Webb, *Race in the American South: From Slavery to Civil Rights* (Gainesville: University of Florida, 2007).

[80] Lizabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 5. Davarian Baldwin provides a discussion on the "New Negro" movement of early twentieth-century Chicago, examining black class conflict and mass consumer culture as a significant area of intellectual life; Davarian Baldwin, *Chicago's New Negroes: Modernity, the Great Migration, & Black Urban Life* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 5.

their struggles for equality. Moreover, Kelley and Cohen demonstrate the power of socio-political discontentment to unify and mobilize common populations with the goal of creating social and political change.

Additionally, Kelley and Cohen contribute to the broader historiography of black history during the early twentieth-century, specifically during the Great Depression and New Deal. Historians often depict African Americans' experiences during the Depression as ambivalent, arguing that while FDR's programs were ideally aimed at aiding the unemployed and financially needy, black individuals and communities were often excluded due to socio-cultural or state government influences.[81] Historical analyses have paid significant attention to the New Deal's failings in terms of economically aiding black Americans, with specific consideration of its relation to the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. Moreover, historians are more interested in how African Americans received and viewed the New Deal, rather than if it was beneficial for black communities which, as previously stated, was dependent on various extraneous factors.

Cheryl Greenberg notes that though New Deal programs offered some aid to African Americans, the few advancements made were primarily due to the efforts of black organization.[82] Leslie H. Fishel makes a similar argument in his evaluation of how black communities perceived the president and his attempts to enforce equality between white and black Americans in government and New Deal programs.[83] Like Greenberg,

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[81] For example, see: Salmond, "The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Negro"; Alexander, *The New Deal's Forest Army*; Leslie H. Fishel, "The Negro in the New Deal Era," *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 48, no. 2 (1964), www.jstor.org/stable/4634026;

[82] Cheryl Lynn Greenberg, *To Ask for an Equal Chance: African Americans in the Great Depression* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2009).

[83] Fishel, "The Negro in the New Deal Era."

Fishel notes that black individuals did not equally receive New Deal opportunities due to racism within programs, which was heavily tied to the president's preference to appeal to Southern politicians to maintain political power.

Conversely, other historians contend that the New Deal positively transformed race relations, reorienting the era's historiography as a socio-cultural and political turning-point. For example, Patricia Sullivan contends that black and white Southerners were inspired by New Deal liberal reform and policy in their mass efforts for Southern political and economic modernization.[84] Kirby extends Sullivan's discussion on interracial efforts for "racial liberalism," not only in the South but nation-wide as well as through the Depression into the Second World War.[85]

Though CCC analyses often brush over the specific examination of the black experience, there is some considerable scholarship dedicated to the interpretation of African American involvement in the Corps. For example, Olen Cole, Jr. combines black and environmental historiographies through his discussion of African American contributions toward recreation and conservation.[86] Most literature, however, highlights the racial tensions and discrimination black members experienced from the Corps' administration and local communities. Echoing Heller's consideration of the Army's

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[84] Patricia Sullivan, *Days of Hope: Race and Democracy in the New Deal Era* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 3-7.

[85] John B. Kirby, *Black Americans in the Roosevelt Era: Liberalism and Race* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1980), ix-x.

[86] While primarily discussing how black enrollees were equally involved in the Corps' conservation efforts as their white counterparts, Cole also uses his work to criticize historical fixation on aspects of racial issues in black CCC experiences. Olen Cole, Jr., "African-American Youth in the Program of the Civilian Conservation Corps in California, 1933-42: An Ambivalent Legacy," *Forest & Conservation History* 35, no. 3 (1991): 121, www.jstor.org/stable/3983642.

administration over the CCC, Charles Johnson and Thomas W. Patton focus on the

relationship between black enrollees and the companies' white Army leadership. Johnson

utilizes a top-down approach in the analysis of the shifting dynamics between black

enrollees and white administration, while Patton employs a case-study on events of

dissent among African American enrollees in Preston, New York, also adding to the

historiography of working-class socio-political agency.[87]

Daniel Kryder continues this conversation of dualistic race and working-class

struggles through his examination of the relationship between black industrial workers

and the Roosevelt administration; however, Kryder temporally shifts this discussion from

the Great Depression to wartime. Blending Kelley' examination of the black working-

class with Cohen's focus on industrial labor, Kryder claims that—though perceived as

progressive—FDR's policies created and implemented for the war effort were barely

liberal. He argues that the federal government preferred full mobilization of American

industries and the preservation of democratic political power over true progressive social

and political reform.[88] Like Kelley and Cohen, Kryder contributes insight on working-

class and non-whites' agency to challenge culturally-entrenched race-relations and socio-

political control that led to immediate and future changes.[89]

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[87] Charles Johnson, "The Army, the Negro and the Civilian Conservation Corps: 1933-1942," *Military Affairs* 36, no. 3 (1972), www.jstor.org/stable/1985308; Thomas W. Patton, "'A Forest Camp Disgrace': The Rebellion of Civilian Conservation Corps Workers at Preston, New York, July 7, 1933," *New York History* 82, no. 3 (2001), www.jstor.org/stable/42677767.

[88] Kryder, *Divided Arsenal*, 4.

[89] Similarly, in *Race Rebels*, Kelley also discusses the combined impact of race, class, and gender on American politics and culture, specifically in terms of resistance to discrimination; Robin D.G. Kelley, *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class* (New York: The Free Press, 1994).

Like the opening of federally-contracted industrial work to people of color, wartime mobilization necessitated changes in the military to be inclusive of black men and all women. Leisa D. Meyer's examines the formation of the Women's Army Corps (WAC) as a result of the war, focusing on the organization's attempts to confront and adapt to established American gender and sexuality frameworks.[90] Meyer also considers the service of black women who had to deal with racial structures of gender and gendered constructs of race, alongside shifting ideals of civil rights.[91] Paralleling Kryder's analysis of socio-political pressures for equality in the American industrial complex due to wartime needs, Meyer argues that military and industrial mobilization needs challenged and transformed perceived cultural norms of what it meant to be feminine or masculine.

More recently, the historiography of World War II has shown how the war acted as a conduit for transforming socio-cultural norms. Building off John Morton Blum's monograph on the cyclical influences between the war, national politics, American culture and ideologies, Lewis H. Erenberg and Susan E. Hirsch contribute to the discussion of the subversion of American socio-cultural norms through the examination of civilians and the home-front.[92] Their essay collection contends that the war was a major turning point for American culture due to shifting dynamics of consciousness in terms of race and gender, caused by socio-political and industrial transformations

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[90] Leisa D. Meyer, *Creating GI Jane: Sexuality and Power in the Women's Army Corps During World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996) 2.

[91] Meyer, *Creating GI Jane*, 5.

[92] John Morton Blum, *V was for Victory: Politics and American Culture During World War II* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers, 1976), xi.

necessitated by the war.[93] Furthermore, the essays also demonstrate the evolution of cultural history analysis to focus on non-traditional topics—communities of color and women. Through this discussion, Erenberg and Hirsch place themselves into the larger scholarship of cultural evaluations that focus on the subscription and defiance of prewar norms, namely regarding changing dynamics of race and gender.

Studs Terkel bridges the personal experiences of the warfronts and the home-fronts. Employing his compilation, Terkel informs readers of individuals' ordeals with the intent of dispelling romantic images of the conflict. Paul Fussell's cultural examination of British and American psychologies and emotions, with the aim of refuting the romanticism and mythology of the Second World War, directly relates to Terkel's purpose. Specifically, Fussell employs his argument to survey and dispel the distortion of the war's memory caused by the "sanitation" and romanticization of the conflict.[94] Fussell expands beyond Terkel's work via his argumentative approach—as Terkel lacks interpretation—and the evaluation of the "emotional culture" and psychological effects of World War II, specifically meaning service-member behavior and ideologies. Fussell uses this approach to dispute the notions of the mythological and sentimental "good war," which he argues simplifies the reality of combat during the war by ignoring the diversity of soldier experience.[95]

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[93] Lewis A. Erenberg and Susan E. Hirsch (eds.), *The War in American Culture: Society and Consciousness during World War II* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), 4-5.

[94] Paul Fussell, *Wartime: Understanding and Behavior in the Second World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), ix.

[95] Fussell, *Wartime*, ix; Fussell's notion of "emotional culture" is different from the framework used in this thesis.

Linderman and Bruscino also utilize emotions as frameworks to evaluate American combat motivation during the war. Bruscino discusses commonalities between initial and sustaining motivations to fight in the war to refute notions that men fought for idealistic reasons—namely patriotism.[96] He argues that soldiers rejected the romantic and idyllic notions of warfare that came to fruition in the interwar period as society reacted to the unprecedented violence of the First World War.[97] Rather, Bruscino claims that men viewed combat through the "analogue of work," referencing to the cultural emphasis on labor and industry during the Great Depression.[98] Linderman utilizes the common American soldier's viewpoint to examine how individuals mentally and ideologically dealt with the events of combat, as well as how it affected their lives.[99] Through his evaluation of how soldiers navigated warfare's emotional aspects and the mental effects of combat, Linderman adds to Bruscino's evaluation of combat motivations in addition to Fussell's dispelling of the romanticism and mythology of the Second World War.

While Bruscino and Linderman focus on the mind and ideology, Christina Jarvis considers the body at war more broadly, referring to the physique and physicality of World War II in addition to the psychological aspects. Specifically, she traces the war's impact on male bodies and the cultural constructs of masculinity, arguing that World War

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[96] Thomas A. Bruscino, Jr., "The Analogue of Work: Memory and Motivation for Second World War US Soldiers," War & Society 28, no. 2 (2009): 86.

[97] Bruscino, "The Analogue of Work," 102.

[98] Bruscino, "The Analogue of Work," 102.

[99] Gerald F. Linderman, *The World Within War: America's Combat Experience in World War II* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 1.

II led to the emergence of a "hypermasculine" ideal in the postwar.[100] Jarvis contributes to the literature regarding governmental and societal attempts to reverse the Depression's "feminization" of American men via socio-cultural and political methods, like the CCC's goal to mentally and physically "rebuild" American masculinity.

Jarvis also contributes to a larger historiography that argues the Second World War acted as conduit for not only economic growth, but also as a turning-point for socio-cultural and political developments, namely for women and non-white populations. Too often, examinations of World War II either fail or briefly consider black participation on the home-front and in the military. Additionally, some early literature merely provides narrative about African American military history.[101] However, there is considerable scholarship that evaluates how black Americans impacted and were impacted by American society and culture, military, politics, and economics. For example, historians argue in favor of a connection between wartime socio-political and economic transformations, and the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s.

Neil A. Wynn and Maggi M. Morehouse use oral histories to interpret how wartime necessities led to social and political transformations for African Americans, namely in terms of racial equality. However, they disagree on whether the war influenced a rise in black consciousness. Wynn argues that while the war created some progress for black Americans, it was not a "turning-point" towards equality in America. Rather, the

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[100] Christina Jarvis, *The Male Body at War: American Masculinity during World War II* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2004), 4.

[101] Ulysses Lee, *United States Army in World War II – Special Studies: The Employment of Negro Troops* (Washington, D.C.: United States Army, 1965).

war aided in consolidating black consciousness and bettered race relations through governmental policy changes and increased white support.[102] Morehouse reaches a similar conclusion through her discussion of black military participation in the war. However, Morehouse claims that the war created—rather than consolidated—black consciousness that then played a significant role in the civil rights movement of the following decades.[103]

A consequence of black Americans' socio-political consciousness was a rise in racial violence during the war. For example, Harvard Sitkoff argues that African-American discontent with the country's wartime dependency on cooperation, as part of black socio-political consciousness, resulted in "racial militancy" in the push for civil rights.[104] Sitkoff describes that such ideals were common among black service-members who faced discrimination via military policies and civilian societies, and often experienced forms of backlash from white communities, like interracial violence.[105] Phillip McGuire argues that the military was not free from systemic practices of racism, which also discriminated against black service-members regardless of black political pressure and federal antidiscrimination policies.[106] Furthermore, McGuire relays that though the military was segregated throughout the war, there was a significant shift in

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[102] Neil A. Wynn, *The Afro-American and the Second World War – Revised Edition* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., 1993), ix-x and 136.

[103] Morehouse, *Fighting in the Jim Crow Army*, 233.

[104] Sitkoff, "Racial Militancy and Interracial Violence in the Second World War," 662-4.

[105] Sitkoff, "Racial Militancy and Interracial Violence in the Second World War," 665.

[106] Phillip McGuire, "Segregation of the Armed Forces: Black Leadership, Protest and World War II," *The Journal of Negro History* 68, no. 2 (1983): 147, www.jstor.org/stable/2717718.

policies and race relations that led to a larger movement in the decades following the war, contributing to the historiography of black consciousness in World War II.[107]

Scholarship on Emotions

The mid-to-late twentieth-century experienced a turn away from strictly scientific theories and towards humanistic considerations, such as the rejection of emotions as psychobiological phenomenon.[108] Instead, scholars began to view emotions as strictly culturally-constructed entities, a concept known as "constructionism." This method of interpretation has not been easily accepted and emotions scholars continue to debate this "either-or" dichotomy. As demonstrated in the following discussion, the conversation has shifted to contend that, in the interpretation of emotions, the existence of an emotion is more significant than emotions' origins. The following literature review aims to demonstrate how scholars have discussed emotions in terms of the psychobiological versus constructionist binary, and how this discourse has progressed the comprehension of emotions' complexities.[109]

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[107] McGuire, "Segregation of the Armed Forces," 155. Helen Black contributes to this conversation through the account of William H. Thompson's memories as both a black soldier and a veteran with consideration of sense of masculinity: Helen K. Black and William H. Thompson, "A War Within a War: A World War II Buffalo Soldier's Story," *The Journal of Men's Studies* 20, no. 1 (2012): 33, doi.org/10.3149/jms.2001.32.

[108] Jan Plamper provides a broad overview of the literature on the scholarly research of emotions in terms of historical and social science research. Similarly, William Reddy defines "what are emotions" within cognitive psychology and anthropology with the intent of reconciling the disciplines. Jan Plamper, *The History of Emotions: An Introduction*, trans. Keith Tribe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). William Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

[109] Some historians of emotion have provided a more basic definition and overview of emotions theory, describing how historians have broadly pulled from other fields' inquiries on emotions— anthropology, philosophy, psychology, and neurosciences—in the formulation of what is known as "history of emotions," therefore demonstrating that it is a very inter- and multi-disciplinary rooted epistemology; see: Rob Boddice, *The History of Emotions* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018). Barbara H. Rosenwein and Riccardo Cristiani, *What is the History of Emotions?* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2018).

A major proponent of the constructionist framework, Catherine Lutz utilizes the notion of emotion as a cultural-creation to discuss the assumptions and ideals of emotions among Westerners, specifically focusing on Americans. Though she recognizes that emotions are structured in and by the body, Lutz claims that examining the cultural organization of emotion can provide further information. She attempts to disentangle emotion from scientific scrutiny with the purpose of understanding how emotions reflect cultural ideologies. Essentially, she calls for the analytical reconstruction of emotion to instead depict how they are socio-culturally defined and performed.[110]

Lutz is largely concerned with Western emotional orientations, which she argues reflects a society's normative ideologies. Focusing on gender concepts and expectations, she describes that American culture deems specific emotions and expressions as allowed or restricted.[111] Lutz conveys that whether an emotion and its accompanying expression is allowed or restricted is based on the gender of the individual feeling and expressing the emotion. Moreover, there are differences in types of emotions allowed: Feelings and expressions construed as irrational and chaotic is typically assigned as feminine, while rationality and even the "absence"—or more often, denial—of emotion and lack of expression is considered masculine. This binary of irrational as feminine versus rational as masculine characterizes and supports the concepts of gender difference and

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[110] Catherine Lutz, *Unnatural Emotions*, 3-4; Catherine Lutz and Geoffrey M. White provide a broad review of social science approaches to the understanding of emotions, namely how emotions can aid in the understanding of cultural value and affect, as well as the notion that emotions can aid in re-centering the social sciences to consider the humanistic aspect: Lutz and White, "The Anthropology of Emotions."

[111] By "gender," Lutz refers to the masculine-feminine binary rather than the spectrum of contemporary gender identities; American refers to encompassing values rather than a specific subculture.

hierarchies, specifically where male is viewed as superior.[112] The masculine-feminine

allowance and restriction of feelings and emotional expressions directly correlates a

method of narrowing the types of emotions and expressions afforded to specific groups.

Lillian B. Rubin and Arlie Russell Hochschild also interpret emotions as a

cultural construction in the American context, though both examine variances in

emotional values based on socio-economic status. Rubin interviewed white working-class

families during the early-1970s about their backgrounds and emotions with the intent of

understanding the degree to which experiences, attitudes, and behaviors relate to socio-

economic status.[113] Rubin reveals working-class populations' struggles to support a

family financially and materially, demonstrating commonalities in emotional experiences

among working-class families. Hochschild engages directly in discussions of American

emotional values through her examination of emotion-management as defining factors of

socio-economic status. Like Lutz's concept of permissible versus restricted emotions

based on a gender binary, Hochschild suggests a similar binary that is instead based on

class. Hochschild utilizes the term "emotion-management" to examine American social

order and how individuals regulate their emotions and/or expressions in accordance with

their class's expected norms and values.[114] For instance, she claims the middle-class

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[112] Catherine Lutz, "Engendered Emotion," 87.

