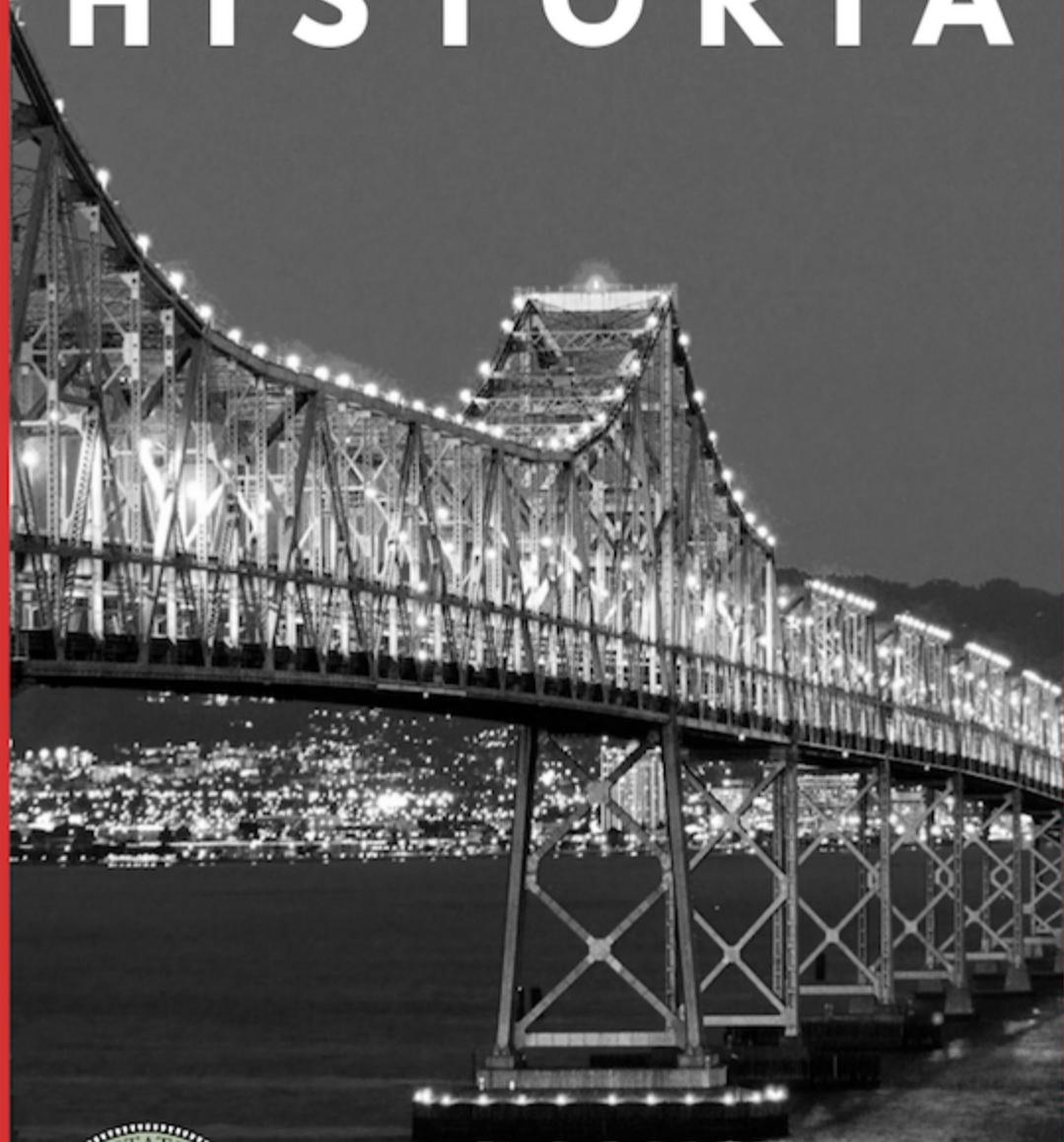


# EAST BAY HISTORIA



**Cal State East Bay's History  
Department Journal  
Volume 3, 2019**

*East Bay Historia*



## **East Bay Historia**

# **California State University, East Bay History Department Journal Volume 3, 2019**

The annual publication of the  
Department of History  
California State University, East Bay

The editors of the *East Bay Historia*  
dedicate this issue to

Those who are suffering at the border, man, woman, and child alike.

*“I want to tell you that my heart is very sad, because I’m scared that one day ICE is going to deport my parents. I have a right to live with my parents. I have a right to be happy.” -Sophie Cruz*

## *East Bay Historia*

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*East Bay Historia* is an annual publication of the California State University, East Bay (CSUEB) Department of History. It aims to provide CSUEB students with an opportunity to publish historical works and to give students the experience of being on an editorial board and creating and designing an academic journal. Issues are published at the end of each academic year. All opinions or statements of fact are the sole responsibility of their authors and may not reflect the views of the editorial staff, the History Department, or California State University, East Bay (CSUEB). The authors retain rights to their individual essays.

*East Bay Historia's* mission is to promote the study of history at CSUEB, give history majors and non-history majors alike opportunities to express their passion for the subject, and to empower students, faculty, and staff who are studying or are interested in history.

Cover photo of the Bay Bridge.

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**Introduction & Acknowledgements**

It is my pleasure to welcome the third year of the *East Bay Historia*, Vol. III. This is my second year serving on the editorial board for the historical journal, this year as editor-in-chief. For this year's edition of the *East Bay Historia*, the editorial board was turned into a lab course where students were able to collaborate and learn about the complexity and creativity involved in producing an academic journal. The past two years the editorial board has been comprised of four students, now the journal has been produced by fifteen bright undergraduate students with the guidance of Dr. Alexander. We would like to extend a special thanks our graduate advisor Tyler Rust and faculty advisors Dr. Alexander and Dr. Kaatz for their help in separately reviewing the essays submitted by members of the editorial board to ensure that the review process was fair.

As the popularity of *The East Bay Historia* had grown, so too has students' interest in showcasing their work. The number of submissions doubled this year from last year, which made the selection process all the more difficult, but we remained as objective as possible with a blind peer-review process. With the high number of submissions, we received a broad spectrum of subjects ranging from early Christianity to the Plastic Age. In the vast array of papers submitted four of the featured papers are on the history of Mexico. Prior editions of the *East Bay Historia* have not had a single paper on Mexico, and hopefully, these papers can shed some light on the grandeur and colorful history of our southern neighbors who we share so much of our past and present with.

Our editorial board looks forward to the future of the *East Bay Historia* as the new format of the journal is carried out by a collaborative class. This year we have branded the journal, created a structured format for streamlining editing, and begun an increase in promotional work of the journal to reach more students. The editorial board looks forward creating a website and expanded the journal to include alumni. This trial year has set a solid foundation for the *Historia* going forward.

I hope you enjoy reading the *East Bay Historia*, Vol. III!

Alejandra Magallon  
Editor-in-Chief

## Author Biographies

**Sasha Anguiano** is a Bay Area native in her junior year here at Cal State East Bay. She is majoring in Liberal Studies and aspires to become a high school teacher, teaching both English and History. Growing up she excelled in both subjects, due to many gifted educators and her love of reading. She hopes to inspire the same passion in her own students someday. Her favorite areas of study are Modern American and Environmental History.

**Danielle Barlett** is an Ethnic Studies major with a concentration in genders and sexualities in communities of color at Cal State East Bay where she is finishing her last semester of her senior year. She is interested in transnational history, specifically histories that have been silenced or forgotten. Danielle has been most inspired by feminist writers to examine and challenge historical contexts that shape mainstream ideologies. Following graduation, she hopes to pursue feminist politics and advocate for the eradication of all oppressive forces.

**Ruben Cardona** is a senior at Cal State East Bay majoring in History with a focus on European History. He particularly enjoys studying ancient Europe, and nineteenth century Europe leading up to WWI. In his spare time, he enjoys reading about the origins of European Soccer teams. After taking Dr. Alexander's Latin American cinema class, he discovered a love of Latin American history, especially Mexican history. After graduating Ruben hopes to pursue an MA in Latin American Studies.

**Sabrina Harper** graduated with a BA in U.S. History from Cal State East Bay in 2018, and she is currently completing her first year in the graduate program there in U.S. History with a teaching option. Sabrina is particularly interested in the Gilded Age and Progressive Era, especially how the experiences of immigrants, African Americans and women have impacted and been impacted by social movements and conflict. An undercurrent that runs through all her scholarship is that of politics, religion and spirituality expressed in Catholicism. This is the second article of Sabrina's published in the *East Bay Historia*.

**Ivana Kurak** is currently a Master's student at Cal State East Bay. Her work focuses on the themes of empire, race, and gender. She hopes to be

## *East Bay Historia*

applying for Ph.D. programs in the future, but until then she will be working on her thesis, discussing politics, or hiking with her dog, Kurt.

**Alejandra Magallon** is fourth-year undergraduate student majoring in History with a focus in U.S. History and is pursuing a certificate in Public History. She enjoys U.S. borderland history, the impact working class minorities have had in the U.S, and Latin American history. This year Alejandra is working as a Research Assistant for Dr. Casey Nichols focusing on race relations between Mexican-Americans and African-Americans in Los Angeles. She is also interning with the Peralta Hacienda in Oakland assisting in a project on helping immigrant *jornaleros* (day laborers) of Oakland tell their history and develop it into an artistic performance.

**Joshua Martinez** is a senior history major at Cal State East Bay. His area of focus is the American Colonial Era and culinary history. He is known as “the beer guy” to his peers due to his passion for the subject. He has a creative approach to projects and wishes to further explore lesser known topics and make history more tangible to more audiences. He plans to combine his passions for cooking, creativity, history, and brewing into the public history sector with a goal to invoke the passions for future history majors.

**Robyn Perry** is a graduating senior who will be receiving her bachelor's degree in History this spring and will be pursuing a master's degree at Bowling Green State University beginning this fall. Robyn's area of specialization is mid-century/Cold War era popular history and culture, most notably Japanese popular music ranging from about 1952 to 1970. Robyn has acted previously as the president of Student Historical Society and has held an internship as an archival assistant at the Hayward Area Historical Society. Robyn ultimately dreams of becoming a professor of American history or working at the Kayama Yuzo Museum in Japan.

**John Renteria**, “Jack” as most know him, is a third-year History major student at Cal State East Bay. Jack took an interest in history from a young age mainly from his father, a fellow history enthusiast, and his uncle, a history teacher. Jack started his higher education at Las Positas college in Livermore, CA. After several major changes, Jack decided to follow the aspect of school he enjoyed most, history. He transferred to Cal State East Bay after receiving an associate’s degrees in Social Science and History. Jack enjoys all aspects of history, but his main historical interests are in United States history and World War II.

**Tyler Rust** is a third-year thesis candidate, and a veteran social studies teacher. Tyler has taught World and US History, as well as just about every other elective offered in high school. He has a Masters of Arts in Teaching, and earned National Board Certification. He has presented papers at each of the last two student research seminars at Cal State East Bay, and his paper on the U2 Incident was published in last year's *East Bay Historia*. Tyler currently teaches by day, and serves as a reviewer for the *East Bay Historia*, and as a research assistant for the Cal State East Bay Department of History. He has a documentary about teaching, critical thinking, and history scheduled for release in 2019. His blog is available at [Historydojo.blog](http://Historydojo.blog). His podcast, Historydojo, is available on Spotify. Tyler hopes to one day transition from teaching at the secondary level to college level history instruction, and to write a few good history books.

**Julia Smith** is a senior undergraduate student who will be graduating *cum laude* with a bachelor's degree in History in May 2019. After graduation, she hopes to work as an archivist. Her areas of interest are Central Asian and Mongolian history, from antiquity to the dissolution of the Soviet Union. She is also interested in Indian history and how the past influences the politics of present-day India.

**Israel Sotelo Jr.** is a graduating senior who will be receiving his bachelor's degree in Latin American History this spring. Israel is the Captain of the Men's NCAA DII Cross Country and Track and Field programs here at CSU East Bay. He is a first generation American and college graduate who was inspired by his family heritage to become a Mexican historian. His article and work done on the editorial board are dedicated to all those he calls family, both athletic and consanguineous.

**Caitlin May Stebbins** grew up in Norwalk, California and entered Cal State East Bay in 2014 with no idea about what she wanted to do, but to her, history seemed cool. Here she is five years later, with consistent success in her history courses, and having received the 2018/19 Senior History Scholarship. She would like to dedicate this to two influential men in her life. Firstly, to her father Curtis who gave her the Stebbins name and was her first influence into the realm of US history. Secondly, she would like to dedicate this to her 6th and 7th grade social studies teacher, Mr. Marquez, who provided the foundation for her intellectual interest in history all while keeping it fun. She hopes everyone enjoys her piece.

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**Randy Utz** is a fourth-year undergrad history major. Born and raised in Texas, he came to California in 2012 as part of the Occupy Wall Street movement. Though this trip was meant to be temporary he fell in love with the Bay Area and decided to make it home. He has two areas of historical interest. The first is Roman history, which has been a passion and hobby for most of his life. The second is radical and working-class history and studying the connections between these events and contemporary current events. Outside of history and politics Randy spends most of his time with his wonderful wife who was the inspiration for his enrolling in college

## **A SIP THROUGH HISTORY: ALCOHOL'S EARLY ROLE IN AMERICA**

By Joshua Martinez

### *Introduction* Milk & Water

In the twilight hours of April 19, 1775 candles flicker in the windows of Buckman's Tavern, in the rural town of Lexington.<sup>1</sup> The warm room is filled with the aroma of smoke from the working hearth, and the tobacco smoke of patrons and members of the militia. Around midnight as the community slept a rider in the night by the name Paul Revere gallops into town rousing the residents shouting "The Regulars are coming!" British provincial soldiers were coming from Boston to seize and destroy the arms, stores of ammunition, that rebels have been stowing away in Concord, and arrest rebel leaders John Hancock and Samuel Adams. The Lexington Militia assembled in the Green<sup>2</sup> in the wee hours until their commander dismisses them. Around eighty men return to Buckman Tavern drinking ales and ciders splashed with rum fortifying them for the impending confrontation. As the British were sighted the militiamen assembled from the tavern onto the Green to face the British soldiers. A shot was fired, beginning the Revolutionary War.

It goes by many nicknames: booze, hooch, poison, sauce, liquid courage, and grog to name a few.<sup>3</sup> Throughout United States history alcohol has been a highly valuable commodity, but for colonist in the 1600s alcohol was much more than recreational. Ales and ciders were a source of a substance and nutrition; a resource vital for survival. In the

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<sup>1</sup> Buckman Tavern is a historical American Revolution site associated with the Battle of Lexington and Concord. Before the battle local militias assembled at the town Green and waited at the tavern for the arrival of the British regulars.

<sup>2</sup> A plot of land purchased by the community where the local militia used for training; also referred as "common."

<sup>3</sup> For a list of synonyms for being drunk look into, The Drinker's Dictionary, 13 January 1737," *Founders Online*, National Archives, last modified February 1, 2018, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-02-02-0029>. [Original source: *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. 2, *January 1, 1735, through December 31, 1744*, ed. Leonard W. Labaree. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961, pp. 173–178.]

Atlantic colonies the usage of alcohol by Anglicans is well documented, however there are far fewer sources amongst other ethnic populations like natives and slaves because they relied on a tradition of oral history. Whatever written sources regarding natives and slaves we have to look at Anglican sources that documented their accounts at the time; especially regarding the enslaved people. This paper is written to answer the question: what was alcohol's role in early American history? Unlike today when we drink alcohol by choice for pleasure, alcohol in the sixteenth to the early eighteenth-century colonial era, it was a necessary resource with a plethora of uses ranging from medicinal to economical. As scientific advances coincide with shifts in culture and society the outlook of alcohol changed.

*Background*  
Cyder & Perry

Colonial America in the early 1600s was a brutal and unforgiving world; it would take over a century for settlers to shape the colonies in the iconic image of eighteenth-century colonial America. The majority of immigrants came to the Atlantic Colonies from Northern European countries, bringing their culinary and libation traditions with them. So why did they drink? Immigrants coming from urban city centers developed customs of staying away from water due to a lack of modern sanitation and sciences dealing with sanitation, microbes, and pasteurization. Drinking water was also given the social stigma of poverty, "Water is not wholesome solely by itself for an Englishman. If any man do use to drink water with wine, let it be purely strained, and then boil it; and after it be cold, let him put it to his wine."<sup>4</sup> The title "water drinker" would be given to those as a jape. Benjamin Franklin in his youth as a printer in England was made fun of for his frugal nature and work ethic because he did not drink beer like his fellow workers:

"I drank only Water; the other Workmen, near 50 in Number, were great Guzzlers of Beer. They wonder'd to see from this & several Instances that the Water-American as the call'd me was *stronger* than themselves who drunk *strong* beer."<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Sarah Meacham, *Every Home a Distillery: Alcohol, Gender, and Technology in the Colonial Chesapeake* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2009), 7.

<sup>5</sup> Edward Newenham to Benjamin Franklin, October 28, 1783, The Papers of Benjamin Franklin, Autobiography, Part 5/<http://franklinpapers.yale.edu/digital-edition>. Franklin also recounts his coworker drinking six pints of beer through the day.

## *A Sip through History*

Nonalcoholic imports such as coffee and teas were available to the wealthy and merchant class due to the price associated with the cost of travel of the imports. This left for the most part beers and ciders for lower class colonists in the 1600s; and these drinks were largely produced domestically. Soon drinking habits for the colonist were formed and drinking became synonymous with the culture of the time. Captain Marryat reflects American drinking habits after his visit in the mid-1800s:

“They say that the British cannot fix anything properly without a dinner, but I’m sure the Americans can fix nothing without a drink. If you meet, you drink; if you part, you drink; if you make acquaintance, you drink; if you close a bargain, you drink; they quarrel in their drink, and they make it up with a drink. They drink, because it is hot; they drink, because it is cold. If successful in elections, they drink and rejoice; if not, they drink and swear;—they begin to drink early in the morning, they leave off late at night; they commence it early in life, and they continue it, until they soon drop into the grave. To use their own expression, the way they drink is ‘quite a caution.’ As for water, what the man said, when asked to belong to the Temperance Society, appears to be the general opinion: ‘it’s very good for navigation.’”<sup>6</sup>

The pictures “Beer Alley” and “Gin Lane” illustrated by William Hogarth is the perfect reflection of societies attitudes towards lower alcoholic libations; like beer, cider, and wines compared to high alcohol spirits like gin, rum, and whiskey.<sup>7</sup> In Beer Street, commerce is flowing, people are happily going about their jobs and daily routines with mugs of beer in hand in the forefront whilst in the background a pair of movers rest with a dram of brew at the bottom of beer street says the following, “Beer happy produce of our Isle can sinewy impart and wearied with Fatigue and toil can cheer each manly heart, Genius of health thy grateful taste And warms each English generous Breast with Liberty and Love!” The only object in disrepair is the pawn broker building which is the

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<sup>6</sup> Frederick Marryat, *A Diary in America: With Remarks on its Institutions* (Paris: Baudry's European Library, 1839).

<sup>7</sup> Small Beers were made from using the spent grains from a batch of beer, small beers yielded around 1-2% ABV and were a supplement to water that everyone drank from children, sick, and George Washington. Ales and ciders were around 5%, strong beer 8%, and wine 12%. It should be noted the correlation of the introduction of spirits; 40% ABV and the Temperance movement.

most dilapidated part of Beer Street, this building also separates the areas of “Beer Street” and “Gin Lane.”

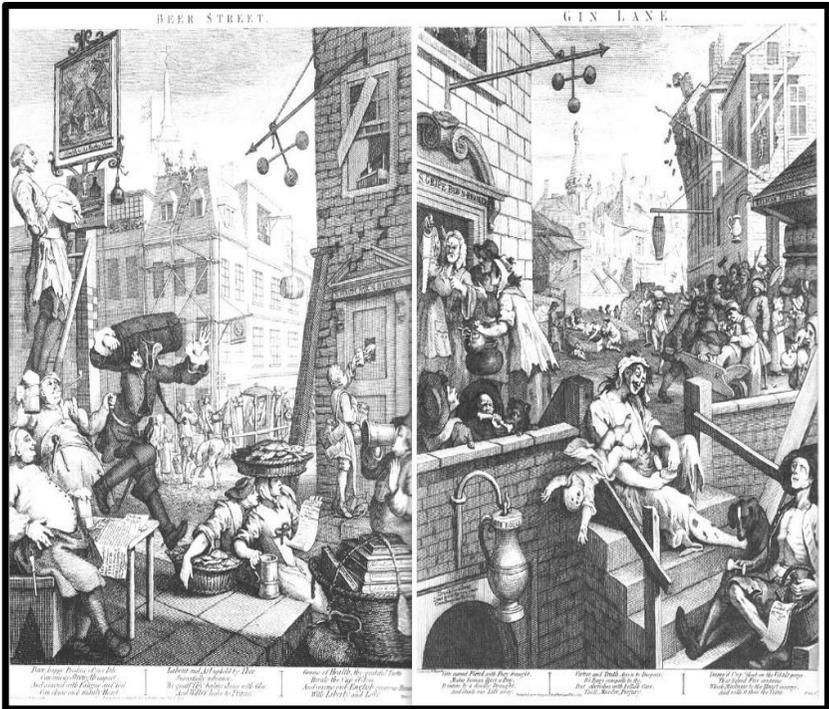


Image 1: “Beer Street. Gin Lane,” in Sharon V. Salinger, *Taverns and Drinking in Early America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 53.

Contrary to Beer Street, Gin Lane is depicted as a scene of utter depravity and chaos. Instead of a scene bustling with trade and prosperity; death, sorrow, and desperation plague the residents of Gin Lane. The street is turned into a slum with the introduction of gin. Chaos plagues the streets and mothers kill their babies as the world dilapidates around them. The only thriving business in Gin Lane is the pawn broker, who gets rich off of those pawning off their wares to fuel their addiction for that rancorous gin spirit. Part of the inscription Hogarth’s writes at the bottom of Gin Lane; “Gin, cursed fiend, with Fury fraught, makes human Race a prey. It enters by a deadly Draught and steals our Life away.”<sup>8</sup> This cartoon shows society’s perspective of hard liquor and beers were a response towards England’s outbreak of gin and a push toward temperance. The trend of hard liquor has the same consequences

<sup>8</sup> Sharon V. Salinger, *Taverns and Drinking in Early America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 53.

## *A Sip through History*

overseas in the colonies. In the colonies, spirits become cheaper and more readily available and similar to England, liquors were seen to degrade the morality amongst native populations, and to an extent, the enslaved populations as well.

### *The Atlantic Colonies* Wine

“Thanks, For Peace and Liberty, for Food and Raiment, for Corn and Wine, and every kind of Healthful Nourishment, Good God, I Thank thee.”<sup>9</sup> As mentioned earlier, alcohol was a detriment in early colonialists’ lives due to the harsh life in the stages of settlement. Because beer was boiled and ciders and wines were fermented, these processes killed bacteria. In addition, there were no means to prevent spoilage of nonalcoholic beverages like milk, or prevent fruit juices from fermenting, thus making alcoholic beverages necessary. Where beers, ciders, and wines were consumed for nourishment, “fire waters” or spirits served multiple functions in colonial living like being the basis for medicinal elixirs for example. Alcohol was applied in everyday uses beyond maintaining health, they used spirits mixed with herbs to target afflictions like “marigolds to cure depression or infused cowslips to cure memory loss and headaches... One popular eighteenth-century song advised, “When dull care does attack you/ Drinking will those clouds repeal/ Four good bottles will make you Happy/ seldom do they fail.”<sup>10</sup> In a time before prescription pain relievers, alcoholic beverages helped relieve pain and acted as a sedative. During his deployment as a surgeon in the Valley Forge Campaign Albigeance Waldo complains of the lack of alcohol provisions, and records in his journal:

“December 8, All at our Several Posts. Provisions and Whiskey very scarce. Were Soldiers to have plenty of Food and Rum, I believe they would Storm Tophet... December 12 We were order'd to march over the River - It snows - I'm Sick - eat nothing - No Whiskey - No Forage - Lord - Lord - Lord... January 3, ... Fresh Beef and Flour make me perfectly Sick, especially as we have no Spirits to drink with it; but other stand it, so I must. January 4, as we had no short

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<sup>9</sup> Articles of Belief and Acts of Religion, 20 November 1728,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, last modified February 1, 2018, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-01-02-0032>. [Original source: *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. 1, *January 6, 1706 through December 31, 1734*, ed. Leonard W. Labaree. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959, pp. 101–109.]

<sup>10</sup> Meacham, *Every Home a Distillery*, 10.

allowance of food & no Grog, my back ached before Night.”<sup>11</sup>

Because of their high alcohol percentage liquors act as a preservative ideal for longer storage making them resilient to overseas travel unlike libations of lesser percentages like beer, wine, or cider. Spirits and even wine were used for preserving bodies. Alcohol was used in topical skin applications for beauty by women as well as an all-purpose cleaning agent used to clean everything from silverware and glass to leathers and fireplaces. There was little that alcohol could not accomplish inside the colonial household.<sup>12</sup>

The resourcefulness of spirits expanded their uses on the frontier as Americans looked west. Hard drink would become a highly valuable resource out on the frontier. On the Lewis and Clark expedition the Corps of Discovery brought thirty gallons of wine.<sup>13</sup> On this expedition one of the men was accused of abandoning his post and stealing from the party's whiskey ration. John Collins was charged “with getting drunk on his post this Morning out of whiskey put under his charge as a Sentinel, and for Suffering *Hugh Hall* to draw whiskey out of the Said Barrel intended for the party. To this Charge the prisoner plead *not Guilty*... therefore sentence him to receive *one hundred Lashes on his bear Back*.”<sup>14</sup> On the frontier hooch was a valuable trade item, trappers and mountain men often traded valuable furs for pints of spirits with natives. Alcohol was quaffed for every occasion and every locale; alcohol was served at town meetings, during church and court sessions where both judge and juries drank. Often taverns were constructed next to courts or sometimes court was held at taverns for the connivance of officials. In business a deal was finalized over a drink as laborers would be paid in booze and rewarded with booze breaks every day. Even at wedding and funerals people drank. Historian Eric Burns notes, “in Boston, the wife of a noted Puritan minister passed away, more than fifty gallons of fine wine were imbibed by grieving attendees.”<sup>15</sup> Alcohol was consumed after militia exercises and when it came to elections

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<sup>11</sup> Albigeance Waldo, "Valley Forge, 1777-1778. Diary of Surgeon Albigeance Waldo, of the Connecticut Line," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (January 01, 1897), Accessed February 22, 2018.

[http://www.jstor.org/stable/20085750?seq=27#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/20085750?seq=27#page_scan_tab_contents).

<sup>12</sup> Fun activity: look through all your household products and see how many have alcohol in them, you will find many still use alcohol.

<sup>13</sup> Frank Bergon, *The Journals of Lewis and Clark* (New York: Penguin Group, 2007), xli.

<sup>14</sup> Bergon, *The Journals of Lewis and Clark*, 13.

<sup>15</sup> Eric Burns, *The Spirits of America: A Social History of Alcohol* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2004), 17.

## *A Sip through History*

candidates would gain favor with voters by serving various punches and grogs known as Mimbo and Bombo were commonplace. Even George Washington “spent 37 on ‘brandy, rum, cider, strong beer, and wine’ for freeholders on election day in 1758 in order to win a seat in the House of Burgesses.”<sup>16</sup>

Alcohol became so ingrained in American culture that drinking water instead of libations was a social faux pas. During his visit to America a foreigner Joseph Cabell offended Thomas Jefferson at dinner when he requested water, “the evidence I received in his visit here that the state of his health permitted him to eat nothing but vegetables, & drink nothing but water, his declarations to me at table that he dared, End, drink, ale, or cyder or a single glass of wine, and this in the presence of Correa, who, if there had been hypocrisy in it, would not have failed to tell me so.”<sup>17</sup> Many of the founding fathers produced and quaffed their own libations. On Mount Vernon, Washington made his own liquor and beer not only for personal use but also for sale. In addition, Washington produced a molasses small beer showing how one of the richest men in Virginia was still frugal.<sup>18</sup> Thomas Jefferson at Monticello built a brewery on his estate and experimented in breeding apples for cider and grapes for wine. John Hancock, one of the wealthiest men in Massachusetts, smuggled shipments of Madeira on his ships. Samuel Adams managed his father’s malting business and founded the Boston chapter of the Sons of Liberty, whose meetings were frequently held at the Green Dragon Tavern where they planned out the Boston Tea Party and other rebellions. His brother John Adams was fond of cider and “emptied a large tankard of cider on most morning, usually before 4am before breakfast.”<sup>19</sup> Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton, an avid drinker himself enacted a .60 cent increased tax on every gallon of whiskey after the Revolutionary War. This tax did not bode well with farmers, as the many farmers feared the new American government would repeat what the British Crown had enacted on the colonist, specifically a series of unjust taxes without representation. The small series of skirmishes with farmers versus the

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<sup>16</sup> Washington ran for office beforehand without serving alcohol to voters and lost the election to a man who served drinks. It’s safe to say Washington didn’t make the same mistake twice; see Meacham, *Every Home a Distillery*, 17.

