Welebaethan



Journal of History

2005 Welebaethan

Journal of History

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THETA-PI CHAPTER

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HISTORY STUDENTS ASSOCIATION

California State University, Fullerton

Editor's Note:

The process involved in publishing the 2005 edition of the Welebaethan has been at times overwhelming and others difficult, yet it has most often been incredibly rewarding. Though I have received both personal and professional satisfaction from working on the Welebaethan, it has not been a singular process. There were over fifty papers submitted for a double-blind review to the Welebaethan Advisory Board, itself consisting of twenty-five faculty, students, and alumni. Two sections of the History and Editing class, along with the authors of the twenty-two papers ultimately accepted, were directly involved in the preparation of the articles for publication. Add to this, the handful of faculty advisors and former editors, history department staff, and various other contributors, and the enormity of the project becomes somewhat clearer.

Many people deserve recognition for their involvement in this year's edition of the Welebaethan. Along with all of the authors, faculty and staff, and editors – some who were also authors, I would like to thank several individuals without whose contributions this edition would have existed in theory and not in practice. Susan Brewer and Bethanie Easterday photographed both the staff and authors. Sarah Jay proofed most of the articles and offered to help wherever necessary, as did Rebecca Guzzi, who also created the cover and compiled the author biographies. Charles Gray provided 100 percent of the layout and served as a sounding board for much of my venting without laughing too often. Dr. Gordon Morris Bakken and Dr. William Haddad secured the funding that made this endeavor possible. Last, and certainly not least, I thank Dr. Wendy Elliott-Scheinberg who taught the History and Editing class both years I worked as an editor. She offered me the latitude and the trust as editor-in-chief to see this project through to its successful completion. More importantly, she lent me her ear, and the Welebaethan Advisory Board her home, throughout the past year.

My principal goal as editor-in-chief of the 2005 Welebaethan was to build upon the success of the previous years award-winning editions. I earnestly believe this year's edition has accomplished that goal. The wide variety of topics evident among the research articles, oral histories, historiography and theory papers, and book reviews offer substantial proof of this accomplishment. The 2005 edition of the Welebaethan Journal of History glowingly reflects the efforts, abilities, and professionalism exhibited by every individual who contributed in any way to its publication.

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Editor-in-Chief

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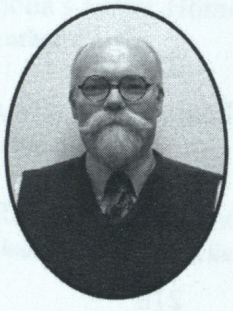
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Authors



Allison Newman Frickert graduated from California State University, Fullerton in spring 2003 and directly entered the graduate program to pursue a M.A. in Southeast Asian history and New Imperialism. Allie is president of the History Student Association. She has presented papers at conferences in Corpus Christi, Hawaii, Southern California, and New Orleans, and was a speaker at CSUF's History Department 2004 Commencement. Allie's awards include the Ben J. Proctor Award for Best European Research Paper in 2004, Dean's List, and the Bayati Memorial Scholarship. In addition to being a full time student, Allie is also a full time mom to a three-year-old daughter who attends afternoon "school" at the Children's Center on campus where Allie is an active volunteer. Further goals include the pursuit of a Ph.D., with hopes of entering a position in either teaching, research, or a position within the non-profit sector. Allie wishes to thank her husband for his support of her academic career.



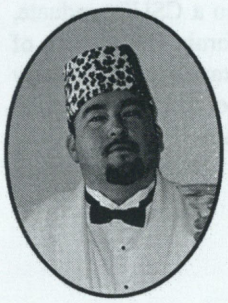
Descended from a long line of Congregationalist minister/farmers who arrived in New England during the mid-seventeenth century, Chicago-area native John Stahler earned his Bachelor's Degree in history from California State University, Fullerton. After serving four semesters as Graduate Assistant to Dr. George Giacumakis, and being inducted into Phi Alpha Theta, Phi Kappa Phi, and Phi Beta Delta, John is currently finishing his Master's Degree in Oral History. Future plans include teaching history at the college level, and utilizing fifteen years of wine journalism experience as a basis for his doctoral dissertation as well as researching and writing histories on various aspects of the California wine industry.



Charles Gray is a graduate student at CSUF who is working on his M.A. in history. His primary interests in history include the British slave trade and its abolition, which is the topic of his M.A. thesis. Outside of school, Charles maintains an active interest in current affairs and reads extensively. Charles wishes to thank his parents, John and Shirley Gray, without whose aid he would never have attended college, to say nothing of graduate school.



Guadalupe Diaz received her B.A. in history from California State University, Fullerton in August 2004. She plans to enter the Single Subject Credential Program for Secondary Education at CSUF so she can teach high school students history in her hometown, Santa Ana. She believes that one must give back to the community that has provided one with life and education. Lupe is the first in her family to graduate from college. She believes that family and education are the two most important things in life. Guadalupe volunteers her time tutoring family, friends, and neighbors. She also volunteers at her local elementary school, helping children develop their reading and writing skills. Her greatest heroine is her grandmother, Maria Guadalupe Diaz Lomeli who is her role model, inspiration, and guardian angel. To family, loved ones, friends, professors, and positive Hispanic female role models, Lupe would like to thank them for being a part of her life.



Kenneth Shonk will graduate with a Master's degree in modern European history from CSUF in May 2005. His thesis centers upon nationalism in the formative era of the Irish Republic in the 1930s. His plans are to begin work on a Ph.D. in the fall 2005. He completed an undergraduate degree in history at Humboldt State University and a Master's degree in education from Azusa Pacific University. Kenneth is in his seventh year teaching high school history in the El Monte Union High School District.



Nestor Rafael Amador moved to California from Mexico City in 1990. He attended La Mirada High School, from which he graduated in 1994. Eventually, Nestor enrolled at Cerritos Community College where he literally fell in love with history. He currently attends CSUF, pursuing a Bachelor of Science degree in Latin American history. He has been married to Mrs. Hilda Catalan-Amador for ten months now, and to her he would like to dedicate the publishing of this article: *Thank you Hilda for all your support throughout my education.*

Biography



Born into a construction family, Dan McClure moved nine times and lived in Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and California before finishing high school in 1991. He completed his undergraduate work at San Francisco State University in 1997. Upon graduation, Dan worked for a transnational heavy civil construction company as an engineer for five years on bridge projects in the Bay Area, namely the Golden Gate Bridge Retrofit and San Mateo Bridge Widening Project. In 2002, he decided to return to academia and obtain a Masters in history from California State University, Fullerton. He is currently applying for Ph.D. programs for fall 2005. Dan presented a portion of his thesis, titled *Free jazz and Black nationalism in the 1960s*, at the 2004 Southwestern Historical Association Conference in Corpus Christi, Texas, and another paper, *Modern Public Opinion: The Progressive Propaganda Effort in The First World War*, at the 2004 Phi Alpha Theta Southern California Regional Conference at Vanguard University.



Barbara Gossett is a graduate student pursuing a M.A. in public history. She received her BA in sociology from the University of Oklahoma, then moved to Garden Grove, California, where she and her husband, also a CSUF graduate, raised their two daughters. She is employed by the California Department of Transportation (Caltrans) in their Irvine office. She enjoys traveling, particularly to see interesting examples of architectural history; she hopes to be promoted to Architectural Historian at Caltrans after completing the M.A.



Heather Ewen-Foster Carter is a native of Southern California who graduated in 2002 from UCLA with a B.A. in history. She is currently working on her M.A. at CSUF, after which she intends to pursue her Ph.D. and ultimately teach at the university level. Heather's main area of focus is medieval Europe, particularly medieval England and France. Heather would like to take this opportunity to thank her husband, Terry, and parents, Malcolm and Lesley, for all of their support. She would also like to thank her mentor, Dr. Burgtorf, for all of his encouragement and guidance.



Karen C. Rosa graduated from California State University, Fullerton in 2003 with a B.A. in history and a minor in political science. She is currently substitute teaching for the Anaheim Union High School District. As she continues to pursue her many interests in the field of history, Karen is also finalizing her Clear Credential in social science for secondary school teaching, and plans to teach history at the junior high school level. Karen would like to thank her parents Tony and Lory, brothers Jim and Mike, and sister-in-law Karen, for cheering her on as she completed her college education. Karen (Tant) would also like to extend her thanks and love to her nephews Jim, Steven, and Brent for providing her with joy and laughter through her college years.

Author-Editors



Catherine Bilanchone is a public history graduate student and a member of the Phi Alpha Theta Honors Society at California State University, Fullerton. Focusing largely on cultural and community development, she worked in collaboration with the Pasadena Heritage Historical Society's Oral History project regarding the integration of schools in the 1970s. In addition, she wrote a preliminary grant for the Placentia School District's English Language and Literacy Intensive Program (ELLI), and composed a case study of Marine Core Air Station El Toro's "reuse and redevelopment debate" regarding the installation of an airport or a Great Park. Aside from her internship at the National Archives Records Administration, she gained invaluable experience from participation on the Welebaethan staff, and wishes to thank both her fellow editors and authors whose contributions produced an outstanding journal.



Kari Ala is a first year graduate student at CSUF working on a Masters Degree in history and a Secondary Teaching Credential. She hopes to teach U.S. History and Government at the high school level, but is currently working as a facility manager at a local group home for teen girls. Seeking a break from research and paperwork, she enjoys traveling with her husband, Jesse. Recently, they traveled to Wales, England, New York, and New England, and hope to visit every Major League baseball stadium within the next few years.



Rebecca Guzzi is a senior at California State University, Fullerton, double-majoring in history and theatre production and design with an emphasis in costume design. While at CSUF her membership in clubs includes International Golden Key Honour Society and the University Honors Program. Upon graduation her plans include attending graduate school on the East Coast, preferably in either Boston or Pittsburgh, though she will miss her family and boyfriend dearly. Eventually, Rebecca hopes to find happiness as a costume designer, and maybe make some money in the process. Guzzi's favorite areas of study are military history, America in the 1920s, Victorian England, and European history from the eleventh to the nineteenth centuries.



Susan Brewer is currently a graduate student at California State University, Fullerton majoring in public and oral history. This year will mark her third consecutive term as an editor of the *Welebaethan.* In spring of 2004, she graduated cum laude, earning a Baccalaureate in history. During the summer, she traveled to Southeast Asia to begin an oral history project in the rural areas of South Vietnam and Cambodia. While there, she became enamored with the cultures she visited. She decided to return to Vietnam in the summer of 2005 to complete the project as part of her graduate degree. She is a current member of the International Golden Key Honor Society and a board member of Phi Alpha Theta. She is looking forward to working with the editorial staff this year on another issue of the prize-winning *Welebaethan.*



Renee Faecke is currently a third semester master's student at California State University, Fullerton. She obtained her undergraduate degree in liberal studies from CSUF in Spring of 2000 and her Multiple Subject CLAD Credential in Spring of 2001. Currently, Renee teaches full time at St. Justin Martyr Elementary School in Anaheim at the third grade level. Previously, she taught at the middle school level and chaired the History Curriculum Department. Over the summer, Renee worked at the National Archives and Records Office (NARA) in Laguna Niguel. At NARA, she completed research on the Sequan Reservation Scandal for a resource CD-ROM for classroom use. Next semester, Renee will begin work on a thesis centering on the relationship between federal legislation and the dismantling of Native American tribes. She hopes to complete the master's program within the next two semesters.

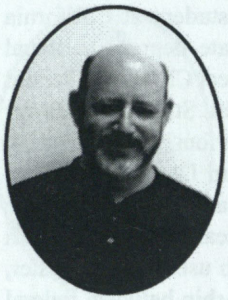


Sarah Jay will graduate this spring with a B.A. in history, and pursue graduate work in American religious history the following fall. She intends to complete her doctorate and apply for a university professorship, either in history or religious studies. She also has an interest in pursuing editing as a career. Sarah is a CSUF President's Scholar and currently serves as Vice President of the Scholar Student Association. She also spent two years competing on CSUF's Forensics team, and won awards in persuasive speaking and communication analysis.

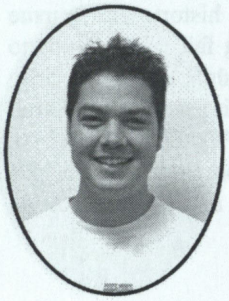
Editors



Stacey Nisperos graduated with her B.A. in History in May 2004. She is currently working towards her M.A. and ultimately hopes to get a Ph.D. and teach history at the college level. Stacey is a member of Phi Alpha Theta who has presented research at the Phi Alpha Theta Southern California Regional Conference. Her research focus is early modern European history.



In 2002, Thomas Stein returned to college as a senior to earn the History B.A. he had started over thirty years before. In the interim he earned a living as a pianist/keyboardist, left-hand bassist, vocalist, and band leader, establishing and maintaining a four piece band at The View Lounge, Fashion island Marriott, during some of the toughest commercial times in recent history. During his 16 year tenure at the Newport Beach Marriot Tom co-authored the popular *For Musicians Only* (New York: Billboard Publications, 1988), a guide for beginners on how to make a living as club musicians. He has also ap-peared in concerts, rehearsed and accompanied theatrical shows, and filmed music vid-eos. In addition to attending CSUF, Tom continues to perform full-time as a principal pianist at Knotts Berry Farm. Tom lives in Santa Ana with his wife of 27 years, critically acclaimed ghostwriter Claudia Suzanne, and his daughter, Ilona.



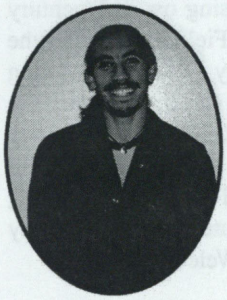
Steve Shewey is an undergradate history major at Cal State Fullerton. He hopes to teach history at the high school level upon graduation. When not studying for exams or writing papers, Steve enjoys spending time with his girlfriend and his Pi Kappa Phi fraternity brothers. This is Steve's first semester working as an editor on the *Welebaethan.*



Maria Figueroa is a senior at Cal State Fullerton. Her major is history with an emphasis on modern history of the United States. Her interests include Women's History, Oral History, history of immigration policy, and Ethnic Studies. She enjoys studying Latin America in particular Mexico, where she was born. Maria has a two year old boy who she spends all of her "free time" with. Her goals are to one day write a book regarding immigration legislation in the United States and to start a career within the public education administration. She is part of the Honors Program and is currently working on an oral history based project.



Reagan Chrislip is a history major at California State University, Fullerton. After graduating in spring 2005, she plans to enter the Master's program at the same university. Reagan began her training as an editor in the CSUF Oral History Program, where she interviewed and transcribed the history of her grandmother Jane Goode. This work was later published by Dr. Gary Shumway and now resides in the Center of Oral and Public History. Reagan has been married for a year and a half to her husband Felix and has a six-month-old son, Kobe.



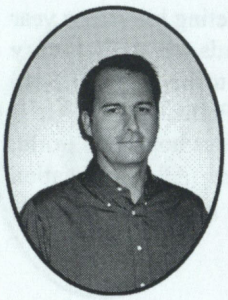
Sean Cuda, a native of Connecticut, is currently completing his senior year at California State University, Fullerton and working towards a B.A. in history with an emphasis in oral and public history. In addition to his studies, Sean works for the Center of Oral and Public History at CSUF's Pollock library. He is also active in his father's business as a new entrepreneur in the hot sauce world, producing *Stairway to Hell: Smoking Habanero Hot Sauce.* After graduation Sean plans to move out of the country in pursuit of a more grass-roots lifestyle somewhere between Central and South America.



Sethea Heng is a first year graduate student at California State University, Fullerton studying public history. In the spring of 2004, Sethea received his B.A. in history with a minor in Asian studies from CSU Bakersfield. He intends to complete his M.A. degree in spring of 2006 and hopefully work right afterwards. Sethea would love to teach at the college level, but his dream is to save enough money to open his own restaurant and bar. He would like to thank Dr. Wendy and his classmates for the wonderful experience working on the *Welebaethan*.



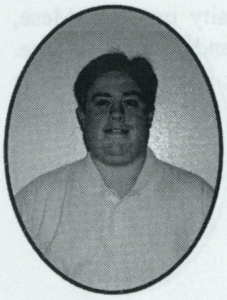
Bob Medina began his studies at Fullerton College. He discovered an interest in history and began leaning towards the possibility of a career as a history instructor. After transferring to California State University, Fullerton, he continued his undergraduate program and began to sense what field of history to focus on. He was impressed and pleased with the quality of professors at CSUF and enthusiastically enjoyed the learning process. In May 2004, Bob graduated with honors from CSUF, and is currently in his first year of the history graduate program. His interests cover a wide range of historical topics, although his primary interest is United States military history. His emphasis in the graduate program is U.S. history, focusing on the Civil War. He is looking forward to the challenge of the graduate program and intends to make the most of his studies. Upon graduation, Bob plans to teach at the community college level.



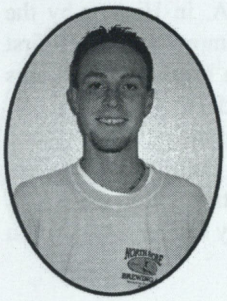
Robert Waldren is a graduate student in history, focusing on 20th century American studies. He also works as a Community College Field Advisor for the Center for Careers in Teaching at California State University, Fullerton, working with community college students who wish to transfer to CSUF and enter the teaching credential program. Robert plans to teach history at the community college level and possibly continue advising as well. He is a member of the Phi Alpha Theta history honor society. Bob has completed additional training programs through the CSUF Student Leadership Institute and the Faculty Development Center. He was also on the staff of the 2004 Welebaethan.



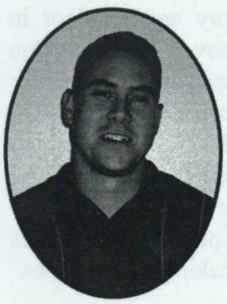
Karen Bury is a seventh year senior pursuing a B.A. in American history with a general interest in revolutions and civil wars. She hopes for acceptance into the University of Tennessee at Knoxville for her M.A. and the University of Louisiana at Baton Rouge for her Ph.D., as both universities offer exceptional programs in the American Civil War. Her career plan is to teach at the university level.



The American South is very close to Jeff Aultman personally and academically. In addition to being a descendant of a Civil War Confederate general, his historical goal is to expand the public's knowledge of Southern history. For him, the South is a region that is often misunderstood. History for Jeff is almost an obsession. He watches historically based movies and reads cloak and dagger stories, which continue to reaffirm the conspiracy theories he holds dear. *What if* novels are particularly fascinating to Jeff because he sees them as critical to the ongoing debate of destiny in history. Jeff belongs to several historical associations, including the Orange County chapter of the Sons of Confederate Veterans, the Confederate Cavalry Association, and several historical reenactment societies. His philosophy matches the passion the historian holds for his or her discipline. After receiving his M.A. and Ph.D., Jeff plans to teach at the university level, pursue research, and write for historical publications.



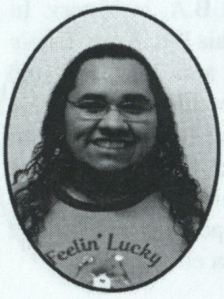
Tim McAlevey is a graduating senior working on his B.A. in history. In summer 2005, he will marry his best friend and the love of his life, Amy. Tim is planning on either obtaining his teaching credentials and becoming an elementary school teacher or working on his Masters in political science. He would love to work in a high-level position with the Federal Government. Tim works part time as an assistant manager at a local mail center. In his off time, he enjoys spending time outdoors in nature, hiking, mountain bike riding, and relaxing at home with his fiancÈe. Additionally an avid sports fan of several different professional sports teams, he enjoys watching sports on television.



Terry Dale is currently a second year undergraduate at California State University, Fullerton. His educational goal at CSUF is to obtain a B.A. in history and minor in philosophy. His career goals include a possible Officer's Commission in the United States Marine Corps, a teaching position at the high school level, and finally, retirement. Outside of school, Terry works part time at Orchard Supply Hardware and currently serves in the United States Marine Corp Reserves. His favorite areas of historical study are philosophical and religious history.



Bethanie Easterday graduated from Vanguard University in Costa Mesa, California in May 2004 with a bachelor's degree in history and political science. Now in the graduate program at California State University, Fullerton, her main area of interest is American social and political history, especially during the 1960s and 1970s. After obtaining her master's degree, she intends to pursue her Ph.D. and begin teaching history at the college level.



Rachael is a senior, currently hoping to earn her B.A. in History by the Spring of 2006. She has been actively involved on campus since her first semester at CSUF. She is most proud of her positions as a Freshman Programs Peer Mentor in the Fall 2003, New Student Orientation Leader in 2002 and 2005, and as a Student Assistant in the Dean of Students Office for the past three years. Rachael is also a current member of the Student California Teachers Association, Phi Alpha Theta, and the Golden Key International Honor Society. Her goal is to one day become a junior or high school history teacher and work in her hometown of Upland, CA.



Anne Marie Addicott Fagan earned a B.A. in history and a minor in women's studies at California Lutheran University. She moved east to Boston and earned a Certificate of Museum Studies at Harvard Extension School. After graduating, she moved to Washington D.C. and accepted a job at the Smithsonian in the Collection Management Department at the National Museum of American History. Anne Marie met her husband in Washington, D.C. and was married on 5 July 2003, after which they moved to Southern California. She is currently studying at CSU Fullerton for a Masters of Arts in public history and is especially interested in preserving historical documents and taking oral histories.



Carrie Aplanalp-Jackson will be graduating Spring 2005 with a B.A. in history. She will be moving on to the teaching credential program. Carrie wants to teach U.S. History at the high school level. After teaching for a few years, she plans to get her masters in Public and Oral History. She feels that this will help with bringing to life history in the classroom.



Alexandra Gavin is a first year graduate student of history at California State University, Fullerton. After living in Europe for several years, Alexandra decided to return to the United States and enroll in college. She received her BA in History with a minor in Religious Studies from Pacific Christian College in December 2005. Alexandra is a member of Phi Alpha Theta and the Golden Key International Honor Society. After she receives her MA in History, Alexandra would like to return to England where she hopes to work for the Royal Archives, Windsor, or for the National Trust of Historic Homes.



Scott Mason Behen just completed his first year of graduate school at CSU, Fullerton. He is currently working on his thesis related to the Political Military Industrial Nexus. Coinciding with this, he is co-authoring a book on immigrants and farmers in Orange County, in cooperation with two fellow students and the Center for Oral and Public History, which is due out in the fall of 2006. Scott has presented papers at more than half a dozen conferences in the past three years. Three of his papers appeared in previous editions of the *Welebaethan* and he wrote several articles for Gordon Morris Bakken's forthcoming *Encyclopedia of Immigration and Migration to the American West*. Scott has received the Alumni Association Scholarship, Bayati Memorial Scholarship, the Warren Beck Outstanding History Student Award, the ASI Graduate Student Award, and the Don A. Schweitzer Memorial Scholarship in the Humanities and Social Sciences. Scott thanks his wife, Cristina, for her unflagging support of his pursuit of a Ph.D. in history.

Faculty Advisors



Dr. Wendy Elliott-Scheinberg is the Faculty Advisor for the Welebaethan. She regularly teaches Historical Writing, California History, Oral History, U.S. History survey, and various courses in the public history tract. She just completed five chapters for the forthcoming *Redbook, American State, County, and Town Sources*, and has contracted to write two sections for Dr. Bakken's forthcoming work, *Encyclopedia of Immigration and Migration in the American West*. She currently serves as Immediate Past President of the Southwest Oral History Association.

Dr. Wendy (as students call her) has served as faculty advisor for the Inter Tribal Council for the past seven years and assisted with several PowWows held on campus for students and community members. In 2002, she planned and organized the SOHA regional conference at El Pueblo in downtown Los Angeles and served as National Conference Chair of the Federationof Genealogical Societies (FGS) Conference held in Ontario, California in August 2002. She also served on the advisory committee for the California Studies Association (a statewide organization of scholars from various fields including history,geography, and political science). Additionally, she served as a paid consultant on the Boyle Heights Project for the Japanese American National Museum in Los Angeles. She also wrote two chapters for Printed Sources (1998). She co-edited (with Johni Cerny) and authored several chapters in The Library: A Guide to the LDS Family History Library in 1988 which won the coveted Reference Book of the Year Award from the American Library Association in 1989.



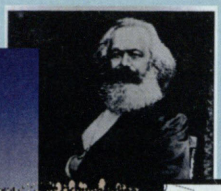
Gordon Morris Bakken is Professor of History at California State University, Fullerton, Past President of Phi Alpha Theta, a Director of the California Supreme Court Historical Society, Parliamentarian of the Organization of American Historians, Series Editor of The Legal History of North America for the University of Oklahoma Press, Editor of *Law in the Western United States* (2000) for the University of Oklahoma Press, and a member of the editorial board of *Western Legal History.*

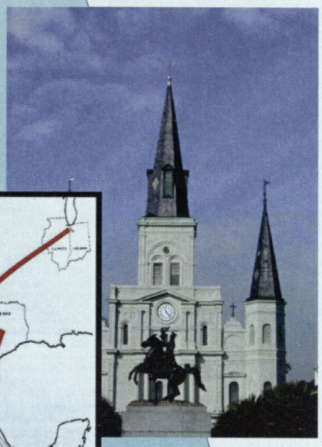
Professor Bakken earned his B.S. (1966), M.S. (1967), PhD. (1970) and J.D. (1973) at the University of Wisconsin. He is the author of fourteen books, thirty-eight articles, sixteen book chapters and encyclopedia entries, and numerous reviews. He is coauthor with Brenda Farrington of *Learning California History* (1999), Harlan Davidson, Inc. and the six-volume work, *The American West* (2000), Garland Publishing, Inc. He has held twelve research grants including the Russell Sage Residency Fellowship in Law, two American Bar Foundation Fellowships, and the Bradley Fellowship at the Montana Historical Society. Professor Bakken has been the Theta-Pi Chapter, Phi Alpha Theta faculty advisor since 1982. He thanks Professor Larry de Graaf for his time, counsel, and leadership in making the Welebaethan a nationally recognized journal of history.

Articles










in den Kons. Lagern
Form und Farbe der Kennzeichen




LIBERTY FILMS
Frank
CAPRA'S
IT'S A WONDERFUL LIFE
STEW
Donna R
LIONEL BARRYMORE · THOMAS MITCHELL





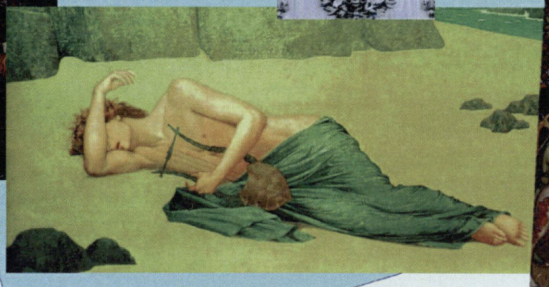

THE BEST YEARS OF OUR LIVES



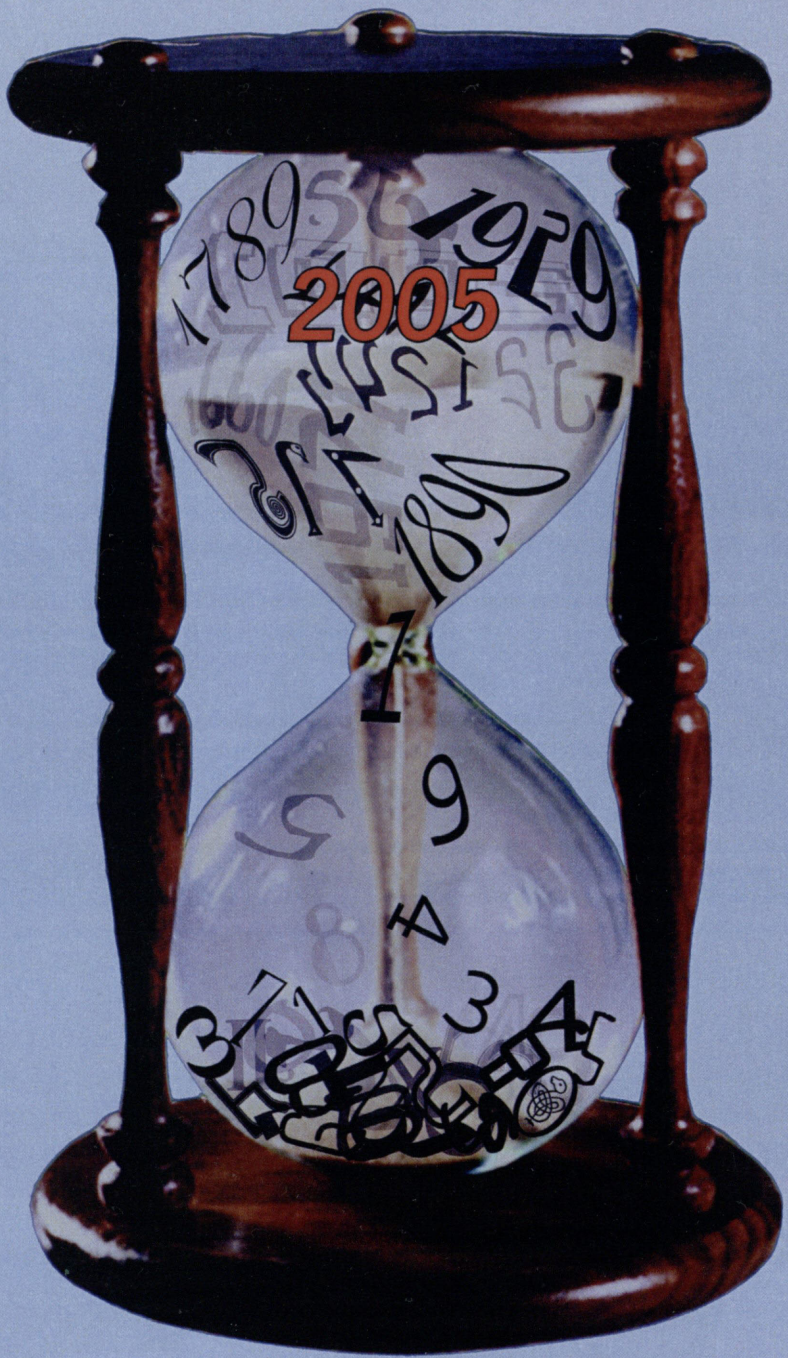











2005

Film and American Postwar Morale

By
Sarah Jay

The postwar era in the United States did not simply involve physical changes, but mental and social ones as well. Sarah Jay convincingly shows how the new America that grew out of the Wartime experience faced a dichotomy between their desires for the future and the challenges of the present. By analyzing two films, Jay demonstrates the effect these challenges had on American popular media.

Wars reshaped national boundaries, brought new powers into play, and destroyed civilizations. Even more so, they changed cultures and societies for better and worse. This proved true of America during and after World War II; the better or worse is open for debate. Tom Brokaw, a National Broadcasting Company news correspondent, spent a great deal of time interviewing people who lived through World War II for his book *The Greatest Generation*. In the introduction, he summed up his general impressions:

> These men and women came of age in the Great Depression, when economic despair hovered over the land like a plague. They had watched their parents lose their businesses, their farms, their jobs, their hopes. They had learned to accept a future that played out one day at a time. Then, just as there was a glimmer of economic recovery, war exploded. At a time in their lives when their days and nights should have been filled with innocent adventure, love, and the lessons of the workday world, they were fighting. When the war was over, they joined in joyous and short-lived celebrations, then immediately began the task of rebuilding their lives and the world they wanted.[1]

Although this may sound like an overly optimistic evaluation of this period in American history, Brokaw provided the reader with a basic understanding of the situations that necessity forced this generation to accept.

The war asked Americans to place their futures on hold, and they did so with a level of national commitment this country has not seen since. John Morton Blum, professor emeritus at Yale University, addressed this commitment and the nature of the war in his book, *V Was for Victory*: "The war used them. They accepted the necessities of war that then prevailed. As a consequence, the necessities of war dominated politics in the United States. At work, at home or at arms abroad, Americans wanted it that way."[2] Blum discussed what victory brought to America, describing the general mood as one of euphoria, mixed with determination to preserve it by building a future of "safety from war and security from depression."[3] The stories recounted in *The Greatest Generation* and similar histories speak to the success of these Americans in shaping a world their children could feel safe in, a luxury they did not enjoy during their youth. The year 1946 marked new beginnings; the dangers of communism, the threat of nuclear attack, and the nature of foreign and domestic concerns had not yet encroached upon the bright outlook Americans held toward the future.

Historians question what emotions and hopes the postwar generation faced. What was it like to be a veteran, home from war, and faced with the task of returning to civilian life? How did mothers feel watching their children grow in the wake of turmoil? Did a child ever look up at his father and ask why he did not spend the extra dollar, not understanding the need of times past? Did young men and women read the

1. Tom Brokaw, *The Greatest Generation* (New York: Random House, 1998), xix-x.

2. John Morton Blum, *V Was for Victory: Politics and American Culture during World War II* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976), 13-4.

3. Ibid., 301-2.

papers with trepidation, hoping that another war would not threaten their own futures?

In an effort to understand American morale after the curtain dropped on the European and Pacific theaters, a scholar can examine political philosophies and opinions, personal diaries, or scholarly accounts, to name a few. But, perhaps, one of the most important aspects to explore is the art produced, as it is an expression of the culture. When focusing on the twentieth century, films are arguably the most prevalent art form. America saw a transformation in movie productions in the years following the war. While films made during the conflict provided an escape from reality, postwar productions changed to reflect the shifting mood in America. The films that received the highest critical acclaim in 1946 reveal a postwar America teetering between the hope and optimism of Frank Capra's *It's a Wonderful Life* and the challenges and realism of William Wyler's *The Best Years of Our Lives*.

The parallels between *It's a Wonderful Life* and *The Best Years of Our Lives* are striking.[4] Capra and Wyler both served as colonels in World War II, working in the film division of the war department. Capra engaged in making the *Why We Fight* series, while Wyler directed *Memphis Bell*. Their war experiences brought them back to Hollywood with different perspectives,



Poster for *It's a Wonderful Life*, showing a sentimental view of postwar America. Studio movie poster.

and each set out to make a film that spoke to postwar America. They formed Liberty Films, an independent production company that gave them greater freedom to produce films as they saw fit.[5] In his autobiography, Capra recounted the first day of production: "On April 8, 1946, I began shooting *It's a Wonderful Life*. By coincidence, Wyler began principal photography on *The Best Years of Our Lives* on the same day. We wished each other luck on

4. Frances Goodrich, *It's a Wonderful Life*, prod. and dir. Frank Capra, 129 min., Liberty Films, Inc., 1946, videocassette; MacKinlay Kantor, *The Best Years of Our Lives*, prod. Samuel Goldwyn and dir. William Wyler, 172 min., Goldwyn, 1946, videocassette.

5. Frank Capra, *The Name above the Title* (New York, Macmillan, 1971), 374; *Best Years* was the last film Wyler did for Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer to fulfill a prewar contract.

the phone and agreed that the last one to finish shooting was a rotten egg."[6] The two movies, released just a month apart in late 1946, met at the Academy Awards on 13 March 1947, competing in all the top categories. Here, the similarities ended: the two directors each held a vision to share with the American public, and only the public could decide which film best reflected postwar America.

For Frank Capra, the end of the war meant time to celebrate life, which became the central focus of his first postwar film, *It's a Wonderful Life*. The film possessed all the makings for the holiday favorite it became years later: small town, memorable characters, and a great romance. Biographer Tony Thomas called *Wonderful Life* "a solidly Capraesque affirmation of the values of American life."[7] Capra's "slice-of-life" films always featured the little man triumphing over insurmountable odds and *Wonderful Life* was no exception. Capra discussed his reasons for choosing to make this film in his autobiography, *The Name above the Title*:

> Okay, genius, what is your first film going to be about? I knew one thing – it would not be about the war. I sensed a growing revulsion among the world's people against brutality. The cataclysmic aftermaths of war . . . would breed gnawing doubts in man. No. My films will explore the heart not with logic, but with compassion. I will deal with the little man's doubts, his curses, his loss of faith in himself, in his neighbor, in his God. And I will show the overcoming of doubts, the courageous renewal of faith, and the final conviction that of himself he can and must survive and remain free.[8]

With this ideal in mind, Capra sought a story and found it in a Christmas card message called *The Greatest Gift*. Through the work of Capra and screenwriters, Albert Hackett and Frances Goodrich, it morphed into *Wonderful Life*.[9] It told the story of George Bailey, a man discouraged by a life of missed opportunities, and encouraged by a visit from an angel who showed him, through his friends and family, what a wonderful life he actually had. The film spoke in the language of hope and confidence.

For Frank Capra, the end of the war meant time to celebrate life.

Capra's taste in actors proved high-class. He went first to Jimmy Stewart, also just returned from war, to play the lead character of George Bailey. Capra recalled his motivations for his chosen lead: "Stewart was among those whose experiences during five years of military service had produced a more mature, sharper and more astute human. No intelligent man who has been through years of war can be quite the same, and for Stewart those years helped forge greater ability as an actor."[10] Also, he called on Lionel Barrymore to play the

6. Ibid., 382.
7. Tony Thomas, *A Wonderful Life: The Films and Career of James Stewart* (New York: Citadel, 1988), 102.
8. Capra, 374-5.
9. Ibid., 376.
10. Thomas, 101-2.

source of evil in his moralistic tale. Accounts from his actors reveal a director who brought out the heart of the story. Donna Reed, Stewart's love interest, wrote of the director, "Capra was working with his sure and pure instinct for the human qualities – goodness, badness, courage, despair (love and death, with no fear of looking hard at the latter), especially as they are borne by the common man, our everyday kind of neighbor."[11] Because Capra produced *Wonderful Life* through his new company Liberty Films, he possessed more leeway to make his kind of story without a producer standing over him, dictating what the American public would buy. The best way Capra knew how to communicate was through the heart, and it is to the heart that *Wonderful Life* speaks. When the reviews came in, they ran the gamut. One common thread prevailed in the reviews: the critics enjoyed the film, but felt like the story tricked them into believing something they did not normally. A *Los Angeles Times* reviewer felt that Capra fashioned a fantasy, but concluded that it would still go over well with the public.[12] A *New York Times* writer reported that, "In composing this moralistic fable, Mr. Capra and his writers have tossed in a great abundance of colloquial incidents and emotional tangles of a mistful, humorous sort. The weakness of this picture, from the reviewer's point of view, is the sentimentality of it – its illusory concept of life."[13] A *Newsweek* editor described Capra's work in *Wonderful Life*:

> His new film reiterates his identification with the kindly, possibly oversentimentalized, 'little' people of these United States. Capra's trick is he can make it stick without making it sticky. Wonderful Life is sentimental, but so expertly written, directed, and acted that you want to believe it. Some of it is unashamed fantasy, but it is the fantasy that beguiles rather than bewilders.[14]

For the American film industry, the war could not be over too quickly – the subject was virtually dropped cold, except for Wyler's *The Best Years of Our Lives.*

The critics became swept up in the sentimentality of the film. Whether it proved Capra a genius, able to make a fantasy believable, or a fool, overflowing with false hope, is arguable. James Agee, one of the best-known critics of that time, best illustrated this contradiction of opinions:

> Stuff the following with sage and serve hot, with soda-mints, to men of sufficiently good will: *It's a Wonderful Life* . . . is one of the most efficient sentimental pieces since A Christmas Carol. Often, in

11. Victor Scherle and William Turner Levy, *The Films of Frank Capra* (Secaucus, N.J.: Citadel, 1977), 225.

12. John L. Scott, "Poignant Story of American Life Hailed," *Los Angeles Times*, 26 December 1946, sec. 2, 3.

13. Bosley Crowther, "The Screen in Review: At Three Theatres," *New York Times*, 23 December 1946, 19.

14. "Capra's Christmas Carol," *Newsweek* , 30 December 1946, 72.

> its pile-driving emotional exuberance, it outrages, insults, or at least accosts without introduction, the cooler and more responsible parts of the mind; it is nevertheless recommended.[15]

Public response also demonstrated split attitudes. Frank Capra praised his fans for their support when the critics dismissed his story for its fantasy: "It was my kind of film for my kind of people; and my kind of people saw the film. And it touched their hearts, and it moved them to write thousands of letters, half of them first-time testimonials."[16] However, its box office success showed inconsistency with these sentiments. "Capra's glowingly optimistic movie emerged at Christmas 1946, and failed to become the smash hit Capra had hoped for. It seemed a little at variance with the cool postwar spirit and some critics hinted that this kind of cheerful American had slipped by the boards."[17] Perhaps, *Wonderful Life* overstepped the bounds of what postwar Americans could accept.

In his work, *Films and the Second World War*, Roger Manvell explained that, "For the American film industry, the war could not be over too quickly – the subject was virtually dropped cold, except for Wyler's *The Best Years of Our Lives*."[18] When choosing the material for his first postwar film, Wyler turned down scripts on Eisenhower and *The Bishop's Wife*, in favor of a historical novel written by MacKinlay Kantor. With his own war experience behind him, this director knew where his time would be best spent: "Goldwyn's proclaimed policy of making frivolous pictures to help the public forget the war held absolutely no interest for Wyler. The Kantor story, which became *The Best Years of Our Lives*, attracted Wyler because it depicted 'the ordinary GI, not a general."[19] Wyler said, "No man can walk right into the house after two or three years and pick up his life as before. No subject was as important as veterans and their problems," and his choice of story



The Best Years of Our Lives represented a considerably more complex view of post war America than Capra's film. *Samuel Goldwyn publicity poster.*

15. James Agee, *Agee on Film*, Vol. 1, ed. McDowell Obolensky (New York: McDowell Obolensky, 1958), 233-4.
16. Capra, 383.
17. Thomas, 105.
18. Roger Manvell, *Films and the Second World War* (New York: Delta, 1974), 241.
19. Jan Herman, *A Talent for Trouble: The Life of Hollywood's Most Acclaimed Director* (New York: Putnam, 1995), 279.

reflected that sentiment.[20] In an interview for the *New York Times*, Wyler expressed confidence in his ability to make a movie about returning veterans because of his war experience: "This is the kind of picture I couldn't possibly have made and done with conviction if I had not been in the war myself. If Sam Goldwyn had handed me this story five years ago I would have said, I don't want to make a fool of myself."[21] The product he delivered in *Best Years* certainly speaks of ability to relate to the returning GIs.

Writing the script presented the largest hurdle for Wyler and screenwriter Robert Sherwood because of the nature of its subject, but the two men tackled the task with determination. Wyler said of his partner, "Sherwood won the Pulitzer Prize for drama three times, had a fine war record as an infantry soldier in the First World War, was the brilliant head of the Office of War Information's Overseas Division, and friend and aide to Franklin Delano Roosevelt during all of World War II."[22] Essentially, Sherwood proved a certifiably capable choice to write the script for this dramatic homecoming. The two substantially rewrote Kantor's story to bring it up to 1946-7 experiences.[23]

The film portrayed three veterans: a banker returning to find his institution disinclined to help veterans, a captain who



Best Years of our Lives, a film by William Wyler, portrayed a far more ambiguous post war American than Capra's film. *Studio publicity still.*

outgrew his prewar soda-jerk job, and an amputee adjusting to the new challenges in his familial and romantic relationships. Where there might have been happy endings, the audiences faced reality. Wyler remarked, "We had to be honest in ending the three stories, for we felt the picture would be seen by millions of veterans. We could not indicate any solution to a problem which would work only for a character in a movie."[24] Of the three storylines, the best example of this reality is Fred Derry, the ex-soda jerk army Captain. Wyler described the last scene in this way:

> We followed Fred Derry as he moved thru the gigantic (army plane) graveyard. At once, the parallel was apparent; for four years Fred was trained, disciplined, and formed into a precise human instrument for destruction. Now his work is done, and he too has been thrown into the junk pile . . . [it] allowed us to make a sharp and ironic comment on Fred's reward for his war record being discouragement and hopelessness, and defeat as a civilian. His story is resolved . . . by a change in his attitude

20. Ibid., 280.
21. Thomas Pryor, "William Wyler and His Screen Philosophy," *New York Times*, 17 November 1946, sec. 2, 5.
22. William Wyler, "No Magic Wand," *Screenwriter* 2 (February 1947): 5.
23. Pryor, 5.
24. Wyler, 7.

> to a realistic appraisal of himself in relation to the time in which he lives.[25]

The difficulty Fred faced with his job, and essentially his purpose in life, presented the audience with a sharp reality, softened only slightly by his romantic victory. Along with the other two veterans, he accepted the situation rather than heroically conquering it.

The cast included several well-known Hollywood faces, as well as a few new personalities, but none so important to the success of the film as Harold Russell. Russell, who lost both of his hands in the war, signed on to play Homer Parrish, lending his own experiences of readjusting to civilian life to the film. Russell later shared his production experiences in *Victory in My Hands*: "The way I figured it, I was going to play a very minor part in the picture. Maybe I'd be in a couple or three scenes and have a dozen lines to read. It didn't seem possible that a rookie would be trusted with anything more important."[26] Russell's assumption proved untrue, and found himself a central character to both the film and its objectives. He recounted meeting regularly with Sherwood, revealing the reality of the final film:

> Every few days, Sherwood would call me into his office and we'd talk for several hours mostly about me. I told him all about my Army experiences from basic training through the accident, and then everything that followed. He took notes, and later . . . I discovered he'd used a great deal of my story in rebuilding Homer. The job of writing he did was . . . extremely accurate. So accurate, indeed, that at times it was painful for me to have to read those lines and reenact those situations.[27]

Wyler specifically used Russell because of his experience, not his acting ability; he forbid Russell to take acting lessons, claiming he did not want this part acted, but rather lived on camera.[28] In fact, Wyler employed a similar technique with his other actors: "He particularly loathed 'actors' - not members of the acting profession, but those who 'acted' rather than lived a part. His entire method was aimed at helping us find a real insight into the characters for ourselves."[29] His particular process paid off, extracting vulnerable and trustworthy performances from his actors.

The difficulty Fred faced with his job, and essentially his purpose in life, presented the audience with a sharp reality, softened only slightly by his romantic victory.

How close did *Best Years* come to portraying real life? Perhaps the critics and the public can begin to answer that question. Jan Herman, a Wyler biographer, wrote:

> "Best Years drew acclaim across the social and political spectrum. The conservative *Los Angeles Times* editorialized that it represented, 'the better American spirit,'

25. Ibid., 8-10.
26. Harold Russell, *Victory in My Hands* (New York: Creative Age, 1949), 179.
27. Ibid., 197.
28. Herman, 281-3, 286.
29. Russell, 189.

> while the liberal New York daily, *PM*, said, 'it must merit the gratitude of the whole country.' The highbrow *New York Times* hailed it 'not only as superlative entertainment but as food for quiet and humanizing thought.'"[30]

Theatre Arts reported: "It is safe to predict that sooner or later [*Best Years*] will find its way to the ends of the earth or at least as far as there are men and women who were torn apart by the war and thrust together again in the sudden and tortured atmosphere of the peace."[31] James Agee wrote, "The movie has plenty of faults, and the worst of them are painfully exasperating; yet this is one of the very few American studio-made movies in years that seem to me profoundly pleasing, moving, and encouraging."[32] A week later, he concluded his thoughts on the movie when he reported that,

> William Wyler has always seemed to me an exceedingly sincere and good director: he now seems one of the few great ones. He has come back from the war with a style of great purity, directness, and warmth, about as cleanly devoid of mannerism, haste, superfluous motion, aesthetic or emotional over-reaching, as any I know.[33]

Is it true that Americans teetered between the hope and optimism of *Wonderful Life* and the challenges and realism of *Best Years*?

The public seemed to warm to the film as well, evidenced by its intake. It brought in eleven million dollars in its first few years.[34] Looking back later, William Wyler said, "Through this film, people understood how to treat veterans."[35] A valid assessment, this film spoke to its audience in a sincere and open way, challenging them to assess their own situations, both as veterans and civilians, after the long, hard war. Since the war touched every American, it was applicable across dividing lines, and the three storylines gave the film an inclusive nature.

American cinema grew during and directly after the war. Hollywood productions climaxed at the box office in 1946, bringing in an estimated two billion dollars.[36] While both *Wonderful Life* and *Best Years* were well received by critics and audiences, *Best Years* took seven Academy Awards in the top categories, leaving *Wonderful Life* second best. With such different storylines, comparing these two movies for their message and successfulness proves difficult. While both dealt with human emotions and desires, *Wonderful Life* explored these

30. Herman, 291.
31. Hermine Rich Isaacs, "Between Two Years: The Films in Review," *Theatre Arts* 31 (February 1947): 34.
32. Agee, 229-30.
33. Ibid., 232.
34. Axel Madsen, *William Wyler: The Authorized Biography* (New York: Crowell, 1973), 269.
35. Kevin Thomas, "Wyler Collector of Awards," *Los Angeles Times*, 19 March 1966, sec. 1, 23.
36. Madsen, 258.

through fantasy, whereas *Best Years* attacked them almost as a documentary of postwar America.

Having looked at the similarities and differences between these two films, it is now possible to determine if one or both provide an accurate glimpse of American postwar morale. Is it true that Americans teetered between the hope and optimism of *Wonderful Life* and the challenges and realism of *Best Years*? Both directors aimed at creating a film that resonated with the postwar world, but Capra made a fairy tale, while Wyler's film resembled a dramatic documentary. A little over a year after the films premiered, Siegfried Kracauer compared these two films:

> The films in question confronted the hopes of the war years with the reality of the postwar. While Capra spirits away any abuses that might prove impenetrable to good-heartedness, Wyler in *The Best Years of Our Lives* comes directly to grips with them . . . He never makes his audience believe, as Capra does, that human decency is alone sufficient to change the existing state of things. His film is not a fairy tale, but an attempt however limited to promote social progress.[37]

According to Kracauer, *Best Years* deserved the prize for capturing the mood of America, and for honestly attempting to make it better. This assessment held true with the reviews the films received when first premiered. An audience member walking out of *Wonderful Life* felt no more prepared to face their world than when they walked in. With *Best Years*, however, they might have gained a bit of perspective and wisdom from the onscreen characters' lives.

If *Wonderful Life* is described as a fairy tale, then what does it reveal about the culture of postwar America? A 1947 review of Capra's masterpiece discussed the applicability of the film:

> In order to savor a Capra film you have to accept the world as he sees it, which shouldn't be difficult for anyone brought up on fairy-tales . . . Although he deals mainly in eccentric stereotypes, his playful and tender manner of putting them through their heartbreaks and triumphs eventuates in pictures inevitably giddy, generally absorbing and frequently excessively touching.[38]

For a film to be "touching," what must it touch? Most people would probably answer the heart, rather than the head. In this sense, *Wonderful Life* touched the heart of Americans on a level they could understand. It spoke to their emotions rather than logic, which can be equally valid in analyzing morale. In 1946, most Americans began thinking about the future again, and so the hope and optimism of *Wonderful Life* proved appropriate.

With *Best Years*, it is obviously easier to see a correlation between film and reality, making analysis simpler, but no less important. Biographer Axel Madsen said of *Best Years*:

> Wyler's most famous film came out of its time and gave voice to what Americans had been saying to themselves without knowing whether others shared their

37. Siegfried Kracauer, "Those Movies with a Message," *Harper's* 196 (June 1948): 568.

38. Isaacs, 36-7.

> doubts, regrets, and hopes. *Best Years* became a classic of the American screen, a unique glance in the national mirror.[39]

Wyler used *Best Years* as an opportunity to dialogue with America, using common experiences. Wyler expressed this in an interview:

> In the case of *Best Years*, I should like to make the point that the picture came out of its period, and was the result of the social forces at work when the war ended. In a sense, the picture was written by events and imposed a responsibility upon us to be true to these events and refrain from distorting them for our own needs.[40]

The truth of Wyler's statement became evident when a special Academy Award was presented to Harold Russell, "for bringing aid and comfort to disabled veterans through the medium of motion pictures."[41] For the Academy to award a person more for his experience than performance reflected the importance of this film for Americans. The characters in *Best Years* lived through the situations and challenges that everyday Americans faced; in all likelihood, a woman returning home after seeing the movie might encounter her veteran husband in a drunken state, frustrated with his inability to find a job, similar to the characters she viewed on screen. Or, perhaps, a veteran walked out of a theater to spy his wife across the street with another man, a testament to the strain the war put on hurried marriages, and also a theme explored in the film. *Best Years* spoke to America's logic and reason, offering a fuller picture of American postwar morale when seen with the conclusions drawn from *Wonderful Life*.

Wonderful Life looked at American values as a fairy tale, while *Best Years* portrayed the reality of living those values. *Wonderful Life* captured what Americans dreamed, while *Best Years* spoke to their experiences. According to the Academy Awards, they epitomized the best craftsmanship of 1946, testimonies of their time. Capra and Wyler viewed these films as their personal masterpieces, gleaned from their war experiences and from the world they faced when they came home. Honest and from the heart, the directors offered them as a gift to thousands of returning veterans and their families, as an expression of hope, tempered by realism, and a determination to affect the future.

39. Madsen, 257.
40. Wyler, 3.
41. Russell, 247.

Sue Kunitomi Embrey – Fighting for Truth

By
Kari Ala

In the early 1940s, under the aegis of National Security, the United States began detaining people of Japanese ancestry in government internment camps on the West Coast of California. Kari Ala's examination of a 1973 Oral History illustrates the true-life story of one such detainee. This chronological narrative highlights Mrs. Sue Kunitomi Embrey's experiences during World War II living in the Manzanar internment facility in California. After her release, Mrs. Embrey, along with other detainees, formed a collaborative effort, and through sheer determination found justice by ultimately transforming the Manzanar facility into an historical landmark. The committee's collective goal, which came to fruition in 1974, sought to re-establish Manzanar as a concentration camp and prove, with documentation, that the motivation for its existence represented nothing more than American racism and ìgreed. The committee's objectives went further than a commemorative plaque, however. They also wanted to educate the community about the WWII internment experience and end discrimination against Japanese Americans living in the United States.

Introduction

Racism and discrimination are common themes in American history. The United States government implemented several extreme measures in the name of national security, including the mass internment of people of Japanese ancestry on the West Coast during the 1940s.[1] In the early 1900s, laws existed that discriminated against people of Japanese ancestry regarding land ownership, education, and marriage.[2] Consequently, Nisei and Sansei, second and third generation Japanese Americans respectively, fought to change these laws. They considered themselves part of the nation and sought recognition as equal members of American cultural history.[3] Sue Kunitomi Embrey, a Nisei, played an active and public role in this process by educating future generations about the Japanese internment experience during World War II (WWII).

On 9 May 1942, Mrs. Embrey, along with her mother and seven siblings, were interned at the Manzanar Relocation Center in Inyo County, California.[4] Although she lived in the camp for a year and a half, twenty years later, Manzanar took a significant amount of her attention. In the 1960s,



Sue Kunitomi Embrey was one of the thousands of Japanese-Americans swept up in the World War II internment camps. Mine Okubo, *Citizen 13660* (New York: AMS Press, 1966).

Mrs. Embrey joined some of her fellow internees and created the Manzanar Project Committee (MPC). The MPC educated the public about the conditions of the camps for Japanese Americans and the state of society at the time. The MPC wanted the camp declared an historic landmark with a plaque on display that explained the experiences of the internees. These objectives represented difficult tasks. Neither the government nor public were ready to discuss

1. Michi Weglyn, *Years of Infamy* (New York: William Morrow, 1976), 76.
2. Morton Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed: Politics and the Japanese Evacuation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949), 3; *Marriage – A History of Change* [on-line text]; available at http://www.glad.org/Publications/CivilRightProject/OP3-historyofchange.shtml; accessed 19 April 2004.
3. Mine Okubo, *Citizen 13660* (New York: AMS Press, 1966), 16.
4. Oral History of Sue Kunitomi Embrey, OH 1366. Int. Arthur A Hansen, David A. Hacker, and David J. Bertagnoli, Oral History Program. California State University Fullerton. Oral History Department, 24 August 1973 and 15 November 1973, 15.

Executive Order 9066 or its repercussions.[5] This Order, issued by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1942, authorized the U.S. military to set up relocation camps for people who needed monitoring during the war. These zones in California, Arizona, Idaho, Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, and Arkansas became the sites of ten internment camps where over 110,000 people of Japanese ancestry were held until 1945.

Mrs. Embrey became the unofficial public liaison for the MPC and collaborated with the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL).[6] Nisei, who advocated the assimilation of Japanese Americans into American culture, had initiated this group decades earlier. The wording on the proposed plaque for Manzanar generated tensions between the committee, community members, and representatives of the State Parks and Recreation Department (SPRD). Specifically, the MPC used the words "racism" and "economic greed" to describe Americans' reasons for evacuating the Japanese, and they described Manzanar as a "concentration camp."[7] Mrs. Embrey met with representatives from the State Department at which time she justified the use of the words racism and greed with documentation from the period of internment.[8] The accuracy of these terms is well documented.[9] The term, "concentration camp," was actually an issue debated between members of the general public and not by state representatives.

Mrs. Embrey typified the kind of person who could meet this challenge because of her life experience, but her true motivation stemmed from three primary factors: first, the combination of her Japanese heritage and American citizenship caused many conflicts; second, through her political activity she wanted to ensure that her children would not endure the discrimination that she experienced; finally, Mrs. Embrey's struggle occurred in the midst of the civil rights and feminist movements. Also at this time, academic groups pushed for ethnic studies programs in colleges as many American minorities found the courage to challenge discrimination. Her spirit and determination, formed through personal experiences, motivated her to work for the plaque's display on the walls of Manzanar.

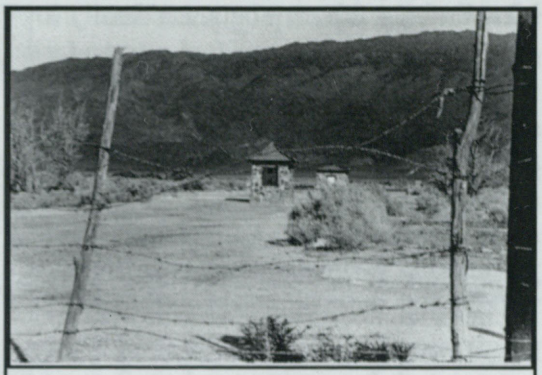
Life as a Nisei Woman

Like the majority of the interned people of Japanese ancestry, Mrs. Embrey is a Nisei. Born 6 January 1923, she and her siblings are the first members of her family born in the United States.[10] The Nisei typically dealt with several identity issues. They preferred to be recognized as Ameri-

5. Ibid., 57-8.
6. Ibid., 55-7.
7. Ibid., 63-4.
8. Ibid., 65.
9. Roger Daniels, *Concentration Camps USA: Japanese Americans and World War II* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972), xii; Mei T. Nakano. *Japanese American Women: Three Generations, 1890-1990* (Berkeley: Mina Press, 1990), 125; Weglyn, 36, 152.
10. Sue K. Embrey, Phone interview with Kari L. Ala; 12 May 2003.

can members of the Japanese community, rather than Japanese citizens.[11] The Issei, Japanese citizens living in the U.S., had different experiences, including collective detention in the internment camps and living in American and Japanese societies both before and in the years following WWII. Most of Mrs. Embrey's aspirations were not in line with traditional Japanese ideals. She wanted to attend college, have a career, and explore the broader opportunities in American society. As a child she disagreed with her parents, but it was not until her internment that she finally pulled away from family members and pursued a life of her own. This new-found independence subsequently laid the foundation for a life-long commitment to social causes that she viewed as important.

Los Angeles County, where the Kunitomi family lived prior to WWII, had the largest ethnically Japanese population in the continental U.S., and many Issei-owned small businesses.[12] Mrs. Embrey's father owned a moving company until he was killed in an automobile accident in 1938, which left his wife as the sole provider and caretaker for their eight children.[13] Mrs. Embrey watched her mother collect the debts owed to her father and



The bleak surroundings of the internment camps are made obvious by this photo. Mine Okubo, *Citizen 13660* (New York: AMS Press, 1966).

purchase a grocery store to meet her children's needs.[14] She passed on an intense love for her children, which gave Mrs. Embrey the courage to fight against injustices later on in her own life. The circumstances at the time made it necessary for Mrs. Embrey to work with her mother in the family store.[15] Prior to WWII, many Nisei decided to attend college rather than accept typical jobs reserved for Japanese, but this proved out of the question for Mrs. Embrey. [16] As a child her father told her that she should forget about going to college because, as a Japanese American woman, she "...had two strikes against..." her.[17] This turned out to be one of the last times, however, that her parents had much say over her decisions. Like most Nisei,

11. William Carlson Smith, *Americans in Process: A Study of Our Citizens of Oriental Ancestry* (Ann Arbor: Edwards Brothers, 1937), 241, 250.
12. Isami Arifuku Waugh, Alex Yamato, and Raymond Y. Okamura, eds., "A History of Japanese Americans in California," in *Five Views: An Ethnic Sites Survey for California* (State of California. Department of Parks and Recreation. Sacramento, Calif., 1988), 164-5.
13. Embrey, 3.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid., 11-2.
16. Leonard Broom and John I. Kitsuse, *The Managed Casualty: The Japanese American Family in World War Two* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 7.
17. Embrey, 37.

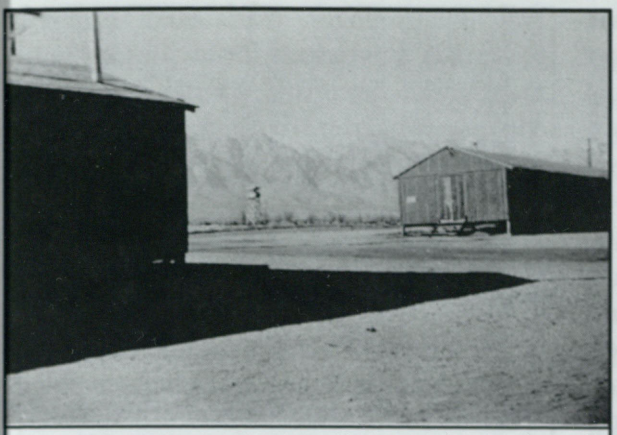
Mrs. Embrey felt torn between family loyalty and her interest in American ideals. [18]

The internment camp atmosphere drastically altered Japanese norms and ideologies for Issei and Nisei. Nisei took the dominant leadership roles, and family unity broke down. Jobs were easy to obtain, but the pay was "horrible." [19] During her seventeen-month stay at Manzanar, Mrs. Embrey held three different jobs. The most influential position gave her the title of reporter and managing editor for the *Manzanar Free Press*.[20] The experience with the camp newspaper not only provided direct access to people with Japanese ancestry, but allowed her to see how they were treated. She also made contacts that she used in her work with the MPC. Many women who worked in the camps became more independent and self-confident.[21] Mrs. Embrey found an outlet for her frustrations over being denied her freedom and being torn between two cultures. She became unwilling to remain in the camp any longer than necessary, even if it meant separation from her family. Nisei who passed an extensive security clearance test qualified for relocation to an approved demilitarized zone in one of the eastern states.[22] In 1942, Mrs. Embrey passed the test and received her temporary leave permit from the War Relocation Authority (WRA) and finally regained her freedom.[23] The WRA monitored those who resettled, but their reinstated freedom was worth the inconvenience. [24]

In 1948, California became the first state to rule that anti-miscegenation laws violated the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution.

