

Women, Gender, and Religion

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Viking Quest

Rosalie Hankey Wax's Search for Trans-Racial Spiritual Solidarity, 1921-1971

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Introduction

[1] It is every scholar's nightmare: make one foolish mistake that becomes the sum total of an academic reputation. This is what happened to Rosalie Hankey Wax, whose long career as a pioneer in the field of applied anthropology was eclipsed by her expulsion from the Tule Lake Segregation Center in 1944 (the high-security Japanese American internment camp) while a master's student at the University of California, Berkeley. The charges against Hankey included fomenting anti-government activity, attending rituals of worship for the Emperor of Japan, and, most puzzling of all, informing on two Japanese dissidents to the Department of Justice (Wax 1986: 169). This breach of ethics was a betrayal of both her supervisors at the University and the Japanese Americans in the camp – two communities to whom she was deeply devoted. Scholars ask how a talented young scholar whose racial liberalism put her decades ahead of her time could make such damaging errors in judgment. All too frequently, they dismiss her as incompetent, careerist, covertly racist, subversive, a misguided freedom fighter, or simply “insane” (Caldararo; Suzuki). This essay is part of a larger project that assesses Hankey's responses to her surroundings at Tule Lake, not by dismissing her as an odd person in an odd place, but by considering what it meant to be a Caucasian woman in a highly racialized, regimented, male space. That Hankey's race and

gender shaped her encounters with the inmates and jailers at Tule Lake is hardly surprising, but a close reading of her academic and private writings reveals a longing for a trans-racial spiritual community nurtured by her early experiences of Protestant Christianity and frustrated utterly by the unimaginably complex dynamics of racial repression at Tule Lake.

[2] The rough outlines of Hankey's days in the internment camps took shape in 1942, with an assertive, hard-drinking early-thirties woman of German Lutheran heritage who came of age in East Los Angeles during the Great Depression. This talented graduate student took pride in her ability to thrive in tough environments and her lifelong resistance to social injustice. When the Women's Army Corps rejected her for poor eyesight (or, in her words, "as an inferior being"), her mentors at Berkeley arranged a wartime adventure of another kind. The University's Japanese Evacuation and Resettlement Survey (JERS) hired Hankey to conduct fieldwork in one of the government's ten "relocation centers," where 120,000 Americans of Japanese descent, who had been removed from their homes without cause (other than sharing an ethnic heritage with the Pearl Harbor bombers), were placed in preventative detention without benefit of due process. She had little experience to bring to the job, but she was eager to develop her skills, impress her mentors, and witness the workings of a racist policy she had opposed at its inception (Wax 1986: 61-65; Cassell and Wax).

[3] Beneath Hankey's street-wise exterior lay a naive optimism about what she would encounter in the internment camps. On the train ride to her first assignment at the Gila River Relocation Center in Arizona, Hankey imagined that she would simply "endure the unpleasantness, make friends and acquaintances," and proceed with her work, never anticipating the severity of the social and political tensions that awaited her (1986: 66). When JERS reassigned her to the Tule Lake Segregation Center in Northern California several months later, Hankey's high-spirited outlook was encumbered by the shame of what she had seen of her government's "concentration camps" (1943-44: 1). As a segregation center, Tule Lake held internees who had not violated any laws, but were considered dangerous disloyals for protesting their incarceration. The fences were higher, the search lights more intense, the armed guards more numerous, and the atmosphere more violent than that at Gila River. Angered and overwhelmed, Hankey determined to confront this overt manifestation of the repressive wartime state, which was a noble cause for a citizen, but completely at odds with the anthropologist's role as observer. This is where the trouble began. It started with the occasional transmittal of information from government meetings to moderate Japanese activists, then spiraled into a one-woman campaign to put a stop to the activity of Japanese militants who were coercing young Tuleans to make a show of anti-government resistance by renouncing their citizenship (1943-44: 11-15).

