UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH JOURNAL FOR THE HUMANITIES

vol. 2 spring 2017

The Undergraduate Research Journal for the Humanities at the University of Kansas

Second Edition ♦ Spring 2017

© Spring 2017

Logo Design: © Jacob Carter 2016

Front and Back Cover Photos Information: © Chad Uhl 2017
It is a picture of the Trinity Long Room Hub at Trinity College Dublin.

ISSN: 2473-2788

Copyrights to all text and images of submissions to the *Undergraduate Research Journal for the Humanities* (collectively, the "Journal Content") are reserved by the authors thereof, subject to a license in favor of the Journal as well as to the Creative Commons "Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International Public License" outlined and described in detail at: https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/legalcode (the "Creative Commons License"), that, in summary and without limitation or waiver of the language of the Creative Commons License, allows, for non-commercial purposes, others to distribute and copy the Journal Content, and to include in a collective work (such as an anthology), as long as they credit the author(s) and provided they do not alter or modify the article.

Pursuant to Section 3(A)(1) of the Creative Commons License, the following is being provided by the Journal and its authors: (a) the creator(s) of particular Journal Content is the person(s) identified as the author(s) on the first page of the article containing such Journal Content; (b) both the creator(s) and the Journal should be receive attribution; (c) the attribution must include the creator(s)' name(s), the title of the article including the Journal Content, the name of the Journal, and the date of publication of the issue of the Journal containing such article; (d) copyright notice to be retained must use the format: ©[name of creator(s), year of publication]; (e) a notice to be retained must state: "This work is subject to the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International Public License, including, without limitation, the disclaimer of warranties and limitation of liability described therein."; and (e) if reasonably practical, the url/hyperlink for the article shall be included, or which may be obtained by contacting the Journal.

Founder and Editor-in-Chief
Savannah Pine

Co-Editor
Matt Dunn

Editorial Committee
Rachel Atakpa (Secretary)
Matthew Clough
Kurtis Engel (Treasurer)
Kerry McCullough
Korbin Painter
James Paisley
Sandy Sanchez
Alicia Whitson
Austin Wilson
Jo Young

Web Designer
Chad Uhl

Faculty Advisor
Dr. Jonathan Hagel

Faculty and Graduate Student Editors
Prof. Robert Antonio
Prof. David Cateforis
Prof. Katherine Clark
Prof. Brad Cokelet
Prof. Andrew Denning
Prof. Megan Greene
Dr. Jonathan Hagel
Prof. Marie-Alice L'Heureux
Dr. Mary Klayder
Dr. Brian Lagotte
Prof. Jonathan Lamb
Prof. Ariel Linden
Prof. Timothy Miller
Prof. Christopher Perreira
Prof. Amy Rossomondo
Prof. Robert Schwaller
Dr. Kayla Stroup
Prof. Jennifer Weber
Pinyan Zhu, Graduate Student

Acknowledgements

Thanks to our Partners at the University of Kansas!

The University of Kansas
College of Liberal Arts and Sciences
School of Languages, Literatures, and Cultures
Office of the Provost
The University of Kansas Honors Program
Center for Undergraduate Research
History Department
English Department
Classics Department
Art History Department
European Studies Department
Hall Center for the Humanities
Political Science Department
Center for Russian, Eastern European, and Eurasian Studies
Jewish Studies Department
Women, Gender, and Sexuality Studies Department
Global and International Studies Department
Philosophy Department
African and African American Studies Department
American Studies Department
Humanities and Western Civilization Department
Peace and Conflict Studies Program
Religious Studies Department
Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies
Department of French and Italian
Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures
University of Kansas Libraries

The *Undergraduate Research Journal for the Humanities* is a student-run, student-reviewed, and student-published annual academic journal. Its purpose is to provide a venue for undergraduates at the University of Kansas to share their research in the Humanities.

UNDERGRADUATE
RESEARCH
JOURNAL
FOR THE HUMANITIES

Table of Contents

Letter from the Editor-in-Chief.....1

Articles

The Shrine of St. Winefride and Social Control in Early Modern England and Wales.....3
Matthias Bryson

"And Suddenly You Can See the Stars":
Writing As a Means of Self-Creation and Resistance in Ellison and Coates.....20
Brook Nasseri

Within the Confines of Legality:
How the OSE Succeeded in Liberating Hundreds of Rivesaltes's Youngest Prisoners.....32
Olivia Cooper

Co-Production of Disability and Race: Readings for Disability in Black Prison Writings.....39
Zoë Bunton

My Fate is in Your Hand*: Revealing Yasuo Kuniyoshi's Conflicted Identity*.....48
Alex Cateforis

Shakespearanity: MacBeth*'s Third Murderer and the Evolution of Shakespeare's Pop Culture Status*.....60
Megan Fox

(Ef)facing the Other: The Subversion of Empathy in the Killing of Humans and Other Animals.....76
Alex Burdge

"I Don't Know About This Monkey Business": Students and the Antievolution Movement, 1909-1935.....94
Ryan T. Fullerton

"So Long, Farewell": The Sound of Music *and the Crisis of the American Family in the 1960s*.....109
Elizabeth Grube

Global and International Studies Theses

Gastronomic Revolution: Peruvian Cuisine's Journey from Cultural Entity to Commodity.....135
Hannah Bannister

Soy Domination: The Impacts of Genetic Modification in Argentina and Paraguay.....152
Lucy Griffith

Nos Están Matando [They Are Killing Us]: Feminist Movements' Influence in Argentina and Chile.....165
Maria C. Davies

Art Exhibition Review

Responding to Change and Looking to the Future in Temporal Turn.....184
Ryan Jones

Letter from the Editor-in-Chief

In December 2015, I started the *Undergraduate Research Journal for the Humanities*. More than a year and a half later, my creation has performed two review processes and published two issues. I am also preparing to hand the *URJH* over to the very capable Matt Dunn to be the next Editor-in-Chief.

The *URJH* would not be publishing its second issue without the hard work of the student editorial committee, the faculty and graduate student editors, the Web Designer Chad (who designed and constructed the issue while studying abroad in Glasgow, Scotland), and, of course, the hard work and patience of all the authors who participated in the process. Additionally, the *URJH* owes its continued existence to the support of its Partners, Dr. Jonathan Hagel, and the University of Kansas.

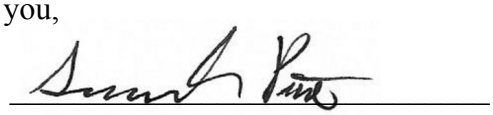
When I created the *URJH*, I was consumed with just publishing one issue. Once that was done, I was faced with the prospect of publishing a second one and ensuring the succession (and yes, that is the best word to use because I am a historian). Creating the *URJH* was the second most stressful thing I have ever done, but creating this issue has been significantly less so. This time around, I had a Co-Editor to help with the burden, a university filled with support, and people (whether they were students, faculty, or staff) ready to help me in any way possible.

I owe a special thank you to the History Department. It has given us an office in its department, which has been wonderful. For one, I have a place to put my books instead of the floor of my room. Second, it has allowed anyone to come and visit us during our office hours with any questions, comments, and concerns. Third, having an office has allowed us to justify printing out business cards.

To our readers, please enjoy this issue. It is the result of a good deal of time and energy. To our published authors, I hope you are pleased with your articles and will proudly display them on your résumés. To our student editorial committee, thank you so much for reviewing and editing over sixty submissions over the entire review process.

Lastly, to the University of Kansas, thank you for giving me the opportunity to create the *URJH*. I am very grateful and I know that you will continue to help the *URJH*, its Editor-in-Chiefs, Co-Editors, and student editorial committees with subsequent issues.

Thank you,



Savannah Pine, Editor-in-Chief

P.S. This issue is dedicated to my family because they complained when I did not dedicate the first issue to them.

Articles

The Shrine of St. Winefride and Social Control in Early Modern England and Wales

Matthias Bryson is a senior majoring in History. He is from West Cape May, New Jersey. This History article was supervised by Prof. Katherine Clark.

Abstract:

In 1534, Henry VIII declared himself the supreme head of the Church of England. In the years that followed, his advisors carried out an agenda to reform the Church. In 1536, the Crown condemned pilgrimages and the veneration of saints' shrines and relics. By the end of the seventeenth century, nearly every shrine in England and Wales had been destroyed or fell into disuse except for St. Winefride's shrine in Holywell, Wales. The shrine has continued to be a pilgrimage destination to the present day without disruption. Contemporary scholars have credited the shrine's survival to its connections with the Tudor and Stuart regimes, to the successful negotiation for its shared use as both a sacred and secular space, and to the missionary efforts of the Jesuits. Historians have yet to conduct a detailed study of St. Winefride's role in maintaining social order in recusant communities. This article argues that the Jesuits and pilgrims at St. Winefride's shrine cooperated to create an alternative concept of social order to the legal and customary orders of Protestant society.

Introduction

On August 29, 1687, the London Gazette reported that James II (r. 1685–8) "went this day to Holywell in Flintshire," a small town tucked in the green hills of northeastern Wales, close to the border of England. While there, he performed the expected functions of a reigning monarch on an official visit. As the head of the Church of England, he met with "the Lord Bishop of St. Asaph and his Clergy with all dutiful Respect," he greeted the local gentry who had gathered "to pay their Obedience to His Majesty," and he "was pleased to Heal for the Evil"—that is, he laid his hands upon his subjects, regardless of birth or rank, in order to heal them of their illnesses, an ability traditionally believed to have been bestowed upon English monarchs by God, dating back to Edward the Confessor (r. 1042–66).[1] The London Gazette reported that the king was "met by multitudes of People on both ways, sounding forth Joyful and Loyal Acclamations."[2]

This was, however, no ordinary royal visit, and James II was no ordinary king. He was the last Catholic king of an overwhelmingly Protestant land. He had come to Holywell that day not only as king, but as pilgrim. James II found time between his official duties to pay his respects at the shrine of St. Winefride, a natural spring housed in a gothic chapel just outside of the town of Holywell and a center of Catholic pilgrimage dating back nearly a thousand years. He had come to petition the saint to

[1] Stephen Brogan, *The Royal Touch in Early Modern England: Politics, Medicine and Sin* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015), 61.

[2] London Gazette (September 1—September 5, 1687).

grant him a male heir.[3] His wife did give birth to a son, but within sixteen months of his visit, James II was forced to flee England, as Parliament replaced him on the throne with his Protestant daughter, Mary II, and her husband, William of Orange. Reflecting on the king's visit to Holywell, the eighteenth-century Welsh writer and local historian Thomas Pennant referred to James as "the prince who lost three kingdoms for a mass."[4]

James II's pilgrimage to Holywell draws attention to a phenomenon in the countryside of Wales worth further exploration: the survival of a medieval Catholic shrine a century and a half after Henry VIII's reforms separated England from the Roman Catholic Church. The Henrician reforms targeted centers of traditional medieval Christianity—monasteries, chantries, and shrines. Many saints' shrines survived the initial reforms under Henry VIII and his successor Edward VI, and some remained centers of pilgrimage into the seventeenth century, but iconoclastic fervor reached new heights during the Interregnum of 1649–1660, as hardline Protestants attempted to complete the reformation of the English Church along Calvinist lines.[5] They destroyed many of the remaining Catholic holy sites and forced pilgrims to abandon the rest. St. Winefride's shrine in Holywell, however, survived the seventeenth century and remained an active center of Catholic worship. From the twelfth to the sixteenth century the focal point of her cult had been Shrewsbury Abbey, just on the English side of the Welsh Marches where her bones were interred. The Crown's agents destroyed the abbey in the Dissolution of the Monasteries in the 1530s and with it the saint's shrine and her bodily relics. St. Winefride's well, which sat approximately fifty miles from Shrewsbury Abbey, was long a locus of her cult's activity, but after the abbey's destruction it became its center and the saint's sole shrine.

According to medieval hagiographies, Winefride was a Welsh noblewoman who lived in the seventh century. The protégé of her uncle, Beuno, a priest renowned for his piety, Winefride dedicated her life to chastity in service to God. In addition to being a holy woman, Winefride was reputed to have been beautiful. She caught the eye of a pagan prince named Caradoc, who made advances on her. She refused, fleeing from her house toward the church where Beuno was leading mass. Caradoc caught up with her and chopped off her head in a fit of rage. Beuno, as soon as he found out, ran from the church to where her body lay. He cried out for God to judge Caradoc. The earth opened up and swallowed Caradoc, dragging him straight to hell. Beuno placed Winefride's head on her neck and asked God to restore her to life. He then went to the church and finished the mass. When he returned, Winefride was miraculously revived, just as though she had never died but for a thin silver line around her neck where Caradoc had struck her, a mark she bore the rest of her life as an outward manifestation of God's grace. From the blood of her severed

[3] Alexandra Walsham, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), 197.

[4] Thomas Pennant, *The history of the parishes of Whiteford, and Holywell* (London, 1796), 230.

[5] The Interregnum refers to the period between 1649–1660, after the beheading of Charles I and the restoration of his son, Charles II, to the throne of England. England became a republic in this period, ruled by Parliament under the leadership of hardline Protestants or "Puritans" who sought to continue the reformation of the Church, which they considered to be corrupted with the remnants of Catholic idolatry.

head a spring burst forth out of the ground. This fountain is purported to be the same one venerated as St. Winefride's shrine, also known as Holywell.

The waters of Holywell quickly developed a reputation for healing diseases and infirmities, and so the shrine became a pilgrimage destination in the Middle Ages, a practice which carried on even through the Reformation. Like many other popular late medieval and early modern saints, St. Winefride was first and foremost a healer, but whereas most saints were "specialist healers" whom people appealed to for healing of a specific ailment, St. Winefride was renowned as a healer of all manner of illnesses.[6] Written reports of healings at her shrine in Holywell date back to at least the twelfth century. In his life of St. Winefride, Robert, the abbot of Shrewsbury, attributed to St. Winefride the healing of leprosy, fevers, sores, and blindness.[7] By the end of the Middle Ages, St. Winefride's reputation for healing had only grown. The sixteenth-century Welsh bard Tudur Aled expanded the saint's repertoire when he wrote that she could heal "blindness, lameness, skin disorders, mental deficiency, infertility, paralysis in arm or leg, deafness or dumbness; and she could even restore the dead to life."[8]

Pilgrims traveled to the shrine at Holywell throughout the year to petition the saint for healing, but the shrine attracted its largest numbers of worshipers on the feast of St. Winefride's beheading, on June 22, and on November 3, her feast day in the Church calendar. These practices carried on through the Reformation. Even in the height of persecution, the summer pilgrimage drew hundreds or perhaps thousands of pilgrims.[9]

From the 1530s until the late seventeenth century, Protestant reformers made periodic attempts to end pilgrimages at Holywell. These efforts intensified in the 1640s and 1650s during the Civil Wars and the Interregnum as Puritans targeted centers of traditional worship, such as Holywell, for destruction.[10] Despite these efforts, the pilgrimages continued. Holywell's continued use as a sacred site was not unique in this period. Other shrines such as Lady Chapel at the ruins of the Mount Grace priory in Yorkshire, the chapel of Our Lady of the Crag in Knaresborough, and St. Robert's cave survived well into the seventeenth century before being abandoned. However, St. Winefride's well not only outlasted most other surviving shrines, it also attracted larger volumes of pilgrims.[11]

---

[6] For example, Saints Katherine, Margaret, and Barbara were especially helpful for protection during childbirth, and St. Sebastian offered protection from the plague. See Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 179, 181.

[7] Robert, Prior of Shrewsbury, *The admirable life of Saint VVenefride virgin, martyr, abbesse,* trans. John Falconer (Saint-Omer: English College Press, 1635), Early English Books Online (STC / 974:15).

[8] Williams, Glanmor. "St. Winifred's Well: Ffynnon Wenfrewi." *Flintshire Historical Society journal*, vol. 36 (2003): 42.

[9] In a 1629, John Bridgeman, the Chief Justice of Chester recounted his efforts to stop pilgrimage to Holywell to the Privy Council. He reported catching people "to the number of fourteen or fifteen hundreth" in the act of pilgrimage. John Bridgeman, *Dom. Charles I.* vol. cli. n. 13, 1629, in *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, ed. Henry Foley (London: Burns and Oates, 1878), 534–5.

[10] For a survey of government crackdowns on the shrine at Holywell, see Williams, "St. Winifred's Well," 44–48.

[11] Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 167–169.

Most historians who have researched St. Winefride's shrine have focused on its connection to well-known figures, such as the late-medieval printer William Caxton or the royal family, or to important events, such as the Jacobite uprisings.[12] Other scholars, in particular Robert E. Scully and T.W. Prichard, have written broad surveys of St. Winefride's cult's history from the Middle Ages until the present day, with a focus on Jesuit missionary activity, yet they have offered little new in the way of historical analysis.[13] Shortly before his death in 2005, Welsh historian Glanmor Williams also wrote a chronological survey of the shrine at Holywell. His treatment of the shrine's history bears many of the same limitations as Scully's and Pritchard's research: it is a general chronological survey, and it skips the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries entirely.[14] Williams does, however, posit that St. Winefride's popularity at the end of the Middle Ages can be attributed to her connection with Beuno, himself a popular saint who was "far more celebrated in north Wales at the time" than St. David, the patron saint of Wales.[15] More recently, Alexandra Walsham has credited the survival of St. Winefride's cult to the Jesuit mission's successful incorporation of Counter-Reformation practices into the medieval cult of St. Winefride, and to a successful negotiation with Protestants for the meaning of the shrine when Protestants flocked to it as a healing spa in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[16] Walsham's treatment of the shrine at Holywell is insightful but brief; it serves as one example in her broader discussion of the religious landscape in early modern Britain. Scholars have yet to conduct detailed research into the impact of the shrine's survival on the lives of Catholic worshipers, particularly how they maintained social order.

Over the last thirty years, the debate among historians over the nature of social order in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England has been shaped by the work of Keith Wrightson and David Levine. In their landmark 1979 book, *Poverty and Piety in an English Village: Terling, 1525–1700*, Wrightson and Levine argue that economic changes contributed to the growing distinction between local elite landowners and the laboring poor. Coupled with a zealous expression of Protestantism—often labeled as "Puritanism"—the local elite enforced social behavior on the poor.[17] In his essay, "Two Concepts of Order: Justices, Constables and Jurymen in Seventeenth-century England," Wrightson states that

---

[12] M. J. C. Lowry, "Caxton, St. Winifred and the Lady Margaret Beaufort," *The Library*, 6th series, vol. 5, no. 2 (June 1983): 101–117; Anne F. Sutton, "Caxton, the Cult of St. Winifred, and Shrewsbury," in *Of Mice and Men: Image, Belief and Regulation in Late Medieval England,* ed. Linda Clark (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2005), 109–126; Walsham, *Catholic Reformation;* Colin Haydon, "St. Winifred, Bishop Fleetwood and Jacobitism," in *Saints and Sanctity*, ed. Peter Clarke and Tony Claydon (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2011), 295–306.

[13] Robert E. Scully, "St. Winifride's Well: The Significance and Survival of a Welsh Catholic Shrine from the Early Middle Ages to the Present Day," in *Saints and Their Cults in the Atlantic World*, ed. Margaret Cormack (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2007) 202–228; T.W. Pritchard, *St. Winefride, Her Holy Well & the Jesuit Mission, c.650–1930* (Wrexham, UK: Bridge Books, 2009).

[14] Williams, "St. Winifred's Well," 32–51.

[15] Ibid., 35.

[16] Walsham, *Catholic Reformation*, 188–191, 199–205.

[17] Keith Wrightson and David Levine, *Poverty and Piety in an English Village: Terling, 1525–1700* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

there were two concepts of order in English villages: legal order, which was divinely ordained and enforced from the top down, and customary order, based on principles of neighborliness and social harmony and enforced through social pressure.[18] The idea of these two concepts of order has held up in the decades since, but historians have since challenged aspects of their theses, especially the Marxist-influenced struggle between local village elites and the laboring sorts. Rather than representing two separate cultures in conflict with each other, village elites and laborers shared many social values and worked together to enforce them.[19]

There are still aspects of this debate that have not received enough attention from historians. Wrightson and Levine based their argument on a single village in the southeast of England, eventually broadening the scope of their study to other communities, but the debate has continued to focus on southern English villages with predominantly Protestant populations. This paradigm leaves little room to study how Catholic recusants conceived of social order.[20] The practice of the Catholic faith was illegal in Protestant England and Wales, which placed Catholics on the receiving end of social control measures under both legal and customary concepts of order.

This essay challenges this binary concept of social control. An analysis of the primary texts shows that pilgrims from all social ranks and Jesuits at St. Winefride's shrine worked together to enforce social order. They created an alternative social order that did not rely on the enforcement of laws or social pressure, but on appeals to God through his agent, St. Winefride. First, this article examines the active involvement of the Catholic gentry and nobility in the cult at Holywell. It then explores St. Winefride's role in punishing social transgressors, such as blasphemers, scolds, and suspected witches. Finally, it turns its attention to the belief that St. Winefride's defended Catholics from Protestant persecution.

This essay relies on evidence from the "Documenta de Sancta Wenefreda," a collection of healing accounts collected by a Jesuit group known as the Bollandists from the years 1556 to 1674. The Jesuits carefully curated miracle accounts to illustrate appropriate social behavior to the Catholic laity, and to demonstrate God's sovereign authority as revealed through his saints in a Protestant land. However, the "Documenta" not only records Jesuit strategy, it also contains the beliefs of English and Welsh lay worshipers. The "Documenta" shows

[18] Keith Wrightson, "Two concepts of order: justices, constables and jurymen in seventeenth-century England," in *An Ungovernable People: The English and their Law in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. John Brewer and John Styles (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1980), 21.

[19] Bernard Capp, *England's Culture Wars: Puritan Reformation and its Enemies in the Interregnum, 1649–1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Henry R. French, "Social Status, Localism and the 'Middle Sorts of People' in England 1620–1750," *Past and Present*, no. 166 (Feb 2000): 66–99; Steve Hindle, "The Enforcement of Social Policy," in *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England, 1550–1640.*(New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 146–175; Hindle, "The Reformation of Manners," in *The State and Social Change,* 176–203; Martin Ingram, "From Reformation to Toleration: Popular Religious Cultures in England, 1540–1690," in *Popular Culture in England, c. 1500–1850*, ed. Tim Harris (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), 95–123; Ingram, "Reformation of Manners in Early Modern England," in *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England*, ed. Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox, and Steve Hindle (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 47–81.

[20] The term "recusant" refers to a Catholic in England or Wales who refused to attend Church of England services as required by law.

how Catholics viewed the role of saints in their lives as well as their own place in society.

St. Winefride's Authority Over Social Ranks

Although the majority of pilgrims to Holywell were from the lower orders, the "Documenta" made a point of recording the involvement of members of the gentry and the peerage in an effort to establish St. Winefride's God-given authority over the social order. A record from 1574, during the reign of Elizabeth I, relates that one "Mr John Williams Esq." was a devotee of St. Winefride, who "with others (according to the manner of devout persons) bathed themselves in the Well." In addition to gentlemen of the middling sort like John Williams, the accounts in the "Documenta" contain the names of nobles who acted as benefactors of devotees, defraying the expenses of pilgrimage for ill persons of the lower orders. In 1624, the Jesuits recorded the report of a young Welsh woman named Jane James, who had been bedridden with a mysterious illness for years. Rumors of Ms. James's torment and of her wish to make the pilgrimage to Holywell spread around her town until they reached "the virtuouse and truly Noble Lady the Lady Anne," whom the text identifies as "wife to Henry the then Lord Herbert of Raglan and since first Marquesse of Worcester."[21] As soon as the lady became aware of Jane's condition, she "ordered one of her servants to assist the sick mayde with a horse-litter to Hollywell."[22] When Jane James bathed in the well's waters, the text reports that her condition dramatically improved, and that she received complete healing after bathing in the well three times over a period of several years.[23] The story illustrates that Lady Anne's power to help was limited to financial assistance. For the Jesuit compilers of the "Documenta" only God, through St. Winefride, had the power to heal Jane James. Though the account does not record whether the Lady Anne was herself a devotee of St. Winefride, or even a Catholic, her patronage of Jane James places her within the extended financial and social network that sustained the shrine at Holywell.

Members of the peerage did more than provide financial assistance to pilgrims in need. The names of prominent nobles appear in registers of pilgrims in the seventeenth century. In fact, their presence indicates that, not only did social elites worship St. Winefride, they shared in the dangers associated with this outlawed act of devotion. In 1629, during the reign of Charles I, representatives of the Crown attempted to put a stop to Holywell pilgrimages. To prosecute Catholic worshipers, they recorded the names of pilgrims in a register and sent it to the Privy Council. Among those listed are "divers other knights, ladies, gentlemen and gentlewomen of divers counties," as well as nobles, including Lord Shrewsbury, Lady Falkland, and William Howard.[24]

Nearly fifty years after the 1629 attempt at suppression, St. Winefride's devotees still faced prosecution if they were caught in the act of pilgrimage. The "Documenta" preserves a letter between two Jesuit priests written in 1673. Hugh Owen, a Jesuit missionary in northern Wales, wrote a letter to William Morgan, the superior of the

[21] C. de Smedt, "Documenta de Sancta Wenefreda," *Analecta Bollandiana,* v. 6 (1887): 327.
[22] Ibid., 328.
[23] Ibid., 329.
[24] Bridgeman, *Dom. Charles I.* vol. cli. n. 13, in *Records of the English Province,* 534–5.

Jesuit residence of St. Winefride in Holywell. The Jesuit compilers of the "Documenta" noted that the letter was written in code because their missionary activities were still outlawed in England and they would have "come to grave danger if the letter were to fall into the hands of their adversaries."[25] In the letter, Owen described a secret pilgrimage to Holywell in 1670, two years before Morgan began his post in Holywell. Euphemistically referring to St. Winefride's shrine as the "Closett," he explained that no one made use of it "on ye 22th," that is, there was no pilgrimage on the twenty-second of June, the date of St. Winefride's summer pilgrimage. He went on to relate that certain of "the most eminent" visitors were "permitted to go in… and say their devotions." Among the distinguished visitors was Madam Lumley, "ye Lords mother," and her daughter, as well as the Lady Green, whom he noted was "the most famouse" visitor.[26] The letter implies that the public pilgrimage had been canceled in 1670 due to risks of punishment. Despite this, the noble pilgrims persisted in paying their respects to their patron saint in private. The dangers of Catholic worship were common to all of St. Winefride's devotees, regardless of rank, even in Wales and the borderlands of the North, and they all placed themselves at her mercy for healing and protection.

The Jesuits used St. Winefride's influence among Catholics of all ranks in society to reinforce the narrative that St. Winefride, and therefore the Catholic Church, had authority directly from God that was not subject to the political or cultural changes in England and Wales. Pilgrims, regardless of their rank, approached St. Winefride on equal footing, and the accounts demonstrated her ability to grant healing and protection to them all. This narrative helped St. Winefride evolve from a local healing saint into a powerful arbiter of social order. Because her worshipers ascribed to her authority over all ranks in society, she was not subject to either the legal or customary social order. She could, therefore, not only heal devout worshipers, she could protect them from Protestant and legal persecution.

St. Winefride and Social Control

Many people in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England expressed concern about breakdown of the social order. In court cases, laws, and personal writings from the period, both the social elites and the lower sorts expressed the desire to maintain appropriate behavior and social harmony. Catholic recusants were in the difficult position of largely agreeing with Protestant moral standards while finding themselves on the receiving end of social control efforts, alongside such offenders as blasphemers and witches. In his 1584 tractate on witchcraft, Reginald Scot stated that witches "are women which be commonly…superstitious and papists."[27] Catholic worshipers faced the problem of how to participate in maintaining social control while living in a Protestant society that had turned existing methods of control *against* them. Lay worshipers strived to

[25] The original Latin reads "…grave discrimen venirent, si epistola incidisset in manus adversariorum," de Smedt, "Documenta," 351.
[26] Ibid., 351–352.

[27] Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*, in *Sources and Debates*, in *Sources and Debates in English History, 1485–1714,* ed. Newton Key and Robert Bucholz (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 125–127.

maintain community harmony without the influence to bring it about through social pressure. The Jesuit missionaries in England and Wales were largely concerned with the problem of enforcing social control on the laity in a society in which they had no legal standing. As one of the few remaining Catholic pilgrimage centers in England and Wales in the seventeenth century, Holywell was in the rare position to provide social stability to both the laity and the clergy who worshiped at St. Winefride's well. The miracles that the devout believed St. Winefride worked at her shrine provided them with a powerful source of hope and a paradigm for order. The healing accounts the Jesuits collected in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries show how St. Winefride's role changed from a late-medieval healer into a source of social control. In these records, not only did she heal penitent worshipers, she also punished transgressors. The Jesuits used these accounts to reinforce appropriate moral behavior. For the worshipers, they illustrated St. Winefride's God-given power to redress their grievances against Protestant persecution. Priest and pilgrim alike could appeal to God through his saint to punish those who disrupted social harmony.

Instances of saints punishing wayward worshipers date back to the Middle Ages in popular tradition. Medieval saints punished worshipers for not showing them proper devotion, or for breaking a vow to make a pilgrimage to their shrines.[28] These punishments reflect the late-medieval relationship between worshiper and saint, which mirrored the earthly relationship between commoner and lord. Worshipers paid tribute to the saints in the form of prayers, pilgrimages, and monetary donations, and in return, the saints protected and healed the worshipers.[29]

St. Winefride was no exception. In his account of St. Winefride's life, Robert of Shrewsbury recorded an account that typifies this patron-client relationship between saint and worshiper. He reported that one night a group of thieves stole iron parts from a water mill not far from St. Winefride's shrine. They placed them in their own mill, intending to use them, but "through the merits of S. VVenefride" the parts would not work in the thieves' mill. The thieves returned the stolen parts and "confessed their fault penitently in the Saintes Chappell; warning others thereby not to commit the like theft in places neere vnto it."[30] St. Winefride "had shewed herselfe so powerfull a Patronesse of her Chappell, and Defendresse of such," but her protection was fundamentally local.[31] Her protection only extended to "the places neere unto" her chapel. Like a local lord, she defended those on her land who depended upon her protection. Just as her physical protection was internal to her local community, her spiritual authority was internal to the community of the Church. The thieves' sin was economic, not theological—they wanted to mill grain without paying for parts. They were, for all their faults, Christians who repented for their misdeeds and were welcomed back into Christian fellowship.

St. Winefride's role evolved in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries from a local saint and protector of the vicinity of her shrine to a powerful arbiter of social

[28] Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars,* 185.
[29] Ibid., 160–162.
[30] Robert of Shrewsbury, *The admirable life of Saint VVenefride,* 205–207.
[31] Ibid., 192–193.

order whose influence extended beyond the confines of Flintshire and of the Catholic Church. This is reflected in the expansion of the types of people who came under the saint's judgment: scolds and suspected witches. These groups were popular targets of both legal and customary social control in this period. A scold was a quarrelsome or blasphemous person who verbally abused his or her family or neighbors. Though the term could refer to a man or a woman, it became almost exclusively female over time.[32] Scolding disrupted social harmony in a village and was a criminal offense. Scolds, therefore, frequently appear in court records in the sixteenth century. Concerns over witches were also common in early modern England and Wales. Though ostensibly about protecting the Christian community from satanic harm, accusations of witchcraft frequently centered on more secular, mundane aspects of social order. Accused witches tended to be women, usually on the margins of the community. Reginald Scot claimed that, in addition to their tendency to be "papists," witches were women who were "old, lame, bleary-eyed, foul, and full of wrinkles, poor and sullen." In other words, they were marginal members of the community and thus easy targets of blame for disrupting the social order.

The cult at Holywell provided Catholic worshipers with a context in which they could exert social control over these marginal groups in a way not available to them in the broader Protestant society in which they lived. The legal order enforced appropriate behavior in villages through the implementation of laws by the local elite. Villagers often used shaming rituals, such as charivari, rough music, or skimmingtons, which involved mocking a transgressor with loud music, public humiliation, and even physical abuse.[33] Though they approached it in different ways, the local elite and villagers shared a concern for maintaining social order.[34] St. Winefride's miracle accounts illustrated that the saint's devotees did not need to resort to courts or public rituals to maintain social control. Instead, they could achieve it by seeking divine justice through God's agent, St. Winefride.

In a report dated to 1574, during the reign of Elizabeth I, a man named William Shone—a servant of the aforementioned John Williams, Esq.—loudly and "irreligiously" berated the devout worshipers who were bathing in St. Winefride's well, including his own master. He declared "with scorne and contempt" that he wanted to clean his boots in the water. He lept into the pool, and "his whole body [was] stricken with lamenesse and benummed." Shone was taken from the well in a harrow, and he was reduced to begging for food. Eventually, he returned to

[32] Martin Ingram, "'Scolding women cucked or washed': a crisis in gender relations in early modern England?" in *Women, Crime and the Courts in Early Modern England*, ed. Jennifer Kermode and Garthine Walker (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 51.

[33] Charivari and rough music refer to rituals in which a community shamed one of their members by publically mocking them in song and, at times, driving them from the town or village. Skimmingtons were specifically targeted at adulterers. See "Wiltshire Quarter Sessions, deposition of Thomas Mills, cutler, and his wife Agnes (Spring 1618)," in *Sources and Debates*, 113.

[34] Wrightson, "Two concepts of order," in *An Ungovernable People,* 21; David Underdown, "The Taming of the Scold: the Enforcement of Patriarchal Authority in Early Modern England," in *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England,* ed. A. J. Fletcher and J. Stevenson (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 116–117, 122; Rachel Weil, "Politics and Gender in Crisis in David Underdown's 'The Taming of the Scold,'" *History* Compass 11/4 (2013): 383, 384.

Holywell and bathed in the water, reverently asking God to forgive him "by the intercession of S. Wenefride." God and St. Winefride heard his prayer and healed him, but not to his full strength.[35] In this account, St. Winefride not only displayed her ability to strike down and heal Shone's physical body, she also restored the social order. In addition to blaspheming God and St. Winefride, Shone disrespected his own master. St. Winefride's punishment accomplished three things. It humbled Shone, reinforced the importance of staying within one's station, and confirmed worshipers' faith in St. Winefride by bringing Shone into the fold of the Church. Another version of the story appears in the autobiography of John Gerard. The details of Gerard's account mirror those in the "Documenta," but when St. Winefride paralyzed Shone, Gerard concluded, "Thus was he punished and others confirmed in their belief."[36] The worshipers present, by this account, saw God defend them through St. Winefride from an unbelieving persecutor.

In 1617, forty-three years after William Shone mocked St. Winefride, a Welsh woman named Lowry Davies made the pilgrimage to Holywell with her neighbors, "rather out of pastime then devotion." According to the "Documenta," when she left, she blasphemed God and St. Winefride, saying to her friends, "What a notable foole um I to come so farr on foot to bath myself in these cold waters: had it not been as good for me to wash in the mill-river at home as to come hither?" Her friends rebuked her, but she "persisted in hereticall disposition," as she walked until she suddenly stopped in her tracks. St. Winefride had struck her blind where she stood. Davies returned to the well and repented for her blasphemy. After bathing her eyes in the waters, St. Winefride restored her sight, but not completely.[37] As in the case of William Shone, Lowry Davies's judgment at the hands of St. Winefride restored the social order by humbling the transgressor and justifying the faith of her friends whom she mocked.

The treatment of witches in the "Documenta" also reveals St. Winefride's evolution in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries from a local saint to a powerful source of social control. Witches appear frequently in the "Documenta" as a foil for St. Winefride. In each account in which a witch appears, a sick person consults her before resorting to Holywell for healing. In each case, the witchcraft is ineffective, or it actively harms the patient. When the afflicted person finally makes a pilgrimage to Holywell, St. Winefride instantly heals them when they enter her waters. The witches' inability to heal the sick with their craft contrasts with St. Winefride's healing powers. Unlike the scoffers, the witches never appear in these accounts in the proximity of Holywell. They are the neighbors of the pilgrims, women from towns and villages farther afield.

An account from the Interregnum tells of Edward Powell, a young man with a festering condition in his leg. After suffering for a long time, he reluctantly received help from a local woman, "fearing that her skill had some dependance of witchcrafte."[38] Her ministrations improved Powell's condition for a while, but whenever he missed a treatment he "[found] himselfe immediately

[35] de Smedt, "Documenta," 311.
[36] Gerard, *The Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, 47.
[37] de Smedt, "Documenta," 318–319.
[38] Ibid., 333.

thereafter in griviouse torment."[39] Powell went to Holywell twice to bathe in the healing waters, and St. Winefride healed his leg. The narrator of the account drew a striking contrast between the suspected witch and St. Winefride. The former, when she was unable to heal Powell, realized that she had been found out as a fraud, and she fled the country, but when St. Winefride healed the young man, "the fame of his miraculous cure was spred all over the country."[40] The Jesuits used the account as an effective cautionary tale about the dangers of resorting to the aid of "cunning folk" instead of relying on the grace of God made available through his saints. At the same time, it served as an example of St. Winefride defending her devotees from disruptive members of their own community. The witch's fate, exile from the country, restored order to Powell's community.

By the seventeenth century, St. Winefride's role had evolved from the patroness and "defendress" of her chapel whom Robert of Shrewsbury praised in the twelfth century to the powerful patroness and defender of the social order. In a period characterized by anxiety over the breakdown of social order, in which village elite and the laboring sorts alike feared the destabilizing effect of scolds, blasphemers, and accused witches, these accounts portrayed St. Winefride as an efficient, just source of order. They reflect the desire of Catholic worshipers to see social order maintained and the Jesuit effort to maintain authority while preserving social order through means beyond social pressure or legal authority.

St. Winefride as Defender from Persecution

When St. Winefride healed Edward Powell, the "Documenta" proclaims that "the fame of his miraculous cure was spred all over the country, causing a greate admiration therof not only in catholique, but also in protestants."[41] This passage reflects a third aspect of St. Winefride's role as social arbiter: her ability to vindicate her followers' faith in the presence of Protestants. Holywell became a destination for Catholics and Protestants alike. Non-Catholic relatives, friends, and acquaintances of sick devotees accompanied them to the shrine, often to lend assistance. Local farmers used the well as a water source for their livestock. Toward the end of the seventeenth and into the eighteenth centuries, Holywell, like Bath, became a popular tourist spa.[42] Though most of these interactions were peaceful, the mere presence of unbelievers at a sacred shrine was a constant and painful reminder to Catholics that they inhabited the margins of a Protestant society. But Protestant and Catholic interactions at Holywell were not always peaceful. As discussed above, throughout the Tudor and Stuart periods, the Crown and reformers made periodic attempts to stop pilgrimages to Holywell. The "Documenta" and other Catholic texts portrayed St. Winefride as a powerful protector in the face of systemic Protestant persecution. The Jesuits used these accounts

[39] Ibid., 333.
[40] Ibid., 333, 335.
[41] Ibid., 332, 335.
[42] For the use of Holywell as a watering hole for livestock, see William Fleetwood, *The Life of St Wenefrede, together with her litanies; with some historical observations made thereon* (London: Dolphin, 1713), 10–12. For an example of early eighteenth-century Protestants using Holywell as a spa, see Celia Fiennes, *The illustrated journeys of Celia Fiennes, 1685–c.1712*, ed. Christopher Morris (London: Webb & Bower, 1982), 158–159.

to reinforce the message that social pressure from worshipers' Protestant peers and the legal pressure from the Crown were subject to God's authority on display in the miracles of St. Winefride.

The recorders of the "Documenta" placed particular emphasis on the presence of Protestant witnesses to St. Winefride's miracles.[43] For the devout, occasions when Protestants witnessed and acknowledged the work of St. Winefride were a testament to God's power. The healing and conversion of a Protestant was an even more powerful testament to God's sovereignty, and the Jesuits used such stories to great effect. In an account from the reign of Charles II, a crippled man named Roger Whetston, whom the text describes as "both a Quaker and an Anabaptist" went to Holywell, where St. Winefride healed him. Another Quaker named Robert Hill, who was "well acquainted" with Whetston, confirmed that the latter was previously crippled. The Jesuit writer of this account added, "severall testimonies of the same miraculous cure of Roger Whetston are present in my custodie."[44] Not only did St. Winefride display God's power to several Quakers, her miracle brought Whetston into the fold. The account stated that he "willingly embraced the catholique faith," and that he had his son baptized into the Church as well.[45]

It was never more important to reassure worshipers of St. Winefride's power to vindicate their faith than in the face of persecution from the secular authorities. Among the several attempts to suppress pilgrimage to Holywell in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the crackdown in 1637 stands out both for the intensity of its execution, and the response it produced in Catholic writers. Though Charles I was a Protestant, his wife, Henrietta Maria, was Catholic. This fact stoked the ever-present fears that Catholicism would gain a foothold in England.[46] Writers from this period frequently warned of the dangers of allowing Catholic pilgrimages to Holywell to continue. In 1624, John Gee, a priest in the Church of England, wrote a tract entitled *The Foot out of the Snare*, in which he tried to expose the illegal missionary activities of the Jesuits and other Catholics. He lamented to the Archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot, and to the House of Lords that "superstitious Papists… go in pilgrimage" to Holywell. They had become "so bold… that they intruded themselues diuers times into the Church… and there said Masse without contradiction." He warned that Catholics might "easily presume to the same liberty heer in England," and he reported that Catholics in Ireland had already "intruded titular Bishops, to supplant the Church-government there in force."[47] In 1632, Archbishop Abbot wrote a letter directly to the king to recommend "that serious Letters should be directed from your Majesty or Privy Council, to the Lord President of Wales and his Fellow Commissioners, that at Summer next, some course should be taken for the repressing of this Confluence,

[43] See see also the account of a Catholic man and a Protestant woman who miraculously conceived a child after the husband made a pilgrimage to Holywell, and the report of a cripple who was miraculously healed in front of "at least twenty protestants, that were eyewittnesse of this stupendious miracle. de Smedt, "Documenta," 319–322, 324–325.

[44] Ibid., 346.

[45] Ibid., 346.

[46] Williams, "St. Winifred's Well," 46.

[47] John Gee, *The foot out of the snare: with a detection of sundry late practices and impostures of the priests and Jesuits in England* (London: H. Lownes, 1624), Early English Books Online (STC / 1450:12), 34.

being indeed no better than a Pilgrimage."[48] These warnings culminated in the government's suppression of the shrine at Holywell in 1637.

The Chief Justice of Chester, John Bridgeman, carried out a coordinated raid on Holywell, designed to destroy the shrine itself and to undermine the economy that supported it.[49] In a 1636 letter to the Privy Council, Bridgeman reported that he was coordinating with justices of the peace in Flintshire to "use all meanes to hinder the pilgrimages to Hollywell." He ordered the justices of the peace to close most of the inns and alehouses of Holywell to prevent them from catering to pilgrims, and he charged the remaining innkeepers with informing on any pilgrims or strangers who came to Holywell during the summer pilgrimage. Though Bridgeman stopped short of his threat of "muringe up the head of the springe," he had the statue of St. Winefride in the shrine's crypt destroyed and he commanded his men to tear out the iron handrails in the water that pilgrims used to steady themselves against the strong current as they bathed..[50]

The Jesuit priest Philip Metcalfe recorded his own version of the 1637 crackdown in his life of St. Winefride. He corroborated the basic facts of the events, but he added that "both he who commanded it, and those who executed his Orders, contrary to the persuasion of several moderate Protestants, were shortly after exemplarly punish'd by Uncommon Misfortunes and Disasters."[51] Metcalfe reinterpreted what ought to have been a defeat as a victory for God against the persecutors of his Church, but what exactly did Metcalfe mean when he said that Bridgeman and the men who carried out his commands "were shortly after exemplarly punish'd"? The "Documenta" similarly states that these men "experience[d] divine vengeance in an amazing way."[52] According to one account, shortly after the suppression of pilgrimages at Holywell, Bridgeman "died from a disease called *miserere*, after having discharged excrement from his mouth for three days."[53] The same account claims that one of Bridgeman's lieutenants was instantly paralyzed when he ordered the iron rods be removed from St. Winefride's well, and he remained bedridden until the following February when he died at the age of forty.[54] Metcalfe concluded his account of the 1637 crackdown with a warning to any would-be persecutors:

---

[48] William Laud, *The history of the troubles and trial of the Most Reverend Father in God and blessed martyr, William Laud* (London: Printed for Ri. Chiswell at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1695), 519–20.

[49] Previously mentioned in connection with the 1629 persecution of the cult at Holywell. See fn. 9.

[50] Henry Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus: Historic Facts Illustrative of the Labours and Sufferings of its Members in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, (London: Burns and Oates, 1878), 535; Williams, "St. Winifred's Well," 46–47.

[51] Philip Metcalfe, *The life, and miracles, of S. Wenefride; virgin, martyr, and abbess; patroness of Wales. London, 1712,* 150, *Eighteenth Century Collections Online (CW117954128).*

[52] The original Latin states, "divinam ultionem mirum in modum experiuntur." de Smedt, "Documenta," 330–331.

[53] The original Latin states, "Praedictus Judex pro certo sequenti januario mortuus est morbo qui vocatur miserere, egerens excrementa sua per os ad tres dies." C. de Smedt, "De Sancta Wenefreda," *Acta Sanctorum*, v. 1 (1887): 738.

[54] The original Latin states that he, "usum alterius lateris corporis sui amisit quo tempore sublata sunt ferramenta, atque ita perrexit languere usque ad sequentem februarium, atque sic obit, cum esset vir robustus annorum quadaginta," C. de Smedt, "De Sancta Wenefreda," 738.

> "Moreover, had I not confin'd my self to the Last Century, I could mention Precedents, more than sufficient, to caution Persons from being too forward in their Contempts of Saint Wenefride and her Well, which is sometimes severely taken notice of by Him, who has said, He that touches you, toucheth the Apple of Mine Eye."[55]

John Bridgeman's suppression of Holywell was undoubtedly a setback for St. Winefride's cult, but it failed to accomplish its purpose. Pilgrimages persisted through this and other attempts to shut it down. Even as Protestant iconoclasm reached its zenith during the Interregnum, between 1649 and 1660, Catholics continued to journey to Holywell, and when the Protestant travel writer Celia Fiennes went to Holywell on a pleasure trip at the end of the seventeenth century, she observed an "abundance of the devout papists on their knees around the well."[56] An important reason for its survival was the Jesuits' successful crafting of a narrative in which St. Winefride had the authority to heal and to punish Protestants, even those sent by the king to destroy her well. Equally important was her devotees' belief that she could, in fact, perform the miracles attributed to her.

Conclusion

The phenomenon of pilgrimage to St. Winefride's shrine in Holywell throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries presents a challenge to existing historical models of social order in this period. The existing model of two competing sources of social order does not take into account the experiences of Catholic worshipers, especially in the context of temporary communities that formed around a sacred site such as St. Winefride's shrine at Holywell. Together, the Jesuits and lay worshipers of Holywell created a third concept of order based on appeal to God's authority through the intercession of St. Winefride. The documents studied in this article demonstrate how priests and worshipers ascribed to their patroness the authority to impart God's grace to all social ranks, to punish those who disturbed social harmony, and to defend the faithful from persecution. Yet it should not be overlooked that this narrative is based in genuine belief in St. Winefride to perform miracles. This faith sustained a Catholic community formed around the Holywell pilgrimage that persists in the twenty-first century. This topic warrants more detailed study than historians have yet conducted. The "Documenta de Sancta Wenefreda" and other Jesuit writings from this period have much to tell historians about the way Catholic worshipers and the Jesuits understood the relationship between divine and secular authority, their place in society, and appropriate moral behavior.

[55] Metcalfe, *The life, and miracles, of S. Wenefride,* 150–151.

[56] Fiennes, *The illustrated journeys of Celia Fiennes*, 158–159.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Bridgeman, John. *Dom. Charles I.* vol. cli. n. 13, 1629. In *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, edited by Henry Foley, 534–5. London: Burns and Oates, 1878.

de Smedt, C. "De Sancta Wenefreda," *Acta Sanctorum*, v. 1 (1887): 691–758.

--- "Documenta de Sancta Wenefreda." Analecta Bollandiana v. 6 (1887): 305–352.

Fiennes, Celia. *The illustrated journeys of Celia Fiennes, 1685–c.1712*, edited by Christopher Morris. London: Webb & Bower, 1982.

Fleetwood, William. *The Life of St Wenefrede, together with her litanies; with some historical observations made thereon*. London: Dolphin, 1713.

Gee, John. *The foot out of the snare: with a detection of sundry late practices and impostures of the priests and Jesuits in England.* London: H. Lownes, 1624. Early English Books Online (STC / 1450:12).

Gerard, John. *The Autobiography of an Elizabethan.* Translated by Philip Caraman. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1956.

Laud, William. *The history of the troubles and trial of the Most Reverend Father in God and blessed martyr, William Laud.* London: Printed for Ri. Chiswell at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1695. Early English Books Online (Wing / 74:08 [v. 1]).

London Gazette. September 1, 1687–September 5, 1687; Issue 2274. Gale (Z2000708533).

Metcalfe, Philip. *The life, and miracles, of S. Wenefride; virgin, martyr, and abbess; patroness of Wales.* London, 1712. Eighteenth Century Collections Online (CW117954128).

Pennant, Thomas. *The history of the parishes of Whiteford, and Holywell*. London, 1796. Eighteenth Century Collections Online (CW3300355586).

Robert, Prior of Shrewsbury. *The admirable life of Saint VVenefride virgin, martyr, abbesse.* Translated by John Falconer. Saint-Omer: English College Press, 1635. Early English Books Online (STC / 974:15).

Scot, Reginald. *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*. In *Sources and Debates in English History, 1485–1714,* Edited by Newton Key and Robert Bucholz. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009.

"Wiltshire Quarter Sessions, deposition of Thomas Mills, cutler, and his wife Agnes (Spring 1618)." In *Sources and Debates in English History, 1485–1714,* edited by Newton Key and Robert Bucholz. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009, 113.

Secondary Sources

Brogan, Stephen. *The Royal Touch in Early Modern England: Politics, Medicine and Sin*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015.

Duffy, Eamon. *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.

Foley, Henry. *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus: Historic Facts Illustrative of the Labours and Sufferings of its Members in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. London: Burns and Oates, 1878.

French, Henry R. "Social Status, Localism and the 'Middle Sorts of People' in England 1620–1750." *Past and Present*, no. 166 (Feb 2000): 66–99.

Haydon, Colin. "St. Winifred, Bishop Fleetwood and Jacobitism." In *Saints and Sanctity*, edited by Peter Clarke and Tony Claydon, 295–306. Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2011.

Hindle, Steve. "The Enforcement of Social Policy." In *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England, 1550–1640,* 146–175. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000.

— "The Reformation of Manners." In *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England, 1550–1640*, 176–203. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000.

Ingram, Martin. "From Reformation to Toleration: Popular Religious Cultures in England, 1540–1690." In *Popular Culture in England, c. 1500–1850*, edited by Tim Harris, 95–123. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995.

— "Reformation of Manners in Early Modern England." In *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England*, edited by Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox, and Steve Hindle, 47–81. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996.

— "'Scolding women cucked or washed': a crisis in gender relations in early modern England?" In *Women, Crime and the Courts in Early Modern England*, edited by Jennifer Kermode and Garthine Walker, 48–80. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994.

Lowry, M. J. C. "Caxton, St. Winifred and the Lady Margaret Beaufort," *The Library*, 6th series, vol. 5, no. 2 (June 1983): 101–117.

Pritchard, T.W. *St. Winefride, Her Holy Well & the Jesuit Mission, c.650–1930*. Wrexham, UK: Bridge Books, 2009.

Scully, Robert E. "St. Winifride's Well: The Significance and Survival of a Welsh Catholic Shrine from the Early Middle Ages to the Present Day." In *Saints and Their Cults in the Atlantic World*, edited by Margaret Cormack, 202–228. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2007.

Sutton, Anne F. "Caxton, the Cult of St. Winifred, and Shrewsbury." In *Of Mice and Men: Image, Belief and Regulation in Late Medieval England,* edited by Linda Clark, 109–126. Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2005.

Underdown, David. "The Taming of the Scold: the Enforcement of Patriarchal Authority in Early Modern England." In *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England*, edited by A. J. Fletcher and J. Stevenson, 116–136. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Walsham, Alexandra. *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014.

— *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Weil, Rachel. "Politics and Gender in Crisis in David Underdown's 'The Taming of the Scold.'" *History Compass* 11/4 (2013): 381–388.

Williams, Glanmor. “St. Winifred’s Well: Ffynnon Wenfrewi,” *Flintshire Historical Society journal*, vol. 36 (2003): 32–51.

Wrightson, Keith. “Two concepts of order: justices, constables and jurymen in seventeenth-century England.” In *An Ungovernable People: The English and their Law in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, edited by John Brewer and John Styles, 20–46. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1980.

Wrightson, Keith and David Levine. *Poverty and Piety in an English Village: Terling, 1525–1700.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

"And Suddenly You Can See The Stars": Writing as a Means of Self-Creation and Resistance in Ellison and Coates

Brook Nasseri is a senior majoring in English and minoring in Middle East Studies. She is from Topeka, Kansas. This English article was supervised by Dr. Iris Fischer.

Abstract:

This paper focuses on two works belonging to the African-American literary canon: Ralph Ellison's 1947 novel *Invisible Man* and Ta-Nehisi Coates's 2015 memoir *Between the World and Me*. I seek to understand the importance of the act of writing in both texts by applying existential principles from Jean-Paul Sartre to the writing in these works in order to understand how it functions as a means of both self-objectification and self-creation. In addition to writing's personal nature, I also consider social aspects by examining some of the ways in which these works support and defy conventions of the African-American literary canon. External influences, including popular culture and current events, also influence these texts, and the books in turn demonstrate an ability to change the world by interacting with it. Ultimately, these two texts demonstrate how the act of writing shapes and creates both the writer and the world around him.

Physical acts of writing have long been used to record history, transmit information, and create art. The works of Ralph Ellison and Ta-Nehisi Coates fulfill each of these functions, but they also demonstrate additional purposes of writing. Both Ellison's narrator in his seminal 1947 novel *Invisible Man* and Coates in his provocative 2015 memoir *Between the World and Me* describe the act of writing as foundational to their lives. In both works, the men reflect upon their past experiences using a medium that can also convey their stories to a larger audience. In addition to serving as a means of communication, writing also facilitates self-discovery, for deliberately putting words on a page allows authors to reflect upon their lives from a different perspective and to draw connections between seemingly random sequences of events. Though many people consider writing a solitary process, these authors, who demonstrate their awareness of audience and context, reveal the inherently social nature of writing. Through writing, both Ellison's narrator and Coates reach a greater understanding of essential and social aspects of their identities and begin to effect change on the world around them.

Before a book can be published and read by the wider world, an individual must sit down and write, but a text does not exist fully formed in the author's mind before they begin this grueling process. *Invisible Man* shows how the narrator discovers himself only as he embarks on this arduous process, and increased self-knowledge proves to be his underlying motivation to write. The narrator frames his story with a prologue set in the present, at which point he is "invisible and live[s] in a hole" (Ellison 6). While he states, "I believe in nothing if not action," the narrator designates this time as a period of "hibernation" (Ellison 13). After everything he has experienced, which he describes in the bulk of the text, the

narrator realizes, "All my life I had been looking for something, and everywhere I turned someone tried to tell me what it was" (15). However, pushed by painful circumstances into his hole, he now sees, "I was looking for myself and asking everyone except myself questions which I, and only I, could answer" (15). At last, he looks within and attempts to find these answers from the proper source for the first time in his life. As literary critic Donald B. Gibson writes in his 1981 book *The Politics of Literary Expression*, "the narrator's physical retreat from the world is analogous to his retreat into himself, into his psyche" (60). However, his answers cannot immediately come from his internal self because the narrator's mind is "disturbed and agitated," and the prologue reads like a confusing, incoherent, jumbled metaphor (Gibson 60). Through the act of writing, however, the Invisible Man can make sense of the past and of himself.

The epilogue reveals that the narrator does in fact reach the answers to the questions he had been asking all his life. He explains, "After years of trying to adopt the opinions of others I finally rebelled" (Ellison 573). Writing down his experiences allows the narrator to understand how much he has been influenced by others and how little he has known himself. After writing, he concludes, "The world is just as concrete, ornery, vile and sublimely wonderful as before, only now I better understand my relation to it and it to me" (Ellison 576). This realization of his position in the world could not have been reached simply by living these experiences or even by his brief retirement from the world. The narrator, time and time again, has been exploited and manipulated by others: as a student, as an employee, and as a member of the Brotherhood, a quasi-communist organization. However, he never realizes how profoundly he has been wronged until he sits down and endures the physical process of recording his memories. As Gibson writes, "The epilogue, also an expression of the narrator's most private, subjective thoughts and feelings, differs from the prologue in that the consciousness revealed there is in a healthier state" (61). What creates this distinction between the epilogue and the prologue are the 557 pages that separate them, which confirm that the act of writing has allowed the narrator to sort and reorder his mind and discover who he is.

The act of writing clearly allows the Invisible Man to understand himself, and an explanation of how this happens can be found in the writings of French existential philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre. In *Being and Nothingness*, Sartre provides an example of a waiter who, through his gestures and movements, is not in and of himself a waiter but rather "is playing at being a waiter in a café." He explains, "The child plays with his body in order to explore it, to take inventory of it; the waiter in the café plays with his condition in order to realize it" (Sartre 386). Like the Invisible Man, through recording his experiences, he reflects upon and "plays with" his memories by putting mental images into words and by recording his memories in the text. Writing constitutes a process: texts must go through different drafts, paragraphs must be rearranged, words must be replaced. The active cognition required in writing forces the author to relive past experiences and to determine how best to tell his story. One can imagine a waiter dropping a plate or spilling a drink, attempting new strategies until they more successfully fill their assigned role;

similarly, a writer must draft a story, paragraph, or single phrase over and over until it is right and will most effectively communicate their meaning to an audience. In both these roles, the importance of performing for an audience can clearly be seen. The waiter cannot be a waiter without someone to wait upon; similarly, the narrator writes for an audience, serving them his words in a way he hopes they will accept.

Since the Invisible Man discovers his identity in his hole, where he has no need to interact with people, some might conclude that this shows that social identities must be discarded in order to know who one truly is. Gibson presents this view and asserts that Ellison "argues the individualist's position—that human beings are creatures of will and their lives are what they make of them" (Gibson 60). In fact, Gibson argues that the location of the Invisible Man in his hole allows him "to divest himself of social roles entirely, the implication being that his essential self is other than social" (63). In Gibson's perspective, the entire novel argues for what he calls "a solipsistic extreme," and it "leaves us with the firmly established proposition that the only dependable source of truth, reasonableness, judgment, and reliability is the individual psyche of the discrete individual" (91). In his work about the Invisible Man's individualism, Gibson writes that the narrator's struggle between selfhood and society is a universal binary. He writes, "We must, in fact, and we do, act in the world, accommodating ourselves, however uncomfortably or inconsistently, to the disparity between self-identity and social identity, between who and what we think we are and what the world thinks we are" (Gibson 91). While differences between how one perceives oneself and how one is perceived by others inevitably exist, these social identities are not, as Gibson asserts, presented as "false" in the novel (86). Instead, they are shown to shape one's essential identity.