Almost everything about Mrs. Embrey's five-year stay in the Midwest differed from her life in California.[25] After leaving Manzanar, Mrs. Embrey relocated to Madison, Wisconsin. She lived there for only eight months before moving to Chicago to be closer to one of her brothers.[26] She wanted to find a balance between the two cultures. Despite her minority status and the fact that the U.S. continued to fight in the war with Japan, she never experienced the hostility commonly directed at Japanese Americans on the West Coast. She held several jobs that gave her a sense of purpose and rekindled her interest in going to college, and her relationships and interactions with other Americans helped pave the way for her work with the MPC.[27] She learned that many of them were genuinely decent and did not really understand or agree with how the U.S. government

18. Smith, 241.
19. Leonard Broom and John I. Kitsuse, 8; Asian Women United of California, ed., *Making Waves: An Anthology of Writings by and about Asian American Women* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989), 116; Nakano, 150.
20. Embrey, 26.
21. *Making Waves*, 118.
22. Weglyn, 101.
23. Embrey, 15, 37.
24. *Making Waves*, 121.
25. Embrey, 45.
26. Ibid., 40-1.
27. Ibid., 41.



The internment camps faced by Nisei were both isolated and often basic in accomodations provided their inmates. Morton Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed: Politics and the Japanese Evacuation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949),

treated the Issei and Nisei.[28] The longer she received the same treatment as any citizen, without any emphasis on her Japanese heritage, the more she perceived herself as a member of the same community that previously shunned her. Relocating helped Mrs. Embrey face certain obstacles head-on because the Nisei who relocated to WRA sites usually adjusted better to mainstream society after the war.[29]

Although unusual, Japanese Americans dated interracially on occasion. Mrs. Embry felt at ease enough in the amicable Midwest environment to begin dating outside of her Japanese ancestry.[30] This experience helped her express her views against the traditional Japanese ideals under which she had been raised. She became further involved in her community when she returned to Los Angeles in 1948, a few years after the internment camps were closed. Subsequently, she also decided to fight discrimination within her own Japanese community after moving back in with her mother and youngest brother.[31] Despite objections from her mother and the community, she continued to participate in non-Japanese and politically active groups and to date interracially.[32] This demonstrates the fact that she did not adhere to any predetermined roles that people or society might prescribe for her. Her marriage to Gar Embrey, a Caucasian, in 1950 precipitated a significant turning point in her life.[33]

In 1948, California became the first state to rule that anti-miscegenation laws violated the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution.[34] Legal, interracial marriage still represented a radical idea, and at the time of Mrs. Embrey's marriage, only four percent of the Nisei population was married to Americans.[35] Because her mother disapproved of her children interracially dating, she refused to attend Mr. and

28. Ibid., 41-5.
29. Susan Matoba Adler, *Mothering, Education, and Ethnicity: The Transformation of Japanese American Culture* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998), 27.
30. Embrey, 44.
31. Ibid., 42.
32. Ibid., 47.
33. Ibid., 46.
34. Yung-Hawn Jo, ed., *Political Participation of Asian Americans: Problems and Strategies*, (Chicago: Pacific/Asian American Mental Health Research Center, 1980), 176.
35. David J. O'Brien and Stephen S. Fugita, *The Japanese American Experience* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 98.

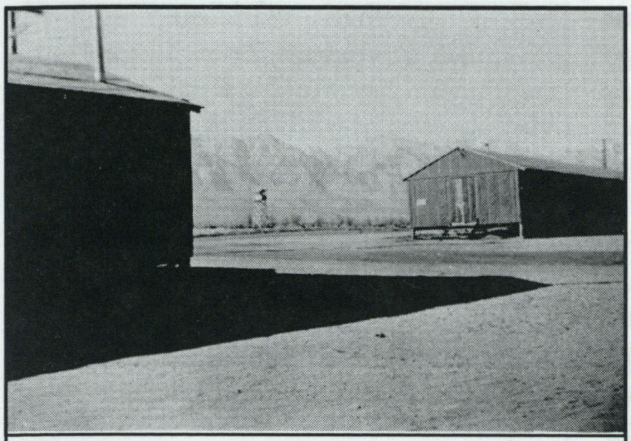
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31. Ibid., 42.
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35. David J. O'Brien and Stephen S. Fugita, *The Japanese American Experience* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 98.

Mrs. Embrey's wedding and she did not speak to them for several years.[36] In addition to the challenging social norms in her personal relationships, she also faced issues that other members of the Japanese community preferred to ignore. When a plan for a new police station in Little Tokyo required several Japanese-owned businesses to relocate, most people involved remained silent because the idea of opposing the government so soon after their internment frightened them; however, Mrs. Embrey, undeterred, joined an anti-eviction group and continued to pursue her liberal views.[37]

The fact that Mrs. Embrey married and attended college later than the norm probably benefited her. She did not rush into situations that placed limits on her ambitions. Most Nisei parents groomed their daughters for marriage; those who attended college usually married later.[38] When Mrs. Embrey married at twenty-seven, her husband encouraged her continued interest in civic groups, social issues, and in attending college.[39]

She began her college career apprehensively at the age of thirty-two and took fourteen years to complete her Bachelors Degree.[40] The years that she attended college are critically important to analyzing her personal ambition and courage. From the 1950s through the 1970s, many people, typically younger than Mrs. Embrey, joined the movements for civil rights, ethnic studies, feminism, and an end to the Vietnam War. Her efforts in this regard, a major contributing factor to Mrs. Embrey's character, will be discussed separately. It must be noted, however, that she pursued these interests at a time when most people from her generation stayed out of politics.[41] Obviously, there are many ways in which she does not seem like the average Nisei.

Motherhood

Many courageous acts have resulted from a mother's intense love for her children, and this fact is certainly applicable to Mrs. Embrey's activism. Five years after she married, she became a mother, and her life became centered primarily on her family. Her sons' births gave her two more reasons to try to make the world a better place.[42] Mrs. Embrey wanted her children to know about their cultural history and to enjoy all the rights and freedoms that they were entitled to. Like her mother before her, she became a role model of empowerment and strength.

Considering the hardships that Asian American women faced in the first half of the twentieth century, it is not surprising that they wanted to make life easier for their children. The hope that many Issei had for their children gave them the courage to face challenges and they became a strong example for future generations.[43]

36. Embrey, 47-50.
37. Ibid., 47.
38. Jean Pajus, *The Real Japanese California* (Berkeley: James J. Gillick., 1937), 39.
39. Embrey, 46-7.
40. Ibid., 38, 46.
41. Pajus, 102.
42. Embrey, 2004 interview.



The monument erected at the site of the Manzanar internment camp. *Photograph from archive.*

Mrs. Embrey states that her mother greatly influenced her role in the MPC, despite the objections to her daughter's community activism. Her mother, a strict Buddhist, often mentioned her concern for the people buried at Manzanar because it was such a "hot place."[44] This encouraged Mrs. Embrey when she began working with the MPC. She knew that many people remained troubled about the camps, but many more seemed unaware of what took place. She wanted to change that.[45]

Most Nisei women stayed at home until their children became teenagers because they focused on their family's welfare rather than their own interests.[46] Some renewed their church activities, but political activism was not expected of them.[47] Because of Mrs. Embrey's individualism, she did not use motherhood as an excuse to retreat within her home and retain relationships only within her own culture. Instead, she became more involved in the larger community. Her children grew up in an area where they were the only Asian children.[48] However, Mrs. Embrey participated in many of the community's social and civic activities independent of her Japanese heritage.[49] This demonstrates that she considered herself and her children as members of American culture.

Unlike most Japanese American mothers, Mrs. Embrey did not wait for her children to become teenagers before she began her college education. After the birth of her first born, she attended Los Angeles City College and eventually earned her Associates Degree.[50] Her continued involvement in the mass culture gave her higher aspirations for her children's lives. Sansei wanted their children to be raised in the "...American way," with an emphasis placed on becoming good students and "good citizens."[51] Mrs. Embrey's limited involvement in the Japanese community when her children were young never caused her to deny her heritage. Conversely, she believed that her children should not be kept from certain experiences because of their Japanese heritage. Like her, they were Americans and entitled to every luxury that they deserved. As time went on and she continued her education, she recalled the injustices committed in the

43. Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1998), 212.
44. Embrey, 2004 interview.
45. Ibid.
46. Adler, 44.
47. Waugh, Yamato, and Okamura, 167.
48. Embrey, 53.
49. Ibid., 54.
50. Embrey, 2004 interview.
51. Nakano, 192; Adler, 47-8.

camps during the war and focused on these issues concerning the Japanese American community.

Civil Strife, Civil Rights

Perhaps, the most significant factor contributing to Mrs. Embrey's involvement in the plaque struggle concerned the period in which it took place. From the late 1950s through the 1970s, while the country was ablaze with marches, protests, demonstrations for civil rights, ethnic studies, feminism, and anti-Vietnam War rallies, the Asian American community began participating in social issues.[52] Many Nisei who became involved with the MPC had experienced internment. As justice-seeking fervor swept the nation, it served as a catalyst for action that acknowledged their history. Mrs. Embrey, deeply affected and inspired by the community's events, focused on her own Japanese culture in a new way.

During Mrs. Embrey's college career, the American youth, particularly young adults, perpetuated radical ideas that began to challenge class convention in American society. She attended the California State University in the 1960s, when things really started to change.[53] A wave of equality-based legislation including the Civil Rights Act, Voting Rights Act, federal abolition of anti-miscegenation laws, and the Immigration Act provided new rights to previously marginalized groups.[54] However, the establishment of ethnic studies programs in colleges and universities made the greatest impact on Mrs. Embrey. She began to study Japanese history and the legislative discrimination practiced in the U.S against the Japanese.[55]

Like many Nisei, Mrs. Embrey preferred to suppress her memories of camp life, but because they were curious about internment, Sansei convinced some of the older generation to talk about their experiences.[56] Mrs. Embrey stated that, "...it was good for everyone to talk about it. It was a sort of catharsis."[57] In 1969, a few inquisitive Sansei approached her. They told her about the first pilgrimage to Manzanar arranged by Reverend Mayeda, a Buddhist minister from Manzanar.[58] She had not been back to the camp since her indefinite leave and wanted to return. She wanted everyone to know about this part of American history to prevent it from happening again.

The Nisei normally did not get involved in political activity; however, Sansei and Yonsei (fourth generation) became active in the political movement, particularly on the West Coast.[59] The pilgrimage, the lack of information available to young Japanese Americans about the internment, and the establishment of the MPC in 1960 fueled further political interest. Mrs. Embrey, Warren Furutani, Rex Takahashi, Faye Matsuoka, Pat Rosa, and

52. *Making Waves*, 363.
53. Embrey, 2004 interview.
54. *Making Waves,* 428; Takaki, 419.
55. Embrey, 2004 interview.
56. Weglyn, 35.
57. Embrey, 2004 interview.
58. Embrey, 54-5.
59. Adler, 153.

Ron and Don Rundstrom were the original members of the committee.[60] In the beginning, they wanted to acquire more data about the evacuation and internment period and include this information in Asian American studies classes. This objective soon shifted, however, to the task of instituting Manzanar as an historical landmark.[61] Mrs. Embrey devoted much of her time and attention to the issue, particularly to gathering information about the history of Manzanar.[62] The MPC collaborated with the JACL, but there were quite a few people who did not want see the MPC succeed.

In 1972, Manzanar received approval as an historic landmark; however, one year passed before the SPRD ordered the plaque because of opposition to the wording. The advisory committee of the SPRD objected to some of the terms that the MPC used. Consequently, the groups arranged meetings to reach a consensus.[63] Mrs. Embrey attended those meetings and relied heavily on her past experiences to make a positive contribution, but the social climate also affected the situation. While dealing with the landmark issue in the early 1970s, the idea of redress became an issue.[64] Throughout the country people were fighting for many causes, most of them dealing with minorities, and the mutual campaigns encouraged each other.

Mrs. Embrey's residence probably influenced her activist work as well. As a Californian, she lived close to communities where social restiveness primarily occurred. For example, Cesar Chavez's protests against working conditions for laborers on farms, as well as the Watts riots that occurred in the 1960s.[65] These social issues intensified national concern over race and gender equality issues. Even in 2004, thirty years after Mrs. Embrey saw the plaque installed at Manzanar during the landmark dedication, she recalls how the social unrest inspired her to become a community activist.[66] The leaders of the various movements served with determination and perseverance, a model which Mrs. Embrey typified.

Conclusion

While the debate over the significance of nature versus nurture may never be resolved, it cannot be denied that people are all products of their environments in one way or another. Many aspects of Mrs. Embrey's life prepared her to fight for Japanese American history to be acknowledged by the state of California and the education system. Her father died when she was young, which caused her mother

60. Embrey, 57-8.
61. Ibid., 57.
62. Ibid., 57-8.
63. Ibid., 59-63.
64. Nakano, 202.
65. "The Story of Cesar Chavez," [on-line article]; available at http://www.ufw.org/cecstory.htm; accessed 20 April 2004; Huey P. Newton, "Watts Riots" [on-line article]; available at http://www.pbs.org/hueypnewton/times/times_watts.html; accessed 20 April 2004.
66. Embrey, 2004 interview.

to become a prominent female role model for the children.[67] Mrs. Embrey replicated her mother's willpower before, during, and after her internment at the Manzanar Relocation Center. Her strong character and a determined spirit guided her throughout her life.

Being a Nisei entitled Mrs. Embrey to all the rights that other American citizens enjoyed; however, she did not always receive them.

Being a Nisei entitled Mrs. Embrey to all the rights that other American citizens enjoyed; however, she did not always receive them. As she continued to experience injustices throughout her life, she grew more determined to create change in society. Her internment experience and education caused her to focus on Japanese American issues as an adult. Once again, her status as a Nisei helped her hone the skills necessary to have Manzanar declared an historic landmark. Because of her heritage, early exposure to American ideals in school taught her that they did not all apply to her. She made important connections in Manzanar as a reporter for the camp newspaper, the *Manzanar Free Press*, and later went on to serve as the managing editor.[68] She also gained a greater sense of independence in the camp which became important to her activist role.

There were two other critical factors that contributed to Mrs. Embrey's involvement in the effort to have Manzanar established as an historic landmark. As a mother and a college student during the civil rights struggle, she had more reasons to challenge legislation that discriminated against Japanese Americans. She became emboldened by her desire to have her sons enjoy all the freedoms that American citizenship entitled them to receive. The civil rights demonstrations, feminism, and ethnic studies movements also fueled her ambitions.

In 1974, Manzanar became an official historic landmark, thanks in part to the efforts of Mrs. Embrey. Her unwillingness to allow negative aspects of U.S. history to enter some sort of theoretical vault, never to be spoken of, helped many Japanese Americans gain a better understanding of their cultural history. At eighty-two, Mrs. Embrey continues to influence the Japanese American community to end discrimination. She attends the yearly pilgrimages to Manzanar and recently appeared as a guest speaker at the thirtieth anniversary of the landmark designation. She is still active in the Manzanar Project Committee, serves as a board member for the Friends of Little Tokyo Library, and is a member of the Japanese American Historical Society. Mrs. Embrey is an excellent example of civic responsibility, historical integrity, and perseverance.

67. Embrey, 3.
68. Ibid., 26.

Limited Opposition: The Initial Public Attitudes toward the Korean War

By
Karen Rosa

Karen Rosa investigates the dramatic shift in American public opinion regarding the Korean War during the first six months of the conflict. She traces the swing from the public support to the opposition of America's involvement in the war by examining the editorial content of a variety of national and local newspapers. Karen argues that the editorial bias in these newspapers did not accurately reflect the sentiment that was evident in public opinion polls.

The Korean War had a direct and distinct effect on the course of world events throughout the duration of the Cold War, yet the American people seemed to have formed an opinion regarding the War within the first six months of the conflict. The Korea War initially signified an extension of the Cold War to the Asian continent, and extended the role of the United States in the global battle of ideologies. Upon reflection of public understanding during the opening months of the Korean War, it is evident that the media provided ample coverage of the war, yet the American public failed to realize the greater significance of the battle in the context of the Cold War.[1] As a result, during the first six months of the conflict, Americans tended to debate domestic implications of the "police action," rather than the long-term consequences of the "first major hot war of the Cold War era."[2]

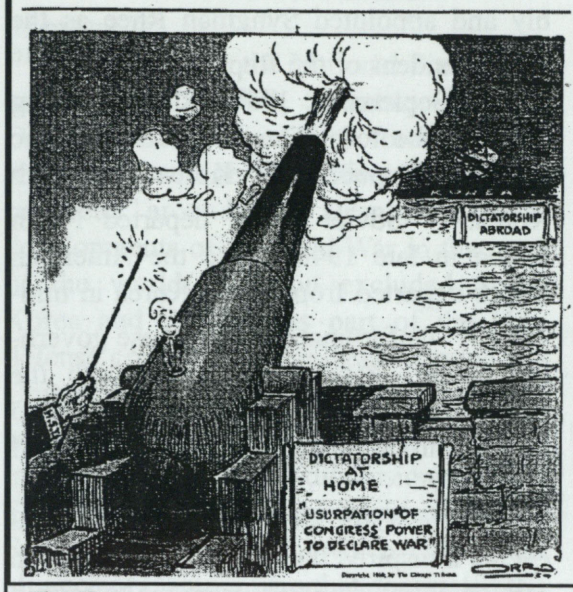
Long-term trends regarding political issues and reported public consensus can often be difficult to characterize due to the complexity of defining public attitudes.[3] An inclination toward overgeneralizations in the analysis of the public's attitude concerning the Korean War is a consequence of the narrow interpretation of expressed opinions. Over an extended period of time, the public's attitudes about particular topics remain relatively stable, which also contributes to oversimplification and lack of understanding.[4] However, in an effort to clarify vague generalizations, and to characterize the early public attitude toward the Korean War, this study is limited to a focus on the first six months of the conflict. Through an examination of various sources, it is evident that during this specific range of time, as a result of awareness of the War's progress, public attitudes underwent the most dramatic change. [5] During these initial months of the conflict, from June through December 1950, political tensions increased and established definite trends. This examination seeks to gain an understanding of the public's attitude during the first six months of the Korean War based on editorial content that helped shape opinions, opinion polls that serve to illustrate contemporary perception, and letters to the editors of various newspapers,

1. John Dille, *Substitute for Victory* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1954), 8. Dille noted the "platoons of reporters" sent to Korea and asserted that "perhaps no war in our history has been so fully reported and at the same time so little understood as was the Korean War."

2. The United States Congress did not declare war against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. However, in order to justify U.S. involvement, President Harry Truman agreed with the label of America's participation in the Korean War as a "police action" through the United Nations. David Lawrence, ed., "When Is a War Not a War?" *U.S. News and World Report*, 15 June 1951, 56. Reference to a "hot war" as noted in John Lewis Gaddis, *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 55.

3. Seymour Lipset, "The Wavering Polls," *The Public Interest* 43 (1976): 80-1. Richard G. Niemi, John Mueller, and Tom W. Smith, *Trends in Public Opinion A Compendium of Survey Data* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989), 1, 49.

4. Robert S. Erikson, Norman R. Luttbeg and Kent L. Tedin, *American Public Opinion: Its Origins, Content, and Impact, Second Edition* (New York: Longman, 2001), 6. The authors define attitude as "an enduring predisposition to respond."



The Korean war exposed fears, not simply about communism, but domestic issues of governmental power. *Chicago Daily Tribune,* 1 July 1950.

which demonstrate the early formation of opposition to the Korean War.

Ultimately, events that occurred during the Second World War led the United States toward the ideological struggle that became the Cold War, and to the eventual American involvement in the Korean War.

At the Cairo Conference in December 1943, President Franklin Roosevelt along with the leaders of Great Britain and China proclaimed the future independence of Korea.[6] However, in an attempt to procure the participation of the Soviet Union in the War against Japan, Roosevelt suggested a phase of joint trusteeship for Korea, until the nation could be prepared to govern its own freedom.[7] Following Roosevelt's death and the conclusion of World War II, the new administration under President Harry S. Truman settled upon the final division of Korea at the 38th parallel.[8] However, the American government did not determine Korea to have significant strategic importance in the early stages of the Cold War.[9]

Instead, the ideological battle continued to focus primarily on Europe. In March 1947, President Truman proclaimed the Truman Doctrine in an effort to aid Greece and Turkey against Communist expansion, and ultimately to challenge the Soviet threat to Europe.[10] Despite the Truman Administration's commitment to contain Communism and its pledge of support

5. For the purposes of this examination, most of the content reviewed is obtained from the *New York Times,* the *Los Angeles Times,* and the *Chicago Daily Tribune.* These three newspapers were selected based on a consistent ranking in the top five newspapers in a survey of "America's Leading Daily Newspapers," which is based on regional and national recognition and strength. Michael Emery, director, Media Research Institute, *America's Leading Daily Newspapers* (Indianapolis, Ind.: R. J. Berg, 1983), xi. Newspapers were also selected for this analysis based on regional influence and representation. Editorials and letters to the editor were selected from these papers based on relevance to issues related to the Korean War.

6. Callum A. MacDonald, *Korea: The War before Vietnam* (New York: Free Press, 1987), 7.

7. Robert C. Grogin, *Natural Enemies: The United States and the Soviet Union in the Cold War, 1917-1991* (New York: Lexington Books, 2001), 166.

8. Gaddis, *We Now Know,* 55-6; Stanley Sandler, *The Korean War: No Victors, No Vanquished* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1999), 314.

9. Gaddis, 70.

10. Edward H. Judge and John W. Langdon, *A Hard and Bitter Peace: A Global History of the Cold War* (Upper Saddle River, N. J.: Prentice Hall, 1996), 63-7.

to free people to resist "attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures," the Administration continued to concentrate its efforts on the European continent. Thus, while the United States promoted Western Europe's economic recovery with the Marshall Plan, Berlin and West Germany's integrity with the Berlin Airlift, and guaranteed trans-Atlantic security with the formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Asia received assistance on a limited basis.[11]

Following the Second World War, the United States considered China to be the greatest Communist threat to Asia.[12] Chinese Communist forces battled the Nationalist Guomindong regime in a bloody civil war for nearly two decades.[13] While the United States supported the Nationalist forces, the Soviet Union covertly provided limited aid to the Communist revolutionaries.[14] However, the impending battle to halt Communism in Asia did not emerge in China, yet eventually involved that nation in the forthcoming Cold War events.

In spite of the negotiated settlement between the United States and the Soviet Union to establish self-government in Korea, both nations maintained occupying forces in their respective zones. In September 1947, the U.S. referred the issue of reunification of Korea to the United Nations.[15] On 10 May 1948, the election in South Korea produced a national assembly and appointed Syngman Rhee as the new President of the Republic of Korea.[16] On 9 September 1948, Kim Il Sung declared the formation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in North Korea.[17] Soviet forces departed North Korea in late 1948, while the American forces departed from South Korea in mid-1949.[18] Unfortunately, with these governing powers gone from Korea, both the North and South sought to reunify the two Koreas through bloodshed and civil war, if necessary.

In late 1949 and early 1950, several events transpired that shifted the American foreign policy emphasis from the European continent to Asia. In August 1949, the Soviet Union test exploded an atomic bomb, thereby ending the American "monopoly" of the nuclear weapon.[19] With the Soviet possession of a nuclear bomb, the Cold War transformed to a new level of tension in which the threat of greater consequences for the dominating powers came into existence. Just as significant, in October 1949 the Chinese Communist leader Mao Zedong announced the Communist victory over the Nationalist government, and the establishment of the People's Republic of China.[20] With the Communist victory in China, the scope of the Cold War broadened as communism

11. MacDonald, 8; Lowe, *The Origins of the Korean War* (New York: Longman, 1986), 133-6.
12. MacDonald, 7.
13. Ibid., 6.
14. Ibid., 8.
15. Sandler, 314.
16. Ibid., 26-7.
17. Ibid., 27.
18. Sandler, 28.
19. Gaddis, 100.
20. Ibid., 68.

further expanded, and seemingly "doubled its extent."[21]

In a speech at the National Press Club on 12 January 1950, Secretary of State Dean Acheson defined U. S. foreign policy with the assertion of a limited "defense perimeter" around Asia. Despite the recent developments of the Cold War in that part of the world, Acheson excluded South Korea and Formosa as part of the U.S. defense concerns, and instead asserted the United Nation's responsibility for their security.[22] Another significant development that altered the dimensions of the Cold War in Asia occurred with the Sino-Soviet Treaty of 1950, which created an alliance of Communism that dominated the Asian continent. This pact created a security agreement between China and the Soviet Union in which both nations agreed to come to the aid of the other if either faced an attack by a third party.[23] Although this agreement "united" the two communist countries, Soviet Premier Josef Stalin and Chairman Mao each envisioned different roles and global positions for their respective nations.

As a result of the events in Asia during the early months of 1950, the United States undertook a "comprehensive reevaluation of American policy toward the communist world."[24] National Security Council document number 68 (NSC-68) set a new direction for the U.S. foreign policy toward the expansion of the communist threat. NSC-68 warned that the Soviet Union and China would attempt to seize further territory and expand across the Eurasian land mass.[25] In addition to the threat of aggression, the document also advocated an immense increase in U.S. military size, strength, and capabilities.[26] Each event that occurred in the Cold War seemed only to expand and escalate the scope of the hostilities rather than reduce the tension.

Events in Asia culminated on 25 June 1950 as North Korean troops crossed the 38th parallel into South Korea and established a new course in the Cold War that centered on Asian affairs. The Northern attack against Southern forces marked the beginning of the Korean War. To support South Korea, the United States sent troops under the authority of the United Nations. U.N. and South Korean forces endured continuous defeats, which resulted in a retreat through most of the Korean peninsula until the successful Inchon landing on 15 September 1950 and the following drive north.

However, as U.N. forces continued north of the 38th parallel and closer to the Chinese border in October 1950, members of the Chinese Volunteer forces crossed into Korea, and by December pushed the battle back down to the 38th parallel.[27] As a result, within the first six-month period of the Korean War, public discourse began

21. Ibid., 55.
22. Grogin, 167, and Gaddis, 72.
23. Gaddis, 69.
24. Grogin, 163; see also Gaddis, 76.
25. Grogin,164.
26. Ibid.
27. Sandler, 317-8.



The Chinese Specter. Images such as this played a role in justifying United Nations, and more specificaly, United States involvement in Korea. *Chicago Daily Tribune,* 5 December 1950.

to argue against America's involvement and to oppose the war effort.

In order to better understand the basis of the public's increasingly negative attitude toward the Korean War, it is useful to examine a component of the expressed opinion from the media, which potentially served to influence the general attitude of the public. During the early 1950s, newspapers remained an important source of the public's information. At that time, television had not yet become a wide phenomenon among the average citizen.[28] Instead, newspapers served as a primary source of local, national, and international news during the Korean War.[29] During the conflict, most editors initially supported the President's decision to send troops to Korea in the effort to battle the communist attack against South Korea. Nevertheless, many editorials soon engaged in a debate regarding American involvement in the War based on the political affiliation of the editors.

Despite a Republican tradition of most newspaper editors, which Truman felt opposed some of his Administration's policies, editorial opinions provided early arguments that endorsed prompt military action in South Korea.[30] Following the "invasion" by North Korea, and the engagement of American troops and the United Nations forces, the consensus of most editors echoed the argument that:

> [I]t must be plain to all that unless this aggression is stopped, neither the United States nor the U.N. will any longer be a barrier to the communist conquest of Asia. As long as neither Russia nor the United States is officially involved, this need not, and probably will not, mean war. But if the test is dodged, there can be little likelihood of averting the ultimate disaster.[31]

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28. In 1950, there were only 101 TV stations nationwide, and approximately 5 million television sets are noted as having been installed. Richard Layman, ed., *American Decades: 1950 – 1959* (Detroit: Gale Research Group, 1994), 294.
29. Ibid., 297.
30. Erikson, Luttbeg, and Tedin, *American Public Opinion*, 134.
31. "The Shape of Things," *Nation* 171, no. 1 (1 July 1950): 1. The *Nation*'s political affiliation was readily identifiable to its readers through its motto printed on the cover of the magazine: "America's Leading Liberal Weekly since 1865."

This editor addressed multiple public concerns as America plummeted into what seemed to many to be the beginnings of World War III. While advocating the containment of "the communist conquest of Asia," the editorial assured readers that although the nation was engaged in a battle, without a direct confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States, this conflict would not escalate into a general war, which would ultimately have led to World War III. While in agreement regarding the aggressive nature of the Soviet Union and Communism, other editorials soon began to question the resilience of the United Nations to expose the "Soviet Government . . . for its dishonorable role in the Korean war," and noted that "American public opinion would lose confidence in the U.N. if it hesitated."[32]

...the editorial assured readers that ... without a direct confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States, this conflict would not escalate into a general war.

Of the newspapers surveyed, the *New York Times* provided more intellectually based arguments concerning issues related to American involvement in the Korean War. Consistently ranked nationally as the "best overall newspaper," the *N.Y. Times* has historically "enjoyed international prestige."[33] Most of the editorials in the *N.Y. Times* reflected on the needs of the global society rather than a domestic or isolationist focus. In addition, during the Korean War the *N.Y. Times* also promoted the American ideal of Democracy as the primary goal in sending troops to Korea. On 28 June 1950, the editor asserted that President Truman acted under a "mandate from the Security Council of the United Nations," and engaged the American military in "the defense of freedom."[34] A *N.Y. Times* editorial also argued "that the war in Korea is not, as the Soviets would have it, an 'internal' Korean affair," but rather the product of an "armed attack on the Republic of Korea," which involved "international peace and security."[35]

The *N.Y. Times* often focused on local state issues in its editorials; however, editors provided commentary when international events deemed discussion. In November 1950, the editor noted the Chinese entry into the war, and asserted the formation of "an Asian Iron Curtain" that accentuated "the division of the world into communist and non-communist blocs."[36] Weeks later, an editorial praised the determination of the United Nations "not to be deterred by Chinese Communist threats or intervention," and argued that the Korean War had nearly come to an end until the Communist Chinese intervened.[37] Despite the continued struggle, casualties, and escalation

32. David Lawrence, "Expose the Aggressors," *U.S. News and World Report* 29, no. 14 (6 October 1950): 54.

33. Emery, 1.

34. 35 "Democracy Takes a Stand," *New York Times*, 28 June 1950, p. 26.

35. Ibid., "The Soviet Replies," 30 June 1950, p. 22.

36. "Red China's New Role," *New York Times*, 4 November 1950, p. 16.

throughout the first six months of the Korean War, the *N.Y. Time's* support for the Truman Administration, and the battle for democracy, remained relatively constant.

A dominant paper to the west of the Mississippi River, the *Los Angeles Times* originally began as a conservative paper, but under a new publisher gradually became more moderate.[38] As a result, the *L.A. Times* editor *seemed* to argue their position based less on partisanship than many of the other opinion editorials. However, the *L.A. Times* immediately identified the North Korean invasion as a Soviet sponsored "advance in Asia."[39] The editor of the *L.A. Times* also engaged in an early debate that concerned the use of the atomic bomb. In an editorial on 15 July 1950, the editor noted the "hideous train of consequences" that resulted from the use of the bomb.[40] Nevertheless, within two weeks, an editorial appeared that advocated the use of the atomic bomb if necessary to defeat what it identified as the enemy, "world communism."[41] Despite the more aggressive tone in the latter editorial, the paper still supported the war effort.

However, as casualties continued to increase, the *L.A. Times* altered its tone in their editorials. By September, in spite of the successful MacArthur Inchon landing, the editorials began to question the participation of the United Nations, as well as the armed forces of other countries.[42] After the Chinese forces entered the Korean War, the *L.A. Times* overtly criticized the Truman Administration for the escalation of the conflict. One editorial stated that the "administration showed its fear too openly," and as a result, the Chinese, "goaded by Moscow," no longer feared the power of the United States.[43] As the conflict entered the early stages of the stalemate, the *L.A. Times* editorials paralleled the public attitudes during the first six months of the Korean War through their expression of criticism and opposition.

The *Chicago Daily Tribune*'s publisher, Robert R. McCormick, is argued to have "rivaled" William Randolph Hearst in his newspaper's "ultraconservative, isolationist views."[44] Such views were readily evident in the *Tribune*'s editorials published during the Korean War. As early as 26 June 1950, the editor proclaimed a warning to Congress which concerned Truman's abuse of authority and power.[45] The editor persisted in a denouncement of Truman's "abuse" of power, and argued that "Korea is an illegal declaration of war."[46] The main thrust of the editorials remained

37. Ibid., "On the Banks of the Yalu," 21 November 1950, p. 30.
38. Emery, 9.
39. "Russia Pushes on in Asia," *Los Angeles Times*, 27 June 1950, sec. 2, p. 4.
40. Ibid., "Shall We Use It?" 15 July 1950.
41. Ibid., "Fear Is the Product of Ignorance," 30 July 1950.
42. Ibid., "Shall We Police the World – Alone?" 20 September 1950.
43. "The Wages of Appeasement," *Los Angeles Times,* 29 November 1950, sec. 2, p. 4.
44. Emery, *Leading Daily Newspapers,* 11.
45. "Korea," *Chicago Daily Tribune,* 26 June 1950, sec. 1, p. 18.
46. Ibid., "Undeclared War," 28 June 1950.

constant throughout the early weeks of the Korean War.

The *Tribune* editor condemned the President and argued, "even tho [*sic*] Russia or its North Korean satellite is an aggressor, Truman is a lawbreaker in his own land."[47] The editor continued in the same editorial, and asserted that Truman allowed the United Nations to control the actions of the United States. Throughout the duration of the Korean War, the *Tribune* focused its commentary on actions taken by the President. In December, an editorial charged that Truman led the United States into war with China, and "war in Korea by executive fiat, in disregard of the Constitution. Now we find ourselves boobytrapped by the hordes of communist" Chinese.[48] The editors of the *Tribune* rarely engaged in a debate concerning the international issues that related to the Korean War. Throughout their editorials, the *Tribune* specifically targeted President Truman and his administration for involvement with the U.N., sending troops to Korea, and accused the President of appeasing communists abroad, while employing them domestically.

Although the newspaper content and analysis exposed the public to the publisher's political position, editorials often served to raise awareness of a particular political issue, rather than directly affect personal opinions.[49] There is "little evidence that media [can] change opinions about political issues," but the media may in fact establish the level of importance for that issue with the public.[50] President Truman stated that he never "paid any attention to the polls" due to his belief that they "did not represent a true cross section of American opinion."[51] However, many opinion polls chronicled the negative impact of the Korean War on President Truman's approval ratings.[52] Nevertheless, while the President's support did suffer as a result of American participation in the Korean conflict, opinion polls prior to the War often reflected a decrease in the public's approval rating of the President.[53]

In response to the negative commentary, Truman argued that the "hostile press" attempted to "discredit and sabotage" his polices, and "misrepresent his Administration."[54] Additionally, he stated that:

> [I]t is characteristic of any system where free expression of opinion prevails that the critics and the malcontents will be

47. "Anything to Destroy the Constitution," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 5 July 1950.
48. Ibid., "Truman Should Get Out," 3 December 1950, sec. 1, p. 20.
49. Erikson, Luttbeg, and Tedin, 134.
50. Ibid., 142.; Miles Hudson and John Stanier, *War and Media: A Random Searchlight* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 94, 304.
51. Harry S. Truman, *Memoirs: v. 2. Years of Trial and Hope* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1955), 177.
52. For a more detailed analysis of polling results, please see Niemi, Mueller, and Smith.
53. Based on responses to the question: "Do you approve or disapprove of the way Harry Truman is handling his job as President?" George H. Gallup, *The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion1935 – 1971, I, II* (New York: Random House, 1972), 512, 734, 903, and 939.
54. Truman, 177.

heard more often than those who support the established policy.[55]

Based on his belief that the press emphasized the argument of the opposition, and under-reported actual support for his policies, Truman asserted that a President "must not be influenced" by the pervasive misrepresentation of public sentiment.[56] It is clear that President Truman recognized that expressed public opinion predominantly represented the extreme viewpoints discussed in political discourse. Yet despite the President's contention that the press unfairly attacked his Administration, public support for American involvement in the Korean War faded as the war progressed, and with the entry of Communist China, hastily turned to the public's overwhelming opposition.

Unfortunately, the determination of public attitudes based on opinion polls can lead to vague generalities, and prove to be problematic due to the inherent flaws found in the polling process. Public "opinion" is comprised of the reactions of many individuals with differing personal, social, and political values that are determined by one's environment and personal biases.[57] Additionally, responses to polling questions asked during the Korean War may be deemed inconsistent with the true consensus of public opinion based on errors in the formation of questions, and in the interpretation of the results.[58] Such results generally fail to demonstrate intensity or to offer detailed insight into the public's attitude toward a particular issue.[59] George Gallup asserted that "the powerful impact of events" directed public opinion, most notably events that grew "out of the success or failure of American polices."[60] However, rather than a focus on trends and patterns that would perpetuate such inconsistencies, the responses to specific polling questions that relate to relevant issues can serve as an indicator of the public attitudes toward America's participation in the Korean War.

Four months prior to the outbreak of the War in Korea, most Americans had a limited understanding of the Cold War.

Four months prior to the outbreak of the War in Korea, most Americans had a limited understanding of the Cold War.[61] Based on that understanding, the majority of Americans believed that the Soviet Union did not "desire peace" with the United States.[62] In order to halt the threat

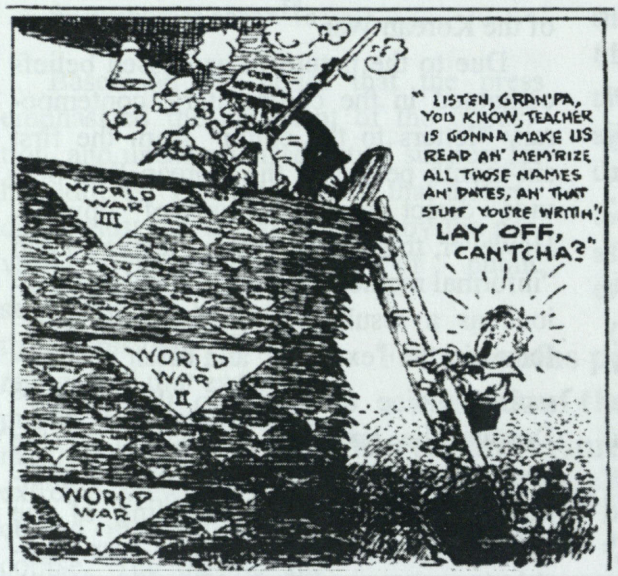
55. Ibid., 414.
56. Ibid.
57. Ralph B. Levering, *The Public and American Foreign Policy: 1918-1978* (New York: William Morrow, 1978), 21, 32.
58. Lipset, *Wavering Polls*, 73. Lipset noted that the wording of questions, number of non-respondents, and type of sampling are among many factors that can affect the reliability of opinion polls.
59. Levering, *The Public and American Foreign Policy,* 33.
60. Ibid., 9.
61. A Gallup poll asked respondents on 26 February 1950 to identify "what the term Cold War means." 58 percent were able to correctly identify the term. Gallup, *The Gallup Poll, II*, 897, survey 453-k question 10a.

of Soviet aggression, a majority of the public believed that "Russian expansion in Asia and Europe" needed to be stopped, even at the cost of entering into "a major war."[63] Most Americans increasingly thought that the Soviet Union sought to become "the ruling power of the world," and felt the U.S. should take preventative action to avert the further spread of Communism.[64] In response to a poll in early December, respondents concluded that China entered the war as ordered by the Soviet Union, yet believed that the United States should concede to let Communist China into the U.N. if the Chinese would stop fighting in Korea.[65] By the end of December, the Gallup Poll illustrated that approximately half of Americans (49%) believed that "the United States made a mistake in deciding to defend South Korea."[66] However, these responses must remain in context in order to provide an accurate assessment of the American attitudes during the course of the early months of the Korean War.[67]

Due to the nature of expressed beliefs contained in the commentary, contemporary "letters to the editor" from the first six-month period of the Korean War provide direct representation of opinion. However, this can be seen as a flawed and "informal method of assessing public opinion" as a result of a "substantial bias" found in the "extreme" and often "conservative" voice of letters to the editor.[68] Despite the informal disposition of the content, such commentary provides additional insight and understanding of the public's attitude. The Korean War arguably became unpopular with many Americans due to the nature of limited warfare after winning an unconditional victory less than five years earlier, and the continued losses that occurred in an unknown country.[69] Yet in most instances, the commentary found in the letters to the editor matched the sentiments of the opinions expressed in the same newspaper's editorials.

Initial opinions printed in the *N.Y. Times* mostly supported Truman "for the wise manner in which [he] swiftly reacted to the brutal" aggression.[70] One letter "applauded" the President's actions and argued that "all men [should] recognize the Korean conflict for what it is – part and parcel of a deadly, world-wide struggle

62. Ibid., 788, survey 435-k question 3a. On 7 January 1949, 72 percent of those polled responded negatively when asked "Do you believe that the Russian government sincerely desires peace?"
63. Ibid., 929, survey 458-k question 16.
64. Gallup, *The Gallup Poll, II*, 881, survey 450-k question 1, 949, survey 467-k question 18. Both polls asked ". . . do you believe Russia is trying to be the ruling power of the world – or is Russia just building up protection against being attacked in another war?" On 27 November 1949, 70 percent answered "ruling power", and on 81 percent answered "ruling power".
65. Ibid., 955, survey 468-k question 9d, question 10a.
66. Ibid., 961, survey 469-k question 3.
67. Erikson, Luttbeg, and Tedin, 42.
68. Ibid., 17.
69. Levering, 103.
70. *New York Times,* letter to the editor, 1 August 1950, 22.



Opposition to the war in editorial cartoons sometimes implied that Korea would simply be one in a never ending series of wars that would burden future generations.

between democracy and communism."[71] Opinions expressed in the letters to the *N.Y. Times* remained focused on foreign policy, and mainly the global aspects of the War in Korea. However, with the entry of China, comments evolved more into a debate about the strategy of the United States. A letter from 5 December 1950 noted, "[t]here is no longer even a vestige of excuse for not permitting American planes to bomb Chinese Communist concentrations."[72] Yet others argued for increased "diplomacy instead of an exchange of accusation and insults" with the Soviet Union.[73]

The *Los Angeles Times* received a mixture of opinions from the start of the Korean War. An early letter posed the question, "do we really mean what we say about punishing aggression?"[74] Then, the letter continued in an argument against limited warfare by stating, "We should finish this job."[75] Another letter stated "there is little doubt" that the United States could defeat North Korean forces, but then asserted that the "Russians will push forward another of their pawns to engage us . . . in Indo-China, Iraq, Trieste, Formosa or some other spot."[76] However, in early November, many of those who wrote letters began to criticize U.S. policy toward the Korean War. On 9 November 1950, the *LA Times* printed a letter that noted the ineffectiveness of the negotiations due to the "efforts to placate the Russians in the U.N. . . . [while] their stooges enter the Korean conflict."[77] By December, most opinions sent to the *L.A. Times* seemed to expressly criticize the Korean War. While attitudes expressed "disapproval of our nation becoming involved in a war with China," letters still maintained a belief that "Russia

71. Ibid., 1 July 1950, 14.
72. Ibid., 5 December 1950, 30.
73. Ibid., 10 December 1950, sec. E, p. 10.
74. *Los Angeles Times,* letter to the editor, 6 July 1950, sec. 2, p. 4.
75. Ibid.
76. *Los Angeles Times,* letter to the editor, 12 July 1950, sec. 2, p. 4.
77. Ibid., 9 November 1950.

. . . stands the only one to profit" from the war.[78]

Letters to the editor in the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, under the heading "Voice of the People," maintained an immediate attitude in opposition to the War in Korea. A mother voiced a common argument in the *Tribune* against Democrats with her statement, "[w]e haven't had a moment's peace since the Roosevelts and Trumans got in power," and noted that the *Tribune* "seems to be the only paper that has the guts to tell the people the truth."[79] However, the *Tribune* did print the occasional letter of support, most often if it ultimately opposed Russia. One letter asked, "[c]an either Republicans or Democrats keep us peaceful when Russia moves about infringing upon the rights" of world democracies?[80] Nevertheless, most of the attitudes exhibited in the letters to the editor did not present an argument based on debates of policy, but rather focused on criticisms of Truman and his administration. On 1 December 1950, a letter asserted that:

> [I]t is time for congress to call a halt. How long are our boys to be slaughtered in Korea to save Mr. Truman's face? Just how cheap are the lives of American citizens?[81]

Throughout the early months of the Korean War, the *Tribune* continued to argue against the War in Korea, and the editorials and letters to the editor reflected that attitude.

During the first six months of the War in Korea, newspaper opinion editors often provided the public with commentary and insight, while opinion polls taken during the War reflected the general disposition of the American public, and letters to the editor illustrated the sentiments that developed early in the War. A greater understanding of the public's attitude toward the Korean War is demonstrated through the examination of each of these forms of expressed sentiments. The focus on the numerical record of opinion is narrow, and does not fully illustrate why American support transformed into opposition so early during the War. Although in the instances of the editorials and letters to the editor attitudes remained relatively constant, this is mainly due to the partisan beliefs articulated, and often reflected the "extreme" views of the commentator. Yet, these views complement the opinion polls, which alone do not demonstrate an accurate understanding of public opinion.

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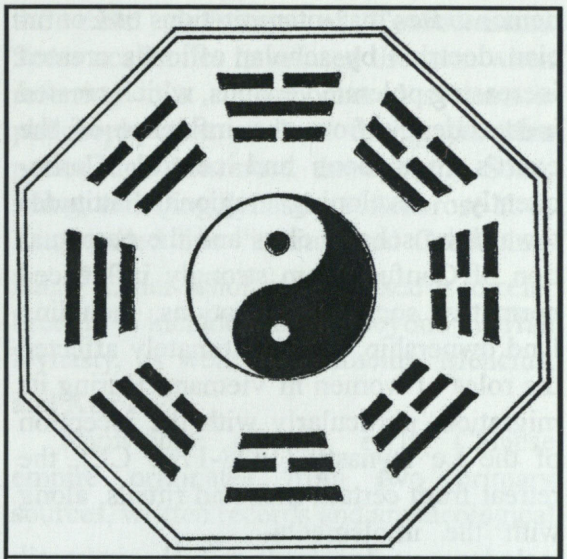
78. Ibid., 2 December 1950.
79. *Chicago Daily Tribune,* Voice of the People, 24.
80. *Chicago Daily Tribune,* Voice of the People, 7 September 1950, 20.
81. *Chicago Daily Tribune,* Voice of the People, 1 December 1950, 16.

The Way of the Wind: Confucianism and the Rise of Women's Economic Influence in Nineteenth Century Rural Vietnam

By
Susan Brewer

Confucianism, the widely accepted teachings of Chinese philosopher Confucius, spread throughout Eastern Asia from its beginnings in the fifth century BCE through the seventeenth century CE. Susan Brewer astutely reveals how this system enabled the subjugation of women during Confucianism's inception and beyond. However, Brewer further details the evolution of Confucianism, and how it, ultimately, supported the independence of Vietnamese women under French Colonialism.

Academic treatment of Greater Southeast Asia presents an opportunity to study early maritime exploration, examine secret imperial societies, pursue the origins of philosophical inquiry, and investigate the genesis of Chinese intellectual thought. Confucius (551-503 BCE) might argue, however, that the key to understanding both China's past and present lies within its rudimentary values: propriety of family, order in society, and observing the rights and rituals that preserve the quintessential nature rooted in organized relationships.[1] Historically, these social structures represented a viable part of the Chinese amalgamate and the practical extension of the theoretical tenets, "self-cultivation" and a "well-ordered society."[2] Confucians taught that moral practice portrayed something more than just a daily custom. The Chinese perceived themselves as the progenitors of the spiritual enlightenment that should be shared with lesser barbarians."[3] Consequently, the Confucian articulation of the nature inherent in the barbarian asserted, "if a superior man dwelt among them, what rudeness could there be?"[4] In other words, Confucians believed in the "perfectibility" of man.[5] Above all, the "superior man" (*chun tzu*) could lead the commoner (barbarian) to realize the virtue of *jen*.[6] Thus, in the second century BCE, because of its accessible geographic locations and the absence of borders, Confucianism's proponents, armed with the conviction of their beliefs, began the migration south.



Yin-yang symbolizing creation with the Eight Trigrams surrounding it. From Ch'u Chai and Winberg Chai, *The Story of Chinese Philosophy.*

The movement of Chinese hegemony into North Vietnam lasted until the tenth century CE, but continued to promote integral spheres of influence for another thousand years. As literary canons emerged into Vietnam (Annam) in the fifteenth century, a fundamental component diverged from Confucianism's philosophical origins along with the teachings of its traditional ideology.[7] The research

1. Confucius, *Analects,* 2nd ed. (Beijing: Sinolingus, 1994), 2, 6, 7, 9.

2. Arthur F. Wright, *Chinese Civilization,* 2nd ed. (New York: Stanford University Press, 1964), vi, vii.

3. Hisayuki Miyakawa, "Confucianism of South China," in *The Confucian Persuasion,* ed. Arthur Wright (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960), 21-46.

4. Ibid.

5. Wang Tsit Chan, ed., trans., *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963), 5-6.

6. Ibid.

demonstrates that interpretations of Confucian doctrine by scholar officials created increasing polemic versions, which created independency from the influence of the court's regulations and control. Consequently, developing regional attitudes toward the scholar class and the perpetuation of Confucianism strongly influenced normative social organizations, including land ownership, which ultimately affected the roles of women in Vietnam. During its migration, particularly with the inception of the Le Dynasty (1428-1788 CE), the retreat from certain rites and rituals, along with the implementation of new law codes fostered a less dogmatic interpretation of Confucianism pedagogy. Therefore, beginning in the late eighteenth century, women developed a greater sense of status and independence. This phenomenon transformed Vietnamese women into a new class of property owners and merchants who became less accountable to traditional Confucian social hierarchies and the accepted mediums of social control. Confucian ideological pedagogy commenced in the year, 529 BCE.[8] Four central themes proceed these eras. The first theme examines the premise of Confucian ideology and its original influence on women's traditional roles in the family hierarchy beginning in the early Han Dynasty (206-220 CE). The second explores the development and importance of China's scholar elite, the civil service examination system, and its influence on women; specifically, the court positions and educational opportunities that privileged the scholar class. The long-term effect of gendered dogmatic teachings portrayed women as insignificant in Confucian culture. Consequently, Confucianism's chronological development encompasses the declining roles of women brought about by subsequent interpretations of Confucian canon, particularly with the inception of the Song Dynasty (906-1279 CE). The third theme explores Confucianism's shift into northern Vietnam during the fifteenth century, its effect on women in Vietnamese

...as Confucian social hierarchies became less important in Vietnam, subordinate women transformed into assertive cultural and economic forces, which included certain

7. Frederick W. Mote, *Intellectual Foundations of China,* 2nd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1989), 1-8; Dorothy Ko, et al., ed., *Women and Confucian Cultures: In Pre-modern China, Korea, and Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Francis L. K. Hsu, *Shadow* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948); Frederic Wakeman Jr., *The Fall of Imperial China* (New York: Free Press, 1975), 20, 23, 27, 28, 39, 39.

8. Chester A. Bain, *Vietnam: The Roots of Conflict* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, 1967), 64, 65, 79, 80, 85-6; Joseph Buttinger, *Vietnam: A Political History* (New York: Praeger, 1968), 27, 65, 154, 193; Keith Weller Taylor, *The Birth of Vietnam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 83; Miyakawa, 23-46; Insun Yu, "Bilateral Social Pattern and the Status of Women in Traditional Vietnam: A Comparison of the Le Dynasty law codes (1428-1788) with the Chinese Codes," *Journal of Southeast Asia Research* 7 no. 2 (1999), 215-31.

society, and the movement away from classical, traditional teachings. The fourth theme includes a discussion relating to the implementation of a new government infrastructure, which diminished the roles and power of traditional Confucian hierarchies.

French hegemony (1859-1885 CE), and its emerging administrative policies represented the primary catalyst for changes in conventional Confucian relationships throughout its administrative period. Hence, as Confucian social hierarchies became less important in Vietnam, subordinate women transformed into assertive cultural and economic forces, which included certain privileges previously denied them. Some of these rights included their participation in the rising merchant class, legal inheritors of family estates, purchasers of both properties and businesses, and the inherent right to instigate their own divorce. These privileges did not start to be codified laws in China until the 1960s, and in some contemporary rural regions, women's equality outside of the Confucian hierarchy still does not exist.

The Origins of Confucianism and the Effects on Women

Confucius was born in about the year 551 BCE in Qufu, the State of Lu, (modern Shantung Province). Until his death at the age of seventy-four, Confucius made his way around the various kingdoms of eastern China, spreading his own particular theory of government that contemporary scholars refer to as "Confucianism." Historians have not yet reached an agreement on the exact definition of Confucianism. Some academics have used the term when referring to a state-sponsored systematic philosophy that evolved during the Han period and continued through the Song, Ming, and Qing dynasties – Ambrose Y. C. King called this "institutional Confucianism."[9] Other scholars have used it to refer broadly to include scholars beyond the Han Dynasty, as well as Confucius, Mencius, and Xun Zi.[10]

Knowledge of the early Chinese empire originates from two primary sources, written records and archaeological discoveries.[11] For the Confucian scholar, sources augment existing scholarship relative to its interpretation. Perhaps one of the most comprehensive works on Chinese philosophy appears in Wing-Tsit Chan's *Source Book in Chinese Philosophy.*[12] This volume translates four books of Chinese intellectual thought, originating from Chan's interpretative extrapolations from primary sources. For example, the esteemed Chinese historian, John Fairbanks, authored numerous works on the history of China and the influence of Confucianism, delineating what he calls, "the age of imperial Confucianism that occurred during the Spring-and-Autumn

9. Chengyang Li, "Can Confucianism Come to Terms with Feminism," in *The Sage and the Second Sex* ed. Hong Xiao (Chicago: Open Court, 2000), 2.
10. Ibid.
11. Ann Paludan, *Chronicles of Chinese Emperors: The Reign-by-Reign Record of Chinese Emperors* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998), 14-7.
12. Wing-Tsit Chan, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1963), 14, 18.



Another image of Confucius, this is a woodcut illustration from Father Louis le Cornte's work. This is the most popular representation of him in European works. From Lionel M. Jensen, *Manufacturing Confucianism: Chinese Traditions and Universal Civilization.*

period of Chinese history (722-481 BCE).[13]

Confucian society began with the cosmic order and its hierarchy of superior-inferior relationships. Confucius said, "*Jun jun chen chen fu fu zi zi*," which means, "Let the ruler rule as he should and the minister be a minister as he should. Let the father act as a father should and a son act as a son should."[14] In other words, if each person accepts their prescribed role, the status quo's inherent values prevail.[15] Xinzhong Yao suggests that Confucianism's introduction to the West by the Jesuit missionary, Matteo Ricci during the sixteenth century, may have evolved into a "Jesuit creation."[16] Hisayuki Miyakawa's essay on the "Confucianism of South China" illustrates Confucianism's influence in another way: "It did not confine itself to universal ethical teachings, but also fostered a sense of nationalism, which gave rise to a 'racist' doctrine that revealed tension between the Chinese, their barbarian rivals, or rulers."[17] The mix, nevertheless, failed to designate women as viable members of society, and these roles shifted and changed through history, as Confucian societies constantly required redefining.

Definitions of women's roles in Chinese society first appeared in three important texts.[18] The first, *Liji,* (first century BCE), describes the "Domestic Regulations," and rituals necessary to maintain harmony in the home.[19] These included

13. John Fairbanks, *China: A New History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 48.

14. Xinzhong Yao, *An Introduction to Confucianism* (Cambridge: University Press, 2000), 11-4.
15. Ibid., 52; c.f. Moat, 26-7.
16. Xingzhong, 5-6.
17. Miyakawa, 22.
18. Bella Vivante, eds., *s Roles in Ancient Civilizations: A Reference Guide* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999), 14.
19. Ibid.

providing a 'cheerful' respect for parents-in-law and ancestor worship. Liu Xian's second text appeared during the Han Dynasty, in the "*Biographies of Exemplary Women*" (33 BCE). This literary effort raised women's assertiveness and self-sufficiency in an effort to portray women as positive role models. Divided into eight chapters, Xiang's text also illustrates abstract virtues such as wisdom, chastity, and "correct maternal deportment."

The third text, edited by Ban Zhao discusses proper social roles for women in Chinese society (116 BCE). As a woman, Ban Zhao enjoyed many privileges typically reserved for men. Her position and relationship with the scholar elite gave her the opportunity to write official documents for the state. Ban Zhao realized that Confucian texts contained little in the way of instruction for women. In response to this void, she wrote this introduction: "As I have thought of you all in so untrained a state, I have been uneasy many a time for you. At hours of leisure I have composed these instructions under the title, *Lessons for Women."*[20] Although Ban Zhao enjoyed more freedom than most Chinese woman, she generally advocated virtuous behavior based on respect and harmony with one's husband and family. She also supported literacy and education for women and condemned a husband's physical abuse.[21] Ban Zhao's first chapter on relations between husband and wife begin with an inference to y*in-yang*, which in Chinese culture represented abstract concepts of the dark and the light.[22] As this systemized philosophy developed during the late Warring period and the early Han (206-220 CE), the terms became synonymous with cosmic and spatial relationships between heaven and earth. As yin-yang further evolved, gender roles appeared under the aegis of "inferior" constructs relative to national definitions of female authority when compared with dominant male superiority. [23] However, Confucius might have influenced the idea of a cosmic-sanctioned superiority of males from the very beginning.

Confucius's words, recorded in the *Analects,* represent the sage's prophetic expressions that defined ideals for social behavior; but few of his references included women. For example, "A 'gentlemen' sets strict demands on 'himself' while a petty 'man' sets strict demands on others," and, "it is 'man's' ability that enhances *Tao*, it is not *Tao* that enhances 'man's' ability, which emphasized the idea of proper behavior according to one's social status. In Confucian culture, status applied only to males. To illustrate, "The superior 'man' is guided by *(li).*"[24] Fathers, village elders, and government officials' fostered Confucian social virtues: filial submission, "brotherliness, righteous-

20. Ban Zhao, "Lessons for Women" trans. Andrea Overfield: *The Human Record: Sources of Global History* (New York: Houghton-Mifflin, 2001), 152.
21. Ibid., 14-6.
22. Ibid., 176-7; In early Daoism, yang's hardness should be avoided and yin's softness cultivated..
23. Wendy Larson, *Women and Writing in Modern China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 34-6; see: Wawrytko, *The Sage and the Second Sex*, 177-8.
24. Ibid.

ness, good faith, and loyalty."[25] Ultimately, Confucian influence would diminish, temporarily, as the Han Dynasty's collapse precipitated three and a half centuries of almost incessant warfare and instability.[26]

The revival of Confucianism in the Song Dynasty (960 – 1279 CE), initiated a decline in women's status. Modern Confucianism expanded under the leadership of Taizong and Wang Anshi and the term transformed into what scholars refer to as, "Neo-Confucianism." Neo-Confucianism reflected a variation of Confucianism that survived as a response to the introduction of Buddhism to China from India. Buddhism proliferated into China in about 65 CE. Two Indian monks, invited by the Emperor Ming in the Han Dynasty established a monastery in China. While strictly a technical or scholarly term, it helps to be aware that Neo-Confucianism illustrated a further development of Confucianism, but did not hold true to the original tenets in original Confucian doctrine. For example, the implementation of foot binding did not represent a practice of original Confucian pedagogy. Scholar officials implemented suppressive components of Confucianism ideology beginning in the Song Dynasty.

As I have thought of you all in so untrained a state, I have been uneasy many a time for you. At hours of leisure I have composed these instructions under the title, *Lessons for Women.*

Wawrytko argues however, "a careful reading of ancient Chinese sources demonstrates that the anti-feminist stance attributed to Confucian philosophy is both an oversimplification and a 'hasty' generalization."[27] Attitudes between women and men were much more complicated. Officials in the Imperial court feared a women's sexual prowess most of all; they believed a woman's beauty could "topple an empire."[28] On the other hand, K. C. Wu argues that paternalistic attitudes toward women initially arose as a matter of necessity when nomadism (550 BCE) was prevalent in society. Early Confucian objectives sought to "protect" women, not suppress them; their status declined exponentially with the rise of the elite class, as Neo-Confucians interpreted the "protective formula" as a caveat for "women's blind obedience to men."[29] As the scholar officials' power base expanded, they sought to control women by restricting their freedom through various social mechanisms developed through the classical training each member received from the civil examination system.[30]

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25. Ibid., 58, 295, 299; a few quotes, when speaking of people, refer to "one," or "those."
26. Ibid, 4-6; see: "The Growth of Humanism." Destruction and chaos in society indicated that Emperor had lost the Mandate of Heaven; c.f. Xinzhong Yao, *Confucianism,* 46-7.
27. Ibid, c.f. Wawrytko, 186.
28. Ibid, 177-8.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid.

Confucian Society, Scholar Elite (*Shih*)

The civil service examination system provided the only conduit to the few venerated bureaucratic positions available in Confucian society.[31] This practice severely restricted women's participation in the process and subsequently precluded their access to an education. A classical education and the successful completion of a three-tiered examination system, catapulted a family's status to the highest apex of Confucian society. The examination system roots, according to Fairbanks, occurred during 141 BCE, and again in 134 BCE. Yet, the formal date recognized as the beginning of the civil service exam system is 136 BCE.[32]

Tantamount to Emperor Wu-ti's (141-87 BCE) successful, imperial reign and administration, the government required candidates who could prove their talent by answering a set of questions posed by the Emperor.[33] According to Ichisada Miyazaki, "competition for a chance to take the civil service exams began before birth."[34] On the back of many a woman's copper mirror the five-character, formula "Five Sons Pass the Examinations" expressed her heart's desire to bear five successful sons. Young women could not take Civil Service examinations, nor could they help support the family; they merely ran up dowry expenses. Thus, parents did not consider their daughters an asset. Confucian society considered families without sons as 'childless.'[35] As a result, many women's ambitions lay dormant or resonated silently in the shadows as they lived quietly in the life that Confucian moral virtue assigned to them.