[4] By the time Hankey began to fully understand the political dynamics at Tule Lake and why she, as a Caucasian, had no business insinuating herself into the painful internal conflicts of a minority community under siege, her life was in danger from a small cadre of the anti-government militants. Fearing for her safety and that of the moderate Japanese American majority at Tule Lake, Hankey contacted the Department of Justice with information from her confidential interviews about the alleged ringleaders of the extremist factions. It is possible, though far from certain, that government agents forcibly deported the individuals Hankey informed on, and that she was responsible for placing these people and

their families in dire circumstances as Americans in Japan. It is equally likely that Hankey's information was irrelevant or redundant to the agency that monitored the movements of all of its detainees. Her call may also have had the intended effect of protecting Japanese American moderates whose extremist neighbors terrorized them. What is clear is that Hankey entered Tule Lake with worthy intentions and left having injured herself and, possibly, some of the people she sought to help.

[5] Hankey exited the gates of Tule Lake in 1944, but this was hardly the end of her Tule Lake experience. Rather than focusing exclusively on the chaotic, poorly documented days in the camp, which tends to generate more confusion, it is helpful to consider how Hankey carried the events of Tule Lake forward into her personal and professional lives. She continued her career into the 1980s, wrestling all the while with the painful events at Tule Lake. Scarred by her first experience in the field, she worked as a somewhat reluctant collaborator with her husband, sociologist Murray Wax. She also wrote two rather curious books as a single author. The first, *Magic, Fate, and History* (1969), locates the roots of Protestantism in Viking sagas, while the second, *Doing Fieldwork: Warnings and Advice* (1971), is a startlingly honest "training manual" that reads like a confessional memoir. In the latter, Hankey recounts her successes and failures in the field, including the searing details of her political activities at Tule Lake. After a quarter century of honest soul searching, the only explanation she could offer was, "I became a fanatic" (1986: 139). As a social scientist with a flair for crafting prose, she no doubt chose this word carefully. Most scholars, in their tendency to treat religion as superfluous to the understanding of twentieth-century American life (Butler), carelessly interpret it as "enthusiasm for subversive politics," "temporary insanity," or even "feminine hysteria." Yet the term originally described "divine or demonic possession" or an excessive *religious* enthusiasm or zeal – not political struggles or clinical states of mental health.

[6] In fairness to her, Hankey's experiences as a person of faith are difficult to discern from her biography, as she was far from a typical church-going Lutheran (if, in fact, such a demographic exists). Her religious life exists in the historical record in bits and pieces, and not especially "religious-looking" ones at that. Arranged within a religious framework, however, a picture of the complex, self-created identity Hankey brought to her encounters at Tule Lake emerges. Reading Hankey's field notes, personal papers, and subsequent academic writings with an attentiveness to their religious references reveals Hankey's lifelong belief, however unrealistic, that spiritual connections could transcend man-made racial and ethnic barriers. While it makes sense to view Hankey's "Germanness" at Tule Lake in terms of "whiteness," both her early history and postwar commentary indicate that her "Lutheranism" was far from a mere modifier.

[7] This portrait of the errant anthropologist as a spiritual seeker is clearest in Hankey's recollections of her developing sense of self as a German-American Lutheran woman in her tumultuous youth. She refers to herself in these terms during her fateful months at Tule Lake and intermittently in her mid-career, when she conducted fieldwork on Lakota education and embarked on the "viking quest" that resulted in *Magic, Fate, and History*. While hardly a practicing Lutheran in the customary sense, Christian notions of communion with others, serving a transcendent cause, facing danger to protect the defenseless, and embracing spiritual authenticity bore constantly on the way she conducted her career, not just at Tule

Lake, but throughout her life. This insight goes beyond explaining the intensely emotional quality of Hankey's behavior at Tule Lake to revealing the moral logic (however imperfect) that underpinned her seemingly erratic choices – including her decision to inform. This logic suggests that Hankey was not so much an outlier among academic professionals who study the human experience, but a typical researcher susceptible to losing her way professionally when her subjects of study moved her personally.