[113] Lillian B. Rubin, *Worlds of Pain: Life in the Working-Class Family* (New York: Basic Books, 1976), 6; Rubin defines working-class based on if the father/husband figure works in a blue-collar job.

[114] Hochschild defines "emotion-management" as synonymous with "emotion work," referring to the individual's regulation of their emotions according to their surrounding situation.

performs more strict emotion management due to their work in the public sector which requires demonstrating positive, rather than negative, emotions.[115]

Hochschild's conclusions regarding the psychological enforcement of emotion management through the teaching of specific ideals and attitudes relates to the notion of emotionology, as proposed by Peter and Carol Stearns. The Stearns define emotionology as a society's behaviors and standards toward emotions and their expressions, influencing an individual's emotional management to fit within the society.[116] They claim that such ideals are defined by latent and definitive social laws that dictate how—or if—emotions are expressed, broadly correlating to Hochschild's emotion management through the notion that emotions are socio-culturally policed.[117] Moreover, the Stearns support interdisciplinary approaches in examining emotions, citing that scholars and information available in other fields can benefit the historical research of emotion. For example, Peter Stearns relates the historical analysis of shame, a "quintessentially social emotion," to establish a connection between emotions history and other emotions scholars—like anthropology and psychology.[118] To demonstrate this relation, Stearns relates the

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[115] Arlie Russell Hochschild, "Emotion Work, Feeling Rules, and Social Structure," *American Journal of Sociology* 85, no. 3 (1979): 551-2 and 572, www.jstor.org/stable/2778583.

[116] Emotionology is a methodological lens used to determine a past society's common emotion standards. Peter N. Stearns and Carol Z. Stearns, "Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards," *The American Historical Review* 90, no. 4 (1985): 813, doi:10.2307/1858841.

[117] Stearns and Stearns, "Emotionology," 813. Barbara Rosenwein relates the significance of linguistics in the formation of what she termed "emotional communities," a concept that directly relates to emotionology via the adherence of same standards of emotional expression and value among individuals, though it explicitly applies to the early Middle Ages. Barbara H. Rosenwein *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 2.

[118] Peter N. Stearns, "Shame, and a Challenge for Emotions History," *Emotion Review* 8, no. 3 (2016): 1-2, doi.org/10.1177/1754073915588981.

anthropological and historical study of shame with psychological interpretations, providing him with a larger scope of data to utilize in tracking change.

The employment of a cultural approach in the understanding of emotions—explicitly those of past persons and societies—relates to Christine Mattley's discussion on the socially-constructed and temporal natures of emotions. Though not focused specifically on the emotions of the past, Mattley claims that emotions are not only created and defined by socio-cultural influences as they occur, but emotions are additionally influenced by individual and collective emotional pasts, furthering the notion of emotion as social constructs.[119] This refers to the idea that lived emotions are impacted by experiences as they occur as well as by past events and emotions, such as in the example of emotion management lessons learned during one's formative years. Moreover, Mattley claims that by defining the connection between emotion and temporality, then emotion management is more easily understood via the explicit link between past and present.[120]

Conversely, some scholars argue against the constructionist theoretical standpoint, claiming that to view emotion as a cultural construct is to oversimplify them. Margot L. Lyon directly refutes the interpretation of emotions as purely cultural, claiming that constructionist questions become overly focused on the person rather than broad anthropological topics, such as interactions of culture in terms of agency, social structures, and culturally-produced experiences.[121] Moreover, Lyon is critical of the

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[119] Christine Mattley, "The Temporality of Emotion: Constructing Past Emotions," *Symbolic Interaction* 25, no. 3 (2002): 367-8, doi:10.1525/si.2002.25.3.363.

[120] Mattley, "The Temporality of Emotion," 375.

[121] Margot L. Lyon, "Missing Emotion: The Limitations of Cultural Constructionism in the Study of Emotion," *Cultural Anthropology* 10, no. 2 (1995): 247-8, www.jstor.org/stable/656335.

constructionist removal of emotions from the body and placement into culture. She

claims that to understand the communicative and associative functions of the body, there

must be a way to examine how the body expresses information and ideas within its

social-cultural context. Lyon claims that emotions are the method through which this

understanding is achievable.[122] Joanna Burke relates to Lyon in the rejection of

emotionology—and constructionism, broadly—via the claim that they do not account for

an emotion's reaction, and utilizes the explicit example of fear.[123] Burke describes that

fear, like other emotions, has a "physiology" that though often inconsistent, often cannot

be maintained or be influenced by cultural means.[124]

However, the separation of emotions between body and cultural influences can

also be argued as an issue of presentism, in which the contemporary view is cast onto the

understanding of the past. This is the case indirectly claimed by Fay Bound Alberti.

While Alberti supports the significance of physiology in evaluating emotions, she more

broadly argues that scholars must interpret emotions in the terms their contemporary

society perceived them. For example, she refers to John Hunter, an eighteenth-century

surgeon, whose death was declared as a "disturbance of the heart's functions" by the

"affections of the mind."[125] Alberti employs this instance to remind scholars that past or

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[122] Lyon, "Missing Emotion," 257.

[123] Joanna Bourke, "Fear and Anxiety: Writing about Emotion in Modern History," *History Workshop Journal*, no. 55 (2003): 113, www.jstor.org/stable/4289830.

[124] Bourke, "Fear and Anxiety," 123.

[125] In modern terms, Hunter died of a heart attack. Fay Bound Alberti, "Bodies, Hearts, and Minds: Why Emotions Matter to Historians of Science and Medicine," *Isis* 100, no. 4 (2009): 799, www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/652020.

present cultures that subscribe to a "mind-body relationship" do not discriminate between bodily and cultural experiences, and therefore, interpretation should not.[126]

Pertaining to the notion of communicative and associative bodily functions, is William Reddy's analytical framework of emotives. Reddy rejects the notion that emotions are either psychobiological or cultural constructions, as well as the view that emotions are simultaneously both. Instead, he proposes "emotives," defined as an action that influences the internal state, like linguistic performatives.[127] Emotives and emotionology relate through the suggestion that emotions are managed through language and mannerisms. However, these concepts vary in the methods of control and where they exist: Emotionology views emotions as society's method of social control; emotives claim that an expression of an emotion is what makes the feeling come to fruition.

Affective theory relates to emotives and emotionology through its utilization of linguistics in the examination of the relationship between expressions and feelings. Currently, there are several working definitions: one claims that affect is not emotion but the potential for an emotion, which directly correlates to emotives via the concept that emotions are created by an expression. Others describe that affect is a bodily sensation, which is aligned with constructionist ideas. Both definitions, however, revolve around the ideas of "to affect" and "be affected." Kathleen Stewart develops these notions while discussing ordinary affects, which she defines as feelings that exist both within the personal sphere and public environment, continually influencing the potential for feelings

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[126] Alberti, "Bodies, Hearts, and Minds," 809-10.

[127] William Reddy, "Against Constructionism: The Historical Ethnography of Emotions," *Current Anthropology* 38, no. 3 (1997): 331, www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/204622.

and similar events to occur.[128] Furthermore, Stewart describes that ordinary affects are dynamic forces that contain more power than ideologies or values, which cannot be explained as symbols but instead require several dimensions of analysis in order to understand the web of potential connections and influences.[129]

Sara Ahmed similarly recognizes the potential of emotions in how individuals are bound within themselves, objects, and other persons, but reconciles the psychobiological versus cultural binary.[130] Critical of the constructionist viewpoint, Ahmed suggests that emotions are the bounds between the inside, i.e., person, and the socio-cultural environment. Moreover, emotions are multi-layered levels of response to others, and these dynamics blur the separation between the body's inside and outside.[131] Invoking aspects of Reddy's emotives alongside affective theory, Ahmed argues that emotions are capable of dynamic actions which tie people with "collectives," which she defines as "bodily space with social space" and refers to the dualistic influences on emotions. Ahmed asserts there needs to be more consideration as to how emotions function as the mediation between the body and cultural aspects.[132]

Many emotions scholars also argue against the culture-psychobiological binary. For example, some mediate between these approaches to recognize emotions as entities

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[128] Kathleen Stewart, *Ordinary Affects* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 2. For further discussions on the theoretical aspects and usage of affect theory, see: Melissa Gregg and Gregory J. Seigworth, eds., *The Affect Theory Reader* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010).

[129] Stewart, *Ordinary Affects*, 3-4.

[130] Sara Ahmed, "Collective Feelings: Or, The Impressions Left By Others," *Theory, Culture & Society* 21, no. 2 (2004): 28, doi: 10.1177/0263276404042133.

[131] Ahmed, "Collective Feelings," 28.

[132] Ahmed, "Collective Feelings," 26-7.

of both, while others refute these frameworks altogether as unimportant in the cultural

examinations of emotion. John Leavitt falls within the former group, as he views

emotions as psychobiological feelings within an individual, but that expressions'

meanings are defined by cultural rules.[133] He claims that to favor one viewpoint over the

other reduces emotions' complexities, for instance to argue emotions as cultural

constructs reduces them to only a meaning. Leavitt relates to Reddy by rejecting the

psychobiological versus constructionist binary. However, Leavitt varies from Reddy

through his recognition of emotions as simultaneously an internal psychobiological

feeling and cultural customs dictate the outward emotional expression of that feeling.

Leavitt also offers three ways to respect—rather than fully repudiate—the

meaning-feeling dichotomy. The first is to interpret emotions as learned experiences and

bodily expressions through semiotic understanding of cultural norms. Secondly, the

recognition of affective experiences that denote that the body—a psychobiological

entity—is influenced by culture. Lastly, Leavitt asserts the importance of empathy and

sympathy in realigning the anthropologist's own cultural meaning model to best

understand the system under investigation.

Andrew Beatty also finds fault in the psychobiological-cultural binary debates,

claiming that the constriction caused by such theoretical underpinnings leaves analyses

limited in scope and understanding as well as a simplification of the nature of

emotions.[134] Like Leavitt, Beatty is critical of the discourses because he believes it causes

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[133] John Leavitt, "Meaning and Feeling in the Anthropology of Emotions," *American Ethnologist* 23, no. 3 (1996): 515, www.jstor.org/stable/646350.

[134] Beatty, "Current Emotion Research in Anthropology," 415.

a loss of information as scholars may assume an emotion and/or its meaning. He claims

that anthropology is already equipped with the necessary tools for the examination of

emotions. Therefore, anthropology of emotions needs to move beyond the cultural and

psychobiological discussions to maintain integrity, as well as obtain a deeper

consideration of emotions' complexities.[135] As a result, Beatty proposes a narrative

approach to maintain information through description. He asserts this method allows for

the recognition of the "subjective experience of free will" and the "possibility of reflexive

moral action," meaning the humanistic and individualistic experience of feeling.[136]

In their interpretations of emotions, many historians recognize the cultural

psychobiological factors to evaluate emotions within the context of European societies

and warfare. Stephanie Downes, Andrew Lynch, and Katrina O'Loughlin argue that

emotions have not only caused wars but are "firmly entrenched" within conflicts and

necessitate emotions analyses. They utilize Medieval- to Romantic-era literature to

examine the varying emotional circumstances of and within wars, with explicit attention

to the "cultural practices" that emotional production stems from and interacts with.[137]

Erika Kuijpers and Cornelis van der Haven employ an interdisciplinary interpretation of

the military during the early modern period as emotional communities, similarly utilizing

literature, personal documents, art, and material culture.[138] They claim that unlike earlier

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[135] Andrew Beatty, *Emotional Worlds: Beyond an Anthropology of Emotion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 16-7.

[136] Beatty, "Anthropology and Emotion."

[137] Stephanie Downes, Andrew Lynch, and Katrina O'Loughlin, (eds.), *Emotions and War: Medieval to Romantic Literature* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 1-3.

[138] Kuijpers and van der Haven relate "emotional communities" to Monique Scheer's "emotional habitus," which identifies the psychobiological aspect of feeling that are shaped by environmental

periods, the early modern period marked the beginning of the military professionalization via reforms, technological advancements, trainings, and specific mental and physical standards which led to the formulation of armies into their own cultural communities.[139]

Additionally, historians employ the emotional communities approach, with recognition of the psychobiological-cultural aspects, but broaden their scope to look at European societies during and between the World Wars. For instance, Claire Langhamer, Lucy Noakes, and Katrina Siebrecht argue that to understand past emotional lives, scholars must comprehend the existence of a dynamic relationship between bodies, linguistic processes, and social interactions that create bodily sensations.[140] Moreover, they assert that evaluating these factors within a broad society provides an insight on how cultural contexts—like race, gender, class, etc.—influence emotional responses.[141] Lucy Noakes relates to emotionology through her analysis of how "emotional cultures" and the enforcement of specific ideals, created an "emotional economy" in World War II era Britain. Specifically, she asserts that death and grief are central in understanding the British experience and memory of the war.[142] Noakes argues that the expression of grief held significant socio-political value as it was tied to the notion of failing those lost and

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practices—namely culture and social rules. Erika Kuijpers and Cornelis van der Haven (eds.), *Battlefield Emotions, 1500-1800: Practices, Experience, Imagination* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 6-7.

[139] Kuijpers and van der Haven, *Battlefield Emotions*, 5.

[140] Claire Langhamer, Lucy Noakes, and Claudia Siebrecht (eds.), *Total War: An Emotional History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), viii.

[141] Langhamer, Noakes, and Siebrecht, *Total War*, viii.

[142] Lucy Noakes, *Dying for the Nation: Death, Grief and Bereavement in Second World War Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), 2.

the collective nation, as it equated the inability to "carry on" with wartime necessities.[143] However, such emotional economy of restraining expressions of bereavement ultimately marginalized the war's dead both during the conflict and in public memory.[144]

Whereas Noakes examines the political economy of emotions in British society during the Second World War, Michael Roper investigates methods of emotional survival among British soldiers during the First World War. Roper employs psychoanalysis to examine the relationship between soldiers and family, particularly sons and mothers. He argues that soldiers were dictated by Edwardian cultural standards on how to deal with fear and trauma, resulting in their "repression" into boyhood and maintaining intense emotional ties to their mothers.[145] Jason Crouthamel similarly investigates emotional survival during the Great War, but examines the influence and transformations of masculinity and manliness. Through his gender analysis, Crouthamel to the literature of the dynamic relationship between masculinity, politics, and war, which was established by Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann, and John Tosh's placement of masculinity within the field of gender studies and military history.[146]

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[143] Lucy Noakes, *Dying for the Nation*, 2 and 11.

[144] Noakes, *Dying for the Nation*, 4-5 and 14.

[145] Michael Roper, *The Secret Battle: Emotional Survival in the Great War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), 7-9 and 15. Roper argues for the "subjective sense" of masculinity and manliness, which rejects cultural standards over personal experience especially in terms of war, self-expression, and identity that cultural lens may fail to consider; see: Michael Roper, "Between Manliness and Masculinity: The 'War Generation' and the Psychology of Fear in Britain, 1914–1950" *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 2 (2005), www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/427130. Michael Roper, "Slipping out of view: Subjectivity and Emotion in Gender History," *History Workshop Journal*, no. 59 (2005), www.jstor.org/stable/25472785.

[146] Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann, and John Tosh, *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), xii. Also, though not explicitly evaluating gender concepts, Joanna Bourke provides an in-depth discussion of the specific socio-

Moreover, Crouthamel contributes to the literature on the construction of "hegemonic" masculinity, specifically Gail Bederman's analyses of white middle-class culture during the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries.[147] Crouthamel argues that German soldiers challenged socio-cultural standards of masculinity to emotionally survive the traumas of war, namely turning away from hegemonic expectations toward and engaging in emotional intimacy with fellow soldiers.[148] Whereas Crouthamel focuses on masculinity of white Americans and Europeans during the Great War, Bederman evaluates the cultural aspects of gender and race in the United States from the late nineteenth-century through the World War I. Bederman conceptualizes that gender is a "historical, ideological process," that is also tied to ideas of race. Namely, she argues that white masculinity was defined by domination over women, children, and people of color. Within such conditions, per Bederman, race and gender are inherently related.[149]

Conclusion

While the above literature review provides an understanding of how scholars have analyzed and interpreted the Great Depression, CCC, World War II, or emotions, it

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cultural expectations of men as soldiers in the twentieth century; see: Joanna Bourke, *The Intimate History of Killing: Face to Face Killing in 20th Century Warfare* (London: Granta Books, 1999).

[147] "Hegemonic masculinity" refers to a concept of practiced dominance of men who achieve specific cultural, mental, and physical "masculine ideals"—such as soldiers—as well as the legitimization of such actions; see: R.W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept," *Gender & Society* 19, no. 6 (2005), www.jstor.org/stable/27640853.