Indeed, the ideology disseminated by scholars, moralized character-building, learning, virtue, filial and ancestral piety, and a family-style morality based on the ethical wisdom of "cultivated" or "superior men," but paid virtually no attention to women. In the *Analects,* the Master said, "In one's household, it is the women and the small men that are difficult to deal with. If you let them get too close, they become insolent. If you keep them at distance, they complain."[36] Confucian dogma reflects social codes for conduct in individual daily behavior. For example, upper-class seven-year-old girls remained separated from all males except for their closest relatives; at ten, they could never leave the women's quarters and its gardens. Daughters of farmers, artisans, and merchants had greater liberty. Their usefulness was contingent on their degree of service in the fields and shops. For the female progeny of imperial bureaucrats, traveling

31. Wright, 30-35; see: Denis Twitchett and John K. Fairbanks, eds., *The Cambridge History of China* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1986: Reprint, London: Cambridge University Press, 1995) Vol. I., 630-2; Confucius, *Analects,* 5, 7, 9.
32. Ibid., 153; see: Ichisada Miyazaki, *China's Examination Hell: The Civil Service Examinations of rural China,* Conrad Schirokauer, trans. (New York: Weatherhill, 1976), 18-20.
33. John Merson, *The Genius That Was China: East and West in the Making of the Modern World,* (New York: Overlook Press, 1990) p. 86.
34. Miyazaki, 14.
35. Ibid.
36. *Analects,* 25.

was possible only in "closely curtained sedan chairs or carts, and was limited to relatives' homes or temples."[37]

On the other hand, under certain circumstances, a woman might benefit from the Confucian cornerstone of morality as the recipient of filial piety.[38] When, for example, a ruler was enthroned after the death of his father, he owed service and honor to his mother. Chinese society considered the emperor's failure to honor his parents, particularly his mother, a serious offense. Understandably, Han empress dowagers increased demands upon their sons who, in turn, tried to please their mothers as much as possible. Their proclivities included extraordinary demonstrations of filial piety. They not only used their influence to honor relatives with gifts, but also appropriated land and key positions in government to relatives and consorts. More commonly, "women were subjugated and looked upon as objects for man's pleasure to be taken or disposed of in any way or form. Whenever a powerful man desired a damsel, he merely had her kidnapped."[39] Though these descriptions hardly represent what contemporary Confucian scholars view as "moral order," in varying degrees, they represent the cyclical shifts inherent within China's Dynastic evolution. Xinzhong also suggests, Confucianism, transformed in response to the tide of political, social, economic, cultural, and religious changes. In fact, he argues, "it can be said that the advance of Confucian Learning was directly related to the replacement of one dynasty with another."[40] On the other hand, as Confucian scholar officials remained a consistent, mitigating force, they began influencing the infrastructures of the impe-



Matteo Ricci (left), the Jesuit who desired to influence Chinese and Xu Quangqui, his disciple. From Jerry H. Bentley and Herbert F. Ziegler, *Traditions and Encounters: A Global Perspective on the Past.*

37. Bettina L. Knapp, *Images of Chinese Women: A Westerner's View* (Troy, New York: Hitston Press, 1992), 15; see: Han-Yi Feng, "The Chinese Kinship System," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies II*, no. 2 (July 1937), 33-99.

38. TaVan Tai, "The Status of Women in Traditional Vietnam: A comparison of the Code of the Le Dynasty" *Southeast Asian Studies* 15 (September 1981), 204.

39. Knapp, 15-6.

40. Xinzhong, 4-6.

rial government. For example, Xinzhong asserts, "Confucian learning was largely independent of imperial patronage and many of its schools remained outside the mainstream political environment."[41] This variable of independence suggests that later interpretations of Confucianism may have been free to diversify while functioning primarily as the "watchdog" for ruling activities.[42]

Confucianism draws its vitality and energy from the interactions between nuances inherent in the projection of individual of the self. The familial traditions remain disparate between the past and the present. Neo-Confucianism, for example, has gained new attention as traditional teachings evolved and retained new meanings.[43] Ultimately, the status of women ultimately shifted and changed with the force and momentum of time.

The Movement of Confucianism from Han to the Song Dynasties

Although mentioned previously, the concept of *yin-yang* deserves further treatment in this study as a part of the necessary chronology. One of the hallmarks of political thought during the Han Dynasty shared by many scholars equated with the term, "correlative thinking."[44] Correlative thinking is significant in conjunction with women's status because when fused with *yin-yang*, scholars applied its principles at the temporal level. In other words, in the components of *yin-yang* represented a dichotomy that presents one as subordinate or greater than, but at the same time, interdependent of each other. During the Han period, *yin* and *yang* drew primarily from court-sanctioned divinity rituals, and the spiritual qualities found in the cosmos.[45] The great Chinese historian, Joseph Needham, described the correlative system as a "glorious and huge Victorian roller-top desks with a myriad of drawers. Each element of the correlative cosmology had its own drawer and hence reduced any disorder in the cosmos."[46] Confucian virtue typified the strict observance of filial piety, the basis from which other Confucian centered virtues derive.

This ethical treatise, however, regarded men and women separately. For men, filial piety was unambiguously the core. By the late imperial China, "chastity" (*zhen*) received the greatest emphasis as the foundation of "womanly virtue."[47] Scholars portrayed the cosmic imbalance in which *yin* superseded the power of *yang*. Yet, officials often belied their true objectives, which often represented nothing more than control mechanisms to achieve

41. Ibid., 5.
42. Wright, xi, 15-6.
43. Ibid., 6-7.
44. John H. Berthrong, *The Transformation of the Confucian Way* (Boulder: Westview, 1998), 37.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid., 38; c.f., Joseph S. C. Lam, "The Presence and Absence of Female Musicians and Music in China," *Women and Confucian Cultures: In Premodern China, Korea, and Japan*, eds., Dorothy Ko, etal., (Berkeley: University Press, 2003), 97-120.
47. For a contemporary analysis of virtue, see: Vukan Kuic and Yves R. Simon, *The Definition of Moral Virtue* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1986), 1.

their personal political objectives. It is no surprise that Court ministers urged the emperor to make changes in the imperial harem, most notably, "to diminish the power exerted by the emperor's mother and her kin."[48]

It is no surprise that Court ministers urged the emperor to make changes in the imperial harem, most notably, "to diminish the power exerted by the emperor's mother and her kin."

The revival of Confucianism during the Southern Song Dynasty (960-1279 BCE) represented the apex of status and cultural importance in Chinese society. The neo-Confucian movement organized the world in terms of principles and insights taken from the contemporary analysis of classical Confucianism. Consequently, scholars modified the intrinsic nature of the original canon in response to Buddhism's challenge.[49] The Song revivalists returned to the true teachings of the classical sages and devised new methods in which to achieve their objectives. They touted government reform, established private schools, formed family charitable estates, and garnered new self-cultivation programs from the revival of literature and the arts to the refinement of interpretations on the "true meaning of the classics."[50] Ebrey agrees with most historians in their collective assessments of Song Culture. Specifically, she asserts, "the revival of Confucianism initiated a decline in women's status."[51] Fairbanks and Edwin O. Reischauer suggest that, "diminishing women's roles may also have been associated with the urbanization of culture."[52] As they moved from the rice fields into the city centers, their declining status may also have contributed to the growth of the institution of concubinage.[53] This custom gradually spread throughout Chinese society, retaining its legitimacy until the twentieth century. As China's influence shifted into Vietnam beginning in the second century BCE, Confucianism did not fully emerge and gain momentum until the fifteenth century. However, through this subsequent shift, the intrinsic nature of classical Confucianism changed and altered with its gradual migration south.

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48. Watson and Ebrey, *Marriage and Inequality*, 60-65; see: Anne Behnke Kinney, *Lienu Zhuan: Traditions of An Exemplary Women*, accessed online: http://jbe.la.psu.edu/textbooks/PM-China/ch11.htm. For more conclusions on "correlative sexism," see: Xio, 83-92.

49. Ebrey, *Women and Family in Chinese History*, 10-1; Reverend W. E. Soothill, *The Three Religions of Ching: Lectures Delivered to Oxford University* (London: Oxford Press, 1923), 58-77, 93-7.

50. For works on Neo-Confucianism see: John H. Berthrong, *Transformations of the Confucian Way* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1998), 86-9.

51. Ebrey, *Women and Family in Chinese History*, 10-1; see: Twitchett and Fairbanks, *Cambridge History of China*, 808-78.

52. Fairbanks and Reischauer, China: *Tradition and Transformation*, 142.

53. Ibid., 138-143; see: Vivante, *s Roles,* 17-8.

Changes in Confucianism in Fifteenth Century: Expansion into Northern Vietnam

As Confucianism expanded into Vietnam in the fifteenth century, scholars faced new challenges in Vietnamese society. Mark W. McLeod suggests that under the Nguyen Dynasty and Emperor Le Thanh-tong's influence, the Vietnamese elite made Neo-Confucianism its state ideology and began to institutionalize its teachings along with (*Le Code*) [54] Alexander Woodside's narrative exhibits a basic chronology demonstrating Vietnam's interdependence through the dynastic cycle of China, Vietnam, and Confucianism for the *Asia Society.*[55] R. B. Smith's efforts on the *Confucianism of Vietnam* discuss the acrimonious struggles between Vietnamese Confucian scholars and opposing forces of nascent cultural and political spheres of influence.[56]

Political power rested upon a mixture of Confucian ethics and law (*tam cuong* in Vietnamese), based on hierarchal relationships; high-ranking Vietnamese mandarins lived in ordinary villages.[57] Smith argues that the "Vietnamese Confucian state was regulated and political decisions were made "solely by elite scholars."[58] John Whitmore suggests that only traditional Confucian literati designed, shaped, and inculcated women's roles in society.[59] Consequently, it was the "presence or absence and the relative power of literati that must be construed as the "principle indicators of Confucianism." What changed, argues Whitmore, "was the literati's ability to implement their views."[60] As a result, fifteenth century Confucian influence had all but diminished by the sixteenth. The reasons are twofold: The inherent tendency for clan conflict in village administrative policies promoted the gradual expansion of Vietnamese settlements. Accordingly, frontiers always existed where Confucian scholarship was not firmly established.[61] Insun Yu's comprehensive examination of village life along the Delta River during the Le Dynasty (1428-1788 CE), suggests that class distinctions primarily evolved from land ownership.[62] Yu's analysis contrasts the Le court, which maintained strong control with later centuries where autonomy became the trend. Vietnam experienced political, economic and social changes as

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54. Mark W. McLeod, *The Vietnamese Response to French Intervention: 1862-1874* (New York: Praeger, 1991), 1.
55. Alexander Woodside, "Vietnam: Essays on History, Culture, and Society," *'s Vietnam* (1985), 1-20. Accessed online, November 1, 2004: http://www.askasia.org/teachers/Instructional_Resources/Materials/Readings/Vietnam/R-v.
56. Smith, 5-13.
57. Alexander Woodside, "Territorial order and collective Identity Tensions in Confucian Asia: China, Vietnam, Korea," *Daedalus*, 127, no. 3 (1998), 195.
58. Smith, 13.
59. Whitmore, 225.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid., 12-3.
62. Insun Yu, "The Changing Nature of the Red River Delta Villages During the Le Period," *The Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*. V. 32 no. 2 (2001), 151.

the fifteenth century culminated in a Confucian "revolution." However, under the Le Dynasty, attempts to break free from the domination of Chinese civilization created a sense of independence in Vietnamese culture.[63]

In the areas of law, religion, and literature, indigenous traditions evolved and came into prominence.[64] Legal reforms gave women almost equal rights in the domestic sphere, despite the fact that Neo-Confucianism remained influential in the areas of social and political morality.[65] Nevertheless, one might ask how codified laws improved women's status outside of the conventional Confucian order in Vietnam?

However, under the Le Dynasty, attempts to break free from the domination of Chinese civilization created a sense of independence in Vietnamese culture.

Ta Van Tai compares the status of Vietnamese and Chinese women with the Vietnamese Law Code (*Le Code),* designed during the Le Dynasty, as a derivative of the Chinese *Ching* Law Codes over the course of three hundred years.[66]

> We will conclude that the lasting influence on the Vietnamese people of the Le Code, which, unlike the Nguyen Code, represented genuine Vietnamese customs up to the period of French colonial rule and still does, even today. Historically, the extent of men's control over women has varied from one society to another, but especially in traditional China – from the Han period to the end of the imperial era in 1911, where not only morality but also the law upheld the dominant male position and relegated women to a lesser status.[67]

Le Code was drafted within extant Confucian ideological norms that continued to subordinate women to men; however, the "law was rooted in culture." Consequently, unique Vietnamese customs compelled the drafter to incorporate Vietnamese provisions unknown in the *T'ang Code*; specifically, its model gave 'special protection' and 'equal property' rights to Vietnamese women. *Le Code's* significance in conjunction with Confucian officials' diminishing power incorporated other variables. For example, clan members dealt with the increase of community tensions independently. Regional administrators held court and adjudicated criminal and civil issues locally through an elective body of administrative authority that remained independent from government legislative and judicial power. The populace continued to perpetuate certain aspects of its tradition, the most important of which emphasized the cultural and social distinctiveness of the village. Vietnamese elite and peasants alike incorporated Chinese cultural patterns; "viewed themselves as a separate

63. Ibid., 158
64. Whitmore, 215.
65. Ta Van Tai, 98-100.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid., 101.

people who had the right to control their own political process."[68]

The peasant class enjoyed greater status as clan interpretations of communal rights increased their positions in rural communities. In Vietnam, peasants advanced through meritocracy, rather than power acquisition through the civil service examination system. In this regard, Vietnamese women also benefited. Woodside suggests that women with "elite" status worked in the imperial administration as wet nurses and concubines.[69] Yu states, "Confucian influence was confined to a small number of people in the ruling class; women's status among those in the lower class was relatively high until the eighteenth century. In fact, there existed a striking contrast to women's positions in conjunction with bi-lateral social patterns."[70] The literati studied Confucian classics to pass examinations, yet still maintained the old Vietnamese customs; consequently, "the king's law stopped at the front gates."[71] One question remains; as the Vietnamese began their journey to independence and modernity over the course of the next three hundred years, how then did they succumb so easily to French colonialism in the nineteenth century, and what factors further diminished the lingering power-base derived from administrative positions held by the scholar elite?

French Colonialism, the Changing Roles of the Scholar Class,

In 1858 CE, imperial aggression engendered by Vietnamese, anti-Catholic fervor heralded the beginning of French colonial expansion into Southeast Asian territory that would last for nearly a century. An anti-Christian text called "The Secret Chronicles of Jesus of the West" written by several former Vietnamese priests, denounced the French and precipitated the slaughter of Catholic villagers. The French response proved decisive and brutal; Napoleon III sent gunboats and a 17,000 men expeditionary force as a part of the French Christian Crusade. There were alternate reasons for French annexation. Woodside argues, "In the twentieth century, Vietnam was a house divided."[72] Because of the emperor's aloofness and invidious nature, he consistently failed to garner support for nationalistic causes, including the mobilization for war. One reason stemmed from the rigorous administrational exploitation through aggressive tax policies that fomented enmity and autonomy rather than loyalty and nationalism. Furthermore, administrative collaboration between tax collectors and corrupt officials distanced official authority as upper class elites were "more inclined to

68. Charles F. Keyes, *The Golden Peninsula Culture and Adaptation in mainland SEA* (Honolulu: Hawaii University Press, 1995), 181-5.
69. Ibid, 351-4; see: Woodside, 195 and Insun Yu, 215-25.
70. Ibid.
71. Insun Yu, 214-5.
72. Ibid.

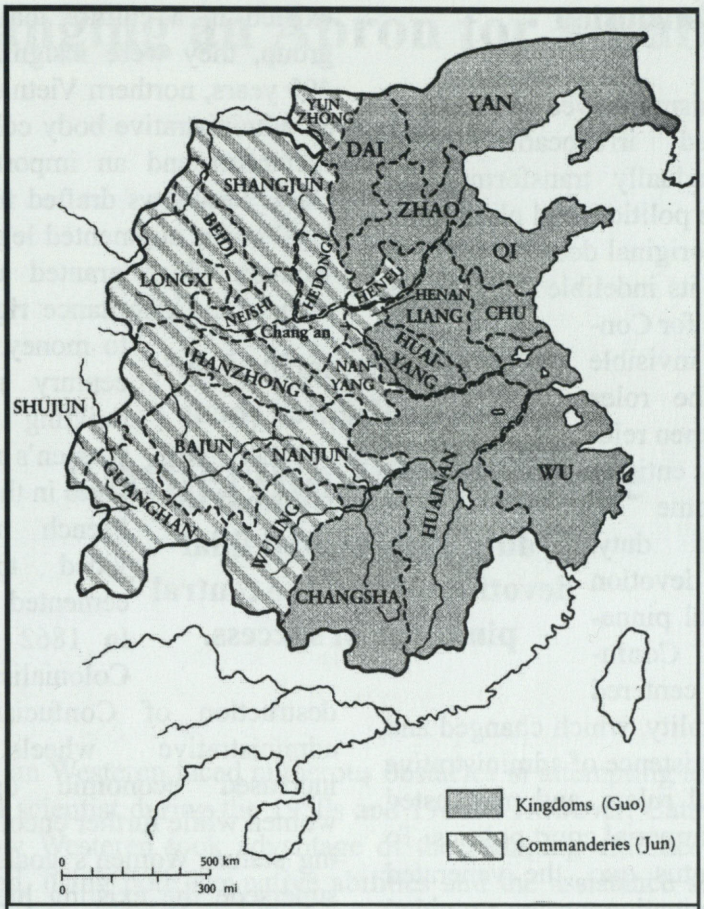
further their family and private interests, rather than public ones."[73]

Perhaps one of the most dramatic changes to Confucian culture during this time concerns the decrease in administrative employment available to the scholar elite. Vietnamese mandarins accepted positions in the early years of the French Government's colonial period. However, "by 1897, not even the most gifted and highly qualified Vietnamese person was allowed to hold a high position in the colonial administration."[74] In her family biographical history, Mai Van Duong recalls, "my grandfather (a mandarin working under the French Government), resented the foreign yoke, but he had to suppress his hostility and maintain a façade of civility toward the French administrators."[75] Subsequent subordination of scholar elites had another, far more egregious effect on Confucian society. Sacrosanct rites and rituals and the important roles they played in society, diminished in both opportunity and importance, as Vietnamese culture gradually became westernized. Duong remembers, "While my grandfather was working in Hue, he received the news that his father was sick. Mandatory attendance at the father's bedside observed the ancient ritual, filial piety, but subsequent requests to return home went unheeded. When his father died, he returned home and left his government position." The position was less important than honoring his father, but it was through his own agency that ancestor worship constituted a tradition that continued long after his father's death. Nevertheless, as a dutiful son, he lay prostrate in front of the coffin and begged his father's forgiveness, choosing, "duty" over all else. He believed his "dereliction unpardonable" and felt the pain of his sorrow until his own death.[76] However, filial piety was only one area in which French colonialism changed aspects of traditional life.

As traditional gender roles shifted and scholar official power diminished, out of necessity, many Vietnamese women took charge of their own lives and the inherent responsibility of the family's economic well being. Consequently, both women's freedom and subsequent status in Vietnamese society increased over time. Many mothers, wives, and daughters transformed into family breadwinners proving themselves as engaging business people in the process. The implementation of *Le Codes* helped women gain certain rights and privileges unique to Vietnamese society, but the ensuing changes within the status of Confucian elite provided new economic opportunities as well. Women opened shops, became business entrepreneurs and enterprising merchants throughout cities and villages. For example, the Vietnamese considered some manufactured goods as a cottage industry. Similar cottage industries existed along the Red River Delta and became important centers for cottage markets. Vendors manufactured silks, ceramics, and technology, which included the implementation of metal products and the

73. Ibid.
74. Ibid., 12.
75. Duong Van Mai Elliot, *The Sacred Willow: Four Generations in the Life of a Vietnamese Family*," (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 23.
76. Ibid., 24-5.

production of rudimentary household goods. These markets attracted buyers from nearby regions, set the state for capitalist enterprising and incorporated rural women as merchants and distributors for local markets. For example, "Chuyen Mai was known for furniture, Ngu Xa manufactured bronze tools and bowls, and Dinh Cong represented the gold and silver market, which designed and sold jewelry."[77]



Kingdoms and Commanderies of the Han Empire, 206 BCE. From John King Fairbank, *China: A New History.*

In contrast with Chinese women, Vietnamese women possessed equal property rights to those of their sons, brothers, and uncles. They also retained inheritance rights with other family members, along with equal rights in the settlement of matrimonial estates, and inherited property from both nuclear and extended family members. These women, in turn, invested capital, became proprietors, storeowners, vendors, and property titleholders.[78] They also became the principal inheritors of their husbands' estates. They achieved greater business acumen by engaging in accounting, merchandising, and the management of family businesses. In the process, they proved hard workers, and labored in their shops, twelve hours per day, seven days per week.[79] They honed these skills and transformed their efforts into fruitful and successful business relationships evolving into a new age of successful business owners, which represented an extraordinary phenomena and unique commodity in nineteenth century mainland Southeast Asia.[80]

77. Ibid., 55.

78. Ta Van Tai, 121-2.
79. Duong, 54-5.
80. Ibid.

Conclusion

As Confucianism evolved in China, its ideology created irrevocable social changes that gradually transformed the nature of Chinese political and philosophical thought. The original doctrine set forth in 551 BCE, left its indelible mark on the question of status for Confucian culture's invisible female class. The roles prescribed on women relegated them almost entirely within the home as achievement of duty, respect, and filial devotion offered the central pinnacles of success. Confucian ideologies centered on order and morality, which changed and altered with the existence of administrative officials, powerful rulers, and manifested in the intrigue of imperial court politics. To propagate the status quo, the venerated civil service examination system provided the one avenue toward membership in the scholar elite. Thus, a small percentage of intellectuals recorded history that ostensibly presented the collective wisdom for posterity. Within its quintessential form, many contemporary scholars view Confucianism as a canon that repressed and derogated women.

The roles prescribed on women relegated them almost entirely within the home as achievement of duty, respect, and filial devotion offered the central pinnacles of success.

The proliferation of Confucianism into Vietnam during the fifteenth century had enormous consequences for Vietnamese women's status, particularly in conjunction with civil, legal, and property inheritance rights. These laws, in retrospect, represented grand strides for women who existed in a culture that believed, as a group, they were insignificant. For over 400 years, northern Vietnam progressed as an administrative body cohered with Confucianism and an important new rising class. New laws drafted from the Chinese legal codes augmented legal privileges for women, which granted access into land ownership, inheritance rights, and access to money. If the fifteenth century represented the building blocks for women's rights and privileges in the economy, then French hegemony provided the glue that cemented them together. In 1862 CE, as French Colonialism began the destruction of Confucian culture, the administrative wheels unwittingly, increased economic opportunity for women while further encouraging their rising status. Women's goals were never to supersede the existing hierarchy of male social dominance, but simply to help support their families. At the dawn of the twentieth century, they foster these same values: freedom, independence, and economic stability. Even today, commerce in Communist Vietnam represents nothing less than an extraordinary irony: while remnants of Confucianism continue to resonate, women remain the inheritors of their ancestors' true legacy – one of the first feminist movements and both the freedom and acumen to engage in a growing age of Capitalism.

Exchanging an Apron for a Lab Coat

By
Catherine Bilanchone

Virginia Marian Westeren faced numerous obstacles in attempting to establish herself as a professional scientist during the 1950s and 1960s. However, Catherine Bilanchone demonstrates how Westeren took advantage of the changing attitudes towards women during this period, using both her native abilities and the assistance she recieved from others to achieve her goal. Her ability to achieve this goal demonstrated, Bilanchone shows, the shifting perception of what it was to be a woman, and the acceptence of women engaging in professional endevours.

Virginia Marian Westeren was born on Christmas day, 1947, to Madeline and Herbert Westeren in Barrington, Rhode Island. During her youth in the small New England town, her multi-generational family transcended postwar social mores regarding women's role in the home, in academia, and the workplace. Although the economy was booming, her relatives stressed the importance of a well-rounded education and self-sufficiency; a lesson learned from previous years of economic hardship, and the lack of a formal education. Virginia's family not only fostered ideals of pragmatism, hard work, education, and personal achievement, but also helped to guide Virginia's career as a scientist. Regarding the support she later received from her husband Robert, he encouraged her dreams of higher education, a career in the scientific world, and starting a family of her own. Virginia's greater accessibility to science during the Cold War due to curriculum changes and the emergence of faculty mentorship supplemented her family's foundation of support, and facilitated her career as a scientist in a profession often subjected to marginalization and underutilization. Granted, Virginia's passion for science, dedication, and hard work were significant factors in her pursuit of a higher education and career as a scientist. Virginia would not have been as successful, however, without her nexus of support that helped her earn her lab coat, which symbolized her ability to become a scientist despite the persistence of gender-based discrimination in society, academia, and the greater scientific community.

Virginia's mother, Madeline Beard Westeren, adhered to the traditional gender roles of the 1940s and 1950s including women's role as a homemaker, and caretaker. Despite being a product of the era, she championed progressive ideals as well. Until Virginia left for college, Madeline worked diligently to take care of her incapacitated mother, and to cook and clean for the multi-generational household. During the postwar era, Virginia remembers that "everyone else's mom was a homemaker, no one worked during that time."[1] Her memories appear to support conservatives who "tend to celebrate the late 1940s (and 1950s) as a wonderful era of domesticity, in which women happily accepted the rewarding duties of child-rearing and home management."[2] On the other hand, Madeline's decision to be a homemaker was not her first choice. She originally trained to become a secretary in high school, but with the death of her father during that time and her mother's subsequent stroke, Madeline was obliged to return home after a mere six months of employment. She also saw that "women who were trapped in marriages were unable to support themselves and their children."[3] Because of her own hardships and those of her neighbors, Madeline stressed the importance of education and self-sufficiency to her daughter.

Virginia recognized that Madeline's preference for work was "unusual."[4]

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1. Interview with Virginia Bilanchone on December 1, 2004.
2. James T. Patterson, *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945-1974* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 31.
3. Interview with Virginia Bilanchone on December 1, 2004.
4. Ibid.

Despite the fact that the nation's mobilization of women into the workforce during World War II resulted in a pronounced demographic shift, the women in Virginia's social environment embraced more traditional values. Historian James T. Patterson's work explains that "there is an apparent contradiction in American social history in the first decade or so after the war. On one side was the new reality of women moving in unprecedented numbers into the paid workforce. On the other side was the growing power of a more traditional image of women as wives, mothers, and homemakers."[5] Although Madeline was proud to be a homemaker and care for her family, the values she instilled in Virginia, pointedly, women's right to education and the importance of self-sufficiency, helped to foster an environment that rejected the chauvinism described by Betty Friedan in her 1963 work *The Feminine Mystique*. Friedan laments that "they were taught to pity the neurotic, unfeminine, unhappy women who wanted to be poets or physicists or presidents. They learned that truly feminine women do not want careers, higher education, [and] political rights."[6] Despite the prevalence of this rhetoric, the lessons Madeline learned from her neighbors and her own life experiences caused her to reject notions that sequestered women in "comfortable concentration camps."[7] As a result, Madeline stressed the importance of education and self-sufficiency. Before and after the war, "working women . . . mainly found jobs in sex-segregated "women's work," ranging from poor-paying employment as laundresses, cleaners, farm laborers, and waitresses to jobs as office workers, nurses, and grade school teachers."[8] As a temporary participant in the workforce, Madeline, like so many others, was "mindful of the limited employment opportunities open to them, and {was} aware of the stigma facing working wives"[9] which narrowly included three "career tracks for women: nursing, teaching, and secretarial work."[10] In this way, Madeline's ideals pragmatically aligned with popular culture, specifically regarding professional jobs although she excluded physically laborious jobs.

Gender differences are socially constructed by mothers' asymmetrical parenting. Girls, having in their mother's gender role models immediately *present* by which to define themselves, develop a concept of self that is the *same*.

In Ann Furgeson's work *Woman's Moral Voice: Superior, Inferior, or Just Different?*, neo-Freudian theorist Nancy Chodorow explains the importance of

5. Patterson, *Grand Expectations*, 34.
6. Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*, (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1963), 15-16.
7. Ibid.
8. Patterson, *Grand Expectations*, 32.
9. Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era*, (New York: Basic Books, Inc, 1988), 53.
10. Interview with Virginia Bilanchone on December 1, 2004.

Madeline's impact on Virginia's conception of herself and her capabilities in the world. She argues that "gender differences are socially constructed by mothers' asymmetrical parenting. Girls, having in their mother's gender role models immediately *present* by which to define themselves, develop a concept of self that is the *same*."[11] Madeline's beliefs not only fostered ideals of pragmatism, hard work, education, and personal achievement, but also helped to guide Virginia's career as a scientist. However, the narrow scope of influence asserted by Chudorow's theory fails to show that her success came not just from her mother's support and influence, but also from other key individuals in her life.

Herbert William Westeren, Virginia's father, encouraged Virginia as well. He was an intelligent, self-made man whose father died at forty, thereby forcing him into the job market before high-school graduation in order to support his mother and sister. Virginia recalled that her father and mother were "both bright and capable. They probably were able to hold much more high level jobs if they had more formal education. Because of that situation, they always encouraged school and higher education."[12] Even though Herbert worked on an oil tanker in the Merchant Marine in the Pacific during WWII, he was not eligible for benefits such as the 1944 GI Bill of Rights "because he was not considered a vet until after retirement" when the law changed.[13] Unfortunately for Herbert, he was unable to join "large numbers of men from working-class families who otherwise could not have gone to college were given access to the system as a result of the funding provided by the G. I. Bill."[14] As a result, Virginia's father worked at a metal heat treating plant called C.I. Hayes. "He designed furnaces for heating treating metal which is the process to make it hard. Essentially, he had a scientific type of job, but no formal education at all, and even didn't graduate from high school."[15] Because of this, he always regretted his lack of education. Hoping to improve his children's lives, he encouraged both Virginia and her younger brother David to go farther with their schooling in order to support themselves and become successful adults.

Although he exhibited tendencies of patriarchy in the home regarding Madeline's role as the cook and housekeeper, Herbert supported Madeline's desire to work, and hired a housekeeper instead, which paralleled his support for Virginia's education and goal of self-sufficiency.[16]

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11. Ann Ferguson, *Woman's Moral Voice: Superior, Inferior, or Just Different?*, in Women and Higher Education in American History, John Mack Faragher and Florence Howe eds., (New York NY: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1988), 191.
12. Interview with Virginia Bilanchone on December 1, 2004.
13. Ibid.
14. Marilyn Gittell, *Education in a Democratic Society: From the 1960s to the 1980s*, in Women, Work, and School: Occupational Segregation and the Role of Education, Leslie R. Wolfe ed., (Boulder CO: Westview Press, Inc., 1991), 32.
15. Interview with Virginia Bilanchone on December 1, 2004.
16. Ibid.

His view contradicted the 1940s ideal that the "role of the breadwinner and homemaker were not abandoned; they were embraced."[17] This sentiment is supported by Lundberg and Farnham's 1947 work entitled *Modern Women: The Lost Sex* as quoted in Patterson's *Grand Expectations* which denounced career women by stating,

> The independent woman is a contradiction in terms. Women should strive instead for receptivity and passiveness, a willingness to accept dependence without fear or resentment, with a deep inwardness and readiness for the final goal of sexual life—impregnation. Women who rejected this kind of femininity were sick, unhappy, neurotic, wholly or partly incapable of dealing with life.[18]

Moreover, Lundberg and Farnham argued that "bachelors in their thirties should get psychotherapy and that spinsters should be legally forbidden to teach, on grounds that they were emotionally incompetent."[19] This statement indicated that men often ascribed to traditional social mores in the postwar era. The evidence demonstrates that Herbert, like Madeline, was both a product of the era, and an advocate of progressive gender ideology because of his personal hardships.

During Virginia's childhood, her father shared his love for the ocean, engineering, and jack-of-all-trades knowledge with her and her brother. Like Madeline, Herbert taught Virginia "to use tools. At an early age, whenever something needed repair around the house," Virginia remembers learning how to use "hammers, screwdrivers, drills, and cut wood. Later on, it must have been early in High School, that we actually built a three car garage next to our house and worked on remodeling the family room. In these family projects, we all helped-it wasn't only boys that were taught these kinds of things."[20] When I asked if she believed that this was abnormal, Virginia replied, "I didn't know other girls that helped their dad build a garage!"[21] Other atypical excursions included fishing. Since Herbert's "main passion was the sea," he built a boat and the family would go out onto the mud flats where they went crabbing and clamming.[22]

When it snowed, they would look at animal tracks and discern the animal's behavior, or star gaze on clear nights where Herbert pointed out the constellation Cassiopeia "that looks like a big W. That was cool because W was the beginning of our last name Westeren."[23] Both Madeline and Herbert contributed and participated in an effort to promote education and self-sufficiency: they "all had an influence."[24] Because of this, Virginia "didn't think about marginalization past Elementary or

17. Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Boun*d, 5.
18. Patterson, *Grand Expectations*, 36.
19. Ibid.
20. Interview with Virginia Bilanchone on December 1, 2004.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid
24. Ibid.

Junior High. My family encouraged me to do well in everything."[25]

Another member of Virginia's multi-generational household that significantly influenced her passion for science was her second cousin Marian Elizabeth Anthony, a "contemporary of her mother," who received a Masters in Biology at Brown University that Virginia recalls Marian's degree was "very unusual at that time."[26] Hetty Startup's work outlining women's participation in Rhode Island colleges between 1892-1992 displays the significance of Marian's degree with Dean of Pembroke Margaret S. Morriss' remark in 1930 announcing the change from gender segregated curriculum, to coeducation with its benefactor institution, Brown University. With these developments, Dean Morriss declared that "it has been abundantly proven in the last half century that women can compete successfully with men in college classrooms and laboratories."[27] Because women had been previously precluded from graduate degrees in science, Marian's reception of an M.S. in Biology shortly after women gained access to equal curriculum at Brown University displays the exceptionalism of her accomplishment. In 1948 a national study displayed the prevalence of sex-segregation in scientific fields. Women's more pronounced presence in Psychology totaled twenty three percent, and Nutrition and Foods totaled thirty percent, whereas women represented only eleven point seven percent in Biology and one tenth of a percent in Engineering. The total average of female scientists and Engineers equaled six percent, which exposes women's pronounced underrepresentation in science during the postwar era.[28]

Virginia recalled that Marian was able to teach high school in the Roxbury area with her degree. Virginia indicated that Marian "chose to teach at Roxbury because she wanted to help less privileged people. Roxbury at that time was mostly a black community."[29] I asked whether or not Marian had spoken of any gender discrimination at Roxbury. Virginia replied that there was not any gender discrimination. They discussed the discrimination that her students were subjected to, and that Marian had to be careful with racial tensions with the black students. Almost as an afterthought, Virginia noted that "it didn't occur to her to talk about those things" like gender discrimination.[30]

Because of Marian's advanced degree and employment as a scientist in academia, she was an exception to the "late 40-50s proliferation of highly trained female scientists, [who] remained camouflaged as housewives and mothers or marginalized professionally."[31] As an active member of

25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
27. Hetty Startup, *One Hundred Years of Women's Higher Education in Rhode Island, 1892-1992: A Matter of Simple Justice*, (Providence RI: Brown University Press, 1992), 37.
28. Margaret W. Rossiter, *Women Scientists in America: Before Affirmative Action 1940-1972*, Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 30.
29. Interview with Virginia Bilanchone on December 1, 2004.
30. Ibid.
31. Rossiter, *Women Scientists in America*, xviii.

the household, Virginia explained that Marian's influence extended to:

> biology and really science of all kinds, she did things in her own personal life and hobbies that related to science. She was interested in photography and she like to take pictures of flowers, and she also knew a lot about flowers and gardening. She was also interested in birds, so we always had a bird feeder during the winter time in particular, and would point out various types of birds that would come to the feeder and what their habits were. In the spring time when the flowers came out, a lot of butterflies of various {species} in the yard that were attracted to different kinds flowers and trees that we had; we would go out and make nets out of old coat hangers and cheese cloth and catch them and study them . . . We would collect bugs and butterfly pupae and do science experiments at home planting seeds in a jar with blotter paper and dirt in the middle. The point was that it didn't matter what the orientation of the seed was on the side of the glass, that the roots always pointed down and leaves pointed up. When a tree would blow over, we would go look at the tree rings---none of this was like a chore, it's like "oh, lets look at this interesting thing:" It was not a teaching lesson, it was just part of my growing up. At Christmas, Marian gave books as gifts concerning various aspects of science like a rock book, or constellations, or a book on the evolution of humans. It wasn't a kind of forced situation, it was just what our family did.[32]

Ultimately, Marian's receipt of a graduate degree, high school employment as a scientist, and inspirational science experiments at home served as an example for Virginia regarding women's ability to pursue an education and career outside of women's traditional roles.

Entering elementary school at West Barrington Elementary in 1953 at the age of six, Virginia's sex did not determine if she was assigned a desk by the wall or the window. Lined up alphabetically, Virginia reminisced that she was always last. She transferred to a new facility called Primrose Hill Elementary, which employed the standard etiquette of all primary schools of the day. Pointedly, girl's and boy's dress code was required, and the playground was segregated.

Beginning a trend that continued through high school, the children would file into place every morning

> to have an all-school opening ceremony and the Principal would come on the intercom and lead everybody with the pledge, and then sing the "Star Spangled Banner." In the earlier years there was the Lord's Prayer which they did away with in High School because people complained; but basically, it was required that we knew all words and even had a written assignment that you had to write out all words with proper spelling in 6th grade.[33]

Patterson argues that the escalation of the Cold War accounted for Primrose Elementary's morning salutes that placed a greater emphasis on national values. "Patriotism, as taught in the schools by the salute to the flag and the Pledge of Alle-

32. Interview with Virginia Bilanchone on December 1, 2004.

33. Ibid.

giance, was highlighted in classrooms celebrating the American way."[34]

Cold war fears mounted in 1957 as news spread of the Soviet Union's plan to launch the first artificial orbital satellite called *Sputnik*. Two days before the launch on October 4th, her father traced the satellite's projected trajectory in the sky. Recalling the event, she stated: "I went up to the third floor with my dad and watched it, and was really amazed at what people could do."[35] I asked Virginia, "What was your view of America's place in science and the growing technological field" after this event? She replied that

> I grew up in the Cold War, in Jr. High School. It was a time when the country was in a race with the Soviet Union economically and politically, and one of the aspects stressed at time was scientific achievement. It was really upsetting that the Soviet Union was able to launch a space craft before us. I was told by my parents that it caused the schools to change their curriculum and place a greater emphasis on math and science, and to train kids in math and science so our country could effectively compete with the Soviet Union. They encouraged both genders.[36]

Virginia's reaction of awe and fear to Sputnik's launch echoed across the nation. The government substantially increased support for scientific research in 1959 including appropriations of $134 million to the National Science Foundation (an increase of 100 million over the previous year), and initiated an education program called "New Math" that was designed to "boost scientific education and mathematical skill in the population."[37] Virginia recalled that the "importance in curriculum and values of science and math" also included a later emphasis on "physical fitness" under Kennedy's Presidential Physical Fitness Test. She concluded that "it was a competition with Soviet Union: mentally and physically."[38] Although predominant social ideologies regarding woman's place in the scientific field were relatively conservative, the school's emphasis on these subjects after 1957 also established greater accessibility to science and academic achievement than Virginia's predecessors received.

Entering Junior High School in 1959, gender restrictions placed on curriculum were limited to physical education, girl's reign of home economics courses that featured cooking and sewing, and boy's monopoly of machine and wood shop.[39] Although the curriculum did not focus heavily on science during her youth, Virginia showed academic promise; the impact of her family's extracurricular education was apparent. Virginia's unusual preference for science and overall academic achievement indicated the significance of her relative's provision of a well-rounded education.[40] I asked Virginia

34. Patterson, *Grand Expectations*, 185.
35. Interview with Virginia Bilanchone on December 1, 2004.
36. Ibid.
37. Wikipedia Encyclopedia, "New Math," <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_Maths> {accessed on 12/4/2004.}
38. Interview with Virginia Bilanchone on December 4, 2004.
39. Interview with Virginia Bilanchone on December 1, 2004.

what elements fueled her passion for science and subsequent decision to become a scientist in 8th grade. She professed that "everything contributed: things at home." She was exposed to music, and reading was encouraged. She described their "extensive library of books including classical literature and poetry." Moreover, the Westeren family was interested in politics at a local and national level. Considering the wide spectrum of education, she admitted that she "could have been poet like her brother. Everything was directed towards learning."[41] Because Virginia's brother David pursued poetry and literature, it is evident that both of their career choices were fostered by the family's emphasis on a well-rounded education that rejected prominent gender-based classifications of the late 1950s and early 1960s. Moreover, Virginia's analysis also challenges Nancy Chodorow's Neo-Freudian theory which argued that girls develop identical concepts not only of themselves, but also of their role in society from their mother.[42]

Besides the foundation of support received from her family, multiple science teacher's encouragement also helped to facilitate her career as a scientist. The first to foster Virginia's passion was Mr. Gino Ricciotti in 7th grade at West Barrington Junior High. His enthusiasm for teaching science and genuine concern for the students motivated him to form a science club after school in 1959, and

> picked a few students that were interested in science out of classes as members- there were four of us, and I was the only girl. He designed projects in all areas whether it was electricity, biology, or chemistry. He designed one hour projects that increased our exposure to science. As it turns out, all of the people in the club either got MDs or PhDs in some area of science. Our interest was fostered by this dedicated man. All were equal in the club: it didn't matter.[43]

Not only was Ricciotti's inclusion of Virginia exceptional, but also the other boy's treatment of her as an equal. For example, a survey "found that students often do not appear willing to work on science projects with cross-sex classmates. However, students held significantly less stereotyped attitudes in classrooms where there was more opportunity for peer collaboration and interaction; but {they} found that approximately fifty percent of elementary and secondary classes were characterized by heavy sex segregation."[44] According to these findings, Ricciotti's club provided an egalitarian setting that fostered attitudes of acceptance. Moreover, Ricciotti's encouragement and additional tutelage supplemented the support and well-rounded education Virginia received at home. In an era that classified science as "unfeminine," an absence of

40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. Furgeson, *Woman's Moral Voice,* 191.
43. Ibid.
44. David Sadker and Myra Sadker, *Sexism in American Education: The Hidden Curriculum*, in Women, Work, and School, Leslie R. Wolfe ed., (Boulder CO: Westview Press, 1991), 65.

support either from home, at school, or both deterred many women from realizing careers in science.[45] Instead, Virginia's network of support contributed to her success on a personal and professional level.

Entering Barrington High School in 1962, Virginia and her classmates signed up for requisite introductory courses. Upon completion, the curriculum divided into college preparatory and vocational programs, where the majority of the students followed the collegiate path. However, the prolongation of America's involvement in the Cold War continued to influence academic curriculum in order to emphasize science and math. With the escalation of Cold War tensions in 1962, I asked Virginia if there were any events in particular that greatly affected her. Instantly, she mentioned the impact of the Cuban Missile Crisis on her and her family. Her father wanted to build a bomb shelter in the cellar because of the state's location, but never completed the project.[46]

Although American involvement in the space race led politicians and scientists alike to mobilize women in the workforce, their subsequent marginalization in low-level technician positions and assistant professorships reflected the persistence of the country's conservative attitudes. For example, a survey conducted by the *National Research Council* featured below shows that women consistently outnumbered men in assistant professorship jobs, while fulltime faculty positions were dominated by men.[47]

Despite these nation-wide trends, Virginia's collegiate career in science was not affected by mobilization efforts to attract women into technological or engineering fields in order to quell the Soviets. As the government's mobilization efforts did not directly influence Virginia's career path, she maintained that "as far as mobilization, my mom went back to work-but that's what we expected her to do." She reported that in college, her classmate's mothers still did not work. Virginia concluded, "I did not have any desire to help in the race--I was just doing what I liked."[48] This statement is contrary to historical theories claiming that women's entrance into the scientific field was largely influenced by "concerns over the Soviet Union's lead in the space race. Scientists noted that America's greatest source of unused brainpower was women."[49] This sentiment was shared by Mr. Donald McGregor, a 5 foot middle-aged 10th grade Biology teacher and football coach with a giant personality became Virginia's second faculty mentor. A respected and caring man, Virginia remarked that she was "fortunate to receive his interest. He didn't limit his interest to

45. Friedan, *Feminine Mystique*, 17.
46. Interview with Virginia Bilanchone on December 1, 2004.
47. National Research Council, *Climbing the Academic Ladder: Doctoral Women Scientists in Academe*, Committee on the Education and Employment of Women in Science and Engineering, the Commission on Human Resources, and the National Research Council, (Washington D.C.: National Academy of Sciences, 1979), 60.
48. Interview with Virginia Bilanchone on December 5, 2004.
49. Friedan, *Feminine Mystique*, 17.

	Top 25 Inst. By R&D		2nd 25 Inst. by R&D		Other Institutions	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
No. Employed, incl Postdocs.	17,664	1,979	14,116	1,384	92,155	12,392
Professor	44.7%	9.8%	42.4%	13.4%	37.0%	16.0%
Assoc. Prof.	19.5	14.6	24.7	18.4	30.3	24.3
Asst. Prof.	15.0	31.0	20.0	36.0	23.4	38.4
Inst./Lect.	0.9	6.8	1.4	4.9	2.0	5.7
Other/No Report	9.5	18.2	5.4	12.8	3.7	7.9
Postdocs.	10.4	19.6	6.1	14.5	3.5	7.7

The difficulties facing women were made plain by the disparity in their appointment to full professorships, as oposed to associate or assistant. professorships.National Research Council, *Climbing the Academic Ladder: Doctoral Women Scientists in Academe*, (Washington D.C.: National Academy of Sciences, 1979)

just guys. I was encouraged during struggles in High School because I was a year younger and overwhelmed socially. Interest and encouragement from a teacher was a big deal."[50] Upon completion of required science courses that contained an equal proportion of male and female students, Virginia's path detoured from the "majority of her female classmates in 11th and 12th grade when she signed up for the most advanced classes:" what would now be considered "AP" anatomy, physiology, and physics. With her continued interest in science, Virginia's new chemistry teacher was Ms. Janet Foley, the only female faculty of four in the science department.[51] Virginia noticed that the ratio in biology classes was even because of requirements. However, later chemistry courses and "physics especially, out of 32 in the class, I was the only girl." When I asked Virginia how her classmates treated her, she explained that boys often commented that she was "weird" or "odd:" she had some friends, but they "mostly didn't like her because she got better grades."[52] Because Virginia pursued a field dominated by men and often out-preformed her classmates, this emphasized the importance of faculty mentor's encouragement towards her success.[53]

The fourth individual who became Virginia's mentor in science and helped facilitate her career was Dr. Gordon Eaton. "When I was 15 years old, my mother said that there would be no more lingering around in the summer."[54] Because Dr. Eaton, a young biology teacher at Barrington College had received assistance from the Westeren family when he had rented a room, he returned the favor and accepted Virginia as volunteer for the sum-

50. Interview with Virginia Bilanchone on December 1, 2004.

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid.

53. See also: David Sadker and Myra Sadker, *Sexism in American Education,* Leslie R. Wolfe ed., 63.

54. Interview with Virginia Bilanchone on December 1, 2004.

mer.[55] Virginia's job as a low-level technician conducting experiments on the reproductive biology in mice largely reflected common employment practices that limited female scientists because "employers were hiring women for jobs 'where production continuity is not seriously jeopardized, where particularly feminine traits can be utilized,' including technical writing and editing, laboratory benchwork, product development, technical literature search, and patent searching."[56] However, Virginia did not suffer from the same degree of marginalization and underutilization that fellow female scientists experienced. Virginia concluded that "at first it was a favor, and second off was because I earned it"[57] Because of her support network, Virginia was not compelled to protest, nor became involved in the social consciousness movement that followed Betty Friedan's release of *The Feminine Mystique* in 1963. "I remember the book, but I didn't read it," she stated. "I didn't think about it: I was too busy studying."[58] Continuing her work in the laboratory, Virginia recalled that the following year, Dr. Eaton "hired me back as care-taker that would clean cages and feed and water the animals. The summer after, the professor sponsored me for a summer fellowship at the American Heart Association (AHA) where I received my grant, and had my own project in the lab" at 17 years old.[59] Because of her family's views and the support she received from science professors, it appears that Virginia did not perceive her upbringing or her career path as exceptional. At that time, she was subconsciously immune to predominant social stigmas because of the encouragement she received from all facets in her life.

Nineteen sixty-four was a momentous year for Virginia. While she was accepting her scholarship for an independent project at the AHA, the drums of war beat as Congress signed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution that guaranteed unconditional support of the escalation of American involvement in Vietnam. Despite Virginia's excitement regarding the progression of her career, she admits that the events unfolding in "Vietnam [were] worrying."[60] Virginia's concerns about the war in Vietnam related to its escalation and the draft, not social unrest. Entering college at the University of Rhode Island in 1965, she reported that like other colleges across the nation, protests against the war "hadn't gotten to that point in college, at least in Rhode Island. There were not many demonstrations" that were disruptive.[61] Because people across the nation were subjected to the same concerns, I questioned why there were less demonstrations at her school than the rest of the country. Virginia responded that the "demonstrations happened in years after I graduated from URI. The major unrest on television was after that period. People at

55. Interview with Virginia Bilanchone on December 4, 2004.
56. Rossiter, *Women Scientists in America*, 57.
57. Interview with Virginia Bilanchone on December 4, 2004.
58. Interview with Virginia Bilanchone on December 1, 2004.
59. Ibid.
60. Interview with Virginia Bilanchone on December 5, 2004.
61. Ibid.

URI cared about war, but they were not thinking about demonstrating."[62] Although genuine concerns were widespread, America's involvement in Vietnam had little effect on Virginia's college experience.

Virginia began her college career as a Biology major and concentrated her efforts on personal and academic achievement. In the science department at the time, the student's gender "ratio was equal in lower levels," but men's monopoly of faculty positions persisted throughout her undergraduate experience.[63] I asked Virginia if advances in the medical field paralleled those in technology and science, and if she noticed a specific increase in women's participation in higher education. Virginia noted that women comprised fifty percent of the students at URI in required general education courses, but in advanced chemistry courses, she was the "only girl there."[64] Mirroring schools nationwide, men and women were divided by field of study, especially within science majors. A study of sex-segregation by major in 1970 illustrates that only seven point one three percent of Chemistry majors were women, while woman represented twenty four percent in Psychology. [65]

Corroborating the statistics, Virginia's testimony revealed that "nursing, and food and nutrition were women's careers whose requirements in lower-level biology" resulted in a ratio of twenty female to eighty percent male.[66] That same year, Virginia's mother urged her to "[switch] to Chemistry Education." Due to her interest in science, Virginia recalled Madeline's advice that the "most logical choice besides medicine was to become an educator. If I had a teaching certificate as a fall-back position, wherever I went there would be a High School to get a job."[67] However, the switch to Chemistry Education did not result solely from Madeline's urgings. When I questioned Virginia about her goals after graduation, she also revealed that she wanted to teach High School Chemistry or Biology.[68] This indicates that Virginia's family did not dictate her future, but instead provided an environment that fostered her passion for science on a personal and professional level.

In her free time between classes and studying six hours per night, Virginia casually dated, attended sorority functions, and participated in the marching band and University Wind Ensemble. When I questioned her about historian's understanding of women's aspirations in college, she concurred. "Girls went to college to find a husband" she replied. "It was still unspokenly true."[69] Although she was "interested in having boyfriends," she was "not thinking about it like members of [her] sorority that were desperate to get engaged by senior year. [She] just enjoyed their company."[70]

62. Ibid.
63. Interview with Virginia Bilanchone on December 1, 2004.
64. Ibid.
65. Rossiter, *Women Scientists in America*, 100.
66. Interview with Virginia Bilanchone on December 1, 2004.
67. Ibid.
68. Interview with Virginia Bilanchone on December 5, 2004.
69. Interview with Virginia Bilanchone on December 1, 2004.

However, Virginia eventually rejected most gentlemen callers not because of immaturity or lack of intellect, but because of their ideals, which expected her to don an apron instead of a lab coat. These experiences demonstrated the persistence of traditional social mores within her own generation, and lead her to appreciate the rarity of men that would support her enthusiasm for science and long-term career goals.

While marching up and down the field with her clarinet, Virginia met Robert Bilanchone, a saxophone-toting Electrical Engineering major. Due to Robert's kind nature and exceptionalism as an advocate of women's rights, Virginia professed that he "always has been and continues to be supportive of my working and my having a career."[71] Even though Robert gained employment after graduation while Virginia continued on to graduate school, he never became intimidated by Virginia's pursuit of advanced degrees. An example of his atypical beliefs arose at a party, where "some of his friends learned that I was in grad school on a PhD track, and knew that Bob was working, and he says, 'isn't that weird for women to get an advanced degree?' Robert thought that the person had no sense."[72] Like her family and faculty mentors, Robert's support of Virginia's personal and professional goals contributed to her success. Without the support of her life partner, her pursuit of higher education and career in the scientific field could have been stifled by social ideologies regarding women's primary role as a homemaker. Conversely, had she never found such a man, she could have pursued her career without interference from spousal approval. Then again, Virginia did find a man who was proud of and encouraged her intelligence and drive, encouraged her aspirations of higher education, a career in the scientific world, and hope of starting a family of her own.

After graduating from URI and marrying Robert in 1969, Virginia's decided to apply to the University of Connecticut as a Masters student in Genetics. This decision was based upon several factors. First, Virginia's alma mater, Barrington High School, offered her a job after graduation. However, Madeline "encouraged me to get a Masters right away while I was in school mode, it would be beneficial. Because I had no other thoughts, I applied to grad school."[73] This decision was practical because Virginia would receive better pay with a Masters, and the degree was later required.[74] Secondly, when Virginia approached Dr. Gordon Eaton concerning a letter of recommendation, she recalled that he was "very supportive of my interest in science" and urged her to attend the University of Connecticut (UCONN), and work with a former colleague of his, Dr. Louis Pierro.[75] Thirdly, geography played a major factor, as Robert had a job in Windsor Locks near the border of Massa-

70. Interview with Virginia Bilanchone on December 5, 2004.
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid.
73. Ibid.
74. Interview with Virginia Bilanchone on December 1, 2004.
75. Interview with Virginia Bilanchone on December 5, 2004.

chusetts, and the UCONN was the closest university to their home. Virginia's decision to attend the UCONN displayed the importance of her life-long support network, which helped her facilitate her own personal goals of pursuing higher education.

Originally, Virginia began in the Master's program as a geneticist because she "figured out in college that to do good biology, you need a background in chemistry. My goal was to get that background, then go back to molecular biology."[76] Much like her experience at URI, the male to female ratio in classes equalized at around fifty percent, yet gender divisions became more pronounced depending on the field, in that Virginia "didn't know any female physicists."[77]

The table above displays the percentage of men and women who respectively received science and engineering doctorates between fiscal years 1947-48 to 1960-61.[78] The data supports Virginia's conclusion that women were severely underrepresented in physics doctoral programs where the men's enrollment totaled 6,144 versus 115 women, which equaled a mere one point nine percent. Results tallying majors with female majorities included Home Economics at seventy nine point five percent, and Cytology at sixty percent. In comparison, there were 20 women enrolled in Genetics programs versus 259 men which equaled seven point seven percent. The varying degrees of women at the doctoral level clearly displayed trends in participation that depended upon the field. For instance, women's presence was most strongly felt in the Social, Medical, and Biological sciences which ranged between approximately nine percent and seventeen percent. Female student's enrollment

Field	Total	Women	Women as % of Total
Home economics	416	331	79.57
Social sciences	3,030	442	14.59
Sociology	1,979	280	14.15
Anthropology	603	107	17.74
Other social sciences	448	55	12.28
Psychology	7,208	1,049	14.55
Bacteriology	1,641	220	13.41
Medical sciences	1,773	208	11.73
Anatomy	394	69	17.51
Public health	402	67	16.67
Clinical sciences	559	36	6.44
Pharmacology	242	19	7.85
Biophysics	102	5	4.90
Pathology	63	8	12.70
Embryology	6	1	16.67
Cytology	5	3	60.00
Biochemistry	1,820	212	11.65
Biosciences	8,519	926	10.87
Zoology	2,128	260	12.22
General biology	1,751	282	16.11
Botany	1,715	173	10.09
Physiology	882	108	12.24
Biological sciences	504	53	10.52
Genetics	259	20	7.72
Entomology	886	17	1.92
Plant pathology	321	10	3.12
Plant physiology	73	3	4.11
Mathematical sciences	3,182	176	5.53
Mathematics	2,960	169	5.71
Statistics	222	7	3.15
Physical sciences	6,722	159	2.37
Physics	6,144	115	1.87
Meteorology	146	3	2.05
Astronomy	208	23	11.06
Other physical sciences	274	18	6.57
Chemistry	13,480	637	4.73
Economic sciences	3,540	158	4.46
Economics	3,079	154	5.00
Agricultural economics	461	4	0.87
Geosciences	2,675	96	3.59
Geology	1,876	42	2.24

The gross disparities in male and female students in numerous majors, attest to the higher social and procedural barriers placed before female college students. Margaret W. Rossiter, *Women Scientists in America: Before Affirmative Action 1940-1972*, Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995),

76. Ibid.
77. Ibid.
78. Rossiter, *Women Scientists in America*, 81.

showed a marked decrease, averaging between five tenths of a percent and five percent in Mathematical, Physical, Forestry Agriculture and Veterinary, and Engineering programs. These results displayed the persistence of gender-segregation within majors at the doctoral level.[79] However, these trends were not solely dependent upon academic discrimination. Other influential factors included dominant gender ideologies regarding appropriate careers for women, and many women's desire to place the family above that career. Pointedly, Virginia's classes in Biosciences averaged a gender ratio of fifty percent while Virginia never met any female physicists, the profession scientists stigmatized as "unfeminine."[80] In addition, women's desire to get married and have children also contributed to an unequal distribution of women throughout the sciences. Wives and mothers took into account the amount of time required to obtain the appropriate education, which ranged from seven to twelve years, and the subsequent demands of the profession which at times require sixty to eighty hours a week and the pressure to publish regularly. Moreover, Virginia conceded that her professional success was directly linked to her support from the academic and greater scientific community. She revealed that

> if you want to be big in science, you need to have many mentors, starting with the PhD advisor and who you do your postdoc with. People help you with careers like faculty positions, help you get started, and make reputation for yourself. It's sort of like a science family pedigree and the better science family pedigree you've got, the better likelihood of your success even if you do comparable work. It was harder to get connected if you're a woman-I didn't say impossible, it was just more difficult.[81]

Despite the probability that she would have difficulties in the Genetics Department, Virginia took classes during her first semester alongside students on the PhD track, and performed so well that the chairman "came and said if I switched to the PhD program they could find money to pay for my entire education. So, that's what I did."[82] The profits reaped from Virginia's work ethic and determination were supplemented by her enthusiasm for her work. I asked, "Since DNA was not discovered until 1944, the field of Genetics was relatively new in comparison to established fields like Chemistry. Did this make any difference?" She admitted, "I was always fascinated. I didn't think about it as new, but it was totally cutting edge. Genes hadn't been cloned yet. How exactly the specific DNA base-pairs sequence was deciphered to make protein was just figured out. For Molecular Genetics, it was a really exciting period."[83]

For many female scientists, excitement regarding advances in the field was coupled with a proliferation of legislation

79. Ibid.
80. Friedan, Feminine Mystique, 17.
81. Interview with Virginia Bilanchone on December 5, 2004.
82. Interview with Virginia Bilanchone on December 5, 2004.
83. Ibid.

protecting women's rights. Margaret Rossiter contends that "starting in 1968 and essentially complete by 1972, there was a legal revolution in women's education and employment rights."[84] This was partially spurred by the Civil Rights movement that won groundbreaking legislation in the previous decade. Various pieces of legislation that established a precedent for the women's movement included the Equal Pay Act of 1963, and the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Civil Rights movement helped to raise women's consciousness about their place in a patriarchal society. The escalation of the women's rights movement is exemplified by a collaborative study conducted by the Committee on the Education and Employment of Women in Science and Engineering, the Commission on Human Resources, and the National Research Council in 1979 which concluded that "significant changes in this traditional picture began in the 1960s. The women's movement gave impetus to an immense and highly diverse research endeavor in which scholars" attributed the increase of women in graduate programs and "[gain] of professional employment" with a change in the trajectory of America's social history.[85] Some of the landmark legislation regarding women's rights to education and employment between 1968-1972 that exemplify this change include the 1967 Executive Order 11375 that banned sexual and racial discrimination, the 1968 Executive Order 11246 that extended the clause of Title VII, the Education Amendments Act, Affirmative Action quotas, the Equal Employment Opportunity Act in 1972, as well as Title IX's extension of the Equal Pay Act of 1963 in the same year.[86] The very existence of these laws exposed the historic entrenchment of segregation and exclusion of women from higher education and employment in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Proponents of gender equality nationwide celebrated the passage of legislation aimed to rectify American women's history of marginalization, discrimination, and frustration, which resulted in an overall improvement of the nation's gender tropes. Nevertheless, Virginia did not "believe any of these laws had any real effect on women's position in science. We all were glad that the laws came into effect, but in practice, they were not effectual."[87] The existence of Title IX's existence alone suggests that salary inequity persisted despite efforts by lawmakers. Virginia further explained that "even if there was legislation promoting equality, certain things just weren't equal, and seemed as though there

Nevertheless, Virginia did not "believe any of these laws had any real effect on women's position in science. We all were glad that the laws came into effect, but in practice, they were not effectual."