From Des Plaines to Maravilla: An Ethnic-Protestant Journey

[8] So, to begin, Rosalie Amelia Hanke (the original German spelling) was born in 1911 to Richard and Anna Hanke in the German-Lutheran enclave of Des Plaines, Illinois. The unincorporated Chicago suburb received numerous German immigrants in the 1840s and 1850s, when Germans comprised between 25-36% of the nation's immigration totals (Daniels: 146). The townspeople of Hankey's grandfather's generation founded Immanuel Lutheran Church, a German congregation affiliated with the conservative Missouri synod, in 1868. Headstones bearing German names and the common epitaph, "*Christus ist mein Leben, und Gott ist mein Gewinn*," (or: "Christ is my life, and God is my reward") (Johnson: 44; Henkes: 8-12) attest to the deep-rootedness of the community's religious culture. They also obscure the factional splits along religious, regional, and ideological lines that prevented the development of a unified conception of German-Americanness. Beyond the institution of "German Days" in the 1890s and moments of situational solidarity brought forth by Nativist efforts to outlaw beer halls or prohibit the use of the German language, there was little beyond the symbolic that united the "German America" of Rosalie Hankey's youth (Bergquist: 3, 11).

[9] Nor would she find a stable conception of the "American Lutheran" community, let alone a place within it. The obvious differences between Germans and Scandinavians paled against the ever-deepening divisions over the future of the church in late nineteenth-century America. The influence of local fundamentalism and the remoteness of the Western frontier raised fears that second-generation Lutherans would drift dangerously distant from the faith. While some Lutherans developed an American version of Lutheranism that reflected the time and place in which the congregants lived, conservative Lutherans imported texts, hymnals, and even pastors from Europe. Charges and countercharges of irrelevance and corruption precipitated a schism in the 1840s from which the Missouri Synod emerged as the conservative center of the church (Daniels: 152). The split only temporarily settled the questions of what American Lutheranism should look like. Anxieties resurfaced as conservative and progressive elders noticed that second generation Germans considered English their first language and many of the third generation knew no German at all. Congregations saw several changes, from new hymnals and catechisms to a proliferation of new theological institutions dedicated to retaining "American" congregations within the "German" churches. The rapid alterations reignited controversies about the future of German Lutheranness that, by the time Rosalie Hankey was born, bordered on factional conflict (Daniels: 155; Bergquist: 6-8).

[10] The Hankes, like many Germans in Des Plaines, baptized their four children at Immanuel Lutheran Church, Rosalie first on November 7, 1911. Blissfully oblivious to the politics of her upbringing, Rosalie learned early to sing, read, and speak German (unusual

among German parents during World War I) and studied the Bible to some extent. This is the sum total of her “normal” religious upbringing, or as much as she ever committed to print (correspondence from Immanuel Lutheran Church, 1 July 2008). Yet Richard Hanke ran an arguably “religious” household with an odd blend of local politics, activist entrepreneurship, Christian devotion, and criminal activity presented as civil disobedience. He was the President of Hanke Iron and Wire Works in Chicago, but listed his profession as “student of theology” on a passport application in 1906 (US Immigration and Naturalization Service). While the extent of his training is unclear, he applied what he learned in the public sphere, not in the church or the classroom, but at Hanke’s Health Foods and Grabateria Health Dispensary. From his modest home business Hanke pursued his sacred (to him) mission of saving the bodies and souls of those who suffered under the creeping scourge of prohibition by selling alcohol-based “remedies” in his little corner of a dry county. The Grabateria price list promised nothing less than to “*keep the evil spirits away*”(italics original). In addition, Blackberry Balsam (a 12% alcohol concoction) cured diarrhea if taken with crackers and Swiss cheese and a 22% alcohol elixir of rock candy and fig healed everything – toothaches, sore throats, night sweats, bruises and open wounds (Des Plaines Historical Society n.d.a).