[148] Jason Crouthamel, *An Intimate History of the Front: Masculinity, Sexuality, and German Soldiers in the First World War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 1-3.

[149] Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), 7 and 20-3. For a discussion of the cultural construction of race in the U.S. during the late nineteenth- and twentieth centuries, see: Lee D. Baker, *From Savage to Negro: Anthropology and the Construction of Race, 1896-1954* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

largely serves as a foundation to build the following thesis evaluation. As demonstrated, scholars utilize the socio-cultural structures of gender and race to interpret how people—historical or contemporary—demonstrate themselves and interact with one another. The purpose of structures of race and gender within the understanding of emotional-cultures among CCC workers and soldiers of WWII is to recognize the ways in which—the socio-economic, racial, and cultural dynamics—these men experienced their worlds. Emotions are fickle entities and therefore all factors of influence are imperative to consider.

CHAPTER III – WHITE MEN'S EMOTIONS IN WORK & WAR

Emotions—the expression, maintenance, and the experience—are a constant phenomenon both within and outside of the human body. However, the allowance and restriction of certain emotions is dependent on various socio-cultural factors, such as gender and race.[150] The long history of slavery and racism in Euramerican society led to the association of masculinity and manliness with whiteness. This refers to the concept of racial hierarchies and white dominance that separated "rational" white men from not only "irrational" white women, but also "irrational" men and women of color.[151] Varying cultural norms, such as the restriction or allowance of certain emotional expressions based on gender, lent to the notion that men of color— specifically black men—were chaotic and irrational.[152] The application of feminine norms towards black men is also attributed to the conditions of enslavement, linking masculinity to the ability to own land and vote, as well as roles and concepts that enslaved men were deprived of, such as being able to care for a family.

Within this framework of white masculinity as controlled and unemotional, most white men were held by Euramerican societal norms to a strict standard of permitted

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[150] The allowance and restriction of certain emotions as dependent on factors like gender and race, explains how white men defined power and masculinity on notions of race and gender; therefore, to understand how and why white men defined their masculinity, it is significant to understand what they were defining themselves against.

[151] Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 20; this directly connects to Catherine Lutz's discussion of gendered emotions in Western culture—specifically discourse of female emotions—the methodology here parallels her chapter and expands upon the discourse of male emotion which is determined as opposite to female; Catherine Lutz, "Engendered Emotion," in *Language and the Politics of Emotion*, 69-91.

[152] Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 25.

emotions and expressions to separate themselves from the cultural connotations associated with feminine feelings and actions.[153] As a result, men had to find or form "appropriate" methods through which they could process their thoughts and feelings. One technique that provided men with the ability to process their emotions in a controlled manner—and therefore a form of emotional relief—was the use of language via written communication. The purpose of this chapter is to apply the constructed methodology in the analysis of the emotional-culture of white CCC enrollees and U.S. Army enlistees to determine the ways in which they expressed their emotions within the cultural structures of white masculinity via the utilization of written forms of communication.[154]

Reflection of Self and Immediate Situation

As discussed in the introduction, the methodology approaches emotions as bodily feelings that are made in response to an individual's external environment, with their outward manifestations dictated by socio-cultural rules.[155] Related to the masculine structures of inward emotions and outward expression—specifically emotional control and rationality—is the concept of self-reflection. The notion of self-reflection concerns

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[153] The exception to "most white men" refers to white men who fell outside of the perceived masculine norm, referring to men who expressed traits deemed "unmasculine" or fell outside of cultural expectations, like a having a disability or acting feminine; "permitted" in the context of emotions namely refers to rational emotions, but "permitted" emotional expression refers to the allowance of emotions—like sadness or fear—but only in certain situations and methods.

[154] This approach parallels that of Lucy Noakes's discussion of WWII British servicemen's writings as a method to form a "constructed self" with special consideration on the formation of a hybrid masculinity through such writings; Lucy Noakes, "Communities of Feeling: Fear, Death, and Grief in the Writing of British Servicemen in the Second World War," in *Total War: An Emotional History*, eds. Claire Langhamer, Lucy Noakes, and Claudia Siebrecht (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 116-136.

[155] This internal-external relationship connects to both Sara Ahmed's discussion on one's emotional relationship with themselves as well as the larger 'collective,' i.e., community; Ahmed, *Collective Feelings*, 28; as well as affect theory which dictates that individuals are equally affected by what is happening around them, as well as affect what is occurring around them; for more about affect theory, see Gregg and Seigworth (eds.), *The Affect Theory Reader* and Stewart, *Ordinary Affects*.

the action of internally managing emotions and influencing their external manifestations, such as to conform to socio-cultural norms. While introspection typically occurs inside oneself, writing one's thoughts to convey internal feelings also afforded enrollees and soldiers a way to reflect and share their thoughts, reactions, and emotions. While the purpose of newsletters is to provide information to a group of people, many soldiers treated their letters the same way by providing their reader with updates and personal thoughts. Corps enrollees and WWII U.S. Army soldiers similarly utilized their respective writings to describe their thoughts, moments of self-reflection, and discussion of their circumstances to a larger audience.

CCC newsletters often recounted current events, the progress of ongoing projects, infirmary news and notices, past and future educational activities, coming and goings of camp officers, sports and leisure activities, as well as anticipated visits by family, friends, or Corps administration. For example, the *Eastern Cry* editorial team informed their readers about the goings-on of Company 3318 in Tucson, Arizona, like the completion of camp buildings, district personnel visits, company sports results, and progress on projects, like a group of brick-layers who "completed 7000 Adobe bricks" and "set the pace for many experts to follow."[156] Some newsletters included quips about individual enrollees in the form of personal updates or jokes. For instance, several 1935 and 1936 issues of the *Big Timber Times* incorporated humor in their company news—one column

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[156] *Eastern Cry*, March 1, 1939, 5-9.

dedicated to the various barracks' respective updates, and another, called "We Observe and Comment," was used to tease other fellows about their personal lives or habits.[157]

Soldiers similarly used letters to write their families with updates about the banality of their day-to-day, camp life, and even details of where they were stationed. For example, Private (Pvt.) Marvin K. Miller wrote his mother about being stationed in "Mindanano [*sic*]," where he could buy candy from the post-exchange (PX), received packages from family and friends, and reflected about taking up his old job when he returned home. Though he noted the end of the war, he offered little self-reflection or thoughts on the war's end except for stating his excitement: "But now I have Hopes of Getting Home, sooner and it makes me a lot Happier and fiel [*sic*] Better. Well lets [*sic*] Hope it is eaven [*sic*] quicker then [*sic*] I hope."[158]

S/Sgt. Alan F. Blair also recounted his camp life in the Philippines during the end of the Pacific war but provided a plethora of detail of current events in his life. He reported a recent trip to a nearby market, on the types of trains the military used, the hot and humid weather, encounters with native insects, and inquired about back home. In his letter, Blair also lacked any self-reflection about his thoughts on the war, like the broad and brief nature of the CCC newsletters and Pvt. Miller's letter. Instead, he offered his

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[157] For further examples, see: *Mountaineer* issues from July 1940, September 1940, December 1940, and January 1941; "We Observe and Comment," *Big Timbers Times*, September 1, 1935, 8; "Barracks Notes," *Big Timber Times*, March 15, 1936, 5 and 6.

[158] Correspondence from Pvt. Marvin K. Miller to Mrs. John Rogers, August 16, 1945, WWII Letters Digital Collection, SHSMO.

correspondence to simply inform that he was "doing fine" in life and health, except for some minor some skin issues.[159]

Like Miller, Sergeant (Sgt.) David H. Capps integrated some moments of self-reflection in his letter to his mother about the 46th General Hospital Corps' camp in North Africa, but with considerable amount of detail of his camp life, such as in Blair's correspondence. Namely, Capps described the weather, the medical and living facilities, their clothing, leisure activities, tidbits about the individuals he lived with, and his assurances that he had a healthy diet. Capps briefly addressed his work with the hospital, mentioning that, though "it is all hell" due to the nature of the positions, most patients do not cause them trouble as "they all seem to realize it is a job that has to be finished."[160] He added that while such labors "makes me realize how fortunate I am" to not be in combat, he disclosed that "still it doesn't seem like I am doing very much for the war effort."[161] In addition to explaining his current situation, Capps posited a moment of self-reflection on his role in the war, confessing that while he recognized his duties were needed and he was grateful to not be in combat, he was disappointed that he was not "doing more." Capps' admission alludes to the socio-cultural association of war with fighting and masculine duty to serve in a combat capacity, suggesting he did not view himself as a "proper man" because of his occupation.

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[159] Correspondence from S/Sgt. Alan F. Blair to Mr. and Mrs. Blair, August 15, 1945, WWII Letters Digital Collection, SHSMO.

[160] Correspondence from Sgt. David H. Capps to Mrs. Marion S. Capps, 1944, WWII Letters Digital Collection, SHSMO.

[161] Correspondence from Sgt. David H. Capps to Mrs. Marion S. Capps, 1944, WWII Letters Digital Collection, SHSMO.

Army combat soldiers were more often in immediate danger in comparison to CCC enrollees, and therefore the emotions experienced and reflected on by enrollees and service-members did not always necessarily parallel. Instances of self-reflection and the contemplation of immediate events in the Forest Army's newsletters occurred namely in the form of short columns, editorials, and essays. Such sources were printed as a form of communication between enrollees to inform or motivate others and provided an insight to an individual's personal viewpoints that were shared with the company community. These sentiments were, to some extent, shared among the community rather than exclusive to one person, as these editorials and essays were printed into a company-wide newsletters, therefore characterizing the emotional-culture of that company. For example, newsletters often printed philosophical renderings about man's relationship to nature, discussions about duties as enrollees in terms of future impacts on society and environment, as well as motivational commentaries that called for the betterment of the enrollees as individuals and members of a society.

In their June 1937 editorial, *Camp High Lights* included a recommendation to their readers to try to become the best versions of themselves, but better yet, to be a good person and citizen in their community. The essay stated that each man has a duty to his community and therefore must become respectable rather than "a person who is looked down upon," appealing to concepts of civic and masculine responsibilities. [162] The editorial's insistence on the correlation between respectability and one's place in society indicated the socio-cultural significance on a person's integrity. Essentially, a person's

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[162] "You," *Camp High Lights*, June 1, 1937, 3.

candor signaled that the individual was courteous and capable of positively contributing to their community. This connects to the ideals of white masculinity in Euramerican culture that similarly asserted that to be controlled in one's actions and emotions was not only respectable but also defined superiority over non-white individuals.[163]

Personal betterment through self-reflection was a common theme throughout newsletters, and was often communicated in the form of essays, poems, columns, and editorials.[164] For example, one newsletter specifically discussed the role of introspection in terms of becoming a more self-aware individual:

> People given to introspection, or self analysis [*sic*] are usually astonished when something they read or hear causes them to take stock and for the first time, see themselves as they really are…The vanity that is common to all of us tends to keep our faults in the back-ground of our consciousness…we all know that discovering faults is not pleasant, but no-body uses a remedy until he finds the symptoms of the disease. So the discovery is the necessary first step in rreform [*sic*] and the begin-ing of improvement is always dissatisfaction.[165]

Here, the author discerned that introspection is a continual process through which individuals recognize their faults and reform their negligible thoughts and acted behaviors, like emotions and their outward manifestations, to achieve self-improvement. The editorial regarded self-reflection as the primary method through which to hold oneself to higher moral standards, further reinforcing the socio-cultural significance

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[163] This relates to Christina S. Jarvis's discussion of education and etiquette lessons offered to CCC enrollees in attempts to not only create strong masculine bodies through labor and nutrition, but also better citizens; Jarvis, *The Male Body at War*, 24-5. Additionally, this relates to nineteenth-century middle-class ideals of men as strong physically and in character—namely "gentility and respectability"; Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 25-6.

[164] For example, two motivational poems included "Keep Trying" which encouraged men to continue through life even if it seems to be against them, as well as "Stop & Think," which reminded men to be kind to those struggling physically and/or emotionally; Burt W. Intenburg, "Keep Trying," *Diamond Lake Courier*, August 1, 1938, 3; "Stop & Think," *Diamond Lake Courier*, August 1, 1938, 9.

[165] *Big Timber Times*, June 18, 1936, 2.

placed on respectability, as suggested in the *Camp High Lights* newsletter. Moreover, these essays bolster notions found within structures of white, Euramerican masculinity that equated control of inward sentiments and their outward expression with respectability and racial superiority. Therefore, these writings then lend to the defining of the socio-cultural standards of behavior and expressions that Euramerican culture expected white men to hold themselves and others to.

As soldiers engaged in combat, many also used self-reflection in their letters as a method through which to process the events of war and the violence they were immersed within. Such reflections often contrasted the peacefulness of life before the war, namely memories from childhood or young adulthood, but also the landscapes and scenes men saw before violence was inflicted upon towns. In the latter case, S/Sgt. Belders wrote his mother a description of a French valley that his unit was ordered to attack. He portrayed that while it was "too peaceful & beautiful [in France] to be fighting a war," he and his men waited to make it a "living hell."[166] Belders used his letter to reveal to his mother his innermost thoughts regarding his actions, specifically referring to the destruction he was ordered to partake in. He justified his role in the war—as well as the devastation—as a "big job to be done" in the endeavor for victory and asserted that "the sooner we reach it the sooner we can all get home to our loved ones. Then we'll all be happy again."[167] In his correspondence, Belders made several statements in reflection of his actions. First, he

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[166] Correspondence from S/Sgt. Delmer C. Belders to Mrs. Lee Scott, August 29, 1944, WWII Letters Digital Collection, SHSMO.

[167] Correspondence from S/Sgt. Delmer C. Belders to Mrs. Lee Scott, August 29, 1944, WWII Letters Digital Collection, SHSMO.

claimed that his military participation—alongside overall American participation—was necessary to achieve peace. Secondly, Belders rationalized that violence was key in achieving victory. Lastly, service-members would only be able to return home once victory was realized, therefore necessitating in their active participation.

S/Sgt. Harold X. Etter depicted a recent event to similarly reflect on his combat experiences in a letter to his mother. Etter narrated to his mother about living through a German shelling, after which he and others attempted to aid a severely wounded GI and discovered several U.S. soldiers in a barn who were killed by Germans.[168] He called the incident a "nightmare" that solidified both his beliefs in God as well as his trust in his nerves.[169] Etter continued his letter with philosophical renditions about his hatred for Germans, the war's purpose, and a consideration of morals when simultaneously committing and receiving acts of violence:

> You wonders [*sic*] about morals and such now, our everyday conversation and shop talk is not in your world. We get decorations and honors for killing, a German dies the same as an American, he weeps, groans and crys [*sic*] out in death. While we watch him, someone says 'You Son of a Bitch', and we think that person hard and feel sorry for the poor devil of a Kraut. But this feeling lasts…only for a moment, as a glance away is an American with the air sucking in and out of a jagged hole in his chest. What is one to do, he feels 'Who is to blame'…Man is mad, stark raving mad! Why must this mess go on…Oh, well, Mother I guess it is not our problem to wonder…'why' but to blindly obey, this is war and I know that nothing is worse.[170]

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[168] Correspondence from S/Sgt. Harold X. Etter to Mrs. W.T. Burge, January 2, 1945, WWII Letters Digital Collection, SHSMO.

[169] Correspondence from S/Sgt. Harold X. Etter to Mrs. W.T. Burge, January 2, 1945, WWII Letters Digital Collection, SHSMO.

[170] Correspondence from S/Sgt. Harold X. Etter to Mrs. W.T. Burge, January 2, 1945, WWII Letters Digital Collection, SHSMO.

Like Belders, Etter's self-reflection focused on attempts to justify the brutalities of war. However, the two contrast in their conclusions. Belders attempted to protect his morality through the reasoning that war had a specific purpose and therefore his actions were excusable. Meanwhile, Etter depicted that both decency and hatred essentially co-existed within soldiers, and that men were in constant moralistic and emotional anguish in attempts to deal with violence and make sense of what was happening. In addition to questioning the reasons for destruction, Etter also reminisced on his fatigue and doubts about the war's significance in terms of achieving victory. He posited that:

> If the sacrafices [*sic*] we have to put up with will end this maddness [*sic*] for all time, I guess it will be worth it. I am afraid it won't though, I am a little afraid for my own son.[171]

Though hopeful that his and others' actions would not be meaningless in the struggle for peace, Etter doubted the lasting success of victory by alluding to the notion his son—but specifically his son's generation—would also have to grapple with war.

Pfc. Earl G. Eastman also relied on self-reflection in his letters as a method through which to process the violence of war. However, Eastman varied from Belders and Etter via his discussion of violence using religious dialogue, specifically that war was not "God's work." He articulated that people incorrectly interpreted war as "God's will." Rather, though God allowed "bloodstained swords be swung," Eastman claimed that it was "mortal men" who were not fulfilling "righteous ways," and therefore he prayed for when men "can truthfully say God's way is mine."[172] Like Belders' allusion to war as a

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[171] Correspondence from S/Sgt. Harold X. Etter to Mrs. W.T. Burge, January 2, 1945, WWII Letters Digital Collection, SHSMO.