84. Rossiter, *Women Scientists in America,* 382.
85. National Research Council, *Climbing the Ladder*, 17.
86. Interview with Virginia Bilanchone on December 5, 2004.
87. Ibid.

wasn't much of anything to do. Women in science felt like the people who made choices, it was like an "old Boy's Club" to which you can't belong because of gender."[88] Virginia made valuable statements not contained in the history books that displayed the entrenchment of UCONN's bastion of antifeminism through reports of the imbalanced gender ratio among the faculty, female faculty's problems getting tenure, the "unspoken idea that women had to be better than men to gain the same recognition in a field," and common subversive hiring practices at universities. When Virginia entered the Masters program in 1969, she observed that there was not any faculty who were women until her third year, when the Genetics department "hired the first woman faculty member. It made quite a sensation on campus."[89] Virginia recalls an incident that displayed subversive hiring practices at a university that would "have a faculty position open with a whole bunch of applicants and interview many, and decide to hire guy rather than the woman. They would always say that there was a reason, not of sex, but because of a special area that they worked on. Legislation can't fix that."[90] Virginia's description of the covert discrimination she experienced and witnessed at UCONN is important because it highlights the importance of her support group amidst pervasive discrimination, and simultaneously supplements alternative interpretations to existing research regarding women's experiences in graduate school during the 1960s and 1970s.

I wouldn't be where I am if it weren't for various and assorted people.

At the heart of Virginia's story of success are her parents. Had they not created a foundation for learning and achievement, Virginia might not have received her doctorate, or become a Geneticist for that matter. Although Herbert and Madeline were products of their era, they also advocated progressive gender ideology because of their personal hardships. Because of this, Madeline and Herbert not only fostered ideals of pragmatism, hard work, education, and personal achievement, but also helped to guide Virginia's career as a scientist. Similarly, Marian's receipt of a graduate degree, High School employment as a scientist, and inspirational science experiments at home set a precedent regarding women's ability to pursue an education and career outside of women's traditional roles. Like her family, Robert's support of Virginia's personal and professional goals also contributed to her success. Because he was proud of and encouraged her intelligence and drive, this provided a foundation of support that fueled her dreams of higher education, a career in the scientific world, and starting a family of her own. Assessing the importance of her family's support, Virginia concluded that "it made a huge difference. I wouldn't be where I am if it weren't for various and assorted people. My family was foremost." The encourage-

88. Ibid.

89. Interviews with Virginia Bilanchone on the 5th and 7th of December, 2004.

90. Ibid.

ment received by "my parents and my husband were critical for my success."[91]

Other external elements affected Virginia's career path in unanticipated ways. The Soviet Union's launch of *Sputnik* inadvertently influenced Virginia's education in scientific field with the introduction of "New Math" in to the school's curriculum. The national emphasis on science and math in the greater population established greater accessibility to science for Virginia than her predecessors received earlier in the decade. Virginia's greater accessibility to education and the emergence of faculty mentorship supplemented her family's foundation of support, and helped to facilitate her career as a scientist. Participation in Mr. Ricciotti's science club, Mr. McGregor's encouragement, Ms. Foley's inspiration, and Dr. Eaton's acceptance of Virginia into the "old Boy's Club" exemplified a network of faculty mentorship that was atypical in an era that considered women scientists as "unfeminine."[92] As a result, Virginia was less exposed to prominent social stigmas, did not experience the same degree of gender-based marginalization, and enjoyed a nexus of support which aided her pursuit of higher education and a career as a scientist.

Despite this, Virginia's path of scientific study was not exempt from discrimination in school or in the workplace. The persistence of women's segregation and exclusion from higher education, certain fields, and employment was displayed by statistical data, and by the unprecedented number of legislative measures passed regarding women's rights between 1968 and 1972. Because of women's preclusion from the "science family pedigree," Virginia did not "believe that any of these laws had any real effect on women's position in science."[93] Even though Virginia received encouragement from faculty, members of the "old Boy's Club" at universities or in the greater scientific community marginalized or underutilized female scientists by denying tenure or promotions past a lab technician, and participated in subversive hiring practices.[94] In regards to the obstacles Virginia faced in academia and beyond, the evidence emphasizes the importance of personal and professional encouragement. Because Virginia was exposed to atypical levels of personal and academic support in her youth, the interview also provides a fresh alternative to documented accounts of marginalization experienced by female scientists in this era. Virginia's invaluable testimony shows that although her passion for science, dedication, and hard work were significant factors, she may not have become as successful of a scientist without the nexus of support that helped her earn her lab coat, unlike so many others that were unable to shed their aprons.

91. Ibid.
92. Friedan, *Feminine Mystique*, 17.
93. Interview with Virginia Bilanchone on December 5, 2004.
94. Ibid.

Mexican Repatriation During the Great Depression

By
Guadelupe Diaz

By weaving together oral histories from repatriated Mexican and Mexican American women, Guadelupe Diaz's "Repatriation" details the struggles experienced and attempts to deal with the repercussions of deportation. Diaz chronicles the affects of familial separation, traveling difficulties, and the difficult process of assimilation into Mexican culture after deportation on these women.

I did not like the hard life that I had in Mexico. Why would I want to be working as a maid for the rest of my life when I did not have to work so hard? Why would I want to wash clothes by hand and carry them on my head? Why should I have to go for miles and miles for a bucket of water? That was no life for me. I had been used to going to the kitchen to open a faucet and using the bathroom with a flush toilet. I could not see going into the wilderness in order to go the bathroom.[1]

The above sentiment made by Emilia Castaneda de Valenciana was shared with many others forced to return to their homeland during America's Great Depression. This so-called "repatriation" of Mexicans, instituted in 1931, clearly targeted those from south of the border, though American authorities denied this. Moreover, it contrasted sharply with the period prior to the Depression, as Mexicans migrated to the United States in large numbers to work in agriculture, mines, and other low-level occupations.

So long as the economy thrived and demanded additional labor, Americans enforced immigration laws loosely. The Great Depression, with its massive unemployment and poverty, changed attitudes toward foreign laborers, particularly those from Mexico. It took little time before down and out Americans blamed Mexicans as one of the causes for the economic burdens they faced. The United States faced a dilemma at this time, but not one determining how to feed or clothe its poor. Rather, the government confronted the decision of how to uproot legal and illegal residents of Mexican descent. At any rate, many believed by doing so it would be possible to eliminate the economic crisis and provide "true" Americans with jobs. Repatriation implies more than a return to one's homeland; it also means a sending back.[2] President Herbert Hoover's Secretary of Labor, William N. Doak, planned and publicized the deportation campaign as a major solution to the country's high unemployment rate. Doak and the Hoover administration believed that illegal aliens usurped the jobs of U.S. citizens. The swift deportation of illegals, Doak predicted, would free jobs for Americans.[3] While the program clearly intended to send Mexicans back to their native land, it also sent their American born children to a foreign land. Authorities forced many of these children to go with their parents to Mexico; some of those old enough stayed in the U.S. while others whose parents were deported became wards of the state.[4] The government's decision of deportation and negative views toward Mexicans affected

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1. Emilia Castaneda de Valenciana, *"Repatriation of the 1930s,"*: interview by Christine Valenciana, tape recording, 8 September 1971, Oral History Program, California State University, Fullerton..

2. Abraham Hoffman, *Unwanted Mexican Americans during the Great Depression* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1974), 24.

3. Francisco E. Balderrama, *In Defense of La Raza: The Los Angeles Mexican Consulate and the Mexican Community, 1929 to 1936* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1982), 54.

4. Ibid., 32.

the lives of many children of Mexican descent.

Furthermore, long held prejudices against Mexicans made repatriation seem all the more appropriate. Many Americans perceived Mexicans as lazy and uneducated people. For example, some educational institutions limited advanced courses for Mexican students and trained children for low skill occupations. Yet, Mexican parents received the blame for their children's lack of educational achievement. The blame game was the last of their worries as Mexicans continued to struggle in a country where they were no longer wanted.

The repatriation program had an especially pronounced effect on Mexican women, many of whom were separated from their parents, husbands, or children.

The challenge faced by repatriated Mexican workers serves as the overall theme of the following essay. The repatriation program had an especially pronounced effect on Mexican women, many of whom were separated from their parents, husbands, or children. In Gary, Indiana, for example, officials sent women and children to the border by train, while men went by truck.[5] Although, the intent was to compare both Mexican and Mexican American women in this essay, evidence is limited for a full examination of the latter. However, there are brief comments on some of the girls repatriated along with their families and those who later grew up as women in a place they never considered home.

There are three essential questions regarding the repatriation of Mexican women. First, how did the separation from parents, husbands, or children effect families? Secondly, how did these women cope with the struggles that came with traveling alone back to Mexico? Lastly, how did the social and cultural life change for Mexican women deported to Mexico after so many years? Questioning the rational for repatriation is necessary. Did the Mexican presence really cost jobs and drain the economy, as American officials claimed? Did immigrants simply take jobs that Anglos did not want? Did the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) play a significant role in conducting illegal raids against Mexicans during this period? What other group, if any, did the plan affect? These are essential questions in determining how the repatriation act affected Mexican.

Mexican women living in the United States claimed a space for themselves and their families. Building communities through mutual assistance, they struggled for some semblance of financial stability, especially in the midst of rising nativist sentiments that crested in the deportations of the early 1930s. Mexican women faced the challenge of family separation due to the major push and pull factors that affected Mexico and the United States during the years from 1900 to the 1930s.

5. Francisco E. Balderrama and Raymond Rodrigues, *Decade of Betrayal: Mexican Repatriation in the 1930s* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 106.



Following the 27 February 1931 raid, the front page of *La Opinion*, a Los Angeles Mexican-based daily newspaper, ran the above photograph, after a immigration raid. At the rear can be seen part of the crowds that observed the arrests. *La Opinion,* 28 February 1931.

Between 1910 and 1930, over one million Mexicans (one-eighth to one-tenth of Mexico's population) migrated "*al otro lado,*" (to the other side).[6] During the early 1900s, Mexico faced social, political, and religious revolution. Many Mexicans fled north for refuge because of the aftermath of the Mexican revolution and the Cristero Revolt. A decade of war claimed one-tenth of Mexico's population and its economy lay in ruins. The Cristero revolt and De la Huerta's insurrection worsened conditions.[7]

Many of those who fled to the United States were married men seeking a better financial status for their family. This pattern continues today for Mexicans. Mexican men left their families to pursue better jobs in the U. S. and later returned to their homeland to enjoy the earnings with their family. Many who left Mexico chose to stay in America until able to raise enough funds for housing and traveling expenses for their family to come. Of course, some of these men never returned nor sent for their wives or children. These men ended up with new lives, wives, and children in the United States and an abandoned family in Mexico. So what happened to the abandoned mother and children?

Many Mexican women could not count on government relief. They became laundresses, housekeepers to others' homes, babysitters, tamale sellers, and *pan dulce* (sweet bread) sellers. Mexican husbands ventured north for the American dream, leaving their wives in Mexico as head of the household. Mexican women adjusted to the change in lifestyle, as waiting for their husbands or a check to arrive was no longer an option for these women. These women entered the job market to provide for their families. The hardships of familial separation were especially hard on Mexican women. Women accepted their husband's decision to leave because, ultimately, it benefited the whole family. She faced finding the needs and resources to sustain her family while her husband remained in the United States. Once word arrived that the husband settled, the woman made the decision to immigrate north to reunite with her husband. When the family reunited and

6. Vicki Ruiz, *From out of the Shadows: Mexican Women in Twentieth-Century America (*New York: Oxford, 1998), 6, 7.

7. Balderrama and Rodrigues, 106.

settled in the United States, many chose to have more children, thus, creating a new generation of Mexican Americans. Although, it seemed like a happy ending for the Mexican family, it was not. The family faced another, yet harsher separation in the 1930s.

The repatriation program established during the Great Depression affected many, if not all, Mexicans. Those considered non-citizens returned to Mexico either voluntarily or by force.[8] Congress considered a series of bills designed to facilitate deportation. Among the proposed legislation, the H.R. Bill 3472 sought to remove all statutes of limitations regarding the deportations of aliens deemed public charges. These individuals were deported at government expense and made ineligible for reentry into the United States.[9]

Deportation affected the Mexican family because it separated the father from the rest of the family, consequently leaving them without any support Mexican women once again faced the dilemma of following their husbands. Although some initially refused to accompany their husbands, they found they could not provide for their families alone and were left with no recourse other than to rejoin their husbands back in Mexico.[10] Louise Delgado, one of the many Mexican women, accepted the offer of the Los Angeles County Charities office to drive her and her children to Mandero, Baja California, to rejoin her husband.[11] Not all women reunited with their husbands in Mexico; some decided to stay in America.

Some Mexican women refused to leave the United States. The mother of sisters Dora Raya and Irma Amparano, served an example as one of the women who did not leave. The sisters' mother refused to accompany their father back to Mexico because she heard of children dying from conditions in Mexico. Like any protective mother, she feared for her youngsters' health. She preferred to remain in the United States and raise her American-born children alone rather than in Mexico.[12] This family did not suffer the misfortunes of bad health that many Mexicans and U.S. children of Mexican descent faced on their journey to Mexico.

Many repatriates became sick with pneumonia, measles, and some even died from these illnesses. The *Excelsior* newspaper reported that on board one repatriation train, twenty-five children and adults died of illness and malnutrition during the trip to the Mexican border.[13] Mexican mothers not only worried about their children's health; they also worried

8. Douglas Monroy, Rebirth: Mexican Los Angeles from the Great Migration to the Great Depression (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 304.
9. Balderrama and Rodriguez, 54.
10. Ibid., 108.
11. Ibid. Rex Thomson to Los Angeles Board of Supervisors, 7 March 1939, in LAC Minutes 249:270.
12. Balderrama and Rodriguez, 103, Melgoza, Judith. Interview with Irma Amparano, Montebello, California, 31, 5 August 1984. Melgoza, Judith. Interview with Dora Raya, Montebello, California, 5 August 1984.
13. Balderrama and Rodriguez, 114; *Excelsior,* Mexico, D.F., 17 January 1931; *Excelsior*, 11 November 1931.

their older children would refuse to go to Mexico.

Mexican mothers who decided to journey back to Mexico or for the first time, faced the decision of whether, or not, their American-born children should remain behind. Many Mexican American children did not want to leave their homeland and remained behind with other family members or ran away from their parents.[14] Enrique Angel, among those who chose not to accompany his parents, dearly missed his brother and younger sisters.[15] Many Mexican families accepted the choice of their older children to remain in the United States, but others received no choice.

The mother is in a dilemma. She wants to go back with her husband to Mexico but does not want to desert her older children, who beg to remain in the United States.

American-born children too young to decide for themselves made the strenuous journey to Mexico with their parents. Years later, many of these children returned to the United States, their place of origin. Trinidad Rubio, a repatriated American citizen, recalled the process of deportation as a young child: "I was too young to understand where we were going, but I knew I was leaving my home for good."[16] Theresa Martinez Southard, another American-born "*repatriada*" of the 1930s, journeyed back to Mexico with her parents as a young girl. She also recalled not wanting to go along with her parents nor stay with extended family.[17] Many of these children did not comprehend the situation. They only knew that they had to leave their home: the United States. Many Mexican American girls and boys later grew up in Mexico, wanting only to return to their homeland.

Thus, the repatriation of Mexicans created a difficult decision for Mexican mothers. Sociologist Emory Bogardus cited the estrangement of family life as a result of repatriation: "The mother is in a dilemma. She wants to go back with her husband to Mexico but does not want to desert her older children, who beg to remain in the United States. She faces a divided family. She is pulled strongly in two different ways at the same time."[18]

Despite the difficulties women faced, many of them wanted to remain close to their husbands. The experiences of Mexican women who journeyed north alone or only in the company of their children prior to the 1930s received scant

14. Balderrama and Rodriguez , 103.
15. Ibid.; Los Angeles Consulate to San Francisco Consulate General, 29 November 1929, in ASRE IV-71-1.
16. Fermin Leal, *"Sent Back Home: Repatriation Sprang from Resentment," The Orange County Register*, 31 August 2003, Local, 5.
17. Theresa Martinez Southard, *"Repatriation of the 1930s,"* interview by Christine Valenciana, tape recording, September 1, 1971, Oral History Program, California State University, Fullerton.
18. Balderrama and Rodrigues, 105; Emory Stephen Bogardus, *Mexican in the United States: The American immigration collections Series II* (Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 1934), 94-5.

scholarly attention.[19] Mrs. Theresa Martinez Southard was born in Riverside, California; her parents from Durango, Mexico. Mrs. Southard stated that her mother and two of her siblings remained in Mexico while her father ventured for work in the United States. Mrs. Southard's mother decided to travel north with her children and older brother to reunite with her husband. She endured a horrible journey to the United States because her children grew sick during the trip to Mexico. It is believed that at least one of the children died of a serious illness. Her mother stated, "I'll get to my husband without a child."[20] With no other alternative, women continued their difficult journey only to find their path blocked by American Authorities.

Before the Depression, Immigrant officials made it difficult for women to enter the United States. Mexican women put up with officials who questioned their entry into the north. Immigrant inspectors routinely stopped those considered "likely to become a public charge-in other words *solas* or single mothers."[21] Pasquala Esparza, a Mexican native, did not have the necessary funds to pay for a passport in El Paso. She remained in the city of Juarez, Mexico as a housekeeper until she saved enough money to buy a passport.[22] A head tax in the amount of $8 was imposed in 1917. In El Paso, the agent of the transportation company, usually the El Paso Electric Railway Company, collected the money. The 1924 Act added the payment of a $10 fee to secure a visa from the nearest American council prior to departure. The increase in fees deterred some from coming into the United States and encouraged many others to enter illegally.[23]

Immigrant inspectors routinely stopped those considered "likely to become a public charge-in other words *solas* or single mothers."

Although some immigrant officials used tactics to scare *Mexicanas* from entering the United States, many of these women did not fear directly confronting these officials. Journalist John Reed recorded an incident in which immigrant officials rudely asked a woman trying to cross north about the contents of her *rebozo*.[24] "She slowly opened the front of her dress and answered placidly: 'I don't know Senor. It may be a girl and it may be

19. Ruiz, 11.
20. Theresa Martinez Southard interview, 3.
21. Ruiz, 11.
22. Ibid.; Emilio Zamora, *The World of theMexican Worker in Texas* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1993), 18-9; Camille Guerin Gonzales, *Mexican Workers and the American Dream: Immigration, Repatriation, and California Farm Labor, 1900-1939* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1994), 38-42; George J. Sanchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945* (New York: Oxford, 1993), 56-8.
23. Sanchez, 57.
24. The rebozo is a shawl that Mexican women have traditionally worn to cover their heads and shoulders. Mexican women have also used the rebozo to hold their babies.

a boy.'"[25] There is enough evidence that Mexican women traveled to the United States alone, however, it is how they arrived there that remains questionable.

There is limited evidence regarding the actual traveling that women made to the north. It is believed that many migrated to the United States in cars and with other families. George J. Sanchez, Associate Professor of History and American Culture at the University of Michigan, observed that women rarely migrated alone. When women did migrate it was usually with other family members or to join a husband who had settled in the United States.[26] The migration of these women through the terrain of Mexico is another factor that remains understudied.

Evidence of geographic difficulties is also limited. One can only imagine traveling on the rocky roads of Mexico in the dark. The travel from the United States to the rocky terrain in Mexico is a trip that can end with blown-out tires and thin roads going upward in circles. Despite the difficulties, many women traveled to the north to meet their loved ones.

Many of the same women who made the first journey to the United States experienced a second journey with deportation. This journey did not promise good work and prosperity as America did before the Depression. The United States established the repatriation program because Mexicans supposedly took work from "real" Americans. According to Douglas Monroy, professor of History and Directory of Southwest Studies at The Colorado College, "*Gringos* (whites) from Herbert Hoover and his secretary of labor to the publishers of the Los Angeles Times to the local coordinator of unemployment relief, Charles P. Visel, all urged the repatriation of Mexicans."[27] Mexican males comprised the first targets for deportation because many of them worked in the United States illegally. After their husbands, Mexican women too faced deportation.

The INS played a significant role in conducting illegal and violent raids against Mexicans during the depression. In street sweeps throughout the nations major cities, people who looked Mexican found themselves at risk of being taken into custody. The La Placita raid in Los Angeles conducted by immigrant officials created a mass hysteria among the Mexican community. Although American officials denied the purpose of the raid was to capture Mexicans, the majority of those apprehended of Mexican heritage proved otherwise. An immigrant official pocketed a Mexican's legal papers of residency and put him with the rest of those detained at La Placita, Los Angeles.[28] These raids directly violated the Fourth and Fourteenth Amendments of the United States Constitution, regardless of whether those arrested were United States citizens.[29]

Some officials were even considered heartless because of the types of raids they conducted. In one instance, immigration agents tore a Los Angeles woman from her

25. Ruiz, 12.
26. Sanchez, 35.
27. Monroy, 147.
28. Ibid., 55, 58
29. Balderrrama, *In Defense of la Raza*, 17.

home in the early morning hours, threw her in the wagon, and left her toddler screaming on the front porch.[30] The fact that many women feared their eventual deportation prompted many of them to leave "voluntarily" to Mexico.

The term "voluntarily" during the repatriation process has a different meaning than the present-day definition. During the Depression, Mexicans had a choice: they could leave on their own (voluntarily) or be deported. No matter which way one chose to see it, Mexicans left the United States by force. Mexican parents took their children with them despite their children's American citizenship.

American officials were not concerned with the issue of Mexican parents taking their American-born children with them because they knew Mexican families wanted to remain united. Social workers during the depression encouraged many families with American-born children to voluntarily leave. Moreover, some County officials often threatened families on welfare with deportation. Many of these officials convinced parents that their American-born children were better off playing in the green fields of Mexico without watching for automobiles.[31] Faced with poverty, discrimination, and uncertainty as to their status, many Mexican citizens seriously considered the idea of repatriation.

Some Mexican women who wanted to leave voluntarily received help from charitable organizations willing to pay for travel expenses. The Good Will to Mexico Committee headed by Ernest Besig, worked with the *Comite Mexicano de Beneficencia* and the Mexican Consulate in raising voluntary contributions. These committees provided food for up to four days of travel and donated canned milk for babies.[32] Mexican organizations, communities, and individuals all helped with the traveling needs of the repatriates.

Mexican and Mexican American women themselves often participated in charitable organizations during the depression. Informal groups who provided aid during the Depression also existed within the Mexican communities. Some of these informal groups were headed by Mexican or Mexican American women. These groups, referred to as *Comadres,*[33] consisted of women's networks based on ties of blood and fictive kinship and pooled and shared what little they possessed to help destitute families survive the crisis.[34] In nearly every *colonia*[35] *and damas,*[36] women members of the small middle or professional class, organized to help *los*

30. Ruiz, 29. Erasmo Gamboa, "Oregon's Hispanic Heritage," *Oregon Humanities* (Summer 1992): 5; Letter from District Headquarters, U.S. Commission of Immigration, Moscow, Idaho, to Commissioner General of Immigration, reel 8 of INS, *Mexican Immigration*, 83; Chamber of Commerce, *Mexican Immigration,* 9, 23.

31. Hoffman, 86, 95.

32. Ibid., 89, 125.

33. The term *Comadre* is referenced towards a female who becomes godmother to a family member or friend's child. The term reflects the bond between the godmother and the parents.

34. Ruiz, 4

35. A *colonia* is a Spanish term for neighborhood or community.

probrecitos (the less fortunate).[37] In San Antonio, the *damas* organized the Catholic Relief Association. They fed the hungry, clothed the needy, sheltered the homeless, and ministered to the ill.[38] Many Mexican women united to help their brothers and sisters who faced the difficulties of the depression.

In the end, Mexican women from lower, middle, and upper classes were not saved from repatriation. It did not matter how long they resided in the United States nor how much charity they gave during the Depression, all Mexican women had to leave. The Mexican Consul in San Diego reported that of nearly one hundred cases of repatriates registered at the consulate in 1933, women traveling alone constituted twenty-seven of them. Young children accompanied eleven of the twenty-seven women.[39] Many of these women made the journey to Mexico with their children and all their personal belongings.

Mexican women took what they believed necessary for their family to settle in Mexico. Adela S. Delgado, one of the few women who traveled alone to Mexico without the help of the county, drove her old dodge automobile from the United States to Chihuahua, Mexico. Delgado and her three daughters packed the car with their stove, mattresses, dishes, and books. To Mexican women like Adela, repatriation meant endless preparations for transporting family and hearth to another country.[40] Emilia Castaneda de Valenciana, who left for Mexico voluntarily with her father and brother, recalled her father packing all their clothes and belongings into a huge trunk. Emilia also stated the differences between what males and females took with them back to Mexico: "A man, well, he probably just packs up his sleeping bag and throws it over his back and that is good enough for him. Now a woman, she will think about whether she wants her sewing machine, her bed, and her dishes."[41] Emilia lost her mother to pneumonia during the Depression, was raised by her father, and left with him to Mexico because she was too young to support herself in the United States. Women often took what they could and were allowed to take, which proved necessary for many women who chose to make the trip alone. Mexican women making the journey south alone were allowed to import one weapon or firearm.[42] This law was granted so these women could protect themselves and their children from any harm.

Many of the women traveling alone were often widows or abandoned wives accompanied by their children.[43] Most of these women received county aid because

36. The word *damas* means ladies in English. The *damas* were a charitable organization of Mexican women from the small middle or professional class in the 1930s.
37. Balderrama and Rodrigues, 41.
38. Ibid.; Julia Kirk Blackwelder, *Women of the Depression: Caste and Culture in San Antonio, 1929-1939,* 2d ed. (Texas: A&M University Press, 2000), 55; Green Peyton, *San Antonio: City in the Sun* (New York: McGraw and Hill, 1946), 114.
39. Ibid., 109.
40. Ibid., 106, 109.
41. Emilia Castaneda de Valenciana interview, 17.
42. Balderrama and Rodriguez, 108.
43. Ibid., 109.

of their children's U.S. citizenship. The welfare committee, in order to promote voluntary repatriation through the aid of the county, offered free transportation, food, clothing and medical aid to Mexicans who wished to leave. Those who received county aid left for Mexico in overpopulated buses, ships, and cars. It is important to note that contrary to the widely held belief that most Mexicans received welfare during the Depression, such was not the case. Only 10 percent or less of Mexican families in Los Angeles County applied for county aid.[44] Los Angeles' Mexican population by 1930 was nearly at 97,000.[45] Those repatriated at county expense were assured they were eligible to return to the United States.[46] Many found this later untrue. County officials misled many Mexicans. Their cards of departure bore the stamp of the County, making reentry impossible.[47]

Mexican women who chose to use the mass transportation provided by the county had an unbearable experience. Some Mexican women left on trains and ships provided by the county. These women faced starvation and depravation throughout their travel. The majority of those who left with the help of the county, left on trains.[48] The conditions of these trains and the waiting areas, at times warehouses, for the next trains were horrific. Reverend Robert N. Mclean, a repatriate sympathizer, witnessed the depravation women faced in these places. He stated, "Women swarmed about the warehouses, picking up one by one which spilled through holes in the sacks." [49] The sacks were filled with beans, which the county distributed in limited amounts to Mexican families. For many of these women, every bean counted to sustain the family.

Many of the women left their homes only to be squeezed into overpopulated trains and ships headed, in some instances, to a place they had never been to. Alicia Apocada recalled a Mexican woman on the *Progresso,* a Mexican naval ship, screaming that she did not want to go to Mexico. The Mexican women yelled, "Let us off! I am going to die, I have no money, no one knows me in that town in Mexico."[50] Unfortunately, many ended up in unknown places with no food nor shelter. Richard Lopez's mother, Anna Maria De la Fuente, an American citizen, faced deportation along with her parents and her two American-born siblings. Lopez states that his mother and her family were dumped in the streets of Nuevo Laredo, Mexico, "practically living on the streets, scraping for money just so they could eat."[51] Adjustment in a foreign land did not prove an easy venture for many Mexican Americans.

The repatriated Mexican women found adjustment to Mexico's norms difficult. The irony these repatriadas faced was that

44. Hoffman, 78.
45. Sanchez, 90.
46. Balderrama, *In Defense of La Raza*, 21.
47. Hoffman, 91.
48. Balderrama and Rodrigues, 107.
49. Hoffman, 128.
50. Balderrama and Rodrigues, 101.
51. Leal, 5.



Like Adela S. Delgado and Emilia Castaneda de Valenciana, Mexican women, with their families and neighbors, prepared for deportment by packing precious heirlooms and necessities alike. Francisco E. Balderrama and Raymond Rodrigues, *Decade of Betrayal: Mexican Repatriation in the 1930s* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996)

they were considered "too Americanized" by Mexican nationals and "too Mexican" by American citizens. In the U.S., Mexican American children were always referred to as "Mexicans," but in Mexico they were commonly called, *gringos* (whites), *yanquis* (Yankees), or worse.[52] Many repatriates received no help and much discrimination from Mexican residents. Repatriates faced the resentment of Mexican nationals who did not want them to come back. A woman in Mexico City expressed her dislike for repatriates: "Most of us here in Mexico do not look on these repatriates favorably." The woman also expressed the repatriates' expectations to be happily greeted even after most of these people originally left their homeland when it needed them the most.[53] Many left the United States with feelings of betrayal by their homeland. "This is my country but after the way we have been treated I hope never to see it again...As long as my father was working and spending his money in Gary [Indiana] stores, paying taxes and supporting us, it was all right but now we have found we can't get justice here,"[54] declared, a young Mexican-American girl who faced repatriation. *Repatriadas* were considered too liberal in speech, dress, and manners in comparison to the quiet, simple, and well-mannered Mexican women.[55]

Mexican conservative women believed that repatriated women possessed too much freedom after being accustomed to American ways. Daughters-in-law with "American ways" were considered too independent and strong willed.[56] In many ways, repatriated women became accustomed to American household timesaving technologies. The majority of these women wished to return to the United States because of American commodities such as gas stoves, running water, and electricity.[57] Mrs. Southard, an American citizen and a repatriate, recalled cooking without a stove in Mexico as a young girl, "We would set some bricks... bundle up some wood and set the pots on top...I would go out...and look for dry

52. Balderrama and Rodriguez, 199.

53. Guerin-Gonzales, 108.
54. Balderrama and Rodrigues, 106.
55. Ibid., 198.
56. Ibid.
57. Mercedes Carreras de Velasco, *Los Mexicanos Que Devolvio La Crisis 1929-1932* (Tlatelolco; Secretaria de Relaciones Exteriores, 1974),136.

droppings from cows. And you know they would work real good just like wood. But they would smell."[58] Indoor plumbing was considered another American commodity lost to many repatriated women who had to get used to bathing in *Acequias*, irrigation canals in Mexico. Mrs. Valenciana, a repatriated Mexican American girl at the time, recalled this hardship, remembering "We would take a bath in these *acequias*...we bathed in slips...sometimes there were frogs, and I was frightened to death."[59] Other commodities existed that *repatriadas* were not used to, and because of their lack of knowledge of Mexican norms, conservative *Mexicanas* scrutinized them.

American hairstyles, mode of dress, use of makeup, and behavior contributed to resentment and ill feelings towards repatriated women. Young *Mexicanas* and Mexican American girls became used to American dress, often imitating the dress and makeup of famous American movie stars. Older, traditional rural Mexican women regarded many of these repatriates as loose women only calling attention to themselves by parading around in such a fashion.[60] Mrs. Southard commented that she loved wearing high heels, even though she was looked down on by the local women: "I used to play baseball with my high heels...I loved high heels...they would just stare at me and the way I used to dress."[61] Another woman who arrived from the United States to a small Mexican village refused to dress as *Mexicanas* did. She stated, "Here the girls all dress alike, in black. But I will never dress in black in all my life."[62] Younger repatriated women were usually the ones to refuse Mexican dress norms. Older *repatriadas* set aside their American dresses and wore the traditional black rebozo, skirt, and blouse. Many of the *repatriadas* assumed the styles and modes common to friends and relatives.[63]

Women were not equal to men in Mexico. Mexican women possessed traits of silence and politeness. *Repatriadas* who moved to rural villages found this transition difficult, as they became accustomed to working side by side with males in the United States. In Mexico, these women kept silent while in the presence of men, otherwise their behavior would be considered brazen and unbecoming. *Repatriadas* also found that Mexico paid lower wages to women than men. One repatriated women who supported herself and her children by working in a restaurant only earned four pesos a month plus meals for her family.[64] Adults were not the only ones adjusting to Mexico's norms, their children also faced new difficulties in education.

American-born children in Mexico found adjustment to the language complicated. Emilia Castaneda de Valenciana recalled being ridiculed by Mexican children and adults for speaking

58. Theresa Martinez Southard interview, 15.
59. Emilia Castaneda de Valenciana interview, 37.
60. Balderrama and Rodriguez, 207.
61. Theresa Martinez Southard interview, 19.
62. Guerin-Gonzales, 107.
63. Balderrama and Rodrigues, 207.
64. Ibid.,107, 198.

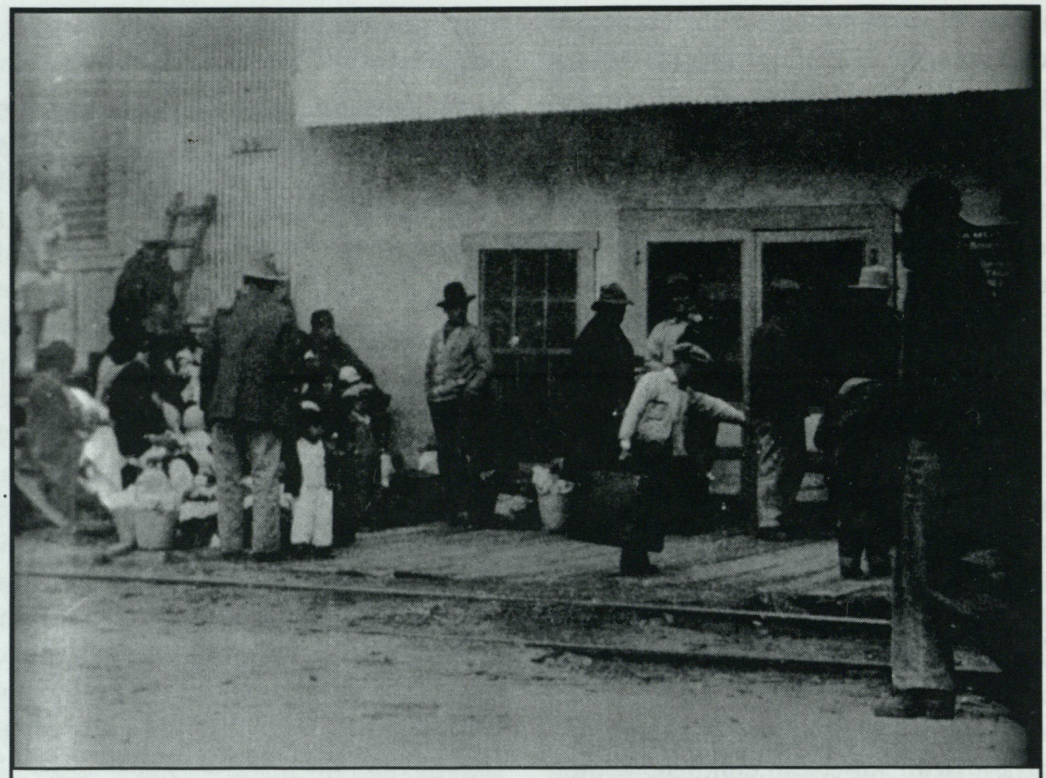
English: "We used to refer to the money as pennies, not centavos. So you know, the people used to laugh at us." Mrs. Valenciana, like many American-born children, acquired only a junior high education in Mexico.[65] Many of these children left school because they refused to be laughed at by Mexican children. They also felt the necessity to work and help the family financially. Valenciana stated, "A lot of the poor people who were like us picked on us because we did not belong there. I think that's why I did not continue going to school."[66] The adjustment to Mexico's customs proved to be more complex for young Mexican American children. Young Mexican American girls and Mexican women did not transition well into Mexico's norms because many of their customs and form of dress mixed with American standards.

The repatriated Mexican women also found themselves not fitting into Mexican social circles because they were considered too *"agringadas"* (Americanized), even if originally Mexican-born.

The repatriated Mexican women also found themselves not fitting into Mexican social circles because they were considered too *"agringadas"* (Americanized), even if originally Mexican-born. Maria Guadalupe Diaz Lomeli, a Mexican native who has Mexican American grandchildren said that *Mexicana Americanas* would always carry the cross of being *"Ni de aqui, ni de aya. Pero un poco de las dos,"* neither from here, or from there, but with a pinch of both.[67]

What was the rational for repatriation? United States officials believed that the Mexican presence in the United States during the depression drained the economy. Thousands of Mexicans who entered the north during the First World War occupied the many jobs that American soldiers left vacant. America needed the labor and willing Mexicans conceded to work, even at very low wages. Only after the war when soldiers came back, did the government limit immigration. Moreover, agricultural and industrial companies after the war and throughout the 1930s hired Mexican immigrants. One example of the labor contract of Mexicans during this period comes from the city of San Antonio, Texas. San Antonio had a relatively lenient behavior on repatriation because the city heavily depended on the marginal labor of Hispanics, especially women.[68] As stated earlier, only 10 percent or less of Americans received county help in Los Angeles. This number was considered low especially for Los Angeles, which held the highest percentage of Mexican immigrants in that time. Those Mexicans on welfare received twenty dollars a month, ten dollars less than American families. Welfare officials ignored the fact that

65. Emilia Castaneda de Valenciana interview, 21.
66. Ibid., 34.
67. Maria Guadalupe Diaz Lomeli, Conversation with Guadalupe Diaz.
68. Blackwelder, 14.



Mexican families awaiting deportment gathered at train stations similar to this Arizona depot across the United States. Francisco E. Balderrama and Raymond Rodrigues, *Decade of Betrayal: Mexican Repatriation in the 1930s* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996)

Mexican families were larger and needed more assistance. The justification for the lesser sum was that Mexican families maintained a lower standard of living and could get along on a cheaper diet.[69] Although the facts were present, some American officials held Mexicans responsible for their economic downfall and for taking jobs "real" Americans needed. C.P. Visel, the Los Angeles local coordinator for unemployment relief, telegraphed Washington regarding dire conditions in Los Angeles and that local citizens needed the jobs that undocumented Mexicans occupied.[70]

Were immigrants simply taking the jobs that Americans did not want, but needed? Many scholars agree that American capitalists preferred Mexicans to Americans because they provided cheaper labor and most Mexicans willingly accepted to do back breaking work. Capitalists welcomed Mexicans as temporary laborers, but not as residents. Only Mexicans who accepted work that

69. Balderrama and Rodrigues, 78.

70. Rodolfo Acuna, *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos,* 3d ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1981), 222.

white men did not were wanted and then only when there was a general prosperity.[71] Moreover, one of these American capitalists, Arthur G. Arnoll, a general manager of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce in the 1930s, did not support the repatriation program because he believed that the Agriculture businesses would suffer financially. Arnoll believed the white man entirely unfitted for labor, which required bending, crouching, or elasticity. The Mexicans' willingness to do this kind of work was accepted as part of the nature of things.[72] In San Antonio and California, employers preferred Mexican women and girls to pack fruits and vegetables.[73] Employers preferred Mexican women because they tended to accept lower wages than Anglo women and Mexican men.

The Mexican government helped repatriates in many ways, while the U.S. government tried to push all Mexicans out of the country.

The Mexicans compliance to accept a low paycheck created competition between Americans seeking jobs during the depression. Anglos perceived Mexicans as foreign intruders occupying jobs they needed. Desperate for work, white Americans took jobs that once they scorned.[74] In 1930, President Hoover denounced Mexicans as one of causes of the economic depression—"they took jobs away from American citizens"—and he initiated plans to deport them.[75] Mexican laborers were soon out of jobs and out of means to provide for their families. The government made it illegal for any business to hire Mexicans. Mexicans were left with no other option than to pack their things and head back south.[76]

Repatriation affected other groups in America. One of the most well known instances involved some four hundred Mexican women married to Chinese men. These women accompanied their husbands to their homeland. Adjustment to life in China seemed impossible for these Mexican women. Mexico's president, Lazaro Cardenas, appropriated enough funds to bring these women to Mexico.[77] The Mexican government helped repatriates in many ways, while the U.S. government tried to push all Mexicans out of the country.

The repatriation affected the economic, social, and cultural ties between Mexico and the United States in both positive and negative ways. America believed that it would cost less to repatriate a destitute Mexican family than to support them economically through welfare. Many Americans agreed with the government and supported the repatriation of Mexicans. Individuals and organizations demanded immediate action be taken to curtail the employment of Mexicans. They also wanted them removed from the relief rolls and shipped back to Mexico, where

71. Ibid., 128
72. Hoffman, 10
73. Guerin-Gonzales, 78.
74. Acuna, 138.
75. Sanchez, 213.
76. Ibid, 214.
77. Balderrama and Rodrigues, 109.

they believed all Mexicans belonged.[78] The eventual repatriation of approximately 10,000 Mexican alien relief cases averaging $200,000 a month saved county taxpayers an enormous amount of money.[79]

Although, the United States closed its doors to its southern neighbors, the *Madre Patria* (Mother country) took back her "sisters" and "brothers" with open arms. The Mexican government created colonization projects for Mexican repatriates willing to test their skills for their homeland. Many of the colonization projects failed because many of these repatriates were sent to unsettled rural areas that did not give promising crops. Many did not like the conditions and surroundings of the colonies given to tend. People sickened and died in the tropical area; sixty colonists perished in a twenty-day period.[80] Repatriation failed to end the depression, engaged energetic and industrious workers in the cause of rebuilding Mexico, or bring happiness to those replanted in *la madre patria*[81]

Deportation of American-born repatriates violated their civil rights. Many of these children were forced to leave with their parents and denied the right to a full education when sent to Mexico. The need to work for the family left many children with a junior high education. These children grew up in the poverty conditions of Mexico. Many of their parents sold their American homes at extremely low prices, because of deportation.[82] Education, commodities, and the standard of living were better in the United States than in Mexico It is estimated that more than one million people across the country experienced deportation. Scholars later found that 60 percent of those deported had been born in the United States.[83] Mrs. Valenciana and countless others repatriated eventually returned to their home in America. Although many of them came back to resettle their roots, they also felt what happened to them was inhumanly wrong.

The Mexican women who experienced both journeys also experienced the worst hardships. They first made the trip to the north to reunite with their husbands. This was not an easy task because many of these women traveled alone or with children. The second journey back to the south, essentially forced by the United States, created harsher consequences for Mexican women. On both trips, Mexican women risked danger, their children dying of illness, and faced difficulty adjusting to a new life. Mexican women became accustomed to America. Many became productive members of the workforce. Mexican women usually entered the job market to add to the family's low income. Cannery work supplemented the family's unfit income and worked there to strengthen their families.[84] When the

78. Ibid., 82.
79. Hoffman, 86.
80. Ibid., 139, 141.
81. Monroy, 150.
82. Ibid.
83. Antonio Olivio, "*Ghosts of a 1931 Raid: A random INS roundup set the tone for decades of ethnic tension" The Los Angeles Times*, 3. Available from <http//www.latimes.com>

United States service industry needed low-wage workers, Mexican women fit the much-needed gap. However, when the government and its industries experienced an economic downfall, the Mexican worker was no longer desired. During the depression, Mexicans in general were no longer wanted. The Hoover administration, responsible for repatriating or deporting many back to Mexico, believed Mexicans out of sight and increasingly out of mind.[85]

They were Americans, of Mexican heritage perhaps, but Americans nonetheless.[86] Young *repatriadas* found modification to life in Mexico very complicated. One young girl accustomed herself to waking up at four a.m. in order to prepare corn tortillas for the family meals for the day, even though she herself refused to eat any not made of flour or to use the tortilla as a replacement for a spoon.[87] Young Mexican American girls dreamed of returning to their homeland even after unjust treatment. When interviewed, Theresa Martinez Southard, recalled, "I used to miss the States a lot. I used to cry every night because I was really lonely. But still what could I do?"[88] Many of the young Mexican American girls who wished to return to the U.S. did so legally or illegally years later because they never considered Mexico their home. Some of these girls who returned to America never forgot the treatment they received during the repatriation act. Trinidad Rubio, deported as a young girl with her family. "I was an American," said Rubio, 75, "My family and others like us did not deserve what this country did to us. We lost everything we worked so hard to have. All I want is for the government to admit what happened to me was wrong. All I want is an apology."[89] Despite the heartbreak shared with Mrs. Rubio, many returned to America after the Depression years because workers were once again needed.

With the arrival of World War II and the demand for Mexican labor, many ventured into America to occupy these jobs.[90] It seemed a repetitive cycle took place once again. However, for those venturing into a new country or those coming back to their homeland, it meant new opportunities and a better life. For the new arrivals, the *Ballad of the Immigrant* identified their feelings; "I'm going to the United States to earn a living. Goodbye my beloved country, I carry you in my heart."[91] For many repatriates coming back home to America there is a Mexican proverb that represents their feelings, "*No lloro pero me acuerdo* (I don't cry, but I remember)."[92]

84. Sanchez, 121.
85. Ibid., 226.
86. Balderrama and Rodriguez, 105; Bogardus, 94-5.
87. Balderrama and Rodriguez, 218.
88. Ibid., 208.
89. Leal, 5.
90. Balderrama and Rodriguez, 211.
91. Ibid., 5.
92. Ibid., 215.

"Cultural Ambassadors" in England: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Medieval English Queenship

By
Heather Carter

In *Cultural Ambassadors* Heather Carter exposes the ambitions and motivations behind medieval royal marriages. Carter focuses on the cross-cultural influences that resulted from these unions. Particular attention is paid to Emma of Normandy, Matilda of Scotland, Eleanor of Provence, Eleanor of Castile, and Philippa of Hainault; all queens who maintained a certain sense of self despite being transplanted in a foreign land upon marriage.

Although the romantic wooings of kings was a common theme in the chronicles and biographies of the Middle Ages, royal marriage was rarely entered into for love.[1] Like aristocratic marriage, the couple's parents arranged the union with the objective of political advancement and financial gain for the family.[2] However, royal marriages differed somewhat from aristocratic marriages in the frequency with which royals looked outside their kingdoms' borders for suitable marriage partners. This international marriage brokering occurred for several reasons. First and foremost, international marriages offered opportunities for foreign alliances.[3] For example, when Henry III of England negotiated a marriage alliance between his son Edward and Eleanor of Castile (d.1290), the daughter of Alphonso VIII, Henry's holdings in Gascony experienced the restoration of order and stability by virtue of his new ally beyond the Pyrenees.[4] This improved position in turn led to negotiations with Louis IX which produced the Treaty of Paris in 1259 and the formalization of Henry's rights in Aquitaine.[5] Under certain circumstances, an international marriage could also provide legitimacy. Such was the case in the union between Henry I of England and Matilda of Scotland (d. 1118). Matilda, a daughter of the Anglo-Saxon house of Wessex, strengthened Henry's claim to the throne by associating him with England's traditional ruling family; at the same time, the marriage mollified his English subjects still chafing under the Norman rule imposed on them by his father, William I.[6] Henry and Matilda's marriage thus wed the son of the Conqueror to a direct descendant of



Matilda's English royal family heritage greatly helped her husband, *Henry I, in His Pursuit of the Throne.* C. Warren Hollister, Robert C. Stacey, and Robin Chapman Stacey, eds.

1. Pauline Stafford, *Queens, Concubines, and Dowagers: The King's Wife in the Early Middle Ages* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1983), 33.
2. Lawrence Stone, "Marriage among the English Nobility in the 16th and 17th Centuries," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 2 (January 1961): 187, 189.
3. John Carmi Parsons, "Mothers, Daughters, Marriage, Power: Some Plantagenet Evidence, 1150-1500," in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. John Carmi Parsons (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986), 63.
4. John Carmi Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile: Queen and Society in Thirteenth-Century England* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), 15.
5. Ibid.

Edward the Confessor.[7] Lastly, the royal family's attempt to preserve the balance of power among their nobility provides the final reason as to why royal families looked beyond their borders for marriage partners. If a king were to take a wife from amongst his own nobility he ran the risk of exalting her family, which indeed happened when Henry IV married Elizabeth Woodville (d. 1492). The ambitious, yet impoverished, Woodville family benefited greatly from Elizabeth's royal marriage and consequently gained great unpopularity among the nobility.[8] For example, Henry IV made Elizabeth Woodville's father Treasurer, and her numerous siblings "temporarily corner[ed] the aristocratic marriage market."[9] Furthermore, the king's wife could use her family for political leverage.[10] This was undoubtedly the case with Edith (d. 1075), the consort of Edward the Confessor and the daughter of the most powerful man in eleventh-century England, Godwine of Essex.[11]

Therefore, for reasons including foreign alliances, legitimization, and power relations among the nobility, royal families frequently looked to other kingdoms for their marriage partners. The Middle Ages were a time, aptly described by medievalist John Carmi Parsons, when "sovereign power was conceived as patrimony and a political system organized around male roles was supported by matrimonial alliances among its reigning houses."[12] This international exchange of noblewomen in marriage resulted in the cross-cultural influence these women had on their new homeland. This cross-cultural experience goes deeper than just the meeting of the wife's customs with those of the husband. These foreign brides, many of them the product of an international marriage, were often raised under the multi-cultural influence of their mothers' customs in their fathers' kingdoms. Eleanor of Castile, raised under the French influence of her mother at the court of her father, the king of Castile, provides an excellent example of this force.[13]

This article explores medieval English queenship between the eleventh and the fourteenth centuries, and examines the cross-cultural influences these international dynastic marriages had on medieval England. In particular, the influences of the following queens will be analyzed: Emma of Normandy (d.1052), consort of Cnut I; Matilda of Scotland (d.1118), consort of Henry I; Eleanor of Provence (d. 1290),

6. Cf. Lois L. Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland: A Study in Medieval Queenship* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), 26-8.
7. Ibid.
8. Anne Crawford, ed., *Letters of the Queens of England, 1100-1547* (Dover: Sutton Publishing), 130.
9. Ibid.
10. John Carmi Parsons, "Introduction: Family, Sex, and Power: The Rhythms of Medieval Queenship," in Parsons, *Medieval Queenship*, 4.
11. C. Warren Hollister, Robert C. Stacey, and Robin Chapman Stacey, eds. *The Making of England to 1399*, 8th ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2001), 115. Although no direct evidence survives of Edith using her family connections as political leverage, it is significant that when the family rebelled in 1051, Edith was promptly sent to a convent. Ibid., 116.
12. Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile*, 6.
13. Ibid., 8.

consort of Henry III; Eleanor of Castile (d. 1290), consort of Edward I; and Philippa of Hainault (d. 1369), consort of Edward III. Due to the political and economic resources at their disposal, these queens had the means to not only impact England's culture, but also to transplant their own culture from their homelands. This article begins, however, by questioning the ability of a queen to affect culture in England. Beginning with a brief overview of the particulars of a foreign queen's marriage in xenophobic England, the discussion then moves to the issue of the naturalization efforts undertaken by the queen in an effort to diminish her foreignness. However, the arrival of the queen in England with a substantial retinue made her a considerable cultural force, and despite these various naturalization efforts, the fact that the queen maintained contact with her natal family suggests that she did not forget her cultural background. This article concludes with an examination of these queens' cultural patronage, with particular attention paid to whether their cross-cultural backgrounds influenced the direction of their activities. It should be noted that the term "cultural patronage" is used loosely here to encompass a broad spectrum of patronage ranging from literary pursuits and metalwork to activities that might otherwise be considered more ecclesiastical than cultural in nature, such as the promotion of mendicant orders or acquisition of relics. The fact that the Church was such an integral aspect of medieval culture provides the rationale behind including ecclesiastical patronage in a discussion on culture. Furthermore, in many cases it is difficult to differentiate strictly between cultural patronage and ecclesiastical patronage since many of the cultural items being produced, such as *de luxe* manuscripts and Anglo-Saxon needlework, were given to ecclesiastical institutions. Therefore, this article treats both cultural and ecclesiastical endeavors as one and the same under the term "cultural patronage."

Foreignness and Naturalization

Medieval English queens between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries were for the most part wealthy and powerful women. However, although English queens had both the economic and the political means to exert cultural patronage, the circumstances of their marriages call into question the ability of a foreign queen consort to affect any kind of culture in England, let alone successfully transplant culture from her homeland. These queens married at very young ages, with twelve being the canonically approved age of marriage and consummation.[14] They had to adjust to new languages and customs, and their foreignness made them an object of suspicion and distrust, a "ready-made scapegoat."[15] In fact, the English considered a queen's foreignness to be a liability.[16] Furthermore, as diplomatic brides,

14. Parsons, "Mothers, Daughters, Marriage, Power: Some Plantagenet Evidence," 66.

15. John Carmi Parsons, "Ritual and Symbol in the English Queenship to 1500," in *Women and Sovereignty*, ed. L.O. Fradenburg (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992), 61; Ann Trindade, *Berengaria: In Search of Richard the Lionheart's Queen* (Portland: Four Courts Press, 1999), 116.

these queens often found themselves in hostile circumstances as their marriages were forged in order to smooth out relations between their homelands and England. For example, in commenting upon the marriage between Lord Edward and Eleanor of Castile, thirteenth-century chronicler Matthew Paris observed that Spaniards are "the scum of mankind, that they were ugly in face, contemptible in behavior, and detestable in their morals."[17] Stafford also suggested that Emma's Norman and Danish birth may have been a source of suspicion and difficulty during her first marriage to Aethelred between 1002 and 1016, when England increasingly came under Danish attack.[18] The use of Emma's French reeve Hugh as a scapegoat for the successful Danish attack on Exeter in 1003 supports this conclusion.[19]

Medieval English queens between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries were for the most part wealthy and powerful women.

Steps were taken in England to "naturalize" foreign queens.[20] Sometimes English queens changed their names, as with both Emma of Normandy and Matilda of Scotland. Upon Emma's marriage to Aethelred she altered her name to the more appropriate Anglo-Saxon name Aelfgifu, and Matilda of Scotland, christened "Edith," assumed the Norman name "Matilda" after her marriage.[21] In order to shed some of their "foreignness," medieval English queens consort also firmly associated themselves with dynastic cults such as that of St. Edward.[22] For example, Parsons notes that Eleanor of Castile always accompanied Edward I to Edward the Confessor's shrine and to Bury St. Edmunds, and that she supplied gold to those cults.[23] Furthermore, according to Pauline Stafford, after marriage a queen increasingly identified with her family of adoption.[24] Thus Cnut married Emma not as a Norman but as a member of a sanctified English monarchy.[25]

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16. John Carmi Parsons, "Piety, Power, and the Reputations of Two Thirteenth-Century English Queens," in *Queens, Regents, and Potentates*, ed. Theresa M. Vann (Dallas: Academia, 1993), 111.
17. Matthew Paris, *Chronicle*, vol. 3, trans. J. A. Giles (New York: AMS Press, 1968), 84.
18. Pauline Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1997), 224.
19. Ibid., 220.
20. Parsons, "Ritual and Symbol in the English Queenship to 1500," 61.
21. Lois L. Huneycutt, "'Proclaiming Her Dignity Abroad': The Literary and Artistic Network of Matilda of Scotland, Queen of England 1100-1118," in *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. June Hall McCash (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996), 155; Pauline Stafford, "The Portrayal of Royal Women in England, Mid-Tenth to Mid-Twelfth Centuries," in Parsons, *Medieval Queenship*, 152.
22. Parsons, "Ritual and Symbol in the English Queenship to 1500," 61.
23. Parsons, "Piety, Power, and the Reputations of Two Thirteenth-Century English Queens," 111.
24. Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, 230.
25. Ibid., 228.

The queen's foreignness was considered a liability because of the xenophobic attitudes of the English people. According to D. A. Carpenter, by the mid-thirteenth century there existed a history of resentment towards foreigners in England who held land and office.[26] By 1258, most of the knightly class and the monks who produced the chronicles during this period had been native born for well over a century.[27] Indeed, the chronicler of Bury St. Edmunds, the Dunstable annalist, and Matthew Paris all maintain a strong anti-alien theme throughout their works. In addition to the above mentioned sentiments towards Spaniards, Matthew Paris also complains that Henry III held foreigners in higher esteem than his own subjects and that the king's excitement at the arrival of Eleanor of Provence's uncle detracted from his royal dignity.[28] The chronicler of Bury St. Edmunds reports that the barons argued with Henry III over his granting of lands to aliens, and they disagreed with certain of his actions done on the advice of aliens and the queen.[29] Finally, in an ironic twist due to the queen's own foreign status, the Dunstable annalist calls for both Henry III and Eleanor of Provence to "cleanse England entirely of foreigners."[30] The Dunstable annalist's appeal to the queen to rid the realm of aliens perhaps reflects the queen's identification with her family of adoption rather than her natal family.

While queens identified increasingly with their families of adoption, popular attitudes towards the queen demonstrate that their foreignness could still reflect upon them negatively.

While queens identified increasingly with their families of adoption, popular attitudes towards the queen demonstrate that their foreignness could still reflect upon them negatively. According to Parsons, the acquisition of a great deal of land by Eleanor of Castile caused hostility among the general public.[31] Parsons notes that Eleanor of Castile's foreignness linked her to another foreign group, the Jews, and although through her acquisitions of land she maintained only distant relations with them, the English people perceived a privileged link between the queen and the Jewry.[32] Parsons speculates that due to both of their ties to the Mediterranean, this perceived link fostered the belief among the English that Eleanor favored the Jews almost as fellow countrymen.[33] Eleanor of Provence's reputation among the English people fared no better than Eleanor of Castile's. As the latter's

26. D. A. Carpenter, "King Henry III's 'Statute' against Aliens: July 1263," *The English Historical Review* 107 (October 1992): 925-6.
27. Ibid.
28. Matthew Paris, *Chronicle*, vol. 1, trans. J. A. Giles (New York: AMS Press, 1968), 236.
29. Antonia Gransden, ed. and trans., *The Chronicle of Bury St. Edmunds, 1212 - 1301* (London: Nelson, 1964), 32, 26-7.
30. Cited in Carpenter, 937.
31. Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile*, 149-56.
32. Ibid., 154.
33. Ibid.

reputation rested upon avarice and the acquisition of lands through Jewish usurers, the English people criticized Eleanor of Provence for having too much influence over the king.[34] Matthew Paris's account of an incident involving the lower echelons of London demonstrates her unpopularity in English society. Here the chronicler disparages of Eleanor of Provence's interference with Henry III's apparent decision to observe the barons' Provisions of Oxford in 1264, complaining:

> ... the queen, instigated by woman's malice, did all in her power to prevent his [observance of the provisions made at Oxford]. In consequence of this conduct, when, on one occasion, she wished to go to Windsor by way of the Thames, and had embarked in a vessel for the purpose, a mob of the lower orders of the city assembled on a bridge under which she would have to pass, received her on her approach with mingled insults and curses, and by throwing mud and stones into the vessel, compelled her to return to the Tower.[35]

During the same year, the Bury St. Edmunds chronicles also recorded an incident vilifying the queen. According to this source, when Eleanor of Provence heard that after being captured by the barons at the battle of Lewes, Henry III swore "of his own free will" to follow the Provisions of Oxford, she amassed a large army from overseas with the intentions of invading England. An English army, however, guarded the coast apparently by order of the king and the barons, and the "enemy" seemed too afraid to set sail. The chronicler of St. Edmunds concludes that "It should be remembered that England would have been captured by foreigners if the seas had not been protected."[36] Here the chronicler portrays the queen graphically as a foreigner working against the king and trying to invade England with an army of foreigners, when in actual fact she worked in collusion with the king.[37] This incident provides a classic example of using the foreign queen as a scapegoat for unpopular decisions made by the king. This is not to say, however, that these opinions were exclusive of all foreign queens. The English people held both Matilda of Scotland and Philippa of Hainault in high esteem.[38]

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34. Parsons, "Piety, Power, and the Reputations of Two Thirteenth-Century English Queens," 108; Parsons, "The Queen's Intercession in Thirteenth-Century England," in *Power of the Weak*, eds. Jennifer Carpenter and Sally-Beth MacLean (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 149.
35. Paris, *Chronicle*, vol. 3, 341.
36. Gransden, ed. and trans., 29.
37. For details of Eleanor of Provence's involvement in the events surrounding the Provisions of Oxford and the battle of Lewes, see Margaret Howell, *Eleanor of Provence: Queenship in Thirteenth-Century England* (Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 2001), 152-255.
38. Cf. Parsons, "Piety, Power, and the Reputations of Two Thirteenth-Century English Queens," 118; W. M. Ormrod, "The Personal Religion of Edward III," *Speculum* 64 (October 1989): 850; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings*, vol. 1, ed. and trans. by R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 757.

Retinue and Homeland Connections

These queens came to a xenophobic England at a very young age and had to learn new languages and customs while negotiating potentially hostile conditions. Despite naturalization efforts to make queens more suitable, their foreignness remained an ever-ready excuse for vilifying their actions. Under these circumstances, it seems unlikely that an English queen consort seeking to shed her immigrant status in her new country would want to, let alone be able to, transplant culture from her homeland into England. However, these women should not be underestimated. Countering their youth and the liability of their foreignness, these women were of high rank in their own right, born to marry princes or kings, and raised as such in a courtly atmosphere which accustomed them to the exercise of power.[39] Furthermore, the fact that these women did not move to England alone made their cultural transplantation plausible. These women were in fact veritable cultural forces who moved to England along with family, attendants, and servants, which included poets and musicians among their ranks.[40]

While nothing describing Emma's retinue survives to this day, save the mention of her unfortunate French reeve who was blamed for the Danish attack on Exeter in 1003, a twelfth-century comparison between the followers who accompanied Empress Matilda (not to be confused with Matilda of Scotland) to Germany with those who had come with Emma suggests that Emma did bring a contingent with her.[41] And while the silence of the sources on Emma's retinue may be seen as one side of the extreme, the followers of Eleanor of Provence certainly constitute the other extreme. According to Matthew Paris, Eleanor of Provence's retinue "consisted of more than three hundred horsemen, not including the people who followed them in great numbers."[42] While one can consider this number the exaggeration typical in eyewitness accounts, it may not be an overstatement by much. The massive influx of French relatives that came with Eleanor of Provence is largely responsible for the anti-alien sentiments found in the thirteenth-century chronicles. According to Margaret Howell, in the decade after 1246, she became the figurehead of a very large expatriate community of her Savoyard relatives.[43] Nearly 200 of Eleanor's Savoyard relatives visited England, with roughly 70 of them settling, while the rest returned to the continent with pensions from Henry III.[44] Under these circumstances, she had a

39. Anne Duggan, introduction to *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne Duggan (Rochester: Boydell Press, 1997), xxi.

40. Stafford, *Queens, Concubines, and Dowagers: The King's Wife in the Early Middle Ages*, 40; Crawford, ed, 14.

41. Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, 111, 220.

