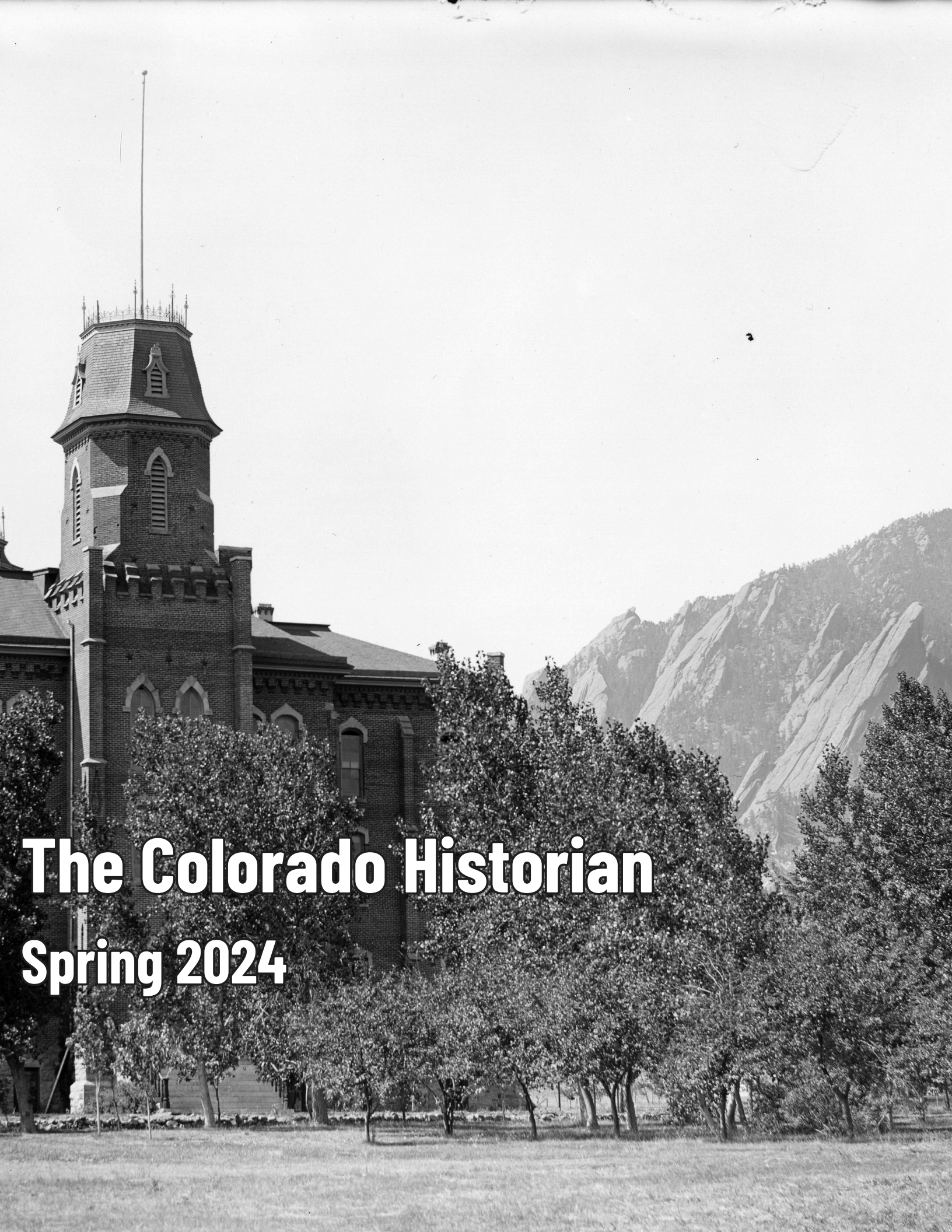

The Colorado Historian

Spring 2024

Spring 2024 Colorado Historian Team

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Letter from an Editor

It is with great pleasure that I can introduce to the reader the 2024 edition of the *Colorado Historian*. Our journal has printed an annual edition for nearly three decades and, in that time, I believe it has only improved in its scope and ability to convey the writing and research of CU's undergraduate historians. The papers within represent much of the highest-quality work that undergraduate historians are creating at CU Boulder. There is a tremendous variety in temporal and geographic subject matter, ranging from antiquity to British India and from medieval Europe to Civil War United States. And just as there is a variation in time and place, so too there are also diverse historical methodologies presented. Each paper makes use of its unique armamentarium: Grace DiNapoli's paper draws upon the classics discipline just as Emma Ledent's revolves around art history. I can not introduce every paper by name but I can assure the reader that each stands as a testament to the ability of their authors.

This year's journal also includes a new section that has not been present in the past—abstracts from this year's history honors theses. Every year, a handful of history majors undertake the difficult and circuitous journey of creating an honors thesis. These are the culmination of several years of undergraduate study. The honors theses are too long to include in their entirety—as they generally range from sixty to one-hundred pages in length—but brief abstracts along with the thesis' title and the author's name are present. A QR can be found on the introductory page of the section that directs to CU Scholar, the database that contains the honors theses in their entirety. From there, the curious can search the name of the thesis or author to find the entire work.

In addition to the authors of the papers and honors theses, I am also happy to acknowledge the hard-work of the journal's members. If not for our reviewers, editors, alumna reviewer, managing editor and faculty advisor, the creation of the *Colorado Historian* would not have been possible. And through the process of generating the journal, the members of our organization have learned various skills that will certainly prove useful in both their academic and professional pursuits. Selecting and then editing papers requires a keen awareness of both the mechanics of language and of the intricacies of historical argument. Moreover, the process generates another degree of interconnectedness within CU's history community as editors

connect with each other, faculty and authors. The fostering of this community has even extended beyond the limits of CU. Five members were able to attend this year's American Historical Association's conference in San Francisco. Where they were able to observe and interact with the leading undergraduates, graduate students and faculty members from across the country. But I must emphasize that–while I hope the journal was able to facilitate learning and community–it is entirely dependent on the commitment of each and every one of its members. So, to our wonderful editors and reviewers, thank you for your hard work.

My time with the *Colorado Historian* has, unfortunately, come to an end—assuming I do not fail any classes between the time of my writing this and graduation. But I am eager to see where the members of the *Colorado Historian* take the journal in the future. I am a dogged believer in the journal's mission—to share the work of undergraduate historians—and given the character of our non-graduating editors, I firmly believe that that mission will continue to be fulfilled.

Best,
Samuel Senseman

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Food for Worms: Interpreting Transi Tombs

Emma Ledent

Inside many ornate cathedrals and extravagant monasteries throughout Europe lies something that does not quite fit in with its surroundings. Upon many graves lie depictions of the one who is buried underneath. A majority of these sculptures portray their subjects as regal and beautiful. Occasionally, though, some show lifeless cadavers, complete with flesh clinging tight to their bones, vermin burrowing in and out of their arms, and dead, lifeless eyes. The contrast between these sculptures and their surroundings is eye-catching, and leaves many wondering why anyone would want such grotesque images displayed upon their final resting place.

These images are known as transi figures. Derived from the Latin word *Transire*, meaning to pass away, transi figures were sculptures of deceased individuals, usually without clothing and in some state of decay, displayed upon funerary monuments.[1] Transi figures have long been a point of interest for historians, as their intended purpose has remained somewhat enigmatic, and viewpoints concerning the motivation behind their construction vary significantly. Early examples began to appear around 1370, with their construction peaking during the 16th century and eventually falling out of popularity by the 18th.[2] In the case of double-decker transi tombs, most common in England, sculptures depicted a person, usually a noble, as if they were in life above a mirror image of the person as a corpse (Fig. 1).[3] Other transi figures simply showcased the deceased as a decomposing cadaver, sometimes filled with worms and bugs,

without a depiction of a living, more distinguished, counterpart (Fig. 2).[4] The various images and structures associated with transi tombs were popular with the nobility during the Late Middle Ages due to their wide range of appeal in fulfilling contemporary spiritual concerns as they shifted throughout the centuries. Many of the shifts in cultural thinking that led to the creation of

[1] John Aberth, *The Black Death: The Great Mortality of 1348-1350 : A Brief History with Documents*, 1st ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 169.

[2] Kathleen Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol: The Transi Tomb in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 194.

[3] Richard Croft, *Bishop Fleming's Tomb*, photograph, Geograph, September 12, 2006, https://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/241007.

[4] Lausanne De Jongh, *Tomb of François de Sarra*, in Cohen, *Metamorphosis*, ix.

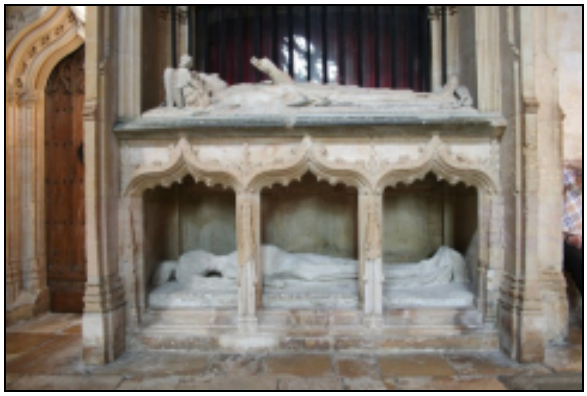

Figure 1. Tomb of Bishop Richard Fleming (d. 1431), Located in the Lincoln Cathedral, England.

the transi tombs can be traced back to the event that rocked the foundation of the 14th century: the Black Death. Arriving in October of 1347, the plague wreaked havoc, killing an estimated 25%-50% of the European population in around four years, a period now known as the Black Death.[5] Following the Black Death, recurring bouts of plague continued to reappear throughout the 1300s and into the 1400s. People across the continent were repeatedly and dramatically confronted with the horrors of death. No matter how young or old, rich or poor, everyone was forced to come face-to-face with the reality of their own inevitable demise. Images of skeletons and references to death became increasingly common in artistic works, illustrating death as a cultural baseline.

Figure 2. Transi of Francois de la Sarra (d.1368), Located in La Sarraz, Switzerland.

Since the 1500s, the scope of explanation of transi tombs has included wild folk tales as well as scholarly analysis. Literal interpretations of transi figures led to the ideas of *memento mori*, a Latin phrase that translates to "remember that you will die." While the Black Death did cause this ideal to spread, historians such as Kathleen Cohen and Jakov Dordevic reject *memento mori* as the sole motivation for the construction of transi tombs. Dordevic and Cohen, instead, postulate that the transi figures were a means of ensuring salvation by accelerating the decomposition of one's corpse. Historian Paul Binski explores the transi tomb in a more artistic fashion, examining the transi figure as a reaction to more idealized effigies that "had served increasingly to deny the realities of death."[6] Additionally,

[5] Robert Gottfried, *The Black Death: Natural and Human Disaster in Medieval Europe*. (New York: Free Press, 1985), xiii.

[6] Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation*. (New York: Cornell University Press, 1996), 152.

historians have often studied transi tombs on a case-by-case basis, looking at a single individual's motivations. These interpretations themselves are not sufficient to understand the significance of the transi tombs in their entirety. They must be understood in a more comprehensive manner, as the original creators likely had a variety of motives in the creation of transi tombs, rather than one, single purpose. It is important to fully examine the social context in which transi tombs were constructed in order to understand what purpose they were intended to serve.

It is also important to note that the motivations behind the transi tombs are not necessarily indicative of the overall sentiments of the time period. Transi figures were expensive to produce and were only readily available to the elite who could afford them. The sentiments expressed within the transi tombs do not cover the lower classes and their ideals surrounding death. Transi tombs themselves were also not particularly common. Less than 300 examples are known to have been produced, a majority of which originated from England and were produced in the 16th century.[7]

Interpretations and theories are often extracted both from the text inscribed upon the stone as well as a tomb's physical and artistic attributes. However, the written and physical features of certain transi tombs do not always line up perfectly. Analysis of solely the literary aspect or the visual imagery reveals but one-half of the picture. It is vital to consider the transi tomb in its entirety in order to fully analyze its meaning. The inscriptions upon many transi tombs lean heavily towards ideas of salvation, but the images rarely suggest anything of the sort. The original intentions are difficult to discern when they so often contradict each other.

Transi tombs were often utilized in various manners to assuage anxieties concerning death and the afterlife. Early in the 1300s, the idea of Purgatory was popularized by Dante's *Divine Comedy*, though it was originally proposed a century before. People were keen to shorten their stay in Purgatory, and the transi figures could have been viewed as a way to accomplish that. It was believed that a body must be fully decomposed in order for the individual to pass
through Purgatory. In other words, one had to "putrefy in order to be purified."[8] Transi tombs invited the onlooker to pray for accelerated decay, shepherding the deceased to the afterlife quicker. This purpose appeared in the epitaph inscribed upon the tomb of French Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly, a small section translates:

> The rotting/body went beneath the rock

[7] To see a list of known transi tombs categorized by geographic origin and how many were produced in each century, see Cohen, *Metamorphosis*, 194.

[8] Jakov Dordevic, "Made in the Skull's Likeness: Of Transi Tombs, Identity and Memento Mori," *Journal of Art Historiography*, 17(2017): 3.

> But the spirit of itself seeks for the Rock who is Christ
> You, whoever are at hand, bring help by means of prayer [9]

Some effigies asserted the viewer's power to hasten decomposition by depicting the corpse as filled with vermin working to break down the body.[10] These pleas for prayer showcased the intense anxiety felt over the fate of their souls.

Alternatively, the snakes and frogs included in transi figures originating from Germany may have held a deeper significance than simple degeneration of flesh. Almost all German transi images included snakes and frogs (Fig. 2), contrasting those from England and France. Their appearance could be a result of the contemporary ideas of spontaneous generation, in other words, the idea that the decay of the body literally produces the animals. It is more likely that the inclusion of snakes and frogs related back to their symbolism within German literary tradition. Vermin such as worms, snakes, and frogs were often associated with evil and sin.[11] Additionally, each reptile may have represented specific sins. Worms were closely connected with the devil, and the placement of the vermin on the image of the body of the deceased may have been specifically related to sins they committed during their lifetime.

Rampant anxieties of the time also resulted from the growing disparity between the period's increasing worldly interests and the traditional need for humility.[12] The power of the Church and the wealth of individual clergymen was growing exponentially. Consequently, expressions of humility prior to death became more and more dramatic, as they were thought to be necessary for salvation. Transi tombs can be viewed as an example of this. All transi figures are displayed as nude or wrapped in a shroud, bare of any materialistic goods (Fig. 3).[13] Inscriptions support this idea, such as the Old Testament verses inscribed upon the tomb of Canon Etienne Yver in Paris:

> I am but a worm and no man [Psalms 21:7]. My flesh is clothed with corruption and with the filth of dust; my skin is dried up and shrivelled [Job 7:5].[14]

Yver humiliates himself in the hope that it will bring him salvation. This idea can be applied to almost all transi figures and might help explain why so many leaders of the Church opted to be buried underneath these types of tombs.

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[9] This tomb no longer physically exists, but it is known of from descriptions and drawings found within the notebooks of Roger de la Gaignieres, quoted in Cohen, *Metamorphosis*, 15.
[10] Dordevic, "Skull's Likeness," 4.
[11] Cohen, *Metamorphosis*, 80.
[12] Cohen, *Metamorphosis*, 48.
[13] G. Garitan, *Transi de Harcigny*, photograph, Wikimedia Commons, November 9, 2014, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Transi_de_Harcigny_00969.JPG.
[14] Cohen, *Metamorphosis*, 60.

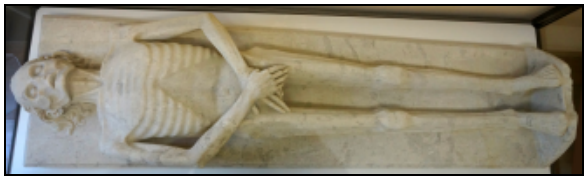

Figure 3. Transi of Guillaume de Harcigny (d. 1393), Located in Laon, France.

To fully examine the motivations behind the transi tombs, one must look at them not from the lens of today, but with all of the context of the time period. In the 1400s, effigies often followed a rigid decorum, which Binski describes as "the body natural is represented by the body artful."[15] These effigies were created as a show of wealth, often depicting the deceased in their best light and dressed in full regalia (fig. 4).[16] They were also utilized in a competitive manner, as leading families would vie for dominance within a certain locality.[17] Within that context, the appearance of transi tombs

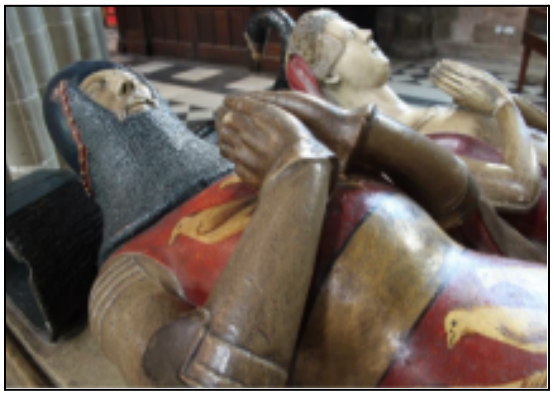

Figure 4. Medieval effigies in Worcester Cathedral, England.

would have been a great upset to the norm. Suddenly, the harsh facts of decomposition were thrown into the cultural spotlight. This could be a consequence of the Black Death, as Europeans bore witness to widespread death and decay firsthand, and some artists no longer wished to ignore it as a fact of life. The double-decker imagery of some transi tombs may indicate a desire to cling to the norms of the time by including a depiction in the traditional effigy manner as well as an image of the rotting cadaver. This specific style of transi tomb rests at the juncture between new and traditional thinking.

Another recurring theme seen within transi figures is the inevitability of death. The inscription upon the tomb of Cardinal Jean de Lagrange asserts that in death, "No one is excluded, regardless of estate, sex, or age."[18] The imagery of double-decker transi tombs lends itself to this line of thinking. These tombs depicted the dead "as complete, perfected representatives of a particular class or group in a state of timeless repose" above the representation of the deceased's rotting corpse (Fig. 5).[19] The image of powerful figures in life versus the same powerful figures in death reminded the viewer that death came for everyone, no matter their status. This shows the time period's emerging ideas of the universality of death

[15] Binski, *Medieval Death*, 149.
[16] Howard M. R. Williams, *Medieval Lordly Tomb, Worcester Cathedral*, photograph, Archaeodeath, July 30, 2014, https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/2014/07/30/speaking-with-effigy-tombs/. Currently unknown who the effigies truly depict.
[17] Hadley, *Death in Medieval England*, 153.
[18] Cohen, *Metamorphosis*, 13.
[19] Binski, *Medieval Death*, 139; Noa Turel, *Tomb of Archbishop Henry Chichele*, 2020, in Noa Turel, *Picturing Death 1200-1600*, (Leiden:Brill, 2020), 236-237.

and *memento mori*. However, transi tombs cannot simply be written off as mere *memento mori*

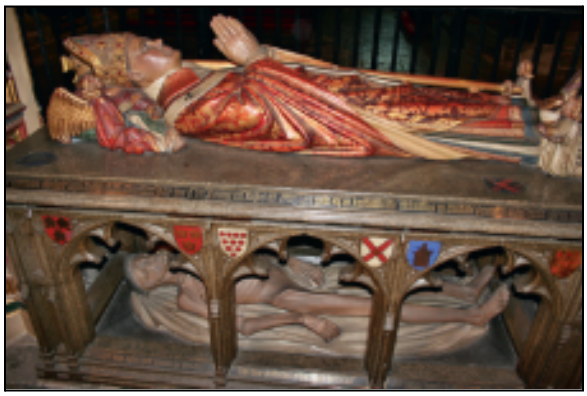

Figure 5. Transi tomb of Archbishop Henry Chichele (d. 1443), Located in the Canterbury Cathedral, England.

imagery. Cohen writes that if transi tombs were to be taken as *memento mori*, "then it must be assumed that the men who commissioned the tombs suddenly shifted their orientation from the traditional concern with the salvation of their own souls to the edification of the living."[20] This shift, Cohen argues, would have been highly unlikely, as the anxieties of the time centered on one's own fate, rather than the fate of anyone else. She proposes that the inscriptions upon tombs relating to the ideas of "you shall be what we are," were intended not to encourage the viewer to be more moral but to frighten onlookers into praying for the deceased.[21] Although, some reasoning behind the theory that transi tombs were intended to educate the living could actually be extrapolated from the contemporary ideas held by the clergy surrounding the Black Death. It was a popular idea amongst the clergy that "the plague could be accounted for by the sins of the laity."[22] Mortality rates among the clergy as a result of the plague were particularly high, reaching 30 to 40% in some dioceses.[23] This could explain why transi tombs were most commonly constructed for high-ranking members of the clergy in the 15th century. The men of the elite may have felt that they needed to educate the laity on what would happen to them after death in order to encourage the payment of penance to ward off any future disastrous waves of plague.

Many of these interpretations are examined in the poem *A Disputacioun*

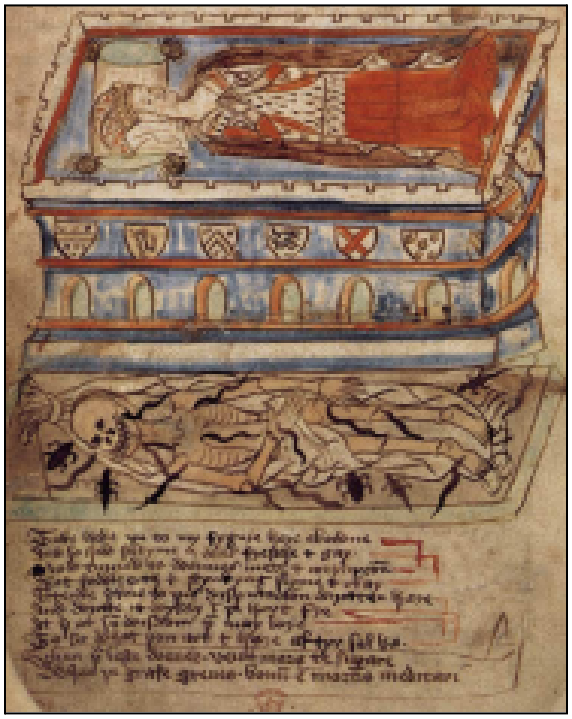

Figure 6. Illustration from *A Disputacioun betwyx the Body and Wormes*.

[20] Cohen, *Metamorphosis*, 4.
[21] Cohen, *Metamorphosis*, 71.
[22] Hadley, *Death in Medieval England*, 89.
[23] D.M. Hadley, *Death in Medieval England*. (Gloucestershire: Tempus Publishing, 2001), 87.

betwyx the Body and Wormes. Written anonymously around 1450, *A Disputacioun* is a dream poem in which the poet falls asleep next to a transi tomb and dreams of a conversation between the body of a woman and the worms that are devouring her (Fig. 6).[24] The poem directly references the plague, starting off by saying, "During a season of great mortality, With pestilence reigning, and other disease."[25] The body questions why the worms treat her so, as she was very powerful and wealthy in life. When the woman threatens to call her knights to defend her, the worms respond:

> What should they do? We want to hear.
> We dread them not, nor fear their moans,
> For we've to the uttermost made good cheer
> With all that were mighty, who've left their thrones
> Before this time, having received their bones.
> All of them: conquerors, emperors, kings,
> Lords both over temporal and spiritual things.[26]

This relates back to the universality of death. The worms tell the woman they have eaten far more important people than her and will continue to eat all, no matter who they are or how much power they held in life. Furthermore, the woman repents for her lack of humility during her lifetime:

> That all my life I was a fool.
> With a reigning pride too much to tell,
> I thought of myself as a beautiful jewel
> And was wanton and frivolous, as a rule,
> Having great delight in worldly pleasure,
> Thinking none to be my equal measure.[27]

A Disputacioun discusses almost all of the theories surrounding the transi figures, combining them to make a point of humility in the face of death. From salvific decomposition to artistic commentary, the transi tombs of the 15th century signify a great variety of ideals.