<sup>17</sup> “From Thomas Jefferson to Joseph Carrington Cabell, 1 March 1819,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, last modified November 26, 2017, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/98-01-02-0161>

<sup>18</sup> For the recipe for Washington’s molasses beer, which is one of the few surviving recipes by Washington, see David Alan Woolsey, *Libations of the Eighteenth Century: A Concise Manual for the Brewing of Authentic Beverages from the Colonial Era of America, and of Times Past* (Universal Publishers, 2002), 73,74.

<sup>19</sup> Burns, *The Spirits of America: A Social History of Alcohol*, 26.

United States government would be known as the Whiskey Rebellion. In his later years, Franklin grew very fond of wines and other variations like Madeira to the point of celebrating its creation and divinity:

“We speak of the conversion of water to wine, at the wedding of Cana, as a miracle, But this conversion is done every day by the goodness of God before our eyes. This is the water that falls from the heavens on our vineyards; There, it enters the roots of the vines to be changed into wine; Constant proof that God loves us, and that he likes to see us happy... It is true that God also taught men to reduce wine to water. But what sort of water? – *Brandy* So that they may themselves do the miracle of Cana, and convert common water into that excellent species of wine called *punch*. My Christian brother, be benevolent and beneficent as he is, and do not spoil his good beverage.”<sup>20</sup>

In the late eighteenth century, alcohol became a necessity to the accompany rebellion, especially in the years leading up to the Revolution. The British Crown imposed tariffs and taxes on imports on the colonies; the Sugar Act in 1764 cut off colonial trade from the West Indies, effectively cutting off the continental colonies supply of sugar, molasses, and rum. In *Poor Richard Improved* (1765), Benjamin Franklin offered alternatives to colonial dependence on West Indie recourses:

“I have collected and written a few plain Instructions; *First*, for making good Wine of our own wild Grapes. *Secondly*, for raising Maderia in these Provinces. *Thirdly*, for the Improvement of our Corn Spirits, so as they may be preferable to Rum. *Fourthly*, for supplying ourselves with a Syrup, every Way superior to Melasses; and *Fifthly*, for obtaining Sugar from our own Vegetables.”<sup>21</sup>

America’s founding fathers all had ties to alcohol in one way or the

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<sup>20</sup> "From Benjamin Franklin to Abbot Morellet, [after 5 July? 1779]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, last modified February 1, 2018, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-30-02-0034>. [Original source: *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. 30, *July 1 through October 31, 1779*, ed. Barbara B. Oberg. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993, pp. 50-53.]

<sup>21</sup> Poor Richard Improved, 1765,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, last modified February 1, 2018, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-12-02-0001>. [Original source: *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. 12, *January 1, through December 31, 1765*, ed. Leonard W. Labaree. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1967, pp. 3–12.]

## *A Sip through History*

other, and amongst the signers of the Declaration of Independence were maltsters, copperers, distillers, smugglers, brewers, wine and cider makers.

### *Slaves and Natives*

Porter

As Anglicans interacted and traded with native populations “fire water” would bring destruction to several tribes. The drinking behaviors between whites and Indians were generally the same, as seen in England with gin and in the colonies with rum. With hundreds of tribes spanning the country, they acted differently when introduced to hard alcohol. Some tribes that practiced agriculture; primarily in the Southwest, already produced forms of alcohol that were consumed for ceremonial and secular purposes, this gave them a resistance to spirits. While some tribes consumed the new libation with few problems, “we informed them what we had told the others before i.e. Ottoes & Seaux... Those Indians are not fond of Spirits Liquor of any kind.”<sup>22</sup> Benjamin Franklin recounts his experience when he attended a treaty signing with a local tribe and commented on the effects of rum:

“As those people are extremely apt to get drunk, and, when so, are very quarrelsome and disorderly, we strictly forbade the selling any liquor to them... We found they had made a great bonfire in the middle of the square; they were all drunk, men and women, quarreling and fighting. At midnight a number of them came thundering at our door, demanding more rum, of which we took no notice... And, indeed, if it be the design of Providence to extirpate these savages in order to make room for cultivators of the earth, it seems not improbable that rum may be the appointed means. It has already annihilated all the tribes who formerly inhabited the sea-coast.”<sup>23</sup>

Franklin mentions rum annihilated the tribes that had previously inhabited the Atlantic coast. Coastal tribes tended to be hunter-gatherers focused on individualistic behaviors, which were the traditions of tribes that were more exposed to European traders, trappers, soldiers, and settlers. Tribes whose traditions were communal and agricultural based resisted the effects of spirits, “Groups that have traditionally stressed

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<sup>22</sup> Bergon, *The Journals of Lewis and Clark*, 62.

<sup>23</sup> Benjamin Franklin and Louis P. Masur, *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin: With Related Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, Macmillan Learning, 2016), 88.

communal values and have developed social controls to regulate alcohol-related behaviors appear less likely to experience alcohol problems”<sup>24</sup> Some colonies like Virginia enacted little legislation to prevent the sale of alcohol to Indians, while other colonies, like Massachusetts with the Pilgrim influence, legislated against the sale of alcohol to Indians in some of their first laws governing drinking behavior, “In 1636, they made it illegal to sell wine or “strong water” to any Indians unless “in case of sickness or faintness & then only with foreknowledge & consent” of a magistrate.”<sup>25</sup> Because of the concerns over Indian violence, colonists enacted legislations to regulate the sales of liquor to tribes. However, Indians themselves were not oblivious to the effect of what liquor was doing to them and attributed alcohol to a “white plague.” In 1753, at the Treaty of Carlisle, a number of elders pleaded before the colonial magistrates, “We beg you would prevent its coming in such quantities. We desire it may be forbidden and none sold in the Indian country.”<sup>26</sup>

In the Transatlantic Trade large numbers of slaves were shipped to the colonies, with these shipments of slaves came the bounty of the West Indies like rum, sugar, and molasses. Enslaved Africans developed similar drinking habits to whites; however, the drinking of slaves was under the supply and surveillance of their owners. Slaves were given drink during holidays, funerals, celebrations, and for medicinal purposes; owners like George Washington added watered down rum and whiskey to their slave’s daily rations. After heavy work periods like harvest season’s masters would often throw celebrations for their slaves after the work was done. Corn shucking, hog killing, frolics, and cotton pickings usually ended with a day consisting of BBQ, music, dancing, and large quantities of alcohol. Reverend Squire Dowd recalls a corn shucking event, “We had a big time at cornshuckings. We had plenty of good things to eat, and plenty of whiskey and brandy to drink.”<sup>27</sup> Mammy Harriet recalls, “two hamper-baskets full o’ bottles o’ whiskey,- a pint for ebervy man an’ half a pint for ebervy ‘oman... de young gals alays tik de whiskey... an’ put water an’ sugar in it.”<sup>28</sup>

While the drinking habits of slaves were completely up to the

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<sup>24</sup> Dwight B. Heath, *International Handbook on Alcohol and Culture* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995), 311.

<sup>25</sup> Salinger, *Taverns and Drinking in Early America*, 29.

<sup>26</sup> Mark E. Lender and James K. Martin, *Drinking in America: A History* (New York: Free Press, 1987), 26.

<sup>27</sup> Reverend Squire Dowd, "What the Slaves Ate," in *The Voices from the Margins: Authentic Recorded Life Stories by Former Slaves from 17 American States* (Musaicum Books), n.p., [www.googlebooks.com](http://www.googlebooks.com), accessed March 12, 2018.

<sup>28</sup> Meacham, *Every Home a Distillery*, 19.

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owners, after hard labor like collecting the harvest some owners would only allow a limited amount of alcohol while others did not allow their slaves to have alcohol at all. Slaves would sometimes steal alcohol from their masters; some even tolerated it to an extent. Whereas other slaves made their own libations. West Turner recounts making beer out of permissions, “We made permission beer too. Jest struck our permissions in a keg with two or three gallons of water and sweet potato peelings and some hunks of corn bread and left it there until it began to work.”<sup>29</sup>

Slaves and Indians in the colonial era did not leave behind written documentation of their memories about drinking, but many may have thought like Abolitionist Fredrick Douglas who grew up as a slave in Maryland describes his thoughts of giving alcohol to slaves, “The goal was to get whole multitudes to drink to excess, that there was little to choose between liberty and slavery... that we had almost as well be slaves to man as to rum”<sup>30</sup> Black abolitionist like Douglas saw alcohol as one of the many chains that bound blacks to slavery. It is this notion that many freed blacks and abolitionists collaborated with each other in the growing Temperance Movements in the early nineteenth century.

### *The Temperance Movement* Strong Beer

As liquor became more accessible in the colonies the prices for spirits dropped dramatically. Liquors were cheaper and with their much higher alcohol content of at least forty-five percent, they can get one intoxicated much quicker.<sup>31</sup> The rise of “devil rum” set forth the increase of public drunkenness amongst all ethnicities and classes in the colonial era. The Temperance Movement started off with modest beginnings, temperance in the eighteenth century was about moderation, and eventually evolved to an abstinence movement in the mid-nineteenth century. Benjamin Franklin was a big supporter of temperance and on his list of becoming a fulfilled individual, he lists temperance as his first step. Franklin’s *Poor Richard* is full is antidotes related to moderation including, “Take counsel in wine, but resolve afterwards in water. He that drinks fast pays slow. Nothing more like a Fool, than a drunken Man.”<sup>32</sup> Franklin even advises readers how to moderate their drinking

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<sup>29</sup> Meacham, 38. Plantations with breweries like George Washington were operated by trained slaves.

<sup>30</sup> Lender and Martin, *Drinking in America*, 29.

<sup>31</sup> Grog shops were very common. The concept was to make a larger profit by watering down your spirits increasing the volume of your product and selling it for a cheaper price.

<sup>32</sup> “Poor Richard Improved, 1753,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, last modified

habits:

“If you are now a Drinker of Punch, Wine or Tea, twice a Day; for the ensuing Year drink them but *once* a Day. If you now drink them but once a Day, do it but every other Day. If you do it now but once a Week, reduce the Practice to once a Fortnight. And if you do not exceed in Quantity as you lessen the Times, half you Expense in these Articles will be saved. When you incline to drink Rum, fill the Glass *half* with Water.”<sup>33</sup>

During this time of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries the lower alcohol libations: wine, beer, and ciders decreased in overall consumption as liquors rapidly took control of American drinking habits. Weaker beverages became lumped together with the vices of spirits as the Temperance Movement shifted from moderation to abstinence. In the era of Benjamin Franklin members of Temperance groups were primarily composed of men, but in the turn of the century women took over the roll in leading temperance groups. In almost a complete reversal of roles, women shifted from brewing to temperance, and men shifted from temperance to brewing. The Women’s Christian Temperance Union focused their efforts at the root by teaching children the evils of alcoholic beverages, similar to the DARE (Drug Abuse Resistance Education) programs today. Alcohol was no longer seen as the provider of enjoyment, comradery, or nutrition, instead by the end of the nineteenth century the spirit of Bacchus<sup>34</sup> was effectively dead in the public spectrum. Temperance shifted to prohibition. Similar to how slaves usually never drank without the permission of their owners, legislation would be passed that would not allow Anglicans to drink without the permission of the state, “The measure was all-encompassing Simply put, it “prohibited the sale, the keeping for sale, and the manufacturing of all intoxicating liquors. Heavy fines were imposed for the first two violations, and imprisonment for the third.”<sup>35</sup>

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February 1, 2018, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-04-02-0148>.

[Original source: *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. 4, *July 1, 1750, through June 30, 1753*, ed. Leonard W. Labaree. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961, pp. 403–409.]

<sup>33</sup> “Poor Richard Improved, 1755,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, last modified February 1, 2018, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-05-02-0136>.

[Original source: *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. 5, *July 1, 1753, through March 31, 1755*, ed. Leonard W. Labaree. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962, pp. 467–475.]

<sup>34</sup> Roman god of wine and agriculture.

<sup>35</sup> Burns, *The Spirits of America*, 85.

## *A Sip through History*

It is quite possible people like Thomas Jefferson foresaw the comings of spirits as he tried to route American tastes in beers and wines:

“I have no doubt, either in a moral or economical view, of the desirableness to introduce a taste for malt liquors instead of that for ardent spirits. the difficulty is in changing the public taste & habit. the business of brewing is now so much introduced in every state, that it appears to me to need no other encouragement than to increase the number of consumers. I do not think it a case where a company need form itself on patriotic principles merely, because there is a sufficiency of private capital which would embark itself in the business if there were a demand.”<sup>36</sup>

### *Conclusion*

#### Punch

Alcoholic beverages accounted for fewer than forty percent of dietary expenses, “One historian has concluded that in 1770 annual per capita intake of alcohol (just pure alcohol) from all sources was 3.5 gallons.”<sup>37</sup> Not all colonists drank equally as white adult men drank more than women, natives, and slaves. With groups like Indians and slaves, it is more difficult to determine their exact drinking histories as those groups did not record them. Oral histories are not a reliable source because memories fade. For groups like slaves, the recording of slave narratives took place in the 1930s, a time frame spanning over sixty years since Emancipation. Alcohol was an important part of early American history. In the same way that culinary traditions are shaped regionally over time, so too have American libations. Whiskey became the prominent spirit of America after the Sugar Act because it was an alternative for rum. Alcohol became a part of the American identity during that fragile and crucial time that Americans separated themselves from the British crown. Alcohol continued to fuel the fires of patriotism and liberty.

Drinc Hael! (drink and be well)

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<sup>36</sup> Jefferson to Joseph Coppinger, 25 April 1815,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, last modified November 26, 2017, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-08-02-0350>. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, Retirement Series, vol. 8, 1 October 1814 to 31 August 1815, ed. J. Jefferson Looney. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011, pp. 438–439.]

<sup>37</sup> Meacham, *Every Home a Distillery*, 22.

*A Moral and Physical Thermometer ; or, a Scale of the Progress  
of Temperance and Intemperance, by J. C. LETTSOM, M. D.*

Liquors, with their EFFECTS, in their usual Order.

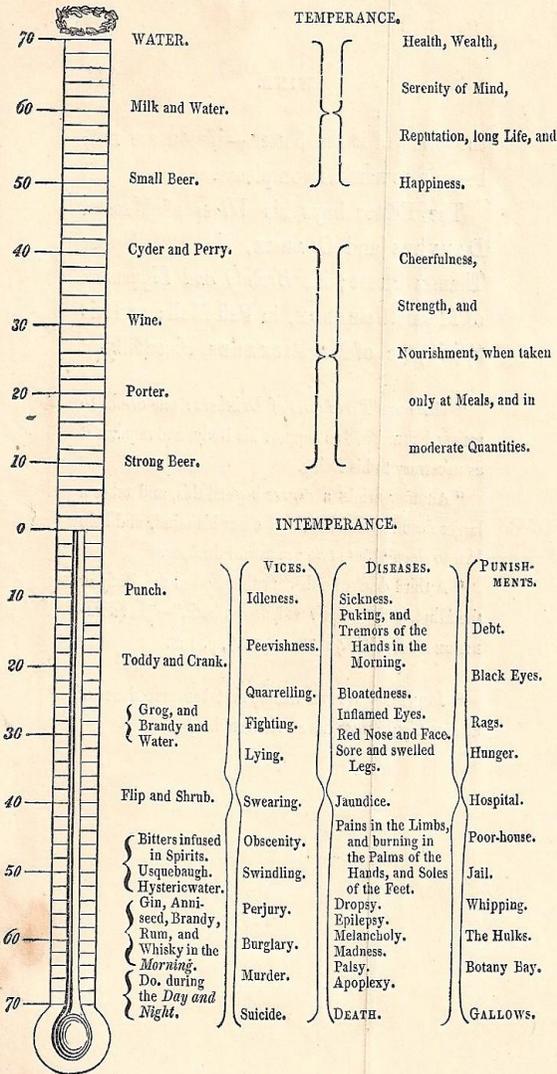


Image 2: John Coakley Lettsom, "Moral and Physical Thermometer," (London, s.n, 1780?), Wellcome Library, London.

## **CHERNOBYL AND WILDLIFE**

By John Renteria

Imagine living in a small village in Ukraine, where your family has lived for many decades. Suddenly, you are told by Soviet authorities that you have to leave your home; it is no longer safe to live there because of a terrible nuclear accident. The landscape you've known and lived on will never be the same again. This may sound like the plot to a movie, but this was the fate of those living near the Chernobyl atomic power facility in April 1986. The Chernobyl disaster was one of the largest nuclear fallouts in history that created vast dispersion of radiation into the environment. Its effects spurred international attention and questioning the sustainability of nuclear power. Following the incident, radiation quickly began to take hold of flora and fauna in the surrounding areas and created many years of ecological consequences. Although it is well known that abnormal levels of radiation can cause harm to organic matter, there is a misconception about how it affects wildlife. The Chernobyl disaster saw an initial decline in plant and animal populations almost immediately after the accident, however, it did not turn it into a desolate, lifeless wasteland. It instead saw levels of wildlife increasing to even higher than before the accident, showing that humans can be even worse than nuclear radiation for the environment.

In the early morning of April 26, 1986, a group of scientists working in the Chernobyl atomic power facility were putting the nuclear reactors through a low power stress test. Per test regulations, power levels of the reactors were not to drop below 200 megawatts to avoid overheating. Anatoly Dyatlov, the Deputy Chief Engineer of the plant who was overseeing the test, insisted on dropping the power below the 200 megawatt threshold. The power dropped lower and lower to only thirty megawatts and had to be brought back up to normal running power. The decrease in power, combined with an inadequate reactor design, caused a heat up in reactor number four and a runaway power surge resulting in an explosion. This created an immense dispersion of radiation into the atmosphere.<sup>1</sup> The Library of Congress reported that the amount of

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<sup>1</sup> "Sequence of events," *World Nuclear Association* (November 2009).

radiation that was released from the reactor was “thirty to forty times the radioactivity of the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.”<sup>2</sup> The Soviet Minister of Power and Electrification stated in a report to Mikhail Gorbachev, “the roof and parts of the wall panels of the reactor compartment, several roof panels of the machine room and of the auxiliary systems unit of the reactor compartment were demolished during the explosion and the roofing caught on fire.”<sup>3</sup> The accident caused the evacuation of 116,000 residents who were in proximity to the explosion site. Almost overnight, Chernobyl and its adjacent city, Pripjat, went from being a modern model city to an abandoned ghost town. To address the harmful radiation levels for the safety of the public, the Soviet government created a 4200 square kilometer exclusion zone around the power plant to keep inhabitants from being severely affected by the radiation.<sup>4</sup>

Between the day of the disaster and the eve of 1987, the effects of the radiation began to become noticeable. Wildlife populations decreased rapidly. In the instance of a ten square kilometer forest that sat within the exclusion zone, between 1987 and 1997, 90% of the trees in that forest were dead as a result of being in a pocket of high levels of radiation. The death of the trees in turn caused the leaves and needles to turn a reddish-orange color, giving it the notorious nickname of “The Red Forest.”<sup>5</sup> Additionally, in the article, “Long-Term Census Data Reveal Abundant Wildlife Populations at Chernobyl,” the authors conducted a study on three animal groups, elk, roe deer, and wild boar and their populations in the years following the disaster. In 1987 the average population of elk and deer per square kilometer was almost zero and only .1 for wild boar. Although there was a rapid decline soon after the reactor explosion, data shows a steady increase in the population of these animals. In 1996 the same three species were tracked and the amount of Elk rose to 1.75 per square kilometer, 2 for Roe Deer and 2.25 for Wild Boar. The authors of this article also took aim at debunking three different hypotheses regarding declining animal population in the exclusion zone. The first hypothesis they examined surrounded the idea that high levels of radiation correlated to low populations. The researchers studied the

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<sup>2</sup> Library of Congress, “Chernobyl,” *Revelations from the Russian Archives*.

<sup>3</sup> Aleksei N. Makukhin, “Urgent Report, Accident at Chernobyl Atomic Power Station,” *Wilson Center Digital Archive*, (26 April 1986).

<sup>4</sup> T. G. Deryabina, S.V Kuchmel, L.L. Nagorskaya, T. G. Hinton, J.C. Beasley, A. Lerebours, J.T. Smith, “Long-Term Census Data Reveal Abundant Wildlife Populations at Chernobyl,” *Current Biology* 25, no. 19 (5 October 2015): R824- R826.

<sup>5</sup> Chris Goldstein, “Ecological Consequences of the Chernobyl Disaster,” (March 2012), <http://large.stanford.edu/courses/2012/ph241/goldstein2/>.

## *Chernobyl and Wildlife*

tracks of wolves and elk and their data did not find this correlation to be true, as tracks from the animals remained mostly consistent regardless of radioactive densities. The second hypothesis they refute is that the populations of animals near the Chernobyl site are less dense than other areas. The researchers took population data from between 2005 and 2010 and found that the populations near the site were very similar to those of four other cities in the exclusion zone. The final hypothesis that the researchers analyzed relates to the populations after the first ten years of the accident. It states that there was a steady decline in animal populations during this time, however, their research was able to show that the adverse effect was taking place and the animal populations were actually increasing.<sup>6</sup> This data is rather contradictory to what seems to be the common ideology behind the Chernobyl disaster and how radiation effects wildlife populations.

In the most recent years, the exclusion zone has turned itself into a unique and lively ecosystem. Populations of many animals along with some rare species such as white-tailed and spotted eagles, have been flourishing. Chris Goldenstein from Stanford University compared Chernobyl to a wildlife refuge. He called it “a blessing for the local wildlife by forcing the evacuation of human life.” Goldenstein attributes the flourishing ecosystem to the absence of human contact. There has been no use of, or expansion of, infrastructure, and an absence of hunting, deforestation, and farming. He believes this may be a reason we are seeing the type of ecosystem there is.<sup>7</sup> Tania Rabesandrata of The American Association for the Advancement of Science also took a similar approach to studying the ecosystem in the exclusion zone. She found that many of the animal populations have reached levels that are even higher than they were prior to the accident. She even titled her article, “Humans are worse than radiation for Chernobyl animals, study finds.”<sup>8</sup>

After the accident a large number of people began to question nuclear power and many also directly opposed it. Soon after the Chernobyl incident, Eva Berger conducted a social experiment in East Germany and interviewed individuals about their feelings regarding the protection of the environment and how they would rate their quality of life. Out of 9,254 people observed, 41.2% said that they were very concerned about environmental protection, 47.1% were somewhat

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<sup>6</sup> Deryabina et al, “Long-Term Census Data Reveal Abundant Wildlife Populations at Chernobyl.”

<sup>7</sup> Goldstein, “Ecological Consequences of the Chernobyl Disaster.”

<sup>8</sup> Tania Rabesandrata, “Humans are Worse than Radiation for Chernobyl Animals, Study Finds,” *Science Mag* (October 5, 2015).

concerned, and the remaining 11.7% were not concerned about environmental protection at all. Berger also found that those studied also showed a decrease in happiness of life. She concluded from her study that the Chernobyl accident heightened the awareness of many people and created a larger focus on the environment.<sup>9</sup> These common trends have been seen all the way to modern day. The Fukushima nuclear plant also experienced a meltdown in 2011 due to an earthquake and tsunami. Although the effects of radiation were not nearly as deadly as those that were measured in Chernobyl, it continued to put into question whether or not nuclear power is sustainable.<sup>10</sup> In the United States, the San Onofre nuclear power facility became a target of issue as it sits very close to Los Angeles and many other southern California cities. The results of the accident struck fear that if something similar happened at San Onofre, it would have a much more devastating effect since it is in such close proximity to large population centers. Safety issues with the reactors caused a shutdown of the facility in 2012, however, it still contains nuclear material and is yet to be decommissioned.<sup>11</sup> Although the sustainability of nuclear power is still questionable and unclear, the overarching issue that stands out is how humans are creating a worse environment than even extremely high levels of radiation. Instead of focusing only on nuclear power, humans need to think about what they are doing to the environment, as Chernobyl shows that there are different issues that require attention.

There are many lessons to be learned from the Chernobyl accident that help shed light on the touchy subject of sustainability. It is rather ironic that in the wake of one of the worst nuclear fallouts in history, it spawned the adverse effect than what many thought it would. Instead of creating a prolonged ecological detriment, it actually helped produce a lively ecosystem without humans. The lack of contact allowed animals to live more freely and naturally which seems to help life thrive more than radiation could injure it. This, however, is not to say that nuclear power is necessarily a good thing. It is still important for countries around the globe to begin to looking at their own nuclear power plants and thinking about whether or not it is going to be sustainable for generations to come. Bohdana Kuryloof of the University of London concludes that the effects of

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<sup>9</sup> Eva Berger, "The Chernobyl Disaster, Concern about the Environment, and Life Satisfaction," *Kyklos International Review for Social Sciences* 63, no.1 (12 January 2010): 1-8.

<sup>10</sup> Alexander Brandle, Thomas Johnson, and George Steinhouse, "Comparison of the Chernobyl and Fukushima Nuclear Accidents: A Review of the Environmental Impacts," *Science of The Total Environment*, No. 470-471 (February 2014): 800-817.

<sup>11</sup> Sam Pfeil, "San Onofre Nuclear Generating Station Decommissioning Contract," Stanford University (12 May 2018), <http://large.stanford.edu/courses/2017/ph240/pfeil1/>.

### *Chernobyl and Wildlife*

Chernobyl were one of the factors that lead to the fall of the Soviet Union. It was a costly power venture that produced no real positive outcomes for the USSR and aided continual distrust in the government.<sup>12</sup> It is important for historians, especially those studying sustainability, to look at the pitfalls Russia encountered in order to help provide insight on contemporary nuclear power. Is the risk of another Chernobyl really worth the reward? Most importantly however, society needs to think about how they are affecting the environment. Chernobyl has shown that humans can be even worse than nuclear radiation to wildlife and it is urgent to find a more sustainable way of life not only for humans, but also for the animals they share the planet with.

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<sup>12</sup> Bohdana Kurylo, "The Role of Chernobyl in the Breakdown of the USSR," *Armstrong Undergraduate Journal of History* 6, no. 1 (April 2016).

## **COSTLY CONVENIENCE: THE PRICE OF PLASTIC**

By Sasha Anguiano

In just over seventy short years plastic has become an integral part of modern American life, so essential that this era is commonly referred to as the Plastic Age.<sup>1</sup> Not a day goes by when any one of us does not interact with or create plastic waste in some way, but how did plastic go from an exciting new invention to a major environmental hazard in less than 100 years? We are only just beginning to observe and understand the ramifications plastic pollution has on our environment, yet consumers continue to use plastic frivolously and unnecessarily. Our reliance on plastic, especially for its “convenience” says everything about human’s priorities and our lack of respect for the safety of the planet and future generations.

Before the Plastic Age, Americans had what is referred to as a “scarcity of items” wherein their lack of resources led them to make use of what they had.<sup>2</sup> They relied largely on reusables to package and transport goods. This reusable lifestyle goes hand in hand with a sustainable, more agrarian lifestyle where you would tend to your own land, can and jar your own goods, and butcher your own meat. Whatever was deemed true garbage by an individual could be burned for heat or sold to a junkman, who would then repurpose it for himself or turn it into scrap materials.<sup>3</sup> The more impoverished the family or community the less they wasted. Even as packaging was becoming more common in the early twentieth century, most things were still available in bulk, and when objects became broken, they could be mended by local craftsmen, lengthening their lifespan.<sup>4</sup> Early American economies thrived on this system of reusing, mending, and trading.

Enter plastic. In its earliest form it wasn’t called plastic, but

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<sup>1</sup> Andres Cozar, “Plastic Debris in the Open Ocean,” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, USA 111, no. 28 (2014): 10239.

<sup>2</sup> Susan Strasser, *Waste and Want: A Social History of Trash* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 1999), 21.

<sup>3</sup> Susan Strasser, *Waste and Want*, 24.

<sup>4</sup> Strasser, 24.

celluloid.<sup>5</sup> Invented by John Wesley Hyatt in 1869, it was originally created in hopes that it could be a cost-friendly substitute for natural materials. Plastic as a descriptive term was first used by the United States Patent Office as a somewhat catchall classification and at the time included such things as cork, leather scraps, and anything else that could be molded into “articles of a definite shape.”<sup>6</sup> A simplified, but more current understanding of plastic is that it is a man-made material, created by mixing polymers and additives, which meet at different ratios according to its intended use.<sup>7</sup> Plastic inserted itself into American daily life in the interwar period between the World Wars.<sup>8</sup> By this time, its distant ancestor celluloid was seen as old-fashioned and new additions to the manufacturing process allowed plastics to be available in a wide range of colors and hardnesses, making previously monotone black and dark brown plastics “pretty.” Consumerism played a big role in the growth of plastics as innovations to the process transitioned celluloid and its successor Bakelite into the material of choice for toys and other accouterments. It was during this time that journalists began dubbing the era “the Plastic Age.”<sup>9</sup>

Just as consumerism and the appeal of the next big thing drove plastic into the open arms of the public, the convenience that comes with plastic has led us to fully embrace modern trash. Easy and convenient disposables (like diapers, red solo cups, sanitary napkins, razors, excessive packaging, utensils, single-use grocery bags) use our desire for ease and our compulsive need to purchase to manipulate buyers into accepting exploitive, harmful, and low-quality goods. The consumerist lifestyle of modern America is unsustainable, and plastic use is only a disastrous side effect that stems from the compulsion to consume.

Recently we’ve begun to see plastic for its ugly side effects, even though we continue to use it daily. One of the most publicized and upsetting forms of plastic pollution is oceanic pollution. During the 1970s the US National Academy of Sciences estimated that 45,000,000 tons of plastic entered the ocean each year, which at the time equated to 0.1% of all plastic production.<sup>10</sup> Since that estimation took place, plastic production has quadrupled to 265 million tons per year.<sup>11</sup> Littering may

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<sup>5</sup> Jeffrey L Meikle, *American Plastic: A Cultural History* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1995).