[172] Pfc. Earl G. Eastman, "Thoughts in a Fox-Hole," 1943, in correspondence from Mr(s). Eastman to Ted Malone, n.d., WWII Letters Digital Collection, SHSMO.

"job" and Etter's discussion of soldiers' internal battle between maintaining and losing

morality, Eastman used his poem to portray his rationalization of destruction in war.

However, Eastman diverged in the justification of violence discourse through his

suggestion that soldiers' actions and war are a result of men's lack of religious values.

However, Eastman's view that men were the reason for destruction also indicated a belief

that men were not always condemned to uncontrollable behavior, but that absolution of

violence was possible through the adoption of "righteous ways." Often, the following of

religious teachings—specifically Christian values—is tied to concepts of character

integrity. In turn, the notion that men could essentially be "controlled" by religious values

relates directly to the consideration of how Corps enrollees utilized self-reflection as a

means of "remedying" faults and achieving respectability.

The use of self-reflection varied not only between white CCC enrollees and

WWII soldiers, but also between individuals. While some used the concept to think and

report about their immediate circumstances, like in the case of news in CCC newsletters

or soldiers writing home, others employed introspection in attempts to control their

behavior. Specifically, self-reflection provided a method through which white men were

able to control their inward feelings and outward manifestations according to white socio-

cultural norms, whether the emotions were disciplined based on notions of respectability

or to process trauma and violence from war.

Poetry and Emotional Expression

While word choice discloses much about emotional-cultures in terms of how

individuals utilized language to express themselves, structures of language also provide

an intricate insight to how people conveyed and managed their emotions. One such

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method for expressing feelings is the practice of poetry. Men utilized poetry to discuss and express emotions typically deemed "unmasculine" in Euramerican culture—like forms of love, fear, or sadness—in a culturally acceptable way.[173]

Up to the mid-twentieth century, poetry was a cultural feature common among the American population. Though poetry was associated with upper classes due to low literacy rates and due to the use of linguistic structures, poems were also popular among the masses as literacy continued to increase.[174] Poetry was an inherently public cultural device; they were printed in newspapers and periodicals and were accessible to literate lower-class audiences via the use of vernacular language.[175] Moreover, poetry topics were not always focused on entertaining readers—they also shared messages about religion, morals and values, as well as economic and political themes.[176] During the economic struggles of the 1930s, poetry was commonly employed by and for the working class to share sentiments about unions and the mobilization of the working class.[177] Known as "labor poetry," authors were typically members of an union who wrote

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[173] For a comprehensive examination of American war literature in the twentieth-century, see Jeffrey Walsh, *American War Literature: 1914 to Vietnam* (London: Macmillan, 1982).

[174] Joseph Harrington, *Poetry and the Public: The Social Form of Modern U.S. Poetics* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2002), 26-7; "linguistic structures" refer to the patterns and structures that poems often use that delineate them as separate from prose, such as rhyme or rhythm; Ivan Greenberg, "Proletarian Literature from the Bottom Up: Workers and Poetry during the Rise of the CIO," *American Quarterly* 67, no. 2 (2015): 417-8, www.jstor.org/stable/43823082.

[175] Harrington, *Poetry and the Public*, 32; Greenberg, "Proletarian Literature from the Bottom Up," 417.

[176] Harrington, *Poetry and the Public*, 26-7.

[177] Greenberg, "Proletarian Literature from the Bottom Up," 414.

specifically to advance worker solidarity and bring awareness to worker exploitation.[178] The commonality of poetry for social and political reasons, especially among the working-class during the Great Depression, suggests that both CCC enrollees and WWII soldiers were familiar with the forms and practices of poetry.[179]

Corps newsletters and soldiers' letters both frequently featured poetry, strongly suggesting that it was a common practice for communicating thoughts and feelings. For example, poetry was dispersed throughout CCC newsletters as dedications or reprints of poems by well-known authors.[180] American service-members' personal correspondences during World War II also reveal that poems were popular ways to disclose complicated feelings of homesickness, love, fear, and even philosophical reflections.[181]

Forest Army enrollees and Second World War service-members similarly utilized poetry to indicate their love for something or someone. Often, the writers described their subject's physical traits—namely beauty, but with specific reference to voice, eyes, smiles, or hair—to depict their romantic intentions. WWII soldier, Private First Class (Pfc.) Tom W. Lynn, employed a brief poem to liken his verses' subject to a queen. Lynn

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[178] Greenberg, "Proletarian Literature from the Bottom Up," 417.

[179] For a detailed discussion of American literary historiography, see: Cary Nelson, *Repression and Recovery: Modern American Poetry and the Politics of Cultural Memory, 1910-1945* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1989).

[180] The *Dixie Yankee* by Company 2349 at Project SP-25 in Joplin, Virginia published newsletters with poetry pages in their 1937 and 1938 issues. For example, the *Dixie Yankee* shared Edgar Allan Poe's, "Valley of Unrest"; *Dixie Yankee*, January 1, 1938, 7. The printing of enrollees' and celebrity authors' poems in Corps circulations indicates that individuals were familiar with poetry through primary education, education through the Corps, and/or through leisure. See Leslie Alexander Lacy, *The Soil Soldiers* and Benjamin F. Alexander, *The New Deal's Forest Army*; see the 'History of the CCC and U.S. Army During WWII' in the introduction for more information about educational programs in the Corps.

[181] Of the 3,013 items digitized so far within the "WWII Letters" collection (C0068) held by SHSMO, there are approximately 130 letters from U.S. service-members that include some form of poetry.

described her "eyes soft brown, With a fresh'ning [*sic*] brightness, Pretty tangled curls

falling around Thy forehead for a fairy crown."[182] Through his use of embellished word

choice and grammar to compliment his "Sweet One," Lynn crossed the bounds of

masculine norms via the use of artistic and florid language to present his inner feelings

towards the subject, a method that is more typically associated with feminine

expression.[183] Poetic language that was written, rather than physically enacted or said,

allowed Lynn to articulate his inner feelings in a socio-culturally acceptable way.

Individuals also used poetry to express how their subject made them feel,

referring not just to an internal feeling but how that emotion outwardly manifested in the

individual experiencing it. In a humorous ode to a fellow enrollee, one CCC newsletter

compared the man's change in personality to an illness, begging him:

> If you don't feel just right,
>   If you can't sleep at night,
> If you moan and sigh,
>   If your throat feels dry,
> If you don't care to smoke,
>   If your food makes you choke,
> If your heart doesn't beat,
>   If you are getting cold feet,
> If your head is in a whirl,
>   THEN WHY NOT MARRY THE GIRL???[184]

The comparative analogy about the enrollee's love-induced "illness"

demonstrated a common method for a physical expression of love as well as how the

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[182] Correspondence from Moore Lynn to Ted Malone, October 14, 1945, WWII Letters Digital Collection, SHSMO.

[183] The title of Pfc. Lynn's poem is "Sweet One"; correspondence from Moore Lynn to Ted Malone, October 14, 1945, WWII Letters Digital Collection, SHSMO.

[184] *Pasture*, October 1, 1938, 7.

larger culture received such emotions. The poem's teasing tone characterized that love, or

the demonstration of yearning and anxiety—as suggested by the subject's inability to eat,

sleep, think, or smoke—was an entertaining topic of discussion among the enrollees.

Moreover, the subject's outward manifestations of his emotions demonstrated how

society restricted men in their ability to articulate their feelings. As the enrollees heckled

the man because he outwardly communicated his internal feelings, this showed that men

had to constrain their expressions or broader society would treat the individual as outside

the norm, if only temporarily like in the instance of friendly quips. This is further

supported in the instance found in an Oregon CCC newsletter that noted an enrollee,

Joseph Gensler, "got himself deeply buried in a morose and brooding mood" after not

hearing from his girlfriend back home.[185] Though he described as acting morose, Gensler

ultimately relied on poetry to express his anxieties in a way he could not physically voice,

turning his emotions into advice for others to heed: "When you want to roam./ Just think

once of the 'Only Girl'/ And for her sake stay at home."[186]

Discussions of love by enrollees and soldiers did not necessarily equate romantic

affections, but also included familial love and friendship. Moreover, as demonstrated in

Gensler's poem, love was not necessarily a positive emotion or often treated with humor.

Instead, love could be cause for sadness and lamentation. Separation from family-

members, significant others, and home in general caused both enrollees and soldiers great

emotional strife, resulting in the blending of both love and sadness, known as

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[185] *Blackwater Courier*, July 1, 1936, 3.

[186] Joseph Gensler, *Blackwater Courier*, July 1, 1936, 3.

homesickness.[187] Depictions of loneliness and longing for home referred not only to wives or girlfriends, but also to families, homes, and specifically mothers.

Poems about family varied from simple descriptions about character and compliments to the family. For instance, Corporal (Cpl.) Roy Richards used poetry to compare his family to Heaven, suggesting that he considered home and family as a refuge from the war.[188] First Sergeant (1st Sgt.) Delbert Hitt employed poetry in a manner similar to Richards, but expanded on his memories of home, family, and childhood. He provided a mental visualization of his family and shared memories, concluding with a verse begging for his home to protect his family until he was able to return from the war.[189] Though the nostalgic tone reflects his yearning and affections, the final verse invoked notions of vigilance which relates to masculinity concepts of men as protectors.

While countless enrollees and soldiers found positive aspects in their situations—such as making companions, a sense a duty to family or country, or gained new life experiences with the Corps or Army—many men found their circumstances bittersweet. Enrollee Fred Massie contrasted his enjoyment as part of the CCC with his longing for home. He recounted that his purpose for joining the Corps was to earn money for his mother, depicting his sense of filial obligation to care and provide for her.[190] However,

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[187] Work periods for CCC enrollees lasted about six months and men could complete four periods total throughout the Corps' existence, but it was normal for service-members to not see their family for years; often, enrollment in the CCC and/or enlistment were the first times that men were away from home.

[188] Correspondence from Minnie Richards to Ted Malone, September 20, 1945, WWII Letters Digital Collection, SHSMO.

[189] Correspondence from Mrs. C.M. Hitt to Ted Malone, n.d., WWII Letters Digital Collection, SHSMO.

[190] Massie noted in the poem that his father was dead, therefore leaving him as the "man" to provide for his mother. Fred Massie, *Boulder Dam Beacon*, March 1, 1940, 1.

even though he had a number of "kind and true" friends, he planned to return home once

his enlistment was over because he often thought of home and became "so awful blue."[191]

Massie was undeterred from openly expressing that his longing for home overcame his

desire to continuing work for the Corps. While depicting his comfort with the use of

poetic language, Massie's example suggested that homesickness was not shameful and

even was common among enrollees.

While poems characterized the love and longing that enrollees and soldiers felt for

their families, many men also dedicated their verses to their mothers. Often, enrollees and

soldiers alike used such instances to assure their mothers of their love and appreciation

for her "guiding hand" while raising him, regardless of the distance between them or his

actions.[192] Poems to mothers often mirrored the tone and word choice employed in

romantic poetry rather than those found in poems to the family unit, such as the inclusion

of physical characteristics or outright stating their love. This component suggests the

existence of close mother-son bonds, or that young men were more comfortable with

voicing more "feminine" feelings, like love or fear, to women rather than men.[193]

Both Pfc. Edwin E. Harral and Staff Sergeant (S/Sgt.) Delmar C. Belders shared

these sentiments in correspondences to their respective mothers. Harral employed poetry

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[191] Fred Massie, *Boulder Dam Beacon*, March 1, 1940, 1.

[192] "The Guiding Hand" was the title of a poem from Pfc. Charles E. Pearce to his mother to tell her of his appreciation for how his mother raised him to be a good man; Correspondence from Pfc. Charles E. Pearce to his mother, n.d., WWII Letters Digital Collection, SHSMO. "Actions" here specifically refers to the violence committed by soldiers during the war, which most likely went against lessons learned via their upbringing, such as by their mothers and/or religion.

[193] Michael Roper discusses the role of letters in the Great War as a connection between sons and mothers as a way for the son to maintain a link to his childhood, broader family and home in general, and emotional support he might otherwise not receive; Michael Roper, "Mothers and sons," in *The Secret Battle: Emotional Survival in the Great War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), 47-118.

to remind his mother that he was with her "all the while," regardless of the physical divide between them.[194] He emphasized that distance cannot stop him from figuratively and emotionally being with her, meaning in his dreams and prayers, and was assured that his mother returned the emotions.[195] Belders listed his mother's characteristics that he loved and appreciated. Moreover, he described his mother as his "sweetheart," voicing:

> There's a certain girl I know in this world,
> That I love more than I do any other,
> She isn't my wife, nor my girl back home
> That only leaves one, Of course its [*sic*] my Mother.[196]

Essentially, Belders depicted his love for his mother as greater than any other romantic affections he had. Through his word choice, Belders demonstrated a comfort with the characterization of his emotions, suggesting that this was a common—and therefore socio-culturally appropriate—method for soldiers to use during the war for outwardly manifesting inward emotions.

In one CCC circulation, an unnamed author compared his mother to the beauty and wonders of nature, invoking similar style, tone, and vocabulary as Pfc. Tom Lynn. Like Lynn, the author employed figurative and florid language to explain that, though there are extraordinary spectacles in nature he has seen while working with the CCCs, they do not compare to his mother. He stated:

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[194] Correspondence from Pfc. Edwin E. Harral to Mrs. Ida Harral, n.d., WWII Letters Digital Collection, SHSMO.

[195] Correspondence from Pfc. Edwin E. Harral to Mrs. Ida Harral, n.d., WWII Letters Digital Collection, SHSMO.

[196] Correspondence from Staff Sergeant Delmar C. Belders to Mrs. Lee Scott, n.d., WWII Letters Digital Collection, SHSMO.

I have known music
 In the wind's wild lyre through mighty pines.
 In rythmic [*sic*] waves that tent along gray lines
 Or cliff, in symphonies of studied art;
 But never music that has thrilled my heart
 Like your brave laugh undaunted down the years,
 Weaving a thread of gold through, care and tears.
I have known beauty
 In gold spilled by a sudden autumn sun,
 In the hush of twilight when the day is done,
 In the trees that sway by hidden mountain streams,
 In youthful eyes envisioning long dreams.
 But beauty's self I've watched as your soul trod
 The brave white way that you have walked with God.[197]

The author reflected that his awe for nature—a sentiment reminiscent of the conservation movement that influenced the Corps' founding—was easily overshadowed by the admiration he held for his mother's personal qualities.[198] His word choice demonstrated the bridge from masculine norms into the subscription to and expression of traditionally feminine emotions. However, the use of nature relays back to masculine expression of emotions via the outdoors' association with notions of rugged manliness. Moreover, while the individual wrote and submitted the poem to the newsletter, his failure to include his name conveyed he may not have wanted the writing connected to him. This factor conveys that he may have been embarrassed by either the words, the emotions on display, or ashamed he wrote poetry, and suggests that poems were not always an acceptable means for an enrollee to express his internal feelings.[199]

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[197] "To My Mother," *Big Timber Times*, April 30, 1936, 7.

[198] Maher, *Nature's New Deal*, 8.

[199] The ambiguous language—i.e., may—is due to the possibility that the newsletter simply did not print names with poems, as other poems in the same section and issues did not have names, but a write-in column called "Miss Heartaches" also published in *Big Timber Times* included writer's names, therefore it is uncertain if it was a personal or editorial choice.

Poems were a common method to portray camaraderie with other individuals, implying that men formed close bonds with those they worked or fought with. Camaraderie was not reserved for long-term friendships however, but extended towards all members of companies and units, such as from experienced CCC-ers to rookies. In the October issue of the *Pasture* newsletter, veteran enrollees recognized new-comers' anxieties and greeted them with words of comfort, like promises to make camp their home.[200] Moreover, the experienced men reminded the rookies there would be:

> Some days you will think you
>   can't make it,
>   There'll be times that may seem
>   kinda [*sic*] tough,
> But just hold your head up men,
>   and bite your lip,
>   When first we met you, we
>   knew you had the STUFF.[201]

By welcoming and giving advice to new members, the veterans demonstrated that they were also nervous when they first arrived at the company. This characterizes that the company allowed the feeling and admittance of some "irrational" emotions, or that feeling and expressing emotions, like fear or anxiety, was not shameful. Moreover, these reassurances indicated the experienced men's care—and sympathy—for others, an expression normally associated with maternal or paternal instincts. Essentially, the veterans recognized that their experience not only translated to leadership over rookies, but also to a caretaker role.

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[200] While there were CCC companies that included or consisted of only military veterans, veteran enrollees in this context refers to men who had been in the Corps rather than first arriving.

[201] "Welcome," *Pasture*, October 1, 1938, 5.

