Historical Narratives

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A Note from the Editors

Historical Narratives is the undergraduate history journal of Wesleyan University. In this fourteenth volume of the publication, we continue in the tradition of celebrating student work while providing a platform for academic discourse. The pages that follow feature a wide variety of papers, reflecting the multifarious interests of the student body. This collection of essays consists of environmental, to economic, and social histories while exploring topics of the Amazon, gender, and religious rhetoric.

History, as a profession and discipline, allows us to grapple with and make sense of the past. History also sheds light on and preserves the lives, cultures, and stories of the past. The study of history engages us in a mode of historical thinking that allows us to critique moments of historical immorality and constructed narratives. Furthermore, assessing our shared histories can inform our present and guide us into the future. Now, more than ever, historical inquiry urges us to contemplate and evaluate the dimensions of our current socio-economic and political moment.

This journal would not have been possible without the enthusiastic contributions from the student body and the support from the History Department. Thank you to the various professors who believe in the possibilities of undergraduate research. Your knowledge and guidance fostered our transformation from students of history to historians-in-training.

Steven Chen, Ilana Newman, and Hai Lun Tan
Editors-in-Chief

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El Pueblo de Dios: Mormon Colonization in Mexico and the Appropriation of Indigeneity Through Lamanite Identification

Brenda Quintana

My family immigrated from Toluca, Mexico to Provo, Utah in the United States when I was just one year old. Just a few blocks north of our apartment was Brigham Young University, a Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (LDS) temple, and a Missionary Training Center. A Mormon cultural stronghold, moving to Provo was hardly coincidental in my family's case. As a young man back in Mexico, my father was an active LDS Church member, having joined at the age of fifteen.[1] Many of the motivations for moving to the United States stemmed from his experience as an LDS missionary serving in Monterrey, Mexico, where he was able to make contacts within the Mormon community that eventually enabled him to immigrate and find work in the United States.

Although my father only remained an active member for a few years after coming to the United States, he recalls feeling a sense of contradiction and disidentification with the ways the Mormon doctrine was being taught in the United States in comparison to Mexico. A specific moment of realization for him occurred when he was sharing an apartment with two American students in Logan, Utah, and he borrowed their English version of the LDS Institute Manuals. The manuals, which are guides used for scripture study, had completely different imagery than what he had seen

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[1] "Enero de 1980, a los quince años de edad. Mision México Monterrey 1986-1988. Vine a los Estados Unidos después de mi mision en Noviembre de 1988, y continue activo en la iglesia por dos años después."

in his Spanish version in Mexico. Whereas his old manual back in Mexico depicted Mesoamerican and indigenous imagery, such as the Aztec pyramids and artifacts, his housemates' carried images of colonial America and the Founding Fathers.[2] These images, normally shared in other LDS publications, served the purpose of situating the "Promised Land" depicted in the Book of Mormon in a precolonial and colonial America.

Back in Mexico, my father told me that Mormon church leaders and missionaries, who would often be Anglo Americans, would directly cast Mexican mestizo and indigenous members as being descendants of the Lamanites. In the Book of Mormon, the Lamanites, along with the Nephites, are understood as being the first inhabitants of the New World and considered descendants of the House of Israel.[3] The American members would teach new converts that they should be *orgullosos* (proud) of being Lamanite descendants and that they were part of *el Pueblo de Dios* (God's people).[4] Cultural signifiers of Mexico's indigenous ancestry were taken up as evidence of the Lamanites' lingering influence, which in turn encouraged national pride. For my father, Lamanite identification had more to do with bringing additional attention to an existing cultural heritage, than it had to do with taking up a new historical identity. However, when my father got involved with the Church in the United States, Lamanite identification of Mexicans became less prominent and almost nonexistent in a predominantly white, Anglo-centric culture.

My father's experience reflects the ways in which Lamanite identification has been exercised in deliberate and strategic ways to advance Mormon proselytizing efforts in Mexico, particularly among prospective mestizo and indigenous members. Although my father's experience is relatively recent, the politics of Lamanite identification are rooted in a long

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[2] Although I do not have access to any physical manuals to verify the difference, the English version manuals are available online and in Chapter 4 of the Book of Mormon Manual, there are images of Christopher Columbus and the American flag in a "sequence of events leading to the establishment of God's Kingdom."

[3] The Lamanites would eventually outlast the Nephites, explaining why it is commonly understood that Indigenous Americans are descendants of Lamanites.

[4] I use "Anglo American" interchangeably to "White American," with preference given to historical timeframe and likelihood of self-identification with these terms.

history of Mormon proselytism and settler colonialism in Mexico, dating to back to the mid- to late nineteenth century. Many early attempts at establishing colonies and mission sites were met with internal conflict and external resistance. Internal conflicts were largely defined by disagreements about the role of the Church in Mexico or conflicting interpretations of the Book of Mormon, specifically as it related to the status of converted members. External resistance to the Mormon Church during moments of political revolution and reformation were primarily concerned with the association of the Church with American imperialism and colonialism. Ultimately, a majority of these early colonial projects had to be discontinued and often resulted in the excommunication of dissenting converts. The two most notable examples that have set a foundation for Mormon participation in Mexico include the first short-lived Mexican Mission (1879-1889) and colonization efforts in the Northern Mexican states of Chihuahua and Sonora (1885-1912*).[5]

In this essay, I will be using Patrick Wolfe's conceptualization of settler colonialism as a "logic of elimination" to analyze the role of the Book of Mormon in displacing indigenous histories and justifying Church expansion through the imposition of Lamanite identities on indigenous and mestizo Mexicans. Examining how Lamanite identification was used to support settler colonial projects, such as the establishment of the Mexican Mission and Mormon Colonias, reveals the extent in which indigeneity was appropriated and manipulated within Mormon ideology. Acknowledging the capacity of Lamanite identification to be internalized, as well as strategically exercised by indigenous or mestizo members, examining the role of a few notable Mexican converts in the Church allows for an understanding of how indigenous and Lamanite identities were exercised to negotiate claims to power within the Church. Nonetheless, identifying Mexico mestizos as Lamanite works within an existing colonial logic defined by Mexican

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[5] The timeline attributed to the established Colonies is defined by the year the land was purchased, and the year of the last Mormon "Exodus" after being removed from their property by Mexican rebel armies. However, the timeline is a bit more complicated considering that there are a few Colonies that were resettled after the Mexican Revolution and two main colonies that are still run by the descendants of original Mormon colonists in Mexico today.

nationalism, that perpetuates the elimination of the native by further distancing Lamanite narratives from actual indigeneity.

Background: Mormon Colonization on the Frontier

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, founded in 1830 by Joseph Smith in Palmyra, New York, was one of the many religious groups that grew out of the Second Great Awakening. During the same period that the Church was founded, the United States had started to expand further westward, defined primarily by the Louisiana Purchase from the start of the century. The year of 1830 was also marked by the signing of the Indian Removal Act, which forcefully uprooted and displaced indigenous tribes west of the Mississippi River. The establishment of the Mormon Church and the development of their ideological framework would be significantly influenced by American westward expansion and the displacement of indigenous nations. Even before the completion of the Book of Mormon, there were a series of "revelations," or instructions from God, expressed by Joseph Smith and other founding members that set into motion Mormon missionary work in the newly acquired Western territories.[6] Consequent revelations also designated the Book of Mormon as being "written primarily 'to the Lamanites,'" and instructed members to "go unto the Lamanites & Preach [the] Gospel unto them."[7]

The first Mission to the Lamanites, which lasted only a year, sent three missionaries to western Missouri to proselytize among the displaced Indian communities past the Missouri frontier, which was referred to as the "border of the Lamanites" by Mormons. Aside from proselytizing to the

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[6] "Revelations" are expressed as being a direct communication to God. Within Mormon ideology, Prophets are the only people who can receive revelation for the Church, however, anyone who is said to be faithful, is capable of receiving individual revelations from God.: Richard Dilworth Rust, "A Mission to the Lamanites," The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints: History, February 22, 2013, https://history.lds.org/article/doctrine-and-covenants-lamanite-mission?lang=eng; The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, "Revelation," The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, accessed December 16, 2017, www.lds.org/topics/revelation.

[7] "Revelation, September 1830–B [D&C 28]," The Joseph Smith Papers, accessed December 16, 2017, 41, http://www.josephsmithpapers.org/paper-summary/revelation-september-1830-b-dc-28/2.

presumed descendants of the Lamanites, this mission was instrumental in the establishment of Mormon settlements in Ohio and Missouri.[8] Consequent "revelations" calling for the "gathering of saints" in each respective settlement set in motion the westward migration of Mormon members from the original site of New York.[9] However, Mormon settlements were often met with resistance by surrounding Protestant communities and prominent leaders were regularly persecuted by various local and state officials.[10] Their religious practices and social organizations were considered transgressive, anti-American, and a threat to western civilization by other American citizens. As scholar Jason Dormady would note, "early converts to Mormonism were used to existing on the fringes of American society," and the isolation that settlement in the West promised was especially appealing to key leaders in the Church, who continued to be persecuted.[16]

Initial plans for western colonization were torn between settling in the "Great Basin" (also known as the Great Salt Lake area) or Northern Mexico.[11] The primary goal was to be just beyond federal reach. The decision to settle in the Great Basin was ultimately made by Brigham Young, who took the place of Joseph Smith as the new church President following Smith's assassination. Young, referred to as the "Great Colonizer" within official Church statements, led the first group of Mormon pioneers into Salt Lake City Valley in 1847. Nonetheless, plans to settle in Mexico were revisited in the subsequent decades as the Salt Lake area came under U.S. federal control and anti-bigamy act threatened to seize Church property in the Utah territory.

To encourage members to migrate to the West, Church leadership established the "unsettled" West as a divine site for the gathering of saints

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[8] Daniel H. Ludlow, "Lamanite Mission of 1830-1831," Encyclopedia of Mormonism (New York: BYU Harold B. Lee Library, 1992), 802-804,
http://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/cdm/ref/collection/EoM/id/4391.
[9] Doctrine and Covenants 37: 3.
[10] The Lamanite Mission was cut short after an order to desist was issued by federal Indian agent, Richard W. Cummins, with repeated threats of arrest if missionaries did not leave Indian lands.
[11] Jason H. Dormady, "Introduction: The Mormons in Mexico," in *Just South of Zion: The Mormons in Mexico and Its Borderlands* (University of New Mexico Press, 2015), 2.

by ascribing qualities associated with the characters and events of the Book of Mormon onto the land. Joseph Smith enforced this idea by identifying indigenous peoples and their cultural artifacts as belonging to the Lamanite.[12] More broadly, it was the attribution of "wilderness" and "uncivilized" to indigeneity that helped enforce the representation of the unsettled West as being more purely rooted in its Lamanite history. Because Mormon Gentiles (what Anglo-American Mormons identified as) are said to inherit the Promised Land alongside the redeemed Lamanites in the Book of Mormon, settling on or near indigenous land also reflected an ideological fantasy of cohabitation.[13]

Many of these initial colonization projects that defined early Church growth and expansion in the United States were intimately connected to the moving borders and frontiers, often seeking to be just out of reach of American legal persecution or control. Furthermore, situating later attempts to organize missionary work and colonias in Mexico in relation to the establishment of the Church on the American Frontier reinforces why the imagined historical character of the Lamanite is so important. Mormon colonization and proselytism are centered on a paternalistic, ideological relationship with indigeneity and indigenous land.

Lamanite Characterization and Identification

As addressed earlier, the Book of Mormon is said to have been written "to the Lamanites," and is presented as a collection of writings written by the ancient peoples identified as the "original colonist in the New World."[14] The first two sections in the Book of Mormon are written by the

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[12] John-Charles Duffy, "The Use of 'Lamanite' in Official LDS Discourse," *Journal of Mormon History* 34, no. 1 (2008): 125.
[13] 2 Nephi 30:1 "Converted Gentiles will be numbered with the covenant people—Many Lamanites and Jews will believe the word and become delightsome—Israel will be restored and the wicked destroyed."
[14] Alysa Landry, "How Mormons Assimilated Native Children," Indian Country Today Media Network, January 11, 2016, http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2016/01/11/how-mormons-assimilated-native-children-162962; Lane Johnson, "Who and Where Are the Lamanites?" The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, December, 1975, https://www.lds.org/ensign/1975/12/who-and-where-are-the-lamanites.

imagined historical character Nephi, who documents the escape of Israelite families from Jerusalem during 600 BCE. Over time these families eventually split off into two groups, each following either the patriarch Laman (of the namesake Lamanites) or Nephi (whose followers are referred to as the Nephites). Over the centuries these two groups started to acquire distinguishing qualities which reflected their moral characters. The Nephites, who primarily followed the teachings of Christ, were represented as being "white, and exceedingly fair and delightsome," whereas the Lamanites, a "loathsome" and "idle" people, were marked by a "skin of blackness."[15] Despite the condition of the Lamanites, the Book of Mormon says that through conversion, the Lamanites could be redeemed so that their "scales of darkness shall begin to fall from their eyes... and they shall be a pure* and a delightsome people."[16] Centuries of war between the two groups led to the demise of the Nephites as a collective. As a result, contemporary indigenous people are often read as descendants of the Lamanites, whose "dark" characteristics have also been used to signal racial difference. In the literature referencing the role of race in the Mormon Church, the depiction of the Lamanite has been the most controversial. It is largely understood as being a product of its time, where "whiteness" was used interchangeably with moral purity, but also reflected a racist understanding of the origin of people of color.[17]

The language of "redemption" is heavily exercised in Church doctrine regarding Gentile relationships with Lamanites, often functioning under a paternalistic dynamic. Proselytizing, as practiced by Mormons, grants the gentile Anglo-American members the authority to teach

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[15] 2 Nephi 5:21 "Wherefore, as they were white, and exceedingly fair and delightsome, that they might not be enticing unto my people the Lord God did cause a skin of blackness to come upon them"

[16] 2 Nephi 30:6 "their scales of darkness shall begin to fall from their eyes; and many generations shall not pass away among them, save they shall be a pure* and a delightsome people." The word "white" was replaced with "pure" during a revision of the Book of Mormon in 1981.

[17] Armand L. Mauss, All Abraham's Children: Changing Mormon Conceptions of Race and Lineage (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003); See also Edward J. Blum and Paul Harvey, The Color of Christ: The Son of God & the Saga of Race in America (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012).

indigenous communities a version of their own history, in an effort to redeem them of their spiritual conditions. The Book of Mormon both "glorifies and condemns" the Lamanites by portraying them as a racialized "fallen people," as well as the "promised people," who are "destined" to inherit the land upon acceptance of the "true gospel."[18] The disbelief in Christ turns the Lamanites into a "dark, and loathsome, and a filthy people, full of idleness and all manner of abominations" and belonging to the wilderness.[19] However, conversion promises to redeem the Lamanite and eliminate traces of the curse, making them "white and delightsome."[20] Through redemption, the descendants of the Lamanites can then make claim to their ancestral promised land. Claims to land and belonging are then contingent on approval of the gentile Anglo-American Mormon leadership for conversion. Along with conversion, there is an expectation that they reject parts of their existing indigenous culture and identity, and distance themselves from the "wildness" to become civilized. Although Mormon millennialism is unique in that it does envision the reclaiming of Indigenous lands, in practice these claims remain spiritually symbolic.[21]

In "The Use of 'Lamanite' in Official LDS Discourse," John-Charles Duffy chronicles the use of the term "Lamanite" throughout the Church's history, bringing attention to the stakes involved in Church leaders exercising certain definitions of Lamanite. The initial function of the North American Lamanite allowed for an understanding of an unfamiliar people and landscape to be grounded in an existing ideology.[22] Although Lamanite identification was primarily limited to North American Indians during the first few decades of the establishment of the Church, the label eventually grew to include other indigenous people as the Church began to open up missions in other countries. Parley P. Pratt, who served as an Apostle in the LDS Church and spearheaded the first Mission to Chile, wrote a proclamation directed to "the people of the coasts and islands of the Pacific,

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[18] Landry, "How Mormons Assimilated Native Children."
[19] 1 Nephi 12:23, 2 Nephi 5:24
[20] 2 Nephi 30:6; Landry, "How Mormons Assimilated Native Children."
[21] Duffy, "The Use of 'Lamanite' in Official LDS Discourse," 131.
[22] Duffy, "The Use of 'Lamanite' in Official LDS Discourse," 125.

of every nation, kindred and tongue" in 1851. One of the proclamations chapters, "Address to the Red Man," explicitly included Peruvians, Mexicans, and Guatemalans alongside North American Indians as belonging to the "branch of the house of Israel."[23] As different native groups came under the Lamanite label as the Church continued to expand abroad, the scriptural logic relied heavily on developing understandings of Ancient cultures during the 19th century. However, research and explorations of indigenous land, people, and artifacts often perpetuated racist representations of indigeneity.

The ability for the label to expand allowed for open interpretation and identification, which was particularly useful when justifying colonization and missionary projects outside of the United States. Distance also became an important factor in Lamanite identification for indigenous people from Latin America and the Pacific Islands. Following the Mormon Pioneer westward movement during the mid-nineteenth century, Mormons came into direct contact with North American Indians, which sparked conflicts as they often competed for resources and space. Duffy notes that like many other white settlers, Mormons came to "regard the Indians with 'disgust and loathing.'"[24] By redirecting emphasis on indigenous people abroad, they were able to exercise a degree of distance that made room for more sympathetic representations. When the Mexico mission was dedicated by Apostle Moses Thatcher in 1881, he declared it a chance to "redeem the Lamanites in that Land,"[25] The pointed "that Land" signaled a land of Others that existed away and apart from Mormon settlements in the United States.

Coming into the twentieth-century, there was also a significant shift in Lamanite identification that began to take on an overt racial identity due

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[23] Parley P. Pratt, "Proclamation! To the People of the Coasts and Islands of the Pacific, of Every Nation, Kindred and Tongue," C.W. Wandell, 1851. L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University,
http://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/cdm/ref/collection/NCMP1820-1846/id/17392.
[24] Duffy, "The Use of 'Lamanite' in Official LDS Discourse," 129; Juanita Brooks, "Indian Relations on the Mormon Frontier," Utah Historical Quarterly 12 (January-April 1944); 12.
[25] F. LaMond Tullis, Mormons in Mexico: The Dynamics of Faith and Culture (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1987), 41.

to the emphasis on bloodlines and lineages. Mormon doctrines continued to suggest that Native Americans and Pacific Islanders belonged to a "single racial stock" defined by Israelite blood.[26] There was a belief that the Lamanites of Mexico and the rest of Latin America were less likely to have their Israelite blood diluted or "contamination" through miscegenation with other bloodlines, unlike the Lamanites of the United States.[27] Lamanite identification relied on a racial logic for the preservation of these ancient lineages that made scriptural destiny predetermined and inheritable. Concerns over "amixture" also manifested themselves in prejudiced feelings towards Mexican mestizos. During Mormon colonization efforts in the American Southwest in the 1880s, colonizer Jesse Smith believed that "'the blood of Cain was more predominant in those Mexicans than that of Israel' because they 'carried not just the blood of Spanish and Indians, but also the blood of Africans.'"[28] Although it was precisely this racial "mixture" which qualified Mexicans as Lamanites, it was also used to challenge their claims to the lineage. Although there are various conflicting views held by Mormon members, the doctrine itself does little to address the instability that mixed colonial identities might pose to these imagined indigenous lineages. This instability in the label results in a series of conflicts in colonization and proselytizing efforts.

The racialization of lineage is primarily a product of social and intellectual movements led by Mormon leaders with the interpretation of key figures carrying particular weight in the century following the western settlement of Mormons. Lamanite identification is racialized over time as the Mormon Church continued to grow throughout Latin America and the Pacific Islands to maintain and center Gentile Anglo-American leadership. Ultimately, designating a people as Lamanites preserves the colonial authority of non-indigenous settler Mormon members by granting them primary authority over religious narratives.

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[26] Duffy, "The Use of 'Lamanite' in Official LDS Discourse," 133-134.

[27] Anthony W. Ivins, Conference Report, April 1901, 58.

[28] Daniel Herman, "Calls to War, Calls to Peace: Mormons among New Mexicans in 1880s Arizona," in *Just South of Zion: The Mormons in Mexico and Its Borderlands* (University of New Mexico Press, 2015), 135-136.

Mexican Mission: The Failure of the First Encounter

     As early as 1874, Brigham Young had announced intentions for setting up a mission in Mexico in order to "take the gospel to Lehi's millions of Mexican descendants."[29] In order to lay the groundwork for missionary work in Mexico, Brigham Young recruited Daniel Webster Jones and Meliton Gonzalez Trejo to translate sections of the Book of Mormon into Spanish. The published series of texts, called *Trozos Selectos del Libro de Mormon (Selected Portions from the Book of Mormon*, were printed and distributed in 1875 to various individuals in Mexico to gauge interest before the establishment of a mission site. Jones, who had also been called to head the mission in 1874, led a group of missionaries to scout out possible colonization sites "along the Little Colorado River in Arizona and in the Mexican states of Chihuahua and Sonora."[30]

     These initial engagements with Mexico, particularly as they related to the key figures like Jones and Trejo, are largely predicated on member participation in the Mexican-American War. Many Mormon members participated in the war, either individually or on behalf of the specially organized "Mormon Battalion", a group of Mormon soldiers that were strategically used to occupy and invade parts of New Mexico and California in order to place pressure on the Mexico to ceded the contested land and rewrite the Southwestern border.[31] Daniel Webster Jones, an instrumental figure in Mormon colonization in Mexico, learned Spanish during his time as a volunteer soldier in the Mexican-American War and developed a

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[29] Lehi is the patriarch of Nephi and Laman who lead the voyage to the New World in the Book of Mormon. References to the "children of Lehi" should be read as being grounded in a similar logic as Lamanite identification; Tullis, Mormons in Mexico: The Dynamics of Faith and Culture, 14; Daniel Webster Jones, Forty Years Among the Indians: A True Yet Thrilling Narrative of the Author's Experiences Among the Natives, Juvenile instructor office, (1890): 220.

[30] Jared Tamez, "'Out of This Part of Babylon': Colonizing Mexican Mormons and the Decline of the Mexican Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 1879–1889," M.A., The University of Utah, 2014, 13.

[31] Susan Easton Black, "Mormon Battalion," Utah History Encyclopedia, accessed January 18, 2018, http://historytogo.utah.gov/utah_chapters/trappers,_traders,_and_explorers/mormonbattalion.html.

familiarity of the northern Mexican region through the U.S. military colonizing efforts.[32]

Meliton Gonzalez Trejo, the other key figure in the translation of the Book of Mormon, was a Spanish convert. Before Trejo came to Salt Lake City in 1874 to express his "most fervent desire to translate the Book of Mormon into Spanish and to take the gospel to his people," he was serving as a military officer stationed in the Philippines.[33] Although Trejo never got to take the gospel to "his people" in Spain, his work in translating the Book of Mormon was instrumental for Mormon proselytizing in Mexico. The symbolic implications of Trejo's work in translating the Book of Mormon in a language that was imposed through Spanish colonization as a Spaniard with an extensive military career highlights the complicated nature of Mormon colonization. The involvement of figures like Daniel W. Jones and Meliton Trejo reflect how different forms of coloniality informed Mormon colonization in Mexico.

The underlying coloniality of Mormon doctrine and missionary work reacted with Mexican nationalism in ways that ultimately caught many Mormon Church leaders and missionaries off guard. For Mexico, the period following its independence from Spain was defined by a desire to create a unique Mexican identity, as well as political efforts to modernize the country. Some of the primary components of Mexican national identity include the concepts of *mestizaje* as creating a "cosmic race," and pride in past Indian civilizations that have been interrupted by colonization and imperialism.[34] Politically, Mexican nationalism is marked by a desire to modernize the country through industrialization and urban growth, followed by a strong distrust of the Catholic Church and foreign interests. During the aftermath of the Mexican-American War, anti-American sentiments also

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[32] Jack McAlister, "The Unlikely Convert," June 1988, https://www.lds.org/liahona/1988/06/the-unlikely-convert-daniel-webster-jones?lang=eng.

[33] Eduardo Balderas, "How the 8Scriptures Came to Be Translated into Spanish," The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, September 1972, https://www.lds.org/ensign/1972/09/how-the-scriptures-came-to-be-translated-into-spanish?lang=eng.

[34] Mestizaje is a reference to racial miscegenation and intercultural exchange that occurred between European colonizers and indigenous Americans. Stephen D. Morris, "Reforming the Nation: Mexican Nationalism in Context," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 31, no. 2 (1999): 370.

became a defining aspect of Mexican nationalism. Mexican nationalism indirectly gave way for Mormon colonization in Mexico through its appeals to religious freedom, industry and westernization.

Previous attempts to establish missions in Latin America by the Mormon Church were unsuccessful because of the Catholic Church's political and cultural stronghold in the area. It wasn't until La Reforma, a series of liberal political and social reforms that loosed the Catholic Church's political power, that various American protestant religions were able to organize missionary efforts in Mexico.[35] The cultural climate following la Reforma made intellectuals like Plotino Constantin Rhodakanaty, "a Greek-born immigrant and one of Mexico's first socialists thinkers," receptive to the teachings of Book of Mormon.[36] Rhodakanaty moved to Mexico with the hopes of establishing a utopian community and worked to promote agrarian and urban workers' rights. When he received a copy of Trozos Selectos sometime around 1876, he was immediately taken by the humanitarian and philanthropic teachings of the text and the communitarian practices of Mormon settlements. In 1878, he sent a letter requesting that Mormon missionaries be sent to Mexico so that he and a group of his friends could be baptized, prompting the official start of the Mexican Mission in 1879.[37]

Mormon historian LaMond Tullis, also makes note of another notable intellectual in Mexico that demonstrated early interest in Mormonism. Ignacio Manuel Altamirano, a radical liberal writer of indigenous Nahua heritage, was receptive to the "pro-Indian Liberal rhetoric but also to the Mormons beliefs about the Lamanites' historical importance."[38] Although he goes on to request more information about the Church, there is no evidence that he demonstrated interest in joining the Church as a committed member. Nonetheless, Altamirano's interest

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[35] Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico: The Dynamics of Faith and Culture*, 14-15.

[36] Tamez, Jared M., and Bill Smith. "Plotino C. Rhodakanaty: Mormonism's Greek Austrian Mexican Socialist." In *Just South of Zion: The Mormons in Mexico and Its Borderlands* (University of New Mexico Press, 2015), 55-72.

[37] Tamez and Smith, "Plotino C. Rhodakanaty," 57-60.

[38] Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico: The Dynamics of Faith and Culture*, 34-35.

highlights how the Book of Mormon was interpreted by various Mexican intellectuals, and how indigenous-centric message echoed nationalist and liberal discourse at the time. As agrarian and workers' rights activists, Rhodakanaty and his group reflect how different components of Mormonism were taken up by other liberal intellectuals in Mexico.