<sup>6</sup> Meikle, *American Plastic*.

<sup>7</sup> Vanessa Goodship, “Plastic Recycling,” *Science Progress* (1933-) 90, no. 4 (2007): 245-68.

<sup>8</sup> Meikle, *American Plastic*.

<sup>9</sup> Meikle.

<sup>10</sup> Cozar, “Plastic Debris Open Ocean,” 239.

<sup>11</sup> Cozar, 239.

## *Costly Convenience*

be seen as harmless, but it is a major contributor to oceanic plastic pollution, as most plastic enters the water stream due to improper disposal. Trash is washed into drains by storm water runoff and eventually enters the ocean, where it gathers in gyres and is consumed by wildlife. We still don't know many of the long term effects of plastic consumption, even as seafood in plastic ridden waters is caught and consumed by humans.

So it's well known that plastic pollutes, but our current approach is not working. The push to recycle within recent years is an honest start, but on its own recycling is not enough. The process has limitations that make it poorly equipped to deal with our continued creation of plastic waste. Take for example water bottles, one of the most common forms of plastic garbage. Trendy water bottle companies like Swell and Hydro Flask have made reusable water bottles an accessory, but like a virus, plastic water bottles persist, and their ability to be recycled is often touted as justification for an otherwise wasteful practice, one that if dealt with properly, has little negative impact. However, this is not the case, as not all plastics are created equal. Plastics form two main groups, thermoplastics and thermosets.<sup>12</sup> Thermoplastics can be heated and cooled many times, making them prime for recycling, but thermosets are cured to create hardness, which makes them brittle and ill-suited for repeated recycling.<sup>13</sup> Plastic can only be broken down and built back up so many times, recycled plastic is occasionally fortified with "virgin material," plastic that has never been used. Additionally, whatever these plastics endured during their use (improper storage or exposure to heat and chemicals) degrades them and makes them more difficult to recycle. Besides production and use, the way humans literally dispose of them makes a difference too. Plastics must be separated and grouped in order to be recycled properly, which makes recycled plastic a more costly option as a material.<sup>14</sup> In order to rectify this, some trash agencies use recycling centers or encourage residents to separate recyclables and remove any residue like food, dirt, and glue from labels. However, these additional steps are not always done, even amongst conservationists, as "washing the trash" seems wasteful, especially as limited fresh water is an equally troubling topic. All of these things combined make recycling an unattractive option for long term waste reduction.

Remember that plastic's takeover of our material needs didn't happen overnight and that there is an undeniably human element to trash. Theoretically, in a world without humans, there is no such thing as

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<sup>12</sup> Goodship, "Plastic Recycling," 245-68.

<sup>13</sup> Goodship, 245-68.

<sup>14</sup> Goodship, 245-68.

garbage. Waste exists, but trash as we know it does not. In the natural world, nothing is truly wasted. Animal waste puts nitrogen back into the soil to fuel plant growth, fallen trees are consumed and lived in by various forest animals, and organisms like fungi and vultures feast on carrion. With the existence of humans and our various desires and needs we've created things that once used, no longer serve a purpose, and as we've learned, can't always be recycled or made useful again. From here we've created landfills, trash incinerators and other ways to deal with our disposables, and our insistence on living closely packed in cities creates the need for sewage systems and responsible ways to rid ourselves of trash and waste. The creation of organized modern trash removal and the widespread use of the curbside pickup model perpetuates the disconnect between us and our waste: in other words, out of sight out of mind.

What then must be done to reduce, or at least mitigate the damage plastic has done to our environment and the unseen effects it could have for our future? Creating policy to protect the environment and reduce pollution is one of the premier steps to reducing waste, but unfortunately, not all countries or administrations see climate change and pollution as a worthy issue. When dealing with existing or unavoidable waste, creativity is key. In Japan, where limited space makes landfills expensive and especially wasteful (pun intended) lawmakers have been highly incentivized to find other ways to manage waste, resulting in the "world's first electricity generation plant to run on nothing but waste plastic fuel."<sup>15</sup> The plant is able to consume 700 tons of waste and can power 30,000 Japanese homes.<sup>16</sup> Additionally, pay-as-you-throw programs have begun to gain popularity. The programs charge residents based on the weight of their trash or the number of bags they fill.<sup>17</sup> This not only creates an incentive to waste less, but makes the consumer aware of their trash creation.

There's also the chance that innovations in technology can help curb plastic packaging waste, which makes up thirty-five percent of plastic trash.<sup>18</sup> Biodegradable plastics, like cellophane, can be made out of vegetable oil, which means "in the future, not only do we throw our waste vegetables on the compost heap but also the materials they were packaged in."<sup>19</sup> And just as plastic was once a relatively new and unheard of concept, it is possible that we will find more ways to lessen

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<sup>15</sup> Goodship, 245-68.

<sup>16</sup> Goodship, 245-68.

<sup>17</sup> "Pay-As-You-Throw | Conservation Tools," *EPA*, last modified February 21, 2016, <https://archive.epa.gov/wastes/conserves/tools/payt/web/html/index.html>.

<sup>18</sup> Goodship, "Plastic Recycling," 245-68.

<sup>19</sup> Goodship, 245-68.

## *Costly Convenience*

plastic pollution in the future. Within the last two years, there has been a discovery of a bacteria (known as *Ideonella sakaiensis*) that is able to consume and decompose Poly (ethylene terephthalate) or PET, an extremely common form of plastic.<sup>20</sup>

Although, none of this matters if everyday consumers are unwilling to change their perspective and their habits. On an individual level, there must be a widespread return to reusable bottles and respect for sustainable practices and products. Consumers must at least attempt to consider resources and think beyond the price tag to see the environmental cost of what they're buying. Recently, the idea of a "zero-waste" lifestyle has been created, wherein people who have fully returned to reusable bottles attempted to create absolutely zero landfill trash. Zero wasters mirror the practices of early Americans, by reducing their consumption and mending objects until they cannot be used. They don't always succeed in their goal, but they heavily reduce the garbage that they personally create. If everyone in the world did a fraction of what zero waste people aspire to do, global trash creation would substantially decrease. Navigating a new lifestyle can be challenging, and the creation of trash won't disappear, however, it can be greatly reduced if each of us takes into consideration how destructive our individual habits are, and how we can improve.

Admittedly, the use of reusables comes with its own caveats. It is sometimes costlier to invest in high-quality, reusables, which can be a barrier of entry for those who cannot afford to pay more upfront, even when those reusables save money in the long run. This is often pointed to as evidence that the above-mentioned zero waste lifestyle is inherently classist, since it relies on the ability to purchase high-quality objects capable of withstanding use for long durations of time. It is a fair criticism, but there are other ways to reduce consumption besides expensive clothes and products, and one of the many necessary approaches to reducing waste is focusing on what fits in your unique lifestyle.

However, cost is but one of many difficulties associated with this mindset shift. One of the most challenging aspects of the reusables lifestyle is resisting the urge to buy and consume. One cannot deny the psychological high that comes with buying something new. Consumer culture and capitalism has taught us to view the act of buying as joyful, and when the entire point of reusables is to buy something that lasts once and use it forever, there is no accompanying excitement or adrenaline rush. Thus, confronting our reliance on shopping as entertainment once

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<sup>20</sup> Uwe Bornscheuer, "Feeding on Plastic," *Science* 351, no. 6278 (2016): 1154.

again becomes part of the solution. Not only must we come to terms with our reliance on plastic as destructive, we must also change our mindsets to accept that the cycle of consumerism and convenience is a major part of the problem.

It is more important now than ever to look closely at our own behavior and how we relate to the earth. It is no longer possible to ignore the effects of pollution, or what concepts and values drive us to create that pollution. Human beings must act now to correct (more likely reduce) plastics effect on our environment, mostly by recognizing the need for action on an individual level. By recognizing our own bias and role we play in the creation of trash we can examine and correct our priorities into ones that properly reflect the importance of environmental safety for ourselves and our descendants.

## FALL OF THE PRI

By Ruben Cardona

We have seen throughout history that when a regime goes out of power they usually go out in a grand defeat, *coup d'état*, or a collapse caused by an opposing group which then leads the defeated regime to dissolve into the history of that nation. However, this wasn't the case with Mexico's Institutional Revolutionary Party, or PRI. At the time of its defeat in 2000, the PRI was the world's oldest one-party regime.<sup>1</sup> By the end of the PRI's seventy-one-year rule of Mexico, it was a shell of its former self. It no longer had the means to maintain its command over all aspects of Mexico's political world, from the presidency to state, and local levels of governmental leadership. The 2000 presidential election saw the PRI lose out to their center right-wing rivals the National Action Party or PAN. Their candidate was Vicente Fox. His victory led to a peaceful transition of power from one party to the next in a country notorious for its corruption, fraud, and assassination of political opponents throughout its political history. This gave many Mexicans the sense that their nation was finally stepping out onto the world stage as a modern democracy, ready for the new millennium. Yet the question in this narrative remains, how exactly did a political party birthed from the embers of a revolution, that ruled for such an unprecedented amount of time, with the amount of influence the PRI had, which some argue still has today, suffer defeat? During the period in which the PRI began to modernize, they began to loosen their grip on Mexico's government allowing other parties to gain traction as well as change the structure of their own party. This, combined with socio-economic changes, culminated in the triumph of the PAN in 2000.

The first thing to look at is the structure of the Institutional Revolutionary Party and to understand exactly how it managed to maintain power for as long as it did. After the almost ten-year chaos that was the Mexican Revolution (1910-1917), and then the presidency of Álvaro Obregón (1920-1924), Plutarco Elías Calles established the PRI

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<sup>1</sup> Jorge I. Domínguez and Chappell H. Lawson, *Mexico's Pivotal Democracy Election: Candidates, Voters, Campaign Effects and the Presidential Campaign of 2000* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004).

in 1929 following his presidency. Calles implemented the method of succession that would come to be known as the *dedazo*, the handpicked successor by the previous President. This would be very fitting for Calles whose own presidency was backed by his predecessor Álvaro Obregón. He would now hand-select the next three residents setting the standard for how the PRI would pick the nation's subsequent presidents. The 1920s was the time following the mad grab for power by *caudillos*, military strong men who, historically, controlled Latin American countries like Mexico. Political Scientist Howard Handelman explains, "Obregon and Calles, had gradually reduced the army's political influence," which set the country up to become a nation removed from the days of Porfirio, and Santa Anna.<sup>2</sup> The *dedazo* would come into play later on during the downfall of the PRI. Following the presidency of Lázaro Cárdenas (1934-40), the PRI established different organizations representing different levels of laborers in the country. Examples include social workers, day laborers, and farmers. This gave the PRI widespread influence over the country and prevented any one of these select groups from supporting opposing political parties within the country.

To maintain continual PRI victories in elections, monetary bribes, as well as gifts like home appliances, were given to voters and voting officials. This system of bribery was heavily reliant on a strong Mexican economy to function. This was one of the key issues that led to the PRI's deterioration in the twenty years leading up to the 2000 election; starting with the 80s oil glut directly hitting one of Mexico's primary exports. This rendered Mexico unable to pay off foreign debt it had accumulated during the presidency of Luis Echeverría (1970-76).<sup>3</sup> This was a huge blow to the nation that had been experiencing non-stop economic growth following World War II during an era called the "Mexican Economic Miracle." With the economy in a free fall and unemployment on the rise, the seeds of distrust had been planted in the hearts of citizens in regard to the PRI's ability to lead the country economically. "Presidents Miguel de la Madrid and Carlos Salinas reversed decades of economic nationalism and state economic intervention. Abandoning the country's import substitution industrialization model, they promoted industrial exports and opened the country to foreign imports and investments."<sup>4</sup> This is very reminiscent to the policies of President Porfirio Díaz (1876-1911) who opened up the country to foreign powers to stimulate economic growth.

During this time of economic crisis, the PRI and President Miguel de

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<sup>2</sup> Howard Handelman, *Mexican Politics: The Dynamics of Change* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1997).

<sup>3</sup> Handelman, *Mexican Politics*.

<sup>4</sup> Handelman.

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la Madrid (1982-88) began to change the structure of how PRI succession was awarded. The succession process was now changed for the first time, allowing multiple PRI members to be selected: which then allowed six men to be considered for the position.<sup>5</sup> This changed the core way PRI presidential candidates would be selected. This eventually came to an end when President Ernesto Zedillo (1994-00) declared that he would end the practice of the *dedazo*: allowing the Mexican people to select who they wanted to represent the PRI. Zedillo himself would not have been President had it not been for the assassination of PRI front runner Luis Donaldo Colosio, who had been handpicked. Perhaps Zedillo believed he would have benefited from a fair primary for the candidacy, which could have influenced the decision to end the *dedazo*. It was more likely that growing distrust of the system following the election of President Salinas (1988-94), which was viewed by the masses as a sham election, accompanied oppositional growth. Zedillo entered his presidency during an even greater economic crisis than the one that ravaged the country in the 1980s: caused in part by the peso devaluation of 1994. This period of economic crisis, inherited by Zedillo, allowed him to distance himself from Salinas. He enacted widespread socio-economic and governmental reform. Mexico would then see continued economic growth after 1997. Programs such as electoral reform and public works projects done by the PRI, helped its popularity regain traction, while the government was viewed as more of a democracy than ever before.<sup>6</sup> Yet, without the *dedazo*, the country elected a candidate for the PRI who didn't manage to take advantage of the popularity enjoyed by Zedillo. Francisco Labastida was seen by some as the embodiment of PRI politicians, but who was also seen as being in bed with drug traffickers due to his time as the Governor of Sinaloa. Some of his supporters saw this as a PRI politician being on the front line fighting against the cartels since "he had been the target of an assassination attempt by drug traffickers."<sup>7</sup> However, the failure of the PRI didn't rest solely on the shoulders Labastida, his situation was only exacerbated by the opponents he faced.

For a dominant political party to be overthrown, you need unyielding opposing forces to do so. This took the form of two strong rival political parties for the PRI to contend with. The first came from a fellow left-wing party called the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PDR). This party was formed in 1989 by former PRI members including

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<sup>5</sup> Jorge I. Domínguez and James A. McCann, *Democratizing Mexico* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).

<sup>6</sup> Domínguez and Lawson, *Mexico's Pivotal Democracy Election*, 2004.

<sup>7</sup> Domínguez and Lawson.

one man who was not named among the six men deemed worthy to be a candidate for the 1988 election.<sup>8</sup> That man was Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas. This division of the left would only cause problems for the PRI in their subsequent elections. Cardenas' popularity, largely due to his father and his respect as a PRI politician, allowed him to gain support from split left voters as well as the new PRI members who did not support the opposing PRI candidates. However, the 1988 election proved to be Cardenas' best attempt at becoming President: a scandal ridden election many still believe he should have won to this day. Internal struggles in the PDR would cause the party to deteriorate from this point on. Many believed that the opportunity passed them by since they were not able to capitalize on the "Cardenista coalition's strong showing in the 1988 election, to consolidate the left as Mexico's second most important political force."<sup>9</sup> The PRI was able to counter this threat by using the economic crisis to their advantage by convincing left-wing voters that chaos would ensue if another party took over the presidency.<sup>10</sup>

The second opposing force that would inevitably defeat the PRI in the 2000 election would be the National Action Party or PAN: the democratic pro-Christian conservative party created in 1939. The PAN directly opposed the country's anti-church policies and the "leftward drift of public policy under President Lázaro Cárdenas."<sup>11</sup> The PAN, which was made up primarily of the urban Catholic middle-class population of Mexico, managed to successfully create rival competition to Mexico's one-party system. Unlike the PDR's inability to bring together all anti-PRI left voters, the PAN virtually sat unopposed on the center-right, able to challenge the PRI in their waning years of power with their candidates. Candidates such as Manuel Clouthier in 1988, Diego Fernández de Cevallos in 1994, and culminating in Vicente Fox's victory in 2000. In the years following its formation, the PAN managed to continuously garner support from the forgotten members of Mexican society who did not adhere to the policies of the PRI. During the 2000 election the old Mexican crux of *machismo* surprisingly played a beneficial role for Fox, "Labastida was not a particularly inspiring figure. Half a foot shorter than Fox, he sometimes seemed psychologically as well as physically overshadowed—something that became clear during

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<sup>8</sup> Domínguez and McCann, *Democratizing Mexico*.

<sup>9</sup> Wayne A. Cornelius, *Mexican Politics in Transition: The Breakdown of a One-Party-Dominant Regime* (San Diego: University of California, Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, 1996).

<sup>10</sup> Cornelius, *Mexican Politics in Transition*.

<sup>11</sup> Cornelius.

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the presidential debates.”<sup>12</sup> Considering how leaders with *machismo* characteristics have shaped the course of history in Latin American countries, it’s fascinating how those sorts of characteristics would be deciding factors for voters in the 2000 election.

The growing alienation of the center-right, as well as the split among the left, spelled doom for the PRI who seemed out of energy despite a brief respite under President Zedillo. This, along with the economic troubles plaguing Mexico during the 1980s and 90s, had the people calling out for something new moving into the twenty-first century. They wanted a modern nation no longer bogged down by the corruption and fraud of the old regime. While the question of whether Mexico and its people got their wish is a discussion for another time. The growing frustration of the Mexican people, and their support of opposing political parties, as well as the PRI becoming more democratic, finally brought the PRI’s seventy-one-year reign to an end.

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<sup>12</sup> Domínguez and Lawson, *Mexico’s Pivotal Democracy Election*.

## LA CRISTIADA: THE CLASH OF IDEOLOGIES IN MICHOACÁN

By Alejandra Magallon

The Cristero War was a war of religious strife that began at the tail end of the Mexican Revolution, which lasted from 1926 to 1929, and resulted in the death of an estimated eighty-thousand people.<sup>1</sup> This bloody war was fought in response to the 1917 Constitution, enforced under President Plutarco Elías Calles, which greatly restricted the powers and rights that the Catholic Church had once maintained in Mexico. The majority of the war was focused on the poorest areas of Mexico: the central region consisting mainly of Jalisco, Colima, part of Michoacán, Nayarit, Zacatecas, and Aguascalientes.<sup>2</sup> Those fighting in the name of the Catholic faith called themselves *Cristeros* and rallied themselves with the cry *¡Viva Cristo Rey!* (“Long live Christ the King!”). On the opposing side were the federal troops who tried to suppress the *Cristeros* and enforce the laws that were written in the 1917 Constitution.<sup>3</sup> Along with the federal troops, there were also Mexicans who fought in favor of the government called *Agraristas*. There were many cultural factors that determined whether a person sided with the *Cristeros* or with the *Agraristas*. One of the states affected by *La Cristiada*, and that has been extensively researched, is Michoacán. The Cristero War is such a complicated and spread out conflict, it is hard to cover all of the ideas and places involved. Focusing on the area of Michoacán will give a regional account of the Cristero War. Even though Michoacán played only a part in *La Cristiada*, it represents the clash of ideologies coming out of the revolution that permeated Mexican society. *La Cristiada* brought out many ideological conflicts in Michoacán that caused a split in the state dividing the combatants of the war into the *Cristeros* and the

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<sup>1</sup> Marjorie Becker, *Setting the Virgin on Fire: Lázaro Cárdenas, Michoacán Peasants, and the Redemption of the Mexican Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 6.

<sup>2</sup> Jean Meyer, “An Idea of Mexico: Catholics in the Revolution,” in *The Eagle and the Virgin: Nation and Cultural Revolution in Mexico, 1920-1940*, ed. Mary Kay Vaughan and Stephen E. Lewis (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 284.

<sup>3</sup> William H. Beezley and Monica A. Rankin, *Problems in Modern Mexican History* (Malden, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), 117.

## *La Cristiada*

### *Agraristas.*

Prior to *La Cristiada*, the impacts of the *Ley Lerdo* laws caused many of the social conflicts that arose during the Cristero War. There were a multitude of indigenous peoples living in Michoacán during the nineteenth century who benefited from the corporate lands that they collectively held. Many of these corporate lands were located in the center of Michoacán. The five mainly indigenous areas were the Zacapu, Naranja, Tarejaro, Tirindaro, and San Pedro Caro (which is located in the northern part of the state by Lake Chapala).<sup>4</sup> After the enactment of the *Ley Lerdo* in 1856, the indigenous people of Michoacán were still in the process of privatizing their cooperative properties going into the twentieth century.<sup>5</sup> This process left many indigenous groups in Michoacán feeling disenfranchised by their government. The many indigenous groups and large amount of corporate land privatized during this period was a strong factor in why the people of Michoacán were so involved in *La Cristiada*. There did not appear to be any type of real resistance against the privatizing of corporate lands until the start of the revolution when revolutionaries like Emiliano Zapata fought for an agrarian and anticlerical society. Another group in Michoacán also disenfranchised by the *Ley Lerdo* was the religious community. Under *Ley Lerdo* the Catholic Church was forced to sell their excess lands to the highest bidder.<sup>6</sup> This was the government's attempt to take away the power that the Church had maintained since the arrival of the Spanish missionaries. The laws written in the *Ley Lerdo* caused many citizens of Michoacán to feel disenfranchised by their government which would carry on into *La Cristiada*.

Michoacán did not have any major battles fought in the state during the revolution, it was not until the 1920s when conflict started with the clash of liberal and conservative ideologies. From the liberal ideas, there was a push towards having a secular Michoacán in order to move the state forward. The push to secularize became more of an anticlerical and antichurch movement that took place in Michoacán, as well as other central states in Mexico. The conservatives in Michoacán were fighting against this because they wanted a privatized state to keep the powers of the church strong.

Leading into *La Cristiada*, governors of Michoacán played an influential role in igniting the flames of difference to gain support from

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<sup>4</sup> Jennie Purnell, *Popular Movements and State Formations in Revolutionary Mexico: The Agraristas and Cristeros of Michoacán* (Durham: Duke University Press: 1999), 43.

<sup>5</sup> Purnell, *Popular Movements*, 47.

<sup>6</sup> Anna Alexander, "Las Reformas," (lecture, Cal State East Bay, Hayward, CA, Spring 2018).

their constituents. During the *La Cristiada*, there were two governors of Michoacán who both aided or conceded to the *Agraristas*. One of whom was conservative Enrique Ramirez, who served from 1924-1928. Despite his conservative leanings Ramirez, “found that he needed popular support, the price of which was the partial accommodation of the demands of *Agrarista* peasants.”<sup>7</sup> One of the most well-known of these people was liberal Lázaro Cárdenas, who was governor from 1928-1932, and president from 1934-1940.<sup>8</sup> It is likely that these governors of Michoacán felt the pressures from the peasant class who sided with the agrarian shift in the country with the introduction of the 1917 Constitution. The writing of the 1917 Constitution started a conversation of conflicting opinions among Mexicans when it came to the powers of the Church and the peasant classes’ desire for an agrarian society. With the clash of ideologies in the 1920s came the clash of the *Cristeros* and *Agraristas* in Michoacán.

The indigenous people of Michoacán were willing to join the *Agraristas* rebel groups because they were promised the corporate lands that they had lost during the *Ley Lerdo*. According to historian Christopher Boyer, the indigenous people were able to embrace the agrarian ideas so easily over the *Cristeros*’ because of the government’s “promise to ensure their livelihood.”<sup>9</sup> Coming out of the Revolution there was a push towards embracing the indigenous blood that Mexicans had in them, *indigenismo*.<sup>10</sup> This likely sparked a desire for the indigenous people of Michoacán to fight for the *Agraristas* to maintain their livelihood.

On the other hand, the conservative *Cristeros* in Michoacán held on tightly to their religion and fought for what they believed was the righteous thing to do: fight and die in the name of *Cristo Rey*. Like the indigenous people who joined the *Agraristas*, a majority of the *Cristeros* were poor peasant.<sup>11</sup> After the enforcement of the laws set in place for the 1917 Constitution, many Catholics felt the need to defend themselves with arms and fight back against the federal authorities who were trying to suppress their religious expression. Like the *Agraristas*, the *Cristeros* were made a promise as well. In an account given by my grandfather Antonio Magallón who grew up in Sahuayo, Michoacán he recalls that

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<sup>7</sup> Purnell, *Popular Movements*, 48-49.

<sup>8</sup> Purnell, 50.

<sup>9</sup> Christopher R. Boyer, “Old Loves, New Loyalties: Agrarismo in Michoacán, 1920-1928,” *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 78, no. 3 (Aug. 1998), 436.

<sup>10</sup> Mary Kay Vaughan and Stephen E. Lewis, *The Eagle and the Virgin: Nation and cultural Revolution in Mexico, 1920-1940* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).

<sup>11</sup> Purnell, *Popular Movements*, 163.

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many *Cristeros* believed fighting for their religion was a sure way into heaven. Many peasants saw this as their ticket to heaven and found that reason enough to side with the *Cristeros*.

Along with this belief, the peasant class found encouragement to join the *Cristeros* with the many religious calling cries, symbols of faith, and martyrs. The most famous calling cry previously mentioned was *¡Viva Cristo Rey!*. This cry stirred up many emotions for the religious populations in Michoacán. Another symbol that *Cristeros* used was the Virgin of Guadalupe. Mexicans have used the Virgin throughout the history of Mexico as a symbolic tie between Catholicism and their culture. One of the most influential encouragements used during *La Cristiada* was the use of martyrs to rally support. An account of a famous martyr named San José Del Rio, "Joselito," was given by my grandfather, Antonio Magallón, a little after the end of the *Cristero* War. Joselito was a fourteen-year-old boy from Sahuayo, Michoacán who tried to help the *Cristeros* in whatever way he could. Joselito was captured by the federal soldiers who proceeded to cut off the bottoms of his feet and forced him to denounce his faith or walk. Joselito decided to walk, and the federal soldiers stabbed the boy as he walked. Finally, when Joselito could walk no more, the soldiers gave him the ultimatum once again: denounce your faith or die. With arms spread wide Joselito yelled *¡Viva Cristo Rey!* and was killed immediately after. Even years later, Joselito has given Catholics solace, so much so that the Catholic Church canonized Joselito in 2016. The story of Joselito and the atrocities committed against Catholics was the main memory of *La Cristiada* that my Grandfather held. Even the mention of President Plutarco Elías Calles, one who promoted anticlerical sentiments during his presidency, troubled him. All he could manage to say about President Calles was that he was a bad man. Because of Joselito and his view of the presidency of the time, my grandfather expressed a deep connection to his faith from his story and the dedication that he felt he needed to have to God. Despite the war in Michoacán being a battle over opposing ideologies, the collective memory of the conflict revolves around the violence and the martyrs on the side of the *Cristeros*. This story spread throughout Michoacán and was used as a rallying story to get people to join the *Cristeros* in their fight against the liberal and agrarian ideas.

Today the story of *La Cristiada* lives on in the lives of Michoacanos like my grandfather, the Catholic community, and in the *Agarista* advocates in Mexico. Since the conflict, many Catholics view *La Cristiada* and the *Cristeros* as martyrs for the cause of religion. This can be seen in the production of the film *For Greater Glory* (2012) which takes the view of the *Cristeros* and the crimes that were committed

against them, which includes the story of Joselito. On the other hand, the *Agraristas* saw their communal lands distributed to them after the Constitution of 1917. With the reintroduction of the communal lands to Mexico, many indigenous people felt that they were able to maintain their culture and language.<sup>12</sup> This however ended in 1991 under President Carlos Salinas de Gortari when he proposed to eliminate Article 27 of the Constitution that had allowed communal lands to survive in Mexico.<sup>13</sup> The elimination of Article 27 caused a new rebellion known as the *Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional*, also known as the *Zapatistas*. Centered in the southernmost state, Chiapas, the *Zapatistas* fight for the agrarian ideals that *Agraristas* fought for during *La Cristiada*. The legacy of *La Cristiada* in Michoacán can evidently be found in the lives of devout Catholics, in modern film, and in revolutionary movements present today.

*La Cristiada* in Michoacán was only a part of the larger story of the *Cristero* War. However, within Michoacán lies a true explanation of what the war was: a clash of ideologies. After the Revolution, strong liberal ideas started taking root in policy which included anticlerical sentiments. The new liberal ideas led to the formation of groups like the *Agraristas*, comprised mainly of indigenous Mexicans who wanted to maintain their livelihood and get back their corporate lands. With the new ideas forming in the country there was naturally push-back from more conservative groups that held on dearly to their faith. For many in the peasant class, that was all they had. This push and pull of ideas during *La Cristiada* were especially evident in Michoacán making this region an important case study in the greater picture of the *Cristero* War.

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<sup>12</sup> Purnell, *Popular Movements*, 195.

<sup>13</sup> James J. Kelly Jr., "Article 27 and Mexican Land Reform: The Legacy of Zapata's Dream," *Columbia Human Rights Law Review* 25, no. 2 (1994): 541-570.

**LA RESISTENCIA TARAHUMARA: UN CONTRIBUCIÓN  
INDIGENISMO A LA MEXICANIDAD**

By Israel Sotelo Jr.