[11] Richard Hanke’s regular court appearances and letters to the editor of the local paper gave him a pulpit of sorts from which to deliver his message about the evils of prohibition. “Drink a little beer and whiskey,” he admonished, and “your home will be blessed.” When the township voted to stay dry, Hanke railed against his fellow citizens, “when a community tries to suppress an evil by law, said evil increases and spreads the more it is suppressed. This applies also to the suppression of anything good. Our creator does not and will not suppress an evil by law, nor force any one to accept a benefit against one’s will.” He asked, with a minister’s rhetorical flourish, why “His insignificant creatures” would try to affect something that “Almighty God WILL NOT do?” Alcohol, Hanke insisted, was God’s creation and, invoking Saint Paul as an advocate for the Grabateria, “ALL creatures of God are good and may be received with thanksgiving if used moderately” (Des Plaines Historical Society n.d.b).

[12] His vehemence aside, the true extent of Hanke’s religious conviction is almost impossible to gauge. While it is quite possible that his evangelism for alcohol came strictly from his religious convictions and theological training, it is also important to consider the Anglo-Protestant origins of the temperance movement. There is every possibility that Hanke, who made his career as a businessman and not a minister, developed an ethnic-Protestant discourse to counter prevailing characterizations of saloons as the breeding grounds of laziness, debauchery, and anti-Americanism (Bergquist: 160-61).

[13] In either case, Hanke’s business venture-qua-mission ended when organized crime syndicates moved into Des Plaines. Irish mobster Roger Touhy controlled most of the large- and small-scale bootlegging operations until Al Capone got wind of the profits and moved his own organization into Des Plaines. Capone cornered his market share through violence and intimidation that contributed to approximately 150 Prohibition-related deaths in the Chicago area between 1924-27 (English: 152-55). Details of the demise of the Hanke health food business remain hazy, but it is quite clear that the Grabateria created a politically charged familial religious culture. Resistance to institutions and attitudes stifling freedom,

equality, and the gathering of God's peoples were not matters of ideology, but biblical mandates.

[14] Rosalie Hankey's idiosyncratic religious outlook expanded markedly in her young adult life, even as her father's influence waned. A financial crisis in 1930 (the nature of which Hankey never elaborated) moved the family to the Mexican-American enclave of Maravilla in East Los Angeles. Hopes that nineteen-year-old Rosalie would become a Hollywood singing sensation were dashed when Richard Hanke abandoned the family, leaving the would-be chanteuse to support her mother (very few German-American wives worked outside the home) and younger siblings (Cassell and Wax). She took a full-time job as playground director at the Cleland House of Neighborly Service, a settlement house operated by El Siloe Mexican Presbyterian Church, which brought her into the heart of a very different ethnic-religious community than she had known in Des Plaines (Wax 1986: 53).

[15] Protestant missions had long been part of the social, religious, and ethnic landscape in East Los Angeles, but when G. Bromley Oxnam, Methodist pastor of the Church of All Nations, called on "the religious forces of the city" to combat illiteracy, poor health, low wages, and substandard housing in 1921, Protestant churches poured resources into building and expanding their settlement houses (Oxnam: 132; Holland: 76). The houses were not expressly religious institutions, but were distinct from such secular varieties as Jane Addams's Hull House in their function as "the practice grounds of religious life." In addition to nurturing Christian faith, the Board of National Missions charged Cleland House with acting as "mediator between old and new world customs and habits" (Holland: 335). Cleland House was a gathering place where Caucasian and Mexican-American social workers formed a sort of neighborhood family with local residents in the hope of generating spiritual ties that spanned the divides of race and class.

[16] Without question, Hankey's experiences as a white minority among Mexican-Americans was formative in fashioning the racial liberalism that made her so devoted, however dysfunctionally, to the Japanese-Americans she would encounter in an entirely different community at Tule Lake. To create both a sacred space and an arena for assimilation, religious settlement workers practiced "neighborliness," which involved developing an arena for socialization, education, and advocacy that "transcended religious divisions and embodied the root purpose of all religions" (Stebner: 1059). The practice of neighborliness offered many of the things Hankey appears to have spent her life seeking. In addition to providing a socially and theologically acceptable antidote to Richard Hanke's "Christian Bootlegging," it "fostered a spiritual family of multiethnic Americans" (Stebner: 1059-60). This would have been an appealing possibility for a Des Plaines girl seeking her place in Maravilla or for a progressive graduate student needing to situate herself within a Japanese-American community that fractured under the pressures of confinement at Tule Lake.