42. Paris, *Chronicle*, vol. 1, 8.

43. Howell, 49.

44. H. W. Ridgeway, "Foreign Favourites and Henry III's Problems of Patronage, 1247-1258," *The English Historical Review* 104 (July 1989): 590.

substantial impact on England's cultural milieu. Howell noted the impact of Eleanor's relations, commenting that:

> The stimulus which came from the French court has long been recognized, but stress is now being laid on the multiplicity of sources of patronage and the rich diversity of ideas which contributed to the full artistic achievements of England in the second half of the thirteenth century. In this, the debt to the households of the Savoyard and Lusignan incomers was probably substantial. The factors forming the taste of Eleanor of Provence were intricately cosmopolitan.[45]

The factors forming the taste of Eleanor of Provence were intricately cosmopolitan.

The cosmopolitan influence of Eleanor resulted from a marriage merging the heritage of two distinct French counties. Her daughter-in-law's influence was even more pronounced as the product of a Castilian-Ponthevin marriage. The influence of the French court continued through the reign of Eleanor of Castile as she, like Eleanor of Provence, favored her maternal relatives.

Matthew Paris marked Eleanor of Castile's arrival into England with suspicion and dislike. In his *Chronicle*, he records that "Eleanor, the sister of the king of Spain, and wife of Edward, arrived at Dover in great pomp and with such a numerous retinue that their arrival was looked upon with suspicion by all England, and fears were entertained that the country would be forcibly taken possession of by them."[46] A Castilian embassy headed by her half-brother Sancho, preceded Eleanor to London, and the English found the Castilians pretentious and vulgar, as demonstrated by Paris' scathing remarks about the Spanish decorations of her apartments which "excited the laughter and derision of the people."[47] Some scholars contend that although foreign queens arrived with large numbers of attendants from their homelands, these attendants usually returned home as soon as possible. For instance, Crawford argues that at the most a foreign queen retained one or two ladies from her homeland.[48] This was not the case with Eleanor of Castile whose 1290 household account lists at least ten relations within her household.[49] According to Parsons, she usually favored her non-Spanish relatives in order to avoid creating the impression of following in the footsteps of Eleanor of Provence.[50] However, she did bring in paternal relatives from her father's sister Berengaria of Leon who, along with her mother's relations, she advanced vigorously.[51] Indeed, Parsons notes that "[t]he presence of Castilians and Picards in Eleanor's household suggests that her background influenced her choice of workers, and her origins were reflected as well

45. Howell, 82.
46. Paris, *Chronicle*, vol. 3, 135.
47. Ibid.; Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile*, 18.
48. Crawford, ed., 11.
49. John Carmi Parsons, ed., *The Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile in 1290* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1977), 52-3.
50. Ibid., 54.
51. Ibid., 41; Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile*, 35.

in the privileges she obtained in the later 1260s for Castilian and Ponthevin merchants trading in England."[52]

Large numbers of Hainaulters apparently also accompanied Philippa of Hainault to England.[53] In his *Chronicles*, Froissart mentions that her ladies came from Hainault, as did at least one of her knights.[54] According to Jean Devaux, Edward III materially rewarded many knights and esquires from Hainault including Michel de Ligne, Robert de Fiennes, Nicolas d'Aubrecicourt, as well as the seneschal of the crown prince's household, Guillaume de Saint-Omer.[55] Indeed, Philippa of Hainault continuously welcomed those from Hainault to her court in England throughout her life, and she established a cloth-manufacturing colony of Hainaulters in Norwich in 1335.[56]

Foreign queens did indeed move to England with a substantial number of people from their homelands, suggesting not only the possibility, but probability that the queen and her followers successfully transplanted aspects of their native culture into England. This case is made stronger by the fact that these queens most likely remained in contact with their natal families after their marriage. According to Parsons, "[The queens'] activities before marriage linked them closely to the interests of their family; it is far from certain that they forgot ties to homeland and family that were bases of influence to them in their new homes, and still less that their parents wrote them off after marriage."[57] Indeed, the chronicler of Bury St. Edmunds notes the presence of "the most influential men of England *and France*" at Eleanor of Provence's funeral in 1291, which clearly suggests that she never lost contact with her natal family and connections during the fifty-five years or so that she spent in England.[58] The fact that Eleanor of Provence maintained her household in France from 1263 to 1265 supports this suggestion.[59] According to Lois L. Huneycutt, although her brother provided aid to Aethelred's enemies, Emma of Normandy also maintained her ties to her Norman family enough that she fled to Normandy from 1013 to 1014.[60] Emma preserved these connections during the reign of Cnut, demonstrated by the fact that Emma's family constantly received patronage from the royal couple.[61] This brings us to the subject of the queen's patronage, which reveals most clearly the degree of the queen's cultural influence in England.

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52. Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile*, 28.
53. Jean Devaux, "From the Court of Hainault to the Court of England: The Example of Jean Froissart," in *War, Government and Power in Late Medieval France*, ed. C. T. Allemand (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 7.
54. Jean Froissart, *Chronicles*, ed. and trans. Geoffrey Brereton (London: Penguin Books, 1968), 418, 470.
55. Devaux, 7.
56. Ibid., 18; Crawford, ed., 94.
57. Parsons, "Mothers, Daughters, Marriage, Power: Some Plantagenet Evidence," 71.
58. Gransden, ed. and trans, 98.
59. Crawford, ed., 53. Emphasis added.
60. Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland*, 41.
61. Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, 148-9.

Patronage

Any discussion involving the cultural influences of English queens must take into account their patronage. At its most basic level, cultural patronage can be defined as "the support or backing of a prosperous or powerful benefactor for an artist, an artifact, or an institution in the form of gifts, money (sometimes in the form of an household position for an artist), political influence, personal encouragement or assistance in helping to gain currency for a particular work, idea, or project."[62] The ability to practice patronage was a key feature of English queenship during the Middle Ages. One of the few spheres of influence that sanctioned a public role for women, cultural patronage was therefore exploited by noble women in general and queens in particular.[63] According to historian June Hall McCash, there existed different degrees of cultural patronage: queens could be active participants in the creative process, "directing writers or artists to sources and prescribing subjects and interpretations," or queens could play a more inactive role by compensating artists for work already completed.[64] In either case, a queen's patronage reveals her personal tastes and interests, and unique cross-cultural aspects are likely to come into play. Finally, tracing a queen's patronage discerns her cultural impact because, in the words of Anne Crawford, "where the queen led, others followed."[65]

According to Stafford, the greater part of Emma of Normandy's patronage dates to the period of her marriage to Cnut, between 1017 and 1035. Well known for the giving of textiles, relics, and manuscripts, she is particularly associated with the *de luxe* illuminated manuscripts, intended as gifts for both English and foreign churches.[66] Originally produced in Peterborough, these manuscripts went to recipients throughout England including York, Canterbury, London, New Minster, and Bury, as well as beyond the borders into Germany, Scandinavia, and France.[67] These foreign recipients are significant because they imply a degree of cultural cross-fertilization between England and the continent, with the queen serving as the hub. Matilda of Scotland also participated in this type of activity. Whether Emma's Norman background played any role in her choice to use these manuscripts as vehicles for her

These foreign recipients are significant because they imply a degree of cultural cross-fertilization between England and the continent, with the queen serving as the hub.

62. June Hall McCash, "The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women: An Overview," in *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. June Hall McCash (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996), 1.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid., 3-4.
65. Crawford, ed., 14.
66. Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, 232, 143-4.
67. Ibid.

patronage is unclear, but the fact that Cnut is also associated with the Peterborough manuscripts suggests that their common Danish background may have played a role.[68] Other records of Emma's patronage reveal that she gave a gold and silver shrine to the church at Abingdon, and Canterbury recorded that Emma gave a gold cup, two altar cloths, two copes with gold tassels, and a golden ornamented text.[69] An 1134 inventory at Ely describes the gifts of precious textiles given by Emma to the church, adorned in silver and gold and precious stones.[70]



Eleanor of Castille's literary activity illustrates a connection to her Castilian heritage.Source: Anne Crawford, ed., *Letters of the Queens of England, 1100 – 1547.*

Emma of Normandy's acquisition and redistribution of relics made up another interesting and somewhat bizarre element of her patronage. For example, she bought the body of St. Bartholomew from the bishop of Benevento and then gave most of it to Christ Church Canterbury while keeping an arm for herself. She also bought the body of St. Ouen in Rouen and then gave the body to Canterbury and kept the head for herself.[71] An account of Emma's patronage leads one to believe that she strongly favored ecclesiastical institutions. Two reasons existed for this: first of all, the English church during the reign of Cnut was recovering from the brutal Viking invasions suffered under Aethelred, and it had a great need of patronage to finance rebuilding projects and replace church ornaments, books, and vestments;[72] the second reason for Emma's apparent favor of ecclesiastical institutions was the likelihood that written records of the queen's gifts would be kept, whether by a chronicler or simply a clerk recording the church's inventory. Furthermore, ecclesiastical donations remained popular throughout the Middle Ages because in return for the various gifts they received, ecclesiastical recipients would keep the benefactors "alive" in their prayer memory. In any case, as Emma is remembered as one of the great patrons of the eleventh century, one can be certain that the surviving record of her patronage represents only a fraction of her activities.

Like Emma, most records involving Matilda of Scotland's patronage are ecclesiastical.[73] Matilda's patronage in both crafts and literature clearly reflected her Anglo-Saxon heritage. In particular, she favored the needlework and metalwork in which her Anglo-Saxon ancestors had

68. Ibid.
69. Ibid.
70. Ibid.
71. Ibid., 144. She later gave the head to New Minster.
72. Ibid., 148.
73. Huneycutt, "'Proclaiming her dignity abroad': The Literary and Artistic Network of Matilda of Scotland, Queen of England 1100-1118," 158.

excelled.[74] And like Emma's continental patronage, Matilda imparted gifts of metalwork and needlework to particular continental correspondents and institutions.[75] For example, Matilda sent a set of church bells to Bishop Ivo of Chartres and a pair of brass candlesticks to Bishop Heldebert of Lavardin for the alter of LeMans Cathedral.[76] In return, the continental recipients of Matilda's patronage would often reward or encourage her gifts by presenting her with panegyric poetry or epistles that helped spread her reputation as a patron of song.[77] William of Malmesbury disapproved of this form of patronage, complaining:

> ... happy he thought himself, the man who came to please his lady's ear with a new song. Nor were they the only recipients of her bounty; it went to all sorts of men, especially foreigners, who might accept her presents and then advertise her fame in other countries. [...]. Hence it was, they say - and indeed it is true - that our lady was beguiled into sweetening with presents all the foreigners she could.[78]

In any case, Huneycutt calls this reciprocal relationship a three-way patronage network between Matilda and the Anglo-Saxon artisans and the continental churchmen.[79] Matilda's Anglo-Saxon background is also prevalent in the literary works she commissioned which honor the history of pre-Conquest England. Her most famous commission, William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, or *The Deeds of the Kings of England*, is, according to Huneycutt, "considered even today as the finest piece of historical writing in England since the days of the Venerable Bede."[80] In addition to Malmesbury's work, Matilda also commissioned an Anglo-Norman version of *The Voyage of St Brendan,* which introduced the popular saint to an Anglo-Norman audience.[81] Thus, Matilda of Scotland most certainly impacted the culture of medieval England by patronizing arts that celebrated her Anglo-Saxon heritage.

According to Howell, thirteenth-century Provence was steeped in a distinctive culture influenced by the conventions of the troubadours, a culture which had already passed in the rest of Europe.[82] These conventions were evident in Eleanor of Provence's favored literature, especially romances based on both classical and Arthurian themes.[83] Rewritten in the vernacular especially for the queen, the list of heroes in John of Howden's Anglo-Norman version of *Rossignos* reflects Eleanor's interest in romances.[84] She also patronized the Dominicans and the Franciscans, although most devoted to the latter. This was definitely due to the influence of the court of her father, Raymond-Beren-

74. Ibid., 159.
75. Ibid.
76. Ibid., 160.
77. Ibid., 159.
78. William of Malmesbury, 757.
79. Ibid.
80. Ibid., 164.
81. Ibid.
82. Howell, 6-7.
83. Ibid., 83.
84. Ibid.

gar V, which welcomed both orders and was much closer than England to the cultural environment of early Franciscan preaching.[85] Nonetheless, Eleanor demonstrated her patronage of both by her foundation of a Dominican house at Guildford in 1275 in memory of her grandson Henry.[86] Reasons for her decision to found a Dominican house instead of one for her preferred Franciscans may be due to the fact that the boy's mother and current queen consort, Eleanor of Castile, favored the former.

Eleanor of Castile formed her fondness for the Dominicans at the Castilian court of her youth where the Preachers most likely taught her as a child.[87] According to Parsons, "[i]n supporting the Preachers in England, then, this Castilian-born queen was realizing the tasks of cultural transplantation, critical to alliance formation, that were among a royal wife's essential functions - or roles."[88] This cultural transplantation includes the fact that Eleanor most likely used the Dominicans to educate her children, the cultural impact of which multiplied with the numerous wards taught alongside the royal children.[89] Thus Eleanor's decision to use the same order of friars that educated her affected England by means of the forty-six wardships she held.[90]

Eleanor had in her service the only personal *scriptorium* at a northern European court during this period.

Most well known for her literary activity, Eleanor had in her service the only personal *scriptorium* at a northern European court during this period. The regularity of items for bookmaking purchased at scattered locations suggests that the *scriptorium* traveled with the queen's court while steadily producing books for the queen.[91] Eleanor's literary activity was most likely credited to the court of her father and brother (respectively, Ferdinand III and Alphonso X), the most cosmopolitan and "aggressively literary" European court at that time, where she had passed her formative years.[92] Furthermore, the fact that she continued to exchange literary works with her brother suggests that her adjustment to English life did not include the elimination of the Castilian literary.[93] This point is furthered by the fact that two of the works attributed to Eleanor's patronage, an Anglo-Norman version of the medieval bible of chivalry, Vegetius' *De Re Militari*, and Archbishop John Pecham's

85. Ibid., 8.
86. Ibid., 282.
87. Parsons, "Piety, Power, and the Reputations of Two Thirteenth-Century English Queens," 122.
88. Ibid.
89. Ibid.; Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile*, 9.
90. Cf. ibid., 158-97.
91. John Carmi Parsons, "Of Queens, Courts, and Books: Reflections on the Literary Patronage of Thirteenth Century Plantagenet Queens," in *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. June Hall McCash (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996), 178.
92. Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile*, 9; Parsons, "Of Queens, Courts, and Books," 177.
93. Parsons, "Of Queens, Courts, and Books," 177.

Hierarchia, both shift toward "the idiom of law and history current at the Castilian court of Eleanor's youth."[94]

Like Eleanor of Castile, Philippa of Hainault's literary endeavors and her background played a significant role in her patronage. She is, perhaps, most well known for being the patron of Jean Froissart, the chronicler of the Hundred Years' War, who began as a clerk in the queen's chamber and her personal poet.[95] Philippa's Hainaulter background also played a role in her *use* of patronage, demonstrated by her adoption of a tradition from Hainault in the granting of the semi-official role of "personal poet." During the first half of the fourteenth century the role of the jongleur and the minstrel went through a period of change where they graduated from court entertainers to men of letters. Count William I of Hainault was one of the first to support this development, and it Philippa naturally promoted this change of status in England.[96] Philippa acted as Froissart's patron between 1361 and 1369, during which time he began to write his famous prose chronicles.[97]

Other artists joined Froissart at Philippa's court. The minstrel Jean de la Mote, also from Hainault, composed the *Regret Guillaume* in 1339 at the request of the queen. Devaux also believes that Chaucer likely made his literary debuts within the queen's court. Although not a Hainaulter himself, Chaucer married one of Philippa's maids of honor, Philippa Paon de Roet.[98] Devaux even goes so far as to suggest that personalities from Hainault may have found their way into Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. For example, the queen's sister Elizabeth retired to the convent of Stratford at Bow, the same house to which Chaucer's prioress belonged, and the monk, "for more than one reason," could very likely represent a prestigious figure from Hainault by the name of Jean le Bel.[99] Besides her literary interests, Philippa also commissioned illuminated manuscripts and a realistic and unflattering tomb effigy for herself, which had considerable influence on effigies in England.[100]

Several things can be determined from this brief account of the patronage exercised by these queens. First of all, their backgrounds played a strong role in their choice of patronage. From Matilda of Scotland's patronage of Anglo-Saxon crafts to Eleanor of Castile's promotion of Dominican friars, queen consorts expressed their heritage and cultural backgrounds in their various projects. Secondly, these queens did not limit their patronage to England and therefore the cross-cultural ramifications became much broader. An Anglo-Saxon queen, such as Matilda of Scotland, no longer imported her culture simply to an Anglo-Norman aristocracy, but also to the continent. Therefore, it can be stated with confidence that these queens exerted a cultural force within England, and that their

94. Ibid., 179-80.
95. Devaux, 16.
96. Ibid., 16.
97. Juliet Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry: Chivalric Society and its Context, 1270-1350* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1982), 42.
98. Devaux, 17.
99. Ibid., 18.
100. Vale, 47.



The somewhat unflattering tomb effigy that Phillipa of Hainault commissioned for herself caused a trend in naturalistic tomb effigies amongst the fourteenth-century English aristocracy. Anne Crawford, ed., *Letters of the Queens of England, 1100 – 1547.*

influence bore strong cross-cultural overtones. Perhaps one of the next steps in future research will be to step outside of England and map their cross-cultural influences throughout Europe.

Conclusion

The need for foreign alliances and a balance of power among the nobility caused royal families across Europe to frequently look beyond their borders for marriage partners. This resulted in an exchange of noblewomen on an international scale, women who Susan Groag Bell has termed "cultural ambassador[s]."[101] By looking at five such cultural ambassadors in England, this article explored the ability of foreign queens to be cultural influences in England's xenophobic environment, and whether their cross-cultural backgrounds influenced the direction of their patronage. The circumstances of foreign queens' marriages call into question their ability to affect culture in England. Married at a young age, they had to adjust to new languages and customs in an often hostile environment. Their foreignness made them objects of suspicion, and steps were taken in England to naturalize them. Part of these naturalization efforts included the identification of these foreign queens with their families of adoption rather than their natal families. Sometimes these queens took new names considered more suitable for their new homelands. Being raised in an atmosphere that accustomed these high-ranked women to the exercise of power countered many of the obstacles that befell them in England. These women's relocation to England with large entourages from their homelands made their cultural transplantation feasible. These queens also remained in contact with their natal families, suggesting that

101. Susan Groag Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture," in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, eds. Mary Erter and Maryanne Kowalski (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988), 173.

they did not turn their backs on their culture and heritage.

After determining the likelihood for cultural transplantation to take place, a brief exploration into the patronage practiced by these queens revealed the nature of their cultural influences. The ability to practice patronage became a key feature of English queenship during the Middle Ages, and their backgrounds played a strong role in the direction of their patronage. Matilda of Scotland favored Anglo-Saxon crafts, Philippa of Hainault employed artists from Hainault, and Eleanor of Provence supported the mendicant orders prevalent at the Provencal court, as did Eleanor of Castile with her promotion of the Dominicans. Consequently, these queens represented a cultural force within England, and that their influence was strongly cross-cultural.

This article concentrated primarily on the influences of these foreign queens' homelands, but since many were the product of diplomatic marriages, their identification with the culture of their mothers should be explored further. The fact that mothers oversaw their girls' educations, and thus naturally influenced their daughters, suggest a matrilineal inheritance of culture that warrants further research. By the same token, another avenue for further research would be an exploration of styles of queenship from mother to daughter and its cross-cultural implications. For example, Matilda of Scotland was a particularly active queen politically, which, according to Huneycutt, she may have learned from her mother, Margaret of Scotland.[102] Finally, the patronage networks of Matilda, as outlined by Huneycutt, warrants exploration into other queens, taking into account the queens' capacities to export their own culture beyond England as well as import foreign cultures other than their own.[103]

The foreign queen's transplantation of her culture to England proves difficult to quantify. A record of her patronage can reveal that she did indeed maintain the styles and tastes from her native country, but many other venues of cultural transplantation lie outside of the patronage system. For example, Eleanor of Castile's Castilian background influenced her dietary choices as well as the way she decorated her apartments.[104] Eleanor also carried royal burial traditions to England which influenced Westminster Abbey's evolution into a royal pantheon.[105] With the exception of the burial practices, a queen's influence is difficult to gauge. Nevertheless, the records of their patronage demonstrate that transplantation of culture did take place, and the mere fact that citizens imitated their queen, simply because of her status, suggests their success at cultural transplantation.

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102. Huneycutt, "Intercession and the High-Medieval Queen: The Esther Topos," in Carpenter and MacLean, *Power of the Weak*, 134.

103. Huneycutt, "'Proclaiming her dignity abroad': The Literary and Artistic Network of Matilda of Scotland, Queen of England 1100-1118," 155-74.

104. Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile*, 54; Parsons, *The Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile in 1290*, 12.

105. Parsons, "Mothers, Daughters, Marriage, Power: Some Plantagenet Evidence," 75.

Chartering the Modern State University and the Seeds of Bureaucratic Management in Europe

By
Dan McClure

Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick II, created the background for the concept of nationalism with his charter for the University of Naples. Dan McClure skillfully links an analysis of Frederick's innovative document with a reconstruction of Frederick's concept of the state based on administrators and laymen rather than feudal barons and church leaders. McClure places the charter within the context of the Italian Renaissance while simultaneously isolating it as a unique recipe for " the rise of the modern, non-aristocratic bureaucrat." Thus, Frederick's leadership and insights in the past demarcate the boundaries for political entities in the present.

> *Of faith in God, Frederick had none; he was crafty, wily, avaricious, lustful, malicious, wrathful; and yet a gallant man at times, when he would show his kindness or courtesy; full of solace, jocund, delightful, and clever. He knew how to read, write, and sing, and to make songs and music. He was pleasing in appearance, and well-formed, but of middle stature. I have seen him, and once I admired him...*
>
> Salimbene (1221-c. 1288), from "On the Emperor Frederick II"[1]

Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire from 1215 until 1250, Frederick II served as a model of the twelfth-century renaissance leader and administrator. This period of resurgence, between the years 1050 to 1250 (the "long twelfth century"), became noted for its cultural and intellectual transformations across Western Europe.[2] Philosophic ideas wrought from ancient Roman and Greek texts merged during these two-hundred years with contemporary thinking regarding education, law, theology, and the arts, leading to more standardized and logical approaches to thinking. Some medievalists argue against using "renaissance" to describe the twelfth century because the changes appear regional rather than continental in their effect on European society. However, Swanson suggests that definite advances existed within the intellectual and cultural milieu, regardless of their regionalism. Centralization occurred in written communication between governments, courts, and churches as learning centers evolved among different regions of Europe, in part stimulated by the expansion of a cash economy and the competition for services. These small shifts formed the foundations for the more familiar Italian Renaissance.

Exercising power at the height of the twelfth century, Frederick successfully combined the strong-armed rule of the traditional medieval lord with his gift of management, utilizing properly trained administrators to oversee the economic, judicial, and military affairs of his realm. Frederick grew up in the Kingdom of Sicily and became exposed to the Islamic learning that had helped fuel the intellectual advancement of Western Europe during the twelfth-century renaissance.[3] European contact with the Muslim world, in regions such as the Iberian Peninsula, the Kingdom of Sicily, and the Byzantine Empire, resulted in the translation of ancient Greek and Arabic texts into Latin. This contact helped to set the foundations for thirteenth-century intellectual achievements in Western Europe.[4] As a statesman in the Central Middle Ages, he used his knowledge and organizational ability to centralize his power in the southern portion of the Holy Roman Empire, namely the Kingdom of Sicily. There he established

1. Salimbene, "On the Emperor Frederick II," in *Medieval Europe: A Short Sourcebook*, 4th ed., eds. C. Warren Hollister, Joe W. Leedom, Marc A. Meyer, and David S. Spear (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2002), 288.
2. R. N. Swanson, *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), viii.
3. C. Warren Hollister and Judith M. Bennett, *Medieval Europe: A Short History,* 9th ed. (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2002), 224, 261; Salimbene, 289-90.
4. Ibid., 219-24.



Bust believed to be of Frederick II as a young man, found recently in Apulia.Masson, *Frederick II of Hohenstaufen: A Life.*

what historian Georgina Masson calls "the framework of the first modern European state" though his decision to found a university geared specifically for his needs as a ruler.[5] Instead of barons, Frederick chose laymen to oversee the management of the renovated Kingdom of Sicily. This change in the delegation of royal decrees necessitated the training of laymen as administrators, hence the founding of the first state university in Naples during the spring of 1224.[6] This article will examine the various elements of the charter that announced the founding of this university, as well as illustrate how Frederick's decision embodied an element in the breakdown of feudal-obligatory relationships regarding the exercise of power and the rise of the modern, non-aristocratic bureaucrat.

Aside from the first sentence of the contextual section of the charter, there is a notable absence of ecclesiastical influence throughout, exemplifying Frederick's ambivalence toward the Church. Though not explicit, this omission perhaps stemmed from a dispute between the papacy and the Holy Roman Emperors over the rule of the Italian peninsula, which both Frederick II and his predecessor Otto of Brunswick refused to relinquish to the church.[7] Establishing a university in Naples provided Frederick with a secular institution to train prospective bureaucrats to administer his kingdom. Historian R. N. Swanson notes that unlike most medieval universities, the institution at Naples did not evolve from a school. Instead, Frederick specifically founded the university to train administrators and jurists for the southern kingdom.[8] For the purpose of this article, the charter will be referred to as *University at Naples*. This charter contains two main sections; it begins with the *protocol* and is followed by the expansive context which makes up the bulk of the charter.

In the *Protocol* of *University at Naples*, Frederick II began in a hurried fashion, shortening his title to "et cetera," instead of his assumed title, the Holy Roman

5. Georgina Masson, *Frederick II of Hohenstaufen: A Life* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1957), 78; Ibid., 98 discusses a plan formulated in 1220 at Capua to organize the Kingdom of Sicily into a centrally administrated state.

6. Ibid., 98.

7. Hollister and Bennett, 260-2. The church excommunicated both Otto and Frederick for insolence.

8. Swanson, 31-4.

Emperor and the King of Sicily.[9] By taking out his immediate title of "Holy Roman Emperor" Frederick eliminated any acknowledgement of the Pope's authority over his ruling legitimacy. More importantly, in his effort to create a university outside the influence of the church, Frederick also left out the *invocatio* (the action of invoking the presence of God). The emperor's name at the beginning and his shortened title, as well as the *inscriptio* (which contains the addressees of the charter), explicitly set the secular tone of the charter. The wide range of recipients of *University at Naples*, which reads, "archbishops, bishops, priests, counts, barons, judges, executors of justice, bailiffs, and all authorities of the kingdom of Sicily, et cetera," illustrates Frederick's desire to have the contents of this charter widely and efficiently disseminated throughout southern Italy.[10]

The purpose of the charter, or the context, is described in the next section of *University at Naples.* Within the context, Frederick used the *arenga* to address the broad political issue facing the Kingdom of Sicily. It is here that Frederick described the origin of his authority, stating, "With the favor of God, thanks to whom we live and reign, and to whom we attribute all good deeds done by us."[11] He also attached divine influence to his plan to make the kingdom "wise and knowledgeable," through access to education, in order to "serve divine justice," becoming administrators of such justice and "of the laws which we urge everyone to obey."[12] With the support of God, whilst ignoring papal authority and legitimacy, Frederick proposed in the *dispositio* the establishment of the first modern university in the "most pleasant city of Naples."[13]

The charter that proposed the university in Naples described the university as an opportunity for perspective students and scholars to stay in the kingdom instead of being "forced, in their search for knowledge, to become pilgrims and to beg in foreign lands."[14] The emphasis on keeping university attendees in the area follows Frederick's program of building efficient administrators for the kingdom by providing an institution of learning that might counter the lure of other foreign universities such as Paris or Bologna.[15] Also, the act of forming a university under his sponsorship gave Frederick the opportunity to organize the scope of learning in Naples that fit his royal agenda, outside the watchful eye of the papacy.

The major text of the charter contains enticements and potential benefits of attending the university in Naples. Frederick's first incentive proposed the possibility of acquiring wealth after the completion of schooling. He stated, "since the acquisi-

9. Frederick II, *University at Naples*, 1. All numbers in charter citations designate the line of the charter from where the quote or information originated in *Lictere Generales*, http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/1224fred2-lictgen.html (accessed 4 April 2004); Hollister and Bennett, 260-2.
10. Frederick II, 1.
11. Frederick II, 2-3.
12. Ibid., 3-5.
13. Ibid., 5.
14. Ibid., 6-7.
15. Swanson, 31-3.

tion of what is good [wealth] cannot be sterile, and will be followed by nobility, the halls of the tribunals, wealth, and the grace and favors of friendship."[16] Frederick also promised those who completed schooling employment as an administrator of justice.[17] Thirdly, Frederick made a pledge for affordable housing and a comfortable lifestyle in *University at Naples*, stating one can "live in a place where everything is in abundance, where the homes are sufficiently spacious, [and] where the customs of everyone are affable."[18] The final major selling point directed toward potential students came with the assignment of Roffredo of Benevento to the university, who Frederick described as "a faithful judge, professor of civil rights a, man of great science and proven loyalty."[19] Masson portrays Roffredo as "the most eminent [teacher] money could buy."[20] The promise to future students of a well-known teacher and the lure of future success and wealth through their own efforts illustrates Frederick's acknowledgement, conscious or unconscious, of the changing structures of the increasingly complicated European world and the fading reliance on the church and traditional nobility to administer regions.[21]



A Saracen notary at the Norman-Sicilian court. Thomas Curtis Van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen Immutator Mundi* .

Simply put, due to the relatively new concept of laymen ascendance in society (i.e. social mobility) and the fact that other universities started sprouting up in areas more well known, Frederick needed to skillfully advertise this new opportunity to the subjects of the Kingdom of Sicily. Furthermore, he stressed the novel idea that birth no longer dictated social status as it had in previous centuries.[22]

After Frederick propagated the incentives for students to seek their education at the future university, he then asked all recipients of *University at Naples* to publicize the fine attributes of the university to "all and everywhere."[23] After this state-

16. Frederick II, 7-8.
17. Ibid., 9-10.
18. Ibid., 11-2.
19. Ibid., 15-6.
20. Masson, 98. As a "master," Roffredo fits into the changing pattern of educational structures occurring throughout Swanson's "long twelfth century" (1050-1250), including the new distinctions among teachers who were "gaining key posts." Swanson, 39.
21. Swanson, 1-11.
22. Ibid., 31-4.

ment, Frederick's benevolent disposition toward his subjects' well being disappeared, followed by words that illustrate his dictatorial – in the modern sense of the word – passion for ruling. He continued:

> and to command, under danger of persons and goods, that no student will dare leave the kingdom for reasons of study and that no one dare to teach in other places of the kingdom. And that, through their parents, you order to those students who are outside the kingdom, to return here by the feast of St Michael.[24]

Illustrating Frederick's penchant for the subliminal, these lines make it absolutely clear that the Kingdom of Sicily's prospective students must attend the proposed university in Naples with ample retribution if needed. This sudden switch to a tyrannical attitude was followed by another sweep back toward the benevolent when *University at Naples*, again, made more promises to the kingdom's inhabitants. These included the availability of an adequate faculty, a safe stay in Naples for students, more assurances for decent and inexpensive housing, and loans for expenses.[25] In light of these enticements, benefits, and threats, Frederick concluded that the proposed university at Naples – the only educational facility legally available as far as the charter was concerned – invited students to attend the school while promising to "respect these conditions, to honor [their] persons, and to order universally that [the students] should be honored by all."[26] Frederick's conclusion of the charter marks a return to his earlier benevolence, elevating the prospective student to the status envisioned at the beginning of the *dispositio*, as if to say in modern ad-speak: "This successful, university-educated administrator position could be you!"

In the midst of the rapidly changing society of Western Europe during the twelfth-century renaissance, Frederick II foresaw the modern concept of nationalism developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He sought to elevate his government and realm to a status that redirected the devotion of subjects towards the Holy Roman Empire, and away from the traditions surrounding the nobility, the church, and their inherited rights. By not alluding to the power of the church, and at the same time ordering officials from the church to circulate the contents of this charter, Frederick used *University at Naples* to demonstrate his power over the Kingdom of Sicily. He did this by treating the church officials as simple messengers, and by making the nobility aware of their obsolescence as administrators. Finally, *University at Naples* served as an advertisement for all inhabitants of the Kingdom of Sicily to venture to Naples where quality education, first-rate faculty members, and an affordable and comfortable lifestyle awaited all students.

23. Frederick II, 17.
24. Ibid., 17-20.
25. Ibid., 21-5.
26. Ibid., 29.

"Crawling Monsters" at the Byzantine Court: Liudprand of Cremona's Letter Home

by Heather Carter

Completing one of the most important tasks that a historian must, Heather Carter analyzes a primary source. *Crawling Monsters* is a study of a tenth century letter written by Liudprand, Bishop of Cremona, to Otto I, the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. Carter summarizes the contents and intent of this letter, which highlights the tensions between the Eastern and Western empires.

In the summer of 968, Liudprand, Bishop of Cremona (d. 972), was sent out on a diplomatic mission to Constantinople by the Western Emperor, Otto I. This was not his first journey to the Bosphorus, as Berengar II of Ivea had sent him to the court of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus nineteen years earlier. The purpose of Liudprand's 968 expedition to Nicephorus II Phocas's court was to secure the hand in marriage of one of Romanus II's daughters for the Western Emperor's son.[1] Unfortunately, Liudprand's mission failed and his treatment at the hands of the Byzantines fell somewhat short of what he expected as a diplomat of the Western Emperor. Liudprand's own eyewitness account of his experiences survives in the form of a letter intended for Otto I.[2] Named for posterity, the *Legatio ad Imperatorem Constantinopolitanum Nicephorum Phocam* is a record of Liudprand's sojourn at Nicephorus II's court. This excerpt of Liudprand's *Legatio* is structured chronologically over the space of four days, beginning with Liudprand's arrival at Constantinople's gate on 4 June 968, and concluding with the events which took place on Pentecost, 7 June 968. The contents deal primarily with a series of verbal confrontations between Liudprand and the Byzantine emperor, which are punctuated by extremely unflattering descriptions of Nicephorus II Phocas and the church procession and feast held on Pentecost.

A major theme of Liudprand's letter is the poor treatment that he received during his stay at Constantinople.

A major theme of Liudprand's letter is the poor treatment that he received during his stay at Constantinople. He begins by informing Otto I that upon their arrival, he and his entourage were made to wait at the city's gates in the rain until five o'clock in the afternoon.[3] Liudprand then reports that when they finally gained admittance through the Carian gate, "Nicephorus ordered us to be admitted on foot, for he did not think us worthy to use the horses with which your clemency had provided us."[4] Liudprand and company were then escorted to the "hateful, waterless, draughty stone house" which was a far cry from the beautiful and spacious Magnavra palace where he had been housed during his previous visit in 949.[5] Liudprand next took offense a few days later when during an audience with the emperor's brother Leo, Otto I was referred to insultingly as "King" (*Rex*) rather than as "Emperor" (*Basileus*).[6] This was a reference to Otto I's former title of king of Italy,

1. Nicephorus II Phocas (r. 963-969) was a general of the Byzantine army who married Romanus II's widow, Theophano, and became co-Emperor with Romanus II's two sons Basil and Constantine who were six and three years old respectively. John Julius Norwich, *A Short History of Byzantium* (New York: Vintage Books, 1997), 187-90; Liudprand of Cremona, *Legatio ad Imperatorem Constantinopolitanum Nicephorum Phocam* (969; excerpts), lines 81-6.
2. Ibid., lines 4, 8-9.
3. Liudprand, *Legatio*, lines 1-2.
4. Ibid., lines 3-4.
5. Ibid., line 5; Liudprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis* (excerpts), lines 1-2.
6. Liudprand of Cremona, *Legatio*, lines 8-9.

and while any emperor would naturally take offense when publicly identified as a mere "king," Otto I may have been particularly sensitive to such an insult. In 951 he had been denied the imperial title by Pope Agapitus II, and wasn't crowned as such until 962 when Pope John VII appealed to Otto I for help against Berengar II.[7] The Byzantines were also reluctant to call their western counterparts "emperors" because, in their view, the Byzantine emperor was the heir of Rome and thus emperor in both the east and the west. After this insult to Otto I's title, Leo accused Liudprand of making problems rather than peace, and then deliberately slighted the diplomats by receiving Otto's letter through an interpreter rather than by his own hand.[8] Liudprand's motives were questioned again on the following day during his interview with Nicephorus when the Byzantine emperor accused him of coming "under the pretence of peace to act *comme un espion*, that is, as a spy upon us."[9] The final insult reported by Liudprand in this excerpt pertained to his place at the table during the Pentecost feast where he sat fifteenth from Nicephorus and without a tablecloth.[10] Liudprand laments that "[n]ot only did no one of my suite sit at table with me; they did not even set eyes upon the house where I was entertained."[11]

Leo accused Liudprand of making problems rather than peace, and then deliberately slighted the diplomats by receiving Otto's letter through an interpreter rather than by his own hand.

Liudprand's poor treatment was due to the tense relationship that existed between East and West and their conflicting interests in southern Italy. Otto I had subjected nearly all of Italy and was interested in establishing an agreement with the Byzantine Empire regarding the possession of those parts of Italy that had not yet fallen to him.[12] Therefore, the dowry for the princess born in the purple was to be the Byzantine Empire's southern possessions in Italy.[13] According to Liudprand, Nicephorus II explained that "[i]t was our duty and our desire to give you a courteous and magnificent reception. That, however, has been rendered impossible by the impiety of your master, who in the guise of an hostile invader has laid claim to Rome; has robbed Berengar and Adalbert of their kingdom contrary to law and right."[14] Being something of an upstart himself, this is an interesting charge coming from Nicephorus. Indeed, Liudprand is careful to mention that while Nicephorus was delivering this speech, at his left "not on a line with him, but much lower down, sat the two child emperors, once his mas-

7. Roger Collins, *Early Medieval Europe, 300-1000*, 2nd ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 402-4.
8. Liudprand, *Legatio*, lines 10-2.
9. Ibid., lines 35-8.
10. Ibid., lines 119-21.
11. Ibid., lines 121-2.
12. George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. Joan Hussey, revised ed. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1999), 291.
13. Ibid.
14. Liudprand of Cremona, *Legatio*, lines 29-33.

ters, now his subjects."[15] Therefore it seems that Liudprand's poor treatment may not have been due so much to Otto I's claim of the throne, as it was to Nicephorus's second accusation which charged Otto I with attempting to "subdue to himself by massacre and conflagration cities belonging to our empire."[16] Nicephorus if referring here to Otto I's very recent, unsuccessful, attack earlier that same year on the Byzantine possession of Bari in southern Italy.[17] Due to the fact that Nicephorus II's claim to the Byzantine throne was not much more legitimate than Otto I's claim to the Western Empire, the salient cause of Liudprand's poor treatment was most likely Otto I's aggression in southern Italy.[18] Indeed, Nicephorus later comments again on Otto I's actions when he begs Liudprand to tell him "how with [Otto's] small forces will he be able to resist me even on land? His son was there, his wife was there; his Saxons, Swabians, Bavarians, and Italians were all there with him: and yet they had not the skill nor the strength to take one little city that resisted them."[19] Furthermore, Otto I had allied himself with the Princes of Capua and Benevento, who were vassals of the Byzantine Empire.[20] Thus it was due to Otto I's activities in southern Italy that Liudprand received less than hospitable treatment.



The crest of the Byzantine Empre, in Marble. *Public domain from Wikipedia online.*

A second major theme of Liudprand's *Legatio* is the ignobility of Nicephorus II Phocas. In several places during this short excerpt, Liudprand launches a veritable diatribe against the person of the Byzantine Emperor. Liudprand begins by describing Nicephorus as "a monstrosity of a man, a dwarf, fat-headed and with tiny moles eyes; disfigured by a short, broad, thick beard half going gray; disgraced by a neck scarcely an inch long, piglike by reason of the close bristles on his head; in color an Ethiopian."[21] According to Liudprand, Nicophorus II Phocas was not a person one would like to meet in the dark.[22] Liudprand is particularly critical of the emperor in his trappings of power, noting that he looked "more disgusting than ever in the regalia that had been designed to suit the persons of his ancestors."[23] Liudprand also

15. Ibid., lines 28-9.
16. Ibid., lines 34-5.
17. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 291; Collins, *Early Medieval Europe, 300-1000*, 407.
18. Nicephorus II's legitimization was through his marriage to Romanus II's widow, Empress Theodora, and Otto's legitimization was through the fact that he was crowned by the pope.
19. Liudprand of Cremona, *Legatio*, lines 134-6.
20. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 291.
21. Liudprand of Cremona, *Legatio*, lines 16-9.
22. Ibid., 19-20.

comments that the singers whose songs compare the emperor to the sun's rays should do better singing, "Come, you miserable burnt-out coal; old woman in your walk, wood-devil in your look; clodhopper, haunter of byres, goat-footed, horned, double-limbed; bristly, wild, rough, barbarian, harsh, hairy, a rebel of Cappadocian!"[24] While Liudprand's comments may be interpreted to some degree as his anger about his mistreatment, one can also detect Liudprand's need to demonstrate to Otto I that the Byzantine Emperor was in no way superior to the Western Emperor. Neither emperor came to power because of their membership in the ruling dynasty, but while Nicephorus Phocas was a "crawling monster," Otto I was "comely," "magnificent," "mighty," "clement," and "virtuous."[25]

As with any eyewitness account, one must evaluate the factual accuracy of the document in question. It is difficult to gauge the truthfulness of Liudprand's letter due to the fact that elements of both truth and fiction appear within his version of events. On the one hand his arguments with the Byzantine emperor seem particularly far-fetched, especially when he purportedly cries out to Nicephorus that there is no greater insult than being called a Roman as "in the word Roman is comprehended every form of lowness, timidity, avarice, luxury, falsehood, and vice."[26] This seems particularly implausible when compared to the account of his first trip to Constantinople where the emperor did not even address him directly, but rather spoke through the intermediary of a secretary.[27] However, certain elements of the *Legatio* do suggest a degree of truthfulness in Liudprand's account. For example, on two separate occasions Liudprand includes Nicephorus's derisive comments about Otto I's failure to capture Bari - a subject bound to displease Otto I.[28] Thus it can be safely concluded that like many other eyewitness accounts, Liudprand's *Legatio* most likely consists of truthful elements as well as some exaggerated incidents.

Liudprand's *Legatio* is a valuable document describing tenth-century Byzantine court life and Western attitudes. The purpose of Liudprand's letter was to inform his masters about his experiences at the Byzantine court while he worked to secure a marriage alliance between the Eastern and the Western Empires. Liudprand's mission as a diplomat, however, failed and perhaps he emphasized his poor treatment and the boorishness of Nicephorus in an attempt to demonstrate the impossibility of his task. While it is clear that anger motivated Liudprand when he penned this letter to Otto I, he may have also been motivated by the fear of coming home empty-handed.

23. Ibid., 102-4.
24. Ibid., 112-4.
25. Ibid., lines 107, 24-7.
26. Ibid., lines 150-1.
27. Liudprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis*, lines 16-8.
28. Liudprand of Cremona, *Legatio*, lines 34-6, 134-6.

Doña Marina: Reconciling History

by
Nestor Rafael Amador

Long viewed as a traitor, Doña Marina was in fact a far more complex individual, as Nestor Rafael Amador demonstrates in his essay. The conflicting views of the mistress and translater for Spanish Conquistador Hernando Cortes demonstrate the complex questions of gender, nationalism and sexuality that swirl around this ambiguous historical figure.



Dona Marina, seen here interpreting between conquistadors and Aztecs. Noel Grove, ed., *National Geographic Illustrated Atlas of History.*

For almost two centuries, beginning in the early 1800s, Mexican nationalists took very seriously the task of depicting Doña Marina, Hernando Cortes' native interpreter and mistress, as a "sell-out, prostitute and traitor" to her native people and Aztec heritage.[1] Part of the reason that these nationalist scholars held Doña Marina in such low esteem is that Marina not only translated for the Spanish conquistador, but she also assisted Cortes in playing people against each other, misleading them to acquire allies, and keeping his potential enemies off balance.[2] Cortes made use of these native allies such as the Tlaxcalans to enlarge his army beyond his four hundred soldiers, eventually defeating the powerful Aztec Empire. These national historians also indicted Marina for being Cortes' "loyal" supporter, and once again, a *traitor.* Furthermore, many historians blamed Marina for giving herself up to Cortes and for procreating the first blood-blended child, the *mestizo.* According to these historians, the *mestizo* was not only the byproduct of the union between the invader Cortes and the sell-out Doña Marina, but also a symbol of Marina's sexual passiveness, and thus a reminder of her treason.[3]

In the mid-1960s, a new wave of historians, known as revisionists, began to reanalyze the history of the conquest of Mexico. These historians could not ignore the role of the controversial native interpreter, Marina; they argued that Doña Marina could not have betrayed her Aztec

1. Doña Marina is the name Bernal Diaz del Castillo gives Cortes' native interpreter in his *Verdadera Historia de la Conquista.* People from Tabasco and Tenochtitlan named her Malitzin (Great Goddess). Some of the native Aztecs also called her Malinche, which is a synonym for captain. Some recent scholars simply refer to her as Marina. In this article she is referred to as Doña Marina unless a direct quote requires otherwise.

2. Susan Schoeder, Stephanie Wood, and Robert Haskett, *Indian Women of Early Mexico* (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), 303.

3. Clara Sue Kidwell, "Indian Women as Cultural Mediators," *Ethnohistory* 39 (Spring, 1992): 99.

people, for she was not an Aztec herself. Although this argument attempted to absolve Marina of the charge of treason, it brought up many other questions regarding Doña Marina's origin and identity. There is no doubt that this native interpreter lacked a sense of identification with the people of Mexico. Furthermore, as revisionist historians considered that Tabascan *caciques* presented the slave Marina to Cortes – as was the natives' way of showing their friendship – two important factors arose.[4] First, Marina's gender, in a patriarchal society, made her easy prey for any male who desired her or wished to get rid of her once she was deemed useless. Second, Marina's position as a slave within the social structures of the native people left her no voice when it came to changing masters. As a native slave, Marina's masters handed her to lords from other tribes and she was supposed to obey her new masters. To fail to follow orders from her masters could have caused the Lords to become irritated and might have resulted in Marina's execution. Thus, considering Marina's gender and social status, what would her destiny have been if Marina had refused to accompany Cortes and remained with the Tabascan people instead?

Without a doubt, Marina's lack of identity, her gender, and her social status, had a significant effect on her forced relationship with the conquistador Hernan Cortes. However, how did these factors play a part in Marina's role as Cortes' translator and concubine? This article asserts that there is a strong correlation between Marina's lack of identity, her gender, and social status, and her role as Cortes' translator and concubine. It will show that Marina's social position left her but two weapons: her mouth and her vagina, which Marina strategically used to help secure daily survival under the mastership of Cortes.

Methodology

The chronicles of those who witnessed the conquistador's journey through Mexico allow a better understanding of Marina's role as interpreter and concubine. These chronicles include those of a Spanish soldier, Bernal Diaz del Castillo; a Franciscan priest, Fray Bernardino de Saghun; and Lopez de Gomara's account of the conquest, just as Cortes dictated it to de Gomara a few decades later. Most importantly, Cortes' letters to the Spanish crown, and Miguel Leon-Portilla's Aztec account of the conquest, depict the victory of the Spaniards as seen through the eyes of the defeated Aztecs. Also, the valuable *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* provides some of the most meaningful depictions of the relationship between Cortes and Marina.[5] These primary sources will certainly facilitate an understanding of the relationship between Cortes and Doña Marina.

Historians who have researched Cortes and Doña Marina have certainly faced challenges. The major difficulty in researching Doña Marina is the limited

4. *Caciques* are chiefs or lords in Mexico; they are usually rulers of villages or communities.

5. The *Tlaxcalan Lienzos* were a number of drawings ordered by the Tlaxcalan Lords. These drawings depicted the arrival of the Spaniards and the subsequent collapse of the Aztec Empire.

amount of sources available, which, although valuable, depict only the male side of the relationship, projecting a gender-biased perspective of Marina's participation in the conquest. The second challenge in researching Doña Marina is the textual style of the sixteenth-century Spanish language which is difficult to decipher. Part one of this article will show how Doña Marina's lack of identity, her gender, and social status contributed to her partnership with the Spanish conquistador Hernan Cortes, while part two will assess how Marina successfully used her linguistic skills and sexuality to secure her survival during the conquest of Mexico.

Historiography

Most of the works regarding Hernan Cortes and Marina address them in a separate fashion, and in most cases, these works emphasize the conquest of Mexico from a military and a religious perspective. (Curiously, these authors have but very few primary sources, the same ones cited above, to support their work.) For instance, Sedgwick Henry, in "*Cortez the Conquistador,*" gave a detailed account of the military conquest of Mexico, from Cortes' first voyage to Cuba, to the fall of Tenochtitlan in 1521. Similarly, the Cline and Cline's edition of *Fray Bernardino de Saghun's Conquest of New Spain* is merely an account of Cortes' military tactics and his religious success in attempting the conversion of the natives. Gurria Jorge, a contemporary historian, took a somewhat different approach from his counterparts. In *Itinerary of Hernan Cortes,* Gurria focused on Cortes' geographical journey on his way to the Aztec capital. Mateo Solana's book, *Don Hernando Cortes,* is unique, although somewhat fictional. Solana added interesting material to the historiography of Cortes, but he went so far as to compare Cortes to Saint Paul, Julius Caesar, Michelangelo and Plato. Solana used these comparisons as parallels to explain Cortes' "greatness."

With regards to Doña Marina, one issue that continues to trouble revisionists as well as traditional historians is the mystery of Marina's birthplace. Most historians associated Doña Marina's knowledge of the Mayan language to support their hypothesis that she was Mayan. However, Jesus Torres Figueroa, in *Doña Marina: Una India Ejemplar*, and Gabriel Garcia de Alba, in *Doana Marina Malitzin o La Malinche Nacio en el Antiguo Reino de Xalisco*, among others, endeavored to convince the public that Doña Marina was actually born in the northern region of Mexico, and therefore was not Mayan. This dilemma regarding Marina's birthplace has no other purpose but to determine whether or not she was a traitor to the Aztec people. However most of the recent literary works on Marina have served as explanations for her partnership with the Spanish conquistador and the supposed treason of her native "heritage." Authors including Sandra Messinger Cyess' *La Malinche in Mexican Literature: From History to Myth*; Susan Schoeder, Stephanie Wood, and Robert Haskett's *Indian Women of Early Mexico;* Frances Karttunen's *Between Worlds: Interpreters, Guides and Survivors*; and John Taylor's "Reinterpreting Malinche," took similar

approaches in order to justify and vindicate Marina in a historical context, without the antagonism and nationalist attitudes that have condemned her for centuries. Again, such vindication is in response to the traditional view, which for centuries has faulted *Malinche* for siding with the invaders. In general, a large number of nationalist historians and writers depicted Marina as a sell-out, prostitute and traitor. This negative approach is found in the works of Octavio Paz' *El Laverinto de la Soledad Y Otras Obras,* which includes Paz's acclaimed essay, *Hijos de la Chingada* ("Sons of the Fucked One"). In this essay, Paz pointed out that Mexicans continue to exercise a "Malinche attitude" every time they give preference to something foreign over the national.

Similarly, feminists and Mexican-American women have greatly contributed to the historiography of La Malinche. The history and mysticism of Doña Marina has, in the words of several Chicana writers, "continuously haunted" Mexican-American women who battle every day with not choosing the white-man and thus becoming another Doña Marina or "traitor" to their Mexican ancestry. This view of not wanting to become another *Malinche* is found in the works of Susan Kellogg's *The Woman's Aspects of Gender Relations in Tenochtitlan in the Late Pre-Hispanic Period*; Jean Wyatt's *On Not Being La Malinche: Border Negotiations in Sandra Cisneros's "Never Marry a Mexican" and "Woman Hollering Creek"*; and Rita Cano Alcala's *From Chingada to Chingona: La Malinche Redefined, Or A Long Line of Hermanas*.

Marina's Identity, Gender, and Social Status

Claims that Marina used her mouth and vagina as the only two weapons that helped her survive the conquest of Mexico in no way provide an allusion to Marina's promiscuity or eroticism, nor do they degrade Marina's or any other female's womanhood, or further label her as a sexual predator. On the contrary, it is an analogous reference to the circumstances that drove this native slave to remain *loyal* to Cortes. The combination of Marina' sex, ethnic group, and social status left her powerless and thus made her easy prey of the conquistador. Her situation as a social outcast made it easier for Cortes to enlist her to the Spanish cause, as we shall see.

Certainly, Marina's lack of ethnic identity contributed to her supposed loyalty to Cortes. Using his definitions of identity, Jean Wyatt explained, "Identification endeavors to mould a person's own ego after the fashion of the one that has been taken as a model."[6] In Marina's case, she did not have a particular mold to follow. Or perhaps she had too many, confusing Marina and leaving her without a sense of identity with any of the social groups of Mexico. Tracing Marina's origin reveals

6. Jean Wyatt, "On Not Being La Malinche: Border Negotiations in Sandra Cisneros's 'Never Marry a Mexican' and 'Woman Hollering Creek'," *Ethnohistory* 36 (Spring 1988): 263.

how this native woman could in no way have equated herself with any of the socio-cultural circles of her native land. First of all, her place of birth continues to be one of the most heated debates among her biographers. Today, most historians accept the fact that she was not Aztec, but nor was she Mayan or Tabascan. Jesus Torres Figueroa and Agras Garcia de Alva, in their biographies on Doña Marina, claimed that she was born in *Xalisco*.[7] Neither Torres nor Agras fully accept that Marina was Aztec, although both made mention of her bloodline with the Aztec Emperor Moctezuma.[8] So which society influenced Marina's behavior and her mentality? Was she supposed to pay tribute or fidelity to any social group in Mexico? It is difficult to say with certainty.

The closest record of Marina's origin, as Diaz del Castillo recalled in his memoirs, was that she came from the central valley of Mexico, a place called *Xicalango*.[9] As a child, her mother either abandoned her, according to Diaz's version, or sold her as a slave, looking at Francisco de Gomara's account, until she ended up with the Tabascans, a tribe from southern Mexico.[10] According to John Taylor, Marina was sold into slavery twice before the Tabascans gave her to Cortes in 1519. Therefore, Marina may have wandered among several native tribes before she ended up with the Spanish.[11] Although del Castillo did not provide Marina's exact age, he did mention that she was a very young girl. Juan Figueroa Torres claimed that Marina was born in the year 1500, thus, when the Spaniards acquired her, Marina would have been around eighteen years old.[12]

The reality is that Doña Marina cannot be associated with any particular ethnic group. Marina did not grow up in the region of her birth. Before she reached adolescence her mother abandoned her. She was sold twice into slavery, and before she turned twenty years old she settled among a group of strangers under the mastership of Cortes. Most revisionist historians claim that a lack of identity was Marina's reason for not being faithful to the indigenous people. This lack of identification with a particular ethnic group denied Marina access to the social spheres of any indigenous communities. Evidence suggests that she was no more loyal to the natives than to the Spanish.

Also, Marina may have identified with Cortes and the Spaniards as strangers,

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7. Jesus Figueroa Torres, *Doña Marina: Una India Ejemplar* (Mexico D.F.: B. Costa-Amic Editor, 1975), 15-8; Xalisco: A region in central Mexico, which most contemporary historians believe is currently Jalisco.

8. The name of the Aztec emperor, Montezuma, varies in spelling throughout this article. This is because the several sources used in this article wrote his name differently, but they refer to the same ruler.

9. Bernal Diaz del Castillo, *The Discovery and Conquest of Mexico 1517-1152*, trans. and ed. A. P. Maudslay (New York: First Noonday Press, 1965), 66.

10. Francisco Lopez De Gomara, *The Conquest of West India* (United States: University Microfilms, 1966), 89.

11. John Taylor, "Reinterpreting Malinche," Article available online at http://userwww.sfsu.edu/~epf/2000/jt.html. Accessed 2 May 2005.

12. Torres, 41.

because wherever she lived, she never belonged. That sense of commonality may have contributed to her voluntary support of the Spanish conquest. Cortes and the Spanish immediately took to the task of Christianizing Marina. They fed her and gave her a degree of freedom, which is something she had not found among her native captors. Ironically, while Marina could not identify herself with any of the native groups of Mexico, the natives still subjected her to the social expectations of native females. She was not immune to the gender roles and the subjugations of women.

Without a doubt, Marina's gender was another factor that forced her to remain "loyal" to the conquistador. According to Mathew Restall, "the subordination of women to gender specific roles needs to be elaborated within two primary areas of social interaction in which men and women were assigned such roles, labor and inter-family politics."[13] These gender roles rendered women powerless and pushed them to perform jobs as housewives and child bearers. With regards to Mexico's pre-Columbian ethnic diversity and multiculturalism, Restall also claimed that, "the status of Mayan women had much in common with that of Nahualt women in central Mexico."[14] It is necessary to address gender roles in Aztec and Mayan cultures because these were the dominant cultural groups at the time of the Spaniards arrival and undeniably both groups made Marina a subordinate. John Taylor posited that in Mayan society, women "were not expected to do anything more than cook, spin, and weave and noble women in particular, were not supposed to be engaged in any activity to earn a living." He also stated that "...with each man and each woman expected to master the basic repertoire of skill appropriated to the sex," gender roles marked the division of labor and thus determined the modes of conduct between men and women. Men worked outside the home, while women cleaned their homes, cooked and bore children.[15] Also in Mayan society, men held all political power, while "women, including those of the nobility, had limited political rights and noble women were just subjects to the authority of the fathers or husbands, as were commoners." Moreover, women were excluded from succession and were not permitted to exercise any official governmental role.[16] Under such circumstances, it was very difficult for Marina to make social or economic progress.

According to Rita Alcala, the mother's own indoctrination in Aztec society was so complete that "she passed on the oppression to her daughters through insistence on complete obedience, silence, virginity, humility, submission, resignation, meekness, chastity, modesty, circumspection, politeness and isolation in the home."[17] With regards to marriage, women were

13. Mathew Restall, "He Wished in Vain: Subordination and Resistance Among Mayan Women in Post-Conquest Yucatan," *Ethnohistory* 42 (Fall 1995): 586.
14. Ibid., 589.
15. Taylor, 2.
16. Inga Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquest: Mayan and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517-1570*, 2d ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 141-2.



Marina Interprets for Cortes and Tabascan natives. Noel Grove, ed., *National Geographic Illustrated Atlas of History.*

also at a disadvantage; "marriages in Aztec society were considered monogamous although relations outside marriage were not prohibited for men."[18] Aztec men placed extreme importance on the chastity of their women. Virginity was expected, the women were taught to always obey, and they were sexually objectified as a treasure. Alcala also stressed the brutality of the Aztec men towards their women, as she points out that, "Through the psychological terror of the executions and sacrifices and the corporal punishment enacted in the home, submission to the dominant ideology was assured."[19] Likewise, Aztec men secured for themselves almost every prominent political and religious position, whether as *caciques*, shamans, or high priests.[20] Indeed, Aztec and Mayan patriarchies treated women as second-class citizens at best, and as mere senseless property at worst. For a young female like Doña Marina, who lacked a sense of identity, it was also troubling that she had to battle against male-dominated societies, which only contributed to her wretched life. Susan Kellogg claimed that in Aztec society, it was only a few privileged women who achieved prominent positions outside the home. Similarly, Restall stressed that even those notorious Mayan or Aztec women who acquired some sort of political power were dependant upon their husbands' social positions to achieve a high degree of success.[21] Restall also posited that natives and Spaniards alike used gender roles as measures for the men's power. A man among many other men would find it more difficult to consider himself powerful; however a single man with a single woman would certainly feel a degree of dominance and power over the female.[22]

It was because of her gender, according to Diaz del Castillo, that Marina's mother chose to get rid of her and keep her younger male sibling, who as a grown man would give the family honor and a respected position.[23] As a teenage slavegirl, Marina's gender served only to give

17. Rita Cano Alcala, "From Chingada to Chingona: La Malinche Redefined, Or A Long Line of Hermanas," *Aztlan* 26 (Fall 2001): 50.
18. Sandra Cyess Messinger, *La Malinche in Mexican Literature: Form History to Myth* (Texas: University of Texas Press, 1991), 17.
19. Alcala, 49-50.
20. Susan Kellogg, "The Woman's Room: Some Aspects of Gender Relations in Tenochtitlan in the Late Pre-Hispanic Period," *Ethnohistory* 42 (Fall 1995): 567.
21. Ibid., 565.
22. Ibid.
23. Diaz, 64.

men sexual pleasure and restricted her from climbing the native social ladder. Restall showed that in native communities, "gender roles conveyed and commanded mutual dependency and respect."[24] Marina was certainly dependant upon the males who had enslaved her; however these men denied her any form of respect. Indeed, it was the division of gender roles and the subordination of women that Marina had to fight against in the societies where she lived. It is the use of gender, or women to be more specific, in these pre-Columbian societies that determined the authority and power of men over their subjects.[25]

Marina's social status provided for a strong connection between her position as a slave and her supposed loyalty to Cortes. As Frances Karttunnen pointed out, "Her name like her person was handed back and forth and invested with multiple significances."[26] These multiple significances that Kartunnen brought up are nothing more than Marina's multiple uses, such as slave and sexual object. However, in considering Marina's slavery, a clear distinction should be made between those who gave Marina away, and those who received her. This may facilitate a better understanding of how Marina went from a powerless position with the natives to a more prominent status under the Spanish rule.