The Tarahumara are an indigenous group who have occupied the mountainous Sierra Madre Occidental in Chihuahua, Mexico long before the Spanish Conquistadors arrived in 1521. They are a timid and docile people who survive by subsistence agriculture, cattle raising, and foraging. They are also known the world over for their unique affinity toward endurance running. The world looks upon them with astonishment as they traverse vast distances over some of the most rugged and unforgiving terrain on earth. However, for the Tarahumara running is simply a way of life, essential to the survival of their culture and their people. They don't run for sport, they don't run for glory, they don't even run for physical fitness, they run to remind themselves of who they are as a people. The Tarahumara have turned endurance running into a form of self-expression. In more recent history they have focused their mastery of the art of endurance running and utilized it to bridge their indigenous communities with the modernity of the national *mestizo* community in order to gain political and cultural agency within Mexican society and put their stamp on *mexicanidad*.

Foot racing services a much deeper cultural need for the Tarahumara people of the Sierra Madre Occidental than it does for foot racers of western culture. In western culture, foot racers run to obtain a prize or achieve some sense of self-gratification from accomplishing a personal goal. The race is approached as a challenge to overcome, alone, each individual's physical and mental strength striving against time and distance. For the Tarahumara, a race is very much a social event. It is an opportunity for the extremely independent indigenous people to come together for amusement, socialization, and for the strengthening of cultural ties and ideals.<sup>1</sup> Winning, although desired, is not the ultimate objective. Rather, the competitive socialization and nonviolent

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<sup>1</sup> Ángel Acuña Delgado and Guillermo Acuña Gómez, "The Rarámuri Race as a Metaphor of Cultural Resistance," *Journal of Human Sport & Exercise* 4, no. 1 (2009): 10-11.

confrontation of various groups, networking and conflict resolution are the aim. The race is traditionally run by a two-man team of Tarahumara who kick a small wooden ball throughout the duration of the race while competing against a team of indigenous runners from a neighboring area.<sup>2</sup> This strengthens interpersonal bonds while simultaneously strengthening ties between tribes through the mutual enjoyment of racing. For the Tarahumara, the race is not an obstacle to overcome but a process to be relished. Little focus is given to speed and more attention is given to the distance covered and the skill required to expertly maneuver the ball across the course.<sup>3</sup> The act itself is an expression of their struggle for survival both historically and in day to day life. Ángel Acuña Delgado, a Professor of Social and Cultural Anthropology at La Universidad de Granada, describes both their struggle to survive and their practice of endurance running as, “resistance,” against death.<sup>4</sup> Their incredible displays of endurance are a portrayal of their grit as a people. It exemplifies their ability to persevere under extreme stress, and in this case, even self-inflicted stress.

Tarahumara participation in nontraditional racing against *mestizo* Mexicans is a medium for them to express who they are through endurance running. *Mestizos* are Mexicans of mixed race, predominantly indigenous and Spanish, who have dominated the development of *mexicanidad* since its inception. *Mexicanidad* is the ambiguous term used to define what it means to be truly Mexican. For the Tarahumara endurance running is a “manifestation of the culture,” they have kept alive for hundreds of years, it is their claim and contribution to *mexicanidad* in an arena that *mestizo* people can participate in and relate to on a physical level.<sup>5</sup> Competing head to head with Mexico's elite runners in traditional Tarahumara attire is both a form of compromise and resistance. For a Tarahumara to run a race that traverses urban areas rather than rural mountainous areas, without the transport of a wooden ball being a race requirement as in traditional Tarahumara racing, is an example of traditional indigenous culture brushing up against modernity. It is the Tarahumara saying, “We will beat you at your own race and at the same time remain true to who we are, we will compromise in order to express our resistance.”

Tarahumara runners use their brushes with modernity as a way to

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<sup>2</sup> Acuña Delgado and Acuña Gómez, "The Rarámuri Race," 9.

<sup>3</sup> Chester Pierce, M. Stillner, and Verner Popkin, "On the Meaning of Sports: Cross Cultural Observations of Super Stress," *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry* 6, no. 1 (1982): 11-28.

<sup>4</sup> Acuña Delgado and Acuña Gómez, "The Rarámuri Race," 16.

<sup>5</sup> Acuña Delgado and Acuña Gómez, 18.

### *La Resistencia Tarahumara*

establish cultural and political agency. The Church and the Mexican government have often sought to assimilate the indigenous people of Mexico into Christianity and Mexican society. These groups exert power over indigenous people and attempt to define them and their role within Mexico.<sup>6</sup> In response, the Tarahumara have used endurance running as their tool of choice to resist cultural reassignment and political oppression. As recently as 1992 Tarahumara women have regularly organized races after Sunday mass despite the disapproval of Jesuit priests who label the races as a “waste economy.”<sup>7</sup> This blatant disregard for the highly influential Jesuit order is a form of resistance against the Church’s power and their agenda to do away with indigenous culture. The ability for an indigenous woman to organize a community-wide race composed of indigenous and *mestizo* people alike, despite the disapproval of the Church, speaks to her acknowledged agency within the local community. Major endurance races also give the indigenous organizers a platform to voice their political preferences. Joaquín Castillo, a well-known indigenous race organizer, used his popularity to support a PRI candidate running for the gubernatorial seat in Chihuahua in 1992.<sup>8</sup> In this case, endurance racing indirectly facilitates indigenous involvement in the national political arena.

By showing that the Tarahumara are not only excellent runners but capable of organizing major community events without the aid of the Church or the State they are stating that they do not need either institution to help aid them into modernity or assimilate into the Mexican culture or Christian religion. Despite this being an overt act of defiance the Tarahumara are effectively bridging their indigenous communities with the *mestizo* population. The endurance races are a space for indigenous and *mestizo* people to gather, compete, and socialize; an opportunity they would not have otherwise. The Tarahumara become less of a people who need *mestizo* and Christian charity and more of a formidable opponent and active member in their community. They become a service provider and use this interaction to deliver a political and cultural message of self-reliance and resistance.

The Mexican government’s various attempts to integrate the indigenous Tarahumara population into Mexican society ultimately bore little to no fruit. These indigenous assimilation policies failed, in part, due to poor execution on behalf of the Mexican government and passive

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<sup>6</sup> Ingrid Kummels, "Reflecting Diversity: Variants of the Legendary Footraces of the *Rarámuri* in Northern Mexico." *Ethnos: Journal of Anthropology* 66, no. 1 (March 2001): 92.

<sup>7</sup> Kummels, "Reflecting Diversity," 90.

<sup>8</sup> Kummels, 87.

resistance by the Tarahumara. The government's answer to quick assimilation of indigenous people in 1931 was education in both State and Church-run schools. However, the Tarahumaras' traditional lifestyle made it impossible for the Education Ministry (SEP) to ensure consistent attendance of Tarahumara children in their school buildings.<sup>9</sup> The Tarahumara live great distances apart from one another and constantly migrate to areas that can sustain their needs when resources run scarce. A school that is five miles away (a very manageable distance for Tarahumara children to travel on foot) could be twenty or thirty miles away once their family migrated to a more resource-rich area of the Sierra Madre Occidental. Lack of attendance forced the SEP to close schools for years at a time, denying indigenous children accessibility to any institutionalized education whatsoever.<sup>10</sup> The Tarahumara were committed to their isolated lifestyle and refused to bend to the SEPs desire for them to adopt communal living practices. When the SEP schools transitioned into boarding schools for Tarahumara children between the ages of fourteen and twenty, lack of attendance, again, threatened to close the facilities. Headteacher Simeon Gonzales stated that the Tarahumara, "promise to comply but do not do so."<sup>11</sup> The boarding schools closed years later due to lack of attendance, lack of resources, and debt.<sup>12</sup>

The failure of the SEP to integrate the Tarahumara into Mexican society through education comes down to a misstep in their understanding and view of the Tarahumara as a cultural group. The SEP did not adapt their educational programs to the Tarahumara way of life but rather tried to force them into the *mestizo* way of life. Professor of Latin American Studies and Indigenous Historian Andrae Marak, states that the *mestizo* community, "seemed to consider the Tarahumara identity as expendable and unimportant," taking no measures to try and understand their indigenous neighbors.<sup>13</sup> No consideration was given to their affinity for endurance running or the cultural significance of it. The negative response from the Tarahumara to the SEP policy is a form of resistance to the eradication of their culture. Historian Engracia Loyo compares the attempted indoctrination of the Tarahumara as a form of colonialism, "the imposition of a foreign culture," on an unwilling group

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<sup>9</sup> Andrae M. Marak, "The Failed Assimilation of the Tarahumara in Postrevolutionary Mexico," *Journal of the Southwest* 45, no. 3 (2003): 412.

<sup>10</sup> Marak, "The Failed Assimilation of the Tarahumara," 419.

<sup>11</sup> Marak, 424.

<sup>12</sup> Marak, 426.

<sup>13</sup> Marak, 415.

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of people.<sup>14</sup> Resistance is the only natural response, fortunately, the Tarahumara could achieve this without violence. The Tarahumara were negotiating their social location within Mexico on their own terms through endurance running.

During the same time that the Mexican government was trying to assimilate the Tarahumara into Mexican culture, they were also, almost contradictorily, celebrating the indigenous nature of the Tarahumara people. As part of their *indigenismo* movement, the Mexican government staged a feat of strength endurance race for three Tarahumara runners to complete in order to celebrate the indigenous people of the nation. The race started on November 7, 1926, at 3:05 am in the city of Pachuca and ended at 12:42 am sixty-two miles away in Mexico City.<sup>15</sup> The race spectators were comprised of prominent government figures including the Governor of Hidalgo, the Mayor of Pachuca, and the Governor of the Federal District.<sup>16</sup> This outpouring of support for Tarahumara runners by the political elite and urban middle class was unprecedented. The Tarahumara runners traded their traditional garb for the more patriotic attire given to them by the race organizers; “white sweaters adorned by ribbons of red, green, and white, the tri-colored symbols of the republic.”<sup>17</sup> This mixture of traditional indigenous practices and modern patriotic expression was a political statement concerning the acceptance and pride the newly revolutionized country felt towards its diverse population. Even the course of the race was symbolic, passing through Tulpetlac, Cuautitlán the birthplace of St. Juan Diego, the indigenous man who was visited by the indigenous Virgin of Guadalupe, effectively bridging Mexico's indigenous heritage with the epicenter of modernity that was Mexico City.

When the two remaining Tarahumara runners Tomas Zafiro and Leoncio San Miguel crossed the finish line they set a world record for the 100km distance and became national heroes overnight.<sup>18</sup> Their internationally recognized achievement started the running boom of the 1930s in Mexico. Everyone wanted to be just like the strong and resilient, patriotic symbols of Mexico, the Tarahumara. The willingness of the Tarahumara to participate as national symbols in endurance races contrasts heavily with their rejection of institutionalized education. For the Tarahumara institutionalized education meant the end of their

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<sup>14</sup> Marak, 428.

<sup>15</sup> Mark Dyreson, "The Foot Runners Conquer Mexico and Texas: Endurance Racing, 'Indigenismo', and Nationalism," *Journal of Sport History* 31, no. 1 (2004): 1-2.

<sup>16</sup> Dyreson, "The Foot Runners Conquer Mexico," 1-2.

<sup>17</sup> Dyreson, 1-2.

<sup>18</sup> Dyreson, 2.

migrant lifestyles and the erosion of their culture. Endurance running, on the other hand, was a celebration of their culture, a manifestation of who they are as a people, it is more than a feat of strength it is the means of communication. This demonstrates the Tarahumara's cultural agency. They deliberately chose not to participate in organizations that attempted to change and oppress them and chose to establish their cultural standing within the nation just as they would within their communities, through endurance running. By doing what they do best under the watchful eye of the national media they staked a claim as equals within Mexican society, and they did it faster than anyone else in the world.

The indigenous runners of the Sierra Madre Occidental are more than a spectacle for running fanatics the world over, they are human beings preserving their traditional way of life against encroaching modernity with nothing more than their own two feet. They are nonviolent warriors who let the strength of their legs do all the talking. Their adaptation of endurance running as a social tool within their indigenous communities to the national arena has allowed them to become a part of Mexican culture without adopting Mexican culture. Rather than being forced to assimilate they have chosen to resist and introduce their unique contribution to *Mexicanidad*; an indigenous interpretation of resistance.

## REMARKABLE WOMEN IN THE EARLY CHURCH

By Danielle Barlett

If women were recognized as equal participants in the evolution and expansion of Christianity, how would our society function differently today? The roles of women in the early Church parallel women's roles in contemporary society. Historians and theologians often examine scripture as a code of conduct, teaching Christians how to lead a moral and just life. For women, this includes virginity, modesty, hospitality, and subordination to their male counterparts. Women who stray from this code of conduct are perceived as deviant and criminal, a sinful temptation to man. In this context, women are viewed as inferior beings to men. In the story of Adam and Eve, Eve is the first to demonstrate this immoral behavior. However, it can be argued that Adam and Eve were in fact equal to one another. Man could not survive alone and needed the presence of a woman. Eve was created from Adam's rib and "... called Woman, because she was taken out of Man."<sup>1</sup> This is neither indicative of superiority or inferiority, but without a doubt has the potential to be inconsistently analyzed. This variable nature of cognizance will be a recurring theme throughout this essay, offering logical conclusions as to why women deserve greater recognition as important figures in the maturation of Christianity. Historians often overlook the roles and significance of women in the early Church because of marginalization, selectivity and lack of documentation, and apparent social constraints.

Historically, women have been re-written, forgotten, or completely erased from spheres functioning within society. Their struggles, achievements, and testimonies have been considerably generalized, omitting their presence as autonomous beings in antiquity. Feminist movements and theories "[work] across disciplinary and intellectual borders... national and religious borders... [and]... the borders of prejudice drawn by kyriarchal structures of domination."<sup>2</sup> Feminist

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<sup>1</sup> *The Holy Bible: Revised Standard Version: Containing the Old and New Testaments*, (Nashville: Holman Bible Publishers, 1982), Gen. 2:23.

<sup>2</sup> Elisabeth Schussler Fiorenza, "Thinking and Working across Borders: The Feminist Liberation Theologians, Activists, and Scholars in Religion Network," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 18, no. 1 (2002): 71.

religious studies are necessary to uncover the importance of the varying roles of women in the early Church and how they helped spread Christianity. Male-defined theological assumptions forgo women's opportunities to contribute to the origins of Christianity and to a contemporary religious understanding. In order for women to exact their place in the development of the early Church they need to be recognized as individuals equally capable to men in intellectual exploration, evangelical transcendence, and obtainment of revelation from God.

First, it is important to note that women in the early Church were recognized in reference to men. For example, Phoebe was established as a deacon through Paul, Priscilla and Junia are mentioned in relation to their husbands; Aquila and Andronicus, and Thecla's roles as a missionary and martyr were influenced by Paul. This association of female marginalization through male hegemony could have been due to the fallacious views that women were incapable of holding positions of authority or leadership, were not directly indicated as apostles (the highest position in ecclesiastic hierarchy) in Scripture, and posed a considerable threat to the patriarchal structure within the Church.

In possible efforts to manipulate, maintain and reproduce the structure within the Church "women [were] confined to passive and secondary roles. Their experience [was] not incorporated into the official culture."<sup>3</sup> Excluding women from prominent roles solidifies the notion that women were disproportionately impactful in the advancement of Christianity and the unity of the early Church. This demonstrates a sexist idealism, as well as creating an alienated intrapersonal model of the "appropriate" positions women could attain in the Church. Men were able to ground themselves in authoritative roles and legitimize their authority through the deprecation of women. Women did not constitute a threat, as long as they were reduced to "otherness."<sup>4</sup>

Additionally, theologians' interpretations of religious texts have the potential to differ greatly in comprehension. According to Rosemary R. Ruether, "... studies show that male exclusion of women from leadership roles and theological reflection is not the whole story. There is much ambiguity and plurality in the traditions about women and the roles women have actually managed to play [in the early Church]."<sup>5</sup> Logically, there is a strong possibility that the texts considered orthodox were only made so through the dominant sociological views at the time they were

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<sup>3</sup> Rosemary Radford Ruether, "The Feminist Critique in Religious Studies," *Soundings: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 64, no. 4 (1981): 389.

<sup>4</sup> Goergette Leuthner, "The Church and the Second Sex," *CrossCurrents* 18, no. 3 (1968): 371.

<sup>5</sup> Ruether, "The Feminist Critique in Religious Studies," 392.

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composed. Although theologians may have tried to remain objective in their study of the early Church, humans are often instinctively influenced through personal experience. The ways in which historical texts are studied, the necessity of what should be examined in contemporary theology, rely heavily on what historians deemed important in the past.<sup>6</sup>

Gnostic texts provide us with insight into how Christianity could have been altered by the dominant perspective of the time. Although these texts are not considered canon, they do offer a variety of divergent views indicating how Christianity and the early Church evolved. Interestingly, many Gnostic texts demonstrate the importance of female figures and feminine elements within the early Church. Furthermore, Montanism strongly supported the ability of women to hold distinguished roles within the Church. “The prominence of women in Montanism revived the relatively high participation of women in the life of the early Church. But... excessive feminine independence led Paul to ask for restriction.”<sup>7</sup> This exhibits the power dynamics among genders and a misogynistic outlook. Men potentially translated religious texts inaccurately through the subconscious male gaze in order to maintain their authority at the head of the Church. 1 Corinthians symbolizes what has been referred to as “restrictions” Paul placed on women prophets, stating:

For if a woman will not veil herself, then she should cut off her hair; but if it is disgraceful for a woman to be shorn or shaven, let her wear a veil. For a man ought not to cover his head, since he is the image and glory of God; but woman is the glory of man... Nevertheless, in the Lord woman is not independent of man nor man of woman; for as woman was made from man, so man is nor born of woman.<sup>8</sup>

Through the male gaze it would appear that Paul is placing limitations on what dictates appropriate female prophecy, as well as declaring the hierarchy between genders. Therefore, this quote could be interpreted as indicative of male’s superiority within the roles of the Church. However, as Paul continues he clarifies that neither man nor woman is sovereign

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<sup>6</sup> Elisabeth Schussler Fiorenza, “You Are Not to Be Called Father: Early Christian History in a Feminist Perspective,” *CrossCurrents* 29, no. 3 (1979): 302.

<sup>7</sup> Henry Chadwick, *The Early Church: The Story of Emergent Christianity from the Apostolic Age to the Dividing of the Ways between the Greek East and the Latin West*, (London: Penguin, 1993), 53.

<sup>8</sup> *The Holy Bible: Revised Standard Version: Containing the Old and New Testaments*, 1 Cor. 11: 6-12.

from the other, and simultaneously legitimizes female authority in the Church by recognizing women as prophets.<sup>9</sup> This could pose a contradiction to his first statement, or reinforce the concept of parallelism between man and woman.

A discourse on the male gaze confirms the androcentrism circulating within Orthodoxy, providing a final rationalization of the neglect procured by women of the early Church. Elaine H. Pagels considers the androcentric nature of the biblical canon by recognizing “He [God] scarcely [is] characterized in any but masculine epithets: King, Lord, Master, Judge, and Father.”<sup>10</sup> There is a term, *patristics*, granted to the study of the “fathers of the church,” however no such term representative of the “mothers of the church.”<sup>11</sup> Limiting the rhetoric used to describe Christian ideologies to only masculine denominations invalidates women’s contributions, and reinforces men’s legitimacy as essential figures in the early Church. Canonical text evidences that women were entrusted with crucial assignments and responsibilities, which emanates stature within the Church. Their roles equated to many of the roles assumed to men, trivialized by the predominant focus on male superiority.

Women had a huge impact on the development and unity of the Christian movement even within ordinary roles. Similar to any organized group of individuals galvanized towards a common interest, the genesis of Christianity relied immensely on the dissemination of the Church’s ideologies and its popularity among the people. Christianity mimicked various other associations, subjective to the social and cultural circumstances of the time.<sup>12</sup> Men were granted more social acceptance in public spaces as speakers, and notably as prophets. Women’s traditional roles on a day-to-day basis permitted them the opportunity to act as major players in the early Church, notwithstanding their underrepresentation. According to Lisa Bellan-Boyer:

Women were often very successful as evangelists precisely because they could permeate barriers between the “inside” realm of women

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<sup>9</sup> Adela Yarbro Collins, “Opportunities and Limits for Women in Early Christianity,” *Bodies, Borders, Believers: Ancient Texts and Present Conversations*, (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co, 2016), 200.

<sup>10</sup> Elaine H. Pagels, “What Became of God the Mother? Conflicting Images of God in Early Christianity,” *Signs* 2, no. 2 (1976): 293.

<sup>11</sup> Pagels, “What Became of God the Mother?” 294.

<sup>12</sup> Valeriy A. Alikin, “Women as Leaders in the Gatherings of Early Christian Communities: A Sociohistorical Analysis,” *Stones, Bones, and the Sacred: Essays on Material Culture and Ancient Religion in Honor of Dennis E. Smith*, (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2016), 222.

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and the “outside” realm of men, either by the power-behind-authority of matriarchs in noble households, or through the intermediary functions of craftswomen and tradeswomen who staffed the workshops associated with wealthy houses.<sup>13</sup>

Although they went unrecognized in their remarkable evangelism, women accessed both the public and private spheres. This gave them an advantage over male evangelists. If women’s accomplishments in the early Church were properly acknowledged, they could have been perceived as trailblazers and prestigious acolytes of the Christian faith. Furthermore, women exuded Christian values, such as charity. They offered hospitality to the poor, widows, orphans, and prisoners; offering reliability in the face of adversity.<sup>14</sup> Androcentric views have subjected women to the margins of Christianity, rather than at the forefront indistinguishable from men.

Aside from the overlooked but profound work women did inconspicuously, there are many known accounts of women in roles of authority and leadership. To name a few, Mary Magdalen, Thecla, and Priscilla in their apostolic work (although not recognized as apostles); Phoebe as deaconess; Photini and Lydia as preachers, teachers, and baptists; Junia as a miracle worker; and Perpetua and Felicity as martyrs. These women of the early Church are demonstrative of individuals grounded in their faith, suffering the same persecution as the men of the early Church.

In conclusion, the study of the development of Christianity and contemporary ideologies should allow for a reimagination and recognition of the power and determination women enveloped as prominent figures in the early Church. This essay does not attempt to downplay or refute Orthodox; however, it strives to bring greater attention to the feminine elements acting in the development of Christianity, and offers empowerment to modern women of the Church by accordingly depicting their histories.

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<sup>13</sup> Lisa Bellan-Boyer, “Conspicuous in Their Absence: Women in Early Christianity,” *CrossCurrents* 53, no. 1 (2003): 50-51.

<sup>14</sup> Chadwick, *The Early Church*, 56.

**SANTA ANNA: LEGGING IT INTO THE HISTORY BOOKS**

By Randy Utz

General Antonio López de Santa Anna defined a generation of Mexican politics. President eleven times in twenty-two years, between 1833-1855, no man exerted more influence on the course of the young republic than did Santa Anna. Santa Anna was a hero of the revolution, defeating invasions by Spain and France. He was also the general who lost half of Mexico, first Texas and then California and the West. This complicated legacy makes it hard to evaluate Santa Anna's place in the history of the Americas. Some remember him as a hero and patriot who saved the Republic from Spain and Agustín de Iturbide's dictatorship. To others, he was a treacherous, self-interested politician who was responsible for many of Mexico's ills over the next century. Luckily, Santa Anna has left us a unique lens through which we can evaluate his legacy. That is the story of his many legs. Santa Anna lost a leg in battle against the French and the journey that both the actual limb as well as his prosthetic replacements go on gives us great insight into how he is remembered in both The United States and Mexico.

Santa Anna began his military career at sixteen, fighting against the Mexican rebels rallied by Father Hidalgo's call to arms. Showing the type of fluidity that would come to define his career in politics, Santa Anna followed General Iturbide when he defected to the rebels and turned the tide in favor of the Mexican Revolution. Santa Anna would at first serve in Iturbide's government as governor of Veracruz until he, alongside many of his fellow generals in the army, rose in rebellion against Iturbide's dictatorship. In 1823, this rebellion forced Iturbide from power. Santa Anna would remain involved in Mexican politics over the next few years, even launching a coup to install a new president in 1828, until Spain attempted to reconquer their former colony. Due to his popularity, Mexico turned to Santa Anna to repeal the invasion. In 1829, at the Battle of Tampico, Santa Anna defeated the invading Spanish army and with this victory secured independence for Mexico as well as his status as the foremost general in Mexico.

This heroic status launched him into the presidency for the first time in 1833. By all accounts, Santa Anna was a disinterested president.

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Rather than the decisive and energetic leader that the fledgling republic needed he was aloof and delegated most of the job of governing to his second in command, Dr. Valentín Gómez Farías. Santa Anna biographer Will Fowler speculated that this perceived aloofness was a political ploy from Santa Anna, who knew he could not control a radicalized Congress and so decided to put as much space between Congress and himself while laying as much blame as possible on other government officials.<sup>1</sup> Another reason Santa Anna decided to remain aloof may have been to squash any rumors and accusations that he was setting himself up to become a dictator. Whatever the reason, Santa Anna would remain aloof between the years of 1833-1835 only returning to the capital to put down the myriad of rebellions the reformist Congress instigated. One such rebellion would lead to the first of a string of defeats of Santa Anna by the Anglo-Americans to the north. The causes of the Texas Revolution are still hotly debated by historians of the period today. What isn't debated is the outcome of the war. Santa Anna had elected to lead the army sent to Texas personally. Due to bad luck and poor planning, Santa Anna was defeated at the Battle of San Jacinto and taken prisoner. Held in Texas for nearly a year while a peace agreement was negotiated, when Santa Anna returned to Mexico he did so as a broken man and elected to retire to his hacienda and be done with politics. Little did he know that Mexico was not done with him quite yet.

Mexico in the post-independence years was racked with instability. Politically, as we have already seen, as well as economically. Due to the chaos and upheaval of the revolutionary times, Mexico's government had become insolvent. In 1838, France had demanded repayment for the destruction of French national's property during the upheaval, including famously a pastry shop. Mexico was unwilling, and unable, to pay these claims and in response, France launched an invasion of Mexico. In what has become known as the Pastry War, or The First French Intervention, French forces blockaded Mexico and invaded the city of Veracruz in response to the Mexican government's inability and unwillingness to pay back recent damage to French nationals property during recent civic turmoil, including an inflated sum of 200,000 pesos for a damaged pastry shop which is where the conflict gets its name.<sup>2</sup> Santa Anna, who was still licking his wounds after the defeat in Texas and whose hacienda was not far from the city, rode in and took control of the forces. It was during the battle to drive off the invading forces that Santa Anna's leg comes

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<sup>1</sup> Will Fowler, *Santa Anna of Mexico* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 142.

<sup>2</sup> Colin M. MacLachlan and William H. Beezley, "Santa Anna's Era," in *Mexico's Crucial Century, 1810-1910: An Introduction* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010), 53-76.

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marching onto the scene. During their retreat, The French covered their retreat with artillery fire. One shot hit Santa Anna in the leg. The wound was serious and required the amputation of the leg.<sup>3</sup> The Mexican government would inevitably capitulate to French demands and would agree to pay back the damages. The French would evacuate Veracruz shortly after their invasion but Santa Anna, and by extension, all of Mexico would never be the same.

Santa Anna wasted no time in using the loss to his advantage. While in the hospital he dictated a fifteen-page farewell message to the people of Mexico. In this letter he lamented his imminent demise and asks the people of Mexico to forgive his political debacle, especially that of the loss of Texas, saying “forgetting my political errors, do not deny me the only title I wish to donate to my children. That of a Good Mexican.”<sup>4</sup> This plea worked and after he recovered from the wounds he received, which also included a badly injured hand that had been hit with shrapnel, he was honored by the Mexican government and lauded as the Liberator of Veracruz. Santa Anna would have the remains of his leg buried on his estate. The popularity gained from his defense of Veracruz, and the loss of his leg, would put then-President Bustamante in a tough position and open the door for Santa Anna’s second term as president.

President Bustamante had become president in the wake of Santa Anna’s defeat and capture in Mexico. Left with a country rife with discontent and shattered morale, as well as a still floundering economy, Bustamante was forced to handle multiple crises throughout his term. These problems were only compounded when Santa Anna returned as a hero at Veracruz. Faced with a resurgent Santa Anna, Bustamante decided to counter his popularity by going in person to crush a revolt that had appeared in Tampico. To do this he had to abdicate the presidency and Santa Anna was made temporary president in his place. Santa Anna would use this temporary term to boost his reputation even further by putting down another revolt led by Generals Urrea and Mejia in April of 1839. However, this newfound popularity set him on a course for confrontation with Bustamante and rather than risk another civil war Santa Anna decided to retire.<sup>5</sup> He would spend the next four years on his hacienda, tending to his businesses and family.

By 1841, most of Mexico perceived Bustamante’s presidency to be a failure. No expedition to retake Texas had been launched, the capitulation to the French during the Pastry War, and subsequent

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<sup>3</sup> Fowler, *Santa Anna of Mexico*, 190.

<sup>4</sup> Eric Zolov, *Iconic Mexico: An Encyclopedia from Acapulco to Zócalo* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2015), 531.

<sup>5</sup> Fowler, *Santa Anna of Mexico*, 197.

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economic and political instability had turned public opinion against Bustamante. In August, the people of Xalapa, Orizaba, and Cordoba revolted against their local government and called for Santa Anna to lead their revolt.<sup>6</sup> In the people's eyes, Santa Anna remained the Liberator of Veracruz and defender of the revolution. He accepted and after a series of battles and negotiations was named president again. This term would be different from his first term. Where he had been aloof, now he would exert control over every aspect of government.