Starting in the 16th century, transi tombs began to change drastically. Transi figures appeared more often on funerary monuments alongside images or writings of resurrection. These images suggested that the deceased held hope for their own resurrection, marking a shift away from the

[24] Aberth, *The Great Mortality*, 176; *Lady in a tomb*, photograph, British Library, https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?index=0&ref=Add_MS_37049 (see f.32v).
[25] Jenny Rytting, "A Disputacioun Betwyx þe Body and Wormes: A Translation," *Comitatus: A Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 31(2000): 226, https://escholarship.org/uc/item/0c04p0xq.
[26] Rytting, "A Disputacioun," 228-229.
[27] Rytting, "A Disputacioun," 231.

anxieties of the 15th century.[28] Furthermore, the level of flesh degradation evident in previous transi figures lessened greatly. The tombs of Philibert le Beau and Marguerite of Austria are double-decker style transi tombs that exemplified the increased hopes for resurrection after death. The corpse figures of Marguerite and Philibert were shown to be much younger than their effigy counterparts (Fig. 7).[29] This new style represented a lament of the loss of youth and beauty upon one's death, rather than the macabre moralism of the previous centuries.[30]

In contrast to the traditional transi figure, this new generation of tomb flipped everything on its head, making the transi into something beautiful that should be celebrated. Also during the 16th century, monarchs such as Louis XII also began to adopt transi figures into their funerary monuments. Alongside many rulers' transi figures were images proudly depicting the worldly triumphs achieved during the deceased's life. Depictions of Louis XII's grand entrance into Milan decorated his tomb, representing a great contrast to the ideals of humility associated with earlier monuments.[31]f

Death is one of the few universal constants. It cannot be changed. It cannot be stopped. Transi tombs are but one of the thousands of ways people have tried to negotiate with death, with no evidence that there has ever been a response. The transi figure was a lasting image throughout the Late Middle Ages; the basic premise of the transi remained the same, but the world shifted around it. Contexts changed, motives changed, and therefore interpretations must change along with them. No one theory can explain all of the intricacies surrounding the

Figure 7. Transi tomb of Marguerite of Austria (d. 1530), Located in The Royal Monastery of Brou, France. Created by Conrad Meit.

[28] Cohen, *Metamorphosis*, 119.
[29] *Conrad Meit, Tomb of Margaret of Austria, Church of Brou, Bourg-en-Bresse, 1526-32*, photograph, Flickr, December 20, 2011, https://www.flickr.com/photos/24364447@N05/654443933.
[30] Cohen, *Metamorphosis*, 122.
[31] Cohen, *Metamorphosis*, 148.

transi tombs, as the motives behind the tombs were all different, and shifted drastically as time went on. This is exactly what made the transi figure so popular, and so difficult to pin one interpretation on. The versatility of the transi image allowed it to be shaped and molded to respond to a wide variety of spiritual anxieties over a wide span of time.

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Sails and Smokestacks:

Beacons of Freedom for Black Sailors in the Union Navy

Dillon Otto

Mathew Brady, *Deck of Gunboat "Hunchback"On James River, Va,* c. 1860-1865.[1]

[1] Mathew Brady, *Deck of Gunboat "Hunchback"On James River, Va,* c. 1860-1865, Photograph, https://catalog.archives.gov/id/526207.

In April of 1861 when the red cannon fire of the newly formed Confederate Army rained down upon Fort Sumter, the Union Navy had fewer than fifty seaworthy ships.[2] By the war's end in April 1865, this fleet had increased to over six hundred commissioned ships.[3] Faced with blockading over 3,500 miles of coastline, penetrating through hundreds of miles of inland waterways to support the land forces of the Army, and patrolling the high seas from the Caribbean to Europe, the task that lay ahead of United States Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles seemed almost insurmountable. Along with the need to produce a massive quantity of new ships, the Navy was also faced with a manpower shortage. Gunboats and ironsides might be the most recognizable elements of late nineteenth century naval warfare, but countless numbers of supply ships, medical transports, and other auxiliary craft were needed as well. All of these ships needed large crews to operate effectively so Navy leadership began looking at every possible opportunity to staff their growing fleet. In September of 1861, Welles authorized the enlistment of "contraband" former slaves into the Union Navy after naval commanders were faced with a near overwhelming number of escaped slaves wishing to join and fight.[4] As the Navy continued to evolve throughout the war, the sails and smokestacks of Union ships became beacons of freedom for thousands of escaped slaves and free black sailors.

In 1863, soon after the Battle of Antietam, Henry W. Halleck, General-in-Chief of the Union Army, declared to Ulysses S. Grant that "every slave withdrawn from the enemy is the equivalent of a white man put *hors de combat*."[5] Halleck was not alone in this opinion. As historian Chandra Manning explains in her essay *White Union Soldiers on Slavery and Race,* white enlisted soldiers came to overwhelmingly believe that the destruction of slavery was the surest way to end the war. While most soldiers still harbored deep racial prejudices, by witnessing the horrors of slavery and its impacts on society firsthand, many came to support abolitionism as the best way to strike at the heart of the Confederacy.[6] As the war dragged on, these attitudes only deepend and as one soldier wrote, "slavery is the sole cause of the rebellion… any

[2] Becky Poulliot and Gordon Calhoun, "Civil War at Sea," Naval History and Heritage Command, accessed July 10, 2023, https://www.history.navy.mil/content/dam/nhhc/browse-by-topic/War%20and%20Conflict/civil-war/cwse.pdf, 2.
[3] Ibid., 9.

[4] Order of Sept. 25, 1861, file NR— Naval Personnel, Recruitment and Enlistments, 1860 - 1870, Subject File, U.S. Navy, 1775 - 1910, Naval Records Collection of the Office of Naval Records and Library, RG 45, NAB, as cited in Joseph P Reidy, "Black Men in Navy Blue During the Civil War," National Archives and Records Administration, accessed July 9, 2023, https://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2001/fall/black-sailors.
[5] James M. McPherson, Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 233.
[6] Chandra Manning, "White Union Soldiers on Slavery and Race", 209.

compromise… would give but a breathing spell for a renewed struggle."[7] While white soldiers generally accepted the need to destroy slavery as an institution, their views on race and equality were much more divisive. After Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, the Union Army began to officially accept black enlistees, thereby reversing the ban on black service in the Army that had lasted since the foundation of the country. Nevertheless, black enlistees were restricted to segregated units and were often subject to blame or harassment for supposed favoritism by Lincoln's administration.[8] While the enlistment of black soldiers into the Army was a calculated political move and divisive for many whites, black and white sailors served side by side in the Navy for the entire duration of the war. In many cases, each escaped slave that gave the confederacy one man *hors de combat* also served to strengthen Union lines. This was especially true for the Navy and its attempt to gain a stranglehold on the South.

The presence of the Navy that surrounded the Confederacy and penetrated deep into southern territory proved to be the first point of contact with Union forces for many escaped slaves. As the blockade brought about shortages in food, war material, and day to day essentials, southern laborers found themselves stretched thin. As white men were expected to serve in the Confederate military, it was expected that slaves would make up the difference in labor.[9] Of the thousands of contrabands who were enlisted after making their way to Union lines, a significant number encountered the Navy by plotting their escape routes through rivers and swamplands throughout the Mississippi basin. While several runaways rowed or sailed their way to freedom down the Potomac or out from blockaded ports in the Carolinas, with the opening of the Mississippi theater, Union gunboats and patrol craft could penetrate deep into Confederate territory, incidentally providing runaways with even more opportunities for escape. The desertion or disobedience of slaves proved damaging to Confederate morale and the southern economy while also bolstering the Union naval forces that threatened the region.

Black sailors composed approximately thirty four percent of the Mississippi naval forces, as compared to twenty five and twenty percent for the North Atlantic and West Gulf squadrons respectively.[10] Part of this disparity has its roots in the historical pseudoscientific belief that different races were more tolerant of certain climates and diseases. At the same time however, geographical familiarity and prior naval experience played a large role in this. Escaped slaves who offered their

[7] Ibid., 207.
[8] Ibid., 208.
[9] Joseph T. Glatthaar, "The African American Role in Union Victory," 312.
[10] Joseph P Reidy, "Black Men in Navy Blue During the Civil War."

services to Union ships on the Mississippi were less likely to have experience serving aboard ocean going vessels, but they were more likely to have knowledge regarding the convoluted waterways of the Mississippi delta. On the other hand, freeborn black volunteers from Northern commercial cities, though fewer in number, were more likely to have experience aboard seaworthy vessels as opposed to the shallow gunboats of the Mississippi.

While many escaped slaves and freeborn African Americans enlisted into the Army, naval service was often a better means to make a living during the war. In addition to its perceived image as a liberating force, the Navy paid black sailors far more than their land based counterparts. Though black sailors were generally barred from serving as officers, and they were always enlisted at the lowest possible pay rates, a sailor who held the rank of boy, landsman, seaman, or any other enlisted rank made the same monthly salary, regardless of race.[11]

Despite this slightly more equitable nature within the Navy, prejudices and racism still threatened the peace aboard naval vessels. Contrabands, by far the largest percentage of black enlisted sailors, were, as historian Joseph P. Reidy describes it, "accepted into service on a supposition of inferiority."[12] Contrabands in particular were haunted by their pasts even when serving thousands of miles away from their place of captivity. One account from boatswain Edward W. Hammon of the USS *St. Mary* describes a deep racial hatred aboard the ship during its time in the Pacific where white sailors would harass and assault black sailors, confining them to the lower decks by threat of violence.[13] Regardless of one's status as a northerner, freedman, or contraband, black sailors were often looked down upon by their superiors and fellow sailors. This resulted in the majority being relegated to service either aboard supply ships or in roles of menial labor as cooks and servants. Even in menial roles however, the contributions of black volunteers were a significant boon to the Union war effort. As Lincoln wrote, "We cannot spare the hundred and forty or fifty thousand [black volunteers] now serving us as soldiers, seamen, and laborers. This is not a question of sentiment or taste, but one of physical force which may be measured and estimated as horse-power and Steam-power are measured and estimated."[14] Regardless of his personal opinions regarding race and equality, Lincoln recognized the usefulness of black labor to the Union war effort on land and at sea. Menial labor or not, the efforts of black sailors were clearly seen as a critical contribution to the war by the highest levels of government. While the

[11] Joseph P Reidy, "Black Men in Navy Blue During the Civil War."
[12] Ibid..
[13] Ibid..
[14] Abraham Lincoln in Joseph T. Glatthaar, "The African American Role in Union Victory", 309.

Navy may not have been officially segregated and many were willing to give escaped slaves the opportunity to fight for their freedom and country, underlying beliefs about race resulted in a *de facto* segregation between white and black sailors, even if they served aboard the same ships. Nevertheless, many worked in combat positions and black sailors with prior maritime experience were quickly recognized as invaluable assets to the war effort.

Even under the scrutiny of racial hatred, black sailors with prior maritime experience quickly earned their place in the Union Navy. Robert Smalls, a slave forced to work as a pilot aboard the CSS *Planter*, had been working as a slave aboard ships in the Charleston Harbor since he was twelve years old.[15] After disguising himself as the captain of his vessel, Smalls escaped under the cover of night along with his wife and a number of other escaped slaves. After turning over the *Planter* to the Union blockade, he was later awarded with the ship and promoted to be her captain where he successfully commanded her through seventeen battles throughout the rest of the war. As a captain, Smalls earned a sizable salary of one hundred dollars per month and he went on to hold a seat in the United States House of Representatives from 1874 until 1887.[16] While not all black sailors went on to earn as much acclaim as Robert Smalls, many other slaves made their escape in a manner similar to that of Smalls. William B. Gould, an enslaved tradesman from North Carolina, and seven other men escaped bondage by rowing twenty eight miles down the Cape Fear River before encountering the USS *Cambridge*.[17] Gould would go on to enlist as a "boy" aboard the *Cambridge* where he served throughout the blockade of the South, and later aboard the USS *Niagara* in its covert search for intelligence on Confederate sympathetic shipyards across the French Coast.[18]

For freeborn black sailors like John H. Lawson and Joachim Pease, service aboard a naval ship could provide similar opportunities for advancement and recognition. John H. Lawson enlisted in 1863 where he then served aboard Rear Admiral David Farragut's flagship USS *Hartford* loading ammunition for the remainder of the war.[19] Lawson was present for the famous battle of Mobile Bay where he courageously remained at his post aboard the *Hartford* after a shell struck his position killing all of his fellow soldiers. Lawson

[15] Myisha Eatmon, "Robert Smalls," University of South Carolina, accessed July 9, 2023, https://sc.edu/about/our_history/university_history/presidential_commission/commission_reports/final_report/appendices/appendix-3/smalls-robert/index.php#_ftn5.

[16] Ibid..

[17] Polly Kienle, "Black Men in Navy Blue: John H. Lawson and William B. Gould," National Parks Service, accessed July 9, 2023, https://www.nps.gov/articles/lawson-and-gould.htm#:~:text=When%20he%20was%20awarded%20the,Bay%20on%205%20August%201864.

[18] Polly Kienle, "Black Men in Navy Blue: John H. Lawson and William B. Gould."

[19] Ibid..

denied medical aid for himself after being wounded and continued to fight through the siege of Fort Morgan for which he was awarded a Medal of Honor.[20] Joachim Pease, another freeborn black sailor, was similarly awarded the Medal of Honor for his "marked coolness and good conduct" and "gallantry under fire" during his service as a loader aboard the USS *Kearsarge* in its famous 1864 duel with the CSS *Alabama* off the coast of Cherbourg, France.[21] Both Mobile Bay and the duel between the *Kearsarge* and *Alabama* were turning points near the end of the Civil War. The capture of Mobile closed the last industrial port in the south, finalizing the stranglehold over the Confederate blockade running economy, and the Battle of Cherbourg concluded with the sinking of the Confederacy's "most destructive ocean raider."[22]

As the nature of the war evolved, so too did the role that black sailors continued to play in the Navy. While African Americans had served in the Navy since the days of the Revolution, its projection of power into the heart of the Mississippi and around every Confederate port enabled runaways and volunteers to join the fight no matter where they came from. Even under the intense scrutiny of white Union sailors and officers, black sailors, freeborn and contraband alike, proved to be a stable backbone for the rapid growth required by the Navy to strangle the southern economy and win the war. While the menial tasks of hauling ammunition, securing cargo, and occasionally piloting riverboats might pale in comparison to the glory so often envisaged with the high seas, the men responsible for these day-to-day responsibilities nevertheless performed their duties admirably. While the reality of "northern freedom" was often disappointing, black sailors served valiantly during the Civil War, even if the historical record of their service is largely lacking. From the Gulf of Mexico to the Bay of Biscay, aboard supply ships and ironsides, patrol boats and the warships of the high seas; the sails and smokestacks of the Union Navy moved steadily onwards as beacons of freedom under the eager hands of black sailors who hailed from all walks of life to enlist.

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[20] "John Henry Lawson: U.S. Civil War: U.S. Navy: Medal of Honor Recipient." Congressional Medal of Honor Society. Accessed June 18, 2023. https://www.cmohs.org/recipients/john-h-lawson.

[21] "Joachim Pease: U.S. Civil War: U.S. Navy: Medal of Honor Recipient," Congressional Medal of Honor Society, accessed July 9, 2023, https://www.cmohs.org/recipients/joachim-pease.

[22] "The Battle of Cherbourg," Naval History and Heritage Command, accessed July 9, 2023, https://www.history.navy.mil/our-collections/photography/wars-and-events/the-american-civil-war--1861-1865/the-battle-of-cherbourg.html.

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Reconstructing Provincial Identities in Imperial Rome

Grace DiNapoli

Colonial ideologies have historically influenced the discipline of Classics. Throughout the mid-eighteenth to the twentieth centuries, European nations utilized aspects of Greco-Roman societies to promote imperial agendas. Classics was, thus, used as a tool of colonization, and due to Eurocentric influence, many ideas regarding antiquity perpetuated misleading notions of racial and ethnic supremacy. This is apparent when considering the concept of 'Romanization,' which refers to the assimilation of provincial cultures into Roman ethnicity. It promotes a singular dominant perspective and fails to acknowledge the complex cultural transformations of identities subjected to Roman occupation.[1] Identifying provincial cultures through this lens creates a rigid dichotomy of Roman versus non-Roman or civilized versus 'barbarian,' and promotes a skewed narrative of such civilizations and peoples.

Moreover, for the concept of 'Romanization' to effectively illuminate the dominant influence on provincial societies, Roman identity would constitute an ethnic paradigm: such a construct that would have promoted a monolith of culture throughout the imperial world. However, implementing modern notions of race and ethnicity upon ancient identities proves challenging. Ethnicity is "socially constructed and subjectively perceived."[2] There is no formula by which ethnic identity can be mapped without disputation. Specific cultural attributes, however, seem to be more accepted and relevant in characterizing a shared identity. These include, but are not limited to, origin and myth, religion, language, material culture, and opposition to other ethnic identities.[3] Understanding how Roman identity manifested per these cultural elements is necessary to explore the ways in which it influenced provincial ethnicities.

Roman ethnicity was a product of cultural syncretism. Through conquest, the Romans were exposed to various cultures, which contributed to the continuous evolution of their ethnic identity. They prided themselves on their eclectic foundation and acknowledged the foreign influence that constituted their identity.

[1] Kathryn Lomas, Andrew Gardner, and Edward Herring. "Creating Ethnicities and Identities in the Roman World." *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies. Supplement*, no. 120. 2013, 4.

[2] Jonathan M. Hall, "The Nature and Expression of Ethnicity: An Anthropological View," *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (1997), 21.

[3] Lomas, "Creating Ethnicities and Identities in the Roman World," 2; Hall, The Nature and Expression of Ethnicity, 31-33.

Nevertheless, Romans were aware of cultures that differed from their own. Perhaps the most significant aspect in defining ethnicity, and the most evident in conceptualizing that of the Romans, is contingent upon contrasting ethnic identity in opposition to others.[4] Notions of 'otherness' or ‘barbarians’ frequently appear in Roman rhetoric and iconography. The Roman concept of *barbarus,* adopted from the Greeks, was used to measure the *humanitas* of foreign civilizations rather than to denote non-Romans explicitly.[5] References to ‘others’ provide a Roman ethnocentric perspective and, when taken out of context, can prove misleading.[6]

For example, in a biography about his father-in-law, a leading general in Britannia, Ancient historian Tacitus wrote about the ways in which the Britons became acquainted with the *lingua Romana*, *toga, balinea,* and *convivia*.[7] From this description, it is evident that Romans had a sense of ethnicity measured through language, dress, and cultural practices such as bathing and banquets. Tacitus ended this account by saying, "*Humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset*."[8] According to Tacitus, these cultural practices were considered “civilized,” thus insinuating the prevalence of *humanitas* in Roman recognition of foreign civilizations. Furthermore, this cultural assimilation was a “servitude” to the empire. When putting this work into a broader historical context and considering the conflict between the Romans and Britannia, it is evident that Tacitus emphasized Roman and foreign ethnicity to promote a broader imperial agenda.

Nevertheless, the Romans did, indeed, perceive ethnic diversity, and such differences were rhetorically coded within works such as Tacitus' *Agricola*. However, these texts, or ethnographies, describe cultures from a singular, dominant perspective. Therefore, while they prove useful in understanding how Romans perceived other ethnicities, they cannot be relied upon for gaining insight into the cultural formations of such civilizations as they are subjected to inherent biases.

Ethnic purity did not constitute a superior identity, yet a hierarchical structure in which Romans regarded cultures did exist. Literary sources, however, prove insufficient in understanding the complex network of cultures that formed the empire and how provincial ethnicities formed an identity influenced by Roman imperialism but not entirely subjected to it. This paper, therefore, seeks to explore the intricacies of provincial ethnicities that emerged following Roman conquest and occupation by examining material culture associated with religious public spheres in Asia Minor and

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[4] Hall, “The Nature and Expression of Ethnicity,” 8.
[5] Denise Eileen McCoskey, "Race," *Oxford Classical Dictionary,* 7 Mar. 2016.
[6] Erich S. Gruen, “Did Romans Have an Ethnic Identity?” *Antichthon* 47 (2013), 10.
[7] Cornelius Tacitus, *Opera Minora*, ed. Henry Furneaux (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900), 21.
[8] Ibid..

Roman Britain through a lens of hybridization. Material evidence found at the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias and the Temple of Sulis in Aquae Sulis illuminate the manner in which provincial ethnicities transformed under imperial authority.

Examining the architectural layout and iconography of the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias provides valuable insight into the concept of cultural hybridization. This monument in Asia Minor was constructed from 14 to 68 CE and honored the Roman emperors within the Julio-Claudian dynasty and Aphrodite. The buildings within this complex mirror public establishments in Rome and other parts of the empire. They were dedicated by two private families to 'Aphrodite, the Theoi Sebastoi, and the Demos.'[9] This dedicatory inscription provides insight into this concept of hybridization regarding language and religion. The geographical extent of the empire, as well as the prominent presence of trading routes throughout the Mediterranean, created a large culture of bilingualism.[10] Despite Latin being the official language of the empire, every inscription within the sanctuary was written in Greek.

Therefore, the temple is dedicated to Aphrodite rather than her Roman counterpart, Venus. Romans were exposed to new cultures and, consequently, new religions through expansion. The worship of civic gods remained instrumental in ensuring the success of the Roman state. However, numerous foreign deities were integrated into Roman religion or widely worshiped throughout the imperial world.[11] Many foreign deities, like Aphrodite, were adopted into Roman religion through *interpretatio Romana*. In this context, Aphrodite is being commemorated with respect to her connection to Rome and the divine *Augusti*, but she is recognized by her Greek rather than Latin name.

Moreover, this inscription demonstrates the prominence of the newly established Imperial cult in the Eastern part of the empire. The deification and worship of a ruler were associated with Roman religion. Dedications to the Imperial cult enacted by private citizens within a province illuminate the ways in which Roman occupation influenced religion. Furthermore, the Sebasteion was dedicated to the Demos, promoting the Imperial cult to the people of Aphrodisias, thus indicating the inclusivity of worshiping the Theoi Sebastoi.

In examining the layout of the sanctuary complex, it is evident that although there were Hellenistic elements, it was heavily influenced by Roman

[9] R. R. R. Smith, "The Imperial Reliefs from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 77 (1987), 80.
[10] Lomas, "Creating Ethnicities and Identities in the Roman World," 7.

[11] John Scheid, "Graeco Ritu: A Typically Roman Way of Honoring the Gods," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 97 (1995), 17.

architecture.[12] Greek temples were often situated within the middle of sanctuaries; however, the temple at Sebasteion was located at the end of the colonnade, mimicking the layout of the imperial *fora* in Rome.[13] Moreover, while the temple was oriented in the typical Hellenistic manner of east-west, its structure, which included a raised podium and six columns, was decidedly Roman.[14] Although there is no explicit evidence to confirm the method of worship, the association of the Temple of Aphrodite with the Imperial cult, alongside its structural design, suggests that rituals were likely conducted *Romana ritu*.

The three-storied porticos surrounding the Sebasteion were lined with Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian columns. These porticos were neither Roman nor Greek in their architectural structure.[15] This innovative structural form offers insight into the creolization of material culture within the provinces. This phenomenon occurs when the combination of diverse cultural influences results in the formation of a separate and distinct identity. Therefore, it is possible that these porticos were unique to Aphrodisian culture and emerged because of Hellenistic and Roman cultural influences but are not explicitly associated with either. However, the reliefs that line the porticos embody the notion of cultural hybridization.

The second story of the North portico was decorated with a series of sculptural reliefs of personified peoples and places that were under the control of the Roman Empire.[16] The overarching artistic style of the *ethne* was neoclassical, thereby reflecting Greek sculpture. The reliefs are individually distinguished by their dress, pose, and physical attributes.[17] The differentiation between each *ethnos* conveys the ways in which physical attributes and clothing were associated with the particular people of specific geographical regions. For example, the *ethnos* of a Greek island is individualized through her wavy hair, pulled back into a tight bun, and the emphatically heavy drapery covering her figure.[18] Such attributes emphasized *humanitas,* Her hairstyle and drapery are characteristically Greek, and it is likely that an ancient audience would be able to recognize her origin.