[17] Given this context, it seems natural that Hankey would seek communion with marginalized people. As a majority-minority on the margins of her native Midwestern German-Lutheran community, who Anglicized the Germanic "Hanke" to read "Hankey" soon after arriving in Los Angeles, she, too, struggled with the complexities of identity, belonging, and skirting the boundaries between "insider" and "outsider." German-

Americans, though “white,” experienced similar pressures to assimilate and to demonstrate their “fitness for citizenship.” Germans’ enduring love of their homeland during World War I generated such public hysteria that assimilation became a necessary condition of participation in society, and postwar immigrants were quick to adopt the trappings of Americanism to shed the stigma of being a refugee. Newcomers found the existing second-generation community to be so thoroughly Americanized that identifiably German enclaves began to dissolve by the 1930s (Bretting: 158).

[18] At the moment when Hankey’s ethnic-Protestant community succumbed to the pressures of assimilation, she found a home in another ethnic-Protestant community that was distinctive and culturally vibrant. She would nonetheless remain something of an outsider. Hankey may have been a wartime “other,” but she was never considered anything but white, and the privileges that came with this formed a barrier that she could never quite cross – not at Cleland House, and certainly not at Tule Lake. Nevertheless, Hankey forged relationships with the young women from Cleland House that held such significance that she entered college to become a teacher and majored in anthropology so she could expand upon the knowledge of Mexican culture she acquired in the neighborhood. The life of the mind, like that of the spirit, seemed to hold the possibility of transcending the worldly pettiness of racism to foster a true human community. For Hankey, who identified (in all seriousness) as “a human being” first and foremost, this would have been a windmill worth chasing (Cassell and Wax). This clarity of purpose and her lively intellect made Hankey a natural student, and she distinguished herself as a talented scholar with a bright future in women’s education.

Seeking Isaiah in a Barbed Wire Democracy

[19] No sooner had Hankey embarked on her master’s program in anthropology when the Pearl Harbor bombing pulled the United States into World War II. Her hope of becoming a self-styled neighborly professor (in the Cleland House sense) was deferred by her assignment at Tule Lake, where her professors insisted she put aside Mexican cultures and women’s education to study factionalism with JERS. Hankey’s unusual status as a Caucasian woman made her a prime candidate for the JERS version of combat duty. Like the “German America” of her father’s generation, “Japanese America” was far less unified than outsiders perceived, and Hankey’s failure to draw this parallel made her unable to chart a safe course through the political and social worlds of the camp. Instead of turning away from the strife, Hankey was drawn to it. Recording government repression of Japanese Americans at Tule Lake and coming to understand Japanese resistance by taking part in it (and inadvertently aggravating the factions) became her “transcendental task,” or a form of bearing witness that she pursued with “an unflagging energy and relish that [was] rather frightening.” Believing herself an agent of racial justice, the possibility of being killed made her feel “happy and well” (1986: 140).

[20] News that a camp guard fatally shot an innocent Japanese American broke the serenity she found in her transcendental task (*Newell Star*). She recalled in *Doing Fieldwork*, “as I sat in my room and typed up my notes [on the shooting] I suddenly fell into a state of shame and rage. . . I would have hollered and howled. But since there was no one to whom I could holler, I stamped up and down and cried.” In one of the few direct references to being a practicing Christian, Hankey continued, “Finally my eye was caught by my old Bible, the

only book I had brought with me, and I sat down and began to read Isaiah. These ancient assertions of an ultimate justice made me feel a little better” (1986: 132). She heeded the call to defend the rights of America’s Japanese widows and orphans (so to speak) but had trouble waiting for the slow transformation of the current wrongs to the perfectly just future. She began leaking information from government meetings to a group of moderate Japanese activists, which advanced the cause of government resistance but also put her interviewees in the crosshairs of anti-government radicals targeting the presumed “stool pigeons” among them. Realizing that bearing witness to her government’s transgressions against the internees offered no protections against Tulean radicals who might harm or even kill them, Hankey made her fateful act of protective betrayal. Instead of funneling information from government meetings to Tulean activists, Hankey passed information from her confidential interviews for JERS to the Department of Justice. Although she knew she was making an ethical breach, she thought it more important to prompt officials to detain the handful of radicals who relied on violence and coercion to elicit Tuleans’ complicity with their anti-government action. In doing this, she simultaneously put herself at odds with JERS and in service to a government agency she had vehemently resisted.