Though social aspects such as race and class may seem extraneous to a person's essential identity, the narrator shows that even one's location becomes a part of who one is when he muses, "Perhaps to lose a sense of *where* you are implies the danger of losing a sense of *who* you are" (Ellison 577). Without understanding one's geographical and social position, it is impossible to acquire any knowledge about who one really is. Notably, the narrator himself does not reflect upon or record his life until he lives soundly in his hole and has exerted control over the physical space, illuminating it to his liking with "1,369 lights" (Ellison 7). Knowing and being secure in one's location is shown to be a prerequisite of knowing one's identity.

The connection between one's essential identity and social identity is confirmed by Sartre, who shows how, by evoking the emotion shame, other people play a major role in an individual's identity. Shame, Sartre explains, occurs when a person sees himself through the eyes of another, such as the interaction between the author and his imagined audience, and it allows a person to understand himself in a new way. Shame is "apprehension of something and this something is me"; it reveals the true nature of the self as an object positioned a certain way in the world (Sartre 391). Sartre continues, "By the mere appearance of the Other, I am put in the position of passing judgment on myself as on an object, for it is as an object that I appear to the Other…Shame is by nature recognition. I recognize that I am as the Other sees me"

(392). The very idea of an audience introduces a different perspective, which allows the writer to imagine viewing himself through a potential reader's eyes. The Invisible Man demonstrates his imagination of the invisible audience, even directly addressing its members with phrases like, "So there you have all of it that's important," or "Let me be honest with you" (Ellison 572). This self-objectification by putting oneself on display for one's audience not only expedites the process of self-discovery, but Sartre also argues that the aspect of shame through the appearance of the Other is necessary to know who one truly is. Sartre asserts, "I need the Other in order to realize fully all the structures of my being" (393). By recording his experiences, knowing they can be read, the Invisible Man renders himself visible to the imagined Other in a manner that allows him to see every aspect of himself fully and to discover who he truly is.

The narrator shows how acknowledging other people's perceptions through his awareness of the Other does in fact shape his own identity, and awareness of these perceptions prepares him to reunite with others. "To be unaware of one's form is to live a death," he writes. "I myself, after existing some twenty years, did not become alive until I discovered my own invisibility" (Ellison 7). Maintaining ignorance of his invisible "form" – how he appears to others – equates to the absence of life. Through his writing, the narrator becomes keenly aware of how he appears to others, and he even shows that he considers invisibility to be a part of who he is, an innate aspect of himself. It was not caused by him choosing invisibility or from his body physically appearing as "a spook" or "Hollywood-movie ectoplasms"; instead, "I am invisible, understand, simply because people refuse to see me" (Ellison 3). At this point, he recognizes how the gaze of the Other renders him invisible, while acknowledging this social identity as an essential part of who he is. Achieving increased self-knowledge at the end of his writing does not affect his invisibility, for he writes, "I'm shaking off the old skin and I'll leave it here in the hole. I'm coming out, no less invisible without it, but coming out nevertheless" (Ellison 581). Contrary to what Gibson argues, the narrator does not leave his social identities behind. His invisibility, which comes from the perceptions of those around him, remains an essential part of who he is. What has changed is his own understanding of it. While the narrator does embrace individual identity, this does not mean, contrary to Gibson's argument, that he also rejects the idea of pursuing group identity, whether for the purposes of "racial and class solidarity" or "to alleviate social oppression" (Gibson 91, 92). The narrator's attempts to unite with others, whether being a student at the college, working at the factory, or joining the Brotherhood, do always end in his exploitation, but the story does not end there. The issue lies not in the narrator's attempts to join other groups but instead in his doing so without a proper understanding of himself and his position in society. On the very last page of the epilogue he states, "There's a possibility that even an invisible man has a socially responsible role to play" (Ellison 581). Uniting with others by identifying with a group is a futile endeavor only when the individual lacks an understanding of how social identities shape him. After reaching an understanding of himself by writing and viewing himself through the eyes of his imagined audience, the narrator has now

become ready to rejoin society, recognizing that even though he remains invisible he still must strive to impact the world.

Though he knows that other people's perceptions of him fundamentally shape his identity, the narrator realizes that he too can shape himself for his audience through the construction of his narrative. An example of this can be found in how he constructs his masculinity by retelling his life experiences. Literary scholar Jeffrey B. Leak's 2005 book *Racial Myths and Masculinity in African American Literature* focuses on how Ellison's novel addresses "issues of masculinity—what it means to negotiate blackness and maleness in the United States" (Leak 30). Specifically, the book "chronicles black male sexual development in the emasculating context of segregation" (Leak 42). The narrator endures several awkward sexual encounters with white women, and at the end of the novel Leak argues that he "emerges as asexual" (47). However, this conclusion puzzles Leak, since it is clear that the otherwise very transparent narrator "succumbs to the biological impulse but denies us access to this experience" (Leak 51). The presence of strong sexual urges appears as early as the first chapter, when "a magnificent blonde—stark naked" appears and the narrator reflects, "I was strongly attracted and looked in spite of myself. Had the price of looking been blindness, I would have looked" (Ellison 19). Yet when the narrator's sexual urges do reach fulfillment later in his life, with a woman married to one of the members of the Brotherhood, the scene "lacks the detailed narrative description characteristic of the Invisible Man" (Leak 50). This progression, or more accurately, regression, of sexual development shows how the narrator consciously crafts his text for an audience, exposing himself in many intimate ways, yet constructing himself to be an asexual figure by the end, in spite of what his experiences may suggest to readers.

Self-discovery, gaining knowledge of one's social and essential identities through self-objectification; and self-creation, shaping oneself by describing one's experiences, prove to be the primary purposes of the Invisible Man's writings. Now that the narrator understands himself, he is ready to rejoin the world, and the contribution of Ellison's novel to the literary canon similarly allows him to shape the world around him by interacting with the literary tradition. In order to understand the literary context of Ellison's predecessors and contemporaries, a brief survey of the African-American literary canon is necessary. Early African-American literature in the United States was primarily composed by enslaved people; literary critic María Del Mar Gallego Durán's 1994 study on Frederick Douglass's seminal 1845 autobiography, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave*, shows how Douglass's writing represents a shift in his own lack of self-awareness to becoming a self-actualized individual, a process similar to what Ellison's narrator has completed. Douglass's personal development reveals a narrative structure corresponding to the traditional bildungsroman form, as he passes through several rites of passage to reach his new identity. His famous line, "You shall see how a slave was made a man," Durán writes, reveals that writing allows him "to create a new identity that can be accepted by the dominant social norms" (Durán 129). His new identity is that of a literate man, a person capable of writing his own words and

sharing his own story, and a person worthy of respect from the dominant white class.

The 20th century saw a shift in African-American literature from slave narratives to a new novelistic form, and Ellison's work was influenced by both traditions. In this fictional context, the bildungsroman, which had provided the model for Douglass's autobiography, continued to thrive. In her 1995 book *Ten is the Age of Darkness: The Black Bildungsroman*, African-American and Caribbean literary scholar Geta Leseur describes the traits that unite bildungsroman novels. She writes, "As a form it tends to be highly autobiographical, and the hero, often a male, tends to be gifted or extraordinarily sensitive. In the traditional Black form, the hero rejects the constraints of home and sets out on a journey through the world" (Leseur 18). *Invisible Man* closely adheres to this form since the narrator recounts his journey to a greater understanding of himself and the world around him. In an interview, Ellison himself notes that he considered his novel to be about "a struggle through illusion to reality" (Chester 45). The narrator's growth and maturation are clear throughout the novel; according to Leseur, the three parts of the book "move the narrator from purpose to passion to perception" (73). In addition to evaluating growth, the Black bildungsroman also grapples with an individual's marginalized position in society. Leseur writes that in this tradition, novels "reveal a concern with defining an African American racial, historical, cultural, and political reality…Issues of self-identity merge with issues of African American consciousness and identity" (73). This aspect is clearly shared by the Invisible Man and Frederick Douglass before him, though their historical contexts differed. Frederick Douglass lived as an intelligent man, his self-identity, in a system that assumed he was little more than an animal, the imposed African-American identity. Even though the Invisible Man was able to attend college and seek employment, he was never accepted as an equal citizen because of the color of his skin. The fact that both writers struggle with their places in the white-dominated culture demonstrates simultaneously how much and how little the country progressed in the century between their writings. Their struggles against injustice and use of the bildungsroman form both unite Ellison with writers before him in the African-American literary canon.

Though he does embrace some traditions, such as the bildungsroman form, as an author Ellison expressed the importance of resisting the canon. In terms of art, Ellison states in an interview, "If the Negro, or any other writer, is going to do what is expected of him, he's lost the battle before he takes the field" (Chester 40). Writing a novel that defies existing classification and resists typical conventions of genre, then, allows an author to succeed by crafting a new work, which contributes not only to the literary canon but also to the world. Ellison continues,

> "I feel that with my decision to devote myself to the novel I took on one of the responsibilities inherited by those who practice the craft in the United States: that of describing for all that fragment of the huge diverse American experience which I know best, and which offers me the possibility of contributing not only to the growth of the literature but to the shaping of the culture as I should like it to be. The American novel is in this sense a conquest of the frontier; as it describes our experience, it creates it." (Chester 49)

A connection can be made here between creation of the American experience and creation of the self. By describing experiences, as a part of a collective group or as an individual, an author gives shape to these seemingly disconnected events and crafts a new narrative. Resisting conventions, such as those of the literary canon or how he should behave as an African-American man, allows the writer to make his mark on the world by describing experiences in his own unique way. Ellison here implicitly addresses expectations associated with his race, which manifest in assumptions about what "the Negro" writer should write. By resisting others' expectations about his writings, the author can affect the world in lasting ways. Indeed, Ellison worked within the literary tradition but also contributed to it. Leak writes, "*Invisible Man* has become an urtext, the literary point of origin for questions regarding twentieth-century African American cultural discourse and the formation of black masculinity" (31). The groundbreaking nature of his novel solidified it as a part of the African-American literary canon.

Just as Ellison's *Invisible Man* shaped the African-American literary canon at the time of its publication in 1947, Ta-Nehisi Coates's memoir *Between the World and Me* exhibits awareness of its position in this very same canon. First, this paper examines his motivations to write. He explains how his mother taught him to read and write, and every time he got into trouble at school, "she would make [him] write about it" by having him "answer a series of questions" (Coates 29). Rather than serving to change his conduct, Coates writes, "These were the earliest acts of interrogation, of drawing myself into consciousness…She was teaching me how to ruthlessly interrogate the subject that elicited the most sympathy and rationalizing—myself" (29-30). From his earliest years, Coates uses writing as more than a functional means of communication; instead, he learns to extrapolate meaning from his experiences, no matter how illogical his behavior may have been as a disobedient young student, in order to reach a better understanding of himself. These exercises his mother enforced created a pattern, teaching Coates to use writing to discover who he is.

This youthful purpose of Coates's writing remains consistent in his writings today. In a 2015 interview by author Jason Diamond, the interviewer quotes Coates as saying, "I have spent much of my studies searching for the right question by which I might understand the breach between the world and me," and then asks, "Do you get any closer to understanding that breach by writing?" Coates responds,

> "Yes. That's the primary reason to write. You just understand more and more and more, and you just begin to get it. You see the architecture. It's the sky slowly revealing itself, and suddenly you can see the stars and how they relate to each other, and you can see Mars and Venus. Yes, that's the reason to write." (Coates, Interview)

Throughout his entire life, from his elementary school years to his success as a National Book Award winner, Coates's primary motivation to write has been to discover himself. This does not merely include who he is beneath the surface, but also the architecture and the stars above him – the context of his life, or in Ellison's terms, his social identity. Where he is, why

he behaves certain ways, and how history and racism have affected him all contribute to his essential identity. Furthermore, *Between the World and Me* allows him to create himself for his wider audience. Coates cannot include every piece of information or every life experience in such a slim volume. Rather, he deliberately chooses which anecdotes to include and which to exclude. In this way, he constructs his identity for readers, building himself from his own memories by capturing them in words.

Though *Between the World and Me* is not a novel, Coates nevertheless invokes references to the African-American literary canon, including to the bildungsroman form which Ellison embraces. In the Black tradition, the bildungsroman often aims to "expose those conditions that robbed the writer of a memorable and happy childhood" (Leseur 27). Coates examines his own early years in Baltimore with a scrutinizing eye, focusing on several key moments throughout his youth, such as a frightening interaction with a gun-wielding boy with small eyes (19). In addition to this attention to his childhood, Coates's writing demonstrates a certain urgency, since he has already seen ways in which his book's young addressee, his son, has been affected by the discriminatory acts of others, such as seeing the killers of Michael Brown go free and being pushed by a white woman at a movie theater. Coates moves on from his childhood to discuss his experiences at Howard University, which he calls "the Mecca." Howard serves as a place where he can acquire knowledge, not only academically, but also about the diversity of the world. The book's inclusion of movement toward a city, in this case New York City, incorporates another common trait of bildungsroman novels that Ellison also shares (Leseur 25). While based on his life, Coates's work still adheres at least in part to the bildungsroman structure in order to grapple with the African-American literary canon.

Coates refers extensively to the world around him through the use of allusions. While allusions have existed as a common device since the beginning of literature, they function in this text as more than a mere tool to help readers better understand the writer and his context. Rather, allusions to the African-American literary canon allow Coates to comment on, challenge, and contribute to these traditions. In American literary scholar Alan Nadel's 1991 book *Invisible Criticism*, the word "allusion" is defined as "an author's conscious reference to a literary precursor" (32). Finding a balance between working within the literary canon and asserting their individual voices can be a challenge for writers. Nadel writes that the issue manifests as determining "how to speak to and through tradition without sacrificing the speaker's voice or denying the tradition it attempts to engage" (xii). Though referring to the past does broaden the new work, it also simultaneously "diminishes the immediate work" because "the act of affirmation is also an act of subordination; implicit in the affirmation of the past is the sense that the past is a standard to which the present ought be adapted" (Nadel 28). In this way, allusions to prior canonical works may potentially limit the new text. An effective artist must "both invoke and overcome his or her historical sense"; he must remain aware of the context in which he writes yet at the same time be careful not to crush his own work beneath the weight of history (Nadel 29). Importantly, if he succeeds and "the

new work…manifests tradition, then since the tradition has a new component, it is no longer the same tradition. Its own manifestation has altered it" (Nadel 30). In spite of the possibility of being overshadowed, Coates chooses to center his work within the canon because by summoning history, despite the risks of minimizing his own text, he can exert his influence on the very tradition that influenced his writings. In this way, a new text can shape tradition by alluding to the past.

While Coates does work within the bildungsroman context and includes many allusions to other writers throughout his text, he also avoids subordinating his own work to the canon by resisting a full embrace of the Black tradition. Traditionally, Leseur writes, as opposed to their European prototypes, "the African American bildungsromane do not seem to celebrate life as much. One feels sadness and sorrow for the characters. It almost seems a tragedy to have been born in the first place" (3). While *Between the World and Me* is undoubtedly filled with sorrow and descriptions of death and violence, Coates refuses to regret his own existence or that of his son. He writes, "I am speaking to you as I always have—as the sober and serious man I have always wanted you to be, who does not apologize for his human feelings, who does not make excuses for his height, his long arms, his beautiful smile" (Coates 107). Coates defiantly celebrates life; while the world is "terrible," it is also "beautiful"; though his son's life may be "brief," it remains "bright" (108). Even his son's birth, which was unplanned and occurred when he and his wife were young and still in school, is no cause for regret. "We'd summoned you out of ourselves," Coates writes, "and you were not given a vote. If only for that reason, you deserved all the protection we could muster" (66). He clarifies, "If that sounds like a weight, it shouldn't. The truth is I owe you everything I have" (Coates 66). Coates does use the bildungsroman form to describe his own life, his own journey from ignorance to enlightenment at the Mecca to his career as a writer, but he refuses to play into every aspect of the canonical form. He refuses to look at life, even accidental life or life full of loss, as a tragedy. "I love you," he tells his son, "and I love the world, and I love it more with every new inch I discover" (Coates 71). With this fierce joy, Coates both embraces and expands the bounds of the literary canon, broadening the existing body of overwhelmingly tragic literature with his own contribution, which provides a defiantly delighted yet realistic look at the complexity of life.

While authors cannot always control every connection readers or critics draw between their texts and past works, the frequency of allusions in *Between the World and Me* demonstrates that Coates remains mindful of the literary canon framing his own book and made decisions based on his awareness of his readership. African-American literary critic Howard Rambsy II's 2016 article "The Remarkable Reception of Ta-Nehisi Coates" describes how Coates, who has blogged for *The Atlantic* since 2008, belongs to a new technological age of writers. Unlike Ellison, whose only significant work was *Invisible Man*, Coates has long attracted public attention and maintained a consistent readership, and he even "actively engaged his readers in the Comments section of his blog, responding to feedback from his readers" (Rambsy 197). His interactions with his readers demonstrate Coates's strong

capability of viewing himself through the eyes of the Other, which Sartre writes is necessary in order to understand oneself. Due to his prolific writing, Coates "clearly benefited from accumulative advantage," and his June 2014 piece "The Case for Reparations" ignited national debate and established Coates as one of the country's most-discussed bloggers (Rambsy 202). When *Between the World and Me* was published, several marketing decisions highlighted the text's connections to canonical African-American writers, specifically "the epistolary format" as a reference to James Baldwin's essay *The Fire Next Time*; "the book's title," borrowed from a Richard Wright poem; and the three epigraphs, from Wright, Amiri Baraka, and Baldwin (Rambsy 200).

In his interview with Jason Diamond, Coates himself discusses these choices to reference prior writers. Though it often reads like one, *Between the World and Me* did not result from a spontaneous outpouring of emotion; instead, just like any other published book, it passed through many revisions, and Coates explains that "the idea for the letter" was not the original basis of the book but instead occurred to him after he had already written "four different drafts of it," and while using this format he "was really conscious of" his references to Baldwin's essay. Finally, he evoked references to the African-American literary canon that even people who only glanced at the book's jacket would detect. In regards to Toni Morrison's endorsement, Coates comments,

> "I didn't want anybody else…Toni Morrison is the goddess of black literature right now. There's a tradition that's behind *Between the World and Me* that I'm really trying to evoke, and it's not just Baldwin, it's Richard Wright, it's Sonia Sanchez, it's [Amiri] Baraka; all of that is in there, it's all baked into that text even though Baldwin is the most obvious one. And our greatest living representation of that tradition is Toni Morrison." (Coates, Interview)

Though his non-fiction work may not exactly be analogous to the novels of Ellison and Morrison, Coates still deliberately highlights his connections to that tradition. Rambsy describes this decision from a marketing perspective, but the results extend beyond the number of copies sold or the prestige of awards won. By referencing prior African-American writers, a tradition that begins with the slave narratives and continues evolving today, Coates establishes his work as an extension of the literary canon. His allusions, both within the text and in places like the epigraphs and the dust jacket, unite him with the people who lived and worked and struggled before him, from Douglass to Ellison to Morrison, showing that the challenges faced by African-American writers may manifest in new forms but ultimately remain unchanged.

In addition to his references to the literary canon, Coates's book also includes more modern allusions. He easily incorporates references to familiar musicians he loves, such as Nas, Ice Cube, and Wu-Tang Clan, among many others (26, 37, 56). Coates also frames his discussion of the American Dream in terms of familiar visual and sensory experiences, writing, "It is Memorial Day cookouts, block associations, and driveways. The Dream is treehouses and the Cub Scouts. The Dream smells like peppermint but tastes like strawberry shortcake" (11). But, as Coates shows, the cultural canon does not end with benign

references to musicians and American holidays, as he continues to explain: "In America, it is traditional to destroy the black body—*it is heritage*" (103). Indeed, the United States boasts a long tradition of slavery, abuse, discrimination, and disenfranchisement. On a sustained sober note, Coates contrasts these bright aromatic images of the American Dream with repetitive allusions to people killed or injured based on the color of their skin. He reiterates the names of African Americans who were victims of the police in a way that feels almost as though he never ceases to mention them. In his slim text, he describes the deaths and injuries of Renisha McBride, John Crawford, Tamir Rice, Marlene Pinnock, Michael Brown, Elmer Clay Newman, Gary Hopkins, Freddie McCollum, Abner Louima, Anthony Baez, Eric Garner, Trayvon Martin, Mike Brown, Jordan Davis, Kajieme Powell, and Coates's personal friend from Howard, Prince Jones (9, 11, 76, 95, 103, 105, 130, 145). With his friend, Coates recounts university memories of Prince and his interview with his mother, portraying the utter devastation of violence and how, as Dr. Jones says, "One racist act. It's all it takes" (Coates 145). Coates's continual remembrance of these lives demonstrates how police brutality and violence against African Americans remain a horrible part of the American canon, as they have since the birth of this nation. He writes, "Never forget that we were enslaved in this country longer than we have been free," reminding readers of the horrifying tradition of American history (Coates 70). Coates does not merely interact with his literary predecessors; instead, he explains and resists the cultural contexts in which violence seeks justification. His book takes advantage of its position in the African-American literary canon to criticize American culture.

Although a reader may easily be able to picture the Invisible Man snug in his well-lit hole, or Coates hunched over a desk, these writers' interactions with the African-American literary canon, their awareness of their own historical and cultural context, and their interactions with imagined audiences all demonstrate that writing is far from a solitary action. Grappling with outside forces is necessary not only to produce a successful literary work, but also to discover one's true self. By viewing himself through the eyes of the imagined audience, as Sartre suggests, a writer can understand himself in a new way and know how social identities shape who he is. By constructing his own experiences through the act of recording them, the author constructs his own identity. Through writing, one can comment on the past and present and change how they are perceived in readers' minds by presenting them in a new way. Understanding how writing functions in *Invisible Man* and *Between the World and Me* allows us to understand not only what the act of writing signifies but also how identity is formed and functions. A writer's awareness of the ways both history and his surroundings affect his own life allows him in turn to impact the world around him by introducing a unique perspective to the existing literary canon and by presenting tradition and familiar aspects of life in new ways. Ellison and Coates both show how writing is necessary to understand oneself and how understanding oneself and one's influences is necessary before a person can grapple with the past and impact the present.

Works Cited

Chester, Alfred and Vilma Howard. "*The Art of Fiction*: An Interview." *The Merrill Studies in Invisible Man*, compiled by Ronald Gottesman, Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1971, p. 38-49. Print.

Coates, Ta-Nehisi. *Between the World and Me*. Spiegel & Grau, 2015. Print.

Coates, Ta-Nehisi. Interview with Jason Diamond. *National Book Foundation*, 2015, http://www.nationalbook.org/nba2015_nf_tcoates_interv.html#.WDJMnuYrI2w. Accessed 20 Nov 2016.

Durán, María Del Mar Gallego. "Writing as Self-Creation: *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*." *Atlantis*, vol. 16, no. 1, 1994, pp. 119-132. JSTOR Arts & Sciences. Web. Accessed 14 Nov 2016.

Ellison, Ralph. *Invisible Man*. Random House, 1947. Print.

Gibson, Donald B. "Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man*: The Politics of Retreat." *The Politics of Literary Expression: A Study of Major Black Writers*, Greenwood Press, 1981, pp. 59-98. Print.

Leak, Jeffrey B. "A Conflict between the Ideological and the Biological: The Myth of Black Sexual Prowess in Brent Wade's *Company Man* and Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man*." *Racial Myths and Masculinity in African American Literature*, The University of Tennessee Press, 2005, pp. 29-58. Print.

Leseur, Geta. *Ten is the Age of Darkness: The Black Bildungsroman.* University of Missouri Press, 1995. Print.

Nadel, Alan. *Invisible Criticism: Ralph Ellison and the American Canon*. University Of Iowa Press, 1991. Print.

Rambsy, Howard, II. "The Remarkable Reception of Ta-Nehisi Coates." *African American Review*, vol. 49, no. 3, 2016, pp. 196-204. MasterFILE Premier. Web. Accessed 14 Nov 2016.

Sartre, Jean-Paul. Excerpts from *Being and Nothingness*. *Basic Writings of Existentialism*, translated by Hazel Barnes, edited by Gordon Marino, Modern Library, 2004, pp. 369-409. Print.

Within the Confines of Legality: How the OSE Succeeded in Liberating Hundreds of Rivesaltes's Youngest Prisoners

Olivia Cooper is a senior majoring in French and History. She is from Salina, Kansas. This History article was supervised by Prof. Andrew Denning.

Abstract:

The Œuvre de secours aux enfants (the "Society for Children's Aid", or OSE) was one of several humanitarian organizations working within the confines of the Rivesaltes transit camp in southern France during the Second World War. The OSE, a Jewish humanitarian aid organization, was particularly concerned with Jewish child prisoners in transit and internment camps like Rivesaltes. Members of the OSE entered Rivesaltes camp on a daily basis throughout the war in order to distribute food and offer supplementary educational opportunities to the young children interred there. Its primary objective, however, was to oversee the safe removal of as many Jewish children as possible from Rivesaltes. To do this, the OSE relied on its established children's homes throughout the country, as well as new ones that were instituted during the war, to petition the Vichy government for the liberation of Jewish children from Rivesaltes. These procedures were expensive, bureaucratic, and lengthy; however, they allowed the OSE to secure the release of many Jewish children from Rivesaltes and other camps. Throughout the course of the Second World War, the OSE—operating legally and transparently—succeeded in liberating hundreds of Rivesaltes's youngest prisoners.

Although the Nazi regime established many of its concentration and extermination camps in eastern Europe, the victims of these camps came from countries across Europe—Belgium, France, and the Netherlands, for example—and arrived via a system of transit camps to extermination camps. One such transit camp, Rivesaltes, was located in the department of Pyrénées-Orientales in southern France near the village of Perpignan. Rivesaltes operated as an internment (or "transit") camp between 1940 and 1944, serving as a holding facility and transit point for Jews, Roma peoples, illegal Spanish immigrants, and German and French political prisoners to camps in the east. Because of the high concentration of children and families incarcerated at Rivesaltes, it was sometimes referred to as a "family camp." Relief organizations, such as the Secours Suisse aux enfants ("Swiss Children's Aid," a division of the Swiss Red Cross), the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), and the Œuvre de secours aux enfants (the "Society for Children's Aid," or the OSE), were legally allowed to provide aid within the camp and even to arrange transfers of children held at Rivesaltes to children's homes throughout France.

Little research has been conducted on the OSE's work in Rivesaltes. In fact, while primary source material—including published memoirs, photographs, and oral interviews—documenting the organization's efforts within the system of transit camps is incredibly rich, historiography on the specific convergence of the OSE and Rivesaltes is sparse.[1] Secondary literature about Rivesaltes tends to mention the OSE

[1] Sabine Zeitoun, *L'œuvre de Secours aux Enfants (O.S.E) sous l'Occupation en France* (Paris: Éditions L'Harmattan, 1990). Hillel J. Kieval, "Legality and Resistance in Vichy France: The Rescue of Jewish Children" in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* (October 10, 1980): 339-366.

only in passing, and historiography of the OSE during the Second World War (as with many historiographies of humanitarian organizations during this time period) generally takes a more global approach, examining the organization's collective efforts and accomplishments during the war, rather than concentrating on those efforts within a single camp.[2] The purpose of this article is to complement existing broad research with a more specific case-study through an examination of the work of a single organization—the OSE—within a specific camp—Rivesaltes. This investigation bridges two historiographical conversations that have previously been disconnected. At the center of this particular research is the OSE's main objective at Rivesaltes: the successful extraction of Jewish children from the camp. A close examination of the OSE's efforts at the Rivesaltes transit camp reveals that the organization successfully navigated the legal channels of the Vichy bureaucracy to liberate hundreds of Jewish children from the transit camp throughout the Second World War.

In 1938, the French government converted Rivesaltes—originally a military camp capable of housing up to 18,000 soldiers—into a camp for Spanish refugees fleeing the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). Rivesaltes then transitioned to an internment camp for political prisoners—including Germans who had fled to France to escape the Nazi regime—in June of 1940, with France's capitulation to the Nazis and the establishment of the Vichy puppet government.[3] Thereafter, other types of prisoners—illegal Spanish immigrants and POWs, Roma peoples, and Jews awaiting deportation to labor or death camps—were also detained at Rivesaltes. In his 2009 interview with Peggy Frankston (of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum), André Zalc, a child detainee at several internment and concentration camps, described his experiences at Rivesaltes.[4] Zalc could clearly recall the demographics of the camp, though he had been a child during his imprisonment at Rivesaltes: "Part of the camp were gypsies… gypsies, and the other part of the camp was Spanish people from the Civil War. There were like big numbers, of Spanish people, from the Civil War… they were maybe in the thousands."[5] In late 1942, Vichy officials closed down two nearby transit camps, located in the cities of Brens and Agde. Prisoners from these facilities—children in particular—were then relocated to Rivesaltes.[6] With the closure of these internment facilities and the

---

Zeitoun's book and Kieval's article are examples of secondary sources which mention the OSE in connection with Rivesaltes.

[2] While little secondary material focuses on the Rivesaltes camp specifically, some sources mention the camp. For one example of a Rivesaltes-specific work, see: Anne Boitel, *Le Camp de Rivesaltes 1941-1942* (Perpignan: Presses Universitaires de Perpignan, 2001). For examples of historiography on French transit camps: Simone Gigliotti, *The train journey: transit, captivity, and witnessing in the Holocaust* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2009); Michael R. Marrus and Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews* (Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995); Richard H. Weisberg, *Vichy law and the Holocaust in France* (Amsterdam: Overseas Publishers Association, 1996). For works covering the OSE's operations during World War II, refer to Zeitoun's book, as well as: Sebastian Steiger, *Les enfants du château de La Hille* (Basel: Brunnen Verlag, 1999); or the OSE's website, which offers a succinct history of its humanitarian efforts: www.ose-france.org.

[3] United States Holocaust Memorial Museum online archives, "Event History: Rivesaltes."

[4] Peggy Frankston, "Interview with André Zalc", United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Jeff and Toby Herr Collection (2009). Frankston, based in Paris, is the Program Coordinator of the International Archival Programs Division of the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Kieval, 341.

ensuing influx of detainees, Rivesaltes's demographics changed to comprise a larger proportion of Jewish prisoners, particularly Jewish children like Zalc, who also described his transfer to Rivesaltes from Brens in his interview with Frankston: "From Brens, they took us to Rivesaltes… they had trains coming in, and they loaded all the people; it was like… wagons, you know, for the horses."[7] The total number of prisoners detained at Rivesaltes was relatively small. In April of 1941—the peak of Rivesaltes's occupancy—the camp had a population of around 8,000 detainees, of which Jews made up about 40%. The total population of child inmates at that time numbered about 3,000.[8]

Unlike forced-labor camps or extermination camps, Rivesaltes's status as a transit camp and as a "family camp" allowed for the presence of humanitarian organizations like the OSE within the facility's walls. The OSE was the first humanitarian organization to seek and receive permission from Vichy authorities to offer aid and services within the system of transit, labor, and concentration camps.[9] The organization deliberately selected the camps that were featured in this petition—Récébédou, Agde, les Milles, Gurs, and Rivesaltes—because of their relatively large populations of interred children.[10] With the Vichy relocation of Jews from Brens, Agde, and Gurs to Rivesaltes, outside organizations like the OSE were at first barred from working in the camp at all. After some negotiating, relief organizations were able to offer aid to the prisoners of Rivesaltes, but this was in a much more constricted capacity than at either Brens or Agde.[11] Nevertheless, members of the OSE, the AFSC, the Secours Suisse aux enfants, and other humanitarian organizations were soon able to work legally within the walls of the camp, providing food, medical care, and education.

The OSE appears frequently in primary source material derived from Rivesaltes. The organization, which recently celebrated the centennial anniversary of its 1912 establishment, began as the OZE (*Obshtshestvo Zdravookraney Evre*, or Society for the Protection of the Health of Jews). Founded by Jewish doctors and activists in Moscow, the OZE's primary objective was to "implement a modern health system for Jews who were excluded from the Russian medico-social protection system."[12] By 1934, the organization had expanded to serve Jews living in countries across Europe, including France, where it took on a new title: Œuvre de secours aux enfants, or OSE.[13] Before the onset of the Second World War, the OSE began to receive Jewish children sent by their German and Austrian parents, who feared for their safety and entrusted their protection to members of the organization.[14] This influx of children led to a shift in the organization's focus from general humanitarian aid and medical services for Jews of all ages to the care and placement of Jewish children in safe homes. This focus is particularly apparent in the group's efforts at Rivesaltes, where each of the OSE's main missions centered around the care for and, when possible, safe removal of Jewish children.

---

[7] Frankston.
[8] United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.
[9] Vivette Samuel, *Rescuing the Children: A Holocaust Memoir* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 31.
[10] Sabine Zeitoun, *L'œuvre de Secours aux Enfants (O.S.E) sous l'Occupation en* France (Paris: Éditions L'Harmattan, 1990), 94.
[11] Kieval, 342.
[12] OSE, *Centennial brochure: OSE: 100 Years of History, 1912-2012* (2012).
[13] Zeitoun, 20.
[14] Samuel, 31.

Within the walls of the camp, the OSE was able to provide aid in various capacities. In order to operate inside Rivesaltes, OSE members set up offices outside the facility and requested permission to enter on a daily basis. Other relief organizations, such as the Secours Suisse aux enfants and the Quakers, were permitted by the Vichy regime and camp authorities to bring in and distribute food among the prisoners.[15] In addition, the OSE was allowed to provide clothing and medical care. Vivette Samuel, who worked with the OSE in Rivesaltes, explains the three specific objectives of the OSE's work there in her 2012 memoir *Rescuing the Children*: "The OSE worked at Rivesaltes in three areas: medical aid, which consisted of bringing supplementary food to the frailest people; the liberation of children and the finding of places to shelter them, which also meant taking complete charge of their education and health; and, as much as possible, their emigration."[16] It is evident from Samuel's description that the OSE prioritized the extraction of child prisoners from Rivesaltes, though this was not the only way that OSE members sought to improve the lot of the children interred at the camp. The OSE's third goal in particular—to oversee the education and health of the young detainees until such a time that they might be freed from the camp—highlights the OSE's ongoing operations to better the lives of the children of Rivesaltes within the legal constraints set forth by the Vichy regime. While Zalc informs his interviewer that Rivesaltes did not have a school, it does appear that the OSE was able to offer limited educational opportunities to the youngest inmates at Rivesaltes, who were children of pre-school and kindergarten age.[17] Zalc, already about eleven himself at the time of his imprisonment at Rivesaltes, did not have the opportunity to receive any education during his time there.[18] The lack of instructional opportunities for children represented one of the most urgent issues within the walls of the camp and, in accordance with its guiding objectives, the OSE attempted to combat this issue.

As the OSE attempted to better the lives of Rivesaltes's child population within the confines of the camp, the organization was simultaneously working to expand its network of children's homes outside the camp and to fill them with liberated Rivesaltes youth. The Vichy regime's question of what to do with child prisoners, particularly Jewish children, had been answered in different ways during various stages of the Nazi occupation. At first, Jewish children who had been rounded up in Paris were sent to live in abandoned school buildings, overseen by the Union Générale des Israélites de France ("Union of French Jews", or UGIF). However, the extraordinary number of these children put a strain on the Union's resources and, upon petitioning from the OSE and other organizations, many of them would be dispersed throughout France.[19] The OSE had established several children's homes across the country, and would continue to expand this system over the course of the war in order to remove as many children as possible from the system of internment and concentration camps. Later Vichy decrees would mandate the deportation of Jewish children along with their parents to concentration camps in the east, rendering it

[15] Kieval, 341.
[16] Samuel, 34.
[17] Frankston. As for educational opportunities within Rivesaltes, there are photos which document the presence of OSE workers instructing young children in the camp. See "Children, imprisoned in the Rivesaltes transit camp, attend an OSE pre-school." From United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, courtesy of Simone Weil Lipman.
[18] Frankston.
[19] Martha Jelenko, "France" in *The American Jewish Yearbook* (September 30, 1943 to September 17, 1944), 250.

even more imperative to extricate children from the camp system as quickly as possible.[20]

The OSE operated exclusively within the bounds of legality, navigating the channels of Vichy bureaucracy in order to legally extract Jewish children from Rivesaltes.[21] Prior to the war, the OSE had opened several children's homes, beginning in Eaubonne and Montmorency in 1936.[22] These facilities would allow the OSE to liberate some children legally from Rivesaltes, despite an arduous and lengthy process. The Secours Suisses aux Enfants began their preparations to receive released child prisoners in late 1940, as the first humanitarian organization to do so; other relief organizations quickly followed suit in early 1941. However, the Vichy authorities would not authorize any releases until the spring of 1941.[23] The regime had only agreed to allow Jewish children under the age of fifteen to be removed from camps after strenuous negotiations with several international humanitarian organizations. After eventually conceding to these petitions, the Vichy administration decreed that each case for the removal of a Jewish child from an internment camp would be assessed individually and ultimately granted or denied by the Vichy regime. In order to petition for the removal of a child from Rivesaltes, the petitioning organization needed to provide "certificates of lodging" (i.e., papers which indicated that the child had permission to reside in a specific county from the local prefect) on the child's behalf.[24] These certificates were difficult to obtain, and required the cooperation of prefects—few of whom were willing to allow Jewish children to be stationed within their departments.[25] Nonetheless, according to its centennial brochure, the OSE estimates that 500 children were removed from internment camps in this way, many of them dispersed abroad.[26]

While the OSE aimed to liberate as many Jewish children as possible, and declared the liberation of these children as its absolute priority, the process for doing so was difficult and costly.[27] Samuel writes, "The amount needed to take out a single child could be used to help at least four inside."[28] Between 1942 and 1944, however, a sense of urgency to extricate as many Jewish children as possible took hold of the OSE.[29] Vichy leaders transferred four thousand Jewish children under the age of twelve to Drancy in July of 1942, in response to growing pressure from Nazi leaders to deport young and elderly Jews who had previously been incarcerated in holding facilities and transit camps.[30] Over the course of that year, the Nazi regime would deport thousands more. Many would end their journey at the gates of Auschwitz, and there was little that the OSE or other organizations could do to prevent it.

Clandestine methods of liberation may have seemed easier and quicker than following the legal protocols set forth by the Vichy regime, but the OSE never used such methods.[31] Other organizations, some of which were affiliated with the OSE, did choose to pursue clandestine routes for smuggling children out of internment camps; the OSE, however, adhered strictly to legal avenues, even under the increased

[20] Ibid, 251.
[21] Kieval, 346.
[22] Ibid; See also photo archives from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, such as "Children in an OSE home [probably Eaubonne]," courtesy of Henry Schuster.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Kieval, 342.
[25] Zeitoun, 98-99.
[26] OSE, *Centennial brochure*.
[27] Samuel, 34.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Zeitoun, 45.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Kieval, 352.

pressure of the Nazi Final Solution.[32] The main reason for this compliance with the law even at the height of Vichy deportations stems largely from the OSE's awareness of the intense government surveillance of all humanitarian organizations entering the camps. The OSE, as a Jewish institution, was under particular scrutiny.[33] The Vichy regime received intelligence on all of the OSE's activities within as well as outside of Rivesaltes. Communication between members of the OSE in France as well as abroad was regularly intercepted and read before being sent on to its intended recipient. For this reason, the activities of the OSE were not only entirely legal; they were also completely transparent.

This transparency not only served as a safeguard against legal predicaments with the Vichy government, it also augmented communication between the OSE and other humanitarian groups. This facilitated a stronger network of aid for Jews and Jewish children interred within the camp system. Other organizations—most notably the UGIF—had complete access to OSE records and agendas, and often worked in tandem with the OSE towards these goals.[34] Therefore, while the primary reason for the OSE's conformity to the Vichy regime's arduous legal process for removing children was to avoid trouble with the authorities (which would have certainly shut down all of its operations within Rivesaltes as well as other camps, as well as possibly resulted in the incarceration of its own members), this compliance also allowed the OSE to coordinate its efforts with other humanitarian groups.

The OSE operated within the confines of the Rivesaltes transit camp—and within the confines of Vichy bureaucracy—to offer aid to the Rivesaltes's youngest prisoners. While the organization sought to alleviate conditions for child detainees by distributing food and offering supplementary educational opportunities, the OSE's primary objective was to oversee the safe evacuation of as many Jewish children as possible from Rivesaltes. The OSE could have taken many routes in pursuit of this goal, yet the organization chose to work with the Vichy regime. While the legal procedure for releasing a child from Rivesaltes was expensive, bureaucratic, and lengthy, the OSE's commitment to legal and transparent operations created a stronger network of aid organizations within the camp system. Even more importantly, the transparent and legal nature of the organization's operations made it possible for the OSE to safely secure the releases of hundreds of Jewish children from the Rivesaltes transit camp.

---

[32] OSE, *Centennial brochure*; see also: Vivette Samuel, *Rescuing the children: A Holocaust memoir.* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002). Samuel's memoir describes the pressure to pursue illegal extraction methods to which some humanitarian organizations would succumb.

[33] Samuel, 36.

[34] Kieval, 342.

Works Cited

Primary Sources:

"Children, imprisoned in the Rivesaltes transit camp, attend an OSE pre-school." Photograph. From United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, courtesy of Simone Weil Lipman. Collections: 1990.184.33. Photograph #: 78532. http://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/pa9896 (accessed October 29, 2016).

"Children in an OSE home [probably Eaubonne]." Photograph. From United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, courtesy of Henry Schuster. Photograph #: 59997. http://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/pa1144449 (accessed November 12, 2016).

Frankston, Peggy. 2009. Interview with André Zalc. *Oral history interview with André Zalc.* United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Jeff and Toby Herr Collection.

OSE. 2012. *Centennial brochure: OSE: 100 Years of History, 1912-2012.*

Samuel, Vivette. 2002. *Rescuing the children: A Holocaust memoir*. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press.

Secondary Sources:

Boitel, Anne. 2001. *Le Camp de Rivesaltes 1941-1942*. Perpignan: Presses Universitaires de Perpignan.

Gigliotti, Simone. 2009. *The train journey: transit, captivity, and witnessing in the Holocaust*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Jelenko, Martha. 2008. "France." *The American Jewish Yearbook* (September 30, 1943 to September 17, 1944): 239-260.

Kieval, Hillel J. 1980. "Legality and Resistance in Vichy France: The Rescue of Jewish Children." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*: 339-366.

Marrus, Michael R. and Robert O. Paxton. 1995. *Vichy France and the Jews*. Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press.

www.ose-france.org. Accessed October 26, 2016.

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum online archives. "Event History: Rivesaltes."

Weisberg, Richard H. 1996. *Vichy law and the Holocaust in France*. Amsterdam: Overseas Publishers Association.

Steiger, Sebastian. 1999. *Les enfants du château de La Hille*. Basel: Brunnen Verlag.

Yad Vashem. 2016. "Concentration Camps in France" under "The Holocaust in France." http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/holocaust/france/camps.asp. Accessed October 29, 2016.

Zeitoun, Sabine. 1990. *L'œuvre de Secours aux Enfants (O.S.E) sous l'Occupation en France* Paris: Éditions L'Harmattan.

Co-Production of Disability and Race: Reading for Disability in Black Prison Writings

Zoë Bunton is a junior majoring in Women, Gender, and Sexuality Studies. They are from Olathe, Kansas. This American Studies and Prison Studies article was supervised by Prof. Christopher Perreira.

Abstract:

Disability studies scholars have called for a critical refocusing of disability as not only an identity that intersects with race but also as an identity rooted in racialization. By reading the prison writings of Mumia Abu-Jamal across the grain as a disability text, the co-constitution of Blackness, disability, and criminalization is evident in not just disability studies scholarship, but also the lived experiences of Black, criminalized authors. By applying critical theoretical lenses of race and disability to works like *Live from Death Row,* one can better identify how the disenfranchisement of Black people is purported to be natural in American culture.

Many accepted core texts within disability studies offer valid insight into, if nothing else, white experiences of disability. However, many of these texts marginalize or outright ignore the experiences of Black disabled people as auxiliary but ultimately unnecessary to the discipline. I respond to critiques of the overwhelming whiteness in disability studies from Christopher Bell, a notable disability studies scholar and former president of the Society for Disability Studies. I also employ social and cultural studies scholar Nirmala Erevelles's theories of disability, Blackness, and incarceration as mutually invoking, co-constituted social categories. The systemic criminalization and incarceration of Black communities, termed the "school to prison" or "cradle to grave" pipeline, operates on the white paternalistic construction of Blackness inherently entangled with disability.[1] The prison industrial complex, as an arm of a larger system of white supremacy and capitalism, both disables Black people and constructs race and disability as stable, natural social categories.[2] The systemic disabling, punishment, and exploitation of Black people provides its own justification by maintaining Blackness and disability as connected and stable categories. What would happen, then, if we examined the texts already being produced by Black authors in terms of not just race, but also disability? Texts like prison writings can reveal how the categories of race and disability are deployed against Black, incarcerated people. Throughout my argument, I refer to Erevelles's argument that Blackness and disability are simultaneously constructed categories. I also refer to the work of Syrus Ware, Joan Ruzsa, and Giselle Dias, prison abolition activists

[1] For additional reading on the school-to-prison pipeline, see Kilgore 119-133.

[2] American activist, author, and academic Angela Davis refers to the "prison industrial complex" as the expansion of the U.S. prison system, corporate involvement in prisons, and the use of prison labor to produce capital (Davis 12). See also Kilgore 20.

and prison studies scholars, in "It Can't Be Fixed Because It's Not Broken" in order to establish the production and maintenance of disability within the prison system. Through my use of this scholarship, I argue that reading *Live from Death Row,* written by the American activist and journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal, across the grain illustrates the ongoing relationship between Black people and disability in the context of incarceration.

Abu-Jamal's writing offers a critique of antiblack racism and the prison system based in scholarship and firsthand experience. He writes not only of his own experiences, but also the experiences of others he bears witness to. Prior to his arrest in 1981, Abu-Jamal was known as a widely-acclaimed broadcast journalist (Abu-Jamal 186). In 1982, he was convicted of murder and sentenced to death, despite a lack of convincing evidence (Abu-Jamal 169-185). Since his conviction, Abu-Jamal has continued his journalistic and activist work from within carceral spaces. While writings like Abu-Jamal's are not marked as disability studies texts, his work highlights how disability is often intertwined with the experience of incarceration. The work of Abu-Jamal to critique the prison system on individual, community, and structural levels offers a unique platform to examine the role of disability. Still, I maintain that any texts produced from carceral spaces or communities profoundly impacted by incarceration can offer important perspectives to the disability studies discipline.

Reading the prison writings of Mumia Abu-Jamal with a disability studies perspective emphasizes the role of disability in texts not traditionally considered as part of that scholarly genre. Reexamining the centrality of disability in conversations around incarceration and race, and *vice versa*, is necessary. The overwhelming whiteness made standard in the accepted core ideas of disability studies has drawn critique, especially within the past decade. Bell, in his 2006 essay "Introducing White Disability Studies: A Modest Proposal," critiques key texts and authors in disability studies for their failures to acknowledge the unspoken centrality of whiteness in their work. While these texts may effectively theorize white experiences of disability, the failure to acknowledge whiteness constructs a normative disability identity that continues to marginalize the experiences of nonwhite disabled people. Although "White Disability Studies" includes people of color, it "treats people of color as if they were white people" and ignores that people of color experience "critical exigencies" that "necessitate [their] understanding and negotiating disability in a different way than their white counterparts" (Bell 282). Bell argues that an upheaval of disability studies is necessary and any notion of an independent, non-intersectional disabled identity must be abandoned. The critiques offered by Bell and other authors establish the need for more conversations about how we imagine disability, its creation, and its implications. Reading the life experiences of a Black, imprisoned man as a text about disability allows us to examine from a new angle how the construction of race, criminality, and ability are ongoing. Race and ability were not only constructed in the past. These identities and ways of being are continually made real within the prison industrial complex. Not only does racialization rely on the simultaneous construction of disability, racialization and systemic racism actively disable Black people. It is crucial to understand how the prison industrial

complex continues to naturalize Blackness-as-disability in order to disrupt this narrative.

In my argument, I discuss the healthcare available in prison not to frame disability as a necessarily medical identity, but rather to acknowledge the role of the medical complex within the prison system in the production and maintenance of disabled Black bodies. I also refer to "health" as a somewhat monolithic and stable concept for the sake of a more straightforward argument. However, I believe that the construction of "health" by a medical-industrial complex that also relies on the simultaneous exclusion and exploitation of racialized people is an important factor in the construction of race and ability. In a lengthier and more nuanced version of this research I would explore the meaning of health more thoroughly. In my argument I also refer to "crime" and "criminality," the meaning of which has changed throughout history. The construction of certain acts as criminal—such as "vagrancy" and "possession of firearms"—historically and currently coincides with the disenfranchisement of Black people and other people of color (Davis 28). Through laws that criminalize behavior associated with or attributed to Blackness, Black people have been continually exploited and enslaved within the prison system following the abolition of slavery. In this sense, Blackness itself is the crime. I mention this to make clear that the innocent/criminal binary is built upon racism and anti-Blackness, and people who are indeed "guilty" of their accused crimes are no less victims of a white-supremacist industry that exploits along deeply cut racial lines.

In my research, I define the category of disability using feminist disability scholar Susan Wendell's definition of disability. Wendell defines disability as both a socially constructed category in opposition to "normal" ranges of ability and an embodied, lived experience. This definition rethinks medical models of disability, which regard disability as a problem within the individual body. Social and built environments are typically designed to accommodate the needs of people within a "normal" range of ability, thereby disabling and "othering" different bodies and minds. A culture's definition of "normal" ability, Wendell argues,

> "depends on such factors as what activities a society values and how it distributes labour and resources. The idea that there is some universal, perhaps biologically or medically describable paradigm of human physical ability is an illusion…
>
> Not only the "normal" roles for one's age, sex, society, and culture, but also "normal" structure and function, and "normal" ability to perform an activity, depend on the society in which the standards of normality are generated (245)."

A person who falls outside of the normalized range of ability for their intersection of identities is culturally thought to have a problem within their individual body. Wendell argues that many disabled people struggle in their relationships to their bodies in ways that "perhaps cannot be eliminated," or "even mitigated, by social arrangements" (247). Embodied experiences of disability cannot be ignored in theories of disability as an exclusively social construction. However, social arrangements could accommodate the "physical conditions" of disabled people, "integrate

[them] into the community," and integrate the struggles of disabled people "into the cultural concept of life as it is ordinarily lived" (247). Wendell's definition of disability troubles the notion of a "natural" state of ability or disability, wherein the culture's normal range of ability is taken as an inherently "right" way to have a body. Scholars like Wendell argue that standards of normality are culturally produced. As I argue, the role of environment is particularly salient in conversations surrounding prisons, as the prison not only fails to accommodate for disabilities, but also often further disables people.

Alongside disability, some scholars also argue that race is a social category, not an inherent, bodily truth. Social anthropologist and African-American studies scholar Audrey Smedley and public health expert Brian Smedley argue that there are no biologically-based differences between races (2005). The idea that race indicates biological truths about an individual has been used to justify the institution of slavery, as well as the stratification of income, education, and incarceration along racial lines. In Western culture, race is imagined as a "natural," or innate, biological difference in the bodies and minds of people (20). Smedley and Smedley argue, however, that the ideology of race began in the late 17th century "in conjunction with the legal establishment of slavery for Africans," leading to the creation of "three major groups, [...] European Whites, Native Americans, and Negroes" (20). The production of race as a scientific, biological category justified the mistreatment of people of color, particularly the Native Americans whose land was colonized and the people of the African continent who were abducted and enslaved in North America. Living conditions and life opportunities were and continue to be organized in terms of race. Thus, while race is not a biological truth, it remains an important social category as race tends to indicate many of an individual's resources and opportunities. The research of Smedley and Smedley, like the work of Wendell, disrupts a seemingly "natural" category, arguing instead that the category has been constructed by the culture. Race and disability have also been theorized as co-produced, interdependent categories, rather than as separately produced yet intersecting categories.

I use the theoretical perspectives offered by Erevelles, specifically in her essay "Crippin' Jim Crow: Disability, Dis-Location, and the School-to-Prison Pipeline," in order to examine the writings of Abu-Jamal in the context of race and disability. Erevelles's work not only challenges whiteness-as-norm within disability studies, it necessitates an examination of disability as an identity inherently attached to Blackness, and vice versa. Erevelles argues that disability and race have been historically co-constituted, as the dominant white, capitalist culture has constructed racialized people as disabled. The social category of race, specifically Blackness, is intertwined with the construction of a mentally and physically pathological "Other." This construction of disability, like the construction of race, posits disability as an inherent, stable, and natural deficiency in nonwhite bodies that was "discovered," rather than invented, by experts. Black bodies were made disabled and racialized in the violence of the slave trade in order to justify the commodification of Black bodies. The understanding of Black people as naturally deficient has served to create and justify the distribution of

resources away from Black people. Erevelles writes of the embodiment of the "ghetto" in Black people, not just physical locations, as a result of cultural isolation/quarantine. Black people are socially isolated, even in racially integrated spaces. Deviance and disability in Black bodies and minds are constructed to be inherent and therefore "unworthy of […] intervention" (95). From preschool to the workplace to the prison system and beyond, Black people tend to be disciplined as individual, deliberate, natural "troublemakers" (criminals) rather than accommodated. The construction of inherent disability in Blackness, therefore, serves to justify a system that disables Black people.

Prisons and the prison industrial complex disable people. The abuse and disenfranchisement of people in prison alters how prisoners are able to think, feel, and behave. Abu-Jamal writes of the extreme isolation and verbal and physical abuse of death row prisoners. Living on death row at the State Correctional Institute at Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, Abu-Jamal and other inmates were locked in their cells, by standard, 22 hours per day and given two hours of recreation outside of the cell. On death row, "one has little or no psychological life" and must rely on TV and radio as "common diversions" from their "terrible fate" and "dehumanizing isolation" (Abu-Jamal 8-9). People in prison, and particularly on death row, are also denied physical contact with visitors from outside the prison. Abu-Jamal argues that noncontact visits "weaken, and finally [...] sever, family ties," which are "already made tenuous" by imprisonment; prisoners are isolated "psychologically as they are temporally and spatially," eventually "'dead' to those who love them, and therefore dead to themselves" (11-12). The denial of regular and physical human contact is also a denial of personal and meaningful connections for people in prison. The isolation of people in prison from those living outside the prison, and the isolation of death row prisoners from nearly all human contact, creates and exacerbates emotional pain and disconnection.

The research of Ware, Ruzsa, and Dias on health in prisons corroborates the claims of Abu-Jamal. According to the World Health Organization, "overcrowding; violence; solitary confinement; lack of privacy; separation from family and friends; lack of meaningful activity; and uncertain futures" (or near-certain futures of state-imposed death, for those on death row) "affect the ways our brains and bodies work" and create "experiences that don't fit within social notions of mental 'health'"; the authors also cite research that indicates how "powerlessness" and the assignment of position can alter an individual's "mental skills in a way that confirms their standing," making "hierarchies incredibly stable" and leading "the powerless" into a "destiny of dispossession" (Ware et al. 170-171). The denial of agency and meaningful activity to prisoners is dehumanizing, isolating, and painful, changing how people in prison think and feel. The effects of the prison industrial complex extend beyond the prison itself, too. The management of Black people and their property, in expectation of criminality, instills a sense of being "innately deviant" and a constant fear of "[confirming] that stereotype" in young Black people; "the threat of constant surveillance," confiscation of property, suspensions, and "ultimately juvenile detention centers and prisons" overwhelmingly impact communities of color (Erevelles 94). The prison system is

not rehabilitative—it manufactures pain within prisoners, their loved ones, and criminalized communities and pulls people further from cultural standards of health.

In addition to their disabling nature, prisons fail to provide adequate healthcare to mitigate or manage the effects of disability. People in prison have limited access to "counselling and mental health services," especially "in an ongoing way or over the long term," and "there is no confidentiality or privacy during these therapeutic sessions," meaning that "anything they say [...] could potentially be used against them" (Ware et al. 171). Mental health services are supposedly designed to give people tools to understand, cope with, and accommodate the ways they think and behave. However, these services are frequently weaponized against people in prison, when made available at all. Abu-Jamal writes of medical abuse and denial of proper health care for people in prison. He offers an account of the prison staff's treatment of Manny, an epileptic man Abu-Jamal met in Huntingdon. Manny had virtually no seizures for ten years before arriving at Huntingdon. However, after a "serious altercation with a white inmate," the prison staff changed his medication regimen, introducing seizure-inducing Haldol, and Manny began having powerful seizures that left him in a coma (57-58). In the account of Abu-Jamal, medical abuse is a form of punishment within correctional facilities. Prison medical care is of low quality and inaccessible at best for many people in prison. At its worst, medical "care" is used to punish, worsen health, and even kill inmates. Medical care within the prison is simply an extension of the "corrections" system. The bodies of inmates are subject to punishment from medical staff, who are enabled to give or deny treatment conditionally. Ware, Rusza, and Diaz also argue that zero-tolerance drug policies, as opposed to harm-reduction programs, and HIV-phobia in prisons create an environment where HIV and Hepatitis C are easily transmitted, but rarely treated (172-173). The prison environment is painful, and because competent care is not provided and self-medication is not accommodated, the tools for pain management that are accessible to people in prison are often further damaging to their health. Because ongoing and competent care is inaccessible to most people in prison, the prison environment has virtually no means of improvement in health and often directly worsens health. Even if prisons were to offer substantial care, the prison environment and hierarchy is still, in itself, disabling. Offering health services without acknowledging the fact that imprisonment affects inmates' health only serves to privatize disability as a "problem" within the individual.

According to Abu-Jamal, the disabling of prisoners is deliberate. Abu-Jamal argues that people in prison end up "on tilt," or with deteriorating mental health, "by state design"; the "stressful psychic stew" of prison is "designed [...] by the state, with full knowledge of its effects" (25). It is not by accident that people in prison are subjected to physical and psychological abuse in normalized prison procedures. Legal precedent even exists for state recognition of this psychological torture. Abu-Jamal cites the 1986 federal court decision declaring solitary confinement constitutional, despite an 1890 ruling that argued solitary confinement unconstitutional, at least in the case of the petitioner, James Medley (25-26). Prisons

deliberately continue to use psychologically damaging systems of punishment, from the ongoing lack of contact with loved ones to the extreme isolation of solitary confinement. In the case of Robert Barnes, a recent transfer to Abu-Jamal's prison at the time of writing, solitary confinement led Barnes to his death by suicide (Abu-Jamal 19-21). Barnes "had an extensive psychiatric history and had made a recent suicide threat," telling officials "if he were placed in the 'hole' [...] he would kill himself"; still, he was put into "a strip cell for twenty-four hours a day" and soon died by suicide (21). Even when officials were explicitly warned that Barnes could not tolerate time in solitary confinement, staff still chose to put him in the "hole." Abu-Jamal bears witness to the effects of psychiatric abuse built into the prison system. This abuse cannot simply be attributed to misunderstandings among prison staff and officials. Federal courts and individual staff members knowingly allow harmful practices.