A more profound emotion identified within the larger realm of camaraderie is close friendship or companionship, which is the marriage of non-romantic love, trust, and enjoyment of one another's company.[202] One CCC newsletter dedicated a poem in attempts to answer the question, "what is a friend?" The writer responded that a friend understands, cares deeply, looks past one's faults to "ask you forgiveness of your sin," and "tries to blend, more closely to your heart."[203] This "definition" of a friend similarly embodies the appreciation and affections found in poems for significant others and mothers. This then suggests the existence of close bonds between workers in addition to the cultural allowance for such emotions among enrollees.

While men alluded to friendships through amicable jokes or cartoons, poetic remembrances of individuals who either returned home, sent to a hospital, or killed, also described companionship between individuals. Enrollees often made fleeting friendships as companies and "buddies" moved across the nation due to either enlistment limits or to work on various projects. CCC newsletters frequently included discussions of absent friends, which were comparable to expressions of homesickness as men recognized the temporary characteristic of their situations. For example, one CCC poem remembered the company's friendship with two young boys who were likely from the local community near the camp.[204] The author depicted that the enrollees "welcomed those boys to [their]

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[202] For more about masculinity and the emotional needs for camaraderie, see: Crouthamel, *An Intimate History of the Front*.

[203] "A Friend," *Salamonie Chow Bell*, September 13, 1935, 1.

[204] The issue containing the poem was published in Big Prairie, Montana on October 1, 1935, while the next available issue (December 15, 1935) of the same newsletter was published in Livingstonville, New York, suggesting that the company was moved to a different project.

camp and [their] hearts" and then listed the memories shared between the boys and

company.[205] He concluded that:

> When Old Sol is high in the heavens once more,
> When the paintbrush springs up from the grass,
> When the wild mountain aster blooms round the door
> And the bluebells nod as you pass,
> Then this Big Prairie camp will welcome them back,
> Our two young companions, Dannie and Jack.[206]

The verse recalls emotions akin to those expressed by homesick enrollees and soldiers via

the discussion of shared memories and longing for the past—in this instance, the

friendship with Dannie and Jack, rather than home and family. However, unlike

homesickness, there is a recognition that the boys and company will never meet again.

Moreover, the allusion of the camp's environment as "like heaven" suggests that the

physical separation between the boys and company was comparable to the death of a

companion, and that they will be reunited in the afterlife.

Akin to the loss of a friend due to physical distance, many friendships were

destroyed by the abstract distance of death. This was a common topic in many soldiers'

letters, either as an observation of events and their environment, a fear for themselves or

for comrades, or as a sense of mourning for fellow soldiers or pals elsewhere. In the latter

context of grieving for another person, such poems often discussed their companion's

character, their time as companions, how their passing affected the writer, or even as an

attempt to explain the occurrence of the death itself.

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[205] "In Remembrance," *Big Timber Times*, October 1, 1935, 11.

[206] "In Remembrance," *Big Timber Times*, October 1, 1935, 11.

While serving in Germany in February 1945, Pfc. Donald Vosburgh learned that Lieutenant Richard Fraker, a childhood friend and pilot in the Pacific Theatre, was killed in action that past November.[207] Vosburgh wielded poetry not to explicitly describe his companionship with Fraker, but to comment on Fraker's character. Vosburgh recounted,

> He was my friend, almost a'kin
> A warrior in a war-stained sky.
> A man who held a peaceful yen,
> Yet was not afraid to die.
>
> He was just a common sort of guy,
> Who saw his task in view.
> A job he didn't relish,
> But one that was there to do.[208]

Vosburgh described that Fraker did not specifically set out to be a hero but was instead driven by a sense of duty and hard work to complete a task—specifically referring to serving in the military. Moreover, Vosburgh's portrayal of the deceased pilot as a "peaceful" individual and unafraid to die for duty added to the notion that Fraker was compelled to serve, even if doing so were potentially ruinous to himself. Vosburgh spent his final verse to summarize his reflections on his friend, describing that

> Men like him don't just "go down". [*sic*]
> His throne surpasses kings,
> For somewhere up in heaven,
> Is a guy with "silver wings". [*sic*][209]

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[207] Correspondence from Mrs. Edward H. Vosburgh to Ted Malone, October 4, 1945, WWII Letters Digital Collection, SHSMO.

[208] Donald Vosburgh, "My Friend," February 23, 1945, in correspondence from Mrs. Edward H. Vosburgh to Ted Malone, October 4, 1945, WWII Letters Digital Collection, SHSMO.

[209] Donald Vosburgh, "My Friend," February 23, 1945, in correspondence from Mrs. Edward H. Vosburgh to Ted Malone, October 4, 1945, WWII Letters Digital Collection, SHSMO.

By alluding to the notion that while Fraker physically "taken down," he "ascended" to heaven due to his integrity as an individual. By focusing on his deceased friend's positive personality attributes, Vosburgh demonstrated not only his appreciation of Fraker and who he was as a person, but also posed the verses as a commemoration of his lost friend. The adopted word choice reflects the language used in poems for significant others and mothers, like those by Pfc. Lynn, the unnamed CCC enrollee, and S/Sgt. Belders, in which the poem's subject was described in complimentary detail and signal the writer's affections. However, where Vosburgh separated from other examples was through his focus on traditionally "masculine" qualities and inelaborate language, such as lack of metaphors or symbolism. This demonstrated the Euramerican societal constraints placed on men that dictated which methods were appropriate in expressing their emotions.

As indicated, the adoption of poetry by Corps enrollees and U.S. Army soldiers highlights how Euramerican, white men attempted to structure and express their feelings within the constructs of white masculinity. Poems allowed white men the ability to express their feelings via the use of written language which afforded its user a sense of privacy, since there was an intended audience, or anonymity, as names could be left out or a pseudonym given instead. Poetry allowed both enrollees and soldiers to outwardly manifest their emotions and was used by individuals within both populations. However, the degree to which this technique was taken advantage of varied greatly between men in general, not just among one group versus another. Some men wrote poetry, but not all men. Or, as some men employed florid language to depict their sentiments to sweethearts, mothers, families, and friends, others maintained a strict management of what they said in

their verses.[210] It is significant, however, that individuals from either group similarly

employed poems to discuss their feelings, therefore highlighting that there were

resemblances in emotional-cultures between these eras.

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[210] While emotional restraint in poems could be argued as a matter of personal preference for numerous reasons, that in and of itself lends to the notion of masculine as controlled and men's emotions as restricted due to Euramerican socio-cultural norms that dictated white men cannot show specific emotions.

CHAPTER IV – BLACK MEN'S EMOTIONS IN WORK AND WAR

During the early twentieth-century, the dominant Euramerican cultural norm

dictated that white men be rational and controlled in their emotions. Conversely,

Euramerican society predominately portrayed black men as irrational in their feelings and

expressions.[211] Moreover, the interpretation of black men as emotionally irrational was

used to both deny the masculinity of African American men, but also portray them as

"animalistic" and violent.[212] As a result, black men were equally impacted by

Euramerican expectations of masculinity, such as either defined themselves against such

cultural rules as a form of defiance or subscribing to similar socio-cultural laws.

African Americans attempted to find ways through which to characterize

themselves with consideration of escaping racial subjugation and stereotypes. One such

method was found in the New Negro movement of the early twentieth-century. This was

a conscientious socio-cultural, economic, and intellectual movement among black

middle- and working-classes to oppose black elites' notions that conforming to white

Euramerican culture would achieve racial uplift.[213] However, while movements often

created new socio-cultural structures, some practices were reiterations of Euramerican

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[211] Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 25.

[212] Arguments that black men were "animal-like" were often used to support ideas of "white superiority," as white societies believed that "civilized," or advanced, cultures demonstrated controlled and rational behaviors, therefore placing themselves at the top of believed cultural and biological "racial hierarchy": Abby Ferber, "The Construction of Black Masculinity: White Supremacy Now and Then," *Journal of Sport & Social Issues* 31, no. 1 (2007): 12, doi.org/10.1177/0193723506296829. For further discussion about the construction of race in the early twentieth-century—specifically the shift of race from a biological construct and towards a cultural construct instead—see: Baker, *From Savage to Negro*.

[213] Baldwin, *Chicago's New Negroes*.

socio-cultural aspects and ideas. One example is the imposition of the "ideal masculinity" on black men as a structure of their mental and physical characteristics. Ideal masculinity refers to specific physical and behavior standards that define what it means to be "masculine," and predominately favors white men over men of color.[214] As masculinity was associated with the economic, socio-cultural, and political rights of white men, African American men often adopted other white male practices—like behaviors and gender norms—to overcome racism not only for black men, but for black society.[215] Moreover, black men embraced structures practiced by white middle-class and elite men with the intent of uplifting their communities through personal respectability, as well as to maintain their safety and humanity against threats of white discrimination.

Among the early twentieth-century black intellectualism movements, W.E.B. Du Bois proposed methods through which black society could achieve social, economic, and political equality. Du Bois asserted the significance of education in obtaining equality, in which he proposed a concept called the "Talented Tenth." This referred to the formation of a cadre of educated black individuals who would become political, socio-cultural, economical, and intellectual leaders of African American society.[216] Though this was a

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[214] "Ideal masculinity," according to Mutua is essentially hegemonic masculinity, i.e., a society's dominant masculine model to which Euramerican men are held, rewarding those who meet the model while penalizing those who stray from it, noting that few men measure to it due to grossly unattainable qualities: Athena Mutua (ed.), *Progressive Black Masculinities* (New York: Routledge), xix and 5.

[215] Mark Anthony Neal, *New Black Man* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 21. Davarian Baldwin provides an in-depth discussion of the role of athletics in black culture, specifically in association with mass culture and the "New Negro" movement, but also lends to consideration of the rise of sports and cultural symbolism—specifically the denial of biological notions of white superiority—in black culture during the early twentieth-century: Baldwin, *Chicago's New Negroes*, 193-233.

[216] W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, "The Talented Tenth," in *The Negro Problem: A Series of Articles by Representative American Negroes of To-day*, eds. Washington, Booker T., W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, Paul Laurence Dunbar, Charles W. Chesnutt, Wilford H. Smith, H. T. Keating, and T. Thomas Fortune (New York: James Pott & Company, 1903), 30-75; Mark Anthony Neal also provides a discussion of the

specific group of individuals who received higher education, Du Bois emphasized the ability and willingness of educated individuals to be leaders of black society.[217] The significance of this concept is the emphasis in black society on work and education as conduits to social, political, and economic uplift, as well as the emphasis of leadership that resounded with notions of black masculinity that asserted the dominance of men.[218]

Many black individuals were shaped by their experiences with the Depression's economic hardships, and the hypocritical pursuit of democracy abroad by fighting for a country that viewed them as unequal. Like their white counterparts in the Corps and Army, African American men utilized language, either in the form of poetry or prose, to portray their emotions. However, where the groups diverge is not in their use of language but themes. Whereas white enrollees and soldiers discussed notions of love and sadness, black enrollees and soldiers discussed self and community betterment in terms of social, political, and economic equality.[219]

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influence of the "Talented Tenth" during the twentieth-century, with consideration of black patriarchy: Neal, *New Black Man*, 1-30.

[217] Du Bois was often critiqued for suggesting that only black individuals with higher education could be leaders, rather than those with ability, as it suggested only elites could be effective leaders. Juan Battle and Earl Wright, "W.E.B. Du Bois's Talented Tenth: A Quantitative Assessment," *Journal of Black Studies* 32, no. 6 (2002): 656-7, www.jstor.org/stable/3180968.

[218] Though one of Du Bois's contemporaries who also provided social theories on bettering race relations, I do not use Booker T. Washington in this thesis. His method of uplift, as suggested in his "Atlanta Compromise," proposed that African Americans should not push for political equality, but rather achieve socio-economic equality, specifically through vocational work. Washington's stance was largely seen as accommodationist of white sentiments and alienated many of his contemporaries. This stance echoes black class conflicts, in which many black upper classes asserted that adopting Euramerican views would lead to racial equality and attempted to control the lower classes socially and economically. See: David Levering Lewis, *W.E.B. Du Bois: Biography of a Race, 1868-1919* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1993), 261-4; Louis R. Harlan, Stuart B. Kaufman, and Raymond W. Smock (eds.), *The Booker T. Washington Papers – Volume 3, 1889-95* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1974), 584.

[219] This is not to say that white men did not talk about self or community betterment, or that black men did not share jokes, talk about love or sadness, or the same things as white men, but that these topics

Ideas of Self—Mind and Body

Black men often employed language to inform about and assert notions of black masculinity. Such usages included discussions of personal responsibility, respectability, and fulfillment of the "ideal masculinity." Through the application of newsletters and letters, black men demonstrated their ideals of what it meant mentally and physically to be "masculine." However, it is significant to note that there was an emphasis on how an individual's behavior reflected on the black community, such as values and customs, intrinsically connecting the notion of self to community. Therefore, while this section discusses the ideas of self, this refers to the expectations placed on black men individually and how their actions are tied to their community.

An individual's social, political, and economic advancement were key elements in achieving personal integrity and community betterment by both leadership and how individual behavior reflected on African American society.[220] One Corps newsletter defined progress as "a multi and manifold word being associated with that part of anything successful," and that a modern society without progress leads to societal extinction.[221] The author noted the Japanese nation and African Americans as examples of "developed" communities.[222] He also indicated that while Euramerican society viewed

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were prevalent in their respective populations and are the subject of interest, especially in the instance of black men who were constantly living with racial discrimination.

[220] The concept of individual behavior reflecting on the larger community relates to Hochschild's discussion of emotion-management in which she argues individuals are taught during childhood specific ideals about emotions and their expressions. Moreover, she states these rules are class-based, relating to the idea that emotions and expressions are dictated also by racial norms: Hochschild, "Emotion Work, Feeling Rules, and Social Structure," 571.

[221] "Progress," *Excelsior*, August 27, 1936, 1.

[222] "Progress," *Excelsior*, August 27, 1936, 1.

black Americans as "a supposedly backwards people," black individuals have "made

rapid and surprising progress to the world at large."[223] They added, however, that the

progress has not been "surprising" to those who watched it evolve. The writer refers to

their knowledge of black society's capabilities and asserted that "anyone who has an

ambition or good, must not be daunted because of consistent failure," as an opportunity

will present itself to those who work to advance themselves.[224]

As indicated in the editorial, the idea of respectability is tied not only to how an

individual is perceived by others, but also the individual's effort to continuously better

themselves physically and behaviorally. For example, one camp advertised etiquette

classes several of its newsletter issues through which men learned a variety of manners

that would be applicable in the job market and broader life. Both enrollees and soldiers

similarly discussed the need to overcome, or the process of overcoming, difficult

situations regardless of challenges. Editorials were often dedicated to this idea, advising

men on how to act, the types of personal qualities maintained by "masculine" men, and to

use educational and vocational opportunities.[225] One editorial instructed its readers on

"how to be a man" regardless of hardships and treatments:

> Fate has been very unkind. Of late you have been unexpectedly hit…There's
> nothing at all to be done but doggedly stiffen resolve…The recent reverses you've
> had must sting you to further endeavor. For business can't always go on being
> bad…You've still got a chance to attain to the height that you used to foresee. For
> the world cannot help paying homage to Brain, if it spells with a capital B!
> But the world can be stupidly blind. For the present it's doing without you. But
> sooner or later, of course, it'll find that it daren't [*sic*] continue to flout [*sic*] you.

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[223] "Progress," *Excelsior*, August 27, 1936, 1.

[224] "Progress," *Excelsior*, August 27, 1936, 1.

[225] The policing of emotions and behavior via etiquette and enforcement of specific qualities directly connects to the Stearns' emotionology concept, through which they analyzed cultural behavior standards, such as in child-rearing or etiquette manuals: Stearns and Stearns, "Emotionology," 813.

And when you come into your own and Fortune has lifted her ban, it'll give you a thrill, looking back, to have shown that in trouble you could be a MAN![226]

The text designates that a "man" overcomes challenges through "grit" and "tightening muscle and sinew," i.e., physical aspects of the ideal masculinity, and one's brain, meaning one's education and mental capacities that recall Du Bois's "talented tenth." By emphasizing the mental and physical capabilities to weather and surmount "misfortunes," the editorial recognized that while there were barriers "flounting" their competences, only personal fortitude could eventually lead to productive results. Rather than suggest wide-spread social change, the writer instead emphasized the role of individual virtue and determination in overcoming adversities. In a similar vein, one Corps newsletter defined that wealth does not make a "successful man." Rather, a man is successful because he is "persistent" in reaching his goals and that "no matter what obstacle confronts him he manages to overcome it with a smile."[227] This characterization of a "successful man" directly correlates to masculine structures of emotional control. However, while white men were typically allowed to feel and demonstrate anger and frustration, black men were often restricted from these emotions due to their association with "irrationality" and the stereotype of African American men as dangerous.

Moreover, the editorial demonstrated how black men were socio-culturally restricted in the types of emotions they were allowed to feel and express through the

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[226] "Be a Man!," *Oseola News*, December 13, 1935, 2-3; "flounting" most likely is a misspelling of "flouting" which means to show disdain or scorn, and probably refers to racism and discrimination against African Americans in American society.