For Rhodakanaty, Mormonism was a way to ideologically supplement his group's work towards social and spiritual reform, which in turn, also provided an established framework for practicing communitarianism. They often also made appeals to Mexican nationalism by connecting indigenous heritage to an Israelite lineage, as well as expressing loyalty to Mexican institutions and culture. However, these appeals reflect a common desire among Mexican converts to distinguish between a Mexican Mormonism from what was often interpreted as an American-centric Mormonism that was practiced by LDS missionaries.[39] Tensions regarding how each respective group interpreted the role of the gospel in Mexico would ultimately be one of the leading factors for the Mission's failure.

Although Rhodakanaty's interest sparked the opening of the first Mexican Church Branch in Mexico, the decision to send missionaries was of "dual character."[40] Aside from the hopes of spreading the gospel to the "remnants of Israel," there was always an underlying motivation to find a place to establish Mormon colonies. Colonies in Mexico would serve as sites of refugee for members facing increased federal pressure to cease the practice of polygamy. However, many missionaries, after having spent some time in Mexico, believed that establishing a colony where worthy Mexican converts would go to live amongst other Anglo-American members was the only answer to increasing and retaining membership in Mexico. Although Mormon colonization is further expanded on in the latter part of this essay, the fates of the two projects are intrinsically linked. One of the first missionaries to advocate for colonization for the purpose of gathering Mexican converts was Daniel W. Jones, who had previously led a scouting

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[39] Tamez and Smith, "Plotino C. Rhodakanaty, 62.
[40] Thomas Cottam Romney, *Mormon Colonies in Mexico* (Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah, 2005), 38.

group throughout northern Mexico in search for suitable lands to settle in. After having made various failed attempts to proselytize to the indigenous communities in the scouted regions, Jones believed that colonization was a "social and spiritual necessity" that would have facilitated their missionary work.[41] Later on, Apostle Moses Thatcher, who resided as the President of the Mexican Mission, began to take interest in Jones' colonization proposals. In a journal entry, Thatcher would go on to state that "[Jones and I] were united in one idea, and that was before any great work could be done in this country it would be necessary to colonize among the people."[42]

The desire to set up a colony had also been something that Rhodakanaty had pushed for since missionaries first got to Mexico City, albeit for reasons beyond the "gathering of the Saints."[43] However, when Thatcher presented a proposal to buy land and establish a colony right outside Mexico City in 1880, the LDS Church leaders in Salt Lake City rejected the plan citing poor membership attendance.[44] Despite the refusal of the Church's central leadership, Rhodakanaty remained steadfast over the issue of communalism, while overtime, many of his followers began to lose interests, and other Mexican converts stopped attending weekly church services altogether. During the year following their arrival, Thatcher grew increasingly critical of Rhodakanaty, accusing him of being "spiritually poor" and of trying to "buy converts" like other Protestant groups.[45] Eventually, after a period of "inactivity," Thatcher would call on Rhodakanaty to resign from his position as branch president. Following his resignation, Thatcher

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[41] Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico: The Dynamics of Faith and Culture*, 40.
[42] Journal cited in B. Carmon Hardy, "Cultural 'Encystment' as a Cause of the Mormon Exodus from Mexico in 1912," Pacific Historical Review 34, no. 4 (1965): 439–54. https://doi.org/10.2307/3636354; Journals of Moses Thatcher, III, 43-44.
[43] "Saints" is another term used to refer to members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. "The Gathering" is a concept explored earlier in relation to the building of the Zion in the American West, which is then applied to colonization efforts in Mexico.
[44] Tamez, "'Out of This Part of Babylon,'" 29.
[45] The accusation of trying to buy converts signals one of the primary misunderstandings between the two, in which Rhodakanaty's request to open up schools and directly support the poor by providing work was misinterpreted by Thatcher as exploiting Church resources and funds to attain more converts by appealing to material goods; Tamez, "'Out of This Part of Babylon,'" 16.

would appoint an early convert, Silviano Arteaga, to fill his role as branch president.[46]

Although many of Rhodakanaty's original group ended up leaving the Church, those that remained helped establish a second branch of the Church in Ozumba.[47] The new branch was located at the base of Popocatepetl, a volcano of spiritual importance for the indigenous communities in the area.[48] Months prior to the opening of the branch, Thatcher lead a group of Mexican members and missionaries up the volcano, holding a prayer and conference on the fifty-first anniversary of the founding of the Church at the top. Aware of the symbolic importance of the volcano, Thatcher intended to layer and capitalize on indigenous spiritualism.

By 1884, they would begin to extend their missionary outreach just outside of Mexico City, in Toluca, Ixtacalco, Telcalco, and Chimal and Nopala.[49] As proselytizing work began to show improving outcomes in membership numbers, discussions about colonization began to re-emerge among the missionaries. Many of these discussions came about as a result of concerns that Mexican members might be tempted to stray from their newfound faith by the surrounding cultural "degradation" that marked a country like Mexico. Colonization took on a paternalistic nature that assumed Mexican converts had to be contained and shielded from the influence of their country's influence.

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[46] Ibid., 16-19.

[47] [47] Tullis, Mormons in Mexico: The Dynamics of Faith and Culture, 41-42.

[48] The most popular legend about Iztaccíhuatl and Popocatépetl comes from an Nahua oral tradition. The story loosely goes as follows: Iztaccíhuatl's (meaning "White Woman" in Nahuatl) father sent Popocatépetl ("Smoking Mountain") to war, promising him his daughter as his wife if he returned. A jealous suitor lied to Iztaccíhuatl's father about Popocatepetl's death. When news of his death reached Iztaccíhuatl, she became ill with grief and died, When Popocatépetl returned, and discovered the death of his lover, he took her to the top of the mountain, laying her on a funeral table filled with flowers. After staying with her, mourning the loss, he frozen to death. God covered them with snow and they became the mountains. This story is a summary of what I was able to find online about it, although there are various versions of the folk tale.

[49] Tullis, Mormons in Mexico: The Dynamics of Faith and Culture, 42.

Since missionaries started to come to Mexico, clear anti-Mexican sentiments could be read in their personal letters and journals.[50] Additionally, their prayers and official statements referencing the Lamanites of Mexico often carried a paternalistic tone, portraying them as "fallen" and needing to be redeemed by the Church and gospel. Mexico would often be represented as dangerous, sexually promiscuous, and spiritually depraved. Many of these portrayals would be rooted in preconceived notions about race and racial mixture. In a diary entry, Thatcher expressed that:

> I cannot ignore the fact that the Mexican is an indolent, shiftless race and those of mixed blood are self-conceited and bigoted beyond measure…Should the pure blooded Indian race ever secure the ascendency here then I believe strong hopes of better days and better things might reasonably be entertained. But on natural principles, what can we expect from the issue begotten in the heated passion of lust [between] the degraded Indian mother and the adventurous lustful white man?[51]

Although many times, Mormons would often conflate Mexicans as being "native," considering everyone who did not immediately resemble a European as being a descendant of the Lamanites, a few Church figures would differentiate between "pure blooded Indians" and "mixed blooded Indians."[52] This was primarily due to the impression that those who have a more "undiluted" Lamanite lineage would be more receptive to the gospel. Additionally, these sentiments were consistent with racial attitudes in the United States at the time that perceived the *mestizo* as being degraded race, exemplifying the worst qualities of each respective race.

Some of the critiques were aimed directly at the Catholic Church and the perceived exploitation of indigenous populations that they witnessed, as reflected in another entry written by Thatcher: "I had no idea that the poor Indian had been so far degraded as he is. God alone can lift

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[50] Many of the direct quotes from journals or letters are cited in secondary literature. I will cite both the secondary literature and primary source together the first time it is cited, and then on its on moving forward, with the recognition that there was restricted access to many of these documents.
[51] Thatcher, Diary, December 15, 1879.
[52] Tamez, "'Out of This Part of Babylon,'" 22.

them out of the deep mire of superstition into which the priests have thrust them."[53] Although many of the critiques could be justified and were often shared by many liberal thinkers in Mexico, Mormons saw themselves as the only spiritual authorities that could take them out of this system of exploitation. Missionary Horace Cummings believed that the "influence of American and European capital and energy" and "influx of foreigners" would help Mexico advance, and restore them back to the state of glory of prior indigenous civilizations.[54] While pre-colonial indigenous civilizations were often glorified within Mexican nationalist discourses, it was uncommon that Anglo-Americans shared the same sentiments. However, because the Book of Mormon reinforces the narrative of pre-existing indigenous civilizations that consisted of the Lamanites and Nephites, Anglo-Mormons often exercised similar "primordial disintegration" rhetoric when discussing the reformation of contemporary Mexico.[55]

Missionaries like Jones, Thatcher and Helaman Pratt believed that by taking Mexican converts out of their "fallen" environments and into direct cohabitation with American Mormons, they can be acculturated into a more acceptable way of life and remain committed to the Church.[56] However, as federal pressures increased, efforts to establish colonies took priority over traditional proselytizing efforts. The branches in and around Mexico City, that were already struggling to retain members, would lose a significant group of active members, who were considered "worthy" enough to move to the colonies in northern Mexico. The ultimate failure of the "Gathering of the Saints" in Mexico would go on to spell disaster for the Mexican Mission as a whole, leading to its final closure in 1889.

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[53] Thatcher, Diary, December 4, 1879. Pg. 25.

[54] Where shall we look for an agent that will revive and restore the native Aztec to the high position and civilization that history tells us he once occupied? Or where is there a power sufficiently strong to break the Catholic yoke of thralldom, and teach the deluded captive his true relationship to God and his fellow man? Cummings, Journal, July 5, 1885. Photocopy, Church History Library, Salt Lake City, UT; Tamez, "'Out of This Part of Babylon,'" 25.

[55] Stephen D. Morris, "Reforming the Nation: Mexican Nationalism in Context," Journal of Latin American Studies 31, no. 2 (1999): 370.

[56] Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico: The Dynamics of Faith and Culture,* 43.

Mormon Colonias and the Exodus of 1912

Before Thatcher first introduced his colonization proposal to Church leadership in Salt Lake City in 1880, him and two additional missionaries at the time would dedicate the Land of Mexico for colonization, "pleading earnestly" that the land could be "opened up so that it could be settled by the Saints who thereby might teach the downtrodden remnants of Israel, temporal and spiritual salvation."[57] Although LDS President John Taylor wouldn't negotiate the purchase of 100,000 acres of Mexican land for another five years, different forms of settler colonialism were already at work before the church even acquired land.[58] The missionaries prayed not only for the salvation of the "fallen Lamanites," but also suggested a desire for the "Saints" to colonization "all parts" of Mexico to insure the success of proselytizing to the Lamanites. The "opening up" of the land, as worded by Trejo, functions within a settler colonial framework that operates as an "inclusive, land-centered project" whose eliminating operations "are not dependent on the presence or absence of formal state institutions."[59] Mormon colonization, while operating outside of American imperialism, exercises its own desire to "eliminate the native" through containment and assimilation, while relying on a divine justification for land ownership.

The passage of the Edmunds Act in 1882, which banned the practice of plural marriages by specifically targeting "unlawful cohabitation" (which was easier to prove than the practice of polygamy), spurred the premature migration of hundreds of people to the Mexican border regions. By 1885, mass groups of Mormon colonists waited for the expected land purchase, violating customs laws and living without a specific source of income.[60] Despite polygamy also being illegal Mexico, land negotiations often came with the promise of federal leniency when it came to the issue.

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[57] Tamez, "'Out of This Part of Babylon,'" 29, Stewart, Journal, January 25, 1880.

[58] John B. Wright, "Mormon Colonias of Chihuahua," Geographical Review 91, no. 3 (July 2001): 587.

[59] Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," Journal of Genocide Research 8, no. December (2006): 393.

[60] Tamez, "'Out of This Part of Babylon,'" 34; Hardy, "Cultural 'Encystment,'" 442.

The Mexican President, Porfirio Díaz, was particularly receptive to Mormon colonization, and believed that the "industrious" Mormons would help contribute to the modernization of the country.[61]

The first permanent settlement was the Colonia Juarez, which was established in 1886. By 1900, with the continued blessings of the federal government, they established five other colonies in the state of Chihuahua and two others in Sonora.[62] Although the initial year was a rough start for many of the colonies, with many of the settlements experiencing serious economic poverty, many of the settlements began to show improvements by the 1890s. The settlements, which would eventually make most of their profits from agricultural produce, were primarily operated by the church-owned co-operative, the Mexican Colonization and Agricultural Company Agriculture.[63] Patrick Wolfe argues in "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native" that agriculture— an "inherently sedentary and, therefore, permanent" form of settler colonialism— serves as a means to secure its own reproduction.[64] Despite the federal government's expectation that the Mormons colonies would stimulate economic prosperity among the surround Mexican communities, much of that economic wealth would remain insulated within the colonies.

The colonies practiced what historian Carmon Hardy terms cultural "encystment", in which culturally homogenous and self-contained communities relocate to a "more favorable environment" after experiencing pressures from its "previous environment."[65] For the persecuted Mormon polygamists, moving to Mexico provided an ideal site for temporary refuge. However, the self-contained nature of cultural "encystment" points to a

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[61] Ibid., 39-40.
[62] Hardy, "Cultural 'Encystment,'" 443-444.
[63] Ibid., 445.
[64] Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," 395.
[65] Although it is metaphorically used in this context, according to the Encyclopedia Britannica, the biological definition of "encystment" is the survival process amoebas undergo "during adverse environmental periods" where "the amoeba becomes circular, loses most of its water, and secretes a cyst membrane that serves as a protective covering. When the environment is again suitable, the envelope ruptures, and the amoeba emerges." "Amoeba | Protozoan Order." Encyclopedia Britannica, November 21, 2016. https://www.britannica.com/science/amoeba-order.

settler colonial logic of elimination that is "turned inwards."[66] The Mormon colonies in Mexico were very selective about how they engaged and interacted with local Mexicans, largely being characterized as highly-exclusive and American-centric communities.

Mormon leaders and missionaries working in the Mexico City area believed that gathering the Lamanite descendants in a Mormon colony, in order to be overlooked and guided by Anglo-American Mormons, was the only chance they had at successfully reforming and redeeming Mexican converts. However, only "worthy" members were invited to live in the Mormon Mexican colonies, which was measured by level of acculturation and commitment to the Church and the gospel. In short, "worthiness" was the measurable distance the individual has made from Mexican culture and society. Once accepted into the colonies, Mexican converts had to take up new and unfamiliar ways of living that were dictated by Mormon communitarianism and agricultural labor. Assimilation programs, such as the ones cited, "reflect the ideological requirements of [Mormon] settler-colonial societies, which cite native advancement to establish their egalitarian credentials."[67] Many struggled to meet the working and social expectations of the colonies, and often left with disappointing wages.[68] Mexican members would often be accused of "lacking thrift," being "lazy" and easily getting "led astray" by outside influences, even within the constraints of the colony.[69] These accusations displaced the blame of layered colonial and imperial pressures placed on Mexicans by painting it as individual failure to reform oneself, as well as representing it as an underlying incapacity Mexicans had to escape the degrading conditions of their race.

Aside from imposing strict expectations of assimilation, Mormon colonies often practiced "informal segregation."[70] Mormon colonies operated under a racial logic the prioritized Anglo-Saxon ancestry. Despite

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[66] Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," 399.
[67] Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," 403.
[68] Tamez notes that while Mexican Mormons were being paid 50 cents per day, many were under the impression that they would be earning up to $1.00 to $1.50 per day.
[69] Tamez, "'Out of This Part of Babylon,'" 59-61.
[70] Hardy, "Cultural 'Encystment,'" 448.

their spiritual commitment to the Lamanites, who were read as racially different than the Mormon colonists, the selectivity of which Mexican Mormons were accepted into the colonies meant that colonies remained predominantly White.[71] Furthermore, intermarriage with Mexican people, especially non-indigenous Mexicans, was highly discouraged, since it was believed that it could dilute or contaminate ancestral lineages, which in and of themselves, exist along a racialized hierarchy.[72] Historian Carmon Hardy notes that the Mormon colonists demonstrated little interest in proselytizing to the Mexican natives in that region, with the first Mexican baptism occurring years after they first settled, with few other following after 1891.[73]

In 1905, during a stake conference in Juarez, the president of the church, Joseph F. Smith, told the colonists "Mormons were to be established "throughout the breadth of the land" and that "The Lord had conspired forced immigration to Mexico "in order that the work might spread."[74] This continued desire to expand settlements in order to stretch the reach of the Zion into the northern Mexican region reflects a settler colonial desire for the continuous acquisition of land and resources.[75] This phenomenon could directly be observed in the state of Chihuahua, were surrounding villages often grew resentful of the Mormon colonies as they bought out a significant portion of the state's most arable land and water rights.[76] Where the Mormon colonies used to receive considerable support and protections from the Porfirio Díaz-led federal government, the start of

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[71] "White" is used here in place of "Anglo-Saxon" or "Anglo-American" to more directly reference racial categorizations.

[72] Recall that earlier, Brigham Young Jr. would warn members living in Arizona "that the blood of Cain was more predominant in these Mexicans than that of Israel." Hardy, "Cultural 'Encystment,'" 447; Mauss, All Abraham's Children.

[73] Ibid., 448; "Diary of James Henry Martineau," XI: Miscellaneous Mormon Diaries (typewritten and mimeographed MSS, B.Y.U.), 35.

[74] Ibid., 446; Journal of Anthony W. Ivins as typed, prepared, and supplemented by Stanley S. Ivins (microfilm of typewritten MS, B.Y.U.), Sept. 16.

[75] A quote from Patrick Wolfe's essay that resonates with these events: "Modernity cannot explain the insatiable dynamic whereby settler colonialism always needs more land." Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," 395.

[76] Tamez, "'Out of This Part of Babylon,'" 66; See Craig Livingston, "From Above and Below," 280-316.

the Mexican Revolution in 1910 signaled the end of Mormon colonization in Mexico.

The Mexican Revolution was an armed movement that was organized in response to "widespread discontent with the elitist and oligarchical policies of Porfirio Díaz that favored wealthy landowners and industrialists," leading to his eventual forced removal and replacement from office in 1991.[77] Many of the Mormon Colonies in the state of Chihuahua were caught in the crossfires of the conflict, and at times, were directly targeted for representing foreign capital. Although Church Officials claimed to be politically "neutral" in the conflict, it is important to note that a majority of the policies Diaz was receiving criticism for directly enabled the establishment of the Mormon colonies, and the subsequent wealth from land grants and political protections.[78] Ultimately, the majority of attacks aimed at the Mormon colonies were set up by conditions of economic inequality and developing anti-American and anti-Mormon sentiments.

After having all their guns and ammunition confiscated by the revolutionary army, Mormon leaders concluded that leaving the settlements would be the only way to protect colonists from further conflict. On July 28, 1912, the colonists headed to Mormon settlements in New Mexico and Arizona in hopes that they could wait out the conflict.[79] Few colonists would come back later at the end of 1912, and then again during 1915, only to find their properties vandalized, destroyed, or burned to the ground. By the 1920s, "isolation, poor soils, poverty, and a lack of schools" forced all but two colonial settlements to be abandoned. Currently, Colonia Dublan and Colonia Juarez in the state of Chihuahua are the only remnants of these early colonial projects.[80]

The final exodus signaled not only the closure of the colonies, but of the mission in Mexico as well. Although missionary efforts beyond the

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[77] "Mexican Revolution | Causes, Summary, & Facts." Encyclopedia Britannica, January 2, 2018. https://www.britannica.com/event/Mexican-Revolution.

[78] LaVon B. Whetten and Don L. Searle, "Las Colonias," Ensign, August 1985, https://www.lds.org/ensign/1985/08/las-colonias-once-a-haven-still-a-home?lang=eng.

[79] Hardy, "Cultural 'Encystment,'" 451-452.

[80] Wright, "Mormon Colonias of Chihuahua," 586.

northern region had already seen a sharp decline, post-revolution restrictions on foreign clergy made Mormons in Central Mexico increasingly isolated from Church leadership in Salt Lake City.[81] Following the migration back into the United States, Church President Joseph F. Smith assured colonists that they were "at liberty to go where they chose and might consider their mission Mexico at an end," once again being mobilized as "religious refugees."[82]

Conclusion

The Mormon Church has historically reframed instances of settler colonialism around a refugee narrative. This refugee narrative assumes an inherent "innocence" that absolves the Church of any possible violence or conflict that occurred in the process of colonization. While there does exist a history of religious persecution, these narratives erase how their migration into "open" lands were made available through the displacement of indigenous communities, both physically and symbolically. Mormon settler colonization and the construction of the Zion relied on a level of recognition of indigenous histories, but only as they were understood within the context of the Book of Mormon. The Book of Mormon displaces and rewrites indigenous histories, and grants authority over the indigenous narratives to the Anglo-settler missionary

Many liberal Mexican intellectuals were initially receptive to the indigenous-centric Mormon literature, which echoed nationalist discourse. However, meetings with Mormon missionaries were commonly met with disinterest to fully commit as a member, disagreements regarding individual interpretations of the gospel and conflicts regarding American-centered religious authority. Even so, Mexican converts who embraced the gospel were expected to distance themselves from Mexican cultural and social influences by assimilating to Mormon settler-colonial societies. This was a result of the paternalistic approach Mormon leaders and missionaries

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[81] Dormady, "Introduction: The Mormons in Mexico." 10.
[82] Hardy, "Cultural 'Encystment,'" 452; "The Mexican Trouble-Loyalty to the Constitution," Improvement Era, (Dec., 1912), 95.

practiced when proselytizing to non-Anglo Mexicans, which assumed that the "fallen descendants of the Lamanites" could only by being taught about the Mormon gospel. This dynamic was even more visible in the colonial concept of "the Gathering," which sought to bring "worthy" Mexican converts under the oversight of Mormon members.

Many Mormon missionaries believed Mexicans were a culturally and spiritually degenerate race and culture. Mormons were both influenced by an American racializations of Mexicans, specifically mestizo Mexicans, as well as a particular Mormon racialization and hierarchization of ancestral lineages. The degraded conditions of Mexico and its people were widely attributed to the corrupt influence of the Catholics, as well as the inherited degradation of the cursed Lamanite ancestral heritage. However, Mormon missionaries would neglect to connect the cultural and economic poverty of the Mexicans as stemming from structural colonial and imperial pressures.

Ultimately, the failure of the colonies and missions occurred during a political moment in which the issues of foreign investors, labor rights, and land ownership reforms were pushed to the forefront of national discourse by revolutionary Mexican leaders. Although the violence Mormons and Mormon properties faced was in part a consequence of being established in the state of Chihuahua, it also had to do with the fact that their economic prosperity as a majority Anglo-American colony in the face of growing poverty made it a noticeable target. Despite claiming a "neutral" position, the Church failed to address how they benefited from the previous regime's policies, which in turn, exacerbated social and economic issues, particularly in the areas that they occupied.

The surviving colonies, as they exist now, represent the enduring preservation and reproduction of Whiteness and American-centric Mormon settler colonial societies. Their role in maintaining a culturally and economically insular community is directly tied to a settler colonial logic of elimination that limits the conditions of access to the colony's resources and land. While at the start, access to the colony's resources by Mexican natives was determined on the bases of assimilability and a commitment to acculturation, present day conditions reframed these requirements through

the public negotiation of shared spaces, such as schools and parks. Despite having made more deliberate efforts to integrate surrounding native communities, the colonial landscape continues to reflect a dominant Mormon culture, with minimal interaction with Mexican culture. This is especially reflected in John B. Wrights' geographic field work on the existing Mormon Colonias, where he observes the enduring Mormon cultural influences.[83]

The failure of the Mormon Mission and the abandonment of the majority of the colonies stands in contrast to the Church's current success and growth in Mexico within the last few years. Although most Mexican converts are not taught these initial histories by Mormon missionaries or during Sunday services, these histories inform how Mormon settle colonialism continues to operate in the Church today. Just like many of the early converts of the 1890s, my father came to attribute Mormonism with a celebration of the indigenous civilizations in Mexico. The Mormon Church continues to manipulate indigenous representations through the image of the Lamanite for the purpose of globalizing and expanding the Church. Although the Church no longer sponsors colonization projects, the growth of the Church requires the acquisition of land. The appropriation and displacement of indigeneity is not only an outcome of Mormon settler colonialism in Mexico, but an active tool that preserves and reproduces Mormon coloniality.

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[83] Wright, "Mormon Colonias of Chihuahua," 595.

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The Rubber Tappers in The Amazonian Imagination

Hai Lun Tan

> *"In the rain forests of the western Amazon, the threat of violent death hangs in the air like mist after a tropical rain. It is simply a part of the ecosystem, just like the scorpions and snakes cached in the leafy canopy that floats over the forest floor like a seamless green circus tent."[1]*

The Amazon rubber boom was a critical period in the social and economic history of Brazil and the Amazon region. Between the years of 1890 and 1920 (and beyond), the Amazon basin was gripped with a boom and bust fever that seemed to grant massive fortunes to rubber barons in a fortnight. The lives and cruel practices of infamous barons such as Vaca Diaz, Colonel Resendo da Silva, and Julio César Arana have often monopolized the scholarship regarding the Amazon rubber boom. Instead of focusing on these nominal figures, I turn my attention to the lived experiences of the rubber tappers through the lens of ethnographic history within the longer tradition of imagining the Amazon. The lives of the rubber tappers need to be discussed in the context of Amazonian historiography and imagination, which harkens back to a fixed and ever-enduring image of the Amazon as both a hellish paradise and a pristine Eden. This intricate web of relations between the Amazon, its inhabitants, and the international community will be explored with a few guiding questions: a) what was the imagined reality of the Amazon during the time period of the Amazon rubber boom? b) who were the rubber tappers and how do we conceptualize their labor? c) how did the lives of the rubber tappers take on a political and social importance within their local

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[1] Andrew Revkin, *The Burning Season: The Murder of Chico Mendes and the Fight for the Amazon Rain Forest.* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1990), 6

communities or internationally? This paper seeks to weave together several important threads of Amazonian history – among them economic history, ethnographic approaches to the study of the rubber tappers, and the enduring ideas that have facilitated the conquest of the Amazon which crafted a specific image of the Amazon in the imagination of an outsider. At the heart of this argument is an attempt to highlight the humanity of the rubber tappers while showcasing the narrative transformation of the rubber tappers from victim to figures with political and social agency, in order to facilitate a changing view of labor and community in the Amazon.