Santa Anna's reign between 1841-1844 would be characterized by the centralized government Santa Anna built. Where he had been aloof during his first term as president, now he would reign with near-absolute power. To do this Santa Anna needed to build up a cult of personality around him to insulate himself from criticisms of heavy-handedness. During this time, the Gran Teatro de Santa Anna was built and multiple statues of him were erected in Mexico City. One of these statues, in the Plaza del Volador, pointed towards Texas reflecting Santa Anna's promise to retake Texas, though critics said it was really pointing towards the National Mint. Santa Anna also held military parades honoring his victory at Tampico in September 1841.<sup>7</sup> Santa Anna was crafting a narrative that placed himself at the center of Mexico's independence. Nothing signified all he had done more than the loss of his leg.

Two weeks after his parade honoring his victory at Tampico, Santa Anna threw an even more lavish celebration. This one was to honor a monument he had built to honor his leg. The leg was dug up from his hacienda and brought to the capital in a glass case that was said to resemble a Christian relic. It was then placed in an urn and buried under a magnificent column decorated with a cannon on which Mexico's national symbol, an eagle grasping a snake, was perched. Speakers gave speeches honoring his leg and compared him to legendary kings such as Xerxes of Persia and Leonidas of Sparta. They paid tribute to the "thousand times fortunate General Santa Anna who, with the blood he spilled for his country, could purchase the love of all Mexicans and merit those civic crowns which, unlike the diadems of kings, do not burn the brow."<sup>8</sup> The monument soon attracted a multitude of visitors, some there to honor Santa Anna and others out of sheer curiosity. Hand carved statuettes of the monument were soon being sold on the streets of Mexico City helping further cement the Santanista world view. However, not

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<sup>6</sup> Fowler, 206.

<sup>7</sup> Alan Knight, "The Several Legs of Santa Anna: A Saga of Secular Relics," *Past and Present* 206, no. Suppl5 (2010): 235.

<sup>8</sup> Knight, "The Several Legs of Santa Anna," 236.

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everyone was buying into this worldview. Satirical poems, known as decimas, soon appeared mocking the funeral procession. One, written by an anonymous author, mocks the funeral and in a tongue-in-cheek fashion compares Santa Anna to Mausolus, who was known for building magnificent temples and from whom we derive the word mausoleum.<sup>9</sup>

No amount of public posturing could shield Santa Anna forever though. By 1843 the people had become upset with his dictatorial rule. Like his predecessors, he too failed to retake Texas. Continued economic instability, corruption, and a failed monetary policy led to popular unrest. As this unrest grew the people of Mexico began to lash out at the Santanist cult. Mobs began targeting his statues and the Teatro. Portraits of Santa Anna were burnt in public demonstrations. Perhaps most troubling of all to Santa Anna though, his leg was dug up and dragged through the streets. Decimas at the time described how Mexicans had revered the leg while they remained under Santa Anna's thumb but "today the people have treated it like a dirty old bone because the nation no longer wishes to stand for it."<sup>10</sup> This desecration of his leg still embittered Santa Anna thirty years later. In his memoir, he called the act a "sacrilegious attack by an impious faction."<sup>11</sup> Despite all the propaganda, nothing could save Santa Anna's presidency and he would be forced from power and exiled to Cuba.

Santa Anna still had one more role to play in the tragedy of the Mexican government of this time. In 1846 the United States provoked a war so they could seize the lands west of Texas from Mexico. Mexico's government was still incredibly unstable and hard pressed to resist the American invasion. In desperation, they turned to the man who had repelled foreign invaders time and time again, Santa Anna. However, unlike previous victories this time Santa Anna would find himself not up to the task. Mexico would lose the war and half of its territory. One event during this war perfectly symbolized the losses Mexico endured.

Outside of the town of Cerro Gordo, Santa Anna's careless generalship, which was also to blame for his loss in Texas, again caught up with him. Santa Anna allowed his army to be outflanked which resulted in his army breaking ranks and fleeing. In this chaos, a division of American troops attempted to capture Santa Anna and his carriage. Santa Anna cut free one of the mules that were pulling it. The carriage itself was left behind though. Inside the soldiers found Santa Anna's

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<sup>9</sup> Anonymous, "Décimas Dedicated to Santa Anna's Leg," in *The Mexico Reader*, eds. Gilbert M. Joseph and Timothy J. Henderson (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2009), 213.

<sup>10</sup> Anonymous, "Décimas Dedicated to Santa Anna's Leg," 213.

<sup>11</sup> Knight, "The Several Legs of Santa Anna," 239.

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treasure, his lunch of roasted chicken, and his prosthetic leg that had been forgotten in the rush to escape. The soldiers first sat down to eat his lunch, a good soldier never lets fresh food go to waste after all, and then turned the gold over to their commanders. The leg they claimed was legitimate war booty and kept for themselves. Allegedly, after its capture, the leg was then used by Abner Doubleday as a bat to play the first game of baseball played on international soil.<sup>12</sup> That a myth about Abner Doubleday, the man credited with popularizing baseball, and Santa Anna's leg could appear so soon after the war is indicative of the stature of Santa Anna both in the eyes of the Mexicans and Americans who shared the myth. By seizing Santa Anna's leg, the American soldiers had just ensured they could seize half of Mexico's territory as well.

Santa Anna would be forced into exile following the Mexican-American War. Never again would he achieve the same levels of popularity with the people of Mexico. It seems as if since he had lost his leg, that totem on which he had rested so much of his legitimacy, he could no longer stand up against forces that opposed him. Over the next twenty years, Santa Anna would only regain prominence once, in 1854, and would suffer multiple exiles and a court-martial in 1867. He was allowed to return to Mexico in 1874, where he lived out the rest of his life as a broken man in Mexico City. He would recount one more happy memory of his life surrounding his leg though. One day he met a man who claimed to have rescued what had remained of the bone of his leg after it had been dragged through the streets. This man and his wife had held on to it for thirty years and now wanted to return it to him. Santa Anna would die just two years after returning to Mexico. The Age of Santa Anna had ended.

However, the story of his leg was not quite over. The soldiers inscribed their names on it and carried the leg back with them. For the next few decades, it would be housed in a private collection that loaned out the leg at various fairs and museums around the world until it was given to the State of Illinois in 1882.<sup>13</sup> Stories of the leg, such as one that said the leg was captured while Santa Anna was in bed with a mistress, would spread far beyond Illinois and would cement Santa Anna and his leg in American popular culture. However, interest in Mexico and the Mexican-American War soon waned as it was overshadowed by World War One. Tensions between America and Mexico were high as America

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<sup>12</sup> Knight, 240.

<sup>13</sup> These include the Great Exhibition in London's Crystal Palace and P.T. Barnum's American Museum in New York; see Knight, "The Several Legs of Santa Anna," 242-243.

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entered the Great War thanks to the Zimmerman Telegraph, a telegraph sent by German intelligence offering support for Mexico if they invaded the U.S. This incentivized the American government to stop parading the leg and gloating over their victory as this could potentially anger Mexico and lead to a two-front war for America. As Mexican-American relations improved through World War II and into the Cold War, various war trophies captured during the Mexican-American war were returned to Mexico though the military blocked a proposal to send the leg back in 1942 instead the leg was turned over to the Illinois State Military, which would later become the Illinois National Guard, who put it on display in their museum where it remains to this day.

The legal fracas over ownership of Santa Anna's leg reflects his current position in both the culture of Mexico and the United States. According to the state of Illinois they have never received a request for the leg to be returned that originated from Mexico.<sup>14</sup> This reflects Mexico's current attitude towards Santa Anna, which ranges from apathy to disgust. Indeed, since the statue to his leg was toppled there has not been another monument built to Santa Anna in Mexico City. Despite his many successes as a general the unavoidable fact is he was responsible for Mexico's greatest shame, the theft of Texas and the West by the United States. Perhaps Mexicans could have forgiven him for this had he not then sold more territory away in the Gadsden Purchase. Meanwhile, in the United States, the leg sits mostly forgotten except by those communities with close ties to Santa Anna or the Mexican-American War. Immediately following the war in the United States, Santa Anna became a popular figure in both art and pop culture. In his famous painting of the surrender of Santa Anna after the Battle of San Jacinto (*The Surrender of Santa Anna*, 1885) artist, William Henry Huddle painted Santa Anna laying down and missing his injured leg.<sup>15</sup> This is unusual because Santa Anna did not lose his leg until after the Texas Revolution. This demonstrates just how prevalent stories about Santa Anna's leg had become in the United States. Songs of the era also demonstrate that. One, titled "The Leg I Left Behind Me" was a parody of a popular folk song named "The Girl I Left Behind Me" and mocks Santa Anna's defeat during the Mexican-American war and tells Santa Anna he can always find his leg in the museum where it was deposited.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Doug Finke, "Texas Group: Santa Anna's Leg in Illinois Should Be Sent to Mexico," *The State Journal-Register*, October 28, 2016, <http://www.sj-r.com/news/20161028/texas-group-santa-annas-leg-in-illinois-should-be-sent-to-mexico>.

<sup>15</sup> Sam Ratcliffe, "Huddle, William Henry," *The Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association (TSHA), <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fhu05>.

<sup>16</sup> "The Leg I Left Behind Me," *Documents for the Study of American History*

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The war has mostly faded from our historical memory. Despite the magnitude of its outcome, the war's memory was soon eclipsed by the Civil War. Texas has sent multiple requests to Illinois to have the leg sent there, requests that have been refused at all times. This is certainly a reflection of Texas's belief that they have a unique history which gives them a claim over all things Santa Anna. Illinois' refusal to turn over the leg is also symbolic of the United States' refusal to make amends for the crime of taking advantage of a young republic to steal half of its territory. It seems unlikely that the leg will ever be returned to Mexico. The American political climate has shifted away from the friendship that was built up between the two nations in the middle of the twentieth century. Maybe as part of the diplomatic tension, Mexico will demand its return but this seems unlikely as Mexico seems to be trying its best to forget Santa Anna, and along with it the nightmares that came in the post-independence era. For now, it appears that Santa Anna's leg has taken its last step.

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(AMDOCS), <http://www.vlib.us/amdocs/texts/mexwar.htm>.

**SOCIAL EXHAUSTION: RACE AND GENDER IN SONOMA COUNTY'S COMMUNES**

By Ivana Kurak

On April 20, 1967 a poster appeared on the streets of San Francisco.<sup>1</sup> On the poster was a picture and the words, "WHO ARE THESE MEN?" The photo depicted was of four African American youth holding up signs that stated "profit motives" and "stop killing black kids."<sup>2</sup> Who were these youth? And who was the person (or people) that were drawing attention to their cause? This photo is demonstrative of the disconnect between African American and white counterculture youth who kept themselves in separate social spheres during the 1960s.

The center of the hippie activity in the 1960s was the Haight-Ashbury neighborhood located next to the Panhandle and Golden Gate Park in San Francisco. The counterculture who congregated in Haight-Ashbury came from all across the nation. The largest majority of hippies in this neighborhood were white, young adults, with middle class backgrounds; youth from other races and socioeconomic backgrounds made up the rest of the population. Soon after the influx of hippies to Haight-Ashbury, many of these youth left the city for the communes in the countryside.

The commune's "Morningstar Farm" and "Wheeler's Ranch" were located in Sonoma County: about an hour's drive from San Francisco. It was in these communes that hippies sought refuge, a place to freely practice their beliefs. Morningstar's founder and owner, folk singer Lou Gottlieb, met Ramon Sender during the Tripp's festival in January 1966. The Tripp's festival was a three-day music event put on by Ken Kesey that featured the Grateful Dead, lightshows, dancing, strobe lights, and acid spiked punch.<sup>3</sup> During the festival the two men got to talking "about

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<sup>1</sup> Street Rap, Printed by the communication company a member of the underground press syndicate posted in multiple copies on the street, April 20, 1967, "Who are these men?", box 1, folder 6, Hippie Collection, San Francisco Public Library, San Francisco CA.

<sup>2</sup> "Who are these men?", San Francisco Public Library.

<sup>3</sup> Frank Mastropol, "50 Years Ago: Grateful Dead and Big Brother & the Holding Company Begin the Haight-Ashbury Era at the Trips Festival," *Ultimate Classic Rock*, <http://ultimateclassicrock.com/trips-festival/?trackback=tsmclip>

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community and living in the country” when Gottlieb remembered that he owned thirty-two acres in Sonoma County.<sup>4</sup> Shortly after, Ramon and a group of people from the city moved up to the farm. Eventually, repeated attention from law enforcement forced many residents of Morningstar to move to the nearby Wheeler’s Ranch; owned by a dynamic young man, Bill Wheeler. This research began with the question, how far away from social norms did the hippies go when it came to minorities and gender roles? Did segregation happen on communes? Despite being labeled the counterculture, the social constructions of gender and race at Morningstar Farm and Wheeler’s Ranch mirrored mainstream society. White men were the patriarchal leaders, women’s responsibilities were all centered within the domestic sphere, and African Americans ultimately never found relief from racial tensions within the communes.

There are few scholarly works regarding gender on the communes. Race relations in communal life are even fewer. Theodore Roszak coined the term counterculture in his book, *The Making of a Counter Culture: Reflections on the technocratic society and its youthful opposition*. He defines the counterculture as a youth who had interests in “...the psychology of alienation, oriental mysticism, psychedelic drugs, and communitarian experiments [that] comprise a cultural constellation that radically diverges from values and assumptions that have been in the mainstream of our society at least since the Scientific Revolution of the seventeenth century.”<sup>5</sup> Since 1969 scholars have begun to unravel the complexity and various movements within the counterculture, such as the hippies and the New Left. Scholars are now investigating the counterculture not as a unified movement but as a complex social movement with youth participating in various subcultures within the counterculture as the main body.

Timothy Hodgdon published *Manhood in the Age of Aquarius: Masculinity in Two Countercultural Communities, 1965-83* in 2007.<sup>6</sup> Hodgdon looks beyond the cultural stereotypes and seeks to understand “hip-masculinity.”<sup>7</sup> By focusing on two Haight-Ashbury counterculture communities: the Diggers, a kind of anarchist collective known for their free supplies events and prolific informational handbills who: “valorized

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<sup>4</sup> Unohoo, Coyote, Rick, and the Mighty Avengers, *The Morningstar Scrapbook: 'N the Pursuit of Happiness* (Occidental, CA: Friends of Morning Star, 1973), 25.

<sup>5</sup> Theodore Roszak, *The Making of a Counter Culture: Reflections on the Technocratic Society and its Youthful Opposition* (New York: Anchor Books, 1969), xii.

<sup>6</sup> Timothy Hodgdon, *Manhood in the Age of Aquarius: Masculinity in Two Countercultural Communities, 1965-83* (New York, Columbia University Press, 2007), e-book.

<sup>7</sup> Hodgdon, *Manhood in the Age of Aquarius*, paragraph 63-71.

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the manliness of the principled outlaw.”<sup>8</sup> And the Farmies, followers of the self-appointed guru Stephen Gaskin for whom; “vows of marital fidelity and premarital chastity took on significance as spiritual commitment.”<sup>9</sup> For Hodgdon the masculine identity of an individual was not shaped by society but by the collective ideology of the sub sect of the counterculture to which they belonged. His strongest contribution to scholarship is presenting the complexity of the factions within the hippie movement: that factions were divided and had disagreements amongst themselves.

Gretchen Lemke-Santangelo offers a contrasting scholarly work to Timothy Hodgdon’s work about masculinity in the counterculture with her book *Daughters of Aquarius: Women of the Sixties Counterculture*.<sup>10</sup> Published in 2009 Lemke-Santangelo’s work is one of the few scholarly sources that tackles the lives of everyday women in the counterculture of the 1960s.

Lemke-Santangelo’s central argument states, “[Cultural feminism] undergirded many post-1960s social movements and lifestyle shifts... Hippie women, as its co-architects, if not the primary architects, have long been ignored and marginalized, relegated to the sidelines of both the counterculture and women’s movements.”<sup>11</sup> Lemke-Santangelo conducted extensive interviews, to which she refers to throughout the book to strip away the stereotypes showing how everyday women changed the counterculture through exploration of their sexuality, spirituality, and sisterhood. Unlike the previous authors discussed, Lemke-Santangelo devotes a significant portion of her study to examining the influential cultural impact counterculture women made in the 1970s and 80s. These women began the new age movement, became activists, and spread second wave feminism.<sup>12</sup> Lemke-Santangelo argues for the hippie movement across America, showing there is evidence that the effects of this movement were culturally widespread. While the topic is similar to Hodgdon's, *Daughters of Aquarius*’ strengths lay in the sampling of various women from throughout the counterculture instead of just sampling two groups, each with their own distinct traits. This gives the reader a survey of the various roles and identities of the women in the 1960s. While there are very few scholarly works that explore gender within the communes, there are no whole studies or works

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<sup>8</sup> Hodgdon, paragraph 72-77.

<sup>9</sup> Hodgdon, paragraph 283-291.

<sup>10</sup> Gretchen Lemke-Santangelo, *Daughters of Aquarius: Women of the Sixties Counterculture* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2009).

<sup>11</sup> Lemke-Santangelo, *Daughters of Aquarius*, 181.

<sup>12</sup> Lemke-Santangelo, 158.

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dedicated to the experiences of African Americans in the commune. This work intends to explore the racial tension within the communes as well as shed light on the inner workings of gender dynamics.

African Americans' struggles in the communes mirrored the concerns of African Americans in mainstream society. Despite the hippies' message of peace and unity, Haight-Ashbury mirrored the black and white segregation that took place in the rest of the country. On the streets of the Haight information was spread through pamphlets. Referred to as street raps, these were informational pamphlets stapled to telephone poles and glued to walls around the city. The Diggers, the Communication Company, as well as individuals, would put up these street raps whose subjects varied from public safety topic to personal rants about conditions in the Haight. One such street rap was titled *Two page racial Rap*.<sup>13</sup> The writer of the rant Chester Anderson stated, "Haight/Ashbury is the first segregated Bohemia I've ever seen!" He continued to talk about prejudice in the hippie movement, that it should be all-inclusive since, "They probably resent our freedom, both as hippies & whites. They resent our dipping so blithely into their ghetto: we can get out by cutting our hair, most of the know they can never get out."<sup>14</sup> Anderson hinted at the largest divide between the two sets of youth. Hippies were mostly apolitical, and it was simple for them to drop out and back into society when they wanted to. When asked about race in the communes, counterculture author Iris Keltz remembers that there was resentment by the minorities since, "the white kids had been handed the keys to the kingdom and rejected it."<sup>15</sup> As Keltz notes, this created resentment among the African American community who were dealing with ramifications of hundreds of years of racism in America and the controversy regarding the Civil Rights Movement. Many hippies recognized the divide between the races in the counterculture and most wanted everyone together in this new society. Another street rap titled *Freedom Now*, makes the point "WE ARE ALL BROTHERS, because the same God created us and because we are fighting the same struggle against the same enemy. Let's call out common enemy the Man."<sup>16</sup> As

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<sup>13</sup> Street Rap, Chester Anderson, Printed by the communication company a member of the underground press syndicate posted in multiple copies on the street, February 9, 1967 "Two Page racial Rap: in memorium: Malcolm X who died to make us free, too, baby", box 1, folder 6, Hippie Collection, San Francisco Public Library, San Francisco CA.

<sup>14</sup> Street Rap, Chester Anderson, Printed by the communication company a member of the underground press syndicate posted in multiple copies on the street, February 9, 1967 "Two Page racial Rap: in memorium: Malcolm X who died to make us free, too, baby", box 1, folder 6, Hippie Collection, San Francisco Public Library, San Francisco CA.

<sup>15</sup> Interview with Iris Keltz conducted by Ivana Kurak May 2016.

<sup>16</sup> Street Rap, Author Unknown, October 10, 1967 "Freedom Now" box 1, folder 6,

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the hippies left the city for the communes in northern California they attempted to establish an atmosphere that felt welcoming to all people. Despite the sincerity of the hippies open invitation, African Americans rarely settled in the communes. In 1966 singer Nina Simone visited Morningstar and remarked to Lou Gottlieb that there were no black people at Morningstar.<sup>17</sup> Gottlieb replied “Well, what can I do? I want them to come, but we don't invite people. They just show up.”<sup>18</sup>

Eventually African Americans came to the communes of Morningstar and Wheeler's Ranch but the racial tension from San Francisco traveled with them. Fighting became common between the African American men and some of the motorcycle gangs that would visit the farm; and the sheriff's department began to receive its first complaints of violence at Morningstar.<sup>19</sup>

Morningstar co-founder Ramon Sender reflected, "The racial tensions at Morningstar were reflections of a general problem: the majority of Blacks who took acid would bum out. They had been under the thumb of the White Man for so long that the LSD only released all the bitterness and negative feelings."<sup>20</sup> Racial tensions followed the African Americans into the communes.

Bill Wheeler owner of Wheeler's Ranch recalled an African American named Dennis who stole from members of the commune despite the commune's welcoming and tolerant environment. Wheeler remembered, “He and others like him, black and white, had stored up great anger against society and focused this anger on the Open Land community, a pasture of 'sheep' they could fleece with no danger of being busted.”<sup>21</sup> Dennis' internal anger went as far as acting violently towards women, “He was badly hung up on white women, hating them and obsessed by the need to rape them even if they were willing to submit voluntarily. When confronted with his deeds, he said, 'Oh, that white bitch! I saw her going around balling all those guys. She's a whore. She asked for it. She didn't want me 'cause I'm black.’”<sup>22</sup> Despite many negative transgressions between African Americans and commune members, there were some circumstances that ended favorably.

While the racial tensions carried into the communes affected many

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Hippie Collection, San Francisco Public Library, San Francisco CA.

<sup>17</sup> “Chapter Six,” *The Most Photo Scrapbook Family and Friends of Morningstar Ranch and Wheeler's*, <http://laurelrose.com/SCRAPBOOK.HTM>, accessed April 8, 2019.

<sup>18</sup> “Chapter Six,” *The Most Photo Scrapbook*.

<sup>19</sup> “Chapter Six,” *The Most Photo Scrapbook*.

<sup>20</sup> “Chapter Ten,” *The Most Photo Scrapbook Family and Friends of Morningstar Ranch and Wheeler's*, <http://laurelrose.com/SCRAPBOOK.HTM>, accessed April 8, 2019.

<sup>21</sup> “Chapter Ten,” *The Most Photo Scrapbook*.

<sup>22</sup> “Chapter Ten,” *The Most Photo Scrapbook*.

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African Americans, there were exceptions and many "...worked through any hang-ups they had about their race and made a positive contribution."<sup>23</sup> The communes became a place outside of the racially divided American society, a true test of integration. Morningstar was smaller in commune acreage and also has a smaller population than Wheeler's Ridge. Thus, at Morningstar the people who lived there formed an emotionally closer community. John Butler was an African American who was a long-term resident and had made a great impact on his fellow commune members at Morningstar. Sender recalls:

John was a lovely man, with none of the bitterness and hostility of so many other Blacks who came. He wasn't a sparkling talker, but somehow there was nothing more fun than going to John's room, getting stoned and listening to the radio with him. He would bring out his special stash of cookies or weed, making you feel so welcome and special. During the time he lived at the ranch he was arrested at least six times, spending many months in jail.<sup>24</sup>

Communes acted as safe, alternative spaces for people fleeing the dangers of the city. For his friends John became a powerful example of why communes were needed in America. After being arrested and jailed for a total of six months authorities forced Butler off of Morning. Butler then moved back into the city where on February 17, 1969 three members of the Gypsy Jokers Motorcycle Club murdered him.<sup>25</sup> The local paper in Santa Rosa, *The Press Democrat*, ran the headline, "Ex-Morning Star Hippie Murdered," and described the memorial that would take place at Morningstar. In Wheeler and Gottlieb's Open Land Manifesto, they placed a written memorial to John Butler and claimed, "He'd be alive today if he hadn't been forced back into the ghetto."<sup>26</sup> The communes acted as a place that African Americans could potentially start over away from the social and economic ties that constricted them in the mainstream.

Having open land and offering access for everyone was the basis of Morningstar and Wheeler's Ranch core beliefs. Hippies choose to

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<sup>23</sup> "Chapter Ten," *The Most Photo Scrapbook*.

<sup>24</sup> "Chapter Seven, Pam Hannah," *The Most Photo Scrapbook Family and Friends of Morningstar Ranch and Wheeler's*, <http://laurelrose.com/AFRAME3.HTM>, accessed April 8, 2019.

<sup>25</sup> Unohoo, Coyote, Rick, and the Mighty Avengers, "Ex-Morningstar Hippie Murdered," in *The Morningstar Scrapbook: 'N The Pursuit of Happiness*, First Edition (Occidental, CA: Friends of Morning Star, 1973), 131.

<sup>26</sup> Unohoo, Coyote, Rick, and the Mighty Avengers, "Open Land- A manifesto" in *The Morningstar Scrapbook*, 154.

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continue to live in a state of voluntary poverty on the communes. A manifesto by Morningstar's neighbor, Wheeler's Ranch, states that voluntary primitivism is important for humans and may be a solution for how people can deal with the modern world, "The more complex a society becomes the more important it becomes to allow folks to return to ancestral ways whenever the stresses and strains of modern living begin to drive them sick or crazy."<sup>27</sup> Gottlieb stated in his founder's message, "Voluntary Primitivism is the reunion of man with his greater self- God's nature. The living in harmony with the 4 elements. It is a pilot study for the rapidly approaching time when leisure is compulsory."<sup>28</sup>

Similar to the racial tensions of the mainstream that followed the hippies into the commune's mainstream, gender norms were also duplicated in the communes. Men claimed the leadership role of owner and spiritual leaders, while women were regulated to the domestic sphere and held the responsibilities of the necessary everyday operations of the communes. Gottlieb and Wheeler were both wealthy, white men who dominated the key social and public roles within commune culture. Gottlieb's role was described by one of their first residents at Morningstar, a woman named Rain, as, "Lou was there because he was the image of the patriarch, which kind of solved that problem. If we were all a family, then he could be the daddy and we were all happy to have him in that position."<sup>29</sup> A commune member known only as Ben, remembered Gottlieb's portrayal of the commune's leader and patriarch, "Lou seemed such a larger-than-life figure, such a raconteur, but somehow separate from everyone else. He maintained a sort of eminence, like those members of royalty who went out and did archaeological digs at the turn of the century. After supper he'd show up in a white shirt and pants to smoke some dope and give religious instruction."<sup>30</sup> Gottlieb thrived on his role as patriarch. Then Gottlieb and Sender took on the important spiritual leadership of the commune. Sender was convinced that, "many people would come to Morningstar for Enlightenment" and his role there was to lead these people.<sup>31</sup> Gottlieb stated that, "Ramon was the first spiritual aspirant I ever lived with. We

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<sup>27</sup> "Unohoo, Coyote, Rick, and the Mighty Avengers, Voluntary Primitivism," in *The Morningstar Scrapbook*, 159.

<sup>28</sup> Unohoo, Coyote, Rick, and the Mighty Avengers, "Founder's message," in *The Morningstar Scrapbook*, 15.

<sup>29</sup> "Chapter Two," *The Most Photo Scrapbook Family and Friends of Morningstar Ranch and Wheeler's*, <http://laurelrose.com/SCRAPBOOK.HTM>, accessed April 8, 2019.

<sup>30</sup> "Chapter Two," *The Most Photo Scrapbook Family and Friends of Morningstar Ranch and Wheeler's*, <http://laurelrose.com/SCRAPBOOK.HTM>, accessed April 8, 2019.

<sup>31</sup> "Chapter Two," *The Most Photo Scrapbook*.

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began to be co-aspirants, sharing experiences in the investigation of consciousness.<sup>32</sup> Despite referring to the Devine Mother and Lady Mary, women were never elevated to the same status of spiritual leaders and looked to men for spiritual guidance. Sender became such an important part of the spiritual teachings of the commune that when he left, three women sought him out asking him to come back, “implying in a somewhat flattering way that the place needed my [Sender’s] energies.”<sup>33</sup> Spirituality remained firmly in the control of men. The commune’s practice of religious control by males was similar to Christian patriarchs in mainstream society. Gottlieb was frequently mentioned in the press to solidify his public persona outside the commune. *The Press Democrat* ran a series of articles with titles such as “Gottlieb Signs Complaints”, “Gottlieb’s Vision Of A New Society,” and, “Gottlieb’s Day in Court; God Loses.”<sup>34</sup>

While men had a very public role outside the commune as well as their roles within the commune, women remained firmly within the domestic sphere. Women on the communes, took care of the children, cooked the food, and rarely left. Their chief responsibility on the commune was making sure people were fed. A commune graduate named Rain initially took over the role of cook. Ramon Sender’s girlfriend Gina stated, "Rain was a marvelously domestic woman, a wonderful cook. She made the place pretty and began to cook amazing macrobiotic meals. We began to feel good physically."<sup>35</sup> After Rain left, a Digger woman named Cindy took over the cooking for the camp at Morningstar.<sup>36</sup> Women took on the responsibility of raising the younger children since men would often leave the commune, “Fathers went out & got stuff; they would score food if they had a car & bring it back. Mostly, women took care of the little kids & fathers were around for the older kids.”<sup>37</sup> Conversations about childrearing were commonplace among women at Morningstar. Pam Reed remembers the first time another mother named Bea moved to Morningstar. Bea and Pam Read became fast friends who spoke of all counterculture concerns, “Beatrice was into

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<sup>32</sup> “Chapter Two,” *The Most Photo Scrapbook*.