[21] Although she failed in her transcendental task by exacerbating both government repression and factional violence at Tule Lake, Hankey remained a devoted warrior in the fight against oppressive forces – both Japanese and non-Japanese. In a moment of fear and disillusionment (and quite possibly intoxication), she wrote a resurrection story in which she was tortured and consumed as sashimi and rose from the dead to drink herself back to health and vigor. Though wildly fantastical, “The Song of the Stitches” was loosely based on an incident in which she cut her leg and went to a Japanese doctor who had it out for Caucasians generally. Seeking a small measure of revenge against the government that imprisoned him, the physician plunged a needle into her skin, asking her all the while “does it pain?” while Hankey gave neither a wince nor a tear (Wax 1986: 141). The incident was yet another manifestation of the pervasive violence at Tule Lake that pitted everyone against everyone – that made physicians do harm and anthropologists turn informer.

[22] The “Song” opens with the “fair maiden Hankey” receiving shocking news of another death that sent her flying from her barrack “like an eager young lover a’greetin’ his bride” – and smack into a sharp oilcan whose cut required stitches. A sadistic Japanese doctor “impales” her with a needle “like a master harpooner a’harpoonin’ a whale” and a hoard of “little sons of Nippon with vengeance devilish, were slicing up her corpus to make them raw fish.” Hankey surprised the “little sons of Nippon” with her gruesome second coming, reanimated as “a wild woeful figure [sic] just a-dripping off gore.” Her Caucasian friends, doubting there was anything left, give her a drink. The magic elixir – a tribute, perhaps, to her long-absent father – restores her to health, and she triumphs against the destructive violence of the camp; a truly fantastical notion in an environment where her own life really was at risk. Had an assassin pushed dagger through *her* larynx, as had happened to a Japanese man presumed to be a spy for the government, no amount of brains, booze, fervor, or grit could bring her back to life. Yet she advises in the final stanza that, to meet “disaster without disgrace” a Caucasian need not know the way of the samurai, but only where to find a “good cold beer” (n.d.).

[23] Hankey's brave resistance did not read to others as a tribute to the justice of Isaiah, the principles of American patriotism, or the racial liberalism to which she was genuinely committed. Far from any notion of being Christ-like (as her "resurrection" story could suggest), pro-Japanese radicals lauded her "German [meaning "Nazi"] courage" in the face of the doctor's painful test of her mettle in the oilcan incident. She was chagrined that, instead of forming spiritual ties, her Japanese admirers, intending to be provocative, reached out to her as a "fellow fascist" (Wax 1986: 142). Meanwhile, government agents ordered Hankey to leave Tule Lake swiftly and silently for consorting with anti-government agitators and attending ceremonies of worship for the emperor of Japan. War Relocation Authority officials accused her of having "immoral relations" with several internees, and expressing her "anarchist temperament" by subverting security regulations at Tule Lake (Wax 1986: 169). This was quite a different picture from the neighborliness she projected at Cleland House; her defiance in the service of a higher purpose, however, was reminiscent of her father's persistence in bringing beer, whiskey, and related "things of God" to the Christian families of Des Plaines. Over the years, religion, ethnicity, gender, and politics became tightly intertwined but discernibly traceable to her German-American Lutheran identity as it evolved from the Grabateria to Cleland House of Neighborly Service and on to Tule Lake. The strongest thread was and remained her belief that spiritual engagement with "Others" could transcend racial and ethnic divisions. Discouraged that her desire to see the justice of Isaiah at Tule Lake brought only ostracism and vilification, Hankey swore off fieldwork forever (Cassell).