The disabling effects of life in prison and medical abuse or neglect in prisons make tangible the cultural construction of Blackness, disability, and criminality. Because race, disability, and criminality as coherent social categories rely on and invoke one another, even white disabled people and/or criminals are culturally read to approach a racialized standard away from whiteness. The disabling of Black people, or people associated with Blackness through their criminality, is naturalized within the prison industrial complex. Disability is understood to be the natural state of Black people, and therefore the prison industrial complex's effects on health are not so much attributed to the prison as they are to the inherent qualities of Black bodies. From birth to death, deviations of Black people from cultural norms of ability are privatized as individual deficiencies or acts of criminality. Rather than accommodate the needs of Black people, the understanding that disability and criminality are natural qualities of Blackness encourages institutions to punish and leave Black people behind as a "lost cause"; "incarcerated juveniles are often diagnosed with" psychiatric disabilities but "receive little or no interventions" and "the likelihood of treatment" increases for those who are "non-Hispanic white, younger" and have a "past history of treatment" (Erevelles 94). Racialized people are offered far fewer resources to manage their health. The presence of racialized people in the criminal justice system is naturalized, while the presence of white people is more likely to be pathologized and subsequently remedied. Systematic abuse and punishment of Black people is understood to be a natural consequence of Black criminality, rather than a cause of disability in communities of color.

Mumia Abu-Jamal's writings from death row reveal the creation, maintenance, and exacerbation of disability in people in prison, who are disproportionately Black people and other people of color. The prison industrial complex requires the construction of disabled, Black, criminal subjects in order to justify its exploitation of racialized people. The prison system therefore simultaneously disables Black people and naturalizes disability as inherent to the Black body. Criminalized subjects are disabled by violence, abuse, lack of agency, and disconnection and isolation from relationships. The effects of disability are made more severe by the denial of competent and confidential health care to criminalized people, as well as by medical

abuse. The management, pathologization, isolation, and abuse of criminalized people occur within and outside of prisons throughout the lifetimes of Black people. It is important to centralize the prison industrial complex and race, particularly Blackness, in conversations about disability. Race and incarceration are not just marginal issues that can be added and subtracted from disability studies. As Bell and Erevelles, among other authors, have put forward, disability and Blackness are always connected.

I emphasize Erevelles's argument that disability and Blackness are co-constituted social categories that cannot exist without invoking the other. "Black" as a coherent and natural category was simultaneously constructed alongside dis/ability. The categories of race and disability suggest an inherent deficiency in Black people in order to justify slavery. Therefore, while white people and people of color experience disability differently, any experience of disability invokes Blackness. Likewise, Black bodies are culturally associated with natural deficiency, deviance, criminality, and being "beyond saving." Race and incarceration are entangled with disability, and I have examined *Live from Death Row* as one of many texts that can be understood to reveal the interconnectedness of Blackness and disability as much as it reveals the connectedness of Blackness and incarceration in America. By reading for disability as an integral part of systems of incarceration, I argue that one can gain a better understanding of how systemic disenfranchisement is placed within the individual bodies of Black people. People in prison are already producing critical texts on the intersections of race, disability, and criminality. Incorporating texts like prison writings in disability studies scholarship can be helpful in bridging the gap between disabilities studies and critical race theory. The disenfranchisement of Black people relies in part on the notion that race and disability are natural and inherent categories. Examining how social categories have been created and deployed to justify a culture of exploitation is crucial to dismantling these systems of power.

Works Cited

Primary Source

Abu-Jamal, Mumia. *Live from Death Row*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Pub., 1995. Print.

Secondary Sources

Bell, Chris. "A Modest Proposal." *The Disability Studies Reader,* edited by Lennard J. Davis, Taylor and Francis, 2006, pp. 275-282.

Davis, Angela Y. *Are prisons obsolete?* Seven Stories Press, 2003.

Erevelles, Nirmala. "Crippin' Jim Crow: Disability, Dis-Location, and the School-to-Prison Pipeline." *Disability Incarcerated*, Palgrave Macmillan US, 2014, pp. 81-99.

Kilgore, James. *Understanding Mass Incarceration: A People's Guide to the Key Civil Rights Struggle of Our Time*. The New Press, 2015.

Smedley, Audrey, and Brian D. Smedley. "Race as biology is fiction, racism as a social problem is real: Anthropological and historical perspectives on the social construction of race." *American Psychologist* 60.1 (2005): 16-26.

Ware, Syrus, Joan Ruzsa, and Giselle Dias. "It Can't Be Fixed Because It's Not Broken: Racism and Disability in the Prison Industrial Complex." *Disability Incarcerated*, Palgrave Macmillan US, 2014, pp. 163-184.

Wendell, Susan. "Toward a feminist theory of disability." *The Disability Studies Reader,* edited by Lennard J. Davis, Taylor and Francis, 2006, pp. 243-256.

My Fate is in Your Hand: Revealing Yasuo Kuniyoshi's Conflicted Identity

Alex Cateforis is a sophomore majoring in English and minoring in Art History and French. He is from Lawrence, Kansas. This Art History article was supervised by Prof. Maki Kaneko and Dr. Stephen Evans.

Abstract:

Yasuo Kuniyoshi (1889-1953) was a Japanese-American émigré artist active and successful in the United States from the mid-1920s until his death. However, despite his artistic achievement and integration into American culture, Kuniyoshi's life and fate turned tragic as the Pacific War erupted, which intensified extreme racism toward the people of Japanese heritage and increased nationalism in the United States. Kuniyoshi's 1950 painting *My Fate is in Your Hand* reveals the artist's dual and conflicted identity, his social and political fate in the U.S. after Pearl Harbor, and suggests that a year before his death, the artist no longer controlled his fate. A majority of white Americans and the conservative American art world rejected him as an Asian "other." Kuniyoshi grew weary, stressed, and anxious, an artist caught between success and rejection and his split Japanese and American identity. In this essay, I argue that each major portion of the work's title— "*My*," "*Fate*," and "*Your Hand*"— reveals the symbolic meaning of the painting and suggests the artist's inner state in 1950. I also analyze four of Kuniyoshi's earlier works to provide insight into the meaning of *My Fate is in Your Hand* and to tell the story of the Japanese-American artist.

Scholarly Literature Review Section:

My argument is unique and original because there has not been any substantial research on or analysis of Kuniyoshi's *My Fate is in Your Hand.* Since the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art owns and displays this work, I had the opportunity to work hands-on with the painting and develop an original reading of the work. The main secondary sources on which I grounded my research were Tom Wolf's *The Artistic Journey of Yasuo Kuniyoshi* (2015) and ShiPu Wang's *Becoming American?: The Art and Identity Crisis of Yasuo Kuniyoshi* (2011). Wolf's book served as an introduction to and survey of Kuniyoshi's career. Wang's research focused on the artist's "identity crisis" in the U.S. during World War II, the time period on which my research focuses. Yasuo Kuniyoshi's memoir *Yasuo Kuniyoshi* served as my primary source in developing my argument and provided Kuniyoshi a voice in my essay. Through these secondary and primary sources, I came to a fresh analysis of Kuniyoshi's *My Fate in Your Hand* that expands beyond the image to tell the story of Kuniyoshi's conflicted identity.

Yasuo Kuniyoshi's 1950 painting *My Fate is in Your Hand* reflects Kuniyoshi's lifelong journey as a Japanese-American artist in the United States. Although Kuniyoshi achieved fame in the United States as an artist, *My Fate is in Your Hand* reveals Kuniyoshi's life as an outsider in his own country due to his Japanese appearance and heritage. Ripe with symbolism, acidic color, and fragmentation, his painting captures the contradiction and conflict that troubled Kuniyoshi's life and career. Despite Kuniyoshi's artistic training in the United States, his success in the

American art world, and his embrace of democracy, the white majority population could never ignore his "Japaneseness." *My Fate is in Your Hand* reveals Kuniyoshi's fragmented and conflicted identity and the story of an artist rejected for who he was.

Kuniyoshi painted *My Fate is in Your Hand* (Appendix- Fig. 1) during his third and final artistic period. While optimism and worldly influence filled his early- and middle-stage paintings, anxiety, disillusionment, symbolism, and surrealist motifs characterized his late work.[1] In *My Fate is in Your Hand*, a hand, a caterpillar, an oversized grasshopper, and two juxtaposed figures dominate the composition. On the left side of the painting, which measures 40 1/4 x 24 1/4 inches, a large hand with its palm facing toward the viewer lies flat and stable. On the palm stands a dynamic and alert caterpillar; the caterpillar gazes toward a grasshopper, perched to the caterpillar's right. The hand and the caterpillar exist in a space bordered by yellow geometric shapes. Blue and purple layer these yellow forms, and as the thumb ends and protrudes out of its assigned space, a strong vertical line divides the composition in half. The right half of the vertical contains two parts: the grasshopper in the top corner and the two figures in the bottom corner. The grasshopper rests at the forefront of the painting, and its green body contrasts with the calm blue behind it. Below the grasshopper, two figures stand back to back. They reside in *My Fate is in Your Hand*'s deepest red.

In this essay, I argue that each major portion of this work's title— "*My," "Fate,"* and "*Your Hand"*— provides insight into the symbolic meaning of the painting and reveals Kuniyoshi's personal and emotional state when he painted *My Fate is in Your Hand*. The possessive pronoun "my*"* refers literally to the caterpillar held in the ghostly hand, but also symbolizes Kuniyoshi.[2] The subject "fate" illuminates Kuniyoshi's awareness of his ultimate social and political position in the United States, and the final words "your hand" suggest that Kuniyoshi himself was no longer in control of his fate at the end of his life. The American people held the alien artists artistic, social, and political future.

Just as the ambiguous, possessive pronoun "my" suggests multiple identities (the caterpillar and Kuniyoshi), Kuniyoshi himself also had multiple identities: he was a Japanese-American émigré artist. In 1906, at the age of seventeen, Kuniyoshi left Japan and moved to the United States. Once in the United States, Kuniyoshi quickly discovered his artistic talent and moved to New York City, the center of the American art world in 1910. There, he gained entrance into the Penguin Club, an avant-garde group of progressive artists, and enrolled in the Art Students League, a progressive art school, where he apprenticed under Kenneth Hayes Miller, who was "a legendary teacher, respected for his knowledge of art history and passion for the Old Masters."[3] His works were first shown in the Daniel Gallery in 1921, and Kuniyoshi's artistic career progressed as his individual style led him to success and achievement in the American art world. However, despite Kuniyoshi's successful career and social and

[1] Tom Wolf, *The Artistic Journey of Yasuo Kuniyoshi* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian American Art Museum, 2015), 16.

[2] ShiPu Wang, *Becoming American?: The Art and Identity Crisis of Yasuo Kuniyoshi* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011), 104.

[3] Wolf, *The Artistic Journey of Yasuo Kuniyoshi*, 19.

political integration into the United States, his Japanese appearance defined his identity.

In his 1927 *Self Portrait as a Golf Player*, Kuniyoshi illustrates his multiple identities.[4] Posing in Western golfing clothes, Kuniyoshi brandishes his club as if he were holding a samurai sword. While his face appears distinctly Japanese and his pose resembles a sword-fighting stance, the artist has ironically chosen a "western" backdrop and costume, an acknowledgment of his dual Japanese-American identity. Golf was and still is a socially elite sport that requires physical and intellectual talent, and in the early-twentieth century, primarily middle-class men played. According to art historian Di Yin Lu, "The Scottish import began attracting members of the affluent American middle class by the 1920s." Further, "By the 1930s, golf became an important part of privileged, white, middle-class, American culture: newspapers touted its contributions to physical health and published photographs of lithe, clean-cut young men enjoying a round of golf on a picturesque green."[5] In this picture, Kuniyoshi painted himself as a golf player as proof of his integration into western culture and the middle class, but he also proudly emphasized his Japanese identity through his appearance and stance. Kuniyoshi's Japanese appearance would have banned him from belonging to country clubs, but his social connections and economic status allowed the artist to play as a guest.[6] Unlike the white Americans posing on the "picturesque green," Kuniyoshi was a Japanese man standing in an American world.

While Kuniyoshi painted in the 1920s, the eugenics movement, spurred by anti-immigration sentiment, was spreading across the United States. This pseudo-academic and scientific movement argued on establishing a human hierarchy based on race, with whites residing at the top and Asians and other ethnicities existing below as "sub-humans." F. Scott Fitzgerald's 1925 *The Great Gatsby* displays the prominence of the eugenics movement as the racist character Tom Buchanan reads and praises Lothrop Stoddard's *The Rising Tide of Color Against White World-Supremacy*, an influential book that persuasively advanced the eugenics movement. Stoddard's book convinced the fictional Buchanan and many white Americans of their pseudo-scientific white superiority and confirmed their racist ideology. Kuniyoshi experienced this movement personally when his first wife's parents disowned their daughter, Katherine Schmidt, for marrying a Japanese man.[7] Schmidt lost her American citizenship when she married Kuniyoshi because of the Expatriation Act of 1907, and her parents did not speak to nor help the couple financially for six years.[8] Kuniyoshi's own family was racist toward him, and his Japaneseness continued to form his experience in the United States.

In 1937, ten years after Kuniyoshi painted *Self Portrait as a Golf Player*, the artist once again pondered his dual Japanese-American identity and position in

[4] Kuniyoshi, Yasuo. *Self Portrait as a Golf Player*, 1927. Oil of canvas, 50 ¼ x 40 ¼ in. Museum of Modern Art, New York. Illustrated in Wolf, pg. 116.
[5] Lu, Di Yin. *The Visual Dialectics of Golf, Leisure, and Beauty in Eva Fong Chan's Paintings* (Chinese America: History and Perspective, 2007), 168.
[6] Wolf, *The Artistic Journey of Yasuo Kuniyoshi*, 38-9.
[7] Elizabeth Broun, "A Stony Journey: Yasuo Kuniyoshi in America" (Washington, DC: Smithsonian American Art Museum, 2015), 12.
[8] Wolf, *The Artistic Journey of Yasuo Kuniyoshi*, 21.

the United States in an interview with *Esquire* magazine. Kuniyoshi remarked, "I have spent most of my life here. I have been educated here and I have suffered here. I am as much of an individual as anyone— except that I have Oriental blood in my veins."[9] Kuniyoshi's Asian blood subordinated him in the eyes of some whites, but his social/artistic achievement placed him in a different position than many American citizens: he existed in an in-between state.

Because immigration laws banned people of Japanese birth from becoming United States citizens until 1952, Kuniyoshi was legally a "resident alien" his entire life. This position situated him in a political in-between space, not an illegal immigrant, but not a United States citizen. In his social sphere, Kuniyoshi also lived in a third space. He excelled in the American art world, but conservative critics rejected his work as non-American because of his Japanese identity. Rejecting one's assimilation into American culture due to his or her ethnicity is a prominent theme in the United States. George M. Fredrickson, a comparative historian who deals with the history of race and racism, in his essay "Models of American Ethnic Relations: A Historical Perspective" states that "If an ethnic group is definitely racialized, the door is closed because its members are thought to possess ineradicable traits (biologically or culturally determined) that makes them unfit for inclusion."[10] Kuniyoshi's Japanese appearance and heritage 'definitely radicalized' the artist in the United States. In the eyes of many Americans, he could never fully assimilate into the country's culture.

Analogously, the caterpillar in *My Fate is in Your Hand* also exists in an in-between state, post-cocoon but pre-butterfly. The comparison between Kuniyoshi and the caterpillar and the double meaning of "my" suggest that the caterpillar represents the artist. The caterpillar found in *My Fate is in Your Hand* stands on the palm of the ghostly hand, thick and alert, its eyes directed toward the grasshopper. The green caterpillar seems to resist the red color covering the hand, but its craned position creates tension and leads the viewer's eye to the grasshopper. The grasshopper possesses what the caterpillar envies, wings. Suspended between birth and freedom, the caterpillar, as Kuniyoshi, has not transformed into a butterfly and grown wings of its own. Kuniyoshi paints the caterpillar confined to the hand, free to move but not to fly. Similarly, Kuniyoshi was able to exist outside of his cocoon in the United States, yet never able to grow his wings, restricted by his Japanese identity in the nationalistic, racist, yet also "free" United States. However, even if Americans allowed Kuniyoshi to grow his metaphorical wings, it appears he would have transformed into a traditional "pest" and not a beautiful butterfly. Many American citizens believed the Japanese were pests stealing land, business, work, and space from the white man.[11] Kuniyoshi's Japanese appearance

[9] Harry Salpeter, "Yasuo Kuniyoshi: Artists' Artist," *Esquire,* April 1937, 215, quoted in Gail Levin, "Between Two Worlds: Folk Culture, Identity, and the American Art of Yasuo Kuniyoshi." *Archives of American Art Journal* 43, no. 3/4 (2003): 12.

[10] George M. Fredrickson, "Models of American Ethnic Relations: A Historical Perspective," in *Rereading America: Cultural Contexts for Critical Thinking and Writing*, ed. Gary Colombo, Robert Cullen, and Bonnie Lisle (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2004), 636.

[11] Beth B. Hess, Elizabeth W. Markson, and Peter J. Stein, "Racial and Ethnic Minorities: An Overview," in *Race, Class, and Gender in the United States*, ed. Paula S. Rothenberg, (New York: Worth Publishers, 2001), 330.

placed him within the stereotype, a pesky other in the eyes of Americans.

The subject "fate" in the picture's title refers to Kuniyoshi's ultimate social, political, and cultural position in the United States. As international tension between the United States and Japan arose during the 1930s, Kuniyoshi's art and fate transitioned from inspired to tragic. The United States gradually grew more nationalistic and hateful toward the perceived Japanese enemy. Kuniyoshi, a Japanese man living in New York City, felt the hate and racism himself. As he read newspapers and magazines, he would see the racial slur *jap*, and while he walked through the streets, he would feel the stare of Americans, for he was perceived as the country's *enemy.*[12]

Kuniyoshi's painting *Waiting* (1938), belonging to his 1930s "woman series," suggests the artist's sentiments toward the escalating international conflict and reflects his inner emotions/being.[13] *Waiting* depicts a woman who has just finished reading her newspaper. She is somber and posed with a cigarette, and her eyes look away from the viewer in a sorrowful gaze that suggests present or impending despair. In *The Artistic Journey of Yasuo Kuniyoshi*, author Tom Wolf analyzes who this woman could be: "His women of the 1930s are thinking; accompanied by newspapers and set against backgrounds of swirling, agitated passages of thick oil paint, they are sensuous sex objects, but also projections of the artist's mental state, figures of empathy."[14] If the woman displayed in *Waiting* is interpreted as Kuniyoshi's alter ego, then Kuniyoshi would have been melancholy when he and other Americans read about the militarism and fascism in Japan. Additionally, assuming Kuniyoshi continued utilizing women as his alter ego, the female figure in *My Fate is in Your Hand* also symbolizes the artist.

The December 7, 1941, attack on Pearl Harbor forever changed Kuniyoshi's fate in the U.S. because he witnessed and experienced the discrimination toward the Japanese in his adopted home. Pearl Harbor spurred nationalistic sentiments and led to the internment of Japanese immigrants and Japanese-Americans. After Pearl Harbor, the United States government issued Executive Order 9066, which granted President Roosevelt and the U.S. military authorization to move between 110,000 and 120,000 U.S. residents of Japanese descent to "relocation centers" as they were deemed security threats.[15] Women, children, and men alike were allowed to bring only what they could carry on their backs. Many were forced to leave behind their homes and most of their belongings to relocate to the camps that Japanese-American workers had built. Upon returning home from the camps in 1946 when the war was over, many found their property stolen and farm lands destroyed or taken over by white farmers.[16] Race, class, and gender sociologists Beth B. Hess, Elizabeth W. Markson, and Peter J.

---

[12] Wang, 68.; Gail Levin, "Between Two Worlds: Folk Culture, Identity, and the American Art of Yasuo Kuniyoshi." (*Archives of American Art Journal* 43, no. ¾, 2003), 11.

[13] Kuniyoshi, Yasuo. *Waiting*, 1938. Oil on canvas, 40 x 31 in. Collection of Gallery Nii, Osaka, Japan. Illustrated in Wolf, pg. 124.

[14] Wolf, *The Artistic Journey of Yasuo Kuniyoshi*, 56.

[15] Wang, *Becoming American?*, 19.

[16] Beth B. Hess, Elizabeth W. Markson, and Peter J. Stein, 330.

Stein in their essay "Racial Ethnic Minorities: An Overview" state:

> Although the reason given for this forced evacuation was 'national security,' the more powerful motives were economic and emotional. Japanese agricultural success had long been envied by their white neighbors, who eagerly took over property without compensation. Emotionally, the social construction of the Japanese as untrustworthy Asians could go unchallenged because of their relative isolation.[17]

Even though the government did not intern Kuniyoshi, the detainment of his fellow Japanese and the restriction he experienced inspired the artist to confront the racism and unfair economic and emotional treatment that the Japanese experienced.

The U.S. government labeled Kuniyoshi a "loyal enemy alien" due to his celebrity status and New York residence; nonetheless, the government confiscated his camera and binoculars and imposed on him numerous other restrictions: he could not fly, his bank account was frozen, he had to observe a curfew, and in the months after Pearl Harbor, he could not leave his apartment.[18] The attack on Pearl Harbor led Kuniyoshi to question the true nature of American democratic principles and his own identity. According to ShiPu Wang, a leading scholar on Kuniyoshi, in his book, *Becoming American?: The Identity Crisis of Yasuo Kuniyoshi*, "Pearl Harbor forced Kuniyoshi to confront the fact that not only was he *still* categorized as Japanese by the U.S. government, but also that perhaps he had always been considered as something 'other': an alien from an enemy land."[19] Kuniyoshi's identity grew confused, fragmented and conflicted as he confronted his Japanese "otherness" in the white majority of the United States.

As a strategy to control his fate and promote freedom, Kuniyoshi made war propaganda for the United States government. In 1942, the United States Office of War Information (OWI) recruited Kuniyoshi to create propaganda in support of the U.S. war effort. Kuniyoshi accepted and created propaganda that emphasized the brutality of oppression and promoted universal freedom. Two years before his engagement with the OWI, Kuniyoshi wrote, "In spite of the grave threats looming all over the world, we must hold firmly with all those who believe in and encourage freedom of expression and democratic principles, so that— for them and with them— we may continue to create a great American art."[20] This encouragement of "freedom of expression and democratic principles" became a central theme in his propaganda.

For example, Kuniyoshi's 1943 U.S. propaganda poster *Torture* illustrates violence's brutality and emphasizes the universalism he wished to promote in his home and around the world.[21] In *Torture* Kuniyoshi drew a captured and beaten man. An oppressor has tied the man's hands

---

[17] Ibid., 330.
[18] Wolf, *The Artistic Journey of Yasuo Kuniyoshi*, 61-2.
[19] Wang, *Becoming American?*,6.
[20] Yasuo Kuniyoshi, *Yasuo Kuniyoshi* (New York: American Artist Group, 1945), 11. Kuniyoshi wrote this memoir in 1940.
[21] Kuniyoshi, Yasuo. *Torture*, 1943. Pencil on paper, 40 x 28 ½ in. Collection of John Cassara. Illustrated in Wolf, pg. 134.

behind his back and his fingers twist with strength and desperation to shed the rope that traps him. He hunches his shoulders and cocks his neck in a tight flex. His back bears three slashing red lines that suggest he has been whipped. His hands and body twist in agony while he attempts to break free from the chains, yet he remains upright and moving forward, attempting to maintain his pride and humanity. Since Kuniyoshi hides the victim's face, the tortured man could be of any race or ethnicity. Instead of race, Kuniyoshi asks the viewer to consider the suffering and cruelty of human oppression and "leaves open the question of who the victims are in the depicted [scene], and by extension in this war."[22] Kuniyoshi's *Torture* suggests that Americans must recognize victims of oppression not only abroad, but also in the United States.

In this poster, as the man's back faces the viewer, he could be any oppressed person, including Kuniyoshi and other Japanese-Americans. Wang states, "The violent physical assaults depicted in his designs point not only to Japan's destructive forces overseas but also to the kind of attacks [Kuniyoshi] had witnessed, if not personally experienced, against others in the forms of xenophobia (racist imagery), incarcerations (FBI arrests), and internment in the United States."[23] Since the U.S. government interned Kuniyoshi's fellow Japanese-Americans, he used his propaganda to communicate the view that U.S. treatment of the Japanese was un-democratic.

He also worked for the OWI as a tool to control his political position in America's racist climate. By working with the U.S. government he was safe from the suspicion of being a Japanese threat. However, by 1950, Kuniyoshi felt unable to control his social, political, and artistic fate. White Americans and the conservative art world rejected him as an "other." While nationalism was running deep in conservative America's veins, World War II ended and the Cold War began, leading to the "Red Scare" and the right's accusation of Kuniyoshi being a "red artist" because of his universalist sentiments.[24]

Two figures situated in the deepest red of *My Fate is in Your Hand* haunt the composition. They symbolize the helplessness and depression that Kuniyoshi felt was his fate. The larger of the two figures stands in profile to the viewer with its hands clasped in front of its body. The figure's head is larger than the rest of its robed body, and Kuniyoshi painted its eyes with a Japanese slant. The figure's skin tone is ghostly, a mix of white and purple, and Kuniyoshi hides the subject's ethnicity and gender. One wonders who this figure is and what it has clasped between its hands. Standing back to back with the ghostly figure, yet further into the composition stands a nude and possibly pregnant woman. Her face is in profile to the viewer, and she wears makeup. She looks to be walking out of the composition into a deeper space defined by a black rectangle, a mystery in the depths of the painting.

Kuniyoshi layered the two figures with symbolism that only he could precisely articulate, but I argue that the two figures represent a prostitute and her controller or master. As in the picture *Waiting*, Kuniyoshi's woman is a sex object and acts

[22] Wang, *Becoming American?*, 85.
[23] Ibid., 89.
[24] Ibid., 132.

as the artist's alter ego. If Kuniyoshi intended the woman in *My Fate is in Your Hand* to be his alter ego, then he suggests that he identified with a prostitute. He may have felt as if the United States was using him as "a *safe* 'enemy alien' for [the U.S. government] to support," just as a prostitute was used for sex.[25] Kuniyoshi may also have felt as helpless as a prostitute because he was caught between two identities: "For remaining 'anonymous' and the same as other Americans (in terms of allegiance and cultural assimilation) promised greater freedom than being the Other who were interned," writes Wang, "Yet remaining in the crowd required a certain degree of distance that rendered him the seemingly disengaged 'other' among the émigré Japanese and Japanese communities."[26] Just as a prostitute may substitute morals for an income, Kuniyoshi rejected his Japanese roots to preserve his "Americaness." He suffered an identity crisis, as helplessness, stress, and anxiety clouded his life.[27]

The dominant figure appears to be a ghoulish keeper of the caterpillar, controller of the prostitute, and holder of Kuniyoshi's fate. The figure's ghostly robed body, painted in whites and purples, controls the bottom right corner of the painting as the figure holds its clasped hands in front of its body. The ghostly figure's dominant position shows that it controls the woman's fate. As she stands behind the keeper, one wonders whether she has finished with her customer or paid her master. Kuniyoshi may have believed he had to please the American people and pay the U.S. government with propaganda, masking his Japanese identity with an obedient smile. The figure may also be the keeper of the caterpillar. The figure's hands closed and the caterpillar trapped within. Referring back to the possessive pronoun "my" in the picture's title, Kuniyoshi's fate also could be trapped within the deathly figure's hands or revealed on the hand's palm through palmistry. Regardless of the interpretation, the keeper has haunting control over the woman, Kuniyoshi, and the red composition. Kuniyoshi's fate appears doomed.

The final words "*Your Hand*" refer to the holders of Kuniyoshi's fate, the American people, and their choice to accept him as an American or reject him as an "other." In 1946, the U.S. Department of State organized *Advancing American Art*, a traveling exhibition meant to promote American art on the world stage. For this exhibition, the DOS chose eighty-four works, one of which was Kuniyoshi's *Circus Girl Resting* (1925).[28] In this painting, a stout proportioned woman sits with her legs crossed as she looks out at the viewer. She wears black leggings that reveal her legs, and her red slip has fallen to exposing one of her breasts. According to Wolf, this painting "became the symbol of the exhibition and the target of ridicule" because "the painting was the closest thing to a nude in the show, and the girl was rendered in Kuniyoshi's exaggerated figurative style of the 1920s."[29] Conservative art critics critiqued the exhibition and Kuniyoshi's painting, finding ugliness and foreign influence in

[25] Ibid., 21.
[26] Ibid., 112.
[27] The theme of Wang's *Becoming American?*
[28] Kuniyoshi, Yasuo. *Circus Girl Resting*, 1925. Oil on canvas, 38 2/5 x 28 ½ in. Jules Collins Smith Museum of Fine Art, Auburn University, Alabama; Advancing American Art Collection. Illustrated in Wolf, pg. 112.
[29] Wolf, *The Artistic Journey of Yasuo Kuniyoshi,* 72.

Kuniyoshi's work.[30] This type of criticism and ridicule had plagued Kuniyoshi since he arrived in the U.S. because conservative art critics scrutinized his art and identity. Since Kuniyoshi faced external criticism from those around him, leading to stress, anxiety, and drunkenness, he may have felt out of control of his fate.[31] The American people could either accept him as an American for his integration into American ideals and democracy or reject him as an outsider for his Japanese appearance and heritage.

Kuniyoshi displays three outcomes of potential acceptance or rejection in *My Fate is in Your Hand*, distinguished by three colors— blue, red, and a mix of colors. In the top right of the composition, the green grasshopper contrasts with the blue that Kuniyoshi painted behind it. This soft blue suggests Kuniyoshi's ideal universalism and his acceptance in the United States. As blue can be a symbolic color for the sky or heaven, Kuniyoshi depicts that grasshopper in the cheeriest part of the composition, where it is free to fly. This blue most closely resembles the "subtle palette of earth colors" that Kuniyoshi painted with during the 1920s as a young artist.[32] Kuniyoshi suggests nostalgia for his youth, before fame, controversy, and conflict dominated his life and art, yet even the earthy blue in the composition cannot escape the acidic red, as it appears to seep into the blue from underneath the surface of the painting. Kuniyoshi expects that he will never be allowed to grow his wings and live his life without prejudice and rejection.

The dark red, where the two figures reside, represents the darkest fate Kuniyoshi could experience. This red signifies betrayal, death, and the "Red Scare" as nationalistic conservatives attempted to pin Kuniyoshi as a communist for his praise of universalism. In 1947, members of the Artists Equity Association (AEA), an organization formed "to provide overarching support for all artists especially as the antagonism intensified against artists who had been labeled leftists or liberals," elected Kuniyoshi as the founding president.[33] The AEA's association with universalism and the left led conservatives to confront Kuniyoshi as potential communist during the Red Scare. According to Wang, "the 'red scare' . . . fundamentally tested Kuniyoshi's vision and version of American democracy and, personally speaking, again threatened to undercut the unprecedented success he had acquired."[34] As the red hunt spread across the U.S., the deep red of *My Fate is in Your Hand* suggests Kuniyoshi's involvement in the Red Scare and the accusations against him. Even though Kuniyoshi attempted to promote the universal ideals that he believed in, conservative Americans rejected him as an Asian "other."

The mix of yellow, blue, purple, and green clouded by acidic red signifies the position Kuniyoshi resided in while painting this work in 1950: an in-between space of success and rejection, a space of constant waiting, stress, and anxiety. If Kuniyoshi identified with the caterpillar, then the mix of colors reflects the position that he felt he lived in when he painted *My Fate is in Your Hand.* Late in his life, Kuniyoshi began a lecture by quoting Alan Watts, a proponent of East Asian philosophy in the United

[30] Wang, *Becoming American?*, 124.
[31] Wolf, *The Artistic Journey of Yasuo Kuniyoshi*, 72.
[32] Ibid., 26.
[33] Wang, *Becoming American?*,131.
[34] Ibid.,134.

States during the early 1950s. "Walk on! For we can only understand life by keeping pace with it, by a complete affirmation and acceptance of its magic-like transformations and unending changes."[35] Despite the controversy and ridicule that Kuniyoshi faced, he attempted to maintain a positive and encouraging self-image even though he also possessed a dark side, characterized by stress, anxiety, and damage. Kuniyoshi attempted to maintain his dignity and faith in the United States, yet criticism, rejection, and racism toward his Japanese-American identity disturbed another part of him. Although Kuniyoshi encouraged acceptance of life's "magic-life transformations," the caterpillar in *My Fate is in Your Hand* never transforms into a butterfly.

I argue that Yasuo Kuniyoshi's *My Fate is in Your Hand* illustrates the artist's conflicted dual Japanese-American identity. Through a symbolic reading of the hand, the caterpillar, and the grasshopper, the painting reveals Kuniyoshi's identity and his in-between social and political position in the United States. The two juxtaposed figures of an ambiguously gendered ghostly figure and a pregnant woman suggest Kuniyoshi's tragic fate in the United States. The distinct tones of red and blue, as well as a mix of colors, reveal Kuniyoshi's potential outcomes of rejection or acceptance in the United States by the American people. Americans in the 1950s could move away from nationalism and embrace Kuniyoshi and his art as American or reject him for his Japanese identity. Anxiety, stress, and depression haunted Kuniyoshi's "American Dream" of prosperity and achievement as he fought to prove his loyalty to and assimilation into the United States.

The oxymoronic label "loyal enemy alien," attached by the U.S. government to Kuniyoshi and thousands of other Japanese-Americans in the nationalistic hysteria following Pearl Harbor, helps the viewer understand Kuniyoshi's career and his painting *My Fate is in Your Hand*. Throughout his life, Kuniyoshi experienced external and internal contradictions and conflicts due to his Japanese heritage in the United States. One year before the artist's death the U.S. passed the McCarran-Walter Act, which permitted the naturalization of Asian immigrants. In 1953, the artist died from stomach cancer. He never became a United States citizen.

[35] Wolf, *The Artistic Journey of Yasuo Kuniyoshi*, 78.

Bibliography

Broun, Elizabeth. "A Stony Journey: Yasuo Kuniyoshi in America." Washington, DC: Smithsonian American Art Museum, 2015.

Fredrickson, George M. “Models of American Ethnic Relations: A Historical Perspective.” In *Rereading America: Cultural Contexts for Critical Thinking and Writing*, edited by Gary Colombo, Robert Cullen, and Bonnie Lisle, 632-645. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin’s, 2004.

Hess, Beth B., Elizabeth W. Markson, and Peter J. Stein, “Racial and Ethnic Minorities: An Overview,” in *Race, Class, and Gender in the United States*, edited by Paula S. Rothenberg, 321-336. New York: Worth Publishers, 2001.

Kuniyoshi, Yasuo. *Yasuo Kuniyoshi.* New York: American Artists Group, 1945.

Levin, Gail. “Between Two Worlds: Folk Culture, Identity, and the American Art of Yasuo Kuniyoshi.” *Archives of American Art Journal* 43, no. 3/4 (2003): 2-17.

Lu, Di Yin. *The Visual Dialectics of Golf, Leisure, and Beauty in Eva Fong Chan’s Paintings*. Chinese America: History and Perspective (2007): 167-74.

Wang, ShiPu. *Becoming American?: The Art and Identity Crisis of Yasuo Kuniyoshi*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2011.

Wolf, Tom. *The Artistic Journey of Yasuo Kuniyoshi.* Washington, DC: Smithsonian American Art Museum, 2015.

Appendix

Fig. 1.

Yasuo Kuniyoshi, American (born Japan, 1889-1953). *My Fate is in Your Hand*, 1950. Oil on Canvas, 40 ¼ x 24 ¼ inches. The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of Commerce Bancshares, Inc. in memory of William T. Kemper, F94-2.

Art © Estate of Yasuo Kuniyoshi/Licensed by VAGA, New York, N.

Shakespearanity:
Macbeth's Third Murderer and the Evolution of Shakespeare's Pop Culture Status

Megan Fox is a senior majoring in English and Global and International Studies. She is from Wichita, Kansas. This English article was supervised by Prof. Jonathan P. Lamb.

Abstract:

Shakespeare's immense cultural value can be seen by the numerous book, movie, and internet references to his work which populate modern society. However, this was not always the case: for hundreds of years Shakespeare remained the almost exclusive property of the aristocracy and academia. Scholars have noted how this perception of Shakespeare shifted during the Victorian era, but have not yet explored how this influences contemporary interactions with Shakespeare. This paper, through a case study on the third murderer of *Macbeth,* argues that the Victorian Era changed the way modern people conceptualize and interact with the playwright by beginning the legacy of engaging with Shakespeare as a pop culture icon.

Shakespeare was not always the legendary pillar of English language, literature, and culture he is today. In the more than 400 years since Shakespeare began writing his now world- renowned plays, his cultural value and the methods of interacting with his work have constantly evolved. Such an evolution would not have been possible without both high and low culture interacting with his texts in numerous ways.[1] The Victorian era marked a turning point in the changing perceptions of what Shakespeare means to society. His pop culture status expanded and became more prevalent because of a obsession with his life and works. The explosion of conversation about the mysterious 'third murderer' character in *Macbeth* presents a specific case to examine Shakespeare's shift from a beloved playwright for aristocrats and academics to the epitome of English literature.

Many of Shakespeare's plays were not published until after his death. From edition to edition inconsistent dialogue, character names, and settings indicate the disconnect between Shakespeare writing for performance and when those words reached print. The situation of an entirely new character appearing out of nowhere intrigued and excited the Victorians, engaging a litany of people outside of academia from famous actors to conspiracy theorists. In Act III of *Macbeth,* Macbeth's old friend Banquo has now become a major obstacle in Macbeth's quest for power because the witches prophesied that it would be Banquo, not Macbeth, who would father the new line of Scottish kings. Macbeth once again takes fate into his own hands, and hires two mercenaries - called murderers - to assassinate Banquo, saying: "Both of you know Banquo was your enemy… so he is mine, and in such bloody distance / That every minute of his being thrusts against my

[1] Numerous scholars address this point, including Robert Shaughnessy (ed.) *in The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare and Popular Culture*, Stuart Sillars in *Shakespeare and the Victorians,* and Kathryn Prince in "Shakespeare in the Periodicals."

near'st life."[2] The mystery of the third murderer is that at the appointed time – Act III Scene 3 – there are three murderers there to accomplish Banquo's assassination, not two. This situation is unique among the many inconsistencies in Shakespeare's texts because the wording in Act III Scene 1 makes it clear Shakespeare did not forget to mention there was a third man there when Macbeth hired the murderers that went unmentioned or a line was later accidentally omitted from the scene where Macbeth first meets the murderers. Macbeth in the above quote speaks to "both" of the murderers, implying two, and in Act III Scene 3 the first words from the first murderer to the third murderer are "But who did bid thee join with us?" demonstrating that the other two murderers do not know who the third murderer is, or at least did not know he was coming.[3] The introduction of this mysterious character presents multiple questions to Shakespeare's audience: How did he know to meet the other murderers there? Who sent him? Who is he?

The purpose of this paper is not to suggest a new theory about the identity of the third murderer. Instead, I discuss the new community of Shakespearean enthusiasts who emerged due to and debated this mystery, and the implications of their discourse. By examining this single minor character one can begin to unpack how communities centered around an interest in Shakespeare developed and continue to influence modern understandings of what interacting with Shakespeare's works entails. The Victorian era, as demonstrated in the growing and changing conversations around the third murderer, reveals a shift in society's understanding of and relationship with Shakespeare. The theories about the third murderer's possible identities represent the beginning of a cultural genealogy of Shakespearean enthusiasts, who by introducing their own ideas and opinions to editorial questions about Shakespeare's works connected with Shakespeare in an entirely new way. By studying the intersection of *Macbeth's* editorial genealogy and Shakespeare's cultural status in the Victorian era one can examine how Shakespearean enthusiasts' new community was positioned between academia and popular culture. This study reveals how our modern understanding of Shakespeare and his works have been shaped by the values of those who have interacted with Shakespeare throughout history.

Editorial Interactions with Shakespeare

Before the Victorian era, the intentions of those interacting with Shakespeare was to preserve his works for posterity. While analysis and entertainment were encouraged, they were not the main endeavor of Shakespeare's editors. The First Folio was printed seven years after Shakespeare's death in 1616 and was the first place *Macbeth* was printed, along with 17 of Shakespeare's other plays. It was commissioned by John Heminge and Henry Condell, actors with the King's Men and Shakespeare's friends while he was alive.[4] In their foreword to the text, Heminge and Condell encourage the readers "to read, and

[2] Shakespeare, William. *Macbeth.* (eds. Stephen Orgel and A.R. Braunmuller. The Pelican Shakespeare, General edition: New York, 2016), 3.1.114-118. Text compared to the Folger Shakespeare Library's digitized First Folio, copy 68.

[3] Ibid, 3.3.1. (First Folio copy of this scene pictured on the left.)

[4] LoMonico, Michael. "Teaching Shakespeare's *First Folio* and the Instability of the text." (*CEA Critic* 78, no. 2, Summer 2016), 149.

censure. Do so, but buy it first… whatever you do, Buy."[5] Heminge and Condell encouraged early modern readers to relate to Shakespeare's text, but only after protecting the longevity of his words through commercial means. The First Folio presented Shakespeare's plays in a way never before seen - in 1623, a folio collection consisting entirely of plays was a rare commodity in opposition to plays printed in quarto format.[6] Publishing in folio format had economic advantages because it enabled large amounts of text to be printed while also being an efficient use of expensive paper. Additionally, folio form had a high status, affiliated more with "religious, topographical or historical contents than the down-market products of the London theatre."[7] In the early modern world playwrights were not held in high esteem, but by publishing a collection of his plays - and particularly by publishing in a folio format - Heminge and Condell introduced Shakespeare to scholarly interest. By authorizing his plays through commercial means and disseminating his work through a sufficiently scholarly medium, Heminge and Condell began the legacy of preservation which characterized scholarship's interactions with Shakespeare for hundreds of years.

Many of Shakespeare's plays were printed after his death, and depended on print shops' outsourcing to prepare the text for print. Despite their endeavor to authorize Shakespeare's plays, Heminge and Condell's First Folio – and the following Second (1632), Third (1663–64), and Fourth Folios (1685) – were left to be set by compositors in the print-shops where human error lead to variance within the texts.[8] Eighteenth century scholars saw themselves as combating these inconsistencies in their attempts to create an authoritative Shakespeare text. While modern scholarship has contested the point, when editors in the eighteenth century accessed Shakespeare they considered most early printed editions as not 'pure' Shakespeare, but rather corrupt and degenerate versions of the great playwright's words.[9] Eighteenth century scholars sought to recreate an original Shakespeare in an effort to protect the legacy of Shakespeare's words, and Shakespeare's words alone.

Shakespeare's inconsistent publication history provided plenty of opportunities for eighteenth century scholars to engage in traditional textual bibliography. Bibliographic scholar D.F. McKenzie refers to this as studying the "composition, formal design, and transmission of texts by writers, printers, and publishers."[10] These scholars endeavored to correct the mistakes made over the last hundred years and create authoritative Shakespearean texts for future

[5] Wayne, Valerie. "The First Folio's Arrangement and Its Finale." (*Shakespeare Quarterly* 66, no. 4, Winter 2015), 389, 391.

[6] Smith, Emma J. *Shakespeare's First Folio: Four Centuries of an Iconic Book,* (Oxford University Press, 2015, kindle version), 5. Steven K. Galbraith in "English Literary Folios 1593-1623" and Valerie Wayne in the aforementioned article discuss this trend further.

[7] Ibid, 6. Chapter two "from folio to quarto; or, size matters" of David Kastan's *Shakespeare and the Book* also argues publishing Shakespeare's collection of plays in folio format lent it prestige.

[8] Referenced in Halliday, F.E. *A Shakespeare Companion 1564–1964.* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1964), 319.

[9] See Sonia Massai, *Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor* (Cambridge, Cambridge UP: 2007).

[10] McKenzie, D.F. "The Book as an Expressive Form." (in *The Book History Reader, 2e.* eds. David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery. New York: Routledge, 2006), 36.

generations to study and enjoy.[11] In 1710 the Statute of Anne changed copyright law in England, allowing compositor Jacob Tonson to gain the rights to the Fourth Folio of Shakespeare's plays and make this scholarship legally possible.[12] Editors such as Lewis Theobald, Edward Capell, George Steevens, and Edmond Malone dedicated their entire professorial lives to editing Shakespeare's works. The endeavors of these scholars moved beyond Heminge and Condell's focus of creating an economically successful and therefore long lasting text. They made conjectural emendations, added stage directions and lists of dramatis personae, collated the quartos, and researched Shakespeare's source texts. Edward Capell, for example, spent three decades studying Shakespeare in order to publish a corrected version of Thomas Hanmer and William Warburton's poorly researched editions.[13] According to recent scholarship, Edmond Malone's ten-volume edited text of Shakespeare's plays (published in 1790) became the foundation on which later editions of *Macbeth* were dependent and is still considered an authoritative text in modern Shakespearean studies.[14] Modern scholarship utilizes Malone's work in addition to the earliest texts, beginning of the separation between scholarship and popular culture, textual authority and the reader's creative authority. The concepts of historical analysis, authenticity, textual biography, and an emphasis on the chronological development of Shakespeare's writing - which contemporary Shakespearean scholarship still concerns itself with - developed in Malone's era.[15] The concern with performance and the introduction of new ideas and perspectives without a textual basis developed later.

As scholars' main endeavor was to create and guard an authoritative Shakespeare, the third murderer had no place in academia. Prevalent Shakespearean scholars in the eighteenth century did not explicitly address or try to alter the third murderer scene in the works they edited, much less create theories to explain the scene. These scholars undeniably admired Shakespeare's works: they did not seek to dispute a text's authority on the situations it detailed by suggesting their own solutions to textual inconsistencies. The focus was on textual authenticity. For a scholar who spent 30 years trying to ascertain the precise wording and order of Shakespeare's texts, the prospect of changing or giving a personal explanation for the third murder seems inconceivable. However, the Victorians diverged from this mentality towards Shakespeare by reintroducing him to society at large.

The Victorians and Shakespeare

The resurgence of popular interest in Shakespeare during the mid-nineteenth century was part of a broader fascination

[11] For more examples, see the work of Carlton Hinman and W.W. Greg.

[12] Feather, John. "Copyright and the Creation of Literary Property." (*Companion to the History of the Book.* Eds. Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 521.

[13] Chisholm, Hugh, ed. "Capell, Edward." (Encyclopædia Britannica online 11th ed., 1911, Cambridge University Press).

[14] Sherbo, Arthur. "Restoring Malone" (The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America 101, no. 2, June 2007), 125

[15] De Grazia, Margareta. *Shakespeare Verbatim: The Reproduction of Authenticity and the 1790 Apparatus*. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1991).

with the Elizabethan era. Victorians thought of Elizabeth's reign (1558-1603) as a time of great artistic expression, military success, and growing civil rights: England's Golden Age. The Encyclopedia Britannica maintains that "'Merry England' in love with life, expressed itself in music and literature…" a modern definition which is the product of the Victorian Era's conferral of "Golden Age" status onto Elizabeth's England. For the Victorians, no one represented this Golden Age more than William Shakespeare. Encyclopedia Britannica continues, "William Shakespeare, poet and dramatist, mirrored that age in verse that lifted the English language to its fullest beauty."[16] Influential essayists and critics such as Matthew Arnold tended to think of Elizabethan life as robust and expressive as opposed to the stifling Puritanism that was pervasive during the Victorian Era. Arnold states in *Poems: A New Edition* that "They [the Elizabethans], at any rate, knew what they wanted in Art, and we do not."[17] Shakespeare was for the vast majority of Victorians *the* representative of Elizabethan culture and language, and as such his popularity grew exponentially in the Victorian era. For example, Shakespeare was proclaimed "poet of the people" during the 1864 celebration of the playwright's birth, a mentality which was reflected throughout Victorian society.[18] *Punch*, a British humor magazine, coined the term "Shakespearanity" to describe the combination of reverence and familiarity with which majority of Victorian society regarded Shakespeare's works.[19] This term can retrospectively be used to characterize the changing mentality the Victorian's had in regards to Shakespeare because of their familiarity. I use Shakespearanity throughout the remainder of this paper to describe this phenomenon. Because of the Victorian's obsession with Elizabethan culture, Shakespeare became one of the most pervasive intellectual, artistic, and ideological social forces of Victorian society, influencing numerous aspects of life in a range social classes and situations.

Due to Shakespeare's enormous importance to the Victorians, his works were performed to an extent exceeding when he was alive. In 1843, the Theatre Regulation Act disbanded the distinction between patented - legitimate - theaters and unpatented ones, which allowed theaters that previously did not have access to Shakespeare's work to perform his plays, leading to an explosion of Shakespearean performances unparalleled in hundreds of years.[20] From London's West End to minor neighborhood theaters, Shakespeare was performed at such high volumes that the *Theatrical Journal* remarked even Shakespeare could be too much: "What an amazing folly to assume that Shakespeare is sufficient for all purposes!"[21] But the numerous performances of Shakespeare's works in London are not only the most obvious example of his importance to Victorian culture.

Shakespeare's prevalence was also seen in how his works were included in Victorian

[16] "England." (Encyclopedia Britannica Online. 25 April 2016).
[17] Arnold, Mathew. *Poems: A New Edition.* (*Culture and Anarchy and Other Writings.* Ed. Stefan Collini. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993), 31
[18] Sillars, Stuart. (*Shakespeare and the Victorians*. Oxford, UK: Oxford UP, 2013), 25.
[19] Ibid, 1.
[20] Ibid, 51.
[21] Prince, Kathryn. "Shakespeare in the Periodicals." (*Shakespeare in the Nineteenth Century*. Gail Marshall, ed. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2012.), 72.

primary education no matter the student's socioeconomic class. A common educational practice during the Victorian era was to memorize large chunks of classic literature and then be able to recite them on command.[22] During the mid-nineteenth century, Shakespeare became commonplace material for this kind of instruction in addition to the classics of the Christian world, such as the Bible and Book of Common Prayer.[23] This was a controversial move, however, due to the strongly held Puritan beliefs of many Victorians. Shakespeare was seen by some as offensive. For example, an associate of Mary Ann Hearn begged Mary to give her personal copy of Shakespeare's works to her and "let her burn it, as she was sure it was an offense in the sight of God."[24] But despite this controversy, Shakespeare's prevalence was still incredibly powerful because both working class and educated people were interacting with Shakespeare in theatrical and educational contexts. This educational aspect of Shakespeare allowed the masses to understand his works from more than just an audience's perspective, and introduced the concept of non-scholarly interactions with physical texts.

Paton: The First Third Murderer Theorist

Allen Park Paton was introduced to *Macbeth* through the Victorian obsession with Shakespeare. In September 1869, Paton published a theory that Macbeth is the third murderer in the periodical *Notes and Queries*. *Notes and Queries* is a periodical "devoted principally to English language and literature, lexicography, history, and scholarly antiquarianism," but primarily answers readers' questions.[25] Through the asking and answering questions Paton proposes his theory. Paton states, "I do not remember having seen this suggested by any Shakespearean commentator. Yet I think there are grounds for believing that it was a part of Shakespeare's design that he purposefully left it untold in words, and, as it were, a secret to be found out…"[26] By publishing this theory, Paton utilized the inconsistency as an avenue to introduce his own ideas into the play, rather than responding to the third murderer mystery as if it was a problem in establishing the authority of *Macbeth's* text. While Shakespeare's official words were paramount for eighteenth century academics, Victorian Shakespeare fans began to concern themselves with what Shakespeare did not write. They built stories rather than search for historical facts to fill the gaps in Shakespeare's writing.

The eight points of Paton's theory of revolve around a combination of observations about the events surrounding Banquo's murder in Act III Scene 3 and a character analysis of Macbeth. The first three of Paton's points consider timing: though Macbeth's banquet began at seven, he did not arrive there until nearly midnight and right after Macbeth entered the banquet room the first murderer arrived to announce Banquo's death. Thus, Macbeth had four or five hours alone, and, as Paton suggests, "with such a dreadful matter at issue, he could not have been resting or engaged in any other business." Paton here illustrates

[22] Murphy, Andrew. *Shakespeare for the People: Working-class Readers, 1800-1900*. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 2008.), 32.
[23] Ibid, 34.
[24] Ibid, 97.
[25] "Notes and Queries Description." (*Notes and Queries.* Oxford Journals, 1 Mar. 2016. Web. 25 Apr. 2016.)
[26] Paton, Allan Park. "Macbeth." Notes and Queries 4.102 (11 September 1869). Web. 29 December 2016.

how Victorian Shakespearanity changed the mentality people regarded Shakespeare's texts with: he assumes his familiarity with the texts enables him to understand what Shakespeare meant a character to do and feel without the text ever actually expressing it. The fact Paton thought to address Macbeth in this context reveals how Paton (and, later, the others who subsequently published theories) responded to Shakespeare's newfound pop culture status by treating his stories and characters as if they existed in the real world, where they *could* have motivations and experiences outside what Shakespeare wrote. The point is not that Paton may or may not be wrong about Macbeth's off-stage activities, but to even ask that question at all indicates a fundamental change from the way eighteenth century scholars thought about the Shakespeare's texts. Paton's assumption he could understand Shakespeare's intentions without any strong textual evidence to support his reading is indicative of the new environment Shakespearanity established and the difference between Victorian readings of Shakespeare's work and those earlier academics.

Paton next analyzes the actions of the third murderer, noting how he recognized Banquo and Fleance immediately, was familiar with the surroundings and the first two murderers' orders, and committed "twenty mortal murders" to Banquo's person (stabbed him twenty times), which Paton argues is all far beyond the work of a mere mercenary. Paton, in his last two points, analyzes how "there was a levity in Macbeth's manner in his interview with the first murderer… which might well be if he personally knew that Banquo was dead" in contrast to his terror with he sees Banquo's ghost – a terror that Paton claims could only have come from a personal knowledge of Banquo's demise. Again, Paton explains the reason for Macbeth's emotions without having any more knowledge or reasoning for his theory than the lack of evidence to the contrary. There may have been a "levity in Macbeth's manner" for any number of reasons, as well as his terror at seeing Banquo's ghost. These reactions address Macbeth as if he were a real person with independent motivations and fears. By inventing theories to explain what is not assuredly known Paton constructs a possible reading for *Macbeth* which had never been considered – or, at least, published – and in doing so, creates an alternative method for interacting with Shakespeare's plays. Paton's reading of *Macbeth* – and its publication – would not have addressed Macbeth's unwritten motivations without the established familiarity with Shakespeare common for the Victorian era.

Near the end of the article where he outlines his theory, Paton claims that "to anyone accepting such a view, the tragedy will be found, I believe, deepened in effect." This implies that what matters to Paton is not how objectively correct his theory is, but how knowing the third murderer's identity allows readers to connect with *Macbeth* in a different, more meaningful way. Finding meaning in a reading, no matter its objective accuracy, is part of McKenzie's characterization of the history of text as a history of misreadings. Each misreading constitutes part of the text's informative history: "each reading is peculiar to its occasion... becoming a historical document in its own right."[27] Paton's theory is not

[27] McKenzie, D.F. "The Book as an Expressive Form." (in *The Book History Reader, 2e.* eds. David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery. New York: Routledge, 2006), 40-41.

technically an incorrect reading, but it is not correct either, and it is peculiar to its time. Without Shakespearanity, Paton would not have been able to make the claims like he did, and those claims would certainly not have received the same response. Paton, in publishing his theory, became a part of *Macbeth's* cultural history.

Part of what makes the third murderer a singularly interesting and important aspect of Shakespeare's cultural history is how the changing Victorian mindset was driven by opinionated dialogue rather than the addition of new information. Paton, closing out his article, states "I would like to hear by whom a similar opinion has been held, and if on the same grounds." This statement serves two functions: an invitation for Paton's contemporaries to engage with him about his theory – which they did without reservation – and also as a means of authorizing his own theory. Paton specifically extended an invitation to people with "similar opinion," not those who disagree. However, as with Paton, the only requirement to having a viable theory on the third murderer was a familiarity with *Macbeth* and the ability to articulate one's opinion, so alternative theories inevitably – and quickly – appeared.

Expanding Conversations on the Third Murderer

The third murderer was one of the first topics of conversation the non-scholarly Shakespearean enthusiasts discussed and a conversation which grew exponentially. Paton's theory provoked an immediate response: in *Notes and Queries* alone, seven articles were published responding to Paton's theory within the year. Some of these responses, such as Erato Hills's, were rebuttals to Paton's arguments. Hills points out that in giving evidence for his theory Paton misquoted *Macbeth,* stating "Mr. Paton seems to have written from memory. The third murderer neither gives or repeats orders at all."[28] Furthermore Hills argues that Macbeth may have acted happy at the banquet for the benefit of the other nobles present, not because he was present at the assassination as Paton suggests. Alternatively, responses such as John Addis's were not direct rebuttals to Paton, but afford him thanks "for a quite original suggestion" before presenting their own theories.[29] Additionally, others such as E.L.S. argue that there could not be a secret identity for the third murderer. Instead, they argue the scene was written by someone other than Shakespeare, because Shakespeare would not have accidently made a character appear out of nowhere: "I can almost suppose the original assassination scene to have been dropped out of the prompter's book, and its *hiatus defendus* bridged over by some hurried scribe…" an answer they freely admit is rather unsatisfactory.[30]

These examples of enthusiasts interacting with Paton illustrate how third murderer theories spread throughout Shakespeare enthusiast's dialogue in the Victorian era and began to gain a pop culture status. It began with Paton's theory in *Notes and Queries,* then when responses, arguments, and alternative theories were presented the question of the third murderer became more prevalent outside of academia.

[28] Hills, Erato. "Was Macbeth the Third Murderer of Banquo?" (*Notes and Queries* 4th S. iv. 211), 282.
[29] Addis, John. "Was Macbeth the Third Murderer of Banquo?" (*Notes and Queries* 4th S. iv. 211), 283.
[30] E.L.S. "Was Macbeth the Third Murderer of Banquo?" (*Notes and Queries* 4th S. iv. 211), 284.

Later, big names in the Shakespearean community such as Henry Irving began writing about the third murderer and the mystery became common knowledge. As these events happen, it is important to note that Paton's theory and the third murderer mystery itself were provocative enough to actually cause all this conversation. The third murderer, unlike other Shakespearean mysteries, did not require knowledge beyond the play itself: the enthusiasts did not have to concern themselves with Shakespeare the author, just the product of his writing. Additionally, Banquo's murderer scene is a climactic moment of the play and by changing the third murderer's identity one can twist the fundamental questions of the play, like whether Macbeth is fundamentally evil. Later, people such as M.F. Libby utilize the third murderer as the cornerstone for theories about the play as a whole. From two short scenes, people were able to extrapolate numerous situations, conspiracies, and character analyses, feeding off each other and enabling the debate to grow into a pop culture phenomenon.

Shakespeare's New Pop Culture Status

As Paton, Hills, and other theorists' dialogue continued to expand, the idea of viewing and interacting with Shakespeare's works through a more creative lens became common outside of scholars' work with Shakespeare. Since the third murderer theorists were some of the first to introduce this new perspective, the question of the third murderer's identity was discussed throughout Victorian society outside of academia. Evidence of the third murderer developing a pop culture status can be seen in a famous actor and a humor magazine's interest in the mystery.