[227] "The Successful Man," *Chronicle* November 15, 1936, 2.

suggestion that the men "smile" through their ordeals.[228] One *Monarch* newsletter

similarly advised its readers to "learn to laugh" because "when you smile or laugh, your

brain for the moment is freed from the load that is ordinarily carried."[229] When the author

alludes that laughter and smiling can "free" the brain from burdens, they mean that

positive thought and actions can overcome—or mask—negative thoughts and actions.[230]

Not only were African American men advised to smile through their struggles and even

temporarily forget them as a result of their positivity, they were also often dissuaded from

sharing their frustrations. The essay berated its readers about voicing their issues and

frustrations, claiming that "the world is too busy to linger over [their] ills and sorrows,"

and if a man "can not [*sic*] see any good in the world" then he should "keep the bad to

[him]self."[231] This further highlights black society's emphasis on emotional restraint and

types of emotions black men were permitted to or restricted from expressing.

    Another newsletter connected social norms of emotional control for black men to

"good mental health." While defining what it meant to "conquer…emotional difficulties,"

the column described that the process included the need for an appropriate outward

expression of feelings, for "the lack of an outlet is the beginning of unpleasant mental

habits."[232] The column designated two main types of emotional manifestation: "direct

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[228] Though suggested in a slightly different context as it refers to keeping a positive attitude through life hardships, the notion of "smiling" parallels the masculine-feminine dichotomy of women being told to "smile more" to appear happier or friendlier and therefore deemed more attractive, in turn demonstrating the association of black men as more "feminine" and therefore not men.

[229] "The Wise Old Owl Says," *Monarch*, May 30, 1936, 4.

[230] "The Wise Old Owl Says," *Monarch*, May 30, 1936, 4.

[231] "The Wise Old Owl Says," *Monarch*, May 30, 1936, 4.

[232] "Mental Health," *Oasis*, May 30, 1935, 5.

expression" and "indirect expression." The author defined direct expression as utilizing "the privilege of free speech" to discuss one's emotions aloud.[233] Indirect expression refers to using one's "pen" or reading to "soothe" their thoughts.[234] Furthermore, the author advocated for men to "return to [their] community with healthy habits," specifically "clean and honest thoughts."[235] By suggesting that the individual needs to have "healthy thoughts" when returning to their community, the column indicated the relationship between an individual and their influence on their community.

Financial stability was also closely tied to striving for one's best version of themselves.[236] For example, Forest Army Company 4451 once asked what the average enrollee does with his pay-check, and advised men to "learn to preserve [their] earnings for a later day" to avoid becoming "a human parasite to man."[237] Many newsletter lamented men's "idleness" during their spare time and encouraged them to find a hobby outside of their duties. One column characterized several benefits from learning a hobby, namely for enjoyment, as a skill, for the "entertainment and enjoyment of others," but more importantly that "any worth while [*sic*] thing if done well stand [*sic*] a good chance of becoming commercially valuable."[238] Another column claimed that men who were

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[233] "Mental Health," *Oasis*, May 30, 1935, 5.

[234] "Mental Health," *Oasis*, May 30, 1935, 5.

[235] "Mental Health," *Oasis*, May 30, 1935, 5.

[236] This can be tied to financial hardships of the Depression and derived from collective memory of enslavement under which the enslaved were forced to be dependent on enslavers for basic needs.

[237] "What is the Average CCC Employee Doing with His Earned Dollar?," *Chronicle*, September 15, 1936, 2.

[238] "Find Something to Enjoy," *Chronicle* Sept 15, 1936, 2.

unproductive during leisure time ignored their enrollment's purpose "to better fit [them]selves for the re'entrance [*sic*] into the world of competition."[239] As a result, the writer suggested the learning of a translatable hobby that could potentially offer a job or source of income following—or resulting in—a discharge from the Corps.[240]

The idea that men need to have a hobby that could offer a source of work following their stint in the Corps ties to Du Boisian concepts of personal and community betterment through the combined emphasis of industrial work and education. The rendering of a hobby as a skill for financial benefit suggests a cultural insistence on hard work in terms of personal success, and that an individual must always "be prepared" for when there was opportunity. One newsletter editor, John Daniels, asked his readers just that, while also highlighting the importance of educational and/or vocational preparation in recognizing specific goals and achievements. Daniels asserted the correlation between personal responsibility in terms of work and masculinity, claiming that "it is the duty of every man to himself, to be prepared when opportunity presents itself," but noted that a "clear thinking man does not put too much dependence in any one thing but tries to know enough about as many things as possible."[241] The reiteration of education, strong ethics, and personal responsibility demonstrates the socio-cultural connection between personal capability and the pathway to success, in addition to further emphasizing the association of individual success with ideas of masculinity.

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[239] "Hobbies as Pastimes," *Oasis*, May 30, 1935, 3.

[240] If an enrollee was able to find work outside of the CCC, or were accepted into school, then he could be discharged early or would not re-enrollee when their six-month term was complete.

[241] John Daniels, "Are You Prepared?," *Excelsior*, September 30, 1936, 1.

The advice that men needed to "be prepared" for opportunity and take up a hobby that could potentially become a source of income, coheres to the notion that one must be useful or valuable to achieve the "ideal masculinity," namely through monetary independence.[242] For example, a Corps column informed men how to find work. The writer related the endeavor as a "salesmanship of personal service," in which a good "salesman" sells his services "where they are more useful to others, and therefore, where they bring him the largest pay."[243] They expanded on this concept by explaining that some services are more valuable than others, and "if you wish to sell your services well you must make them valuble [*sic*]."[244] However, the author noted that finding employment was not only dependent on skill but on "mental attitude," echoing the emphasis on personal behavior in terms of self-success and community-uplift.[245]

Ideas of what brings success and what it means to socio-culturally "be a man," directly relates to the emotions experienced by African American soldiers who were barred from equal treatment in the military. Many black soldiers recognized and discussed their experiences with racial subjugation, namely in terms of how it impacted their military participation. Alongside these conversations, many black men also considered their ideas of duty to self, to community, and to their country. However, while

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[242] Historically, the desire for financial independence equates success and even political rights as only white male landowners could vote. However, the idea of needing to be "valuable" in terms of skill relates to an enslaved person's perceived "usefulness" based on abilities, meaning those with more skill or physical fitness were more than those with only "unskilled labor" capabilities or not as healthy.

[243] "Methods of Finding Employment," *Chronicle*, September 1, 1936, 2.

[244] "Methods of Finding Employment," *Chronicle*, September 1, 1936, 2.

[245] "Methods of Finding Employment," *Chronicle*, September 1, 1936, 2.

many acknowledged they were expected to serve and were aware it was "honorable" to serve as black men, they were reluctant and critical of their "duty to country."

S/Sgt. E. H. Holland contributed an essay on "A Negro Soldier's Attitude," highlighting his thoughts on the war. He explained that, based on conversations with other black soldiers and his opinion, the average African American GI:

> feels that it is his duty as an American citizen, to defend his homeland, and civilization, against the treacherous, ruthless, aggression of an unscrupulous foe. He feels as, a member of a distant group, constituting one tenth of America's population, a definite responsibility toward winning this war, and preserving the principles of free men everywhere. The Negro Soldier's feeling is more than that of a feeling of duty, and responsibility. The opportunity of serving his country, during this epochal period, is considered a privilege.[246]

While Holland portrayed a sense of patriotic duty to his readers, he demonstrated several cogent elements of black masculine structures. First, he subtly denotes his frustrations with the discrimination black individuals faced in American society through his description of black soldiers as "member[s] of a distant group." Additionally, Holland acknowledged that the war's purpose was to "preserve principles of free men" and black soldiers viewed it as a "privilege" to fight under such circumstances.[247] Holland's characterization of the war in this manner suggests that black soldiers sympathized with the cause and suffering abroad due to their personal experiences with inequalities. Moreover, his description of the war as momentous alludes to the "Double-V" campaign, which connected to black socio-cultural norms to utilize opportunity for personal and

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[246] S/Sgt. E. H. Holland, "A Negro Soldier's Attitude," *Buffalo*, December 26, 1942, 2.

[247] Holland's discussion of discrimination—both as a historical event and past-present personal experience, provides an example of Mattley's temporal nature of emotions, in which how individuals feel and express their emotions are influenced by individual and collective emotional pasts: Mattley, "The Temporality of Emotion," 364.

community uplift.[248] Holland also exhibited traditional masculine emotions and expression: the idea that it is the responsibility of black men, as American citizens, to serve their country in the defense of loved ones from aggressive threats.[249]

An unnamed black sergeant narrated a similar emotional experience to Holland—specifically frustration with racism and determination for social betterment.[250] In his letter, the sergeant described that he and other black soldiers were arrested and placed on a chain-gang following an incident on a public bus.[251] He noted it was an experience he "shall never forget" and "did not believe could happen in this 'Great Democracy,'" which agitated his "faith in a nation where such things could receive the sanction of so many people."[252] Furthermore, he required "every ounce of training and premilitary experience" in emotional restraint to mentally and physically protect himself during his wrongful penance, and to ensure he could "continue to sacrifice to be a soldier so that I

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[248] The campaign linked black participation in the war to the Allies' victory, which Greenburg states "denying black opportunity violated both the spirit of the struggle and the likelihood the Allies would win." Greenburg, *To Ask for an Equal Chance*, 117.

[249] By "traditional masculine emotions and expressions," I mean the historical expectation and association of war with white masculinity; the adoption of this aspect into black emotional-culture and broad society is most likely for the same reasons as white men—responsibility, patriotism, and expectations—but also to demonstrate the capabilities of black men to perform the same actions as their white counterparts and therefore their status as equals.

[250] The sergeant preferred to stay anonymous for fear of retribution from both white service-members and civilians.

[251] The full incident was that an older black woman, upon noticing there was nowhere for her to sit on the bus, asked the driver if a white passenger would move or for a ticket refund. The driver gave her a refund but hit her as she was exiting the bus. The letter's writer indicated that black soldiers were not physical with the driver but used "verbal power" to threaten physical violence, while several white soldiers restrained the driver; however, no white soldiers were arrested. Correspondence from an unnamed Sergeant to the Editors of "The New Republic" magazine, December 25, 1944, *Taps for a Jim Crow Army: Letters from Black Soldiers in World War II* (hence known as *Taps*), 201-2.

[252] Correspondence from an unnamed Sergeant to the Editors of "The New Republic" magazine, December 25, 1944, *Taps*, 203.

may fight and if necessary give my life for my country."[253] Like Holland, the soldier's

sentiment of perseverance refers to his desire to fulfill duties of masculinity and

citizenship, but also translates to fighting for equality. This understanding is further

supported by the sergeant's closing statement, in which he indicated that

> If I did not believe that there are some necessary adjustments so that all
> Americans may participate fully and freely in American life, I would be unwilling
> and unable to be a good soldier. We who now fight and are about to fight will
> contest wrong wherever it is found, abroad or as a cancer in our own nation.[254]

Though the sergeant recognized the major socio-cultural and economic issues that

"sickened" the nation, the unnamed soldier maintained a positive outlook that "some

necessary adjustments" could lead to a better future. Moreover, the author's perspective

reflects Corps' discussions on how to be a "successful man," and expectancy that men

endure challenges while striving for success. Through these linguistic expressions, the

writer demonstrated the black socio-cultural expectations placed on African American

men to fulfill specific responsibilities in efforts of racial uplift, regardless of obstacles.

Holland's frustration with overt racism was evident in his essay, such as when he

referred to the "othering" of black individuals in American society. Though Holland was

relatively reserved in his expression, others were more poignant in articulating their

emotions. One unnamed African American soldier wrote to Baltimore, Maryland

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[253] Correspondence from an unnamed Sergeant to the Editors of "The New Republic" magazine, December 25, 1944, *Taps*, 203; the sergeant's experience, specifically the restriction of his reactions, is an example of Ahmed's concept of emotions in which she argues that emotions "mediate" between the individual and the social: Ahmed, "Collective Feelings," 27. Moreover, the sergeant's restriction demonstrates Reddy's emotives—actions that influences the internal state—via his reminders of his premilitary and military training to not react to his treatment: Reddy, "Against Constructionism," 331.

[254] Correspondence from an unnamed Sergeant to the Editors of "The New Republic" magazine, December 25, 1944, *Taps*, 203.

journalist, Carl Murphy, regarding his concern for how black service-members were treated in the deep South and by the military.[255] He indicated the inherent contradiction of a country heavily laden with racism and black disenfranchisement fighting a war in support of democracy abroad. The soldier claimed that in striving for and maintaining peace, "first we must fight for our rights in the United States—fight with our fists as weapons and brains which we have been attempting since the last war."[256] The suggestion that individuals must "fight with fists" to achieve democracy relates to the CCC newsletter's instruction on "how to be a man," specifically that "proper men" are physically strong and must demonstrate their physical ability. Moreover, the unnamed soldier further demonstrated the black socio-cultural emphasis of the body and its various capabilities in terms of achieving black masculinity, describing that the emotional-culture of African American men was closely tied to what it means to be "a man."

The soldier also discussed his frustrations with the subjugation he experienced in the military regardless of his mental and physical capabilities, as suggested by his mention of his candidacy for Officer Candidate School (O.C.S.). He explained that he was "more than sorry [he] passed the examination" because the Army was a "living hell" and he no longer has the "spirit" to be in service.[257] Though faced with consistent racism

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[255] The author of the letter purposely left out his name for fear of retribution for discussing inequalities, as the letter was intended to be shared not only with the original recipient but with the public via publication or mention of the letter's information; instead, he signed off as "A Negro Soldier," which the author will be cited as such. The consistent preference to remain unnamed, yet share stories of racism, contributes to the interpretation of black men's emotional-culture, specifically to how they express themselves not only in terms of their masculinity, such as telling their experiences to begin with and contributing towards efforts of community progress, but also restraint as a method of personal protection.

[256] Correspondence from "A Negro Soldier" to Mr. Carl Murphy, March 21, 1943, *Taps*, 82.

[257] Correspondence from "A Negro Soldier" to Mr. Carl Murphy, March 21, 1943, *Taps*, 82.

in the military, as shown in his word choice, the soldier was controlled in describing his

grievances and resentment. Additionally, the rejection of his mental and physical skills

correlated to denying his ability to demonstrate his masculinity and therefore depriving

him from recognizing the "ideal masculinity." Moreover, he remarked that he was

"disappointing" people due to his lack of spirit for military duty, exhibiting his

concession of socio-cultural expectations placed on black men for both personal success

as well as efforts towards racial uplift through military service.[258] However, the unnamed

soldier's "sorry" outlook on passing O.C.S. could also be interpreted to mean his lack of

desire to potentially be a leader to other men or be in the military at all.

Because of the inherent racism that prevailed in much of American society

regardless of federal laws, African Americans were often blocked from the same

opportunities afforded to their white counterparts.[259] In fact, one of the primary concerns

raised by many black soldiers was that the military—and white society in general—were

denying black men the full application and utilization of their skills. While these

discriminatory actions were physically restrictive in terms of the work and opportunities

provided to black soldiers, the existence of racism in the military translated to the socio-

cultural and mental rejection of their ability to achieve the "ideal masculinity."

In addition to sharing their frustrations with fellow soldiers, family, and friends,

black soldiers often wrote to newspapers and politicians regarding their experiences in

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[258] Correspondence from "A Negro Soldier" to Mr. Carl Murphy, March 21, 1943, *Taps*, 82.

[259] Even though there was legislation that were to ensure equality in the workplace and military, like the Fair Employment Practices Committee, these were too often not realistically practiced and black individuals regardless of gender continued to experience racism.

hopes to force change in military administration and practices. For example, while stationed at Camp Claiborne in Forest Hill, Louisiana, Pfc. Edgar B. Holt wrote to a "Mr. Gibson," requesting that the treatment of African American Specialists and Technicians be investigated.[260] Holt shared that these men spent months training to gain specialized skills, but when they arrived at Claiborne he and others "land[ed] in labor battalions while our skills go to waste."[261] White commanding officers often viewed their black soldiers as only capable of forced labor, reflecting their subscription to racialized stereotypes and historical structures. This led to the denial of black men's physical and mental capabilities, leaving them unable to exercise their specialized training. As a result, Holt and others were restricted from adequately fulfilling black socio-cultural expectations of the "ideal masculinity" and community betterment.

Racial subjugation also affected black soldiers' financial situations. For example, Aeron D. Bells described an experience of racism but noted his salary as a major factor in his frustrations. Bells wrote about his grievances to Mr. William H. Hastie, that the Army did not accept black men into the Volunteer Officer Candidates. Bells expressed that he was qualified for the program and wished to join not only out of a sense of "obligation" to country, but because his "wife and family could not exist off [his] salary as a Non-Com or as a private."[262] Bells' indignation echoed the "Double-V" arguments regarding

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[260] Holt did not provide a full name for "Mr. Gibson" or a receiving address on his letter, but the William Madison Randall Library at The University of North Carolina, Wilmington holds xerographic copies of the letters used by the *Taps* editor, Dr. Phillip McGuire, and indicate that the letter was written to Truman K. Gibson, Jr., a member of the "Black Cabinet" that advised both FDR and Harry S. Truman.