<sup>33</sup> “Chapter Eight,” *The Most Photo Scrapbook Family and Friends of Morningstar Ranch and Wheeler’s*, <http://laurelrose.com/AFRAME3.HTM>, accessed April 8, 2019.

<sup>34</sup> Unohoo, Coyote, Rick, and the Mighty Avengers, “Gottlieb Signs Complaints,” “Gottlieb’s Vision of New Society,” “Gottlieb’s Day in Court; God Loses,” in *The Morningstar Scrapbook*, 72,73,169.

<sup>35</sup> “Chapter Two,” *The Most Photo Scrapbook Family and Friends of Morningstar Ranch and Wheeler’s*, <http://laurelrose.com/SCRAPBOOK.HTM>, accessed April 8, 2019.

<sup>36</sup> “Pam Hannah,” *The Most Photo Scrapbook Family and Friends of Morningstar Ranch and Wheeler’s*, <http://laurelrose.com/SCRAPBOOK.HTM>, accessed April 8, 2019.

<sup>37</sup> Interview with Pam Read conducted by Ivana Kurak March 2016- June 2016.

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theorizing as much as Lou was, and we had some long and lively discussions about ideas of utopia and child raising, and relationships and how it's not cool to rip off other people's energy and how it IS cool to contribute to the exponential increase of community energy — stuff like that.”<sup>38</sup> While men went off the commune, women's time was occupied on commune property with child rearing. Another responsibility that kept women from leaving the commune was the preoccupation with growing the food for the commune. Pam Reed was the first women to begin a garden at Morningstar and noted, “I planted radishes and swiss chard and turnips and mustard greens, then corn and beans and tomatoes and squash. Everything grew from day to day like those time-exposure nature videos you see on PBS.”<sup>39</sup> The gardens the women made were the only source of vegetables for the residents unless individuals traded or earned enough money to buy them on their own. Women's roles on the commune were essential for the health of members in the communes.

The counterculture dropped out of society to form what they believed to be a better version of society. For the hippies, the communes were to be a kind of utopia that was pure. What the hippies did not realize at the time is that they had based their society off the of gender and race norms of mainstream society. African Americans could not escape racial tensions, land owning men held the greatest power in the communes, taking on the important roles of owners and spiritual leaders, and women maintained the daily tasks that kept the communes running. My research began with the question: How far away from social norms did the hippies go when it came to minorities and gender roles? Did segregation happen on communes? There are few scholarly works that dedicate themselves to the experiences of gender roles and race in the counterculture. Research shows that race and gender constructions in the communes mirrored those same constructions of the mainstream. Segregation within the communes and the experiences of African American women seldom appeared in my investigation. Further research is needed to understand what role race played within the female structures of the communes.

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<sup>38</sup> “Pam Hannah,” *The Most Photo Scrapbook Family and Friends of Morningstar Ranch and Wheeler's*, <http://laurelrose.com/SCRAPBOOK.HTM>, accessed April 8, 2019.

<sup>39</sup> “Pam Hannah,” *The Most Photo Scrapbook Family and Friends of Morningstar Ranch and Wheeler's*, <http://laurelrose.com/AFRAME3.HTM>, access April 8, 2019.

**THE MAKING OF MODERN INDIA: INTERACTIONS  
BETWEEN ISLAMIC AND INDIAN CULTURE**

By Julia Smith

The last millennium of Indian culture saw the arrival of Islamic culture into the Indian subcontinent and Indic society. The following centuries saw the rise and fall of Islamic empires that spanned most of the Indian subcontinent, such as the Delhi Sultanate and the Mughal Empire. Contrary to the myths promulgated by Hindu nationalists, the introduction of Islamic culture did not destroy traditional Indic culture or usher in a catastrophic era of cultural and political decline in the Indian subcontinent. Rather, Indic culture persisted and even made important contributions to the knowledge of Islamic culture, not limited to but including astronomy, medicine, and religion. Islamic culture even adopted certain political practices of Indic culture. Continuity better reflects what happened to Indian culture—Islamic civilization was not a destructive force that eclipsed prior Indian culture. The interactions between Indic and Islamic culture did not rupture the rich histories and traditions of Indian culture. Indian culture and civilization continued, still very much Indic in character.

Political Structures and Practices

The political structures and practices of Indic civilization were not irrevocably changed—some practices that were distinctly Indic in character remained. Hindu nationalists levy accusations that Islamic culture is rife with oppression, "...of Hindus slain for disputing with Muhammadans...and of other intolerant measures, of idols mutilated, of temples razed..."<sup>1</sup> This previous quote is the crux of the Hindu nationalist argument that Muslims created and maliciously employed the practice en masse to denigrate and destroy the Hindu religion. This

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<sup>1</sup> Richard M. Eaton, "Temple Desecration in Pre-Modern India (Part I)," *Frontline*, December 22, 2000, December 2000, accessed December 4, 2018, <https://frontline.thehindu.com/static/html/fl1725/17250620.htm>. 62.

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narrative is replicated in nationalist talking points: that the oppressive Muslims destroyed 60,000 temple monuments.<sup>2</sup> The reality of Indo-Muslim temple desecration is tame by comparison. Richard Eaton's analysis of contemporary sources "...spanning a period of more than five centuries (1192-1729), one may identify eighty instances of temple desecration..."<sup>3</sup> While the number of temples desecrated between the years 1192-1729 may be low, that number cannot speak for the motivation behind Muslim rulers desecrating the temples of their Hindu subjects. While Hindu nationalists claim that temple desecration was purely an act of religious bigotry and malice, the motivations behind temple desecration by Muslim sovereigns are more complex. The historian Richard Eaton argues that, "early medieval Indian history abounds in instances of temple desecration that occurred amidst inter-dynastic conflicts."<sup>4</sup> The political practice of desecrating the temples of political opponents and carrying off their patron gods or goddesses was a practice rooted in *Indic* culture. Indian politics formulated legitimate kingship deriving from the mortal king's relationship with their patron deity. This deity also had a relationship with the temple dedicated to it. If a temple, holy icon, or image of a deity was broken or disappeared of its own accord, it was the god showing displeasure, and thus called the king's legitimacy as a ruler into question. Prior to the arrival of Muslim conquerors, Hindu kings participated in temple desecration. In his *Temple Desecration in Pre-Modern India*, historian Richard Eaton speaks of Indian kings committing temple desecration in the seventh century, "...king Narasimhavarman I looted the image of Ganesha from the Chalukyan capital...those same Chalukyas...brought back...images of Ganga and Yamuna."<sup>5</sup> As Eaton's passage shows, Islam had not arrived in the Indian subcontinent in seventh century C.E., thus temple desecration between two Hindu rulers stemmed from Indic political practices rather than Hindu rulers adopting behavior from Islamic rulers. Initially, Islamic conquerors raided temples for financial reasons, rather than purely religious ones. India was rich compared to Central Asia, and Hindu temples were laden with valuable offerings to the patron deities within. The spoils gained from raided temples could fund a Muslim ruler's military expenditures. The Afghani Ghaznavid ruler Mahmud understood raiding Indian temples was a profitable endeavor, "[Mahmud's] raid on Somnath alone brought in twenty million dinars'

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<sup>2</sup> Eaton, "Temple Desecration," 66.

<sup>3</sup> Eaton, 66.

<sup>4</sup> Eaton, 65.

<sup>5</sup> Eaton, 65.

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worth of spoil.”<sup>6</sup> When Hindu temples became subject to Indo-Muslim governance and jurisdiction, the motivation for temple desecration shifted from the financial to the political. Case in point: Mughal Shah Jahangir desecrated the temple belonging to the uncle of Rana Amar, who was Shah Jahangir’s bitterest enemy. Shah Jahangir’s decision to desecrate the temple was not due to any animosity for Hinduism, but to punish his political rival.<sup>7</sup> Thus the practice of temple desecration shifted. Certain rulers of Indo-Muslim states now desecrated temples to punish political dissidents and discourage rebellion: not, however, to maliciously destroy the Hindu religion.

Muslim rulers only came in to desecrate Hindu temples for the political reasons as Hindu rulers: to delegitimize their political rivals. When the Muslim Ghurids sought to establish their power by annexing their territory, or deposing a king, they sought to destroy the temples so that the raj in question would remove “...a defeated raja from the most prominent manifestation of his former legitimacy.”<sup>8</sup> Eaton’s examples of early medieval Chalukyans plundering the icons of Ganga and Yamuna from their enemies show that the practice of temple desecration was not an innovation introduced by Muslim conquerors. Hindus had been practicing temple desecration long before Turkic Muslims arrived in the subcontinent. Muslim kings merely adopted the political tactics of their Hindu counterparts. The political practice of temple desecration was thus an aspect of Indic culture that persisted and was in fact adopted by Turkic Muslims. The narrative that the Turkic Muslim conquerors had defanged the political power of India through the purely Muslim innovation of mass-temple desecration is false. Temple desecration was an Indic political practice that, for all intents and purposes, continued despite the arrival of a completely different culture.

## Science

The realm of the sciences saw new medical knowledge when Islamic culture came to India. The arrival of the Greco-Islamic medical tradition of Unani to Indian culture introduced a completely new medical tradition to Indian medicine. Unani is a medical tradition that originated from Greek and Roman doctors. That medical knowledge crossed over to Iran, where Islamic doctors incorporated Indian ethnobotanical knowledge; author Stewart Gordon’s article *Unani: Medicine’s Greco-Islamic Synthesis* mentions that Ibn Sina’s medical text *Canon* included a,

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<sup>6</sup> Eaton, 63.

<sup>7</sup> Eaton, 74.

<sup>8</sup> Eaton, 64.

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“...number of tropical plants and derivatives—some three dozen or more, many from India.”<sup>9</sup> The Mughal Empire brought Islamic practitioners of Unani into the Indian subcontinent. But Unani was not the sole medical tradition present in the Indian subcontinent. Before Unani, India had Ayurveda, which already had a storied past and contained medical knowledge that Unani practitioners were not yet exposed to. It was Ayurveda that introduced the concept of chakra (energy that flows through the body) and several hundred plants endemic to India which could be used in medicine.<sup>10</sup> In the Mughal Empire, Unani and Ayurvedic practitioners could collaborate and compare their respective medical traditions. There was significant cooperation between practitioners of Unani and Ayurveda, as Stewart Gordon describes, “In these ways, each medical tradition learned from the other.”<sup>11</sup> Both medical traditions were not diametrically opposed to one another due to religion. Rather, Unani and Ayurveda worked alongside the other, and sometimes co-opted the ingredients, beliefs, and techniques of one tradition into the other tradition. Unani, while distinct from Ayurveda, was nonetheless influenced by Ayurveda. Without Islamic and Indic influence, Unani would not be the fully developed medical practice that it is today or recognized by India as part of the five alternative medical systems, alongside Ayurveda. Unani is thus a medical tradition that is a synthesis of Islamic and Indic medical traditions and is now a culturally Indian medical tradition. Ultimately, Unani is a product of a blended Islamic-Indic culture, with the Indian medical tradition of Ayurveda providing significant contributions to Unani’s corpus of knowledge.

Unani is not the only scientific tradition that is influenced by Islamic and Indic cultures; astronomy is also an overlooked aspect of Indic culture. Hindu raj and scientist, Jai Singh II, was influenced by Ptolemy’s mathematical text *Almagest*, which Jai Singh commissioned his assistant, Jagannath, to translate. According to historian Paul Lunde in his article, *Jai Singh and the Jantar Mantar* was, “...from the Arabic translation, probably in one of its revised forms, that Jagannath prepared the Sanskrit version.”<sup>12</sup> Jai Singh was undoubtedly influenced by Islamic culture, not just translations of Greek works into Arabic, but also original

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<sup>9</sup> Stewart Gordon, "Unani: Medicine's Greco-Islamic Synthesis," *Saudi Aramco World*, March/April 2014, accessed December 4, 2018, <http://archive.aramcoworld.com/issue/201402/unani.medicine.s.greco-islamic.synthesis.htm>.

<sup>10</sup> Gordon, "Unani."

<sup>11</sup> Gordon, "Unani."

<sup>12</sup> Paul Lunde, "Jai Singh and the Jantar Mantar," *Saudi Aramco World*, March/April 1991, accessed December 4, 2018, <https://archive.aramcoworld.com/issue/199102/jai.singh.and.the.jantar.mantar.htm>

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contributions by Islamic astronomers. In the fifteenth century, Turkestani Muslim ruler Ulugh Beg was captivated by science; Ulugh patronized Muslim astronomers and built an observatory in Samarkand. Ulugh Beg's patronage of the sciences bore fruit; Muslim astronomers in Samarkand created *The Tables of Ulugh Beg*, one of the most accurate star catalogues produced at the time. It was "the *Tables of Ulugh Beg*...catalogue of 1018 fixed stars prepared under Ulugh Beg's auspices was the most accurate..." that caught Jai Singh's attention.<sup>13</sup> Jai Singh aimed to rectify what he (correctly) believed were errors in the star catalogue. In contrast to the small astronomy instruments used by Islamic astronomers, Jai Singh invented several larger astronomical instruments to accurately catalogue the stars. Although Lunde writes, "It is also possible...that he had descriptions of similar instruments used in Ulugh Beg's observatory..."<sup>14</sup> Even so, Jai Singh's updated star catalogue and his newly created astronomy instruments were unlike anything in India at the time. India's scientific advances in astronomy had strong Islamic roots, but Indian scientists such as Jai Singh made important contributions to star catalogues, built astronomical instruments, and further refined the science of astronomy.

### Religious Developments and Relations

The religious developments of India were subject to change, yet nonetheless retained Indic roots. Poetry was one way to express of religious devotion, and both Islamic and Hindu poets adopted sensual, romantic imagery to describe the relationship between man and the divine. Jalal al-Din Rumi's poetry is impassioned, and he exults in the love God and man have for each other. In Rumi's Islamic poem, *Allah's Call*, the poet speaks of the relationship between man and the divine, "When God appears to His ardent lover the lover is absorbed in Him, and not so much as a hair of the lover remains..."<sup>15</sup> Rumi's poetry shows the totalizing, all-encompassing love that both man and the divine have for each other. This theme is echoed in Indic culture's poets as well. The Hindu poet Vidyapati spoke of religious devotion to a God through sensual poetry bordering on the erotic. Like Rumi, Vidyapati spoke of religious devotion to Krishna as a totalizing, omnipresent love. In Vidyapati's *Love Songs to Krishna*, the poet speaks of the devotion a

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<sup>13</sup> Lunde, "Jai Singh."

<sup>14</sup> Lunde, "Jai Singh."

<sup>15</sup> Jalal Ad-Din Rumi, "Medieval Sourcebook: Jalal Ad-Din Rumi (1207-1273 CE): From The Masnavi, C. 1250 CE," Internet History Sourcebooks, 1998, accessed December 04, 2018, <http://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/halsall/source/1250rumi-masnavi.html>.

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follower of Krishna must have, "All my inhibition left me...when he robbed me of my clothes, but his body became my new dress..."<sup>16</sup> For both Rumi and Vidyapati, the divine is something that the mortal believer must devote him/herself to utterly.

This concept of totalizing, torrid devotion is rooted in Indic culture. Adi Shankara's concept of Advaita Vedanta saw no separation between the soul and Brahman. In Shankara's *Crest-Jewel of Discrimination*, the sage says, "Liberation is achieved not by observances or by analysis, nor by deeds or learning, but only by the realisation of one's oneness with God..."<sup>17</sup> Oneness with God is a popular concept in medieval Indic religion. Shankara's Advaita Vedanta philosophy paved the way for the Bhakti (devotion) movement in Indian culture, which flowered in late medieval India. The Bhakti movement was characterized by private worship and personal devotion to a favored deity. In Bhakti, the devotee cultivated a passionate relationship with their deity of choice.<sup>18</sup> The intimate relationship between devotee and deity was spoken of in terms of a romantic relationship (this relationship sometimes contained elements of eroticism, as evidenced by Vidyapati's devotional poetry to Krishna.) This Indic aspect of devotion is not lost on Islamic poetry; Rumi exhorts others to cultivate this inner, personal devotion, "The only true mosque is that in the hearts of saints...that is built in the hearts of the saints."<sup>19</sup> Rumi, a Muslim, is similar to the Hindu poet Vidyapati in that Rumi also speaks of man and the divine in terms of a romantic relationship. In his poem *Lover's Cry to The Beloved*, Rumi writes, "O Beloved One, come and stroke my head in mercy...Sleep has deserted my eyes/Through my longing for Thee..."<sup>20</sup> The impassioned relationship and intense devotion the subject (man) shows to the beloved (the divine) is a theme that is strongly connected to Bhakti roots. Thus, equating the reunion or union between the divine and man was grounded in Indian culture, their precursors embodied in Advaita Vedanta and the Bhakti movement. The intensive religious devotion and the (re)union of man and divine are two themes that derive from Indic religious philosophies and persist despite a new and totally different religion arriving in the Indian subcontinent.

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<sup>16</sup> Vidyapati, "Vidyapati (1352?-1448): Love Songs to Krishna," The Website of Prof. Paul Briens, accessed December 04, 2018, <https://briens.wsu.edu/2016/11/14/vidyapati-1352-1448-love-songs-to-krishna/>.

<sup>17</sup> Adi Shankara, "Vivekachudamani," Realization.org, accessed December 04, 2018, <https://realization.org/p/vivekachudamani/richards/richards.1.html>.

<sup>18</sup> John Keay, *India: A History*, 2nd ed. (London: Harper Collins, 2010). 219.

<sup>19</sup> Jalal Ad-Din Rumi, "Medieval Sourcebook.

<sup>20</sup> Jalal Ad-Din Rumi, "Medieval Sourcebook.

## Conclusion

Islamic civilization was different in that it had the political and religious power comparable with Indic civilization—apart from Persian culture, all other cultures were absorbed, and their religions eclipsed by Indic religions. With time, *mleccha* or ‘outsider’ groups like the Greeks and the Huns adopted Indian names, spoke Indic languages, dressed in Indian clothing, and converted to Buddhism, Jainism, or the Brahmanical religion. Islamic civilization, however, proved different. Muslims in India persisted and thrived. They established their own places of worship, retained Islamic names, spoke Persian and Arabic, and founded powerful political entities like the Delhi Sultanate and the Mughal Empire. For Hindu nationalists, the fact that Indic civilization, religion, and culture could not totally assimilate Islamic civilization is a source of shame. Hence the need to fabricate a narrative suitable to supporters of Hindutva: summarized by Barbara Metcalf as, “There was once a Hindu golden age; Muslims came as foreign invaders; Muslims were oppressors who ultimately ushered in a period of decline.”<sup>21</sup>

But the truth of the matter is that Islamic civilization did not subsume Indian civilization or kick-start an era of ‘Indian decline.’ Indian civilization continued, albeit with the introduction of new types of medical and scientific knowledge. For instance, Unani’s arrival to India brought it in contact with Ayurveda and the extensive ethnobotany of India. The introduction of Muslim knowledge of astronomy led Hindu ruler Jai Singh to invent new astronomical instruments to accurately calculate the position of the stars. The introduction of new knowledge was an opportunity for Indian civilization to refine, innovate, and add to the existing corpus of religious and scientific knowledge. In the case of religion, the Bhakti movement’s emphasis on personal devotion and Advaita Vedanta philosophy’s assertion of the oneness of God produced passionate devotional poetry by Hindu poets. The devotional poetry of Hindu poets like Vidyapati later influenced the religious poetry of Muslim poets. With regards to politics, Indian civilization influenced Islamic civilization: temple desecration was originally an Indic practice. Muslims first used temple desecration to finance their military pursuits. Later, when Indo-Muslim states such as the Mughal Empire were in power, temple desecration was used to punish rebellious officers. Interactions between Islamic and Indic culture produced scientific

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<sup>21</sup> Barbara D. Metcalf. "Presidential Address: Too Little and Too Much: Reflections on Muslims in the History of India." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 54, no. 4 (November 1995): 951-67. Accessed December 4, 2018. doi:10.2307/2059955. 952.

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advances and new forms of religious devotion. In many cases, Indic culture influenced Islamic culture. In short, early modern and modern Indian civilization did not suffer a rupture with traditional Indian civilization. Furthermore, Indian civilization did not suffer a decline because of Islamic civilization and culture. Knowledge from Islamic culture contributed to the medical and scientific knowledge of India. Rather, Indian civilization continued in much the same way prior to the arrival of Muslims to the subcontinent.

**THE STEBBINSES: A JOURNEY OF PURITANICAL  
RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AND AN AMERICAN LEGACY**

By Caitlin Stebbins

In 2018, the American public was exposed to footage of smoke bombs being thrown at children and adults trying to come to the US for asylum from violence in Central America. When I first saw those images, I could not help but wonder how Americans have forgotten or blatantly ignored how and why they themselves are here today. Truth be told, the earliest non-indigenous settlers of North America *did not*, in fact, come here legally. Washing up on the shores of the East Coast, they themselves did not ask permission from those who were here first. However, they stayed, and our America stands in 2018 denying the *legal* asylum of humans just like their ancestors. While this written piece is not on the inhumanity of modern American immigration, it is valuable as a piece for those of us who were lucky enough to get to America before it became virtually impossible for most.

I came about this subject when I wanted to look back on my family history to see where and whom I came from. To know one's history is very humbling and can be equally empowering. As an American who grew up in Southern California, there was always a large group of fairly recent immigrants in my immediate community. The children I went to school with were usually a second or maybe third generation American, and still could speak their native tongue and their families still practiced cultural traditions from their native land. They knew where they came from. They experienced, to some degree, the effects of leaving one lifestyle and moving into a completely different one. The struggles of their parents and grandparents were not taken for granted by my peers. In fact, a sort of camaraderie seemed to grow among my second and third generation, American peers. With all that in mind, I too wanted to feel that connection to my pre-American past, even if it was long ago.

The common narrative of documented history, however, is classically based around leaders and prominent figures. It is very valuable to learn the narrative of the "common man" because, without it, the greater scope of history is unnecessarily lost. From the following

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research, I have found that my own ancestors came to America in 1634, long before a “United States” even existed. I am logically supposed to be in the group of people who feel some deep connection to America, but I know this only as a land my ancestors adopted. While I have great pride in many aspects of the country I grew up in, I do not condone the repercussions my ancestors brought upon this country from their immigration. I will, however, approach the telling of the Stebbins family immigration as something that is done and over with *but* is very valuable to the modern American consciousness and to documented history.

The migration of sixteenth century peoples across land and sea provide narratives that point out the commonality of very human struggles towards retaining one’s culture and personal identity. While my ancestor’s immigration story to the United States is from the 1600s and not from fairly recent decades, that human struggle is still very much relevant and relatable. For many very established Americans, such as myself, it may not be very common to discuss cultural identity as deeply, but through the research and composition of this piece, it will highlight meaningful aspects of immigration and will give the reader something to ponder and hopefully relate to.

Including the introduction, this written piece will be broken down into six sections. After the introduction is my secondary source analysis that serves as my nod to the secondary sources that I used to get a background to my research, and an explanation on what I will do to add to that early American colonial history. In the following three sections, I delve deeper into my topic. The first section is entitled “Pre-New World,” which will lay out the precursors to my ancestor’s immigration from England to the New World. Secondly, “Life in the New World” will describe early Stebbins’ experiences as newer arrivals in a “New World.” Thirdly, the “Legacy” section will showcase the effect the early Stebbinses had on their descendants and lightly touches on how they helped lay the framework for many people to immigrate to America later on. Lastly, the conclusion will tie together the previous three sections to give the reader more to ponder in their own consciousness as a modern American.

### Secondary Literature Review

The secondary literature consulted for the Stebbins’ immigration story vary in subject, time period and origin, but this mirrors the complexity of American immigration. As stated previously, this piece is written chronologically and the types of histories range dramatically according to the time period covered. Categories of history that were

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consulted vary from broad subjects such as British history and American Colonial history to specific subjects such as Puritanism and genealogy. The following secondary sources gave it the framework to provide context to the Stebbins' American immigration story and legacy.

A large portion of the time period covered in this piece was encapsulated in the book *Migration and the origins of the English Atlantic World* by Alison Games at Georgetown University. The book was published by Harvard University Press in 1999, which makes this still a fairly modern treatment of the subject. Starting in England, Games then worked her way into the immigration of the English and ended in the early years of the New England colonies. She also used a few examples of immigrants from 1635, which for my purposes gives me a great comparison to the Stebbinses who came in 1634. However, it is important to point out that our pieces are intended for different purposes. She took a more general approach to early English immigration while using a few examples, however, I am choosing to use the Stebbins' as the main focus of my piece while using her historical context as a framework for the Stebbins' surroundings. She provided a great leaping off point for this piece.

Accidentally discovered in the assigned readings for my North American History class, was the work *The Unredeemed Captive: A Family Story from English America* by historian John Demos. In telling the story of a preacher trying to reclaim his daughter after the Massacre in Deerfield, Massachusetts in 1704, Demos includes the mention of a Benoni Stebbins. While the treatment of this character was brief, the setting in which Benoni was living is highly valuable to reconstructing the narrative of the Stebbinses in the early colonial years. Some of the quotes that Demos uses about the pastor of which he is writing come from the Pastor's diary and Demos uses the entire context in which the pastor lived to lend meaning to his story. In that, Demos' work and mine are similar.

In keeping with the story of the Deerfield Massacre and Benoni Stebbins' participation, Richard I. Melvoin wrote the piece *New England Outpost: War and Society in Colonial Deerfield*. Instead of only focusing on one family like Demos, Melvoin is giving a broader history of Deerfield as a settlement that was very much on the outskirts of the English territory in the New World. Again, Benoni is only spoken of in a few key passages, but Melvoin provides a deeper insight into the historical context in which Benoni lived.

In *Images of English Puritanism: A Collection of Contemporary Sources, 1589-1646*, compiler, author and editor Lawrence A. Sasek

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compiled various documents to form a cohesive study on English Puritanism. Sasek wrote introductions to each document to provide context and background to their significance and role in history. One document from this book, *The Millenary Petition* dated 1603, provided preceding commentary that was useful, as stated before, to give me context as to the document was significant to the conditions Puritans were facing in England at that time.

The most crucial secondary source was *The Stebbins Genealogy: Volume 1* by Ralph Stebbins Greenlee. This is the ultimate compilation of Stebbins genealogy that any Stebbins, historian or genealogist, could ask for. It does give some information on the people who will be analyzed in this piece, but it does not give a more intimate look into the lives of each person. It tends to be a little dry as it generally only gives information such as birth and death dates, marriages, children, parents, and plain facts. These facts are very important because they gave me the framework for me to research the first generation American Stebbinses. One hundred plus years have passed since it was originally published in 1904, and thusly many generations are now left out. However, it provided easy access to nearly 400 years of names to get back to the first generation.

### Pre-New World

Early seventeenth-century England was engulfed in religious conflict. With Europe reeling from the Protestant Reformation and England kicking out the Catholic Church and replacing it with the Anglican Church in the sixteenth century, those living in seventeenth century England were no strangers to religious tension. To add salt to the wound, the English throne changed hands from 1509, when Henry VIII was crowned, to 1625, when Charles I was crowned, a grand total of seven times. With these seemingly constant changes of power came multiple changes of churches the country would claim as valid and legal. England bounced back and forth between Catholicism, and Anglicanism, all while Protestantism and many other denominations of Christianity were still trying to survive persecution.

In England, the Stebbins family was but one of the countless families who had to navigate tumultuous governmental, religious and social chaos caused in part by the leaders and prominent figures of their time. The Stebbins family was still in England until 1634. In the years leading up to their emigration, the English government and monarchy established the rules of what religions and religious practices were legal and socially acceptable. However, Puritans did not just lay down

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and accept the rules that would hurt them and their faith. Signed by roughly 750 ministers, dated in the year 1603 and addressed to King James I of England, Puritans and others of similar beliefs wrote the document entitled the *Millenary Petition*.<sup>1</sup> This petition can be seen as more of a reasoning tool and plea from Puritans to the King for a rethinking of the Anglican Church. They ask, “that these offenses following, some may be removed, some amended, some qualified.”<sup>2</sup> Some of the pleas for change in the Anglican Church include: keeping the Lord’s day, Sundays, only for rest; allowing ministers to wed; and insisting that the church not discipline based on political games but according to “Christ’s own institution.”<sup>3</sup> This document is but one of possibly hundreds of pleas to the crown for religious toleration.

The degree of risk Puritans had to take to dare question the King’s decisions as head of the Anglican Church was quite high. With that risk in mind, it becomes very clear that Puritans were willing because such a strong faith was driving them, in their own estimation, to purify the Church. This is but one instance that illustrates to what degree Puritans were ready to do whatever it may take to live the way they believed as correct. The *Millenary Petition* got its name because it was thought to have been signed by up to one thousand ministers, but as stated previously it was signed by most likely about seven hundred and fifty. While the Stebbins family is not explicitly mentioned in the document, with such a large number of minister’s signatures, the agreed changes to the Anglican Church would have been widespread ideas and would have been influencing the family. Rowland and Sarah Stebbins, the first-generation Americans, would have been eleven and twelve years old when this document was submitted to the King, thus it is logical to assume that their parents were of the generation pleading to the king and at the same time teaching their children Puritanical ideals. The *Millenary Petition* was in no doubt well intended by the Puritans who sent it to King James I, but it was not received very well. In fact, *The Book of Sport* originally written by King James I in 1618 CE, and added upon by his son King Charles I in 1633, explicitly undermines some of the pleas the Puritans asked for in the *Millenary Petition*.<sup>4</sup> King James I states in his declaration in the reissue of *The Book of Sport* that,

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<sup>1</sup> Lawrence A. Sasek, *Images of English Puritanism: A Collection of Contemporary Sources 1589-1646*. (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), 337.