Racial Reconciliation and Viking Spirituality: Writing an Indigenous Whiteness

[24] And yet, over the next twenty years, Hankey conducted fieldwork with her collaborator and husband Murray Wax. The dynamic pair made their mark on the emerging field of applied anthropology through the study of Native American education. Hankey's accounts of fieldwork among the Lakota reflect her detachment from the people she interviewed. Faced with "once again becoming involved with human beings so as to make an objective record of the hardship, suffering, and disintegration for which my own people were largely responsible" made her "sick at the stomach" because, being Northern European, her people "stand and fight until they die" when thrust into "hopeless conflict" (1986: 178-79). From a safe distance, working with Native research assistants, Hankey could appreciate Lakota culture without getting involved in factional entanglements. She became especially intrigued with the spiritual authenticity she detected in Lakota singing. She remarked that, where "church prayers and songs usually sound like people rehearsing a speech to themselves," Lakota singers sounded as if they "knew for a fact that some powerful being was within hailing distance" (1986: 236).

[25] Instead of repeating the disaster at Tule Lake by "going Native," Hankey made herself a kindred spirit through her research and writing on Northern Europeans. While living among the Lakota, she conducted an ethnographic study of Viking sagas, which became *Magic, Fate, and History*. While *religions* "Viking quests" are rare in American history, the late nineteenth century saw multiple narratives of Vikings as the first settlers. Scandinavian American scholars proposed that, instead of being a well assimilated ethnic minority, their ancestors were the true originators of American democracy and the American "race" itself (Mancini:

867-68). For others, Viking-origin histories created a palliative kinder, gentler Manifest Destiny tale in the decades that followed the closing of the frontier (Mancini: 879-81). George Bancroft, author of the influential *History of the United States*, endorsed Rasmus B. Anderson's controversial *America Not Discovered by Columbus*, which, though criticized for its "fantastical" assertions, was reprinted several times after its initial release in 1874 (Mancini: 879-80).

[26] Hankey's study, by contrast, left the Vikings in Europe, where, she asserted, the Old Scandinavians "represent one of the major native cultures [whose] struggles with the civilized ecumene are [comparable to] the struggles of the tribal people of today" (1967: 556). These same steadfast Northern Europeans appear in the Waxes' study of Lakota education. Their argument for the inclusion of indigenous principles in reservation schools was based on their historical observation that "Christianity did not become effective in Northern Europe until its populace eliminated many of the peculiarities distinctive to the Mediterranean world from the dogma and had reformulated this dogma in terms of its own ethnic traditions" (Wax, Wax, and Dumont: 136).

[27] In the preface to *Magic, Fate, and History*, she acknowledged her "unusual choice of anthropological subject matter," but presented it as a necessary challenge to Max Weber's thesis that the "rational ideology" of the Hebrew prophets made Western civilization uniquely resistant to superstition and traditionalism. Hankey denounced this view as ethnocentric, particularly in light of Arnold Toynbee's assertion in 1956 that the early Vikings exhibited their own "precocious rationalism" that made them remarkably free of superstition. (1969: preface; Winthrop-Young). In stripping away what she saw as historical distortions, Hankey fulfilled what she believed to be one of the main purposes of applied social science. Assuming a role akin to "the fervent religious orders within the medieval church," applied anthropologists would help institutions reform themselves into "gateway[s] to salvation" by "purifying dogma" (Wax, Wax, and Dumont: 135). In this case, historical dogma hid the connection between the "rugged ancestors of the White Anglo-Saxon Protestants" and indigenous peoples who accepted Christianity by modifying it to fit a magical world view that unites all living beings through the exchange of spiritual power. The Waxes present specific practices from the Viking sagas and Lakota oral traditions to demonstrate that magic is neither communal nor individual, natural or supernatural, manipulative or supplicative, but a system of sophisticated, systematic, and thoroughly modern code of ethics (Wax 1969: 13-15; Wax and Wax: 183-86).