Another *ethnos*, of which the personified place is unknown but is perhaps associated with Dacia, portrays a female figure in a more 'barbaric' manner.[19] Although pulled back in a bun like the Greek *ethnos*, her hair is untamed, and her loose drapery falls off her shoulder, leaving her bare-breasted. These visual attributes recur throughout imperial iconography and

[12] R. R. R. Smith, “Simulacra Gentium: The Ethne from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias,” *The Journal of Roman Studies* 78 (1988), 51.
[13] Smith, The Imperial Reliefs from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias, 93.
[14] Ibid., 93-94.
[15] Ibid..
[16] Smith, Simulacra Gentium, 59.
[17] Smith, Simulacra Gentium, 59.
[18] Ibid., 65.
[19] Ibid., 63.

are often associated with whom Romans called barbarians. The most notable aspect of this *ethnos*, however, is her pose. Her crossed arms signify that the Romans conquered her personified territory, although because her hands are not bound, it can be assumed that ultimate submission to the imperial force was done willingly.[20]

The dichotomy between the Greek and barbarian *ethnos* demonstrates the ways in which 'otherness' was perceived not only through physical attributes, such as hairstyles and dress but also by "captive status."[21] This phenomenon demonstrates that political and military conflict was a significant component in cultivating provincial identities and how such stereotypes of peoples were visually perpetuated throughout the imperial world. Furthermore, it reinforces the notion of a hierarchy among provincial cultures. Certain *ethne*, mainly those depicting Greek civilizations,
emphasized *humanitas*. However, within this context, it is plausible that the people of Aphrodisias, who were of Greek origin, would promote Greeks in an ideal manner as they benefited from visually differentiating themselves from the barbarians to align themselves with the dominant imperial agenda.

The third story of the South portico depicted imagery of various gods and the Julio-Claudian emperors and demonstrates cultural hybridization within art and iconography. The overall style is influenced by Hellenistic sculpture, yet the conveyed meaning is inherently Roman. Every emperor is portrayed in a heroic nude guise. According to Pliny the Elder, while there were Roman statues that portrayed figures naked, this practice was influenced by the Greeks, and it was more common for Roman statues to be adorned in military dress.[22]

Moreover, many of the panels illustrate the Roman emperors smiting barbarians. In one scene, Emperor Claudius can be seen towering over a personification of Britannia, who, like the barbarian *ethnos* mentioned earlier, is bare-breasted with wild and untamed hair. Claudius is fully nude, a nod to his divinity, save for the stylistically Greek cloak that flows off his back, and he holds a small, rounded hoplite shield in his left hand.[23] This imagery demonstrates Roman influence, as Greeks often used allegorical figures to represent historical battles rather than explicitly portray those who were conquered. These iconographic elements demonstrate how the people of Aphrodisias commemorated Roman imperialism in a Greek manner.

The second story of the South Portico portrayed scenes from Greek and Roman mythology. Mythological themes

[20] Ibid..
[21] Ibid..
[22] Francesco De Angelis, "Pliny the Elder and the Identity of Roman Art," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, no. 53/54 (2008), 83.
[23] Smith, "The Imperial Reliefs from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias," 116.

played a significant role in forming a communal identity based on a shared origin. Roman legends revolved around the epic journey of Aeneas, the Trojan prince and divine son of Venus, who was fated to establish a new race in ancient Italy. Upon his arrival in Italy, Aeneas and his fellow Trojans encountered hostility from the indigenous population, which led to a battle between the two peoples. Ultimately, the conflict was resolved, and an alliance was forged between the Trojans and Italians through a marriage between Aeneas and Lavinia. Thus, the two races were merged into one. A similar phenomenon occurred in myths concerning Romulus and the abduction and rape of the Sabine women.

Such legends and mythological heroes, both of whom were featured on the second story reliefs, promoted a culture in which the foundation of the Roman people centered around conflict, conquest, and racial integration to form a united *gens*, and consequently provided justification for Roman expansion.[24] Furthermore, throughout the Republic and Imperial age, prominent historians and public figures often found ways to insert their foreign peoples into Roman ethnogenesis as to align themselves with the contemporary dominant regime.[25] Yet in these reliefs, there is no attempt to merge Greek and Roman myths as they are depicted separately, nor is there an emphasis on intermixing the Greek and Roman races. It seems as though the people of Aphrodisias acknowledged their place under Roman rule but were intent on preserving their Greek origin.

The Sebasteion exemplifies the notion of cultural hybridization in the Eastern part of the empire. Architectural, religious, and mythological elements invoked aspects of Hellenistic and Roman culture. Furthermore, this complex demonstrates the ways in which provincial ethnicities were not simply overshadowed by Roman occupation but instead transformed to accommodate new cultural influences. Moreover, although many elements of the complex can be attributed to Roman influence, those who dedicated the monuments were resolute in staying true to their Greek origins.

This concept of hybridization is also apparent in the Roman Britain province of Aquae Sulis, in which aspects of Roman and Celtic religion merged to create a new form of worship. The most significant structures of this town, constructed in the mid-first century CE during the Flavian period, included its baths and the adjacent temple.[26] As mentioned in Tacitus' *Agricola*, baths were an integral part of Roman culture, and it was common for such establishments to be built in the provinces. Moreover, the temple was dedicated to the local Celtic goddess Sulis, who was associated with the Roman deity Minerva. The construction of Roman

[24] Gruen, "Did Romans Have an Ethnic Identity?" 4.
[25] Ibid..

[26] Louise Revell, "Religion and Ritual in the Western Provinces," *Greece & Rome* 54, no. 2 (2007), 215.

institutions and monuments within this town, as well as the *interpretatio Romana* of Sulis, illuminate the ways in which Roman cultural notions manifested in Britannia. However, in examining archaeological evidence discovered within the bath complex and the temple, it is evident that the manner in which the goddess was worshiped was influenced by local culture.

Like the Temple of Aphrodite in the Sebasteion, the Temple of Sulis was architecturally Roman. The exterior included a raised podium, and the entrance was marked with a four-columned portico.[27] Inside the temple, a monumental altar ornamented with imagery of prominent Roman deities was situated within the *cella*.[28] In this context, Romans implemented their culture upon the Celts by visually connecting their gods with the Celtic Sulis in a Roman style temple. Moreover, the altar was extended in its later phase, suggesting that ritual sacrifices were essential to worshiping Sulis.[29] Roman religion was a very public affair, and the emphasis on structuring this temple in order to optimize worship through animal sacrifices and large processions indicates that this deity was honored *Romana ritu*.

However, significant evidence found within the sacred spring associated with the temple implies that the private worship of this goddess, a foreign practice, was tantamount to public rituals. [30] Most notable of these finds were the 130 curse tablets, which offer invaluable information into the religious and linguistic Celtic cultural formation under Roman occupation. Curse tablets were widely used throughout antiquity and forged by individuals to condemn those who had wronged them by invoking the gods. The tablets found in Aquae Sulis do not precede the date on which the Temple of Sulis was built, insinuating that they were not a central part of Celtic culture until Roman occupation.[31]

Moreover, every curse tablet is written in Latin, which provides insight into the provincial adoption of the Roman language.[32] With respect to its literal definition, the Greek term *barbaros* is an onomatopoeic word that refers to any non-Greek-speaking individual. Although Romans conceptualized barbarians based on broader ideas regarding *humanitas* rather than explicitly on linguistic heritage, the enforcement of the Roman tongue upon indigenous Celts may correlate to the original significance of the term. When considering Tacitus' ethnography within his *Agricola,* as well as the relief of Emperor Claudius smiting a personification of Britannia in the Sebasteion, it is evident that

[27] Ibid., 217.
[28] Ibid., 218.
[29] Ibid..

[30] Revell, "Religion and Ritual in the Western Provinces," 219.
[31] Ibid., 220.
[32] Alex Mullen, "Linguistic Evidence for 'Romanization': Continuity and Change in Romano-British Onomastics: A Study of the Epigraphic Record with Particular Reference to Bath," *Britannia* 38 (2007), 47.

Britons were of those whom Romans regarded as barbarians. Therefore, Romans were likely more inclined to implement their cultural ideals upon the Celts with added emphasis. One method of doing so was through language assimilation.

None of the inscribed tablets, however, including those forged by Roman citizens, utilized the *tria nomina.*[33] The typical Roman nomenclature constituted three names: the *praenomen*, the given name; the *nomen*, the family name; and the *cognomen*, which could derive from Latin or foreign origin and denoted physical or mental qualities, occupation, accomplishments, or other relevant circumstances.[34] Individuals without Roman citizenship, which was often the case with provincial peoples prior to the *Constitutio Antoniniana* enacted by Emperor Caracalla in 212 CE, usually only took a variation of a *cognomen* rather than all three names.[35] Therefore, Celtic provincials forgoing the *tria nomina* was not, per se, unconventional; however, citizens omitting their full Roman name was, in fact, atypical. This phenomenon may have manifested due to these invocations being directed to the Celtic goddess.[36]

While sometimes both were included on a single tablet, Sulis and Minerva were never listed as a singular entity, and Minerva was never named on her own.[37] This indicates that although the goddesses were linked through *interpretatio Romana,* they were always perceived as distinct figures. Moreover, Sulis was the more favored goddess, and loyalty to the native deity was paramount to her Roman counterpart. Although dedications to Sulis were written in Latin, the omission of the *tria nomina* served as a way for Celts to maintain control regarding the manner in which their goddess was privately worshiped.

Additionally, the curse tablets were placed in the sacred spring rather than within a grave, which was traditionally the Roman way of depositing such dedications.[38] As with the invocations, the phenomenon of situating the curse tablets within the spring may have served as a form of resistance to assimilating into Roman culture and religion. The spatial association between Sulis and the spring manifested through private worship of the deity rather than public rituals. This demonstrates the ways in which the Celts altered a Roman method of worship to honor a local deity in a unique manner. Furthermore, the practice of depositing curse tablets within the spring was also adopted by foreign visitors and Roman soldiers, indicating that the dynamic between Sulis and the sacred spring was an

[33] Ibid., 47.
[34] Heikki Solin, "Names, personal, Roman," *Oxford Classical Dictionary,* 7 Mar. 2016.
[35] Ibid..
[36] Mullen, "Linguistic Evidence for 'Romanization,'" 47.
[37] Ibid., 46.
[38] Revell, "Religion and Ritual in the Western Provinces," 221.

integral part of the religious culture of Aquae Sulis.[39]

The transformation of religious cultural practices in Aquae Sulis demonstrates cultural hybridization pertaining to language, naming conventions, and religion in a Western province. While the temple and public processions were influenced by Roman culture, the worship of the Celtic goddess Sulis through private dedications was a local phenomenon. The unique use of curse tablets exemplifies ritual hybridization as the Celts transformed a Roman practice to invoke their goddess in a foreign manner. Moreover, innovative religious practices that emerged in this province following Roman occupation became associated with this civilization, thus serving a part in the formation of their ethnic identity, which was not fully absorbed into Roman identity.

It is essential to note that provincial transformations of ethnicities in response to Roman occupation manifested differently throughout the empire. Roman cultural assimilation tactics varied depending on levels of *humanitas.* Thus, Aquae Sulis, as a 'barbaric' society, was subjected to a higher level of 'Romanization' than Aphrodisias. However, as demonstrated throughout this paper, to imply that the Celtic civilization was completely absorbed into Roman culture is erroneous.

Exploring provincial identities through a lens of 'Romanization' is ineffective in understanding ethnicity within antiquity as it disregards the complex identities and cultural resistance of those conquered by the Romans. While examining ethnic identities in antiquity proves challenging, as the concept is a modern construct, it is, nevertheless, apparent that cultural formation was multifaceted, influenced by origin, religion, language, and material culture, and constantly evolved. The material evidence of religious spheres associated with the Eastern province of Aphrodisias and the Western province of Aquae Sulis reveals that while local ethnicity adapted due to Roman occupation, aspects of cultural heritage prevailed. Therefore, to gain a comprehensive understanding of provincial ethnicities in the Roman world, research must be conducted through a lens of hybridization

[39] Mullen, "Linguistic Evidence for 'Romanization,'", 47; Revell, "Religion and Ritual in the Western Provinces," 221.

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Cats and the 1677 London Pope-Burning

Jackson Moore

A large wicker effigy of the Pope with live cats stuffed in its belly was burned down in London on November 17th, 1677. Both then and now, this occasion has been scarcely examined despite its interesting nature. Although the 1677 Pope-burning was not the only Pope-burning that occurred in London during this period, it is the only one that is specifically mentioned to have cats burned alongside the effigy of the Pope. The 1677 Pope-burning happened during a period of rising anti-Catholic sentiment within England. The main reasons cats were included in the event were as an entertaining relief to the people and as a means of ridiculing the Pope due to the symbolism that surrounded cats.

To understand why cats were included, it is important to explore the context of what was happening in England and see how the people of England viewed and used cats up to that point. The 1677 Pope-burning stands alone in that the other Pope-burnings during the period were much larger and more organized events that did not involve cats.[1] Most writings mentioning the Pope-burning of 1677 use it to examine the anti-Catholic sentiment of England prior to the Popish Plot and its 'discovery' the following year. The Popish Plot was a hoax designed to fuel anti-Catholic sentiments within England and be used by some to advance their own political careers.[2] The event is also considered in the context of the other Pope-burnings that happened during the 1670s. Historians typically cite the event as an example of one of many cat massacres, typically in the context of works that discuss the general history of cats. Such works mainly focus on cats in antiquity, leaving much to be desired when it comes to research on cats during the early modern period.

Prior to discussing the 1677 Pope-burning itself, it is important to understand what was happening in England at the time since the event did not happen in a vacuum. During the 1670s in England, anti-Catholic fears rose due to the rise of the Vatican's power, as well as stress about the fact that the heir to the throne, James II, was Catholic along with his wife.[3] In fact, the first known Pope-burning happened in 1673

[1] Kathleen Lynch, "'We Protestants in Masquerade': Burning the Pope in London." *London Journal* 47, no. 1 (January 1, 2022): 103–26.

[2] Sheila Williams, "The Pope-Burning Processions of 1679, 1680 and 1681," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 21, no. 1-2 (January 1, 1958): 104–5.

[3] The Popish plot would cause the Pope-burnings of 1679, 1680, and 1681 to be much larger than the Pope-burning in 1677; Lynch, "'We Protestants in Masquerade.'"

as a response to James's marriage alongside Charles II's support of Catholic France's war against the Dutch.[4] On November 4th, 1677, James' daughter, Princess Mary, married William of Orange, an event which Protestants celebrated.[5] Additionally, propaganda from the First Earl of Shaftesbury fanned the flames of anti-Catholic sentiment.[6]

It is also important to note the time of year in which the Pope-burnings occurred: in the same season as Guy Fawkes Day and the accession day of Queen Elizabeth I. Both became Protestant festivals that featured burning effigies of the Pope.[7] The two occasions were both celebrated in a similar fashion because the dates of the two were close, Guy Fawkes Day being November 5th and the accession day of Elizabeth I being November 17th.

Seemingly, the only account of the 1677 Pope-burning is in a letter, dated to November 22nd, 1677, in which a Charles Hatton writes to his brother, Christopher Hatton, about his time in London. Both men were vehemently anti-Catholic, Protestant supporters, and staunchly loyal to King Charles II. The Hatton Family later supported the king in his struggle with Shaftesbury during the exclusion crisis.[8] The Mr. Langhorne mentioned in the following excerpt was the Hatton family lawyer, who was a Catholic and in 1679 became a martyr after being tried and executed for treason due to being implicated as being a part of the Popish Plot in the same year.[9] Langhorne being Catholic doesn't mean that he could not be loyal to the English crown and his protestant patrons, the Hattons, which explains why the Hattons had a Catholic lawyer. And the reason the Hattons supported the King during the exclusion crisis was mostly because the Hattons, like the King and many other elites, believed the plot to be designed by rivals in order to gain more power.[10] The Hattons also feared being indicted in the plot themselves seeing how their lawyer was. Throughout the correspondences between the Hatton brothers, the impression is given that Charles was acting as his brother's representative in London, where he was reporting on the happenings in the city. The

[4] O. W. Furley,"Pope-Burning Processions of the Late Seventeenth Century," *History* 44, no. 150 (1959): 17; Williams, "Pope-Burning Processions of 1679-81," 104–5.
There is also no evidence of there being any other Pope burnings happening between the burnings of 1673 and Guy Fawkes day 1677.

[5] David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 177.

[6] Furley, "Pope-Burning Processions of the Late Seventeenth Century," 16.

[7] Furley, "Pope-Burning Processions," 17; Williams, "Pope-Burning Processions of 1679-81," 105.

[8] H. D. Turner, "Charles Hatton: A Younger Son," *Northamptonshire Past and Present* 3, no 6 (1965): 258.

[9] Turner, "Charles Hatton," 258; Ed. by Edward Maunde Thompson, Charles Hatton to Christoper Hatton November 22nd 1877, *Correspondence of the Family of Hatton, Chiefly Letters Addressed to Christopher First Viscount Hatton, A.D. 1601-1704,* (London: Camden Society, 1878), 156-7.

[10] Jeffrey Collins, "The Popish Plot: A Case Study in the Political History of Fear," *Journal of Modern History* 95, no. 1 (2023): 24-5, Accessed October 3, 2023, https://doi .org/10.1086/723594.

letter sent on November 22nd largely serves to inform Christopher of the commotion caused by the issue of the selection of a new Archbishop of Canterbury and how the Protestants and Catholics were arguing for the appointment of their own bishops. The final paragraph describes the Pope-burning with cats:

> Last Saterday [November 17th] y^{e} coronation of Q^{n} Elizabeth wase solomnised in y^{e} city wth mighty bonefires and y^{e} burning of a most costly pope, caryed by four persons in divers habits, and y^{e} effigies of 2 divells whispering in his eares, his belly filled full of live catts who squawled most hideously as soone as they felt the fire; the common saying all y^{e} while, it wase y^{e} language of y^{e} Pope and y^{e} Divel in a dialogue betwixt them. A tierce [42 liters] of claret wase set out before y^{e} Temple gate for y^{e} common people. M^{r} Langhorne sath he is very confident y^{e} pageantry cost 40^{11}.[11]

Hatton most likely includes this anti-Catholic display in the letter to show how the Protestants of London responded to the issue of selecting a new Archbishop of Canterbury. The reason for this is because the two topics appear in the same letter since it makes sense that Hatton would not waste ink and paper on talking about something fun he took part in over the weekend.

There is also an uncertainty about where this specific burning took place. Hatton doesn't specifically say where it happened but there are several locations where the festival possibly occurred. This can be surmised by examining where the other larger Pope-burnings happened. The effigies of the 1679 and 1680 Pope-burnings were burnt on the city side of Temple Bar, following a large procession past important landmarks of the city.[12] The burnings occurred at Temple Bar because of its central importance in the city "anchoring the most prominent land passage from City to Court" and marking the boundary between London proper and the City of London.[13] The Temple Bar arch had also just been rebuilt at Charles II's command following the Great Fire of London as a symbol of royal power and as the ritual state entry into the city.[14]

There is also the fact that at the following Pope-burnings, alcohol was also left out for the people to drink, which Hatton mentions during the 1677 Pope-burning.[15] Temple Bar is the only location that Hatton mentions in the paragraph about the 1677 Pope-burning. It wouldn't make sense for him to randomly mention a "tierce of claret" being left out for people to drink at Temple

[11] Hatton, *Correspondence of the Family of Hatton*, 156-7.

[12] Lynch, "'We Protestants in Masquerade,'"Emily Mann, "In Defence of the City: The Gates of London and Temple Bar in the Seventeenth Century," *Architectural History* 49 (2006): 88-9. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40033818.

[13] Lynch, "'We Protestants in Masquerade'"

[14] Mann, "In Defence of the City," 88-9.

[15] Williams, "Pope-Burning Processions of 1679-81," 105.

Bar if it didn't relate to the Pope-burning.[16] Hatton also mentions Temple Bar in an earlier letter, in which he writes about the festive Pope-burnings on Guy Fawkes Day saying, "Y^{e} Pope and his cardinalls were, in Cheapeside and other places, hung up and burnt in their effigies. One told me he counted 200 bonfires between Temple Barr and Algate."[17] Although there wasn't one large burning, it would seem that there were some burnings that occurred at or near Temple Bar. There is also the fact that Shaftesbury's party used a club near Temple bar as their secret headquarters and it was there that they organized the subsequent Pope-burnings.[18] There is no direct evidence of the Shaftesbury's party organizing the 1677 Pope-burning. However, the mention of the effigy being "most costly" and the leaving of a large quantity of alcohol for the common people suggest that Shaftesbury's party organized the event to further rile up the masses in a anti-Catholic fervor.[19]

There is also the inclusion of cats, which is an oddity as there is no mention of cats being included in any of the other Pope-burnings. There is no reason to believe that the inclusion of cats was a falsehood fabricated by Charles since the killings would make sense in the context of the period. Whether or not cats were a part of the 1677 Pope-burning, Charles's telling of their inclusion speaks volumes of how his contemporaries saw and used cats. Charles does not give any insight as to why cats were included in the occasion, instead talking about their inclusion with an indifferent attitude which mirrors that of the crowds. Instead, Charles expects his intended audience to already know, or at least infer, why cats were burned in the Pope effigy.

The immediate guess as to why cats were burned alive in the 1677 Pope-burning is that it served as a sadistic form of entertainment. Cruelty towards animals was not unique to early modern England as such displays can be seen as far back as in the Roman Colosseum.[20] In England, animal cruelty as a form of entertainment was common during the early modern period. Spectacles such as bull-baiting, bear-baiting, cock-fighting, and dog-fighting are a few examples of events that were commonly enjoyed by the English.[21]

Part of the reason for early modern England's lack of sympathy for animals has to do with the philosophical separation of man and beast that the Church put forth in the Middle Ages.[22] Cats were also tormented as a sadistic form of entertainment during

[16] Hatton, *Correspondence of the Family of Hatton*, 157.
[17] Hatton, *Correspondence of the Family of Hatton*, 119.
Pope-burnings occurred on the 5th due to the marriage of Princess Mary and William of Orange.
[18] Furley, "Pope-Burning Processions of the Late Seventeenth Century," 16.
[19] Hatton, Correspondence of the Family of Hatton, 157.

[20] James Serpell, *In the Company of Animals: A Study of Human-Animal Relationships*, (Oxford; New York: Blackwell, 1986), 177.
[21] Serpell, *In the Company of Animals*, 177.
[22] Serpell, *In the Company of Animals*, 127.

the period. An example is how in 1555 London a Protestant, in order to mock the Catholic church, "hanged a cat on the gallows at Cheapside, its head shaven like a priest's and its body enveloped in mock vestments."[23] In this case, a cat was killed as entertainment, but cats were also the victims of English fears stemming from the Reformation. The Protestants used a cat as a substitute for a condemned Catholic priest to highlight what they thought of the Catholic Church. This display, much like the 1677 Pope-burning, didn't need a cat to get the message across. Instead, the cats served as a further insult due to their negative connotation.

To understand why cats were used in the 1677 Pope-burning it is vital to know how and why they carried a symbolic supernatural weight. In the ancient world, cats were seen as sacred, such as with the Egyptian cat goddess Bastet and in the cults of Isis and Dianna. The Romans brought these views of cats to Britain. The myths surrounding cats mixed with Celtic culture and the sacrality of cats led to notions of them being supernatural.[24] In areas of Britain that were not overrun by Germanic tribes, it is still possible to find traces of the unaltered view of cats. In Wales there is a belief that certain parts of cats can be used as medicinal cures, one example being the belief that three drops of cat blood on a wart will remove it.[25]

Cats being sacred led to their inclusion in white magic rituals. One common ritual practiced in England and Northern Europe was the installation of dried mummified cats into newly built homes. Due to the age of the cat skeletons, this ritual is believed to have been an old custom, the practice of which continued well into the 18th century.[26] This form of white magic had the sacrificed cat act as a protective charm to protect the home and scare evil spirits away.[27] It was the believed association of cats and the supernatural that led to such a practice.