<sup>2</sup> Sasek, *Images of English Puritanism*, 339.

<sup>3</sup> Sasek, 339-340.

<sup>4</sup> Henry Gee and W.J. Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History* (New York: reprint by Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1966), 528.

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“In his return from Scotland (King Charles I)... found that his subjects were debarred from lawful recreations upon Sundays after evening prayers ended... He prudently considered that, if these times were taken away from them the meaner sort of labour hard all the week should have no recreations at all to refresh their spirits.”<sup>5</sup>

Many Americans today would agree that a day to have rest and or recreation will refuel a person for their work week ahead. To Puritans, however, this statement goes straight against their wishes of rest on the Lord’s Day and is a great example of the monarchy ignoring pleas as seen in documents such as the *Millenary Petition*.

The preceding quote by King James I and much of the same document does not say that Puritans or any other royal subject must partake in sport on Sundays; however, sport is being encouraged by what should be the leader of the Church of England. King James I then goes on to say:

“Our pleasure likewise is, that the bishop of the diocese take the like strait order with all the Puritans and Precisians within the same, either constraining them to conform themselves or to leave the country, according to the laws of our kingdom and canons of our Church.”<sup>6</sup>

It is here that a direct order is being made to suppress Puritanical beliefs, a signal that the Church of England is finally rejecting Puritanical influence once and for all. Refocusing on the Stebbins family, they left England in 1634 CE, and *The Book of Sport* was issued in 1618 and reissued in 1633 CE. While the dates could be coincidental -- we cannot know if the Stebbins family was already planning to come to the New World before its publication -- it would be logical to assume that this was at least in part a catalyst for them to leave, as the King so required of non-conformists.

The years leading up to the Great Puritan Migration of the 1620s to 1640s had been a culmination of the repeated, yet failed, attempts of Puritans to find their place in English society and church. Historian and Reverend J. Gregory in 1896 wrote, “The readiness with which the Royal charter was granted is doubtless explained by Charles’ desire to rid himself of those who had become to him and his government a source of

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<sup>5</sup> Gee and Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, 528.

<sup>6</sup> Gee and Hardy, 530.

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trouble and annoyance.”<sup>7</sup> By the time King Charles I was reigning, Puritanism was appearing not to dwindle away, and it would be much easier for everyone involved if Puritans were out of sight. The Stebbins family would be only one of the thousands that would leave England with similar values and thusly the Great Puritan Migration was underway.

### Life in the New World

The Stebbins family would sail the ocean blue on *The Francis* from Ipswich, Suffolk to New England in April 1634.<sup>8</sup> The Stebbins family included parents Rowland and Sarah, and children Thomas, Sarah, Elizabeth and John.<sup>9</sup> With children ranging in ages four to eleven it makes one wonder what would be worth such a sacrifice to cross an imaginably large ocean with the unknown waiting for you at the other side. As stated before, the Puritanical religion had to be a big driving force for the Stebbinses and families like them. It is clear that they chose to bring their whole family to the New World because they want their loved ones surrounded by a lifestyle that was of their belief system. Yes, they probably could have stayed in England and tried to live as close to the bible as they could, but to have those “bad” influences around their children and the threat of more direct persecution may not have been worth staying.

While these names, dates and historically based assumptions are very interesting to a descendant such as myself, what speaks in volumes are the real-life accounts of what they and the first few generations went through. In a genealogical account of Samuel Stebbins (son of Thomas Stebbins, and wife Hannah Stebbins), by an unnamed grandson of his, his character is analyzed. Samuel was born in 1646 just ten years after the founding of the now well-known Springfield, Massachusetts. He is described as, “a kind and tender husband... affectionate and bountiful father... laborious in several callings... [and] frugal with his expenses... so he might better provide for her and the numerous offspring.”<sup>10</sup> From

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<sup>7</sup> Rev. J. Gregory, *Puritanism in the Old World and in the New: From its Inception in the Reign of Elizabeth to the Establishment of the Puritan Theocracy in New England* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1896), 251.

<sup>8</sup> “Great Migration: Passengers of the Francis 1634,” Geni a Genealogical Website, accessed on October 25, 2018, <https://www.geni.com/projects/Great-Migration-Passengers-of-the-Francis-1634/12900>

<sup>9</sup> Great Migration: Passengers of the Francis 1634,” Geni a Genealogical Website.

<sup>10</sup> Luke Stebbins, *A Genealogical Catalogue of the Family of Mr. Samuel Stebbins and Hannah Stebbins, His Wife: From the Year 1707 to the Year 1771. With their Names,*

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this description of Samuel, he seems to be a very kind person; a deeper reading shows him to be exemplifying a very godly man of Puritanical beliefs. For example, Samuel continued in this tradition and belief of not working or having leisure on the Lord's Day. The Stebbins grandson said that "We all may remember what Veneration he shewed for the Lord's Day; beginning it soon after sunset, allowed nor any worldly Conversation till the Sabbath was ended."<sup>11</sup> This meant that being the good Puritan Samuel was, he had to be a hard worker. This detail itself is very significant because we are seeing that the sacrifices that his grandparents and father made defying proclamations such as *The Book of Sport*, and coming to the New World, coming to fruition through Samuel being an exemplary Puritan.

For some context, the first one hundred and fifty years or so the Stebbinses lived in the new world, the United States was still not its own sovereign nation and was very much still in its colonial stage. North America was still split between the French, Native American tribes, and the English, among others, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Stebbinses were living in increasingly tense multicultural and political times. In fact, on February 29, 1704, in Deerfield Massachusetts, English settlers there were attacked in the early morning by the French who also teamed up with primarily Abenaki Native Americans.<sup>12</sup> This was during Queen Anne's War when the French and English were fighting for domination of North America, and Deerfield happened to be right at the edge of what was claimed by the English.<sup>13</sup> In this town lived Sergeant Benoni Stebbins who was a grandson of Patriarch Rowland Stebbins.<sup>14</sup> In this attack that would be later known as the Deerfield Massacre, the lives of fifty-six colonists, including Sergeant Benoni Stebbins, were claimed.

What was remarkable, is that in his memory it is documented in several accounts that he died but successfully defended about three families worth of people in his house.<sup>15</sup> In John Demos's *The Unredeemed Captive*, he uses the diaries of Reverend John Williams which speaks on the attack and aftermath of the Deerfield massacre. He also speaks about Sergeant Benoni Stebbins in particular. He says,

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*Time of their Births, Marriages and Deaths of those that are Deceased* (Hartford: printed by Ebenezer Watson, 1771), vi.

<sup>11</sup> Stebbins, *A Genealogical Catalogue*, vii.

<sup>12</sup> Richard I. Melvoin, *New England Outpost: War and Society in Colonial Deerfield* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1989), 216.

<sup>13</sup> Melvoin, *New England Outpost*, 209-211.

<sup>14</sup> Melvoin, 219.

<sup>15</sup> Melvoin, 219.

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“Residents are herded together... from all over town. However, one household (that of Sergeant Stebbins)... has mounted a remarkable resistance. Its occupants- ‘7 men, besides women and children’- are well armed and fiercely determined; moreover, the walls of this house, ‘being filled up with brick,’ effectively repel incoming fire.”<sup>16</sup> There were many people who lived in this town, but Benoni’s valiant effort was notable enough for a man, Reverend John Williams, whose family was being murdered and taken captive, to take notice of his actions.

Taking a step back, Benoni’s grandparents couldn’t have known that their descendants would have been in a situation so violent, but again they came to the New World with barely a clue of what may be there. What drove them was a faith that something better has to be where they are destined. Any risk has its possibility for failure or danger, and this was one instance where that played out. Benoni himself even chose to live on the fringes of colonial English society, so just as his wandering and faith-driven grandparents, he too chose to keep moving forward even in the face of the unknown.

## Legacy

The lasting impact of the early American Stebbins family is very grandiose but very simple as well. Going back into the genealogy document about Hannah and Samuel Stebbins, it says, “he was far from neglecting the education of his children... he took great care to instruct us in reading and writing (in this we are evidence)... nor was his care limited to this only, but was extended most essentially to our future and everlasting welfare, by setting before us his great veneration of the Holy word of GOD.”<sup>17</sup> Education of both reading and writing but also of the word of God is evident in Samuel and Hannah’s grandson’s testimony about them.

The unnamed Stebbins grandson says at the beginning of the document, “we can easily conceive of many good reasons for the Continuance of Genealogies in Faminiles...it may give demonstration of the power, Faithfulness, and Goodness of GOD to their ancestors; excite in their children, and Children’s children, thankfulness, Hope and dependence on the GOD of their Fore-fathers.”<sup>18</sup> It is clear that after many generations following Rowland Stebbins arriving in the New World, even his great-grandson is trying to impose on me what our

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<sup>16</sup> John Demos, *The Unredeemed Captive: A Family Story from Early America* (United States: First Vintage Books, 1995), 19.

<sup>17</sup> Stebbins, *A Genealogical Catalogue*, vii.

<sup>18</sup> Stebbins, v.

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ancestors would have wanted. Puritanical religiousness going from generation to generation had to have been those original Stebbins's goal -- even the author of this piece knows so. As a descendant or at least a relative who shares the namesake of the author, I still have many Stebbins family members who to this day are Christians. That is, after all, a key reason Rowland and his young family sailed across more than 3,000 miles to an unknown land. Love for his children and their children has transcended time.

The Stebbinses have been in what is now called the United States of America as of 2018 for 384 years. *The Stebbins Genealogy* has a total of 1,386 pages of information on Stebbinses that started with Rowland and ended with hundreds of Stebbinses still alive at the time in the late 1800s. It includes pages of names who fought in the revolutionary war, colonial militias and the war of 1812, also authors, reverends, representatives, senators, and other political figures.<sup>19</sup> These distinguished positions are a direct correlation of Rowland's relocation of his family and the literacy he gave them. If viewed in the third person, this written piece would not exist or be read unless I, the author, was not born, and that would not be possible without the Stebbinses immigrating to the New World.

### Conclusion

To lay down the blanket statement that all Puritans would come to the New World because of religious persecution is not necessarily false, but it is too vague and impersonal. My story began at my birth but I inherited a documented past that predates the founding of The United States of America. I am of the thirteenth generation born after Rowland Stebbins and our lives are separated by a time span of 341 years. The privilege I have of knowing exactly who helped give me life and opportunities beyond some of the wildest dreams of many in the world is astonishing and humbling. It is simply not a thing that should ever be taken for granted.

Between Rowland's death in 1671 to my birth in 1995, millions of people have entered and been born in the United States and continue to do so. As stated before, there were negative repercussions due to people like the Stebbinses entering this continent that should not be forgotten, but those events will forever stay in the past. It would be wise to use that information today as a comparison to modern immigration. As this

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<sup>19</sup> Ralph Stebbins Greenlee, *The Stebbins Genealogy* (1904. Reprint, London: Forgotten Books, 2017), 5-6.

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written piece was started with the depiction of Central American asylum seekers being attacked by the intolerant American Government with smoke bombs in 2018, it is startling comparing it to the stories of immigrants who came much earlier to this same land. It is true that there was no American government in 1634, but oh how different it may have been for the Stebbins family had there been.

History gives humans perspective and lessons on life that are often ignored or even attempted to be erased, but history stands the test of time as long as it is studied. Immigration is no new story but each one is very unique and adds to the collective consciousness of the United States and of the world. We are living out the lives based on the choices our ancestors made but keep in mind our descendants will have to live with ours.

**THE TRIAL OF VANG PAO AND THE AMERICAN HMONG  
COMMUNITY: A STORY OF AMERICAN IMMIGRATION**

By Tyler Rust

“You who are so liberal, so humane, who take the  
love of culture to the point of affectation, you  
pretend to forget you have colonies where  
massacres are committed in your name.”

~Jean Paul Sartre, from his introduction to *The  
Wretched of the Earth*, by Frantz Fanon

In June of 2007, on a hot afternoon in Sacramento, California, seven men met for lunch at a local Thai restaurant to discuss old times, past adventures, and memories of their youth. It was not unlike what old men do, dreaming and reliving the past, remembering the days when they were powerful and important. After lunch, the men exited the restaurant, emerging into the bright heat of the California Central Valley. Walking across the parking lot they climbed inside an RV, where the dreams they had recalled met with the future they still dreamt about. Inside the RV was a stash of weapons, AK-47 assault rifles, laid out like surgical instruments in an operating room or like a diamond tennis bracelet in a jeweler's display.

One of the men, the most famous of the group, picked up an assault rifle like a baseball player might handle a bat years after retirement. The familiarity was still obvious after so many years, on display in his gait and cradle of the weapon.

The man, General Vang Pao, was the leader of the Royal Lao Army, an anti-Communist guerrilla force that had fought for the United States in Laos in the 1960s, to stem the spread of Communism into the country.

Vang Pao was a refugee, living in Sacramento, but still revered among the Hmong people, as the savior they waited to return. One of the men in the RV was not as reverential of Vang Pao, however. In fact, one of the men was an undercover agent of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, and the RV was the pinnacle of a six-month investigation into plans by the Hmong community to carry out a 9-11 type attack on the government of Laos. Vang Pao was arrested soon after picking up this assault rifle by agents of the ATF, for plotting to overthrow the

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government of Laos, a violation of the Neutrality Act.

The charges carried a maximum life sentence, but would later be dropped by Federal prosecutors, who exercised their power to alter the charges based upon history and consideration of the implications of a conviction for the country. In short, because Vang Pao had fought a secret war for the United States government in Laos, he would not be prosecuted for violating a law that prohibited him from continuing to plot and pursue that same war from within the United States.

The story of Vang Pao, and the Hmong immigrant community, revealed the common themes of American immigration history of failed assimilation, destructive government interference (both in push and pull factors), and the institutionalized nativism of the American government. The lessons of Vang Pao and the Hmong community stand as a warning against continuing the harmful legacy of immigration law, and instead reveals the imperialist tradition still at work in the United States long after the end of the Cold War.

The Cold War was an ethnocentric ideological struggle by the United States to define Indochina in terms of American values, specifically capitalism and liberal democracy. The violent campaign by the United States in Southeast Asia reflects an imperialist desire to control the region's political institutions and economic resources, for the benefit of the United States. Vang Pao represents an instrument of that imperialist campaign, and his service to the United States has been acknowledged, and celebrated.

The role of imperialism in creating the Hmong refugees, as well as Vang Pao's subsequent arrest, stem from an arguably *nativist* drive to define Americanism through imperialist nation building. The effort to make Laos a pro-Western democracy, friendly to the capitalist system and government of the United States, led to the armed resistance of Vang Pao's Royal Lao Army.

While not nativist in name or mission, the tradition of conquest in the name of American values matches the traditional role of nativism in American history. As John Higham wrote in his immigration narrative, *Strangers In The Land*, "...we cannot afford to ignore the simpler ethnocentric judgements that persist beneath the ebb and flow of nativism. Although those judgements often exist where nativism does not, they provide the cultural subsoil in which it exists."<sup>1</sup> The actions in Laos reflect the desire to define the world from a nativist conception of the United States, embodied in this case in opposition to Communism.

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<sup>1</sup> John Higham, *Strangers in The Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1820-1925* (Atheneum, 1963), 24.

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This idea, perhaps more clearly elucidated in the words of John Paul Sartre, who, in his introduction to Frantz Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth*, wrote, "You who are so liberal, so humane, who take the love of culture to the point of affectation, you pretend to forget you have colonies where massacres are committed in your name."<sup>2</sup> Sartre urged the West to remember the brutality that leads the spear tip of imperialism, and which Vang Pao led for the U.S. in Laos during the Vietnam War. The U.S. Cold War mentality saw communism as an existential threat to the "American way of life", a way of life defined, in part, by nativist ethnocentric sentiments.

These ethnocentric judgements tie Vang Pao to the American identity, and make the Hmong symbolic of other immigrant groups, who dreamt of American lives on America's shores. This creates a unique moment in the perpetual creation of American cultural identity: when dedicated anti-communism, promoted, supported and armed by a militarized U.S. state, is transported to the U.S. via a non-white immigrant group. As Stuart Hall wrote in his essay, *Cultural Identity and Diaspora*, "Our cultural identity reflects the common experiences and shared codes which provide us, as "one people", with stable, unchanging and continuous frames of reference and meaning, beneath the shifting divisions and vicissitudes of our actual history."<sup>3</sup> Vang Pao and the Hmong community are bound into the American culture through their common experience as anti-communist fighters in the 1960s.

At the same time, the Hmong were (and continue to be) a persecuted minority in their ancient Laos homeland, divided from it by their allegiance to the shared code of anti-communism that they embraced when they chose the American concept of liberal democracy. This shared code has acted to freeze the American Hmong community into a continuous frame of reference for their identity ever since. As a result, it has placed this community out of time and sync with their ancestral lands, and ironically also within their adopted country. They are, in short, in between cultures.

This separate condition, frozen through shared experience in time, can be seen in *Journey of Hope*, Kenneth Barnes narrative history of African Americans in Arkansas who sought to return to Africa. The example here reflects a common connection to the Hmong and Vang Pao. In each narrative, the African American missionaries, as well as the Hmong refugees, fail to assimilate to their adopted homeland. Each

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<sup>2</sup> Frantz Fanon and Constance Farrington, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Penguin Books, 1963), xlix.

<sup>3</sup> Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," in *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. Johnathan Rutherford (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990), 222-237.

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carries with it the original culture, hoping to preserve it through transplantation in the new continent, to which they flee.

The African Americans of Arkansas, in *Journey of Hope*, are fleeing the racial violence of the Jim Crow South, while Vang Pao and the Hmong are fleeing the violence of the Pathet Lao, who have seized control of their Laotian homeland. Both groups seek to act as missionaries for their wars of cultural conquest. The African Americans sought to civilize the Africans, while the Hmong sought revenge against the communist hordes that repulsed them and continue to drag down their fellow Hmong in Laos. They both fought in different and symbolic ways to extend the cultural massacres of non-Western cultures in colonies of the United States empire.

Both groups retained their perspective and culture, so as to add it to the Western miasma, claiming the title of “civilized” for themselves. It is as Stuart Hall described, “In this perspective, cultural identity is not a fixed essence at all...It is not a fixed origin to which we can make some final and absolute return... Cultural identities are points of identification... which are made, within the discourses of history and culture.”<sup>4</sup>

The African Americans retained their American perspective in Africa. The Hmong retained their Hmong identity in the United States. Both groups remained mindful of the people they had left behind and ultimately tried to return to their abandoned nations. The African Americans returned in peace, accepting the violence inherent in the Jim Crow South, while the Hmong plotted to return to Laos to fight to free their kin from violence and oppression. In each, the discourse of history is their identification with an American code and frame of reference.

The Hmong have also retained an identity trapped in the past by the code and frame of reference that defined their resistance in the Vietnam War. They are bound together in exile because of this common frame, always mindful of its significance. Therefore, their path to assimilation is undermined by this frame of reference. As Kenneth Barnes wrote of a similar mental barrier for African Americans, “The People of Africa, conceived of only in the vaguest sense, were just part of the background scenery, a backdrop against which these black immigrants would fulfill their manifest destiny.”<sup>5</sup>

The Hmong are like the African American missionaries, only in reverse. The Hmong conceive of their mission still remaining unfulfilled in Laos, and as a result, were easily duped into plotting to overthrow the

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<sup>4</sup> Hall, “Cultural Identity and Diaspora,” 226.

<sup>5</sup> Kenneth C. Barnes, *Journey of Hope the Back-to-Africa Movement in Arkansas in the Late 1800s* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 134.

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Laotian government five decades later. The lives they lead in California are caught up in this constant concern for the lives of Hmong still in Laos. It is as if the Americans they live with are just like the Africans to the African American missionaries. The Hmong are trapped in a frame of reference, a cultural loyalty, which limits their ability to assimilate and succeed.

The continuation of cultural loyalty to those left behind after emigrating is similar to the narrative laid out in the story of Japanese immigrants to California, at the turn of the twentieth century, in Eiichiro Azuma's narrative, *Between Two Empires*. In it, Japanese immigrants to the United States are mindful of their imperialist colonization of the United States in the name of the Japanese Imperial government. Azuma writes, "...the Japanese in America were from the beginning upright citizens and colonists with a sense of commitment to the Japanese nation and a mission larger than mere self-interest."<sup>6</sup>

The ties that bind the Japanese immigrants to their homeland are just as strong as the ties that bind African Americans to the United States, and the Hmong to Laos. In each case the immigrant group transports its original culture to the adopted destination. Each group always assumes that this is a final destination, sincerely attempting to put down roots in the new land. However, each group is simultaneously unable to completely sever the ties to the abandoned homeland. In research done by Jo Ann Koltyk on Hmong culture in America, the ties to the past lives in Laos remain sacred, years after immigration to America. She writes, "It is not uncommon to find Hmong families playing homeland videos throughout the day as entertainment...The social context for viewing homeland videos is one of "communal re-creation as participants recall, or re-experience, and share pasts with the group."<sup>7</sup>

For the Hmong and the Japanese, a lesson can be learned. The role of governments engaging in imperialist actions can create forced migrations of people, in the service of that imperialist government, that lead to hardship and suffering. For the Japanese, it was the struggle to rise economically, in the face of nativist attitudes and government restrictions against Japanese farmers and landowners. For the Hmong, the difficulty arose after they were used by the Federal government as a surrogate army, fighting for the U.S. against Communism in Laos in the 1960s.

The Hmong, like the Japanese retain a sense of national pride. The

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<sup>6</sup> Eiichiro Azuma, *Between Two Empires Race, History, and Transnationalism in Japanese America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 102.

<sup>7</sup> Jo Ann Koltyk, "Telling Narratives Through Home Videos: Hmong Refugees and Self-Documentation of Life in the Old and New Country," *The Journal of American Folklore* 106, no. 422 (1993): 435.

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Japanese were mindful of the will of their Emperor, seeking to carry out his plans for expansion. The Hmong remain painfully aware of the suffering of their fellow Hmong in Laos, plotting to return to fight in their defense.

The struggle of the Japanese and the Hmong is similar to the struggle of Cuban refugees, fleeing the Castro regime and finding that they too are pawns in a global game of Cold War fighting. This can be understood by examining the narrative of Cuban migration as told in *From Welcomed Exiles to Illegal Immigrants: Cuban Migration to the U.S., 1959-95*, by Felix Roberto Masud-Piloto. He describes how rebel minority groups can become pawn of competing powers during the Cold War. Like the Cuban refugees before them, the Hmong were used by the United States to oppose communism in an effort to exert nativist imperialism overseas.

As the United States opened wide the doors for Cubans seeking freedom, Castro responded by calling the bluff, sending hundreds of thousands of Cubans to Florida. This tested the limits of the ability of the United States to accept refugees. The transfer stressed the United States, and empowered Castro. The refugees, however, seemed as an afterthought for both governments.

The revolutionary spirit of the Cuban resistance movement created a radical tradition of violence in the name of progress, undermining the legitimacy of democratic traditions and institutions. This radical spirit ultimately necessitated the expulsion of poor and desperate Cubans from the island, in order to cement a government authority, and sadly a dictatorship. Nevertheless, the experience of the revolutionary spirit led the refugees to continue plotting the overthrow of Castro from Miami, leading to a terror campaign by the Miami Cuban community for nearly forty years.

The lesson of immigration history is that radical resistance movements fostered by the United States can become reactionary to the point where compromise is no longer possible when achieving their Cold War mission. For the Cuban exiles the concept of compromise with Castro was unthinkable, and any who suggested it would be rejected, or violently attacked. For the Hmong, even three decades after the end of their fight against in Laos, they were still willing to make plans with an American agent to violently overthrow the government in Laos and to “make it look like the results of the attack on the World Trade Center in New York on September 11, 2001.”<sup>8</sup> In the same way, Masud-Piloto

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<sup>8</sup> Denny Walsh, “Ten accused of conspiring to oust government of Laos,” *Sacramento Bee*, June 5, 2005.

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writes of the Cuban people in post-revolutionary Cuba, “Afterwards, it was much less easy to expect their radical sons (and daughters) to place faith in liberal solutions.”<sup>9</sup> This example of the Cuban Cold War fifth column is merely the Atlantic coast version of the Hmong fifth Column, which Vang Pao was arrested for organizing in the parking lot of a Sacramento Thai restaurant.

The unchanging contours of meaning for the Cuban and Hmong refugees in America make them fixated upon the forces that expelled them to the United States. Despite the shifting divisions and vicissitudes of actual history that makes Cuba decidedly Pro-Castro and Laos a peaceful trading partner of the United States both groups remain determined to undo what was done to them and their fellows. The shared cultural codes which provide the Hmong with a stable frame of reference as a noble community living in exile in the United States does not reflect the reality of the changing nature of history as regarding Laos.

In her narrative *American Catholic Lay Groups and Transatlantic Social Reform in the Progressive Era*, Deirdre Moloney explains how the cultural assimilation of immigrant groups is blocked by internal resistance as well as external efforts to keep immigrants separate from nativist society. Moloney shows how the Irish immigrants of the nineteenth Century were limited in their self-fulfillment by mid-century nativists. In the same way, the Hmong struggle to succeed economically because of internal cultural resistance and external nativism imposed upon them by the federal government and their fellow Californians.

Moloney writes, “Mid-century nativism and Know-Nothing activity served as an impetus for the establishment of many small colonies during the peak of German and Irish immigration to the United States.”<sup>10</sup> Rather than assimilate into the larger culture, Moloney asserts that immigrant groups were clustered together into small colonies, segregated from the majority because of nativism. Similarly, the Hmong are separated and isolated because of their difference in American culture. It has been described by Hmong immigrants in the following way:

I just feel more comfortable with more Hmong in the neighborhood and less Americans and African Americans because I worry that non-Hmong people might call the police on us when the shaman is performing traditional ceremonies that involve killing chickens or pigs. Non-Hmong people might think there was something wrong

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<sup>9</sup> Masud-Piloto and Felix Roberto, *From Welcomed Exiles to Illegal Immigrants: Cuban Migration to the U.S., 1959-95* (Malden, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1996), 17.

<sup>10</sup> Deirdre Moloney, *American Catholic Lay Groups and Transatlantic Social Reform in the Progressive Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 74.

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with doing that as part of a ceremony. This is a really big problem for Hmong and why we should live together.<sup>11</sup>

Economic limitations of the Hmong are similar to those experienced by Mexican agricultural workers in Devra Weber's narrative, *Dark Sweat, White Gold: California Farm Workers, Cotton, and the New Deal*. Mexican migrant labor as a working-class identity limited the assimilation of Mexicans into American society. She writes, "Segregation, working class status, and the geographic mobility of Mexican men and women reinforced their identity as Mexicans, lessened and narrowed their contact with Anglo-Americans, and reaffirmed the need to rely on each other in an Anglo-dominated society."<sup>12</sup> This same working class identity has been assigned to the Hmong, primarily due to their struggle to easily assimilate to the different culture and environment to which they were forced to adopt.

The investigation of Vang Pao and the Hmong by the Federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms reveals how the government engaged in nativism against a group deeply loyal to the United States. Like the example of the Chinese in Erika Lee's narrative history, *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration during the Exclusion Era, 1882-1943*, the Hmong experienced similar institutional nativism. Lee explains that, "[b]oth the West's history of extending and reinforcing white supremacy in the region and its unique relationship with the federal government paved the way towards Chinese exclusion and the larger gatekeeper nation."<sup>13</sup> The tradition of White supremacy moved government agents to investigate the Hmong community for possible conspiracy to violate the neutrality.

The charges brought against Vang Pao and his friends reflect their frozen identity, seeking to win a war long over but never ended in their reality. The frame of reference of the Hmong challenged the supremacy of the United States to determine when its imperialist wars would cease. It is as John Paul Sartre reminds us, "You who are so liberal, so humane, who take the love of culture to the point of affectation, you pretend to forget you have colonies where massacres are committed in your name." The nativism of the agents of the ATF sought to imprison Vang Pao for

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<sup>11</sup> Eric Monkkonen and Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Immigrant Milwaukee, 1836-1860: Accommodation and Community in a Frontier City," *Contemporary Sociology* 6, no. 4 (1977): 501.

<sup>12</sup> Devra Weber, *Dark Sweat, White Gold: California Farm Workers, Cotton, and the New Deal* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 55.

<sup>13</sup> Erika Lee, *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration during the Exclusion Era, 1882-1943* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 27.

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his frozen identity, because American nativism has moved on from the imperialist efforts Van Pao led for the United States in the 1960s. To continue to seek victory when the United States government has reframed the conflict would undermine the nativist supremacy of Vang Pao's white masters.

Federal prosecutors did not explain why charges against Pao were dropped, while maintaining them against ten others, except it is within the power of prosecutors to consider "a person's culpability and history as well as the consequences of a conviction."<sup>14</sup> It was best described by Phillip Smith, executive director at the Center for Public Policy Analysis in Washington D.C., "He's viewed as a quasi-martyr...If these charges had remained, the government would have been putting itself on trial for betraying the Hmong."