[261] Correspondence from Pfc. Edgar B. Holt to Mr. Gibson, October 14, 1943, *Taps*, 66.

[262] Correspondence from Aeron D. Bells to Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War, Mr. William H. Hastie, May 20, 1942, *Taps*, 9. Bells indicated he received a higher education and was studying for a medical degree when he dropped-out due to financial reasons, therefore he was qualified to be an officer-

the irony that the United Stated was defending democracy abroad yet denied some of its citizens their full democratic rights.

Moreover, Bells lamented to Hastie that "the situation is 'Confusing' for I fail to see why I will be forced to shed my blood on Democracy's battlefields as a Private, and am refused to volunteer as an officer candidate to fulfill the same job."[263] Here, Bells specifically called attention to the unfair treatment of black soldiers and the lack of opportunities that they were provided, even if he was unsurprised, as denoted by his use of "'Confusing.'" Additionally, because he could not support family on an enlisted man's wage, Bells was restricted from fulfilling specific socio-cultural expectations of a man's responsibilities and be a "proper man." However, Bells' experience and linguistic choices suggested that individuals recognized socio-cultural and systemic practices of racism would always barricade them from personal success, regardless of abilities.

Ideas of Community

Though concepts of self-betterment and personal success were closely tied to simultaneous black social, economic, and political uplift, Du Boisian notions of racial equality were rooted in the idea of community, as the individual not only represented community values but also the significance of personal leadership.[264] As a result, the

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candidate and potentially an officer if he passed the necessary tests. An interesting aspect to note is that Bells referred to Hastie as "Negro Adviser" to the Secretary of War, I am unsure if this was an "official" government title as he was a black man, or if this was "cultural" title given to Hastie as he advocated for equal treatment of black individuals in the military.

[263] Correspondence from Aeron D. Bells to Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War, Mr. William H. Hastie, May 20, 1942, *Taps*, 9.

[264] Mark Anthony Neal notes the church's role in terms of formation and emphasis of community within black society, but also relates the existence of a "black patriarchy" within these spaces, in which black men subjugate and dominate over black women and children, and in turn translates into the larger societal social structures that become male-focused rather than intersectional; Neal, *New Black Man*, 10-4.

relationship between the self and community were emphasized, as demonstrated above

regarding personal betterment and black uplift. Corps enrollees and Army enlistees alike

asserted the socio-cultural significance of community through the announcement of

promotions, praise, events, athletic competitions, and even informing readers about

figures significant in African American society.[265] The examination of black men's

relationship with their community provides a more thorough and knowledgeable

comprehension of the black socio-cultural expectations placed on black men.[266]

Similar to earlier discussions about an individual's self-betterment and success,

Corps and Army newsletters also emphasized the significance of a person's success in

relation to their community. For example, one CCC column asserted the need for

friendship between enrollees. It stated that fellowship—"the ability of one and the other

to get along"—was "one of the great fixtures in an organization."[267] The author suggested

that camaraderie between enrollees served a larger purpose, as "an organization that lacks

friendship among its members, also lacks control."[268] By associating fellowship with

camp cohesion, the author alluded to the idea of peer accountability in which enrollees

held each other to shared standards of good behavior, hard work, and responsibility. This

suggests the socio-cultural expectations placed on men in terms of personal behavior and

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[265] Newsletters included mentions of both historical figures but also contemporary figures like FDR, athletes, and actors; further discussions of these inclusions are found later in this section.

[266] Athena Mutua's theory of "progressive black masculinities" rejects the concept of hegemonic masculinity in black society, and instead suggests the marriage of "progressive blackness" and "progressive masculinities" that emphasize and empower black humanity in its entirety, naturally lending to the significance of black community: Mutua, *Progressive Black Masculinities*, 4-5 and 7.

[267] Curtis J. Bowie, "Fellowship," *The 539 Journal*, July 22, 1936, 1.

[268] Curtis J. Bowie, "Fellowship," *The 539 Journal*, July 22, 1936, 1.

describes group enforcement in adherence to these norms. This portrayal shows how black men socialized among themselves and ensured that individuals represented their smaller community and African American society in a manner deemed appropriate.

Corps newsletters were a primary way through which men attempted to instill—or pass-down, like cultural notions shared between generations—specific ideals and standards among veteran enrollees and rookies. When newly inducted men arrived at their camps, newsletters often welcomed them to the company, which generally included discussions of camp culture. For example, the April 17, 1938 *Ditch Dots and Dashes* newsletter simultaneously wished departing enrollees goodbye and a hello to new men, while reiterating the company's ideals. The author extended well wishes to veteran men but stated their appreciation for those who "helped blaze the trail" in making the company "one of the outstanding," and that their memory "will linger on."[269] The newsletter also greeted new Corps members with advice that each would "find the triple C organization a source of infinite happiness" if they follow the rules.[270] Moreover, the column stated that to be happy in the Corps, "most of the older fellows are willing to advise, guide and cheer you."[271] When interpreted together, these columns suggest the continuation of specific standards within the camp—referring to the "lingering memory" of the "older men" who shaped the company's character—passed via experienced enrollees' guidance and advice. This example demonstrates the existence and

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[269] Edward Dobbins, "Farewell to Enrollees," *Ditch Dots and Dashes*, April 17, 1938, 3.

[270] "A Word with New Friends," *Ditch Dots and Dashes*, April 17, 1938, 2.

[271] "A Word with New Friends," *Ditch Dots and Dashes*, April 17, 1938, 2.

continuation of a company culture through the belaboring of teaching and learning of

standards established by prior members.

In his editorial, Amos Custis related to these concepts of peer accountability and

spread of company standards through his discussion that prior enrollees' work must

continue to be built upon. Custis noted the reasons for the benefits of their "toils," noting:

> First it must have been a desire within our very being to enable us to fight so
> willingly in order to accomplish something of value. Second, we must first make
> an effort to attain some height in order to enjoy the fruits of our labor. Third and
> last but not the least we must possess a backbone or a foundation so that we may
> be able to produce.[272]

Eliciting similar sentiments as above, Custis reiterated that new and remaining men

shouldered the "responsibility" of maintaining the "morale and spirit" of the company.[273]

Custis invoked language similar to the editorial "Fellowship," through his exhortation

that men in the company must cooperate to achieve widespread success, rather than

merely personal prosperity.[274] Moreover, the emphasis on the utilization of opportunity

correlates to social concepts of prosperity through hard work, and relates to the ideals of

personal success equating black community uplift.[275]

While some men provided guidance and advice to fellow enrollees, unofficial

company leaders aided in the evaluation of workers and their efforts to ensure that men

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[272] Amos Custis, "Cooperation is the Key to Success," *Tow Path Journal*, March 31, 1939, 7.

[273] Amos Custis, "Cooperation is the Key to Success," *Tow Path Journal*, March 31, 1939, 7.

[274] Amos Custis, "Cooperation is the Key to Success," *Tow Path Journal*, March 31, 1939, 7.

[275] The *Excelsior*, August 1, 1937 issue similarly discussed the passing of high standards from veteran to rookie, specifically in the physical improvement of the camp, in which the latter was soon "with the spirit of the thing and begins to govern his action accordingly" and eventually gain "confidence" and "pride" in their actions; "Camp Ritz," *Excelsior*, August 1, 1937, 1.

were completing quality work. For instance, an Indiana CCC newsletter reported that one of the company's work details employed a method to "keep tab" on individual progress in which every Friday leaders graded crew-members and "invited [enrollees] to view their ratings."[276] These grades were used at the end of enrollment periods to ensure the maintenance of only quality personnel, as ratings were the "basis for prohibiting undesirable members from re-enrolling."[277] Additionally, those determined to be "industrious" were deemed eligible for promotion to specific positions.[278] The enforcement of specific standards characterized that men were more concerned with labor effectiveness rather than the satisfaction men were receiving pay. Moreover, the exclusion of those who did not fulfill such standards suggested they failed to accomplish socio-cultural expectations of using opportunity and diligence. This exemplifies the emphasis on cooperation within a community, as an individual's mediocre work would affect both morale and the quality of overall efforts. These grades, then, served as a form of peer accountability that mirrored black society.

Similarly, newsletters also highlighted moments of praise for individuals and companies, demonstrating notions of pride and community uplift. Though the Corps primarily provided work, there were opportunities for vocational or educational training

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[276] "Foremen, Leaders Grade Men," *Ditch Dots and Dashes*, May 1938, 5.

[277] "Foremen, Leaders Grade Men," *Ditch Dots and Dashes*, May 1938, 5. The article was not clear on how the rating prohibit "undesirable" members from re-enrolling, but my assumption is that social pressure in the company kept them from re-enrolling or the Corps administration would not renew the individual's enrollment, though I have not heard of instances of the latter.

[278] "Foremen, Leaders Grade Men," *Ditch Dots and Dashes*, May 1938, 5. The article was not specific about the types of promotion "industrious" men would receive, but I assume promotions were either to an unofficial leadership position within the detail or company, or recommendations to a specific position like educational adviser.

through which men were able to gain skills to apply towards a career outside of the CCC. When coursework was completed, enrollees were given certificates that defined their qualifications. Newsletters often reported on these course graduations to celebrate the efforts and accomplishments of those men. For example, the *Tow Path Journal*'s June 30, 1939 issue named approximately eighty-four men as receiving first aid certifications, fifteen men "complimented for receiving CCC educational certificates as a result of successfully completing 144 hours and over of instruction in various subjects," thirty-six men obtaining proficiency certificates for outstanding work, and twenty-seven for successfully completing unit courses.[279]

In addition to commendations for individual successes, newsletters also highlighted when the company received acclamation for their work or after reviews by the Corps' upper administration. When Company #1372 received an "Excellent" rating following the company inspection by the District Commander and District Inspector, the *White Chimney Eagle* praised the enrollees for their efforts, attributing it to "the spirit of co-operation and the desire to excell [*sic*]."[280] Though the work was laborious and "meant giving up many privileges and sacrificing much leisure time," the author stated that in their view, no one "regrets having done something to help."[281] In the description of the endeavors to obtain their excellent rating, the column portrayed the role of community cooperation in collective achievements.

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[279] *Tow Path Journal*, June 30, 1939, 3 and 4.

[280] "Our Past, Present and Future Progressively Speaking," *The White Chimney Eagle*, August 23, 1939, 1.

[281] "Our Past, Present and Future Progressively Speaking," *The White Chimney Eagle*, August 23, 1939, 1.

Praise also arose through the appreciation for enrollees' actions, such as in the case of emergency efforts. When a flood impacted the Ohio and Mississippi Valley regions, one issue extolled the men's participation in the rescue operations. The column described that the enrollees' work was the "most impressive display of the true spirit of democratic citizenship" as they exhibited a "very noticeable spirit of competition" to be chosen to aid in the rescue work.[282] The column lauded the men and recognized they did all that was "possible and practicable" for impacted citizens, describing that "our men deserve the highest commendation for their splendid attituded [*sic*]."[283] Similarly, newsletters also highlighted actions of individual enrollees, such as when *The 539 Journal* complimented enrollee Garland Johnston's legitimacy as "one of the best swimmers in the country," when he saved a young boy from drowning.[284] The use of newsletters to highlight these instances of "democratic citizenship" and heroism demonstrates not only the celebration of such actions, but the public nature of the circulations reinforces the relationship between individual and community uplift.

In addition to sharing accolades for enrollees, newsletters often featured figures who were culturally significant in black American society, such as African American male athletes. While such deliberations celebrated athletic accomplishments, they also indirectly highlighted the rejection of Euramerican racial notions that white people were physically and mentally "superior" over black individuals. Sports commonly discussed

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[282] "The Flood and the C.C.C. Boys," *The Resurrector*, February 1937, 4.

[283] "The Flood and the C.C.C. Boys," *The Resurrector*, February 1937, 4.

[284] "CCC Enrollee Saves Life," *The 539 Journal*, July 22, 1936, 7.

included baseball, track and field, as well as boxing, but also followed specific individuals.[285] For example, both the *Oasis* and *The 539 Journal* discussed Jesse Owens in the context of the 1936 Olympics. In fact, one author instructed their readers to watch "if he will be the star runner in the [1936] Olympics," while another predicted that Owens would be "outstanding" both on the squad and a "threat to become the second olympic [*sic*] winner of three events, and the first American."[286] Joe Louis was another figure highly regarded in CCC newsletters. Specifically, Louis' matches against white boxers directly correlated to the defiance of white physical "superiority" and supported black uplift. One such match was against "King-fish" Levinsky, who was knocked down several times and eventually sat and "mumbled incoherently to the referee to space him from the merciless beating he was receiving from the hands of Louis."[287]

The inclusion of historically and culturally important African Americans in newsletters demonstrates the strong associations between the individual and community within black American society. An interpretation of the explanation of these persons' achievements, explicitly their significances in terms of black culture, translates to instances of praise and pride for these individuals and their feats in rising above racial subjugation and stereotypes. Moreover, showcasing athletes in newsletters was meant to

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[285] *Camp Chatter* highlighted several black athletes including Owens, Jimmy LuValle, Joe Louis, Ben Johnson, Eulace Peacock, and Ralph Metcalfe: "Outstanding Negro Athletes that are Famous this Year," *Champ Chatter*, August 7, 1935, 4. Sometimes black track runners were compared to Owens, such as Eulace Peacock who reportedly broke four records in one day at an international track meet in Europe, which "had been previously accomplished by another trickster [black American] in the persons of Jesse Owens": "Peacock," *Camp Chatter*, August 21, 1935, 4.

[286] "Owens Wins Three," *Oasis*, May 30, 1935, 4; "Olympic Hopefuls," *The 539 Journal*, July 22, 1936, 6.

[287] "The Bomber Wins," *Camp Chatter*, August 21, 1935, 4.

not only celebrate such persons and form a sense of pride among African American, but also to provide examples of individuals to emulate in terms of work ethic and character, in addition to their physical and figurative representation of masculinity.

Within the changing socio-cultural and political contexts in America during the World War II-period, one constant from the Depression was the continuation of black society's insistence of the relationship between individuals and communities. Evident in Division newsletters, soldiers also directly and indirectly discussed ideas of personal and community uplift, echoing notions of racial advancements through hard work.

For instance, when the 93d Infantry Division released its first publication of the *93d Blue Helmet*, on September 18, 1942, the editorial team noted the newsletter's intent as belonging "to the soldiers of the 93d Division and will reflect their thoughts."[288] The writer instructed soldiers to be proud of the newspaper "because it is yours…if you want to know what is happening in the company next to you or the regiment down the road, this newspaper will tell you."[289] The newsletter's purpose was to establish a foundation of community among soldiers and units in the division by sharing news, jokes, and achievements.[290] When the 92 Division's various units and regiments were based across the country, the *Buffalo* described that distance made it "impossible for the individual soldier to feel the power that comes from the union of thousands of men in a common

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[288] The authors also noted that this was the first newspaper of a black infantry Division in the history of the U.S. Army; "Your Newspaper," *93d Blue Helmet*, September 18, 1942, 1.

[289] "Your Newspaper," *93d Blue Helmet*, September 18, 1942, 1.

[290] The use of print as a unifying factor between individuals—or groups, like different units—directly relates to Anderson's concept of imagined communities: Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

cause."[291] However, the units were relocated to the same post and the newsletter noted that now soldiers "will be able to see each other at work, appraise each other, and learn to function as a team. We will no longer be separate units of a fighting force, but a Division."[292] The physical unification of the division in one locale provided soldiers the opportunity to recognize their role as an individual in relation to a broader community.

Like CCC newsletters discussing the tradition of work and character, black Army circulations often related the history of African American participation in the military, with a specific focus on the histories of their respective divisions. Akin to the celebration of the *93d Blue Helmet*'s distinction as the first black newspaper published in U.S. Army history, the circulation also highlighted one of its regiments. It stated that, in its seventy-three year existence, the "the old 25th Infantry has had a commendable history and can be counted upon to carry on its traditional record of service to the nation in the present conflict."[293] By mentioning the regiment's "commendable history," and that it "can be counted upon" to continue their record, the author highlighted the need for individuals to adhere to prior standards in order to maintain and achieve personal and community uplift.

In addition to discussions of past accomplishments, newsletters also noted histories being made. For example, the *93d Blue Helmet* included articles written by war correspondent, Frank E. Bolden, who focused on black military-service. Specifically,

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[291] "The Spirit of the 92d," *The Buffalo*, May 12, 1943, 2.

[292] "The Spirit of the 92d," *The Buffalo*, May 12, 1943, 2.

[293] "25th Infantry Organized At New Orleans In 1869 Glorious Record Since Then," *93d Blue Helmet*, September 18, 1942, 3.