The Amazon in the Public Imagination in the 19th Century

For centuries, explorers and travel writers facilitated and propagated an enduring image of the Amazon as a place of continual conquest and economic subjugation. The tales of pre-modern explorers captured the public imagination. The travel narratives of Samuel Fritz and Carvajal proliferated in Europe and throughout the world. The unnerving aspect of these travel narratives, among others, was the similarity of observation and analysis despite the time that has elapsed between any two works. The time that has elapsed between two publication the Amazon will undoubtedly have endured various changes. The Amazon that Samuel Fritz writes about is not and cannot be the same Amazon that Carvajal encounters. This enduring desire and urge to return to the same region, expecting the same results, is not realistic. This unexplainable reason to return to the Amazon speaks not only to the sense of exceptionalism that these explorers felt, but it also speaks to the enduring image of the Amazon. Euclides reiterates this sense of disillusionment that travelers felt because "each of us has drawn an ideal Amazonia in our minds thanks to the remarkably lyrical pages left by the countless travelers… we experience a common psychological reaction when we come face to face with the real Amazon: we see it somehow lacking with respect to the subjective image we have long held of it."[2] The image of a

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[2] Euclides da Cunha and Ronald Sousa Lúcia Sá, *The Amazon: Land without History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 3

conquerable paradise reigns supreme in our imaginations, yet, when travelers come to encounter the real Amazon, their illusion is shattered. The images of the Amazon are preserved in the tangible writings of these explorers.

When tracing the linguistic changes over the travel narratives, it is evident that the vocabulary used to describe the Amazon is stagnant and also demonstrates almost no change over time. Language is the vehicle in which knowledge and experiences is conveyed. If language and vocabulary of a certain region is static and fixed, there can never truly be an accurate portrayal and understanding of the Amazon and its inhabitants. Travel advertisements, especially around the turn of the 19th century, still harken back to the image of 16th century Amazon, as if to sell the experience of time travel to its customers.[3] The trend of exploitation of the Amazon whether through exploration or tourism continued into the 20th century at the hands of the military. In order to increase rubber production, the United States "favored the formalization of labor, the sale of low-priced good, and improved health care and transportation in the Amazon basin."[4] The United States relished access to the Amazon's natural resources and continued to negatively modify the ecology of the region by proposing the Casiquiare canal be connected with the Amazon through the Orinoco tributary, allowing greater access for the export of rubber. At the advent of the war, the United States and other nations began to view the Amazon as more than just a hellish paradise; rather, it was a bountiful region that could supply the raw materials to support the war efforts. As the Amazon underwent and occupied various roles in the public imagination, its various inhabitants struggled to fit into the paradigm of economic and social structures. During the travel boom, various tribes along the border regions and the Amazon interior, were co-opted into the systems of tourism and then later into the rubber trade.

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[3] *The Washington Post,* "Modern Flying Speed Erases Long Days of Travel by Sea." Dec. 17, 1933.
[4] Seth Garfield, *In Search of the Amazon: Brazil, the United States, and the Nature of a Region* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 171

The Rubber Tappers

The rubber export business operated on a pyramidal structure, with the rubber tappers at the bottom of this hierarchy. Weinstein states that "the lowest man on this commercial totem pole was the tapper (*seringueiro*) - the worker who actually went into the forest and collected the rubber."[5] A rubber tapper was usually responsible for two trail loops. Weinstein's illustration shows three seemingly unconnected huts. These huts housed the rubber tappers and were separated by hundreds of *heveas*, the species of rubber tree that was most easily exploited in this region of the Amazon. Each hut was surrounded by teardrop loops that loosely indicated the path on which the rubber tappers followed (see Figure 1 in Appendix).

In the mornings, the rubber tappers departed from their huts, stopping on each of the trails to make fresh slashes on each of the rubber trees. Their labor of collecting the rubber could be conceptualized through the equipment the rubber tappers brought along with them on their teardrop trails. This illustration delineated the materials into two sections: for collecting the latex and for smoking the rubber.[6] (See Figure 2 and 3 in Appendix.)

Rubber tapping was a slow process and it was not unimaginable that rubber tappers did not meet their daily or weekly quota. One travel writer, Henry C. Clemens, remarks on "how easy to put in a few stones, a bunch of burlap sticky with half coagulated rubber, or a billet of wood as heavy as iron. It gives more weight and at the store he is sure to get extra supplies for it."[7] This quote illuminates a few crucial aspects for the rubber tapper's labor process. The ease of incorporating other materials to make up for the weight of the *pelle* must have occurred often - or at least often enough for an eye witness to have commented on it. This explicitly suggests that the rubber

[5] Barbara Weinstein, *The Amazon Rubber Boom, 1850-1920* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1983), 16

[6] Chico Mendes and Tony Gross, and Latin America Bureau. *Fight for the Forest: Chico Mendes in His Own Words.* (London: Latin America Bureau, 1989), 13

[7] Pearson, Henry C. *The Rubber Country of the Amazon: A Detailed Description of the Great Rubber Industry of the Amazon Valley, Which Comprises the Brazilian States of Pará, Amazonas and Matto Grosso, the Territory of the Acre, the Montaña of Peru and Bolivia, and the Southern Portions of Colombia and Venezuela.* (India Rubber World, 1911), 38

tapper, even if they felt disenfranchised or subjugated, still utilized certain methods of passive resistance.

More importantly, this decentralized system of exporting the rubber from the interior region of the Amazon to coastal export cities with access to larger Amazon tributaries (ie: Para or Manaus) provided the rubber tappers with an odd sense of protection. For example, the rubber tappers would deliver the week's rubber output to the nearest *barracao*, "the central trading post operated by the tapper's patrao, who was either the large landholder who 'leased' the trails to the tapper for a percentage of the rubber gathered, or the local merchant who informally controlled rubber production and trade in the district by marketing the seringueriros' output and keeping them supplied with tools, food, and any luxuries they could afford."[8] Even from this brief description of the initial stages of exchange, the rubber product passes through the hands of at least two or three people or groups before the rubber even gets to the docks of Belem or Manaus. Both of the above quotes do not mention the money or cash in exchange for the *pelle,* rather, the tappers receive tools in exchange for the rubber product they produce. In this way, the credit system acts as an economic system of bondage.

An analysis of the credit system or "debt peonage" cannot go unmentioned - this economic system has subjugated this set of workers and prohibited them from gaining economic freedom and agency. Traditional rubber estates operated on a system of debt peonage. Rubber tappers were "doubly exploited, obliged to sell their rubber at artificially low prices to the estate and to buy tools and foodstuffs from the estate store… they were permanently at the mercy of the *seringalista* and the book-keeper."[9] However, this simple explanation obscures the complex narrative between the tappers and the traders. For the majority of the time, the tappers were much too mobile and removed from the traders' control for a full implementation of debt peonage to truly enact a difference. "By advancing goods on credit to a particular tapper, the local tapper was creating a patron-client bond that the

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[8] Weinstein, *Amazon Rubber Boom,* 18
[9] Mendes, *Fight for the Forest,* 11

tapper could not normally afford to break unless he was prepared to leave the area, thus the debts did imply a certain amount of control."[10] Economic oppression was only one of the many forms of control and oppression that the tappers faced. The rubber tapper suffered from a lack of material comforts and consistent food sources, in part because the *patrao*'s policy of preventing subsistence activities in order to co-opt the tappers into the system of credit.

Chico Mendes and the Rubber Tappers' Formation of Political Identity

       The first-hand accounts written by Chico Mendes about his childhood tell the story of his adolescence in the Amazon. He states,

> "My life began just like that of all rubber tappers, as a virtual slave bound to do the bidding of his master. I started work at nine years old, and like my father before me, instead of learning my ABC I learned how to extract latex from a rubber tree. From the last century until 1970, schools were forbidden on any rubber estate because if a rubber tapper's children went to school, they would learn to read, write, and add up and would discover to what extent they were being exploited."[11]

From this brief autobiographical introduction, we can gain some understanding of the social structure within this labor hierarchy and attempt to determine what life would have been like for a rubber tapper. Mendes notes the onerous labor obligations imposed on a rubber tapper and their family members. The children of rubber tappers were born into a cycle of subordination that could have felt eternal and hopeless. The oppression of rubber tappers had become a systematized method of injustice, considering the fact that this affected more than one generation of people. Systems of injustice and educational inequity had been installed in order to maintain the economic structure of rubber production.

       One way to facilitate control was through the suppression of knowledge. For the most part, scrutiny of any system of oppression strikes fear in those who sit at the helm of oppressive institutions. Education is the

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[10] Weinstein, *Amazon Rubber Boom,* 23

[11] Mendes, *Fight for the Forest,* 15

key to many social justice issues, including this one. The Xapuri union had been tackling issues of education and larger social justice qualms, they understood that "people's lack of understanding of their situation had been causing us a lot more problems. The rubber tappers have been here for more than a hundred years with no schools, nothing, while at the same time being brainwashed by the rubber estate owners. People tend to keep that slave mentality and therefore do not involve themselves much in the struggle."[12] Not only has this proven to be an exhaustive social dilemma, this has proven to be a case of psychological trauma.

The *Projeto Seringueiro* (The Rubber Tapper Project) was spearheaded by the Ecumenical Documentation and Information Centre, with the majority of the funding coming from international charities such as Oxfam and later the Eucmenical Services Network, in order to alleviate the dire situation of the lack of rural education. From the beginning, the project has worked closely with the Rural Workers' Union in Xapuri. This rally of support for workers' education and involvement in educational causes marks the first step toward the development of the political and economic identity of the rubber tappers. The first stages of setting up the schools involved asking the international agencies, such as Oxfam, for financial support. According to Mendes, the Union was able to pressure the Education Secretary into providing "1.164.000 Cruzeiros (£16,000) for 12 schools" and "the work only got done because everybody in the community contributed" which led to the amazement of the Ministry of Education "when they came to inspect the schools, they said they'd never seen anything like it before. They told us of local authorities that had received a lot more money but hadn't managed to build a third of what we'd done."[13] The sense of community effort in creating awareness and an educated populace demonstrates the success and positive change over time. This demonstrates the tangible results that could be produced if the entire community comes together to create political and social change.

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[12] Mendes, *Fight for the Forest,* 31
[13] Mendes, *Fight for the Forest,* 35

This is not to say that this program was socialist in practice. Education, the dissemination of knowledge, and fair treatment are social programs, but they were not socialist in nature. While the rubber tappers were incredibly frustrated and dissatisfied by the mechanisms of the extractive economy, their programing did not include an overthrow of the governmental framework. Their unions and meetings worked within the framework of the Brazilian government. At the first National Rubber Tappers' Congress in 1985 in Brasilia, the rubber tappers explicitly stated their objectives in the presence of various governmental ministries such as Industry and Commerce, Agriculture, Agrarian Reform and Culture, among others. Their demands included: "a development policy for Amazonia that meets the interests of rubber tappers and respects our rights. We do not accept an Amazonian development policy that favours large enterprises which exploit and massacres rural workers and destroy nature" and secondly, they were "not opposed to technology, providing that it is at [their] service and does not ignore our wisdom, our experience, our interests and our rights."[14] This meeting, political in its nature, cemented the budding political identity of the rubber tappers. With the development of a community consciousness, rubber tappers from across the Amazonia region were beginning to realize that their economic and social plight extended far beyond themselves and their regional radius, rather, they have begun to realize that their struggle was intertwined with a larger governmental and international community.

Over the decades, the fight for the rubber industry to recognize the humanity and the economic rights of the rubber tappers quickly became entangled in the fight for the forest. The unintentional consequences of making deforestation important in the international spotlight did not begin with such intentions; rather, the intentions of the rubber tappers and other indigenous groups were simpler and purer: the rubber trees were the source of their economic livelihoods and from their perspective, the rubber tappers saw their livelihoods being destroyed by international interests.

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[14] Mendes, *Fight for the Forest,* 37

In examining the lived reality of the Amazon rubber tappers through the centuries in conjunction with the language and enduring vocabulary that has painted the image of the Amazon as a place of economic subjugation highlights the sad truth of this region. Despite the progress that Chico Mendes and other union organization have made on behalf of the political health of the rubber tapper, the economic suffocation of the Amazon imposed on its residents is ever-present in the testimony of rubber tappers in the latter half of the 1990s. According to a rubber tapper, Raimundo Nonato da Silva, interviewed by *The Washington Post* in 1991. He reminisces on the changes in the Amazon and his current economic situation. He states,

> "'Where we really get punished is at the grocery store,'" tapper Da Silva said. His spool of rubber is virtually all that connects Da Silva and his family of six to the world outside the dark, towering forest where he bleeds the trees. His 240-pound load, the fruit of three weeks' work, was worth about $100 at current prices. Three years ago, a pound of rubber would have bought Da Silva five pounds of sugar; today it will get him only one pound of sugar. Milk for his children is a luxury he can no longer afford."[15]

The last rubber boom occurred in the 1920s - from then forward began the slow yet inevitable decline of the price of Amazon rubber. The lives of the rubber tappers, in response to this change, suffered economically as a result. The quote above delineates two crucial factors: one, this unsubsidized price of rubber does not hold the same purchasing power as it did a couple of decades ago and two, the Amazon is still being perceived as a place that is virtually unconnected and hidden from the rest of the world. Rubber was a crucial link between the interior of the Amazon to the international market; however, without this connection, the image of the Amazon regresses and retreats into the stereotypical mould of darkness and hiddenness. The nature of the Amazon changes depending on its utility. For example, the travel industry utilized the Amazon as a perfect travel destination for entering the

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[15] Julia Preston, "Foreign Journal; Taps." *The Washington Post (Pre-1997 Fulltext),* Sep 09, 1991.

past with touches of modernity. The boom cycles of rubber and travel extract resources from the Amazon long enough to complete a full cycle, yet at the end of the cycle, the Amazon regresses back into the stereotypes of the region as a tropical paradise. These boom-and-bust cycles do not economically or socially progress the Amazon; rather, they shine a temporary spotlight onto the region, which fades as soon as the boom and bust cycle is over.

However, Chico Mendes, even upon realizing the imminence of his death, believed in the potential of this region. In a diary entry that was to be read at his funeral, Chico states, "I only want my assassination to serve to put an end to the immunity of the gunmen… If a messenger from heaven came down to guarantee that my death would help to strength the struggle; it could even be worth it. But experiences taught us the opposite. It is not with big funerals and demonstrations of support that we are going to save the Amazon. I want to live."[16] The tremendous love and faith Chico had in the Amazon and his political fervor passed onto other union organizers such as Júlio Barbosa, Chico's successor of the Xapuri Workers' Union, and Osmarino Amancio.

The fascination with the Amazon as an unchanging region is not only unreasonable, it degrades the millions of people whose livelihoods depend on the forest and it overwrites their tumultuous history of resistance and political agency. The rubber tappers, although now a defunct profession, and their descendants continue to live and work in the Amazon. Ultimately, a large part of Chico's fight was to change how the international public viewed the Amazon – he wanted to prove that millions of people, in fact, live in the jungle, that it is their home, and that it is worth protecting. In order for the public consciousness to change about the Amazon, the language and vocabulary we use to describe the Amazon has to go beyond what the travel advertisements and military campaigns suggest; rather, the public needs to transcend these stagnant narratives and begin to see the Amazon as changing and dynamic and begin to view the narrative of rubber tappers' transformation, from victim to political figure, as one of resistance.

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[16] Mendes, *Fight for the Forest*, 6.
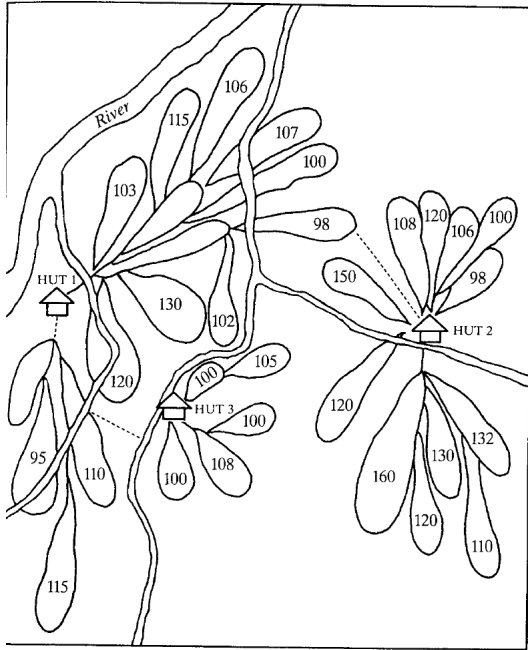
Figure 1: A depiction of an Amazon rubber estate in the 1900s. Each loop is a trail and the numbers inside each loop show how many *heveas* make up that trail. The *heveas* are naturally grow a certain distance away from each other – this distance becomes nature's way of protecting itself.[17]

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[17] Weinstein, *Amazon Rubber Boom, 17*. Weinstein's illustration is based on an illustration from *India Rubber World,* Oct. 1, 1902, pg. 15.
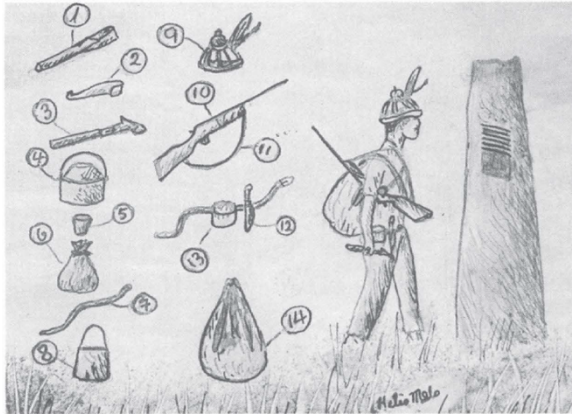
Figure 2: Illustrated by Hélio Melo to demonstrate the various tools and equipment that the rubber tapper employs each day on their daily journey along the tear shaped trails to collect rubber.[18]

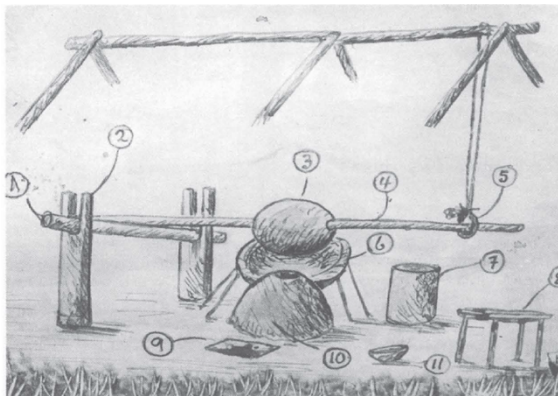**Figure 3:** Illustrated by Hélio Melo to demonstrate the various pieces of equipment that the rubber tapper employs to smoke the rubber near their huts.[19]

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[18] Mendes, *Fight for the Forest*, 11.
[19] Mendes, *Fight for the Forest*, 11.

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Weapon of the Party: Reform in the Khrushchev Era

Samuel McCarthy

Only forty-four years after seizing power, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union boldly announced the imminent arrival of communism. Unlike Stalin and his obsession with industrialization, Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev was committed to the loftiest goals of Marxism-Leninism. As a result, many of his reforms sought to shift Soviet power from the state apparatus to its ideological foundation, the Communist Party. While well-intentioned, Khrushchev's policies of de-Stalinization, cultural liberalization, and economic decentralization attempted to relocate Soviet power without fundamentally challenging its nature. Although he drastically softened the tenor of Soviet authority and relaxed the methods of enforcing it, Khrushchev maintained Stalin's vision of the USSR as an authoritarian state overseeing a command economy.

On February 25th, 1956, Nikita Khrushchev stunned his comrades at the Twentieth Party Congress. In what is now known as the "Secret Speech," Khrushchev lambasted former General Secretary Joseph Stalin for creating a "cult of personality" and directing the devastating party purges of the 1930s.[1] The address, which was quickly disseminated among rank-and-file party members, initiated Khrushchev's broader campaign to dismantle Stalin's legacy in the Soviet Union. In addition to the speech, Soviet officials erased Stalin from the media, removed his coffin from the Lenin Mausoleum, and destroyed public monuments bearing his image.[2] By denouncing Stalin, Khrushchev genuinely attempted to guide Soviet society out of Stalin's

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[1] Ronald Grigor Suny, *The Soviet Experiment: Russia, the USSR, and the Successor States* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2011), 418.

[2] Ibid., 425.

shadow of terror, repression and paranoia. More importantly, however, Khrushchev's program of de-Stalinization attempted to blame the failings of the USSR on Stalin, not on the party and its underlying Leninist ideology. Khrushchev cast Stalin as a deviant from "holy Leninist principles," a murderous tyrant who "ignored the norms of *party* life and trampled on the Leninist principle of collective *party* leadership [emphasis added]."[3] Stalin's image as a traitor to Lenin—and therefore the entire party—was solidified by the removal of his coffin from the Lenin Mausoleum on Red Square. In a speech supporting the coffin's removal, Ukrainian Communist N. V. Podgorny claims that Stalin's body represents "so much evil caused to our party, the country, and the Soviet people."[4] Tellingly, Podgorny mentions the party before anything else. According to the official narrative, Stalin's gravest offense was not that "innocent people were shot and imprisoned without trial" but that his Communist Party was "totally at variance with the spirit of Lenin."[5] Though a genuine attempt to help the USSR heal from Stalin's brutality, the dismantling of Stalin's legacy was also a shrewd political move intended to shake off the party's legacy of Stalinism and restore faith in its vision of Leninism. In reaffirming the party's dogmatic commitment to Leninism, however, Khrushchev failed to meaningfully reform its troubling tendency towards authoritarianism and violence. In the Secret Speech, Khrushchev even admits that Stalin played a "positive role" in eliminating "Trotskyites, rightists" and other "enemies of Leninism"[6] during the 1920s— a campaign that eerily foreshadowed Stalin's bloody witch hunts of the next decade. Like Stalin, Khrushchev would not tolerate dissent from Leninist creed. To Khrushchev, however, it was the entire party who were arbiters of Lenin's ideology, not a single man.

During his rule as First Secretary of the Communist Party, Khrushchev periodically attempted to liberalize the Soviet Union's cultural

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[3] Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev, "The 'Secret' Speech" (Nottingham: Spokesman Books), 32.
[4] D. A. Lazurkina, "Speech by Comrade D. A. Lazurkina" (Speech, Moscow, Russian SSR, October, 1961).
[5] Ibid.
[6] Khrushchev, "Speech."

and artistic sphere. Under his predecessor, art was a series of "carefully sought-out, mannered, and chosen thoughts,"[7] a cultural vacuum depicting little more than agricultural abundance and industrial output. During the so-called "Khrushchev Thaw," the USSR tepidly expanded the parameters of artistic expression. Museums exhibited abstract art, *Pravda* published critiques of Stalinism, poets stood boldly against Soviet anti-Semitism, novelists satirized bureaucracy, and young people listened to jazz.[8] Khrushchev's cultural liberalization, however, was half-hearted and ineffectual, and like his other reforms, sought to shift power from the state to the party. Dissident Liudmila Alekseeva, for example, recalled how student protestors were no longer "sent off to the camps" but reprimanded by party officials.[9] Instead of being violently repressed by the secret police and other instruments of the state, deviants were disciplined by university professors, city Komsomol, and other representatives of the Communist Party.[10] Under Stalin, controversial artists were quietly executed by the NKVD;[11] under Khrushchev, they were taunted and demoted by party officials.[12] Khrushchev openly voiced his preference for party superiority in the realm of cultural regulation. According to Khrushchev, "the press and radio, literature, art, music, the cinema, and theater are a sharp ideological weapon of our party. And the party sees to it that that weapon should be kept ready for action at all times and strike telling blows at our enemies."[13] Khrushchev attempted to expand the boundaries of acceptable art and introduce a softer, party-dominated form of cultural regulation (Image 1). He did not, however, stray from the Stalinist principle that those in power should regulate art and culture to "stimulate only those

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[7] James von Geldern, "The Thaw," accessed April 22, 2017, www.soviethistory.msu.edu/1954-2/the-thaw.

[8] Suny, 430.

[9] Liudmila Alekseeva and Paul Goldberg, *The Thaw Generation: Coming of Age in the Post-Stalin Era* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993), 94.

[10] Alekseeva and Goldberg, 94.

[11] Suny, 244.

[12] James von Geldern, "Khrushchev on the Arts," accessed April 22, 2017, http://soviethistory.msu.edu/1961-2/khrushchev-on-the-arts/.

[13] Suny, 429.

Image 1: Although Khrushchev took a more liberal approach than his predecessor, artists under his rule still sought to glorify workers and the Communist Party. Viktor Popkov, *The Builders of Bratsk*, 1961, Seventeen Moments in Soviet History.

Image 2: In the Stalin era, art amounted to little more than dull and heavy-handed propaganda.
Iurii Kugach, *Praised be the Great Stalin!* 1950, Seventeen Moments in Soviet History

creative forces which would contribute to the strengthening of socialism." (Image 2)[14] When Lenin died, the public sphere was a loosely regulated market of revolutionary styles and ideas. Khrushchev's thaw never recreated this example of "party passivity"—it simply modified the Stalinist paradigm.[15]

The liberalization of public discourse extended to the economic arena. For the first time since Stalin's ascent to power, Soviet leaders publicly debated aspects of their centrally-planned command economy.[16] Khrushchev began implementing economic reforms in 1957, with the elimination of many industrial ministries and the creation of *sovnarkhozy,* or regional economic councils.[17] As the first secretary of the Communist Party, Khrushchev's reform was a calculated move to empower the party over the state by transferring economic agency from high-level technocrats to "middle-level party officials, who made up over half of the Central Committee."[18] Georgy Malenkov and Vyacheslav Molotov, Stalinist statesmen who opposed the reform, were quickly labeled an "Anti-Party Group" in violation of "Leninist norms of party life."[19] Despite his willingness to decentralize economic decision making, Khrushchev never doubted that production should be guided by the government over the market. Soviet leaders flirted with the Liberman Plan, an economic agenda that incorporated market mechanisms, but stopped short of its full implementation.[20] Despite his public adoration of Lenin, Khrushchev never entertained the idea of a return to the 1920s' New Economy Policy or any plan that allowed for private enterprise. Instead, he oversaw a command economy that closely resembled the one constructed by Stalin.

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[14] Ibid., 429.

[15] Ibid., 430.

[16] Evsei Liberman, "Are We Flirting with Capitalism?" in *Readings in Russian Civilization,* ed. Thomas Riha (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 803.

[17] Suny, 428.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Lewis Siegelbaum, "The Anti-Party Group," accessed April 23, 2017, http://soviethistory.msu.edu/1956-2/the-anti-party-group/.

[20] Suny, 435.

Even at the end of his life, Khrushchev retained an unshakable faith in the victory of communism.[21] Like Lenin, Khrushchev deeply believed in the power of socialism and the USSR to liberate humanity from oppression. The sincerity of his belief was a blessing and a curse, inspiring Khrushchev to reform Soviet society without reconfiguring its basic structure. By attempting to shift power from the state to the party, Khrushchev sought to reinvigorate the entire Soviet system, not to challenge its hegemony. Guided by practical politics and impractical ideology, Khrushchev's attempts at reform fell short of realizing the utopian dream they so passionately promised.

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[21] Nikita Khrushchev, *Khrushchev Remembers,* ed. Strobe Talbott (Boston: Little Brown & Company, 1970), 513.

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"The Demon Girl": Continuity and Change in Religious Rhetoric Surrounding Female Criminality from Medieval Europe to Nineteenth Century America

Lila Levinson

"This roused the smouldering embers of wickedness to raging flames within the breast of the demon girl."