Henry Irving was a predominant Shakespearean actor during the Victorian era. He took complete responsibility for the Lyceum Theatre in London, and under his direction the company performed numerous Shakespeare plays to great commercial success.[31] Irving was the first actor to receive a knighthood, the ultimate indication of acceptance by higher British society.[32] Irving published his theory on the third murderer as part of his series "An Actor's Notes on Shakespeare" in 1877, arguing that the character labeled 'Attendant' who is seen bringing in the first two murderers in Act III Scene 1 is the third murderer. Irving utilizes the stage direction he would be intimately familiar with as both an actor and the Lyceum's stage manager in addition to the dialogue as a basis for his claim. Irving notes that before Macbeth calls in the first two murderers "all exeunt but Macbeth and attendant," which becomes the basis for Irving's argument that Macbeth trusts the attendant enough to have him help with Banquo's murder.[33] Additionally, Irving argues that despite the fact that the first two murderers do not recognize the third, the second assumes he is trustworthy, meaning they probably vaguely recognized him, stating "My theory would account for this familiar acquaintance on the part of the third murderer without recourse to any such violent probability as that the third murderer was Macbeth himself."[34] This particular theory speaks to the theatrical community - Irving notes that the third murderer does not

[31] Richards, Jeffery. *Sir Henry Irving: A Victorian Actor and His World*. (A&C Black, 2007), 15.
[32] Ibid, 109.
[33] Ivring, Henry. "An Actor's Notes on Shakespeare." (*The Nineteenth Century: A Monthly Review* 1.1, April 1877), 327.
[34] Ibid, 330.

appear in any dramatis personae "of any edition which I bear in mind" - and illustrates Irving's prominence in the acting community.[35] The fact Irving's opinion on this matter was sought and subsequently published speaks to both his reputation as an actor and the non-academic nature of the third murderer mystery.

Interestingly, Irving claims that since the question of the third murderer's identity was introduced by Paton in 1869, no one has thought to identify him as the attendant: "A theory on this subject has struck me, which has not, so far as I am aware, been hitherto advanced."[36] A reason why Irving was the first to introduce the attendant as a possible candidate for the third murderer is a continued adherence to 'official' Shakespeare, even as enthusiasts began to separate from academia in their interactions with his works. Moy Thomas in his rebuttal of Irving's theory states "Mr. Irving attempts to arrive at the identity of the third murderer, but utterly fails through mistaking interpolated stage directions in the play for Shakespeare's."[37] Even as the dialogues between enthusiasts and scholars became increasingly separated, the history of scholars trying to determine what is authentically Shakespeare's content still influenced enthusiasts' theories. However, even as Irving's theory was rebutted by Thomas, it proves an important point: one did not have to be Shakespearean scholar to have a valid and interesting perception of Shakespeare's works, and the theory did not need to depend on Shakespeare's 'authentic' words.

Beyond individuals, publications also interacted with the Shakespeare enthusiast community by presenting their own theories. *Punch* was a weekly British humor and satire magazine which began in the 1840s and grew in influence throughout the Victorian era.[38] *Punch* recognized enough people would be familiar enough with the third murderer mystery they only explained the situation they were addressing in the title "How the Third Murderer Came to be Introduced to Macbeth," illustrating the pop culture status *Macbeth's* third murderer gained during the this time. In April 1877, it issued its own explanation for how the third murderer came to be through a sketch written by Francis Burnand about a behind the scenes moment at the Globe. An actor for the King's men, named Tymkyn, complains to Shakespeare about his part of the attendant is too small: "One line, Sir; only one line and that [with inexpressible contempt] a mere feeder for Macbeth."[39] As Tymkyn continues to argue his point, Richard Burbage notes to Shakespeare, "You do know you want to a good man in the attendant's part, Tymkyn'll do it for you, if you just give him a line or two more…" thus pushing Shakespeare to include extra lines in *Macbeth* for Tymkyn. Shakespeare initially considers making Tymkyn a fourth witch, but after Richard Burbage's appeal for "no more of your arointed witches!" Shakespeare decides to make the character of the attendant double as a third murderer. "Then next day at rehearsal, Master Ralph Tymkyn was present with a part carefully written out in the largest and roundest hand,

[35] Ibid, 328.
[36] Ibid, 327.
[37] Thomas, Moy. "Mr. Ivring on Shakespeare." (*The Anthenaeum,* 5 May 1877), 21.

[38] Young, Alan R. *Punch and Shakespeare in the Victorian Era.* (Peter Lang: Oxford, 2007), 133.
[39] Burnand, Francis. "How the Third Murderer Came to Be Introduced Into Macbeth." (*Punch,* April 1877), 160-161.

extending for over three pages, and containing several additional lines for the Attendant, who henceforth doubled as the character of the Third Murderer."

Though the skit was short and intended for humor, *Punch's* utilization of this mystery shows the magazine's audience would have been familiar with the third murderer, indicating its widespread prevalence and popularity. In addition to demonstrating the Victorian's familiarity with the subject of the third murderer, *Punch's* utilization of it in the magazine introduces another reason for the third murderer's popularity: it's economic viability. *Punch* is an example of how the third murderer was intriguing enough to sell, and considering how *Punch's* circulation and influence expanded during the Victorian era, the third murderer mystery sold well.[40] Economic forces are never absent from a text's cultural history, and the third murderer's evolution into a popular question is no exception. However, the economic viability of the third murderer mystery which *Punch* capitalized on only existed because of Paton's initial article, which demonstrates how once Paton began a new legacy of interaction with Shakespeare's texts, the "misreadings," to quote McKenzie, built on each other to create a cultural community.[41]

After the introduction of third murderer theories in the 1860s, Shakespearean enthusiasts expanded their theories to *Macbeth* as a whole and other Shakespearean texts. Many of these enthusiasts receive no economic reward for their theories, which they paid to be published. An example of this expansion is the growing complexity of the third murderer theories, and how enthusiasts began to consider the relative importance of the third murderer to *Macbeth's* text.

M.F. Libby published in 1893 a book called *Some New Notes on Macbeth,* in which he argues the Thane of Ross is the third murderer and the orchestrator of all the tragedy in the play. Libby suggests that Shakespeare was using a spy-system of sharing information in *Macbeth* by refusing to give the name of the true villain, the third murderer. "It should be remembered that Shakespeare does not merely neglect to name the third murderer, he emphasizes the mystery in every possible way to arouse our curiosity."[42] Libby references Paton's arguments that the third murderer was Macbeth, but explains how his points better apply to Ross: in particular, Libby claims that it was the waiting to hear the news of Banquo's murderer that unhinged Macbeth's mind, rather than his direct involvement with the murder, which is the opposite of the argument Paton made.[43] Such theories about *Macbeth* as a whole and the third murderer specifically were only possible outside scholars' research and guardianship of 'official Shakespeare.' Low culture enthusiasts such as Libby were the people who introduced creative interpretations of Shakespeare's plays, enabled by the theories begun by enthusiasts such as Paton.

---

[40] Appelbaum, Stanley and Richard Michael Kelly eds. (*Great Drawings and Illustrations from Punch, 1841–1901:*), 14.

[41] McKenzie, D.F. "The Book as an Expressive Form." (in *The Book History Reader, 2e.* eds. David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery. New York: Routledge, 2006), 41.

[42] Libby, M. F. *Some New Notes on Macbeth.* (Forgotten Books: New York, 2013. Web. 19 March 2016), 15.

[43] Ibid, 57.

Theories such as the third murderer were pushed outside the realm of scholarship and created a divide between high and low culture. As the divide widened throughout the Victorian era, each realm developed a separate purpose for their interactions with Shakespeare. Some, like Oscar Wilde, argued that the low culture enthusiasts were interacting with Shakespeare in the correct way: "Shakespeare was a charming college. He was not an icon, a genius, or a king, not one of the authorities."[44] But whatever Wilde's preference, Shakespeare was both an authority only for academics and not. This divide evolved into dual conversations about Shakespeare from the Victorian era forward – on one side the scholars, on the other enthusiasts. While previously all scholars were enthusiasts and all enthusiasts were scholars, in the Victorian era there began to be very clear limits as to what was acceptable for Shakespearean scholarship, and what was a mere enthusiast's theory. Without the context of Victorian era Shakespearanity, Paton, Irving, Libby, and *Punch* would not have been able to take advantage of the new, second community of conversations about the Shakespeare, for it would not have existed. In this way, one can see how a text's cultural history is influenced by people operating within a particular historical context.

Legacies of Victorian Shakespeare Enthusiasts: The Third Murderer Today

Similar to the Victorian era, modern scholarship has not discussed the possible identities of the third murderer at any great length. However, continuing the separate conversations about Shakespeare's works, people outside scholarship have continued to interact with the possibilities the third murderer presents. Shakespearanity has evolved since low culture's introduction to Shakespeare in the Victorian era as social structures and modes of communication have changed, but the mentality is still prevalent. Blog posts, movie adaptations, and more show the vibrancy of the Shakespearean enthusiast community, who are continually discussing and deriving meaning from details as small as that of the third murderer. Meanwhile, Shakespearean scholarship still grapples with the questions of authority Malone addressed.[45]

The possibilities for interactions with Shakespeare's plays expanded with the introduction of film into popular culture. Rob Batarla directed a film adaptation of *Macbeth* in 2009 in which he expanded the possibility of who the third murderer could be by casting the three witches as the three murderers. By making the witches the murderers as well, Batarla added an interesting dynamic to the play: the witches could normally be considered neutral outside forces, with no direct influence to Macbeth's actions besides providing information. However, the witches as the murderers involves them more directly in Macbeth's downfall and lends them much greater malicious intent.[46] This can, in Paton's words, "deepen the effect" of the tragedy. Directors such as Batarla's interactions with the third murderer mystery reveals how the Victorian's cultural obsession with Shakespeare and his works

[44] Poole, Adrian. *Shakespeare and the Victorians.* (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2004), 235.

[45] It has become a trend in recent scholarship to address and problematize this perspective. See De Grazia and Stallybrass, "The Materiality of the Shakespearean Text."

[46] Batarla, Rob, Dir. *Macbeth* (At Cramer Center, October 9-25, 2009).

created a legacy of interaction with his plays still present today.

Shakespearean enthusiasts outside academia have particularly continued to address *Macbeth*'s inconsistencies. Like the theories about the third murderer developed by Paton, Irving, and more, blogs develop theories about *Macbeth* and the third murderer's identity. The example which most clearly demonstrates this is the Fan Theories Reddit thread "Macbeth is the Third Murderer."[47] The people posting on this thread address the details of why Banquo needed to be murdered, Macbeth's paranoia and mental state, and the possibility of older versions of the play casting Macbeth or a servant as the murderer. The points the Redditors make reflect back to the purpose of Paton publishing *Notes and Queries,* hundred and fifty years prior: he, similarly, wanted an answer to a question Shakespeare presented, so made up their own. The line between a modern reader or viewer of Shakespeare and the playwright himself is not direct - each enthusiast's work is a result of previous conversations and scholarship. Just as Paton depended on Malone, Libby and Batarla depended on Paton. Each scholar or artist produced their work in the context established by the work of those who came before them. The dual conversations about Shakespeare developed in the Victorian era continue to the present day: the legacy of Shakespearean enthusiasts and scholars thrives in both the blogosphere and academic journals.

Conclusion

Modern concepts of Shakespeare have been built by the aristocracy and scholars and later by enthusiasts over four hundred years of discourse. The Victorian era's obsession with Shakespeare's life and works created the environment necessary for low culture enthusiasts to interact and enjoy Shakespeare separate from academia. These dual conversations still exist today, and shape the way modern culture understands and values Shakespeare. The familiar and worshipful Shakespearanity of the Victorian era was essential to this evolution: without it, Shakespeare would not have reached the lower classes and therefore could not have become the modern epitome of English language and literature. Shakespeare created his plays for all facets of society, writing for the groundlings and Royalty alike. His legacy belongs to people of all classes as well, and no fact demonstrates this more than the zeal the entirety of Victorian society embraced his works. More important than their ardor, however, is the new ways enthusiasts interacted with Shakespeare's works without the traditions of scholarship to limit them. The legacy of enthusiasts such as Paton, who dared introduce their own ideas into Shakespeare's plays, fundamentally changed the way we interact with Shakespeare in the modern day.

Bibliographic scholars have historically struggled with the idea that an author has a right to not be misread.[48] It was a concept Malone and the other eighteenth century scholars supported, evidenced by their endeavors to create a text which followed Shakespeare's words as closely as possible. However, the interactions after the Victorian

[47] "Macbeth: Macbeth is the Third Murderer : Fan Theories" (*Reddit*, 2016).
[48] McKenzie, D.F. "The Book as an Expressive Form." (in *The Book History Reader, 2e.* eds. David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery. New York: Routledge, 2006), 43.

era demonstrate an indication towards valuing the public's consumption of Shakespeare above retaining the purity of Shakespeare's words: fan theories, fan fiction, and modern reinterpretations of Shakespeare's works exist in a variety of forms. These interactions are a part of low culture and are antithetical to eighteenth century scholars' determination to create an authoritative Shakespearean text, but inevitable in that people begin to create their own meanings within a text as part of understanding their personal experiences.[49]

Paton's opinion that Macbeth is the third murderer is as much a part of *Macbeth*'s - and therefore Shakespeare's - history as the texts Malone exhaustively edited and scholars used for decades. Each indicates a different era of history, and each era valued Shakespeare differently. By examining how the mindset of the Victorian era changed the way people thought about *Macbeth's* editorial questions, one can understand how Shakespeare's cultural value shifted during the mid-nineteenth century, influencing modern Shakespearean readership. By studying Malone to Paton, Paton to Libby and Batarla - their work, values, and context - one can "resurrect authors in their own time, and their readers at any time."[50] Shakespeare was and is a poet for the people and in our interactions we contribute to a four hundred yearlong legacy of cultural and scholarly interaction.

[49] Ibid, 40.

[50] Ibid, 45.

Works Cited

Primary Sources

Addis, John. "Was Macbeth the Third Murderer of Banquo?" (*Notes and Queries* 4th S. iv. 211), 283.

Batarla, Rob, Dir. *Macbeth* (At Cramer Center, October 9-25, 2009. Found online through the Royal Shakespeare Company.)

Burnand, Francis. "How the Third Murderer Came to Be Introduced Into Macbeth." (*Punch,* April 1877).

E.L.S. "Was Macbeth the Third Murderer of Banquo?" (*Notes and Queries* 4th S. iv. 211).

Hills, Erato. "Was Macbeth the Third Murderer of Banquo?" (*Notes and Queries* 4th S. iv. 211).

Ivring, Henry. "An Actor's Notes on Shakespeare." (*The Nineteenth Century: A Monthly Review* 1.1, April 1877).

Libby, M. F. *Some New Notes on Macbeth.* (Forgotten Books: New York, 2013. Web. 19 March 2016).

"Macbeth: Macbeth is the Third Murderer: Fan Theories" (*Reddit*, 2016).

Paton, Allan Park. "Macbeth." (*Notes and Queries* 4.102 (11 September 1869). Web. 29 December 2016.)

Shakespeare, William, and Doug Moston. 1995. *The first folio of Shakespeare, 1623*. (New York: Applause. Found online through the Folger Shakespeare Library, copy 68.)

Thomas, Moy. "Mr. Ivring on Shakespeare." (*The Anthenaeum,* 5 May 1877).

Secondary Sources

Appelbaum, Stanley and Richard Michael Kelly eds. (*Great Drawings and Illustrations from Punch, 1841–1901:*).

Arnold, Mathew. *Poems: A New Edition.* (*Culture and Anarchy and Other Writings.* Ed. Stefan Collini. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993).

Chisholm, Hugh, ed. "Capell, Edward." (Encyclopædia Britannica online 11th ed., 1911, Cambridge University Press).

De Grazia, Margareta. *Shakespeare Verbatim: The Reproduction of Authenticity and the 1790 Apparatus*. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1991).

"England." (Encyclopedia Britannica Online. 25 April 2016).

Feather, John. "Copyright and the Creation of Literary Property." (*Companion to the History of the Book.* Eds. Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009).

Halliday. F.E. *A Shakespeare Companion 1564–1964.* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1964).

LoMonico, Michael. "Teaching Shakespeare's *First Folio* and the Instability of the text." (*CEA Critic* 78, no. 2, Summer 2016).

Massai, Sonia. *Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor* (Cambridge, Cambridge UP: 2007).

McKenzie, D.F. "The Book as an Expressive Form." (in *The Book History Reader, 2e.* eds. David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery. New York: Routledge, 2006).

Murphy, Andrew. *Shakespeare for the People: Working-class Readers, 1800-1900*. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 2008).

Notes and Queries Description." (*Notes and Queries.* Oxford Journals, 1 Mar. 2016. Web. 25 Apr. 2016).

Prince, Kathryn. "Shakespeare in the Periodicals." (*Shakespeare in the Nineteenth Century*. Gail Marshall, ed. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2012).

Poole, Adrian. *Shakespeare and the Victorians.* (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2004).

Richards, Jeffery. *Sir Henry Irving: A Victorian Actor and His World*. (A&C Black, 2007).

Wayne, Valerie. "The First Folio's Arrangement and Its Finale." (*Shakespeare Quarterly* 66, no. 4, Winter 2015).

Shakespeare, William. *Macbeth.* (eds. Stephen Orgel and A.R. Braunmuller. The Pelican Shakespeare, General edition: New York, 2016).

Sherbo, Arthur. "Restoring Malone" (The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America 101, no. 2, June 2007).

Sillars, Stuart. (*Shakespeare and the Victorians*. Oxford, UK: Oxford UP, 2013).

Smith, Emma J. *Shakespeare's First Folio: Four Centuries of an Iconic Book,* (Oxford University Press, 2015).

Young, Alan R. *Punch and Shakespeare in the Victorian Era.* (Peter Lang: Oxford, 2007).

(Ef)facing the Other:
The Subversion of Empathy in the Killing of Humans and Other Animals

Alex Burdge is a junior majoring in Environmental Studies and minoring in English. He is from Paola, Kansas. This Political Theory, Sociology, Philosophy, and Animal Studies article was supervised by Dr. Paul Stock.

As a species, humans have long distinguished ourselves through our unique ability to conceive of increasingly efficient methods and technologies for separating death from our immediate experience. Through the pursuit of this goal, we have fractured space and sight in such a way as to bring us to our present state of utter dissociation from the actions of those to whom we now outsource this violence. We can only know what we see, or as John Berger writes: "We only see what we look at" (8). I will argue that sight – in its raw, unmediated form – is a prerequisite to rational deliberation and ethical discourse. Further, I will suggest that the physical barriers to sight are supplemented by discursive constructions that further obscure the Other from those who would do them harm. Only by acknowledging sight – conceived as encompassing interpersonal perception as such, including but not limited to the visual – as a political weapon, problematizing and charting the "frontiers of sequestered experience" (Giddens 169), can we begin to deconstruct these barriers and reassert the empathetic relationship to the Other as a prerequisite to moral deliberation. This study represents a sustained attempt to explore the physical and discursive techniques by which certain populations are framed as ungrievable, and therefore killable.

Emmanuel Levinas utilizes the concepts of "totality" and "infinity" as a way of structuring the phenomenological experience of our relationship to the Other. When we face the Other with intentionality, we are seeing across an unbridgeable divide, an ontological abyss that is an experience of radical alterity and heterogeneity. This chasm represents the impossibility of truly understanding another as they are in and for themselves. This divide is infinite, and for Levinas is characterized by the attempt to cognize an experience that overflows thought itself. It is this true excess of the Other that rends the totality under which we subsume our fellow beings. Within the totality, we see through a mediating term or concept that functions as an attempt to bridge the infinite. In this way, we understand the Other not as it is in itself but as a manifestation or element of some combination of categories. Individuality becomes lost beneath a floating signifier – 'terrorist,' 'radical,' 'civilian,' or perhaps even 'beef' and 'pork' – and such a fragile linguistic link is easily weaponized. This initial schematization is a powerful form of violence, blurring lines, smoothing edges, and filling in voids to place beings neatly within concepts. Only through the lens of the totality can we place and quantify individuals. The pure vulnerability and exteriority of the Other is pacified and made manageable.

For Levinas, the primary ethical relationship between beings is consummated in the experience of the face. The face

should be here understood broadly, designating not (only) the literal face but an experience of the Other that reveals precarity and difference. As Levinas writes, "[t]he way in which the Other presents himself, exceeding the idea of the Other in me, we here name face" (Levinas 50). Here again, it becomes clear that Levinas is not suggesting that a literal face-to-face encounter is the sole foundation for empathy, but that this serves as a paradigm for understanding all other forms of encounter. Conceived in this way, the face is the physical manifestation of the pure excess of infinity. He writes that "The nakedness of the face is destituteness. To recognize the Other is to recognize a hunger" (75). That hunger demands response; to glimpse the face is to be placed into an asymmetrical relationship of infinite obligation (Critchley 49). It is therefore possible "to recognize the gaze of the stranger, the widow, and the orphan only in giving or refusing" (Levinas 77). The only choice remaining involves the question of fidelity: to give or refuse, which is nothing other than the temptation of totality.

It is important to note that Levinas places the face-to-face relationship primarily through the metaphor of discourse. This call and response, whether generosity or refusal, is for him a proto-conversation: "The eyes break through the mask – the language of the eyes, impossible to dissemble. The eye does not shine; it speaks" (Levinas 66). This is the voice of Other, which, again, is to be understood broadly as the plea for recognition and mercy. Through facing the Other in this way as an experience of the infinite, our existential egoism is shattered and called into question. As Judith Butler, philosopher and Maxine Elliot Professor of Comparative Literature at the University of California-Berkeley, explains, "the face of the Other speaks to me from outside, and interrupts that narcissistic circuit. The face of the Other calls me out of narcissism toward something finally more important" (*Precarious Life* 66). This egoism, which Levinas understands as the truest form of atheism, the denial of the infinite, is shattered in the experience of the face-to-face.

Butler deals with Levinas extensively in *Precarious Life*, and through her work we can see the relevance of Levinas for our present situation. Butler understands the face primarily as that which "communicates what is human, what is precarious, what is injurable" (xvii). The voice, that which is communicated through the face but which is not necessarily vocal is "agonizing, suffering" (133). Thus, the face to face relation becomes a process of awakening "to what is precarious in another life, or, rather, the precariousness of life itself" (134). This precarity is fundamentally the vulnerability of the body: "the skin and the flesh expose us to the gaze of others, but also to touch, and to violence" (26). Butler here emphasizes the importance of the dialectic of the Other and the Same for the moral experience: acknowledging a common bodily fragility provides a sympathetic bridge to the acknowledgment of a more basic and non-traversable alterity. This experience of ultimate vulnerability must take place in order to comport oneself ethically toward the Other.

In examining the political import of the concept of precarity, Butler introduces the notion of 'grievable' life. As she writes, "some lives are grievable, and others are not; the differential allocation of grievability that decides what kind of subject is and must be grieved, and which kind of subject must

not, operates to produce and maintain certain exclusionary conceptions of who is normatively human" (xv). The determination of who, or what, is grievable is a political act, and takes place first in the public sphere through discursive violence. Dehumanization, for Butler, is not only achieved through metaphor, but is also accomplished through omission. Those whose lives are determined, in discourse, to be ungrievable, are in a sense erased from the field of moral concern: "Those who are unreal have, in a sense, already suffered the violence of derealization… They cannot be mourned because they are always already lost, or, rather, never 'were'" (33). The obvious implication of this is not only the question of whose lives will count as such, but also whose deaths will count as deaths (xx-xxi).

This question of who, and what, is real is thus primarily a function of what we are able to see and the medium through which we see it. Can the face-to-face take place in the digital age? In *Frames of War*, Butler problematizes the visual medium as a site where derealization occurs *prior* to the encounter. She writes that "instruments also use persons (position them, endow them with perspective, and establish the trajectory of their action); they frame and form anyone who enters into the visual or audible field, and accordingly, those who do not" (*Frames of War* xii). Her understanding of the frame, both visual and discursive, as a tool to render persons as such (or not), will be fundamental to the examples in this paper. For Butler, the framing of an event is not a neutral, impartial view of a moment in time; it is rather an active force in "instrumentalizing certain versions of reality" (xiii). What is most crucial for our purposes is her argument that the frame of an event is itself a weapon, "selectively producing and enforcing what will count as reality" (xiii), and that the visual and discursive framing of lives as ungrievable is itself "not just preparation for a destruction to come, but the initiating sequence of the process of destruction" (xvi). In short, this psychic violence, more than simply a prerequisite, is in fact a *vital component* of the physical violence that follows and consummates it: "they are deprived of life before they are killed, transformed into inert matter or destructive instrumentalities, and so buried before they have had a chance to live, or to become worthy of destruction, paradoxically, in the name of life" (xxix).

Here, the work of the Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben in his decades-long *Homo Sacer* project reveals its urgency: the decision of whose deaths will count as such, will be grieved, is a function of sovereign power. Agamben understands the body as the site of a fundamental split through which the individual is revealed as both a biological organism and a political being – the "fundamental categorical pair of Western politics" (2). In this dichotomy, *zoē* represents "the simple fact of living common to all living beings (animals, men, or gods)" – bare, reproductive life, historically excluded from the political sphere – while *bios* is more properly understood as the public, political life of the individual or group (2). Agamben identifies the "politicization of bare life as such" to be "the decisive event of modernity" (4). The *homo sacer* (sacred man), the concept that forms the height of his project, represents that which "*may be killed and yet not sacrificed*" (4, emphasis original), understood here primarily as the space in which "it is permitted to kill without committing homicide" (83). This

determination, who or what may be killed without having been murdered, is a determination that resides in centralized political authority – as Agamben writes, "it constitutes the original – if concealed – nucleus of sovereign power" (6). The *homo sacer*, then, constitutes the basic form by which we can understand Butler's notion of ungrievable life: it is a life that can be taken without consequences, juridical or otherwise.

Before moving on, we must negotiate a point of tension between Butler's notion of precarity and Agamben's dichotomy of *zoē* and *bios*. Recall that for Agamben, *zoē* is characterized as "simple natural life" or "merely reproductive life" – life "confined… to the sphere of the *oikos,* 'home'" (2). There is a clear difference in these descriptions. Surely there is a certain distance between the idea of a private sphere and that of pure biological necessity. What concerns Butler is precisely this process by which "a population is cast out of the polis and into bare life, conceived as an unprotected exposure to state violence" (*Who Sings the Nation-State?* 37). However, when Agamben describes the *homo sacer*, he is describing entire populations for which this distinction is ambiguous – those whose lives have lost any political import but who are nevertheless politicized in terms of mere life as such. Butler criticizes Agamben on this point in reference to the people of Gaza: "any effort to establish such an exclusionary logic depends upon the depoliticization of life and, once again, writes out the matters of gender, menial labor, and reproduction from the field of the political" (38).

The question then becomes whether Agamben's analysis is not blind to a form of life among the marginalized and dispossessed that is, for all its precarity, not reducible to the body. The disagreement here could perhaps be explained as a matter of perspective. Butler represents the stark facts of these precarious lives in their daily experiences, while Agamben's analysis is focused on determining how these concepts function at the level of the state. There can be little doubt that Agamben recognizes the struggles and hopes of vulnerable communities as they navigate their day-to-day existence – in many ways his project is a sustained engagement with this very idea. However, the fact remains that from the perspective of the state, their lives *are* depoliticized. Their being *homo sacer* does not rely on their consent, not does it imply that they have abandoned the political. What this transition does require, however, is that from the perspective of sovereign power they have become ungrievable and thus disposable.

Having come this far, a crucial question arises concerning the juxtaposition alluded to in the title of this paper: what is the relationship between the ungrievable human life – the *homo sacer* – and the animal? Providing an answer to this question involves traversing the fantasy of an anthropocentric ontology and coming to terms with the animality common to all beings. As James Stanescu, philosopher and professor at American University, writes, "we invest a vast amount of intellectual work in trying to figure out what separates and individuates the human species, rather than in what makes us part of a commonality with other lives" ("Species Trouble" 569). A great deal of ink has been spilled in the project of outlining and refining various traits and activities that might distinguish the human from the animal, all of which are

plagued with deep inconsistencies.[1] Sufficed to say, "[t]he declaration, "We are all animals," is one that revolts, and indeed, seems an attack upon dignity itself" (570). The resulting ontological distinctions are motivated by this revulsion, as a way of producing a worldview that maintains a comfortable human exceptionalism. Insofar as this activity can be understood as a way of preserving a special place for man at the pinnacle of a hierarchy of being, it can be equally seen as a method of delineating who and what is worthy of moral concern. The stakes of this debate, it would seem, involve no less than an undermining of the entire edifice of humanism and the Enlightenment project of equitable social organization founded on the rights of man. For if there is nothing to separate the human from the animal – if the animal also has *bios* – then one is confronted with the precarity of the nonhuman and the call to a flattened moral ontology.

While Judith Butler rarely deals explicitly with the question of the animal in her work, a passage in *Frames of War* provides the possibility of a way forward: "if it is the "life" of human life that concerns us, that is precisely where there is no firm way to distinguish in absolute terms the *bios* of the animal from the *bios* of the human animal . . . there is no human who is not a human animal" (19). In short, the human takes part in an animality common to all beings, and insofar as the human animal has a political existence then we cannot exclude the nonhuman from this category. Why is this the case? With Levinas, Butler understands the ethical relationship primarily in terms of the vulnerability expressed in the face, which we know is equally the body insofar as it "implies mortality, vulnerability, [and] agency" (*Precarious Life* 26). If the body, and not some capacity for rational thought, is the site of precarity, then it cannot be bounded exclusively to the human. Recognizing vulnerability in another human being is accomplished by recognizing this shared animality of flesh and blood. As Stanescu writes apropos Butler, "[i]t is only by avowing our animality that we can also avow our precariousness" ("Species Trouble 576). What this suggests is that grievability and precarity are not categories that we in some way *extend* or *expand* to include the animal, but that these were never exclusive to the human in the first place.

As we have seen, the ethical relationship to the Other is predicated on the ability and will to rend totality and experience the face. This implies the *ability to* see, which in the context of this study has two meanings: (1) the ability to *literally see* the Other, without the mediation of distance and technology; and (2) the ability to *acknowledge the Other as such,* understood as the absence of the mediation of the totalizing category of thought under which the Other is subsumed. In these different, but perhaps equally powerful ways, advances in technology and propaganda function in a way that renders the face to face impossible. What is at stake in understanding the role of distance in the production of the 'ungrievable' is the recognition of the ability of sovereign power to frame lives as *homo sacer*: individuals that may be killed without having been murdered. It is the stripping away of the political content and import of life (*bios*) to

[1] For an extended discussion, see Mathew Calarco's *Zoographies* (2008).

reveal only its disposable, biological core (*zoē*). What follows are two brief excurses on the role of distance – verbal and physical – in neutralizing otherwise-powerful 'safety catches' within the human psyche as they manifest in modern warfare and animal slaughter operations.

The Bravery of Being Out of Range

This section will serve to explicate the role of physical and technological distance in undermining the possibility of an effective face to face ethical relationship. While these two factors are related, and are in many cases two sides of the same coin, there are circumstances – such as in the case of imagery technology in drone warfare – when separate treatment is warranted. British sociologist Anthony Giddens defines such a "sequestration of experience" as the process whereby various spheres of activity are set apart from the everyday, including "madness; criminality; sickness and death; sexuality; and nature" (Giddens 156). On his view, death has become a matter of technique, not moral deliberation, and as such is "routinely hidden from view" (162). Whether an indirect result of pragmatic considerations or as a deliberate and systematic attempt to conceal, this construction of a common experiential field among participants and observers can be understood in terms of Butler's concept of the 'frame.' As will be shown, advances in technology and technique "actively participate in a strategy of containment, selectively producing and enforcing what will count as reality" (*Frames of War* xiii). The following question should be kept in mind during this section: is the Levinasian face to face, the experience of vulnerability as a call to radical empathy, still possible in the wake of the relentless mechanization, rationalization, and abstraction that characterizes modern methods of killing?

The potential tactical advantage of this concealment should not be underestimated, for as David Grossman, psychologist and retired U.S. Army Lieutenant Colonel, writes, "Looking another human being in the eye, making an independent decision to kill him, and watching as he dies due to your action combine to form the single most basic, important, primal, and potentially traumatic occurrence of war" (On Killing 31). Providing barriers, sequestering these experiences, represents the removal of a significant empathetic "safety catch" (Pinker 552) that could otherwise hinder effective combat operations. The philosopher Mark Coeckelbergh discusses the moral ambiguities that accompany the forward progress of military technology, which he describes as "distancing technologies" (90). Of course, there is a strategic defensive advantage to this distance, but the gain is also psychological: "One can now kill at longer distance: this is less psychologically 'painful' to the killer, the other is further away and may appear as a stranger, as 'the' enemy, as a puppet, as a target: as something-to-shoot-at, as something-to-be-killed" (90). Eric Markusen, former Professor of Sociology at Southwest Minnesota University and Research Director of the Danish Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies in Copenhagen, describes the mutual evolution of physical and psychological distance in the context of aerial bombing: "The primary impetus for increased altitude was to outdistance the range of enemy flak, and new generations of bombers were designed to fly ever higher… [This] meant that many crews virtually never saw the people or even buildings at

which they were aiming" (228-229). Coeckelbergh takes this example further:

> "When on August 6, 1945 at 8:15 AM B-29 bomber Enola Gay dropped an atomic bomb on the city of Hiroshima, the crew soon witnessed blinding light and a mushroom- shaped cloud, covering the entire city in smoke and fire … They didn't see how the skin of their victims was bleeding and burning. They didn't see people that looked "like walking ghosts," as a survivor described them. They didn't see the suffering and death of men, women, and children." (87)

What this suggests is that the lack of proximity to the 'target' during aerial bombing operations, while tactically beneficial, results in a significant loss of normal empathetic cues that would otherwise serve as a psychological barrier to killing, and that this loss of affect occurs along a continuum that includes military technologies as diverse as spears, arrows, rifles, and drones.

While the industrial animal slaughterhouse does not create the sort of linear physical distance that characterizes modern military technology, it nevertheless utilizes a "meticulous partitioning of space" to render the act of killing nearly invisible to employees (Pachirat 84). The internal geography of the slaughterhouse that Timothy Pachirat, Professor of Political Science at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst, describes is such that the kill floor and the front office are "as far apart physically as possible without being separated into two distinct buildings," with no interior route connecting them. The bureaucratic division is just as stark, with all supervisory staff housed in their respective departments and having virtually no overlap or contact (39). Strict dichotomies come to be enforced, justified through a combination of food safety standards and bureaucratic efficiency: clean and dirty, live and dead, visible and invisible (Vialles 35). Pachirat emphasizes that "the division of labor on the kill floor works to fragment sight, to fracture experience, and to neutralize the work of violence" (159). Those who work pre-kill see only living, breathing, animals to be handled and pushed through the chutes. The much larger number who work post-kill see only an inert, bloodless substance to be processed in a cold, sterile environment (Vialles 35). This discipline of sight and labor is replicated down to the lowest possible level, even the "inner sanctum" that contains the physical act of slaughter itself (Johnson 211; Vialles 39). Among those who work on either end of this process, the fact that they cannot *see* the killing blow or that they do no *actually perform* it allows them to take comfort in their position of relative moral superiority and deny the process that they take part in. It is worth quoting Pachirat at some length here to illustrate this complex moral calculus:

> "Only the knocker places the hot steel gun against the shaking, furry foreheads of creature after creature, sees his reflection in their rolling eyes, and pulls the trigger that will eventually rob them of life: only the knocker . . . And as long as the 1 exists, as long as there is some plausible narrative that concentrates the heaviest weight of the dirtiest work on this 1, then the other 120 kill floor workers can say, and believe it, 'I'm not going to take part

in this. I'm not going to stand and watch this.'" (160)

Thus, the sequestration of experience enforced within the modern slaughterhouse is able to foster a 'hierarchy of disgust,' in which the erasure of the act of killing from the eyes and memories of employees allows them to rationalize their continued involvement in the system that requires it.

Having examined the effect of geography in neutralizing psychological barriers to killing, we must consider how technological advances can also obscure whatever "weak or imperfect moral connection" remains (Novek 127). The technological medium of drone warfare can be said to transport flesh and blood human beings into the consequence-free logic of a video game.[2] Grossman, writing in a time before the ubiquity of advanced imagery technology, described how night vision devices work to convert the enemy into an "inhuman green blob" (169). These, along with telescopic sights and other technology, "lower some of the psychological barriers to illegitimate killing" (Sparrow 179). Through a reliance on thermal-imagery in drone warfare, normal empathetic cues become neutralized through a "boring visual rhetoric" that takes the form of a "general aesthetic minimalism, bereft of even the most elementary forms of contrast, color, and content" (Ohi 617). This facilitates an abstraction in which "any possibility of ethical recognition" is lost without a true encounter with the Other (Sparrow 181). Coeckelbergh's analysis pushes the argument further, arguing that "If the other (dis)appears as 'data,' as 'information,' as 'a dot on a screen,' as an entity within a computer game, then it is easier to push the button" (93). Through this technological dehumanization, the victim dies twice: "Epistemologically speaking, he is already killed before the missile hits him" (93).

This first, technological death, also occurs in the production of meat, such that any understanding of the animal *qua* living being is lost. The effect of mechanization in the slaughterhouse is such that the animal, held above and apart from the worker, becomes something else entirely – raw material awaiting production – and the worker, lost in the rational efficiency of the dis-assembly line, becomes numb to the reality of processing flesh. These killing spaces were conceived from the outset as a completely rationalized and machinated space (Otter 96). Through taking full advantage of labor-saving technology, the worker's interaction with the animal is effectively minimized as it becomes increasingly handled and transported by hooks, pulleys, and rails (96). The introduction of this task-oriented, optimized approach to killing engendered a then-unknown level of dissociation and detachment, a neutralization of the act of killing that left the workers themselves as "mere accomplices" in the efficiency and logic of the organization (Patterson 72). Taken to the extreme, the speed and quantities involved in the work engender their own form of psychological distance: "By the end of the day, by liver number 2,394 or foot number 9,576, it hardly matters *what* is being cut, shorn, sliced, shredded, hung, or washed: all that matters

[2] This should not be taken to suggest that drone operators do not suffer severe psychological distress from their actions after the fact, but rather that the immediate and visceral connection to the victim that would otherwise create a level of ambivalence in the moment of decision is severed.

is that the day is once again, finally, coming to a close" (Pachirat 139).

This dis-assembly approach to meat production finds its origin in "a growing desire for hygienic, non-violent (that is, humane), and undetectable slaughter - ultimately, for a way to "harvest" meat that would essentially vegetalize the animal (Johnson 200). Though the kill floor was on a path to full mechanization, the physical act of slaughter was "stubbornly resistant" and still necessitated the "firm but delicate, trained hand of a sober slaughterman" (Otter 96). Slowly, however, technological innovation has placed even this last holdout of immediacy increasingly within the logic of efficiency and detachment. Humane stunning technologies – bullets, pistols, bolts – provide not only a level of mechanical distance, but also serve to erase the combat of the kill and replace it with a clean, precise, and instant death. The most extreme example of this is in the use of the 'trap,' in which death is administered with the push of a button from a safe, separate location. In the trap, "the animal is held apart from the man, who is then able to slaughter it in complete safety" (Vialles 113), a process that severs once and for all any possible ethical relationship.

The effects of this process of physical and technological distanciation are not limited to the individuals directly involved in the process. The loss of any public connection to 'outsourced killing' lowers the threshold of legitimacy for military engagement abroad. It is very likely that certain operations would not be taking place without advanced military robotics technologies, and low-level conflict will likely become ubiquitous as countries expand their drone technology programs. Through unprecedented geographic and technological distanciation that disconnects the soldier from the victim, and both from the weapon, drone warfare is able to create the conditions for a true "risk transfer war" in which less-developed nations take the majority of casualties (Monahan and Wall 248). Due to the nature of current asymmetric and neocolonial global conflicts, a disproportionate number of these deaths will be suffered by noncombatants (Huntington 50; Gusterson 201). Images of flag-draped coffins are a sure way to erode the popularity of a large-scale military operation (the so-called "CNN" or "Dover" Effect) and wars without 'boots on the ground' have the unique advantage of not facing this threat to public support (Huntington 7-11; Kaag and Kreps 6). An increase in the use of drones will allow administrations to wage any number of 'small wars' with very little public interest or oversight, a "win-win proposition for the president, who could appear strong on defense without responsibility for body bags coming home" (Kaag and Kreps 65).

In fact, many political analysts and military ethicists are now arguing that a reliance on unmanned strike capabilities will reduce inhibitions against going to war by lowering the threshold for violence.[3] The United Kingdom acknowledges this explicitly in its *Joint Doctrine Note 2/11,* in which it is argued that the total reliance on drone technologies for conducting strikes in Pakistan and Yemen suggests that "the use of force is totally a function of the existence of an unmanned capability – *it is unlikely a*

[3] See Schulzke and Walsh; Kaag and Kreps; or Ryan, for example

similar scale of force would be used if this capability were not available" (5-9, emphasis added). In short, the explicit 'benefit' of drone technologies – that they save lives by removing soldiers from the battlefield – is not the complete truth: there are, and will continue to be, operations that are entirely a function of the availability of drones, such that were this technology not available *these operations would not be carried out by other means*.

This logic applies to the slaughterhouse as well. The conditions of modern agribusiness are such that the consumer has become utterly disconnected from the meat that they consume. Unidentified, unsignposted, the ideal slaughterhouse looks like any other anonymous warehouse (Otter 105). It "turns a chameleon face outward, blending seamlessly into the local urban landscape" (Pachirat 84). Having an existence separated from both the consumer and the producer, "the former could henceforth be unaware of the origin of the meat he was eating, the latter of the destination of the animal he reared" (Vialles 27). This separation increases the efficiency of commercial operations, while at the same time creating the necessary distance that "allows morally troubling acts, such as the disciplining of livestock, to proceed relatively free of public observation" (Novek 124). The sequestration of killing "insulates consumers from the consequences - moral, ecological, economic - of their choices . . . This results in more narrowly self-interested consumption decisions" (135). In this sense, the sequestration of the slaughterhouse has succeeded in severing the tie between the eating and eaten animals. "He consumes a substance that is anonymous, anodyne, and available in adequate quantities" (Vialles 28). The conditions and ambiguities of its path from 'farm to table' remain pleasantly out of sight.

Human to Vermin / Steer to Steak

In addition to the conduct of physical violence there is also a necessary psychological violence that occurs through a deliberate, discursive framework. Through a process of euphemism and metaphor, peoples and actions take on new, distorted value and meaning. While in many ways distinct from the physical act of killing, it would be a mistake to understand them separately: for Butler, this "implicit framing of a population as a war target is the initial act of destruction. It is not just preparation for a destruction to come, but the initiating sequence of the process of destruction" (*Frames of War* xvi). We have already discussed this concept as it manifests itself in the work of Levinas, for whom the 'totality' represents a proto-violence, the initial destruction of the Other in its alterity. We subsume the Other beneath the totality to blunt the trauma of its vulnerability and radical ethical demand upon us. This demand represents a significant tactical obstacle. As Grossman writes, "[t]here is a constant danger on the battlefield that, in periods of extended close combat, the combatants will get to know and acknowledge one another as individuals and subsequently may refuse to kill each other" (158). The response to this comes in the form of a careful program of psychological conditioning, with the explicit intent of discursively constructing 'enemy' populations as such. The following question that should frame the discussion to come: is the infinite relation, conceived of as recognizing the obligation incurred in the

face to face, and representing a prerequisite for moral consideration, still possible while exposed to calculated, instrumentalized versions of reality?

Before answering this question, we must first attempt to understand the potential power of language, and of thought, to shape our actions. In *Less Than Human*, David Livingston Smith, Professor of Philosophy at the University of New England, examines the history and effects of dehumanizing rhetoric in war, and he emphasizes that these techniques are more a representation of how we *think* than of how we *talk.* As he writes, "[c]alling people names is an effort to hurt or humiliate them. It's the use of language as a weapon. But dehumanizing a person involves judging them to be less than human. It's intended as a description rather than as an attack, and as such is a departure from reality - a form of self-deception" (25). Violent *thoughts*, or in this case a false representation of the Other – which under the name of 'totality' we understand as an act of violence in itself – is a necessary step in the buildup to violent *actions*. Smith continues this argument, writing that "[dehumanization] acts as a psychological lubricant, dissolving our inhibitions and inflaming our destructive passions. As such, it empowers us to perform acts that would, under other circumstances, be unthinkable" (13). Taking a broader view, we can see the distance created through language as taking place not only in the object of violence, but also the techniques of killing. In the context of this inquiry, we will examine how verbal distanciation techniques have been employed in recent history to break down normal psychological barriers to committing large-scale acts of violence.

Central to this discussion will be the figure of the subhuman, which is a tricky ontological designation that suggests multiple interpretations. For Smith, the human and the animal are best understood as two distinct sets, and dehumanization is a process by which a person is transferred from the status of human to that of animal. As he writes, "subhumans, it was believed, are beings that lack that special something that makes us human. Because of this deficit, they don't command the respect that *we*, the truly human beings, are obliged to grant one another" (Smith 2). In this sense, either one is a human or one is not, and in the latter case one is exempt from the field of moral concern. Author and historian Charles Patterson, by contrast, suggests a graded continuum with a separate subhuman status located on the barrier of the human and the animal (Patterson 22). This ambiguous location serves multiple functions, including the maintenance of a certain human exceptionalism that even the process of dehumanization cannot erase, and the ability to import and export personality traits liberally across the divide. In this way, "[n]egative perceptions of animals allowed people to project onto [the subhuman] qualities they did not like about themselves and helped them define themselves by contrasting animal behavior with what was alleged to be distinctive and admirable about human behavior" (24). This is why the phrase dehumanization, rather than animalization, is most appropriate in describing the framing of an individual as 'less than human.' However, their not-quite-animal, not-quite-human status still provides enough ontological distance from the world of men [sic] to deconstruct any psychological barriers to their "subjugation and domination" (26).

The history of modern combat has left us with no shortage of material on which to

draw for examples of dehumanizing rhetoric, employed at the level of the state all the way down to the individual soldier. Smith's account provides a brief overview of its deployment in World War II: to the Germans, the Jews were "rats"; to the Japanese, the Americans were depicted with "horns sprouting from their temples, and sporting tails, claws, or fangs" and described as "devils" or "dogs"; to the Allies, the Japanese were "often portrayed as monkeys, apes, or rodents, and sometimes as insects" (17-19). An issue of the United States Marine Corps' *Leatherneck* magazine featured "an illustration of a repulsive animal with a caterpillar-like body and a grotesque, stereotypically Japanese face, labeled *Louses japonicas*" (20). Two decades later, "American troops referred to Vietnam as "Indian country" and called the Vietnamese "gooks," "slopes," and "dinks" (Patterson 43). Grossman finds that the dehumanization of the Japanese was significantly aided by the cultural and physical differences that separated them from the West: as he writes, "44 percent of American soldiers in World War II said they would "really like to kill a Japanese soldier," but only 6 percent expressed that degree of enthusiasm for killing Germans" (162). Denying the humanity of the opposing force is therefore a key task of the state's propaganda machine (161). As we can see, metaphor utilized in this sense is much more than a trick of language – it strategically both reflects and creates ways of thinking about another group in order to facilitate, in the minds of the public and of each soldier, their extermination *en masse*.

There is, as has perhaps been noted by this point, an extremely problematic premise underlying this account: insofar as it relies on a division between the human and the animal, dehumanization – and in fact its general critique – is predicated on a human exceptionalism that can be somehow assigned or revoked. It presupposes, and therefore leaves unchallenged, the assumption that if an individual is somehow 'less than human' then this in and of itself legitimates their extermination. Its critics, then, mobilize on behalf of the marginalized populations, arguing – correctly – that the use of animal metaphor is not only inaccurate (of course) but is an "ominous sign because it sets them up for humiliation, exploitation, and murder" (Patterson 28). Where, one might ask, are those who would speak on behalf of the animals that, even if one were to be successfully 'animalized,' this does and should not somehow authorize violence toward *either* group? Kathryn Gillespie and Patricia Lopez, critical geographies and researchers in animal studies, in their *Economies of Death*, argue to this effect:

> "Using the language of 'dehumanization' or 'animalization' to describe fundamentally exploitative processes reproduces the notion of human exceptionalism whereby humans, based on their species membership, are entitled to better treatment than nonhuman animals. Thus, 'animalization' as a discursive construct maintains the subordination of the actual animal as it leaves intact a system whereby it is acceptable to treat animals 'like animals'" (2).

A productive discourse surrounding the technique of verbal distanciation must go beyond the critique of dehumanization to encompass an understanding of the ways in which nonhuman animals are also, in their own way, made other and rendered as ungrievable.

This ‘otherization’ of the animal in the context of their being processed for human consumption is grounded not in vilification (as in the human context) but rather in the logic of economic rationalization. This rhetoric descends, most famously if perhaps not originally, from the Cartesian notion according to which animals are mere natural automata, machines with neither soul nor capacity for experiencing pain and suffering. This doctrine served the dual function of justifying the “ascendancy of man” and absolving them of their guilt by providing “by far the best rationalization yet for the human exploitation of animals” (Patterson 24). Thus, a fissure develops between the immediate experience of the animal in pain and a comfortable, reflective assurance that this pain is an illusion. This obfuscation creates the conditions for a cold economic calculus to hold sway over the relationship – the animal is no longer a being as such but rather a number, a product, and the face can no longer communicate its vulnerability or destitution. Stanescu documents two particularly telling examples:

> "From the journal of *Hog Farm Management*: 'Forget the pig is an animal. Treat him just like a machine in a factory. Schedule treatments like you would lubrication. Breeding season like the first step in an assembly line. And marketing like the delivery of finished goods.' This next quotation is from *Farmer and Stockbreeder*: 'The modern layer [that’s a chicken used just for her ability to produce eggs. Broilers are the chickens we kill to eat] is, after all, only a very efficient converting machine changing the raw material—feedstuffs—into the finished product—the egg—less, of course, maintenance requirements' (*The Abattoir of Humanity* 79).

There are other, seemingly innocuous examples: as Pachirat writes in his study, “live cattle in the chutes are referred to as “beef,’ as in ‘Hey, guys, that beef has fallen down in the pens’” (230). The trick of language employed here is to ‘frame’ the animal in terms of its resulting product. The cow is no longer considered as such, but is rather a large, messy, and loud vessel of “raw materials,” such that “the animals are already beef even before they have been shot or bled” (230).

Once the rhetorical death of the individual has taken place, by whatever means, there remains the question of technique. One cannot rely on the reframing of the victim alone to effect a complete dissociation between the killer and the killed, and in order to maximize efficiency the method of killing itself must be pacified, rendered neutral. This process is subtle, and in fact may be nearly invisible in many cases: “[i]nnocents murdered in war become ‘collateral damage’; the condemned are ‘executed’; countries are ‘pacified’ and their native populations ‘dispersed’ in ‘mopping-up operations’; ‘kinetic operations’ ‘neutralize’ and ‘liquidate’ their ‘targets’” (Pachirat 32). The ascendancy of drone technology, enabled in part by its unprecedented level of physical detachment, has seen this rhetoric continue unabated: “The USAF issues terse daily airpower summaries in which Predators and Reapers are said to provide ‘armed overwatch for friendly forces’ and ‘release precision-guided munitions’ that destroy ‘enemy positions’, ‘targets’ and ‘vehicles’” (Gregory 204). Grossman notes that, in addition to the verbal pacification of technique, “[e]ven the weapons themselves

receive benign names - Puff the Magic Dragon, Walleye, TOW, Fat Boy and Thin Man - the killing weapon of the individual soldiers becomes a piece or a hog, and a bullet becomes a round" (93). Similarly, one "does," "makes," or "harvests" the animal rather than kills it (Vialles 56-57). Swimming in this sea of euphemism inevitably serves to construct an alternative reality, one in which the core truth of the activity is rendered unspeakable and vulgar.

Conclusion

Throughout the course of this study, one might begin to wonder whether the premise – that the inability to see the Other subverts normal empathetic feedback mechanisms that otherwise serve as a powerful deterrent to killing – is not, on the face of it, demonstrably false. In the digital age, one need only turn on the nightly news to see grotesque depictions of the results of violence around the globe. Andrew Hoskins, Professor of Cultural Studies at the University of Nottingham, and Ben O'Laughlin, Reader in International Relations at Royal Holloway, University of London, describe that our present "media ecology" as one in which "people, events and news media have become increasingly connected and interpenetrated through the technological compressions of space-time" (18). They relate this constant barrage of information to the hypothesis of 'compassion fatigue,' which occurs "when we tire of media coverage of suffering, pain and death in wars, conflicts and catastrophes close to or, more typically, far from home" (37). It logically follows that whatever is to blame for the lack of emotional response and popular opposition to mass killing in our modern age, it is likely not the lack of information or media portrayal. The philosopher and cultural critic Slavoj Žižek, not uncharacteristically, takes this point further: in the context of Aquinas' argument that "the blessed in the Kingdom of Heaven will be allowed to see the damned being punished so that their own bliss will that much more delightful" (218), he suggests that the sight of the suffering Other is hardly a weight on our moral conscience. In fact, "the sight of the other's suffering is the *objet a*, the obscure cause of desire which sustains our own happiness – take it away, and our bliss appears in all its sterile stupidity" (220). The question that clearly needs to be asked is whether the traumatic reality is not the violence itself, but that should it be on display it would not actually mobilize an effective opposition. Why does the sight of violence on our televisions and social media feeds not outrage us enough to demand that it be stopped?

We can, at this point, again apply Žižek's insight to suggest a possible answer to the seeming discord between the argument articulated in this study and the ubiquity of violence in media:

> "To those sitting inside a car, outside reality appears slightly distant, the other side of a barrier or screen materialized by the glass. We perceive external reality, the world outside the car, as "another reality," another mode of reality, not immediately continuous with the reality inside the car. The proof of this discontinuity is the uneasy feeling that overwhelms us when we suddenly roll down the windowpane and allow external reality to strike us with the proximity of its material presence" (*Looking Awry* 15).

The windowpane acts as a barrier to reality; we are, minimally, both disconnected from and numb to what takes place on the other side of the glass. Taking this brief phenomenological analysis further, it would seem that a screen – whether a window, a computer, or a television – renders impossible a truly unmediated, visceral experience of what it shows. In the digital age, despite our unlimited access to information, the face-to-face experience remains blunted by the medium. Butler argues to this effect: "Indeed, the photographed face seemed to conceal or displace the face in the Levinasian sense, since we saw and heard through that face no vocalization of grief or agony, no sense of the precariousness of life" (*Precarious Life* 142). The ethical relationship, the experience of infinity, must "strike us with the proximity of its material presence" if it is to have its true effect. To become obligated, to be called into question by a radical exposure to vulnerability and precarity, one's experience of the Other must be unmediated. "We cannot, under contemporary conditions of representation, hear the agonized cry or be compelled or commanded by the face" (151). The face-to-face must take place in the flesh.

Real, interpersonal experience, unmediated by distance or euphemism, is therefore a prerequisite to any rational deliberation and ethical discourse. Levinas' phenomenological account of the experience of the Other makes clear that in order to become obligated, to act in fidelity to the call that comes through the face, one must first break down the physical and cognitive barriers that would otherwise conceal it. Transparency, reclaiming those areas of our experience that have become distorted or denied to us, emerges here as a powerful political weapon. An understanding of the processes at work in these spheres can help to illuminate other battlegrounds of fractured experience. It is my intention that this study point forward to other areas where a "politics of sight" may be called for to reveal what has been concealed through language and geography (Pachirat 240). David Harvey, Distinguished Professor of Anthropology and Geography at the City University of New York, has argued that the command of space – and, by extension, experience - "is a fundamental and all-pervasive source of social power in and over everyday life" (226). Through a cocktail of apathy, military necessity, and economic logic, we have developed a cold, mechanical approach to death. But for all our efforts, it remains, and we continue to suppress the bodies in order to make it palatable (Lee 242). It is these spaces, the "frontiers of sequestered experience" (Giddens 169), that demand our attention. One can only hope that "[u]nder the light of everyone's gaze, under our gaze, they will wither and shrivel up, scorched by the heat of our disgust, our horror, our pity, and the political action these reactions engender" (Pachirat 247).

Works Cited

Agamben, Giorgio. *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life.* 1995. Translated by Daniel Heller-Roazen, Stanford University Press, 1998.

Berger, John. *Ways of Seeing*. Penguin Books, 1972.

Butler, Judith. *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence*. 2004. Verso, 2006.

---. *Frames of War: When is Life Grievable?* 2009. Verso, 2016.

Butler, Judith and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. *Who Sings the Nation-State? Language, Politics, Belonging.* 2007. Seagull Books, 2011.

Calarco, Matthew. *Zoographies: The Question of the Animal from Heidegger to Derrida*. Columbia University Press, 2008.

Coeckelbergh, Mark. "Drones, Information Technology, and Distance: Mapping the Moral Epistemology of Remote Fighting." *Ethics and Information Technology*, vol. 15, no. 2, 2013, pp. 87-98.

Critchley, Simon. *Infinitely Demanding: Ethics of Commitment, Politics of Resistance*. Verso, 2013.

Giddens, Anthony. *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991.

Gillespie, Kathryn A. and Patricia J. Lopez. *Economies of Death: Economic Logics of Killable Life and Grievable Death*. Routledge, 2015.

Gregory, Derek. "From a View to a Kill: Drones and Late Modern War." *Theory, Culture, and Society*, vol. 28, no. 7-8, 2011, pp. 188-215

Grossman, David. *On Killing: The Psychological Cost of Learning to Kill in War and Society.* Little, Brown & Co., 1996.

Gusterson, Hugh. "Toward an Anthropology of Drones: Remaking Space, Time, and Valor in Combat." *American Way of Bombing: Changing Ethical and Legal Norms, from Flying Fortresses to Drones.* Eds. Matthew Evangelista and Henry Shue. Cornell University Press, 2014.

Harvey, David. *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change.* Blackwell Publishers, 1992.

Hoskins, Andrew and Ben O'Laughlin. *War and Media: The Emergence of Diffused War.* Polity Press, 2010.

Huntington, Terilyn Johnston. *Questioning Precision: Discourse Ethics and the Recognition of Noncombatants in Drone Warfare.* MA Thesis. University of Kansas, 2014.

Johnson, Lindgren. "To 'Admit all Cattle without Distinction': Reconstructing Slaughter in the *Slaughterhouse Cases* and the New Orleans Crescent City Slaughterhouse." *Meat, Modernity, and the Slaughterhouse.* Ed. Paula Young Lee. University of New

Hampshire Press, 2008.

Kaag, John and Sarah Kreps. *Drone Warfare*. Polity Press, 2014.

Lee, Paula Young. "Conclusion: Why Look at Slaughterhouses?" *Meat, Modernity, and the Slaughterhouse.* Ed. Paula Young Lee. University of New Hampshire Press, 2008.

Levinas, Emmanuel. *Totality and Infinity: An Essay on Exteriority*. 1961. Translated by Alphonso Lingis, Duquesne University Press, 1991.

Markusen, Eric Roy. *The Holocaust and Strategic Bombing: Case Studies in the Psychology, Organization, and Technology of Mass Killing in the Twentieth Century*. Dissertation. University of Minnesota, 1986.

Monahan, Torin and Tyler Wall. "Surveillance and Violence from Afar: The Politics of Drones and Liminal Security-scapes. *Theoretical Criminology*, vol. 15, no. 3, 2011, 239-254.

Novek, Joel. "Discipline and Distancing: Confined Pigs in the Factory Farm Gulag." *Animals and the Human Imagination: A Companion to Animal Studies.* Eds. Aaron S. Gross and Anne Vallely. Columbia University Press, 2012.