The Hmong community felt deeply betrayed by the investigation and arrest of Vang Pao. This insult was only compounded when Vang Pao was later denied military burial honors at Arlington National Cemetery, despite his actions in the service of U.S. military goals in Indochina during the Vietnam War Era.<sup>15</sup>

Stuart Hall's description of the shifting division and vicissitudes of our history applies clearly to the experience of Vang Pao and the Hmong community in the U.S. Their shared cultural code of liberal democracy and capitalist freedom meshed well, at one time, with the nativist imperialism of the United States. Over time, however, this stable, unchanging and continuous frame of reference and meaning was not shared by the United States government in the same way toward Lao, despite that the Hmong continued to hold it dearly. The result was that the Hmong were left unassimilated and isolated in time, space and culture because of the role of the United States in using them as a pawn of the Cold War.

Frantz Fanon wrote pointedly of this disparaging outcome in his seminal treatise on colonization and the colonized, *The Wretched of the Earth*. He wrote, "This new reality, which the colonized are now exposed to, exists by action alone... The people in arms...march on... Violence alone, perpetuated by the people, violence organized by the leadership, promotes the key for the masses to decipher social reality. Without this struggle, without this praxis, there is nothing but a carnival parade and a lot of hot air."<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Eric Bailey and My-Thuan Tran, "Federal Charges Dropped Against Hmong Leader Vang Pao," *Los Angeles Times*, September 19, 2009.

<sup>15</sup> "Laos Hmong Leader Vang Pao Denied Arlington Burial," *BBC News*. February 05, 2011, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-12371965>.

<sup>16</sup> Frantz and Farrington, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 96.

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Immigrant groups to the United States bring with them essential elements of their home culture, frozen in their perspective, and therefore divorced from the changing nature of that culture. This creates a separate reality, unique from the original and separate from the adopted culture. This separate frame, frozen in time and reality is needed to preserve the identity of the immigrant group, but ultimately undermines their assimilation.

American resistance to these groups has always been based on nativist ideology and identification, a force that was expressed globally during the Cold War in colonial wars for American political and ideological control. Vang Pao and the Hmong seemed to need the colonial struggle to define their social reality in exile in the United States because of the interference of the United States, their inability to assimilate and the efforts of the government to undermine them and imprison their leaders. Because of this, the struggle defined the community, leading it to pursue a fantasy insurgency, created in a government investigation and sting operation.

Without the struggle, it is just as Fanon describes, and just as we see in Sacramento on that hot July day in 2005. The Hmong veterans, led by Vang Pao, paraded across the Thai parking lot, through a lot of hot air in pursuit of a dream that exists in a frame of reality distant in geography and time. This carnival parade ended with a show trial, an insult at Arlington National Cemetery for Vang Pao, and the betrayal of another immigrant community in the long history of American immigration.

**THOMAS JEFFERSON: FIGURATIVE PIONEER OF THE  
AMERICAN WEST**

By Robyn Perry

The West is a romantic place. Full of promise, power, and people, the West has had an allure well before the United States was even established as a nation. Europeans had to migrate west in order to arrive on the shores of colonial North America, and in colonial settlements ventures out west often brought back expanded wealth and knowledge. But how did the American West develop as both a place and a concept within the context of the early United States of America? How did a uniquely *American* West develop during the early years of the Republic, and how and why were citizens of a nation less than a century old encouraged to pack up and head west? Thomas Jefferson is one of the most important, yet often overlooked, figurative pioneers of the United States' shift out west and officially initiated the United States' ongoing exploration and conquest of the West. Via the Louisiana Purchase, Lewis and Clark's expedition, and his own philosophy of agrarian republicanism, Thomas Jefferson helped set the stage for the United States to become a nation of continual western expansion and conquest which would continue well into the twentieth century and beyond.

It is important to note that the location of "the West" has not remained static, even throughout the short period of time that encompasses American history. The original English colonies laid on the very eastern edge of a continent full of the unknown - people, beasts, and environments never before experienced by any individuals other than the peoples who already lived within the interior of North America. In the early days, the West was basically anything past the comfortable confines of the colonies - the Appalachians were considered the boundary of English territory and the Great Lakes and Kentucky/Tennessee regions were considered frontier. The Treaty of Paris was signed in 1783 which not only ended the American War for Independence against Great Britain, but also established the boundaries of the United States, which included everything from what is now Maine down to Georgia (Florida was still held by Spain) and everything east of the Mississippi River, from Minnesota to Alabama, to Tennessee to

## Thomas Jefferson

Massachusetts.<sup>1</sup>

The founders of the United States of America, including Thomas Jefferson, “believed that expansion was critical to the nation’s future” and it was “placed... at the heart of the American political system.”<sup>2</sup> Jefferson would become president eighteen years after the signing of the Treaty of Paris, in 1801, and two years into his presidency, in 1803, American negotiators in Paris would stumble upon France’s deal to take “the whole... whatever it was [the French] took from Spain.” For a mere \$15 million, and a short twenty years after the establishment of the United States as a sovereign nation, 827,000 acres of land would be added to the fledgling United States of America’s map through the Louisiana Purchase. “The boundaries of Louisiana were huge but vague, beginning at the linchpin port of New Orleans, taking in the entire western watershed of the Mississippi River, and falling off somewhere in the Rocky Mountains.” Many Americans were excited about the addition of Louisiana to the United States’ continental territory as they “believed that they enjoyed a natural right to the continent,”<sup>3</sup> even four decades before the coining of the term “manifest destiny.” Jefferson’s deal would allow Americans to spread out and enjoy what they already believed was theirs: more of the continent.

As this single land deal nearly doubled the size of the United States, the location of the West shifted. Appalachia and the Mississippi were no longer boundaries that held back exploration, conquest, and Americans’ God-given right to overtake the continent. As Jedidiah Morse stated in *American Geography*, a popular textbook that was published in 1789, “The Mississippi was never designed as the western boundary of the American empire.”<sup>4</sup> Yet, the Louisiana territory was not a free ride. To the west and south still lay the ominous domain of Spain, and the land that the United States did purchase “of course, remained in the possession of its Indian proprietors. Every acre would have to be won by treaty or conquest at a cost that ultimately would be nearly thirty times greater than the sum paid to France.”<sup>5</sup> This included sending out exploration parties to see what actually lay within the territory the United States had just purchased. While Jefferson hoped for Meriwether Lewis and William Clark “to find and catalog the interior’s botany, zoology,

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<sup>1</sup> “Treaty of Paris (1783),” Our Documents, accessed November 17, 2018, <https://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=6>.

<sup>2</sup> Robert H. Hine, John Mack Faragher, and Jon T. Coleman, *The American West: A New Interpretive History* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2017), 137.

<sup>3</sup> Hine, *The American West*, 138.

<sup>4</sup> Hine, 137.

<sup>5</sup> Hine, 139.

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and geology,” he also knew that Americans “must bend that nature to their advantage.” Lewis and Clark’s expedition “explored for the exploitable,” as the grand American empire that would soon spread across the continent hoped for “a quick passage across the continent to reach the China market; fur resources like beavers and otters; and trading partnerships and military alliances with native nations.”<sup>6</sup> Jefferson’s early nineteenth-century scientific/ “cabinet of curiosity”-style approach to Lewis and Clark’s expedition was not just to prove that “North American flora and fauna [was just] as diverse and vigorous as any found in Europe.”<sup>7</sup> He also hoped for the American empire to spread through the continent through a unique vein as well - through a uniquely American political philosophy of independence and hard work that would require a specific type of individual: the American.

To many, including Thomas Jefferson, Americans constituted “a new breed,” who “sprung from the geographic fringes... far removed from Europe’s cultural reach” who were remade by nature.<sup>8</sup> And like many of the founding fathers’, Jefferson’s ideal for the new nation was quite libertarian, and many believed space - “extending the sphere” - was the ticket to “mak[ing] it less probable that [the] majority... will have [the]... motive to invade the rights of other citizens.” American “expansion would ameliorate social conflict. American republican government would thrive with ever-expanding geography, leading to... ‘one great, respectable, and flourishing empire.’”<sup>9</sup> But how exactly would this empire flourish? Through agriculture, of course! Jefferson, and many other political thinkers and philosophers of the time and place, including James Madison, strongly advocated for agrarian republicanism. This is the idea that “an agricultural way of life... fostered virtues indispensable for democracy”<sup>10</sup> and creates “a strong connection to the place [one farm] and an interest in caring for it...”<sup>11</sup> Jefferson “abhorred the squalor and gross inequality he saw in the developing factory cities in Europe and wanted to avoid the same inequality in the United States.” According to Jefferson’s agrarian republicanism, the only way an individual (a man) could participate in democracy and lead by his own ideals and virtues

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<sup>6</sup> Hine, 140.

<sup>7</sup> Hine, 140.

<sup>8</sup> Hine, 138.

<sup>9</sup> Hine, 137.

<sup>10</sup> Scott M. Roulier, “American Pastoral: Jefferson’s Agrarian Republic” in *Shaping American Democracy: Landscapes and Urban Design* (Basingstoke, United Kingdom: Palgrave MacMillan, 2018), 27-46.

<sup>11</sup> John Barry, *The Politics of Actually Existing Unsustainability: Human Flourishing in a Climate-Changed, Carbon-Constrained World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 228.

## *Thomas Jefferson*

and not as a representative of another's would be through growing his own food and working on his own land rather than as a cog in an industrial machine owned by some corporation. Jefferson's agrarian paradise did not seem like as much of a pipe dream in the early 1800s as it may today, as approximately eighty percent of Americans were farmers at this time.<sup>12</sup> Yet, Jefferson's "focus on conquest of the wilderness," which was meant to "promote virtue," would linger on far past the early years of the Republic.<sup>13</sup> It is the romanticization of this early Jeffersonian ideal of the United States as individual plots of agrarian, pastoral paradise - pieces of land that one or a family could cultivate and promote the individualism and republicanism of the early Republic no matter where they lived in the continent - that initially sent folks out west after the founding of the American nation. Americans not only yearned for territorial space but desired their own pieces of land that individuals could hold and cultivate as entirely their own. This not only perpetuated into the "frontier era," with promises such as the Homestead Act or "40 acres and a mule," but would continue to expand into the modern era, with the "suburban garden" becoming the model of the twentieth century even as far west as (and particularly in) California. Not only would average Americans squat on land that they never owned, believing that it belonged to them through some sort of public domain loophole rather than as part of the Spanish or Mexican rancho it was a part of during the Gold Rush era, mid-twentieth century suburban California would also see the blooming of the "suburban garden." Even in a place as homogenous and monotonous as 1950s suburban Southern California, individuals yearned for their homes to be placed near parks, water, and other natural getaways, along with the promise of citrus fruit trees, ironically in the desert, in many developments.

While stodgy, old, Enlightenment-learned and American Revolution-worn colonial Englishmen farming large, plantation-sized swaths of land may seem like a single moment in American history, the ideals from this time period perpetuated throughout America's development, both spatially and culturally, and even continue on today. Ever since the earliest days of the Republic (and before), Americans desired for more and more physical territory and for more and more individual space. President Jefferson's agrarianism left a desire for Americans to continually search for and settle on new land. Not only did they desire

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<sup>12</sup> "Jefferson's Agrarian Republic: 1800-1808," The Constitution (1781-1815) Summary, SparkNotes, accessed November 18, 2018, <https://www.sparknotes.com/history/american/constitution/section7/>.

<sup>13</sup> Peter F. Cannavò, "The Half-Cultivated Citizen: Thoreau at the Nexus of Republicanism and Environmentalism," *Environmental Values* 21 (2012).

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for it, but they deserved it through divinity, and the ownership of such space would lead to a patriotic individual and a virtuous republic. This romanticized idea has perpetuated forever through American history and culture, from settlers moving out west to the desire for fruit trees and parks sprinkled in amongst semi-modern suburbia. Yet, this story does not stop in the mid-twentieth century. Today, while less than two percent of Americans classify themselves as farmers, there is currently a large “back to land” and “urban farming” movement taking place within the United States today as individuals realize they have strayed farther and farther from the simple and virtuous life of a subsistence farmer, particularly in western urban centers such as the San Francisco Bay Area, Los Angeles, and Portland. Could these organic produce, farm-to-table, and back to land trends be the twenty-first century’s continuation of the Jeffersonian pastoral paradise, a symbol that contemporary Americans still hunger for Jefferson’s ideal of agrarian republicanism?

## **WOMEN'S ROLES AND RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE IN CLASSICAL ATHENS**

By Sabrina Harper

Much of the little that we know about women's lives in the classical period was written by men. Although Herodotus and Thucydides were prolific, they had little to say about the role of women in society. Many later historians who examined women's roles did so through a misogynistic lens, viewing women in only their traditional roles as wife and mother. However, as women's studies programs have developed, there has been renewed scholarship about the lives of women who served in roles other than that of virgin/prostitute and wife and/or mother. However, just as modern women do not only fulfill one role in society, neither did Athenian women. Women's lives in ancient Athens were extremely limited as either, virgin, prostitute, wife, mother, or priestess, but they were neither completely included nor excluded from society.

### Gender Roles in Myth

The earliest examples of gender roles are evinced through mythology. As the historian Sarah Pomeroy, reminds us, "myths are not lies, but rather men's attempt to impose a symbolic order upon their universe."<sup>1</sup> In Hesiod's *Theogony*, we understand the progression from "female-dominated generations, characterized by natural, earthy emotional qualities, to the superior and rational monarchy of Olympian Zeus."<sup>2</sup> This evolution of thought was reflected in society in traditional male patriarchal family structures. According to myth, the first reigning earth goddess, Ge, more commonly known as Gaia, was involved in patricide/fratricide. She provided an example of the stereotypical impetuous nature of women when she convinced her son Cronus to castrate his father, Uranus (who is also her son). Later, King Cronus who had fathered children with his sister, Rhea, swallowed his offspring. Then, aided by her mother Ge/Gaia, Rhea helps *her* son Zeus overthrow

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<sup>1</sup> Sarah B. Pomeroy, *Goddess, Whores, Wives, Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity* (New York: Schocken Books, 1975), 1.

<sup>2</sup> Pomeroy, *Goddess, Whores, Wives, Slaves*, 2.

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his father, Cronus.<sup>3</sup> At this, Zeus stepped in to restore order and established a government on Mount Olympus. Zeus takes childbearing power away from females as he gives birth to Athena through his head and Dionysus through his thigh.<sup>4</sup> This myth is both a reflection of, and explanation for, patriarchy in ancient Greek society as the female goddesses are portrayed as emotional and irrational, while male gods provide stability and order.

Later, Athena became powerful in her own right, but not for her feminine qualities. She is the archetype of the masculine woman, strong in battle, who uttered a war cry at her birth. Women were said to have received their abilities to weave and spin through Athena's graces. Although Athena interacted with both males and females, she always took the male side in conflict. Athena's birth from the head of Zeus lends credence to patriarchy. In society fathers were legally affirmed as the true parents of their children.

Other goddesses like Artemis and Aphrodite were more concerned with the physical functions of females. Artemis, although frequently depicted with bow and arrow, was primarily concerned with female rites of passage; childbirth, menstruation, and virginity. Aphrodite was the goddess with perhaps the most stereotypical feminine characteristics. She was seductive and beautiful, but because of her marriage to the ugliest immortal, the lame Hephaestus, she amused herself with human love affairs and was associated with infidelity. As the goddess of fertility and adultery, she was sacred to prostitutes.<sup>5</sup>

#### 'Bad Women' and 'Good Women' in Society

In the sixth century B.C., the lawmaker Solon codified the separation of 'good from bad women.' These regulations had lasting effects on society and served to maintain the separate spheres of men and women.<sup>6</sup> In order to keep "good women" apart from "bad women," brothels were established which were staffed by slaves and regulations concerning "feasts, trousseaux, and food and drink" were enacted to curb women's behavior.<sup>7</sup>

Even in prostitution there was a social hierarchy. Those at the top of the scale were called *hetairai*, or "companions to men."<sup>8</sup> These women

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<sup>3</sup> Pomeroy, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Pomeroy, 2.

<sup>5</sup> Pomeroy, 7.

<sup>6</sup> Pomeroy, 57.

<sup>7</sup> Pomeroy, 57.

<sup>8</sup> Pomeroy, 89.

### *Women's Roles and Religious Observance in Classical Athens*

lived as constant escorts to men, had artistic and intellectual abilities and experienced a greater degree of movement in society than legitimate wives. Pericles lived with one such *hetairai*, named Aspasia.<sup>9</sup> According to Plutarch:

Sources claim that Aspasia was highly valued by Pericles because she was clever and politically astute. After all, Socrates sometimes visited her, bringing along his pupils, and his close friends took their wives to listen to her – although she ran an establishment which was neither orderly nor respectable, seeing that she educated a group of young female companions to become courtesans.<sup>10</sup>

Clearly, at least the women who served in these roles as *hetairai*, experienced a certain degree of freedom and respect if learned men visited with their students in order to listen to them. These women had extensive training which was likely passed on from mother to daughter. The chance to escape this lot in life was virtually non-existent. Pomeroy explained that infanticide was widely practiced by prostitutes.<sup>11</sup> Without male relatives to care for their children these women were more likely to expose their children (leaving them in the elements to die). The exception seems to have been female children who were sometimes kept and trained in the trade of their mothers. However, not only slave women participated in prostitution. According to Pomeroy many “freedwomen and free noncitizen women [living in Athens] practiced the profession.”<sup>12</sup> In order to do so a license had to be acquired and maintained and these women were required to pay a special tax to ply their trade. Of all the women in Athens they were able to control sizeable sums of money, so at least economically, some exercised more freedom of movement and financial independence than other Athenian women.

For the ‘good women’ of Athens marriage and motherhood were the primary goals. Women and men lived in separate spheres of influence. Historian Nancy Demand made this clear, “men lived in the dual world of *polis* and *oikos* (home, land, people, and animals owned by the male landowner), but women’s status and role was determined entirely in terms of membership – or lack of membership – in an *oikos*.”<sup>13</sup> Fathers determined the optimal age for marriage and childbirth and daughters

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<sup>9</sup> Pomeroy, 89.

<sup>10</sup> Plutarch, quoted in Pomeroy, *Goddess, Whores, Wives, Slaves*, 89.

<sup>11</sup> Pomeroy, *Goddess, Whores, Wives, Slaves*, 91.

<sup>12</sup> Pomeroy, 89.

<sup>13</sup> Nancy Demand, *Birth, Death and Motherhood in Classical Greece* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 2.

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moved to the *oikos* of their future husband. Citizen women were under perpetual guardianship by their fathers or older brothers, and “responsible fathers in Classical Athens did not raise female babies unless they foresaw a proper marriage for them at maturity.”<sup>14</sup> Female children were exposed more often than male children. Male children were prized and had the right inherit the *oikos*.

Life in and around the *oikos* afforded women some freedoms.<sup>15</sup> They undoubtedly attended to births, illnesses, and death; visited imprisoned relatives, and made appearances in courts to engender sympathy for an accused male relative or neighbor. Lower class women worked outside of the *oikos* out of necessity as previously discussed, or sometimes as prostitutes or as merchants in the markets. The other area where women were expected to participate was in ritual and festival; especially those devoted to fertility or the harvest. Their duty was to the city-state, so participation was required to appease the gods and maintain the power of the *polis*.

### Women Excluded: Violence, Methods of Control

For citizen women, there is no consensus amongst historians about whether they were kept in seclusion or enjoyed certain freedoms. Italian classicist Eva Cantarella wrote that, “In a society, such as that of the Greeks, which completely excluded women from social, cultural, and political life, feared them, and scorned them, misogyny not infrequently reached levels of particular intensity.”<sup>16</sup> To illustrate her position Cantarella used a quote from Euripides’ tragedy, *Hippolytus*:

“Oh Zeus, whatever possessed you to put an ambiguous misfortune amongst men by bringing women to the light of day? If you really wanted to sow the race of mortals, why did it have to be born of women? How much better it would be if men could buy the seed of sons by paying for it with gold, iron, or bronze in your temples and could life free, without women in their houses...”<sup>17</sup>

Is this an honest example of truly how women were looked down upon in Greek society, or an example of men expressing frustration at women in art and devotion? The language is strong. Euripides question, ‘why did

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<sup>14</sup> Pomeroy, 62.

<sup>15</sup> Demand, *Birth, Death and Motherhood*, 22.

<sup>16</sup> Eva Cantarella, “Dangling Virgins: Myth, Ritual and the Place of Women in Ancient Greece,” *Poetics Today* 6, no. 1/2 (1985): 91–101.

<sup>17</sup> Euripides, *Hippolytus* 616 sq, quoted in Cantarella, “Dangling Virgins,” 91.

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Zeus bring women into the light of day?' is harsh. Cantarella follows this quote from a classical tragedy by a discussion about female hangings, both suicide and murder, some within a sacrificial context. She used these myths to push forward her viewpoint that women were completely excluded, undervalued, and expendable members of society.

Women were subjugated members of society. Although necessary to the cycle of life, women were disposable and undervalued. Cantarella brought to light the frequency of rape in Greek myths and posed this as a justification for these attitudes towards women.<sup>18</sup> After all, these myths were "men's attempts to impose a symbolic order upon their universe" and so, rape became a way for the gods and men to powerfully control women through sexual and symbolic violence.<sup>19</sup> In mythology, hanging was a method for men to punish women and, alternatively, was a method for women to escape their fate in life.

These myths shaped religious observances as in the following example. A feast called *chytroi* in which maidens sit on swings in imitation of Erigone. Erigone's parents, Aegisthus and Clytemnestra, had been killed by Orestes. She followed him to Athens in the hope of punishing him. When she arrived, he had been tried and acquitted. In her distress, she hanged herself.<sup>20</sup> The maidens of Athens followed suite, *en masse* resulting in a lack of marriageable women. An oracle was consulted and recommended that a swing be built to appease the gods and to avoid Athens' demise. This swing, symbolic of the hanging death of the young girls, became the ritual action of the feast.

#### Women Included: In Religious Observance

One area of agreement amongst historians is that women had fulfilled an important function in religious observance. The nature of Greek religion was based on the idea of reciprocity. Humans built monuments to gods and goddesses to honor them, and in turn, gods and goddesses were supposed to grant the wishes of the Greeks. Martin provided an example of this principle of reciprocity from a bronze statuette now housed in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. The inscription says, "Mantiklos gave this from his share to the Far Darter of the Silver Bow [Apollo]; now you, Apollo, do something for me in return."<sup>21</sup> The prosperity that was experienced by the Athenians during the classical

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<sup>18</sup> Canterella, "Dangling Virgins," 92.

<sup>19</sup> Pomeroy, *Goddess, Whores, Wives, Slaves*, 1.

<sup>20</sup> Canterella, "Dangling Virgins," 93.

<sup>21</sup> Thomas Martin, *Ancient Greece: From Prehistoric to Hellenistic Times* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 125.

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period was thought to have been because the gods were pleased with them. However, the gods did not act out of goodwill, they were not “good.”<sup>22</sup> They didn’t love humans, except in some mythological stories where gods and humans mated to produce semi-divine children.<sup>23</sup> They were credited with providing support in good times, and blamed for calamities like famine, war, or natural disasters.

The gods were believed to live carefree lives but were easily offended by human actions as evidenced by Solon’s summary of their nature in Herodotus, *History* 1.32, “I am well aware that the gods are envious of human success and prone to disrupt our affairs.”<sup>24</sup> Greek religion lacked a moral code or concept of sin. If one committed an act that was seen as displeasing to the gods, a ritual act of purification, such as offering or sacrifice could be performed to provide some remediation for the polluting act.<sup>25</sup>

The gods were fully integrated into the lives of the Greeks. Each household featured a household god at the hearth. It was the women’s role in the *oikos* to keep the observances of the household gods. Upon entry to the home, the gods were to be visited first. Families marked rites of passage with prayers, rituals, and sacrifices. Later, it became common for ordinary citizens to bring gifts to the gravesites of their relatives, previously something that only the elites did.<sup>26</sup> Publicly, worshippers offered prayers, sang hymns, offered sacrifices, and presented gifts to the priests and priestesses at their shrines. Priests and priestesses lived apart from the rest of society and did not seek influence in social or political matters. They were not considered the repositories of doctrine or theology because there was no codified doctrine or theology to speak of.<sup>27</sup> Paul Brulé says that there were roles to serve the gods for many different categories of the city-state. According to him, Hesiod expressed these rules; “old ones are better prayers, and another that caused heroes and gods to have priests, while heroines and goddesses has priestesses.”<sup>28</sup>

Festivals to honor the gods were held frequently. Both men and women provided sacrifices to the gods during festivals. They sought out seekers, oracles, or others who were thought to have power to interpret dreams or the will of the gods. In Athens, about half of the days each

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<sup>22</sup> Hugh Lloyd-Jones, “Ancient Greek Religion,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 145, no. 4 (2001): 457.

<sup>23</sup> Martin, *Ancient Greece*, 125.

<sup>24</sup> Martin, *Ancient Greece*, 126.

<sup>25</sup> Lloyd-Jones, “Ancient Greek Religion,” 459.

<sup>26</sup> Martin, *Ancient Greece*, 128.

<sup>27</sup> Martin, 127.

<sup>28</sup> Hesiod, as quoted by Brulé, Pierre, *Women of Ancient Greece* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003), 17.

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year featured a festival. Some were small, others were quite large, like the Panathenaic Festival where there were not only processions and sacrifices, but contests in dancing, music, athletics, and poetry.<sup>29</sup>

According to Demand, “the most widely celebrated of the occasions that allowed women a temporary respite from the routines of the *oikos* was the annual festival of Demeter, the Themosphoria.”<sup>30</sup> This festival was entirely for women and lasted from three to ten days. It commemorated Demeter’s loss of her daughter Persephone through rape/marriage to Hades. This festival served dual purposes. It served to keep the women in check by reinforcing social norms, and it allowed the women the space to mourn the troubles of their daily lives while providing a release valve to let go of tensions caused by a regimented and restricted life.<sup>31</sup>

The cult of Athena held special roles for women.<sup>32</sup> Her festival, celebrated annually on her birthday, the Panathenaea, welcomed participants from all over Greece. This featured ritual sacrificial offerings of animals which were brought to an altar by virgins who were selected from noble families. (Men were not excluded from these processions but had a subordinate role). Vindictive families or women could prevent a particular virgin from participating by casting aspersions on ones claim of virginal status.<sup>33</sup>

Some women from upper class families served as priestesses. According to Demand, “forty such positions were available, as well as lesser offices.”<sup>34</sup> Forty is a small number when you consider that the population of ancient Athens was approximately 140,000 at this time, but it still shows that they wielded a considerable amount of power.<sup>35</sup> Classicist Sue Blundell argued how important women were for the linkage they provided from the *oikos* to the *polis* through the private and public religious observances for which they were responsible. She said, “Religion was the one area of public life in which women played an acknowledged part.”<sup>36</sup> The performance of these rituals were governed by gender roles. Slaughtering a sacrificial animal was the role of the male priest, whereas weaving a garment was the providence of

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<sup>29</sup> Martin, *Ancient Greece*, 127.

<sup>30</sup> Demand, *Birth, Death and Motherhood*, 24.

<sup>31</sup> Demand, *Birth, Death and Motherhood*, 24.

<sup>32</sup> Pomeroy, *Goddess, Whores, Wives, Slaves*, 75.

<sup>33</sup> Pomeroy, 76.

<sup>34</sup> Demand, *Birth, Death and Motherhood*, 24.

<sup>35</sup> “Two Faces of Greece: Athens & Sparta,” PBS, accessed Feb 17, 2018,

<http://www.pbs.org/empires/thegreeks/educational/lesson1.html>

<sup>36</sup> Sue Blundell, *Women in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 160.

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women.<sup>37</sup> But even considering women's essential role in religious observances, there is some evidence that would suggest that women were excluded from receiving a portion of the meat.<sup>38</sup> Robin Osbourne quoted M. Detienne, "just as women are without the political rights reserved for male citizens, they are kept apart from the altars, meat and blood... When women had access to meat, the roles of the cult are careful to specify the precise terms. Though women played a role in the religious observances of the day, they had nowhere near the freedom of movement outside the *oikos* as enjoyed by men."<sup>39</sup>

### Conclusion

Although Athenian women were not powerful publicly, they did exercise power and status in their role as wife, mother, and priestess.<sup>40</sup> Their capacity in these roles were limited in scope. Men and women occupied different spheres of influence. Men could move freely between the *polis* and *oikos*, whereas women were primarily restricted to the *oikos*. Men controlled the *oikos*, so therefore, they controlled women. Women had the duty and obligation to offer sacrifice and participate in rituals to appease gods and goddesses in order to maintain societal norms. These rituals recalled the violence against women expressed in myth. Some believe that the violence of myth served as a powerful reminder to women to dutifully fulfill their obligations as virgin, prostitute, wife, and/or mother. Their inclusion in society was strictly for religious observance and reproduction. Citizen wives were expected to fulfill their primary duty; to produce a male heir, prostitutes were tasked with serving the sexual needs of the men, and maidens were tasks with virginal purity.

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<sup>37</sup> Blundell, *Women in Ancient Greece*, 160.

<sup>38</sup> Robin Osborne, "Women and Sacrifice in Classical Greece," *The Classical Quarterly* 43, no. 2 (1993): 394.

<sup>39</sup> Osborne, "Women and Sacrifice," 394.

<sup>40</sup> Martin, *Ancient Greece*, 128.