—*Life and Crimes of Bridget Durgan*

"When a woman thinks alone, she thinks evil."

—*Malleus Maleficarum*, Part I Question VI

The female body has long been suspect in Christian thought. From the Biblical moment of Original Sin, Christian theology has placed women in close proximity to sin and has used the mythology of God punishing humankind to construe the female body as weakened. Femininity, particularly in relation to sex and the body, has since been rhetorically implicated in religious misdemeanors, including the oft-feminized crime of witchcraft. Women's bodies, the men who prosecuted them argued, made them susceptible to temptation, particularly in the form of demons and evil spirits, and thus prone to sin. Similar rhetoric and themes can be seen in sensationalized American legal dramas involving female criminals in nineteenth century America. This essay will compare the ways conceptualizations of diabolical possession, as well as accompanying tropes

of sexuality, insanity, sin, and deviance are articulated in medieval Europe and nineteenth century America.

Three nineteenth century cases of female murderers were chosen for close examination, each reflecting different levels of religiosity, exemplifying different sub-genres of "true crime" accounts, and raising different issues of class, race, and nationality. Each is written from a different perspective—a confession, an adventure, and a courtroom drama. Background information is provided on each criminal case, then common plot points and themes are examined and compared. Pamphlets like the ones cited here have been catalogued[1] and written about as a genre,[2] and recent scholarship has made case studies of certain female offenders, particularly homicide offenders,[3] though one piece surveyed parricides committed by women.[4] Recently, multiple universities have exhibited collections of similar pamphlets about women, in which the sensationalized writing, stories, and artwork have been treated largely as historical curia.[5]

In addition, this essay draws continuities and discontinuities between the pamphlet and examples taken from late medieval works on witches and witchcraft. These are included to demonstrate how certain religious and non-religious themes invoked in these records of female criminality greatly resemble themes seen in records of witch hunts in the late Middle Ages, in which a large number of women were prosecuted for an explicitly religious crime. Much of the information about witches presented here comes from *Malleus Malificarum*, or "Hammer of Witches," an influential witch-hunting guide written in fifteenth century.[6] Female sin in

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[1] Thomas M. McDade, *The Annals of Murder: a Bibliography of Books and Pamphlets on American Murders from Colonial Times to 1900.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961).
[2] David B. Sachsman and David W. Bulla, eds., *Sensationalism: Murder, Mayhem, Mudslinging, Scandals, and Disasters in 19th Century Reporting.* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2013).
[3] Frankie Y. Bailey and Stever Chermak, eds., *Famous American Crimes and Trials, Volume I.* (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2004).
[4] P.C. Shon and C.R. Williams, "An Archival Exploration of 19th-Century American Adult Female Offender Parricides," *Omega* 67, no. 3 (2013): 247-268.
[5] See, for instance, Marianne Hansen, curator, "Pointing Fingers: Women, Sin, Crime, and Guilt," *Bryn Mawr*, 2006, http://www.brynmawr.edu/library/exhibits/PointingFingers/index.html.
[6] Heinrich Kramer and James Sprenger, *Malleus Malificarum*, translated by Montague Summers, (New York: Dover Pulications, 1971).

medieval Christianity has been well-examined;[7] however no work explores the areas of overlap between attitudes towards and descriptions of female criminals during these disparate eras, likely because there seems, on face value, to be little reason to put these time periods in conversation with each other. Of interest here is continuity in the rhetoric surrounding female criminality in different Western communities with women performing different types of crime—the time periods themselves are less important. I argue that even as crime becomes a more secular phenomenon in nineteenth century America, religious imagery related to the demonic remains as key to understanding female criminality as it was in medieval prosecution of the distinctly religious crime of witchcraft.

Case Backgrounds

       The three nineteenth century publications about female murderers chosen for exploration here are stylistically and rhetorically disparate, but contain many similar themes and plots. Out of the many available pamphlets, these three were chosen because, taken collectively, they cover two main archetypes of female criminals—dangerously beautiful and dangerously ugly—as well as many of the themes present throughout the genre. Bridget Durgan's case exemplifies those of many lower class, unattractive female criminals, while Rachel Cunningham and Henrietta Robinson, in contrast to Durgan, are depicted as dangerously attractive. The stories about Cunnangham and Robinson are told in different narrative styles and they engage with different relevant issues—race and immigration, respectively—so they are worth examining side-by-side. Here, summaries of each case are given, along with further reasons why they were chosen for this analysis.

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[7] See Dyan Elliott, *Fallen Bodies: Pollution, Sexuality, and Demonology in the Middle Ages*, (Philadelphia: Penn Press, 1998); Dyan Elliott, *Proving Woman: Female Spirituality and Inquisitional Culture in the Later Middle Ages*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

Bridget Durgan was an Irish immigrant, a lower-class servant who did what she had to do to "get along and make a living."[8] Her case, as documented by a Rev. Mr. Brendan in 1867, includes a short biography, along with a full confession of her crimes that she purportedly wrote and passed along to Brendan.[9] According to the narrative, Durgan was convicted of the premeditated murder of her employer, Mrs. Coriel, and the subsequent arson of her house. In her confession, she also discusses attempts on the lives past employers. The pamphlet does little to compel sympathy for Durgan, saying that "there has never been recorded a more revolting, wicked deed"—a hyperbolic sensationalism typical of the genre that, along with the stylized violence of the documents' illustrations, would have increased marketability of the story.[10] Brendan quotes Durgan saying she wanted her narrative published to "show young people the danger of going into wrong ways in their youth," not to improve public opinion of her.[11] This makes sense, because this pamphlet, to a greater extent than the other pamphlets, is interested in telling a moralistic religious tale about evil. Durgan's case was chosen here because it is one of few that present an extended passage in the female defendant's voice. Though this voice was certainly heavily edited, if not entirely fabricated, it offers a unique way to understand how female criminals were expected to present themselves. Durgan's Catholicism, her immigrant status, and her low social class make her an exemplar of a certain category of criminal seen in many of these accounts.

Unlike Durgan, Rachel Cunningham was a beautiful and privileged woman from a respectable American family. Despite showing a disturbing "artfulness of disposition" from a young age, she was educated at reputable boarding schools for young women and had every luxury, until her parents died and she was sent to live with her aunt.[12] This pamphlet recounts how

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[8] Rev. Mr. Brendan, *Life, Crimes, and Confession of Bridget Durgan*, (Philadelphia: C.W. Alexander, 1867), 23-25.
[9] Ibid., 22.
[10] Ibid., 19.
[11] Ibid., 23.
[12] *The Intrigues, Amours, & Adventures of Rachel Cunningham*, (London: Edward Duncombe, 1830), 3-5.

Cunningham carried on a series of affairs, mostly with married men, eventually becoming the mistress of Sheriff George Van Swearington.[13] She and Van Swearington murdered his wife, and Cunningham was later hung for her murder.[14] The event took place in the United States in 1829, and the pamphlet was published a year later in Britain. It takes the tone of an adventure novel, rarely quoting Cunningham and instead emphasizing the more scandalous elements of the story. It was chosen for its sensationalistic style, its high level of engagement with sex, its depiction of upper-class criminality, and its inclusion of topics related to race.

The final case is that of Mrs. Henrietta Robinson, an Irish immigrant like Durgan. Though there are many inconsistencies in the ways in which witnesses cited tell her life story, "an Irish laborer" who the pamphlet's anonymous author spoke with claims that Robinson was of aristocratic descent.[15] She was sentenced to life imprisonment for killing her neighbor, grocer Timothy Lanagan, and his young cousin by poisoning their beer.[16] Her trial was popular and highly attended, and she captured the public imagination by insisting on wearing a veil for the majority of it. This account was selected because its strict adherence to the courtroom narrative and lack of directly religious rhetoric exemplify a certain sub-genre of murder pamphlets.

The ambiguous authorship of these pamphlets raises some methodological questions. Two of authors are anonymous, and the third is in no way documented. In the case of Bridget Durgan, where much of her biography is supposedly drawn from a confession she penned, and in places in the other pamphlets where the defendants' voices are quoted, this paper will assume that the entirety of the final published product was edited or curated by male authors. Though newspaper records of some of these cases do exist, I have not attempted to ascertain the accuracy of the events described and depicted in these works, as the questions I am interested in

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[13] Ibid., 31.

[14] Ibid., 34.

[15] *The Life and Confessions of Mrs. Henrietta Robinson, the Veiled Murderess!*, (Boston: Dr. H.B. Skinner, 1855), 19, 3.

[16] Ibid., 6

are largely rhetorical. These pamphlets were mass-produced and sold cheaply, likely to lower-class audiences. What they market to the public is not truth so much as excitement—"any case that was shocking, weird, ghastly, or otherwise sale-able could be published."[17] The idea of a female criminal was likely the most "sale-able" element of these particular cases: because they market female criminality to a large audience, what they say about these women can be understood to reflect general popular opinion.

These three cases will form the basis of my investigation into the appearance of the demonic in the popular press' treatment of nineteenth century female criminals. By analyzing the similarities between these three works and the women described therein, as well as the unique facets of each, I will show that the authors of these pamphlets drew on or fell into patterns of narrative and rhetoric used for describing the devil in medieval witch-hunting guides.

"The World Trampled on the Woman": Tragic Backstories

The stories of Durgan, Cunningham, and Robinson follow more or less the same plot structure. Notably, all three include significant attention to how the female criminal became the way she was—a tragic backstory explaining her fall to sin. This story closely resembles the story of seduction by the devil in medieval witch-hunting guides.

The backstories for Durgan and Robinson are remarkably similar. Each woman has a sexual encounter with a man in Ireland, flees in disgrace to the United States, and from there is plunged into a life of sin. Durgan's confession claims that after coming to America, while working as a servant, was "turned…out of the house" by her mistress, prompting her to begin "to hate everybody; but most of all [her] mistresses" and decide "to kill some one [*sic*] if only the chance came in [her] way."[18] Forced to live in a tenement with other women until a whisky-induced fight left her homeless, she "hated everybody" and nearly committed suicide, deciding instead she "would have

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[17] "Special Collections – Lloyd Sealy Library: Criminal Trial Pamphlets," *Lloyd Sealy Library*, Nov. 17, 2016, http://guides.lib.jjay.cuny.edu/SpecialCollections/CriminalTrialPamphlets.

[18] Rev. Mr. Brendan, *Life, Crimes, and Confession of Bridget Durgan*, 23.

to kill somebody and get hung for it."[19] Hers is a tale of lower-class woe—her poverty turns her against the world and makes her think that murder is her only option.

While Robinson's story is similar, she is depicted as suffering more from the actions of her initial abductor than her social class. She claims that she is Irish nobility, and that she came to America "to hide her shame" when "a son of her father's steward," a Mr. Robinson, "abducted her from home and brought her virtueless to New York" and then abandoned her. This "drove her to desperation, and plunged her still deeper in sin than she had been." This life of sin involved becoming the mistress of a well-known man in Troy, New York and murdering her neighbor and his cousin.[20] The author of the pamphlet frames her "wickedness" as "produced by the villainies of the seducer, rather than by a depraved heart," stating dramatically, "The world trampled on the woman and the woman turned and stung it."[21] Though this is less of a class-based fall to sin than Durgan's, the general stories follow similar patterns.

Cunningham's story fits a similar paradigm of descent into a life of sin. Unlike Durgan and Robinson, she was born in America and lived a nice childhood in a wealthy household. However, when she was orphaned at fifteen, "the intricately-woven web of fate begun to involve and entangle her constitutionally-loose inclinations in its virtue-debasing inteastices [*sic*]."[22] The author cites Cunningham's predisposition to inappropriate sexual behavior, but largely blames her surroundings, "that fashionable and licentious place of resort (Bedford)," where she lived with her aunt, as the main factor in breaking "the ice of continence" in her and leading her "to the wide and overwhelming ocean of sensual pleasures!"[23]

Thus in all three pamphlets, the female main character falls unwilling victim to circumstance and is initiated into a life of wickedness. Though Durgan may seem to have the most agency, and is certainly

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[19] Ibid., 23-26.
[20] *The Life and Confessions of Mrs. Henrietta Robinson, the Veiled Murderess!*, 3.
[21] Ibid., 4.
[22] *The Intrigues, Amours, & Adventures of Rachel Cunningham*, 5-6.
[23] Ibid., 7.

portrayed in the least romanticized or sympathetic light, even her attempts to murder her prior employers are framed less as decisions than as compulsions—prompted by her wicked tendencies, she is helpless against her hatred for the world and her desire to kill. Common to all three as well is the role sex plays in their demise. All of the women are seduced at a young age, which precipitates their successive lives of crime. This pattern of a seduction leading to a loss of agency, irrevocably putting the tempted onto a path of sin from which they cannot depart, closely resembles the narrative of demonic temptation presented in medieval witch-hunting guides.

The *Malleus Malificarum*, a 1496 guide to identifying and disposing of witches, uses the language of seduction to explain how the devil tempts women into becoming witches. It notes that "the devil is more eager and keen to tempt the good than the wicked…therefore the devil tries all the harder to seduce all the more saintly virgins and girls." [24] Durgan, Cunningham, and Robinson are each described as relatively innocent prior to their first sexual encounters, paralleling this narrative. In these pamphlets, the women's seducers play the role of the devil in their fall into sin. The descent of these nineteenth century women into a permanent state of wickedness mirrors the rhetoric of demonic temptation and seduction seen in the criminal and religious prosecution of female witches in the late Middle Ages. The figure of the devil is replaced by shadowy men who stay on the fringes of the narratives. Though the explicitly demonic has been removed from the language, the structure of the stories run in parallel.

"Forbidding" versus "Resistless": Appearance and Embodied Womanhood

Another similarity between the three pamphlets is their attention to the physical appearance of the women who they describe. Here too, they draw on tropes also seen in medieval witch hunting-guides. Two main categories emerge—physically unappealing and irresistibly attractive female criminals, which correspond to medieval categories of ugly hags and

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[24] Heinrich Kramer and James Sprenger, *Malleus Malificarum*, Translated by Montague Summers, (New York: Dover Publications, 1971), Accessed at http://www.malleusmaleficarum.org/downloads/MalleusAcrobat.pdf, 203.

dangerously beautiful women. Both types of woman are threatening to the spiritual, sexual, and physical well-being of men.

Durgan is described and depicted as physically unattractive, even repulsive. In the introduction to her confession, the pamphlet's compiler notes that she is "a stout, powerful woman" with a "forbidding appearance," and she is depicted with a contorted face that does not fit traditional beauty standards (see Figure 1).[25] Her victim, Mrs. Coriel, on the other hand, is depicted with a floral hat and more feminized, romanticized features (see Figure 2). The *Malleus Malificarum* includes "hideousness of…appearance" as a criterion for identifying women guilty of witchcraft, and is particularly concerned with female witches, "the vilest of women," seducing men to leave their "most beautiful wives."[26] While Durgan is unsuccessful in her attempt to become the mistress of her victim's husband and makes no supernatural attempts to seduce him, she does list her love of Dr. Coriel as a motivating factor in murdering his wife, much like *Malleus'* story of the ugly woman committing a crime to steal more beautiful woman's husband.[27]

The *Malleus* also tells stories of witches, particularly old, unattractive female witches, stealing or harming children, including the story of a "vile drab" of a midwife who "by [her] magic arts…made [a] child climb [a] chain," cross a bridge, and perform other feats that should not be possible of a newborn infant.[28] Likewise, Durgan steals Mrs. Coriel's baby on the night of the murder.[29] After the death of its mother, the baby "become[s] suddenly impressed with [Durgan's] true character…as though the spirit of poor Mrs. Coriel was hovering about in the air, and telling the baby all about [Durgan]."[30] The *Malleus* explains that "if anybody's spirit be inflamed with malice or rage, as is often the case with old women, then their disturbed spirit looks through their eyes, for their countenances are most evil and harmful, and often terrify young children of tender years, who are extremely

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[25] Rev. Mr. Brendan, *Life, Crimes, and Confession of Bridget Durgan*, 19-20.
[26] Kramer and Sprenger, *Malleus Malificarum*, 124, 122.
[27] Rev. Mr. Brendan, *Life, Crimes, and Confession of Bridget Durgan*, 38.
[28] Kramer and Sprenger, *Malleus Malificarum*, 292.
[29] Rev. Mr. Brendan, *Life, Crimes, and Confession of Bridget Durgan*, 20.
[30] Ibid., 37.

impressionable" and susceptible to these "evil looks…inspired by the malice of the devil."[31] Durgan's horrifying appearance and behavior is thus linked to the appearance and behavior of female witches in the Middle Ages.

Unlike Durgan, Cunningham and Robinson fit the trope of the beautiful seductress (see Figures 3 and 4). A female visitor to Robinson in prison reports that she is not beautiful to an idealist, but "the vulgar mind would call her handsome," alluding to her sexual desirability.[32] A male reporter for the *Troy Whig*, quoted in the pamphlet, describes her face, when finally unveiled, as "beautiful and intelligent."[33] Cunningham is also described as attractive to a suspicious degree, her "lovely person" making her "resistless" to "suitors innumerable."[34] In the Middle Ages, recorders of the demoniacal claim that demons frequently took the form of beautiful women to seduce men and that beautiful women were themselves particularly appealing targets for demons.[35] *Malleus* even argues that women that are "beautiful to look upon" are "contaminating to the touch, and deadly to keep."[36]

Frequently throughout the pamphlet on Cunningham, the authors describe her wielding her "talismanic effect" over men to her advantage to get them to fall in love with her and do her bidding.[37] This ability to charm husbands into leaving their wives, though typically expected of less beautiful women in the Middle Ages, still held a potent place of anxiety for men writing witch hunting guides, as discussed previously. Though Durgan easily plays the role of the ugly hag who has made a pact with the devil, Cunningham and Robinson may provoke even more anxiety as seductresses with hidden evil on the inside.

Cunningham in particular is described in terms of this dichotomy of outward versus inward appearance. An inscription at the beginning of the

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[31] Kramer and Sprenger, *Malleus Malificarum*, 47-48.
[32] *The Life and Confessions of Mrs. Henrietta Robinson, the Veiled Murderess!*, 4.
[33] Ibid., 21.
[34] *The Intrigues, Amours, & Adventures of Rachel Cunningham*, 7.
[35] Ludovico Maria Sinistrari, *Demoniality*, translated by Isidore Liseux, (Paris: Isidore Liseux, 1879), 33, 39.
[36] Kramer and Sprenger, *Malleus Malificarum*, 113.
[37] *The Intrigues, Amours, & Adventures of Rachel Cunningham*, 8.

pamphlet claims, "'Twas Nature's blunder,/In that so far an outward form should hold,/And wear within a soul so black," and later claims that Cunningham's actions "blacken the features of the female character."[38] The idea of blackness has long been used to signify malicious witchcraft—"the blackness of [witches'] guilt" means "their deeds are more evil than those of any other malefactors," *Malleus* explains.[39] In the *Malleus* and other medieval works, this blackness is not necessarily explicitly racially coded. As Foucault has argued, race was not a structured category of identification during the Middle Ages,[40] though other historians have argued to the contrary.[41] However, in the account of Cunningham's life and crimes, "blackness" is certainly racialized. Early in her career of lasciviousness, Cunningham runs away from her home with a "young man of colour," Mr. Haverly.[42] In Figure 4, the depiction of Mr. Haverly, seen to the far left, employs typical nineteenth century stereotypes of the Black minstrel. In a letter to her aunt about her lover, Cunningham notes that "Mr. Haverly's face is nearly black…but his heart is of the purest complexion."[43] In the worldview of this pamphlet's author, blackness of evil and blackness of race are one and the same. Thus, when Cunningham's features "blacken," this points not only to this historical tradition of women being darkened by malicious magic, but also to the racial tensions existing in America and Britain at the time of publication.

The tropes of criminalized women as either very ugly or very alluring exist in both medieval witch hunting-guides and nineteenth century American accounts of female criminality. The presence of the murderess' and witches' bodies, whether attractive or repulsive, differentiate their crimes as clearly feminized.

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[38] Ibid., 3.

[39] Kramer and Sprenger, *Malleus Malificarum*, 39.

[40] David Nirenberg, "Race and the Middle Ages," in *Rereading the Black Legend: the Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires*, ed. Marageret R. Greer et al, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 71.

[41] Dorothy Hoogland Verkerk, "Black Servant, Black Demon: Color Ideology in the Ashburnham Pentatuech," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31, no. 1 (2001): 57-77.

[42] *The Intrigues, Amours, & Adventures of Rachel Cunningham*, 8.

[43] Ibid., 13.

"Mad as a Wild Bull": Animalistic Insanity

Another feature common to these eras is the depiction of criminalized women as insane, and thus inhuman and animalistic. These were often associated with the ugly hag type in medieval conceptions of witches and, fittingly, they occur most in the pamphlet on Durgan.

Durgan is frequently compared to wild animals, and nearly every time such a comparison is made, it explicitly references her criminality or insanity. She, by turns, is a "wicked creature…with the ferocity of a panther"[44] and "mad as a wild bull."[45] The pamphlet quotes "a gentleman, accustomed all his life to criminals," who claimed that Durgan "is the most perfect combination of the wolf, the tiger, the hog and the hyena that [he] ever came across."[46] This proximity of witches to the animalistic is also found in *Malleus*, where many pages are devoted to answering the question of "whether witches can by some glamour change men into beasts" more or less in the affirmative, saying that the devil cannot alter actual form but can change human perception so that the victims appear to turn into beasts.[47] In his fifteenth century treatise on theology, Johannes Nider recounts the story of "a number of workers of harmful magic…[who], contrary to human nature and, indeed, contrary to the disposition of all types of animal except the she-wolf, are in the habit of devouring and consuming the young of their own species."[48] By linking women to the animalistic, nineteenth century authors are able to link them implicitly to the demonic and emphasize the inhuman nature of their "evil" actions.

Another way that Durgan is made to seem insane and also tied to the devil is through references to "fits" to which she has been subject since childhood, labeled at one point as "epilepsy."[49] In a description of one of

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[44] Rev. Mr. Brendan, *Life, Crimes, and Confession of Bridget Durgan.*, 20.

[45] Ibid., 35.

[46] Ibid., 47.

[47] Kramer and Sprenger, *Malleus Malificarum*, 138-141.

[48] P.G. Maxwell-Stuart, *Witch Beliefs and Witch Trials in the Middle Ages: Documents and Readings*, (London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2011), 61.

[49] Rev. Mr. Brendan, *Life, Crimes, and Confession of Bridget Durgan*, 27, 46.

these fits, overcoming Durgan at the moment of murder, she describes the sensation of having her arm "in boiling water" and an obscuring of her vision, "making everything [she] looked at trembling and jerking about," symptoms that could indeed be consistent with what would be labeled a partial complex seizure today.[50] Epilepsy has long been associated with demoniacs and witchcraft.[51] The epileptic fit represents an unknown, a state where agency over the body is unclear, raising anxieties about possession. In Durgan's narrative, a seizure during her criminal act, in conjunction with her explicit references to the devil's role in her actions, discussed below, is clearly linked to these anxieties.

Another interesting dehumanizing strategy can be seen in all three pamphlets. In a key moment in her interaction with the criminal justice system, each female criminal is described as being overcome with laughter. Durgan "roar[s] with semi-hysterical laughter" after visitors to her prison cell leave her,[52] Cunningham "burst[s] into a fit of loud-laughing extacy [*sic*]" at the moment of her execution[53] and Robinson begins "laughing, giggling" during her sentencing trial.[54] These moments, like Durgan's epilepsy, seem out of the control of the women, again putting their bodies into a place of potential possession. In describing the testimony of a witness at a witchcraft trial, *Malleus* notes that certain suspicious words, when "spoken with a laugh," could be distinguished as malicious rather than innocent.[55] The idea of laughter in the face of evil actions is used to further dehumanize these women, and also tie them to a sense of hysteria.

Through careful deployment of animal metaphors and seemingly unnatural actions, such as an epileptic fit or hysterical laughter, the authors

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[50] Ibid., 34.
[51] Philip C. Almond, *England's First Demonologist: Reginald Scott and 'The Discoverie of Witchcraft,'* (London: I.B. Taurus & Co Ltd, 2011), 62.
Paul W. Hollenbach, "Jesus, Demoniacs, and Public Authorities: A Socio-Historic Study," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 49, No. 4 (1981).
[52] Rev. Mr. Brendan, *Life, Crimes, and Confession of Bridget Durgan*, 44.
[53] *The Intrigues, Amours, & Adventures of Rachel Cunningham*, 36.
[54] *The Life and Confessions of Mrs. Henrietta Robinson, the Veiled Murderess!*, 20.
[55] Kramer and Sprenger, *Malleus Malificarum*, 452.

of the pamphlets and witch hunting guides distinguish the women they describe as inhuman, thus emphasizing the totality of their evil.

"She-Demon": The Devil, Sin, and Magic

In the pamphlets on Durgan and Cunningham, the authors use explicitly religious and mystical language to link their subjects to the demonic. Both women are repeatedly referred to using the language of devils, demons, possessions, and hell, reinforcing the narrative around their evil nature. Inconsistencies in their understanding of the functions of demons and their use of these vocabularies point to significant differences between the ways the devil was used in the Middle Ages and in nineteenth century America. The references to the diabolic fall into three general categories.

The first category includes comments that cast the *actions* of Durgan and Cunningham as demonic. Durgan's "hellish design" [56] and Cunningham's "demoniacal malevolence" and "diabolical disposition"[57] lead them to their respective acts of murder. Links like these do much to emphasize the evil in the women's actions and indirectly dehumanize them, discouraging the pity of the readers. Durgan's working-class life could make her particularly sympathetic to the typical working-class reader, and it is useful for the author to constantly remind the reader how her actions indeed violate religious and moral orders so she will not become too likable.

A second category, which most of the comments linking Durgan to the demonic fall into, utilize the rhetoric of possession and direct contact with the devil. The author says that her actions were "prompted by the Devil," and Durgan herself refers many times to the Devil whispering in her ear, sitting in her heart, or actually taking "possession" of her. [58] Cunningham, as depicted in this case, is host to "vice, the inbred tenant of her soul," and the author argues that "if ever the devil had hand in giving a woman life and being, Rachel Cunningham, is…primary author of her

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[56] Rev. Mr. Brendan, *Life, Crimes, and Confession of Bridget Durgan*, 19.
[57] *The Intrigues, Amours, & Adventures of Rachel Cunningham*, 29-30.
[58] Rev. Mr. Brendan, *Life, Crimes, and Confession of Bridget Durgan*, 29, 37, 27.

existence."[59] Here, the authors remove the women's agency, giving them instead internalized demons that act for them.