[28] Where most historians saw in the Vikings a society of itinerant, conquering pagans who absorbed and disseminated some elements of Christian thought, Hankey saw in the sagas a culture of proto-Protestants who would resist the long reach of Roman clerical authority in fidelity to their ancient system of ethics. Like the Lakota, "the folk obdurately maintain their magical view of the world by merely inserting a few Western notions that may appear incongruous or outrageous to the emissaries of our society," thereby forging the roots of a subterranean social revolution destined to spring forth in due course (Wax and Wax: 191). The indigenous roots of the Protestant ethos, then, made Luther's and Calvin's use of scripture "as much ideological (and nativistic) as causative." This appropriation and adaptation of the political tools of the dominant culture put Protestants and Native activists

within the same historical tradition of reviving authentic spiritual traditions thought moribund by colonizing powers (Wax 1969: 14).

[29] Although she was German and not Scandinavian, Hankey heard in the Viking sagas the same tones of indigenous authenticity that resonated in the Lakota songs. She used them to weave a spiritual and political connection to the people she studied and lived with without getting entangled in the kinds of worldly matters that brought conflict at Tule Lake. She centered her attention on the Viking warrior ethic that forbade a man from defending himself from death or resisting his fate in the next world, from which she believed the Calvinist doctrine of predestination had its origins (1969: 151). She paid particular attention to the “godless men” in the sagas, who believed in neither the white Christ or the red Thor, citing the passage from Saint Olaf’s saga in which the King encounters two highwaymen leading a band of thirty robbers who might go to battle with him. He asks first whether they are Christians, to which they reply that they are neither Christian nor heathen, and that they “had no other belief than trust in [their] power and success.” No one need pity them because there was no Christian who “has grown to [their] two great heights.” When the King refuses their services, the two men pose as prospective converts, dissembling through their baptism to be admitted into his Christian ranks (1969: 96-97). This way, they could aid the king who, they determined, was the weaker opponent in battle. Justice demanded that they aid the weaker man, and in the end it made no difference whether one believed in the “white Christ” or some other god. It was only important to do what was right and to face one’s fate, making the newly – and falsely – baptized men’s decision to die under an indifferent King’s banner comprehensible. They were morally and spiritually bound to transfer some of their power to the weaker opponent in the battle, much as Hankey wished to transfer the powers of her racial privilege to her fellow Lakota, Japanese, and Mexican women of her youth.

[30] Although the premise of *Magic, Fate and History* may baffle historians of the Vikings, it offers some valuable interpretive possibilities for those seeking to fully understand Hankey and her actions. That she saw in the warrior story two authentic proto-Protestants who practiced neighborliness, appreciated a good spot of alcohol, and were “fanatical” in the cause of justice indicates that religion was as important a component of her social identity as race, gender, class, or ethnicity. No matter that she had no direct ancestral ties to the figures in the sagas. Hankey found her place in the world in a study that, while not often cited in the scholarly literature, served the cause of Protestant settlement-house neighborliness by “transcending religious divisions and embodying the root purpose of all religions” of brotherhood and justice. Her reading of Viking history gave her a legible religious system (something she did not get from her father) and a piece of spiritual common ground with the Lakota singers in her self-created indigeneity.

[31] Weaving together these faint threads of Hankey’s religious life places her Tule Lake “fanaticism” and poor judgment in a new light. We may never know everything that motivated Hankey to do such apparent violence to her sincere devotion to Christian neighborliness, but it is clear that these values – religious values embodied in her self-description as a “German *Lutheran*” – shaped her perceptions and guided her actions in the camps. Far from a racist or a malicious individual, Hankey was a seeker who failed to recognize the depth of the violence done to the spirits of the government’s internees. These wounds made the neighborliness of Cleland House an impossibility in the camps. Her desire

to be an agent of social justice led her to readily convert her spiritual mission to a political one, and to insert herself into the Japanese Americans' struggle to regain their self-determination and sense of wholeness – matters in which Caucasians in the camp, whether government agents or erstwhile students, had no role to play. Although she never said it in quite these terms, Tule Lake taught Hankey how to be an outsider. This lesson guided her through numerous successful relationships across social, cultural, and religious lines, and gave her a stronger sense of what being a German-American Lutheran meant in her own life.

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