The perception of cats went through further change as a result of the church in the Middle Ages. Because of cats' association with pagan gods, beliefs, and customs, the Church saw cats as demons, or at least agents of them. This concept is best summarized by the folklorist Katharine Briggs saying "the persecution of an animal is often a sign that it had once held the status of a god."[28] The Church's attempt to stamp out the old paganistic beliefs led to cats being associated with Satan. In 1233, Pope Gregory IX made the first association

[23] C. S. L. Davies, *Peace, Print and Protestantism, 1450-1558* (London: Hart-Davis MacGibbon, 1976), 299.
[24] Katharine Mary Briggs, *Nine Lives: Cats in Folklore* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1980), 9-10.
[25] Briggs, *Nine Lives*, 72.
[26] Margaret M. Howard, "252. Dried Cats." *Man* 51 (1951): 149–51.
[27] Howard, "252. Dried Cats."; Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (Basic Books, 1984), 94-5; Donald W. Engels, *Classical Cats: The Rise and Fall of the Sacred Cat* (London: Routledge, 1999), 164.
[28] Briggs, *Nine Lives,* 9.

between cats and Satan in the *Vox in Rama*, a papal bull. The *Vox in Rama* is made up of four documents, the first of which describes a cult that worships a black cat. The document insinuates that the cat is an agent of Satan.[29] This was the earliest association of cats and the devil. How influential this specific document was to the people of England, or even the entirety of Europe, is not known. However, the idea of the association between cats and the devil continued to grow.

The contemporary philosophical belief that man is superior to beasts, combined with the association of cats with the devil, caused the persecution of cats. During the Middle Ages, the Church pushed forth the philosophical belief that man is superior to animals.[30] The Church believed that animals were made to be of service to man since it was man that was made in God's image, not beasts.[31] This is part of the reason why the torture of animals was a common form of entertainment, since such displays weren't considered immoral. The only role cats were supposed to play was that of a mouser. Such beliefs of human superiority would not be challenged until the 18th and 19th centuries.[32] During the 1670s, such beliefs were still mainstream, explaining why Charles Hatton and the crowd were indifferent to or enjoyed the spectacle of cats burning alive in the 1677 Pope-burning.

One of the most important aspects of how cats were viewed in England during the 17th century was the believed association that cats had with witches.[33] In England, following the passing of the Witchcraft Act of 1563, witchcraft was a crime to be tried in the regular judicial system.[34] One of the common pieces of evidence used in the trials was the keeping of a familiar, an aspect of English witchcraft trials that differed from those on the Continent. Essentially, the law framed the keeping of a pet as a suspicious act that could be evidence of witchcraft.

Cats were commonly seen in the trials as being a witch's familiar, mostly in

[29] Engels, *Classical Cats*, 183-8.
[30] Serpell, *In the Company of Animals*, 127.
[31] Joyce E. Salisbury, *The Beast Within: Animals in the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 2022), 4-5; Aubrey Manning and James Serpell, *Animals and Human Society: Changing Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 1994), 61.
[32] Rebecca Gordon, "From Pests to Pets: Social and Cultural Perceptions of Animals in Post-Medieval Urban Centres in England (AD 1500 – 1900)." *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology* 27, no. 1 (2017). https://doi.org/10.5334/pia-478.
[33] The first significant connection of cats as a witch's familiar is in the *Malleus Maleficarum*; Henry Kramer and James Sprenger, *Malleus Maleficarum*, trans. Montague Summers (1486, 1928), part 2, ch IX https://www.sacred-texts.com/pag/mm/mm02a09a.htm.
[34] Mary Douglas, *Witchcraft Confessions & Accusations* (London; New York: Tavistock Publications, 1970), 12-3; Christina Hole, *Witchcraft in England* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1947), 27. There were three Witchcraft acts, the first act was passed in 1542 and repealed in 1547. The second was passed in 1563 and was later broadened by the third act in 1604 which was repealed in 1736; Douglas, *Witchcraft Confessions & Accusations*, 49-50; J.A. Sharpe, *Witchcraft in Early Modern England,* (New York: Routledge, 2020), 14, 78-80; Alan Charles Kors and Edward Peters, *Witchcraft in Europe, 400-1700: A Documentary History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 302; Hole, *Witchcraft in England*, 147.

eastern England because of the lack of Gallo-Roman ties to the old view of cats.[35] Another aspect that differed from the Continent was how most of the accused were women, typically antisocial, elderly widows.[36] The reasons for both cats and socially outcast women being commonly seen in witch trials can, in part, be explained by the precedent set during the 1566 trial of the Witches of Chelmsford.[37] In this trial, one of the central pieces of evidence used against the witches was their supposed use of a cat as their familiar. The three women accused were Elizabeth Francis, the widow Agnes Waterhouse, and Agnes's daughter Joan Waterhouse.[38] The white-spotted cat was supposedly given to Elizabeth by her grandmother who instructed her in how to use witchcraft and take care of the cat.[39] Allegedly, the cat spoke to Elizabeth in a deep voice, was called Satan (sometimes spelled Sathan), and was fed with drops of blood.[40] After fifteen or sixteen years, Elizabeth gave the cat to Agnes, in exchange for a cake.[41] Elizabeth instructed Agnes on how to use witchcraft and take care of the cat just as her grandmother had done with her.[42] Agnes was accused of using the cat to kill cattle, causing the illness and death of her neighbors, as well as harassing a twelve-year-old girl that annoyed her.[43] The twelve-year-old's testimony was the main piece of evidence leveled against Agnes and her daughter, despite the vast degree of blatant embellishment in the girl's story.[44] Agnes was found guilty and executed by hanging on July 29th, 1677, two days after her trial.[45] Elizabeth was executed seven years later during an unrelated witch trial, and Joan was acquitted.[46] One interesting thing worth noting is how on the day of her execution, Agnes gave her last confession where she said that Satan, the cat, forced her to only pray in Latin and not in English.[47] According to this account, it would appear that Satan the cat was a Catholic. Although the confessions from the accused were not gathered under torture, they still may not be fully reliable. The reasons why the women confessed are not fully understood. One possible reason as to why Agnes confessed is so all the blame could fall on her and Joan could be spared.

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[35] Hole, *Witchcraft in England*, 48; Engels, *Classical Cats*, 163.
[36] Sharpe, *Witchcraft in Early Modern England*, 38; Hole, *Witchcraft in England*, 18; Barbara Rosen, *Witchcraft*, (New York: Taplinger, 1972), 32; Briggs, *Nine Lives*, 77.
[37] Ronald Holmes, *Witchcraft in British History* (London: Muller, 1974), 74.
[38] Holmes, *Witchcraft in British History*, 74-75.
[39] Hole, *Witchcraft in England*, 50
[40] Holmes, *Witchcraft in British History*, 74-6; Rosen, *Witchcraft*, 72-82; Kors, *Witchcraft in Europe*, 302-8; Hole, *Witchcraft in England*, 50.
The cat also changes to into a toad and a dog at different points in the story
[41] Kors, *Witchcraft in Europe*, 305.
[42] Kors, *Witchcraft in Europe*, 305.
[43] Hole, *Witchcraft in England*, 50; Kors, *Witchcraft in Europe*, 306.
[44] Holmes, *Witchcraft in British History.* 75; Rosen, *Witchcraft*, 72.
[45] Holmes, *Witchcraft in British History*, 74-6; Rosen, *Witchcraft*, 72-82.
[46] Holmes, *Witchcraft in British History*, 74-6; Rosen, *Witchcraft*, 72-82.
[47] Kors, *Witchcraft in Europe*, 308.

Many of the stereotypes of witches, such as being old women, come from the 1566 Witches of Chelmsford trial, as it was the first of its kind to have pamphlets about it be widely circulated throughout England.[48] The cat, being a central figure during the trial, became a precedent for future witch trials in England where cats were commonly seen as witches' familiars and used as evidence. This is not to say that this case was the sole or even largest reason that cats were associated with witchcraft. There are plenty of other cases of people accused of being witches because of a relationship with a cat, even as minute as having a cat jump through their window.[49] The most influential writing on witchcraft in England is Reginald Scot's *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*, which does talk about how witches' familiars can take the form of cats.[50] Later, the Witchcraft Act of 1604 would specifically mention animal familiars, leading to a new legal basis to try witches for having a familiar.[51]

The belief that cats had a connection to witchcraft was so ingrained in the public consciousness that plays from the period mentioned cats in such contexts. One example is seen in Shakespeare's *Macbeth* where one of the three witches calls to her familiar saying "I come, graymalkin [gray cat]!"[52] There is also the use of cats as ingredients in witches' charms as represented in Ben Jonsons's 1609 play *The Masque of Queens*.[53] The depiction of cats incorporated into the practice of witchcraft illustrates the cultural belief that cats had supernatural qualities. Contemporary plays mentioning cats with witches do not show how the two were associated with each other. Instead, it highlights the public's belief of the two being associated.

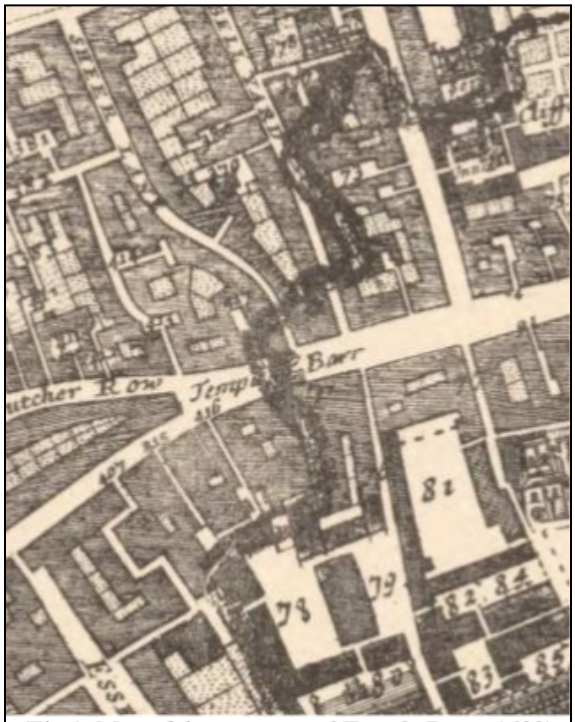
The association of cats with witchcraft is one of the most significant things to consider when discussing cats in 17th-century England. In a way, the Protestant crowd during the 1677 Pope-burning was accusing the Pope of being a witch. This interpretation rests on the concept in English witchcraft that animal familiars were agents of the devil that were given to witches. Hatton's letter states that the crowd interpreted the screams of the burning cats as "ye language of ye Pope and ye Divel in a dialogue betwixt them."[54] This suggests that the Pope was using the cats as familiars. The crowd, therefore, was burning the evil Pope alongside his evil cat familiars. Seeing as how both were seen as agents of the devil, to the crowd it made sense that they burn together.

When discussing the large cat massacre, it is important to mention how

[48] Kors, *Witchcraft in Europe*, 303.
[49] Hole, *Witchcraft in England*, 48.
[50] Reginald Scot, *The Discouerie of Witchcraft* [...], (London: By William Brome, 1584), 7. https://archive.org/details/discouerieofwitc00scot/
[51] Hole, *Witchcraft in England*, 87.
[52] William Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, ed. Thomas Marc Parrott (New York: American Book Co, 1904), 1.1.9.
[53] Kors, *Witchcraft in Europe*, 334-345.
[54] Hatton, *Correspondence of the Family of Hatton*, 157.

such massacres can be found in Christian customs. Many Christian holidays borrowed qualities from pagan holidays which included the killings of cats. Some examples are Lent and St. John's Day, where at both it was common to see large amounts of cats killed.[55] In the case of the latter, people killed cats in a manner similar to the cats in the 1677 Pope-burning, in that they burned them alive in bonfires. During St. John's Day, cats were rounded up and thrown or lowered into bonfires. St. John's Day replaced the pagan holiday of Midsummer's day and as a result borrowed pagan aspects from it including the placing of live sacrifices, human or animal, into bonfires.[56] These killings acted as a form of white magic, in which the cats were a sort of sacrifice that would cleanse the town of its sins. But since many by this point saw cats as evil, they performed the killings so that the screams of the evil cats would scare other evil spirits away.[57] There's also the aspect that these mass killings acted as a form of sadistic entertainment to the onlookers. The 1677 Pope-burning's inclusion of cats possibly could have been a result of the Protestant Londoners deciding to replicate the St. John's Day bonfires' inclusion of cats where the cats could have been seen as a way to cleanse the onlookers of their sins. However, the more probable interpretation is that the bonfire was meant to cleanse the cats and Pope of their sins. Either way, the practice of burning live cats was a custom that was familiar to Londoners in 1677.

The specifics about the cats in the effigy aren't a point of discussion in Charles's letter, but some speculations can be made. One such speculation is that the cats burned in the effigy belonged to the same colony, based on how the event took place towards the tail end of kitten season. It would make sense that there could be a colony of stray, juvenile cats around that time of year, and that the colony lived near Temple Bar, specifically in or around one of the surrounding courtyards. Another line of reasoning is that the cats were included in an



(Fig 1, Map of the area around Temple Bar c. 1682)

[55] Engels, *Classical Cats*, 128-9, 159-60, 164
[56] Owen Davies and Ceri Houlbrook, *Building Magic: Ritual and Re-enchantment in Post-Medieval Structures* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022), 27; Engels, *Classical Cats*, 128-9, 159-60, 164.
[57] Engels, *Classical Cats*, 128-9, 159-60, 164

impromptu manner. The crowd might have spotted or already known about the colony, leading to a collective, inebriated, decision to round up the cats and incorporate them into the festival. If the colony was located in one of the nearby courtyards, then they easily could have been "herded" into any number of choke points. This process might have played out as a sort of game in a manner similar to the cat massacre described by Darnton that took place in Rue Saint-Séverin, Paris.[58]

This theory would also explain why there was a lack of cats in the following Pope-burnings. Because Shaftesbury's party organized the later burnings,[59] the organizers could have simply forgotten about including them or found it too difficult to do so. The other burnings had processions that didn't originate at Temple Bar. Instead, they started at Moorfields/Moorgate and ended at Temple Bar which was where the attendees threw the effigy into a bonfire.[60] The cats would have to be put into the effigy during its construction. It's hard to imagine a clowder inhabiting the open space of Moorfields whilst a large crowd was preparing a parade, and it would be difficult to carry an effigy with cats inside through the whole of London. There is also the fact that the cat population around Temple Bar could have been severely culled as a result of the burning in 1677, leaving very few cats to be locally obtained.

Cats being ubiquitous meant that they were an easily acquired addition to the anti-Catholic spectacle. Despite the connotations that surrounded cats, people still kept them as mousers. However, this fact alone does not explain their inclusion as opposed to dogs and rats, which were also common in London but not a part of the burning. Cats had more symbolism and supernatural associations surrounding them, which is likely why they were the ones burned. It was the fact that they were associated with the devil that Londoners burned them alongside the Pope. The Londoners were setting out to send a message to the elites and the king by burning cats with the Pope, all the while having fun. In the eyes of the Protestant crowd, both cats and the Pope were servants of the devil. The only thing that the cats did wrong was inhabit an area whose human residents viewed them as being evil demon familiars, for which they were none the wiser. As a result, the cats' final moments were experienced in a plight saturated with agony, for which they were powerless to understand the forces that had brought this upon them; with the violent ordeal only ending after succumbing to asphyxiation and smoke inhalation.

[58] Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre*, 76-7, 103.
[59] Furley, "Pope-Burning Processions of the Late Seventeenth Century," 16.
[60] The 1681 Pope-burning is an exception since instead of ending at Temple Bar it concluded at Smithfield; Lynch 'We Protestants in Masquerade', 103–26.

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How and Why the Beverage and Packaging Industries Individualized Environmentalism

Courtney Barry

Iron Eyes Cody shed a tear as the voice-over said, "people start pollution, people can stop it." This ad first aired on Earth Day in 1971, evoking emotion, appealing to the counterculture, and supporting the environmental movement. Or so it seemed. The end of the advertisement revealed that it was made by Keep America Beautiful, Inc., but what did that really mean?[1] Most people watching that advertisement in the 1970s would not have thought much about what Keep America Beautiful (KAB) was; what they took away was that humans littered, litter caused pollution, and pollution was hurting the environment. As it turns out, KAB was founded and funded by some of the leading beverage and packaging companies of the time, the ones responsible for vast amounts of pollution themselves. According to scholars, notably Finis Dunaway and Bartow J Elmore, KAB's goal was to place the blame for pollution on individual people rather than on industry.[2]

Keep America Beautiful is a nonprofit organization that aims to educate and support people who want to take individual action to help the environment. The organization focuses on framing litter and recycling as environmental threats that are created by individuals and must therefore be addressed by individuals. It was founded by the Owens-Illinois Glass Co. and the American Can Co. in 1953, with the Coca-Cola Co. and Dixie Cup Co. joining in soon after.[3] These companies were producers of disposable bottles, which was a rising concept competing with the traditional returnable bottle. Disposable bottles were creating visible litter and the companies producing them wanted to minimize litter as it indicated that their companies were hurting the environment. The goal of Keep America Beautiful has

[1] Keep America Beautiful, "The Crying Indian (1970)," accessed December 19, 2023, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h0sxwGlTLWw.
[2] Finis Dunaway, "The Crying Indian" (University of Chicago Press, 2015), https://press.uchicago.edu/books/excerpt/2015/Dunaway_Seeing_Green.html; Bartow J Elmore, "The American Beverage Industry and the Development of Curbside Recycling Programs, 1950-2000," *The Business History Review* 86, no. 3 (Autumn 2012): 477–501.
[3] Finis Dunaway, "The 'Crying Indian' Ad That Fooled the Environmental Movement," *Chicago Tribune*, November 21, 2017, https://www.chicagotribune.com/opinion/commentary/ct-perspec-indian-crying-environment-ads pollution-1123-20171113-story.html.

been and continues to be to put the blame for hurting the environment on individuals who litter and do not recycle rather than on industries that create massive waste and pollution. Keep America Beautiful has used politics and advertising campaigns to push recycling as a solution to the environment in order to avoid legislation and public opinion turning against the producers. Companies partner with KAB to tell their consumers that they are helping the environment, despite the fact that they avoid making significant changes to their own practices and put the guilt of saving the environment on individuals. Companies are currently not responsible for how consumers dispose of their products, but legislation could require those companies to make more sustainable or fully returnable bottles instead, something that KAB partners work to avoid. These companies greenwash, meaning they make themselves look good for the environment, relying on the fact that most consumers are appeased by their surface-level appearance and will not look closely at their actual practices.

Greenwashing is the attempt of companies to exaggerate or lie to consumers about how environmentally friendly their products and practices are. As environmentalism gained support, companies began to take advantage of consumers' appreciation for "green" products. The term has been around since the early 1970s, coined by environmentalists at the time when industries and the public were becoming aware of the impact humans were having on the environment.[4] While some companies redesign products and production processes to be better for the environment, many have acted deceptively to please consumers who want to be environmentally conscious without the company having to make expensive changes. This purposeful mislabeling by companies is greenwashing and there are specific terms within the concept of greenwashing to determine exactly what companies are doing. The Ad Council describes greenlighting, greenlabeling, greenhushing, greenshifting, and greenrinsing as tactics companies use to make consumers believe they are environmentally friendly. This paper will focus specifically on greenlabeling, defined as "misleading the public by labeling a product as environmentally friendly;" greenshifting, defined as "blaming consumer demand for a company's unsustainable practices, instead of taking accountability;" and greenlighting, defined as "spotlighting a green feature – no matter how small – to distract from unsustainable practices."[5] As companies have taken advantage of consumers by making

[4] Wendy Priesnitz, "Greenwash: When the Green Is Just Veneer," *Natural Life* 14 (May 1, 2008), https://hero.epa.gov/hero/index.cfm/reference/details/reference_id/6841229.

[5] Aleta Edwards, "Shades of Green: What Marketers Need to Know About Modern Greenwashing" (Ad Council, April 28, 2023), https://www.adcouncil.org/all-articles/shades-of-green-what-marketers-need-to-know-about modern-greenwashing.

themselves seem more environmentally friendly than they really are, literature and regulations have arisen to protect consumers.

The "Green Guides" were created by the Federal Trade Commission ("FTC") to prevent companies from misrepresenting the environmental impact of their products and or practices. These regulations were first published in 1992 and have since been revised in 1996, 1998, and most recently, in 2012.[6] The FTC had become aware that companies were taking advantage of their consumers by mislabeling products and practices in order to appear more environmentally friendly. According to Aleta Edwards, companies realized that consumers felt "empowered" and "motivated to support companies that prioritized people and planet," which led some companies to make untruthful statements about their environmental impact.[7] This practice allowed them to meet the demand for eco-friendly products without having to actually change their practices. The Ad Council calls this form of greenwashing "greenlabeling," and the FTC has taken legal action against many companies that have deceived their consumers.[8]As greenwashing has become a more pervasive occurrence in the marketplace, the "Green Guides" helped keep companies honest, forcing companies to own up to their environmental impact.

Keep America Beautiful and its sponsoring companies have used various methods to emphasize individual impact on the environment in order to distract from the impact of beverage and packaging industries, thereby avoiding legislative regulations that would require producers to go back to returnable bottles or make their disposable bottles more sustainable. Research shows that KAB greenwashed so successfully by influencing legislation and politicians, promoting litter prevention and recycling as effective solutions to environmental issues, facilitating the development of recycling programs, deceptively marketing their products and practices, and gaining control of the environmental movement to steer it towards individualism. It is important to identify the greenwashing—or misleading claims of environmentalism—tactics of Keep America Beautiful and its corporate partners in order to help individuals recognize where and how they are being deceived so that they are able to take more substantial steps to help the environment rather than blindly trusting industries to do so. This paper explains how Keep America Beautiful has exemplified greenwashing both in its own organization and as a front for other major companies by making recycling and litter control seem like acceptable solutions to pollution even while

[6] "FTC Issues Revised 'Green Guides'" (Federal Trade Commission), accessed December 19, 2023, https://www.ftc.gov/news-events/news/press-releases/2012/10/ftc-issues-revised-green-guides.
[7] Edwards, "Shades of Green."
[8] Edwards, "Shades of Green."

the environmental movement was growing and significant legislation was being proposed to regulate polluting industries.

When the environmental movement started to gain support in the 1960s and 1970s, companies were focused on keeping their environmentally harmful practices out of the public eye well before they were worried about marketing themselves and their products as green. The beverage and beverage packing industries had undergone a significant change that was immensely profitable, yet it resulted in people being overly aware of their negative impact on the environment. For a long time, beverages, especially alcoholic drinks and soft drinks, were packaged in returnable bottles. Customers would buy their beverages and when they were done, they would bring the empty containers back to the store. This occurred because bottles were too expensive to be disposable and it worked because most transactions were done locally.[9] A deposit system was established wherein customers would leave a deposit for the beverages that they were purchasing in order to ensure that they would return the containers to get their deposit back.[10] Bartow J. Elmore describes how returnable bottles were good for parent companies and local bottlers because the local bottlers "spent less money purchasing containers from glass manufacturers" and the parent companies benefited because "the decentralized system allowed them to service remote outlets in rural America, extending their national reach."[11] This system worked well for a long time until producers figured out how to make a bottle that could be disposable and cost-effective.

Once disposable bottles were widely available, people quickly began littering these disposable bottles, visibly polluting the environment. By the mid-1960s disposable bottles were sold widely and proponents of the returnable bottle lobbied for bans on disposable bottles by the early 1970s.[12] However, the first legislation targeting disposable bottles was passed in Vermont in 1953, before disposable bottles had even become a major threat.[13] Brand-name labeled bottles were being identified as a major portion of all litter. Studies were conducted to assess the amount and makeup of litter, and they indicated that disposable bottles accounted for a significant portion. The separate studies were conducted by Keep America Beautiful, the People's Lobby Against Nonreturnables, and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare's Bureau of

[9] Robert Friedel, "American Bottles: The Road to No Return," *Environmental History* 19, no. 3 (July 2014): 507.
[10] Ibid., 508.
[11] Bartow J Elmore, "The American Beverage Industry and the Development of Curbside Recycling Programs, 1950-2000," *The Business History Review* 86, no. 3 (Autumn 2012): 482.
[12] Ibid., 485.
[13] Ibid., 487.