The third category, on the other hand, puts a certain amount of agency back in the women's hands by casting them as demons themselves. When Mrs. Coriel asks Durgan to leave her household after stirring up trouble, it "roused the smoldering embers of wickedness to rain flames within the breast of the demon girl,"[60] and when Cunningham conspires with Sheriff Van Swearington to murder his wife, she is referred to as "his she-demon accomplice."[61] Interestingly, in both of these instances, the demon must be qualified by her sex—the demonic is inseparable from the feminine. Unlike in the second category, here the women are given some control over their own deeds. Because they are cast as the demons themselves rather than as possessed by demons, they become not victims of chance, but consciously evil beings trying to corrupt the world.

All in all, this is not a consistent use of the demonic. Though *Malleus* and similar guides are not necessarily completely cohesive, they do exhibit a more organized demonological cosmogony than either of these pamphlets. Though ideas of possession certainly existed in American and British revivalism and Satan was a powerful character in many sermons,[62] the vocabulary was more flexible than in the Middle Ages. Because the witch-hunting guides were written to provide concrete ways to prosecute those suspected of contact with demons, they were not afforded this flexibility. However, similar general rhetorical strategies are employed in both eras.

Conclusion

In these three accounts of female criminals in nineteenth century America, many patterns emerge in character depiction, vocabulary, and story

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[59] *The Intrigues, Amours, & Adventures of Rachel Cunningham*, 30-31.

[60] Rev. Mr. Brendan, *Life, Crimes, and Confession of Bridget Durgan*, 19.

[61] *The Intrigues, Amours, & Adventures of Rachel Cunningham*, 34.

[62] Charles H. Spurgeon, "Christ the Conqueror of Satan," sermon, (Metropolitan Tabernacle, Newington, Surrey, London, UK), Nov. 26, 1876.
Charles Finney, "Temptations Must Be Put Away," *Oberlin Evangelist* (Oberlin, OH), Oct. 7, 1840.

structure. Similar patterns emerge in late medieval accounts of witchcraft as a religious, feminized crime. Though none of the crimes of the nineteenth century women examined were prosecuted or tried by religious authorities, female criminality retained the religious coding of the demonic. Even as criminal prosecution became a state matter, the devil continued to play a role in popular understandings of how women could commit crimes.

Female criminals, and female murderers in particular, continue to draw a powerful fascination from Western audiences. From the sensational and sexualizing coverage of the trial of Amanda Knox, accused wrongfully of the murder of her boyfriend in Italy, to a Piers Morgan special program entitled *Killer Women*, Western media continues to capitalize on their strong hold over the public imagination. While the format of the media has changed since the nineteenth century, as it had changed since the late medieval period, the tropes of dangerous, even demoniacal, women persist.

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Debunking the Economic Miracle: An Analysis of West Germany's Economy

Brian Gerner

West Germany's *Wirtschaftswunder* was not an unexplainable miracle. West Germany's economy exponentially increased as a result of foreign aid, an embrace of free trade, rising immigration, and a government focused on fostering business development, West Germany's economy exponentially increased. The growth rates in West Germany were unparalleled during the 1950's and turned a devastated country into a critical element of the global economy. West Germany's economic success demonstrates how liberal trade policies, a relaxed regulatory environment, and large scale capital investment can promote sustained economic growth over an extensive time period.

After the fall of the Third Reich, Germany was an incapacitated state and optimism towards the country's future economic viability was non-existent. Out of the sixteen million houses in Germany, more than two million had been completely destroyed, and another four million were damaged. Twenty million Germans were homeless, and less than half of Germany's locomotives were in working order.[1] Germany was decimated as a result of Allied bombing raids and the Nazis decision to fight until Berlin fell. The Allies' initial plan for post-war Germany further deflated future expectations for Germany's economy. Proposed in 1944, the Morgenthau Plan aimed to revert Germany back to an agrarian society. The proposed steps included the destruction of German plants, the forced separation of industrial areas from

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[1] Patrick Thaddeus Jackson, *Civilizing the Enemy: German Reconstruction and the Invention of the West* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 1.

Germany, and legal limitations placed on German production. The Morgenthau Plan ensured Germany's industrial capacity remained impotent for the foreseeable future.[2] Initially, the Allies' objective was to make Europe permanently safe from German aggression that had disrupted the continent for the first half of the twentieth century. By creating a pastoral buffer zone between Eastern and Western Europe, it was hoped that another world war could be avoided.[3] As the Morgenthau Plan was being constructed, Germany's Reichsmark became worthless and the Nazi state-run, heavily centralized economy collapsed into an underground black market.[4] Immediately following the collapse of the Nazi regime, Germany was in disrepair. With no functioning currency, rampant black market participation, charred cities, and a plan in place to turn Germany into farmland, the outlook for German economic development was dismal. Examining Germany in the mid-to-late 1940s and then comparing the dire situation to West Germany in the 1950s, it becomes apparent how the Morgenthau Plan and other initial post-war policies had a severe negative impact on the German economy.

Because tensions between the Soviet and Western blocs intensified, and the fact that turning the small geographic state of Germany into an agrarian society that could sustain millions was impossible, the Morgenthau Plan was deserted. Instead, the Allies focused on Western Europe's reconstruction. The United States was incentivized to help rebuild Europe's capacity to import, which by the end of the war was reduced by 40 percent.[5] A strong West European economy would allow for American multinationals to increase their exports to Europe, in addition to curbing the spread of communism. The United States constructed the Marshall Plan, a $13 billion aid package that attempted to increase European production, expand foreign trade, contain inflation, and develop European regional economic

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[2] Fredrick H. Gareau, "Morgenthau's Plan for Industrial Disarmament in Germany," *The Western Political Quarterly* 14, no. 2 (1961): 517-518.

[3] Thomas K. McCraw, *Creating Modern Capitalism: How entrepreneurs, companies, and countries triumphed in three industrial revolutions* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 169.

[4] Ibid., 170.

[5] Jacob Magid, "The Marshall Plan," *Advances in Historical Studies* 1, no. 1 (2012): 1.

cooperation.[6] West Germany specifically would receive $1.30 billion in economic aid, totaling 1.5 percent of the country's GNP. In addition to providing grants and stimulating domestic economic growth, the Marshall Plan promoted the development of free trade. Bilateral trade treaties with the United States were signed by the eighteen countries receiving Marshall Plan funding. Tariffs were lowered across the Western half of the European continent even further as a result of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, signed by the United Nations in 1947.[7] The Marshall Plan and the GATT negotiations stimulated growth in Western Germany because the lowering of tariffs significantly benefitted countries that relied heavily on exports, while Marshall Plan aid helped German multinationals rebuild production capacity. As a net exporter of capital goods, trade liberalization and investment in heavy industry would prove to be immensely profitable for West Germany. The Marshall Plan and GATT negotiations helped Europe return to prewar levels of output within four years and began an economic golden age in Europe that observed 4.8 percent annual growth, a doubling of business investment rates, and no significant economic downturn.[8]

At the same time as the Marshall Plan was being initiated, the Western occupation zones became increasingly integrated. After the formation of a Bizone between the American and British zones in 1947, the process of replacing the discredited Reichsmark began.[9] On June 18, 1948, the Allies introduced the Deutschmark, valued at 10 Reichsmarks to stem inflation.[10] The West German currency reform helped counter the negative effects of the vastly inflated Reichsmark that had fostered a lack of confidence in the German monetary system.[11] Within ten days of the reform, stores across Germany, which had previously displayed empty shelves, were filled with products. The Deutsche Mark then began to boost industrial production.

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[6] Ibid., 3.

[7] Ibid., 5.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Jack Bennett, "The German Currency Reform," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 267, no. 1 (1950): 46.

[10] Ibid., 49.

[11] Ibid., 50.

Immediately before the currency change, German production remained muted at 61 percent of 1936 production. By March 1949, production had reached 89 percent of 1936 levels. German exports climbed from $225 million in 1947 to $599 million in 1948 before eclipsing $1.2 billion in 1949.[12] By restoring faith in the German monetary system, the Allies ensured that Marshall Plan aid and GATT tariff reductions became a tremendous boon for the West German economy.

   Government policies towards business were an additional factor in stimulating the economy. The West German government believed in a social market economy and embraced the principle of a free market. Through generous corporate tax concessions, the government ensured that business investment remained high through the 1950s and 1960s.[13] Policies focused less on regulating the economy and more on providing a social safety net to disadvantaged Germans. In the 1950s, the Federation of German Industry (BDI) was formed, providing businesses the opportunity to lobby and coordinate national economic legislation.[14] Other than a strong promotion of investment and a focus on price stability, the Bundestag was characterized by free market oriented policies. West Germany embodied a conservative welfare state that focused on distributing the dividends of economic growth.[15] To promote economic growth, the government encouraged capital investment because as a net exporter with a strong trade surplus, West Germany's economy was reliant on the export of capital goods.[16] As opposed to the Nazis state-planned economy, this economic system involved limited state intervention. The role of the West German government was to provide a system of social benefits that would offset any employment dislocation caused by an increasingly industrialized, trade dependent society.[17] Due to a lack of bureaucratic red tape, a promotion of business investment, and the political

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[12] Ibid., 51.

[13] McCraw, *Creating Modern Capitalism,* 172.

[14] Ibid., 175.

[15] Ibid., 177.

[16] Christopher Allen, "Between Social Market Economy and Corporatist Crisis Management: The West German Economy at Forty." *German Politics & Society*, no. 16 (1989): 43.

[17] Ibid., 44.

belief that competition was a means to economic prosperity, the economy prospered.[18] Embracing competition, West Germany observed the birth of a vibrant consumer culture, rising living standards, and the emergence of affluent society.[19]

As an exporter nation, West Germany benefitted tremendously from the liberalization of trade in the second half of the twentieth century. The dramatic decrease in tariffs, import quotas, and the rise of an integrated Western Europe positively affected West Germany's economy. As globalization increased, West German industry successfully competed in international markets by moving up the value-added chain.[20] Two of the earliest post-war attempts at economic integration were the GATT negotiations and the formation of the OEEC. Formed in 1947, the OEEC attempted to raise European production, eliminate external trade deficits, and stabilize the internal finances of member states.[21] Emphasizing trade liberalization and economic integration, the OEEC promoted full employment and aimed to give European companies access to a single market of 275 million customers.[22] Heavily reliant on trade, West Germany reaped profits from European integration. With no access to Eastern markets and sources of raw materials needed to build up industry, West Germany received economic relief from the West's integration.[23] An additional organization that fostered economic cooperation was the European Coal and Steel Community. Formed in 1951, the ECSC attempted to create a common coal and steel market across Western Europe.[24] Four important goals can summarize the ECSC. First, improve the quality of production through modernization; second, supply coal and steel on identical terms to both the French and German markets; third, develop exports to other countries; and fourth,

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[18] McCraw, *Creating Modern Capitalism*, 175.

[19] Ibid., 177.

[20] Ibid., 179.

[21] Jan Szuldrzynski, "Legal Aspects of OEEC," *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 2, no. 4 (October 1953): 594.

[22] Ibid., 594.

[23] Michael Berger, "Motives for the Foundations of the ECSC," *Poznan University of Economics Review* 13, no. 3 (2013): 75.

[24] Ibid., 63.

improve the living conditions of workers and attempt to equalize pay and standards across borders.[25] The ECSC was an early form of economic unification, creating a supranational authority that had binding decision making power in terms of production, while also establishing a free trade zone that limited tariffs and quotas on steel and coal products.[26] Through the ECSC, GATT, and OEEC, Western Europe observed a reduction in trade barriers and an increase in economic production. West Germany, a net exporter, grew dramatically from this trend towards European economic integration. Combined with NATO, which West Germany joined in 1955 and then proceeded to resume military rearmament, the creation of a European trading bloc and a global market less burdened by tariffs allowed West Germany to experience unrivaled growth. The 1957 Treaty of Rome, which established the European Economic Community, further developed the notion of a single European market and German growth proceeded to expand faster than pre-1913 rates.[27]

By 1961, with the West German economy hurdling along, an acute shortage of labor occurred. In the initial post-war period, the West German economy benefited from a steady flow of more than 13 million migrants.[28] West Germany required a growing labor pool to sustain the country's growth rates but one year after the construction of the Berlin Wall, immigration into West Germany sputtered. The number of East Germans defecting dropped to 12,000 for the year, a number that was as high as 624,000 annually before the Wall's construction.[29] After the wall was erected, West Germany's labor shortage amplified. With the country growing industrial production at 10 to 15 percent annually, the demand for workers was unprecedented. Even though the number of foreigners working in Germany more than doubled to 700,000 one-year after the Berlin Wall went up, officials still reported a supply

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[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid., 64.
[27] McCraw, *Creating Modern Capitalism*, 173.
[28] Ray Vicker, "Berlin Barrier: West German Industry Suffers as Wall Cuts Refugee Labor Pool," *Wall Street Journal* (New York), August 24, 1962, 1.
[29] Ibid., 2.

shortage of roughly one million workers.[30] The lack of laborers wreaked havoc on the economy because even though productivity growth was declining, wages continued to spiral upwards. In 1960 and 1961, wages in West Germany increased 9 percent and 10 percent while productivity growth slowed from the mid-teens to 6.6 percent and 4 percent over that same period.[31] Stock prices cratered during this labor supply crisis by as much as 45 percent and West Germany's GNP growth slowed from a 6 percent annual growth rate to 4 percent, with predictions calling for 1963 GNP to grow only 2.5 percent.[32] To solve this crisis, West Germany turned to the guest worker. Establishing labor exchanges in Italy, Spain, Greece, and Turkey, West Germany proceeded to see a tremendous inflow of foreigners that would help solve the labor shortage. From 1960 to 1974, West Germany observed an annual inflow of approximately 294,000 migrant workers.[33] Faced with shrinking growth rates, rising wages and falling productivity growth, West Germany's economy teetered in the early 1960s due to a lack of workers. With the inflow of millions of migrant workers, the economy was able to rally and the labor market recovered from the severe shortage.

   Examining West Germany's revitalization on a firm-level illustrates the dramatic resurgence of the country's economy that occurred from the mid-1940s into the 1960s. Two companies in particular, Thyssen and Deutsche Bank, are intriguing case studies because both were on the brink of insolvency and disintegration by the end of the war.

   Immediately after the Nazi defeat, British occupation forces appointed Heinrich Dinkelback as trustee of the entire Ruhr steel industry. Dinkelback planned the breakup of the German steel companies, including Thyssen.[34] Further weakening the company was the death of Fritz Thyssen in 1951. With Thyssen splintered into numerous smaller corporations, one main company, August Thyssen-Hütte AG, became the predominant German steel

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[30] Ibid., 2.
[31] Ibid., 2.
[32] Ibid., 1.
[33] OECD, 1960-1980.
[34] McCraw, *Creating Modern Capitalism*, 216.

company. During the 1950s, as a result of Marshall Plan aid and new state investment programs for coal and steel courtesy of the ECSC, ATH began to make large scale capital investments into new plants.[35] ATH's investment into exploiting scale economies was successful and the firm began to pay out dividends once again. Building on capital investment, ATH pursued a strategy centered around acquisition and expansion.[36] By 1965, ATH was producing 8.6 million metric tons of steel, making ATH the largest steel producer in Europe and the fourth-largest in the world. Within another two years, ATH was the third largest company in Germany by revenue.[37] ATH's success continued into the 1970s, highlighting the benefits of European integration, the ECSC, and the West German government's focus on business investment rather than regulation. ATH went on to become the diverse holding company Thyssen AG with more than 318 companies under the firm's control by the 1990s.[38]

Deutsche Bank's post-war revival bears a similar timeline. In 1947, Deutsche Bank was decentralized into ten regional banks across the three Western zones.[39] Deutsche Bank executives furiously fought the ruling, arguing in 1949 that banking could possess substantial economies of scale and that small banks failed to spread risk effectively.[40] Hermann J. Abs, the former managing director of Deutsche Bank, and other executives pestered the Allies to remerge the successor banks because these small banks were proving to be unprofitable and, as Abs stated, "'the failure of only one joint stock bank can easily pull down the entire banking structure.'"[41] Consistent lobbying paid off and the successor banks merged into three Deutsche Banks in 1951. An additional positive catalyst occurred for Deutsche Bank in 1955. One year after the BRD had received full sovereignty, the West German government

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[35] Ibid., 216.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid., 218.
[39] Ibid., 255.
[40] Ibid., 258.
[41] Ibid., 259.

removed all limitations on the regional scope of credit institutions.[42] In 1957, this law permitted Deutsche Bank to remerge into one large institution. As the economy proceeded to expand over the ensuing decades, Deutsche Bank benefitted immensely. From 1960 to 1994, Deutsche Bank's net income increased fifteen fold and the bank's asset base rose by a factor of 51.[43] As a result of rising wages and the emergence of an affluent middle class in the 1950s and 1960s, Deutsche Bank's retail banking operations expanded. From 1957 to 1993, retail customers at the bank rose from 550,000 to several million and retail services accounted for 60 percent of Deutsche Bank's business outside other banks.[44]

      The West German *Wirtschaftswunder* is a remarkable case study into the benefits of trade, free market government policy, immigration, and foreign aid. Germany emerged from the war battered and on the brink of total disorder. However, with the help of foreign investment, currency reform and the establishment of an integrated European economy, West Germany quickly emerged as an important participant in the global economy. Furthermore, a government focused on providing a social safety net while allowing the free market to work effectively, in addition to a large inflow of migrant workers, allowed West Germany to produced astonishing GNP, productivity, and wage growth. On a more micro-level, examining how unique firm's contributed to and benefitted from the economic miracle demonstrates how numerous factors provided a strong tailwind for West Germany's economy, enabling the country to accomplish an astonishing turnaround from the fall of the Third Reich.

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[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid., 261.

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Fishing in the Amazon: Early Accounts of Amazonian Fishing and More Recent Resource Management Practices in the Lower Floodplains Region

Lillian Saul

Fishing has always been a theme of Amazonian existence, and percolates into almost every account of the region, throughout its history. Over recent years, however, the role of fish within subsistence communities in particular has vastly transformed in the face of rising economic obstacles. While agricultural crops—for example the cash crop jute—are no longer profitable or sustainable for local inhabitants, fish have risen in importance, filling the crucial gaps in survival. Whether through exchange in technologies, food production, or modern resource management practices, fishing in the Amazon has for centuries represented the vast linkages Amazonian people share with the world around them.

Brazil's attitudes towards its Amazonian territories have often been grounded in historical assumptions about the backwards and isolated nature of Amazonian resource management and production practices. Ultimately, the narrative of fishing in the Amazon, from early accounts of indigenous fishing techniques to the more recent rise in locally maintained resource management practices, brings to light many key issues concerning the intertwining of the present Amazonian domain with how the outside world perceives its past. In turn, challenging false narratives of the present, through a close interpretation of early Amazonian accounts, has the potential to alter the material reality of Amazonian fishing communities and the state legislation that so greatly affects them.

Just as the papal bulls of the fifteenth century gave Europeans access to non-Christian lands to bring the inhabitants into the modern world and

one true faith,[1] legislative powers in the 1980's and 90's gave outside invaders paths to gaining land and resources to integrate the Brazilian rainforest into the national economy and counteract the longstanding "backwards" traditions of the jungle's local inhabitants. As Hecht explains, according to land statutes established in 1964 and 1980, even outside squatters could obtain the rights to land ownership after only five years, through the implementation "accepted" forms of land use that qualified as progressive, economically engaged, developmental, and transformative. Local inhabitants on the other hand, who had been on the land for centuries, had no legal paths to maintaining sovereignty. Chico Mendez explains the implicit bias of the law in relation to land use and ownership for the rubber tappers of the Amazon, but his descriptions also apply to Amazonian fishing communities and their continued battles for access to land when they are seen as unproductive wards of the state. He explains, "The law has always been on the side of the rich."[2] Here, the law is not an objective force, but rather aligned with outside and exploitative interests such as those of cattle ranchers, landowners, and money-holders.

But the basis of such laws become unfounded when even from sixteenth century accounts, such as that of Léry documenting the lives of the Tupinamba along the Brazil coast, it is possible to find counterevidence suggesting that the Amazon is not at all an isolated and unengaged world. While Léry's Tupi were at the very edge of the Atlantic world and, in turn, more inclined towards levels of contact and exchange during the initial stages of colonization, they nonetheless can be seen as examples of where European fishing techniques were already being integrated into the Amazonian vision. In his account there is a two-way road of exchange between the Tupi and their European visitors. Léry marvels at the "savages' style of fishing,"[3] which often depended on the natives' cunning ability to "swim, so that they can go get

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[1] *Papal Bull Inter Caetera.* Great Neck Publishing.

[2] Chico Mendes, Tony Gross, and Anthony Gross, *Fight for the Forest: Chico Mendes in His Own Words*, (New York: Latin America Bureau, 1992), 67.

[3] Jean De Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, Otherwise Called America.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 96

their game and their catch in the middle of the water, like spaniels."[4] He further recounts showing the Tupi how to use the European casting nets, which "they took great pleasure in [and] quickly managed to fish with them very well by themselves,"[5] showing the natives knowledge and advanced technologies in respect to fishing. He then significantly notes:

> …ever since the French first started trading there, above all the other commodities that they enjoy in return for their merchandise, they praise them most for this, […] they now have, thanks to them the elegant invention of that little iron barb that one finds so suited to the art of angling.[6]

Léry perceived the Indians to value fishing technologies above all others in their trading with the French, in turn showing fishing to be one of the most central components of engagement. Furthermore, he uses the significance of these exchanges as justification for contact and as a way of elevating his own French people and their importance in the New World above other colonial powers.

Léry's writing points to an underlying truth in terms of the relationship between indigenous-colonial trade and the contact that both sought out to enact it. This relationship can also be accounted for, where as Block explains, Mojos Indians actively sought out missionaries, at times drastically transforming their lives and cultural practices in order to capitalize on the iron tools of the Jesuits in their subsistence ways of life.[7] In this sense, the indigenous engaged in a sort of exchange wherein they willingly volunteered their souls to the Christian faith in order to make full use of the advantageous new implements missionaries offered them.

Block's narrative, however, fits into a broader story of the Mojos, whereby the Mojos engaged in systems of trade and adaptation not simply in

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[4] Ibid., 96
[5] Ibid., 99
[6] Ibid., 99
[7] David Block, *Mission Culture on the Upper Amazon : Native Tradition, Jesuit Enterprise & Secular Policy in Moxos, 1660-1880*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 102

joining the missionaries, but in maintaining old social structures through the integration of new technologies. Franz Keller, a German explorer traveling the Amazon and Madeira Rivers in 1867, describes the Mojos living "principally on the fish and turtle they catch in the river" and trading with nearby settlements to obtain "ammunition and fishing-hooks, with the produce of a small cacao-plantation."[8] Here, the Mojos' fishing practices were clearly transformed by neighboring economies, as they integrated new technologies into subsistence ways of life. Fighting against the notion that Indians of the Amazon lived in purely traditional and untouched worlds, it is clear in Keller's narrative they indeed participated in fundamentally transforming economies to enhance the breadth and depth of their resources and spheres of economic power. Though this example compares to the instance of the Tupi in Léry's narrative from much earlier, it shows the further integration of European goods into Amazonian existence over time, and the organized contact that soon occurred through interlocking commercial systems, as well as the systematic use of cash crops in the Amazonian trade system.

        In early narratives, fishing not only served as representations of technological engagement and exchange, but also explicit instances of production and environmental transformation. As Denevan explains in his article "The Pristine Myth," indigenous tribes were the first transformers of the Amazon, perhaps even the most drastic ones. He notes, "A good argument can be made that the human presence was less visible in 1750 than it was in 1492."[9] While the natives transformed the landscape in a plethora of ways including earth moving, controlled burning, trailblazing, city building, agricultural practices, and resource depletion,[10] fishing can only enhance the vision of the natives as deeply impressive agents of the natural world. Keller notes that as a result of an indigenous fishing technique that employed poisonous frog sap, "many hundreds of gigantic fish had been cut off from

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[8] Franz Keller, *The Amazon and Madeira River, (*New York: D. Appleton and co., 1874), 38.
[9] William M. Denevan, "The Pristine Myth: The Landscape of the Americas in 1492." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 82, no. 3 (1992): 369
[10] Ibid.

the main stream, […] and were dying slowly in the warm water of the basin."[11] In another instance he describes the high efficiency of "casting nets […] sometimes filled with exceedingly rich spoil."[12] Clearly, indigenous actors expertly exploited the fish stocks of the river basin, engaging in multiple forms of environmental alteration to do it, and leaving noticeable marks on the fish populations surrounding them as a result.

In closing my explanation of early accounts of indigenous fishing, it is worth noting an account from 1541, written by Father Gaspar de Carvajal on the first journey down the entire Amazon River. Here, the ability of the natives to transform the landscape, particularly in the abundance of their fishing, facilitated the Spaniards' journey down the river. The account becomes especially interesting as all the conflicting ideologies surrounding the region that even continue today in outsiders' perceptions—the forest as an abundant, hellish desert; the people as simple, inferior masters of the jungle— are embodied in the explorers' journey. Despite early explorers' insistence on the "superabundance" of the rainforest particularly in respect to aquatic life,[13] fish reveal the dependency of these explorers on indigenous peoples for food and survival. Father Carvajal's story of the first voyage down the Amazon recounts the explorers' continual starvation, alleviated only by the rich generosity of the Indians they encountered, who provided them with lavish meals including "fish of many sorts."[14] While at times fish proved the explorers with their only source of sustenance, showing the Amazon to be a lush world of fertility, while in other instances the lack of fish only showed the jungle as a hopeless and hellish desert.[15] Still, fish persist in the narrative as an image of divine fortune, when a crucial nut-piece from a bow is dropped in the river, but immediately recovered in the gut of a passing fish caught on

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[11] Keller, 85

[12] Ibid., 84

[13] "Amazon Waters: Fisheries," Wildlife Conservation Society, accessed 29 Nov. 2017, http://amazonwaters.org/fisheries/

[14] Gaspar de Carvajal, *The Discovery of the Amazon According to the Account of Friar Gaspar De Carvajal and Other Documents*, trans. H.C. Heaton (New York: American Geographical Society, 1934), 175

[15] Carvajal, 189.

a barb hook at that exact moment.[16] Even in the midst of bleakness and despair, a biblical-like miracle manifests in the river's abundance of life and unavoidable presence of—fish. Regardless, the narrative reveals the intense dichotomy and irony of outside conflicting visions of the Amazon, which have often caused the jungle to be a source of both dreams and anguish for the outsiders who travel there.

It is clear from accounts like Carvajal's that explorers wholly depended on Indian's superior knowledge of the jungle. What is less clear, however, is the extent to which explorers saw these systems of survival as embedded in the complex social relations and managerial powers of the jungle's local inhabitants. While explorers often marveled at the wondrous physical stature of the natives, as well as their charming demeanors and impressive weaponry,[17] they nonetheless were steadfastly committed to perceiving them as "servile," "savage," or overall inferior to their own European bloodlines.[18] The paradox of such interpretations—that the indigenous as wise, dominating forces of the unconquerable jungle could simultaneously be so base—despite their obvious ironies, bears implications into the latter twentieth century and even today. Still perceptions of Amazonian peoples as inferior persist on a wholly unfounded basis and largely affect the material reality of their existence.