Ohi, Jessey J. "Nothing to See or Fear: Light War and the Boring Visual Rhetoric of U.S. Drone Imagery." *Quarterly Journal of Speech,* vol. 10, no. 4, 2015, pp. 612-632.

Otter, Chris. "Civilizing Slaughter: The Development of the British Public Abattoir, 1850-1910." *Meat, Modernity, and the Slaughterhouse.* Ed. Paula Young Lee. University of New Hampshire Press, 2008.

Pachirat, Timothy. *Every Twelve Seconds: Industrialized Slaughter and the Politics of Sight*. Yale University Press, 2011.

Patterson, Charles. *Eternal Treblinka: Our Treatment of Animals and the Holocaust.* Lantern Books, 2002.

Pinker, Steven. *The Better Angels of our Nature: Why Violence Has Declined.* Penguin Books, 2012.

Ryan, Klem. "What's Wrong with Drones? The Battlefield in International Humanitarian Law." *American Way of Bombing: Changing Ethical and Legal Norms, from Flying Fortresses to Drones.* Eds. Matthew Evangelista and Henry Shue. Cornell University Press, 2014.

Schulzke, Marcus and James Igoe Walsh. *The Ethics of Drone Strikes: Does Reducing the Cost of Conflict Encourage War?* Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 2015.

Smith, David Livingston. *Less Than Human: Why We Demean, Enslave, and Exterminate Others.* St. Martin's Press, 2011.

Sparrow, Robert. "Building a Better WarBot: Ethical Issues in the Design of Unmanned Systems for Military Applications." *Science and Engineering Ethics*, vol. 15, no. 2, 2009, pp. 169-187.

Stanescu, James. "Species Trouble: Judith Butler, Mourning, and the Precarious Lives of

Animals." *Hypatia*, vol. 27, no. 3, 2012, pp. 567-582.

---. *The Abattoir of Humanity: Philosophy in the Age of the Factory Farm.* Dissertation. Binghamton University, 2013.

United Kingdom, Ministry of Defence. *Joint Doctrine Note 2/11: The UK Approach to Unmanned Aircraft Systems*. 30 March 2011.

Vialles, Noëlle. *Animal to Edible*. Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Žižek, Slavoj. *Looking Awry: An Introduction to Jacques Lacan Through Popular Culture.* 1991. MIT Press, 2000.

---. *Absolute Recoil: Towards a New Foundation of Dialectical Materialism.* Verso, 2015.

"I Don't Know About This Monkey Business": Students and the Antievolution Movement, 1909-1935

Ryan T. Fullerton is a junior majoring in Secondary Education and History. He is from Shawnee, Kansas. This American History article was supervised by Dr. Jonathan Hagel.

Abstract:

As Christian fundamentalism gained strength in American political culture at the beginning of the twentieth century, debate sparked over whether or not the theory of evolution should be taught in science classrooms. When John Thomas Scopes was indicted for teaching the theory in Tennessee in 1925 in violation of a recent fundamentalist law, the debate reached the national stage. Yet although the controversy included the voices of politicians, parents, pastors, and many others, the voices of students seemed unheard, even by historians who have since written about this debate. Primary documents telling their story are available, however, and together they display that students in the 1920s were far less in danger of abandoning Christianity after learning about evolution than fundamentalists proclaimed.

Introduction

Standing outside of a courthouse in Dayton, Tennessee in 1975, sixty-seven-year-old Harry "Bud" Shelton thought back to fifty years prior, when he had been called to the witness stand in what many would refer to as "the trial of the century." It was in this courthouse in 1925 that Shelton testified at the trial of his teacher, John Thomas Scopes, who had been indicted for teaching evolution, a violation of Tennessee's recently passed antievolution law. "They used to call us Monkey Town," Shelton recalled. "You don't hear much talk about that anymore."[1]

Tennessee's law banning the teaching of evolution was the culmination of Christian fundamentalist efforts in the early twentieth century to ensure that schools did not damage the faith of students. Passed with the intention of preventing belief in divine creation from being challenged by instruction about the descent of humans from a "lower order of animals," the law returned control of science education to parents who wanted schools to protect the faith of their children.

Debate about the role of religion in schools was not new in 1925. Some Americans had long feared the impact schools could have on the religiosity of students. As early as 1840, for example, when New York's Common Council convened to discuss a petition by Catholic New Yorkers to allocate public funds to support schools tied to Catholic churches, Bishop John Hughes argued against non-sectarian education, contending that non-sectarianism was just another religion and that students were even at risk of becoming irreligious as a result of that education.

[1] Boyce Rensberger, "Evolution Theory Still Disputed 50 Years After 'Monkey Trial.'" *New York Times*. July 8, 1975.

Hughes asked, "To make an infidel, what is it necessary to do? Cage him up in a room, give him a secular education from the age of five years to twenty-one, and I ask you what he will not come out, if not an infidel?"[2]

The ideas of infidelity and apostasy would become important in defining whether or not evolution was dangerous for students to learn. A fundamentalist movement began to swell in the United States in the early years of the twentieth century, as changes in science shifted thinking on evolutionary science and public interest in the subject. Although initially ambivalent toward evolutionary science (and its inclusion in schools), the growing community of fundamentalists soon shifted its attention toward schools and science curricula. Soon after, arguments similar to those of Bishop Hughes in 1840—that teaching certain topics could be damaging to the religiosity of students—led a decades-long national debate about whether or not evolution should have a place in secondary science classrooms.

The voices of adults—politicians, religious figures, parents, and teachers—are well-documented. Historians have thoroughly researched early twentieth-century developments in science, the rise of fundamentalism, and the rhetoric professed both for and against the teaching of evolution. Michael Lienesch, author of *In the Beginning*, charts the rise of fundamentalism at a time in which new scientific discoveries led to advances in evolutionary science. Edward Larson goes on to discuss how these fundamentalists turned their attention toward schools and began to argue that evolution would be threatening to the faith of students forced to learn about it. However, these authors, among others, largely ignore the role of these students and whether or not they thought of evolution in the same way.

Although pastors, politicians, parents, administrators, and more often argued that evolution was dangerous for students to learn because it taught un-biblical ideas and risked turning students into apostates, the students themselves did not view evolution as dangerous or threatening to their faith in Christianity. Speaking both during the period in which the antievolution movement rose (particularly during the mass-media event that was the Scopes trial of 1925) and in the decades after, students expressed a variety of views, none of which point to them being at risk of apostasy as a result of learning about evolution. These perspectives include a lack of knowledge about the specifics of the theory, continued faith in Christianity, and even a general lack of interest in the subject as a whole. More than anything, the evidence points to a disconnect between what adults thought about the impacts of teaching evolution and how students actually felt impacted by the inclusion of the theory in the science curriculum.

The student voices add a new perspective to the debate on the teaching of evolution in the early twentieth century. Of course, it is possible that the students who believed that evolution had little impact on them or their faith at this time were incorrect in their self-assessment, but it is also important to consider that fundamentalists

[2] John Rury, *Education and Social Change: Contours in the History of American Schooling* (New York: Routledge, 2013), p. 94-95.

may have over-assessed the risk evolution posed to students. But long before the students were even able to begin voicing their own thoughts on the issue, the debate would arise out of a combination of a mounting fundamentalist movement and the rapidly changing field of evolutionary science.

Developments in Science and the Rise of Fundamentalism

Evolutionary science took a leap forward in 1909 when English geologist Charles Dawson found a fragment of a skull at the Piltdown Farm in Sussex. In 1911, another part of the same skull was found. Searches continued through 1912, unearthing an ape-like jaw and human-like teeth from a hominid creature. Dawson and anthropologist Arthur Smith Woodward presented their findings to the Geological Society of London in December 1912, at which time they suggested that the Piltdown fragments were the first evidence of a common ancestor for humans and Neanderthals, providing a long-sought "missing link" in the fossil record.[3] These findings were almost immediately contested, and some sought to discourage people from considering the findings to be part of human ancestry. One writer for the *New York Times* wrote that "the jawbone and other skull pieces dug up from the gravel pit in Sussex were of a reasoning being who before the glacial times, millions of years ago, struggled successfully for existence. But he was no forebear to our Adam."[4] However, the Sussex findings were significant to many in science, and despite any disputes over whether or not the fragments unearthed by Dawson belonged to those of a human ancestor, it did lend credence to the theory proposed by Charles Darwin just a half a century prior.

Prior to Darwin's publication of *On the Origin of Species*, theories about evolution and the formation of the earth had posed little challenge to Christianity. Many of these ideas had even been reconciled with Christianity during their development, such as the postulation by geologists Edward Hitchcock and James D. Dana that the days in which God created the earth represented geological eras.[5] Darwin's theory of natural selection and the idea that only the fittest survive was far more threatening to Christianity than these previous ideas because its implications for religion were that God was random and cruel rather than loving, the long-standing Christian characterization of God.[6] As fundamentalism gained traction across the US and teachers began to include Darwinism in science curricula, this threat became increasingly intolerable.

The seeds of the antievolution movement were planted in August 1909—the same year as Dawson's initial discovery in Sussex—when preacher AC Dixon gave a sermon that moved millionaire Lyman Stewart to publish a series of volumes entitled *The Fundamentals*, a popular series that helped to spread a new analysis of Christian theology from which antievolution

[3] Edward J. Larson, *Summer for the Gods: The Scopes Trial and America's Continuing Debate Over Science and Religion* (New York: Basic Books, 1997), p. 11-12. Hereafter referred to as *Summer*.

[4] "Simian Man." *New York Times*. December 22, 1912.

[5] *Summer*, p. 14-16.

[6] Summer, p. 17.

would eventually develop.[7] Written with the intent of obtaining a wide-ranging audience comprised of lay people and biblical scholars alike, *The Fundamentals* helped Christians form into a community by helping them to develop collective consciousness, "a consciousness of themselves as part of a larger body of like-minded Christian conservatives."[8] As this community developed and spread, fundamentalists became far more organized than the Christian conservatives who had first spoken out against Darwin's work decades before.[9]

The Fundamentals had much to say about science and religion but little about evolution directly, particularly in the first few editions. Some authors were critical, some confused, and others even argued that evolution was compatible with creation, with the exception of the scientific assertion that humans had evolved from a nonhuman ancestor—after all, the Bible said nothing of the creation of animals in God's image, only man. However, upon the publication of the series' seventh volume in 1912, writers began to shift from religious theoretical matters to practical matters, seeking to defend Christianity from its enemies. From this point forward, science and faith were portrayed as less compatible than before, especially as fundamentalists became more concerned that science was becoming increasingly secular. After 1912, these writers ceased to accept evolutionary theories due to the belief that evolutionists posed a direct threat to Christianity.[10]

It was at this time that concern about the inclusion of evolution in schools first began to develop. In his 1912 essay "The Decadence of Darwinism," Colorado minister Harry Beach brought the issue to the attention of his readers, providing a warning that "sounded like an alarm bell awakening fundamentalists to the threat posed by their Darwinist enemies."[11] By 1915, the year in which the final volume of *The Fundamentals* was published, fundamentalist identity was firmly established. Afterward, they could exist not just as a community of Christians but as a force that could mobilize its ideas into American institutions.[12] Among these were the country's schools.

Schools and the Rhetoric of Danger

Over forty years after the trial that made him famous, John Thomas Scopes, the teacher indicted in 1925 for teaching evolution in Tennessee, recalled in his memoirs that "by 1925, the high tides of Christian Fundamentalism threatened to engulf the nation."[13] Although this characterization is arguably dramatic, fundamentalists were on the move, and as evolution crept into the curricula taught by public schools, the need to protect Christianity from its perceived enemies only seemed more important.

Like fundamentalism, public school enrollment was on the rise in the early twentieth century. Between 1890 and 1920, American high school enrollment increased ten-fold. Dayton, Tennessee, the site of the

[7] Michael Lienesch, *In the Beginning: Fundamentalism, The Scopes Trial, and the Making of the Antievolution Movement* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007), p. 8.
[8] Ibid, p. 16-17.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid, p. 21-28.
[11] Ibid, p. 31-32.
[12] Ibid, p. 33.
[13] John T. Scopes and James Presley, *Center of the Storm: Memoirs of John T. Scopes* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1967), p. 45.

Scopes trial, first gained its own public high school just nineteen years prior to the trial, in 1906.[14] Within these schools, high school botany, zoology, and historical zoology courses were consolidated into single classes on biology, a merge that was followed by the publication of the first secondary biology textbook in 1907.[15]

Science textbooks had once treated evolutionary theory with a spin focusing on genetic variations within organisms as part of the design of the Creator. This emphasis switched to Darwinism in the early twentieth century, a time during which the number of science textbooks soon increased sharply; nine of these texts ultimately underwent multiple editions, and each taught about evolution. Old formats for teaching science were replaced with evolutionary concepts and methods of learning about biology. Some of these texts even went on to offer critiques of creationism.[16] By 1904, before this spike in texts, future secondary science teachers were taught in normal schools that they needed to teach about evolution, and they were even given advice on how to transition to including evolution. One text suggested that teachers begin by teaching parents about evolution via parent-teacher associations before moving on to teaching students. Although this approach seems amiable enough, it was not a stretch for some parents to see evolution as problematic for their children to learn. One article even declared that it was the duty of teachers to correct students in the supposedly incorrect knowledge gained from Sunday school teachings.[17]

Despite an increase in public high school enrollment and an increase in the number of biology texts, however, enrollment in life science courses was actually falling by the 1920s, suggesting that the focus of the fundamentalists on schools cannot be connected specifically to increased emphasis by secondary schools on evolutionary science.[18] Historian George Marsden offers some clarification on this matter by exploring how the fundamentalist movement turned its attention to schools as part of an effort to gain the attention of Christians who believed that any inclusion of Darwinism in schools was dangerous for their children. Marsden writes,

> "Many people with little or no interest in fundamentalism's doctrinal concerns were drawn into the campaign to keep Darwinism out of America's schools. Those premillennialist leaders who had adopted the cause of antievolution experienced a radical metamorphosis within the space of a few years. Having gained the attention of the increasingly influential mass media, they seemed to have found the key to success they had long been seeking. The more clearly they realized that there was a mass audience for this message of the social danger of evolution, the more central this message became."[19]

---

[14] *Summer*, p. 24.
[15] Edward J. Larson, *Trial and Error: The American Controversy Over Creation and Evolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 20. Hereafter referred to as *Trial and Error*.
[16] Ibid, p. 17-19, 23.
[17] George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 23-24.
[18] *Trial and Error*, p. 25-26.
[19] Marsden, p. 170.

That message of the "social danger of evolution" was vital to the antievolution cause and was the key theme in the arguments of those who opposed the teaching of evolution. Much of the early rhetoric at the time of the Scopes trial against the teaching of evolution focused on whether or not evolution could be considered science because studying evolution relied, in part, on the interpretation of fossils. For some, this was not scientific enough to justify inclusion in a science classroom.[20] As the crusade against evolution mounted, however, the danger evolution posed to the Christian faith of students became the focus.

Fundamentalists concerned with the faith of their children found multiple champions, none more famous or more documented for his antievolution work than former Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan. A devout Christian instrumental in spreading the belief that evolution was harmful for students to learn, Bryan argued that evolution was dangerous because the theory made "no mention of religion, the only basis for morality; not a suggestion of a sense of responsibility to God … Darwinism transforms the Bible into a story book and reduces Christ to man's level."[21] This argument spoke in particular to those fundamentalists who had long believed that evolution itself was not dangerous but became dangerous when it challenged the creation of man in God's image and failed to address the importance of religion. In this failure, Bryan said "the instructor gives the student a new family tree millions of years long…with infinite capacity for good or evil but with no light to guide him, no compass to direct him and no chart of the sea of life!"[22]

This argument was important for Bryan in proving that evolution was dangerous because it allowed him to suggest teaching about the theory immediately taught un-Christian ideas, although without attacking Christianity itself. From this point, Bryan could make the argument that teaching the theory by extension taught students to think about the Bible and its teachings differently than before and thereby begin to turn toward apostasy. Bryan wrote that "fathers and mothers complain of their children losing their interest in religion and speaking lightly of the Bible. This begins when they come under the influence of a teacher who accepts Darwin's guess, ridicules the Bible story of creation and instructs the child upon the basis of the brute theory."[23]

If students were losing their faith in Christianity as a result of learning about evolution, then, Bryan suggested the loss of belief would result in a loss of all that mankind gained through faith in Christ by reducing "his power to measure up to his opportunities and responsibilities."[24] Bryan went on to connect this issue specifically to the teaching of evolution, writing "the hypothesis to which the name of Darwin has been given—the hypothesis that links man to the lower forms of life and makes him a lineal descendant of the brute—is obscuring God and weakening all the virtues that rest

[20] *Summer*, p. 7.
[21] William Jennings Bryan, *In His Image* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1922), p. 112. Hereafter referred to as *In His Image*.
[22] Ibid.
[23] William Jennings Bryan, "God and Evolution: Charge That American Teachers of Darwinism 'Make the Bible a Scrap of Paper.'" *New York Times*. February 26, 1922. Hereafter referred to as "God and Evolution."
[24] *In His Image*, p. 87-88.

upon the religious tie between God and man."[25]

This obscuration of God was simply intolerable for fundamentalists. Fundamentalists were not necessarily against science but instead opposed scientific teachings that threatened to, as Bryan wrote, obscure God. Tennessee attorney general A.T. Stewart, who worked with Bryan in the prosecution of Scopes in 1925, described this boundary while speaking at the trial: "We have the right to participate in scientific investigation, but, if the court please, when science strikes upon that which man's eternal hope is founded, then I say the foundation of man's civilization is about to crumble. Shut the door to science when science sets a canker on the soul of a child."[26] To them, evolution was one scientific theory that posed such as a threat, and as a result, legal action had to be taken.

The first time fundamentalist arguments about the danger of evolution found a way into the legal system occurred in 1922, when Kentucky considered a ban on the teaching of evolution that was narrowly defeated. Considerations in New York and Texas soon followed but also failed.[27] Fundamentalist politicians were finally successful in Oklahoma, when Darwinism was banned from the state texts in 1923.[28] North Carolina did the same in 1924, when the state's governor argued that "evolution means progress, but it does not mean that man, God's highest creation, is descended from a monkey or any other animal. I do not believe he is and I will not consent for any such doctrine or intimation of such doctrine to be taught in our schools."[29]

This commentary displayed again that fundamentalists did not consider evolution to be a dangerous theory on its own. Their primary concern lay in the teaching of human evolution, the idea that man was not created in the image of God but had instead evolved via a random process of natural selection and genetic variation. To suggest that humans had evolved from "brutes," as Bryan called them, placed humans on the level of all other animals and not as a product of divine creation; to fundamentalists, legislatures needed to take more action to ensure this teaching was not present in publicly-funded schools. Bryan echoed this sentiment:

> "Our opponents are not fair. When we find fault with the teaching of Darwin's unsupported hypothesis, they talk about Copernicus and Galileo and ask whether we shall exclude science and return to the dark ages. Their evasion is a confession of weakness. We do not ask for the exclusion of any scientific truth, but we do protest against an atheist teacher being allowed to blow his guesses in the face of the student. The Christians who want to teach religion in their schools furnish the money for denominational institutions. If atheists want to teach atheism, why do they not build their own schools and employ their own teachers? If a man really believes that he has brute blood in him, he can teach that to his children at home or he can send them

[25] Ibid.
[26] *Summer*, p. 179.
[27] Ibid, p. 43.
[28] *Trial and Error*, p. 7.
[29] "North Carolina Bars Evolution Textbook" *The Christian Science Monitor*. January 24, 1924.

> to atheistic schools, where his children will not be in danger of losing their brute philosophy, but why should he be allowed to deal with other people's children as if they were little monkeys?"[30]

The advance of fundamentalist ideas in state legislatures continued as more Americans bought into the rhetoric of danger and came to believe that public schools should not teach about human evolution. The year after the North Carolina ban, the Georgia legislature considered an appropriations bill including a measure preventing teachers who taught "a theory of origin of man in contradiction to the Bible's account" from receiving a salary from the money appropriated to the schools.[31] In this same year, antievolutionists achieved perhaps their greatest and certainly their most famous legal success in their battle against evolution. In Tennessee, the legislature passed an act authored by John W. Butler making it a criminal offense for any public university or school "to teach any theory that denies the story of divine creation of man as taught in the Bible, and to teach, instead, that man has descended from a lower order of animals."[32] After signing this new ban into law, Governor Austin Peay immediately sought to explain that it was not a violation of the separation between church and state, that it only protected the students. By removing evolution from science curricula, Tennessee had stopped "an irreligious tendency to exalt so-called science and deny the Bible in some schools and quarters—a tendency fundamentally wrong and fatally mischievous in its effects on our children, our institutions, and our country."[33]

Not all adults favored these bans. Henry Fairfield Osborn, a famous geologist and paleontologist, believed science and religion should not be taught as in conflict but that students should learn that they existed symbiotically. Osborn wrote that

> "Not for a moment would I substitute such a creed for the Ten Commandments, for the Lord's Prayer or for the Sermon of the Mount, but when puzzling philosophical questions difficult for the teacher to answer begin to be asked in the high school or college age of instruction, it may be pointed out step-by-step … that Nature never relaxes but always reinforces moral and spiritual laws, that Nature may forgive but never forgets—in other words, that there can be no contradiction or conflict between Nature and religion, because primitive religion issues out of the heart of Nature in reverence for the powers of the unseen."[34]

Few, if any, fundamentalists shared this philosophy.

Absent from all of this debating were the opinions and voices of the students, those who would be impacted most by the legislation. For the time, this is unsurprising because little consideration was generally given to the opinions of students. The lack

---

[30] "God and Evolution."
[31] "Georgia Now Seeks Evolution Barrier." *The Christian Science Monitor*. July 29. 1925.
[32] "Tennessee Bans the Teaching of Evolution; Governor Says the Bible Disproves Theory." *New York Times*. March 24, 1925.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Henry Fairfield Osborn, *Evolution and Religion in Education: Polemics of the Fundamentalist Controversy of 1922 to 1926* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925, 1926), p. 173.

of their inclusion in historiography can also be accounted for in several ways. For one, it is uncommon to find direct sources from the students themselves, especially at a time in which public high school enrollment and literacy were only just beginning to rise. Larson also accounts for the absence of some voices, showing that "in any event, the outcome would not affect African Americans, because Tennessee public schools enforced strict racial segregation and offered little to black students beyond elementary instruction."[35] However, student voices were expressed in several other ways, and what they had to say stood in direct contrast to fundamentalists' rhetoric of danger.

The Students

The Tennessee ban was immediately controversial on a national level. Hailed by fundamentalists as an important defense of Christian teachings, the legislation also made Tennessee a target for ridicule in some quarters. One cartoonist for *The Wall Street Journal* satirized the Butler Act by suggesting that students cared little, if at all, of learning about evolution until legislators declared the information dangerous for them to be taught.[36] Although this was a satirical argument from the perspective of a cartoonist, the statements of the students themselves suggest that this representation may not have been far off the mark.

Shortly after the passage of the Butler Act, John Thomas Scopes was indicted for teaching evolution to students at Central High School in Dayton. Scopes would later tell the press that the way he taught evolution prevented it from weakening students' faith; he was quoted in the *New York Times* saying, "It might have made a few of them doubt, but I do not think so. I teach only the facts of evolution as they are known, giving such theory as exists merely as a theory, and they get their religious training in their home or at Sunday school. I do not think it hurt them, and I do believe it broadened their minds."[37]

Scopes's commentary could be taken to mean several things. The first is its face-value meaning: that students remained faithful, obtained scientific knowledge, and stood unchanged by having learned about the theory of evolution. However, Scopes's comments could also be taken to mean he believed teaching evolution could be harmful if it were taught incorrectly, and that he believed he had simply taught the subject in a safe manner. What he meant remains unclear, although the future statements of his own students tend to corroborate his first explanation. Nevertheless, the state of Tennessee intended to hold Scopes accountable for his violation of the Butler Act.

Several of these students were called to testify before the grand jury prior to Scopes's indictment. Reporters were eager to hear what these students had to say, and what they told the press provides the first indication as to what students thought about the inclusion of evolution. When interviewed after testifying, the students told reporters that Scopes had not taught enough to hurt them. At most, they finally admitted, he had expressed to them his own belief in the theory, taking them to the library and

[35] Summer, p. 122.
[36] "How They Are Teaching Evolution in Tennessee." *Wall Street Journal*. June 2, 1925.
[37] "Scopes Here, Shyly Defends Evolution." *New York Times*. June 7, 1925.

pointing out "Tarzan of the Apes."[38] One reporter asked them if they knew the definition of "anthropoid ape," a term used to describe the apparent evolutionary relationships between humans and apes, but none of the students were able to provide a description. One unnamed student told the press, "I believe in the part about evolution, but I don't know about this monkey business."[39]

This final comment displays a student critique that John Butler and other Tennessee legislators may have underestimated. Fundamentalists were concerned, as Bryan had written, that teaching students about evolution would lead them to adopt a "brute philosophy" and thereby abandon their own Christian faith.[40] Although it is worth noting that the students who testified before the grand jury seemed to know of the specifics of the theory, the student's reference to his own belief in evolution and his doubt in the "monkey" business stands against what fundamentalists had long feared—that students would not be able to divorce the theory of evolution from human evolution, the latter of which was the ultimate concern of fundamentalists.

It was established in the courtroom, however, that Scopes violated the Butler Act by expressing his beliefs about evolution and by taking students to the library to discuss the topic.[41] His indictment was followed by the assembly of prosecution and defense teams for what would become a sensationalized criminal trial in small-town Tennessee. Not long after the indictment, fundamentalist champion Bryan offered his assistance to the prosecution, while Clarence Darrow, a famous attorney known for his disbelief in Christianity, ultimately assumed responsibility for Scopes's defense.[42] Throughout the trial, a variety of witnesses from different backgrounds were called to discuss evolutionary science and the actions of Scopes. It was during the trial that students were given another brief opportunity to express their beliefs on the matter.

On the fourth day of the trial, two of Scopes's students—both different from those who testified before the grand jury—were called to the witness stand to testify against their teacher. The first of the two was fourteen-year-old Howard Morgan, whose testimony was used to establish specifically what and how Scopes had taught about evolution. When asked these questions, however, Morgan repeatedly replied that he could not remember or that he did not have the knowledge of the scientific material about which he was questioned.[43] Upon cross-examination by Darrow, who asked whether or not it had hurt him or his faith to learn about evolution, Morgan replied that it had not.[44]

Morgan's testimony is more direct than the comments provided by the students who testified before the grand jury. Although his own testimony focused largely on what Scopes had taught rather than the impact his teachings had, it is important to note that

[38] Philip Kinsley, "Scopes Indicted for Teaching Evolution." *The Commercial Appeal*. May 26, 1925.
[39] Ibid.
[40] "God and Evolution."
[41] Ibid.
[42] Philip Kinsley, "Darrow May Be Barred in Scopes Case." *The Detroit Free Press*. May 27, 1925.
[43] *The World's Most Famous Court Trial Tennessee Evolution Case: A Word-for-Word Report of the Famous Court Test of the Tennessee Anti-Evolution Act, at Dayton, July 10 to 21, 1925, Including Speeches and Arguments of Attorneys, Testimony of Noted Scientists, and Bryan's Last Speech.*3rd edition (Cincinnati: National Book Co., 1925), p. 127.
[44] Ibid, p. 128.

Morgan's brief statement to Darrow suggested that learning about evolution had not led him to a path away from Christianity. After all, as one of the only students at this time who would be given the opportunity to speak publicly about his thoughts on the teaching of evolution, it is important to recognize that he only considered it one other part of the science curriculum and not as knowledge that would change his own faith.

Morgan's testimony was followed by that of seventeen-year-old Harry Shelton, whose testimony would be used by Clarence Darrow to highlight contradictions between the perceived and actual impacts learning about evolution had on children. In a brief exchange, Darrow asked Shelton about Scopes's teachings, what Shelton had learned from the experience, and his own faith in Christianity:

> Q (Darrow): Prof. Scopes said that all forms of life came from a single cell, didn't he?
>
> A (Shelton): Yes, sir.
>
> Q: Did anybody ever tell you before?
>
> A: No, sir.
>
> Q: That is all you remember that he told you about biology, wasn't it?
>
> A: Yes, sir.
>
> Q: Are you a church member?
>
> A: Sir?
>
> Q: Are you a church member?
>
> A: Yes, sir.
>
> Q: Do you still belong?
>
> A: Yes, sir.
>
> Q: You didn't leave church when he told you all forms of life began with a single cell?
>
> A: No, sir.[45]

Reflecting on this testimony to a reporter sixty years later, Shelton's feelings on the subject had changed little. Aged seventy-seven and discussing the trial in Dayton in 1985, Shelton recalled his exchange with Darrow from that day: "He wanted to know if Scopes's teaching had affected my beliefs in any way. I told him 'Certainly not.' It had no profound impact on me. In fact, I wasn't even interested in the subject."[46]

Shelton's testimony and his subsequent reflections have several implications. First, his testimony at the trial itself follows in the same path of Morgan's; that is, he directly reports to Darrow that his desire to maintain membership in his church had not changed after learning about evolution. However, it is the commentary he provided sixty years after the trial that adds an additional layer to what he said in his testimony. Any parent or politician could make the argument that the opinions of students were not necessarily worth considering due to a lower level of maturity resulting from their age. However, Shelton's statement as he approached eighty years of age reveals more about his opinions on the subject. It not only shows the lack of damage evolution had on his own religiosity but also his own lack of interest, a disinterest apparently common among students prior to and after the passage of the Butler Act.

The voices of students on this matter remained apparently unheard after the Scopes trial. Less than a year later, in February 1926, the Mississippi legislature

[45] Ibid, p. 129.

[46] Dan George, "Like the Circus Had Come to Town." *The Washington Post*. July 22, 1985.

considered making it unlawful to teach "the theory that man descended from a lower order of animals."[47] Regardless of what these students said, fundamentalist legislators were determined to move forward.

Still, in Tennessee, the Butler Act would face a new challenge a decade after the trial, when twenty-two-year-old Cecil Anderson, who had been just a schoolboy at the time of the trial, stood in opposition to the antievolution law. By 1935, Anderson had become the youngest legislator in Tennessee and sought a repeal of the Butler Act. Making his case, Anderson said, "It seems to me that ten years of being called the 'Monkey State' is long enough and we have a legislature at this session which is more interested in the progress of the State than in petty academic questions."[48] Anderson wished for Tennessee to cease being the butt of jokes, especially considering that the Scopes trial was the only time in ten years in which the Butler Act was enforced.[49] Despite this belief, Anderson and his strongest ally, Representative G. Townes Gaines, faced strong opposition in the legislature. Additionally, nearby Bryan University, named for the fundamentalist champion himself, immediately sent a letter of protest to all state legislators.[50] Anderson's proposed repeal was eventually defeated by a vote of 67-20. However, repeal was reported as barely interesting to the general public in the midst of the Depression, and that legislators only opposed it for fear of support being used to defeat them in their bids for reelection.[51]

Unfortunately, little else, if anything, is available from Anderson to provide clarity on his motives and beliefs. However, some analysis is possible. Having been a schoolboy during the passage of the Butler Act and the Scopes trial, Anderson had a unique perspective on the debate that those other legislators older than him lacked. It is significant that out of the twenty representatives who favored the bill that he, as a recent student himself, was the one wrote and sponsored the repeal.

Although their voices were few, the students who spoke about the teaching of evolution suggest that evolution was far less dangerous than fundamentalists argued. The debate ultimately ended with the Supreme Court striking down creation-based education laws in *Epperson v. Arkansas* (1968). Some would raise their voices again in the future in Tennessee and elsewhere, though never to a great extent; from the beginning of the fundamentalist movement onward, the voices of students were scarcely available to be heard.

Conclusion

In the forty-three years between the passage of the Butler Act and the Court's ruling in *Epperson v. Arkansas*, little credence was given to the opinions of the students. The reasons for this are understandable; it has not been uncommon in American history to exclude students'

[47] "Votes to Bar Evolution: Mississippi House Passes Bill to Prevent Teaching." *New York Times*. February 9, 1926.
[48] "Antievolution Law Hit in Tennessee House Bill." *New York Times*. January 26, 1935.
[49] Thomas Fauntleroy, "Scopes Law Dead, But State Keeps It." *New York Times*. February 24, 1935.
[50] "Anti-Evolution Repeal Asked in Tennessee; Bryan University Protests Against the Bill." *New York Times*. February 16, 1935.
[51] Fauntleroy.

voices on many topics. However, in the case of teaching evolution in the early twentieth century, the contradictions between what adults believed the impacts on students would be and what the students believed the impacts would be are significant to point out.

Not all adults remained convinced that the effects of evolution on students were minimal. Attorney John Godsey, who was associated with the Scopes defense but did not participate in the trial, argued that children had the right "to seek the truth, a teacher the right to teach it." Judge John T. Raulston, who had presided over the Scopes trial and had once sided with more fundamentalist teachings and beliefs, later came to question the authority of a legislature to restrict the teaching of science when the morality of students was not in danger.[52]

Yet exercise this authority the legislatures did. It is important to consider that the fundamentalists who believed in the rhetoric of danger regarding the faith of their children could have been right; many sources that may have given voice to the students are not available, and although those that did speak out—such as Morgan, Shelton, and Anderson—said evolution had no impact on their own faith, it is possible that there were effects they did not recognize at the time. Likewise, in failing to consider the opinions of the students, fundamentalists may have overestimated the influence learning about evolution would have.

Indeed, looking back on the trial over half a century later, Harry Shelton must have mused over the effort put into ensuring he and his fellow students never abandoned their Christian faith. More than anyone, he must have understood the disconnect between the students and the fundamentalists; he truly must have known better than anyone how little they apparently had to fear at all. And so the "monkey business" continued on.

[52] "John T. Raulston, jurist, 87, dead." *New York Times*. July 12, 1956.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

"Anti-Evolution Law Hit in Tennessee House Bill." *New York Times*. January 26, 1935.

"Anti-Evolution Repeal Asked in Tennessee; Bryan University Protests Against the Bill." *New York Times*. February 16, 1935.

Bryan, William Jennings. "God and Evolution: Charge That American Teachers of Darwinism 'Make the Bible a Scrap of Paper.'" *New York Times*. February 26, 1922.

--- *In His Image*. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1922.

Fauntleroy, Thomas. "Scopes Law Dead, But State Keeps It." *New York Times*. February 24, 1935.

George, Dan. "Like the Circus Had Come to Town." *The Washington Post*. July 22, 1985.

"Georgia Now Seeks Evolution Barrier." *The Christian Science Monitor*. July 29, 1925.

"How They Are Teaching Evolution in Tennessee." *Wall Street Journal*. June 2, 1925.

"John T. Raulston, jurist, 87, dead." *New York Times*. July 12, 1956.

Kinsley, Philip. "Darrow May Be Barred in Scopes Case." *The Detroit Free Press*. May 27, 1925.

--- "Scopes Indicted for Teaching Evolution." *The Commercial Appeal*. May 26, 1925.

"North Carolina Bars Evolution Textbook." *The Christian Science Monitor*. January 24, 1924.

Osborn, Henry Fairfield. *Evolution and Religion in Education: Polemics of the Fundamentalist Controversy of 1922 to 1926.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925, 1926.

"Scopes Here, Shyly Defends Evolution." *New York Times*. June 7, 1925.

Scopes, John T. and James Presley. *Center of the Storm: Memoirs of John T. Scopes*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1967.

"Simian Man." New York Times, December 22, 1912.

"Tennessee Bans the Teaching of Evolution; Governors Says the Bible Disproves Theory." *New York Times*. March 24, 1925.

The World's Most Famous Court Trial Tennessee Evolution Case: A Word-for-Word Report of the Famous Court Test of the Tennessee Anti-Evolution Act, at Dayton, July 10 to 21, 1925, Including Speeches and Arguments of Attorneys, Testimony of Noted Scientists, and Bryan's Last Speech. Third edition. Cincinnati: National Book Co, 1925.

"Votes to Bar Evolution: Mississippi House Passes Bill to Prevent Teaching." *New York Times*. February 9, 1926.

Secondary Sources

Larson, Edward J. *Summer for the Gods: The Scopes Trial and America's Continuing Debate Over Science and Religion*. New York: BasicBooks, 1997.

--- *Trial and Error: The American Controversy Over Creation and Evolution*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Lienesch, Michael. *In the Beginning: Fundamentalism, The Scopes Trial, and the Making of the Antievolution Movement*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007.

Marsden, George. *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.

Rury, John. *Education and Social Change: Contours in the History of American Schooling*. New York: Routledge, 2013.

'So Long, Farewell':
The Sound of Music and the Crisis of the American Family in the 1960s

Elizabeth "Libby" Grube is a senior majoring in History and Anthropology. This American Cultural History article was supervised by Dr. Jonathan Hagel.

Disclaimer: Walt Disney Productions™ and Buena Vista Productions™ legally possess Mary Poppins*. 20th Century Fox™ legally possesses* The Sound of Music*. Neither the* Undergraduate Research Journal for the Humanities *nor the author claim ownership of* Mary Poppins *and/or* The Sound of Music.

Abstract:

The early 1960s created the brewing of social change before the explosion of the cultural revolution of the late 1960s. In this period, Hollywood released its first family movies, *Mary Poppins* in 1964 and *The Sound of Music* in 1965, meant to be enjoyed by children and parents alike. These two movies enjoyed a wealth of surprising success, sweeping the academy awards and establishing *The Sound of Music* as the top grossing film of all time, surpassing America's beloved *Gone With The Wind*. Historians and contemporaries alike have questioned and offered answers as to why two movie musicals would capture the attention of the nation with such force. This thesis seeks to argue that *Mary Poppins* and *The Sound of Music* addressed fears concerning the breakdown of family life, feminine and maternal identity, questions of child rearing and provided wholesome family entertainment that the American family was seeking, while pioneering as the first films in the family movie movement.

Introduction

For fifty years, the sounds of 'Do-Re-Mi' have filled music classrooms, living rooms, and nursery schools. Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein II's *The Sound of Music* has become enshrined as a shared intergenerational experience for American families since its initial release in 1965. As the second most financially successful movie-musical of all time, surpassed only by *Grease* in 1978 *The Sound of Music* is a cultural phenomenon engrained in the cultural experience around the world, and most securely in America.[1] It represents the ideal of wholesome, family entertainment; desperately sought after, vainly repeated, and the pinnacle of a progression represented by nearly a decade's worth of attempts in Hollywood. In answering America's call for a family movie, *The Sound of Music* had the ability to provide entertainment to both children and adults, while also speaking to relevant issues in the lives of audience members. Owing its success partially to a connection to contemporary issues, why is a movie produced in 1965, still relevant, financially successful, and culturally viable when others like it have fallen to the wayside?

Americans were certainly not strangers to musicals in the mid-twentieth century. On the contrary, the American Musical found its

[1] "*The Sound of Music* (1965)." Accessed October 13, 2016. http://www.filmsite.org/soun.html.

golden age in the 1950s.[2] After enjoying success on Broadway, many musicals made their way from the stage to the silver screen. Among them are *The King and I, Anything Goes, Bye, Bye Birdie,* and other works by the famous duo Rodgers and Hammerstein like *Oklahoma!, South Pacific,* and *Cinderella.*[3] However, most, if not all, of these productions found that their success in Hollywood was short-lived, and quickly made their way back to the haven of the stage. In the 1960's, the musical film continued to gain traction with the American people with Robert Wise's *West Side Story*; which won the Academy Award for best picture in 1961 and *The Music Man*, nominated for best picture in 1962.[4] Even these works, however popular in the early sixties, have a much stronger legacy on the stage. This progression of movie musicals continued, and finally found notable success in 1964 with the release of Disney's *Mary Poppins*. Nominated for thirteen academy awards and winning five, *Poppins* was Disney's top-grossing film to date.[5] However, Hollywood's vision for the family musical movie was not fully realized until 1965 with the unexpected and unprecedented release of the *The Sound of Music*.

The crown jewel of Twentieth Century Fox was released gradually across America in in order to guard against a massive loss if it failed because company was nearly bankrupt. After successful pre-screenings in the Midwest and strong audience interest from word-of-mouth advertising, *The Sound of Music* was properly released in March 1965 to thrilled audiences everywhere.[6] Its impressive popular success came when the film was against incredible odds, namely the scathing reviews of coastal, influential, film critics.[7] To the surprise of everyone involved in the production, *The Sound of Music* created an amazing financial success, quickly rising to become the top-grossing movie of all time, surpassing the beloved American classic *Gone With the Wind* (1939) and becoming the pinnacle of not only musical films, but of Hollywood success.

The "Sound of Success'' didn't stop with the initial release of the film. One incredible rerelease and many VHS and DVD silver, gold, and platinum editions later, *The Sound of Music* settled comfortably into the top five highest grossing movies of all time, and when adjusted for inflation, is thought to have grossed about two billion dollars.[8] In addition to its monetary success, *The Sound*

---

[2] Wolf, Stacy Ellen. *A Problem Like Maria: Gender and Sexuality in the American Musical*. University of Michigan Press, 2002.

[3] "*The Sound of Music* (1965)."

[4] "Academy Awards® Winners (1960 - 1969)." Accessed October 13, 2016. http://www.filmsite.org/oscars60.html.

[5] "*Mary Poppins* (1964) - Box Office Mojo." Accessed October 13, 2016. http://www.boxofficemojo.com/movies/?page=main&id=marypoppins.htm.

[6] Hirsch, Julia Antopol. *The Sound of Music: The Making of America's Favorite Movie*. Contemporary Books, 1993. 174.

[7] Santopietro, Tom. *The Sound of Music Story: How a Beguiling Young Novice, a Handsome Austrian Captain, and Ten Singing von Trapp Children Inspired the Most Beloved Film of All Time.* New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 2015.

[8] Hirsch, Julia Antopol. *The Sound of Music: The Making of America's Favorite Movie*. Contemporary Books, 1993.

[8] Guinness World Records Limited. *Guinness World Records 2015.*, 2014.

of Music has received incredible cultural prestige as well. Most notably, it was selected for preservation by the Library of Congress, taking its rightful place among other "culturally significant" films.[9] Additionally, cultural icons of today have chosen to honor *The Sound of Music* as a unique and influential work through their own means. At the 87th Annual Academy Awards in 2015, world renowned singer Lady Gaga paid tribute to the phenomenon that is Julie Andrews and *The Sound of Music* with a moving compilation of the movie's beloved songs.[10] Introduced at the awards by notable actress Scarlett Johansson, it is clear that this film still holds a prestigious place in Hollywood history and a distinct position in the hearts of the American public.

After defying the odds, smashing records, and warming hearts of people across America and the entire world, it is clear that *The Sound of Music* is a unique cultural phenomenon, never before seen, and never again repeated. In the same way that other directors surely looked at Robert Wise's film depicting a failed novitiate-turned-governess-turned-wife and struggled to understand its success, historians are also left asking, "Why was *The Sound of Music* so popular?"

This film, having aided in the creation of the idea of the 'family movie,' has left a legacy on Hollywood whose effects are still presently seen. What we generally characterize as family movies are really movies for children, generally characterized by their light, oftentimes humorous themes, simple and occasionally magical plots, and age appropriate entertainment.[11] In the 1960s, Disney was the master of children's movies, creating dozens of live action and animated films every year. Films for adults stood in stark contrast, characterized cerebral or mature themes and containing images, ideas, and situations that are inappropriate for children such as violence, swearing, and sexual situations. Hollywood as a whole was attempting to fill this ill-defined gap between 'movies for children' and 'movies for adults' in their film repertoire to create 'movies for the family.' Life Magazine reported that is was "increasingly rare [to have a] film these days a family can go see without being embarrassed" and Hollywood production studios began releasing films which over time were refined and progressed and led to the creation of the first family movies.[12]

In order to understand the reception of *The Sound of Music* it is necessary to understand the environment into which it

---

[9] "Complete National Film Registry Listing - National Film Preservation Board - Programs." Web page. *Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540 USA*. Accessed October 13, 2016. https://www.loc.gov/programs/national-film-preservation-board/film-registry/complete-national-film-registry-listing/.

[10] An official transcript of Scarlett Johansson's introduction could not be found, but many amateur recordings, such as this one, exist. LadyGaga4Lyf. *Lady Gaga - The Sound of Music Clips, Full Tribute with Julie Andrews [2015 Oscars]*. Accessed October 13, 2016. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vdqYmSf6tiE.

[11] For the purposes of this thesis, the term 'family movie' is taken to mean a film which is not only appropriate for audiences of all ages, but is marketed and entertaining to both children and adults. *The Sound of Music* is excellent example because it contains mature themes like nationalism, motherhood, romance, and the morals of war while still being appropriate for children.

[12] "A Joyous Julie and Her Sound of Music." 52–62.

was born. It was released on the cusp of the sexual revolution which was destined to redefine, or at least question, the meaning of masculinity, femininity, love, and family life. Also, many obstacles and challenges plagued the American family and the American parent during this time. Parents began to question if they were raising their children correctly, and these fears were only compounded by a wave a literature in every magazine, newspaper, and journal imaginable.

It was under these conditions that parents began to search for goodness in wholesome family entertainment, and they turned to Hollywood to produce what they were searching for. Hollywood, however, was at a bit of a crossroads itself. Forced to change to compete with "parallel media" like television, what once worked in American movies began to fail. Hollywood was forced to attempt to create movies that were both mature and entertaining to fill the void that existed between 'movies for adults' and 'movies for children.' At this point, the movie musical began its progression to attempt to occupy this space as a film that was marketable to the entire family. Films like *The Music Man* and *West Side Story* began this trend, while *Mary Poppins* epitomized a near realization of this message, *The Sound of Music* came to fill the role as the pinnacle of family friendly entertainment.

There is no argument that *Mary Poppins* and *The Sound of Music* are culturally relevant both for the 1960s and for today. Historians have picked apart and analyzed both films, drawing out important connections to contemporary culture that movie going audiences would certainly have connected with. In this case, to "start at the [very] beginning" means to start with Disney's *Mary Poppins*, released in 1964. Scholars have latched on to its clear themes of gender and family. Anne McLeer identifies the changing gender roles represented in *Mary Poppins* in the characters of Mr. and Mrs. Banks. Mr. Banks represents masculinity, the patriarchal society of Victorian England, working long hours and spending time away from his children. However, her most interesting note is about Mrs. Banks. One would think that she would represent the 'emancipated woman' through her secret pursuits as a suffragette. However, McLeer argues that *Mary Poppins* restores Mrs. Banks to her culturally 'appropriate' role by bringing her back into the house and reconnecting her with her children.[13] Instead of being a story of a progressive household, McLeer argues that *Mary Poppins* restores what was perceived as natural order.

Other historians have identified Mary's role as a nanny as a cultural connection that children and parents alike would have identified with. During the 1960s, there was what historians describe as a "nanny craze" of sorts. This was brought on by an increase of women in the workforce and an influx of immigrants looking for work. With the rise of the middle class, many families could afford to pay for a "Guatemalan *Mary Poppins*" to look after their children.[14] In opposition to this very concrete connection

[13] McLeer, Anne. "Practical Perfection? The Nanny Negotiates Gender, Class, and Family Contradictions in 1960s Popular Culture." *NWSA Journal* 14, no. 2 (2002): 80–101.

[14] "Becoming *Mary Poppins*." *The New Yorker*. Accessed October 13, 2016. http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2005/12/19/becoming-mary-poppins.

to contemporary culture, other scholars interpreted family as a metaphor to relate to contemporary social changes happening on a larger scale.[15] In much the same way that some scholars identify Mrs. Banks as a character representative of larger social pressures for women, these scholars expand this lens to the entire Banks family.[16]

Historians have also identified many of the same themes and cultural connections from *Mary Poppins* in *The Sound of Music*. Released less than a year apart, these two movies share an audience, Academy Awards, cultural connotations, and a leading lady, Julie Andrews. A bulk of the historiography surrounding *The Sound of Music* analyzes the role that gender plays within the film. Andrews' hair is cut short, and she is removed from the grasp of a cloistered convent. In every sense, one could argue she is meant to represent the liberated woman of the 1960s. However, she also becomes a wife and a mother, adhering to 'traditional' norms of femininity. In addition to strong (and much disputed) connections to femininity, *The Sound of Music* introduces ideas about masculinity and family. Stacy Woolf argues for a reading of the work that categorizes it as a lesbian text, but most other historians have argued against or disregarded her assertions.[17] However, this disagreement between historians highlights how our own experiences and identities color our reception of certain works, just as they would have during the original release of *The Sound of Music* in 1965. Throughout this essay, I will make generalizations about Americans, American parents, and Hollywood. By taking this homogenous view, I realize that I will be unable to take a fully nuanced view of this film or give minority or non-traditional views their due credit. I seek only to use my analysis to further our historical understanding of the unprecedented success of this film and what it meant for the majority of Americans.

Scholars have broken out of traditional modes of analysis, and continue to find unique content in the themes of *The Sound of Music*. For example, Vansant identifies the film's depiction of Nazi's as unique, and argues that this tame depiction with a happy ending helps to "denazi-fy" film.[18] Finally, to address the other half of the overwhelming analysis of *The Sound of Music* is to address its star, Julie Andrews. In addition to being a once in a lifetime talent, Andrews, historians argue, creates an "onscreen persona" in both *Mary Poppins* and *The Sound of Music* which provides a sense of nurture and comfort to over-parented adults and under-parented children.[19] She was, and is, a phenomenon of exuberance and talent that her contemporaries noticed, dubbing her "Joyous Julie" and praising "*her* Sound of

---

[15] McLeer, Anne. "Practical Perfection? The Nanny Negotiates Gender, Class, and Family Contradictions in 1960s Popular Culture." 80–101.

[16] Ibid. 80–101.

[17] Wolf, Stacy Ellen. *A Problem Like Maria: Gender and Sexuality in the American Musical*. 2-8.

[18] Vansant, Jacqueline. "Robert Wise's *The Sound of Music* and the 'Denazification' of Austria in American Cinema." In *From World War to Waldheim*, 1st ed., 165–86. Culture and Politics in Austria and the United States. Berghahn Books, 1999.

[19] Kemp, Peter. "How Do You Solve a 'Problem' Like Maria von Poppins." In *Musicals: Hollywood and Beyond*, edited by Bill Marshall and Robynn Stilwell, 55–61. Exeter and Portland: Intelect Books, 2000. (emphasis mine)

Music."[20] Building upon these arguments, I will contend that Andrews' off-screen persona was just as integral to the initial and continuing success of both films.

In short, historians and contemporaries alike have offered their explanations about why *The Sound of Music* was, and continues to be, a worldwide success. They have put forth answers involving gender, love, sexuality, nannies, Julie Andrews, and Nazis. Some have even thrown up their hands and simply said that it is none of these things, but rather that it was a quintessentially sixties story of peace and love.[21] However, these theories insufficiently explain the level of success attributed to *The Sound of Music* or to recognize the role of its predecessors in creating the genre of family movies. For the purpose of this discussion, the term 'family movie' is meant to imply not simply a film appropriate for viewers of all ages, but a movie specifically produced and marketed to be enjoyed by the whole family, containing mature stories that engage an older audience, while remaining appropriate and entertaining for younger viewers.

I will argue that *The Sound of Music* represents a specific and unique moment in Hollywood history which appealed to the hopes and fears of American parents, spoke to the rapidly changing family, and represented the goodness that families sought and Hollywood lacked. While there is a long list of musical and non-musical films which represent a progression of the family movie movement in Hollywood that was nearly articulated with *Mary Poppins* but not full realized until *The Sound of Music* was released, I am unable to pay each film in this progression the respect it deserves. Instead, I have elected to analyze *Mary Poppins*, the direct predecessor of *The Sound of Music*. As I have mentioned, these two films share a purpose, a message, a leading actress, an audience, and many, many Academy Award nominations. In addition, they were both connected with social and cultural themes in an unconventional way, providing commentary on the family dynamic and filling the void in Americans' lives for wholesome family entertainment.

Parents, Nannies, and Families in Crisis

While *The Sound of Music* and *Mary Poppins* share many key elements, most notably they both begin with a similar story: a family is crisis. Within the Banks and Von Trapp families, each member is adding to the dysfunction of the family which is ultimately corrected by the character of a nanny. Each character, by deviating from and eventually adhering to their expected societal role reinforces the ideas of what a father, mother, or children are supposed to act like. In the following section, I will provide an analysis of characters within each film and highlight the particular strengths of the characters in *The Sound of Music* in communicating a message of the changing American family which ultimately led to the film's success.

Mary Poppins opens on an exasperated Katie Nanna, the Banks children's nanny, moving purposefully down the stairs of a well-decorated Victorian home in London, England. She is being pursued by one of the

[20] "A Joyous Julie and Her Sound of Music." *Life* 58, no. 10 (March 12, 1965): 52–62.

[21] Gorsky, Martin. "'Raindrops on Roses:' *The Sound of Music* and the Political Psyche of the Sixties." *The Sixties* 6, no. 2 (December 1, 2013): 199–224.

Banks' maids, who pleads with her to stay. With the arrival of Mrs. Banks, Katie Nanna is unable to make her escape as planned. Instead the audience is introduced to the energetic and impassioned Mrs. Banks, who bursts into the house singing and shouting stories from her day spent with other suffragettes protesting, and even "chaining (themselves) to the wheel of the prime minister's carriage."[22] Unable to get a word in edgewise, the irritated nanny is forced to interrupt Mrs. Banks' zealous musical number to inform her that the children have run off for the fourth time this week, and that she will be leaving. Mrs. Banks begs her to stay, as to not anger her husband, Mr. Banks, but Katie Nanna has had enough and storms out the front door. The Banks family is left with two (missing) unruly children, a physically absent mother, an emotionally absent father, and now, no nanny. Enter: *Mary Poppins*. Floating from her home amongst the clouds, *Mary Poppins* magically descends via her umbrella to bring order to the dysfunctional Banks family.

Even from this first scene the audience is able to discern that Mr. Banks is emotionally distant, and to a certain extent, absent, as a husband and father. As Katie Nanna flees the Banks' household, Mrs. Banks is most concerned, not for her missing children, but with the potential reaction of her husband. Shortly after Katie Nanna's departure, Mr. Banks enters singing his song "The Life I Lead." In stark contrast to his (secretly) suffragette wife, Mr. Banks sings about his "pleasant" life, ignoring his wife as she tries to interject to tell him about their missing children. He instead sings about the glories of his perfectly scheduled life and household. *"It's grand to be an Englishman in 1910"*[23] he exclaims, as he likens himself to a king, even saying *"I treat my subjects: servants, children, wife with a firm and gentle hand."*[24] This solidifies the notion that Mr. and Mrs. Banks do not share a relationship based on equality, but on clearly patriarchal values.

With his sherry in one hand and his pipe in the other, Mr. Banks stands in front of the fireplace in his elegantly decorated study, ignoring his flustered wife as she tries to get his attention. The irony builds as he continues to sing about his carefully measured evening routine, oblivious to his wife trying to speak, his missing children, and his nanny who has just walked out. Not only does this scene point out Mr. Banks' shortcomings as a father, but it also openly mocks him, setting his character up as a joke rather than a character to be developed. As he continues singing he describes his usual interactions with his children as:

It's 6:03 and the heirs to my dominion
Are scrubbed and tubbed and adequately fed
And so I'll pat them on the head
And send them off to bed
Ah! Lordly is the life I lead!

Mr. Banks' approach to family life is that of a business man. He says:

"A British bank is run with precision

A British home requires nothing less!"[25]

After his children are found and returned to the home, Mr. Banks' interactions with them are cold. When the children try and

[22] *Mary Poppins*
[23] The Life I Lead, Sherman Bros
[24] Ibid.
[25] Stevenson, Robert. *Mary Poppins*. Comedy, Family, Fantasy, 1964.

assist their mother and father in finding a new nanny by writing an advertisement, their father laughs at them, rips it up, and throws it in the fire. The cold, distant, and emotionless Mr. Banks fulfils his duty as a traditional father is many ways; he is the breadwinner, the disciplinarian, and the patriarch. However, he lacks many of the qualities of a modern father. He makes no effort to show his children love, and instead settles for defining their relationship based on business. He seems perfectly happy to see the "heirs" to his empire at 6:03 everyday before they leave him to pursue his own evening routine without them.

Mary Poppins comes into the Banks household and quickly upsets the pre-existing power structure. Mr. Banks, who usually rules over his household firmly is barely able to put a coherent sentence together upon Mary Poppins' arrival. After dominating the conversation and explaining her qualifications, she gets to work taming the unruly children without another word from the previously polished, now flabbergasted and gob-smacked, Mr. Banks. Upon her arrival, Mary Poppins finds the unruly children, a career-obsessed father, a mother absorbed in her political movement and the breakdown of family life is evident. Through her careful teaching, Mary was able to restore harmony to the family through changing specific behaviors in each family member.

Through appealing to the 'inner-child' in Mr. Banks, Mary helped the once emotionally distant father foster a relationship based on play and interaction with his children, while still maintaining his dedication to his work. In fact, Mr. Banks is rewarded in his career with a promotion. Additionally, she brought Mrs. Banks, who was previously caught up in her own pursuits and work with the women's suffrage movement, back into the house to focus on her family. Finally, Mary is able to be "firm, never cross" with the children, and help them establish a communicative and loving relationship with their parents. After she is no longer needed, Mary Poppins leaves the Banks and moves on to the next family in need of her assistance.

An incredible weight was placed on the shoulders parents in the 1960s, knowing that their child-rearing methods and family environment could have lifelong effects on their children coupled with the perceived breakdown of family life conveyed by the press, parents were without a doubt concerned about how to properly raise their children. *Mary Poppins* spoke to these fears in a variety of ways. As previously mentioned, the film reinforced the ideals of the 'modern father' which placed value on a child's relationship with their father *as well* as the mother by bringing Mr. Banks from his solely authoritarian role to being able to interact with his children outside of their roles as the "heirs" to his "empire." However, the film also clearly displayed the consequences of overly permissive parenting, an argument within the child-development community that began in the 1950s and continued into the sixties. *Mary Poppins* directly interacts with this contemporary debate in parenting, as Jane and Michael Banks were clearly permitted to do what they pleased under the supervision of a nanny while their parents pursued their own passions. By finding a middle ground, in her words "Firm, never cross," Mary Poppins brought the parents back into the household and created a balance between permission and structure, saving the Banks family and assuaging the fears of parents in audiences across America, assuring them

that even the most dysfunction families were capable of reformation.

Mary Poppins is a story about a *British* family through and through. Why then, would this film appeal so deeply to children and parents in America? As discussed in previous sections, factors such as the height of 'Disney-Mania' during the early sixties certainly contributed to the success of this work. However, I argue that the familial setting of the movie is a primary factor in what allowed it to be so financially successful. As opposed to previous movies, which were either about children *or* about adults, and were marketed to their respective audiences, *Mary Poppins* contained themes about masculine and feminine roles and family life that parents could identify with, while still presenting an appropriate and entertaining story for children. In the following section, I will identify similar familial, parental, masculine and feminine themes that appear in "*The Sound of Music*." However, I will also elaborate on how these themes are more fully articulated in a way that was resonant with the American family, which made *The Sound of Music* an incredible success and a part of larger movement in both Hollywood and the American society.

The story of *Mary Poppins* began with a family in crisis. In much the same way, *The Sound of Music* begins with a dysfunctional family and confused relationships. As the seven Von Trapp children adjust to life under the rule of their father, Maria grapples with her relationship with her heavenly father and pressure from the Abbess to leave the convent. An advertisement for governess brings these two stories together. After losing his wife, Captain Georg Von Trapp began employing a series of governesses to look after his seven children. When Maria enters the Von Trapp household, she nearly immediately upsets the pre-existing power structures in the family dynamic.