At the time of Cortes' arrival to Tenochtitlan, the Aztec society was mostly militarily based. Warriors and powerful lords commanded and controlled vast regions of territory, including the coasts of Yucatan and Tabasco. Marina's place within an Aztec vassal state exposed her to the norms and regulations of the Aztec society. With regards to slavery, Katz explained, the Aztecs used slaves as domestic servants and potters; however, because most of them were prisoners-of-war, some were executed.[27] But the sexual slave in the Aztec or Mayan society was not better than the prisoner-of-war who was killed. Female slaves were so completely objectified "that sexual relations with them did not constitute adultery, as they were considered possessions available for their owners' every use."[28] As Alcala also pointed out, stoning of unfaithful women or concubines served as vivid reminders of what happened to women who did not comply with gender rules or behavior. Similarly, she stressed that from the slave to the concubine to the woman of the noble classes, women's labor was exploited in the production of the most valuable objects of exchange. [29] Fray Bartolome de las Casas provided an excellent account of the treatment of slaves and mistresses among native cultures. He mentioned that important *caciques* took young females as mistresses and placed them under surveillance, sometimes even under the lords' homes. These lords served as benefactors or protectors for some concubines who otherwise may have been stoned.[30] De las Casas concluded that in

24. Restall, 588.
25. Ibid., 579.
26. Schoeder, Wood, and Haskett, 292.
27. Frederick Katz, "Evolution of Aztec Society," *Past and Present* (Fall 1988): 23.
28. Alcala, 49.
29. Ibid., 48.

most native towns if their rulers were tolerant to concubinage and prostitution, it was because the high priest, just like the merchant or ordinary citizen, made used of sexual slaves like Marina.[31]

According to Dias del Castillo, "Doña Marina was a great chieftainess, and the daughter of great caciques and the mistress of vassals and this her appearance clearly showed."[32] Although del Castillo's criteria for judging Marina's "chieftainess or mistressness" may be questioned, his account is one of the most reliable sources historians posses. Thus, considering Marina's slave status and attractiveness, her service to the Indians was restricted to that of a sexual server. The natives handed Marina around, without considering her opinion or asking for her consent, as long as they adhered to the native protocol of giving a woman as a gift to show friendship. As Kidwell asserted, "Marina probably had no sense of place or loyalty to her captors," for she could never predict who her next masters would be or decide if she wished to remain in one steady place. [33]

Doña Marina was a great chieftainess, and the daughter of great caciques and the mistress of vassals and this her appearance clearly showed

On the other side of the coin are the receivers, the Spanish conquistadors. Their treatment of Marina, as a slave, and a woman, also played a significant part in the initiation of her relationship with the conquistador. When the Chontal *caciques* of Tabasco gave Marina to Cortes, the conquistador handed her to his soldier Alonzo Puertocarrero, at first ignoring her ability to speak Mayan and Nahualt. As Diaz recalled, "Doña Marina was good looking and intelligent and without embarrassment."[34] Certainly Cortes valued his soldier and good friend, and wished him to have a fine woman. As for the Spanish treatment of native women, if the natives regarded women as property, then the conquistadors, it can be argued, were not much different. On several occasions throughout the conquest, native Lords presented the Spaniards female slaves or elite women, daughters of prominent *caciques*, as gifts.[35] The Spanish, in turn, distributed these females among themselves and gave in to their most erotic sexual desires. According to Torres biography on Marina, he posited, "due to respect for the youths to which I write, I will not narrate the deeds of the Spaniards with the women" (my translation).[36]

After he discovered that Marina could speak Mayan, the language of Tabasco, and also Nahualt, the dialect of the people of central Mexico, "Cortes promised her

30. Bartolome de las Casas, *Los Indios de Mexico y Nueva España: Antologia* (The Indians of Mexico and the New Spain: Anthology), trans. and ed. Edmundo O. Gorman (Mexico: Editorial Purrua, 1979), 135.
31. Ibid., 136.
32. Diaz, 64.
33. Kidwell, 99.
34. Diaz, 63.
35. Frances E. Karttunen, *Between Worlds: Interpreters, Guides and Survivors (* New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1994), 6.
36. Torres, 62.

more than her liberty if she would help him establish a friendship between him and the men of her country."[37] This marked the beginning of Marina's long career as Cortes' interpreter. The *Tlaxcalan Lienzo* and *Florentine Codex* provide some of the most meaningful images of Marina and the Spanish conquistador in his numerous visits to the various native lords. These native depictions of Cortes' journey through Mexico have aided historians tremendously in interpreting Marina's role as translator, guide, diplomat, and warrior. At the same time, they also provide clear indication of Marina and Cortes' interaction as master and subordinate.

Eventually, Cortes sent Puertocarrero back to Spain with the first fruits of their exploration: Gold, silver, precious metals and fine quality feathers. Cortes, who had already noted Marina's distinctive and attractive physical characteristics, did not hand her to any other soldier; on the contrary, he took Marina to live with him.[38] From that point forward, Marina and Cortes became an inseparable duo. Cortes recalled in one of his letters to the Spanish Crown, "Marina . . . has ever accompanied me, for it was in Tabasco that she was given to me."[39]

A significant number of Spanish conquistadores were cruel individuals. Marina soon witnessed Cortes' brutality against the natives and even against his Spanish counterparts, and she certainly did not wish to make the conquistador upset by refusing to cooperate with him. In his article, *"He Wished it in Vain,"* Restall described some incidents of Mayan women who refused to engage in sexual relationships with Spanish conquistadores. In one instance, a Spanish man, de Avila, threw a native woman to the dogs when she refused his indecorous sexual proposal.[40] In another case, a Spaniard, Don Juan Xieu, in retaliation for a native's refusal to have sex with him, pressed charges against the woman's husband and attempted to take lands away from the natives. In both cases however, as Restall concluded, "he wished it in vain." The essay gave an excellent overview of the Spanish brutality and of their insistence to force native women into sinful relations.[41]

Marina's Achievements and Survival

Prior to that critical moment when the people from Tabasco handed Doña Marina to Cortes, her bilingual skills were not yet necessary. Her position as a slave made her situation even more dramatic. Marina was a subjugated, voiceless, powerless, bilingual slave woman. It was these last factors, her bilingual skills and womanhood, which Marina used as weapons of survival under Cortes' mastership.

To record all of the incidents in which Marina interpreted for Cortes would require an entire book. This article will

37. Taylor, 2.
38. Diaz, 64.
39. Bayard J. Morris, *Five Letters of Cortes to the Emperor: Hernando Cortes* (New York: Norton, 1991), 313.
40. Restall, 593.
41. Ibid., 590.

recall some of the most significant aspects of Marina's role as interpreter in order to demonstrate how her skills gradually gave her a higher degree of power among Spanish and Indians alike. At first, her job only required her to request information regarding important lords and the number of natives who inhabited certain towns. In today's world, people would call that a job of logistics. Gradually, her duties expanded to interrogating Indians, such as the time when Montezuma's agents arrived in Tlaxcala and demanded taxes to be paid. Because Cortes was intrigued and disturbed with the presence of such tax collectors, Cortes ordered those Indians to be brought to him, and he and Marina interrogated the Aztec messengers. On another occasion, Marina questioned some Tlaxacan Indians who had planned to ambush the Spaniards after the Europeans had moved in the native's town.

Marina's job as a cultural agent shows her importance to Cortes as mediator and strategist, but her timely interventions are also a signal of the power she had acquired in the male dominated societies.

At other times, Marina's role as interpreter took Spanish orthodox forms, as Cortes explained, "I began to deliver my *Requerimiento* in due form by means of the interpreters with me and in the presence of a notary."[42] In addition, Saghun described, "After he, delivered his very Catholic speech, the Lord, Captain Don Hernando Cortes, then tried through the help of his interpreters, to communicate it well to all those who were present."[43]

Marina's most valuable job and the one that gave her higher status involved the religious, political, and military appeasement of natives and conquistadors alike. Diaz described an incident "when the Indians saw Cortes uttering these threats our interpreter, Doña Marina, knew well how to make them understood and she even threatened with the power of Moctezuma, which may fall on them any day..." [44] It is clear that Marina not only translated Cortes' speeches to the natives, but also made use of her knowledge of the natives' culture and religion to intimidate the Aztecs. In addition, Marina expounded to the Indians the dangers they would incur, "if they refused to give away their idolatrous practices and beliefs." The tone of this phrase sounds more like native speaking on her behalf, than a conquistador's religious doctrine. Marina proved her lin-

42. Morris, 57. The Requerimiento was the formal Spanish introductory reading upon reaching a particular harbor or town. The Requerimiento asked the natives or encountered tribes to submit to Spanish rule and to accept Catholicism, or to suffer the consequences of war.

43. Bernardino De Saghun, *The Conquest of New Spain 1585 Revision,* trans. and ed. Howard F. Cline and S. L. Cline (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989), 71.

44. Diaz, 103.

guistic value to Cortes and demonstrated her skills as a cultural guide.[45]

Each and every day that Cortes and Marina spent together increased her influence and left Geronimo de Aguilar, Cortes' other interpreter, out of the big picture. In essence, Geronimo de Aguilar became useless, for Cortes relied more and more on Doña Marina. Even when Aguilar was present, his skills as translator became obsolete. In several meetings with the Aztec ruler, according to Portilla, "Cortes replied in his strange and savage tongue speaking first to La Malinche: Tell Moctezuma that we are his friends." [46] This corroborates Marina's importance to Cortes as a reliable translator, as well as her indispensability to the conquest. Further on, Portilla wrote, "When Motechuzoma had finished, La Malinche translated his address into Spanish so that the Captain could understand it."[47] When the meetings with Moctezuma took place, she was already fluent in Spanish and thus the only mediator between Cortes and the Aztec Lord. Marina knew that learning the Spanish language would be more productive than having to depend on de Aguilar. As she became the only interpreter, she acquired a higher degree of trust, power, and reliability. Marina used this power and influence as interpreter to demonstrate that she could further help Cortes as a political mediator, thus augmenting her power.

There remains no doubt of Marina's role as diplomat. As Diaz recalled, "...Doña Marina, our interpreter was always in his [Cortes'] company, particularly when any ambassadors arrived."[48] Marina's role as a political and cultural mediator helped prevent many conflicts and possible bloodshed between the natives and the Spaniards. Her knowledge of the native cultures enabled her to understand and guide Cortes in the most beneficial direction before the Spanish leader committed any wrong deeds. For example, on their way to Tenochtitlan, the Spanish came across an important *cacique* named Ixtilxochitl, who begged Cortes, through Doña Marina, to accompany him to his town "so that he and his people may serve them." Doña Marina convinced Cortes that accepting Ixtilxochitl's invitation was wise, for the *cacique* would provide shelter, food, and valuable gifts. But more importantly, this lord was Moctezuma's relative and would show that the Spanish came as friends and not as conquerors.[49] Marina's job as a cultural agent shows her importance to Cortes as mediator and strategist, but her timely interventions are also

Her knowledge of the native cultures enabled her to understand and guide Cortes in the most beneficial direction before the Spanish leader committed any wrong deeds.

45. Henry Dwight Sedgwick, *Cortez the Conqueror* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1926), 86.
46. Miguel Leon–Portilla, *The Broken Spears: The Aztec Account of the Conquest of Mexico* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1962), 65.
47. Ibid., 64.
48. Diaz, 150.
49. Leon–Portilla, 58.

a signal of the power she had acquired in the male dominated societies. Perhaps the advice Marina gave to Cortes was her way to test her authority among a group of Spanish and native males. No longer the slave or the female whom men could manipulate or subjugate, Marina had become an individual whose social and gender restrictions were no longer barriers. Without Marina's timely advice, Cortes may have found it more difficult to reach the city of Tenochtitlan safely.

On another occasion, Cortes ordered Marina to go look for Moctezuma and convince him that Cortes wished to enter the sacred palace of the Aztec deities. When Marina returned, she advised Cortes that Moctezuma had agreed to his petition.[50] What might the Aztecs' reaction have been if the Spanish had forcibly entered the temple without Moctezuma's permission? There is clear evidence that some influential members in Moctezuma's council, such as Cuitlahuac, Moctezuma's brother, and Cuauhtémoc, an Aztec prince, were antagonistic towards the Spanish, and they distrusted the invaders. Both of these Aztec leaders had advised their chief to get rid of the Spanish before they set foot in Tenochtitlan.[51] Marina's role as political mediator came to signify neutral ground between the Spanish and the natives.

In a subsequent incident, as Cortes and his men began to feel threatened in the city of Tenochtiltan, the Spanish decided to make Moctezuma prisoner in his own quarters. As the Spanish approached to apprehend the Aztec lord, some of the Spanish soldiers were already growing angry at Moctezuma's refusal to accompany Cortes, insisting "...let us either take him prisoner or stab him. Tell him once more that if he cries out or makes uproar, we will kill him."[52] Upon hearing this, Marina intervened to appease the Spanish. She said, "Señor Moctezuma, what I counsel you is to go at once to their quarters without any disturbance at all...."[53] If it had not been for Marina's rapid intervention and adequate persuasion of Moctezuma, the Spanish may have killed the Aztec Emperor.

If Marina played a significant role as a diplomat, appeasing both natives and invaders, she did it consciously.

There were other incidents when Marina served as advocate for the Spanish as well. For instance, when Cortes attempted to destroy some of the deities in the Aztec capital and force the evangelization of the Indians, Marina convinced Cortes that he should not "force the natives to abandon their religion and that it was better that he convinced them with reason." Here again, it was Marina's intervention that prevented conflict between the natives and the Spaniards.[54] On another occasion, Marina avoided Cortes' profanation of a major temple in Tenochtitlan. She made Cortes understand that going inside the temple

50. Ibid., 215.
51. Ibid.
52. Ibid.
53. Diaz, 230.
54. Gabriel Agras Garcia de Alba, *Doana Marina Malitzin o 'La Malinche' Nacio el Antiguo Reino de Xalisco* (Mexico D.F.: Edicion de Autor, 1984), 54

without authorization from Moctezuma "would have provoked the anger of the Mexicanos." [55] It seems that Marina's timely mediation helped maintain peace. Certainly, without a degree of power she could not have avoided possible conflicts. If at any point throughout the conquest Cortes had restricted Marina's authority to that of mere interpreter, she may not have proven so beneficial to the conquistador. Much more can be concluded about Marina's elevated power among natives and Spaniards. The fact that most of the individuals who accompanied Cortes were males tells us that Doña Marina had acquired a degree of power not typical for women in the New World. Marina had the power to command native lords and warriors, and to guide the Spaniards.

Doña Marina, sharing the culture and language of Moctezuma, understood the enormity of it [the conquest] more than they could and there is no record that she ever faltered.

If Marina played a significant role as a diplomat, appeasing both natives and invaders, she did it consciously, knowing that both sides could have quickly begun military conflicts. Hostilities would have meant that Marina's hopes of guaranteeing her survival and increasing her political influence might have vanished. Marina knew she had the power to make Cortes consider other actions, and to think of the possible disturbances between natives and Spaniards if war began. It can be argued that, between the natives and the Spanish, Marina had the clearest picture of the events that were occurring and knew how grave they could become if not prevented. As Frances Karttunnen posited, "Doña Marina, sharing the culture and language of Moctezuma, understood the enormity of it [the conquest] more than they could and there is no record that she ever faltered."[56] Her job as interpreter and diplomat allowed her to maintain peace between natives and Europeans for as long as possible. Kidwell, who saw Marina as a cultural mediator, claimed, "There is an important Indian woman in virtually every major encounter between Europeans and Indians of the New World." She concluded that in all of those cases where women served as mediators, their actions led to the loss of Indian land and to destructive changes in Indian culture.[57]

On the other hand, Marina also had the power to allow conflicts between natives and Spaniards when she deemed them necessary or beneficial. Take for instance the incident in the city of Cholula, in which, it is argued, Marina advised Captain Pedro de Alvarado of a possible ambush against the conquistadors. The Spanish began to fear for their lives and decided on a prompt attack against the residents of Cholula during a religious ceremony. The assault caused the deaths of over six thousand

55. Torres, 36.

56. Karttunen, 12.

57. Kidwell, 98.

natives, and also secured Marina's label as a traitor.

Marina was not a passive woman nor was she unwilling to take risks. Within a short period of time, she had not only learned the Spanish language, but her power under the Spanish conquistadors allowed her to take issues into her own hands. In many instances, when Cortes needed a leader, it was Doña Marina who stepped up and took control of the situation. For instance, upon arriving at Tenochtitlan, Marina, without receiving orders from Cortes, "...called the nobles together; she climbed up to the palace roof and cried: Mexicanos come forward! The Spaniards need your help! Bring them food and pure water."[58] If this sounds surprising, it is stranger still that the Aztecs, antagonistic as they were toward the strange men in their land, obeyed Marina and brought the Spaniards what she had requested. This is not only evidence of Marina's leadership, but also a clear sign of her authority and power.

Marina proved courageous when Cortes needed her most. For example, Orteguilla, a Spanish boy who had accompanied the Spaniards, burst into tears when Moctezuma warned the conquistadors that they should leave at once. Doña Marina did not fear Moctezuma's threats; on the contrary, she proved her steadfastness and confronted the situation with valor.[59] Ber-



Florentine Codex - Marina translates for Cortes and Aztec Lords. Noel Grove, ed., *National Geographic Illustrated Atlas of History.*

nal Diaz left one of the best descriptions regarding Marina's courage:

> Doña Marina who, although a native woman, possessed such a manly valour that although she had heard how the Indians were going to kill us and eat our flesh with chili, and had seen us surrounded in the late battles, and knew that all of us were wounded and sick, yet never allowed us to see any sign of fear in her, only of courage passing that of woman.[60]

Certainly Doña Marina's background may account for much of her courage. Her mobility among different social and cultural groups acquainted her with people from different cultural or religious beliefs. She was either tolerant or indifferent to religious doctrines or rituals and she intervened when Cortes attempted to forcibly convert the natives. Similarly, her slave position had exposed her to people of

58. Leon–Portilla, 69.

59. Schoeder, Wood, and Haskett, 306.

60. Diaz, 135.

many types of tempers, some friendly and others cruel. If Marina showed courage in times of extreme strife, it was because she had already witnessed bloody wars and hundreds of human sacrifices among the natives. To see people die in battle or be decapitated was nothing new to her. The *Tlaxcalan Lie*nzo, depicts Marina as a warrior among native and Spanish soldiers. This image also illustrates her value; Cortes apparently ordered his soldiers to protect her as she was one of the few links between the Spanish and natives.

Angela Herren presumed that if the *Tlaxcalan Lienzo* provided a great number of images of Marina, it was likely because the Tlaxcalans wanted the Spanish Crown to recognize their alliance with Cortes during the conquest of the Aztecs. On the contrary, Herren claimed that the *Florentine Codex* was more a representation of the vanquished Indians.[61]

Marina's rigid way of addressing some of the natives is also a convincing sign of the authoritarian and powerful figure she had become. During the siege of Tenochtitlan, Marina interrogated some of the natives who had been captured: "She said to the guards: Come forward! The Captain wants to know what can the chiefs of Tenochtitlan be thinking of? Is Cuauhtémoc a stupid willful little boy? Has he no mercy on the people of his city?"[62] It is evident that her tone in this interrogation is not asking for information, but rather demanding it. If Marina had not spoken with authority, then the natives would not have replied to her questions.

If Marina showed courage in times of extreme strife, it was because she had already witnessed bloody wars and hundreds of human sacrifices among the natives. To see people die in battle or be decapitated was nothing new to her.

In spite of the power that lay in her hands, Doña Marina always understood her position as a subordinate to Cortes. Was this another of her strategies to continue expanding her power under the Spanish mastership, or was this the result of the submissiveness she had acquired under the native people? It was a combination of both. In general, when Marina addressed Cortes, she did it as "My Lord or Mi Señor."[63] As Kartunnen pointed out, Marina kept her distance from him to prevent any possible conflicts with him or any of his close associates. This respectful behavior demonstrated the gender indoctrination of the Indian females. At the same time, it revealed her elite upbringing and education, which influenced her view of her position as subordinate. Furthermore, it made clear to Doña Marina that she had to remain within the social boundaries of the

61. Angela M. Herren, "Representing and Reinventing Doña Marina: Images from the *Florentine Codex* and the Tlaxcalan Lienzo," *Latin American Indian Literatures Journal* 16, no. 2 (2000): 161. The *Florentine Codex* is a set of drawings that depict the history, religion, and culture of the Aztecs. These drawings were ordered by Spanish missioner Fray Bernardino de Saghun.

62. Ibid., 135.

63. Leon–Portilla, 88.

Spanish structure, namely that the male leads and always speaks first. In addition, by maintaining her social distance, she also insured that Cortes included her in most of his important political, military and religious gatherings.[64]

The graphics in the *Tlaxcalan Lienzo* provide testimony of Marina's understanding of her place in society. In most of these images, Cortes is sitting down. Standing just behind the conquistador, Marina's place and posture show her subordination before the conquistador and her respect for his gender. Herren stressed, regarding the *Tlaxcalan Lienzo* and *Florentine Codex*, that "representation, location and scale dictated hierarchy in rank... in her dress posture and pivotal location Malinche is thus constructed as a woman of high rank."[65] The *Codex* displays Marina's authority and activeness during the conversation. Marina's hands provide evidence of her participation in the dialogue. Also noteworthy is the fact that no other soldier is found near Cortes or Marina. In spite of Marina's authority, she still needed to secure the power she had acquired. Thus, she made use another one of her attributes: her sexuality.

Marina: Her Sex as a Weapon

Much has been said regarding the role of Marina as translator and political mediator. However, she was also Cortes' mistress, and their affair became one of the most troubling aspects in the relationship between Cortes and Marina. Historians still debate whether or not Cortes fell in love with Doña Marina. According to Jesus Torres Figueroa, because of Marina's attractiveness, charm, and beauty, Cortes became very jealous of the other conquistadores: "Malas lenguas Dijeron que de celos, y apartir de ese dia dispuso que la cuidace el soldado Juan Peres de Arteaga."[66] On the other hand, Mateo Solana asserted, "we do not believe that Cortes had fallen in love with the interpreter, although he had liked her a lot; *convenience*, can be said, was a stronger bond between both of them."[67] Whatever the case may have been, an attempt should be made to understand the actions rather than the feelings of these two individuals. Kidwell asserted that these voiceless Indian women's personal passions prompted them to give themselves up to their white invaders, although we will never know with certainty their motives for preferring the foreigners. She concluded that "Whatever personal passions drove Marina we can never know."[68] Also, avoiding the racist, sexist, and extremist ideologies with regards to the natives' sexual lives must take priority. Karttunen posited that scholars cannot label Indian natives as sexual predators or native women as "so animal-like in their approach to sex that the idea of

64. Schoeder, Wood, and Haskett, 306
65. Herren, 167.
66. Ibid., 76. This translates as: "Rumors began to spread that Cortes became very jealous and ever since, he ordered soldier Juan Peres de Arreaga to guard her."
67. Mateo Solana, *Don Hernan Cortes: Marques Del Valle de Oajaca* (Mexico: Ediciones Botas, 1938), 179.
68. Kidwell, 99.

chastity and virginity had no meaning at all." According to Karttunen, experts discovered that Indian natives had high regard for chastity and virginity.[69]

Within the scope of their sexual relationship, a line must be drawn between what some scholars have come to believe and the reality of the situation. Many Chicano writers and contemporary historians agree and frequently depict Doña Marina as Cortes' sexual victim, or as they called her, *la Chingada*, which literary means "the Fucked One." [70] These scholars claim that Cortes forced Marina's legs open and gave way to his most erotic sexual appetite. This approach, which describes a passive Marina, is completely contrary to the active woman who served as interpreter and diplomat. Where did this image of a passive woman come from? That is the legacy of Octavio Paz and his influential essay, "Los Hijos de la Chingada" (The Children of the Fucked Mother). In his article, Paz described the *mestizos* and Mexicans as a whole as the children of the woman with whom Cortes propagated.[71]

Although this common view of Marina, *La Chingada*, has proliferated among Chicano writers, reading between the lines of the historical context is necessary to realize that Cortes did not force Marina's legs open. If Marina gave herself up to the conquistador, certainly it was because she also desired him. According to C. E. Marshall, "the Spanish demonstrations of dominance often took sexual forms…," yet without her consent and willingness, Cortes could have "wished it in vain."[72] According to Karttunen, "the Spaniards made it clear from the first [day] that they had a thoroughly carnal interest in Indian women." [73]Unlike the natives who took Marina's body at will, the Spanish actually allowed Marina to have a voice, although she chose not to use it. Considering Marina's indispensability as Cortes' interpreter, she could have rejected Cortes sexual proposals. Similarly, her situation made her powerful enough to keep sexual predators away from her. Instead, Marina chose to use her body as a means to augment her power and dominion. Contrary to her experiences within the native tribes, Marina had only one sexual partner, as opposed to many, as long as her situation permitted. She also chose to give herself to Cortes specifically rather than to any lower ranking officer, which also secured some authority over the rest of the Indians and even over some of the Spanish soldiers. According to Restall, "women give potency to that weapon – their vaginas" and Marina was not unfamiliar with that sort of trade: sex in exchange for power or survival.[74] Accord-

If Marina gave herself up to the conquistador, certainly it was because she also desired him.

69. Karttunen, 3.
70. Octavio Paz, *El Laverinto de la Soledad y Otras Obras* (New York: Penguin Group, 1997), 176.
71. Ibid.
72. Restall, 583.
73. Karttunen, 5.

ing to Muñoz's analysis of sexual relationships, women equate sex with power in that "Power we get to caress and protect, power they drop into our hands so fragile the slightest pressure makes them weak with pain."[75] Therefore, there is some question as to what degree Marina was a victim of Cortes. As Restall pointed out, "the mother of Mexico is not the raped victim, for the unwilling were thrown to the dogs."[76]

Her (Marina's) lack of identification with any of the social groups of Mexico contributed to her loyalty to

By September of 1521, Cortes had completed his conquest of Mexico, and Marina was among the few individuals who survived the military takeover. Marina's job as interpreter did not conclude there; Cortes requested her services again in 1524 for the expedition to Honduras. This time however, the situation was somewhat different. Cortes had already consolidated his power over the natives of Mexico. On their way back from the Honduras campaign, Cortes gave Marina in marriage to his soldier Alonzo Puertocarrero.[77] Most historians have not been able to understand the reason Cortes gave away his valuable interpreter. One argument suggests that in doing so, Cortes gave Marina a greater degree of identity with the Spaniards. Thus, according to Dias del Castillo, Marina proudly informed her mother that she was the wife of a Spanish nobleman and that she had borne a son by her former master, Hernan Cortes. Marina claimed that she was a happy Christian and that she had forgiven her mother for abandoning her.[78] Undeniably, Marina's treatment and conversation with her mother in that encounter is a clear sign of Christian teachings and identity with the invaders' dogma. Marina could not have made such a statement under that native's rule. Although Marina would also have a daughter with Juan Jaramillo, Marina did not survive her daughter's first year. Just as no one has determined where Marina was born, no one has found the precise date or place of her death.

As the five hundredth anniversary of the conquest of Mexico approaches, the history of Doña Marina continues to be a mystery to most historians. As most scholars agree, little is known about Malinche. Most of the records that historians have studied were written from the military and religious perspective. Those authors did not explicitly address the role of women, class, or gender that attract modern scholarship. Thus, scholars must attempt to draw plausible conclusions about the true role of Doña Marina. As Kidwell put it, unfortunately, myths have "obscured the reality of their [her] situation."[79] Taylor shared a similar view about Marina's history when he stated that Marina's voice is left out; it has been muted. In order to understand her better, she must be sepa-

74. Ibid., 585.
75. Willy O. Muñoz, "La Decentralizacion del Hombre en *Shadow of a Man* de Cherrie Moraga," *Symposium* (Fall 1988): 172.
76. Restall, 578.
77. Lopez De Gomara, 187.
78. Diaz, 312.
79. Kidwell, 97-8.

rated from her roles and the accusations of the last two centuries, "...where she is less a result of posthumous revision and more a product of her own actions," and that is exactly what the new wave of historians are attempting to do in order to liberate Marina from misconceptions.[80]

Some certainties do exist concerning Marina's life. Her lack of identification with any of the social groups of Mexico contributed to her loyalty to Cortes. She could not have identified with these natives because she spent most of her early life moving among masters who used her as a concubine to satisfy their sexual desires. Likewise, Marina's gender in a paternalistic society contributed to her partnership with Cortes. Most social circles in Mexico secured power at the cost of the women. These male-dominated societies subordinated and subjugated women, restricting them to jobs in the home and child-bearing. Even when women could exercise agency in their lives, they were still dependant upon male social connections to attain success. Most importantly, Marina's slave status made her easy prey for any male who desired to take advantage of her social status in order to violate her body. When Marina's current masters decided to get rid of her, she was the last one to find out. As a result, her lack of identity, gender, and social status made Doña Marina vulnerable. Thus, when the Spanish acquired her, her native background had preconditioned Doña Marina to be a faithful servant to her masters, whoever they may be.

Once under the influence of the Spanish conquistadors, Marina had no other choice but to use the only two weapons her former society had left her with, namely her bilingual skills and her sexuality, to survive under her new mastership.

Once under the influence of the Spanish conquistadors, Marina had no other choice but to use the only two weapons her former society had left her with, namely her bilingual skills and her sexuality, to survive under her new mastership. As a reliable bilingual interpreter, Marina secured protection from Cortes, the Spanish, and the native people. Her position as translator allowed her to be part of important meetings between Spaniards and natives. Similarly, that position allowed her to become a political and cultural mediator between both parties. Her job as diplomat and mediator helped prevent bloodshed, while simultaneously her indispensability increased. However, her role as Cortes' diplomat and mediator did not fulfill Marina's desire for power or secure her survival with the Spanish; Marina used her sexuality to strengthen both. Engaging in a sexual relationship with the conquistador, Marina secured one sexual partner and kept others away from her. Likewise, her sexual relationship with Cortes gave her a degree of power and authority over the rest of the natives and even some Spaniards.

In spite of the half millennium that has elapsed since the conquest, Muñoz posited regarding Marina, "Como la traidora de toda su raza, residuo cultural que continua

80. Taylor, 1.

afectando la psicologia de todos los Mexicanos y Chicanos - as the traitor to her race, her figure continues to affect the psychology of most Mexicans and Chicanos."[81] Also, as Kartunnen argued, despite the twentieth-century depiction of Marina as a Barbie-doll mistress of the swashbuckling Spanish conquistador, the figure of Doña Marina through the course of four and a half centuries continues to be undeniably powerful.[82] Mexicans use the term *malinchista* to mean traitor without even realizing the social, gender, and cultural barriers Marina faced. If the Mexican people do not give justice to Doña Marina, it is not their fault, but rather the misguided generations who wrongly indoctrinated younger Mexicans to believe that Marina was a traitor. Only time, a new breed of historians, and newer generations will give this woman the justice and the place in society she truly deserves.

Wel•e•bae•than (wĕl′ə′bē′thən) ► n. 1. A CSU Fullerton history journal named for Dr. Shirley Weleba in 1974 combining her surname with the suffix ethan meaning "in honor of". 2. An award-winning, student-led publication consisting of a wide variety of historical topics within research articles, oral histories, historiographies, theory papers, and book reviews sponsored by the CSUF History Department and the Theta Pi chapter of Phi Alpha Theta.

81. Muñoz, 173.
82. Karttunen, 3.

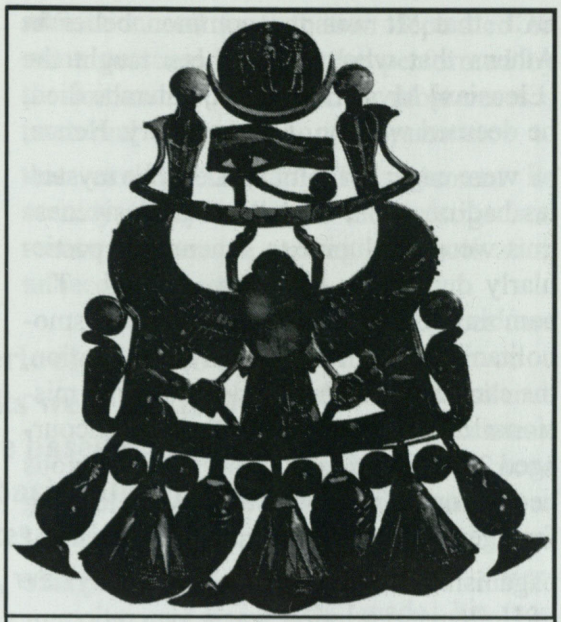
The Role of Rebirth and Resurrection in Greek Mystery Cults

By
Allison Newman Frickert

Allison Frickert offers an insightful work illustrating the religious cults that came into being during the heyday of and served as a cultural bridge between the societies of ancient Greece and imperial Rome. Her main thesis argues that the role of rebirth and resurrection were prominent in these Greco-Roman cults. She makes this argument by comparing the symbolism of both ideas in five cults that arose during the Hellenistic and Roman periods; the cults of Eleusis, Dionysus, Isis, Attis, and Mithras. She effectively outlines this ancient fascination with life's beginning and ending through her detailed descriptions of the rituals each cult brought forth to its worshippers.

Introduction

The mysteries of Greece are regarded as an individual model of religion that began during the Late-Archaic period, (750-500 B.C.E.), and spread during the Hellenistic period, (336-146 B.C.E.). The mysteries served as a unique religious development of the Greek world as they broke from the impersonal nature of the public civic cults by providing the means for emotionally satisfying spiritual experiences through the rites of initiation.[1] The ancient mystery cults have served as a catalyst for impassioned controversy among scholars through the ages, particularly in the areas of interpretation and religious significance, partly due to the lack of primary documents on the actual initiations.[2] The Greek mysteries began with the Eleusian cults in the sixth or seventh century BCE and along with public civic cults, spread throughout the Hellenized world, marking the juncture of Greek and Eastern religion.[3] In Greece there existed a juxtaposition between the *polis* civic cults and the mystery cults, both of whom often worshiped the same god and had many similar



Picture of Egyptian decoration. Lionel Casson. *Ancient Egypt* .

features. The blurred boundaries between the two cults included commonalties such as rites of purification, processionals, iconography, sacrifice, and ritual meals. However, the civic cults, organized by the state religious leader, the *archon baselius,* emphasized ritual over belief and did not provide an outlet for spiritual yearning. The mysteries filled this gap through a secret ritual of great emotional intensity, "then [the soul] suffers a passion such as that of those who are undergoing initiation into the Great Mysteries."[4]

The mysteries were unique in their promise of salvation by means of a personal relationship with the patron god.[5] Playwright Aristophanes wrote in 405

1. Marvin Meyer, *The Ancient Mysteries: A Sourcebook of Sacred Texts* (Philadelphia: HarperCollins, 1987), 3. Scholars who claim that mystery religions cannot be distinguished from other religious movements of the time postulate a different view of the mysteries. Ibid., 202.
2. One of the larger debates is the role of mysteries in the development of Christianity; cf Joseph Campbell, ed. *Pagan and Christian Mysteries* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963).
3. Walter Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), 5.
4. Stobaeus, 28V, quoted in Burkert, *Cults,* 107.
5. John McKay, *A History of World Societies,* vol. A (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1996), 159-61.

BCE that "It was the common belief in Athens that whoever has been taught the [Eleusian] Mysteries would, when he died, be deemed worthy of divine glory. Hence, all were eager for initiation."[6] The mysteries had no racial or cultural exclusiveness thus were conducive to syncretism, particularly during the Hellenistic period. The combination of individualism and cosmopolitanism which resulted from migration, the campaigns of Alexander, traveling missionaries, and the Jewish Diaspora encouraged *theocrasia*. All who had religious needs could find what they were looking for: genuine religion under the guise of paganism.[7] In fact, the main characteristic of Hellenistic religion was a syncretic tendency to identify with the deities of various cultures and combine cult aspects.[8] As Greek mysteries spread and flourished through Oriental influence during the Hellenistic and Roman periods they cultivated a more highly monotheistic approach, more sophisticated means of verbal and written expression, and a more specific theology.[9]

The roles of rebirth and resurrection which were of varying significance to four major cults that emerged from the Classical and Hellenistic periods: the cults of Demeter (Eleusis), Dionysus (Bacchae), Isis/Osiris, and Attis/Magna Mater. Though each of the cults were unique products of varying locations and eras, a variety of ancient sources reveal commonalties that allow for a survey of the growing significance of the rebirth motif over time. As Greek mystery cults matured and evolved into a more explicit religious form, rebirth and resurrection played an increasingly greater role. The full fruition of the initiate rebirth motif was manifested in the later Persian/Roman cult of Mithras. Though the cycle of life and death was important to Classical mystery cults, the themes of rebirth and resurrection in both the god, and more prominently in the initiate, functioned with greater salience during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

Common Elements of Greek Mystery Cults

Several stereotypes exist concerning mystery cults that need to be debunked. Mysteries are seen primarily as late-antiquity, Oriental cults, often associated with wild sexual orgies.[10] The mystery of Eleusis began in the late Archaic period and flourished without interruption for over a thousand years, serving as the basis for all later Oriental-influenced cults, and was

6. Aristophanes, *The Frogs,* 158, quoted in Samuel Angus, *Mystery Religions: A Study in the Religious Background of Early Christianity* (New York: Dover, 1975), 140.

7. Petra Pekkanen, *Interpreting Early Greek Religion: A Study Based On the Mystery Cult of Demeter and the Cult of Isis* (Athens: Foundation of the Finnish Institute at Athens, 1996), 87.

8. Frederick Grant, *Hellenistic Religions; the Age of Syncretism* (New York: Liberal Arts, 1953), xiii.

9. *Liturgy of Mithras*; "I will Hymn the Lord of Creation, the All, and One," quoted in Angus, *Mystery Religions,* 98; see: Apeuleis: "Most holy everlasting redeemer of the human race," *Metamorphosis,* quoted in Meyer, *Sourcebook,* 190.

10. Burkert, *Mystery,* 106.

followed nearly immediately by the widespread cult of Dionysus. Though the Greek cults merged with and incorporated aspects of Eastern religions, the basic form and philosophy of mysteries remained fairly stable. Sexuality did play a role in the cults of Dionysus, but in the form of symbolism rather than orgies, and in the cult of Attis, by means of a sexual renunciation that vehemently opposed carnal desires.[11] Additionally, mysteries were not true religions in the contemporary sense of being mutually exclusive. Though monotheism grew in the later cults, heresy did not exist and one could theoretically belong to any number of cults. The name mystery itself must be addressed as the definition of the word today mainly connotates secrecy, or perhaps mysticism in a religious context. Despite their esoteric element to the initiation, the cults were not truly secret as they were based on myths known to all and basic information concerning dates, places, and participants, was public. Though the mysteries had a mystic component involving altered consciousness, this did not involve meditation or similar methods of true mysticism.[12] Burkert translates "mystery" as a divergent of "initiation."[13] Therefore, "Mysteries are initiation ceremonies, cults in which admission and participation depended on some personal ritual to be performed by the initiand. Secrecy and in most cases a nocturnal setting are noncommitance to this exclusiveness."[14] The element of secrecy likely added to the prestige and renown of the cult, serving as a motivation to become initiated.

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The sources are clear however on a command of silence for *mystes* (initiates); possibly enforced through pain of death. In the Corpus Hermeticum, Hermes made his son Tat, "promise to be silent about this miracle, (now that you have learned [it])," and warned him, "reveal the traditions of rebirth to no one lest we be accounted its betrayers."[15] Apuleuis wrote in relation to the secrets of Isis in his semi-autobiographical play, *Metamorphosis*, "Perhaps curious reader, you are keen to know what was said and done. I would tell you if it were permitted to tell. But both the ears that heard such things and the tongue that told them would heap a heavy penalty for such rashness."[16]

11. Ibid. Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies,* quoted in Myers, *Sourcebook,* 147-52.
12. Burkert, *Mystery Cults,* 7.
13. English. Ibid., 7; see:. Meyer, *Sourcebook,* 4. Meyer give a different perspective with the translation of *mysterion* as "to close" referring to one's lips and eyes.
14. Ibid., 9.
15. *Corpus Hermeticum,* quoted in M. Eugene Boring, Klaus Berger, and Carsten Colpe, ed. *Hellenistic Commentary to the New Testament* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1995), 288-9.
16. Apuleuis, *Metamorphosis,* quoted in Meyer, *Sourcebook,* 187.

It seems probable to surmise that the mystai likely guarded the secrets of the cult to protect their personal relationship with the god and the sacred feelings of joy derived from initiation, rather than purely out of fear. A Latin inscription of either the cult of Eleusis or Attis states, "Thou pious mystes, dost hide within that secret most shrine of thy pure heart, what holy initiates know; honoring the manifold majesty of God."[17] This sentiment is echoed in a Thanksgiving to Isis by Apuleuis, "Thy divine countenance and most holy deity I shall guard and keep forever hidden in the secret place of my heart."[18] In this context the secrecy of initiation may be interpreted as a covenant between the god and the mystai. An additional component of secrecy in certain mysteries was the cloistered and isolated atmosphere for meetings and initiations. Frequently, cults met in secluded caves or other secret locations, customarily at night. Euripides revealed, "The darkness is well suited to devotion."[19]

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The shared secret of initiation cultivated a distinct fusion of community and individuality, and acted as a commonality among mysteries.[20] Stated in the *Bacchae*, "Blessed are those who know the mysteries of God," which connotates a group experience of special knowledge and favor from the god.[21] However important this community was in supporting the mystai, the experience of initiation and rebirth were entirely individual, as was the personal choice to join a mystery. This decision was part of a larger polytheistic context in which an individual might select from any number of groups and deities. Mysteries were never compulsory, were not proscribed by clan or family adherence, and for the most part were open to all regardless of gender, class or nationality.[22]

Another aspect of the mysteries as an epoch-making personal religion was the relationship between god and mystai. The four major Greek cults emphasized in this paper all worshiped a "suffering god" who could sympathize with both the joys and sorrows of humanity. This marked a stark departure from the older worship of Olympian gods who did not truly suffer or offer a personal connection to an individual.[23] In

17. *Carmina Latin Epigraphica*, No. 111, quoted in Grant, *Hellenistic Religions,* 149.
18. Apuleuis, *Metamorphosis,* in Angus, *Mystery Religions,* 240. A similar quote states "The spirit guards Thy word though art, God and thy man cries to thee...." *Liturgy of Mithras,* from Ibid., 98.
19. Euripides, *The Bacchae,* line 485, quoted in Meyer, *Sourcebook*, 69.
20. Pekkanen, *Interpreting,* 34.
21. Euripides, *The Bacchae,* quoted in Meyer, *Sourcebook*, 74.
22. Burkert, *Mystery* 10-1; see: Hermes, *Corpus Hermeticum,* quoted in Boring, ed. *Hellenistic Commentary*, 330; Hipploytus of Rome, *Refutation*, quoted in Meyer, *Sourcebook,* 151; Thomas Martin, *Ancient Greece* (London: Yale University Press, 1996), 62; Aristophanes, quoted in Pekkanen, *Interpreting,* 30.

the mysteries however, salvation was achieved through the connection to the deity. Salvation was believed to encompass help and protection in this world; Isis tells an initiate, "I alone have the power to prolong your life beyond the span determined by your destiny."[24] Beyond earthly benefits, salvation from the god customarily referred to an assurance of life after death. Demeter stated, "Happy is he of men on earth who has seen the mysteries; but the uninitiate who has no part in these holy things, cannot, when dead and down in the murky gloom have like portions of these blessings." [25] An inscription referring to either Attis or Demeter states, "Belov'd by virtue of the teachings thou hast set me free from this fell lot of death!"[26] The hope of salvation offered a practical solution to one of mankind's greatest burdens; overcoming the fear of death. Plato wrote, "They [the mysteries] redeem us from the pains of hell, but if we neglect them, none knows what awaits us."[27]

The initiations of the mysteries contained similar components, but there were marked differences as well. Most involved a period of ritual preparation and purification, often emphasizing moral cleanliness, through fasting, abstinence, and perhaps involving physical punishment.[28] Initiation could be performed all at once or in stages; there was much variation in this aspect.[29] Though the ceremonies of the mystery religions largely remain secret today, there does exist a source about the Eleusian mysteries which recorded that initiates participated in rites which incorporated three types of sacred observances. These included *legomena,* "things recited," *deiknymena,* "things shown," and *dromena,* "things performed." *Dromena* likely involved a sequence of mourning and joy, mimicking the themes of death and rebirth in nature and the god.[30] There may have been a component of mind alteration through drugs such as opium, ergot, mushrooms, or *kykeon,* a drink incorporated into

23. Burkert, *Mystery,* 12. This new relationship may have roots in votive religions in which promises are made to the god in order to obtain something beyond the powers of human control.

24. Apuleuis, quoted in Pekkanen, *Interpreting,* 78.

25. "Homeric Hymn to Demeter." Trans. David G. Rice, John Stambaugh. In *Sources for the Study of Greek Religion.* David G. Rice, John Stambaugh,171-183. (Chicago: Scholars, 1979), 171-183. A Mithras inscription reads "And you saved us after having shed the eternal blood." *Mithras Inscription,* quoted in Meyer, *Sourcebook,* 207.

26. *Latin Epigraphica*, No. 111, quoted in Grant, *Hellenistic Religion,* 149.

27. Plato, *The Republic,* quoted in Meyer, *Sourcebook,* 100; see: Michael Cosmopoulos, ed. *Greek Mysteries: The Archaeology and Ritual of Ancient Greek Secret Cults* (London: Routledge, 2003), 263.

28. Flogging in the cults of Attis included a "Day of Blood" in which the mystes identified with the suffering and "passion" of Attis. Cf Meyer, *Sourcebook,* 114.

29. Hans-Joseph Klauck, *The Religious Context of Early Christianity: A Guide to Graeco-Roman Religion,* trans. Brian McNeil (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 87.

30. Meyer, *Sourcebook,* 10; see: Klauck, *Graeco-Roman Religion,* 87.



Blue ornament depicting Isis. Arthur Cotterell, ed., *Encyclopedia of World Mythology.*

Eleusian ritual.[31] Of much greater importance were the communal feasts and celebrations, which often took place after the initiation. In some cases this sacramental meal may have resembled the Christian Eucharist.[32] In the initiation process, the experience was elevated above any real theological learning as the initiate would undergo a dramatic "change of mind through experience of the sacred" which was signified through the different relationship with the god.[33] Aristotle wrote, "Initiates do not learn anything but rather have an experience and are put in a certain state of mind."[34] This experience may have been obtained through the stimulation of extreme emotions, from terror to elation.[35] Plutarch and his wife were both mystai of Dionysus, and he advised, "In Mysteries, initiates should bear up to the first purification and unsettling events and hope for something sweet and bright to come out of present anxiety and confusion."[36] However, it is reasonable to assume that not all initiates went through a dramatic "change." Some were likely drawn to the mysteries because of their egalitarian aspects, which must have proved particularly attractive for slaves, women, and the lower classes. Additionally, the sense of community may have

31. Ibid, 87. Clement of Alexandria describes the ritual use of *kykeon* "I saw, I drank the *kykeon,* I took out of the chest; having done the act...." *Exortation to the Greeks,* in Meyer, *Sourcebook*, 18.
32. Klauck, *Graeco-Roman Religion*, 108: see: Meyer, *Sourcebook*, 8; Burkert, *Mystery,* 89.
33. Ibid, 112.
34. Aristotle, fragment in Synesius, *Dion,* quoted in Meyer, *Sourcebook,* 12.
35. Burkert, *Mystery,* 93. One text reveals this dichotomy: "[Eleusis] is both the most frightening and resplendent of all that is divine for men." Aelius Aristides, quoted in Burkert, *Mystery,* 93.
36. Plutarch, fragment, in Stobaeus, *Florilegium,* quoted in Burkert, *Mystery,* 107. These positions could prove extremely lucrative depending on the size of the cult.

offered comfort to the lonely, alienated, or simply bored residents of Greece.[37]

The organization of the mysteries varied from cult to cult, but there were some consistencies. There were either priest/priestesses who were tied to a specific sanctuary, or an itinerant practitioner as was the case in smaller, less established groups. There was always a club of worshipers (*thiasos*) who supported the professional clergy through initiation fees. In terms of theology, all the cults were quite fluid in that there was no specific religious demarcation, heresy, excommunication, or legitimate competition amongst the mysteries. Though initiates enjoyed a personal relationship to the patron god, this did not have to be exclusive.[38]

Four Major Mystery Cults of the Greek World

The Mysteries of Eleusis developed around the fifth or sixth centuries BCE, thrived throughout the fourth or fifth centuries CE with a peak in the classical period, and served as a normative model for all other Greek Mysteries. This cult can be considered the only exclusively Greek mystery in that it was not influenced by Eastern religions.[39] One unique component that was not adopted by other cults was its specific location base in Eleusis, with a secondary shrine in Athens. A yearly festival commenced with a procession from the Athenian *Eleusianian* to the primary shrine in Eleusis.[40] Probably because of its longevity, as well as famous Athenian writers, this mystery was also unique in its diplomatic power. It gradually developed into a powerful political tool in the hands of the *polis* as a means to express hegemony and superiority.[41] The Eleusian Mystery revolved around the goddess Demeter of the corn and harvest and her daughter Persephone (or *Kore,* "the Maiden"), who was abducted by Hades, god of the underworld. According to myth, Demeter was greatly distraught at the loss of her daughter, and searched the earth for many months, in which time the crops withered and died.[42] Eventually, to save humankind from starvation, Zeus allowed that Kore might return to earth for two-thirds of the year (some versions say only half), during which time the earth flourished and bloomed, expressing Demeter's joy at the return of her beloved child.[43]

Another early vegetative god was Dionysus, who was associated with reverence of wine and the vines. His mysteries developed around the sixth century BCE and were of the most diverse and widespread, reflecting the polymorphous nature of the god, whose duality was attached to the positive and negative aspects of wine. Dionysus had more than one major myth,

37. Martin, *Ancient Greece*, 62, 69, 130.
38. Ibid., 31, 48.
39. Pekkanen, *Interpreting,* 125.
40. Peter Connolly and Hazel Dodge, *The Ancient City: Life in Classical Athens and Rome.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 112.
41. Pekkanen, *Interpreting,* 32.
42. *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, trans. David G. Rice, John Stambaugh, *Sources for the Study of Greek Religion* (Chicago: Scholars, 1979), 171-183.
43. Ibid.



Orpheus in Mourning. Arthur Cotterell, ed., *Encyclopedia of World Mythology.*

one of which involved his divine conception and treacherous murder, followed by rebirth to a human mother, Semele.[44] Another story relates that Dionysus was ripped from limb to limb, or that a jealous king was the one who was destroyed, in this case by frenzied female followers of Dionysus, the *Bacchanal*.[45] Manifestations of worship were particularly varied in this cult, but often involved sexual symbolism in the *liknon* covered phallus.[46] Dionysus was sometimes associated with Orphism, which involved the veneration of Orpheus, a mortal who was also murdered by the Bacchanals, and is connected with the theme of life after death.

The cult of Isis/Osiris served as the center of Egyptian religion in the classical period and developed into a mystery when it became Hellenized during the early Imperial period. Worship of Isis did not migrate to the Greek mainland until the early Roman period.[47] The main component of the foundational myth involves the wandering and struggles of Isis who, much like Demeter, searched for her lost lover/son, Osiris.[48] He had been dismembered (or drowned) by another god, Seth, and his pieces were scattered across the earth. After Isis collected his remains and buried him, Osiris was resurrected, this time as the god of the underworld.[49] Demeter and Isis were paralleled during Hellenization

44. Euripides, *The Bacchae,* quoted in Meyer, *Sourcebook*, 65.
45. Ibid., 74.
46. John Ferguson, *An Illustrated Encyclopedia of Mysticism in the Mystery Religions* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), 132
47. Burkert, *Mysteries,* 78.
48. For myth variations, see Burkert, *Mysteries*, 78.

and eventually became identified and incorporated with each other.[50] Though Greek in form and ritual, the Mystery of Isis assimilated Egyptian aspects.[51]

Similar is the Mystery of Attis/Magna Mater (the Great Mother), who also had a lover/son relationship. This mystery evolved in Asia Minor on Anatolia and came to Greece before the third century BCE, possibly as early as the Archaic period. According to the myth, Cybele (Magna Mater) struck Attis with madness in a pique of jealous rage, upon which he castrated himself and died. Cybele mourned his death and begged to Zeus to allow his regeneration. According to the main version of the myth, Zeus allowed for his partial regeneration. He appeared to be dead, but he did not decay, could move a finger, and had hair growth.[52] The Mysteries of Attis and the Great Mother have a particular emphasis on the suffering of both the god and the initiate, and additionally require mystes to renounce carnal desires in favor of a heightened spiritual mentality.[53] Attis was additionally paralleled and associated with Adonis, a quasi-god who died and was resurrected.[54]

These (Mystery rites) included *legomena*, "things recited," *deiknymena*, "things shown," and *dromena*, "things performed."

The Persian/Roman cult of Mithras is of additional interest though will not be of great importance to this study as it was never a true Greek cult. Though Hellenized, the Mysteries of Mithras, an ancient Persian god, were not established in the Roman Empire until 100 CE and was not found on the Greek mainland. This cult also differed from its earlier counterparts as it was a "cult of machismo" that held a special affinity for hunters, and was exclusively for men.[55] Additionally, Mithras was not a suffering god, though the themes of life, death, and rebirth are of great significance in his mysteries.

Resurrection of the God

The widespread motif of divine rebirth in the mysteries doubtless formed the basis for a new perspective in the Greek religious community. [56] However, in the Greek cults, the theme was expressed in a variety of vague manifestations rather than through the firm theology of a god who

49. Plutarch, "On Isis and Osiris," *Plutarch's Morals: Theosophical Essays.* trans. C. W. King (London: George Bell and Sons, 1889), 89.

50. Diodorus wrote, "The initiation of Isis is very much like the initiation of Demeter. It is only a question of changing the names," quoted in Pekkanen, *Interpretations,* 82.

51. Ibid, 79-82.

52. Arnobius of Sicca, *The Case against the Pagans,* Book 5.5-5.7, 16-7, in Richard Reitzenstein, *Hellenistic Mystery Religions: Their Basic Ideas and Significance*, trans., John Steely (Pittsburg: Pickwick, 1978), 44.

53. Joscelyn Godwin, *Mystery Religions in the Ancient World* (San Fransisco: Harper and Row, 1981), 236.

54. Ibid.

55. Meyer, *Sourcebook,* 289.

56. Burkert, *Mystery,* 175.



Drawing on bowl of Dionysian satyrs. C.M. Bowra, *Classical Greece*.

dies and is resurrected, as is found in Christianity.[57] Demeter, Dionysus, Isis, and Attis all represented suffering gods as well as symbolic cult heroes to their respective mysteries. This new role allowed the god to be seen as compassionate toward humans, fostering a personal relationship with the god who acted as "Redeemer." The realities of life and death were very real to the Greeks, and mystery initiations likely reenacted the death and suffering of the god, followed by a joyful celebration of the god's return, as an attempt to participate in the transcendent powers of the divine.

This common mystery theme of the paradox of life and death probably had its earliest origins in pre-history harvest festivals and agrarian fertility rites.[58] The two earliest mysteries, that of Dionysus and Demeter the vegetative gods, were closely related to the primitive expression of life and death as represented by nature. As the vine and the corn both die yearly then are renewed the following year, so did the gods return in proof that the divine could embrace the cycle of life found in nature and overcome the linear fate of humanity. Thus, the yearly ceremonies in honor of Demeter and the biannual festival for Dionysus did not commemorate a historical event but rather a yearly occurrence of both grief and joy.[59]

The Dionysus myths contain additional images of rebirth, as Dionysus is "immaculately" reborn to a mortal mother. The first stories concerning his origins give Persephone and Zeus as the divine parents of a god whose life was tragically ended when he is beguiled, dismembered, and then eaten by the treacherous Titans.[60] In some versions Athena rescues his heart and in others this is the part cooked in a stew by the Titans.[61] In any case the rebirth of Dionysus to human mother Semele was supposed to have served as a catalyst of insight and creative inspiration for mankind, as the deity became Man. It also symbolized a divine conquering of death and an actual rebirth.

The Mystery of Isis was unique in that Isis was the god who suffered and provided salvation to the initiates, but Osiris represented the god who conquered death. This duality is an indication of the nebulous theologies of the mysteries, particularly in the

57. Campbell, *Pagan Mysteries,* 151.

58. Mircea Eliade, *Rites and Symbols of Initiation: The Mysteries of Birth and Rebirth*, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York: Harper and Row, 1958), 111.

59. Campbell, *Pagan Mysteries,* 174; see: Cosmopolous, *Greek Secret Cults,* 202.

60. Euripides, *The Bacchae*, quoted in Meyer, *Sourcebook*, 65.

61. Walter Otto, *Dionysus, Myth and Cult* (Dallas: Indiana University Press, 1965), 89.

concept of rebirth. Though Isis was the primary god of the cult and the deity associated with a personal relationship, her exclusive worship was perhaps not the only means to gain salvation. Lucius in *Metamorphosis* obtained an assurance for the afterlife specifically through his participation in the death, burial, and resurrection of Osiris.[62]

The Mystery of Attis may convey the greatest indication of god-resurrection, though this is debated by historians as the official myth gives the regeneration of Attis as partial at best.[63] However, a famous text of Firmicius Maternus thought to be in relation to the Mysteries of Attis connotates evidence of resurrection, with the priest whispering into the ear of the mystai, "Take comfort, O initiates of the god *who has been saved*: out of suffering we shall have redemption."[64] The festival of Attis resembled some components of Christianity; at the spring equinox, there was a processional into the city of believers bearing reeds. Great reverence was held for a pine tree under which it was believed that Attis perished. On March 22, the tree was "laid to rest" and a day of mourning commenced. This was followed by a "Day of Blood" in which believers flagellated and in some cases possibly self-castrated in an attempt to identify with the "passion" and suffering of Attis. On the third day, the initiates joyfully celebrated the resurrection of Attis in hopes that they too would have the promise of everlasting life. Though the cult of Attis originated much earlier, this particular ceremony may not have taken place until around or after 100 CE.[65] As such, there is no way to determine how Christianity and the Mysteries of Attis influenced each other. The lack of explicit doctrinal sources makes it difficult to assess the degree of specificity or significance that the role of resurrection sustained in the Phrygian cults or how this may have shifted over time.

Rebirth in the Initiate

Plato wrote, "To die is to be initiated."[66] The role of rebirth in the *mystai* was expressed in far more explicit terms than that of the god in Greek mysteries.[67] The rebirth of the initiate was expressed through the transformation of the mystai as the result of a connection with or new relationship to the god, and took place during a highly emotional experience of the sacred. Hippolytus wrote of a "spiritual begetting which is heavenly from above."[68] Similarly, a Mithras Inscription: "Him who is piously reborn and created by sweet

62. Campbell, *Pagan Mysteries,* 150.

63. Arnobius of Sicca, *The Case against the Pagans,* Book 5.5-5.7, 16-7, in Richard Reitzenstein, *Hellenistic Mystery Religions: Their Basic Ideas and Significance*, trans., John Steely (Pittsburg: Pickwick, 1978), 44.

64. Maternus, *Pagan Religions,* in Klauck, *Graeco-Roman Religions,* 126; see: Meyer, *Sourcebook,* 159.

65. Godwin, *Ancient World,* 112; see: Meyer, *Sourcebook,* 114.

66. Angus, *Mystery Religions,* 96. Eliade, *Rites and Symbols,*111.

67. Burkert, *Mystery,* 238.

68. Hippolytus, *Philosophoumena*, quoted in Angus, *Mystery Religion,* 97.

things," referenced the change undergone by the initiate.[69]

There is evidence for ceremonial, symbolic behavior of a rebirth nature, such as in the rituals of Attis in which initiates "received nourishment of milk as if reborn."[70] The rite of *taurabolium* served as both symbolic rebirth and purification. Originally a hunting and games ceremony, *taurabolium* (the sacrifice of a bull), and *cribolium* (sacrifice of a goat or sheep), developed into a ritual in which a priest might purify himself.[71] The ritual was thought to impart special energy which the priest would be able to pass on. The ceremony took on new meaning when adopted by the Mysteries of Attis, probably after the first century CE, and was utilized as an expression of the rebirth motif. Prudentius revealed that the initiate would stand in a hole over which the bull was slaughtered, "Bending backwards he presents his face, his mouth and cheeks to the scarlet flood; his eyes he washes in the gory flow. He moistens his palate and his tongue and sips and gulps the somber blood. In his tomb, a bull's inferior blood has washed him clean."[72] The initiate would then emerge from the womb-like hole, dripping with blood as though newly born.[73] An earlier expression of the rebirth symbolism is found in the ceremonies for Dionysus in which a symbolic burial left the initiate's head exposed, presumably to allow the mystai to "come back to life." [74]

An earlier expression of the rebirth symbolism is found in the ceremonies for Dionysus in which a symbolic burial left the initiate's head exposed, presumably to allow the mystai to "come back to life."

Rebirth during initiation is also evident in more definite terms. Maternus spoke of the mystai as someone who was *moritorius,* or "about to die."[75] Apuleuis related what was likely his own experience: "I approached the confines of death...and born through the elements I returned," then later referred to being "*renatus,*" or reborn.[76] The full realization of the rebirth role is apparent in the Roman-period Mithras cults who were more explicit in their doctrinal writings on the rebirth of the mystai. The Mithras Liturgy included a Hymn of Regeneration: "Lord having been regenerated I depart in exhalation, and having been exhalted, I

69. *Mithras Incription,* quoted in Meyer, *Sourcebook,* 207.

70. Sallustius, *Concerning the Gods*, quoted in Eliade, *Rites and Symbols,* 113; Angus, *Mystery Religion,* 98; Grant, *Hellenistic Religions,* 182.

71. Klauck, *Graeco-Roman Religions*, 127.

72. Prudentius, *Peristephanon,* Book X 101, Lines 1-50, trans. C. K. Barrett, in C. K. Barrett, *The New Testament Background* (London: SPCK, 1956), 96-7.

73. In a similar ceremony of Mithras, the initiate would emerge from the cave, with his garments dripping in fresh blood. Klauck, *Graeco-Roman Religion*, 127.

74. Angus, *Mystery Religion,* 97.

75. Eliade, *Rites and Symbols,* 113.

76. Apuleuis, *Metamorphosis,* quoted in Meyer, 189. This play is considered semi-autobiographical.

die. Born again for rebirth...."[77] The mysteries believed rebirth to be necessary for salvation: "No one can be saved without resurrection," which is thought to refer to the mystai rather than the god.[78] The concept of salvation may have involved a sense of hope rather than an assurance of fate; Apuleuis spoke of a "voluntary death with a slight chance of redemption."[79] Hence, this "chance" likely rested on an esoteric experience, thought to result in a direct relationship to the god, who may or may not grant salvation to the initiate.

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The rebirth of the mystai involved making a mystical connection to the patron god. This may have involved a connection in which the self was retained, or a sense of becoming one with the god, or the *Aion,* the world spirit. A Greek papyrus states "I am thee and thou art I" in reference to the connection between humanity and the divine.[80] Damasicus spoke of a dream in which he had "become Attis, and that I was being initiated by the Mother of the Gods in the festival called *hilaria*, in as much as it was intended to signify that our salvation from death was accomplished."[81] It is unclear whether he referred to an actual dream or merely a dreamlike trance induced during initiation. In *Corpus Hermeticum*, Hermes tells his son Tat that one who is reborn during initiation has, "become another; he is god and son of God. He is all and is in All; being wholly composed of Powers of God."[82]

The *Magical Papyri* refer to the way this mystical connection or new relationship transforms the mystai: "I, born mortal from mortal womb, but transformed by tremendous power and an incorruptible right hand, and with the immortal spirit, the immortal Aion and master of the diadems, I am sanctified through holy consecrations."[83] Plato referenced the more concrete and permanent changes wrought through initiation, "being initiated into perfect Mysteries he alone becomes truly perfect; but since he separates himself from human interest and he turns his attention toward the divine, he is rebuked by the vul-

77. *Mithras Liturgy*, quoted n Angus, *Mystery Religion,* 100. Elsewhere in the *Liturgy:* "Today having been born again by thee...." and "Since I have been born again from you today, I have become immortal out of so many myriads in this hour...", Meyer, *Sourcebook,* 217.