Solid Waste Management.[14] The 1971 survey conducted by the People's Lobby Against Nonreturnables in Oregon found that "a throwaway container has a 21 times greater chance of becoming litter than a deposit container."[15] This type of data indicating that disposable bottles were contributing significantly to litter prompted states like Vermont and Oregon to introduce bottle bills that would outlaw disposable beverage containers.[16] Joy A. Clay found that environmentalists were pushing for bottle bills "to encourage use of refillable containers, recycling, and use of biodegradable containers" while industries were promoting "litter campaigns to encourage proper disposal and recycling."[17] Environmentalists had hoped that organizations like Keep America Beautiful would help pass bottle bills because they were supposed to be helping the environment. However, environmentalists, according to Richard A. Crooker, were disappointed to learn that Keep America Beautiful instead "lobbied against container deposits, ostensibly because the organization wanted to protect profits of its corporate donors."[18] Despite claiming to want to save the environment, Keep America Beautiful focused on the needs of its sponsors. If KAB truly cared about the environment, it would not attempt to kill legislation designed to help it. As environmentalists pushed for bottle bills, the beverage and packaging industries responded by investing significant effort into political actions to block those bills.

Producers of beverages and the packaging companies who were profiting off of disposable bottles began lobbying strongly against proposed bottle bills in different states starting as early as 1953 when Vermont first proposed, and then passed, a bill banning disposable beer bottles.[19] Originally, one disposable can cost $0.10, while a consumer could purchase three returnable bottles for $0.25 before deposit, which was usually only an additional one or two cents.[20] This gave a clear advantage to returnable bottlers, and in turn, disposable bottlers took action. State authorities were convinced by canners and can manufacturers to mandate higher deposits in order to allow disposable cans to compete better.[21] The beverage and

[14] John W. Lesow, "Litter and the Nonreturnable Beverage Container: A Comparative Analysis," *Environmental Law* 2, no. 1 (Winter 1971): 204.
[15] Ibid..
[16] Brent Walth, "No Deposit, No Return: Richard Chambers, Tom McCall, and the Oregon Bottle Bill," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 95, no. 3 (Fall 1994): 279.
[17] Joy A. Clay, "The D.C. Bottle Bill Initiative: A Casualty of the Reagan Era," *Environmental Review* 13, no. 2 (Summer 1989): 19.
[18] Richard A. Crooker, "Keep America Beautiful.," in *Salem Press Encyclopedia*, 2022, https://research.ebsco.com/c/3czfwv/details/fhr36yjmgv?limiters=FT1%3AY&q=%22keep%20america%20beautiful %22.
[19] Elmore, "The American Beverage Industry and the Development of Curbside Recycling Programs, 1950-2000," 487.
[20] Friedel, "American Bottles: The Road to No Return," 510.
[21] Ibid..

packaging companies started to invest in lobbying to counter bottle bills. Friedel states that it is "no coincidence" that the year that KAB was founded "was the same year that the first serious legislative moves were made to discourage litter through controls of beverage containers."[22] Legislators soon realized that beverage and packaging industries would lobby strongly against any proposed bottle bill legislation.[23]

These industries joined Keep America Beautiful to convince consumers that they were trying to save the environment, yet Clay states that they were funding opposition to the legislation that would genuinely help the environment by reducing "litter and solid waste and saving energy and resources."[24] One strategy of lobbyists was to offer evidence found in industry-funded studies that claimed that disposable bottles made up a very small percentage of litter.[25] These studies were designed to count minuscule amounts of litter, and even some objects that were not litter, in order to make disposable bottles and cans look like a smaller proportion. The opposition also brought up employment, claiming that bottle bills would result in significant job loss in the packaging industries, something no politician wanted to be responsible for.[26]

To really seal the opposition to bottle bills, industries tried to win over the support of politicians. The governor of Oregon, Tom McCall, "had secretly agreed with bottle bill opponents to endorse their plan for an antilittering campaign […] they thought would douse support for a new bottle bill."[27] The industries spared no cost to ensure that bottle bills did not pass. Clay found that when lobbying against legislation in Washington D.C., "the industry coalition hired two national political polling and consulting firms to help them design a campaign strategy."[28] While taking strong action to politically kill bottle bills, the industries simultaneously funded advertisement campaigns to convince the public that litter was the most important threat to the environment and should be addressed, distracting from the source of the disposable bottles.

The beverage and packaging industries were profiting immensely from disposable bottles, something they did not want to lose. However, they needed to do something to appease a public upset with the industries' contribution to pollution. This is where Keep America Beautiful came in. Companies in the packaging and beverage industries realized that the environmental movement made consumers

[22] Ibid., 521.
[23] Lesow, "Litter and the Nonreturnable Beverage Container: A Comparative Analysis," 209.
[24] Clay, "The D.C. Bottle Bill Initiative: A Casualty of the Reagan Era," 19.
[25] Walth, "No Deposit, No Return: Richard Chambers, Tom McCall, and the Oregon Bottle Bill," 288.
[26] Walth, "No Deposit, No Return," 288.
[27] Ibid., 290.
[28] Clay, "The D.C. Bottle Bill Initiative: A Casualty of the Reagan Era," 22.

care about the environmental impacts of who they were buying from. As the environmental movement grew in popularity in the late 1960s and early 1970s, companies worked to find ways to keep the environmental movement from targeting them. In order to distract the public from their harmful practices, many of these companies partnered with Keep America Beautiful to both improve their public image and to pivot the blame for hurting the environment onto individuals by emphasizing the importance of recycling and preventing litter.

Keep America Beautiful started off with anti-littering campaigns that called out individual people for hurting the environment. Keep America Beautiful took advantage of emotions by using characters like Lassie, Susan Spotless, and the Crying Indian to guilt the viewers into not littering. KAB ran advertisements that appealed to various demographics and Peter Harnik described the result of those advertisements, "Americans may not be littering any less but [...] at least most of them know that litter is bad."[29] Early KAB ad campaigns featured Lassie, a dog who showed people how easy it was to not litter and the importance of picking up other people's litter.[30] KAB effectively partnered with Lassie, an iconic rough collie known from television as being loyal and always coming to the rescue, a figure that most Americans would recognize and appreciate.[31] In 1964, KAB introduced Susan Spotless, a young girl who encouraged other children not to litter and to call out adults who did litter.[32] Susan Spotless came shortly after Lyndon Johnson's "Daisy Girl" campaign in which an innocent young girl is threatened by nuclear warfare.[33] Keep America Beautiful suggested that litter could be as serious of a threat as nuclear warfare and that young, innocent children would be the ones to suffer. KAB ran advertisements that incited feelings of patriotism and patriotic duty, such as a newspaper advertisement that provided statistics regarding how much people litter over the Fourth of July weekend.[34] This advertisement took advantage of American patriotism, implying that being a good American means not littering. Another newspaper advertisement warned against littering on ski slopes. Appealing to a more specific demographic of people who ski, this advertisement emphasized the danger litter can pose to skiers, guilting people into not littering as it

[29] Peter Harnik, "The Junking of an Anti-Litter Lobby," *Business and Society Review*, no. 21 (Spring 1977): 47.
[30] "Keep America Beautiful: Our History" (Keep America Beautiful, Inc), accessed December 19, 2023, https://kab.org/our-history/.
[31] Bob Thomas, "Looking Back On Lassie" (CBS News, October 1, 2004), https://www.cbsnews.com/news/looking back-on-lassie/.
[32] "Keep America Beautiful: Our History."
[33] Dunaway, "The Crying Indian."
[34] "Fourth of July Litter," accessed December 19, 2023, https://hv-proquestcom.colorado.idm.oclc.org/historyvault/docview.jsp?folderId=201746-003-0305&q=fulltext%3A%22keep%20america%20beautiful%22&position=19&numResults=10&numTotalResults=62.

not only hurts the environment, but it could seriously hurt other people.[35] The "Crying Indian" advertisement, for which Keep America Beautiful is best known, features a Native American who paddles through a river filled with litter, walks up the river bank which is covered in litter, ends up on the side of a highway, and someone drives by and throws their garbage out the car window at his feet. The commercial ends with the man turning to the camera and shedding a single tear.[36] This commercial perpetuated white guilt, appealed to the growing counterculture by showing a Native American being threatened, and continued the Earth Day ideals of taking care of the environment. Finis Dunaway described "that the tear trickled down the leathered face of a Native American […] made its emotionality that much more poignant, its critique that much more palpable."[37] The most powerful part of the commercial is the tear falling down his face, a visual that was used as a still image in many advertisements to follow.

Keep America Beautiful used these anti-littering advertisements to make individuals feel guilty, steering the environmental movement towards individual action to keep people from trying to take action against the polluting industries. KAB made it seem as though the environment was mainly suffering due to individual people not properly disposing of their garbage rather than industries creating massive amounts of pollution. This is what the Ad Council would call greenshifting or placing the blame for unsustainable producers on the consumers providing demand for the products.[38]

Keep America Beautiful worked to teach the public how to properly dispose of waste and in the early 1970s, then shifted from focusing on anti-litter campaigns to promoting recycling. The idea, according to historian Elmore, was that "recycling could be touted as an effective industry alternative to mandatory deposit schemes."[39] However, in order for recycling to be an acceptable alternative to bottle bills, recycling programs needed to be built. Elmore notices that in the early 1970s, there was "no profit incentive that would encourage the development of recycling systems."[40] Recycling was a new concept, people were not going through the effort of sorting their waste and delivering it to recycling centers, and recycling centers were therefore not making enough money to succeed. This is where the beverage and packaging industries stepped

[35] "Skiiers Cautioned on Litter," *Daily World*, accessed December 19, 2023, https://hv-proquestcom.colorado.idm.oclc.org/historyvault/docview.jsp?folderId=001547-007-0809&q=fulltext%3A%22keep%20america%20beautiful%22&position=37&numResults=10&numTotalResults=62.
[36] Keep America Beautiful, "The Crying Indian (1970)."
[37] Dunaway, "The Crying Indian (1970)."
[38] Edwards, "Shades of Green."
[39] Elmore, "The American Beverage Industry and the Development of Curbside Recycling Programs, 1950-2000," 492.
[40] Ibid., 495.

in. In 1970, companies including American Can and Anheuser Busch testified before Congress to get legislation passed that would federally subsidize recycling centers.[41] While working to get the government behind recycling, Keep America Beautiful was encouraging the public to recycle. The thought process was that if the public started recycling, the recycling centers could become profitable and stay open. These recycling centers would result in keeping "corporate waste out of sight."[42]

Keep America Beautiful was deceitful in its encouragement of recycling as a solution to environmental problems, because recycling, as sociologist Andrew Boardman Jaeger has noted, "focuses on the endpoint of commodity production rather than the source, and it serves as an alternative to more effective producer-oriented legislation."[43] Keep America Beautiful needed recycling to be successful so that bottle bills would lose support. This involved getting the government to fund recycling centers and it required KAB to help those recycling centers succeed. Elmore found that as KAB's most prominent donors, "the nation's big beverage companies turned to federal and local government agencies in the 1970s and 1980s to help develop solid-waste management programs."[44] This helped Keep America Beautiful in two ways. First, they got the support needed to make recycling succeed as a way to help the environment instead of bottle bills. Second, it confirmed and maintained a connection between the organization and the government. This connection was useful in making sure that legislation did not turn against the industries and target their production practices.

Keep America Beautiful relied on the idea that if the public was satisfied with having helped the environment through recycling, they would stop the push for bottle bills. To encourage people to recycle, KAB produced various recycling manuals designed to educate the public on how exactly to recycle. The "Clean Community System Multi-Material Recycling Manual" was produced by KAB to teach the public how they could set up and efficiently run recycling programs in their communities. The manual included reasons for recycling, the benefits of recycling, how to build a recycling program, how to actually recycle, and resources for successfully setting up recycling programs and connecting with

[41] Ibid..
[42] Ibid., 478.
[43] Andrew Boardman Jaeger, "Forging Hegemony: How Recycling Became a Popular but Inadequate Response to Accumulating Waste," *Social Problems* 65, no. 3 (August 2018): 398, https://www.jstor.org/stable/26990956?searchText=%28%22keep+america+beautiful%22%29&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoAdvancedSearch%3Far%3Don%26bk%3Don%26q0%3D%2522keep%2Bamerica%2Bbeautiful%2522%26f0%3Dall%26c1%3DAND%26f1%3Dall%26acc%3Don&ab_segments=0%2Fbasic_phrase_search%2Fcontrol&refreqid=fastly-default%3A8fa92510e335f999f76597e8171c366b.
[44] Elmore, "The American Beverage Industry and the Development of Curbside Recycling Programs, 1950-2000," 477.

recycling equipment suppliers.[45] The end of the manual included a list of KAB members, including The Coca-Cola Company, Container Corporation of America, Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corporation, Mobil Foundation, National Soft Drink Association, and the Pepsi-Cola Company.[46] All of the companies were contributing significantly to pollution, yet they wanted to have a better public image. Keep America Beautiful went beyond advertisements and set up recycling programs themselves. Notably, the section on the benefits of recycling did not include any hard data on the effectiveness of recycling, or how it helps the environment.[47] This was most likely omitted because, as Jaeger has found, the process of recycling is "at best marginally effective."[48] Keep America Beautiful highlighted the economic benefits of a town setting up a recycling program as the main reason to do so. After economics, it listed the benefits of "cooperation between public and private sectors" and "sanitation service."[49] Benefiting the environment was not one of the three main goals. Keep America Beautiful also produced the "Waste in Place Elementary Curriculum Guide" to encourage young children to get involved in recycling. The guide was designed to be taught by teachers to students on how to prevent litter, reduce, reuse, recycle, compost, and turn waste into energy.[50] Within the guide were instructions explaining how teachers could teach the content, making sure that it was as accessible and convincing as possible. Additionally, it provided ways for teachers to assess how their students were handling waste. This guide listed five steps for properly handling waste, "get the facts, involve the people, plan systematically, focus on results, and positive reinforcement."[51] The existence of these guides indicates how much effort Keep America Beautiful put into making recycling succeed.

Despite Keep America Beautiful working diligently to ensure that recycling took off as the best solution to waste, recycling was not and continues to fall short of being a substantially effective practice. Jaeger's research reveals that throughout the process of recycling, "large amounts of energy are spent collecting and processing those materials," which cuts into the net effectiveness of recycling as a way to help

[45] "Clean Community System Multi-Material Recycling Manual" (Keep America Beautiful, Inc, 1983), https://libcat.colorado.edu/Record/b6309514#description.
[46] Ibid..
[47] "Clean Community System Multi-Material Recycling Manual."
[48] Jaeger, "Forging Hegemony: How Recycling Became a Popular but Inadequate Response to Accumulating Waste," 398.
[49] "Clean Community System Multi-Material Recycling Manual."
[50] "Waste in Place Elementary Curriculum Guide" (Keep America Beautiful, Inc, 1994), https://libcat.colorado.edu/Record/b6141627/Description#tabnav.
[51] Ibid..

the environment.[52] Recycling requires the public to sort their own waste, and then those products go to a recycling center where they are further sorted. After that, they get sold to industries where they finally get repurposed. This process requires substantial energy to complete. The practice of recycling hurts the environment much more than the practice of simply producing a reusable bottle and then reusing the same bottle. Keep America Beautiful knew that recycling was not all that efficient because, in the content they produced to encourage recycling, they claimed that it was good for the environment; yet they did not include quantitative data to back up their position that recycling is a sufficient way to help the environment. The true effectiveness of recycling was irrelevant to Keep America Beautiful as long as the public believed that they were doing enough by recycling.

A main strategy of Keep America Beautiful was to take advantage of the fact that the public wanted to be involved in helping the environment. Their anti-litter campaigns and pushes for recycling put the burden of saving the environment on individuals, taking pressure off of the industries. However, rather than feeling burdened by this, Elmore noticed that this strategy "appealed to an American public firmly rooted in a classical liberal tradition that stressed rational consumers' power to solve market problems."[53] The president of Coca-Cola, a company partnered with Keep America Beautiful, declared that his strategy was "to encourage 'individuals' to 'actively get involved in the massive job' of cleaning up the unsightly byproducts of Coke."[54] The strategy of making individuals feel responsible for saving the environment was hugely successful for KAB. Keep America Beautiful engaged in greenshifting by making people feel responsible for properly handling their waste instead of putting the responsibility on the companies who produced such waste in the first place.[55] These companies were being further deceptive by doing all of this work through an organization that was created to look environmentally friendly while actually representing the interests of major polluters. Companies put the blame for waste on individuals, and individuals were letting them get away with it. In the end, as Jaeger has noted, "rather than reduce postconsumer waste at its source, that waste was commodified, and we were volunteered to sort it.[56] Jaeger found that Keep America Beautiful was able to provide people with "a sense of ethical relief that some argue may replace more substantive, yet burdensome political action."[57] KAB recognized that people enjoy being performative and do not

[52] Jaeger, "Forging Hegemony: How Recycling Became a Popular but Inadequate Response to Accumulating Waste," 398.

[53] Elmore, "The American Beverage Industry and the Development of Curbside Recycling Programs, 1950-2000," 487.
[54] Ibid., 488.
[55] Edwards, "Shades of Green."
[56] Jaeger, "Forging Hegemony," 396.
[57] Ibid., 399.

always put in the effort to be substantive. Keep America Beautiful is also very performative, focusing on litter and recycling rather than the original source of the waste.

Keep America Beautiful has done an impressive job of making local communities do work toward helping the environment while KAB gets the credit. There are over forty states plus the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico that are home to Keep America Beautiful Affiliates.[58] These locally-run organizations mobilize communities, encourage recycling, prevent litter, and educate the public on how to help the environment.[59] This was a form of astroturfing, defined as "an artificially-manufactured political movement designed to give the appearance of grassroots activism."[60] The companies behind Keep America Beautiful not only get to point to this organization as an example of how they are environmentally friendly, but they can then claim to be contributing to very local grassroots-appearing organizations, which further convinces the public of their commitment to helping the environment. Because KAB is getting individuals to take action to save the environment while operating under KAB's name, companies partnered with the organization can greenlight consumers by claiming that they are partnered with an environmentally friendly organization, despite not actually doing anything themselves.

Cleanups have been a successful strategy of KAB's to get individuals involved in helping the environment while making KAB and its companies look good at the same time. KAB's Great American Cleanup has been occurring annually for twenty-four years now, involving over 50,000 volunteers who help pick up litter across more than 160,000 acres of public land.[61] Like the KAB affiliates, this is a way for Keep America Beautiful to keep focus on individual impacts on the environment. It allows companies to take credit for being partners with the organization in charge of the cleanup, but it is the individual people, not the companies themselves who are responsible for actually doing the cleanup.

Keep America Beautiful was able to convince the public of the importance of their own role in preventing waste by co-opting the environmental movement while there was a lull in focus and direction. The environmental movement saw immense

[58] "Keep America Beautiful 2008 Annual Review" (Keep America Beautiful, Inc, 2008), https://issuu.com/keepamericabeautiful/docs/annual2008.

[59] "Keep America Beautiful: Affiliates" (Keep America Beautiful, Inc), accessed December 19, 2023, https://kab.org/affiliate-network/.

[60] Taegan Goddard, "Astroturfing," in *Political Dictionary*, accessed December 19, 2023, https://politicaldictionary.com/words/astroturfing/.

[61] "Keep America Beautiful: Great American Cleanup" (Keep America Beautiful, Inc), accessed December 19, 2023, https://kab.org/our-signature-programs/great-americancleanup/?gad_source=1&gclid=CjwKCAiAmsurBhBvEiwA6eWPOpYfDvZ1c0yubWhF_CW6NiKMDjeMpiTRViSCbsfMkwhjalMHX6UQBoCdSYQAvD_BwE.

success in raising public awareness and pushing for environmental-conscious legislation in the immediate aftermath of Earth Day 1970. The early movement targeted obvious threats to the environment, such as point source pollution, which was an easy direction for the movement to go and difficult for people to oppose. Ellen Griffith Spears described that the 1970s were a time when the environmental movement had achieved some of its most significant victories, including "real improvements in air and water quality."[62] However, after those initial achievements, the environmental movement began to fracture due to uncertainty over which direction to continue in. Keep America Beautiful was able to take advantage of the environmental movement losing focus by steering the movement towards individualism. The result, as Spears notes, was that "potential agents of the environmental movement were open to persuasion by the forces environmental politics were arrayed against, namely those of commercial industrial development."[63] Organizations, like Keep America Beautiful, told the public that recycling and preventing litter would save the environment, and people readily listened without looking further into who was telling them to do it or how effective it actually would be. Keep America Beautiful was able to determine the course of environmental action, steering it away from legislation targeting the beverage and packaging industries.

While the environmental movement was struggling to stay unified, corporations were figuring out how to challenge environmental legislation that would hinder their practices without being called out for openly being against environmentalism. It became difficult for the environmental movement to continue their grassroots pushes for environmental reform when they were going up against "increasingly well-funded opponents."[64] Spears' conclusion was that as Keep America Beautiful was growing in its ability to influence the government, "Congress and regulators showed diminishing willingness to curb industry."[65] Furthermore, Clay found that beverage and packaging industries framed the debate over legislation against them as whether or not "Americans will accept further government intervention into their right to freely choose products."[66] These industries realized that they could play into America's love of free-market capitalism while turning environmental issues back on individual consumers. Robert Friedel called out how Keep America Beautiful "worked hard to divert efforts away from legislation and

[62] Ellen Griffith Spears, *Rethinking the American Environmental Movement Post-1945* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2020), 89.
[63] Jaeger, "Forging Hegemony," 396.
[64] Spears, *Rethinking the American Environmental Movement Post-1945*, 164.
[65] Ibid., 167.
[66] Clay, "The D.C. Bottle Bill Initiative: A Casualty of the Reagan Era," 20.

toward 'cleanup drives' and educational campaigns" as a way to keep the public placated regarding environmental progress.[67] They were able to target the endpoint of waste and keep legislation away from the source.

The Advertisement Council has been in charge of Keep America Beautiful's advertisements since 1960, helping KAB greenwash for over 60 years.[68] The Federal Communications Commission requires that a certain amount of airtime be dedicated to public service announcements, and advertisements made by the Ad Council take up a majority of that airtime.[69] The Ad Council's domination of public air time translates across television, radio, magazines, newspapers, and even billboards which makes it a strong advertising company, perfect for the goal of KAB. As William D. Lutz notes, the Ad Council has a long history of working for corporations, allowing them the opportunity to "sell their ideas as public service announcements."[70] This is clear-cut greenwashing, companies like KAB can pay the Ad Council to run advertisements that look good for companies and are viewed by the public as public service announcements, not corporation advertisements.

KABl's role of providing solutions to environmental issues that keep pressure off big industries is a form of greenwashing. The Ad Council recently published an article designed to help consumers recognize what greenwashing looks like.[71] At first glance, this is a helpful guide for protecting consumers, yet it is ironic because the Ad Council is the main source of Keep America Beautiful advertisements. KAB incidentally commits the acts of greenwashing described in the article produced by their own main advertiser. Greenlighting is arguably the whole premise of Keep America Beautiful.[72] Keep America Beautiful's purpose as an organization was to greenlight proper waste management as the solution to pollution, thereby distracting the public from the sponsor's polluting practices. Keep America Beautiful claimed to be helping the environment despite the fact that the environment would benefit considerably more if the organization had let bottle bill legislation pass instead. KAB hoped that their anti-littering campaigns would be enough to please the public, but according to Elmore, the organization knew that "litter bags would not, in the long run, solve their problem of exposure," and they would need to step up their game to keep

[67] Friedel, "American Bottles: The Road to No Return," 521.
[68] "Keep America Beautiful: Our History."
[69] William D. Lutz, "'The American Economic System': The Gospel According to the Advertising Council," *College English* 38, no. 8 (April 1977): 860.
[70] Ibid., 861.
[71] Edwards, "Shades of Green."
[72] Ibid..

the public distracted.[73] In fact, in 1972, the Environmental Protection Agency issued a report on the "'beverage container problem,' arguing that voluntary litter cleanup, even KAB's 'large efforts [...] when more than two million people picked up litter' were nevertheless insufficient."[74] The beverage and packaging companies that were funding Keep America Beautiful were able to tell their consumers that they were helping the environment through this partnership, even though the organization was not doing anything to substantially help the environment. This fits the Ad Council's definition of greenlighting to a tee, and yet the Ad Council continues to be the source of most of Keep America Beautiful's advertisements from the iconic "Crying Indian" commercial up to the present. The Ad Council's guidelines to recognize when companies are greenwashing are helpful, but the Federal Trade Commission's "Green Guides" are what really save consumers from deceitful marketing. Companies partnered with Keep America Beautiful use their alliance to convince consumers that they are good for the environment, but some have been caught lying about their environmental impact and deceiving their customers. This is where the Federal Trade Commission gets involved. The FTC's "Green Guides" appear to make companies more environmentally friendly, but their actual purpose is to protect consumers from being defrauded by untruthful marketing. The FTC states that the guides "are not agency rules or regulations" themselves, but they "describe the types of environmental claims the FTC may or may not find deceptive under Section 5 of the FTC Act."[75] When companies are found in violation of the "Green Guides", the FTC takes judicial action to clarify what exactly the companies did wrong and what they need to do to correct themselves, including but not limited to cease and desist letters, recalling products, issuing public statements, and paying fines. Companies that violate the FTC's rules are partaking in greenwashing, and some of these companies have been or are currently partners of Keep America Beautiful.