Following her rapid and exhilarating musical number "I Have Confidence," Maria leaves her anxiety behind as she approaches the foreboding Von Trapp mansion. After being escorted into the house by a butler, Maria meets Captain Georg Von Trapp for the first time. A decorated veteran of the Austrian Navy, Captain Von Trapp is an intimidating character, dressed formally, and moving rigidly. The house is spotlessly white, elegantly decorated, and eerily silent for supposedly containing seven young children. After blowing a whistle, the Von Trapp children rush out of various rooms on the second level of the house and line up, in age order, at the railing. Dressed in uniforms, they march down the stairs at the beat of the Captain's whistle. Turning as precisely as a trained army, the children line up in front of Maria and the Captain, with one notable space. Brigitta slowly emerges, reading, from another room. Realizing her mistake, she hands her father her book, receives her punishment, and stands in line. The Captain proceeds to tell Maria to "listen very carefully" so that she can learn each of the children's signals. Like clockwork, each child marches forward at the sound of their whistle signal and introduces themselves. The Captain attempts to hand a very flustered Maria her whistle, but she refuses it. Maria immediately establishes that she will not be entirely subservient as expected of an employee and a woman, and refuses to use a whistle which is "for animals" on the Von Trapp children. She eventually acquiesces to taking the whistle but, in a cheeky manner, whistles after the Captain, receiving a laugh from the children. As the Captain turns around the laughing stops, but

Maria does not apologize. As soon as the Captain leaves, the scene turns from a cold, militaristic aura to a warm environment as Maria gets to know the children.

In mourning their wife and mother, it is clear that the Von Trapp household has lost its sense family. Their father, the Captain, has turned his household into a pseudo Naval ship, and his children are reduced to soldiers. The Captain is a clear authority figure in the lives of his children, and has provided them with a home. However, he lacks the loving relationship that a modern father is meant to have with his children, leaving them to grow up in a loveless household. His family is dysfunctional, by no fault of their own, because they lack a mother. Through his own actions, the Captain has driven a wedge between himself and his family, and reduced his relationship with his children to a strictly authoritarian position.

Throughout the film the audience sees a changing Georg Von Trapp thanks to the influence of his unruly governess, Maria. She initially brings fun and warmth back into the home against the Captain's wishes, as depicted in the classic "My Favorite Things" scene, "Doe a Deer" scene, and when the Captain unknowingly sees his children climbing trees, referring to them as "local urchins." After discovering the "local urchins" are his children, the Captain is infuriated and demands that they change back into their uniforms. Maria gives a passionate plea to the Captain that he needs to get to know his children – to love them. In a fit of rage, the Captain orders Maria to pack her bags and return to abbey.

There are two scenes in which distinctive changes in Captain Von Trapp can be observed. The first happens immediately after his angry encounter with Maria. In the distance the Captain can hear singing coming from inside the house. He storms into the house and stands just outside the parlor to see his children singing for the Baroness Von Schraeder, the Captain's love interest. It has been made very clear by the children, staff, and Captain himself that there is no singing in the Von Trapp household. The housekeeper, Frau Schmidt, told Maria that it is "too painful" for the Captain to sing, as it reminds him of his late wife. However, in a distinctive change of character, the Captain is not angry to find his children once again disobeying him. Instead, he enters the room and joins them in song. The children are so astonished, that they stop singing all together. The family ends the song together, and after a few brief seconds of sheer surprise, the Captain invites his children in for a hug. This clear show of affection for his children is uncharacteristic for the Captain and redefines his character and status as a father. He is no longer a simple authority figure, but capable of showing love. The children are finally able to gain reassurance and praise from their father.

The Captain's journey from authority figure to modern father continues in another distinctive scene, which also highlights his budding romantic feelings for Maria. In this scene the Von Trapp household is alive with music and dancing as the Captain hosts a formal event for at least one hundred guests. The children are with Maria on the outskirts of the party, and eventually make their way outside to an empty patio where the festivities inside are visible through the large windows of the house. A traditional Austrian song begins, and the party-goers inside begin to do the customary dance associated with it. The Von Trapp children

are growing up, and Kurt is interested in learning the choreography to this dance. Learning to dance is a special milestone in the process of growing up, and like many of the Von Trapp children's happy memories, Maria is there to share it. Maria teaches Kurt to dance and the two stumble along as the other children laugh along with them. Up until this point, the Captain has shared only one specific 'parent-child' moment with his family, as most of these experiences have been shared between the children and their surrogate parent, Maria. Building on the previous scene in which he joins his children in singing, the Captain leaves the party and comes out onto the terrace to aid Maria is teaching Kurt to dance. The scene takes a different direction when it becomes clear that the Captain and Maria are no longer focused on demonstrating a traditional Austrian dance, but are focused on each other. In addition to representing a dramatic change in the Captain's attitude and interaction with his children, temporarily leaving his party to share this experience with them, it also the first hint of romance between Maria and the Captain.

To solidify the full transformation of the character of Captain von Trapp from authoritarian dictator of his soldiers/children to idealistic father, the audience is given a series of scenes in which the Captain is able to fully encapsulate the ideals of a modern father while leading his family out of Austria. After the Nazis gain control of Austria, Captain von Trapp patriotically denies their offers to become an officer in their army, and instead crafts a plan to flee Austria with his family. After an openly emotional rendition of "Edelweiss," the Captain's love for his country is clear. However strong his love for Austria and the Navy is, he still chooses morality and family first, and leaves the country and profession he adores. A modern father chooses his family over his career, and the Captain does just that. He continues to invoke more aspects of modern fatherhood by being both a leader and nurturer, leading his family in an escape from the Nazis while simultaneously comforting his youngest child, Gretl. In the final scene the family is seen climbing over the Austrian Alps to the safety of Switzerland, Captain Von Trapp, the patriarch, is leading the family with Gretl on his back. While Captain Von Trapp is still an authority and protector of his family, he has gained the ability to participate in his children's lives emotionally, finding a middle ground between permission and authority.

The drastic changes in Captain Von Trapp are very similar to those seen in Mr. Banks. Both fathers begin as emotionally distant, career men, and through the intervention of a nanny/governess are able to learn how to interact and connect with their children. However, Mr. Banks transformation lacks the depth that Captain Von Trapp has that allowed audiences to connect with him. Mr. Banks' transformation is only followed intermittently throughout *Mary Poppins* and at the conclusion during the finale song "Let's Go Fly a Kite," he is animated and playful, displaying a transformation that represents growth, connection, and emotion, all of which a modern father should embrace. However, without the step-by-step details and connecting scenes, Mr. Banks' transformation remains as illusive and magical feeling as Mary Poppins' talking umbrella and expandable carpet bag. This journey to modern fatherhood is fully articulated in the character of Captain Von Trapp, mostly due to screenwriter Ernest

Lehman's purposeful choice to rewrite the role from "stock character to actual human being."[26] By focusing as much energy on the adult characters as on the children, the Captain's character has patriotism, loyalty, heartbreak and love. In short, his character has the depth that Mr. Banks lacks. Additionally, his journey is well-documented throughout the movie. He does not become a loving, doting father in just one scene. Instead, mothers and fathers in the audience are able to see the Captain grapple with fostering a connection between himself and his family, and when he does, it feels repeatable and transferable to modern, real-life families.

Like the Captain, Maria's parenting abilities grow closer to what audience members perceived as ideal throughout the movie. When we first meet Maria, it is hard to categorize her under the label of any typical character. At first glace, with her opening scene solidifying her connection to nature, her 'fraulein' (single) relationship status, and short hair, Maria looks like the liberated woman that many women in the 1960s aspired to be. However, Maria is also something very peculiar, a postulate at an abbey for a cloistered order of nuns. These drastically different characteristics of Maria make her a unique, but seemingly un-relatable character for many women. After all, not many American women were deeply religious yet obstinate nuns in the 1960s. However, Maria encapsulates many of the qualities and faces many of the challenges that women in the audience were able to connect with, primarily in her interactions with the Captain and her role as mother.

In 1965, in the midst of the sexual revolution, family life was rapidly changing and so were relationships between men and women. Family life had previously revolved around the dynamic that set the father as the leader and the mother as subservient, which is clearly displayed in the opening scenes involving Mr. and Mrs. Banks, as well as Maria and the Captain. However, as this patriarchal dynamic began to change, power structures within families became more fluid, opinions about authority became more polarized, and divorce rates soared.[27] A woman's place in society, her family, and her marriage were ill-defined and rapidly changing. For these reasons, Maria's character was even more appealing to women in the audience.

In the same scene in which the Captain is established as an authoritarian dictator of his household, Maria establishes her power within their relationship by refusing to use or answer to the whistle the captain has offered her. Similarly, after the Captain discovers her and the children playing in the lake, he begins to tell Maria off for disobeying his wishes for his children. However, Maria shoots back, demanding that the Captain listen to her and begging him to connect with his children before they are grown. In each situation, her insistence and outspoken behavior is surprising to the Captain, and goes against social norms, but is ultimately able to provoke true change within the family. It may also be expected that Maria's obstinate behavior and inability

[26] Baer, William. *Classic American Films: Conversations with the Screenwriters*. 111-121

[27] I do not mean to imply a causal relationship between the changing power dynamics between men and women within a family and rising divorce rates, but rather want to show the stress and anxiety that these two separate facts could instill in women as they sought more independence/authority within their homes and marriages.

to be subservient as an employee would drive a wedge between her and the Captain, and in the beginning, it did. However, despite Maria's independence, a characteristic not typical of the 'ideal' housewife, she and the Captain fall in love and create a relationship based on mutuality and equality, something very desirable to the average wife and mother in the 1960s. This stands in contrast to husband and wife dynamic displayed in *Mary Poppins*. In both *Mary Poppins* and *The Sound of Music*, initial scenes establish an unequal position of power between man and woman. In *Mary Poppins* this dynamic is somewhat upset when Mary speaks with authority to Mr. Banks, and takes charge of the household. However, the inequality in the marriage of Mr. and Mrs. Banks which was so clearly displayed in the beginning of the film is never resolved. However, in *The Sound of Music*, Maria regularly establishes her own authority in her relationship with Captain Von Trapp, both as a nanny and as a wife.

In a way, the character of Maria merges the authority of *Mary Poppins* and the role of wife of Mrs. Banks into a single character, making the message of equality within relationships much stronger. The character of Maria is also able to maintain an aura of independence which Mrs. Banks lacks. Part of what makes *Mary Poppins*' transformation of the Banks family effective is that she brings the parents back into the home. Mr. Banks is able to maintain, and even grow his career, but it is unlikely that Mrs. Banks continues her work with the suffrage movement. In a time when individualism was becoming more popular and women were being told to "find their voices," the story of Mrs. Banks returning to the home was unlikely to have incredible resonance with females in the audience.[28] Maria, however, is a more effective character in this situation because she does not represent a 'return to the domestic,' but rather is articulating a rapidly equalizing relationship with Captain Von Trapp, has a strong and respected opinion, and does not lose independence or societal influence when assuming her role as a mother.

In summary, in both *Mary Poppins* and *The Sound of Music* the father figure experiences a change in which he becomes more emotional, experiences a reduction in his authority, and learns to connect with his children. While both Mr. Banks and Captain Von Trapp experience these changes and abide by the theme of creating a modern father, they are most fully and effectively expressed in the character of Captain Von Trapp. *Mary Poppins* focuses almost exclusively on the relationship between Mary and the Banks children, with only glimpses of the changing relationship between father and children. For this reason, Captain Von Trapp is a much more effective character because his journey from emotionally inept to forming a meaningful, loving, and non-authoritarian relationship with his children is one of the primary plot lines. In much the same way, the character of Maria was resonant with American audiences because she combined the confidence and authority exuded by *Mary Poppins* while also embodying the role of mother which was occupied by Mrs. Banks.

Additionally, she was able to maintain, and even gain, authority and independence through her role as mother and wife,

[28] Babington, Bruce. "Song, Narrative and the Mother's Voice: A Deepish Reading of Julie Andrews." In *British Stars and Stardom: From Alma Taylor to Sean Connery*, 192–204, 2001. 202.

whereas Mrs. Banks experienced a return to the home and arguably forfeited much of the individualism and independence she had experienced in order to resume her role as a mother to her children. While Mrs. Banks remains subservient to her husband and has limited interactions with her children throughout the movie, Maria Von Trapp establishes her own voice within her marriage and the audience is able to see the detailed development of a parent/child relationship between Maria and the children. Finally, both families display characteristics which were reflective of the debate between authoritarian and permissive parenting. While the Banks family struggles with being too permissive, the Von Trapp family struggles with being too authoritarian. Both families are able to experience relief by finding a middle ground between structure and independence for the children. However, the story of the Von Trapp family is more clearly documented with realistic situations, while the transformation in *Mary Poppins* is filled with magic which does not feel relatable or repeatable to the average family. Overall, *The Sound of Music* was able to create an environment in which a family in crisis was restored to the ideal of a functional family. In addition, the film was both entertaining and appropriate for adults and children, creating a family experience that emulated the idyllic family dynamic which was displayed in the film.

"A Joyous Julie and her Sound of Music"

Throughout my essay I have argued that familial themes, namely parenthood and its implications on masculinity, femininity, and the family dynamic, which were present in *Mary Poppins* and fully developed and articulated in *The Sound of Music* are the driving factors in what made these musical films so successful, popular, and resonant with the American people. Building upon this premise, it is important to acknowledge the role that leading actress Julie Andrews played in the ultimate success of these movies not only because of her incredible talent, but also because of her embodiment of these familial themes in both her future on-screen endeavors and personal life. The persona she created for herself (or perhaps, was created for her) in Hollywood continued to communicate these ideas of cohesive family life beyond the movies, and I argue this greatly impacted the longevity of the success of the films, primarily *The Sound of Music*.

Mary Poppins and *The Sound of Music* were Andrews' first two films after a lengthy and successful run on the stage, and she plays a surrogate mother in both. These roles solidified her as a maternal, nurturing figure in Hollywood, starkly contrasted by the still dark, mature films which were becoming increasingly popular. Historian Bruce Babington goes as far as to say that Julie Andrews spent her thirty-year film career portraying solely "idealized maternal traits" in a variety of roles and relationships on screen. Additionally, America's cherished "middle-class- values were securely enmeshed within Andrews" Hollywood persona. As the perception of declining values in society increased, audiences turned to the idealized mother of the silver screen for refuge.[29]

[29] Babington, Bruce. "Song, Narrative and the Mother's Voice: A Deepish Reading of Julie Andrews." 201.

Popular critics didn't treat *Poppins* or *Music* kindly, but they agreed that Julie Andrews was something special, and someone to be talked about. She was "practically perfect in every way" for many people, and was called "virginal," "an angel," by Chris Chase of *McCall's*.[30] *Good Housekeeping* conducted a lengthy interview with Andrews' father who described her as nothing less than the perfect daughter.[31] Carol Burnett wrote extensively in *Good Housekeeping* about Andrews' qualities as a good friend.[32] George Christy went as far as to say that Julie Andrews was the embodiment of "the girl every mother wants their daughter to grow up to be like."[33] These were the roles she assumed in her Hollywood persona, and I argue that these traits were most fully shaped and displayed in her role as Maria in *The Sound of Music*.

While Andrews' Hollywood persona certainly changed throughout her career, specific themes continued to reoccur in media coverage surrounding her in the decade following her entrance to the Hollywood spotlight. One surprising idea is that many publications label Andrews as "sexy," much in contrast to pure, innocent legacy that Mary and Maria develop later. Part of what created this aura around her was her dramatic and sudden success. Vogue attributed much of her sudden success to her ability to be "monumentally sexy and quite ladylike all at the same time." They called her "the kind of girl you could take home to mother. Providing, of course, that you could trust dad."[34] Following her time as Maria, the "five-foot-seven, 126-pound Miss Andrews" began to assume roles where her 'sexy' persona could be played up. Roles like in *The Americanization of Emily* where she starred alongside "dishy leading men" in much more scandalous situation than postulate nun in the home of an Austrian captain.[35] *Mary Poppins* was a character devoid of sexuality, limiting Andrews' on-screen impact with adults. Maria, despite being a novitiate in an order of cloistered nuns, was a romantic and attractive character capable of capturing the attention of an adult audience. Media outlets simply took this inkling of sexuality present in Maria and expanded upon it. By encapsulating both the pure and sexy, caring and firm, devoted and independent, Julie Andrews apparently met the precedent set for modern motherhood which attracted men and created an idol for women.

While some media sources clearly characterized Andrews as another sexy Hollywood starlet, her friend Carol Burnett took a different track. Writing in *Good Housekeeping*, Burnett painted Andrews as an audacious, strong career woman, much different than the other women in Hollywood. Burnett said "nothing phases that girl" and admired her "tremendous composure and professional invincibility."[36] Whether this strong, independent characterization added to her sex appeal is debatable, but it certainly placed her in

[30] Chase, Chris. "Julie Andrews Fights Back." *McCall's* 100 (May 1973): 84.
[31] Wells, Ted. "My Daughter, Julie Andrews." *Good Housekeeping* 166 (March 1968): 98.
[32] Burnettt, Carol. "My Friend Julie Andrews." *Ed. by H. Markel* 157 (November 1963): 34.
[33] Christy, George. "New Life of Julie Andrews." *Good Housekeeping* 170 (May 1970): 90.
[34] Steinem, Gloria. "Features/Articles/People: Julie Andrews." *Vogue*, March 15, 1965. 904291178. The Vogue Archive.
[35] Hano, Arnold. "Julie Andrews: Her Magic, Her Moods." *Good Housekeeping* 160 (May 1965): 90.
[36] Burnettt, Carol. "My Friend Julie Andrews." 34.

contrast to many of the starlets in Hollywood at the time.

In an interesting juxtaposition to the detailed descriptions of her physical appearance, much news coverage also described Andrews as something akin to the Virgin Mary. She was a "superstar unspoiled by fame" and appeared to be living an idyllic life off-screen as well.[37] Multiple publications and interviewers took great care when describing Andrews, noting her young appearance, makeup-less face, and doe-eyed expressions.[38] Americans were obsessed with how the perfect on-screen mother performed in real life, and how her "cherubic" daughter Emma Kate Walton was growing up.[39] In addition to following her career and extracting every detail possible from Andrews' marriage and motherhood, the press painted a picture of her as the perfect daughter as well. In an interview with Good Housekeeping, Andrews' father describes his perfect, loving relationship with his daughter Julie. He recounts stories of how proud he is of Julie, how she still gives back to her small village community, and how she consults him for advice before "every major decision."[40] This feature in *Good Housekeeping* depicts a textbook parent/child relationship and paints Andrews' upbringing as something of a fairytale. The article creatively leaves out the fact that Andrews' parents were separated when she was very young, and each remarried. However, future articles again reinforce her persona of perfection in family life by saying she was the product of "two happy homes" and is extremely close with all four of her 'parents.'[41]

Beyond America's obsession with Julie Andrews as sexy, strong, pure, an actress, and the model daughter, American media was most fixated upon Julie as a wife and mother. Many interviews took great care to describe not only Andrews' physical appearance, but also the appearance, decoration, and style of her houses, associating her with the 'homemaker' aspect of femininity.[42] Carol Burnett describes Julie as two separate people, the professional "overwhelming" Julie Andrews, and her "friend, Julie Walton" who is a wife, mother, and who enjoys a "wonderfully happy marriage." Burnett points out that Julie makes more money than "her husband and President Kennedy" but that is "doesn't matter to either of them." This is a clear upset of the general societal norm for the father to be the primary breadwinner, but Burnett is quick to funnel this deviation from social norms into clear evidence of the strength Andrews and Walton's marriage.

Andrews' happy marriage overflows into her role as mother. She describes motherhood as 'heaven' and Burnett says she handles Emma with "the confidence of Dr. Spock," referencing an incredibly influential pediatrician and parenting expert of the 1960s who was at the center of many of the parenting debates at the time. Andrews' communicated her own desire to live up to the 'large family ideal' of the

[37] Babington, Bruce. "Song, Narrative and the Mother's Voice: A Deepish Reading of Julie Andrews." 202
[38] Steinem, Gloria. "Features/Articles/People: Julie Andrews." *Vogue*, March 15, 1965. 904291178. The Vogue Archive.
[39] Hano, Arnold. "Julie Andrews: Her Magic, Her Moods." *Good Housekeeping* 160 (May 1965): 90.
[40] Wells, Ted. "My Daughter, Julie Andrews." *Good Housekeeping* 166 (March 1968): 98.
[41] Burnettt, Carol. "My Friend Julie Andrews." 34.
[42] Hano, Arnold. "Julie Andrews: Her Magic, Her Moods." 90.

1950s when she said "I'd like to take a year to do a picture, then have another child, then a picture, then a child, then a pic…"[43] Even throughout her filming of *The Sound of Music*, Andrews' daughter Emma received the attention she needed. Newspapers, magazines, and archives are full of photos of Andrews' costumed as Maria holding Emma, embodying the ideal of a successful working mother. Even with her successes on Broadway, Andrews' said "Emma is my greatest achievement." When asked about their parenting style Andrews responded that "we want her to have a free life and be independent – except for whatever discipline she needs."[44] Andrews' depiction in the media as a perfect wife and mother reinforced the themes set forth in her films and further solidified the relationship between her fictional roles and contemporary societal debates.

Just five years after *The Sound of Music* was released and Julia Andrews' persona as Hollywood's talented, sexy yet innocent, career-woman yet doting mothing and wife was fully formed, Andrews' life was not what many had envisioned for her. She was divorcing her childhood sweetheart, wrapped up in a court case with the media, and had starred in a series of costly films which had extremely limited success. However, the media continued to reiterate the same messages about Julie Andrews as they had just a few years earlier. Articles elaborating on her new, happier marriage to Blake Edwards again focused on Julie as an incredible mother and wife much like her depictions on screen. A friend said that Edwards was a more suitable husband for Andrews because he was "more dominating" that Walton ever was. After the failed release of her costly film *Star*! Andrews somewhat withdrew from Hollywood. Her husband said that she understood she must sacrifice for her daughter and stepchildren. He said "I want Julie to be a full-fledged wife, not a full-fledged actress and a part-time wife."[45] Following, Andrews has a brief run in hosting a talk show, which ultimately failed after one season. She became more involved with the divisive issue of psychoanalysis, finalized her divorce, and continued her legal battles. However, throughout all of this she is still depicted as "pure," "an angel," and "totally good."[46]

While the "silver-throated" Julie Andrews certainly captured America's attention with once-in-a-lifetime talent, through careful analysis of media coverage in popular magazines it is clear that she maintained America's attention through her embodiment of the familial themes of her films in her publicized private life. Julie Andrew's Hollywood persona spoke to many of the issues that were important to families, namely women, in the years following the release of both *Mary Poppins* and *The Sound of Music*. Beginning with her healthy and idealized relationship with her parents, and continuing to the depiction of her as a Madonna-like mother, her complete purity and her ability to be 'monumentally sexy,', Julie Andrews set a precedent that left men wanting more, women wondering how she managed to 'have it all,' and left room for the hope that the perfect family life

[43] Burnettt, Carol. "My Friend Julie Andrews." 34.

[44] Gordon, S. "Julie Andrews Goes to Hollywood." *Look* 27 (November 19, 1963): 123–26.

[45] Christy, George. "New Life of Julie Andrews." *Good Housekeeping* 170 (May 1970): 90.

[46] Chase, Chris. "Julie Andrews Fights Back." 84.

she depicted on the silver screen may not be fictional after all.

Conclusion

Throughout this essay I have displayed both the brewing of social change within the American family dynamic on the cusp of the sexual revolution, as well as the unprecedented and enduring success of the 1965 film "*The Sound of Music*." Through my analysis I have attempted to show a progression of Hollywood films which struggled to meet the needs of an audience under such intense social pressure. Within this progression *Mary Poppins* represents a near articulation of the social and familial themes that create a family movie, while *The Sound of Music* represents a full realization of the family movie phenomenon, a film meant to be enjoyed by both children and adults, which also appealed to contemporary social issues, and filled a gap in the standard releases of Hollywood thereby leading it to incredible financial success and cementing its images, ideas, and music within American popular culture

Of course, other factors apart from the relatable familial themes which made both *Mary Poppins* and *The Sound of Music* both culturally pervasive and financially successful. Both films have literary origins, Poppins' in a series of children's books, and *The Sound of Music* in a memoir. Previous fame allowed for anticipation which certainly drew some members of the audiences, as well as allowing the creative teams to have a gauge of what portions of each story had been successful in the past. Additionally, the talent of each of the creative teams of both films was incredible, and these films created an opportunity for the great names of Hollywood to come together in collaboration. Finally, I've acknowledged the role that the medium of film musical played in both making the story accessible and entertaining to children as well as the added of benefit for *The Sound of Music* of being a folk music, which scholars argue provide an extra air of authenticity. While I consider each of these factors as having contributed the overall success of both films, my own analysis proves that the familial themes in both movies are what ultimately made them relatable and successful with American audiences, and *The Sound of Music*'s specific and full articulation of these themes is what permitted it to engage so deeply with the American public and surpass nearly every other film in terms of financial success.

Building upon the work of historians before me, I identified specific instances within each film which served as models of the themes of masculinity, femininity, and parenthood which permeated each film. In *Mary Poppins*, Mr. Banks is transformed from an emotionless and distant father by way of an outspoken nanny. However, the air of magic throughout the film and the plot's focus mainly on the interactions between *Mary Poppins* and the children limit the impact of this transformation. A similar conversion occurs in Captain Georg Von Trapp in *The Sound of Music*. However, the change is well-documented throughout the film and feels less magical, more repeatable, and increasingly relatable to both men and women in the audience who were living in a time when fatherhood and marriage dynamics were changing.

Additionally, themes of motherhood and femininity were clear and at the forefront of both films. In *Mary Poppins* both Mrs. Banks and Mary play a role is expressing the themes of femininity and motherhood, Mrs.

Banks by returning to the domestic setting to raise her family and *Mary Poppins* equalizing the power dynamic between herself and Mr. Banks as well as by restoring the family to harmony. In *The Sound of Music*, however, the role of mother and nanny are combined in the character of Maria who encapsulates and most fully expresses the themes of ideal motherhood and femininity. Maria is a character who enjoys a happy marriage while remaining independent, and who 'found her voice' while also raising her family. In short, Maria made possible what women in the 1960s were longing to achieve. Moreover, the family setting of each film provides a commentary on the debates surrounding methods of parenting at the time, and each dysfunctional family's restoration to a harmonious family unit provide comfort to parents in the audience. Lastly, I have argued that Julie Andrews, the leading actress in both *Mary Poppins* and *The Sound of Music* played an integral role in the success of each film not only because of her talent, but because her Hollywood persona, whether real or created, provided continuity of the themes from each movie, but most especially from *The Sound of Music*. America's fixation on Andrews' own upbringing, marriage, and child solidifies my assertion that these familial themes present her films are what primarily contributed to the success of *The Sound of Music*.

In summary, it was a combination of factors including social climate, previous success in other mediums, creative teams, film studios and the talent of Julie Andrews which led both *Mary Poppins* and *The Sound of Music* to success. However, *The Sound of Music* provided a film that filled a gap between movies meant for adults and movies meant for children while simultaneously providing a story of familial love and connection which spoke to American audiences. This film occupies and place in American culture which is afforded to very few works, and continues to define the vision of family life, but perhaps most importantly, created American homes that are still "alive with *The Sound of Music*" over half a century later.

Bibliography

Primary Sources:

"A Joyous Julie and Her Sound of Music." *Life* 58, no. 10 (March 12, 1965): 52–62.

"American Family: Future Uncertain." *With Comment by U. Bronfenbrenner* 96 (December 28, 1970): 34–39.

Aronson, Elliot. "How to Get Obedience." *Reprint* 60 (July 1966): 54–59.

Barclay, D. "How Far Permissive Attitudes?" *New York Times Magazine*, March 16, 1952, 50–50.

Barnett, Dorothy J. "Building for Happy Family Life." *Practical Home Economics* 4 (November 1958): 19.

Barthel, Joan. "Biggest Money-Making Movie of All Time - How Come?" *The New York Times Encyclopedia of Film*, November 1966.

Becker, William H. "Autonomy vs Authority." *The Christian Century* 87, no. 39 (September 30, 1970): 1149–53.

Bossard, James Herbert Siward, and Eleanor S. Boll. "Three Wonderful Stages of Family Life." *House & Garden (00186406)* 115 (March 1959): 66.

Bronfenbrenner, Urie. "Split-Level American Family." *Saturday Review* 50 (October 7, 1967): 60–66.

Burnettt, Carol. "My Friend Julie Andrews." *Ed. by H. Markel* 157 (November 1963): 34.

Chase, Chris. "Julie Andrews Fights Back." *McCall's* 100 (May 1973): 84.

Christy, George. "New Life of Julie Andrews." *Good Housekeeping* 170 (May 1970): 90.

Creal, Margaret. "Family Life and Early Sorrows." *Story* 87 (June 1970): 38–38.

Didion, Joan. "Vogue's Notebook: Movies: Crack in the World/*The Sound of Music*." *Vogue*, May 1, 1965. 879263290. The Vogue Archive.

"Difficult Art of Being a Parent." *Reader's Digest* 92 (March 1968): 56–59.

"Disregard for Authority by Adults, Too." *Interview* 38 (January 14, 1955): 70–72.

Douglas, Ellen. "Fragments of Family Life." *Poem* 225 (November 1962): 76–78.

"Family Life Imperiled." *Christian Century* 77 (August 17, 1960): 942–942.

"Family Life Today." *America* 99 (August 2, 1958): 463–463.

"Family Life Weakens." *Statistics* 80 (June 26, 1963): 821–821.

Filming of The Sound of Music. Primary Source Media, 1964. http://tinyurl.galegroup.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/tinyurl/3jQdX3.

"Focus on Family Life." *Practical Home Economics* 5 (October 1959): 14.

Force, Elizabeth S. "Family Life Education: Are We Passing the Buck?" *With Study-Discussion Program by E. M. Duvall* 53 (February 1959): 24–36.

Friedan, Betty. "New Marriages That Make Their Own Rules." *McCall's* 100 (May 1973): 67.

Gordon, S. "Julie Andrews Goes to Hollywood." *Look* 27 (November 19, 1963): 123–26.

Graham, Billy. "Joy of Family Life." *Good Housekeeping* 169 (October 1969): 103.

Gray, J. Glenn. “The Study of Man: How to Be a Parent--and Stay Sane.” *Commentary (pre-1986)*, June 1953.

“Gross Is Greener.” *Sound of Music a Financial Success* 87 (January 14, 1966): 46–46.

Hano, Arnold. “Julie Andrews: Her Magic, Her Moods.” *Good Housekeeping* 160 (May 1965): 90.

Hodgens, R. M. “*The Sound of Music*.” *Film Quarterly* 20, no. 2 (1966): 63–63. doi:10.2307/1210717.

“Julie Andrews.” *Newsweek* 47 (May 7, 1956): 63–66.

“Julie Andrews.” *Interview, Ed. by R. Newquist; Excerpt from Showcase* 93 (March 1966): 83.

Kaye, Danny. “How I Learned a Lesson in Parenthood.” *Reader’s Digest* 75 (September 1959): 79–82.

Kramer, R. “Look Back in Wonder: Era of Permissive Parents.” *New York Times Magazine*, June 8, 1969, 93.

Levin, P. L. “Sound of Music?” *New York Times Magazine*, March 14, 1965, 72.

Levy, Alan. “Is Petula Clark Another Julie Andrews?” *Good Housekeeping* 168 (March 1969): 88.

Mead, Margaret. “What’s Happening to the American Family.” *Interview* 54 (May 20, 1963): 48–50.

“Pill: How It Is Affecting U.S. Morals, Family Life.” *U.S. News & World Report* 61 (July 11, 1966): 62–65.

Poppy, J. “Julie Andrews’s Star Rises Higher with *The Sound of Music*.” *Look* 29 (January 26, 1965): 38.

Puner, H. “Discipline: Strict or Permissive?” *Parents Magazine & Family Home Guide* 34 (April 1959): 38.

Punke, Harold Herman. “Challenge of Growing Authoritarianism in American Culture.” *School & Society* 77 (February 14, 1953): 97–101.

“Relearning What Permissive Means.” *New York Times Magazine*, October 27, 1963, 91–91.

“Report of the National Conference on Family Life.” *Symposium* 84 (June 1948): 197–209.

Russcol, Herbert. “Piano Lessons in a Permissive Age.” *House & Garden (00186406)* 134 (September 1968): 164.

Schickel, Richard. “Critic’s Roundup.” *Life* 69, no. 25 (December 18, 1970): 6–7.

Sheen, Fulton John, bp. “Education in America.” *Address, April 19, 1954* 20 (June 1954): 502–6.

“SMASH-HIT REUNION. (cover Story).” *Life* 47, no. 21 (November 23, 1959): 137–46.

Smith, Mortimer. “Decline of Authority.” *Education Digest* 35 (October 1969): 5–7.

“Sound of Music.” *Life* 47 (November 23, 1959): 137–46.

“Sound of Music.” *Newsweek* 54 (November 30, 1959): 100.

“Sound of Music.” *Christian Century* 76 (December 2, 1959): 1407–8.

“Sound of Music.” *Saturday Review* 42 (December 5, 1959): 28–29.

"Sound of Music." *New Republic* 141 (December 28, 1959): 25–26.

"Sound of Music." *Catholic World (1865).* 191 (April 1960): 19–22.

"Sound of Music." *Time* 85 (March 5, 1965): 98.

"Sound of Music." *New Yorker* 41 (March 6, 1965): 96–96.

"Sound of Music." *America* 112 (March 13, 1965): 374–75.

"Sound of Music." *Newsweek* 65 (March 15, 1965): 100–100.

"Sound of Music." *New Republic* 152 (March 20, 1965): 26–26.

"Sound of Music." *Saturday Review* 48 (March 20, 1965): 36–36.

"Sound of Music." *Senior Scholastic (Teachers Edition).* 86 (March 25, 1965): 23–23.

"Sound of Music." *Commonweal* 82 (March 26, 1965): 24–24.

"Sound of Music." *Esquire* 66 (August 1966): 20–21.

"Sound of Music." *Dance Magazine* 41 (June 1967): 38.

"Sound of Music." *America* 123 (August 22, 1970): 104–104.

Spock, B. "Are American Parents over Permissive?" *Ladies' Home Journal* 77 (November 1960): 24.

Spock, B., and J. R. Gallagher. "Right Way to Bring up Children." *Interviews* 47 (July 6, 1959): 72–83.

Staivey, L. M. "Our Three-Story Family." *Reader's Digest* 89 (August 1966): 111–14.

Steinem, Gloria. "Features/Articles/People: Julie Andrews." *Vogue*, March 15, 1965. 904291178. The Vogue Archive.

Taylor, Peter. "Cousins, Family Love, Family Life, All That." *Story* 35 (April 25, 1959): 38–44.

The Julie Andrews Hour. Music, 1972.

"They Designed Their House to Enrich Their Family Life." *Scarsdale Home* 95 (September 1953): 138.

Thomas, Bob. "Adv. Fri. PMS Nov. 21; Thomas Column 490." *News Features, 1944-1993: News Features, 1944-1993*, November 21, 1969. http://tinyurl.galegroup.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/tinyurl/3jQbF1.

Wells, Ted. "My Daughter, Julie Andrews." *Good Housekeeping* 166 (March 1968): 98.

Wise, Robert. *The Sound of Music*. Biography, Drama, Family, 1965.

"Working Wives: Revolution in American Family Life." *U.S. News & World Report* 67 (November 17, 1969): 95–96.

Zinsser, William. "Let's Have a Symbol To Protect Pop." *Life* 66, no. 5 (February 7, 1969): 9–9.

Secondary Sources:

"50 Years Later, the Box Office Is Alive with '*The Sound of Music*.'" *Fortune*, March 3, 2015. http://fortune.com/2015/03/02/sound-of-music-50-years/.

"Academy Awards® Winners (1960 - 1969)." Accessed November 13, 2016. http://www.filmsite.org/oscars60.html.

Adler, Renata. "Movies:" In *Celluloid Symphonies*, 1st ed., 330–33. Texts and Contexts in Film Music History. University of California Press, 2011. http://www.jstor.org.www2.lib.ku.edu/stable/10.1525/j.ctt1pnb5m.45.

Babington, Bruce. *British Stars and Stardom: From Alma Taylor to Sean Connery*. Manchester University Press, 2001.

Baer, William. *Classic American Films: Conversations with the Screenwriters*. Greenwood Publishing Group, 2008.

Bawden, Liz-Anne. *The Oxford Companion to Film*. Oxford University Press, 1976.

"Becoming *Mary Poppins*." *The New Yorker*. Accessed November 13, 2016. http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2005/12/19/becoming-mary-poppins.

Buhle, Mari Jo. *Feminism and Its Discontents: A Century of Struggle with Psychoanalysis*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1998.

"Complete National Film Registry Listing - National Film Preservation Board - Programs." Web page. *Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540 USA*. Accessed November 13, 2016. https://www.loc.gov/programs/national-film-preservation-board/film-registry/complete-national-film-registry-listing/.

Cooney, Terry. "Popular Culture and the Dance of Values." In *Balancing Acts: American Thought and Culture in the 1930s*, 59–103. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1995.

Coontz, Stephanie. *A Strange Stirring : The Feminine Mystique and American Women at the Dawn of the 1960s*. New York, US: Basic Books, 2011. http://site.ebrary.com/lib/alltitles/docDetail.action?docID=10435877.

———. *The Way We Never Were: American Families and the Nostalgia Trap*. New York, NY: BasicBooks, 1992.

Davis, Ronald L. *Mary Martin, Broadway Legend*. University of Oklahoma Press, 2014.

"Film History of the 1960s." Accessed November 13, 2016. http://www.filmsite.org/60sintro5.html.

GARCIA, DESIRÉE J. *The Migration of Musical Film*. Rutgers University Press, 2014. http://www.jstor.org.www2.lib.ku.edu/stable/j.ctt7zvzn1.

Gorsky, Martin. "'Raindrops on Roses:' *The Sound of Music* and the Political Psyche of the Sixties." *The Sixties* 6, no. 2 (December 1, 2013): 199–224. doi:10.1080/17541328.2014.886425.

Graml, Gundolf. "'The Hills Are Alive' Sound of Music Tourism and the Performative Construction of Places." *Women in German Yearbook*, no. 21 (December 2005): 192–214.

Guinness World Records Limited. *Guinness World Records 2015.*, 2014.

Harmon, Melissa Burdick. "Maria von Trapp: The Real-Life Story Behind *The Sound of Music*." *Biography* 7, no. 12 (December 2003): 98.

Harris, Mark. *Pictures at a Revolution: Five Movies and the Birth of the New Hollywood*. Penguin, 2008.

Herman, Jan. *A Talent for Trouble: The Life of Hollywood's Most Acclaimed Director, William Wyler*. Da Capo Press, 1997.

Hirsch, Julia Antopol. *The Sound of Music: The Making of America's Favorite Movie*. Contemporary Books, 1993.

HYLAND, WILLIAM G., ed. "*THE SOUND OF MUSIC*." In *Richard Rodgers*, 247–57. Yale University Press, 1998. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt32bf0p.25.

Kemp, Peter. "How Do You Solve a 'Problem' Like Maria von Poppins." In *Musicals: Hollywood and Beyond*, edited by Bill Marshall and Robynn Stilwell, 55–61. Exeter and Portland: Intelect Books, 2000.

Knapp, Raymond. "History, *The Sound of Music*, and Us." *American Music* 22, no. 1 (2004): 133–44. doi:10.2307/3592972.

LadyGaga4Lyf. *Lady Gaga - The Sound of Music Clips, Full Tribute with Julie Andrews [2015 Oscars]*. Accessed November 13, 2016. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vdqYmSf6tiE.

Lamb-Faffelberger, Margarete. "Beyond *The Sound of Music*: The Quest for Cultural Identity in Modern Austria." *The German Quarterly* 76, no. 3 (2003): 289–99. doi:10.2307/3252083.

Lewis, Jon. *American Film: A History*. W. W. Norton & Company, 2007.

"*Mary Poppins* (1964) - Box Office Mojo." Accessed November 13, 2016. http://www.boxofficemojo.com/movies/?page=main&id=marypoppins.htm.

Maslon, Laurence, and Andrew Lloyd Webber. *The Sound of Music Companion*. Simon and Schuster, 2007.

May, Elaine Tyler. *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era*. New York: Basic Books, 1988.

Mcconachie, Bruce A. *Studies Theatre Hist & Culture : American Theater in the Culture of the Cold War : Producing and Contesting Containment, 1947-1962*. Iowa City, US: University Of Iowa Press, 2005. http://site.ebrary.com/lib/alltitles/docDetail.action?docID=10354424.

McLeer, Anne. "Practical Perfection? The Nanny Negotiates Gender, Class, and Family Contradictions in 1960s Popular Culture." *NWSA Journal* 14, no. 2 (2002): 80–101.

Rodgers, Richard. *Musical Stages: An Autobiography*. Da Capo Press, 2009.

Santopietro, Tom. *The Sound of Music Story: How a Bequiling Young Novice, a Handsome Austrian Captain, and Ten Singing von Trapp Children Inspired the Most Beloved Film of All Time.* New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 2015.

Schedtler, Susanne. "*The Sound of Music* Zwischen Mythos Und Marketing." Edited by Ulrike Kammerhofer-Aggermann and Alexander Keul. *Lied Und Populäre Kultur / Song and Popular Culture* 48 (2003): 323–25. doi:10.2307/4147852.

Schulz, Lisa, and Lisa Schulz. "*The Sound of Music* Kicks Off 50th Anniversary With Screenings of Restored Version." *Variety*, January 22, 2015. http://variety.com/2015/film/news/the-sound-of-music-kicks-off-50th-anniversary-with-screenings-of-restored-version-1201411568/.

Scott, Joan W. "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis." *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (1986): 1053–75. doi:10.2307/1864376.

Smith, Judith E. *Popular Cultures, Everyday Lives : Visions of Belonging : Family Stories, Popular Culture, and Postwar Democracy, 1940-1960*. New York, US: Columbia University Press, 2012. http://site.ebrary.com/lib/alltitles/docDetail.action?docID=10183598.

"Stage Review: *Mary Poppins* Makes Trip to Broadway in Lavish Style." *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*. Accessed November 13, 2016. http://www.post-gazette.com/theater-dance/2006/11/17/Stage-Review-Mary-Poppins-makes-trip-to-Broadway-in-lavish-style/stories/200611170226.

"*The Sound of Music* (1965)." Accessed November 13, 2016. http://www.filmsite.org/soun.html.

"*The Sound of Music* (1965) - Release Info - IMDb." Accessed October 10, 2016. http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0059742/releaseinfo.

Trapp, Maria A. *The Story of the Trapp Family Singers*. Harper Collins, 2011.

Trapp, Maria von. *Yesterday, Today & Forever*. New Leaf Publishing Group, 2009.

Vansant, Jacqueline. "Robert Wise's *The Sound of Music* and the 'Denazification' of Austria in American Cinema." In *From World War to Waldheim*, 1st ed., 165–86. Culture and Politics in Austria and the United States. Berghahn Books, 1999. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1btbzzg.11.

Vicedo, Marga. *The Nature and Nurture of Love : From Imprinting to Attachment in Cold War America*. Chicago, US: University of Chicago Press, 2013. http://site.ebrary.com/lib/alltitles/docDetail.action?docID=10694636.

Weinstein, Deborah. *Pathological Family : Cold War America and the Rise of Family Therapy*. Ithaca, US: Cornell University Press, 2013. http://site.ebrary.com/lib/alltitles/docDetail.action?docID=10652982.

Weissberg, Liliane. "*The Sound of Music*: Jews and the Study of Jewish Culture in the New Europe." *Comparative Literature* 58, no. 4 (2006): 403–17.

Wolf, Stacy Ellen. *A Problem Like Maria: Gender and Sexuality in the American Musical*. University of Michigan Press, 2002.

Global and International Theses

Gastronomic Revolution:
Peruvian Cuisine's Journey from Cultural Entity to Commodity

Hannah Bannister is a senior majoring in Global and International Studies and Business Administration. She is from Bison, Kansas. This Latin American Studies and Food Anthropology article was supervised by Dr. Brian Lagotte.

Abstract:

The commodification of culture occurs when cultural products gain additional value beyond standard use-value, moving from a non-commercial realm to the commercial. Before ascending to the global culinary stage, Peruvian cuisine underwent a series of changes as the government, a group of Peruvian elites, and chefs explored ways to increase the cuisine's market potential, in an era deemed the gastronomic revolution. This research examines the evolution of cuisine through a qualitative analysis of media portrayals and scholarly understandings of the gastronomic revolution and Peruvian cuisine. I argue that the gastronomic revolution in Peru is contributing to the commodification of Peruvian food culture. Though Peru stands to benefit economically from the transformation of Peruvian cuisine, the contributions of minority groups to cuisine could be left behind in selling Peruvian food culture to a global audience.

INTRODUCTION

Peruvians lovingly describe their homeland as housing the trifecta of landscapes: sea, mountains, and jungle. This spectacular landscape has supplied the ingredients making up the foundation of Peruvian cuisine, a cuisine so delicious, rumor has it Peruvians are more proud of their cuisine than Machu Picchu (Tegel). The result of a nearly five hundred-year melting pot of indigenous, European, Asian, and African influences, Peruvian cuisine is full of unique flavors and ingredients (Fan 32). The variety and complexity of Peruvian cuisine set it apart from other Latin American cuisines, making Peruvian cuisine potentially the most captivating cuisine in the Western hemisphere that surprisingly few people have tried (Singh). However, actors behind the Peruvian gastronomic revolution, a largely elite orchestrated food movement, are bent on taking Peruvian cuisine to the masses, using delectable dishes and exotic ingredients as instruments to draw people in and spark curiosity about Peruvian culture ("Cooking Up"). Gastronomy has put Lima back on the map, no longer a mere stopover on the way to historic Cusco (Tegel). Global foodies now flock to Peru, a country where food is exalted and chefs are celebrities.

Every person in the world has some type of daily engagement with food, spanning between thoughts of where the next meal will come from to eating elaborate dishes. Eating is a sensory experience possessing certain emotional qualities and creating strong linkages between place, memory, and the food consumed. People take notice of taste bud-exciting cuisines, forming perceptions about the cuisine's place of origin, something governments and people in the food business have realized. Various middle income countries, such as Mexico

and South Korea, have made deliberate efforts to popularize national cuisines on a global scale, leveraging cuisine to create a recognizable nation brand through a public diplomacy initiative best known as "gastrodiplomacy" (Wilson 13). National governments hope investing in branding campaigns will result in financial benefits, such as strengthened economies through amplified trade, investment, or tourism revenue. Beginning in the 1990s, the Peruvian government began envisioning cuisine as the cornerstone of Peruvian identity and a potential platform for economic development, triggering the birth of the "gastronomic revolution" (Fan 30). Other elite groups of people, including chefs, joined the movement to push Peruvian food to a larger audience through a market-oriented approach, reassessing the presentation, marketing, and selling of Peruvian cuisine (Wilson 16).

The driving question behind my argument is whether or not the gastronomic revolution in Peru is contributing to the commodification of Peruvian food culture. As actors behind the gastronomic revolution in Peru explore new ways to promote the national cuisine, efforts could shift how Peruvian cuisine is evaluated, from solely having cultural value to having market value. Assessing a cultural product, such as Peruvian cuisine, not previously considered in economic terms can inflate the value of the cultural product beyond everyday use-value, commodifying the product (Pyykkönen 548). If the economic value of the cultural product becomes more valued in society than the cultural significance, the cultural meaning associated with the product could change. Peruvians could profit from having a more recognizable and widely accessible cuisine and foreigners could benefit from exposure to Peruvian culture through Peruvian cuisine. However, if certain Peruvian foods become more visible or popularized throughout the gastronomic revolution, foods less inclined to result in economic benefits from wider consumption and the associated cooking traditions could become increasingly scarce or undervalued.

Over the course of the paper, I argue the gastronomic revolution is indeed contributing to the commodification of Peruvian food culture. To begin, I present the origins of the gastronomic revolution, including the key actors and the respective visions of the actors for the future of Peruvian cuisine. Next, I introduce the theory of commodification, in particular the theory's connection to tourism and emphasis of government involvement in the commodification of culture. The methodological approach follows, detailing the data collection of media portrayals and scholarly understandings of the gastronomic revolution and Peruvian cuisine. I then explain how the cultural significance of food for Peruvians has inspired the government and the Peruvian Society of Gastronomy to form gastronomy-themed initiatives to raise awareness of Peruvian cuisine and to bring in tourism and outside investment. Subsequently, I examine the role of the chef in the gastronomic revolution and draw attention to organizations that feel additional measures should be taken to safeguard domestic and indigenous cooking traditions beyond the actions of the key actors. Finally, I explain how the actions of the Peruvian government, the Peruvian Society of Gastronomy, chefs, and others involved in the food business fulfill aspects of the theory of commodification and discuss how the commodification of Peruvian food culture is relevant to global consumers.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Gastronomic Revolution: Peruvian Cuisine Takes the Stage

Peru had to reach a certain level of stability for the Peruvian government to have the space to promote food as a meaningful force for change. Politicians needed the time to focus on issues unrelated to national security before Peruvian cuisine could take up room in national consciousness. Between 1980 and 1992, Peru became increasingly excluded from international trade and investment due to economic crisis and intense political violence between the Peruvian Army and radical revolutionary groups (Fan 33). When the violence subsided, Peru experienced a period of economic growth, and the government incorporated food into Peru's ambitious plan for economic development (Matta, "Value Native Eating" 6). Political actors believed if promotional efforts surrounding Peruvian cuisine found the balance between cultural preservation and conformance to international market standards, such efforts could result in positive economic impacts for the country (Matta, "Value Native Eating" 6). National stability and the subsequent economic growth allowed both Peruvians and foreigners to view Peruvian cuisine through a new lens. The future of Peruvian food culture hinges upon the negotiation between local and international players regarding the most important elements of Peruvian cuisine to preserve.

Food has particular value as a common identifier among Peru's ethnically and socially diverse population. The value of food can span beyond a necessary means of survival into a physical representation of a people with a shared history. Peruvian cuisine has European, Asian, African, and indigenous influences, and the establishment of a direct connection between Peru's culinary heritage and the country itself lends to a larger movement to foster solidarity among the varied communities and "to rediscover intrinsic value in intercultural difference" (Fan 33). In 2007, the Peruvian government raised Peruvian cuisine to the status of National Heritage, with hopes of further increasing the interest in food as a means of identity (Matta, "Value Native Eating" 1). The issue of who has the power to influence Peruvian gastronomic identity emerges as the government puts forth a vision for the future of Peruvian cuisine. As Peruvians increasingly use food to identify with Peru as a nation, the lines between selling a cuisine and selling an identity begin to blur in promoting Peruvian gastronomy to the rest of the world.

A group of Peruvian elites invested in the future of Peruvian cuisine felt the need to develop an organization to promote Peruvian food beyond the scope of government actions. The group hoped to bring Peruvians involved in every level of the food supply chain into one conversation about using food as a means to foster economic and social progress in Peru. In 2007, a collective of restaurant owners, experts in development studies, heads of culinary schools, and chefs came together to found the Peruvian Society of Gastronomy, known as Apega (Matta, "Food Incursions" 346). Both a "lobby and think-tank on food issues," Apega views Peruvian cuisine as a vehicle for "fostering national identity, social inclusion, and economic development all across the country" and places importance on appreciating the role of producers in the food chain (Matta, "Food Incursions" 346). In addition to ongoing

efforts, Apega also plans Mistura, an annual, week long culinary festival first held in Lima in 2008 (García, "Taste of Conquest" 510). Apega has sizeable political clout and influence in Peru as one of the main groups supporting the continued evolution of the gastronomic revolution. Apega initiatives could bolster the image of Peru as a culinary haven through strategic marketing and impact how Peruvians relate to each other through the national cuisine depending on how the organization depicts the origins and traditions of Peruvian food culture.

Peruvian cuisine underwent an aesthetic transformation process before ascending from Peruvians' tables in the domestic sphere to become a promoted part of national identity. Much of the transformation process centered on legitimizing Peruvian dishes as part of a sophisticated cuisine. By taking an authoritative role in the interpretation of indigenous and rural food traditions, European-trained Peruvian chefs have modernized rural food to appeal to the upper classes (García, "Taste of Conquest" 511). Through the utilization of "haute cuisine techniques and aesthetics," chefs have developed alternative versions of traditional dishes, preserving the exoticism of traditional ingredients, but at the same time essentially rendering the products unrecognizable (Matta, "Food Incursions" 342). Though incorporating indigenous and rural food elements into contemporary trendy Peruvian cuisine has brought an awareness of the cultural value of the elements, indigenous and rural food knowledge might become displaced in the process. In overlooking potentially adverse effects on traditional food knowledge, chefs' upgraded dishes have become part of a larger movement to standardize and make Peruvian cuisine more accessible to a cosmopolitan audience beyond the borders of Peru.

The media also develops content to advance the solidification of Peruvian food in the realm of sophisticated cuisines. Both local and international media sources have increased the visibility of Peruvian cuisine in publications and television segments through featured articles and cooking shows. Popular media sources' coverage of Peru as a travel destination has gradually deviated from traditional depictions of iconic Peruvian ruins and landscapes to descriptions of Peruvian dishes and drinks (Nelson 209). On a local level, the media has highlighted successful gastronomic entrepreneurship ventures to promote community building around individual accomplishments (Matta, "Food Incursions" 343). Additionally, Apega produces Mistura each year, a high profile culinary festival cultivating heavy media coverage due to the size and celebrity chef presence (García, "Taste of Conquest" 515). Representations of Peruvian cuisine in the media allow readers or viewers to consume the cuisine in an indirect manner through reading elaborate descriptions or absorbing televised depictions of the cuisine. However, media depictions run the risk of standardizing the types of images circulated about Peruvian food.

Commodification of Culture

When commodified through an exchange, products gain additional value beyond standard use-value. In a social context, commodification occurs when a non-commercial product becomes commercial. Commodification is the process of evaluating people, places, and practices in terms of exchange value in the

context of trade, assigning value to an object "not previously considered in economic terms" (Pyykkönen 548). Under the capitalistic system encompassing much of the global economy, commodities only gain or lose value when exchanged (Roland 4). The gastronomic revolution in Peru has presented an opportunity for an increase in culinary-related tourism and the exchange of Peruvian food products. If travelers and promoters of Peruvian cuisine assign an inflated value to Peruvian food in the exchanges, arguably, the commodification of Peruvian food culture could take place.

The process of commodification not only assigns value to cultural products in terms of market value but can also cause the meaning of the cultural product to evolve as well. Both visitors and local people experience the impact of cultural products changing in meaning. Commodified products respond to market values, resulting in the displacement of cultural meanings onto a different system of regulation outside of local control (Magowan 81). As cultural products diminish in meaning for locals and pressure to present tourists with increasingly exotic and spectacular attractions increases, locals increasingly stage cultural products for tourists, decorating the products to look authentic (Cohen 372). Commodification of cultural products can rob local people of cultural meanings important to organizing daily life as cultural products morph into paid performances for tourists (Greenwood 137). As tourists seek out visions of authentic Peruvian cuisine, accommodating forces might try to match tourist's expectations. Meeting tourist's expectations runs the risk of displacing or losing cultural meanings associated with Peruvian food.

Despite negative depictions of cultural commodification, members of the host culture likely have more agency in the process than critics of commodification imply. Changes in cultural meanings catered to tourists do not necessarily eliminate the possibility of local empowerment. As found in the case of Cuba, members of the host culture actively strategize, manipulate, and perform the images of Cuba elicited by cultural objects in a way that fits in with the national imagery locals desire to produce (Roland 6). For locals, cultural products oriented towards tourist consumption can simultaneously become "vehicles of self-representation" or distinguishing markers of cultural identity before a global audience (Cohen 383). Though Peruvians should not take the potentially adverse effects of diminished or altered cultural meanings surrounding food lightly, such effects should not prevent the outright sharing of Peruvian cuisine with the rest of the world. As a collective body, Peruvians can claim agency in the formation of cultural images regarding Peruvian cuisine and participate in the process of commodification alongside seemingly more powerful entities such as the government.

Governments often play an active role in the commodification of culture due to the potential economic incentives of selling culture to a wider audience. Political actors have a unique ability to manipulate the spread of cultural products in order to benefit society through the use of economic policy focused on increasing tourism revenue and international trade. When policymakers and business interests begin to form plans to market a nation as a tourist destination, the parties place an emphasis on understanding and capitalizing on the symbols and cultural practices best representing the nation (Roland 4). Thus, public policy can act as indicator of the

commodification of cultural products when a government attempts to "combine culture with national innovation and marketing strategies" (Pyykkönen 549). The potential to gain more extensive access to the global market and international distribution networks for cultural products further incentivizes the creation of policies related to cultural industries, particularly in developing countries (Pyykkönen 554). Connection to a wider market and distribution networks allows government and participating cultural industries to push cultural identity in the direction of popular demand. Whether cultural identity can maintain authenticity throughout the push becomes a pressing issue for people like scholars and indigenous people concerned with the preservation of cultural products.

DATA AND METHODS

I collected data from three main types of secondary sources: news articles, journal articles, and books. The sources present historical information about the gastronomic revolution in Peru and academic viewpoints about the role of food in national identity. News articles demonstrate how mainstream media sources in Peru and the United States portray Peruvian cuisine, using pictures and varying reporting techniques such as interviews or opinion pieces. Academic articles and books provide cases of commodification of culture throughout the world, examples of nations using food for self-promotion, and explanations of the rise of culinary tourism. The news articles lend insight into how descriptions of Peruvian cuisine in the media could affect how Peruvians feel about the national cuisine and shape foreign perception of Peruvian cuisine. Combining media portrayals and information from academic sources into a single analysis will provide a variety of perspectives regarding the possible commodification of Peruvian culture.

Thematic coding provides a structure for conducting qualitative research through an emphasis on recognizing patterns or themes within the data. The patterns and themes become codes to use throughout the data collection process, as a way to categorize and organize findings. While reading sources collected through archival research, I encountered themes pertinent to the potential trajectory of the gastronomic revolution. As each theme emerged from the data, I developed corresponding documents to deposit key passages from articles related to the themes. After encountering and establishing a theme, I coded key passages of subsequent readings with the theme as applicable and continually added passages to the documents. Though the use of thematic coding, I could determine the strength of a theme according to the number of data types addressing the theme. Additionally, I could ascertain whether individual themes could build the case of the commodification of Peruvian food culture.

The findings and argument within the paper relied upon secondary sources from other authors with research experiences in Peru and data from websites. Identifying any biases or misrepresentations from the ways other authors present information proves difficult without on the ground experience in Peru. Both the media and Apega present the effects of the gastronomic revolution on small agricultural producers and Peru as a whole in a very positive light, with dissenting opinions coming from academic authors. A reliance on the two varied perspectives makes understanding how producers or every-day Peruvians actually

feel about food-centered initiatives like Mistura or government branding campaigns challenging given a lack of primary data from interviews. Time and budget willing, traveling to Peru to conduct fieldwork and interviews with the lesser-heard voices of agricultural producers and indigenous groups could have formed a new pool of primary data for drawing conclusions, strengthening the argument of the paper. Gathering primary data in Peru would have allowed me, through interview hand-picked interview questions, to reach a greater depth of understanding of how Peruvians think the gastronomic revolution might affect Peruvian food culture and whether feelings differ between ethnic groups or social status.