78. *Corpus Hermeticum,* quoted in Meyer, *Sourcebook,* 253.

79. Apuleuis, *Metamorphosis,* quoted in Angus, *Mystery Religion,* 97.

80. *The Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, trans. F. G. Kenyon, quoted in Angus, *Mystery* Religions, 101.

81. Damasicus, quoted in Angus, *Mystery Religions,* 97.

82. *Corpus Hermeticum*, quoted in Boring, *Hellenistic Commentary,* 512.

83. Elsewhere in the Liturgy: "I may gaze upon the immortal, beginning with the immortal spirit,...that I may be born again in thought and the sacred spirit may breather in me." Another line reveals a changed relationship: "I am the son." *Magical Papyri,* Mithras Liturgy, quoted in Boring, *Hellenistic Commentary,* 256.

gar, who consider him mad, and do not know he is inspired...."[84] That change therefore manifested itself as an alteration in perspective resulting from the new divine bond, and not the leaving behind of an old sinful body as is associated with Christian rebirth. The occasion was celebrated as a "spiritual birthday," and in the case of Isis, through a great feast and celebration the following day.[85] After a joyful rebirth the initiate may have been expected to evangelize his new faith, "Having learned all this, should you not become guide to the worthy, so that through you the human race might be saved by god?"[86] Thus, the role of rebirth in the initiate evolved over the centuries from a state of vague symbolism to a concept more fully expressed in the written form and accompanied by a higher level of expectations for discipleship.

Conclusion

All the Greek mysteries had a definite component of life and death which was expressed more clearly in terms of rebirth and resurrection as they matured and evolved. The role for the initiate however was more highly emphasized and remained of greater importance throughout the overall trend towards accentuating resurrection for both the god and the initiate over time.

The Greek mysteries were a unique form of religion with tremendous impact and impressive longevity. The personal element of the mysteries, both in the aspects of voluntary choice and union with the god, served as an "epoch-making transition for religion."[87] The mysteries directed the Greek consciousness towards immortality in a shift that manifested itself through lasting effects on the Western religious mind-set. The gods were transformed from cold and impersonal beings into deities who suffered and sympathized with mankind and offered both salvation and the spiritual rewards of an intimate relationship. The mysteries responded to spiritual longing by providing an outlet for deep religious emotion. The sense of mysticism fostered by the cults allowed even common people to experience the intangible and invisible made real. The dichotomy of diversity and continuity evident in the Greek mystery cults reflects a complex model of spiritual beliefs that lasted for two millennia.

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84. Plato, *Phaedrus*, quoted in Boring, *Hellenistic Commentary,* 288-9.
85. Apuleuis, *Metamorphosis* ,quoted in Meyer, *Sourcebook,* 190.
86. *Corpus Hermeticum,* quoted in Boring, *Hellenistic Commentary,* 512.
87. Angus, *Mystery Religion,* 253.

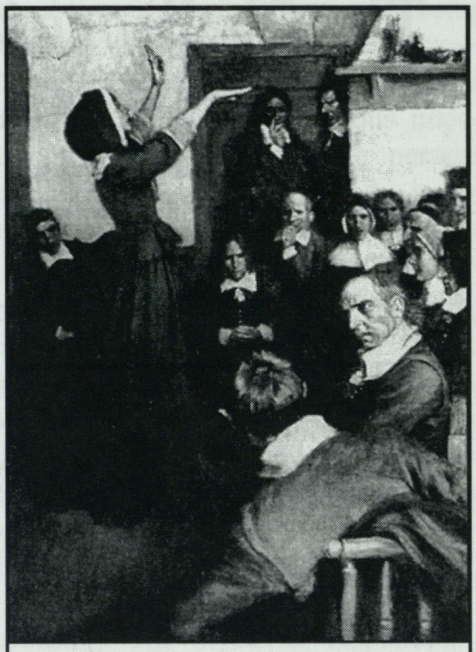
The Challenge in Historiography of American Religious History

By
Sarah Jay

In this article, Sarah Jay describes the challenges historians face when creating a narrative of American religious history. Addressing past trends and approaches, Jay also demonstrates the need for integrating the varied facets of American religious life in order to fully understand the religious history of the United States.

Historians understand that when they are researching or writing on a given subject, they will have a set of facts that require interpretation. Because interpretation is not a black and white area, historians generally work within a framework or critical method; this is referred to as historiography. Often these methods make a story as interesting as history itself, and this is certainly true of the historiography of American religious history. A glance at the titles of the books written on the subject does not reveal much variation (*Religion in America, History of Religion in the United States, Religion in American Life*), nor do the names and dates within them, but the presentation of these people and events has seen a great deal of adaptation. Beginning with a Protestant framework and evolving through the years, these methods have attempted to balance scholarship on the subject. Today, the tension between the traditional Christian centering of the story and the newer drive toward "otherness" has left historians in the field frustrated. A greater understanding of this debate is gained by examining the history of the historiography and the current arguments and trends; this will allow for critical conclusions in order to gain a working historiography.

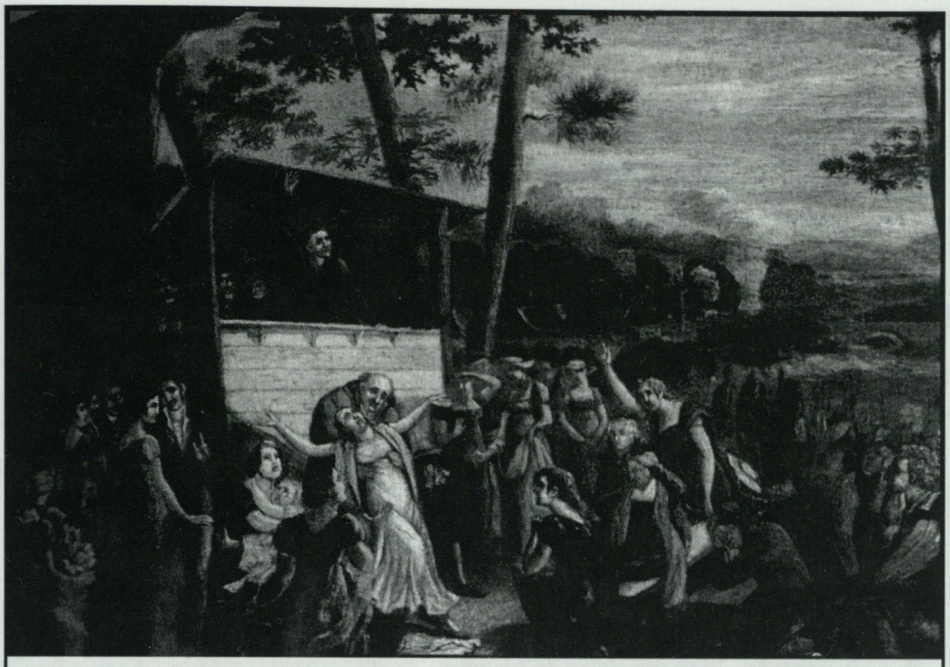
The field of American religious history got its start in the antebellum years, first with Robert Baird (*Religion in America*, 1843) and then with Philip Schaff (*America*, 1855). During those early years, the historiography of these writers was decidedly Protestant in leaning, and fell more under the heading of church history than religious history. The bulk of the work in the field came after the turn of the century



Anne Hutchinson preaching during a meeting in her Boston home. Alan Brinkley, *The Unfinished Nation.*

and diverged along several different methodological lines. This included exploration under the frontier thesis made famous by Frederick Jackson Turner (William Warren Sweet, *Religion on the Frontier*, 1931-46), emphasis on Puritan studies, a new focus on intellectual history, or the study of ideas, and finally a conservative run of surveys.[1] Clifton E. Olmstead's *History of Religion in the United States* (1960) was arguably the most important of these surveys, followed closely by Sidney Mead's *The Lively Experiment* (1963). Olmstead's volume "exemplified very

1. Henry Warner Bowden, "The Historiography of American Religion," in *Encyclopedia of the American Religious Experience*, eds. Charles Lippy and Peter Williams (1988): 3-16.



An early nineteenth century camp meeting. Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity.*

clearly the move to seek a unified field in the study of religion in American history . . . it remains the approach around which – or in reaction to which – the remainder of this and succeeding accounts of religion in American history were written" throughout the remainder of the twentieth century.[2]

It was not until the second half of the twentieth century that religious history adopted a more pluralist ideology and began moving out of the seminary and into the university. It is from this point that religious historians set out to redefine the dominant paradigm and have encountered seemingly insurmountable problems. George Marsden and Nathan Hatch, both from the University of Notre Dame, and Mark Noll from Wheaton College, have established themselves as authorities in the Protestant-centered historiography camp. Marsden has defended his position against secularists who wish to ignore America's Christian heritage:

> Philosophical naturalism pervades not only history departments but the entire academy. How else to explain the university's warm embrace of postmodernism and continued hostility toward religion, even though both postmodern and religious intellectuals have raised serious questions about the Enlightenment and scientific rationality? The only points of view that are allowed full academic credence are those that presuppose purely naturalistic worldviews.[3]

2. John F. Wilson, *Religion and the American Nation* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003), 19.



The Morman migration westward. Alan Brinkley, *The Unfinished Nation.*

In opposition to the Protestant-centered historiography is Thomas A. Tweed, from University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and Catherine Albanese, a professor at University of California, Santa Barbara. Tweed edited a work entitled *Retelling U.S. Religious History*; Stephen Stein describes its impact in this way: "They go on to ask the question whether comprehensive or grand narratives are possible, or even desirable. By implication . . . they suggest they are not. The alternative proposed by Tweed and his colleagues is the construction of 'new stories.'"[4] Albanese placed plurality first and religion as an expression of communal America second, a new prioritization within historiography.[5] Why is this debate so contentious? R. Laurence Moore explained that the importance of power and status in the writing of history determines the course of these insider and outsider stories.[6] These claims of dominance create historiographical complexity within this field.

The mid-twentieth century shift was a response to a larger shift within the field of history. As the social sciences became more prominent, history went from an intellectually focused nature towards a new cultural ideology that investigates social trends more analytically. This proved timely for the newer trend toward outsiders or previously neglected groups in religious studies, in what Harry S. Stout refers to as "the shift from mainline to sideline," because it provided a basis for more diverse research.[7] Along with Jon Butler, Stout takes a positive position toward this shift:

> A great historiographical transition has occurred over the past generation – the transition from the "intellectual history" of major philosophers and theologians and a history of "public events" in churches and denominations that dominated early scholarship, to the "social history" of "ordinary people" that characterizes recent historiography. Neither of these traditions is right or

3. D. G. Hart, "The Failure of American Religious History," *The Journal of the Historical Society* 1, no. 1 (2000): 9.

4. Stephen Stein, "American Religious History – Decentered with Many Centers," *Church History* 71 (June 2002): 374-9.

5. Wilson, 31-2.

6. R. Laurence Moore, "Insiders and Outsiders in American Historical Narrative and American History," *American Historical Review* 87 (1982): 390-423, in Jon Butler and Harry S. Stout, eds., *Religion in American History: A Reader* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 200.

7. Harry S. Stout and D. G. Hart, eds., *New Directions in American Religious History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 4.



"Negro Methodists Holding a Meeting in Philadelphia," by Paul Petrovich Svinin depicts religious life for many African Americans. Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity.*

> wrong, rather, they complement each other; when they are taken together, they greatly enrich and deepen our understanding of religion in American life.[8]

Other historians, including Richard Wightman Fox, understand this trend as a movement away from relationship and connection within the historical narrative:

> What unifies the new cultural history is its interest in discerning "meanings" in the private as well as the public experience of the past, its turning away from the tracing of causes and effects in the public happenings of the past. It is not about seeing how we are connected to the past in a linear succession of events that stand in relation to one another as an occurrence stands to its consequences. It is not about explanation as much as it is about description, not about grasping the historian's traditional "change over time" as much as it is about experiencing our "difference" from other cultures.[9]

When these connections are abandoned for smaller monographic studies, historians surrender their methodology for something akin to phenomenology – that is, the observance of a tradition without any accompa-

8. Jon Butler and Harry S. Stout, eds., *Religion in American History: A Reader* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 3.

9. Richard Wightman Fox, "Experience and Explanation in Twentieth-Century American Religious History," in Harry S. Stout and D.G. Hart, eds., *New Directions in American Religious History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 395.



A depiction of a Quaker worship service. Note the inclusion of women in the service. James West Davidson et al. eds., *Nation of Nations.*

nying explanation or interpretation. Today, intellectual history and social history are competing for primacy in American religious history.

In a 2002 edition of *Church History*, the American Society of Church History asked the question, "Is there a center to American religious history?" The four essays that answered this question echoed the sentiments of other leading historians in the field: "no, but we need one." Peter Williams cautioned his colleagues against abandoning previous scholarship for newer ideologies:

> The historiographical truths of earlier generations – of William Warren Sweet, of Perry Miller, of Sidney Mead – have become not today's falsehoods, but rather essays towards understanding that are still useable for their positive contributions and that have been relativized rather than refuted by subsequent scholarly investigation. Our goal is the advancement of knowledge through the cumulative ongoing work of a scholarly community.[10]

Keeping this in mind, scholars are attempting to find a way to base American religious history on a Puritan/Protestant foundation and successfully incorporate all of the diverse religious expressions that have found a home in America in the last few centuries. Christianity can no longer provide a center for this story; at the same time, "otherness" proves inadequate because it is a collection of smaller stories with very little to unify it. David Wills refers to this as "the perennial debate that always seems to hold center stage as the

10. Peter W. Williams, "Does American Religious History Have a Center? – Reflections," *Church History* 71 (June 2002): 386-90.



Dancing during a Shaker worship service. James West Davidson, et al. eds., *Nation of Nations.*

Big Issue in the field."[11] Edwin S. Gaustad notes that while we are moving away from early historiography, we do not seem to be going in a clear new direction.[12] The conclusion? Scholars admit they do not know how to resolve this issue, but theirs is a hopeful frustration. Noll writes, "Elements that historians once attempted to describe as discrete and competing principles, constructs, or conceptual languages are now much easier to see as overlapping, intermingled, or clashing in ways not conforming to modern categories."[13] Looking back at the history of the historiography, there is evidence that historians dealing with earlier scholarship balanced it with a broader methodology. Given time, American religious historians will work out an "overlapping and intermingled" framework.

Because of the difficulty in finding a working paradigm, American religious history has encountered opposition in being identified within the larger field of history. The question, "Does American religious history *need* a center?" should also be asked. Is it possible that the need for a center is secondary to the importance of exploration into hitherto untouched groups and ideas? Operating without a center relegates it to a collection of smaller studies that fall more easily under the heading "religious studies," with its interdisciplinary nature, especially sociological and anthropological. For the subject to influence history, it has to exhibit far-reaching conclusions and interpretations, which is impossible if it is broken up or de-centered. Stein describes the loss of a larger picture:

> The larger story of American religion cannot be dealt with adequately, in my judgment, from the exclusive vantage point of any one of these communities. I might call this kind of decentered history "microcentric religious history." When history abandons the larger interpretive narrative, there is a loss of awareness of contact and negotiation between and among religious groups.[14]

Herein lies the catch-22 of the field: to be respected it has to have a narrative and legitimate foundations, which must be Protestant to be credible, but at the same time, it must encompass all religious traditions, which would decenter the story. D. G. Hart understands the move into the side-

11. David Wills, "Forum: The Decade Ahead in Scholarship," *Religion and American Culture* 3 (winter 1993): 16, in William Vance Trollinger Jr., "Is There a Center to American Religious History?" *Church History* 71 (June 2002): 380-5.

12. Edwin S. Gaustad, *Religion in America: History and Historiography* (Richmond: William Byrd Press, 1966), 52.

13. Mark Noll, *America's God* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 449.

14. Stein, 374-9.

line as a failure within American religious history: "The mainline denominations were, and still are, the ones whose history is bound up most closely with the formation and development of the United States." In exploring the smaller stories, "religion became a strictly private and personal category inadequate to explain larger social phenomena." [15]

Many professors in the field have expressed frustration over creating a lesson plan that adequately deals with all sides of this story; again, we see the need for an overarching paradigm. Stein discusses the evolution of American religion being a response to other religious traditions, and says, "The fundamental rationale for distinctive religious beliefs and practices rests on the judgment that other available options are inadequate."[16] Without understanding the response, the historian loses a piece of the puzzle. Smaller stories cannot stand alone– they have to be incorporated into the larger narrative. There needs to be a beginning, middle and end to the story, a plot that students can follow, a continuing timeline. Here the need for a centering device is paramount, hence the ongoing dialogue.

The debate has not been resolved and at this point, historians and professors are making judgment calls about the historiography of American religious history. Within the arguments presented, it may be possible to fashion a solution to this problem. The two popular titles for the field, the more traditional "American religious history", and the newer version "Religion in America," have influenced the current debates. "American religious history" implies a center, a unified whole, whereas "Religion in America" denotes a collection of stories. Both titles share the subject and the location and within these parameters, any amount of discussion and debate is possible.

Because of the difficulty in finding a working paradigm, American religious history has encountered opposition in being identified within the larger field of history.

Many historians have suggested that since the subject of religion inherently causes problems across ideological lines, the location should come to the forefront as the center for future work in the field. America is the "host culture" for this particular religious history. Gaustad posits that "the sense of community that 'church' implied must now be found, if at all, in the 'American' designation."[17] William Vance Trollinger Jr. wrote that the environment of America and her history necessarily shape the course of religious communities, who both affect it and respond to it.[18] America possesses such a unique history that it provides an ample

15. Hart, 17, 3.
16. Stein, 374-9.
17. Gaustad, 59.
18. William Vance Trollinger Jr., "Is There a Center to American Religious History?" *Church History* 71 (June 2002): 380-5.

framework in which to place religious history. H. Richard Niebuhr said:

> America replaced the horizontal lines of European class structure with the vertical lines of a sectionalized society and continued or originated church schisms in accordance with that pattern of provincial organization of East and West and North and South which underlies its economic and political history.[19]

Regionalism, Republicanism, the pioneer spirit, the development of civil religion – all of these – and more – have played a role in shaping religious expression. Wilson discusses this in terms of "contacts, boundaries, and exchanges,"[20] and in America, the voluntary principle, that is religious liberties, allows for maximum application of these motifs. Schaff reminded his readers that while Europe's "ecclesiastical institutions appear in historical connection with Catholicism, in North America, every thing had a Protestant beginning."[21] Schaff makes a strong case for not ignoring Protestant beginnings for newer stories. At the same time, we must acknowledge that America's religious expression did not remain within this mold, but rather responded to it. This led to the creation of new sects as well as brand new traditions, with an important role played by the religions of immigrants.

Analogous to the constructing of a play, Protestantism would be the expositional background, pluralism would be the developing plot, and America would be the set. European in-laws might make an appearance in an early scene, and new characters would be introduced every few moments. And the audience could appreciate the plot and the relationships without an overarching Protestant or "otherness" theme. There will always be historians who achieve great scholarship in tandem with their own commitments, and there will be those scholars who prefer to see the importance of the smaller, traditionally neglected, stories. A great American religious historian will find a way to tell the whole story.

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19. H. Richard Niebuhr, "Sectionalism and Denominationalism in America," The Social Sources of Denominationalism (1929), in Patrick Allitt, ed., *Major Problems in American Religious History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2000), 8.
20. Wilson, 37.
21. Philip Schaff, "Religion and the Church," *America: A Sketch of Its Political, Social, and Religious Character* (1854), in Patrick Allitt, ed., *Major Problems in American Religious History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2000), 3, 5.

Medieval Worlds: Patterns, Connections, Contexts, and Chronological Narratives

by
Dan McClure

Using a combination of the theories purported by the Annales School and those set forth by Karl Marx, Dan McClure weaves together an historical model dubbed MTAM. With the help of this historical method, Dan explores the medieval world from the vantage of different lengths of time, from an overall picture of the period to the minute details of the crusades. Medieval Worlds demonstrates that by taking a step back and then taking two forward, historians can grasp a more comprehensive understanding of a period in history and can be better prepared to analyze the relationships and developments within that context.

> *Men do not make history, rather it is history above all that makes men and thereby absolves them from blame.* -- Fernand Braudel[1]

The *Annales* school of history stresses the need for historians to shift their focus between different scales or views of history, enabling them to examine the contexts and chronological narratives at various perspectives within the overall patterns of world history. This methodology enables a structured, three-dimensional analysis that explains civilization by measuring its roots, tracking its tendencies, and analyzing its episodes. The first scale, a "quasi-immobile time of structures and traditions" that traces a slow-moving relationship between man – who is oblivious to these changes - and his environment, characterizes the *longue durée*.[2] This interaction includes the reappearance of ancient concepts, the cyclical models of inhabitant contact, and the geographic restrictions and benefits afforded to civilizations. These constitute the long-term *patterns* of history. The second scale encompasses the "slow but perceptible rhythms" of demography, and the social, economic, and political structures of civilizations, or in Braudel's words, "the history of groups and groupings."[3] Labeled "conjunctures," or medium-term, this scale measures between fifty and one hundred years, and provides the *context* for the most detailed level, traditional or narrative history.[4] In discussing this relatively short measurement of time, Braudel warns

> traditional history…is the most exciting of all, the richest in human interest, and also the most dangerous. We must learn to distrust this history with its still burning passion, as it was felt, described, and lived by contemporaries whose lives were as short and as short-sighted as ours.[5]

This last scale, the short-term, fills the generations shaping the medium-term with the accounts of individuals, politics, and culture through *chronological narratives*.

In his expansive account of ancient, medieval, and modern historiography, Ernst Breisach concludes that the *Annales'* theoretical shortcoming lies in its failure to study "power and power relationships."[6] Taking this fault into consideration, this article suggests that if the *Annales'* School integrates Marx's "materialist conception of history" into its methodological paradigm, then the new scale – the mode of production – will complement the other three scales of the *Annales* by adding a connecting factor between the measurements of time.[7] Marx's materialist conception of history is based on the notion that what separates human individuals from

1. Fernand Braudel, *A History of Civilizations* (New York: Penguin Books, 1995), xxiii.
2. Ibid., xxiv.
3. Ibid., Quotes are originally from Braudel's *La Mediterranée*, published 1949.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., xxv.
6. Ernst Breisach, *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval, & Modern* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 376.
7. Karl Marx, "The Materialist Conception of History," in T. B. Bottomore and Maximilien Rubel, eds., *Karl Marx: Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), 53.



Painted by Raphael in 1510, the *School of Athens* shows a revived interest in classical works. James Beck, *Raphael: Te Stanza della Segnatura.*

animals stems from their constitution and relation to nature. Through their constitution, humans "produce their means of subsistence," and in doing so, their "material life."[8] This becomes Marx's model of society (the mode of production) and consists of three components: forces of production, relations of production, and the superstructure. The tools, techniques, and raw materials combined with labor form the "forces of production." The "relations of production," an economic structure, is made up of the division of labor and the cooperation and subordination required to sustain production. The "superstructure," built on the economic structure's foundation, are "composed of legal and political institutions with their supporting ideology."[9] These forces and relations interact throughout history eventually coming into conflict when the established mode of production becomes obsolete.

Similar to the *Annales*' concept of historical time, Marx measured history in epochs that contained increasingly superior modes of production. These epochs include primitive communism, ancient slavery, medieval feudalism, and capitalism.[10] Spanning hundreds of years, Marx's epochs slowly evolved within "the womb of the old society," where new political, legal, and philosophical systems mature and eventually replace their predecessors.[11] Marx explains:

> At a certain stage of their development, the material forces of production in society come in conflict with the existing relations of production, or - what is but a legal expression for the same thing - with the property relations within which they had been at work before. From forms of development of the forces of production these relations turn into their fetters. Then occurs a period of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed.[12]

While the separation of time in categorical epochs simplifies historical study, Marx's theory helps to elucidate both the relationships of power and how these relationships affect the political, economic, and cultural institutions of society. By analyzing the central economic institutions in society, organized in the interests of the most dominant segment within Marx's

8. Ibid.
9. John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History* (New York: Longman, 2002), 217-8.
10. Breisach, 296.
11. Ibid., 52.
12. Ibid., 51-2.

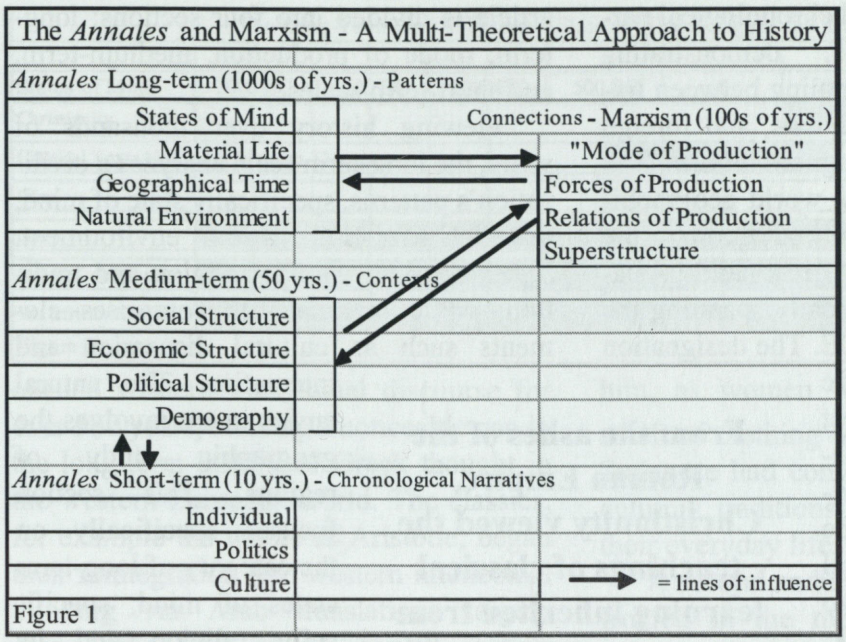


Figure 1

model, the mode of production is both compatible with, and complementary to the other *Annales*' scales through its establishment of *connections* between the *patterns* and *contexts* of history. As seen in Figure 1, this Marxist theoretical and *Annales* methodological combination (MTAM – Marxist Theory and *Annales'* Methodology) connects the context and chronological narrative with the overall patterns of history.[13] The long-term patterns directly influence the mode of production through long-established structures and traditions, commingled with contemporary technological and intellectual innovations from a given era. In turn, the mode of production filters its own organizing institutions, via the ideological thought of the era, into society within the structures of the medium-term. This process moves in reverse as well; if a radical break with the past occurs through a variety of events in the short-term, then the influence is felt in the medium-term and finally the mode of production. Examples of this phenomenon include the industrial revolution, communist revolutions, and feudal to market-economy transitions over the past 500 years. In the long-term, states of mind (traditions) and material life (the harnessing of natural resources) are the most malleable items of this reverse influence; according to some scientists, there is a possibility that the natural environment is affected by the mode of production due to global warming in contemporary times.[14]

This article will illustrate the different perspectives achieved through the combination of these theories by placing selected examples from the medieval world into the MTAM paradigm. Patterns with their con-

13. Figure is the author's creation.

14. U. C. Mishra, "Level Trends and Physical Consequences: Applications to the U.S. shore," *Earth-Science Reviews* 33, no. 2 (November 1992): 73-109.Environmental Impact of Coal Industry and Thermal Power Plants in India," *Journal of Environmental Radioactivity* 72, no. 1-2 (2004): 35-40; Chi Zhang, Michael M. May and Thomas C. Heller, "Impact on Global Warming of Development and Structural Changes in the Electricity Sector of Guangdong Province, China," *Energy Policy* 29, no. 3 (February 2001): 179-203; Charles H. Fletcher, III, "Sea-

nections to contexts and chronological narratives will emerge, demonstrating societies' incessant grappling between traditional thought, innovations, and foreign cultural influences throughout this era. The concept of the medieval world geographically covers the region of Europe, the Mediterranean Sea, Africa, and Asia-minor, while chronologically spanning the years 500 CE to 1500 CE. The designation of periods with specific dates does not suggest that there existed a distinct break with the previous epoch; rather, the dates serve as general markers separating two eras, which, at their peak, possessed different structural elements forming society. Therefore, the dates given for the medieval world represent the rise of medieval characteristics in the first few hundred years during and after the fall of the Roman Empire, with the middle years representing the peak of that period. The last few hundred years possess characteristics similar to the first few in that they represent a transition between the coming age and the current age. Though this explanation will incite argument in the academic community, for the sake of simplicity historians continue to measure time with designated eras and with accompanying labels for scholars of those fields, such as medievalist. Accordingly, the medieval world encompasses the beginning of the integration of local cultures into an increasingly unified global civilization, as seen in today's world. Using specific examples to demonstrate the links, this article is divided into four sections: long-term, mode of production, medium-term, and short-term scales.

From the ashes of the Roman Empire, Christianity viewed the teachings of classical learning inherited from antiquity with apprehension.

Viewing history over thousands of years, the long-term scale analyzes a civilization's patterns, specifically state of mind, material life, and natural environment. States of mind include religion and tradition, while material life comprises elements such as cultural dispersion and interaction. The natural environment involves the geographic study of regions. This section focuses specifically on the category of long-term states of mind, specifically religion and its interaction with tradition. Noted by Braudel as "the strongest feature of civilization," religion boldly affects the "habits of mind" and "collective mentality" of the society's masses.[15] From the ashes of the Roman Empire, Christianity viewed the teachings of classical learning inherited from antiquity with apprehension. From the third to sixth century, some Christian intellectuals, including Tertullian, Lactantius, and Pope Gregory the Great, viewed the classics as a threat to Christianity because of their pagan origins, while others such as Augustine and Jerome, according to historian J. R. S. Phillips, suggested their use as purely "intellectual exercise[s]."[16] Thus, classical works remained

15. Braudel, 22.
16. J. R. S. Phillips, *The Medieval Expansion of Europe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 8.

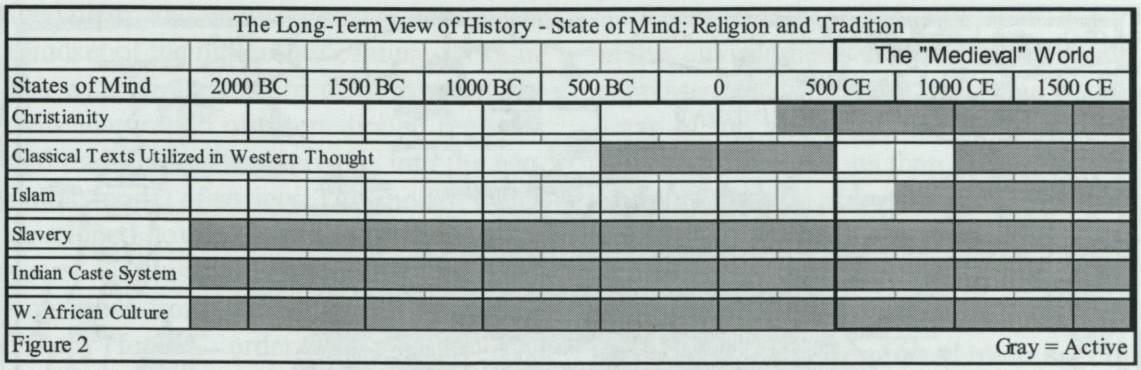


Figure 2

outside western intellectual discourse for over 500 years, creating a noticeable gap in the long-term history of Greek thought in the western European world. The classics, for example the works of Aristotle, began their reintegration into western intellectual thinking via Arab translations largely around the time of the twelfth-century renaissance; most of these came from contact with Muslim scholars living on the Iberian Peninsula after Islam's initial expansion in the seventh and eighth centuries.[17]

Another long-term conflict occurred across the Strait of Gibraltar, on the continent of Africa, where Arab Muslims encountered practices among different cultures that deviated from their conversion to Islam. In particular, West Africans appropriated and discarded various attributes of Islam according to their long-term traditions. For instance the narrative of the well-known Muslim world traveler, Ibn Battuta, praised the Sudanese's appropriate observance of prayer times, in concurrence with Islam; however, the lack of clothing and modesty in the local cultures mortified him, as women went about "without a stitch of clothing on them."[18] Though the Sudanese had converted to Islam, ancient cultural traditions still predominated in their everyday life.

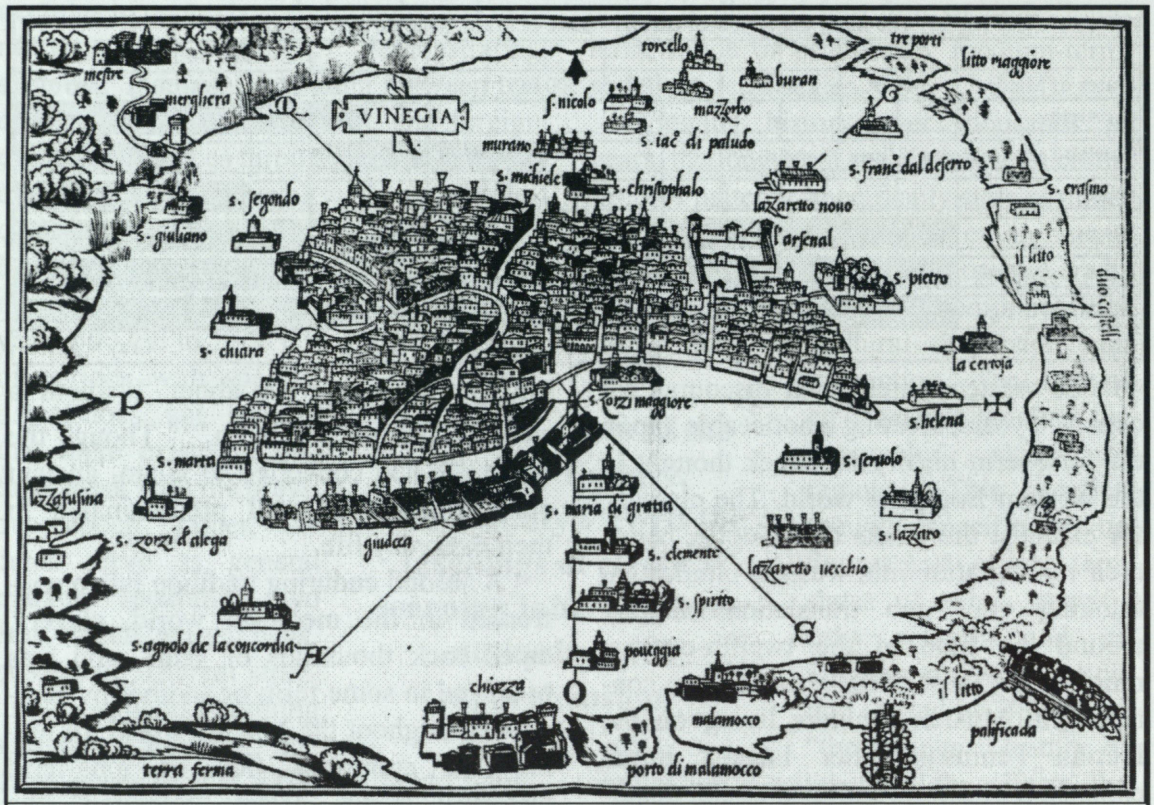
A second enduring tradition Islam confronted in the medieval world, slavery, dated back thousands of years, and was practiced in some form or another by societies throughout the Muslim world. In facing the enormous tide of long-term historical trends, Islam "tolerated" the arrangement, but slowly sought to dismantle the practice through the teachings of the Prophet.[19] Finally, a two thousand year old hierarchical caste system ironically aided Muslim expansion into India in the latter part of the twelfth century.[20] Over the centuries, the inherent inequality between the different castes had produced a social system "apathetic to the fortunes of the ruling

17. R. N. Swanson, *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 50-4.

18. Edward William Bovill, *The Golden Trade of the Moors* (Princeton: Markus Wiener, 1999), 63-4; Ibn Battuta, *Travels in Asia and Africa,* trans. H. A. R. Gibb (London, 1929), 317, quoted in Bovill, 95.

19. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Religion and Politics in India during the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 12.

20. J. M. Roberts, *History of the World to 1500* (New York: Knopf, 1976), 116.



Venice, a center in the Medieval trading world. Norbert Huse and Wolfgang Wolters, *The Art of Renaissance Venice: Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting, 1460-1590* .

dynasties," and provided the Muslim armies with a quick victory at the expense of centuries old tradition.[21]

These long-term states of mind, from rediscovering thousand-year-old texts and ideas to the slow dismantling of traditional practices, appear in a lifetime as nothing more than everyday custom. However, viewed as patterns over thousands of years, they become salient features of history subjected to periodic adjustments.[22] Figure 2 illustrates the relative newness of Christianity and Islam in relation to the "medieval" world, and the probable difficulty (or ease) in adjusting traditional customs to fit the orthodoxy of the newer religions.[23] The adjustment of these long-term patterns into connected and institutionalized factors within society occurs at the next scale of time-measurement: the mode of production.

Although scholars see Marx's categorical separation of ancient slavery, medieval

21. Nizami, 84-5.

22. Information for Figure 2 is from Roberts: "Christianity," 240-1; "Classical Texts," 173; "Islam," 302-3; "Slavery," 48; "Indian Caste Systems," 113-4.

23. Figure is the author's creation.

feudalism, and capitalism as an antiquated mindset of the nineteenth century, its value lies with its use toward demonstrating the slow integration of international, regional, and traditional characteristics into the economic model of society. This model, which developed over three or four-hundred years, is illustrated by the transition from the established "feudal" order that had evolved in Europe after the fall of the western Roman Empire in 476, to the growth of a market-economy from the twelfth century onwards.[24] Thus, the mode of production offers transitions between the *Annales* long-term and medium-term scales by detailing the major connections that affect dominant economic and hierarchical systems. Kings, lords, religious figures, and large-property owners (i.e. the organizers of economic production) generally determined the managing systems in the medieval superstructure. The legal, political, and religious institutions of this superstructure bolstered peripheral activities, such as intellectual and cultural exchanges and trade with other civilizations. Essentially, this early transmission of regional ideas – today referred to as "globalization" – obliged the participant societies to either integrate or reject each other's cultural attributes.

The *Pax Mongolica* provided a secure trade route through Central Asia and allowed Italian merchants to trade directly with the East by way of the Silk Road.

Economically, a trade-balance occurs in this environment, creating what Braudel expresses as "differences in voltage;" some areas of the world become disproportionately more prosperous than others, and the effects influence the economic model of society over hundreds of years.[25] In the late European medieval world, Northern Italian cities dominated trade, specifically Genoa and Venice, who initiated the ascendance of Western European economic power. This eventually led to economic supremacy internationally in the latter-half of the second millennium by England, Spain, and France, among others. Phillips writes that the key to the Northern Italian cities' success lay in their Roman tradition of urbanity – a product of long-term continuity – and their geographic positioning along the Mediterranean Sea.[26] Using an historical atlas, such as Colin McEvedy's *The Penguin Atlas of Medieval History*, one notes Venice's emergence as a predominant actor in the eleventh century, with trade routes reaching into the eastern Mediterranean, North Africa, the Byzantine Empire, and northern Europe. With the emergence of Genoa as another major Italian trading center in the thirteenth century, trade expanded to the Iberian Peninsula, up the Atlantic Ocean coast, and well into the North Sea by the end of the fifteenth century.[27] The *Pax Mongolica* provided a

24. Paul Fouracre, "Space, Culture and Kingdoms in Early Medieval Europe," in *The Medieval World,* eds. Peter Linehan and Janet L. Nelson (London: Routledge, 2001), 366-70.

25. Braudel, 409.

26. Phillips, 24.

secure trade route through Central Asia and allowed Italian merchants to trade directly with the East by way of the Silk Road.[28] Over the course of several hundred years, trade with the East brought the notion of a larger world to Europeans as they acquired resources leading to rapid growth in their economy, such as gold from the Sudan.[29]

Due to this increase in international trade, a vigorous market developed in Europe and created what Swanson describes as a "massive economic transformation" and "revolution" in its economy.[30] The increased production of agriculture matched the growth in population, which encouraged expansion and colonization of more land for exploitation.[31] With Europe's reliance on a cash economy, Swanson argues that trade and commercialization encouraged a trend toward migration from the country to the city[32] – a pattern seen in contemporary times to be inching toward long-term measurability. Necessitating the growth of urban centers that administered trade and market transactions, the mode of production fostered a "new mentality" toward the laity "below the ranks of nobility."[33] These laymen, arguably the forerunners to the modern proletariat and bourgeoisie, involved themselves in the new economic model's market professions, including workers and entrepreneurs, which were opened with the expansion of trade. Mobile cash allowed the purchasing of skilled labor at market value and, in turn, fashioned an increased reliance upon training institutions – universities - to produce professionals in order to administer particular services, such as "law, medicine, and administration," thus bypassing the feudal custom of noble privilege.[34] Evolving after the eleventh century, this market-driven paradigm provided the foundation for the Italian Renaissance, the intellectual and scientific thought of the Enlightenment, and the victory of free-market capitalism in the nineteenth century. The superstructure's systems of management slowly moved from the clutches of the European nobility to the hands of the trained commoners, making them economic leaders of their era. Generational alterations in society influenced these changes, which leads to the next scale, the medium-term.

The institutional models emanating from the mode of production influence the medium-term. This scale of history, spanning fifty to one hundred years, contains social structures (intellectual discourse and religious movements), economic structures (economic growth and recessions, as well as taxation arrangements), political structures (short-lived empires, occupations, colonization processes, and the retraction and expansion of religious and political boundaries), and demography (the study of populations and mass migrations). One of the salient qualities of the "medieval"

27. Colin McEvedy, *The Penguin Atlas of Medieval History* (New York: Penguin, 1978), 59, 73, 89.
28. Phillips, 76, 100.
29. Cf. ibid., 183, 140-1.
30. Swanson, 7.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid., 8.
33. Ibid., 8-9.
34. Ibid., 28.

world is the relative speed in the rise and collapse of empires into fragmented domains of smaller kingdoms, khanates, or caliphates. This element of the medium-term set the course for post-1200 globalization; this more extreme interaction between civilizations created bi-directional influences between the mode of production and the medium-term, effectively allowing different economic systems to creep into territories according to the power and influence of the conquering groups. According to historian David R. Ringrose, the "new dynamism" of these invasions, specifically the Mongols and the Muslim-Christian tug-of-war in Southern Europe, allowed the exchange of religion, language, "technology, political concepts, and administrative techniques," making the expansion and retraction of empires reminiscent of the ocean tide shifting, seizing, and dropping elements with each wave dispersal.[35] McEvedy's atlas illustrates the generational extension and withdrawal of the borders of established kingdoms, the Byzantine Empire for one, leaving some port cities, such as Palermo, Naples, and Salonika, to shift allegiances accordingly during a particular decade.[36]

McEvedy's atlas illustrates the generational extension and withdrawal of the borders of established kingdoms, the Byzantine Empire for one, leaving some port cities, such as Palermo, Naples, and Salonika, to shift allegiances accordingly during a particular decade.

An excellent instrument in tracking the movement of political boundaries is geographic history. The Byzantine Empire – itself the long-term product of a thousand years of Greek and Roman dominance of the region – existed throughout the duration of the medieval world, until its final collapse in 1453.[37] Byzantium held a pre-eminent position in the Mediterranean world through the sixth century. However, beginning in the seventh century, periodic episodes – measuring forty to fifty years - of expansion and retraction characterized the Mediterranean as the Europeans in the north and the spread of Islam to the south crept into Byzantine territory, until its gradual collapse after the twelfth century.[38]

Exposing the Byzantine Empire's path towards disintegration, geographic history also reveals areas in southeastern Europe, Asia Minor, the Middle East, and west-central Asia, east of the Caspian Sea, as existing in a constant state of flux from the twelfth through sixteenth centuries. Within fifty years of 1230, the Mongols had conquered the nomadic domains between the Black Sea and Caspian Sea, as well as the principalities of Volhynia, Kiev, and Chernigov. In the Middle East, the Shahdom of Khwarizm and Empire of Luristan disappeared from the map by 1278, also

35. David R. Ringrose, *Expansion and Global Interaction, 1200-1700* (New York: Longman, 2001), 1.
36. McEvedy, 38-80.
37. Ibid., 84.
38. Ibid., 30-9.

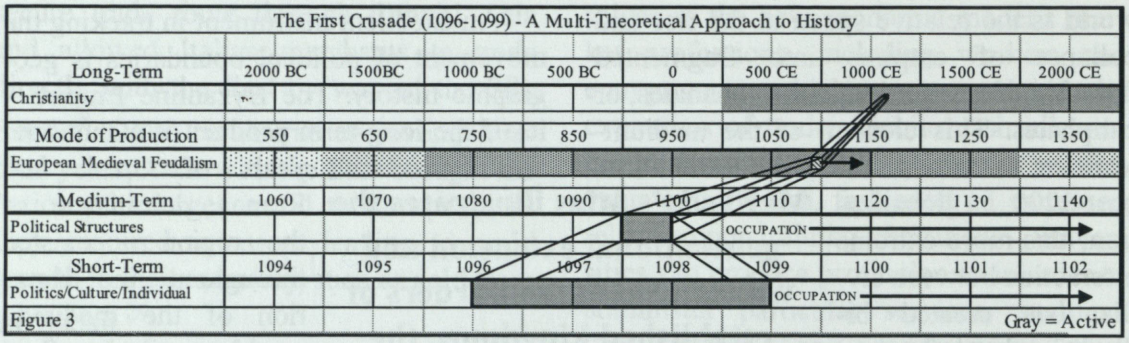


Figure 3

victims of Mongol expansion. The Mongol territories, in turn, faded from power as the decades tore away at their gains, allowing new principalities, emirates, and sultanates to form in its place.[39] These are typical life cycles of the empires that fluctuated in the medieval world. Contained within the medium-term, the narratives or traditional histories written about particular events also help explain the rise and fall of short-lived empires.

This short-term scale can be divided into individual or group accounts, political dealings, and cultural episodes. Because of the dynamic changes it brought the ruling structure of the Latin East, the First Crusade provides an excellent example of history from the short-term scale. Pope Urban II called for the First Crusade in 1095; the venture achieved success by the year 1099 with the crusaders' capture of Jerusalem.[40] According to historian Jonathan Riley-Smith, utilizing the loyalty involved in "feudal" relationships, the Church portrayed the First Crusade as a "duty of Christ's subjects to fight for the recovery or in the defense of Christ's heritage as they would for the domains of their own lords."[41] The enthusiastic response to the call for the First Crusade resulted from the promise that one "penitential act of violence" absolved the Crusader from "the burden of sin."[42] Under these conditions of total forgiveness, the Papacy had no problem raising an army for holy war against the "heathens" occupying Jerusalem at the end of the eleventh century.

Under the occupation of the Crusaders (an event measured in the medium-term), a twelfth-century narrative by a Muslim named Uśamah described an exchange between a "Frankish" and an Oriental physician.[43] The scene accurately depicts the gulf separating the mindset and scientific knowledge of the Latin West and Latin East. After the Oriental doctor applied an effective treatment to the wounds of a knight and prescribed a change in diet to treat a woman suffering from "imbecility," the methods appeared to improve both peo-

39. Ibid., 74-9.
40. Phillips, 22.
41. Jonathan Riley-Smith, "Crusading as an Act of Love," in *The Crusades*, ed. Thomas F. Madden (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 36.
42. John France, "Patronage and Appeal," in *The Crusades*, 199.
43. Uśamah, "An Arab Opinion of the Crusaders," in *The Portable Medieval Reader*, eds. James Bruce Ross and Mary Martin McLaughlin (New York: Penguin, 1982), 448.

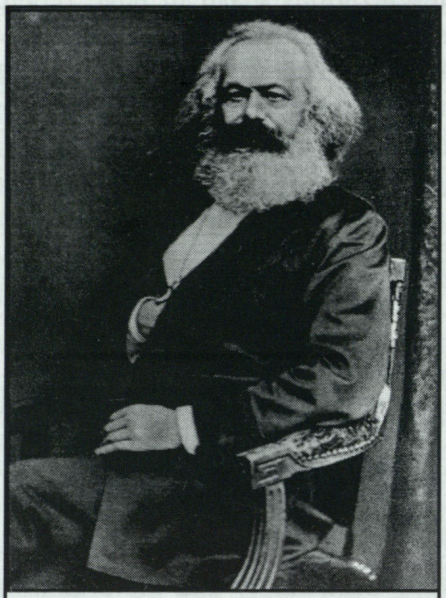
ple's conditions. However, a "Frankish" doctor intervened and dismissed the Muslim's treatments in favor of his own, killing in the process both the knight and the woman.[44] Uśamah writes:

> The physician laid the leg of the patient on a block of wood and bade the knight strike his leg with the axe and chop it off at one blow. Accordingly he struck it – while I was looking on – one blow, but the leg was not severed. He dealt another blow, upon which the marrow of the leg flowed out and the patient died on the spot. He then examined the woman and said, "This is a woman in whose head there is a devil which has possessed her. Shave off her hair." ... Her imbecility took a turn for the worse. The physician then said, "The devil has penetrated through her head." He therefore took a razor, made a deep cruciform incision on it, peeled off the skin at the middle of the incision until the bone of the skull was exposed and rubbed it with salt. The woman also expired instantly.... I returned home, having learned of their medicine what I knew not before.[45]

Uśamahs personal account of cultural misunderstanding illuminates the short-term picture of the Latin Easts occupation by the forces of Western Europe. Through the expression of attitudes and mindsets of actual people, the narrative provides many possible impetuses to the conflicts that shape the medium-term, such as elements supporting an unstable occupation, but also build up long-term distrust between particular civilizations that can have repercussions more than 800 years later.

This intimate view of history offers a short-term perspective of the human insecurities, motivations, and descriptions of witnesses to the First Crusade situated within the context of the medium-term (cultural and political exchanges). As one moves back through the mode of production and into the long-term, the First Crusade appears as a minor phase in Christianity's history, as illustrated by Figure 3 (designated with gray shading). When viewed closer, it emerges as a part of the mechanism of feudal rule and an illustration of the significant relationship between Christianity and the organization of the medieval world.[46] The superstructure of European medieval feudalism is seen in the gradual fading from light to dark gray and back to light as feudalism became eclipsed by the gradual rise of capitalism, accompanied by the logistic and psychological mobilization of the clergy and nobility which allowed the various European armies to attain the goal set by Pope Urban II. The political structures working on the medium-term established a network permitting occupation, though it was displaced by the Arab counterattack and recovery of their lands by 1144.[47] Finally, the short-term perspective provides the narrative and sequence of events allowing the story of Uśamah to emerge, which, in turn, gets linked to its context and connection with the overall patterns of

44. Ibid., 448-9.
45. Ibid.
46. Figure is the author's creation.
47. C. Warren Hollister and Judith M. Bennett, *Medieval Europe: A Short History*, 9th ed. (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2002), 230.



Karl Marx, one of the formative thinkers of the MTAM approach.

western Christianity, including the religious superstition toward science and philosophy that began with the dismissal of classical Greek texts.

Utilizing a multi-theoretical approach, the medieval world offers diverse civilizations with strong traditions that continuously grapple with foreign ideas and actions brought on by regional interactions in Europe, Africa, and Asia – the first major influx of globalization and the start of European expansion.[48] As each civilization assimilated the attractive features of a foreign culture (though this proved the reverse in Uśamahs case), it had to reconcile the new attributes with the old. In some cases, imported culture produced something superior after its integration, such as the European revitalization of critical thinking due to the import of Muslim learning that "rested on the scientific and philosophical corpus of Greek and Persian antiquity."[49] Alternately, the imported custom could produce a violent outcome, for example the adoption of the northern steppe's cavalry techniques during the Warring States period (453-221 BC) that provided an important fighting element in China's unending dynastic succession throughout the medieval world.[50]

A multi-theoretical approach to studying history, whether of the ancient, medieval, or modern worlds, gives the historian the ability to focus within or outside of timescales in order to analyze events by moving between chronological narratives, appropriate contexts, and connections to the larger patterns of history. Each scale of history – long-term, mode of production, medium-term, and short-term – offers a different glimpse and perspective, aiding the historian's suspension of emotional judgment in favor of a multi-viewed perspective. Moreover, these viewpoints offer different conclusions according to the relation to, and position within, the applicable historical time-scale, hopefully adding valuable new insights to the subject.

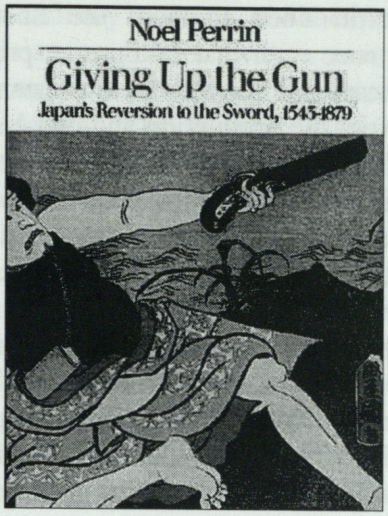
48. Phillips, vi-vii.

49. Richard Fletcher, *The Quest for El Cid* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 53.

50. David A. Graff, *Medieval Chinese Warfare, 300-900* (London: Routledge, 2002), 22.

Book Reviews





Giving up the Gun.
By Noel Perrin,
Boston: David R. Godine, 1979.

Reviewed by Charles Gray.

In *Giving up the Gun*, Noel Perrin attempts to explain a unique occurrence in the history of the Military Revolution: what he considers a conscious decision made by the leadership of Japan, after they had adopted the gun for military use and proved its effectiveness, to restore the primacy of the sword and other pre-gunpowder technologies. While an effective introduction, and one of the only English language works to specifically address the question of Japan and the military revolution, the book falls short on several levels. Perrin theorizes that Japan gave up the gun for deep, cultural reasons, mainly an attachment to the sword, yet fails to argue persuasively in support of this contention.

Giving up the Gun examines the history of Japanese conflict, relating to the use of guns from the introduction of western style firearms in 1543 to their status at the end of the period of Shogunate isolation in the mid-19th century. With a well illustrated and footnoted work, Perrin has created an effective resource for both students and researchers in the field. Especially of interest is his extensive bibliography including numerous Japanese language sources. This is one of the greatest strengths of the book, making it a source of bibliographic information for other researchers to use as a springboard to their own work.

The most informative parts of the book are the sections about how Japan obtained the gun, the sources of gun manufacture, and how Japan used guns during internal wars and the invasion of Korea. Perrin goes into depth about the later period of general disarmament, with an effective depiction of the Shogunate licensing sales of guns and restricting the locations of manufacture in order to bring the production of firearms under the state's control (62-4).

When Perrin moves into the question of *why*, his thesis becomes difficult to support. Perrin attributes the general disarmament of firearms found in Shogunate Japan to cultural mores. Japanese society found it easy to give up the gun because the Japanese samurai were attached to the sword in a cultural sense. Thus the decision to do so, even in the face of the gun's undoubted usefulness in terms of military engagements, was nearly a forgone conclusion (45). This thesis suffers from several critical failures. The first is evidence that the Japanese were quite willing to adopt the gun. During the

pre-Shogunate conflicts and the invasion of Korea, guns were an important part of combat on the battlefield (25-6, 31). After the reopening of Japan by Matthew Calbraith Perry the Japanese government engaged in a massive process of technological and military modernization, which included the extensive development of Western military technology. Compared to China, where modernization came fitfully, it is difficult to argue that there was any deep-seated hatred of firearms in Japan, at least on a governmental level.

Perrin also ignores the question of firearm reduction as a method of *governmental* control rather than social backlash. The forced reduction in the number of castles held by the various Hans, the restriction in the number of armed retainers the Daimyos might possess, and the alternate attendance system all speak to a government fundamentally dedicated to the concepts of imposing an order over Japan that would not give rise to challenges to the Bakufu dominion. As a proven and extremely effective weapon of war, the matchlock firearm would be an obvious candidate for control by the Shogunate. Perrin gives only brief attention to the fact that the gunsmiths of Sakai, who were not under Shogunate control, drastically expanded their market in the first half of the 1600's (64). This evidence of an increase in sales during the initial period of the Shogunate renders Perrin's thesis doubtful.

Perrin also ignores the question of firearm reduction as a method of *governmental* control rather than social backlash.

Perrin does compare the Shogunate experience with that of Europe, primarily the occasional attempts by European states to restrict the production and ownership of guns, but he does not fully explore the question of how the Japanese government was successful where Europe failed to control the spread of guns (58-60). Rather than focusing on the reasons behind the inability of European powers to control their gun production and possession, he focuses on Japan's dislike of the gun. The fact that the European powers could not maintain control of their firearms, and were forced to retreat from attempting to limit gun ownership on several occasions, seems to be a result of the continual military ferment in Europe (59). In addition, the uncontrolled nature of gunpowder and firearm production in Europe made long-term control impossible, but Perrin does not explore the factors that made the Shogunate capable of enforcing its will to such a degree. One such factor is that in Asia, unlike Europe, the merchant class had far less independence. Both the Japanese and Chinese governments saw keeping the merchant class under control as an important policy (Mikiso Hane, *Premodern Japan: A Historical Survey,* Boulder: Westview Press, 1991, 149-50).

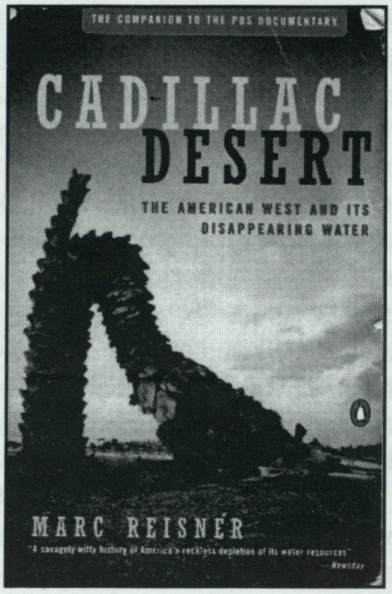
Perrin's thesis that Japan lost all proficiency with firearms by the nineteenth century may be open to question. Seiho Arima found numerous cases of Japanese officials investigating and translating

western military manuals, and the question of Russian aggression was a matter of some concern in the late eighteenth century (Seiho Arima, "The Western Influence on Japanese Military Science, Shipbuilding, and Navigation," *Monumenta Nipponicu* 19, no. ¾ 1964). Given that Seiho's work was published before Perrin's, one must see his work as incomplete in at least some respects, mainly in failing to examine possible Shogunate interest in Western military technology *before* the opening of the nation by Commodore Perry, and the subsequent fall of the Tokugawa government.

Finally, and most unfortunately, Perrin allows himself to fall into the trap of attempting to compare Japan's experiences with those of the twentieth century, specifically the question of nuclear disarmament (80-4, 91-2). Despite a brief claim that Japan is not comparable to the modern world, Perrin obviously *is* using it in comparison to prove his thesis that it is possible to "turn back the clock." This suffers from two critical failings. First, Japan was not engaged in turning back the clock, but in taking measures to insure the continued dominance of the Tokugawa Shogunate. Thus, rather than an event rooted in contemporary politics and society, Perrin attempts to attribute a historical meaning to the reduction of guns in Japan.

Such comparisons cannot be made, as the points of similarity are too limited. The status of Japan in the era of the Tokugawa Shogunate is completely dissimilar to conditions in the post World War II world. At the very least, Shogunate era Japan was not confronted with potential enemies outside her borders, and could engage in a policy of isolation as a workable response to the desires of the Japanese leadership. Even in the 1970s, when Perrin wrote this work, such a goal was unrealistic for any extant nation. By attempting to make such a comparison, Perrin greatly weakens the relevance of his work to Japanese studies.

Perrin's work is a promising, but ultimately flawed work. In the accumulation of primary and secondary sources, and the description of the process of adopting western style firearms, the work is complete and useful; however, Perrin's thesis, especially in light of later scholarship on the subject, proves to be ultimately unconvincing and unsupported by evidence. In addition, his work suffers from publication prior to a great deal of primary and secondary work done on the role of the military revolution. A worthy successor to Perrin's work would be one that explores the question of the undoubted reduction of the role of guns in Japan, in light, not of ambiguous and ultimately unproven assertions of cultural dislike, but of questions of conscious political and social policy.



Cadillac Desert : the American West and its Disappearing Water.
By Marc Reisner.
New York, N.Y., U.S.A. : Viking, 1986.

Reviewed by Barbara Gossett.

Marc Reisner was born in 1949 in Minneapolis, Minnesota. He grew up in the Midwest, attending Earlham College in Indiana. Following graduation, he served as staff writer and director for the Natural Resources Defense Council. In 1979, he won an Alicia Patterson Journalism Fellowship, which allowed him to research and write *Cadillac Desert*. The book was favorably reviewed by *The New York Times*, and startled the American public with its documentation of the disastrous results of existing and past water management on wildlife, the land, and ultimately human beings. In addition to his writing and environmental research, Reisner served as a visiting professor at the Department of Geology at the University of California, Davis, and frequently lectured and consulted on environmental issues in the United States and abroad.

Marc Reisner's magnum opus, *Cadillac Desert*, chronicles the struggles of the western United States to acquire and distribute sufficient water to allow for its exponential and largely unplanned growth. He presents the thesis that agencies charged with responsible water use planning during the early twentieth century were derelict in their duty, drafting policies that showed spectacular lack of planning, foresight, and even reasonableness. He addresses his trenchant observations to all concerned citizens, particularly those inhabiting the drought-prone West, and shows how personal and bureaucratic agendas can work against the public good. To illustrate, Reisner cites the erroneous belief that land in the arid west, once it was cultivated by homesteaders, would, by itself, provoke increased rainfall; he labels this a particularly egregious example of the misguided thinking that runs as a leitmotiv through the West's history of water acquisition and squandering.

The story unfolds by examining some of the epic events and personalities that drove water resource policies, policies characterized by pork barrel politics and departmental empire-building. Two with particular relevance to Californians are the "rape" of the Owens River by Los Angeles's Department of Water and Power, and Floyd Dominy's leadership of the Bureau of Reclamation in the post-World War II era.