Despite continuities between early and recent history concerning perceptions of Amazonian peoples, it remains necessary in describing the history of fish, to explain instances of rapid change and cultural-economic flux. In the latter half of the twentieth century, imported jute stood as the major cash crop in the lower Amazonian Baixo (floodplains) region. The money accumulated from this crop meant the locals could be both subsistent and productive, as well as allowing them more economic stability and flexibility. While fish were significant during this time as a source of protein,

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[16] Carvajal, 189-190.
[17] Sir Walter Raleigh, *The Discovery of the Large, Rich, and Beautiful Empire of Guiana: With a Relation of the Great and Golden City of Manoa ... Performed in the Year 1595, by Sir W. Ralegh, Knt ; Reprinted from the Edition of 1596, with Some Unpublished Documents Relative to That Country*, (London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1848).
[18] Carvajal, 174, 186, 233.

they were only pieces of a larger, diversified and stable economy. The "jute" period of the lower Amazon saw a massive demographic influx, as populations throughout the region multiplied exponentially. When the jute economy collapsed however in the 1980's, populations started rapidly declining while children increasingly left home permanently after attending boarding schools elsewhere. Hence, over the course of a generation—large sects of land became unoccupied with both humans and crops. Local communities could no longer depend on jute for their income and consequently dependency on commercial and subsistence fishing increased tremendously. For the first time in history, fish had to serve as not only the most significant source of protein, but of income as well.

This rapid economic change, thus, profoundly affected territorial bounds. When jute farms and people were aplenty, local populations had strong grasps on the lands surrounding their respective lake fisheries that, as explained earlier, had always been significant for their survival. Now however, in the midst of emptying landscapes, the threat of encroaching cattle ranchers and outside invaders becomes more imminent. In this sense, the effects of "outmigration"[19] had a double effect on the vulnerability of Amazonian landscapes to outside exploiters. With lakes' increasing significance in terms of resources and provincial control, such bodies of water rose as symbols of territorial and political sovereignty for fishers and ranchers alike.[20] When Brazil lawmakers deemed locals as unproductive and refused to overtly protect their lands, the law was inevitably on the side of the outsiders, even during this most critical moment of transformation.

Though Brazil's official policy of "open access" in relation to fisheries seemed the most effective way to institute equality between varying sets of interests, the fact that the law did not distinguish between large-scale and small-scale operations placed small scale, local operations at a steep disadvantage. As large-scale commercial fishers fished year-round and

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[19] David G. McGrath, Fabio De Castro, Celia Futemma, Benedito Domingues De Amaral, and Juliana Calabria. "Fisheries and the Evolution of Resource Management on the Lower Amazon Floodplain." *Human Ecology* 21, no. 2 (1993): 182
[20] Ibid., 184-185

traveled far and wide to do it, lakes began to serve as subsistence communities' one source of protein and income for the entire year. In turn, the only fishers who actually experienced "open access" were large-scale fishers, unbounded and free to reign. This phenomenon is largely explained by local fishers' specific accordance with the natural cycles of the Amazon floodplains, whereby fishing happens on a strictly seasonal basis for these small-scale fishers. The water recedes during the dry season forming isolated lakes and rivers, and floods during the rainy season merging all the bodies of water together. During the dry season, fish are stuck in the surrounding lakes as the water quickly recedes and therefore much easier to catch. The lakes where locals generally fish and live around (locals use rivers mainly for transportation and *not* fishing), act as nature's nets, catching the fish already in a much smaller area for locals to then easily exploit. The use of expensive technology is not required in these situations to still fish with high success and efficiency and not have to travel any distance or preserve fish with ice. However, during this time, lake fisheries become especially vulnerable because they are bounded and contained by strict landed borders and, thus, easily wiped out by the surrounding humans. When large-scale commercial fishers have access to these locally managed lake reservoirs, they are capable of obliterating fish stocks with one sweep of the net, and leaving subsistence communities destitute for an entire season.

During the wet season however, lake fisheries are nearly impossible to exploit because the fish are spread out and difficult to find. Here, subsistence communities must focus on other tasks to supplement their income. Because of their ability to travel long distances, large commercial operations keep fish fresh in huge Styrofoam-insulated deck holds and use advanced fishing technologies such as gill nets and purse seines to exploit rainy season fish migrations even when local fishers aren't able to fish hardly at all. Professionalized commercial operations rely heavily on massive hauls from wet-season river migrations to make up for their high expenses and labor costs. Thus, during the wet season, large-scale fishers have free reign on the migrating populations of river systems. During the dry season, however, there is immense pressure on surrounding lakes, when it is local fishers' only

opportunity to catch fish for the year, but when large-scale fishers as well seek to exploit different fisheries year-round to make up for expenses and distribution costs.

In cases where cattle ranchers outnumbered local fishers around local lake fisheries, "open access" could not have been farther from the reality. Because ranchers and locals were fiercely opposed in their missions for territorial claims and sovereignty, it became in ranchers' best interests to exclude local fishers from access to the lake. In other words, ranchers could manipulate lake fisheries to further undermine their local opponents in terms of land and resources. They in turn allied themselves with outside, transient, and divested fishers who they could depend on to leave as quickly as they showed up.

On the other hand, because such threats became imminent, local populations were determined to fiercely protect their land and resources. It was out of these ensuing scenarios, that local and communal systems of management and protection arose. Local communities at this point saw that in order to protect their own lands, they would have to take severe action against intruders, resulting in destruction of outsiders' fishing gear and even violence.[21] While there were at this time (1980-1998) regulations surrounding the sustainability of fishing resources, most were not followed. In turn, fisheries regulation remained consistent with the traditions of a lawless Amazon,[22] as Amazonian industries (such as rubber) were often decentralized and thus impossible to oversee.[23] Each community found their own way to limit and preserve fisheries, based on "traditional knowledge of ecology of varzea [floodplain] fisheries."[24] Because local communities depended so heavily on one particular area, it became their responsibility to ensure outsiders could not deplete it. Large-scale fishers would always have the option of finding fish elsewhere when one small lake was emptied. Locals

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[21] Ibid., 184

[22] CJ. Alho, Roberto E. Reis, Pedro P. U. Aquino. "Amazonian Freshwater Habitats Experiencing Environmental and Socioeconomic Threats Affecting Subsistence Fisheries." *Ambio* 44, no. 5 (2015): 419.

[23] McGrath, 184.

[24] Ibid. 167.

simply didn't have that choice, and thus were in very different, direr circumstances when it came to preserving own fisheries.

While many view local resource management practices as "traditional" they are in fact deeply entwined with changing political systems and dynamic relationships with outside actors. It is perhaps no coincidence that fish was the cheapest food source until the 1970's,[25] when international trade barriers collapsed, the internal jute market was destroyed, and fish transformed into a highly contested and sought after food group. Thus, the Amazonian people and the economies in which they participate are deeply intertwined with outside forces, both national and international, as can be seen with the example of the jute market. Management systems and practices of the local peoples inevitably respond to these changes, as can be seen with the shift in local management of fisheries over recent decades.

When legislation has been so directly determined by historical perceptions grounded in wrongful beliefs that traditional Amazonian practices are unproductive, it becomes even more illuminating when "modern" uses of Amazonian resources prove epic failures. Because, as Hecht explains, cattle ranchers often did not understand the limitations of the Amazonian landscape, after a few years they were left with barren, unproductive tracts of land, abused by unsound ranching practices and no longer profitable.[26] The perceived lack of productivity of the Amazonian peoples from the outside then relates to a general lack of understanding of the ecological constraints of the Amazon region itself.

It is a sad story when local, knowledgeable, and highly productive users have to sacrifice their lands to outsiders because of these historical misunderstandings. Furthermore, when such outside ventures *do not even succeed*, it becomes clear how truly erroneous is the basis of these approaches. While the Ranchers League argued and gained support under the guise of modernization and efficiency in their farming techniques, Hecht explains that outside interests chose to "ignore endless studies in Brazil which repeatedly

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[25] "Amazon Waters: Fisheries"
[26] Susanna B. Hecht and Alexander Cockburn. *The Fate of the Forest: Developers, Destroyers, and Defenders of the Amazon.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 170-171.

emphasized the fact that a large portion of Brazilian food stuffs […] were being produced in smallholdings."[27]

Hecht points to a larger theme that locals know best—have always known best—how to manipulate and participate with the ecological systems around them. Small local fishing operations show higher efficiency and profit than larger, urban-centered and commercially run operations. Despite the abundant catches of larger vessels, one study reveals high profit margins for smaller fishing operations due to their targeted markets and efficient fishing practices. Though larger boats have higher rates of production as they exploit mass migration fisheries along river systems, they receive less value per unit of fish, and have higher distribution, gear, and labor costs. Small commercial fishers, on the other hand, produce higher value catches per unit of fish, direct their efforts towards region-specific delicacies and fish-favorites, and have on the whole far lower costs in gear, labor, and distribution.[28] Thus, there is a continual paradox between the view by outsiders that small farmers and fishers living in subsistence communities have unproductive, inefficient management systems and the sheer reality of their ability to produce and profit from the Amazon more efficiently than outsiders in both fishing and agricultural practices through the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Alas, in 1998 IBAMA instated legislation[29] whereby paths to co-management, management by both local actors and the state, were made available to Amazonian inhabitants in order to legally protect lake fisheries. The groundbreaking law still does not provide local fishers rights to land territories, but does allow locals on the land to legalize already communally established regulations concerning the sustainability of their resources. Though regulations cannot explicitly exclude outsiders, they have the ability to uniquely formulate limitations that indirectly protect and preserve their fisheries from outside invaders or instances of overexploitation.

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[27] Ibid., 197.

[28] Oriana T. Almeida, David McGrath, Eugênio Arima, and Mauro L. Ruffino, "Production Analysis of Commercial Fishing in the Lower Amazon" (2000), 4.

[29] O. T. Almeida, K. Lorenzen, and D. G. McGrath. "Commercial Fishing in the Brazilian Amazon: Regional Differentiation in Fleet Characteristics and Efficiency." *Fisheries Management and Ecology* 10, no. 2 (2003): 109.

Though widely accepted theories such as Hardin's "tragedy of the commons" typically view top-down and state-sanctioned management as highly necessary in preventing local actors from overexploiting their own resources, this is clearly not the case in terms of Amazonian fishing practices.[30] Here, the opposite is true, where top-down management is only necessary to protect and enforce the responsibility and ecological-know how local users quite obviously foster. Whereas large-scale operations may fall more accurately under Hardin's model, as they are primarily profit driven and depend on producing high catches to make up for high expenses and labor costs, small-scale, local fishing vessels participate in resource use with high vested interests in conservation, creating communally run management systems, and thus completely contradicting Hardin's model. Not only do local fishers in no way present a tragedy of the commons scenario, it would be historically inaccurate to say they have been irresponsible users of the fishery resource.

Still, an ever-pressing issue becomes the sustainability of the resource within the context of the increasing dependence discussed here earlier. One study explains, "While fisheries biologists generally consider Amazon fisheries to be under exploited when compared to those of other river systems, several species are thought to be suffering excessive pressure."[31] While on the whole fish species in the Amazon are most likely not suffering, some more highly sought after fish species such as the tambaqui, surubim, piramutaba, and pirarucu,[32] may be indeed experiencing a decline. Despite the large number of available fish species in the Amazon, only a small percentage are actually exploited, and thus exposed to increased vulnerability in their extraction.

In this paper, I've touched on how fishing in the Amazon relates to broader themes surrounding the Amazon itself. I'd like to end, however, on a slightly different note in highlighting how Amazonian fishing in the present day relates heavily to a larger struggle to determine resource distribution in

[30] Dean Bavington, *Managed Annihilation : An Unnatural History of the Newfoundland Cod Collapse.* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 1-12.
[31] Production Analysis of Commercial Fishing in the Lower Amazon," 7.
[32] Ibid.

fisheries around the world. The co-management system currently in place that stems chiefly from local practices on the floodplains can stand as a worthwhile example for fisheries resource management in any location, as it institutes the local knowledge of fishers in legal terms and serves to protect equally fishers and fish. Hecht states in the final chapter of her book, "The struggle over the region's future is fundamentally about justice and distribution."[33] In Amazonian fisheries, Hecht's concepts of justice and distribution become ever entwined with the power that resource control brings to communities, or the collapse of power that ensues when local users are robbed of their most central bases of sustenance. Thus, exploring Amazonian fisheries relates deeply to issues in the jungle itself, as well as reaching more broadly into issues of industrialization and "modernization" in fisheries around the world, in terms of sustainability, power, knowledge, and resource management practices.

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[33] Hecht and Cockburn, *The Fate of the Forest*, 217.

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"Noble and Holy": Religion Within and Without the Knights of Labor

Lindsay Zelson

Though the Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor was explicitly identified as a religiously-imbued labor organization, religion's impact on the Order has recently gone understudied. With hundreds of thousands of members considering themselves Knights, the Knights of Labor was the largest labor organization of the late nineteenth century in the United States. This group was remarkable in both its number of members and the corresponding expansive, country-wide participation. Their size and influence is often cited along with their occasionally violent efforts for labor reform in this time period. Less often discussed, however, is their deeply imbued religiosity. In the following pages, I will explore how religion functioned for the Knights of Labor, both within the organization's internal content and within the larger religious framework of their late-nineteenth century period. Internally, the Knights' Christian beliefs were intrinsically tied to their values and action, both with their rituals and their focus on "True Christianity." Additionally, a Catholic/Protestant divide existed within the organization and was publicized as an important factor of society's knowledge of the Order. This paper will also examine the relationship between the Protestant denominations, the Episcopalian Church, Father James Huntington, and his ties to the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor and the Knights. The Knights' religion was boiled down and action-based in a manner that did not fit neatly within the religious boundaries of the time, and they faltered in part due to the pressures of their religious divides. Though similar in content and values, the Episcopalian support came too late and was not widespread enough to save the Knights.

Religiosity Within the Knights of Labor

The Knights' deep appreciation and use of Christian elements was both notable in the structure of their meetings and in their value systems. As Americans first, the early members of the KOL were generally more religiously devout than workers elsewhere, but the religious elements of the Order were not linked to a specific denomination. The Order had a Christian foundation, and though it was later expanded to atheists, Jews, and non-Christians, as historian Robert Weir explains, "a strong code of Christian-based personal morality was expected of members."[1] It is also important to note that the Knights' ritual elements that will be described in more detail later in this paper were most notable in the early phase of the Order, when it was founded and under the leadership of Philadelphian Baptist Uriah Stephens.[2] Stephens founded the Order with a central code that was referred to as S.O.M.A: "secrecy, obedience, and mutual assistance," a value system that Weir describes as "a noble, but vague set of ideals."[3] A *New York Times* article published in 1878, shortly after the founding of the Order, reflects this secrecy. The author reports that "'Knights of Labor,' by the way, appears to be only the public name of the concern…its real name is concealed, and in its printed constitution…is indicated only by a row of asterisks."[4] As we now know, the "concealed" part of the name was its religious element: "the Noble and Holy Order." The secrecy also lent itself to some comical commercial newspaper articles, like the following from September 8th, 1880:

> The Grand Lodge of Knights of Labor is holding a secret session [in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania]. Over 100 delegates are present from the different lodges throughout the United States. Owing to the oath-bound secrecy of the organization, nothing can be ascertained as to the object of the meeting.[5]

[1] Robert E. Weir, *Beyond Labor's Veil: The Culture of the Knights of Labor* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), 70.

[2] Weir, *Beyond Labor's*, 10, 22.

[3] Weir, *Beyond Labor's*, 16.

[4] "The Knights of Labor: Spread of the Organization in Pennsylvania, Its Strength and the Object's Constitution of the Order," *New York Times*, May 11, 1878.

[5] "Knights of Labor Meeting," *New York Times*, September 8, 1880.

As Weir goes on to explain, the "cement of the [S.O.M.A.] code was religion… Uriah Stephens understood brotherhood as a religious ideal, one consonant with his ministerial ambitions."[6] A text called *Adelphon Kruptos* (AK) was used as the Knights' official guide for ritual behavior, created by Stephens and later modified heavily by his successor, Terence Powderly, to reduce its secretive elements. An edition of the document from 1886 that Powderly modified was published, indicating a departure from the KOL's original pledge to secrecy. Secret or not, the AK document was used as the Knights' official ritual guide. As outlined in the AK, meetings of the Order were held with an open Bible on an altar, and new Knights were instructed that the meeting place was "known as the Sanctuary," and that the KOL ritual elements included special passwords, handshakes, signs, and initiation practices.[7] Early incarnations of the Knights' ceremonies placed an extensive value on these ritual elements, secrecy, and oaths. It is important to understand the Catholic Church's opposition to these values to understand why these factors ended up being so controversial. Cardinal James Gibbons, who was one of the strongest advocates within the Church to advocate Catholic acceptance of the KOL, summarizes that the Catholic Church's opposition to the KOL stems from their interpretation of the Knights' ritual oaths:

> We hold that if a man joins a society, swearing never to reveal any of its workings, no matter how criminal, and to obey the dictates of its officers blindly, he surrenders his personal liberty, becomes a slave to his fellow-man, and cannot partake of the sacraments of the church. On the other hand, if a man joins an organization, swearing to keep secret its workings, with the proviso that nothing therein shall be contrary to the laws of the land, to his conscience and religious tenets, we hold that his action is perfectly justifiable.[8]

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[6] Weir, *Beyond Labor's*, 37.

[7] Ezra Cook, "Adelphon Kruptos," in *The Secret Ritual of the Knights of Labor, reprinted from the 1886 Ezra Cook edition, edited and with an introduction by Samuel Wagar.*, ed. Samuel Wagar (2003), 13 - 16, 41, previously published in *The Secret Ritual of the Knights of Labor* (1886).

[8] "The Catholic Church and the Knights," *New York Times*, August 16, 1886, accessed May 3, 2017.

Powderly, an Irish Catholic, was keenly aware of this distinction. He "continually revised the precepts, [shortened] rituals, [abbreviated] oaths, and [abolished] secrecy."[9] As historian Jason Kaufman notes, "Powderly was put in the difficult position of having to appease two mutually exclusive constituencies at the same time-Catholics and socialists."[10] This argument will take on an additional importance in the later section about the Catholic/Protestant divide within the KOL. However, even this later, altered edition of the AK contains references to the Universal Ordinance, in which the leader of the ceremony explains to a recruited Knight, "We mean to uphold the dignity of labor; to affirm the nobility of all who earn their bread *by the sweat of their brow*" (emphasis mine).[11] As Leon Fink and Herbert Gutman note, this biblical passage is used to imbue religiosity as "a part of their class identity" to affirm for the laboring members that "labor, sweaty labor, was good and should be practiced."[12] This interpretation of Christianity as a universal tool that supported the Knights' cause was also often used by leader Terence Powderly.

Outside the meetings, the Knights claimed that their focus on labor issues inherently championed Christian causes that Gilded Age churches were abandoning. Powderly describes this tension with established churches in his autobiography *The Path I Trod*, writing, "The great power that came to Christianity through the teachings of a Jesus Christ has been largely frittered away through the practice of Churchianity."[13] In a *New York Times* reporting on a speech given by Powderly on the topic of "The Gospel and the Labor Problem," Powderly is reported as having "visited churches of every

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[9] Jason Kaufman, "Rise and Fall of a Nation of Joiners: The Knights of Labor Revisited," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 31, no. 4 (Spring 2001): 568.
[10] Kaufman, "Rise and Fall," 568.
[11] Cook, "Adelphon Kruptos," in *The Secret*, 12.
[12] Herbert Gutman quoted *in* Edward J. Blum, "'By the Sweat of Your Brow": The Knights of Labor, the Book of Genesis, and the Christian Spirit of the Gilded Age," *Labor: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas* 11, no. 2 (2014): 32, doi:10.1215/15476715-2410894.; Blum, "'By the Sweat," 32.
[13] Terence V. Powderly, *The Path I Trod: The Autobiography of Terence V. Powderly*, ed. Harry J. Carman, Henry David, and Paul N. Guthrie (New York, NT: Columbia University Press, 1940), 266, Hathitrust e-book.

denomination – Catholic, Protestant, and Hebrew – and it was the same in all. Not one word for Christ, but all things for men."[14] The term "Churchianity" both encapsulates the ritualistic behavior of attending church that Christians participated in, but it also highlights the false pretenses and frustration with the established behavior that motivated Powderly to embody a different form of Christianity with the KOL. Robert Weir characterizes Powderly's influence on the Knights by writing that they "came to see their quest for justice as a religious crusade…[they] came to see themselves as the guardians of True Christianity, embroiled in a holy crusade to save society from Churchianity."[15] This broad use of "Christianity," though well-intentioned, would subsequently be limited by the need for sect-specific spiritual concerns.

However, Powderly was oblivious to these later concerns in the early period of the Order. In the first edition of the Knights' publication the *Journal of United Labor* in 1880, Uriah Stephens presents a picture of religion as a uniting force, commenting that "Creed, party, and nationality are but outward garments, and present no obstacle to the fusion of the hearts of the worshippers of God the Universal Father, and the workers for man, the universal brother."[16] In an 1881 publication of the *Journal of United Labor*, Powderly emphasizes the oneness of Christian belief, writing that "[if] it were not for politics, we would either have no churches or else one established church."[17] Powderly's conviction that labor issues are inherently Christian seeks to paint the Knights' Christian views in a plane above those of non-Knight believers. As mentioned earlier, this position would prove isolating and harmful to the Order when ideological differences between Protestants and Catholics threatened the romanticized religious foundation.

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[14] "Gospel and Labor Problem," *New York Times*, September 16, 1895.

[15] Weir, *Beyond Labor's*, 74.

[16] Uriah Stephens, "The Ideal Organization: The City of Refuge," *Journal of United Labor* 1, no. 1 (May 15, 1880): 24.

[17] Terence Powderly, "A Few Practical Hints: Number 8," *Journal of United Labor* 1, no. 10 (February 15, 1881): 89.

The Catholic Church and the Knights of Labor

        The divide between Catholic and Protestant Knights coincides chronologically with three distinct phases of the Knights' demographic composition.[18] When Uriah Stephens founded the Knights, the Order was small, highly secretive and ritualistic, and comprised of native-born Protestant craftsmen in both its membership and its leadership.[19] In this first phase, the homogeneity likely helped the Knights to maintain a centralized and cohesive platform on which to build. The Knights' demographic shift out of Philadelphia expanded the Order's percentage of Irish Catholic members like Terence Powderly; Catholics later gained a majority of leadership roles in the organization.[20] Finally, in the third phase, the leadership of the organization remained Catholic (with Powderly in charge until 1892) while the Order underwent mushrooming growth with non-Irish and non-Catholic workers.[21] The third phase included the successful Wabash Railroad against railroad magnate Jay Gould's southwestern railroad lines, as well as the eight-hour workday movement and laudatory press and journal coverage of the Knights' efforts.[22] This leadership-membership discrepancy underscored the ideological differences that the Knights encountered.

        As mentioned earlier, Powderly was responsible for reducing the amount of ritual in the KOL. Catholic disapproval of ritual and secrecy influenced this reduction, and attitudes towards the Knights of Labor were a global point of contention within the Church. In May of 1884, the Catholic Church in Rome issued a disparaging statement remarking that "on account of the principles, organization, and statues of the Knights of Labor association, that association is to be relegated among those which are prohibited by the Holy See."[23] However, leading figures in the Church in the

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[18] Weir, *Beyond Labor's*, 92.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid., 93, 99.

[22] Donald L. Kemmerer and Edward D. Wickersham, 'Reasons for the Growth of the Knights of Labor in 1885-1886', *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 3, no. 2 (1950): 213, 215, 217.

[23] "The Knights of Labor, and Their Relation to the Roman Catholic Church -- an Interview with Bishop O'Reilly," *Springfield Republican* (Springfield, MA), May 2, 1886.

United States and Canada did not respond uniformly to this assessment of the KOL. On August 14th, 1886, Cardinal Elzéar-Alexandre Taschereau of Quebec commented to the *New York Times* an affirmation of the 1884 Roman Catholic Church condemnation of the Knights, saying that "in this [recent] decision, as in the first, the Holy Office recommends the Bishops to proceed against this society in the manner prescribed in its instructions of the 10th of May, 1884."[24] The very next day, Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore expressed doubt to Cardinal Taschereau's statement, commenting that "[his] condemnation of the Knights of Labor should not be taken as the sentiment of the church toward that organization," citing potential national differences between Canadian and American KOL secrecy.[25] As mentioned previously, Cardinal Gibbons distinguished between "blind pledges" and pledges that permitted law abidance, and he recognized that the KOL could be accepted if it did not advocate blind obedience.[26] Months later, Cardinal Gibbons added to his earlier defense, citing religious objections to the KOL, saying that "it is objected that in this kind of [organization] Catholics mix with Protestants, to the peril of their faith. Among a mixed people like ours, separation is not possible."[27] This comment is particularly apt to consider within the context of this essay because it acknowledges Catholic leaders' opinions about the religious associations among the rank-and-file in the Order. Not all ecclesiastical figures were as accepting as Cardinal Gibbons. Archbishop Michael Corrigan was known to support Cardinal Taschereau in rejecting the Knights. A *New York Times* article from October 1886 describes that "it is an open secret that Archbishop Corrigan, of New-York…[is] opposed to secret organizations of any kind."[28] As labor historian Philip Taft

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[24] "Condemned by the Church: Cardinal Taschereau's Letter on the Knights of Labor," *New York Times*, August 14, 1886.

[25] "The Church and the Knights: What Cardinal Gibbons Says on the Subject," *New York Times*, August 15, 1886.

[26] "The Catholic Church and the Knights," *New York Times*.

[27] "The Church and the Knights: Cardinal Gibbons Adds to His Defense of Powderly's Order," *New York Times*, March 29, 1887.