ExxonMobil Corporation, formerly Mobil Oil Corporation, is a company that has been a longtime partner of Keep America Beautiful and has also been found in violation of the FTC's "Green Guides." The oil company has been a partner of KAB since the 1980s, convincing its customers that it is working to help the environment, despite oil companies being well-known for how they exploit and pollute the environment.[76] In 1993, the Federal Trade Commission found Mobil Oil Corporation in violation of their regulations because they

[73] Elmore, "The American Beverage Industry and the Development of Curbside Recycling Programs, 1950-2000," 489.
[74] Jaeger, "Forging Hegemony," 406.
[75] "FTC Issues Revised 'Green Guides.'"
[76] "Clean Community System Multi-Material Recycling Manual."

were producing plastic bags that were advertised to "offer a significant environmental benefit when consumers dispose of them as trash [...] compared to other plastic bags."[77] The plastic bags were marketed to consumers as bags that would "completely break down, decompose, and return to nature in a reasonably short period of time."[78] However, the FTC found that Mobil Oil did not have reliable evidence to support its claims.[79] By making their products seem more environmentally friendly than they actually were, Mobil Oil was misleading their consumers; actions that the Ad Council would describe as greenlabeling. The FTC issued a cease and desist order on all plastic bags that Mobil Oil was producing and falsely labeling.[80] Between partnering with Keep America Beautiful and being found in violation of the FTC regulations regarding environmental marketing, it is clear that Mobil Oil invested significant effort in convincing their customers that they are trying to help the environment without putting in the effort to actually do so. Mobil Oil did not attempt to change its product to make it more environmentally friendly, but it was willing to market the bags that way anyway to keep customer support. This practice of making performative claims about helping the environment without truly trying to do so is clear greenwashing and fits the pattern of Keep America Beautiful and its partners.

As recently as 2022, two more of Keep America Beautiful's partners illegally misrepresented their products in order to seem more environmentally friendly. The FTC found that Kohl's and Walmart were labeling various products as being made from bamboo, despite actually being made from rayon.[81] After labeling its products as bamboo, Walmart claimed that being made from bamboo made the products "eco-friendly," "sustainable," and "renewable."[82] The Kohl's products were labeled as being "manufactured in environmentally friendly factories," resulting in the products being "gentle on the planet."[83] The FTC investigated these claims and found that for both companies, because the products were made from rayon, their production emitted "hazardous air pollutants" that were therefore not environmentally friendly.[84] Kohl's and Walmart greenwashing their products is on brand for Keep America Beautiful companies.

The Sherwin-Williams Company is yet another example of one of Keep

[77] "Mobil Oil Corporation, 116 F.T.C. 113" (Federal Trade Commission, Feruary 1993), 115, https://www.ftc.gov/legal-library/browse/cases-proceedings/mobil-oil-corporation.
[78] Ibid., 113.
[79] Ibid..
[80] Ibid..

[81] "U.S. v. Kohl's Inc." (Federal Trade Commission, May 4, 2022), 18, https://www.ftc.gov/legal library/browse/cases-proceedings/2023171-kohls-inc-us-v; "Walmart, U.S." (Federal Trade Commission, April 8, 2022), 12, https://www.ftc.gov/legal-library/browse/cases-proceedings/2023173-walmart-us-v.
[82] "Walmart, U.S.," 7.
[83] "U.S. v. Kohl's Inc.," 10-11.
[84] "U.S. v. Kohl's Inc.," 18; "Walmart, U.S.," 12.

America Beautiful's notable partners being found in violation of the FTC's regulations. However, this company presented a more serious threat to not only the environment but also their customers' health. In 2012, the KAB partner had a line of paints that was advertised as containing "zero VOC," which stands for volatile organic compounds, a material that is known to cause negative environmental and health effects.[85] While products with trace levels of VOCs are allowed to be marketed as containing zero VOC, the paint being produced by Sherwin-Williams was found to have more than just trace levels.[86] The other KAB partners that were found to be violating the FTC regulations were misrepresenting the environmental impact of their products, but Sherwin Williams took greenlabeling a step further in this instance by actually putting their customers' health at risk through their deceptive marketing.

If their goal was to help the environment, Keep America Beautiful did a fairly bad job. KAB and its corporate partners purposefully have engaged in deceptive practices to convince the public that they are being more environmentally friendly than they truly are. Offering solutions that involve the public makes individuals feel more responsible for their impact on the environment, which in turn makes them more willing to take on the burden of saving the responsibility themselves rather than press for regulations to target the producers, which are the source causes of pollution. The beverage and packaging industries tactfully framed recycling and litter prevention as the most appropriate solution to waste created by disposable bottles to avoid bottle bills that would threaten their production processes and, consequently, their profits. Keep America Beautiful and the companies involved with it have mastered the practice of greenwashing to placate consumers who are increasingly concerned about the environmental practices of the places they buy from. It is no coincidence that as the environmental movement turned to target polluting industries, Keep America Beautiful was created to convince the public that pollution was an issue of individuals littering, not industrial waste. Once the truth behind the individualism of environmentalism is apparent, the public can become informed and able to call on industries to make more meaningful changes to their environmentally harmful practices.

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[85] "Sherwin-Williams Company" (Federal Trade Commission, March 6, 2013), 2, https://www.ftc.gov/legal library/browse/cases-proceedings/112-3198-sherwin-williams-company.

[86] Ibid..

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Sub-Nationalism in India: An Investigation of Colonial Britain's Campaign to Fracture Religious Communities in India

Jack Wiegand

South Asian Nationalism can very easily be seen through a simplistic lens as a unifying movement emerging out of the anti-colonial push in South Asia that disregarded one's class, religion, ethnicity, etc. in the hopes of defeating the colonizers and establishing some version of self-rule. However, this distinction fails to truly capture the complexity of South Asian Nationalism then and what it means now. In a paper published in 2006, B. C. Upreti argues for the idea that in a post-colonial world the same ties of anticolonialism that created the idea of South Asian Nationalism failed to hold, resulting in the creation of "sub-nationalist tendencies."[1] These tendencies are the result of many different factors including "majority-minority constructs. . . religion, language, ethnicity, regions" having all contributed to these new forms of "narrow based nationalism."[2] This concept is interesting because it suggests a form of South Asian Nationalism that is not as easily defined or limited to one centralized force or movement. Upreti takes this idea and showcases it as an issue that has resulted in the creation of and continued problems within South Asia into the modern day. However, these issues stem from a history of colonial rule that dates all the way back to Britain's early rule over India. Between the years of 1772-1858 Britain began taking religiously motivated actions with the intent to divide India's Hindu and Muslim populations from one another, leading to the fracturing of cultural relations. This took the form of Britain's continual usage of religion as a political tool in legal policy and the creation of false narratives. These actions served to plant the seeds for what would result in these "sub-nationalist" ideologies focusing around one's religious group as they fostered both cultural and communal separation between Muslims and Hindus in India.

One of the primary ways British religious actions divided Hindu and Muslim communities in India was through their utilization of religion as a political tool to control the people through legal policy. Under the guidance of Warren Hastings beginning in 1772 with the Judicial Act he set forth the charter for law that would stand for a long period within the colony. He

[1] B.C. Upreti, "Nationalism in South Asia: Trends and Interpretations," *The Indian Journal of Political Science* 67, no. 3 (September 2006): 538, https://www.jstor.org/stable/41856240 (accessed December 09, 2023).
[2] Ibid., 538 & 542.

began instituting a policy of non-intervention, an exclusionary policy that ruled over Muslim and Hindu communities separately. In the words of Hastings the policy "regarding inheritance, marriage, caste, and other religious usages or institutions, the laws of the Koran with respect to Mahomedans, and those of the Shastras with respect to Gentoos, shall be invariably adhered to."[3] This began the process of sectioning off India into two distinct groups, those of the Hindu denomination and those of the Muslim denomination. One of the first steps in the implementation of this code began with the initial attempted documentation of the Hindu religion with a book entitled *A Code of Gentoo Laws,* created under the patronage of Hastings himself. It outlined the practices and principles that the British could discern about the Hindu religion. he book declares in its preface that to ensure the "affections of the natives" and the "stability of the acquisition" the British must exercise "toleration in matters of religion, and an adoption of such original institutes of the country, as do not immediately clash with the laws or interests of the conquerors."[4] The book is therefore designed to achieve, as Nathaniel Halhed (the original author) states, the "same political advantages" as that of the Romans when they incorporated new peoples into their empire.[5] Thus pointing towards the British using religion as a tool to control the peoples of India. This resulted in both the intensification and further division of Muslim and Hindu groups.This text and legal charter propagated as well as defined what the British saw as Hinduism, othering it both legally and culturally from that of Muslims.

The British increasingly enforced religious divisions as they attempted to secure their foothold in India. To cement their position, they became concerned with what they thought would be proper governance in order to maintain their power in the colony. Edmund Burke emerged as one of the leading proponents of religious based legal policy making speeches, such as one in 1781 on the Bengal Judicature Bill. He declared "the encroachments which they made on the most sacred privileges" included "forcing ladies to appear before the courts; the contempt that was shewn for their religious ceremonies and mysteries; and the cruel punishments inflicted upon them in case of their disobedience" have hurt the British in proper governance of India.[6] He felt that to ensure order and the

[3] House of Commons Papers, "Sixth Report from the Select Committee on Indian Territories; Together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minute of Evidence, and Appendix," 19th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers, August 1853, https://parlipapers-proquest-com.colorado.idm.oclc.org/parlipapers/docview/t70.d75.1852-029 092?accountid=14503 (accessed December 09, 2023).

[4] Nathaniel Halhed, *A Code of Gentoo Laws or, Ordinations of the Pundits From a Persian Translation Made from the Original Written in the Shanscrit Language* (London: n.p., 1781), ix.

[5] Ibid., ix.

[6] Edmund Burke, "Speech on the Bengal Judicature Bill," In *The Writings and Speeches of Edmund Burke: Volume V India: Madras and Bengal 1774-1785,* ed. J.P. Marshall (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 141.

continued ability of the British to rule they must govern within "the spirit, the temper, the constitution, the habits, and the manners of the people" utilizing their "old laws and ancient systems."[7] Burke's statements reflected the nature of British policy being designed as a way to placate the masses of India while asserting British control. The result of which created a colony that legally was nearly cut in half along religious lines, serving to compound the divisions within Muslim and Hindu communities in India. This process only worsened upon the creation of the Cornwallis code in 1793 which was the first set of formal statutes that truly organized British law in India with respect to private and social legal matters. The law set primarily declared that for "civil and religious usages of the natives" proceedings should go forth in accordance with "Gentoo or Mahomedan law" and shall not be "molested or interrupted by any of the proceedings of said courts."[8] Essentially creating a society in which two competing law sets were both recognized and actively exercised, inherently fostering communal divisions between each religion as in the eyes of the state they held different legal distinctions. This created an unequal system that invariably resulted in disorder and disunity amongst those who were forced to participate in it. The law set in attempting to "preserve to them the laws of the Shastre and the Koran" intensified disunity based on religious denomination.[9]

It is therefore important to highlight a key issue with Britain's approach to religious law in India especially when compared to past rule under the Mughal Empire, which is that they showed utter disregard for the actual religions of the Indian people. In Audrey Truschke's biography of Aurangzeb, known as the last great Mughal Emperor, she describes Aurangzeb as "going beyond the requirements of Islamic law in his conduct to Hindu and Jain religious communities."[10] During his rule Aurangzeb ensured that Hindus and Jains were given the same treatment under the law, being "within the same Islamic juridical category of dhimmis" thus ensuring them "certain rights and state defenses."[11] In one of Truschke's translations, Aurangzeb claims to have looked down on rulers "who resorted to bigotry" as they were "razing God's prosperous creations and destroying divine foundations."[12] It seems that many communities looked fondly upon him as a ruler with a translation from a Jain text stating "Aurangzeb Shah is a brave and powerful king."[13] These sentiments and practices reflect a far different attitude towards the competing religions of India

[7] Ibid., 140-141.
[8] John Kaye, *Christianity in India: An Historical Narrative* (London: Smith, Elder, and co, 1859), 375.
[9] Ibid., 374.
[10] Audrey Truschke, *Aurangzeb: The Life and Legacy of India's Most Controversial King* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016), 79.
[11] Ibid., 79.
[12] Ibid., 81.
[13] Ibid., 82.

than what was seen under British rule. Halhed in *A Code of Gentoo Laws* describes Hinduism as a "superstition"[14] and Burke in his speech discussed prior refers to both Hindu and Muslim laws as "inimical to equal freedom." This points not only to the fact that British care for these religions went only as far as their ability to use them to manipulate the people of India, but also highlights a key difference that encouraged the degradation of communal ties between Hindus and Muslims. The British ran a religious state which encouraged and promoted disunity, whereas Aurangzeb ran a state that, in large part, accepted the many diverse religions that existed within it.

Further into Britain's control of India, statements from prominent figures suggest that the British designed their legal policies with the express purpose of dividing the people into two religious categories in order to weaken them. Attempting to stymy any potential for unification of Hindus and Muslims. While many British laws and charters based around religion had the effect of creating division, a statement made by Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, in 1857 that "'Divide et impera' was the old Roman motto, and it shall be ours." t.[15] This Latin phrase translates to Divide and Rule, a proclamation that clearly states that the British were purposefully dividing the people of India in order to effectively maintain power and rule without the potential for a unified upheaval. This far more sinister statement showcases that the British were likely aware that their utilization of religion as a political tool would go beyond simply placating the masses and keep them inherently divided.

One can see that in India following the British implementation of these laws there was a noticeable increase in religious violence. One of the most famous examples of this is the Banaras riots in 1809, started over a mosque and temple that was a "source of ill-will between the rival religions," it is said the Hindus were encroaching on neutral space between the two places of worship which erupted into a confrontation.[16] Reverend William Buyers, witnessing the event, described that "the whole Hindu population. . . rose in fury on the Musulmans and attacked them with every sort of weapon."[17]These types of attacks and outbreaks of religiously motivated violence were incredibly rare under the Mughal empire, reflecting a rise in tensions between Muslims and Hindus under British rule. Pointing to the fact that these policies were in fact achieving their purpose.

On top of policy and laws designed to divide India, the British engaged in the creation of false narratives intended to create

[14] Halhed, *A Code of Gentoo Laws,* ix.
[15] Francis Robins, *Separatism Among Indian Muslims: The Politics of the United Provinces' Muslims, 1860-1923* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 2.

[16] Phil Robinson, "The Benares Riots of 1809-1811," *Calcutta Review* 65, no. 129 (1877): 93, https://colorado.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/historical-periodicals/art-iv-benares-riots-1809-1811/docview/5284578/se-2?accountid=14503 (accessed December 09, 2023).
[17] Ibid., 95.

distrust and dislike from Hindus towards Muslims. One of the most prominent and enduring examples of this was the British promotion of the idea that Aurangzeb was a cruel and destructive leader towards his Hindu subjects. The British began to promote this idea very early on, but one of the most important and substantial contributions to this false history came from a book entitled *The History of India* written by Mountstuart Elphinstone. The account of Aurangzeb paints him as evil, cruel, and full of hatred towards Hindus. Stories about his brutality, such as one about "chief Bramin ministers" being "trampled to death by elephants" in response to a secret plot against his rule are constant throughout the book.[18] He also describes that "in the last step in a long course of bigotry and impolicy" he brought back a "capitation tax on Hindus" promoting the idea of his treatment of Hindus as second class citizens under his government.[19] Elphintsone attempts to push the fact that Hindus had become wholly disaffectionate to Aurangzeb stating that "at the beginning of his reign, the Hindus served the state," but due to his restrictions "every Hindu in the Deckan became at heart a partisan of the Marattas" (a rival to Aurangzeb).[20] He even chooses to conclude his discussion of Aurangzeb by stating that he "cordially detests the Hindus" and listing out the grievances he caused them, being "excluded from office; they were degraded by a special tax; their fairs and festivals forbidden; their temples were sometimes insulted and destroyed; and. . . the abolition of any ceremony or practice of the court that it seemed to give a contenance."[21] These accounts present an incredibly negative perspective on the reign of Aurangzeb and served to create a narrative that is far from the truth. Elphinstone uses specific examples of punishment as a broader reflection of his treatment of all Hindus throughout an incredibly vast empire. In the process, such narratives created resentment from Hindus towards Muslims for what the British promotedas a cruel and destructive reign. However this is inherently not true, on top of what was discussed prior, Aurangzeb ensured not only that the majority of Hindu temples were protected, with the exception of a few in extreme cases, but during his reign even encouraged more Hindu religious structures to be built.[22] A translation by Trushcke from a Muslim jurist shows their guiding policy that "it is not lawful to lay waste ancient idol temples."[23] With a quote from Aurangzeb himself even describing a group of Hindu, Jain, and Buddhist temples in Ellora as "one of the finely crafted marvels of the real, transcendent artisan."[24] This points to the fact that contrary to the

[18] Mounstuart Elphinstone, *The History of India: The Hindu and Mahometan Periods* (London: John Murray, 1841), 512.
[19] Ibid., 490.
[20] Ibid., 495.
[21] Ibid., 596.
[22] Truschke, *Aurangzeb,* 81-83.
[23] Ibid., 83.
[24] Ibid., 78.

British narrative, especially during the colonial period, Aurnagzeb was fair and equitable, fostering a reign that allowed for the growth and safety of all religions. Although the British painted him as a Muslim first and a ruler second, he was more of a ruler who happened to be Muslim.

Despite this manipulation of the facts, this tactic seems to have worked for the British as many young Indians latched onto these stories as representative of a repressive reign of terror under Muslim law. Rammohun Roy, a Hindu, writing in 1831 described how "divine providence. . . stirred up the English nation to break the yoke of those tyrants," referring to the end of the Mughal Empire.[25] In Roy's eyes, the British saved Hindus from a government under which "their property was often plundered, their religion insulted, and their blood wantonly shed" and instituted a reign of "equitable and indulgent treatment."[26] This reflects not only the power of the false narratives promoted by the British, but also the distaste and anger that it caused many young Hindus to feel against their former Muslim rulers. The narrative was able to penetrate and seep its way into the common school of thought throughout India, serving as a force which engendered distaste amongst Hindus for Muslims. On top of this it allowed for the British promotion of the idea amongst Hindu communities that they were their saviors, suggesting that the Hindus were better under the rule of the British than they were prior. This shored up British power in India and gave them more tools to manipulate the people into further disunity.

In addition to rewriting Indian history, the British continued to propagate false narratives through targeted and precise stories designed to showcase the British as the virtuous protectors of the Hindus. The returning of the Gates of Somnath in 1842 by Lord Ellenborough served to further promote the idea of Muslim's history in India as destructive overlords and Britain as the restorers of Hindu India. The Hindu temple of Somnath had been raided by Mahmud of Ghazni in 1026, a muslim ruler, leaving the temple destroyed. However during the Afghan War Lord Ellenborough, lying to the people of India, declared that he was having the Gates of the temple front returned from Ghazni, stating that "the insult of 800 years is at last avenged."[27] The Gates being brought back in fact had nothing to do with the temple of Somnath, rather they were of Egyptian origin. However Ellenborough in his famous speech, 'Proclamation of the Gates,' described to the people of India that through their return what had been "so long a memorial of your

[25] Rammohun Roy, "Exposition of the Practical Operation of Judicial and Revenue systems of India," In *Sources of Indian Tradition Volume Two: Modern India and Pakistan,* ed. Stephen Hay (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 19.
[26] Ibid..

[27] Edward Balfour, *Cyclopaedia of India and of Eastern and Southern Asia, Commercial, Industrial and Scientific: Products of the Mineral, Vegetable and Animal Kingdoms, Useful Arts and Manufactures* Scottish and Adelphi Press, 1871), 64.

humiliation, are [to] become the proudest record of your national history."[28] Ellenborough's statements pitted Hindus and Muslims against one another, showing not only Muslims as the enemy to Hindus, but further that historically Hindus have been humiliated by the actions of Muslim despots. The statements also inflamed Muslims as Ellenborough enumerated that "the despoiled tomb of Mahmood looks upon the ruins of Ghaznee."[29] Almost joyously, he described the destruction of a primarily Muslim city and a ransacking of its tombs. Ellenborough ensured that in the eyes of the people this act of kindness was only made possible by the British. Asking the people of India to consider, in regards to the British government, "how worthy it proves itself of your love, when, regarding your honors" and how the government has aided India in restoring it "from the miseries whereby, in former times, India was afflicted."[30] Enforcing the idea of the British as caring about the plight of past Hindus and being the ones who could bring about greater prosperity. The story served to engender dislike and anger from both Hindus and Muslims, casting both respectively as the aggressors to the other. It played into a decades long historical farce, promoted by the British through their reinterpretation of history with figures like Aurangzeb. The idea that Muslims and Hindus had never been able to coexist and never would, served to further blur the ties that had once existed prior to the British arrival. Leaving a festering wound that would later result in sub-nationalist ideologies based around one's religious denomination.

In fact, historian Romila Thapar extensively analysed this narrative created by Ellenborough, finding that surrounding the raid of Somnath "anti-Muslim sentiment among Hindus in India. . . judging from the earlier sources, had either not existed or been marginal and localized.".[31] She focuses on the idea of trauma:"the absence in earlier times of an articulation of a trauma remains enigmatic."[32] This trauma was manufactured, created by the British to emphasize this idea of Hindus being forced to live, in years past, under a cruel and repressive Muslim regime. Thapar intones K.M. Munshi, former governor of Uttar Pradesh in the 1950s, who promoted it as the "most important symbol of Muslim iconoclasm in India."[33] Munshi's argument reveals a direct throughline on how British narratives intended to create religious disunity have had a protracted and destructive impact on Muslim and Hindu relations years after their invention. Lending credence towards the idea that as a result of British rule the penchant for Hindus and Muslims to harbor negative feelings towards

[28] Ibid..
[29] Ibid..
[30] Ibid..

[31] Romila Thapar, *Narratives and the Making of History: Two Lectures* (London: Oxford University Press, 2000).
[32] Ibid..
[33] Ibid..

one another increased, paving the way for sub-nationalism today.

However, in what seems to be in opposition to the common ideology of the British to encourage religious disunity, it seems that in Britain the actions of Ellenborough were not well liked. In a speech delivered in the House of Commons in 1943 by one Vernon Smith, he expressed concern about the possible outcomes that such a divisive, and potentially inflammatory, action could potentially cause. “Politically, it is a blunder,” Smith warned, saying it would cause Muslims the “fiercest indignation. . . Mahometans are a minority: but their importance is much more than proportioned to their number: for they are an united [sic], a zealous, an ambitious, a warlike class.”[34] Smith’s argument seemingly reflects a perspective that is not showcased in many sources, discouraging actions that foster religious disunity. However upon further examination of his speech it not only serves as the British consciously acknowledging the effect of their actions, but the extensive thought that went into the narratives they promoted. In a later speecht Smith claims that “in order to curry favor with the Hindoos he has offered an inexpiable insult to the Mahometans; and now, in order to quiet the English, he is forced to disappoint and disgust the Hindoos.”[35] This remark reveals that Smith was merely concerned that Ellenborough had overstepped, potentially hurting the British, bruising their image and political favor. The British were consciously using these false narratives to cause disunity, but were sure to only promote narratives that wouldn’t generate anger towards them.