FINDINGS

Even though significant social and geographical barriers separate people in Peru, food provides Peruvians a source of common cultural identity. As a cuisine with diverse cultural influences, Peruvians of many backgrounds can find aspects of individual roots in dishes Peruvians identify with as a whole. In a poll of Peruvians, respondents reported the four aspects of Peruvian culture they felt most proud, with food ranking above Machu Picchu or the nation's history (Fan 33). 94.7% of Lima and Callao residents are proud of Peruvian cuisine as part of Peruvian heritage, with 64% preferring criolla cuisine (developed on the coast) and 10% preferring regional cuisines ("Alianza entre turismo" 57). The deep connection Peruvians have with food spans borders, inspiring, for example, Peruvian migrants in San Francisco to create Peruvian restaurants and to import Peruvian food from food import companies (Brain 83). The government and Apega hope to capture value stemming from Peruvian cuisine both in terms of inspiring unity among Peruvians and collecting a profit. Food has emotional and intimate qualities for the government and Apega to capitalize upon.

Government Involvement in the Gastronomic Revolution

The Peruvian government has sponsored various gastronomy-centered campaigns to attract global attention. New culinary campaigns give the Peruvian government an opportunity to rebrand the country, pushing away from previous associations with political instability. The Peruvian government strives to create a nation brand with food as the foundation to promote Peru's food culture as both "world-class and distinctly Peruvian" (Wilson 13). National branding campaigns are an outlet for countries like Peru to pour funds into, to support goals like increasing trade and investment and increasing tourism revenue (Wilson 14). Peru's Export and Tourism Promotion board launched such a campaign with "Peru Mucho Gusto" in 2006, a campaign funding the production of cookbooks, the organization high-profile food festivals, and the recognition of commendable Peruvian restaurants globally (Singh). Campaigns focused on building Peru's reputation as a top culinary destination might overlook cultural nuances of regional cuisines in order to form a more condensed picture of Peruvian cuisine. Condensing Peruvian cuisine into several readily identifiable images makes Peruvian cuisine more easily recognized by outsiders.

Despite intentions to lift up Peruvian food culture as a whole, the government branding campaigns rarely give minority groups in Peru explicit credit for

contributions to Peruvian cuisine. The campaigns depict indigenous people and Afro-Peruvians, but the groups' influences on cuisine are not the focal point of the groups' roles in campaigns. In 2011, a new branding campaign called Marca Perú released a video in promotion of Peruvian food culture; however, the video never depicted indigenous people and Afro-Peruvians as cooks or contributors to cuisine, only as artisans, dancers, and musicians (Matta, "Cocinando una nación" 55). In line with the video depiction, the cuisine most frequently presented in campaigns, criollo cuisine, is a result of a process of substituting ingredients in dishes in order to make the dishes less native and more European (Hinostroza 82). Glossing over the role of minority groups in Peruvian cuisine in branding campaigns produces an incomplete picture for outsiders of the cultural influences on Peruvian cuisine. However, the campaigns have found success, making the government agencies creating campaigns less inclined to change tactics in order to continue bringing in profits from culinary tourism.

The number of tourists coming to Peru specifically seeking gastronomic experiences has risen since the beginning of the gastronomic revolution. In regards to culinary tourism, the Peruvian government's gastronomy-centered branding schemes seem to have persuaded international travelers to visit Peru. PromPeru, the Commission of Peru Promotion in Exports and Tourism, completed a study that claims between forty-two and forty-three percent of tourists arriving in Peru have gastronomic motivations for choosing Peru as a destination (Hurtado and Salas). Receiving prestigious awards like the World Travel Award for Best Culinary Destination for four consecutive years, promoting gastronomic travel routes, and offering culinary experiences like cooking classes all place Peru in tourists' culinary consciences ("Peru Tourism Sector"). Strong interest in Peruvian cuisine creates real economic impact in Peru from activities such as culinary tourism, an estimated $1.4 million industry in 2015, almost double the 2013 amount (Singh). The staging of Peruvian cuisine for tourists also has the potential to incite pride in Peruvians for the national cuisine as something valuable enough to promote internationally. However, with swelling outside enthusiasm for gastronomic experiences in Peru, locals will seek out new ways to package Peruvian cuisine to hold tourist attention.

Bringing Peruvian Ingredients to a Larger Audience

One area of concentration for Apega is contributing to the economic and social inclusion of small agricultural producers and small business owners associated with gastronomy. The organization recognizes small-scale producers as the backbone of Peruvian gastronomy and hopes to improve producer access to markets. Apega created an initiative in conjunction with agricultural unions to promote the consumption of products symbolic of small producers and finances publications to highlight native Peruvian products like quinoa, potatoes, and ají ("El boom gastronómico" 33). Apega also sponsors "media trips" to agricultural areas with the goal of Peruvians having a better understanding of where food comes from and a better vision of the producers growing the food (García, "Culinary Fusion" 49). To make Apega initiatives more successful, the organization pushes for a greater commitment from the government to design policies to promote and support

gastronomy and culinary tourism, both domestic and international (Roca Rey). The Apega efforts to promote the diversity and raise awareness of traditional food products have the potential to make economic differences in the lives of producers. However, the organization must continue taking the small producer-initiative seriously in order to ensure stability for producers, and not become sidetracked in pursuit of potentially more lucrative initiatives such as culinary tourism.

People in the food export business have manipulated the marketing of Peruvian food products as part of the push to connect small producers with international markets. The manipulations stem from attempts to intrigue international consumers and meet international market standards. As part of the strategy to export commodities such as potatoes, salt, coffee, and fruit, exporters attempt to assign "terroir," unique flavors and aromas attributed to growing environments, to the products in order for the products to reach a premium status (Fan 34). Mariano Valderrama, the Apega general manager, hopes exported products will expand to include sauces and conserves, providing additional value for potential customers and new jobs in Peru (Tegel). Marketing the terroir of food products in order to see higher margins has the potential to push food products from associations with cultural significance. If the narrative formed about the food products appeals to consumers, exporters lack an incentive to stop accommodating perceived international tastes for specialized products, even if the narrative differs from or overrides cultural significance of the products.

Despite well-intentioned government and Apega support, exporting food products has not always maintained the cultural integrity of the products or distributed profits evenly. Selling products for profit in an international market places the products in the hands of people who do not value the products in the same way as local people. Government support to increase the export of trending products such as quinoa and aguaymanto, two iconically Andean and Amazonian products, has made the products less accessible to rural communities due to price increases and government encouragement to producers to focus efforts on a narrower range of products to meet growing demand (García, "Culinary Fusion" 52) Additionally, people in the culinary industry have frequently highlighted Amazonian and Andean ingredients for having high nutritional value instead of cultural significance (Matta, "Valuing Native Eating" 9). In the case of foreign based Peruvian food export companies, some revenue indeed reaches Peru, however, a large portion of the revenue remains concentrated in Lima, with very little distributed to rural agricultural areas (Brain 96). With time, the ways foreigners value Peruvian food products could permeate society, shifting the meaning of the products away from traditional significances. Local familiarity with a large variety of Peruvian food products could also change as farmers shift production towards meeting outside demand for select products.

Showcasing Peruvian Cuisine

In places unfamiliar with Peruvian cuisine, Peruvian restaurants become platforms to showcase Peruvian food culture for curious customers. The restaurants serve as spaces for people to first encounter Peruvian dishes and, perhaps, spark an interest in other aspects of Peruvian culture. The Peruvian government has incorporated restaurant creation as part of a "culinary

diplomacy project" to transform Peru's image abroad (Wilson 17). Within the past decade, Apega estimates restaurateurs have created several hundred Peruvian restaurants around the world ("Cooking up"). Government officials hope restaurant creation will bolster appeal for Peruvian food and create a larger demand for ingredient exports ("Cooking up"). The restaurant owners and chefs or cooks in Peruvian restaurants abroad have discretion over the types of dishes and the aesthetic presentation of dishes that will represent Peruvian cuisine to the foreign population. The Peruvian government hopes the food presentation and experience in restaurants will encourage foreigners to visit Peru or at the least, think highly and speak well of Peruvian cuisine.

Mistura, Apega's annual, high caliber food festival, is the largest staging of Peruvian cuisine in the country, striking a balance between cultural practices and tourist consumption. The event attracts foreigners and Peruvians alike, looking to sample a wide variety of Peruvian foods. With 400,000 visitors in 2016, Mistura attracts an increasing number of journalists and recognized international chefs each year to observe how Peruvian cuisine has evolved in addition to Latin American government officials coming to analyze Mistura success factors in order to emulate the success (Roca Rey). Agricultural producers from the far corners of Peru, fisherman, and popular cooks of various regions come together at the direction of Apega to put on Mistura ("Mistura es de todos"). One Andean producer represented expressed gratitude for Mistura as an event providing incomparable support to improve producers' aptitude for business ("Mistura es de todos"). Food products with cultural meanings transform within the space of Mistura into consumable commodities. At Apega's direction, tourism and material consumption blend with Peruvian food traditions, into a new expression of Peruvian food culture: the festival.

Chefs Shape the Direction of the Gastronomic Revolution

As hypervisible public figures in Peru, Peruvian chefs see themselves as the foremost ambassadors of Peruvian cuisine. Since the beginning of the gastronomic revolution, the status and influence of chefs in society has steadily risen. Chef Gastón Acurio proclaims the most groundbreaking achievement of Peruvian chefs was the formation of an alliance between chefs and agricultural producers as a way to give applause to producers for high quality ingredients and to increase producer income (García, "Taste of Conquest" 515). Chef Adolfo Perret recognizes carrying out Peruvian gastronomic events, attending international gastronomic fairs, and promoting culinary tourism as essential to the role of Peruvian chefs (Perret 53). Chefs view Peruvian cuisine as an expression of culture, "full of roots, traditions, historical legacy, and above all, full of identity," and any dissenters "are simply unpatriotic" (Wilson 16). Placing chefs in the limelight in media coverage of Peruvian cuisine exposes the general public to an elitist, one-sided vision of the gastronomic boom, of food as a way to unify Peruvians. Despite attempts to share accolades with agricultural producers, chefs still receive a vast majority of credit for making Peruvian cuisine desirable to the rest of the world.

In the quest for recognition as an exceptional chef in Lima, the social origins of the chefs, not simply culinary prowess,

bolster a chef's chance at fame. The most famous of Peruvian chefs come from elite families and frequently had the privilege to develop culinary skills abroad. Chefs trained abroad heavily proscribed to a discourse describing cuisine as art, distancing the chefs from chefs trained in Peru through the perception of domestic chefs as purely profit driven and unskilled in the "artistic requirements of haute cuisine" (Lauer and Lauer 67). In likening haute cuisine – a result of passion for the art of cooking and openness to the world – as the premier aspect of Peruvian food culture, only foreign trained chefs can incorporate such high levels of technique into dishes (Matta, "Valuing Native Eating" 4). The now-famous chefs did not have to face social or cultural barriers in presenting "unconventional" native ingredients and new culinary creations to clients; status gave the chefs credibility (Matta, "Valuing Native Eating" 8). The social background and training of elite Peruvian chefs gave the chefs authority to revisit Peruvian cuisine with little suspicion or pushback for modifying the historical elements of Peruvian dishes. Mapping Peruvian cuisine onto a new, internationally dictated standard of artistry excluded chefs not able to reach the new standard from actively competing for spots as a top chef in Peru.

Chef Gastón Acurio built a restaurant empire while using his fame to speak out about the connection between cuisine, national identity, and economic and agricultural development. As the most prominent Peruvian chef, Acurio promotes Peruvian cuisine both domestically and on an international scale. In public talks, Acurio sheds light on the immorality of poor Peruvians going hungry in country with such a rich gastronomic culture, especially in regions exporting food products and supplying ingredients to Peruvian restaurants (García, "Taste of Conquest" 512). Acurio wants to globalize Peruvian cuisine in an equitable way, benefitting all Peruvians in the food supply chain through the formation of new business culture in Peru to attract more investors, and thus more financial resources (Herrero 48). Acurio has certainly put his rhetoric about globalizing Peruvian cuisine into practice, opening thirty-seven restaurants in eleven countries over the past two decades, each featuring different kinds of Peruvian cuisine ("Cooking up"). Despite speaking from a position of privilege, Acurio seems genuinely dedicated to addressing social problems, such as hunger and poverty, through the augmentation of the culinary industry in Peru. Acurio speaks to the political implications and lucrative potential of Peruvian cuisine, pushing Peruvians to participate in the continued development of Peruvian food culture.

The evolution of Peruvian food culture on the part of elite chefs includes the appropriation of indigenous food elements, incorporating the elements into daily menus and often removing the food elements from any previous cultural context. Chefs identify positive attributes of the indigenous food elements beyond cultural significance to create new selling points for innovative dishes. Chef Pedro Miguel Schiaffino is well known for seeking out Amazonian ingredients and experimenting with the ingredients in novel ways that intrigue customers and "speak to Peru but are not always easily identifiable as Peruvian" (Carman). Even if chefs highlight the traditional value of the ingredient, a chef might serve ravioli stuffed with guinea pig meat, presenting the opportunity for tourists

to try a "traditional" animal, but in a masked and aestheticized way (García, "Taste of Conquest" 511). An increased focus for chefs to create cosmopolitan dishes pushes Peruvian gastronomy in a direction geared towards attracting tourists and catering to tourist preferences. The extraction of indigenous food elements becomes a way to turn higher profits at trendy restaurants, but does not place indigenous people in a position to benefit from the profits of indigenous-inspired dishes.

Protecting Culinary Traditions

Amidst pushes to globalize Peruvian cuisine, several organizations have felt the need to safeguard domestic and indigenous cooking traditions. Despite famous chefs highlighting the role of rural, indigenous producers in the food supply chain, organizations strive to help Peruvians see indigenous people in roles beyond food production. From an international level, the World Tourism Organization of the UN detailed in a report the need to promote domestic and traditional cooking techniques ("Alianza entre turismo" 59). On a local level, Chirapaq (the Center of Indigenous Cultures in Peru), an indigenous organization, has likely worked the most on food issues, focusing on food sovereignty and security and the recovery and revalorization of ancestral knowledge (García, "Culinary Fusion" 51). Tarcila Rivera, president of Chirapaq, says many Peruvians are not aware of the indigenous roots in Peruvian gastronomy, a reason why the group puts on a cooking fair for Peruvians to learn about indigenous cooking, ingredients, and preparation methods ("Perú: cocina indígena"). Organizations like Chirapaq might not feel called to create separate spaces to honor indigenous cooking traditions if groups such as chefs and Apega actively preserved all the traditions. In hopes of aligning Peruvian cuisine with a progressively business oriented agenda, indigenous cooking traditions might be left behind.

DISCUSSION

Peruvian food gains value beyond ordinary use value as sustenance when exchanged in market settings. Though arguably an important part of Peruvian identity throughout history, Peruvians did not always consider food in economic or commercial terms. Domestically confined preparations of the past have become put on public display in the ever-growing number of restaurants in Peru, assigning a new type of value to the dishes through market pricing. Chefs' use of indigenous ingredients to add flair to restaurant menus takes the ingredients out of the ingredients' original context and inflates the traditional value when a restaurant customer agrees to pay for the menu item. If traditional food products only begin to gain value when commodified through an exchange, an amplified push to place the products in consumer hands makes sense as a way to increase the products' values. However, the cultural significance of the products could become separated from the product unless the promoters see cultural significance as a way to further increase market value.

In gaining additional value through increased exchange and commodification, the cultural meanings associated with Peruvian food products have evolved from traditional notions of food as a source of cultural identity to an advertised representation of Peruvian culture. The market value of the products can impede upon cultural value through the staging of

products for export and tourist consumption. As certain Peruvian food products become trendy or emphasized for having health benefits, the demand and price increases, making the products less accessible for the traditional consumers in Peru unable to meet the new market prices. With hopes of premium status products, the terroir assigned to Peruvian products is at the food exporter's discretion; the exporter creates the narrative about the product origin, and can choose whether or not to include traditional meanings associated with the product. Additionally, as the culinary tourism industry grows, such paid performances of Peruvian food culture could increasingly deviate from tradition in order to create tours with amplified exoticism to excite tourists. The cultural meanings of food exports and the food or activities produced on culinary tours are placed on an outside system of regulation, the market. Although people in the food export or culinary tourism business can inscribe products with "authenticity," with time, separating true authenticity from created meanings could become difficult, obstructing the traditional cultural meanings for local people.

Following the trend of government involvement in the commodification of culture, the Peruvian government found food to be both a strong symbol and cultural practice of Peru, with the potential to appeal to a global audience. In order to facilitate an increased awareness of Peruvian cuisine, the government orchestrated culinary branding campaigns as a marketing strategy. Growth in the restaurant sector of Peru and in culinary tourism, an industry generating over a million dollars a year, gives the government incentives to continue promotional activities. Strength in the two sectors enhances Peru's allure as a tourist destination and tourist exposure could help Peruvian food products break into new international markets. Because Peru is a developing country seeking forms of financial stability, the demonstrated potential economic incentives motivate the Peruvian government to continue encouraging Peruvians to use cuisine as a means of securing a profit. Though government supported connections to international markets secure real material benefits for real people, the food products sold are put at risk of losing traditional significance as a side effect of profit seeking.

Although commodification might cause cultural meanings associated with food products to change, Peruvians have agency in the process of commodification in deciding how to present Peruvian cuisine and can profit from the chosen depictions. Peruvians can actively strategize the ways to perform Peruvian food culture for outsiders, as expressions of national identity and culture. Groups at the forefront of the gastronomic revolution, such as the government and Apega, create the most visible representations of Peruvian food culture, with the goal of creating an image for Peru as premier culinary destination. The Peruvian government uses culinary branding campaigns to illustrate the importance of cuisine to Peruvian identity and to foster an automatic association between Peru and stellar cuisine in the minds of outsiders. In every rendition of Mistura, Apega acts purposefully in vendor and theme selection in order to showcase the best of Peruvian cuisine before an international audience. While the government had the agency to create campaigns, the resulting images decrease the awareness of the influences of

minority groups on Peruvian cuisine, something minority groups might not have the voice to challenge. Though perhaps not a form of pushback, the Chiraq organization feeling called to organize a food festival outside of Mistura further hints at the notion that large-scale representations of the food culture of "all Peruvians" are not truly inclusive. Without financial strength or celebrity, smaller groups may struggle to present Peruvian food culture from a perspective varying from more visible perspective of the government or Apega.

Today, increased international travel and globalized consumption has facilitated the purchase of cultural products through increased accessibility. However, the relationship between creators of cultural products and the global consumer is increasingly complex, with cultural products changing hands, and potentially marketing strategies, many times before reaching a final destination. Although the organizations coordinating culinary experiences or promoting food products might highlight the cultural significances, consumers of the products might not have the capacity or insight to identify authenticity. Intermediaries between consumer and culture creator have the power and the opportunity to support cultural preservation throughout any promotional efforts. Through an increased understanding of how consumer demand could impact the production of cultural products to meet consumer tastes and the careful discernment in product selection, consumers, too, can participate in the preservation of culture. Consumer education could help move towards a richer type of diversity, fueled by a genuine interest the preservation of other cultures rather than solely participating in the commercial economy.

CONCLUSION

Though well-intentioned and with hopes to make Peru better off as a nation, the gastronomic revolution has been a top-down approach. Elite groups at the helm dictate the direction of the gastronomic revolution, having influence over how Peruvians identify with and perceive Peruvian cuisine. The gastronomic revolution began as a government platform with hopes of reaping economic benefits post economic and political crisis in Peru. As time went on, a group of elites formed Apega to supplement the government's food-based initiatives and to work towards the economic inclusion of small producers. Chefs of elite stature with European training have acted as advocates of small producers while becoming the most visible creators of Peruvian food culture. Celebrating and lifting up aspects of culture, such as a Peruvian cuisine, are worthy causes for elites to support, particularly if the movement lifts people up economically as well. However, an elite-dominated movement can run the risk of overpowering already marginalized voices, especially if elites act as stand-ins for marginalized opinions.

Despite championing Peruvian cuisine and creating economic benefits for Peru, the gastronomic revolution has not materialized without revisions and adaptations of Peruvian food culture. Actors in the gastronomic revolution make the changes in order to meet international standards and tastes. Government culinary branding campaigns have underrepresented indigenous and Afro-Peruvian cooking traditions in advertising Peruvian food culture. Each year, Apega stages Peruvian cuisine for tourists and Peruvians during week-long Mistura, selecting the vendors the

group believes best represent Peruvian food culture. Though making use of authentic, indigenous ingredients, chefs have taken liberties with Peruvian dishes, aestheticizing the dishes in ways not always recognizable as Peruvian. Cultural movements such as the gastronomic revolution can warn against pushing aside potential detriments to smaller sects of culture in order to make a profit selling the more dominant culture to a wider audience. If small sectors of culture become progressively marginalized, any lost traditions will become increasing difficult to resurrect.

Works Cited

"Alianza entre turismo y cultura en el Perú: modelos de colaboración entre turismo, cultura y comunidad." *Organizacíon Mundial del Turismo*, 2016, www.e-unwto.org/doi/pdf/10.18111/9789284417575. Accessed 14 Dec 2016.

"El boom gastronómico peruano al 2013." *Apega*, 2013, www.consuladoperuroma.it/doc/libros_dig/boom_gastronomico_peruano_al_2013_web.pdf. Accessed 14 Dec 2016.

Brain, Kelsey. "The Transnational Networks of Cultural Commodities: Peruvian Food in San Francisco." *Yearbook of the Association of Pacific Coast Geographer*, vol. 76, 2014, pp. 82-101.

Carman, Tim. "It's a Whole New World in Peruvian Cuisine." *Washington Post*, 3 Dec. 2012, www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/travel/its-a-whole-new-world-in-peruvian-cuisine/2012/12/13/d7b66a78-42d6-11e2-9648-a2c323a991d6_story.html. Accessed 14 Dec. 2016.

Chuang, Hui-Tun. "The Rise of Culinary Tourism and Its Transformation of Food Cultures: The National Cuisine of Taiwan." *The Copenhagen Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 27, no. 2, 2009, pp. 84-108.

Cohen, Erik. "Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 15, 1988, pp. 371-386.

"Cooking Up a Business Cluster." *The Economist*, 22 Feb. 2014, www.economist.com/news/americas/21596956-peruvian-gastronomic-revolution-continued-cooking-up-business-cluster. Accessed 14 Dec 2016.

Fan, Judith E. "Can ideas about food inspire real social change? The case of Peruvian gastronomy." *Gastronomica*, vol. 13, no. 2, 2013, pp. 29-40.

García, María E. "The Taste of Conquest: Colonialism, Cosmopolitics, and the Dark Side of Peru's Gastronomic Boom." *The Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology*, vol. 18, no. 3, 2013, pp. 505-524.

--- "Culinary Fusion and Colonialism: a Critical Look at the Peruvian Food Boom." *ReVista: Harvard Review of Latin America*, vol. 14, no. 1, 2014, 49-52.

Greenwood, Davydd. "Culture by the Pound: an Anthropological Perspective on Tourism as Cultural Commoditization." *Hosts and Guests: the Anthropology of Tourism*, edited by Valene L. Smith, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989, 171-187.

Herrero, Gustavo. "Gastón Acurio: a Recipe for Success." *ReVista: Harvard Review of Latin America*, vol. 14, no. 1, 2014, pp. 46-49.

Hinostroza, Rodolfo. *Primicias de cocina peruana*. Everest Publishing, 2006.

Horng, Jeou-Shyan. "Government Websites for Promoting East Asian Culinary Tourism: a Cross-National Analysis." *Tourism Management*, vol. 31, no. 1, 2010, pp. 74-85.

Hurtado, Carlos, and Leslie Salas Oblitas. "Ingredientes para que Perú sea destino gastronómico mundial." *El Comercio*, 5 Sept. 2016, elcomercio.pe/economia/dia-1/ingredientes-que-peru-sea-destino-gastronomico-mundial-noticia-1929309. Accessed 14 Dec 2016.

Lauer, Mirko, and Vera Lauer. *La revolución gastronómica peruana*. Universidad de San Martín

de Porres, escuela profesional de turismo y hotelería, 2006.

Magowan, Fiona. "Playing with Meaning: Perspectives on Culture, Commodification and Constestation around the Didjeridu." *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, vol. 37, 2005, pp. 80-102.

Matta, Raúl. "Cocinando una nación de consumidores: el Perú como marca global." *Consensus*, vol. 17, no. 1, 2012, pp. 49-60.

--- "Valuing Native Eating: the Modern Roots of Peruvian Food Heritage." *Anthropology of Food*, vol. S8, 2013, www.aof.revues.org. Accessed 14 Dec 2016.

Matta, Raúl. "Food Incursions into Global Heritage: Peruvian Cuisine's Slippery Road to UNESCO." *Social Anthropology*, vol. 24, no. 3, 2016, pp. 338-352.

"Mistura es de todos los peruanos y la vamos a hacer crecer." *El Comercio*, 12 Sept. 2016, elcomercio.pe/gastronomia/ferias/mistura-todos-peruanos-y-vamos-hacer-crecer-noticia-1931161. Accessed 14 Dec 2016.

Nelson, Velvet. "Peru's Image as a Culinary Destination." *Journal of Cultural Geography*, vol. 33, no. 2, 2016, pp. 208-228.

"Perú: cocina indígena para erradicar el hambre y la desnutrición." *Agencia Plurinacional de Comunicación*, 23 May 2012, www.apcbolivia.org/inf/noticia.aspx?fill=931&Id=8&D86Fv&fil=9&hsdate=10&BD54SSDfecrada=&%FS45. Accessed 14 Dec 2016.

"Peru Tourism Sector Capitalises on Variety." *Oxford Business Group*, 2016, https://www.oxfordbusinessgroup.com/overview/new-routes-leveraging-country%E2%80%99s-variety-leading-new-tourism-products. Accesssed 14 Dec 2016.

Perret, Adolfo. "Fusion and Identity: a Chef Speaks." *ReVista: Harvard Review of Latin America*, vol. 14, no. 1, 2014, pp. 53-54.

Pyykkö, Miikka. "UNESCO and Cultural Diversity: Democratisation, Commodification or Governmentalisation of Culture?." *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, vol. 18, no. 5, 2012, pp. 545-562.

Roca Rey, Bernardo. "IX Mistura: legado y futuro." *El Comercio*, 11 Sept. 2016, elcomercio.pe/opinion/colaboradores/ix-mistura-legado-y-futuro-bernardo-roca-rey-noticia-1930793. Accessed 14 Dec 2016.

Roland, L. Kaifa. "Tourism and the Commodification of Cubanidad." *Tourist Studies*, vol. 10, no. 1, 2010, pp. 3-18.

Singh, Maanvi. "Who's Behind the Latest Ethnic Food Trend? Maybe It's a Government." *NPR*, 26 April 2015.

Tegel, Simeon. "Why Peru's Gastronomy Is a Bigger Draw for Tourists Than the Incas." *Independent*, 10 Jan. 2016, www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/why-perus-gastronomy-is-a-bigger-draw-for-tourists-than-the-incas-a6805026.html. Accessed 14 Dec 2016.

Wilson, Rachel. "Cocina Peruana para el Mundo: Gastrodiplomacy, the Culinary Nation Brand, and the Context of National Cuisine in Peru." *Exchange: The Journal of Public Diplomacy*, vol. 2, no. 1, 2013, pp. 13-20.

Soy Domination: The Impacts of Genetic Modification in Argentina and Paraguay

Lucy Griffith is a senior majoring in Global and International Studies and French. She is from Overland Park, Kansas. This International Relations, Agricultural Studies, and Biotechnology article was supervised by Dr. Brian Lagotte.

Abstract:

Genetically modified soy has experienced enormous growth in Latin America's Southern Cone nations since the beginning of the soy boom in the 1990s. The Southern Cone refers to the nations at the southern end of South America, typically including Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay and Brazil. The exponential growth in the soy industry created significant problems for smallholder farmers and peasant communities in Argentina and Paraguay. The soy boom led to extensive displacement, job loss, and uncertainty among peasants and smallholder farmers. Genetically modified technology also threatens the health of surrounding communities. Agribusiness giants encouraged the growth of the soy industry in Argentina and Paraguay, creating an export-based economy reliant upon raw material output. This research explores the various impacts of the genetically modified soy industry, with particular emphasis on smallholder farmers and peasants in the region.

Bread, eggs, vegetable oil, candles, cereal, cough drops, and lotion—what do all of these products have in common? At first glance, the list seems unrelated aside from the fact that all of these items can be purchased at any neighborhood grocery store. In actuality, the correlation between the items comes down to one simple ingredient: soy. Soybeans are one of the cheapest crops in today's agricultural market, so the food industry uses soy, soybean meal, soya oil, and other soy byproducts in almost everything. Even the wax coating on fresh fruits and vegetables is composed of soy. Soybean meal is also used as one of the primary protein sources for animal feed in the animal agriculture industry, meaning even beef contains trace amounts of soy. Considering soy is an ingredient in so many different products, I began to wonder where all the soy comes from and why it is so cheap. After some preliminary research, I discovered that the soy industry, like most agricultural industries, is greedy, exploitative, and contributes to environmental degradation.

The soy industry is massive, and growing larger due to genetic modification. Genetically modified soy supplies are inexpensive, plentiful, and high yielding, creating increasing demand, so soy crops continue to expand geographically. As of 2009, more than 90% of all soy produced in Argentina and Paraguay is genetically modified (Abramson 36). Latin America is a main contributor to soy production, especially in Southern Cone nations like Argentina and Paraguay. Genetically modified soy technology was adopted in Argentina and Paraguay faster than the rest of the world, including the United States, where the genetically modified soybean originated (Leguizamón 150). The engineering involved in the genetic modification of soy creates soy crops

resistant to harsh weather conditions and guarantees higher crop yields. The soy-producing region of Argentina and Paraguay has been home to many peasant and indigenous families as well as smallholder farmers for centuries. The agricultural region is export-focused and the main source of work and income for peasants in the region is farming. However, with the rapid increase in land dedicated to genetically modified soy many peasants and smallholder farmers face uncertainty in terms of work, land, and overall wellbeing.

The research question the project revolves around is: how has the rise of genetically modified soy impacted smallholder farmers in the soy-producing region of Argentina and Paraguay? The "rise" in the question refers to the soy boom, beginning in the mid-1990s in the Southern Cone of Latin America, mostly Argentina and Paraguay; the "soy-producing region" refers to a traditionally agricultural area extending out from the Pampas region of Northern Argentina into Paraguay. The "smallholder farmers" in the question are individual, family, peasant, and indigenous farmers who have lived and farmed in the region for centuries. The theoretical framework of the project centers on a core-periphery system of exploitation based on Immanuel Wallerstein's world-systems theory. According to his theory, smallholder farmers are the periphery in the system, while agribusinesses act as the powerful core, benefitting from the soy industry in the peripheral region as well as labor from peripheral communities. The project fits into the current research conversation involving genetic modification in staple crop agriculture, with a focus on the qualitative impacts absorbed by peasants and smallholder farmers in the region. The question is significant because smallholder farmers in the region face abuse and exploitation due to the constantly growing soy industry threatening peasants' land, health, and opportunities for work.

The negative impacts of the genetically modified soy industry in the soy-producing region of Argentina and Paraguay threaten the health and livelihood of peasants and smallholder farmers, as part of a system only beneficial to large-scale producers and agribusinesses. The first section of my literature review discusses the rise in popularity of genetically modified technology in the soybean industry of Argentina and Paraguay. The second section of the literature review focuses on the theoretical framework of my project involving an unequal and transactional relationship between core groups and periphery groups, known as world-systems theory. In the next section I discuss the thematic coding of secondary sources for data collection and analysis. I then discuss the geographical and economic impacts of the soy boom on peasants and smallholder farmers and the major health risks associated with the use of agrochemicals in genetically modified crops. Finally, I address various counterarguments I encountered throughout the research process and discuss the significance of the exploitation of peasants and smallholder farmers in Argentina and Paraguay as a side effect of the big soy industry.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Genetic Modification in Rural Argentina and Paraguay

Genetically modified soy has threatened the property of smallholder farmers in Argentina and Paraguay. International agri-

businesses have more power than peasant and indigenous farmers, allowing corporations to repossess land for more acreage. In Argentina, 3% of agricultural producers control 70% of all farmable land, and in Paraguay, 1% of producers control 77% of land (Garcia-Lopez 199). Additionally, the need for large amounts of acreage for agribusiness has led the Paraguayan government to remove small farmers from public land previously allotted for smallholder and indigenous farmers (Abramson 34). The governmental repossession of land in Paraguay has displaced almost 100,000 small-scale farmers since the beginning of the soy boom in 1990 (Abramson 34). The dispossession of arable land allows large agribusinesses to continuously expand, while threatening small-scale farmers' access to farmable land. This immense rise in genetically modified soy may have contributed to the impeding property rights of peasant and indigenous farmers.

Genetically modified soy crops are constantly expanding onto more land in Argentina and Paraguay, jeopardizing the economic livelihood of many small-scale farmers. The simplified production method of genetically modified soy no longer guarantees as many jobs as previous agricultural methods, traditionally involving more laborious processes and more farm workers. Genetically modified soy crops are engineered with no-tillage production in mind; the specific genetic modification allows producers to skip the laborious tilling process and plant another crop immediately after harvesting the first (Brookes 18). While the production of genetically modified soy is more efficient for producers, the impact on small-scale farmers is severe, with 4 out of 5 farming jobs disappearing from 2000 to 2010 (Garcia-Lopez 196). Additionally, because soy production has dominated other farming in the soy-producing region, many other labor-intensive agricultural jobs once plentiful in the past, like cattle grazing and horticulture, have now disappeared as well (Leguizamòn 153). The soy-producing regions of Argentina and Paraguay are rural, and the changes leave many peasant and indigenous farmers without economic stability. Soy farming is no longer a reliable or even available job for the majority of small-scale farmers, which could potentially be due to the shortened production cycle of genetically modified soy.

Genetically modified soy also poses a threat to food security in rural Argentina and Paraguay. With more and more arable land transferring to soy production, land availability is minimal to produce many other subsistence crops previously relied upon by peasant and indigenous farmers. Large agribusiness continues to replace subsistence crops for domestic consumption with export crops, mainly genetically modified soy (Elgert 551). Although the soy-growing region in Argentina is producing large quantities of genetically modified soy, more than 90% is exported (Leguizamòn 152). The majority of exported soy is not for human consumption; China imports the majority of Paraguayan genetically modified soy for the animal agriculture industry, mostly as cattle feed (Abramson 34). Genetically modified soy's domination of other crops in Argentina and Paraguay creates a new agricultural system that benefits large-scale producers. Small-scale farmers cannot ensure food security not only for their own families, but also for other peasant and indigenous peoples,

potentially creating a kind of food drought in the soy-producing region.

The production process of genetically modified soy jeopardizes the health of small-scale farmers and peasants in the soy-growing region. Genetic modification works to create organisms capable of withstanding and surviving excess amounts of insecticide, pesticide, and herbicide. In Argentina, the use of agrochemicals such as glyphosate, a powerful herbicide, have led to a direct increase in cancer, miscarriages, and abnormalities at birth (Leguizamòn 155). The use of agrochemicals is particularly dangerous in large-scale agribusiness because producers often distribute herbicide and insecticide indiscriminately with airplanes, often spraying over housing areas in the process (Leguizamòn 155). In Paraguay, agrochemicals also pose a threat to public health particularly because the minimally-enforced environmental regulations have allowed big soy producers to dump more than 6 million gallons of pesticides and herbicides into the soil every year, even though the World Health Organization classified several of the agrochemicals as extremely hazardous (Abramson 36). The use of agrochemicals causes water and soil pollution by poisoning the food and water supplies of smallholder farmers in the area. The production method and the use of agrochemicals in the soy-producing region threaten the health of rural inhabitants. Small-scale farmers are often unable to protect themselves from the rampant use of toxic agrochemicals.

Inequality in a Core-Periphery System

Immanuel Wallerstein's world-systems theory analyzes the disparity between strong, developed nations and other more exploited nations. World-systems theory attributes the inequality in wealth and development between countries to the exploitative nature of many international relationships that often began with colonialism. The theory focuses on the existence of a core nation and a periphery nation participating in some kind of transactional exchange resulting in an unequal distribution of benefits ("Modern World-System" 633). World-systems theory recognizes social and economic patterns, which have developed over centuries and grown into modern-day core and periphery systems (Gowan 471). The relationship explained between core and periphery nations in world-systems theory relies upon inequality perpetuated by exploitation and foreign involvement, which is manifested today typically in the form of natural resource extraction and raw exports. The periphery does not benefit from the transaction nearly as much as the core, allowing the inequality between the core and periphery to increase over time. In Latin America, this pattern exists as many Latin American nations, including Argentina and Paraguay, have historically been peripheral countries for stronger countries.

In world-systems theory, core nations benefit unequivocally from the transactional relationship with peripheral nations. Core nations are able to take full advantage of the resources of peripheral nations because most core nations have been developed for far longer than peripheral nations. Fewer core nations exist in the system than peripheral nations; the abundance of peripheries allows core nations to pick and choose the periphery most fiscally beneficial, while peripheral nations have far fewer options for business ("Modern World-System" 633). Core nations continually grow stronger and

wealthier at the expense of peripheral nations, locking both groups into a cyclical system of inequality (Gowan 472). Core nations are rarely dependent on peripheral nations in the same way peripheral nations depend on the core for economic stability; Latin American nations typically depend on high volume exports to core nations in order to ensure some revenue. Core economies continue to strengthen using the resources of peripheral nations, while peripheral nations struggle to advance and remain stagnant.

Nations become peripheral to other core nations through a long history of exploitation and colonialism, which created unstable and dependent national economies and industries. Peripheral nations often share several common characteristics to qualify as peripheries; some characteristics include economic instability, abundant cultural diversity, an available labor force, and a frequently moving population (Wellhofer 507). The shared characteristics unite to create the ideal peripheral nation for core nations to employ, by ensuring a that rather fragmented population in need of work and money is willing to do almost anything in order to survive (Wellhofer 508). Core countries take advantage of peripheries at weak moments in history, creating asymmetrical relationships (Oviedo 8). Core nations have frequently begun to use peripheries at fragile and unstable moments throughout history, including times of weak national economies in Latin American countries in the post-colonial era. Many western nations have used Argentina and Paraguay as peripheral nations for expanding soy agribusiness, because they are rich in agricultural land and have successful infrastructures for exporting.

A small-scale model of world-systems theory exists even within the periphery nations. Divisions within the populations of peripheral nations create smaller core and periphery groups. Trade relationships often mimic international relationships in core-periphery systems, with more powerful corporations acting as the core to smaller businesses and individuals (Oviedo 9). Like the growing disparity between core and periphery nations, multinational corporations grow stronger as the beneficiaries of core-periphery systems while the periphery remains stagnant ("World-System Perspective" 168). The core-periphery system within peripheral nations hurts smallholder farmers and peasants the most, as these groups have the least amount of alternatives for survival.

FINDINGS

Transnational soy agribusinesses invested in Argentina and Paraguay as part of a strategic market expansion into the Southern Cone. Genetically modified soy was introduced and adopted quickly in the Southern Cone, creating an ideal environment for the soy boom. From 1997 to 2002 agribusinesses invested over $800 million into genetically modified agriculture in the Southern Cone region, with the majority of funding allocated to soy expansion (Sissell 21). For about a decade, agribusinesses have been working to develop a new biofuel from genetically modified soy produced in the Southern Cone (Borras 577). If successful, agribusinesses' initial investment into soy will create even more revenue than what is already created from the current production of genetically modified soy. Early agribusiness investors in the Southern Cone not only created a large and expanding market with a relatively low-risk investment, but also created the

potential for future returns going beyond the already profitable soy market.

The introduction of neoliberal governments helped agribusinesses to establish the genetically modified soy industry in Argentina and Paraguay as the soy boom began, as a result of newly relaxed economic policies with a laissez-faire structure. The opening and mostly deregulated market encouraged agribusinesses to work in the Southern Cone. Additionally, Argentina's President Carlos Menem, in office 1989 to 1999, approved the introduction of genetically modified soy in 1996 as part of a push for market liberalization (Lapegna 522). The wave of neoliberalism in the 1990s focused particularly on creating an agricultural export model with genetically modified soy in hopes that the production would help with socio-economic development and increase trade on a global scale (Leguizamòn 149). The neoliberal leadership successfully created an incentive for transnational agribusinesses to begin production in the Southern Cone, considering soy is now the main form of agriculture in terms of both export value and land area (Wesz 287). The emphasis on agriculture for export created a global demand for inexpensive soybeans and soy products around the world. The neoliberal governance and lax economic policies allowed the industry to continue growing, and today provides agribusinesses with relatively low-maintenance revenue in Argentina and Paraguay.

Argentina has been an important battleground for biotechnology and agribusiness since the introduction of genetically modified agriculture due to a combination of geographical, economic, and social factors. The availability of farmable land, pre-established agricultural infrastructure, and an impoverished population made Argentina the perfect country to test out newly developed genetically modified soy. The rural Pampas region of Argentina has long been an agricultural center, mostly in the production of animal agriculture; the region has always been export-focused, and soy agribusinesses were able to adapt the pre-existing export infrastructure (Delvenne 154). Genetically modified soy was introduced in the Pampas region of Argentina in 1996, enticing farmers by offering the modified seeds and the corresponding herbicides without charging the normal royalties (Joensen 7). The inexpensive start-up investment for genetically modified soy provided an impetus towards the rise of agribusiness in rural and impoverished communities without a total understanding of the technology. Agribusinesses have used the established agriculture infrastructure to expand the newly emerging biotechnology in Latin America, with low start-up costs and high payoffs.

The agriculture for export model in Argentina and Paraguay benefits agribusinesses and large-scale producers. Small-scale peasant and indigenous farmers struggle to make a living as soy exports continue to grow and subsistence crops for domestic consumption diminish. In just 15 years, over half of Argentina's farmable land was transferred to genetically modified soy crops, totaling near 46 million acres of genetically modified soy (Lapegna 517). Argentina is the world's third largest producer of genetically modified soy, and the world's second largest exporter, following just behind the United States (Delvenne 155). Of all the soy produced in Argentina, only 5.4% of it remains in the country for domestic consumption

(Leguizamòn 154). The export production system encourages the domination of arable land previously allotted for subsistence farming in order to increase yields for export to foreign nations, therefore increasing profits for agribusinesses and large-scale producers. Small-scale farmers and peasants never see the profits of the export model, and thus experience the negative impacts of the system.

Large-scale soy farms and agribusinesses continue to require more land for expansion, dispossessing peasants and smallholder farmers of farmland and homes. The soy-producing region is traditionally agricultural, with many families living on the same land for generations farming. Without land to work on, peasants and smallholder farmers face job insecurity and must move from the rural farming region. After the introduction of genetically modified soy in Paraguay, the population of people living in rural areas dropped significantly over the course of a few decades, from almost 5 million people in 1970 to less than 3 million people in 2010 (Leguizamon 152). Part of the relocation of rural peasants is sanctioned by the Paraguayan government; many peasants and smallholder farmers in the region have lived on government-allotted lands for decades, but since the beginning of the soy boom, the government has illegally sold and even given the land away to large-scale soy producers (Abramson 34). The Paraguayan government justifies the dispossession and land consolidation as necessary because the soy export industry is so lucrative for large-scale producers and draws more business to the country (Finnis 181). Land consolidation through dispossession is more efficient for large-scale producers, who are able to absorb neighboring properties at little to no cost. This pattern of dispossession, while profitable for the large-scale producers and governments, strips peasants of a home and a source of work, thus threatening peasants' entire livelihood.

Genetically modified crops can withstand heavy amounts of pesticides and herbicides, which are typically deadly for non-modified crops. Agribusinesses create various agrochemicals for specific strains of genetically modified crops, which work together to increase yields. Farmers distribute agrochemicals heavily several times each crop cycle to kill all weeds and invasive plants while protecting the crops genetically engineered to absorb the herbicides without harm, like genetically modified soy crops in Argentina and Paraguay (Mink 174). Once distributed, usually in a liquid spray form, herbicide attaches to soil particles and plants and kills all non-genetically modified plant life and bonds to the soil in order to prevent future growth (Peruzzo 61). The use of agrochemicals increases efficiency in crop production, because farmers spend less time fighting invasive plant species, as agrochemicals only need to be distributed a few times per crop cycle as opposed to gentler, non-genetically engineered herbicides requiring frequent application. The use of agrochemicals also increases profits for large-scale farmers due to the low cost of the herbicide in Latin America and the minimal labor required to protect the crops from weeds and invasive species.

The use of agrochemicals in genetically modified agriculture allows for higher crop yields, but also poses a threat to the health of surrounding communities. The frequent use of herbicide increases exposure to the agrochemicals thus increasing the threats to the physical health of smallholder farmers

and peasants in the soy-producing region of Argentina and Paraguay. The chemical makeup of agrochemicals as well as the typical distribution method on large-scale farms result in dangerous agrochemical drifts. Large-scale farmers often use small airplanes to spray the herbicides over large areas of land; the airplane method of distribution is efficient, but creates large agrochemical drifts carrying herbicide and spreading it into neighboring homes and water supplies (Lapegna 529). Under ongoing studies, agrochemical drifts have been linked with increased congenital deformities as well as a variety of less permanent health concerns, like blisters and respiratory issues (Leguizamòn 156). Increased exposure to agrochemical drifts elevate the toxicity of the agrochemicals, creating a more significant health threat for both peasants and smallholder farmers residing near continuously growing large-scale farms, including cancer and miscarriage (Ezquerro 707). The wide use of agrochemicals and the harm agrochemicals cause have significantly impacted the well-being of smallholder farmers in the soy-producing region.

Agrochemicals also create a slew of environmental issues in the soy-producing region, including soil pollution, water pollution, and non-genetically modified crop degradation. The continuous use of agrochemicals essentially poisons the farmland and makes the soil toxic for all crops except genetically modified crops. Soil toxicity takes years to rebalance, however the constant dispersion of agrochemicals makes neutralizing the toxicity nearly impossible. In Paraguay, soy production alone introduces over 6 million new gallons of agrochemicals into the soil each year with no indication of slowing (Abramson 36). Agrochemical drifts spread into neighboring farms, poisoning non-genetically modified crops and polluting water supplies (Lapegna 530). The bond between herbicide and soil particles is water soluble, so even small amounts of rainfall cause agrochemicals to run freely into nearby creeks and ponds poisoning aquatic plants and microorganisms necessary for environmental balance (Peruzzo 61). Agrochemicals expedite genetically modified soy production, however the use of agrochemicals causes nearly irreversible soil and water degradation.

DISCUSSION

The genetically modified boom in the soy-producing region of Argentina and Paraguay negatively impacted the livelihood and health of peasants and smallholder farmers, through consistent exploitation, environmental degradation, and mistreatment. The consistent use of agrochemicals threatens the physical health of surrounding smallholder farmers, while the expedited production method of genetically modified soy eliminates the main source of work in the region. The neoliberal leadership in Argentina and Paraguay successfully created an export-based economy, but also created widespread job loss in the rural area with the introduction of genetically modified soy technology (Welch 46). The expansion of large-scale soy agribusinesses displaced more than 300,000 peasant and smallholder farmer families in Argentina from 2000 to 2010. Peasant displacement due to soy expansion removes smallholder farmers from their land and condenses the work force, providing far fewer jobs than traditional non-genetically modified crops require (Garcia-Lopez 197).

Agrochemical drifts poison surrounding non-genetically modified crops, pollute water and food supplies, and lead to congenital defects among other health risks (Ezquerro 707). Soy agribusiness giants threaten the well-being and economic survival of smallholder farmers and peasants in order to protect their own interests.

The Roundtable on Sustainable Soy sought to unite government, agribusiness, farmers, and citizens internationally to work towards the common goal of a sustainable, profitable genetically modified soy industry. The Roundtable emerged at a difficult time for the soy industry, when reports of environmental risks and concerns for small farmers began to circulate. By 2013, the Roundtable, later renamed as the Roundtable on Responsible Soy, had 162 member groups, including agribusinesses, finance and trade experts, soy producers, local governments, and farmers. The purposes of the Roundtable were to reassure buyers and consumers of a responsible production method and to improve the public image of the industry (Elgert 541). The members of the Roundtable pledged to only support sustainable soy agriculture, which could create a market responsible to the community and environment (Garcia-Lopez 201). The principles of the soy Roundtable included environmental responsibility, strong community relationships, responsible labor conditions and agricultural methods, and overall "good business practice" (Garcia-Lopez 201). The Roundtable has the potential to be an effective effort for environmental sustainability and responsible community interaction, however not all groups involved in the genetically modified soy industry are involved in the Roundtable. The most notable groups missing from the Roundtable are smallholder and indigenous farmers, who, despite making up a huge portion of the soy industry, have no say in what should qualify as sustainable and responsible.

The use of genetic modification in soy agriculture increased profits for large-scale farmers and agribusiness. The farming method for genetically modified soy increases yields, while minimizing start-up costs. Genetically modified agriculture has a higher guaranteed yield due to the use of herbicides and pesticides but also requires less labor; the typical genetically modified soy starter package includes a no-tillage system, allowing a faster production of crops with less labor than in traditional agricultural practices (Leguizamon 151). Genetically modified soy in Argentina and Paraguay has seen a period of uninterrupted growth for the past twenty years, making genetically engineered soy a minimally risky crop, with profits coming relatively easily for agribusinesses (Wesz 287). The quick production method, high profits, and minimal labor force required for genetically modified crops referred to in combination as the *modelo sojero*, is a propaganda advertising strategy for other countries to adopt genetically modified technology as well (Newell 28). While profits are higher for some, agribusinesses' claim of higher profits for all farmers is false. In reality, the smaller labor force and the lack of available jobs has hurt small-scale farmers more than the increase in profits has helped.

World-systems theory exists in many forms but is especially prevalent on a small-scale within previously peripheral nations. In Argentina and Paraguay, the smallholder farmers are peripheral to large genetically modified soy agribusiness. International agribusinesses recognize peripheral nations—like Argentina, the third largest

agricultural market in the world—as the perfect market for production, and use peripheral populations within peripheral nations to benefit the core production method (Sissell 21). Agribusinesses began to target peripheral nations as the perfect place to introduce the genetically modified technology in 1990 because peripheral nations were in need of financial investment to help boost national economies (Glover 855). Agribusinesses work as core groups in Argentina and Paraguay because of the ability to buy out peripheral smallholder farmers. Due to the influence agribusinesses have in politics, the government rarely enforces property laws and environmental policies where agribusinesses are involved. The miniature world-systems model is abusive of the most vulnerable members of society because smallholder farmers and peasants face double exploitation. The soy industry consistently orchestrates a cycle of exploitation in Argentina and Paraguay solely for financial gain.

CONCLUSION

The soy industry and expansion of agribusinesses cause job loss and displacement, creating uncertainty in livelihood for peasants and smallholder farmers in the soy-producing region. With the growth of the soy industry following the soy boom, the traditional way of life in the region has almost disappeared, following the displacement of over 300,000 smallholder farmers and families. Smallholder farmers feel the effects of the big soy industry in all aspects of life. Peasants no longer have land to create personal revenue from small-scale farming, and also non-individual agricultural job opportunities are minimal due to the fast-paced and low-labor production of genetically modified soy.

The use of agrochemicals in the soy-producing region threatens the health and well-being of remaining smallholder farmers and peasants. By design, agrochemicals poison and kill any non-genetically modified plants, so agrochemical drifts often unintentionally spread poison into homes, water supplies, and soil. Agrochemical drifts caused an increase in miscarriage, birth defects, and cancer. Agribusinesses benefit from the efficient and inexpensive distribution of agrochemicals, while peasants and smallholder farmers face potential exposure to toxic chemicals and difficult farming conditions.

The lack of primary data in the form of interviews and fieldwork limited the qualitative information available in the research to secondary sources. While many secondary sources include pieces of interviews with peasants and smallholder farmers, the information is not as thorough or complete as the information direct firsthand interviews could provide. Firsthand interviews with smallholder farmers and peasants in the soy-producing region would have added a unique and more personal perspective to the research, providing a more comprehensive understanding of the impacts they have felt since the soy boom. If the time and monetary constraints of the project were different, firsthand fieldwork would provide a more comprehensive understanding of these impacts.

In the future, the project could expand to include firsthand interviews with both smallholder farmers and large-scale farmers and agribusinesses, providing more insight into the relationship between the two groups

in Argentina and Paraguay. The project would include fieldwork in Argentina and Paraguay, allowing access to interview subjects and a direct view into the soy industry and the effects on smallholder farmers in the region. By including information directly from the source—smallholder farmers and the soy industry—the project would add to the more quantitative research conversation already in place with new meaningful qualitative observations on the changes in the soy-producing region. A project based in interviews and fieldwork would also create a more emotionally driven project, given the inclusion of primary responses to the growing soy industry, and perhaps elicit a greater reaction to the impacts of the soy industry on smallholder farmers and peasants in the region.

Works Cited

Abramson, Evan. "Soy: A Hunger for Land," *NACLA Report on the Americas* 42.3 (2009): 34-42.

Borras, Saturnino. "The politics of biofuel, land and agrarian change." *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 37.4 (2010): 575-592.

Brookes, Graham. "Global income and production impacts of using GM crop technology." *GM Crops & Food* 6.1 (2015): 13-46.

Delvenne, Pierre. "The 'soy-ization' of Argentina: The dynamics of the 'globalized' privatization regime in a peripheral context." *Technology in Society* 35.2 (2013): 153-162.

Elgert, Laureen. "'More soy on fewer farms' in Paraguay: challenging neoliberal agriculture's claims to sustainability." *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 43.2 (2016): 537-561.

Ezquerro, Arturo. "Poisoned, Dispossessed and Excluded: A critique of the Neoliberal soy regime in Paraguay." *Journal of Agrarian Change* 16.4 (2016): 702-710.

Finnis, Elizabeth and Clotilde Benítez. "Changes to agricultural decision making and food procurement strategies in rural Paraguay." *Latin American Research Review* 47.2 (2012): 180-193.

Garcia-Lopez, Gustavo. "Participatory processes in the soy conflicts in Paraguay and Argentina." *Ecological Economics* 70.2 (2010): 196-206.

Glover, Dominic. "Monsanto and Smallholder Farmers: A case study in CSR." *Third World Quarterly* 28.4 (2007): 851-867.

Gowan, Peter. "Contemporary intra-core relations and World-Systems theory." *Journal of World-Systems Research* 10.2 (2015): 471-500.

Joensen, Lilian. "Argentina: A case study on the impact of genetically engineered soya." *The Gaia Foundation* (2005): 1-30.

Leguizamòn, Amalia. "Modifying Argentina: GM soy and socio-environmental change." *Geoforum* 53 (2013): 149-160.

Mink, Pamela. "Epidemiologic studies of glyphosate and non-cancer health outcomes: A review." *Regulatory Toxicology and Pharmacology* 61.2 (2011): 172-184.

Newell, Peter. "Bio-Hegemony: The political economy of agricultural biotechnology in Argentina." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 41.1 (2009): 27-57.

Oviedo, Eduardo. "Argentina Facing China: Modernization, interests and economic relations model." *East Asia* 30.1 (2013): 7-34.

Peruzzo, Pablo. "Levels of glyphosate in surface waters, sediments and soils associated with direct sowing soybean cultivation in north pampasic region of Argentina." *Environmental Pollution* 156 (2008): 61-66.

Sissell, Kara. “Monsanto digs its way out of Ag problems in Argentina.” *Chemical Week* 164.43 (2002): 21.

Wallerstein, Immanuel. “The modern World-System and evolution.” *Journal of World-Systems Research* 1.1 (1995): 628-638.

--- “A world-system perspective on the social sciences.” *The British Journal of Sociology* 61.1 (2010): 167-176.

Wellhofer, Ernest. “‘Things fall apart; the center cannot hold’: Cores, peripheries and peripheral nationalism at the core and periphery of the world economy.” *Political Geography* 14.6-7 (1995): 503-520.

Wesz, Valdemar. “Strategies and hybrid dynamics of soy transnational companies in the Southern Cone.” *Journal of Peasant Studies* 43.2 (2016): 286-312.

Nos Están Matando [They are Killing Us]: Feminist Movements' Influence in Argentina and Chile

Maria C. Davies graduated in December 2016 with degrees in Spanish and Global and International Studies. She is from Lawrence, Kansas. This Global and International Studies Studies honors thesis was supervised by Dr. Brian Lagotte, Dr. Magalí Rabasa, and Dr. Mike Wuthrich.

Abstract:

Despite the attention given to violence against women in Latin America, little is reported about the effect of women's movement protests on legal decisions pertaining to femicide, gender violence, and abortion. However, protests within the last five years in Argentina and Chile regarding these issues have caught media attention. I intend to discover how grassroots feminist protests in each country influence decisions about the issues. I used two newspapers from each country to collect data on protests. Additionally, I collected data from one court website for each country along with the United States Library of Congress about legal decisions regarding the topics. After examining how the protests influence decisions in each country, I compared the two countries. The findings suggest protestors demanded legal changes and the courts reacted by approving the changes. Further, I discovered machismo interacts notably with violence against women in both countries.

I was looking down to avoid tripping in the cracked, narrow side streets of Buenos Aires, Argentina so as to not spill the four bags of laundry I needed to take to the laundromat when I first realized something was different. Two weeks into my study abroad, I tried to keep up with the pace of foot traffic so I would not be pushed off the sidewalk, but I noticed people were passing me. When I finally looked up, I saw a few handmade signs being carried toward Avenida 9 de Julio, the widest avenue in the world. I heard chanting and drumming and I knew something out of the ordinary was happening. People were excited and focused, but not joyful. I dropped off my laundry and walked outside to see what had been a trickle of people becoming more clustered. Before returning to my apartment, I saw scarlet handprints on posters, signs with pictures of women's faces, and the hashtag #NiUnaMenos. When I returned to my apartment, I looked up the hashtag and discovered every 30 hours in Argentina a woman dies because a man kills her. People were protesting the violence. The hashtag demands that there is "not one less" female due to gender violence. Several weeks later while staying with a friend in Santiago, Chile, I found out that a similar protest occurred in Chilean cities.

Within the context of Latin American Studies and Women's Studies, Argentina and Chile are interesting cases to study because of the history of violence against women in both countries. Although grassroots efforts gave rise to women's rights groups, women remain marginalized in Argentinean and Chilean societies. For example, in Argentina, feminists have faced

hostile and skeptical reactions toward women's rights policies from both genders (Risley 593). Similarly, according to gender and Latin American politics scholar Susan Franceschet, Chile is internationally thought of as being intensely traditional and reluctant to support women's rights policies (1). Examining feminist movements and laws regarding violence against women in the two countries will uncover how the issues intersect. Looking at connections between feminist protests regarding femicide, gender violence, and abortion rights and legal decisions about these issues reveal specific measures of progress such as whether protest demands are met. Demands being met will help reduce violence against women in the countries.