[28] "The Knights and the Church: Catholic Archbishops to Consider the Questions at Issue," *New York Times*, October 27, 1886.

summarizes, though "the dispute arrayed powerful American ecclesiastics against each other…it was Gibbons' views that were ultimately supported."[29]

The Church distained the secretive nature of the Order as it originated, and Powderly made concerted efforts to diminish the KOL's ritual elements. The alterations for reduced secrecy do seem to have affected the Church's view of the Knights, at least locally in Massachusetts. In an 1886 interview with the *Springfield Republican* newspaper, Bishop James O'Reilly states that this decree "was not final, for to his knowledge, it was based on inadequate information."[30] Though he confirms the Church's anti-strike position, Bishop O'Reilly affirms that the Knights have "his entire sympathy in efforts to raise and ameliorate the condition of the laboring man."[31] Catholic leaders appreciated these organizational changes, but Protestant members viewed these changes as motions to appease the Church by pandering to faith leaders who were irrelevant to them.[32]

Given the importance of religious concerns to Americans, it follows that this conflict could impact KOL membership. An article in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* in 1886 anticipated that the Catholic Church's denunciation would lead people "to go to the open labor unions, which are not under the ban of the church."[33] Members did leave for other organizations, but this newspaper article simplifies the fraught Catholic response to the Order and other motivations to leave. As Jason Kaufman finds, Knights "left the order in pursuit of better organized, less conflicted fraternal opportunities" like those offered by "new religious congregations and sodalities, fraternal lodges, mutual-benefit societies…[and] the rival AFL."[34] Membership in the KOL peaked around 1886 at over 700,000 members, but by the end of 1888, the figure had declined to 350,000 members, most of whom were from the mid-

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[29] Philip Taft, "The Catholic Church and the Knights of Labor. Henry J. Browne," Journal of Political Economy 57, no. 6 (December 1949): 551.
[30] "The Knights," *Springfield Republican.*
[31] Ibid.
[32] Weir, *Beyond Labor's*, 93.
[33] "Catholic Church and Knights of Labor," *Philadelphia Inquirer* (Philadelphia, PA), August 17, 1886.
[34] Kaufman, "Rise and Fall," 576, 578.

Western and Southern regions of the country.[35] These migratory patterns may be partially understood as the members' response to unpleasant tensions within the KOL, alongside a simultaneous desire for mutual aid services that the Knights failed to provide. Additionally, 1886 was the year in which the Haymarket Riot took place in Chicago. As Kaufman notes, "National opinion held the Knights responsible… [and] public outrage fostered more public animosity toward the Knights."[36] In addition to religious tensions, this negative reputation could have been another contributing factor to the KOL's decline.

Meanwhile, early Protestant Social Gospel activists "saw [in the Knights] hopes for a conservative labor movement" that shared Powderly's temperate views, but Social Gospel supporters also "condemned the use of the strike or boycott." [37] In 1880, during the early phase of the Order, the Grand Secretary of the Order, Charles Litchman, professed to the *New York Times* that the KOL "[does] not approve of strikes; in fact, we resolutely set our faces against them."[38] However, the Knights later abandoned this anti-strike position, which caused them to come into conflict with the Protestant Social Gospel supporters. There were not similar efforts made to appease Protestants' concerns about the Order, despite the anti-strike position of both Protestants and Catholics, and Protestant members of the KOL were aware of this discrepancy. This tension expanded the religious problems that existed between the religious leaders in the Catholic Church and Powderly to the rank-and-file of the KOL.

Despite the pandering to Catholic concerns of secrecy and ritual, the Order's relationship to the Catholic Church was still imperfect. Catholics viewed Henry George, an 1886 New York mayoral candidate and radical author of *Progress and Poverty*, with distrust because of his advocacy for a

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[35] Weir, *Beyond Labor's*, 12.; Kaufman, "Rise and Fall," 563.
[36] Kaufman, "Rise and Fall," 569.
[37] Carl Warren Griffiths, "Some Protestant Attitudes on the Labor Question in 1886," *Church History* 11, no. 2 (1942): 142, 145, 148.
[38] "An Order of Working Men: The Aims and Principles of the Knights of Labor," *New York Times*, April 19, 1880.

"Single Tax" movement that reeked of anti-private property views.[39] Kaufman estimates that Powderly's "affiliations with Henry George cost the Knights' organization thousands of Catholic members."[40] Interestingly, George had an Episcopal upbringing, the influential Episcopalian figure Father Huntington also adopted pro-Single Tax views that isolated him from his otherwise-socially-engaged parishioners. The Episcopalian sect is often seen as the most receptive to the Knights' movement of all the Protestant churches, though even their support was not as reliable nor consistent enough to save the KOL.

Episcopalian Church Involvement in the Knights of Labor

While there was Catholic-Protestant unrest in the Order in the aforementioned mid-1880 period, parts of the Episcopalian Church were becoming more active in labor issues at this time. In 1887, Father Huntington established the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor (CAIL), and this association is viewed as the "first denominational group founded for the purpose of helping the labor movement."[41] Some of CAIL's goals were to "educate the laity to the problems of labor, to lobby for improved working conditions, and to support urban improvements" with tools that included "prayer, sermons, newspaper articles, lectures, and labor-capital mediation services."[42] A few of the committees operating within the CAIL included those centered on tenement-house reform, labor organization, and the sweating system.[43] These committees were active and legitimate. For

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[39] Kaufman, "Rise and Fall," 570.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Phyllis Jean Amenda, "'God Bless the Revolution:' Episcopalians and Social Justice, 1885 - 1919" (PhD diss., Binghamton University, State University of New York, 2008), 94.

[42] D. G. Paz, "Monasticism and Social Reform In Late Nineteenth-Century America: The Case Of Father Huntington," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 48, no. 1: Historical Prolegomenon to the Renewal of Mission: The Context of the Episcopal Church's Efforts at Outreach 1945-1975 (March 1979): 52.; Amenda, "'God Bless," 97.

[43] William D. P. Bliss and Rudolph M. Binder, eds., *The New Encyclopedia of Social Reform: Including Social Reform Movements and Activities, and the Economic, Industrial, and Sociological Facts and Statistics of All Countries and All Social Subjects* (New York, NY: Funk & Wagnall's Company, 1908), 223, Google e-book.; "Practical Christianity. Proposals of Church Association For the Advancement of the Interests of Labor," *Jackson City Patriot* (Jackson, MI), August 22, 1890.

example, the Labor Organizing Committee was "responsible for maintaining regular communication with organized labor by sending fraternal delegates or emissaries to various labor unions, including the Knights of Labor."[44] Another example of CAIL labor support took place in 1889, when Father Huntington and CAIL sent a letter "to clergymen of all denominations asking them to advise their congregation to refuse to purchase any goods during the holiday season after six o clock in the evening" as part of their effort to get overtime pay for the salesgirls working at night.[45] CAIL also associated with the labor organizations like the Knights of Labor and the Single Tax League for events like "Church services on the eve of Labor Day" in 1892.[46] These examples of Episcopalian support demonstrate parishioner support for labor issues, even when the other churches were hesitant to organize with the Knights.

Father Huntington acted as an important force behind these efforts, but as a leader, he ran into similar problems as Terence Powderly when he tried to extend his support for labor concerns to the Single Tax issue. He coalesced the Christian foundation between the KOL and the Single Tax issue when campaigning for Henry George in New York. Huntington told a reporter that his Christian views inspired him to search for "the most uncompromisingly democratic and revolutionary society the world has ever seen," and he believed that the Single Tax movement and the Knights of Labor embodied this quest.[47] Father Huntington's well-intentioned support for the Single Tax movement and the KOL pulled the Episcopalian Church and CAIL toward the radical fringes of religious involvement in social activism, placing them in a unique position within the otherwise-conservative Social Gospel movement.[48] However, CAIL attempted to publicize its activity as "an important, but not radical expression of church life," and this lack of admitted radicalization did not fit cleanly alongside KOL's opposition to the

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[44] Amenda, "'God Bless," 131.

[45] "Crusaders for the Shop Girls," *New York Herald* (New York, NY), December 23, 1889.

[46] "Church Labor Services," *New York Herald* (New York, NY), August 21, 1892.

[47] Leonel L. Mitchell, "The Episcopal Church and the Christian Social Movement in the Nineteenth Century," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 30, no. 3 (September 1961): 180.

[48] Paz, "Monasticism and Social," 54.

established Protestant churches.[49] Additionally, the Episcopalian Church was largely comprised of wealthier Protestants, and this demographic clashed with the Knights' professed distaste for people they deemed "unproductive" members of society – "the politicians, the judicial and legal time-servers, the ravenous editors, the capitalist pulpiteers, the major-generals, and all the mob of the camp-followers of plutocracy."[50] Furthermore, the fact that the support came after 1886 meant that the Order was already waning. Considering the Order's quick and drastic decline, Episcopalian support ceases to seem as promising as it could have been, had it come earlier.

The incredibly large and religiously diverse membership that the Knights of Labor boasted ultimately contributed to worsening fragmentation within the Knights that aided its decline. However, as Robert Weir importantly notes, "It was…success against capital that did in the Knights, not internal conflict," as KOL's success helped cause its proliferating, diverse, and ultimately poorly-managed large membership.[51] Weir also explains that the enormous "financial resources of [the Knights'] determined opposition" contributed to the Knights' organizational decline. Considering previously documented histories of the Knights' rise and fall, it is in this context of organizational and societal upheaval that one must consider religious elements, like how the broad use of "Christianity" to contain the Knights' value system was vulnerable to sectarian disputes between Catholic and Protestant Knights. On a smaller scale, these disputes were both contentious among the rank and file, as well as between them and Terence Powderly. These religious disputes took on greater proportions when tensions heightened between Powderly and the greater religious sphere that prominently included the leadership of the Catholic Church in Rome and Quebec. Though the Episcopalian Church and CAIL sought to address some of the Knights' concerns, the support was insufficiently widespread, untimely, and divided to be able to save the Order amidst the contentious early

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[49] Amenda, "'God Bless," 123.

[50] John Swinton, *Striking for Life: Labor's Side of the Labor Question* (New York, NY: American Manufacturing and Publishing Company, 1894), 252.

[51] Weir, *Beyond Labor's*, 327.

twentieth-century atmosphere. For the Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor, religion not only inspired its founders and motivated its members, but it also ultimately contributed to its downfall.

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The Weird Sisters: The Witchcraft in Macbeth and its Historical Context

Kaitlyn Thomas-Franz

> MACBETH:
> How now, you secret, black, and midnight hags!
> What is't you do?
> ALL [THREE WITCHES]:
> A deed without a name.[1]

Between 1563 and 1736 over four thousand people were tried for witchcraft in Scotland, and of those, approximately 2,500 were executed.[2] One of the most prominent of these legal proceedings was the North Berwick witch-hunt of 1590-91 during which a handful of individuals were charged with attempting to murder King James VI of Scotland.[3] In the end, this trial and the ones that followed in its wake significantly affected the cultures of England and Scotland and the views of witchcraft in both countries. One such facet of English culture influenced by the North Berwick witch trials was the work of William Shakespeare. The depiction of witches in Shakespeare's play *Macbeth* appears to be critically shaped by the North Berwick witchcraft trials and by the documentation produced as a result.

First published in 1606, *Macbeth* is one of the fifteen plays that Shakespeare wrote during the reign of King James, who succeeded Elizabeth

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[1] William Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, 4.1, 48-49.

[2] Julian Goodare, Lauren Martin, Joyce Miller, and Louise Yeoman. "Introduction to Scottish Witchcraft." *The Survey of Scottish Witchcraft* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 2016).

[3] Lawrence Normand and Gareth Roberts, *Witchcraft in Early Modern Scotland: James VI's Demonology and the North Berwick Witches* (University of Exeter Press, 2000), 21.

I in 1603 as James I of England. Shakespeare derived the key plot elements of the play from Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland*, which was first published in 1577.[4] In Holinshed's account, Macbeth and Banquo enter into a forest where they "there met them, three women in strange and wild apparel, resembling creatures of the elder world" who prophesize Macbeth's reign as the king of Scotland.[5] While Shakespeare also employs three supernatural beings, he explicitly describes them as witches in contrast to Holinshed who describes them as "the goddesses of destiny, or else some nymphs or fairies endued with knowledge of prophecy by their necromantical science."[6] An additional change that Shakespeare makes to the source material is that he places the witches in the primary position of supernatural agents as opposed to the collection of "wizards, witches, and prophets" who foretell Macbeth's future and give him warnings in the Holinshed account.[7] Focusing solely on the three weird sisters as the supernatural element in the play allows Shakespeare to examine the different aspects of the witch archetype.

The events of the North Berwick trials profoundly affected King James, and many elements of the legal proceedings found their way into his *Demonology*, which he published in 1597.[8] The king intended this text to serve as a guide for identifying and punishing witches, and his text reiterated information from his contemporaries on the hierarchical structure of witchcraft. James defined witches as being servants of the devil, which placed the devil at the head of a malicious hierarchy while simultaneously reinforcing the commonly held idea that women were too intellectually inferior to act on their own agency. The testimonies of the defendants at the North Berwick trials reinforced the concept of this hierarchy. The accused women confessed that they paid the devil homage, promised the devil that they would be "good servants" and follow his commands, and concluded

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[4] Laura Annawyn Shamas, *"We Three": The Mythology of Shakespeare's Weird Sisters* (New York: Peter Lang, 2007), 10.
[5] Quoted in Ibid., 10.
[6] Quoted in Ibid., 11.
[7] Normand and Roberts, *Witchcraft in Early Modern Scotland*, 45.
[8] Ibid., 107.

their meetings by performing the so-called "infamous kiss", in which they "kissed all [the devil's] arse."[9] The depiction of the witches in *Macbeth* also reinforces a hierarchal structure. While the witches initially meet with Macbeth by their own agency, they are ultimately subservient to Hecate, the goddess of witchcraft, meaning they act as her servants and are expected to perform deeds of maleficium in her name. However, while individuals, including Hecate, make references to hell and damnation throughout the course of the play, no explicit ties are made between Hecate and the devil himself. Therefore, although the witches in *Macbeth* do not act on the designs of a patriarchal figure, they adhere to a strict chain of command.

Shakespeare introduces the witches to his audience in the first scene of *Macbeth*, in the midst of a major tempest. A key feature in Macbeth, foul weather and storms serve as an example of the many supernatural phenomena that the witches control. The witches actually produce severe storms that wreak havoc across the entirety of Scotland. In Act One, Scene Three, for example, the witches join together dancing around a circle and chanting spells to inflict revenge on a sailor's wife who refused to share her chestnuts, controlling the wind so that her husband's ship will be tossed about on the open ocean with no hope of making it to shore so that, "He shall live a man forbid: / Weary se'nnights nine times nine / Shall he dwindle, peak and pine."[10] The idea of witches as the instigators of storms occurs as an important element of the North Berwick trials of 1590-91, during which supernatural storms were examined extensively as one of the malicious activities of the accused women. Additionally, on his voyage to marry Anne of Denmark, James encountered many storms that he and his contemporaries attributed to witchcraft. The storms played a major role in his decision to conduct the witchcraft trials, and the Scottish judicial court tried the majority of the defendants in the North Berwick proceedings with causing the storms that "staied the Queen of Scottes voiage into Scotland, and sought to have staied likewise the King's retorne."[11]

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[9] Quoted in Ibid., 147.
[10] Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, 1.3.21-23.
[11] Quoted in Normand and Roberts, *Witchcraft in Early Modern Scotland*, 129.

Furthermore, during the legal case of Agnes Sampson, the North Berwick court accused her of participating in the devil's sinking of the ship *The Grace of God*, and they charged her with performing a ritual in which she and other witches "cast [several cats] in the sea so far as they might" in order to insure that a "boat perished between Leith and Kinghorn."[12] In his *Demonology*, James also stresses that witches "can raise storms and tempests in the air either upon sea or land…And this is likewise very possible to their master to do, he having such affinity with air as being a spirit."[13] Ultimately, the emphasis that both the North Berwick trials and the writing of King James placed on the ability of witches to cause storms helped to "[establish] widespread Scottish witchcraft beliefs that would continue to appear in the next century."[14]

Foul weather and storms act not only as an outlet for the witches' supernatural abilities, but also serve as a physical representation of the political turmoil in Scotland over the course of the play. Using storms as a literary device, Shakespeare connects witches to the religious and political turmoil of the early years of King James's reign. When James assumed the throne, the Catholic minority in Great Britain underwent a "religious cold war" with the Protestant majority.[15] However, in 1605, a sect of "Papists" conducted a failed plot to assassinate James and the leading members of his court by igniting kegs of gunpowder underneath Parliament when it was in session. In the wake of the Gunpowder Plot, as it has come to be known, the King sought to produce propaganda that, rather than emphasizing the influence of Catholic theology on the plot, emphasized "a specific intervention of the devil, using only the most corrupt or malevolent elements in the Catholic community."[16] As a result of this event and the response from James, one can draw literary parallels between the Papists of the Gunpowder Plot and the witches of *Macbeth*. Both the witches in *Macbeth*

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[12] Quoted in Ibid., 237-38, 240.
[13] Quoted in Ibid., 237-38, 240.
[14] Ibid., 107.
[15] Garry Wills, *Witches and Jesuits: Shakespeare's Macbeth* (New York: New York Public Library, 1995), 14.
[16] Ibid., 15.

and the Papists of the Gunpowder Plot were labeled as heretics and as servants of the devil by James and his subjects. Additionally, just as the witches caused storms that led to chaos throughout Scotland, the Papists intended to cause political discord through their assassination of the King and his government officials. Therefore, the storms in *Macbeth* serve as a metaphor for both the political chaos in the play and the political chaos that Great Britain was experiencing at the time *Macbeth* was written—with the witches serving as stand-ins for the treasonous Papists.

Not only do the witches of *Macbeth* enforce their abilities through the use of magical chants, but they also carry out their deeds through the use of organic potions. One of their most infamous moments of maleficium takes place in Act Four, Scene One. In this scene, they prepare a potion for Macbeth using a variety of repulsive elements, including the bodies of dead babies and various other human remains, the poison secreted by toads, and the entrails of various animals. These methods of potion casting are similar to those used in the crimes that the Scottish court references in the charges against Agnes Sampson. By the time of her trial, Agnes had established herself as a healer and had worked in her community for about six years. Through the combination of specially concocted potions and prayers, Agnes was said to have healed dozens of people.[17] In her confession, Agnes admitted "that she healed the lady of Kilbaberton with the fleur-de-lis steeped in white wine a-night," and "that she healed the laird of Redhall's son with rubbing aquavite on him and saying her prayer."[18]

After Agnes and her associates underwent several rounds of questioning, and in some cases torture, Jane Stratton—an acquaintance of Agnes—confessed that Agnes carried out the death of a man through the use of potions: "Agnes Sampson got the toad and dripped the same above the fire in her house, and after she had gotten the dripping in a latten dish, she caused this deponer get the mixture or wash for her part."[19] Stratton elaborated by saying that, "This dripping of the toad was mixed, as said is,

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[17] Normand and Roberts, *Witchcraft in Early Modern Scotland*, 207.
[18] Quoted in ibid., 143.
[19] Quoted in ibid., 171.

was also black as pitch and was sent to Edinburgh to the [other witches] who should use it there. At the mixing of it, Anne Sampson [summoned] the [devil] saying "My master" three times."[20] From these coerced testimonies, one learns that Agnes purportedly used toad poison in some of her more complex portions, just as the three witches in *Macbeth* had relied upon toad poison in their sinister brew. In the end, the court effectively turned Agnes' healing abilities against her to paint her as a witch, and she was executed in January of 1591.[21]

The influence of King James' *Demonology* on *Macbeth* can most clearly been seen in the way in which Shakespeare portrays the use of divination by the three witches. In his condemnation of divination, James emphasizes that the devil "will make his scholars to creep in credit with princes by foretelling them many great things part true, part false, for if all were false he would [lose] credit at all hands, but always doubtsome as his oracles were."[22] The witches in Macbeth use divination in this manner; they never lie to Macbeth and the other characters, but the phrasing of their prophecies ultimately serve to be these individuals' undoing. For example, the spirits that the witches conjure up tell Macbeth that "none of woman born" are able to harm him and that he is invincible until "Great Birnam wood to high Dunsinane hill / Shall come against him."[23] This leads Macbeth to assume his own invincibility up until the final battle of the play in which his enemies fulfill the former prophecy by camouflaging themselves in tree branches in Birnam woods. Macbeth is slain by Macduff who was "from his mother's womb / Untimely ripp'd," thus fulfilling the latter prophecy.[24]

The heavy interlink between necromancy and divination in *Macbeth* also demonstrates how the political rhetoric used during Shakespeare's time influenced the portrayal of Macbeth and his kingship. As noted in *Witchcraft*

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[20] Quoted in Ibid., 172.
[21] Ibid., 154.
[22] Quoted in Ibid., 374.
[23] Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, 4.1.80-81, 93-94.
[24] Ibid., 5.8.15-16.

in Early Modern Scotland, "Old Testament kings, including Saul, were often invoked as types or patterns by early modern monarchs and their supporters."[25] In examining the interactions between Macbeth and the witches, one can draw connections between the stories of Macbeth and King Saul. According to the Bible, Saul asks the witch of Endor to raise Samuel from the dead so that he can question Samuel about his own political future. In doing so, Saul effectively condemns himself to damnation because necromancy is a serious sin. Similarly, in Act Four, Macbeth meets with the three witches to seek answers about his future. During this meeting, the witches conjure up multiple apparitions that provide Macbeth with cryptic prophecies. Through his associations with the witches, Macbeth commits necromancy, "the crime of witchcraft," and cements his damnation.[26] Given their familiarity with Biblical kings, Shakespeare's audience would have made the connection between King Saul and the actions of necromancy and divination, and this parallelism helped Shakespeare to paint Macbeth as a sinful political figure.

While Lady Macbeth never performs acts of necromancy or associates herself with witchcraft as her husband does, her actions throughout the play are heavily tied to the witch archetype invoked by Shakespeare and King James. When she first makes the decision to kill King Duncan, Lady Macbeth makes the following infamous invocation:

> Come, you spirits
> That tend on mortal thoughts, unsex me here,
> And fill me from the crown to the toe top-full
> Of direst cruelty! make thick my blood;
> Stop up the access and passage to remorse,
> That no compunctious visitings of nature
> Shake my fell purpose, nor keep peace between
> The effect and it! Come to my woman's breasts,
> And take my milk for gall, you murd'ring ministers.[27]

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[25] Normand and Roberts, *Witchcraft in Early Modern Scotland*, 335.

[26] Wills, *Witches and Jesuits*, 74.

[27] Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, 1.5.40-48.

In asking that these evil spirits "unsex" her, Lady Macbeth expresses a desire to transform into something similar to the three witches of *Macbeth* who are described as being unsexed by their old age.[28] Additionally, Lady Macbeth demands that her blood be made thick with early menopause. According to Purkiss: "A witch's blood was thought to be so thick with old age, so lacking in fire that it was impossible to extract it, and it was this idea that lay behind the notion that a witch's body could not be pierced by shot or by a pin."[29] Lady Macbeth also offers up the demons her breasts from which they can suckle nourishment. This action bears a strong resemblance to witches providing their familiars with nourishment through the use of their "devil's marks."[30] As Described in *Demonology*, the devil's mark is placed by the devil "upon some secret place of [the witch's] body…to give them proof thereby that as in that doing he could hurt them and heal them, so all their ill- and well-doing thereafter must depend upon him."[31] Therefore, through her invocation, Lady Macbeth rejects her youth and womanhood by taking on significant aspects of the witch archetype.

      Lady Macbeth's descent into remorse and insanity as a result of her involvement in King Duncan's death also exhibits witch-based imagery. As Lady Macbeth enters the stage in Act Five, Scene One, the stage directions specify that she is carrying a taper. According to Willis, "The punishment of a penitent witch involved her parading her crime by holding a taper (the symbol of witches' rites, which used candles as Catholic masses did, liturgically)."[32] Shakespeare, in fact, used this same symbolism in his…portrayal of the convicted witch, The Duchess, in *Henry VI, Part 2*.[33] As further evidence of her remorse, Lady Macbeth spends the primary portion of the scene trying to remove from her hands what she perceives to be the blood of King Duncan, which she famously refers to as the "damn'd

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[28] Diane Purkiss, "Witchcraft in Early Modern Literature" in Brian P. Levack, editor, *The Oxford Handbook of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe and Colonial America* (Oxford University Press, 2013), 11.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Wills, *Witches and Jesuits*, 80.
[31] Quoted in Normand and Roberts, *Witchcraft in Early Modern Scotland*, 383.
[32] Wills, *Witches and Jesuits*, 86.
[33] Ibid., 86-87.

spot."[34] In trying to rub out the sign of her involvement in Duncan's murder, Lady Macbeth also symbolically rejects the fantasies of witchcraft she called upon to carry out the crime in the first place.

The North Berwick witchcraft trials and the scholarly works that were produced as a result of the legal proceedings had a profound influence on the contemporary culture of England. This influence is exemplified in the witch archetype that Shakespeare depicts in *Macbeth*. When analyzing *Macbeth*, it is important to remember that writings of history are subjective and that Shakespeare wrote the play under the patronage of King James, which profoundly influenced the way he presented and modified the historical elements of his work. Incorporating text from King James' *Demonology* could have gained Shakespeare favor and potentially ensured the play's commercial success.

If Macbeth is measured by its ability to endure then Shakespeare succeeded. From Shakespeare's time onward, productions of *Macbeth* have taken place around the world. Interestingly, just as Shakespeare adapted the traits of the three witches to reflect the views and notions of his time, directors of more recent adaptations have done this as well. For example, in Orson Welles's 1936 production, the setting is moved to Haiti. As a result, voodoo is substituted for witchcraft and the witches are transformed into voodoo priestesses.[35] In *Throne of Blood*, a Japanese film adaptation of *Macbeth*, the three witches are replaced by a forest spirit whose characteristics are based on Japanese mythology. Therefore, interpretations of *Macbeth* and the portrayal of its three witches are also subjective as the play has been reshaped and reimagined through its introduction to a global stage and by the evolutions in modern culture.

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[34] Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, 5.1.35.
[35] Wills, *Witches and Jesuits*, 44.

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Facing the Nonhuman Past: On the Uses of a Queer Phenomenology for History

Thomas Reid

> "We are still in the process of creating, it seems to me, a historiographic method that would admit the flesh, that would avow that history is written on and felt with the body, and that would let eroticism into the notion of historical thought itself."
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> - Elizabeth Freeman[1]

In her introduction to the *GLQ* special issue on *Queer Temporalities,* Elizabeth Freeman traces the outlines of a body of scholarship in motion: queer historiography. In the first section of this essay, I explore some of the issues recent scholarship on "queer time" raises for historiographic methodology, particularly that of historicizing the nonhuman. I will argue that developing a historiographic method that would admit the "flesh," as Freeman has suggested, requires that we admit nonhumans into the practice and writing of history as well. When we trace bodies and nonhumans in their historical relation to one another, I suggest, we approach with greater accuracy the semiotic-material constitution of queerness across time, making space for *disorientation* as an integral component in our approach to the past itself. On this point, the second part of this essay will draw out the implications of Sara Ahmed's reflections on "queer phenomenology" for a philosophy of history, highlighting the work which the concept of a "non-

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[1] Elizabeth Freeman, "Introduction," GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies 13, (2-3) (2007): 160.

absent" past might do for the project of "queering" conventional historiographic methodology.