The grim tale of the power plays in the Owens Valley immediately casts such

local luminaries as Harrison Otis, Harry Chandler, and William Mulholland, as devils incarnate, scheming scoundrels who stopped at nothing to divert water from this beautiful valley to the teeming megalopolis across the Sierras. Reisner introduces the reader to this triumvirate: Harrison Gray Otis who, for three decades published the *Los Angeles Times* and remained a profoundly conservative force in the politics of southern California. He was unflagging in his commitment to growth as a boon for the region, of which water represented a crucial element. His son-in-law Harry Chandler succeeded him upon his death in 1917. He continued the *Times'* anti-union, anti-Progressive, pro-growth tradition. Mulholland was a self-educated engineer, appointed in the mid-1880s to be the chief of the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power, a post he held until 1928.

The trio was undeterred, even by existing laws: a statute in Los Angeles limiting the City's annual debt ceiling would have thrown an insurmountable hurdle in the path of these intrepid water barons, since the price tag for the purchase and transport of water from the Owens Valley far exceeded the limit. Mulholland realized that the annexation of a vast tract, such as the San Fernando Valley, would increase the City's overall assessed valuation, and make the purchase legal. The three touted the largely-unpopulated Valley as a sort of Manifest Destiny for the City of Los Angeles, and mounted a campaign for its annexation; coincidentally, they also availed themselves of the opportunity to buy up Valley land at rock-bottom prices. As a result, the City could afford to build the Los Angeles Aqueduct and to purchase some 250,000 acre-feet of Owens Valley water, which began to flow freely to thirsty Los Angeles, and let "a great city grow where common sense dictated one should never be" (102). Reisner recounts, as well, the fall of Mulholland, a chronicle reminiscent of a Greek tragedy: the brash confidence of the arrogant engineer who built the St. Francis Dam in what is now the Santa Clarita area, only to watch it collapse just before midnight on 12 March 1928, damaging property and killing at least 450 people. Mulholland, whom Reisner describes as "a bold... innovative...and inexcusably careless engineer" (100), was a broken man; the reader cannot help but gloat.

Reisner broadens the water reclamation saga to the national level by introducing two larger-than-life agencies: The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, now the agency that issues permits on "navigable" waterways under Section 404 of the Clean Water Act and which provided flood control during what Reisner calls "the go-go years," and the Bureau of Reclamation, responsible for providing irrigation water in aid of the homesteaders whose unlimited influx did not, in fact, cause the climate to change and the clouds to open. Reisner was clearly dismissive of such seeming hocus-pocus, although recent meteorological research has identified many feedback loops which demonstrate that soil moisture can intensify deepening drought.

The Bureau of Reclamation was (and is) part of the Department of the Interior, an agency now more concerned with historic preservation than with despoiling the landscape by artificially corralling water into reservoirs. Under the dynamic leader-

ship of Secretary Harold L. Ickes, the Department embarked on a quest to bring economic diversification to the drought-stricken West, and the building of multi-purpose dams throughout the region on the model of the Tennessee Valley Authority embodied the ideal vehicle to do so. Settlement of the West had been hamstrung from its earliest days, starting with the misguided rationale behind the Reclamation Act of 1902, which allocated a mere 160 acres of land to a homesteader, based on what would be needed by that homesteader in a rainy state east of the Mississippi. (The Reclamation Reform Act of 1982 raised the limitation to 960 acres per homestead.) Dominy himself knew full well the bitter harvest of this Act: in testimony before a 1958 Congressional hearing on the debilitating effect such a small limit had on the subsistence farmer, he described his father's experience, "I want everyone in this room and I want this committee to know that most of those...acres could not sustain a family under any reasonable economic conditions that have prevailed then or now."

The Bureau of Reclamation reached its zenith during Franklin Roosevelt's presidency. The Dust Bowl and the Depression together provided unparalleled justification for creating a plethora of government jobs, most notably in the dam-building trade. After the Depression ended and the Bureau anticipated a reduced need for more dams, agents commonly fudged the numbers and lied in cost/benefit analyses to justify projects that had no merit at all in terms of acre-footage of reclaimed water. One legacy of this fiscal sleight of hand was the Fort Peck Project on the Missouri River, an earthen dam built to provide irrigation water and hydroelectricity in the northern Great Plains. It was a rare instance of bureaucratic cooperation between the Department and its arch enemy, the Corps of Engineers. The removal of Sioux people from their traditional lands did not deter this 1934 project, an impact that would probably be averted today under the National Historic Preservation Act, passed in 1966.

The Dust Bowl and the Depression together provided unparalleled justification for creating a plethora of government jobs, most notably in the dam-building trade.

The Bureau's nemesis, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, is an entity whose activities were sometimes at cross-purposes. "The Corps drains and channels wetlands – it has ruined more wetlands than anyone in history, except perhaps its counterpart in the Soviet Union – yet sometimes prohibits the draining and dredging of wetlands by private developers and other interests" (172). The Corps might build a dam with one hand, and then channelize feeder streams nearby with the other, causing flooding which the dam was built to control in the first place. Of concern to the Bureau was the fact that the Corps did not need to justify the cost of their dams or demonstrate cost-recovery through selling irrigation water or hydroelectricity: flood control was, in the words of Master Card, priceless, and the government would foot the bill, no matter the cost. Of course, flood control dams easily

provided irrigation and hydroelectric power, and often did. The ensuing competition led to the construction of vast numbers of dams, all driving people in the floodplain from their homes and in one heartbreaking instance, depriving Mandan, Arikara, and Hidatsa tribes of their productive reservation lands in South Dakota.

Beginning in the 1970s, a nationwide environmental movement began, driven by the flagrant disregard and contempt of earlier years for the natural and human environments, of which wanton dam-building remains a prime example. The passage of the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) in 1969, one of an alphabet soup of laws designed to preserve the quality of life for all citizens, began to throw roadblocks into the path of dam-building. Reisner cites the instance of Tellico Dam in Tennessee, the construction of which halted for months by the snail darter, and which was finally completed, despite the recommendation to abandon it by a Cabinet-level committee who unanimously declared it to be "ill-conceived and uneconomic" (328). Reisner was doubtless cynically amused to watch what happened during the decades since, dam-building enterprises have slowed and been reversed. Since the mid-1970s, more than 500 dams in this country have been blasted out of existence, although reasons cited for dam removal are typically safety issues and maintenance costs rather than environmental restoration. Even these efforts to allow rivers to return to their old haunts usually carry an environmental penalty, since dam removal releases not only the stored water behind it but also the sediment and pollutants, most notably nitrogen and phosphorus that accumulated for decades.

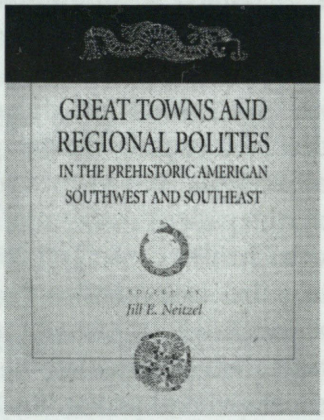
In a chapter that should be required reading for every civics student, Reisner discusses "pork barrel" politics, describing how it received its name and how it perpetuates itself like an epidemic of cholera. Water projects are the chunks of savory pork, sliced from the Congressional barrel and tossed to the hungry constituents, "the grease gun that lubricates the nation's legislative machinery" (308). Jimmy Carter, arguably one of the most-qualified men ever to hold the office of President of the United States, displayed his political naiveté by charging the system like an enraged bull. After learning and mastering the skills of compromise needed to deal with Congress, Carter essentially conceded every issue he had fought for when he opened fire on the reclamation juggernaut. Reisner attributes Carter's loss of momentum as President and any chance of re-election, to his "hapless effort to bring the Bureau and the Corps of Engineers under control" (227). While there are probably as many plausible reasons for Carter's lame duck status as there are critics of his administration (many professional and amateur athletes and their fans will never forgive Carter's abrupt withdrawal from the 1980 Olympics), Reisner makes an excellent and highly convincing case for his own viewpoint.

Indeed, Reisner continually succeeds in swaying the reader to his view, bringing in a damning (pun intended) indictment of water reclamation and usage policies in the West. His literary timing is perfect; he seems to sense when to speak with a scholarly voice, and when to inject a metaphor

that by its unexpected use evokes amusement in the reader even in the midst of a grisly summation of bureaucratic excess. For example, when Jimmy Carter told his friends that the Corps of Engineers had lied in their environmental impact statement regarding Sprewell Bluffs Dam in Georgia, he "said it as if a stranger had wandered into his house, eaten everything in the icebox, and then, on leaving, chopped down his favorite tree" (308). (President Carter's lament was premature, however, since the proposed 211-foot dam, designed to flood 28 miles of river and 24,500 acres of spectacular scenery, was never built.)

Reisner's research is also impressive. Originally published in 1986, the book was written when many of the *dramatis personae* of the New Deal were still alive, available for interviews, and in full command of their faculties, especially memory. He dug through memos of the Bureau and other entities that were at the time confidential; this was no small feat, especially since the Freedom of Information Act was not yet in existence. Like any good proponent, he imbues his argument with loving detail about events and situations that support his argument, but is stingier with those that support any counter-arguments.

Cadillac Desert is a work that every American inhabiting the western semi-desert, (the Great Plains to the Pacific,) should read. Others to the east would also do well to be informed about how a lack of coherent growth plans and consequent rapacious demand for water can drive otherwise reasonable public officials to make some questionable decisions, ones for which, more often than not, all the country's taxpayers will have to foot the bill. It is, however, a bit dated: Reisner discusses California as a particularly egregious example of rampant non-planning and unbridled terrorism in its seizure of water rights from other equally deserving areas, which is true enough, but then refers to the state's "immense wealth" (334). In light of bond issues recently passed that would bail the state out of its gargantuan debt, such passages are laughable. Tragically, an update can no longer be provided by the original literary craftsman: Reisner died of cancer in July, 2000.



Great Towns and Regional Polities in the Prehistoric American Southwest and Southeast.
by Jill E. Neitzel, ed.
Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999.

Reviewed by Kenneth Shonk.

One of the most important aspects of historical research is the disavowal of previously held biases and beliefs. Revision allows a new generation to reexamine primary sources as well as

interpret newly discovered data, enabling the creation of a new canon of historical thought. An example of this is the contradiction of the unjust characterization of American Indian civilization as being simple and archaic in their political, social, and economic systems. Comparing a civilization's physical and cultural aspects, allows the researcher to discover connections that may result in a deeper understanding of the civilizations in question, as well as lead to greater understanding about the nature of human interaction and systems. This is the case of *Great Towns and Regional Polities in the Prehistoric Southwest and Southeast:* an ambitious work that examines the physical evidence of tribes in the aforementioned regions with the hope of drawing conclusions based on physical evidence from this region.

Neitzel's compilation is the result of a week-long conference held in March of 1994 entitled "Great Towns and Regional Polities: Cultural Evolution in the United States Southwest and Southeast." Funded by the Amerind Organization, the conference was chaired by the University of Delaware's Jill E. Netizel. The intent of the conference was to bring together researchers from different fields of study to change the hesitancy of regionalist archaeologists to compare their regions to others in order to "draw general conclusions about similarities and differences between events and processes in the Southwest and Southeast (amerind.org)." The evidence presented at the conference resulted in a body of work that drew comparisons between the two regions which allows for a greater understanding of American Indian civilization as a whole.

Reviews of this work, largely from Anthropological and Archaeological journals are mostly positive and laudatory of not so much the amount of new understanding produced, but rather of the questions that the book raises. One issue raised in the review by Jeffery Hantman contains much merit when he claims that there could have been more elaboration on the ethnohistorical aspect of the comparisons between the two regions (*American Antiquity* 65, 195). Later in Hantman's review from the journal *American Antiquity*, he notes that "Neitzel and colleagues deserve much praise for their efforts, which, as they should, have framed a new set of questions to ask (195)."

The book's structure alternates between chapters focusing specifically on particular regions, followed by a comparative chapter that synthesizes both arguments into one larger whole. This system is best exemplified in chapters four, five, and six, which comprise the true heart of the book. In the fourth chapter, "How Complex Were the Southwestern Great Towns' Polities?" author Suzanne K. Fish disputes the "classificatory scheme of brands, tribes, chiefdoms, and {state's}" political systems of the southwest. She claimed instead that the real organization was far more complex than the uniform definitions that can be applied to the Mississippian tribes of the southeast (45,57-8). The following chapter, "How Great Were the Southeastern Polities?" written by the University of Kentucky's John F. Scarry demonstrates that the

polities of the southeast were "larger, more complex," and more influential than the civilizations which preceded and followed them in North America (59,61,80). The comparison between North American and Mesoamerican tribes is by far the most intriguing portion of the book. This is especially true in Chapter Thirteen, which of all the essays provides the greatest ethnohistorical picture of the works regionalities. One could easily foresee a book of a larger scale comparing North American polities to those of Mesoamerica. The most interesting aspect of the chapter was Scarry's comparison of southeastern tribes to those of Mesoamerica. In doing so, he provides a comparison with the more documented tribes of Mesoamerica that lends credibility to the significance of both the western and eastern tribes.

The comparison between North American and Mesoamerican tribes is by far the most intriguing portion of the book.

The two authors of the aforementioned essays co-author the sixth chapter comparing their two areas of expertise in an article entitled, "How Great Were the Polities of the Southwest and Southeast? Areas of Comparison and Contrast." When they forego the element of size, and instead focus on the hierarchical structure of the two, they find a more efficient means of comparison that provides a foundation for better understanding. Identifying the differences in "communal constructs," the authors provide a strong basis for those researching the polities of each region (Fish and Scarry, 75-80). This notion is reflected in the lack of interpretive conclusions, yet when one considers that this book is meant to provide a foundation of physical evidence which can be utilized by both historians and anthropologists. While the previously mentioned chapters most certainly do not encompass the entire scope of the book, they undoubtedly capture the focus and structure of the work.

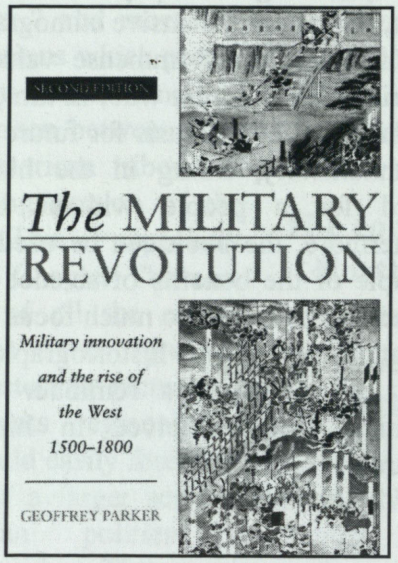
Great Towns is a work that is largely scientific in scope, for the essays center largely on archaeological evidence. Thus, one may question the historical significance of this work. There is a twofold value of this book regarding its use by historians. Primarily, this work could serve as a basis for a larger ethnohistorical study on the indigenous peoples of each region. Ethnohistory, the combining of anthropology and history, includes whom Green and Troup identify as "people without history [into] the written historical record (*Houses of History* 172-8)." Another redeeming value of the book is its scholastic value in describing the political and social structures of the Southwest and Southeastern tribes, thus providing an empirical study of the base systems of these tribes. This value demonstrates the overall complexity of these systems, which can be used to draw larger conclusions on the tribes of pre-Columbian America.

The greatest obstacle to a successful comparison is finding a fundamental lexicon of terms in which all of the researchers could agree upon that would result in a common consensus (Woosley, xv). This point is expressed in the Preface but is evident in nearly every chapter as the

authors struggle to define such terms as "great," "town," and "public," which in turn lead to an inability to provide a common lexicon which has the same meaning for all interested parties. This struggle to find common ground reveals a general weakness in the use of a comparative study. For example, the scope of this work is to present comparisons in the Southwestern and Southeastern polities. In doing so, the evidence is limited in usage outside of the scope of its analysis. Such is the case in many works that try to place the history or language of another people into terms that we might be able to understand. Two works show the value of, and the struggles involved with, attempting to define words and entities in a proper manner without compromising the true nature of the system. In *Medieval Chinese Wafare*, David A. Graff presents a rounded view of medieval China from a Sinocentric perspective that "elucidate[s] some of the most important connections between warfare, military institutions, and social change in medieval China (3)." The same can be said for the anthology on Japanese constitutional history entitled, *Medieval Japan, Essays In Institutional History.* In this work, also the result of a conference, the editors present physical evidence to support the conclusion that the "political composition of the [Heian] period was much more complex and purposeful than [historians] have been led to believe (xv)." *Great Towns and Regional Polities in the Prehistoric Southwest and Southeast* is not completely successful in this regard. In a historical sense, its significance is purely empirical, possibly serving as the physical basis for a larger, more comprehensive ethnography.

This book is of immense value to a historian of this region who, in turn, could use this work as the basis for future works in ethnohistory, filling in the historical record for a people without history. Furthermore, the book can be used as an example of the benefits of science to the field of history. With so much focus placed on interpretation and historiography, this book can serve as a reminder of the scientific value involved in historical research.

Wel•e•bae•than (wĕl′ə′bē′thən) ► n. 1. A CSU Fullerton history journal named for Dr. Shirley Weleba in 1974 combining her surname with the suffix ethan meaning "in honor of". 2. An award-winning, student-led publication consisting of a wide variety of historical topics within research articles, oral histories, historiographies, theory papers, and book reviews sponsored by the CSUF History Department and the Theta Pi chapter of Phi Alpha Theta.



The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500-1800, 2d ed.
By Geoffrey Parker.
Cambridge: University Press, 1996.

Reviewed by Rebecca Guzzi

Witnessing the increasing frequency of wars, Fulvio Testi, an Italian poet, dedicated the seventeenth century to the emerging, new soldier. Thereafter, Europe scarcely witnessed periods absent of skirmishes, battles, or full-scaled wars. From this constant warring state emerged military innovations further capable of creating hegemony within Europe and eventually outside the continent, for as Mao Tse-Tung stated, "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

Building upon Michael Robert's 1955 seminal presentation, which credited the "military revolution" in the Low Countries and Sweden for early modern Europe's belligerent nature, Geoffrey Parker in *The Military Revolution* broadens Roberts's criticized thesis and narrow focus of the revolution's key elements. In addition to Robert's chosen elements of tactics, army size, strategies, and the impact of war in society, Parker includes contributions by southern European nations, particularly those of Spain and Italy, and assesses the impact of developments in naval warfare. Parker attributes "the sustained preoccupation of the European states with fighting each other by land and sea" for the military revolution and innovations which eventually enabled the West to dominate thirty-five percent of the globe by 1800 (154).

Geoffrey Parker, Andreas Dorpalen Professor of History at Ohio State University, divides his text carefully and strategically. First, he provides a dense but well-structured history. By detailing European innovations in warfare, Parker emphasizes the cyclic pattern of problems both created and solved by military technological innovations. Examples abound: lengthened siege warfare begot tactical changes and the introduction of firearms; enhanced bombard technology fathered altered fortification designs such as the *trace italienne*; the destruction of castles and fortresses mobilized men from forts to fields, greatly increasing the size of field armies; and increased stalemates in land warfare bred the exploration of victory through naval power (16, 24, 42, 80). Second, the complex nature of "supplying wars" is addressed, in all facets from food to equipment to uniforms (67). The succeeding chapter chronicles the naval trend of growth and enhancement, similar to field

warfare, thus allowing dominant European sea power to create "the resources that could 'open' East Asia by force in the nineteenth century and turn Western maritime superiority into global hegemony" (114). Thus Parker concludes his documentation of the chain of military innovations that endowed Europeans with the ability to now dominate thirty-five percent of the globe, preparing the reader for the substance of his text in "The 'military revolution' abroad."

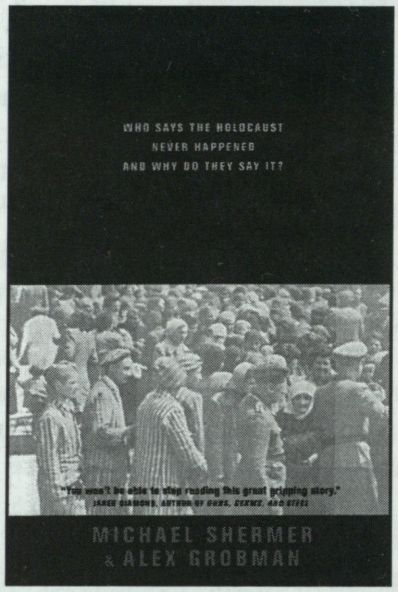
Parker strives to supplement existing histories with previously ignored contributions, especially those originating in Spain and Italy.

While some historians, such as Roberts, identify the military revolution with singular countries, figures, or events, Parker strives to supplement existing histories with previously ignored contributions, especially those originating in Spain and Italy. A reexamination of the *trace italienne* fortification style introduced in Italy resulted from enhanced bombard technology. It was first advanced in the 1440s by Italian architect Leon Battista Alberti, who advocated more angular walls akin to the teeth on a saw, though it was not implemented until after the late fourteenth century (8). During the late fifteenth century, warring Italian states quickly adopted small caliber firearms, replacing medieval staples such as crossbows (16-7). Approximately seventy years later, Spanish regiments in Italy introduced the musket and such advanced technology was again enthusiastically welcomed (17). Ships comprising the Spanish Armada fleet, along with those found in Portugal and Italy, reflected experimental and advanced designs (92). Parker additionally acknowledges Spanish Captain Bernardo de Vargas Machuca with creating in 1599 "what must rank as the first manual of guerrilla warfare ever published," contriving then unprecedented tactics (120). Such contributions, as noted by Parker, better encompass and represent the European military revolution and consequently substantiates his cause.

Parker's selection of source material adequately affirms the West's rise to military superiority. Extracted from a range of countries including France, Belgium, Spain, the Netherlands, Great Britain, India, Japan, and China, he provides a fairly balanced selection regarding nation representation. However, secondary sources on average outnumber primary materials. Some primary accounts are quoted from secondary sources and not the primary source itself, as is the case regarding quotes from Machiavelli, Franciszek Malkot, and other military-related figures (178, 189). Perhaps the material only exists in secondary quotation for any number of reasons, including the original manuscript's destruction or dilapidation. Secondary sources used generally range from the mid 1950s and cap around the late 1980s, the same period in which *The Military Revolution* first saw publication; little was apparently added for the second edition. Nonetheless, Parker's compilation and synthesis of evidence are remarkable.

While the text itself does not present significant, new information to military

history, it commendably and concisely revises and synthesizes preexisting military texts. Parker's *Military Revolution* efficiently realizes his goal, distinguishing a clear progression of military innovations leading to Western hegemony. Thus, successfully illustrating the key nature of the military innovations in the ability to make war and enabling the initially small and resource deficient West to dominate thirty-five percent of the globe by 1800.



Denying History: Who Says the Holocaust Never Happened and Why Do They Say It?
By Michael Shermer and Alex Grobman. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

Reviewed by Renee Faecke.

Court trials begin with a conflict. They progress through arguments and counter-arguments regarding specific facts until a resolution is reached. Lawyers present these cases, witnesses testify to them, judges preside over them, and juries resolve them. Each of these parties comes complete with human interpretation and fallibility, which strain the limits of objective analysis. In their book *Denying History: Who Says the Holocaust Never Happened and Why Do They Say It?,* Michael Shermer and Alex Grobman put not only the Holocaust, but history itself on trial. As defense witnesses for real revisionism versus pseudo-history, they develop a four-part argument against the Institute for Historical Review (IHR) using the Holocaust as a case study (43, 2). Their more subtle purpose is to show how human interpretation and ideology create distortion in the recollection of historical events, giving the public a false representation of the past. Thus, when the gavel slams down for the final time and the verdict is read after the deliberation, the fate of professional historical research will be decided.

Shermer and Grobman argue in their book *Denying History* that the motivations and backgrounds of the deniers need to be understood, making the biases that influence their work easier to understand (40). In order to better understand Shermer's and Grobman's argument, it is helpful to know something about their own backgrounds. According to the jacket of the book, Michael Shermer is the founder and publisher of *Skeptic* magazine, Director of the Skeptics Society, Adjunct Professor of the History of Science at Occidental College, and host of the Skeptics lecture series at Caltech. He also hosts the TV show *Exploring the Unknown*

and wrote the books *Why People Believe in Weird Things* and *How We Believe: The Search for God in an Age of Science*. Alex Grobman, the editor-in-chief of the *Simon Wiesenthal Center Annual,* edited *In Defense of the Survivors: The Letters and Documents of Oscar A. Mintzer, AJDC Legal Advisor, Germany, 1945-46*, and co-edited *Genocide: Critical Issues of the Holocaust*. Their backgrounds suggest that their argument rests on the firm foundation of historical knowledge, enquiry, and research.

Denying History is broken up into four parts: the problem, the movement and personalities of the deniers, the foundations of denial and authors' refutations, and the bigger picture of Holocaust studies and revision. The trial begins much like an opening statement in court, with a discussion about free speech and the paradox of tiers that have given rise to pseudohistory. Free speech in America cannot be prohibited unless it presents a danger to others (such as yelling "fire" in a crowded room), but it can present problems when it takes on racial undertones. This lack of restriction seems to give freedom to Holocaust deniers; however, the authors' solution to this dilemma allows a person to be in favor of free speech without "enabling that speech" (13). As the study of history progresses from historical objectivity to historical relativism and finally to historical science, a paradox accompanies tier one and tier two. Bias denial and relativism, the paradoxes of tiers one and two, pave the way for pseudohistory. It is in the third tier however that the authors find their salvation and their first answer to the Holocaust deniers - convergence of evidence.

The authors enter phase two of the trial by stepping inside the world of the Holocaust deniers. Surprisingly, they observe that the members of the IHR are not isolated lunatics on the fringe, but rather authors and archivists like David Irving and educated historians with master's degrees like Mark Weber. The extremist nature of the IHR movement presents the problem, with its strong tendency toward a conspiratorial tone (i.e. the Jews are at work behind the scenes), a closed mindedness that cuts across specific content, a need for opposition, and a tendency to see the world in a polarized manner (i.e. Jews versus non-Jews) (80-1, 89, 91). Thus, like captain Ahab and the white whale, their need for an enemy gives them purpose and cohesion as they continue their mission (97).

Thus, like captain Ahab and the white whale, their need for an enemy gives them purpose and cohesion as they continue their mission.

The second half of phase two illustrates the deniers' distortion of history and the rebuttal of the deniers' arguments. The deniers' respond to three aspects of the Holocaust: the gas chambers were used for delousing clothing and the crematoria for those who had succumbed to disease; only 300,000 to one million Jews died or were killed during World War II; there was no Nazi policy to exterminate European Jewry (100). The deniers use the technique of moral equivalency, arguing that the

Holocaust was just a ploy to gain the nation of Israel and that the camps were designed to protect and rehabilitate the Jews (103,106, 109). The authors' rebuttal points to the difference between nations at war and a nation killing unarmed people. They also state that the camps had already been discovered and publicized before the establishment of Israel and that rehabilitation and protection go against Nazi ideology. Thus, the second half of part two illustrates the manner in which the convergence of evidence may leave the deniers squirming.

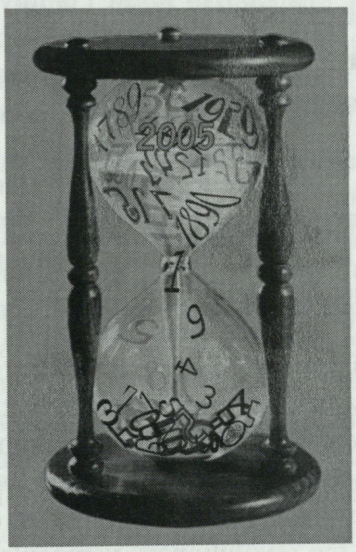
Part three of the trial presents both the evidence (documents, photographs, and demographics) and the key witnesses (Einsatzgruppen, Hans Frank, Joseph Goebbels, Heinrich Himmler, and Adolf Hitler). The climax in part three centers around Hannah Arendt, a reporter who covered Adolf Eichmann's trial, who uttered the fearful phrase "the banality of evil" (199). This phrase meant that evil may come in the pathetic form of Eichmann or the cold statistics of extermination.

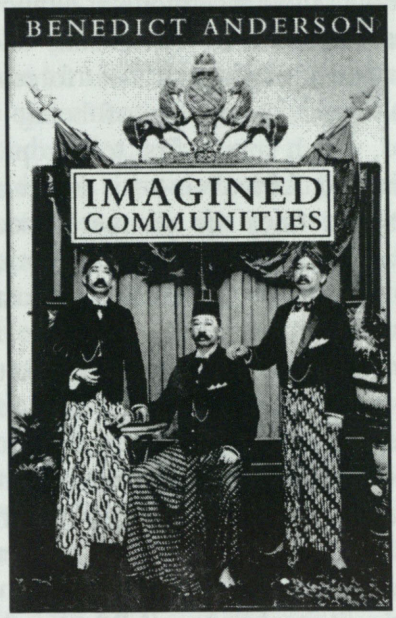
The final phase of the trial focuses on the big picture and begins with "The Rape of Nanking." The German treatment of the Jews in concentration camps eerily parallels the Japanese treatment of the Chinese in Nanking. Through these two examples, the authors come to the conclusion that "denial is a form of ideologically driven pseudohistory" and that whatever does not fit within that ideology is thrown out or not accepted (237). The danger in this is that true revision gets lost in the shuffle with denial, leaving it difficult to tell the two apart.

A book such as *Denying History* cannot help but provoke a variety of responses owing to its delicate subject matter. Lawrence Grossman of the *American Jewish Yearbook*, states that while the authors break the taboo of engaging the deniers in debate, their time would have been better spent studying the impact of the Holocaust on the American Jewish community (Lawrence Grossman, "Denying History: Who Says the Holocaust Never Happened and Why Do They Say It?," *New Leader* 83. May/June 2000, 22). However, Jill Jaracz of the *Library Journal* commends the authors' meticulous work and says that the book lays the framework for "examining how we know any historical event actually happened" (Jill Jaracz, "Denying History: Who Says the Holocaust Never Happened and Why Do They Say It?," *Library Journal* 125. June 2000, 158). Finally, Michael Bernard-Donals, Associate Professor of English and Jewish studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, states that while Shermer and Grobman build a "strong antidote for the deniers' argument...history itself is much more complicated and much more challenging than the authors suggest" (Michael Bernard-Donals, "Denying History: Who Says the Holocaust Never Happened and Why Do They Say It?," *CLIO* 30. Summer 2001, 475). Each of these reviews illustrates the delicate nature of objectivity and the understanding of past events.

Shermer and Grobman do not end the trial/book in a blazing statement against the Holocaust deniers, but rather in the hope that the convergence of evidence used in the case of the Holocaust will help

others to discover a meaningful past and make sense of the present. *Denying History* was not written for scholars and historians, but for "teachers and students, libraries and research facilities, and general readers of all levels" (17). In a logical progression of reason, the authors take the reader through an event that rocked many nations in the twentieth century to a case where historical scholarship goes on trial. Their "final solution" is to meet the deniers on their own ground and, through extensive research that leads to a convergence of evidence, grant the public a chance to be "an impartial judge, giving each side all it deserves but no more" (121).





Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.
By Benedict Anderson.
London: Verso, 1983.

Reviwed by Allison Newman Frickert.

In his seminal, work *Imagined Communities,* Anderson aimed to pioneer a detailed definition of nationalism and a theory to demonstrate how nationalism originated in the Americas to spread across the globe through ideological boundaries. The author consciously conceives a neo-Marxist construction that is original both in the treatment nationalism as an anthropological rather than organic development and in the ambitious scope of study encompassed. He envisions nationalism as a cultural artifact that developed in the late 18th century due to a "spontaneous distillation of a complex 'crossing' of discrete historical forces," such as the decline of religion,

a change in the conceptions of temporality, the development of capitalism, and the technology of print (4). These "forces" created a "model" capable of being transplanted, which spread first to Europe, then to Asia and Africa vis-a-vis imperialism. Anderson defines the abstract concept of nationalism as a "political community" that is "imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (6).

By "imagined" Anderson refers to the sense of "deep, horizontal comradeship" that exists in a nation where most members do not know one another; yet strongly believe in the image of their mutual fraternity (7). This inherent sense of common destiny is the essence of nationalistic consciousness. It is limited because it has measurable, though often pliant, boundaries beyond which lie other nations. Nationality developed concurrently with the ideals of the Enlightenment and depended upon the principles of freedom espoused by that movement. *Imagined Communities* emphasizes that nationalism and nationality are "natural" and sometimes resemble the imaginings of religion; they are inculcated from birth, unchosen, and unavoidable, much like gender, skin color, and parentage. From his perspective, nationalism is essentially an inclusive rather than exclusive phenomenon, which stresses the commonalties among a diverse group of people. In contrast, racism, which focuses on reductive external differences, is a product of class ideologies. Anderson considers racism to be an autonomous construct, though it may be legitimized by nationalism. Concerning how the concept of nationalism became a modular and concrete doctrine, Anderson stresses the importance of placing the development of nationalism within the historical context of the large cultural systems of antiquity.

Before nationalism there existed "great religiously imagined communities," such as Christendom, which had porous and nebulous borders and were adjoined by shared administrative languages such as Latin. (13) Both exploration and the Reformation prompted a shift in thinking, which promoted doubt in the legitimacy of sacred languages and sacral monarchies. In turn, this led to a new conception of "homogenous, empty time" traceable on a calendar rather than the old ideas in which cosmology and history were interchangeable and everyday fatalities of life held meaning (36). The decline of these societal philosophies set the conditions for a new form of cultural consciousness, facilitated by the incendiary and fortuitous collision of a new system of profitable production and new technology of communication, which Anderson terms as "print-capitalism." As the expansion of the book market contributed to the revolutionary vernacularization of languages, print laid the foundation for national consciousness. "Imagined communities" were created through unified domains of reciprocation and communication and by giving vernacular a new per-

The rise of modern nationalism in Europe also differed from Creole nationalism in that the emphasis of national print languages played a prime role in the ideology of the movements.

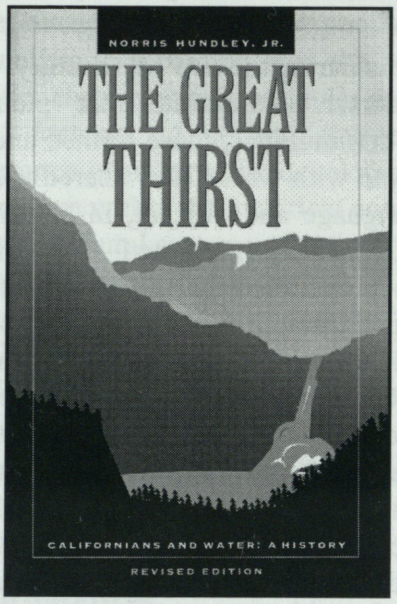
manence and legitimacy. This phenomenon was markedly incisive in the Americas during the late 18th century.

Anderson demonstrates that "pioneer" Creole communities, those formed and led by people with whom they shared a common language and descent, in North and South America, generated the earliest models of nationalism. These archetypes developed through the liberalization of the Enlightenment, the improvement of Trans-Atlantic communication, the hostility of the elite classes towards the metropole, and the rise of print-capitalism. He then theorizes that the success of nationalism in the Americas (the United States in particular), sparked the era of nationalism in Europe which was uniquely defined by aspired dreams of "a nation" and unification. The rise of modern nationalism in Europe also differed from Creole nationalism in that the emphasis of national print languages played a prime role in the ideology of the movements. From about the middle of the 19th century, nationalism developed into official ideologies for both powerful groups threatened by exclusion in the global community (e.g. Russia, England, and Japan) and weaker states (e.g. Siam and Hungary) that wished to preempt the possibility of domination through defining themselves as sovereign. As nations began to imagine themselves as imperial empires, the established model was inadvertently passed on to colonies through the spread of modern education, expanding bureaucratization, the creation of linguistic unity, and the increase in mobility. In an ironic paradox, the dual policies of imperialism and official nationalism unintentionally brought the ideas of "national histories" into the consciousness of the colonized, which in turn led to revolutions and nationalistic movements for independence across Asia and Africa.

Anderson's groundbreaking theory was the first to examine the roots of nationalism as a cultural artifact rather than take it for granted as a part of a historical trajectory. He describes the incongruous interaction of nationalism and "historical memory." The former transmits an awareness of being grounded in secular, sequential time with all its implications of perpetuity, yet the latter imposes that as nations we "forget" the actual process of this continuity. This engenders a need for a cohesive chronicle of "identity" and history is accordingly rewritten to cast a patriotic image of a shared historical experience spanning the ages. Though a much needed and thoughtful analysis of nationalistic philosophy that has challenged and spurred related fields such as post-colonial studies, his theory has received some criticism. *Imagined Communities* is a sophisticated and complex monograph, yet Anderson's theory is grand and overarching. This characteristic has been called culturally reductionistic, particularly in the case of the Arabic world. His theory also has the tendency to demphasize inherent agency among the colonized as well as internal changes not prompted by Europeans, such as in the case of Japan. Another glitch in his theory is that Anderson's emphasis on print-capitalism may lead the reader to consider the concept of nationalism as a discourse rather than a specific ideology. Though Anderson employs a wide variety of sources, which include primary

accounts of explorers, and the contribution of novels to national consciousness, many of the works from which he derives the crux of his grand theory are secondary sources. Finally, in terms of readability, Anderson tends to employ a lengthy and diversionary style of prose, peppered with untranslated original source quotes.

John Lennon wrote in 1971 "imagine there is no country…nothing to kill or die for." It is this large and complex issue of patriotism and nationality that Anderson attempts to address in *Imagined Communities*: What inspires people to live and die for their countries? Though he does not provide a definitive answer, his work has proved to be highly influential and evocative, stimulating controversy and new schools of literary criticism and historical theory. He effectively explains some of the reasons *why* nationalism carries such great political and social power despite its philosophical poverty. His ideas are just as relevant twenty years later and are particularly useful in the study of post-colonialism, where one frequently finds references to "imagined communities" and "print capitalism." Looking to the future, it is not difficult to see how the extension of media to a global scale will expand the imagined community of the state. Anderson's theory hints at how communities may cycle in both emerging and dismantling processes as people continually redefine their community. It remains to be seen if media globalization and increased mobility will replace vernacular as the incisive element in the creation of national consciousness by blending imagined nations into a global community.



The Great Thirst
By C. Norris Hundley Jr., Ph.D.
University of California Press, 2001.

By John Stahler

While California has long been a magnet for seekers of fame and fortune, dreamers and schemers, hardy gold miners, and a continuing stream of gold diggers, all have shared one of life's most fundamental yet often taken-for-granted requirements: water. In *The Great Thirst*, brilliant professional historian Norris Hundley incisively organizes daunting volumes of data to create a remarkably coherent and highly plausible history of water in California. Despite his decidedly academic prose, Hundley manages to maintain one's interest across 500-plus seemingly ponderous pages of text, maps, and photographs.

The Great Thirst centers on the dynamic interaction between human ideals and water usage, with supporting arguments substantiated by a myriad of facts demonstrating that water-related factors are closely connected to the essentials of California's multifaceted historical development.

Hundley illuminates his thesis by contrasting the balance maintained by California's indigenous people in their daily struggle for existence with how successive waves of invading Europeans exploited the same water resources to the detriment of both society and the environment. Furthermore, he draws explicit comparisons between the methods and philosophy of the Hispanic culture starting in 1769 and the prevailing Anglo culture after 1848. Hundley probes in detail how, with the veritable explosion of the Anglo-dominated population after the Gold Rush, "an appetite for profit...elevated the exploitation of nature to new heights," and asserts that this attitude is still rampant today (31).

The Great Thirst delves into the role of government in developing and apportioning water resources, and removing barriers to statewide water planning.

The Great Thirst's scope is quite broad, encompassing a multitude of scientific disciplines with specific examples of how each contributes to understanding water as the crucial element in California's history. Divided into eight chapters that cover a timeline from the prehistoric through the year 2000, the treatise first develops a concise but realistic recreation of aboriginal life prior to the eighteenth-century European incursions into the southwest coast of North America. Hundley uses this tangible, philosophical benchmark to measure future management of natural resources, specifically the decisive role played by water from pre-European times through California's eventual development into an economic behemoth during the latter part of the twentieth century.

Hundley continues by adroitly illuminating the essential differences between the Indian concept of water usage *vis-à-vis* the Spanish/Mexican and American water perceptions, goals, and methods. The fundamental Christian European philosophy, based on the biblical imperative to "be fruitful and multiply; abound on the earth and subdue it," is effectively contrasted with the underlying premise of Indian life -- "existing in harmony with the environment rather than dominating it" (29, 2). Intriguingly, the volume's shortest section covers the work's longest time span, from prehistoric aboriginal cultures to the 1769 arrival of Spanish missionaries from Mexico.

Successfully confronting the tedious historical challenge presented by an imposing mountain of evidence, Hundley provides a clear picture of California's insatiable thirst for water. This is accomplished without committing presentism or providing moral justification for past environmental or social

transgressions. Rather, he makes an objective attempt to accurately recreate the past as he deems it to have occurred. While not glossing over the natives' horrendous experience suffered at the hands of the Spanish, Hundley offers no substantive discussion of their virtual extermination by the burgeoning mid-nineteenth-century Anglo population.

Hundley acknowledges, but is not primarily concerned with, the significance of technology. Rather, he focuses on its utilization and the underlying motives of those employing it. He asserts that developers of the technology are responsible for its utilization. Additionally, he posits that while various private interests and government agencies have battled each other over water use and rights, both groups condone the rapacious use of water at virtually any human or environmental cost. Regardless of who controlled California's water, its supply always has been regarded as insufficient, an underlying social, economic, and political philosophy that has fostered a self-fulfilling prophecy. He concludes that whenever greater water supply is deemed required due to projected population growth and more water subsequently is made available, California's population has, in fact, increased. In turn, this occurrence generates a demand for still more water, thus engendering a vicious cycle with potentially catastrophic repercussions.

In analyzing the manipulation of water policy for political and economic gain, Hundley probes key legal issues dating back to 1265. He also examines a water-use philosophy, developed over the course of several centuries as a result of Spain's semi-arid climate, which provided the greatest good for the greatest number. Spain established the first permanent settlements in California's similar climate. The *Americana* system of arriving prospectors and settlers, with their Anglo-Saxon heritage of riparian rights and "tradition that valued individual rights and minimal government interference," ran fundamentally contradictory to established Spanish precedents, as well as those of California's indigenous peoples (67). Hundley meticulously documents the resulting conflict and the attempts to resolve it throughout the volume's first part.

The Great Thirst delves into the role of government in developing and apportioning water resources, and removing barriers to statewide water planning. The water conflicts between California and other states in the Colorado River basin are thoroughly documented, providing a clear, albeit complicated picture of precisely how and why California receives a plentiful water supply. Hundley also provides a superb analysis of the complex relationship between California and the federal government, the often acrimonious state of affairs between local governments and irrigation districts, and the perpetual rivalry between Southern and Northern California. He also examines the public-private ownership-of-utilities debate, noting that while this particular issue was settled in Los Angeles early on, San Francisco's experience was just the opposite.

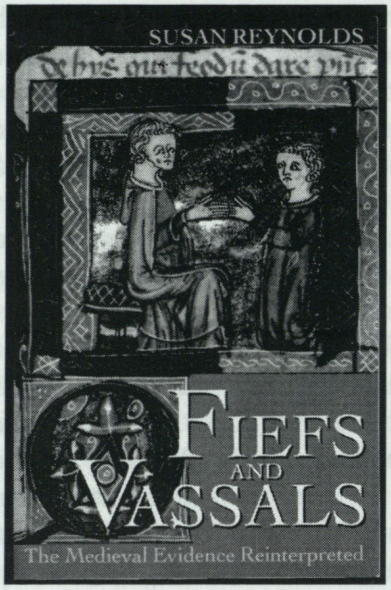
Hundley finishes by examining the negative social ramifications of water policy, particularly the plight of the primarily Mexican and Mexican-American migrant farm workers who toil in the arid agricultural regions irrigated by imported water. Their labor, Hundley asserts, has kept the wheels of huge agribusiness turning, while they mostly work and live under unattractive conditions intolerable to all but the most destitute Anglo-Americans.

An examination of Hundley's methodology reveals a commanding, exceptionally rigorous professional scholarship. He supports his voluminous work with a bibliography that contains 1,082 primary and secondary sources: archival materials, unpublished master's theses and doctoral dissertations, oral histories, newspapers, periodicals, court cases, government publications, articles, essays, books, monographs, and pamphlets. This abundant research material also includes twenty-five maps and ninety-three historical photographs, all of which directly bolster his scholarly effort. A significant portion of *The Great Thirst* focuses on the Boulder Canyon, the Central Valley, and the State Water projects in excruciating detail. One example, the discussion of Governor Edmund G. "Pat" Brown and the California Water Project, could have been substantially abbreviated without diminishing the credibility of the analysis.

Hundley also cites 258 major and minor personalities and their respective contributions to the creation of California's hydraulic wonderland. While his treatment of this cast of characters is ostensibly equitable and balanced, he presents less-than-subtle judgments of the behavior, policies, goals, and greed of those who irrigated California's landscape with copious infusions of water. He casts an historical spotlight on notable miscreants such as the Union Labor Party boss Abraham Ruef, who was, "more interested in making money than in promoting a municipal water system" for San Francisco, and who paid for his larcenous scheming with a prison term (176-77).

Conversely, men of great vision and fortitude, such as William Mulholland, received the considered treatment they deserved. Mulholland's single-minded determination in constructing an aqueduct that brought Owens Valley water to Los Angeles in the early twentieth century, for example, is fairly portrayed. No one, including John Muir, the preservationists' "spiritual leader" and a rabid opponent of damming the Hetch Hetchy Valley, escapes objective scrutiny (278-82).

During his forty-five year Southern California residency, Hundley experienced the dynamic growth of the region as a first-hand observer. This left an indelible mark on his scholarship and augmented his impeccable qualifications for undertaking the massive task of writing California's water history. Nonetheless, Dr. Hundley, UCLA History *Professor Emeritus*, stands alone among his academic peers with the publication of an erudite, yet alarming, volume—*The Great Thirst.*



Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted
By Susan Reynolds.
Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.

Reviewed by Kenneth Shonk.

As time passes, statements of dubious validity, if repeated often enough, can become falsely viewed as factual. Historical research has demonstrated such cases. Like the sciences, the discipline of history builds upon itself, on the shoulders of its giants, holding dear the assumption that its foundations are truthful and honorable. The duty of the historian is to call into doubt the facts that they hold as truth. In *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted*, Reynolds calls into question the modern understanding of feudalism. She reexamines the modern definitions of fief and vassal and their relations to the origins of these words via medieval sources, with the intent of creating a new understanding.

Written on a grand scale, yet fairly narrow in scope, *Fiefs and Vassals* seeks not to revise but to redefine. Reynolds selectively examines two specific subjects. In other words, she does not try to refute *all* perceived misconceptions held by medievalists, but rather focuses on redefining feudalism, in turn affecting the fundamental assumptions in the field of medieval history. In her attempt to present a seminal work of history, Reynolds takes an empiricist approach to her research. By taking this path, Reynolds avoids what she sees as the pitfall in medieval history, which is the overemphasis on the perceptively tense relationship between the vassal and the fief. As Reynolds notes in the introductory chapter, "I have deliberately omitted almost all of the vast and important subject of relations between lords and peasants - in other words the whole subject of feudalism in the Marxist sense" (15). Rather than focusing on the class tension, Reynolds instead centers her writing on the actual terminological origins of words vital to the understanding of feudalism, hoping to uncover the true relationship between fief and vassal in medieval England, Germany, France and Italy.

Like Peter Hunt's *Slaves, Warfare, and Ideology in the Greek Historians*, Reynolds' work confronts previously held assumptions. And like Hunt, one expects that the conclusions of *Fiefs and Vassals* would be challenged very heatedly in the world of historical academia. This work has opened itself to criticism since it seeks to defy certain fundamental "truths" of medieval history. The success of Rey-

nolds' thesis might have the effect of invalidating the work of many historians, outdating and negating much of their research.

In the realm of medieval studies, Reynolds' book directly challenges the oft-quoted work *Feudalism* written by Francois Ganshof. *Fiefs and Vassals* offers conclusions that directly oppose those presented by Ganshof. In the second chapter of *Fiefs and Vassals*, Reynolds cites Ganshof who stated that vassalage was "a mark of honour, at any rate where direct vassalage to the king was concerned and where the vassal obtained a benefice in return" (18). For Ganshof, vassalage was essentially a highly prized position that held a certain level of power and prestige over fiefdoms. This thesis, of course, connotes that feudalism was oppressive in intent and in practice. The Marxist historian views this system as a prime example of the continued struggle between the "haves and have-nots." Thus, the strength of feudalism came from the surrendering of the will, which in turn created a state founded on a social structure based on passivity. Contrary to this, Reynolds asserts that this interpretation of feudalism is problematic when one examines the medieval definitions of such terms as vassal and fief. She combines the facts of this latter statement with the desire to show how it relates to modern medieval theory. This is best illustrated by Reynolds, who states that, "Vassalage itself is a term that no longer matches either the evidence we have available or the conceptual tools we need to use in analysing it" (47).

In the realm of medieval studies, Reynolds' book directly challenges the oft-quoted work *Feudalism* written by Francois Ganshof.

The manner in which Reynolds attempts to prove her thesis is both interesting and engaging. In the first three chapters, she seeks to "compare the medieval evidence of property relations and political relations with the concepts of the fief and of vassalage as they are used by medieval historians" (475). The majority of her work provides case studies intended to prove the second part of her thesis regarding the usage of the terms; these are culled from the primary sources of the early histories of the Franks, Germans, French, English, and Italians. The most engaging section, and perhaps the most important of these support chapters, focuses on medieval Italy and the *Libri Feudorum* (Feudal Law). This chapter presents a contrast to the previously held notion that the Italian Renaissance was a break from medievalism, purported by such whighist historians as Jacob Burckhardt. Reynolds instead finds a continuation of medieval political structures, differentiated only by the shift in wealth from the farms to the cities.

Reynolds' groundbreaking thesis has resulted in a series of intriguing reviews. The variance of these articles shows the range of responses, from those who challenged the work to those who embraced it. The most interesting and even-handed review comes from D. J. A. Matthew in the *English Historical Review.* Devoid of

emotional attachment to any particular theory, the reviewer gives the book a grade of C. Matthew applauds Reynolds' "Occam's razor" approach that makes for an accessible argument and readability. To quote Matthew,

> The book insists above all on the dangers of jumping to conclusions from ambiguous evidence. Unfortunately, this means that her own interpretations can be no more convincing than the frame of reference she provides (D. J. A. Matthew, "Fiefs and Vassals," *The English Historical Review* 110 (November 1995): 1209-1212).

Essentially, Matthew concludes that the noble approach and conclusion of the book belie its questionable methodology.

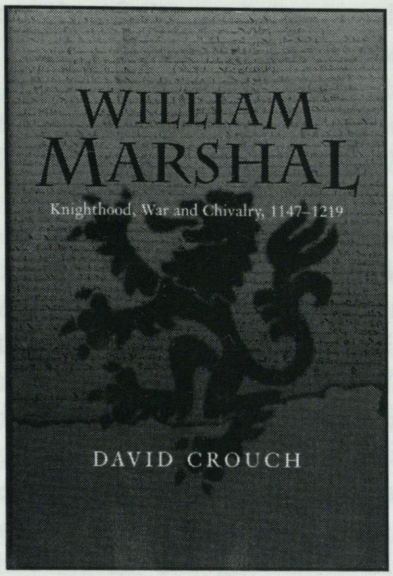
Paul R. Hyams' laudatory review in the *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* states that:

> The final judgment must be congratulatory. This book largely disposes of the ancient myth that feudo-vassalic relations characterized the medieval West. [A] new generation of historians will surely now see (literally) through the specter (Paul R. Hyams, "The End of Feudalism?" *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 27 (spring 1997): 655-62).

Frederic Cheyette's review in *Speculum* mirrors many of the points raised by Hyams. When examining the reviews of *Fiefs and Vassals*, one is left with the impression echoed by Matthew of a work daring in approach, but flawed in practice. Cheyette notes that, "Reynolds shakes the foundations of what once was our confidently accepted common wisdom...Her book is one that everyone concerned with the period should read, reread, and ponder" (Cheyette, Frederic L. "Fiefs and Vassals," *Speculum* 71 (October 1998): 998-1006).

It might be difficult to imagine that one historian has the ability to shake the entire field by creating a thesis so revolutionary that it has cast a pall of doubt on previously held knowledge. Instead, it is more realistic to accept a work that unearths facts that open the doors to new ways of thinking, thus creating a slow but steady movement towards a new school of thought. While the conclusions of *Fiefs and Vassals* may be questionable, there is no doubt that it stands as a daring work that seeks to reestablish the goal of any historian – a pursuit of truth.

Wel•e•bae•than (wĕl′ə′bē′thən) ► n. 1. A CSU Fullerton history journal named for Dr. Shirley Weleba in 1974 combining her surname with the suffix ethan meaning "in honor of". 2. An award-winning, student-led publication consisting of a wide variety of historical topics within research articles, oral histories, historiographies, theory papers, and book reviews sponsored by the CSUF History Department and the Theta Pi chapter of Phi Alpha Theta.



William Marshal: Knighthood, War and Chivalry, 1147-1219, 2d. ed.
By David Crouch.
London: Longman, 2002.

Reviewed by Heather Carter.

William Marshal was a twelfth-century English knight who led a far from typical military and political career. Born the fourth son of a minor baron, he began his career as a landless knight and ended it as the regent of England. Known during his lifetime as "the Marshal," this Englishman's political acumen facilitated his rise through the ranks of an aristocracy dominated by Normans as he became a great earl and marcher lord in Ireland and Wales (48). Unusually, a biographer wrote about the Marshal in a day when recollections of lives were generally limited to saints and princes (3). William Marshal's life was, in short, a tale of upward mobility, chivalry, and political expertise, all elements considered in David Crouch's work, *William Marshal: Knighthood, War and Chivalry, 1147-1219*. Through this expanded second edition of his 1990 work, *William Marshal: Court, Career and Chivalry in the Angevin Empire, 1147-1219*, Crouch attempts to reconstruct the extraordinary life of William Marshal and shed some light on the workings of the twelfth-century Anglo-Norman aristocracy.

Crouch begins the first half of *William Marshal* with a chronological narrative of the Marshal's political and military career. Beginning his military training sometime around the age of thirteen or fourteen and knighted by 1166, William Marshal spent his early years following the tournament circuit in France until he became a knight in Queen Eleanor of England's household. The royal *mesnie*, or military household, then remained the focal point of the Marshal's life until the age of forty-three (39). Spending most of his time in attendance upon the royal family, William Marshal developed intimate ties to the Plantaganets and grew rich from their support. An advantageous marriage to England's most eligible heiress supplemented this wealth, as well as the convenient death without issue of his older brother, thus making him one of the greatest magnates in England (67). In 1199, King John formally invested the Marshal with the title of Earl of Pembroke, possibly as a reward for his unequivocal support of John's recent succession to the throne after King Richard's premature death in France. This marked the beginning of a turbulent relationship between King John and the Marshal, one

which lasted throughout the former's reign. John died in 1216 while campaigning in the north, leaving England to nine-year-old Henry III and a council of thirteen executors and ordainers (124). With the support of the royalist magnates, William assumed the regency of England with little opposition, and held this office until 1219 when he became terminally ill. The final noteworthy event in the Marshal's life was his reception into the order of the Knights Templar before he died on 14 May 1219 at the remarkable age of seventy-two (139, 1).

After reconstructing the Marshal's political activities, Crouch dedicates the second half of his work to an exploration of various social aspects of William Marshal's life. The author arranged this section thematically, allowing for richer analysis. In respective chapters, Crouch reviews the Marshal's household, his relationship with his men and the nature of his lordship, the character of the Marshal's chivalry, and the quality of his spirituality. In these chapters, Crouch utilizes the known particulars of the Marshal's life and reflects upon what this information reveals about twelfth-century England's aristocracy and society. For example, Crouch scrutinizes the interaction between William Marshal and his knights and notes the new methods of lordship he exercised, thus illustrating the changes aristocratic power underwent during the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries (143). Another example can be seen in the way that Crouch explores the Marshal's behavior at the court, in tournaments, and on battlefields in an attempt to gain insights into the nature of twelfth-century chivalry (179-206).

Marshal's highly developed and politically astute courtly behavior provides a recurring theme throughout *William Marshal*. In his introduction to the work, Crouch disputes the interpretation of the Marshal as a dumb, straight-forward character, and instead argues that William Marshal became a skillful master of courtliness whose calculated political behavior appeared sophisticated and cunning (7). When discussing the instruction that William Marshal received during his squirehood, Crouch includes courtliness among the necessities of a knight's education. According to Crouch, the Marshal learned courtly conduct in the Tancarville household, and these manners had as much to do with survival as did the arts of the battlefield (26). In the consideration of the Marshal's experiences as a knight in the royal household, Crouch again underscores the fact that William Marshal's good humor and general personal charisma made him a model of courtliness (43). In fact, according to Crouch, his alliances made at court enabled the Marshal to defy King John for as long as he did (7). Towards the conclusion of the work, Crouch offers an extended consideration of William Marshal's courtliness and the idea of courtliness in general during his lifetime (183-92).

Crouch's drew the majority of his evidence for *William Marshal* from a biographical work titled the *History of William Marshal*. Commissioned by the Marshal's sons and followers five years after his death in 1219, the *History* was

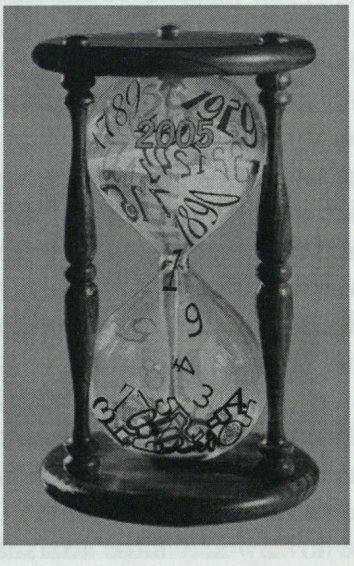
written in the tradition of a romance epic poem (1). Crouch based his work upon the only surviving copy, which he speculates to be the author's original and unrevised draft (2). According to Crouch, this allows for the demonstration of the author's working methodology (3). For instance, Crouch ascertains that the sources for the *History* included members of William Marshal's household, stories of his early life which he told to sons and friends, a store of Marshal documents from South Wales and Gloucestershire, as well as a Latin chronicle (5). Despite the rarity of biographies in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Crouch considers the *History* a true biography because it "follows its subject from cradle to grave, and gives many details and insights into what the Marshal did and why he did it. It is also concerned to give a (highly favourable) verdict on his life, and justify his political decisions and actions" (4). Nevertheless, the use of the *History* to reconstruct the past has several major drawbacks. For one thing, Crouch points out that the biography's highly stylized format could not help but create distortions of the events it depicted (9). Crouch also reveals that the author of the *History* was not forthcoming about dubious periods in the Marshal's career, and consequently filled in the holes of the story with fictional passages (9).

In order to combat these inherent difficulties with the *History*, as well as provide a fuller account of William Marshal's life, Crouch expands his evidence to include various charters, writs, and chronicles. For example, the *History* has little to say about the Marshal's life between 1170 and 1183, so Crouch utilizes charters and the chronicle of Roger of Howden to view the activities at the court of King Henry's eldest son. Using William Marshal's placement on the witness lists of Henry's charters, Crouch establishes that he was the head of Henry's *mesnie* (42). At a later point in William Marshal's life, Crouch utilizes the witness lists to Richard I's charters to determine the Marshal's attendance at court between 1195 and 1198. Crouch also makes use of the Marshal's own charters, of which sixty-seven survived. With these charters, Crouch analyzes the make-up of the Marshal's household and considers the nature of the bonds between the Marshal and his men. For example, Crouch determines the core group of the Marshal's knights from the witness lists of the charters, and through analysis of the content of these documents determines that two-thirds of them had no feudal links to their lord (148). This reinforces the position that by the end of the twelfth century, the feudal bonds formed by land grants were relaxing (148).

There are many positive aspects to David Crouch's *William Marshal*. First and foremost, this work is not just a treatment of the *History*, but an attempt at reconstructing the political life of William Marshal. Also very interesting is the way in which Crouch gleans from the Marshal's political behavior some insight into his character. For example, Crouch reveals a somewhat more grasping and self-seeking side to the chivalrous knight when he demonstrates the fact that William Marshal decided to wait upon the king rather than be present to comfort his widowed sister-in-law at his brother's funeral (80). In

another instance, Crouch shows a harsher, more hypocritical side of the Marshal when he recounts a story from the *History* in which the Marshal robs eloping lovers of a sum of money that they planned to lend out to interest. The *History* does not mention, however, that William Marshal himself later made use of the Jewish market in Normandy (164). These and other similar examples may explain Crouch's dislike of the Marshal, which he expresses in his preface to the second edition (ix). Crouch supplements his text with three maps, two genealogical tables, a table of the Marshal's knights, and ten black and white plates. There is also an appendix which offers further information on William Marshal's knights, including their names, a brief pedigree, their land and title holdings, and a list of their appearances in the Marshal's charter attestations. Crouch offers a second appendix exploring the nature of the office of royal marshal, and provides a general bibliography arranged by chapter at the end of the work.

Unsurprisingly, *William Marshal* has been well received by its scholarly audience. Commenting on the first edition of this work, Michael Prestwich applauds Crouch's recreation of the Angevin court, as well as his ability to explain the reality of chivalry (Michael Prestwich, "William Marshal," *History Today.* February 1991, 54). J. R. Maddicott approves of the way Crouch utilized the Marshal's charters to correct the chronology of his career and recreate his knightly retinue (J. R. Maddicott, "William Marshal," *The Times Literary Supplement.* 18 January 1991, 17). In his review for *The English Historical Review*, John Hudson states that Crouch's work "... provides a very useful introduction to several recent themes in the study of lordship" (John Hudson, "William Marshal," *The English Historical Review.* April 1994, 412-3). However, while W. L. Warren praises the readability of *William Marshal*, as well as the value of its remarks on the workings of aristocratic society, he does not find Crouch's work to be the definitive book on the Marshal (W. L. Warren, "William Marshal," *History.* February 1992, 100-1). Nonetheless, Crouch's *William Marshal* is an intriguing look into the exceptional career of an English knight, and it offers interesting insights into the make-up of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy in the twelfth century. Suitable for a general audience, *William Marshal* will be appreciated by undergraduate and graduate students alike.



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