Bolden held interest in showcasing the social-cultural and political impact of African

American service-members in American history. In one article, Bolden related that,

> Fort Huachuca is history making as far as colored people in this country are
> concerned…today Colored men and women are soldiering on this historic post in
> a manner unheralded before, and this puts all concerned on the spot. The only
> objective is to make good, and all in the ranks know just what that means.[294]

When Bolden stated that "the only objective is to make good," he was referring to

soldiers' responsibility to utilize opportunities presented at the fort as well as serve as

examples of black leadership for African Americans. While such chances may refer to the

broad expectations of military service, it also pertains to the opportunity for racial uplift

in socio-cultural, economic, and political contexts. This notion therefore placed a burden

on soldiers to perform their duties in fulfillment of specific standards of hard work and

respectability that positively reflected on black American society.

Bolden further discussed concepts of personal accountability, explicitly

community advancement, in relation to the history of black military participation. He

identified black soldiers' distinguished "military heritage" as a point to honor and uphold

in spite of racism. Specifically, Bolden explained African American soldiers fought

because they had a virtuous character "that discerned right from wrong, and through the

dictates of their own conscience they 'carried on.'"[295] Additionally, he suggested African

Americans possessed a historical and cultural tradition to uphold in addition to pursuing

personal and community success in terms of racial equality. Specifically, he informed his

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[294] Both the (all African American) 92d and 93d Infantry Divisions trained at Fort Huachuca
during the war; Frank E. Bolden, "From the Grapevine," *93d Blue Helmet*, December 18, 1942, 3.

[295] Frank E. Bolden, "From the Grapevine," *93d Blue Helmet*, September 25, 1942, 5.

readers to "remember that we too are Americans, as our forefathers before us have proven," and that "we can't let them down during this crisis…you are in a position to prove to the world that you are deserving of all that you ask for by proving that you will fight to the end of it."[296]

While black Americans were "duty bound" just as when the "country's liberties were imperiled" in the past, they never had another military opportunity in race history" as they had during the Second World War.[297] Following Bolden's emphasis of "making good," this was because the nation wanted to see what an entirely-black division was capable of.[298] Through the mention of "opportunity" in the context of making "race history," Bolden highlighted that military participation was a favorable circumstance through which black men could prove their capabilities as soldiers, in turn aiding in the uplift of black society in the United States.

Within his discussions of opportunities and "making good" as soldiers, Bolden called on black men to challenge the racist socio-cultural stereotype that African American men were not capable of performing well as service-members. The military's subjugation of black individuals was primarily politically and socio-culturally motivated. This refers to the view that war was a "masculine" matter, equated not only with a "masculine physicality" but that soldiering was a duty of citizenship, which African Americans were historically denied. Because of segregation and racism that provided few opportunities for black soldiers to participate in combat, African American men were

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[296] Frank E. Bolden, "From the Grapevine," *93d Blue Helmet*, September 25, 1942, 5.

[297] Frank E. Bolden, "From the Grapevine," *93d Blue Helmet*, September 18, 1942, 5.

[298] Frank E. Bolden, "From the Grapevine," *93d Blue Helmet*, September 18, 1942, 5.

denied their ability to recognize broad American society's expectations of masculinity, specifically the fulfillment of a "warrior" role. [299] As black men were unable to satisfy the expectations of soldiers, they were simultaneously denied the ability to achieve the "ideal masculinity" in addition to personal and community advancement.

However, though black service-members faced discrimination and subjugation, many still demonstrated significant skill and abilities that were frequently celebrated by their peers. Like the praise and commendations found in CCC newsletters, black Army circulations also highlighted the actions of soldiers and units. For example, *The Buffalo* reported on field artillery demonstrations and praised the batteries for cooperation and quality work, but specifically emphasized the actions of S/Sgt. William A. Sullivan. During the battle simulations, Sullivan's Battery Commander and Executive Officer were "ruled to have been killed," and the sergeant took charge to fire the battery, "without any fuss or hesitation and with a calmness and efficiency."[300] The column described Sullivan as an "inspiration, not only to the men of his Battery, but to every man in the Division" due to his demonstration of quality leadership and responsibility.[301] Newsletters also showcased the personal experiences of retiring veterans, such as 1st Sgt. Walter Risby. Upon his discharge in 1943 following a thirty-year army career, *The Buffalo* featured Risby's career history and his relationship with his comrades. The article described that

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[299] Jarvis provides an in-depth discussion of the "Jim Crow Military," specifically the political and socio-cultural motivations for racism in the military during WWII; Jarvis, *The Male Body at War*, 146-55.

[300] During battle simulations, it was common to fake deaths and casualties, such as officers, to test the abilities of the men in case they lost their primary leadership in real battle; A.C. Barksdale, "Battery Commander, Exec. Casualties – Sergeant Takes Over, Receives Praise," *The Buffalo*, July 3, 1943, 10.

[301] A.C. Barksdale, "Battery Commander, Exec. Casualties – Sergeant Takes Over, Receives Praise," *The Buffalo*, July 3, 1943, 10.

Risby was highly admired by his company's men because of his leadership abilities and care for their welfare, for which his men gifted him a going away present "as a token of their esteem and to show their appreciation of what he had done for them."[302]

While newsletters highlighted individual actions, circulations more commonly emphasized collective conduct and behavior, such as the progress and achievements men made in their training. For instance, *The Buffalo* noted that Fort Huachuca grew from "a skeleton" full of new recruits to full of men "soldiering like veterans" who improved so rapidly that it was "almost unbelievable."[303] In addition to featuring soldiers' training progress, promotions were equally celebrated. When numerous enlisted men were either promoted to officers or received the opportunity to attend Officer's Candidate School (O.C.S.), the *93d Blue Helmet* informed them that their comrades were proud they were recognized for their efforts. The article added:

> You're showing the world that the American soldier, more than any other, has the opportunity to come "up from the ranks," and that his training is so complete that he can, at any time, step in and "fill the breach." No other country can boast such a soldier. So, God speed you, and upon your return you'll find the same co-operative spirit we enjoyed together as enlisted men.[304]

The men's commendation for demonstrating it was possible to be promoted directly relates to Bolden's concept of "doing good." Specifically, the event of promotions

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[302] 1st Sgt. Risby entered the Army in 1913, and during his career had been assigned to the Hawaiian Islands, then detailed to the 25th Infantry at the southern U.S. border, then in 1941 was transferred to 367th Infantry, and detailed to combat regiment with whom he was sent to the South Pacific and endured sixteen months of active duty versus the Japanese, then returned to the U.S. for discharge; Cpl. J.S. Williams, "Sgt. Grisby [*sic*] Retires – Veteran of 30 Years Honored," *The Buffalo*, November 6, 1943, 4.

[303] "370th Soldiering Like Veterans; Out To Become 1st Class Team," *The Buffalo*, December 26, 1942, 6.

[304] "Congratulations," *93d Blue Helmet*, September 18, 1942, 4.

corresponded to being a good soldier, as well as the recognition that personal success reflects onto the larger community—in this instance meaning the division, black service-members, and black society. Additionally, the men's advancement to combat officers highlights their attainment of the "ideal masculinity" associated with positions of authority historically reserved for white men but opened to non-white individuals beginning with World War II.[305]

It is significant to note that newsletters did not only report on performance of duties, but also commended men for respectable conduct outside of their roles as service-members. *The Buffalo* reported to its readers about a letter from an anonymous civilian to one of the superior officers in which they complimented the decorous behavior of several of the division's soldiers who were on furlough. The column's writer recounted the letter "with great pride" and speculated the men's behavior was "outstanding" if the "correspondent took the trouble to write."[306] The writer concluded with emphasis on respectability, explaining that this instance served as an example of how important behavior off base was due to "how keenly civilians judge us by that behavior."[307] This example directly relates to Bolden's discussion regarding the expectation on soldiers to "do good" due to the scrutinization of service-members to perform well and act conscientiously in representation of the military and black Americans. In turn, Bolden's

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[305] Before WWII, the only officer position that black men could hold in the military were as chaplain or surgeon, meaning they were restricted to only educated African American men. The men who became officers after "going through the ranks" most likely were from working- or middle-class who did not have or complete a college education, and therefore demonstrated that such honor of officer rank was achievable through hard work and leadership as an enlisted man.

[306] "Letter Praises Conduct Of Men On Furlough," *The Buffalo*, July 3, 1943, 8.

[307] "Letter Praises Conduct Of Men On Furlough," *The Buffalo*, July 3, 1943, 8.

concept correlates to the realization of the "ideal masculinity," as well as the social concepts of racial advancement through personal success.

By highlighting these individual and collective actions, the newsletters exhibited the behavioral standards and ideals of "doing good" that soldiers were expected to practice for the benefit of oneself and black community. Moreover, like CCC circulations' discussion of enrollee and company work, the public recognition of soldiers' and units' actions through newsletters reiterates the strong association between individual and community, specifically in how personal conduct reflects on black society.

CHAPTER V – CONCLUSION

Emotions are strange. There is never a straight-forward way to understand what they are or what they mean. Scholars are not the only individuals exploring emotions, but many people wonder about these aspects of the human condition. Academic queries about emotions are also shared across multiple disciplines—like psychology, anthropology, sociology, and history. Each specialty contributes a variety of inquiries and theories in emotions analyses, but more significantly studies often overlap and adopt approaches from other disciplines. In turn, this practice of borrowing and sharing characterizes study of sentiments as inherently multi- and interdisciplinary.

Of the many investigations into emotions and what emotions can inform about the human condition, is the question of what they can tell us about people of other cultures and/or eras, specifically their values and social rules. Emotions are a common phenomenon between humans regardless of culture or period.[308] However, what often differs between societies and eras is the ways in which people have interpreted their feelings in either accordance or opposition to how their socio-cultural environments dictate the expression of sentiments.[309] In turn, emotions—and how they were viewed—

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[308] As suggested by ethnographic comparisons of how cultures view and express emotions, like Catherine Lutz's study of emotions in Euramerican culture and among people of Ifaluk (atoll in the Southwest Pacific): Lutz, *Unnatural Emotions*, 4-7.

[309] As previously discussed in the introduction and literature review, there is plethora of scholarship that evaluates how culture shapes emotional feeling and expression—both historically and in contemporary societies—for example: emotionology, emotional practices, and emotion-management. Stearns, "Emotionology"; Scheer, "Are Emotions a Kind of Practice"; Hochschild, Emotion Work, Feeling Rules, and Social Structure."

can be used as an analytical lens to study differences and similarities between populations of varying cultures and eras.

Particularly, emotions show the ways in which American emotional-cultures of the Great Depression and World War II relate. The examples of black and white men who served either in the Civilian Conservation Corps or as soldiers during WWII served as a microcosm of American society during these periods. How black and white men navigated their surrounding environment and internal feelings as CCC enrollees and soldiers was largely defined by their socio-cultural rules, specifically the framework of masculinity. By analyzing these populations in a framework centered on the interdisciplinary study of emotions, this thesis demonstrates the ways that these historical eras intertwine, overlap, and connect.

Chapter two outlined the theoretical shifts in the study of emotions and highlights how scholars—explicitly cultural anthropologists and historians—have utilized emotional theory in their interpretation of past and contemporary peoples. Moreover, the literature review on emotions theory specifies the ways scholars have attempted to understand emotions via constructionist, psychobiological, and/or biocultural evaluations. My "emotional-culture" approach is better elucidated through the delineation of the various epistemological and methodological frameworks within emotions theory. The constructionist approach recognizes that emotions are largely influenced by socio-cultural rules, such as norms based on ideas of race, gender, and class. The psychobiological view perceives the underlying phenomenon of the human body that culture cannot influence, meaning the biological condition. Consideration of both the cultural and psychobiological

aspects enables for the mediation of this binary, allowing for the employment of aspects from both sides and therefore a more rounded method of interpretation.

The methodology allows for the acknowledgement of psychobiological feelings that resulted from working in the Corps and being in warfare—such as homesickness, fear, confusion—as well as how men were expected to act and react. Consideration of these seemingly separate phenomenon is analogous to Peter Stearns and Carol Stearns' emotionology or Monique Scheer's "emotional practices."[310] Moreover, concepts of masculinity and what it meant to "be a man" were paramount expectations of how both Euramerican and African Americans conducted themselves in terms of emotional expression. Therefore, this thesis combines considerations of gender and race. Within the history of American society and politics, race is inherently connected to notions of gender, as Euramerican men defined their masculinity on specific rights and roles that were denied to Euramerican women and non-white men.[311]

Chapter three focuses on white enrollees' and soldiers' methods in expressing their emotions within the socio-cultural confines of white masculinity. My framework allowed for the evaluation of how men in these populations viewed their emotions and how they attempted to outwardly express what they felt. Euramerican gender concepts, like those suggested by Lutz, define emotions that fall within a hierarchy in which masculine equals rational and controlled versus feminine as irrational and chaotic. As a

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[310] Stearns and Stearns, "Emotionology," 813-14; Scheer, "Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and is that What Makes Them have a History)," 193-4.

[311] For example, economic and political rights like owning land or voting, as well as socio-cultural rights like free choice: Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 20-3. Lutz, *Unnatural Emotions*, 54-5, Lutz, "Engendered Emotion," in *Language and Politics of Emotions*, 69-71.

result, white enrollees and soldiers similarly adapted their methods of expression to fit

within their socio-cultural confines of how men were expected to demonstrate sentiments.

Enrollees and soldiers engaged with written language to process and portray their

feelings. Letters and newsletters, both of which often included poetry, were accessible

and familiar structures individuals utilized to articulate emotions.[312] For example, both

populations employed self-reflection of their thoughts and surrounding circumstances.

Columns in CCC newsletters emphasizes the socio-cultural significance of introspection

in terms of controlling emotions and achieving respectability through "rational" behavior.

Meanwhile, soldiers' letters exhibited self-reflection in practice. As soldiers experienced

the brutalities of war narrated these events and/or their thoughts to their families to

mentally process—and often justify—violence. Meanwhile, poetry was employed to

broach feelings considered socio-culturally feminine or "irrational," namely sadness,

homesickness, or love. And yet, because poetry was used for entertainment, as well as to

discuss morals, economics, politics, and religion, poems provided a structure through

which men could convey both "masculine" and "feminine" emotions.[313]

Chapter four concentrates on the emotional-cultures of black enrollees and

soldiers, specifically the ways they attempted to navigate the expectations of black

masculinity. Moreover, it considers impact of racial stereotypes and inequalities that

influenced the formation of black masculinities. These concepts were created in reaction

to white masculinity, leading to the simultaneous adoption and rejection of Euramerican

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[312] Harrington, *Poetry and the Public*, 26-7 and 32; Greenberg, "Proletarian Literature from the Bottom Up," 414 and 417; Carey, *Communication as Culture*, 4-6.

[313] Harrington, *Poetry and the Public*, 26-7.

ideas of masculinity. For example, African American society emphasized the white "ideal masculinity," especially in consideration of emotions.[314] Black society often embraced these—or some aspects of these—socio-cultural frameworks with the intent of uplifting themselves and their communities.

W.E.B. Du Bois's "Talented Tenth" further structured black society's socio-cultural expectations. Though Du Bois called for educated black individuals to become the leaders of black society and lead to social, political, and economic equality, the emphasis on hard work and education resonated among African Americans.[315] Moreover, the "Talented Tenth," and the need for leaders within black society, correlated with black masculinity concepts that asserted men's dominance.[316] As a result, individual uplift became associated as community uplift, therefore linking how a person acted and behaved as reflective on their larger community. In turn, not only did black men control their feelings and expressions within the confines of "rational" behavior but equated such demeanors with personal and community "respectability." Both black CCC'ers and soldiers employed their newsletters to discuss notions of hard work and personal success, reiterating and asserting that African American men conduct themselves a specific way that was agreeable with constructs of masculinity.

The understanding of American culture during the Great Depression and Second World War is greatly enhanced through the evaluation of emotion. The intent of this thesis was not to just discuss the cultural aspects of the Great Depression and World War

[314] Neal, *New Black Man*, 21; Mutua, *Progressive Black Masculinities*, xix and 5.

[315] W.E.B. Du Bois, "The Talented Tenth," 30-75.

[316] Neal, *New Black Man*, 1-30.

II, but to place these eras and socio-cultural phenomena in conversation by utilizing an inter- and multidisciplinary approach. Though scholarship has often treated these consecutive periods as separate entities, this thesis determines that there was a strong correlation in emotional-cultures among Americans of the Depression and World War II eras. Moreover, through an analysis of the similarities in emotional-cultures between Corps enrollees and U.S. Army soldiers, this examination contributes to scholarly conversations about the usefulness of inter- and multi-disciplinary erudition.

Though this thesis provides a brief impression into the emotional-cultures of white and black CCC enrollees and U.S. Army soldiers of the Second World War, this project is only a shallow dive into the interpretation of the socio-cultural correlation between the Great Depression and World War II, and it is by no means fully representative of the diversity of emotional-cultures and experiences of these formative eras. For a more thorough—and more appreciative—investigation into the relationship between the socio-cultural aspects of the Depression and wartime, further research should expand into other work programs like the NYA, Works Progress Administration, and/or all military branches during both eras. Additionally, future research should take into consideration the experiences of other communities—such as Native Americans, Hispanics, and Latinos, Asian and Pacific-Islanders, and immigrants. The accounts and views of individuals from these communities are equally distinct and significant in the interpretation of the American experience.

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