The Body in/of Queer Time

The last decade has seen the proliferation of scholarship on "queer time," variously referred to as the "turn toward temporality" within queer studies. This body of work is diverse in topic and method, yet appears unified in its opposition to the figure of "straight time." Theorized by Alison Kafer as "the firm delineation between past/present/future or the expectation of a linear development from dependent childhood to independent reproductive adulthood," straight time plays on a double meaning folded into the concept of "straightness" as both a direction in space and an indicator of sexual/gender normativity.[2] Kafer and others align the narrative of time's singular movement *from* the past *to* the present *into* the future with sexual object choice, suggesting that linearity and compulsory heterosexuality have tended to reinforce one another. Proponents of queer time aim to throw both sides of this equation off kilter by examining the interplay of temporal and sexual dissonance. Queer temporality, in the words of Annamarie Jagose, is "a mode of inhabiting time that is attentive to the recursive eddies and back-to-the-future loops that often pass undetected or uncherished beneath the official narrations of the linear sequence that is taken to structure normative life."[3]

What does this "mode of inhabiting" consist of exactly? Theorizing straight time as a kind of "temporal regulation" that is "implanted" in the body such that "institutional forces come to seem like somatic facts," Elizabeth Freeman encourages us to think of queer times as "beyond somatic changes," casting queer time as doggedly unpredictable and non-biological.[4] José Muñoz has doubled down on this theoretical movement, defining queer time as "a stepping out of the linearity of straight time,"

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[2] Alison Kafer, *Feminist, Queer, Crip* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 34.

[3] "Theorizing Queer Temporalities: A Roundtable Discussion," *GLQ* 13, no. 2-3 (2007): 186-187.

[4] Elizabeth Freeman, *Time Binds: Queer Temporalities, Queer Histories* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 3.

which takes one nearer to the "not-yet-hear" of "queer futurity."[5] In both cases, queer time is conceptualized as something "out there" in time and space: temporally distant and accessible only insofar as one has the capacity to move "beyond" the "here and now" of the body as figured within the confines of straight time. Yet if queering time necessitates moving beyond somatic change, how are we to write the history of the flesh proposed by Freeman in the epigraph above?

Much as we may detest it, our bodies exist in a state of constant flux. They grow older as time goes by, and they change shape depending on the objects and others with which they come into contact. As Valerie Traub notes, "Any ethics we might wish to derive from a consideration of temporality must contend with the irreducible force of time's movement on our bodies, our species, and the planet. Queer or not, we remain in many respects *in* time."[6] What are the consequences, I want to ask, of neglecting such an ethics, this being "in" and "moved on" by time? Can we recuperate the insights of the queer critique of straight time without erasing the material transformation of the body *over* time? The body as embedded in and shaped by a field of objects and others?

In her essay, "The New Unhistoricism in Queer Studies," Traub calls into question a metonymic slippage informing much recent queer scholarship on time and history: namely, the presumption that the two might be "queered" in one fell swoop. "To queer history," Traub writes, "has come to be seen as coterminous with and expressive of the need to queer temporality itself." As Traub notes, the imperative to circumvent the "specter of teleology" bolstering any conception of time as "straight" has led scholars of literature such as Carla Freccero, Jonathan Goldberg, and Madhavi Menon to reject modes of thinking and writing about the past taken to collude with such a notion, including the idea of historicism itself. "On behalf of a *queerer* historiography," their work sets itself apart from previous theories and methods of gay and lesbian historical studies by

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[5] José Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity* (New York: NYU Press, 2009), 25.
[6] Valerie Traub, *Thinking Sex with the Early Moderns* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 75.

foregoing practices of periodization, empiricism and other reputed corollaries to the "ideal of telos." Elevating anachronism and similitude over a historicist regime of historical alterity, these scholars call for a queering of history under the rubric of "unhistoricism."[7]

There is good reason to be wary of elevating queer's analytic capacity to such heights. As Traub warns us, it may be the case that asking queer to do the work of accessing a spectral "homo in us all" that can be found in all times and at all places empties queer of its critical potential by way of dehistoricizing abstraction.[8] As Traub writes:

> However mutable as a horizon of possibility, queer is a position taken up in resistance to specific configurations of gender and sexuality. If queer, as is often said, is intelligible only in relation to social norms, and if the concept of normality itself is of relatively recent vintage, then queer needs to be defined and redefined in relation to those changing configurations. To fail to specify these relations is to ignore desire's emergence out of distinct cultural and material configurations of space and time… It is to celebrate the instability of queer by means of a false universalization of the normal.[9]

The critical thrust of Traub's analysis here is in its interrogation of the transhistorical value proponents of a new "unhistoricism" assign to queer. When scholars posit queer as *the* anti-foundation upon which the relation between past and present is to be deconstructed to the exclusion of other means of challenging conventional practices of historicism, they assert, however ironically, a new historical essentialism. In contrast, Traub

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[7] Traub, *Thinking* Sex, 57-58, 61-62, 68, 70.

[8] For "homo in us all," see Menon, *Unhistorical Shakespeare,* 142. As Traub notes, this phrase appropriates Leo Bersani's call in Homos for an "anticommunal mode of connectedness" that would not assimilate queers "into already constituted communities" (10). Bersani's meaning of "homos," however, is invested in social specificity.

[9] Traub, *Thinking Sex*, 76.

advocates a queer historicism "dedicated to showing *how* categories, however mythic, phantasmic, and incoherent, *came to be*."[10]

Traub's comments resonate with historian Joan Scott's view that human "experience" ought not be the origin of historical explanation, but rather, "that which we want to explain."[11] When we fail to keep this in mind, Scott argues in her essay, "The Evidence of Experience," we risk constituting subjects as "fixed and autonomous, who are considered reliable sources of a knowledge that comes from access to the real by means of their experience."[12] Gayatri Spivak describes this process as "positing a metalepsis," a move which necessitates, however subtly, the "fictitious insertion" of "sovereign and determining subject."[13] It should not surprise us to learn, then, that "reading metaleptically" is taken in queer unhistoricist scholarship to be synonymous with queer theorizing itself.[14] Expanding upon Scott and Spivak's insights here, we might stretch this point by asking: what might the *body* of this fixed and autonomous subject look like? Or perhaps better: what are the specific conditions of embodiment according to which cruising queer time becomes possible?

Kelsey Henry's *"A Wrinkle in Time"*: *Growing Old, Or, A Queer Unbecoming* allows us to approach these questions from a different direction. Against the near uniformity with which queer theorists have taken up the linkage between straight desire and linearity in their representation of straight time, Henry takes as her point of departure the possibility that straight time might not be quite as "straight and narrow" as initially thought. She cites Annamarie Jagose, who asks:

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[10] Ibid., 81.

[11] Joan W. Scott, "The Evidence of Experience," *Critical Inquiry* 17, no. 4 (Summer 1991): 797.

[12] Ibid., 782.

[13] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics,* (New York, 1987), 204.

[14] "The reversal signified by the rhetorical term *metalepsis* could be seen to embody the spirit of queer analysis in its willful perversion of notions of temporal propriety and the reproductive order of things. To read metaleptically, then, would be to engage in queer theorizing." Freccero, *Queer/Early/Modern*, 2.

> Rather than invoke as our straight guy a version of time that is always linear, teleological, reproductive, future oriented, what difference might it make to acknowledge the intellectual traditions in which time has also been influentially thought and experienced as cyclical, interrupted, multilayered, reversible, stalled—and not always in contexts easily recuperated as queer?[15]

Remarking on queer theory's general failure to engage Jagose's question, Henry contends that this "straight guy" is not only a straw man—a reductive fiction suturing linearity to straight desire in the form of straight time—but one which *has* been invoked, time and time again. "If we take a long, close look," Henry suggests, "straight time abruptly swerves and crashes into itself, rather than extending eternally forward into the future." This is because straight time "explicitly does not want to touch the embodied reality of growing old," valuing instead a romanticized and disembodied version of longevity and youthfulness, a fairy tale of "growing up" that conveniently concludes there.[16]

Henry argues that when queer theories of time reproduce this anxious evasion of embodied, inevitable temporalities—"times that emerge most spectacularly through illness, disability, and aging"—they reinstate straight time's erasure of bodies that do not signify as young and/or able-bodied. Those people "most commonly punished for the tremendous weight and troubling signification of their own bodies," Henry goes on—women, the elderly, the disabled, and people of color—all too frequently fall through the cracks of a "queer temporal vernacular" imagined to move one "*beyond* somatic change." Against the impulse to evacuate the body of its critical potential, then, Henry proposes a "more accessible queer-crip time

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[15] "Theorizing Queer Temporalities" *GLQ*, 186. While I do not have space to discuss it here, Rebecca Schneider has suggested that Elizabeth Freeman's notion of "temporal drag" can be read implicitly as building upon Homi Bhabha's engagement with temporal lag—or the theory of the "time-lag" he credits to Frantz Fanon's "The Fact of Blackness." Given this, how might we think about theories of queer time in their relation to work on/around temporality and blackness? Rebecca Schneider, *Performing Remains: Art and War in Times of Theatrical Reenactment* (Abingdon, Oxon, and New York: Routledge, 2011), 14.
[16] Kelsey Elizabeth Henry, *"A Wrinkle in Time": Growing Old, Or, A Queer Unbecoming,* (2015): 8-9, 41.

imagined *through* illness, disease, and aging…a queer time that finds us *in the thick of our bodies*," rather than moving us beyond them.[17]

Together, Traub and Henry's interventions highlight the dangers of deploying "queer" as a means of moving "beyond" the materiality of the body in time. It seems we cannot afford to essentialize queer such that it disappears into certain bodies altogether, yet neither can we wield queer as an analytical wand removed from certain bodies and their position off the straight timeline. Navigating this theoretical tightrope, it behooves us to return to Muñoz for a moment, and in particular, to his musings on "ephemera" as a form of "queer evidence."

Muñoz defines ephemera as the "trace" of queer gesture, or the "remains" embedded in queer acts, including both the "stories we tell one another and communicative physical gestures" such as "the cool look of a street cruise, a lingering handshake between recent acquaintances, or the mannish strut of a particularly confident woman." Ephemera testify to the material existence of a history which cannot be written, even as that history inscribes itself upon and within those bodies and spaces whose shared past it comes to signify. This process of sharing, Muñoz calls a "certain queer communal logic"--a collective "knowing, moving, and feeling" which "overwhelms" practices of individual identity in those spaces where queer gesture finds expression. For Muñoz, "space" includes other bodies *as well as the nonhuman environment* in which the materiality of gesture remains even after its performance expires. The dance floor, for instance, is not neutral, but rather functions as a "stage for queer performativity that is integral to everyday life." Spaces like the dance floor carry the particular "residue" of the performances which they facilitate. Approaching the "traces" which crop up in the wake of such performances requires that we reconfigure our notion of materiality to include that which may not immediately 'present' to us, but which seems to impress upon us, nevertheless. Muñoz calls the methodology by means of which historians might trace such eerie remains a "hermeneutics of residue." "What is left? What remains?" he asks.

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[17] My emphases. Henry, '"*A Wrinkle in Time,*'" 30, 119-120.

"Ephemera remain. They are absent and they are present, disrupting a predictable metaphysics of presence."[18]

Following Muñoz here, I want to suggest that recuperating queer's critical potential for historiographic methodology may require that we think outside, or perhaps better, *in-between* the binarism of presence and absence structuring Western metaphysics. To conclude this section, I take up Bruno Latour's notion of "relative existence" as one way of accessing, and even reveling in, the impermanence of this "in-between," devoting particular attention to the place of the nonhuman thing in the space of Latour's inquiry. Latour's essay, "On the Partial Existence of Existing *and* Nonexisting Objects," is helpful in complicating what Traub identifies as the "either-or proposition" of queer identity tucked away into the call for a new queer unhistoricism.[19] *What is the cost of taking queerness a transhistorical "fact," a "substance" whose capacity to destabilize the normative across time and space becomes 'given'?*

As Latour argues, relative existence is an existence that is no longer framed by the choice between never and nowhere on the one hand, and always and everywhere on the other." What is important for Latour is that we do not forget the *work* involved in the extension of "facts" beyond the networks of their production. Putting a different slant on it, we might say that queer *can* be extended into the past, but this cannot be done without cost, as if queer were always already present prior to its particular historical constitution by material context and social discourse, riding the "free inertia of ahistoricity" alone. "The always-everywhere might be reached," Latour writes, "but it is costly, and its localized and temporal extension remains visible all the way." That we might avoid relegating this act of "extension" to the "background" of our critical endeavor, relative existence allows us to frame queer as relationally or discursively constituted, existing nowhere outside its *relation* to the material-semiotic circumstances of its production in time and space, or what Latour refers to as its "spatiotemporal envelope."

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[18] Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia*, 65-66, 71.
[19] Traub, *Thinking Sex*, 77.

By emphasizing the relative existence of queer entities, we refuse the eerie always-everywhere notion of queer underlying scholarly calls to a queer unhistoricism, and in so doing, we allow queer to stop 'hovering over its own body like a ghost.'[20]

Yet there is something else Latour wants to bring to our attention, something which takes us beyond a constructionist ideal of reality as constituted in and through language alone. This is the idea that not only humans, but *nonhumans* as well, participate in the construction of associational reality. The idea of the nonhuman as an "associate" and "collaborator" in the construction of reality is crucial for Latour, and requires that we think of history not only as a "science of people in time," but rather as encompassing both human *and* nonhuman agents.[21] As theoretician of history Ewa Domanska notes, for Latour, nonhumans perform a "socializing function," enjoying a "particular status" in their relations with people insofar as they "solidify interpersonal relations, participate in the creation of human identity at the individual and collective levels, and mark its changes."[22] The relative existence of an entity, then, would turn on its embeddedness in a field of human *and* nonhuman others. As Latour notes, gesturing towards my investigation in a fashion I take to be neither intentional nor wholly coincidental,

> That this discovery [the joint historicity of humans and nonhumans] could not be made by "straight" historians is obvious, since "that Noble Dream of Objectivity" forced them to deal with a human history full of noise and furors, which took place *inside a natural background* of naturalized entities that they took for granted.[23]

I am interested in drawing out the implications of thinking about Latour's "discovery" as non-straight, or queer. While the question of *who* might

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[20] Bruno Latour, "On the Partial Existence of Existing *and* Nonexisting Objects," in *Biographies of Scientific Objects* ed. Lorraine Daston (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1996), 249, 252-253, 262, 266.

[21] Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft* (New York: Knopf, 1953), 27.

[22] Ewa Domanksa "The Material Presence of the Past," *History and Theory* 45 (October 2006): 340.

[23] Latour, "On the Partial Existence," 265.

qualify as a "proper" queer subject has occupied scholars of gender and sexuality for some time, it is my sense that *where* exactly queer history is thought to have taken place has too frequently been constrained to the relational space between entities constituted as "human" alone. Staging a theoretical departure from this pattern, the next section of this paper will take up the possibilities for denaturalizing Latour's "background of naturalized entities" through a critical engagement with what Sara Ahmed has called "queer phenomenology."

Dancing with Tables as Queer Unbecoming

In her lively and moving *Queer Phenomenology*, Ahmed reflects on what it means to be "orientated—of how it is that we come to find our way in a world that acquires new shapes, depending on which way we turn." For Ahmed, objects and others that we encounter in the world are never "just there." Their nearness is an effect of history, of *shared historicity*, and the gathering of gatherings prior. Ahmed suggests that phenomenology can be a resource for queer theory insofar as it emphasizes "the lived experience of inhabiting a body." Phenomenology reminds us that bodies never simply *are*, but always are as *towards*—orientated towards objects and others in time and space.[24] Given the need for renewed attention to the materiality of the body within the frame of queer historiography, Ahmed's text can be something of a resource for my project as well. *What does the extension of historicity to objects tell us about the "difference" that bodies make?*

In the first chapter of her book, Ahmed engages classical phenomenologists Edmund Husserl and Maurice Merleau-Ponty, asking what it might mean to "queer" traditional phenomenology. Weaving together feminist and Marxist criticism, Ahmed interrogates the ease with which the phenomenologist philosopher seats himself at his writing table, as well as the sleight of hand by which "this" (particular) table becomes "the" (universal) table in his work. In so doing, Ahmed suggests, the philosopher

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[24] Ahmed, Sara, *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others*, Durham: Duke University Press, (2006), 1-2.

relegates whatever may have been behind "*this*" table—including its particular history—to the background of the task at hand, to what he has placed behind him in order that he may sit and do his work. Husserl, for instance,

> …suggests that phenomenology must "bracket" or put aside what is given, what is made available by ordinary perception. If phenomenology is to see the table, he suggests, it must see "without" the natural attitude, which keeps us within the familiar—indeed, within the space already "decided" as "being" the family home.[25]

Those objects and others that occupy the space of the background are domestic and familiar, belonging to the space of the "family home." They are what "clear the philosopher's table and allow him to do his work," even as their erasure becomes the condition of classical phenomenology's possibility. "A queer phenomenology," Ahmed muses, "might be one that faces the back, which looks 'behind' phenomenology, [and] which hesitates at the sight of the philosopher's back."[26]

Following Ahmed's lead, I want to hold onto that which is bracketed for a moment by asking: What kind of power accrues to the familiar by virtue of its denial from the space of 'proper' phenomenological inquiry? Put a different way, how might the weightiness of the maternal/material be *present in its absence*, and what sort of critical potential does this ambiguous absence afford?

The concept of "non-absence" is useful for us here. While Ahmed herself does not utilize the term, she alludes to its import for queering phenomenology in noting "the partiality of absence as well as presence" at play in Husserl's apprehension of the object "as if" it were unfamiliar. Ahmed's argument is that the "givenness" of the table (which we might think of as its ahistorical nature) is "spectral," relying on the problematic notion that in the flow of perception, "*only the table remains the same.*" For

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[25] Ibid., 32.
[26] Ibid., 29.

Husserl, the table, as an object, remains the singular constant in the flow of perception he, the perceiving subject, experiences as he moves around the table in space. Yet, as Ahmed lucidly points out:

> The story of the sameness of the object involves the specter of absence and nonpresence. For despite the self-sameness of the object, I do not see it as "the self-same." I never see it as such; what "it is" cannot be apprehended as *I cannot view the table from all points of view at once*. The necessity of moving around the object, to capture more than its profile, shows that the object is unavailable to me, which is why it must be intended.[27]

For Ahmed, the sameness of the table is "spectral," relying on the "conjuration" of its missing sides at any given moment. Critically, Ahmed links the spectrality of the table to what she calls the "spectrality of history." "Such acts of conjuring," she writes,

> …involve not only what we perceive in the present, but also the histories out of which objects emerge…Such histories are spectral in the sense that the objects that we perceive are traces of such histories, and even keep those histories alive, but these histories cannot simply be perceived. Indeed, such histories may be alive insofar as they resist being converted into something that is available, like the side that is revealed by our viewing point.[28]

If the table's missing sides are non-present such that they make the table "unavailable" to us, I want to suggest that we think of the table's past as *non-absent*, taking the form of what Ahmed calls "histories [that] cannot simply be perceived." The absence of such a past would be manifest precisely insofar as it "resisted" conventional modes of historical representation, not unlike Muñoz' "ephemera." A past that is non-absent, as Ewa Domanska puts it, is a past that is "somehow still present, that will not go away, or

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[27] Ibid., 36-37.
[28] Ibid., 152-153.

rather, that of which we cannot rid ourselves."[29] Critically, for Ahmed, it is not just objects, but bodies, too, that "take the shape" of their histories, that are "shaped by contacts with objects and with others, with 'what' is near enough to be reached."[30] By making room within the philosopher's encounter with his table for the affective trace of a past that will not go away, Ahmed demonstrates that the ways bodies and objects face one another are neither "neutral" nor "originary," but effects of those histories which serve to orientate the body in some ways rather than others, and which places some objects "in reach" and not others.

The point at which things become queer, for Ahmed, is when the "nonopposition" between bodies and objects reveals itself, such that the "inside" and "outside" do not stay in place. "Thing become queer," she writes,

> …precisely given how bodies are touched by objects, or by "something" that happens, where what is "over there" is also "in here," or even what I am "in." The story involves things becoming strange…[a] strangeness that seems to reside somewhere between the body and its objects [and] is also what brings these objects to life and makes them dance.[31]

Moments when things "become strange" are queer moments insofar as they throw the "straightness" of a world that is given off balance, disturbing orientations which before seemed natural and fixed in place, including our capacity to delineate just where it is the human subject ends and the nonhuman 'thing' begins. It is in these moments that we experience *disorientation*, moments that involve, for Ahmed, not only "the intellectual experience of disorder, but the vital experience of giddiness and nausea, which is the awareness of our contingency, and the horror with which it fills us." The profound dis/embodiment of this experience can be harrowing, and yet, for Ahmed, it is precisely this discomfort which reveals pathways

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[29] Domanksa, "The Material Presence of the Past," 346.
[30] Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations*, 54.
[31] Ibid., 162-163.

that diverge from those we've followed previously. Disorientation shows us that *different paths are possible*, that the reproduction of the same is neither "given" nor "natural", but an effect of work and of history, however "absent" these may appear from the frame of the present.[32]

Thus far, I have attempted to draw out the concept of a non-absent past in Ahmed's work in order to show how the perception of an object's "givenness" in space relies on a particular notion of history that figures the past as something "over there," something that cannot "touch" us "over here" in the present. We can stretch this insight by noting that this approach to the past coincides with a particular notion of the subject as one who is capable of bracketing the past itself, or capable of moving "past" the past in time. Ahmed reads Husserl's "intention" of the table's backside as a dehistoricizing gesture, yet the table is not the only thing which must be denied historicity in order for the material world to appear "given." In fact, Husserl's body itself must be "given"—the luxury of its being seated at the table for long periods of time, its ability to get up and walk around—these factors must be constants in order for the "flow of perception" to be experienced and transcribed. Husserl's status as a subject and not an object, then, resides not in his possession of a human body, but in the very capacity to transcend the body and its material familiarity. What is important for Ahmed is the recognition that the transcendent subject's motility is a fantasy, one that *some bodies and not others* are capable of indulging. If, as Ahmed suggests, it is the fact of 'motility' that is supposed to distinguish the subject from the object, *we need to ask how the admission of the object into the movement of time—i.e. it's historicization—might disturb this opposition, and if it does, how that disturbance might be thought of as queer.*

The motility of the subject is not simply the ability to move one's body this way or that way in space, but instead, the ability to move *beyond* the body in any direction, so as to leave it "trailing behind." While the unbecoming of disorientation is not necessarily exclusive to certain bodies, it is unevenly distributed, such that "some bodies more than others have their

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[32] Ibid., 4.

involvement in the world called into crisis." For Ahmed, the phenomenology of the "I can" is, before anything, a phenomenology of whiteness. Such a phenomenology describes the ease with which the white body extends itself in the world, yet fails to consider the racial and historic dimensions which lie just beneath the surface of that body—what Frantz Fanon called the "historic-racial schema." "The corporeal schema is of a 'body at home,'" Ahmed writes. "If the world is made white, then the body at home is one that can inhabit whiteness." For those who cannot inhabit whiteness, the corporeal schema breaks down, generating disorientation. Moments of disorientation are those which alert us to the contingency of our bodies in space and time, highlighting their inability to stand up "straight" without support from a network of objects and others. "In simple terms," Ahmed tell us, "disorientation involves becoming an object."[33]

Approaching the body as "given" requires that we ignore disorientation. This might be thought of as a particular kind of forgetting, one that depends upon one's ability to "bracket" the nonhuman environment in which that body is embedded (and from which it is occasionally indistinguishable). Figuring the body as a "congealed history of past approaches" toward *particular* objects and *particular* others takes us somewhere different, a place that Ahmed calls "wonder." "To wonder," she writes, "is to remember the forgetting and to see the repetition of form as the "taking form" of the familiar," adding that wonder is experienced most "forcefully" in those moments of disorientation when things "become strange." "To re-encounter objects as strange things," Ahmed goes on, "is not to lose sight of their history but to refuse to make them history by losing sight. Such wonder directed at the objects that we face, as well as those that are behind us, do not involve bracketing out the familiar but rather allows the familiar to dance again with life."[34]

What is needed, then, is a queer historiographic methodology which would leave room for wonder in the way that the historian

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[33] Ibid., 159.
[34] Ibid., 82, 164.

approaches the past. Such a methodology might be thought of as "ontologically humble," making space for accident, rupture, and contradiction as not only inevitable, but generative components of that approach.[35] This would require us to think through not only the affective power of the non-absent past to "break into" the present (such that what is "over there" in time disturbs the coherency of the "here" of the present), but also the dialogic relationship between bodies and objects in time, including their essential "nonopposition," such that the 'inside' and the 'outside' do not always stay in place.

Conclusion: Cosubject Seductions

In the conclusion to her essay, "The Whiter, the Bread, the Quicker You're Dead," Alison Reed calls for a dissipation of the boundary between the scholarly subject and their object of research in favor of what she calls "cosubject seductions"—"seduction intentionally evoking both the dangers and pleasures of how our research can transform us and make necessary that we tell different stories about ourselves in the process."[36]

By way of my own conclusion, I want to reflect on how the concept of cosubject seductions might inform a queer historiographic approach to the past. In this essay, I have suggested that insofar as "queer" is supposed to take us "beyond" the body in time, it evacuates the body of its critical potential. In an attempt to make this body, this matter, "matter," I turned to Sara Ahmed's recuperation of Husserl's concept of bracketing as a form of wonder, reading for the eerie, contradictory presence of that which the subject is imagined to have moved "past," which included both the material object as well as the past itself.[37] Cosubject seductions allows us to think about how the past, as an "object" of research, might *have* a kind of

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[35] I take my cue here from Kelsey's Henry's reading of José Esteban Muñoz' *Cruising Utopia* as advocating for an "ontologically humble queerness that cannot possibly know every nook and cranny of its expansive selves. Henry, 50. See also Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia*, 28.

[36] Alison Reed, "The Whiter the Bread, the Quicker You're Dead: Spectacular Absence and Post-Racialized Blackness in (White) Queer Theory," in *No Tea, No Shade: New Writing in Black Queer Studies* ed. E. Patrick Johnson, Durham: Duke University Press 2016, 60-61.

[37] Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations*, 199.

life even before the historian "brings" one to it. This life shapes the arrival of nonhuman objects into the space among and between our bodies--objects which do not stay put, but rather come to impress upon us, in turn, shaping us.

Facing the nonhuman past by way of a queer phenomenology requires an acknowledgement that the phenomenologist's table does not stay put. Instead, it dances--a dancing that is not only a moving in and through time but also an invitation to bodies to "dance" with the table in space, to move and be moved by it. For Ahmed, the dancing table is a queer object--"a queerness that does not reside 'within' the table but registers how the table can impress upon us, and what we too can borrow from the contingency of its life."[38] The recognition of this reciprocal contingency is not comfortable, and it is not straight. What it *is* is a queer unbecoming: a swerving away from stable and contained notions of gender and sexuality with the potential to reveal the fissures inhering within our idea of the human subject itself. It has been my aim in this essay to demonstrate that this reciprocal contingency must be the starting point for any historiographic methodology that might be considered "queer." I hope to have shown that queerness, rather than propel us "beyond" somatic change, might be precisely that which allows us to return to the body in time, and even to marvel at what we find there.

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[38] Ibid., 164.

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