The research question for my investigation was "how do grassroots feminist movements affect legal decisions regarding femicide, gender violence, and abortion rights in Argentina as compared to Chile?" Because of the high numbers of femicides, violence against women, and lack of abortion rights in the two countries, the issues are of intense concern to Latin Americans, especially individuals involved in feminist movements. Consequently, feminist movements are successfully protesting for changes regarding legal decisions to improve conditions for women. Investigation into the relationships between grassroots feminist movements regarding femicide, gender violence, and abortion rights and legal decisions allows for comparison between Argentina and Chile regarding the topics. Examination of the protests and court decisions reveals what relationships existed between protestors and the courts. Grassroots feminist movements similarly affect decisions regarding femicide, gender violence, and abortion in Argentina and Chile. Feminist protestors demanded legal changes in each issue and the courts granted the changes.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The Dawn of Feminist Groups

During the Dirty War (1976-1983), Argentine women were victims of government-sanctioned sexual and reproductive violence. The Dirty War during Jorge Rafael Videla's military dictatorship employed sexual violence to stop dissidents. As reported by Argentine social and gender news correspondent Marcela Valente, military commanders forced women in concentration camps during the period of rule to engage in sexual acts with the commanders or face death ("Argentina: Shedding"). Additionally, Susana Kaiser's research regarding memories of the military dictatorship retells instances of incarcerated pregnant women giving birth in dismal conditions. Afterwards, military personnel took the babies from the mothers (Kaiser 3). The sexual nature of the acts—forcing women prisoners to engage in sex and give up babies—illustrates the psychological and physical power the representatives of the government had over women. Due to consequences stemming from the history of state-sponsored and gender-specific violence, feminists in Argentina have and must continue to transcend systematic misogyny before legislators can institute feminist policies.

Women created feminist movement organizations with mostly women members meeting together in Argentina as a result of women leading the quest to document human rights violations during the Dirty War. Female relatives of the disappeared and killed organized and then sought

information from the government. One of the groups, Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, defined the Argentine government as a sponsor of terror and called for Argentineans to hold the government responsible for the violence (Risley 587). Mothers seeking criminal punishment of the people in the government responsible for the death of children comprise a separate group, Committee of Relatives of Defenseless Victims of Institutional Violence (COFAVI) (Risley 588). Women in Argentina organized with the explicit goal of finding out what happened to disappeared relatives during the Dirty War. The act of organizing the female groups established a baseline voice for influencing politics in Argentina because the groups encouraged the public to keep the government accountable and demand punishment.

Like Argentina, Chile has a history of government-sanctioned violence, which intensified during Augusto Pinochet's military dictatorship (1973-1990). Further, Chilean women experienced government-sanctioned gender violence during the dictatorship. Female political prisoners held during Pinochet's dictatorship revealed systemic sexual torture and assaults during testimony (Vergara, "Women Seek"). One former political prisoner, Nieves Ayress, provided testimony describing forced incest, bestiality, and other forms of sexual torture (Vergara, "Women Seek"). The pervasive violence against women is well-documented because of the testimonies and indicates the government had full knowledge of the violations. The ability of women to garner government support for feminist policies seems remote, given the history of institutional abuse toward women in Chile.

However, under the veil of oppressive military rule, women in Chile started resisting human rights abuses targeting women. Multiple women's organizations, such as Círculo and Mujeres por la vida (MPLV), formed to promote opposition to Pinochet's government-sanctioned gender violence. According to the research of Latin America and gender scholar Jadwiga Pieper Mooney, at a public gathering six years into Pinochet's reign the feminist group Círculo sponsored a public meeting about women's issues with over 300 women in attendance (616). In 1983, ten years into the Pinochet regime, the feminist group MPLV—one of the first Chilean feminist groups—formed to fight against the regime's human rights violations against women; the first rally drew 10,000 women (Walsh 1336). While small in number, the initial attempts to organize women during the dictatorship demonstrate the commitment to influence political structures in Chile because the women gathered during a dangerous time—Pinochet's government-sanctioned gender violence—for women. However, because of the dramatic growth in number of rally participants, the fight for recognition of women's rights began noticeably growing.

Nos Están Matando [They are Killing Us]

Many female deaths occur in Argentina because men kill women due to misogynistic motivations. According to reports in *Clarín*, Argentina's largest newspaper, evidence of gender violence comes from the compilation of yearly murder statistics by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Argentina such as La Asociación Civil la Casa del Encuentro (Iglesias, "En un año"). Hinde Pomeraniec, a journalist and one of the organizers of the #NiUnaMenos movement, explains that according to "respected NGO" data, a woman dies about

every 30 hours due to femicide, a term defining violence resulting in the murder of a woman because of gender ("How Argentina"). Between 2008 and 2014, Argentine men murdered approximately 1,800 women (Smith, "Femicide Protests"). However, ascertaining precise numbers of femicide is challenging because the data from the Argentine government did not become available until late 2015 and the NGO was the only reporting agency; the numbers of deaths due to femicide might be higher.

In addition to femicides, Argentine women suffer from other forms of gender-based violence such as domestic abuse and rape. Amy Risley, a scholar of comparative and Latin American politics, reveals that one-fourth of all Argentine women endure domestic violence according to NGO reports (586). Additionally, between five and seven thousand women are victims of rape each year (Risley 585). Violence toward women comprises a wide range of actions; the violence is not contained to femicide and can happen daily in a woman's life. Because of the extensive nature and number of the crimes, women in Argentina are likely to either personally or indirectly experience gender-based violence creating an environment for women to support the feminist movements against violence toward women.

Because the Argentine government currently places limits and restrictions on abortion, women do not have complete access to legal abortion. Members of the feminist women's movement in Argentina consider abortion a gender violence issue. As a consequence of government legislation only permitting abortion in cases of rape or if the life of the mother is in danger, women obtain about 500,000 illegal abortions resulting in 80,000 hospitalizations and 100 deaths each year according to reporting in *Clarín* (Iglesias, "La legalización"). Refusing to discuss the issue of abortion rights, Argentine Cabinet Chief Aníbal Fernández declared abortion rights are not on the government's agenda (Iglesias, "La legalización"). An approach to measure the influence of feminist movements on politics is to look at abortion legislation because Argentine feminists set a goal to challenge restrictive abortion laws. The current abortion laws and refusal to put abortion rights on the government's agenda suggest feminist movements historically have not influenced abortion politics because the laws are strict. A decrease in the number of illegal abortions could be an indicator of the success of the women movement's influence because women have access to legal options.

Chilean women, just as in Argentina, are victims of femicide perpetrated by men for misogynistic reasons. In 2014, according to the prosecution records and public police accounts, there were 45 femicides, 102 attempted femicides, and in the first six months of 2015 there were 35 femicides in Chile ("Campaña '¡Cuidado!"). Husbands, boyfriends, exes, male family members, male acquaintances, and male strangers committed and attempted the femicides ("Campaña '¡Cuidado!"). The record-keeping adds legitimacy to the number of femicides because the data comes from a government agency. The femicide and attempted-femicide data indicates femicide is a growing problem. The relationship between individuals committing and attempting femicide to the victims ranges from intimate involvement to no relationship; Chilean women are at risk because femicide occurs within a variety of associations.

Women in Chile are also victims of gender-based violence such as domestic violence and rape. As with the records of femicides, evidence of gender-based violence comes from prosecution records and public police accounts. The numbers of domestic violence complaints by women in Chile are consistent; there are no less than 110,000 complaints of domestic violence each year ("Campaña '¡Cuidado!"). Additionally, 88.3 percent of the 2,091 rapes during 2014 consisted of a man raping a woman ("Campaña '¡Cuidado!"). Although there are significant numbers of femicides in Chile, the numbers of gender-based violence are even greater; the numbers for both femicide and gender-based violence suggest women are potential victims every day in Chile because of gender. Women in Chile are likely to be victims or know victims of gender-based violence producing an environment for Chilean women to support the feminist movements against violence toward women.

The Chilean government limits on abortion rights are more stringent because abortion is illegal in all cases. Feminists in Chile consider abortion to be a gender violence issue because women do not have the right to consider the medical procedure. While the government once allowed therapeutic abortion, the practice was banned in 1989 and is currently illegal (Pieper Mooney 624-5). Each year, women obtain approximately 140,000 illegal abortions and can face criminal punishment for obtaining an abortion (Montes, "Chile avanza"). The Chilean government reversal position on therapeutic abortion is a form of government-sanctioned gender violence because the government took away the only abortion option allowed. Government-instituted policies prosecute and punish women because the policies criminalizing abortion only legally impact women and ignore the status of the father.

Action

The #NiUnaMenos feminist movement started a violence toward women awareness campaign because of concerns about increasing gender-based violence and femicides in Argentina. In June 2015, the movement garnered attention with widespread use of marches and social media. Over 300,000 feminist-minded people chanted and marched carrying #NiUnaMenos signs and banners containing names of femicide victims through the streets in Buenos Aires up to government buildings (Nugent, "Four Months"). As reported by *The Argentina Independent* during a conversation with the organizers of #NiUnaMenos, the movement received further attention when political candidates published the movement's hashtag, #NiUnaMenos, in ads and on social media (Nugent, "Four Months"). Because of the high turnout at the march, attention from politicians, and social media attention, the grassroots marches and social media campaign proved successful. The hashtag usage by political candidates was another success, reaching citizens not physically present at the marches.

Argentina's government is passing laws designed to decrease and penalize certain acts of violence toward women. The laws respond to the far end of the gender violence spectrum—murder. Argentina's penal codes now recognize femicide as a crime (Smith, "Femicide Protests"). In 2012, lawmakers crafted and then passed a law stating that femicides may carry a life sentence (Smith, "Femicide Protests"). The passage of the

laws implies the government will initiate funding, training, and data gathering for gender-based crimes. If the laws are effective, then the number of femicides will decline over time.

Although lacking a unifying slogan against gender violence, victims of past government-sanctioned sexual violence in Chile are currently demanding justice. The female victims are former political prisoners during Pinochet's dictatorship. Chile's government signed an international human rights accord allowing the women to press charges against current and former military personnel (Vergara, "Women Seek"). Additionally, the women are fighting to legally classify the rape of political prisoners as political crimes (Vergara, "Women Seek"). As government leadership changes, women are finding political support for taking action against perpetrators of crimes because the women are able to press charges, something not possible under past government leaders. Since forms of gender violence such as rape of prisoners and the end of therapeutic abortion hailed from the Pinochet government, legal action against former power figures provides an avenue for current governmental agencies to remedy past transgressions and focus on eliminating violence toward women, especially government-sanctioned violence.

Although the laws in Chile ban abortion, a woman supporting abortion rights has the highest political position in the country: current Chilean President Michelle Bachelet. Bachelet's successful 2013 presidential campaign ran on the platform of decriminalizing abortion in cases of rape and when the life of the mother is at risk (Bodzin, "In Chile"). In 2015, Bachelet presented a bill to decriminalize abortions in cases of rape, severe medical problems, and when the life of the mother is at risk (Montes, "Chile avanza"). Bachelet's supportive views regarding abortion represent progress from the complete denial of abortion rights held by other Chilean government leaders. Since many feminists believe abortion is a right for women denied by the government, the election of Bachelet is significant because she won while supporting abortion rights.

Gaining Power in a Machismo Culture

Machismo, a cultural practice of male sexual dominance, is a foundational reason for the violence toward women in Argentina because objectifying women is commonplace. Moreover, some in positions of power tolerate machismo. For example, in Buenos Aires, Argentina, the mayor, a male, publicly stated women enjoy lewd comments or catcalls (Goñi, "Argentine Women"). Yet, as reported in an article detailing the origins of #NiUnaMenos in *The New York Times*, women in Argentine feminist movements disagree with the mayor—now the current president—and connect the cultural practice to gender-based violence (Goñi, "Argentine Women"). Feminist movement members note and condemn the relationship between machismo and gender violence—important because the women have identified machismo as permitting an atmosphere of male dominance leading to gender violence. However, men in the culture and in positions of power, such as the former mayor, publicly accept the practice as part of the culture and consequently exacerbate the machismo-violence relationship making political change regarding gender violence more difficult.

Feminist groups in Argentina monitor the government policies on gender violence. The work of the feminist groups has grown as changes in government structures occurred. For example, as democratic governments emerged in Argentina, women activists lobbied new leaders to adopt laws preventing gender violence (Oropeza Eng et al. 15). Additionally, women's groups collected documentation of gender violence to ensure official records on crimes against women are complete and accurate (Oropeza Eng et al. 15). New forms of government have provided an avenue for women activists to make changes in policies because with the requested changes, more laws, and data collection, the activists will no longer have to fight for basic information and will instead be able to help create policy. Accountability for institutional policies against gender violence in a machismo culture is unlikely until women activists pressure the government to include gender violence changes on the legislative agenda.

Similar to feminists in Argentina, feminists in Chile also cite machismo as a reason for the violence toward women because men view women as subservient within the concept of machismo. Male dominance is a part of Chilean daily life because some men do not turn off their machismo mentality. In a 2015 survey, 75 percent of Chilean women indicated being victims of street harassment, a practice men often regard as a masculine right ("Campaña '¡Cuidado!"). La Red Chilena contra la Violencia hacia las Mujeres, an organization against gender violence, connects Chile's patriarchal and machismo society with gender-based violence because Chilean institutions, including family and government, promote the transmission of machismo from generation to generation ("Campaña '¡Cuidado!"). Because the non-government groups—not the actual government—consider machismo a cause of violence toward women, feminist movements have a difficult fight trying to influence politics. Machismo is a part of the culture and is unlikely to completely cease to exist; consequently, the feminist groups must work primarily on effective legislation.

Women's movements in both Argentina and Chile create atmospheres to allow women to gain positions of power because the women in both countries shun the subservient label and instead fight for rights and become leaders. Evidence of the rise of women's leadership is each country's democratically elected woman to a high-ranking position. For example, Chile's 2013 presidential election was between two women, Bachelet and Evelyn Matthei (Bodzin, "In Chile"). Another example of a woman leader is the former Argentinian president, Cristina Kirchner. Kirchner served two terms and spoke against machismo during the campaign (Smith, "Femicide Protests"). While both countries have a history of acceptance of machismo, women currently serve in political institutions because women's groups supported the involvement of women in politics. Both grassroots women's movements and female government officials have a voice in creating potential policies affecting violence toward women because as the previous examples show, the electorate in both countries is willing to elect women despite a culture of machismo.

DATA AND METHODS

The United States Library of Congress provided data on legal developments in Argentina and Chile regarding femicide,

gender violence, and abortion. The data was in the form of press releases and official national legal publications from the Global Legal Monitor. I used the Global Legal Monitor search on the United States Library of Congress website and used Argentina and Chile for the jurisdiction and abortion, crimes against women, and domestic violence for the topic. I looked at documents from 2011 through 2016 and recorded the data. Next, I compared the presence or absence of legal decisions regarding femicide, gender violence, and abortion in the countries. The data provided information about the types of legal issues the courts of the respective countries hear and decide. Additionally, I identified timeline patterns in legal developments regarding the topics.

The government of Argentina's judicial information website, *Centro de información judicial: Agencia de noticias del poder judicial* [Center of Judicial Information: News Agency of the Judicial Power] provided Argentina's decisions regarding femicide, gender violence, and abortion. The data appeared in *buscador de notas* [search engine] on the website with categories for *fecha* [date] and *palabras clave* [key words]. I used the search engine and entered the search statements of *femicidio* [femicide], *violencia de género* [gender violence], *violencia doméstica* [domestic violence], and *aborto* [abortion]. I looked for data between 2011 and 2016 and kept a tally in a table of the number of times decisions appear in each of the three categories. Through the process, I traced the outcomes and amendments to decisions the courts in Argentina made about the topics. With the official data, I identified connections between the times the courts made decisions about the topics and dates of protests by grassroots feminists.

I collected data on Chile's decisions regarding femicide, gender violence, and abortion by using the country's judicial information website, *Poder judicial: Republica de Chile* [Judicial Power: Republic of Chile]. I used *busqueda noticias* [search engine] and the categories of *titulo noticia* [news title] and *fecha desde/hasta* [date from/up to] on the website to locate the data. The search statements I used on the search engine consisted of *femicidio* [femicide], *violencia de género* [gender violence], *violencia doméstica* [domestic violence], and *aborto* [abortion]. Using the same method I employed with the Argentina data, I created a table of the number of instances of legal decisions between 2011 and 2016 regarding femicide, gender violence, and abortion. The process allowed me to identify the decisions courts in Chile made about the topics and make a comparison of decisions between the countries.

Two Argentine newspapers—*Clarín* and *Página 12*—allowed me to collect data about grassroots feminist protests in Argentina. I chose the two newspapers because *Clarín* presents an establishment viewpoint and *Página 12* has a leftist viewpoint sympathetic to the feminist protestors. I searched both newspapers' websites with search statements of Argentina, *feminista* [feminist], *manifestación* [demonstration], *marcha* [march], *protesta* [protest], *femicidio* [femicide], *violencia de género* [gender violence], *violencia doméstica* [domestic violence], and *aborto* [abortion]. I recorded protests between the years of 2011 to 2016. With the data, I learned the number of grassroots feminist protests in Argentina during the time range of five years. The information helped me make connections

between the dates and numbers of grassroots feminist protests in Argentina and the data about decisions regarding femicide, gender violence, and abortion in Argentina.

Using Chilean newspapers, *La Nación* and *El Mostrador*, I collected data about grassroots feminist protests in Chile in a similar manner to the Argentina data collection. *La Nación*'s viewpoint leans toward the establishment and *El Mostrador*'s leans to the left and is sympathetic to feminist views. Using the websites of both newspapers, I used search statements of Chile, *feminista* [feminist], *manifestación* [demonstration], *marcha* [march], *protesta* [protest], *femicidio* [femicide], *violencia de género* [gender violence], *violencia doméstica* [domestic violence], and *aborto* [abortion]. I set the year range as 2011 to 2016 and used a table to record the demonstrations. I identified the frequency of grassroots feminist protests in Chile over five years through the process. I could compare the data regarding the grassroots feminist protests in Chile to the data about legal decisions.

I looked for correlations between the number of grassroots feminist protests to decisions regarding the issues and whether specific demands were met from 2011 to 2016. Next, I took tallies of the numbers of protests and the numbers of court decisions and categories. The data revealed connections between the protest demands and court decisions. Finally, I answered my research question with the information because I could infer the extent of the effect of grassroots feminists on decisions in the countries. The information also allowed me to compare influence of grassroots feminists on decisions in Argentina versus Chile.

FINDINGS

Argentina

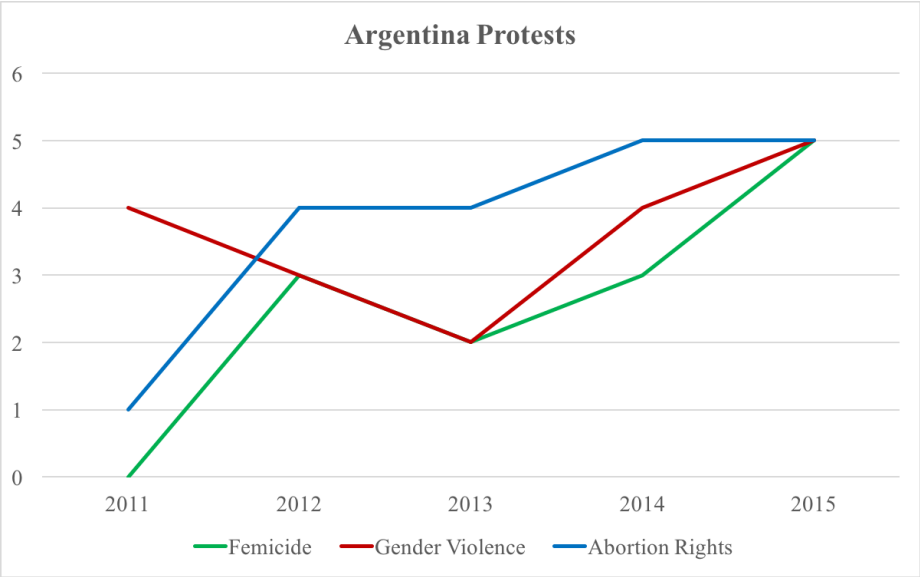


Fig. 1. Number of protests in Argentina, years 2011-2015

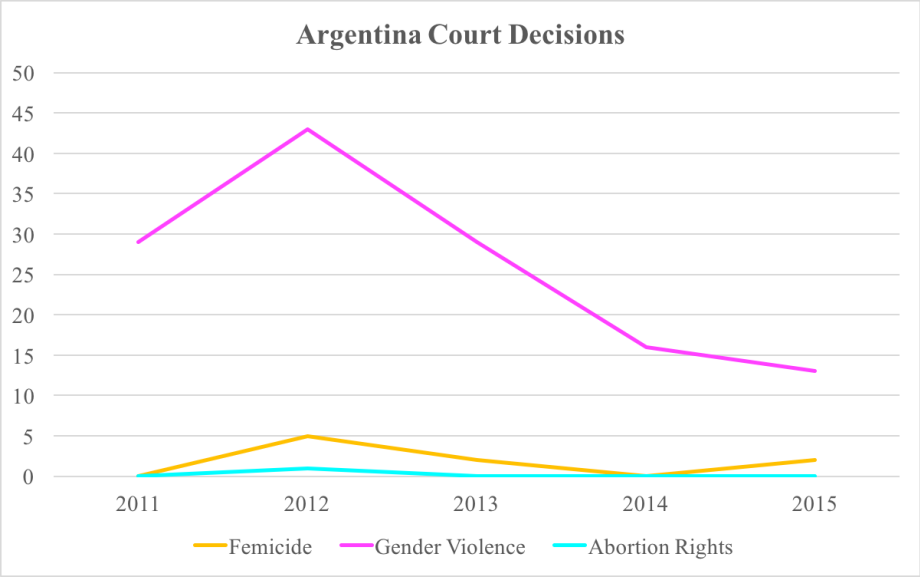


Fig. 2. Number of court decisions in Argentina, years 2011-2015

Femicide. When examining the specific feminist issue of femicide, the data confirms femicide protests in Argentina increased between 2011 and 2015 (see fig. 1). The increase generally shadows the increase of overall feminist protests in Argentina during the range. From 2011 to 2015, the newspapers noted 13 protests. There were more protests in 2014 and 2015 than in the years from 2011 to 2013. Though the newspapers did not specifically report protests regarding femicide in 2011, by 2015 there were five such protests.

The number of legal decisions about femicide in Argentina from 2011 to 2015 saw the biggest increase in 2012, suggesting 2012 was a significant year for femicide-related decisions (see fig. 2). In 2015, the Supreme Court announced commitment to creating a national registry of femicide, commitment to delivering justice in femicide cases, and created the registry in November. Generally, the number of decisions and protests about femicide did not both increase at the same points. However, after the #NiUnaMenos protests in 2015, the Supreme Court met two demands the movement wanted, suggesting that the Supreme Court was aware of the growing anger and protests about femicide.

Gender violence. There was little variance in the number of yearly protests in Argentina about gender violence between 2011 and 2015; the protest numbers stayed consistent (see fig. 1). Organizers of the protests included other topics such as abortion and femicide; the clustering of the topics may indicate feminist groups believe the three are related problems. Eighteen reported protests occurred between 2011 through 2015.

The courts in Argentina respond to gender violence in a variety of ways; at times, the courts punish, charge, or detain the perpetrator of the gender violence. However, more often, the courts report administrative tasks concerning gender violence. Eighty court announcements detailed a national registry of domestic violence, a longer sentence for rape, workshops, education, and meetings for court personnel about gender violence (see

fig. 2). Overall, both the number of protests and the number of decisions directly related to gender violence were small, yet consistent, during the time range; protest/legal decision interaction reflect each other. The results provide some evidence to suggest pressure by protest groups propelled the courts to hold offenders accountable and keep gender violence on the courts' agenda.

Abortion. The number of feminist protests supporting abortion rights increased from 2011 to 2015 in Argentina (see fig. 1). The numbers of abortion protests mirrored the numbers of feminist protests overall; both numbers generally increased. From 2011 to 2015, there were 19 protests for abortion rights. More protests occurred in 2014 and 2015 combined than in 2011, 2012, and 2013 combined. The jump in protest numbers may reflect, in part, the public recognition of the effect protests have on legal decisions.

The Supreme Court of Argentina handed down one legal decision about abortion rights in Argentina from 2011 to March 2016. The legal decision is significant since Argentina has strict abortion rights laws (see fig. 2). The legal decision stemmed from a two-year-long Supreme Court case involving a 15-year-old girl terminating a pregnancy due to rape (Library of Congress). The Supreme Court decided not to charge the girl with a criminal offense for receiving an abortion (Library of Congress). The decision clarified a prior ruling stating a victim of rape cannot be charged with criminal liability if the woman decides to seek an abortion and will not need court authorization for the abortion (Library of Congress). While the courts have only handed down one decision about abortion rights, La Campaña Nacional por el Derecho al Aborto Legal, Seguro y Gratuito protested for abortion rights the year before, in 2011. At the time the courts made the decision abortion rights were a clear protest demand.

Chile

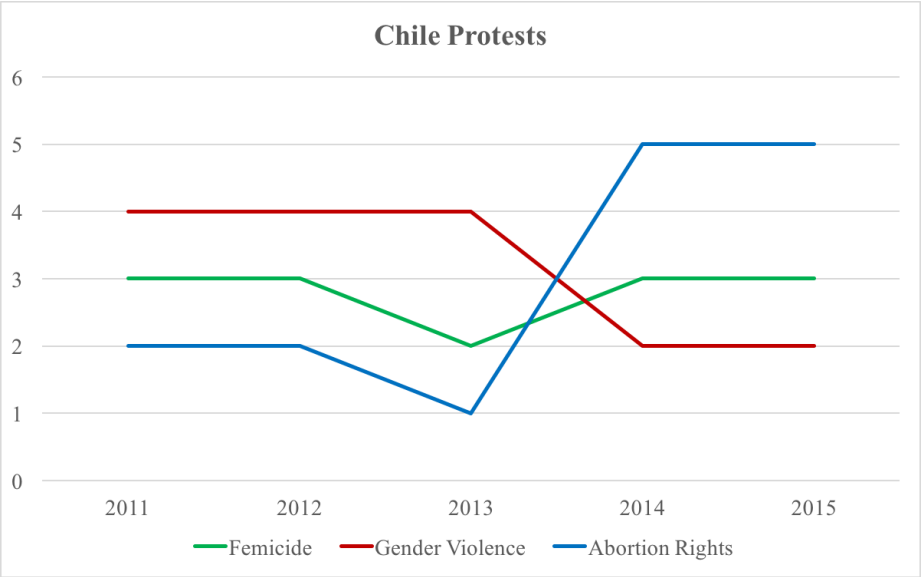


Fig. 3. Number of protests in Chile, years 2011-2015

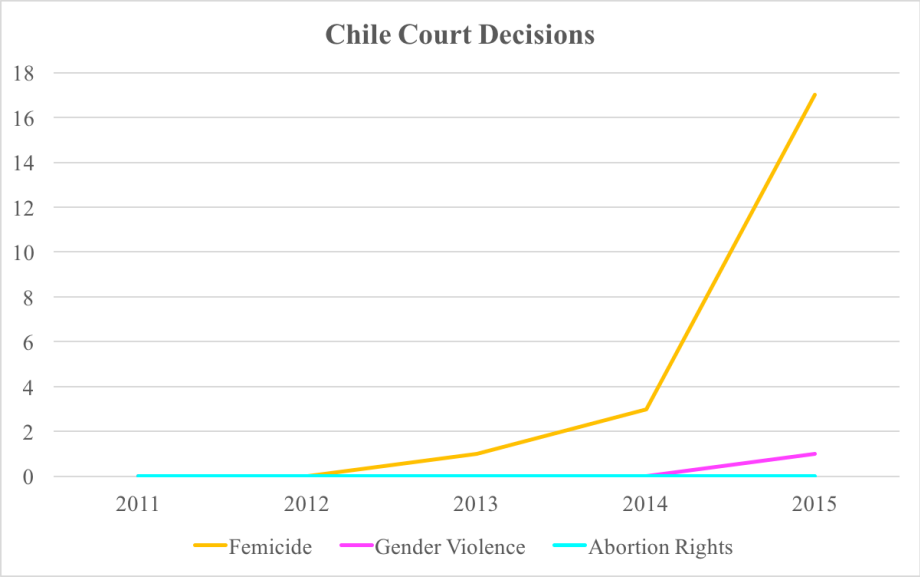


Fig. 4. Number of court decisions in Chile, years 2011-2015

Femicide. There was little variation in the number of protests against femicide in Chile between 2011 and 2015 (see fig. 3). Still, there were 14 total protests during the time range. The only dip in protests occurred in 2013, when the selected newspapers reported protestors gathered for just two public demonstrations against femicide. Whether the small variation in protests from 2011 to 2015 in Chile affected decisions about femicide will require taking a close look at the demands and decisions. The protests may have influenced the decisions about femicide.

In Chile, the number of judicial decisions regarding femicide increased between 2011 and 2015 (see fig. 4). The decisions dealt with Chileans the courts accused of having committed or attempted femicide. From 2011 to 2015, courts handed down 21 decisions regarding femicide. The numbers of protests and decisions did not parallel each other because the number of femicide protests stayed constant while the number of decisions increased. However, the results may serve as evidence to suggest the numbers of femicide decisions increased because the protests stayed consistent; the courts felt the constant pressure. Further, numbers of legal decisions about femicide are continuing to increase in 2016 in Chile, providing evidence the increase from 2011 to 2015 was not a phase. Of the nine decisions, eight were legal decisions about femicide. However, a complete examination of the connections may be difficult because nine months (at the time of the research) remain in 2016.

Gender violence. From 2011 to 2015 in Chile, the number of protests regarding gender violence decreased (see fig. 3). Yet, the protests became more organized because of the participation in an international annual event. Protestors gathered for 16 marches against gender violence during the time range. An annual event in late November, Día Internacional de la NO Violencia Contra la Mujer, drew thousands of protestors each year from 2011 to 2015. The unexpected decrease in the number of protests may reveal a temporary trend away from the more generic topic of gender

violence and toward the more specific femicide and abortion issues. However, despite the five-year decrease, gender violence protests are increasing in Chile in 2016 as of March. The data possibly indicates a feminist goal of renewing the focus on gender violence in 2016.

While the number of decisions about gender violence in Chile increased from 2011 to 2016, the increase was not large (see fig. 4). The only decisions the Chilean judicial website reported were administrative, not about criminal punishment for perpetrators of gender violence. The decisions required training and seminars for judges and other court personnel throughout the country; the training was about handling domestic violence cases, better access to justice for victims, and the legal services victims of domestic violence can receive. At the time of the research, examination of the protests could not yet determine the protests' effects because the only decisions the courts reported were in 2015 and March of 2016. Because the legal decisions suggested court personnel need training about gender violence after the spike in protests, there may be a connection between the protests and decisions.

Abortion. Like the number of overall protests in Chile, protests for abortion rights increased in Chile from 2011 to 2015 (see fig 3.). The time range began with two protests in 2011 and increased to five protests in 2015. The evidence indicates a possible increase in pressure on legal decisions since the number of protests grew. Because the government abolished the only abortion rights—therapeutic abortion in 1989—abortion legislation will be significant to the protestors.

In Chile, between 2011 and March of 2016, the number of decisions regarding abortion slightly increased, suggesting a victory for the abortion rights issue since Chile is a country with one of the strictest anti-abortion laws (see fig. 4). After almost a year of debate, lawmakers in Chile's lower house of Congress approved a measure regarding abortion in March 2016 ("Cámara aprueba"). The lawmakers approved abortion in limited circumstances—rape, when the mother's life is in danger, and when doctors do not consider the fetus to be viable ("Cámara aprueba"). In order for the decision to pass, the Chilean Senate must approve the decision ("Cámara aprueba"). An increase of protests during 2014, 2015, and 2016—the last few years—may have affected the decisions because the legislators knew protests and public discontent were growing.

DISCUSSION

A relationship between feminist protests and legal decisions emerged in Argentina. While the effectiveness of the protests may appear to have lessened over time, a closer look at the decisions reveals something different. In 2012, after an increase in femicide and abortion rights protests, there was a spike in the number of court announcements. The announcements focused on administrative tasks such as the establishment of a national registry of domestic violence, workshops, education, and meetings for court personnel regarding gender violence. The establishment of the registry and educational opportunities signifies the decisions will have a continued presence in Argentinian society. In the five-year period, the courts granted major protestor requests. For example, in 2012

after an increase in femicide-focused protests and after the newspapers started using the word "femicide," the courts amended the Criminal Code to include femicide as an aggravated type of homicide. Three years later in fall 2015, a few months after another increase in femicide-centered protests led by the #NiUnaMenos movement, the Supreme Court presented the first national registry of femicides. After a period of an increase of protests regarding gender violence, the courts amended the Penal Code to increase the maximum sentencing for rape to a thirty-year sentence. Finally, after an increase in abortion rights protests in 2012, the Supreme Court confirmed there would be no criminal liability for abortions performed in cases of rape. The findings answer the research question regarding Argentina because the data shows the feminist groups protested for several specific changes the courts eventually granted.

As with Argentina, a relationship between feminist protests and the decisions emerged in Chile. Again, as with Argentina, the Chilean courts made decisions supporting the protestors' calls. Both the number of decisions and protests overall increased and the decisions and protests regarding abortion both increased. While the numbers of protests regarding femicide and gender violence remained stable—between two and four annual protests—the protests were a consistent presence and the legal decisions increased. After a consistent number of femicide protests in 2011 and 2012, courts first used the term femicide in a court sentencing in 2012 and established prison sentencings for femicide-defined murder. In 2015, after years of stable numbers of femicide and gender violence protests, the courts required court personnel training led by the Supreme Court regarding femicide and gender violence. Administrative changes represent a trend toward greater awareness by the courts regarding cultural and systemic violence facing victims. Finally, after an increase in abortion protests, lawmakers in Chile's lower house of Congress approved abortion in limited circumstances—rape, when the mother's life is in danger, and when doctors do not consider the fetus to be viable. The findings reveal in both Argentina and Chile the numbers of feminist protests and legal decisions did not have a one-to-one correspondence. However, a one-to-one correspondence is not needed to argue the protests had an impact. For example, if there are five protests a year against femicide, success does not require five legal decisions the following years. Instead, the courts meeting one of the specific demands from the five protests would indicate success. Feminist movements in both countries influenced the decisions on the topics by achieving changes protestors demanded in each issue and the courts began using the term femicide in legal writings.

The influence feminist protests have on legal systems is a significant issue to address because of the urgency of the topics. The women and their family members—especially the children—also suffer. For example, La Asociación Civil la Casa del Encuentro, an NGO defending human rights of women in Argentina, reported in March 2016 there were 286 victims of femicides in 2015 (Iglesias, "En un año"). Consequently, 322 children became motherless due to femicide in 2015 (Iglesias, "En un año"). Although decisions about the issues cannot bring the women back, the decisions can prevent future femicides and suffering. Knowing whether feminist protests

influence decisions can help feminist-minded people decide what type of action the groups should take to help prevent future victims.

In addition to the urgency, the research question is important because during the research process time frame, March 2016, courts and legislators were actively making decisions and feminist movements were continuing to protest. In the first three months of 2016, lawmakers in Chile tentatively granted one of the feminist goals—expanding abortion rights. While feminists can be cautiously optimistic about the progress, the legal process is not yet over because the Chilean Senate still needs to approve the abortion decision ("Cámara aprueba"). Furthermore, in 2016, some of the protests in Argentina continue to use #NiUnaMenos; the hashtag has the potential to maintain permanent pressure on the Argentinean court system. Although the pattern of results for the number of yearly protests between the two countries studied differ slightly, the pressure on the respective governments to address the issues of femicide, gender violence, and abortion remains strong.

Many feminist-minded people agree that the generational practice of machismo creates a climate for femicide, gender violence, and lack of abortion rights. Women's rights advocates in both countries point to the persistent presence of machismo in both cultures as a barrier to changing the attitude toward women. Women's rights advocates claim Argentinean men believe that treating women as lesser citizens is acceptable because macho behavior is an everyday occurrence in Argentina (Goñi, "Argentine Women"). In Chile, women's rights advocates similarly claim machismo is present in every region and social class, consequently allowing men to believe women are inferior ("Campaña '¡Cuidado!"). Identifying the machismo culture in both countries as a cause for lack of women's rights and a barrier to the creation of more rights is important to Latin American Studies and Women's Studies because feminist-minded people can attempt to find solutions to lessen machismo. Additionally, the concept of machismo harming Argentinean and Chilean women comes from women in the two countries; the concept is not a culturally-biased perception from people outside of Latin America.

One way to limit machismo is to have education in schools to teach young men and women that machismo is corrosive to society. The curriculum should focus on identifying machismo and institutional-based ways to end machismo. The fact that the public elected a former mayor supporting machismo—saying women like catcalls—to the presidency in Argentina suggests the Argentinean voters do not actively recognize and call out machismo, instead voters passively accept machismo (Goñi, "Argentine Women"). Additionally, in 2013, only 8 percent of surveyed executive committee members in Latin America were women, showing the effects of institutional machismo (Stillman, "Machismo Persists"). Education to identify machismo could possibly make machismo disappear. Education about institutional-based ways to end machismo would benefit women in the two countries because with equal access to justice, health care, political power, and employment they will not be as vulnerable.

CONCLUSION

Despite living in countries with cultures expressing historically negative views against women, feminist protestors in the last five years in the two countries have influenced legal decisions regarding femicide, gender violence, and abortion rights. Feminist protestors demanded specific legal changes within each of the topics and ultimately saw the specific legal changes. For example, in Argentina, courts increased the maximum sentencing for rape, created a registry of femicide and domestic violence, and granted abortion rights in cases of rape. Similarly, in Chile, the courts established prison sentencings for femicide-defined murder, ordered court personnel training on femicide and gender violence, and lawmakers have tentatively expanded abortion rights. In both countries, the courts met some of the protestors' demands. Protests have a central place in shaping legal decisions in the two South American countries. The protests within the past five years publically pressured the lawmakers to create and pass new laws and decisions. Because feminist protestors influenced changes in two machismo-oriented countries, public street protesting appears to be an effective agent of change. Feminists in other male-dominated countries could look to the results of the feminist protests in Argentina and Chile as a model for change.

Works Cited

Bodzin, Steven. "In Chile, Women Politicians Rise, but Women's Rights Lag." *The Christian Science Monitor*. The Christian Science Monitor, 15 Dec. 2013. Web. Feb. 2016.

"Cámara aprueba despenalización del aborto en tres causales." *Diario Uchile*. Radio Universidad de Chile, 17 Mar. 2016. Web. Mar. 2016.

"Campaña '¡Cuidado! El machismo mata' se despliega en todo Chile." *El Desconcierto*. El Desconcierto, 30 July 2015. Web. Feb. 2016.

Franceschet, Susan. "Explaining Domestic Violence Policy Outcomes in Chile and Argentina." *Latin American Politics and Society* 52.3 (2010): 1-29. Web.

Goñi, Uki. "Argentine Women Call Out Machismo." *The New York Times*. The New York Times Company, 15 June 2015. Web. Feb. 2016.

Iglesias, Mariana. "La legalización del aborto, un tema espinoso para el gobierno." *Clarín*. Clarín.com, 2 Sept. 2015. Web. Feb. 2016.

---"En un año, la violencia de género dejó a 322 hijos sin madre." *Clarín*. Clarín.com, 31 Mar. 2016. Web. Mar. 2016.

Kaiser, Susana. *Postmemories of Terror: A New Generation Copes with the Legacy of the "Dirty War."* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. Print.

Montes, Rocío. "Chile avanza hacia su ley de aborto." *El País*. Ediciones El País S.L., 1 Feb. 2015. Web. Feb. 2016.

Nugent, Ciara. "Four Months from #NiUnaMenos: Has Anything Changed?" *The Argentina Independent*. Argentina Independent, 5 Oct. 2015. Web. Feb. 2016.

Oropeza Eng, Janet, Marine Perron, and Cecilia Toledo. *Tackling Gender Violence in Latin America.* Rep. Ella.PracticalAction.org, 2014. Web. Mar. 2016.

Pieper Mooney, Jadwiga E. "Forging Feminisms under Dictatorship: Women's International Ties and National Feminist Empowerment in Chile, 1973–1990." *Women's History Review* 19.4 (2010): 613-30. Web.

Pomeraniec, Hinde. "How Argentina Rose up against the Murder of Women." *The Guardian*. Guardian News and Media Limited, 8 June 2015. Web. Feb. 2016.

Risley, Amy. "Framing Violence: Argentina's Gender Gap." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 8.4 (2006): 581-609. Web.

Smith, Lydia. "Femicide Protests: How Prevalent is Violence against Women in Argentina?" *International Business Times*. IBTimes Co., Ltd., 4 June 2015. Web. Feb. 2016.

Stillman, Amy. "Machismo Persists in Latin America Despite Rise of Female Presidents." *Financial Times*. The Financial Times Ltd., 5 Mar. 2014. Web. Jan. 2016.

United States. Library of Congress. Global Legal Monitor. *Argentina: Supreme Court Decision on Abortion*. By Graciela Rodriguez-Ferrand. Loc.gov, 16 Mar. 2012. Web. Mar. 2016.

Valente, Marcela. "Argentina: Shedding Light on Dictatorship's Sex Crimes." *Inter Press Service*. IPS-Inter Press Service, 28 June 2011. Web. Jan. 2016.

Vergara, Eva. "Women Seek Justice for Chilean Dictatorship Rapes." *Associated Press*. Associated Press, 4 Dec. 2014. Web. Jan. 2016.

Walsh, Denise M. "Does the Quality of Democracy Matter for Women's Rights? Just Debate and Democratic Transition in Chile and South Africa." *Comparative Political Studies* 45.11 (2012): 1323-50. Web.

Art Exhibition Review

Responding to Change and Looking to the Future in *Temporal Turn*

Ryan Jones is a sophomore majoring in Microbiology and Art History. He is from Topeka, Kansas. This art exhibition review on the Spencer Art Museum's Temporal Turn *exhibition (November 10, 2016-March 12, 2017) was supervised by Prof. David Cateforis.*

Author's Note:

I would like to take this opportunity to thank Dr. David Cateforis, and the anonymous editors for their suggested revisions. I would also like to thank Dr. Kris Ercums, Elizabeth Kanost, Ryan Waggoner, and the Spencer Museum of Art for exhibition photographs. Finally, I want to thank my friends and family for their motivation throughout my research and writing.

Abstract:

This review covers the five themes of the *Temporal Turn: Art and Speculation in Contemporary Asia*, and suggests the greatest achievement of the exhibition, while also offering suggestions to improve its impact. The paper also delves into the rapid changes in Asia over the past 50 years, including political, cultural, and population transformation, tying them to specific works in the exhibition. The article selects artworks in *Temporal Turn* emphasizing these large, rapid changes made by contemporary Asian artists. Research into the economic, political, and cultural facets of East Asian culture is used to back claims made in the paper. Furthermore, the paper proposes how the viewer should respond to the exhibition with thematic context, suggesting it disorients its audience in time and reality.

Literature Review:

Connecting the themes of change and speculation to historical and contemporary Asian history separates my exhibition review from the rest. Researching Asia as it develops and grows offers insight into the five themes of *Temporal Turn*. Furthermore, this paper recognizes and explains the broader message of the exhibition, while also unpacking the five themes by giving the reader a comprehensive walk through the galleries, highlighting key works from each theme. Another distinct part of my argument is my recommendation to rearrange the layout of the works to better explore speculation across themes, and to draw comparisons between the pieces. Finally, in describing the exhibition to the reader, the paper explains the show's impact on the viewer to consider and contemplate his or her own society, environment, biology, and imagination rather than viewing *Temporal Turn* with only contemporary Eastern Asia in mind.

The untiring march of the clock, our world, our lives, as well as the push for modernity, separates the present from the past and future. Walking into the Spencer Museum of Art and *Temporal Turn: Art and Speculation in Contemporary Asia* places the viewer right in the middle of these three states. The result of six years of field work and research by Spencer curator Kris Ercums, *Temporal Turn* congregates work

by twenty-six artists, four of whom, Rohini Devasher, Konoike Tomoko, Park Jaeyoung, and Sahej Rahal, served as artists-in-residence, creating site specific works for the exhibition. The exhibition, divided up into the themes of *Pulse*, highlighting biological art; *The Edge of Infinity*, investigating the interactions between space, time, and mathematics; *Mythopoeia*, examining the meeting point of art and ingrained cultural myths; *Human/Posthuman/Inhuman*, predicting the future of the human race, as well as life forms after or non-human; and *Anthropocene*, depicting the human impact on the natural world, collectively presents a close examination of our current times, past events, and future happenings. Although overwhelming in its wide range and number of sub-themes, Ercums categorizes the exhibition this way to highlight how the artists approach *Temporal Turn*'s overarching themes of time and speculation. One of the exhibition's main themes, time, should be considered with what Ercums cites as deep time, or time past human understanding. *Temporal Turn*, by upsetting the linear, forward velocity of time, also entertains a speculative view of the universe. Through five themes, *Temporal Turn* shares the artistic response to rapid change, while also offering an opportunity to reflect on time and contemplate the future.

Layering themes of time and change from the initial sculpture at the front of the museum to the final artwork, *Temporal Turn* works to separate the viewer from time and reality, providing its audience the chance to analyze the world on various levels. Approaching the museum's eastern entrance, the viewer's first separation from time, and invitation to speculate the present condition, originates in Sahej Rahal's *Children of Days*. The artist Sahej Rahal described the work, made from found objects around the city of Lawrence and covered in colored cement, as "ruins from the future". The work's strategic location as the initial piece in the exhibition catalyzes the theme of speculation. Onlookers are left wondering what the future society will look like, in comparison to now, and what led to its failure. Furthermore, Rahal's artifacts suggest disorientation through time and space, reality and fiction, a response felt throughout the exhibition's remaining works.

Continuing into the museum, the viewer sees the next work by an artist in residence, Konoike Tomoko's *Inter-Traveller*, seated on top of a wall in the foyer. The sculpture, a depiction of a young girl from the waist down, reappears elsewhere on the University of Kansas campus and in *Temporal Turn*, specifically in the Natural History Museum, Konoike's Japanese panel *Earthshine*, and in a tree in Marvin Grove. The repetition of the figure creates a sense of ubiquity and simultaneity through space and time**.** The inter-traveller interacts with the future society depicted in Rahal's work, and lives in the time of the dioramas set in the Natural History Museum, all at once. The repetition of the human form displays the theme of *The Edge of Infinity* in the girl's ability to travel through space and time, defying reality.

Next in the main gallery, the viewer is presented with a large screen dividing the room. This work, also by Konoike, continues the narrative of *Inter-Traveller*. The artist's traditional Japanese screen, *Earthshine*, displays on one side the metamorphic change from human to wolf, taken from creation stories made by the Ainu of northern Japan, while the other side shows Konoike's abstract vision of *qi*, a life-

giving substance associated with Chinese philosophy. The substance works broadly and specifically, ranging, in the words of James Flowers "from the sublime as in the formation of the cosmos to the inane as in a butterfly beating its wings". Providing the viewer a cultural myth of creation and life demonstrates Konoike's conscious effort to retain the cultural past in the two rapidly changing countries in her *Mythopoeia* themed work. In Japan, and the People's Republic of China alike, modernization and globalization challenge the old traditions and culture. To the left of *Earthshine,* a large star map spanning the entirety of the wall asks the viewer to engage with the otherworldly, while also observing reality. In her work *Parts Unknown: Making the Familiar Strange*, Indian artist Rohini Devasher layers a mathematically accurate astronomical map of Pleiades with seven video projections depicting alien landscapes. Devasher explains the origin of the seven images as ones taken from a trip to the Indian Astronomical Observatory in the Ladakh region of India, deepening the meaning of the work. Contrasting a flat map of the constellation with representations of alien worlds, Devasher situates the viewer between a first-person perspective of a small area and broad view of the universe, continuing ubiquity and simultaneity in the exhibition, and consideration of the *Human/Posthuman/Inhuman*. Devasher's installation delves into this theme of the exhibition by prompting the viewer to question their place in the three positions. The enveloping work, spanning the entirety of the wall, begs the questions of what society the viewer looks at, could it be a future civilization from Earth, and could this society be alien. Juxtaposing two perspectives, science and speculation all in one installation continues the effects of Rahal's disorienting sculpture, while also spurring dialogue about the *Human*, *Posthuman*, and *Inhuman*.

From Left to Right: Rohini Devasher, *Parts Unknown: Making the Familiar Strange*; Hur Unkyung, *Unknown Creatures*; Konoike Tomoko, *Earthshine*. Photograph by Ryan Waggoner.

Juxtapositions continue to the opposite side of the gallery with the piece by a group of Indian artists and curators, Raqs Media Collective, *Night & Day, Day & Night*. The 24-hour, illuminated timepiece, although synchronized to an atomic clock, upsets the scientific notion of time with 24 words corresponding to the hour marks. Writing in

one of India's three main languages, Hindi, the three artists produce a simultaneous observation of time specifically and broadly. Furthermore, by employing Hindi words, the group aims to include Indian significance to the work. Much like the rest of Asia, India struggles with overpopulation and rapid urbanization. The collective employs phrases for a wide range of time, such as Taru meaning the time for a tree to grow, and Nimisa, the time to blink an eye. With these choices, Raqs acknowledges deep time, an idea outlined in Ercum's text accompanying the exhibition, "From Deep Time to the Multiverse: Speculations on Temporal Imagination". Deep time looks at time not only as numbers, but as a "vast temporal expanse beyond our mortal, finite comprehension". The flux between a scientific measurement of time and open-ended words forms a challenge between the two modes, as the viewer chooses how they would like to perceive time.

From Left to Right: Raqs Media Collective, *Night & Day, Day & Night*; Pillar Clock (18th Century Japan). Photograph by Ryan Waggoner.

In the next room, Jin Shan's *Retired Pillar* greets visitors with auditory and visual stimulus. Powered by a blast blower, a latex Corinthian column lies on a pedestal inflating and deflating. The kinetic sculpture suggests heavy breathing by the pillar, as it appears to be on its death bead, knocked from its vertical position, and unable to bear weight. The Western motif often employed in colonial Shanghai, as Jin suggests, shows the drive for wealth in China, especially in its special economic zones, where capitalism, rather than socialism, rules in fiscal policy. Tax breaks, private property rights, and land use policy all contribute to larger foreign investments in China, Jin Wang concluded in his economic analysis of such zones, "The economic impact of Special Economic Zones: Evidence from Chinese municipalities". The research suggests growth in gross domestic product of the municipalities due to the fiscal changes, while also highlighting globalization and modernization in the cities. The distressed pillar hints at an overuse of Western architecture in Asian settings.

From Left to Right: Timo Nasseri, *Pion*; Lu Yang, *Wrathful King Kong Kore*; Odani Motohiko, *New Born (Bat_B02_Silver)*; Jin Shan, *Retired Pillar*. Photograph by Ryan Waggoner.

The space between traditional and modern cultures is similarly presented in Park Jaeyoung's *Kansas Bokaisen Project* in the side gallery. Created by Park during his residency at the Spencer, the work takes the form of a laboratory incubating a fictional creature with anatomical similarities to Midwest imaginary creatures such as the jackalope, as well as real ones, like the cottontail rabbit. The work, one of many in a long series by Park, explores traditional stories of mythical creatures, with ones rising from scientific advancements, such as the story of Godzilla in Japan. Like the exhibition's other works, Park's instillation unfurls the threads tying the present to the future, reality and the imaginary, allowing space for contemplation. For instance, the artist allows viewer engagement with the objects on the scientist's desk. Reading and looking at the notes, images, and tools places the viewer in the scientist's futuristic perspective. Park challenges us to question the reality of biological manipulation in the present and future as scientific advancements outpace ethics. Utilizing the cultural and societal stories and images in Asia, Jin and Park tap into myths to underscore the changes they witnessed living in Asia.

Park Jaeyoung, *Kansas Bokaisen Project*. Photograph by Ryan Waggoner.

Interweaving themes is the single greatest achievement of *Temporal Turn*. The five themes, under the motif of speculation, offer insight into how Asian artists respond to change of various levels. These various layers of time, reality, and speculation collectively make a memorable experience of interactions of past, present, and future, along with traditions and culture. Investigation of historical and contemporary Asia must happen to understand the five themes of the exhibition. Many Asian countries saw large societal, cultural, and political changes over the last 100 years. In Japan, for instance, the Emperor became a cultural figure rather than a political one after the Second World War, and the country struggles with an aging population, leading to the collapse of traditional Japanese family structures. As Haruo Sagaza explains in his article "Population aging in the Asia–Oceania region," modernization and urbanization draw younger people into the cities, while their parents stay in the rural areas. China and India share many of these same problems. These countries presently struggle to retain their culture, as the youth have more Western inclinations, while the elders tend to retain domestic culture. This juxtaposition is clear in Hur Unkyung's *Unknown Creatures*. Three elongated, continuous in form, alien creatures stand harmlessly in the central gallery, their shiny lacquer reflecting light. However, cultural context of the polish over their golden color challenges their peaceful appearance. As mentioned in the exhibition catalogue, the shiny skin on the unknown creatures, urushiol, is a common gloss made by the Chinese. This cross between deep-rooted practices of varnishing and the depiction of a futuristic being explains with great accuracy the temporal turn, or the interweaving between the present and past. The Korean artist's use of a Chinese staining technique further advances these cultural interactions. The interplay of time, speculation, and Asian cultural differences remains crucial to understanding the exhibition, but also Asia's position as it grapples with development and modernity. Another edifying quality of the exhibition is the impact it can have for a viewer unfamiliar with contemporary Asian art. *Temporal Turn* presents Asian art to a mostly American audience, well versed in Western art, but not many other areas of art history. *Temporal Turn* succeeds in presenting us art imagined by contemporary Asian artists, as well as showing the shared interest of responding to change exemplified in many works of the exhibition.

The exhibition *Temporal Turn* covers most gallery space on the main floor of the museum, and the south balcony galleries on the third floor. Despite having continuity in the themes of *The Edge of Infinity*, *Mythopoeia*, and *Human/Posthuman/ Inhuman* in the lower level of the museum, the break spatially in the exhibit from the second to third floor diminishes the themes of *Pulse*, and *Anthropocene*. Rearranging the works in the galleries could spark comparisons that would not likely happen otherwise. For instance, Lu Yang's third floor video projection *Uterus Man*, mixing *manga*, or Japanese comic strips, live footage, and computer-generated animation, showing the evolution of the superhero as he grows physically and in power, could have been placed by Devasher's work *Bloodlines*, found on the second floor, to compare the evolution of the organisms. The sexual and gender freedoms in Lu's work parallels Devasher's own liberties with anatomical depictions, but with microorganisms rather

than the human. Using a mirror and video monitor, Devasher generates numerous forms resembling microorganisms. A pedigree made by Devasher hangs next to the video channel, connecting the new lifeforms evolutionarily. Installing Lu's and Devasher's works on the same floor, adjacent to each other, could open a discussion of current biological alterations, as compared to contemporary Asian manga and the progression of modifying biological technologies. In addition, the rearrangement would strengthen the overarching theme of speculation, a topic touched on by both artists, even though their works are grouped under different themes.

Another relocation giving additional continuity would take Neha Choksi's *The Weather Inside Me (Bombay Sunset)* on the third floor and present it alongside Qiu Anxiong's *The New Book of Mountains and Seas 1-3* located on the first floor. The two works, under the theme of *Anthropocene*, address humans' lasting effects on the environment in different ways, but also complement each other. In Choksi's work, nine dissimilar cathode ray tube televisions show the rising and setting sun, with a separate image displaying a picture of the sun on fire. By recreating the sun's path on nine different sizes of televisions, Choksi portrays an augmented, disjointed image of the sun, breaking its ability as a measurement of time, and the cycles it forms, as the sun is paradoxically burned away. The work suggests a change or loss of recognizable cycles in the environment, while also hinting at the rise in temperature due to human influence.

Neha Choksi, *The Weather Inside Me (Bombay Sunset)*. Photograph by Ryan Waggoner.

The human impact on the environment is more explicitly shown in Qiu's video installation *The New Book of Mountains and Seas 1-3*. Photographing numerous paintings on a single canvas and later blending the individual images together, the artist constructs a narrative of environmental exploitation as a civilization starts and rapidly expands. In the trilogy, modified animals searching for oil, cows feeding off carcasses of past cows, and rapid sea level rises are all commonplace. Qiu limits his palette to black and white, keeping to the traditions of Chinese ink-and-brush technique. Despite his adherence to the traditional painting practice, the artist injects

his own ideas of foreign lands in the multimedia work, creating an updated version of Shanhai Jing's second century text *Classics of Mountains and Sea*, which similarly imagines distant lands and people. Placing Choksi's and Qiu's works in close vicinity would invite comparisons in how time is portrayed, and each artist's picture for the future. The switch would also concentrate two *Anthropocene* works in the gallery, a theme represented less than the other four. In short, the exhibition could have been arranged in a different way to catalyze more meaningful interactions between the works.

Observing the current condition often leads to a consideration of the past, and a guess for what the future holds. In *Temporal Turn* this is no different, as Asian artists challenge the viewer to reflect on time and look to the future. Through years of research and fieldwork, Ercums shares the sense of rapid change in culture of East Asia to the predominantly American, Western art viewer. Categorized into five themes, *Temporal Turn* is best described for its ability to disorient us from our normal lives and perceptions, and open a new reality of our choosing. The collective impact of the exhibition, highlighting many facets of change in Asia, encourages its viewers to think of their personal place in modern society, existing between past and future times, and a new perspective of the world in-between reality and fabrication.

Bibliography

Ercums, Kris. "From Deep Time to the Multiverse: Speculations on Temporal Imagination." In *Temporal Turn: Art & Speculation in Contemporary Asia*, edited by Kris Ercums, 14. Lawrence: Spencer Museum of Art, the University of Kansas, 2016.

--- *Temporal Turn: Art & Speculation in Contemporary Asia*. Lawrence: Spencer Museum of Art, the University of Kansas, 2016.

Flowers, James. "What Is Qi?." *Evidence-Based Complementary and Alternative Medicine* 3, no. 4 (2006): 551-552. doi:10.1093/ecam/nel074.

MacDougall, Terry Edward. "Yoshida Shigeru and the Japanese Transition to Liberal Democracy." *International Political Science Review / Revue Internationale De Science Politique* 9, no. 1 (1988): 55-69.

Oshima, Sumiko. "Japan: Feeling the Strains of an Aging Population." *Science* 273, no. 5271 (Jul 05, 1996): 44.

Sagaza, Haruo. "Population Aging In The Asia–Oceania Region." *Geriatrics & Gerontology International* 4 (2004): S34-S37. doi: 10.1111/j.1447-0594.2004.00143.x.

Wang, Jin. "The Economic Impact of Special Economic Zones: Evidence from Chinese Municipalities." *Journal of Development Economics* 101 (2013): 133-47.

Like what you see?

Submit to future issues of
The Undergraduate Research Journal for the Humanities

For more information:
www.urjh.org
Facebook
Twitter

UNDERGRADUATE
RESEARCH
JOURNAL
FOR THE HUMANITIES

ISSN: 2473-2788

The Undergraduate Research Journal for the Humanities at the University of Kansas