Britain's continued use of religion as a political tool through both legal policy and false narratives fueled a destructive program with the express intent of fracturing communities throughout India based on religious denomination. Britain created a legal system based on one's religion in order to divide Hindus and Muslims, increasing communal antagonism with events such as the Banaras riots. Britain's rewriting of history proved to be equally impactful, casting Muslims as despotic rulers to foster anger and resentment among Hindus. Thus pushing a narrative of Britain as their saviors with events like the returning of the Gates of Somnath. All of this served to lay the foundations for what has today become, as B.C. Upreti puts it, “deviations in the form and contents of Nationalism in South Asia, leading to trends of sub-nationalism and secessionism.”[36] Actions of the past are still haunting the present and deep scars left by Britain are reflected even cartographically in South Asia today, as the partition of India and Pakistan was

[34] Vernon Smith, “The Gates of Somnauth,” transcript of speech delivered at the house of commons, London, England, March 9, 1843 ,http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00generallinks/macaulay/txt_commons_somnauth_ 1843.html (accessed December 09, 2023).

[35] Ibid..

[36] B.C. Upreti, “Nationalism in South Asia: Trends and Interpretations,” 535.

motivated primarily by religious divisions and the inability of two groups to any longer coexist. The idea of South Asian Nationalism can therefore not simply be broken down into one unified movement, but seen as a fractured web of interconnected groups and ideologies that is malleable both in purpose and affiliation. Nationalism in South Asia was created in a long process that , in part, was fostered by British colonial programs.

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Eleanor of Aquitaine:

Queen of the Troubadours

Cliff Kirvan

Eleanor of Aquitaine, or the "the richest heiress in Europe" as Melrich Rosenberg coined in her 1937 biography, proved to be one of the most influential people in European history.[1] Her influence and power were something the continent had never seen before. The fact that she was a woman in this period alone should have come with extremely limiting circumstances; yet, throughout Eleanor's life, she flexed her undeniable influence on Europe. She held the power in her first marriage to Louis VII. She brought the largest swath of territory

[1] Melrich V. Rosenberg, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, "Queen of the Troubadours and of the Courts of Love" (Houghton Mifflin Company, The Riverside Press Cambridge), p. 4

into her second marriage as she joined Henry II's Angevin Empire. Despite Henry II's tyrannical nature, she managed to keep control of Aquitaine to herself, her loyal advisors, and her favorite son, who would protect her legacy even in her period of captivity. Eleanor possessed and utilized political power of her own; she used her children as reinforcements to fortify her authority over Aquitaine and its surrounding fiefdoms. She developed an understanding of Europe unique to the cultural roots of Aquitaine. Even though Eleanor was Queen of France and later England, the troubadour culture and the ideals of courtly love had an enormous influence on the unprecedented political heights Eleanor achieved.

Aquitaine, Troubadours, & Southern French Culture

Eleanor was born at a prosperous time in the history of her southern French duchy of Aquitaine. She arrived into the world just as the southern French nobility were beginning to utilize the ideas and practices of the troubadours in the area known as "Occitania".[2] Occitania is not an official place by any means but largely exists to give scholars a definitive location where the troubadours were concentrated. The troubadours largely settled in this area which covered the south of France and part of northern Italy. The troubadours were nomadic artists that focused on the ideas of chivalry and courtly love. Many originated in Catalonia; yet this region of Spain was so volatile that many of the singer poets in the region migrated north, and settled in the Occitanian region around the beginning of the twelfth century.[3] The Duchy of Aquitaine encompassed the western half of Occitania. Positioned north of the Pyrenees Mountains, the Duchy of Aquitaine was the first place in France to accept poets migrating from Spain. These poets would find themselves welcomed by the musical and artful nobles of the region, and within the century the custom of having a well-respected troubadour at court and treating that troubadour with respect had instilled itself not only in the region of Occitania, but throughout Europe, in places like Normandy and Saxony.[4] Eleanor was born into the epicenter of this cultural revolution. Her love for literature and the idea of courtly love defined Eleanor's central identity and political compass. It would prove the "dominant role in the awakening and spread of culture".[5]

What was the content of these poetic songs Eleanor almost surely grew up listening to? The book *The Troubadours: An Introduction*, provides a series of essays from scholars of troubadour literature in an

[2] Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay, *The Troubadours: An Introduction*, "Courtly culture in medieval Occitania" (Cambridge University Press), ch. 1, pp. xiii, 8-9

[3] Gaunt and Kay, *The Troubadours: An Introduction*, ch. 1, p. 9

[4] Gaunt and Kay, *The Troubadours: An Introduction*, ch. 1, p. 13

[5] Rosenberg, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, p. 3

attempt to introduce said literature to unfamiliar readers. The second essay written by Linda Paterson highlights the work of Guilhem de Peitieu, also known as William IX, Duke of Aquitaine and Eleanor's grandfather.[6] William IX was the first notable French noble to adopt the troubadour art style.[7] The first of his songs referenced in the essay encapsulates the trend of content that troubadours sang about. The song is transcribed from the southern French dialect of its origin. A section of this love song reads:

> *A man will never be truly faithful to love unless he is submissive to it, and accommodating to strangers and neighbors, and willing to serve all those in such circles. Anyone who desires to love must obey the wishes of many people; and it is incumbent on him to know how to perform pleasing deeds and to take care not to speak uncouthly in court.*[8]

Eleanor, who was only four years old when William died, could certainly have been coddled and sung this love song, possibly by her grandfather himself. She certainly would have known it as she grew older. Paterson's very argument in her essay is that the most popular form of troubadour lyrics, "the courtly canso", stems from William's style and the topics of "patience, submission to love's demands, an accommodating manner...willingness to perform services…pleasing actions, and polite speech at court".[9] These would be considered moral obligations to most Aquitanian nobles by the time Eleanor matured to a teenager in the 1130's.[10] The rich culture of Aquitaine established moral obligations which embedded themselves in Eleanor and guided her throughout her life and development.

The Queen of France

The proposal of Eleanor's marriage to Louis Capet came with the same messengers who delivered news of her father's death. Upon Eleanor's ascension to the Duchess of Aquitaine, King Louis VI agreed to her father's dying wish: that Eleanor would marry his son and heir to the French throne.[11] Eleanor was only fifteen at the time and hardly old enough or confident enough for any record of her opinion on this marriage to be recorded. One could assume she would be anxious, maybe even excited, as she would have thought back to those troubadours' songs about the great unity love creates. Eleanor possibly understood the political appeal of this marriage, as

[6] Gaunt and Kay, *The Troubadours: An Introduction*, ch. 2, p. 28
[7] Gaunt and Kay, *The Troubadours: An Introduction*, ch. 2, p. 31
[8] Gaunt and Kay, *The Troubadours: An Introduction*, p. 30
[9] Gaunt and Kay, *The Troubadours: An Introduction*, ch. 2, pp. 30-31
[10] And by contrast most of the nobles in Aquitaine.
[11] Rosenberg, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, p. 4

Aquitaine was a rather independent-minded amalgam of vassals. At fifteen, the nuance and complexities of medieval politics were not concepts she fully understood. However, given the culture of courtly love in which she was raised, she possibly had some insights into the reasons for marriage. More likely, her idea of marriage was most likely romanticized by the troubadour songs of her youth.

Her father was Eleanor's sole male protector and thus the only one who might save her from being "rapt away by some rebel baron of her own vassalage", but that protector was now dead.[12] The arrival of Louis VII, heir to the great and noble "Frankish throne", would certainly halt any rebellious duke who may have planned to sweep in and take control of the Duchy.[13] Vice versa, Louis VI understood that any rebellious duke who may take control of Aquitaine would certainly make a formidable and rich enemy king to his south.[14] So largely this marriage can be viewed politically as a non-conflict agreement between the large and expansive Frankish kingdom and the rich and inclusive Aquitaine.

Amy Kelly was an historian and educator who wrote during the first half of the twentieth century. Her life's work *Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Four Kings*, established that Louis Capet "had been bred in the cloister of Notre Dame for one of those ecclesiastical preferments" and had not initially been the heir to the throne. Unfortunately, Louis' brother died in a rather strange horse accident involving a pig when Louis was just ten.[15] In short, Louis VII was not raised to be King. He was nurtured by priests and studied scripture and philosophy rather than political and battle strategy. Thus this early educational focus on ecclesiastical matters failed to establish any semblance of a back bone or any competence in the field of battle. It would be to this weak man the culturally rich and evermore clever Eleanor would wed in 1137.

Eleanor's marriage to Louis would most likely be described by the woman herself as incredibly dull and boring. Louis lacked ambition and the social wisdom to fully understand how to love one's wife, especially a wife like Eleanor, with her rich ideas of love and marriage. Louis and Eleanor managed to have one daughter in the first ten years of their marriage.[16] During that decade, Eleanor came to understand that the idea of love and marriage were two very different things. Her marriage was not the ideal of the courtly love song with which she grew up. She also began to understand how to ensure the power brought by her duchy

[12] Amy Kelly, *Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Four Kings*, (Vintage Books; A Division of Random House New York), . 4

[13] As William of Tyre liked to put it. William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, V. 2, (Columbia University Press).

[14] Kelly, *Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Four Kings*, p. 4

[15] Kelly, *Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Four Kings*, p. 5

[16] Kelly, *Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Four Kings*, p. 38

stayed in her hands. She increasingly would disagree with Louis on matters and keep her Aquitanian vassals close. When the matter of the Second Crusade arose, Eleanor was adamant on taking the cross and going with her husband to the Holy Land. Kelly believes Eleanor may have decided to take up the cross because of her uncle, Raymond, who was duke of the crusader state Antioch.[17]

Eleanor expressed her independence in ways that historians of the day could not ignore. As a woman, Eleanor mostly goes unmentioned by the popular historians of the day, like William of Tyre. This historian gives every attempt to effectively write Eleanor out of history, yet he cannot help but mention her in regards to the scandal involving Raymond of Antioch. "Contrary to her royal dignity, she [Eleanor] disregarded her marriage vows and was unfaithful to her husband".[18] This blatant accusation by William of Tyre is interesting, as he wrote roughly during the 1170s and 1180s, north of thirty years after the events of this scandal played out. His disrespect for Eleanor may be attributed to her being locked away in England when he wrote his book. In the same book, William of Tyre gives the credit of Eleanor's marriage annulment to Louis, claiming the king "decided to put her away" immediately following their return from the Holy Land.[19] Yet Rosenberg, Elanor's biographer disagrees. William fails to mention that Eleanor and Louis had another child in 1150 after returning from the crusade. In contrast to William, Rosenberg notes that the child was conceived in "the Pope's fortress of Tusculum", a place in Italy.[20] This fact proves that William is an unreliable source. Rosenberg also reinforces the idea that Eleanor's decision to leave Louis ultimately was her own.[21]

Better Love and Better Marriage?

Eleanor would again be reminded of Louis' sullen and boring nature in 1150, when she would meet the brash and athletic seventeen year old heir to Normandy and Anjou: Henry Plantagenet. Henry would visit Paris with his father, Geoffrey, the Duke of Anjou, to pay their respects to their feudal lord, King Louis VII. Yet, Henry and Eleanor grew a fast fondness for one another, and, according to Rosenberg, made an agreement that Henry would have Eleanor's hand in marriage just as soon as she could divorce Louis. Rosenberg definitely believes that Eleanor and Henry were having an affair, possibly as long as three years before her divorce.[22] Eleanor still knew she needed to be patient and wait for an opportunity where

[17] Kelly, *Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Four Kings*, p. 39
[18] William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds done Beyond the Sea*, p. 181
[19] William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds done Beyond the Sea*, p. 196
[20] Rosenberg, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, p. 121
[21] Rosenberg, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, p. 121-122
[22] Rosenberg, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, ch. 5

she could successfully divorce Louis. It is remarkable that Eleanor felt confident enough in her riches and ability to keep secrets that she would fraternize with Henry, who counted as one of Louis' biggest potential adversaries in the region.

Eleanor divorced Louis in 1152, and on May 18, 1152, expressly against the wishes of King Louis VII, Eleanor and Henry married at Poitiers.[23] Eleanor's second marriage thus combined their dukedomes to form one sprawling area of land, encompassing the western portion of France and effectively cutting off the as-of-yet independent duchy of Brittany from the kingdom of France. Normandy, Anjou, and Aquitaine were united under one ambitious couple. Eleanor and Henry immediately set to work expanding their interests and pursuing more land and power.

Henry was eleven years younger than Eleanor. At thirty, Eleanor's ability to mother children would certainly be called into question. Most women in this period did not live past the age of 35 much less give birth in their thirties. Yet, Eleanor would prove more fertile than anyone could have ever imagined, possibly pointing to the lack of sexual activity Louis and Eleanor engaged in throughout their fourteen years of marriage.

Henry and Louis were some of the best examples of the two different types of rulers to typically emerge in medieval Europe. European rulers of the time were either weak and easily swayed by their underlings, or they were undeniably bold, ambitious to a fault, and stubborn enough to keep command segregated to themselves and a few very trusted advisors. Louis embodied the former, while Henry and Eleanor were the latter. By choosing to end her first marriage and boldly realign herself with a more ambitious partner, Eleanor obviously was an ambitious woman. Within two years, Henry and Eleanor were the king and queen of England, Aquitaine, Anjou, and Normandy, uniting more territory than even the King of France in the Angevin Empire.

Along with Henry's ascension to the throne of England, Eleanor had given birth to a son, William. William would unfortunately die two years later, but by that point in 1156, Eleanor had already given birth to two more children, Henry and Matilda. Eleanor would spend much of the next ten years pregnant. She and Henry had a total of eight children, and only lost one to sickness. Having produced so many children between the ages of thirty to forty-five, Eleanor stood out amongst contemporary European women of this age. By being reproductively fruitful and producing numerous heirs, Eleanor solidified her own power as Queen.

Douglas Boyd offers an interesting metaphor in his biography of Eleanor. He likens Eleanor and Henry's actions during the 1150s and 1160s to a game of chess. Essentially, the two were setting the board

[23] Rosenberg, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, p. 144

for checkmate. The birth of children and acquisition of allies, by both Eleanor and Henry seems similar to an attempt at a total European takeover.[24] Henry made allies, like Thomas Becket, who secured his succession to the English throne with the Pope. Becket would come to serve as Henry's chancellor, as well as the closest thing to a friend Henry would ever have. Henry also courted "with Saxony, Castile, Maurienne and Sicily" through marriage alliances.[25] In 1066, he also pressured the Duke of Brittany to abdicate "in favor of his daughter," so he could marry her to his eight year old son Geoffrey.[26] Eleanor, meanwhile, was busy securing the Angevin Empire's southern border. She managed the alliance with the Duke of Castile by offering him her daughter's hand in marriage.[27] More importantly, Richard, the second eldest male after Henry, emerged as Eleanor's favorite child. In the 1150s, during her divorce to Louis and marriage to Henry, having the Pope as an ally in her case was absolutely necessary in order for Eleanor to overrule Louis' authority.[28] Popes in this age tended to have an extremely low lifespan, "within the century, six had lasted a year or less".[29] Eleanor continued fostering relationships with popes like Alexander III and Adrian VI. It was clear the couple was navigating the realm of medieval politics. Yet, the geographical locations of the Dukal allies Henry and Eleanor were facilitating seem to be geographically positioned for a possible continental takeover. Finally, Eleanor seems to have found a partner with ambition to rival her own. Her position as a middle-aged childbearing Queen framed her as a prime example of a medieval lady, which allowed her to retain even more of her own authority

Betrayal and the Chosen Son

Although Eleanor had found a man who's ambitions were in line with her own, she quickly discovered the price of that ambition. "His court was the most slovenly in Europe," says Philip Henderson, a Richard Lionheart historian.[30] Certainly Eleanor would have been most disappointed at the lack of finer things at Henry's court in Normandy. She found it was to only get worse for her, for the English courts were even dirtier and less cultured. So the cultured Eleanor brought southern French troubadours with her to every court she resided at. But what was the relationship between Henry and Eleanor like upon the onset of their relationship? Presumably, Henry and Eleanor were deeply infatuated with one another, seeing how they had a year-long affair before their marriage. This is corroborated by the fact that Eleanor had a total of nine pregnancies with Henry which

[24] Douglas Boyd, *Eleanor: April Queen of Aquitaine*, (Sutton Publishing), ch. 11
[25] Boyd, *Eleanor: April Queen of Aquitaine*, p. 189
[26] Boyd, *Eleanor: April Queen of Aquitaine*, p. 185
[27] Boyd, *Eleanor: April Queen of Aquitaine*, p. 186
[28] Rosenberg, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, p. 121
[29] Boyd, *Eleanor: April Queen of Aquitaine*, p. 190

[30] Philip Henderson, *Richard Coeur de Lion*, (Norton & Company Inc.), p. 27

resulted in eight children. Sadly, it seemed the love affair did not even last through all of her pregnancies. Boyd stresses that Eleanor's final child, John, served as one final attempt to keep any semblance of a relationship with the man she ended her first marriage to love.[31] By the time John was born in 1166, however, the couple's dream of ruling over all of Europe had crumbled before them, because of one miscalculation on Henry's part: Thomas Becket. Henry made the history-defining decision to make his Chancellor and friend the Archbishop of Canterbury. Becket proved more loyal to the church than his king. He refused to help Henry. As a result, the archbishop was accidentally murdered. Boyd thinks Henry's goal with Becket was to position the well-respected theist and bureaucrat to eventually reach the papacy, effectively handing control of the most powerful entity in Europe to Henry II. The historian believed this was Henry's final move to take control of Europe, yet it failed. Becket betrayed his king, and both Eleanor and Henry were forced to abandon their once possible dreams of a unified Europe.[32]

Henry's claim to the Duchy of Aquitaine came with a few problems, chief of which were the rebellious dukes of the region who made trouble for Henry at every opportunity. Henry spent most of his reign squashing rebellions from his southern French territories. It would be on these bouts of warfare where he would start being unfaithful. Henry's infidelities are an interesting aspect of Eleanor's life. Most historians are confident that Eleanor had at least one affair while married to Louis, but it is possible she had many. Due to these affairs, Eleanor tolerated the increasing number of illegitimate children Henry continued to father. By 1166, however, Eleanor was quite finished entertaining Henry and his chief mistress, Rosamond Clifford. One of Eleanor's final straws occurred when Henry gave Eleanor a bad case of Gonorrhoea or possibly Syphilis, which he received from one of his other women.[33] The second and most important reason is what separated Rosamond from Henry's other mistresses: he loved her. Henry had two children with Rosamond and built her a castle at Woodstock in England, apparently "to shelter his mistress… from the queen's jealousy".[34] Scholars know Eleanor began to move her things back to her home court of Poitou in 1167. She managed to fill seven boats of items which she had brought to England to spruce up its lackluster culture.[35] This removal of her prized possessions indicated her loss of idealized love for Henry and is an attempt to reclaim her independent power. She finally left England to set up her own court at Poitou in 1168.

[31] Boyd, *Eleanor: April Queen of Aquitaine*, p. 184
[32] Boyd, *Eleanor: April Queen of Aquitaine*, p. 189-190
[33] Boyd, *Eleanor: April Queen of Aquitaine*, p. 184
[34] Henderson, *Richard Coeur de Lion*, p. 28
[35] Boyd, *Eleanor: April Queen of Aquitaine*, p. 186

Richard Coeur de Lion was born in Oxford in 1157. It seemed he was already chosen to be the future duke of Aquitaine, as immediately following his birth he was moved to Aquitaine and raised between their two biggest cities of Poitou and Bordeaux.[36] Richard, from the moment of his birth, seemed destined to be Eleanor's favorite. Eleanor understood with Henry's dictation that Richard would eventually rule Aquitaine and it would be up to her to ensure he was able to do so. Both Louis VII and Henry II had troubles with fermenting rebellions in Aquitaine. Eleanor certainly understood that if a technically "foreign" duke was set to rule over the rebellious Aquitanian vassals then they would almost definitely not accept him. She knew that a culture as rich as Aquitaine needed a man of their culture to lead them. Therefore, Richard was raised in Aquitaine under Eleanor's supervision. Richard would actually prove to be Eleanor's only child who she would take a primary role in raising.

What scholars can detect, after the betrayal from Beckett and the end of any possibility of a European takeover, is a shift in Boyd's chess game. A shift from the king and queen being united, to a split of the pieces. Eleanor, by 1166, understood that in Henry's mind, she was no longer his Queen or his wife. She understood, to Henry, she was merely another vassal ensuring the income from Aquitaine and a safeguard against rebellion. It became obvious, in November of that year, when Henry called a meeting of all the Aquitanian vassals to pledge their "allegiance to Young Henry as Nominal duke of Aquitaine in addition to the titles of England, Normandy, and Anjou which he already held".[37] This was Henry's first blatant move against Eleanor's interests. How could Aquitaine have two Dukes? It could not. By making the eldest son the nominal duke, Henry was effectively attempting to disinherit Richard. Luckily for Eleanor, her uncle rebelled against Henry for this disrespect, as by this time the nine-year-old Richard was seen by the Nobles as a true Aquitainian Prince, worthy of the dukedom to which he was heir.

By 1168, Eleanor had set up her independent court at Poitou. These famous courts would be known in history as the courts of love and prove Eleanor's idea of rich culture. Eleanor seems to have been so sick of what she perceived as the dirty and nonexistent culture of England and Northern France that she took to creating her own court with no expense spared. In this five year period from 1168 to 1173, Eleanor reached a particular height in her power. Eleanor's roots in the courts of love truly started to bear fruit. It was here she gathered ladies from throughout Europe and judged matters of social love and marriage. Eleanor proved here that her influence was far reaching. However, this time of utopia would only last those five years.

[36] Henderson, *Richard Coeur de Lion*, p. 29

[37] Boyd, *Eleanor: April Queen of Aquitaine*, p. 185

In 1173, Eleanor enjoyed a cultured society espousing the ideals of love. Henry, in contrast, had alienated not only his wife and second son, but every other member of his family along with the Duke of Saxony, and the king of France (who was still Louis VII). His alienation resulted in an armed uprising against him, led by Young Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey; it was patronized by the duke of Saxony, Louis VII and Eleanor. However, Eleanor would demonstrate a misjudgement when, in 1173, she would try to reach Paris to meet with Louis VII, most likely to ensure her sons would still receive their inheritance. She would never make it to Paris though, as she would be captured by Henry's men and brought back to England. This event marked the fastest and biggest drop in Eleanor's influence in the last twenty-five years. Possibly, she committed this mistake due to hubris; she suffered from excessive pride and trust bestowed by her power in Aquitaine. Her only true mistake was the boldness that came with underestimating her husband. She was imprisoned both literally by her husband and figuratively by the lost love of her marriage. She remained imprisoned in northern England until 1189, when Richard, the last of the three fighting sons to survive, defeated and killed his father, freeing Eleanor in the process.

Reaching her Political Heights

Throughout Eleanor's reign as the Queen of France and then England, she brought troubadours with her to any court where she stayed on her frequent travels. She was the individual responsible for spreading Troubadour culture throughout Europe. After her life, evidence of Troubadour activity far and away outside of the region of Occitania was apparent. She quite literally created this European tradition. Eleanor would have never been able to almost single-handedly spread her culture to Europe without the power she amassed during her life. She was a quick and masterful negotiator as well as an ambitious and deeply well-connected duchess. She understood the nuance of court and how to twist news and rumors to her own advantage. Her cultural heritage helped guide her and gave her an example of the type of person she could trust. This culture made her understand how to navigate the politics of court.

Upon her release in 1189, Eleanor achieved political power she previously could only have dreamed of. Richard, over his ten year reign, spent a total of nine months in his kingdom actually ruling it. The rest of the time the effective ruler of the entire Angevin Empire was Eleanor herself. Nonetheless, she did it at seventy years old. Eleanor's age alone wass something so unprecedented. This was a woman who did most of her childbearing in her late thirties

and early forties, in a time "when every pregnancy could be lethal" and most pregnancies were carried out by girls in their teens.[38] This woman gave birth ten to twenty years after the social norm, and then lived another forty years! She accomplished all this while directly ruling Aquitaine. Eleanor utilized her culture and her moral obligations to tread carefully in the Medieval court. This allowed her to play the game in a way that centralized power to either herself or a chosen male companion. Eleanor was anything but stupid. She understood the limitations of women and reacted to them by marrying and having children, this way she could have conduits to focus more power through to herself. Eleanor achieved more than a long life and produced many heirs; she created an enduring cultural legacy of courtly love that outlived her and shaped centuries of medieval history.

[38] Boyd, *Eleanor: April Queen of Aquitaine*, p. 187

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A Historical Analysis of the Evolution of *Haciendas* and their Effect on Mexican Society

Grace Thompson

From its start in the Spanish colonial period of the 16th century to its decline following the aftermath of the Mexican Revolution at the beginning of the 20th century, the legacy of the *hacienda* is directly tied to the development of Mexico as a whole. *Haciendas* possessed an impactful influence on social structures and the agricultural economy in rural Mexico. They were at the center of agrarian production when the European colonizers first introduced new crops. Unlike previous farming methods, with one family working a single and smaller plot of land, *haciendas* facilitated the planting and cultivation of crops and livestock to a degree never before possible. This was due to the sprawling nature of these estates, which became epicenters of influence and power. This power controlled the lives of the agricultural workers who tended to the lands, and it created a system resembling serfdom from the European Middle Ages.[1] Historian and Professor Eric Van Young describes *haciendas* as an "Institutional structure of landholding and labor systems," which encompasses its large-scale organization.[2] The landowner managed a massive system of production like this, referred to as the "*hacendado*" or *patrón*."[3] The hundreds of laborers who worked on his land were essentially held in bondage to him, trapped by the low wages and lack of work elsewhere. To keep these people in order, the landholder and his administrators relied on a strict system of social hierarchies to enforce a code of conduct of sorts on the plantation. This brief overview of the hacienda establishment is key to fully analyzing its systematic agricultural production and entrapment of labor workers. Overall, haciendas shaped rural Mexican society throughout the 16th and 20th centuries, effectively dominating the agrarian economy and creating social hierarchies with unequal class distinctions based on race until their end following the Mexican Revolution. Reforms for social justice and land redistribution emerged in the 1917 Mexican Constitution. They expanded landownership to many

[1] Eric Van Young, "Mexican Rural History Since Chevalier: The Historiography of the Colonial Hacienda," *Latin American Research Review* 18, no. 3 (1983): 10, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2503018.

[2] Ibid., 9.

[3] Christopher Vourlias, "Discover the rich history in Mexico's haciendas," NBC News, 2009. https://www.nbcnews.com/id/wbna29900744.

individuals rather than concentrating power into the sole hands of one established owner. This marked the end of the powerful system of the hacienda. The structure of this research will first dissect its financial functions and impact on the Mexican economy. It will also cover the labor systems and resulting exploitation of hacienda workers, which then transitions to topics relating to the social impacts involving class distinctions and social stratifications that were present. Other social issues include the different treatments of workers based on their race or gender. Finally, this paper will examine the Mexican Revolution's impact on haciendas, studying its initial outbreak, and the social and commercial alterations that emerged after.

Examining the historiography of the hacienda labor system is essential to understanding its notable effects on the greater Mexican economy and society. Previous historical research on haciendas has proven that their concept is difficult to define "because of their variability through time and across the [Mexican] landscape," writes historian Elizabeth Terese Newman.[4] The Mexican state varied greatly between territories because of the different indigenous groups tied to each region. Therefore, all of these groups came into the hacienda system in various ways and periods. However, François Chevalier, the historian who started the conversation about the origins of the hacienda in 1963, argues that Christian colonizers created the hacienda to attain a sense of control over the Indian population instead of being created for economic gain. Chevalier writes, "The Spanish missionary state could find no better way of protecting its charges than to declare them permanent minors who were prohibited from transferring their lands and were subject to everlasting guardianship."[5] Eurocentric ideas like what he is describing are what put Spanish descendants in the seats of control over the vast estates while the indigenous peoples were forced into physical labor. Chevalier's idea that haciendas developed for colonial control alone contradicts this paper's argument. The hacienda was designed for capitalist enterprises directly linked to the common market economy in Mexico.

Newman makes a good point that although the purpose of haciendas was economical, its importance was more than that.[6] She mentions the ideas of older historians, Eric Wolf and Sidney Mintz, who say haciendas were "organized to supply a

[4] Elizabeth Terese Newman, *Biography of a Hacienda : Work and Revolution in Rural Mexico / Elizabeth Terese Newman*. University of Arizona Press, 2014, 12. https://research.ebsco.com/linkprocessor/plink?id=54402ab6-0706-3bc0-8dd2-f977b33bcc10.

[5] François Chevalier. Land and Society In Colonial Mexico: the Great Hacienda. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963, 309. https://hdl-handle-net.colorado.idm.oclc.org/2027/heb02725.0001.001.

[6] Newman, 12

small-scale market by means of scarce capital, in which the factors of production are employed not only for capital accumulation but also to support the status aspirations of the owner."[7] This thought encompasses both the idea that haciendas were designed to bring influence and power to their owners, but they also held the financial purpose of cornering nearby market economies. The history of the Mexican economy is heavily influenced by the hacienda culture popular throughout the country. Early events in the colonization of Mexico triggered the need for the systematic labor forces that made up haciendas. A general economic decline occurred in Mexico during the 17th century, and it is attributed to the dramatic population decline from European-borne illnesses to which the indigenous populations had no immunity. The lack of a stable workforce created the basis for debt peonage to become the fundamental characteristic of labor in rural Mexico.[8] Debt peonage was the essential methodology for exploiting the labor class. Chevalier explains this idea, writing, "Theoretically, the peon was free to come and go; in practice, he was detained for his debts, which he could never satisfy."[9] The debts that could not be satisfied included credit at the hacienda's "company store" or the "tienda de raya," where workers were forced to purchase their essential needs on credit because their salaries were not enough for basic resources.[10] This endless credit created a cycle that forced laborers to rely on the hacienda and tied them to the land for an extended period, no matter the working conditions.

The peasant workers produced a wide variety of agricultural goods like wheat, maize, fruits, and vegetables. Although, the location of a hacienda impacted its specialization of goods. For instance, haciendas in the Bajío region were concentrated on livestock products like leather, wool, and meat.[11] This market was limited, so they were later forced to expand to cheaper products. States like Morelos and Veracruz were fortunate to have pleasant growing conditions and fertile soils for sugar production, which was a lucrative business.[12] Regardless of a hacienda's crop selection, the size of agricultural production on hacienda estates was enough to monopolize the agrarian economies until later modernization of the markets.

Increasing industrialization in Mexico throughout the 19th century

[7] Eric R. Wolf and Sidney W. Mintz. "Haciendas and Plantations in Middle America and the Antilles." Social and Economic Studies 6, no. 3 (1957): 1. http://www.jstor.org/stable/27851111.
[8] Van Young, 9.
[9] Chevalier, 311.
[10] Newman, 13.
[11] Simon Miller, "Landlords & Haciendas in Modernizing Mexico : Essays in Radical Reappraisal" / Simon Miller. CEDLA, 1995, 12. https://research.ebsco.com/linkprocessor/plink?id=e00dabc9-bf93-3551-a0be-2ad1f9afce0c.
[12] Miller, 15.

brought a more stable economy to urban areas in the state and overall economic growth, but agrarian businesses like the hacienda faced increasing competition.[13] Modernization meant that there were more national and international players in even the regional agrarian markets, which led to decreased prices. President Diaz, leader of the Porfiriato in Mexico for 31 years, worked towards more foreign investment in the Mexican economy. This ended the hacienda monopolies in regional markets, and it threatened the agrarian economy that concentrated power for the hacienda patrónes.

However, Porfirian continuation of La Reforma policy, breaking up Church and communal lands, released haciendas from the heavy demands of "clerical sources in the form of tithes, annuity payments, and interest accruing on large mortgages."[14] Without the burden of dues, haciendas were able to increase profitability and their scope of capitalization. Diaz also enforced legal measures against corporate land ownership, which essentially broke up the ejido or communal properties of Indigenous groups. [15] The effects of this sped up Mexico's development into a free market economy and allowed haciendas to further encroach on peasant land. The Mexican landscape was then split between several thousand prominent landowners, leaving the vast majority of the rural population without their own land to cultivate. Latin American historian Simon Miller addresses the societal repercussions of this including the solidification of the class system in rural Mexico. He writes, "These developments signify the establishment of a landowning bourgeoisie and the beginnings of a dispossessed rural proletariat."[16] Economic policies like those mentioned above were consequential in the alienation of the lower classes from the landowners they were tied to. The elite's appropriation of the people's nearby lands and exploitation of their labor spread discontent within the proletariat.

To break down the relationships and social distinctions within the inner workings of a typical hacienda, one must first understand the layout of its architecture. Constructions on the estates include: "the big house, workers' quarters, patio de campo [courtyard], company store, kitchens, chapel, and other outbuildings."[17] While the big house was solely for the upper-class residents, the rest of the infrastructure was shared by all tenants of the land.

[13] Newman, 16.
[14] Miller,12.
[15] Miller, 12.
[16] Miller, 13.
[17] Daniel Nierman, "The Hacienda in Mexico / Daniel Nierman and Ernesto H. Vallejo ; Mardith Schuetz-Miller, Translator ; Foreword by Elena Poniatowska". University of Texas Press, 2003, 18. https://research.ebsco.com/linkprocessor/plink?id=c815d839-0969-3e05-8d55-d9d5b5c4366a

Specifically, the chapel was the most frequently shared space between proprietors and the laboring class.[18] The mixed hacienda populations created a social ecosystem that brought together unique backgrounds and traditions. Newman expands on this idea, saying, "The hacienda system brought European conquerors and the indigenous conquered into daily contact and provided a locus for the generation and institutionalization of new class, ethnic, and racial identities."[19] The new identities she mentions relate to the increasing acculturation of the Indigenous people due to their exposure and adoption of Spanish practices.

Typical Spanish practices like class distinctions and social stratification also shaped the hacienda community. Systems of stratification manifest themselves in haciendas as the unequal distribution of resources and labor among the working class based on aspects of their identity like race or gender. The anthropologist Sam Sweitz argues that an individual's work allocation on the estate correlates with their social status. He notes, "The organization of work resulted in an occupational hierarchy that engendered a system of occupational status for households on the hacienda."[20] He means that if a worker has a more distinguished role within the hacienda, then this will be expressed through material possessions and the architecture of their dwelling. More important jobs like the foremen and administrators who managed the working classes displayed their heightened sense of power for being closer in status to the patrón in this way. Men of Spanish descent or mestizos typically maintained these higher-up positions, while the Indigenous and black people made up the majority of the less desirable and physically demanding jobs.[21] Other social groups were also unhappy with their work assignments. Women in rural Mexico took pride in their ability to prepare and serve food for their families. However, the commodification of family labor made accessible from hacienda society went "across gender lines and in defiance of ancient social structures," writes Newman.[22] The allocation of work by the landowner and his administrators did not factor in traditional gender roles that shaped Indigenous society. Newman uses the example of the Nahua women to cement this point further, saying, "A Nahua woman's identity, or habitus, had long been defined by her skill in the kitchen, an area that was, quite literally, her own special territory—

[18] Nierman, 18.
[19] Newman, 12.
[20] Sam R Sweitz, "On the Periphery of the Periphery [Electronic Resource] : Household Archaeology at Hacienda San Juan Bautista Tabi, Yucatán, Mexico / Sam R. Sweitz". Springer, 2012, 6. https://research.ebsco.com/linkprocessor/plink?id=d56fc05f-fdb3-307b-94a6-1988eb9f2d96.
[21] Sweitz, 42.
[22] Newman, 204.

her "woman house."[23] The Nahua women and others were forced to leave behind a major aspect of their identity as food providers to pick up the necessary work in the fields. This change marked an attack on the native's notion of "family" and the different roles involved, reshaping their society as a whole. Newman captures the essence of the effect of the hacienda on Mexico, writing, "With the establishment of each new hacienda came a social and physical reordering of an ancient landscape." [24] While the peasants abided by the labor system in place for hundreds of years, they grew to be unhappy with the unrecognizable landscape that once belonged to their Indigenous ancestors. Diaz's attack on communal land during the Porfiriato concentrated territories into the hands of the few, while the majority of the Mexican population was left with nothing to their name. This caused the lower-class laborers to band together and demand land reform to redistribute holdings to the masses.

The Mexican Revolution was complicated by various periods of fighting under different leaders. It began with the political leader Fransisco Madero's cause called the "anti-reelection" movement, whose mission was to end President Diaz's 31-year-long reign of disenfranchising the masses through rigged elections. However, once Madero successfully removed Diaz from power, he backtracked on his social, agrarian reform promises. Madero's "Plan de San Luis resonated with many of Mexico's dissatisfied factions; his fault was that he awakened those factions without quenching their thirst," notes Newman.[25] His land reform ideas deeply resonated with the working class, and when he failed to address it in office, the rural revolutionary Emiliano Zapata took charge. In Zapata's Plan of Ayala, he calls out Madero's support of corruption and unjust land allocations, which directly hurt the Mexican people. He and his supporters fought for the Mexican government to take the lands of the wealthy and give them to the people who actually cultivated them. When the government denied these requests, Zapata and his rebel forces fought back until land reform was eventually put into effect in 1915.

Miller wrote about the Zapatista movement in Morelos specifically, calling it a "dramatic story of impoverished peasants finally rising against the encroachment of the commercial sugar estates."[26] Miller's analysis stresses the fact that the laborers "finally" reached their breaking point of putting up with the hard work while relinquishing all profits to the already wealthy landowners. They had enough of the exploitation and repression facing their people for centuries. Ultimately, the Mexican government accepted the

[23] Newman, 204.
[24] Newman, 14.
[25] Newman, 18.
[26] Miller, 154.

agricultural demands of the Zapatista movement and included land reform in the 1917 Constitution. Newman describes these measures, saying they "dissolved the property ownership of the large landowners and redistributed farmland to people (individually and collectively in community parcels or ejidos)."[27] The hacienda's grand estates were officially broken up by returning the ancestral lands to their rightful owners. This initially disturbed the economic and social systems that haciendas established in rural Mexico, but it was the final step forward to direct Mexico into modern times.[28]

In conclusion, haciendas served as the epicenters of power in rural Mexico from their beginning in the Spanish colonial period to their eventual decline after the social justice and agrarian reform from the Mexican Revolution. They controlled the agrarian market economy and the social characteristics of the regions in which they were located. Haciendas, as an organized labor system, encroached on the Indigenous farming lands until all of the locals had no other choice but to work on the properties. They then faced a system that exploited them and tied them to the hacienda through a cycle of endless debt. Economic control of the regions was concentrated in the hands of the elite landowners who used their positions not only for economic profit but also to assert a sense of power and influence over their territory and the people who maintained it. Discontent among the labor class grew until they rose in arms and demanded fair working conditions and the redistribution of land between the common people. Finally, the Mexican government was forced to change its ways and included key agricultural elements in its Constitution of 1917. Haciendas were instrumental in shaping the agrarian economy in Mexico, but they left behind a legacy of class inequality and a demand for social justice. With the hacienda system on the decline and their lands dissolved among many, Mexico was on the path to a more modern and fair future.

[27] Newman, 19.
[28] Chevalier, 314.

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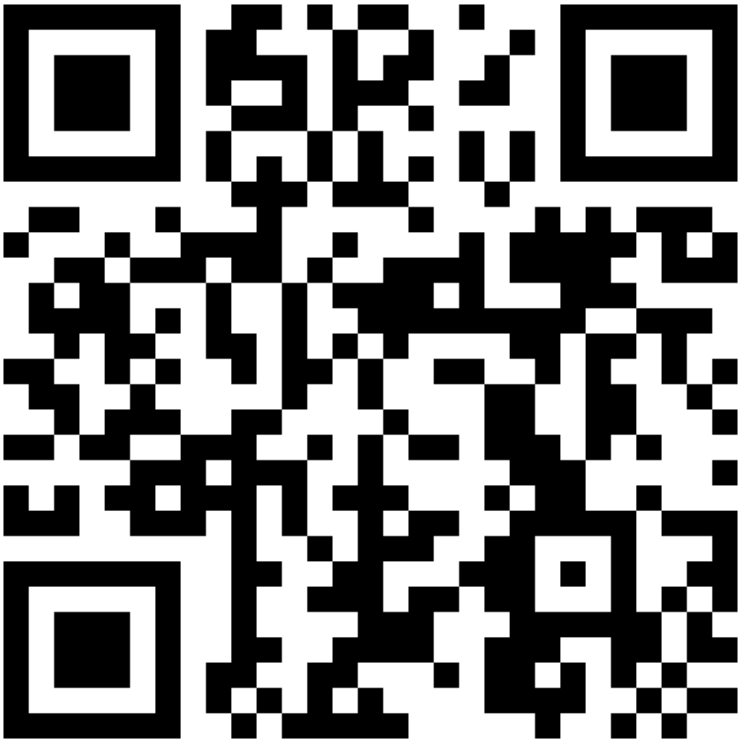

Send in the Psychics: Remote Viewing, Intelligence Operations, and the Cold War

Madeleine Panek

Abstract

Parapsychological research received substantial government funding and support during the later years of the Cold War. The intersection of concern over Soviet innovations in psychotronic technologies and a broader investment in science as a means of national defense allowed psychoenergetic research, particularly Stanford Research Institute's Remote Viewing technique, to achieve a status of legitimacy as both a scientific endeavor and defense tactic. In the intelligence sector, Remote Viewing research was funded for over twenty years, from 1972 until 1995, and revived several times under different agencies and budgeting structures. Its survival depended largely on a fear of Soviet innovation in the field. Thus, after the Cold War, the project was ultimately canceled when the threat had passed. The history of Remote Viewing research within the intelligence community aligns with the broader field of Cold War science but has not been fully addressed. Through careful analysis of each phase of the parapsychological project, with special attention paid to the financial and administrative structures, I will contextualize this unconventional research program.

A School for the Enemy: The Tinian School for Japanese Children and Its Western Objective (1944–1946)

Casey Ringer

Abstract

The Tinian School for Japanese Children, built from spare plywood and authorized by U.S. Navy Command, hosted classes and community events for nearly 3,000 children and their families during World War II from 1944–1946. Tinian, a small island cradled between Saipan and Guam, became the ground of battle between the United States and Japan in 1946 for its strategic proximity to Tokyo, its airfields, and sizable west–shore port. Following the Battle of Tinian in July 1944, the civilians of Tinian faced a large–scale humanitarian crisis which was, in part, alleviated by the Tinian School. Despite the uniqueness of the Tinian School, there is scant literature available on the Northern Mariana Islands, let alone Tinian and the Tinian School aside from personal anecdotes in memoirs. The school was headed by two U.S. Navy Japanese Language Officers, Lieutenants Telfer Mook and Warren Johnston, who were given special assignments to oversee the civilian population of Tinian Island. With their resourcefulness, connections, and quick use of available scraps, the school's infrastructure became further sophisticated, English readers were produced, and teachers were assembled from the island's population. And although the school was a feat of humanitarianism, it was in function a passive imperial mechanism which aimed to better the life of the children in line with an agenda of Westernization. The paper aims to build knowledge of the school and complicate its intentions by introducing racial and militaristic elements that undermine the initially perceived wholesome value of the school. This paper will track the school's foundation and growth while highlighting imperial tendencies and underscoring the dire humanitarian crisis of Camp Churo on Tinian Island. Thereafter, the paper shifts to comparative analysis to other U.S. sanctioned schools in the Pacific which will further contextualize the Tinian School. Finally, the paper will conclude with the impact of the school on its students, translating their sentiments regarding their childhood.

Heart of Whiteness: Asymmetrical Exchange in the Quest for the North Pole

Dillon Otto

Abstract

After a grueling eighteen-year-long career in the Arctic Circle, the American explorer Robert E. Peary claimed to have reached the North Pole on April 6th, 1909. Peary's alleged achievement was only made possible through his extensive reliance on indigenous labor, a fact that he frequently prided himself on. The Inughuit population of Northwestern Greenland formed the backbone of Peary's "traveling machine," and it was only by using indigenous dog sledges, hunting expertise, and clothing that Peary was able to sustain his efforts for so many years. This achievement came at a steep human cost however and the narrative of "harmonious companionship" that Peary sold to southern audiences concealed a highly unequal, and often violent, relationship between the explorers and the Inughuit. Through an analysis of the years leading up to and during the Peary contact era (1891-1909), this thesis will demonstrate how the power imbalances between American explorers and indigenous communities in Northwestern Greenland led to a series of asymmetrical social and technological exchanges with far-reaching consequences.

Along the Shatt: An Environmental and Cultural History of British Development in Iraq, 1908-1932

Samuel Senseman

Abstract

Between 1908 and 1910, Sir William Willcocks undertook a survey of the rivers and irrigation system of Ottoman Mesopotamia. There, Willcocks hoped to not only map the hydrological landscape but to forge a path toward reconstructing what he believed was the original Garden of Eden. Beginning in 1914, the British Indian Expeditionary Force invaded Mesopotamia and—in the subsequent years—numerous British engineers, surveyors and scientists implicitly attempted to advance Willcocks' vision of a modern Garden of Eden in Mesopotamia. But what many Britons encountered in Mesopotamia was radically different from their imaginations of Eden, Babylon, and Abbasid Baghdad. Instead, they found a landscape that they believed to be radically mismanaged. The strategic interests of the war spurred many Britons to begin remedying this mismanagement. And the nascent League of Nations' entrustment of the Mesopotamian Mandate legitimized British control for more than a decade after the close of the War. The effects of British environmental development framed through cultural preconceptions of Mesopotamia, however, exemplify that the story of development is often far from linear. This thesis examines the cultural framework the Britons in Iraq were operating under and how that cultural framework affected their approach to developing Mesopotamia and then Iraq. By examining how knowledge was imported from various parts of the empire and how it was then gathered in Mesopotamia, "Along the Shatt" creates a road map for how ideas of empire entwined with objects of environmental management and development.

Antichinismo and the Birth of Modern Mexico

Ryan Oshinsky

Abstract

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, tens of thousands of Chinese migrants made the journey across the Pacific to Mexico; they worked in mines, on plantations, and constructed rail lines that facilitated Mexico's integration into the world market. Brought in as "*motores de sangre*," (blood engines) Chinese migrants made use of transnational kinship networks to succeed in small commerce, coming to dominate the retail grocery trade in boomtowns dotting Mexico's northern frontier. This commercial predominance drew the ire of some Mexican nativists as early as 1899, inaugurating a decades-long anti-Chinese movement in the northern state of Sonora.

The Mexican Revolution defined itself in terms of economic nationalism and revolutionaries posited that the mestizo ought to serve as a unifying racial category for the construction of a cohesive, modern nation-state. While many Chinese migrants had obtained Mexican citizenship, they were popularly regarded as foreigners; agitators construed them as unwanted holdovers of Don Porfirio's foreign-dominated regime and derided them as racially inferior. Anti-Chinese persecution culminated in the early 1930s, as vigilante mobs and Sonoran officials coordinated to illegally expel the state's Chinese population in its entirety.

This thesis aims to chart the growth and development of the anti-Chinese campaigns from the first major migrations to the Sonoran expulsion. Additionally, it presents the transnational character of *antichinismo* and examines the influence of notions of biological and hygienic modernity on the anti-Chinese campaigns.

The Threat of *Pinky (1949)* and *Island in the Sun (1957):*

How White Southerners Reacted to Interracial Romance in Film from 1949 to 1958

Ethan Provost

Abstract

Using newspaper articles from Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas. Published in the 1950s, this thesis explores the range of reactions white Southerners had to *Pinky* and *Island in the Sun.* Specifically, this thesis will examine the explanations white Southerners offered to justify issuing bans on these films. Unsurprisingly, white Southerners' thinking about and reactions to both movies were tied to white supremacy ideology, and especially ideas about maintaining a Black-white racial hierarchy in the South. The reactions to *Island in the Sun,* though, show a significant difference in the concern white Southerner's expressed about integration: they worried Island in the Sun could make miscegenation seem okay, as miscegenation to them was equal to integration. This reaction is best explained by the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* case, in which the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that segregation was unconstitutional. As this thesis will show, it seems that for many white Southerners, Island in the Sun use of miscegenation was directly tied to the ideas of interrogation and what they saw as a collapse of the racial Hierarchy. In Contrast to Pinky which saw opposition to the use of miscegenation was especially tied to any specific aspect of the racial hierarchy.

Red Lipstick, Red Scares: Women's Magazines and the Cold War

Kailynn Renfro

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